

A

THE FACES OF MASCULINITY AND FEMININITY ON THE
EARLY RESTORATION STAGE: A STUDY OF FIVE ACTORS

by

Jennifer Renee Danby

Volume I

A dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty in Theatre
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2004

UMI Number: 3127860

Copyright 2004 by
Danby, Jennifer Renee

All rights reserved.

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI[®]

UMI Microform 3127860

Copyright 2004 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.

All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

©2004

JENNIFER RENEE DANBY

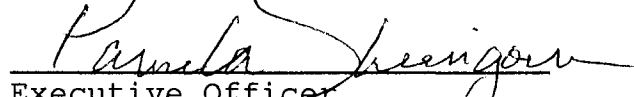
All Rights Reserved

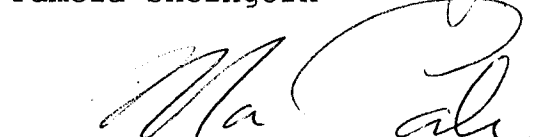
This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Theatre in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

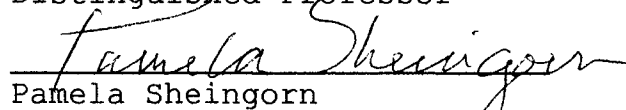
March 9, 2004
Date


Chair of Examining Committee
Judith Milhous
Distinguished Professor

March 9, 2004
Date


Executive Officer
Pamela Sheingorn


Marvin Carlson
Distinguished Professor


Pamela Sheingorn


David Savran

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

THE FACES OF MASCULINITY AND FEMININITY ON THE EARLY
RESTORATION STAGE: A STUDY OF FIVE ACTORS

by

Jennifer Renee Danby

Advisor: Professor Judith Milhous

This dissertation focuses on the work of five early Restoration actors: Charles Hart, Michael Mohun, Edward Kynaston, Rebecca Marshall, and Elizabeth Boutell, all leading performers in the King's Company between the years 1660 and 1678. In 1660, women for the first time joined the commercial theatre companies in London, thus making the Restoration a major crucible for the study of bodies, gender, and actors' lines of business, or "types." This study argues that companies with men and women are different than companies comprised only of men because the real bodies of actors affect the kinds of roles written for them to perform. Further, the embodiment of roles by particular actors shapes the ways in which these roles are played and perceived. The body is always culturally encoded, and watching a woman play a role collapses the distance between real and fiction at the level of bodies. Mixed gender casts change the shape of "lines," plays, and the construction of masculinities and femininities on stage.

The primary evidence used in the study is the ninety-five plays for which we have recorded roles for these actors. All five actors embodied roles in revived and new plays.

Other evidence includes records of contemporary audience response; anecdotes; eulogies; gossip; legal documents; lampoons; and portraiture.

The Restoration marked the birth of new modern subjects on stage, allowing for new constructions of femininities once women were embodying roles. Further, there was interplay between old and new constructions of masculinities. Many of the leading hero roles were decidedly modern subjects, possessed of a highly developed interiority and a bourgeois sense of being self-made men. In contrast, other leading male roles were more traditional and harkened back to a dying, feudal world. The contrast between these “lines” of new man and traditional man is an example of the interplay between pre-modern and modern subjectivities. The presence of the modern female subject and of the new modern male hero are evidence of new constructions of masculinities and femininities on stage after the Restoration, and of the close relationship between actor and the “types” he or she embodied.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my teachers, family, and friends for their support, wisdom, and encouragement. I express gratitude to my dissertation chair, Judith Milhous, for her insights and for her careful reading of these chapters. I express equal gratitude to my committee, all of whom have been important mentors: David Savran, Pamela Sheingorn, and Marvin Carlson. I thank my partner, Lisa, for her support and love, and for the ways in which she has helped me to realize my goals. I would like to thank my friends, especially Ed and Meghan, for their sense of humor, perspective, and for the many intelligent conversations. I would like to thank other mentors, too numerous to mention, but I send a special acknowledgment to Jill Dolan, Cara Gargano, Debra Otte, Maria Porter, and Jon Fraser. I would also like to thank Lyn Gibson for her graciousness during my tenure in the Ph.D. Program in Theatre.

I express a warm thank you to my parents, Jane and Gordon Danby, for being my teachers and for their support; my late grandmother, Irene L. Bucket, for her love and tenacity during my many years knowing her; to my brothers Judd and Randy and to my sister Rain and her family. I also want to thank Joan and Charlie Raymond for being my second parents, and also Lance, his wife Lisa, and Sophie. Last, I would like to thank Cay. All of you have been sources of inspiration for me in this project.

Finally, I would like to thank the Ph.D. Program in Theatre and Vera Mowry Roberts for the dissertation support in the form of a Roberts Fellowship and The Society for Theatre Research, London, for the research award that they granted me. The fellowship and award enabled me to venture to London as part of my research for this dissertation project. I also wish to thank Mark Sandler, Shawn Martin, and Hillary Nunn of the Early English Books Online Text Creation Partnership for their collaborative spirit. I also express my special thanks to Gillie Mair and to the curators, both in the States and in London, who fielded my questions about visual evidence.

Preface

This dissertation focuses on the work of five early Restoration actors: Charles Hart, Michael Mohun, Edward Kynaston, Rebecca Marshall, and Elizabeth Boutell, all leading performers in the King's Company between the years 1660 and 1678. My purpose is twofold: one, to provide a comprehensive analysis of the "lines" of five leading Restoration actors; and two, to study how masculinity and femininity were imagined and embodied on the early Restoration stage, using the work of these five actors as my focal point. My goal is to trace what I call the shaping of these five actors' "types," or, more formally, lines of business, in order to consider "type" as a composite, as bodies playing in relation to other bodies, complementing and contrasting with each other. In 1660, women for the first time joined the commercial theatre companies in London, thus making the Restoration a major crucible for the study of bodies, gender, and actors' "types." My argument is this: companies comprised of men and women are different than companies comprised only of men. Specifically, a mixed gender Restoration company is different from an all male pre-Restoration company in particular ways that are significant for the actors themselves, for their audiences, and for writers of future plays for the same company. To argue for this difference, I analyze how the real bodies of actors affect the kinds of roles written for them to perform, and how the embodiment of roles by particular actors shapes the ways in which these roles are played and perceived. The body is always culturally encoded, and watching a woman play a role collapses the distance between real and fiction at the level of bodies. Mixed gender casts change the shape of "lines," plays, and the construction of masculinity and femininity on stage.

My interest in this project is born of my experience as a performer, and my investigations are shaped by the fact that I approached this work from the perspective of an actor. As a graduate student entering a doctoral program six years ago, I was and still am interested in the relationship between gender and acting. I felt inspired to study actors in history, because of the ways in which constructions of gender and “type” on stage are informed by contemporary cultural and theatrical conditions, and because I am intrigued by trying to understand a past that is different from the world we now live in. I became drawn to the study of the Restoration because of the new presence of women on stage. I vividly remember reading during my first year of study John Dryden’s ambitious epic, The Conquest of Granada, and being captivated by the fiery villainess, Lyndaraxa. I recall thinking that this is a role I that I would love to play—a rebel, an intellectually witty woman, a strong woman, and a woman with a very modern subjectivity. I realized that to study the actions written for the bodies of men and women actors from this period in history would be a rich and worthwhile endeavor, because it was such a radical time in the history of the theatre.

In order to consider the kinds of men and women these five leading actors played, I needed to analyze and read in-depth their full repertory of known roles pre-1682, when the King’s Company disbanded. I read ninety-five plays, a substantial number, and I was fortunate to have such a rich store of primary materials upon which to draw. The fact that little evidence remains about these actors beyond play texts makes these texts crucial texts for analysis. These plays were embodied before the early Restoration audience, and they are the best material evidence we have of what kinds of men and women the actors created on stage. The plays I have studied form the “canon” of male and female

characters brought to life by Hart, Mohun, Kynaston, Marshall, and Boutell. These players, in turn, influenced the kinds of texts that were written for them to perform. Marshall's fiery and transgressive women inspired the birth of other transgressive women for her to embody. Similarly, Michael Mohun's success playing stoic soldiers, who lived by the credo that women and desire corrupt the body and manhood, led to new roles in this "line" being written for him opposite Charles Hart's more feeling and flexible lover-soldiers.

Throughout this project, I stress that "lines" must be analyzed relationally. The hero as a solo performer is only a partial hero: only when he is measured against the bodies of other men and women do his virtues have meaning. Further, the bodies of these actors must be contextualized within the structures of their time. They worked in a commercial repertory company operating in 1660s and 1670s London, and they performed in both revived and new plays. This meant that all five actors embodied roles that were written before and after the Restoration, and I have studied the relationship between revived and new roles in the actors' repertory in order to consider overlaps and innovations in "types." As I will demonstrate, there is a significant degree of overlap between roles in old and new plays, with some innovations: the Lyndaraxa-like witty and lustful women written for Marshall in the 1670s and the epic supermen perfected by Hart by 1670 provide an example of "types" born in the Restoration, but inspired by earlier models.

In this dissertation, I wrestle with the question of the modern subject. Did the actors I study embody new "modern" subjects? Yes and no. I argue that in the King's Company between the years 1660 to 1678, there existed interplay between old and new,

or, to say it another way, between pre-modern and modern, because a large part of the repertory was comprised of older plays. Because it was the older and more traditional of the two licensed companies in London, the King's Company never left old traditions behind entirely. They relied more on revived plays than did the rival Duke's Company; the leading actors in the Duke's Company were much younger than those in the King's, and had been trained after the Restoration. In contrast, the two leading men in the King's Company, Hart and Mohun, were trained in the pre-Restoration days, and were roughly thirty and forty years of age, respectively, when the Restoration began. Yet, despite the ghost of the old, the new youthful hero roles written for Charles Hart marked a change. Many of the roles he created were decidedly modern subjects, men with a highly developed interiority and a bourgeois sense of being self-made men. Even the leading parts he played from pre-Restoration days are marked by this sense of being free and independent men, and are thus in many ways proto-modern. In contrast, the roles Mohun played tended to be men who were more rigid and traditionalistic, and who belonged to a dying, feudal world. The contrast between Hart's and Mohun's "lines" is an example of the contrast between old and new, and between pre-modern and modern subjectivities. Further, women taking roles on stage is an example of a modern shift, with new kinds of parts being written for women to perform, and with changes in the realization of both male and female subjectivities on stage.

In this project, I look to draw connections between prior scholarship devoted to the analysis of texts and scholarship devoted to the workaday aspects of the theatre as I trace the careers of five Restoration actors. I seek to make connections among play texts, repertory, structure of the company, audience response, actors' lines of business,

fragments about the actors' lives, contemporary views of the body and behavior, and manuals of rhetoric that offer us insights into the aesthetics of performance and the actor's practical art. I analyze texts visually, kinesthetically, and aurally, always in light of the work of these five leading actors. I draw upon theory that helps me to open up the discourse, but I always ground my work in the history, in the evidence that remains.

In this study of the extant records of the actors upon whom I focus my questions about gender and embodiment, I use the vocabulary of the period whenever possible. The ideal male body was described as lusty and manly on stage and off, and the ideal female body, as pure, comely, and virtuous. Heat was appropriate to males, but heat in a woman usually indicated a lustful, evil woman. To describe the actor on stage, I use the term performance, but also "playing" or the "exercise of playing."¹ Playing and the exercise of playing are very useful terms, because they were employed in the early Restoration and also because they invoke the material body of the actor engaged in physical action on stage. I employ the words actor and player, as both were in current usage.

To analyze the ways in which a mixed gender Restoration company is different from an all male pre-Restoration company, I have organized my chapters so that I can focus on bodies in both their theatrical and cultural contexts, beginning with an overview of the composition of the King's Company, and ending with a consideration of Restoration actors as celebrities, noting that celebrityhood is constructed by gendered expectations. Chapter 1 is an introduction to the work, and it provides both a historiographical map of Restoration theatre and gender studies, as well as laying out for

¹ The phrase the "exercise of playing" was brought to my attention by Mary Thomas Crane, "What Was Performance?" in Criticism: A Quarterly for Literature and the Arts 43.2 (2001): 169-87.

the reader my methodology and the focus of my queries throughout this project. In Chapter 2, “The King’s Company: Ensemble Composition and Actor’s Type,” I focus on the ensemble composition of the King’s Company. The purpose of this chapter is to provide context for the work of the five actors that I am studying. I begin with the pre-Restoration days when Mohun and Hart performed as boy actors, then move to the early days of the organization of the King’s Company, looking at when women joined. I trace the structure of the company until 1678, with some discussion of Mohun’s last years on stage, 1678 to 1682. I consider repertory, actors’ lines of business, and “type” in a general way as I offer a structural analysis of the company. I also discuss actors’ training in order to assess ways in which actors prepared themselves for their roles and to explore similarities and differences in male players’ and female players’ training.

I next turn my attention to focusing upon male type on stage. In Chapter 3, “Lovers, Rogues, Villains, and Supermen: Charles Hart’s, Michael Mohun’s, and Edward Kynaston’s Roles,” I analyze each of these player’s “lines.” I address triangulations, or ways in which male “type” is shaped relationally and how the bodies of these three male actors contrasted and complemented one another on stage. To accomplish my task, I rely heavily on play texts and the in-depth analysis of select play texts. I consider what makes a hero and a villain on stage, and I consider expectations about type and manliness. I contextualize my discussion by engaging with real-life cultural references, which allows me to consider the interplay between the embodiment of masculinity on stage and cultural perceptions of what made a man sufficiently manly, to employ the vernacular of the period. In the Restoration period “manly,” as defined in the *OED*, meant “Having good qualities or characteristics associated with men as distinguished from women or

children; esp. courageous, independent in spirit, frank, upright,” and “Of a thing, quality, etc., befitting of belonging to a man; masculinity.” The masculine ideal was thus an independent, free man; a modern subject.

The women who entered the acting profession during the Restoration were of course modern women, in the sense that they made their living as professional actors, an option that did not exist for women in pre-Restoration London. What kinds of women did these modern actresses play? In Chapter 4, “Heroines, Scamps, and Monsters: Rebecca Marshall’s and Elizabeth Boutell’s Roles,” the “partner” to Chapter 3, I analyze the lines of business of these two leading women of the London stage. As with Chapter 3 and the analysis of male “types” on stage, I rely on a close look at select play texts. I study the roles both women played and their relationship as “doubles” on stage, with Marshall frequently playing the dark role opposite Boutell’s ingénue. Dark for women usually meant sexually knowledgeable, and the ingénue of course meant sexually innocent, although this “binary” description is sometimes more complicated than it at first seems. I consider ideal and deviant female bodies on stage and in culture, which allows me to investigate the relationship between “type” and constructions of femininity onstage and off. “Femininity” as defined in the *OED*, meant in the Restoration “The characteristic quality or qualities of woman; womanliness; the stage of fact of being female.” These characteristic qualities of women, and the “fact of being female,” is then, as now, culturally determined. The bodies of women on stage both embody and flaunt real life cultural expectations, as the theatre is a space where real life and fantasy converge. Comic heroines can be bold, sexual, and ambitious in ways they could not in real life, yet are tamed at the end, an outcome that would be sanctioned within contemporary culture.

Stormy and beautiful villainesses hold center stage but are punished for their transgressions, as such a woman would be in life. Still, in two hours' traffic on the stage, the body of the rebel woman could ironically be delighted in and enjoyed *because* she transgressed.

In Chapter 5, "Moving Bodies, Sounding Voices: Masculinity and Femininity on the Early Restoration Stage," I turn my attention to the body of the actor engaged in the exercise of playing. I analyze the relationship between voice, deportment, movement, gender, and "type." Here, I consider how deeper male voices function as the grounding voices on stage, and how voice is gendered and is a critical element in establishing "type." Deportment and bodily motion were also gender coded. Male bodies were allowed and indeed expected to take up more physical space both on stage and off, and women to be more conservative in carriage and in their use of gesture. I consider in this chapter the interplay between the voices of Mohun, Hart, Kynaston, Marshall, and Boutell, and also devote extensive discussion to how they may have moved on stage. When Marshall played the villainess, for example, she used more forceful and violent gestures than her colleague Boutell did when she played the innocent. Marshall's voice was very likely deeper, or at least darker in color than Boutell's, and thus would have been perceived as less feminine, an issue that I explore in my analysis of voice.

In chapter 6, "Celebrity'd Players: Public Bodies, Private Bodies, and 'Types,'" I consider the actor as celebrity and their (conjectured) private bodies. I am interested in the interplay between player, fiction, and the real, and how the space between fantasy and reality is teased out in gossip, lampoons, anecdotes, and in the case of Charles Hart and to a lesser extent Michael Mohun, eulogies and eulogistic writings. On stage, women could

be bold, but offstage, such bold behavior was vigilantly policed. For example, Marshall, who excelled at playing sexually bold and rebellious women on stage, was physically assaulted offstage because she failed to perform the role of loose woman in real life, and because she was too liberal with her speech. Marshall's colleague, Boutell, who made her career playing virtuous women, was subject to violent attacks in writing because she was an actress and because of her financial autonomy later in her life. What, I ask, is the interplay between stage and real, and what does the remaining evidence about actor's bodies outside of play text tell us about how their bodies and gender were read on stage and off? I also engage with several prologues and epilogues in order to explore the connections between fantasy, the real, actor, role, physical bodies, and sexuality.

At the close of this study, I include an appendix that lists the known roles played by Charles Hart, Michael Mohun, Edward Kynaston, Rebecca Marshall, and Elizabeth Boutell, along with play, playwright, source, approximate date of first performance, and "type" for each role. I then include a second appendix that lists the names of minor players in the King's Company between 1660 and 1678, whose names were not included in my survey chapter on the company (Chapter 2). I seek to reconstruct original contexts in order to better understand the theatrical and cultural environments within which the actor engaged in the exercise of playing in the new mixed gender companies of the Restoration.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Volume I

List of Tables

List of Illustrations

1. Introduction	1
2. “The King’s Company: Ensemble Composition and Actors’ “Types”	49
3. “Lovers, Rogues, Villains, and Supermen: Charles Hart’s, Michael Mohun’s, and Edward Kynaston’s Roles”	129
4. “Heroines, Scamps, and Monsters: Rebecca Marshall’s and Elizabeth Boutell’s Roles”	234

Volume II

5. “Moving Bodies, Sounding Voices: Masculinity and Femininity On The Early Restoration Stage”	314
6. “Celebrity Players: Public Bodies, Private Bodies, and “Types”	382
Conclusion	476
Appendix A: Actors’ Roles	486
Appendix B: Minor Players in the King’s Company, 1660 to 1678	507
Bibliography	508

Tables

Following page 107

Table 1. Selected Male Actors and “Types,” based on plays in the King Company’s repertory, 1660 to 1678.

Table 2. Selected Female Actors and “Types,” based on plays in the King’s Company repertory, 1660 to 1678.

Illustrations

Following page 128

1. Portrait of Major Mohun. British School, c. 1642-45. Private collection at Knole House, Kent. Reproduced courtesy of Lord Sackville.

Chapter 1

Introduction

I begin by stating the obvious: it is challenging to try and reconstruct a seventeenth-century actor's "type." A challenge to reading the body on stage in any past performance is that the body is, of course, not extant, and this means that we are reading bodies mediated by the very documents that help to preserve them. Depending on the performances we are interested in and where they are positioned in time and place, we may find that we have to reconstruct past performance using only fragmentary evidence. This has certainly been true for me in my endeavor to reconstruct the work of the five actors I am studying, for whom there is evidence, but also gaps—gaps in repertory, gaps in casting lists, gaps in critical response. So why chase after a subject if it means facing this obstacle of gaps?

1. Challenge: reading body and gender on the Restoration stage.

I begin my project with a visual image that eloquently and succinctly states what I feel and has since come to serve as a metaphor for how I envision the study of a player's body of the past. I borrow this visual image from Peggy Phelan's Mourning Sex (1997). Phelan speaks of how, as a child, she on impulse tore up the figure of a man in the human anatomy section of her science book, and "created a gouged page that held the hole where the body once was."¹ This hole, for Phelan, more truly represents the essence of the body than the drawing of red and blue veins that she once tore up. For Phelan, the drawing of the body's interior is an artificial (re)construction, a surface that stands in for the

¹ See Peggy Phelan, Mourning Sex (New York: Routledge, 1997), 2.

ephemeral absent (the historical body, the historic performance). To try and recreate bodies in past performances is to create a stand-in for the original, like the drawing that represents an original, and this artificial surface then distances us from the subject. I agree with Phelan's assertion that at heart reconstruction is slippery, and I find her point about "holes," or what I call here gaps, useful, but I differ from her in the sense that I believe the surfaces can bring us closer to the original if we don't confuse surface for original, and if we allow absence and presence to interplay. I believe trying to reconstruct a field of possible ways of reading the dynamic between surfaces, or evidence, and holes, or gaps, is the best way. This is how I endeavor to study the bodies of the five actors whose work I am investigating here. To this end, I look to the strengths that this interplay of knowns and unknowns offers. I agree with Robert D. Hume's assessment that historians who reconstruct have a responsibility to acknowledge the blank spots in their argument, and where one relies upon conjecture, one must do so responsibly.² Hume's cogent definition of methodology is exactly the one I use here: reconstruction, based on extant evidence, along with conjecture, reasonable conjecture grounded in the facts of the case. I cannot in a moment of childish impulse rip open a page to find an inside. Nor can I draw what was. But I want to find something of the past through what is left to see.

Of course, a writer cannot reproduce, or reconstruct the exact conditions of past performances, but she can make deductions about likely possibilities for performance, and she can trace with accuracy many facets of the actor's career that have been recorded via various means, from the more reliable to the more anecdotal. Throughout the body of my work, I do not hesitate to gently remind the reader when my argument falls more in

² See Robert D. Hume, "Opinion: The Aims and Limits of Historical Scholarship," Review of English Studies, 53, no. 211 (August 2002): 399-422.

the realm of conjecture. I work to avoid the pitfalls of unsubstantiated speculations and projections from present to past, allowing of course for that projection that any writer of history must use in trying to reconstruct past events. I do not endeavor to support theories of the body at the expense of history, but to use theory both judiciously and rigorously to help me look at the subject of my work in its fullest historical context. Bodies today are not the bodies of the seventeenth century except in their most fundamental anatomical sense, so I want to resist the temptation to read back into bodies the ways of seeing that we draw upon today; rather, I draw upon sources contemporary to the period that I am investigating.

The most solid primary evidence I have and employ in reading, historicizing, and where appropriate, theorizing the bodies of the five actors I am studying, is that of stage plays. Indeed, outside of play texts, there is only a handful of evidence concerning the bodies of Hart, Mohun, Kynaston, Marshall, and Boutell, which makes play texts particularly valuable pieces of evidence. Further, when the actors performed the roles in plays, their bodies were seen, heard, and experienced. For these reasons, the analysis of the lines of business of these five Restoration actors constitutes the spine of my dissertation. In order to study the repertory or parts owned by these five players, I have read all of the plays for which we have recorded roles for them. This numbers at ninety-five, a substantial body of evidence.

Original casting or intended casting of these ninety-five plays is available thanks to manuscript and published editions, fragmentary comments by Samuel Pepys, the body of cast lists recorded by John Downes as prompter for the Duke's Company Theatre, and the occasional other source. I analyze the texts for the purposes of character analysis

insofar as it allows me to discuss type and gender. Because I know which actors played which roles in the plays I use, I can track the development, or shaping, of all the respective lines of business for the five actors I study here, which in turn allows me to consider their respective “types.” Although I map the chronology of plays to identify possible linear developments, I think about “type” as a constellation rather than as evolutionary. In some cases, as I show, a role might have refined, or reshaped, a line of business for a particular actor. Thus, I am on surest ground when I work with the play texts, as these are the primary documents embodied by the players I am studying.

A number of the plays that I have read for this project were revived plays, as the bulk of the early repertory was comprised of revivals. I consider how actors were being cast in these revivals, and analyze as best I can if and how the casting of these revived plays may have shaped audience expectation, playwrights’ work, and even the techniques of the actors in terms of their on-stage strengths and weaknesses as deduced from the play texts. In my investigation of actors’ “types,” I ask what particular demands a role might place on an actor and what skills would be most important to perform these roles successfully. Casting information for the five actors I am looking at is not complete. In some cases, several years are missing. I use what I do have, which is a solid body of roles, and in that way I build a map of the parts all five actors played. In doing so, I can get a sense of what roles these actors might have taken in a play in the repertory even if the casting list is no longer extant. Thus, although we do not have complete repertory lists, or cast lists, this is not an insurmountable obstacle to reading the shape of an actor’s career. The demands of the competitive commercial theatre with its repertory structure required actors to learn their parts fast. Actors also owned their roles, meaning that a role

was theirs during their life with the company, and this meant both that they played the role every time the play was revived and that they had in their possession the “sides” with their lines on them. When actress Elizabeth Farley Weaver left the stage for a time in the early 1660s, as I discuss in my second chapter, she handed over her sides to the manager, thus handing over her roles. Understanding how “lines” functioned in the Restoration repertory system and that actors owned their roles amounts to our being able to read with a high measure of accuracy the kinds of roles an actor would have been likely to play, even when we encounter a gap in information. I can say with confidence that, aside from rare situations, missing plays would not have contained anomalous roles for the actors, as that was not the nature of the Restoration commercial theatre. I am, therefore, on surest ground when I read the body of roles played by the five actors I am studying to analyze their “types,” and to consider from there how gender plays into “type.” I can map the shape of the actors’ lines of business using the extant play texts and in turn analyze how contemporary ideas about masculinity and femininity inform the shaping of “type” and the interplay between bodies. I will analyze select plays in depth, chosen because they in some fundamental way contribute to the discussion of “type,” lines of business, and the performance of masculinity and femininity in the work of my five actors. Other plays will be dealt with more in passing. In the instances where I devote more time to a particular text, I will justify why this is so.

In my study, I am interested in how men and women on the Restoration stage are decidedly modern. Drawing upon ideas outlined by Catherine Belsey in The Subject of Tragedy: Identity and Difference in Renaissance Drama, I consider how the male heroes of the kind that Charles Hart specialized in were liberal subjects, men with a highly

developed interiority.³ The hero was romanticized, and his autonomy celebrated in both serious plays and in comedies. Women, on the other hand, were more contained. Roxana, the dangerous, wild, abandoned wife and mother-to-be, and a role created by Rebecca Marshall, is a dangerous liberal subject, one who threatens chaos and one whose autonomy is constructed as evil. Similarly, Elizabeth Boutell, who specialized in innocence, was imagined as a dangerous liberal subject in lampoons that critiqued her for being overly free with her body in her private life.

To read the meaning of bodies on stage means understanding those bodies in context. Thus I look beyond stage plays and at available cultural discourse about the body, both “elite” and “popular.” I examine ways in which the body was understood psychologically, physiologically, sexually, and ethically, moving from the more material to more abstract understandings of the body and what it meant to be a man or a woman. I consider both normal and deviant bodies, and ways in which these categories were defined when it came to understanding normative male and female behavior. When appropriate, I look to see what correlations can be made between the real-life body and the fictional body on stage. Of course, because the body of the actor is real, I weigh how the actor’s public image and how contemporary interpretation of the actor’s private life may combine fiction and the real. I endeavor to see how closely the actor’s public image corresponded to ideals for male and female behavior and how intersections between private and public may have mythologized and eroticized the actor. I also seek to understand how the actors were constructed as celebrity players, and the interplay between stage and real-life. I deal with the issue of women actors entering into what had

³ Catherine Belsey. The Subject of Tragedy: Identity and Difference in Renaissance Drama (New York: Routledge, 1985), *passim*.

been historically a male domain, the English commercial theatre, and the impact of that presence. I also think about the actor's body as physical presence, and consider how the actor might have moved, sounded, looked, and lived on stage. The challenge in reading the bodies of my five actors is temporal distance, meaning, mine from my subject. I thus seek to create the richest context possible in my reconstruction of the study of these five actors, looking at both life onstage, and, where appropriate, in culture.

2. Historiography: body, masculinity and femininity, Restoration and beyond.

In this section, I present an outline discussion of works with which I dialogue in this dissertation. Its purpose is to serve as a brief synopsis of major contributions to the discussion of bodies on the Restoration stage. My discussion here is not meant to be exhaustive, but to mark both major and minor works that serve as a precedent to my own project in one way or another.

A. The Restoration Actress.

In her important essay, "Brechtian Theory/Feminist Theory: Toward a Gestic Feminist Criticism" (1988), Elin Diamond argued that

perhaps all theories that call themselves "feminist" share a goal: the passionate analysis of gender in material social relations and in discursive and representational structures, especially theatre and film, which involve scopic pleasures and the body.⁴

⁴ Elin Diamond, "Brechtian Theory/Feminist Theory: Toward a Gestic Feminist Criticism," The Drama Review 32:1 (1988): 82-94, on 82-83.

Diamond's assessment is astute, and applicable to the work that has been done on the Restoration actress, both in terms of her place within "material social relations and in discursive and representational structures." In her essay, Diamond invokes the body of the Restoration actress and considers the junctures between player, character, play text, and audience. She focuses on a play by female writer Aphra Behn, and provides for us a description of an actress's entrance immediately following the prologue:

the stage directions read "*Enter an Actress*," who "*pointing to the ladies*" [in the playhouse] asks, "Can any see that glorious Sight and say / A Woman shall not Victor prove today?" In that pointing gesture, the actress sets up a triangular structure—between historical performer, the role she is destined to play, and the female spectators in the audience. She also mentions "A Woman," a potential victor, and that seems to have a referent: the writer Aphra Behn (although it could be one of the females in the play). In that shared look, and for perhaps the first time on the English stage all four positions are filled by women. (91-92)⁵

The play texts I will be studying were not written by women—none of the plays Marshall and Boutell appeared in were, based on extant information—but the presence of the actress is a material reality, and marks a change. Player, role, text, and audience all interact. The questions are how does one read the body of the female player performing parts written for her by men, in a male managed playhouse, and before a mixed sex audience?

⁵ Diamond is quoting from Aphra Behn, *The Forced Marriage, or the Jealous Bridegroom*, *The Works of Aphra Behn*, ed. Montague Summers, 3 vols. (London: William Heinemann, 1915), 285-381, on 286.

Beginning in the late 1970s and into the 1990s, several feminist scholars began to analyze the possible meanings of the body of the actress on the Restoration stage. Approximately ten years before Diamond's important essay was published, a pioneering feminist study by Katharine Eiseman Maus, "'Playhouse Flesh and Blood': Sexual Ideology and the Restoration Actress" (1979) appeared. In this essay, Maus wrestles with the question of how the female actor's body was read on the Restoration stage and in her culture.⁶ Her focus is on the live, material body of the performer. She sees the boundary between real and stage blurred, and is most concerned with reading audience interest in the actress as sexual being. She is most strongly invested in the marketability of actresses' sexuality, and her work seems indebted to a landmark essay in the field of feminist studies, Gayle Rubin's "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex" (1975). In this essay, Rubin critiqued what she calls the "systematic social apparatus which takes up females as raw material and fashions [...] women as products." She defines the "locus of oppression" as the "sex/gender system [...] a set of arrangements by which a society transforms biological sexuality into products of human activity."⁷ Although Maus does not mention Rubin by name, it seems to me that she is talking about this very kind of apparatus, whereby sexuality becomes product.

Maus's questions are important ones and her essay is a landmark in the history of feminist writing on the body of the Restoration actress. From this distance of nigh twenty-five years, I acknowledge the value of Maus's pioneering work in generating

⁶ Katharine Eiseman Maus, "'Playhouse Flesh and Blood': Sexual Ideology and the Restoration Actress," English Literary History 46 (1979): 597-617.

⁷ Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex," in Toward an Anthropology of Women, ed. Rayna R. Reiter (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), 157-210, on 159.

feminist discourse about the Restoration. However, there are problems with several of her assertions. Specifically, Maus goes astray when she states emphatically that the boundary between real and stage was fuzzy because the “coterie” Restoration theatre was a theatre which “did not really challenge the actor to submit himself to the demands of a fictional role; rather, it provided, at least for the leading players, manifold opportunities for self-expression” (359). I respect Maus’s interest in the blur between private and public as well as in how the actress is commodified, but I take serious issue with her generalization here, a generalization that rests upon the idea that the Restoration drama did not place demands upon its actors beyond that of performing themselves in front of a clique. Joseph Roach has recently made a similar assertion to Maus’s when he argued for the actor as messenger for the state. Roach writes (wisely) that Restoration actors “worked very hard” but had the task of providing their audiences with symbolic actions, intentionally or unintentionally making themselves through these symbolic actions “objects of public fantasy” (19).⁸ I do not disagree that the players could be objects of public fantasy—clearly they could, and were—but I think the public fantasy phenomenon is much more complex (and messier) than the messenger-for-the-state hypothesis makes it out to be.

The conclusions that both Maus and Roach make are useful, but rest heavily upon the belief in a peculiar Restoration tendency toward actor/personality/cultural identity conflation, when in fact all actors in all times bring something of themselves to their roles and perform actions that take on symbolic meanings for an audience. Maus’s

⁸ See Joseph Roach, “The Performance,” in Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre, ed. Deborah Payne Fisk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 19-39.

statement about leading players merely playing themselves is for this reason highly problematic and requires further exploration. It also leaves out this basic question: in which roles is the actor playing him or herself? All? Some? It is worthwhile to explore how when women play women there is a temptation on the part of at least some members of the audience to conflate real and fiction, but Maus addresses this by looking at how audience's fascination with actresses' private lives was understandable because the actresses' "sex lives were fairly unorthodox," and she concludes that for this reason the blur between private and public could be exploited by playwrights and enjoyed by audiences (602-3). Maus writes that "Elizabeth Boutell and Rebecca Marshall played the field" (603). Although I agree with Maus's strategy to explore connections between actresses' unconventionality and public curiosity, her acceptance of cause and effect begs further questions. Certainly, the lives of actors were unorthodox when measured against contemporary notions of family and gender roles, yet Maus is simply wrong to say that Boutell and Marshall "played the field." Boutell was in fact a married woman, although she was in an unconventional relationship with her husband in that they often lived apart. Marshall's private life remains a bit mysterious, and she may have been at least for a time a lover to a man who was known in court circles, as I discuss in my sixth chapter. Nonetheless, this does not warrant the use of the jargon phrase "played the field," and the phrase is misleading in that it perpetuates the myth of a sexual "type." Further, Maus writes that audiences were not as concerned with the sex lives of the male players on the Restoration stage (603), but I will consider how the male players' private bodies were a subject of fascination and part of the discourse of their masculine "types," even on sexual terms, just as the women's private bodies were subject to the test of norms.

The feminist study which has most influenced me and has addressed the issue of gender and the Restoration actress in the most in-depth manner to date is Elizabeth Howe's The First English Actresses (1992), the first full-length feminist analysis of the Restoration actress.⁹ Taking up Maus's suggestion that the female actor on the Restoration stage was both literally and metaphorically prostituted, Howe draws primarily upon dramatic texts and is most concerned with how the female body in performance was exploited for its erotic potential and categorized by the archetypal body of virgin/whore. Thus, Howe's position, like Maus's, is that women's bodies were prostituted bodies, their playhouse flesh a site for pleasure, but Howe's work is substantiated by analysis of dramatic characters and actresses' roles and type. Howe further grounds her textual analysis by looking at conditions in the theatre. She does not analyze the meaning of male actors' bodies as spectacle alongside women's, nor the male body as erotic site. In this dissertation, I devote significant attention to the bodies of male players.

A position opposite that of Howe's is one set forth by Deborah C. Payne, who, in her 1993 review of Howe's work for Theatre Journal, suggested that rather than the displayed body of the Restoration actress being a prostituted body, it might as likely be read as a body foregrounded in Brechtian fashion, thus making the Restoration audience self-conscious of its own act of voyeurism.¹⁰ Although I take serious issue with Payne on

⁹ For full discussion see Elizabeth Howe, The First English Actresses (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

¹⁰ See Theatre Journal 45, no. 3 (1993): 396-97. Payne develops this further in her article "Reified Object or Emergent Professional? Retheorizing the Restoration Actress," Cultural Readings of Restoration and Eighteenth-Century English Theatre, eds. J.

this, I do think the dialogue about what women's bodies signified is important, for it illustrates the very elusive and speculative nature of how we read the body of the past. Further, the prostituted body theory Payne contests also has its limits, as it threatens to obfuscate the very real contribution of professional women actors in the Restoration theatres. Payne makes the important point that the actresses had a kind of social and economic power as working women, a point that is minimized or neglected in the "prostitute theory" school of thought. Bodies can of course at the same time both have power and lack it, which I think makes both perspectives, that of the actress as "prostituted body" and as empowered body, worth considering. As Susan A. Glenn puts it in her thoughtful analysis of female performers in a later era (the late nineteenth and early twentieth century), "The shock value of theatre women who defined conventional notions of feminine comportment made of them a vital and infectious source of iconoclastic energy."¹¹ As she further states, focusing this time on 1960s female folk and rock singers who entered a male-dominated industry, "[these women] helped turn up the decibel of female assertion in the world of live entertainment and turned up the jet of feminine defiance in an industry where men had long held center stage" (222). This dynamic is true for the Restoration actresses, whose new presence on stage defied old conventions and helped to turn up the decibel of female assertion in a business—the London commercial playhouse—where men had always held center stage.

Douglas Canfield and Deborah C. Payne (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1995), 13-38.

¹¹ Susan A. Glenn, Female Spectacle: The Theatrical Roots of Modern Feminism (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 217.

The presence of women on stage, however, did not automatically mean that they would now be empowered or authentically represented. In fact, gynophobic and misogynistic fantasies are evident in the play texts performed by Marshall and Boutell. Thus, it is necessary to consider not only the physical, material presence of the actress, but what that actress is asked to do on stage and how the woman she is playing behaves. In her seminal book Feminism and Theatre (1988), Sue-Ellen Case, who seeks to place women players' bodies within the context of the fictional apparatuses in which they originally appeared, cogently put it that when Restoration actresses arrived on the stage, "the fiction of the female gender had now been securely inscribed on real women."¹² Here, Case places front and center the fact that fictional and often blatantly misogynistic texts were performed by real, material bodies, and that it is this dynamic that makes meaning. Following Case's lead, Leslie Ferris in Acting Women: Images of Women in Theatre (1989) argues that women on the Restoration stage could only play a symbol of women and never themselves, as they were historically denied embodied representation on the stage in England, and further, were less empowered figures in the public sphere.¹³ Both Case and Ferris seek to find junctions among dramatic text, bodies, audience, and culture, and are interested in deconstructing the theatre apparatus in order to read how the (female) material body is read through the fictions written upon it. Case, Ferris, and Howe as well essentially see the body of the actress as a spectacle and as a passive receiver of the gaze. I instead focus on the tension between the actress as an agent in her

¹² See Sue-Ellen Case, Feminism and Theatre (New York: Routledge, 1988), 27.

¹³ For full discussion see Leslie Ferris, Acting Women: Images of Women in Theatre (New York: New York University Press, 1989).

own performance and the performance as a site where a body is situated and read.¹⁴ One might think of this, in a discursive but at the same time a thoroughly material (and historically contingent) sense, as the actress taking a position and concomitantly being positioned within a given social space and time. As Pierre Bourdieu asserts, in a social space, or more precisely, topology, “Agents and groups of agents are [...] defined by their relative positions in this space. Each of them is confined to a position or a neighboring position.”¹⁵ At the same time, Bourdieu continues, one must allow for agency, for position verses being positioned:

The most resolutely objectivist theory must take account of agents’ representation of the social world, and, more precisely, of the contribution they make to the construction of the vision of this world, and, thereby to the very construction of this world, via the *labour of representation* (in all senses of the term) that they

¹⁴ I am aware of the vexed problem of agency. To borrow from Judith Butler, I play with the idea “that there need not be a ‘doer behind the deed’ but that the ‘doer’ is variably constructed in and through the deed.” (See page 81 in Judith Butler, Gender Trouble, 1990; rpt. with a new preface by the author, New York: Routledge, 1999). I take less of a post-modernist stance than Butler does in this study, but I also do not suggest a modern, autonomous, essentialist agency independent of cultural space. I am interested in how the agent can affect the construct, just as construct affects perception of agent, both self-perception and other-perception. In other words, I want to look at doer (actor) and deed (role) and I stand by the belief that the deed is to a large extent determined by the skills and traits of the doer (the actor/actress), just as the doer is interpreted by and through the deed. As Butler points out in her later study, Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex (New York: Routledge, 1993), on 7, the relationship she explores between gender performance and subject (the doer) does not “do away with the subject,” but rather “ask[s] after the conditions of its emergence and operation.”

¹⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, Language and Symbolic Power, ed. John B. Thompson, trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 229-30.

continually perform in order to impose their own vision of the world or the vision of their own position in this world, that is, their social identity. (234)¹⁶

Reading the body of the actress at work vis-à-vis women's cultural status raises interesting questions about the actress's position in the theatre both as taking position and being positioned, in Bourdieu's sense of the terms. As Deborah C. Payne suggests, the image of actress as prostitute might be one way for an audience to deal with anxieties about women's public power as actresses, where "star" and "whore" are conflated under the rubric of "working woman,"¹⁷ and also, I add, where the age old lack of ease about actors' moral makeup comes into play, and where women players' bodies in particular are policed. This dynamic between positioned and being positioned becomes central when I evaluate how both femininity and masculinity are written on and by the bodies of the five actors I am studying.

In considering how women's lines of business were shaped, I address with rigor how both the play text and the actor's body simultaneously give the player's body meaning. In his thoughtful essay "Masks and Faces: Female Legibility on the Restoration Stage,"¹⁸ Will Pritchard writes that "Restoration culture was both remarkably attentive to bodily exteriors and deeply suspicious of their truthfulness" (31). Pritchard's focus is on "the surfaces of bodies—women's bodies in particular—and the vexed attempts of

¹⁶ Labour of representation may be one's occupation, one's relationships with others, one's politics, one's class and performance of class, one's manners, and all of the ways in which one functions as a social being in the world.

¹⁷ See Payne 34-5 in "Reified Object or Emergent Professional? Rethorizing the Restoration Actress," in Canfield and Payne (1995), 13-38.

¹⁸ Will Pritchard, "Masks and Faces: Female Legibility on the Restoration Stage," Eighteenth-Century Life 24 (Fall 2000): 31-52.

Restoration authors to interpret them” (31). He intelligently asks how the body might have been read and what the tensions were between the real and fictional body of the actress. He visits playwrights only briefly in this essay; however, his focus on authors’ “vexed” attempts to portray women raises the question about how a contemporary playwright might have wrestled with the new presence of women’s bodies on stage. The results were sometimes extremely misogynistic, and other times, less so, and even, in some cases, liberating (at least in a fantasy sense) in that women were allowed to perform agency, subjectivity, and independence in a way that they were not permitted in life, at least not without social penalty.

When women actors performed roles written by men, what were the collisions and collusions between actress and role in helping to shape type? Gay Gibson Cima, in Performing Women (1993), raised her own question about the authorial power of women actors performing texts written by men.¹⁹ Cima’s position thus differs markedly from Case’s, as Case is critical of fictions written by men and projected on female bodies, while Cima envisions the actress as writing text through her body, thus mediating the words of a male playwright and, as the player bringing the words to life, authoring, or what I might also call, co-authoring the text. Cima’s conclusion—that women do have authorial power as interpreters of male text—is something I test and explore in my study of Boutell and Marshall. Cima focuses on the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Western European and American theatre; I apply her model to Marshall and Boutell’s work, as all of the texts performed by both of these women through 1677-78 were written, as far as

¹⁹ For full discussion see Gay Gibson Cima, Performing Women (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

we know, by men. My study of the authorship of women actors in the Restoration will thus be a first.

To summarize, feminist scholars looking at the body of the Restoration actress have focused primarily upon the meaning of the body as spectacle rather than the body from the locus point of the performer. Any attempts to assess the power of women actors to author their bodies will necessarily move into the realm of speculation, as we cannot reconstruct subjective experience. Yet the question of authorship of the body is important, for it returns focus to the actor as an agent in the creation of spectacle, rather than as a mere passive surface or symbol. In other words, to romanticize the actress as an empowered artist surely goes too far, but to relegate her to the passive position of the body gazed upon does her a disservice, namely, to reduce, and ironically, to objectify her.

Finally, I feel the need to acknowledge here the merits of some decidedly unfeminist work as measured by the tools we now have at hand, work that I have benefited from reading because of what it foregrounds about how bodies are recorded and read. John Harold Wilson's All The King's Ladies: Actresses of the Restoration (1958), and Montague Summers's The Restoration Theatre (1934) and The Playhouse of Pepys (1935), are examples of the kind of work that I find useful because of its strengths and despite its masculinist limits.²⁰ Wilson's book, for example, titillates with its focus on the actresses' flesh and blood appeal, but it is also filled with primary source data and contains one of the more colorful, if misogynistic discussions I have found about the

²⁰ See John Harold Wilson, All the King's Ladies: Actresses of the Restoration (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958); Montague Summers, The Restoration Theatre (London: Kegan Paul, 1934; reprint New York: Humanities Press, 1964); and Montague Summers, The Playhouse of Pepys (London: Kegan Paul, 1935; reprint New York: Humanities Press, 1964).

geographical and class origins of the early Restoration actresses (8-11). Montague Summers's seminal studies are similarly "untheorized," but they do not purport to be theorized, and they contain a wealth of anecdotes and primary source material that conveys a very lively and rich sense of the stage. Caution must be used, of course, in taking anecdote and speculative analysis as fact in these works. I want to resist making an apologia but feel compelled to do so, only so that I can be straightforward about my position vis-à-vis my subject. I assume the potentially controversial position of saying that I find these works invaluable and important resources for analyzing the meaning of the body of the actress. This is because of the amount of what I can scientifically name "raw data" found in the books. I realize that how a scholar presents his or her material is critical in the sense that he or she serves as lens, as one who mediates history, but combing the strengths of different studies brings me closer to what I am trying to reach: an understanding of the work of five Restoration actors and the shaping of masculinity and femininity on stage. At end, my focus in this dissertation is not about interpreting how the early Restoration body has been read post-seventeenth century beyond what is needed to explore my subject in its seventeenth-century context and to open up ways of seeing.

Thus, in this dissertation I neither seek to criticize scholars for failing to deal with the body as I do nor ignore the ways in which discourse about the Restoration has reflected biases. Likewise, if I challenge the readings of earlier feminist scholars, it is not to negate their merits, but to build upon foundations they have laid, with the goal of doing service to the scholarly dialogue they have helped to generate. I hope by doing so that I

keep focus on how we might look at the field of possible responses for how an actor's body both made and was given meaning.

B. The Restoration Actor

In Making Sex, Thomas Laqueur writes "The male body may always be the standard in the game of signification, but it is one whose status is undetermined by its unrepentant inconstancy" (22-3).²¹ The ever shifting meanings of what it is to be male across different times and places, even if that "male" is always the dominant by which women's roles are measured, makes, for me, the study of the meaning of the Restoration male body and the shaping of masculinity important. No study has been done to date of the meaning of the bodies of specific early Restoration male actors that is comparable to the work done on women's bodies, perhaps because men's identities are presumed to be more stable and secure than women's. Further, there has been no study that systematically evaluates the work of Charles Hart, Michael Mohun, and Edward Kynaston, all leading performers who specialized in different male "types." Several articles and collections of essays study masculinity on the Restoration stage, mainly via dramatic text where the focus is on the general definition of a libertine masculinity in the Restoration. A landmark essay that wrestles with the issue of Restoration masculinity is that by Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, in which she looks at libertinism as one structural

²¹ See Thomas Laqueur, Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990).

manifestation of male-male homosocial impulse.²² Sedgwick bases her analysis on her reading of a play text, Wycherley's The Country Wife. She suggests that the libertine pursuit of the female body by men is compulsory, and creates a situation in which the homoerotics of male-male relationships are safely displaced upon female bodies while simultaneously cementing the bonds between men.²³ This reading is provocative, but the overlay of twentieth-century psychoanalytical theories of displacement upon seventeenth-century comedies is not exhaustive, and further, drawing major conclusions about culture from play text while treating the theatre only briefly leaves questions about original meaning unanswered. However, Sedgwick's ideas concerning homosociability and male bonding are very useful to my analysis of male-male relationships in several of the plays I engage with.

Following Sedgwick, Andrew P. Williams's "Soft Women and Softer Men: The Libertine Maintenance of Masculine Identity" offers an analysis of libertinism as a need to prove and define maleness.²⁴ As with Sedgwick, connections are made between drama and culture, leaving actors and theatre, the original "medium" of transmission, at the margins. Similarly, Harold Weber in The Restoration Rake-Hero: Transformations in the Sexual Understanding in Seventeenth-Century Literature (1986) offers a provocative if

²² Sedgwick defines and develops her concept of "homosocial" in Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

²³ See Sedgwick's essay "The Country Wife: Anatomies of Male Homosocial Desire" in Between Men, 49-66.

²⁴ Andrew P. Williams, "Soft Women and Softer Men: The Libertine Maintenance of Masculine Identity," The Image of Manhood in Early Modern Literature, ed. Andrew P. Williams (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1999), 95-118.

over-generalized discussion of the Restoration rake-hero as “the first character in the history of English literature to derive his definition primarily from his eroticism” (3), but again, the focus is on literature. It should be noted that basing conclusions about culture and masculinity upon literature alone has merit but lacks completeness. As Robert D. Hume has discussed in The Rakish Stage (1983), only three Restoration characters (Dorimant, Horner, and Don Juan)²⁵ constitute hard-core rakes in the way Weber means the term, so we have to be wary of reading the “rake” as evidence of homosocial libertinism or of a changing kind of sexual being in the Restoration period. Although comedy was the most popular genre, it was not the only genre, so it is important to consider how male eroticism was staged in serious plays when analyzing the connections between drama and real life. Further, rakes like Horner, because they are comic roles, must be approached with caution by the scholar looking to discover in comic plays evidence of real-life role-play, while acknowledging that comic roles may parody some aspect of real life. Finally, and most importantly for the purposes of my study, live actors mediated these roles for the audience, and, if we are talking about theatre that is the birth “space” of these texts, then it seems these original actors’ bodies need to be included in any serious discussion of dramatic text, masculinity, and culture. For example, Bradley Rubridge’s analysis of what he terms the code of reciprocation in John Dryden’s The Conquest of Granada offers a compelling argument about how codes of behavior

²⁵ In Etherege’s The Man of Mode, Wycherley’s The Country Wife, and Shadwell’s The Libertine, respectively. For full discussion see Hume’s “The Myth of The Rake in ‘Restoration Comedy’” in Robert D. Hume, The Rakish Stage (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983), 138-75.

structured human-to-human exchange, but it is only part of the story.²⁶ An inherent aspect of these cultural codes of reciprocal exchange is the fixity of male and female gendered behavior, so it seems to me critical to consider which actors played the roles in this play so that we can unpack gender conformity and transgression in its fullest sense. Dryden, after all, wrote his play with specific King's Company actors in mind for the parts. Two manly roles were written for the leading male players in the company: Almanzor, the beautiful hero, for Charles Hart; and Abdelmelech, the stormy, brooding lover who weeps on stage, for Michael Mohun.

The questions all of these articles raise about the performance of masculinity are useful when it comes to reading how we might understand the male body on the stage and in culture. As a case in point, Jocelyn Powell in Restoration Theatre Production (1984) suggests that the audience seeing actor Michael Mohun in the role of the soldier Abdelmelech in The Conquest of Granada would have had their sympathies shaped by the fact that Mohun had been a real-life Royalist soldier.²⁷ Powell's analysis of Mohun's work is confined to this short statement, but this is exactly the kind of work that needs to be done to understand performance texts in their original context, since the problem with any analysis that bases its conclusions on a dramatic text alone is that those conclusions are disembodied.

Another tactic has been to look at performance via the lens of the (male) gaze, keeping focus, as with many of the studies of Restoration actresses, upon the

²⁶ See Bradley Rubridge, "The Code of Reciprocation in The Conquest of Granada," Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700 23, no. 1 (1999): 31-56.

²⁷ See Jocelyn Powell, Restoration Theatre Production (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), 118.

“spectacled” body as a kind of projection screen. For example, Kristina Straub in “Actors and Homophobia” uses the male gaze theory as the tool by which she reads the male actor’s body as feminized because it is a spectacle.²⁸ Although Straub’s discussion of anti-theatrical prejudice is valuable and her points about actors being seen by some as sexually suspect are worthwhile and can be supported by extant documents, she has a tendency to read extreme views (Prynne’s, for example) as typical of the larger culture, rather than as individual fanatical views. She argues that categories of gender and sexuality were becoming increasingly rigid by the eighteenth century, and her analysis rests primarily upon a comparison between Colley Cibber’s and David Garrick’s fop roles as well as upon the sodomy “charges” brought against Garrick and Samuel Foote.²⁹ For the purposes of my own work, I note that Straub’s time focus leaves out early Restoration actors like Edward Kynaston, save the assertion that Kynaston worked before “homophobia” contributed to the “abatement” of male actors playing women (266). This is a problematic and generalizing statement, and one that fails to take into account the myriad factors, cultural and legal, that contributed to the situation in which men no longer played women. Straub’s questions about actors, masculinity, and feminization should be posed for the early Restoration, when young actors like Kynaston made a transition from playing female to playing male roles on stage.

²⁸ Kristina Straub, “Actors and Homophobia,” Cultural Readings of Restoration and Eighteenth-Century English Theatre, ed. J. Douglas Canfield and Deborah C. Payne (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1995), 13-38.

²⁹ Straub uses the term “charges” for both Garrick and Foote (272), but some qualification is necessary. Foote was set up and formally charged with attempting to seduce his footman and brought to trial, while Garrick was accused of homosexuality in a libelous poem. In both cases, disgruntled parties initiated the “charges.” Straub, then, uses the term “charges” in a loose sense, seeing these “charges” as “media” events (272).

Coming from another angle, Thomas A. King does focus on Kynaston; however, he spends little time on his stage roles, which are treated in cursory fashion. Rather, King draws upon biographical anecdotes and most especially one piece of visual evidence to argue that Kynaston destabilized masculinity in a way that echoed patterns in the larger culture. The “intertextuality” of King’s argument is promising, but his conclusions depend heavily on an interpretation of an image of a young man who is in fact not Kynaston at all, as I have learned from archival research. Granted, the engraving King studies has long been presumed to be of Kynaston. The subject’s eyes (conventionally, I add) do not meet the viewers’; this, in King’s estimation, suggests the ambiguities of gender, embodied via the ambiguous, feminized, gaze.³⁰ There are problems with this reading both because King misreads the gaze and other primary sources, and because he is reading a body that is not Kynaston’s body in order to build an argument that Kynaston was sexually ambiguous as a performer and man. In my discussion of celebrityhood and perceptions of the actor, I invoke evidence in which Kynaston is described as sexually ambiguous, but I contextualize this with rigor, and I also present my new-found evidence about the engraving of the young man long presumed (at least since the nineteenth century) to be Kynaston.

In summary, my work on the live bodies of male actors in the early Restoration period is needed because it extends beyond the borders of dramatic texts and embraces additional evidence, including an iconographic representation of Michael Mohun, the only actor of the five I am studying for whom this kind of evidence survives. I also

³⁰ See Thomas A. King, “Displacing Masculinity: Edward Kynaston and the Politics of Effeminacy,” in The Image of Manhood in Early Modern Literature, ed. Andrew P. Williams (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1999), 119-40.

engage with contemporary gossip, lampoons, anecdotes, and legal documents in my discussion of actors' "type" and celebrity. I contextualizes all of these materials vis-à-vis the workaday space of the theatre.

C. Masculinity, Femininity, and the Queer

There are many works that have influenced me and have paved the way for my work on the Restoration actor's body as a site of possible meanings to a contemporary audience. I refer here to scholarship that offers methodological tools that I have imported in order to look at my specific period. These include feminist studies, masculinity studies, and queer studies.

One of the most influential books on gender and bodies is of course Judith Butler's Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity (1990). In her preface, Butler explains that "the texts [in this book] are arranged to facilitate a political convergence of feminism, gay and lesbian perspectives on gender, and poststructuralist theory."³¹ Butler's primary assertion in this study is that gender is performative, hence, constructed by a series of repeated discursive acts that are culturally sanctioned, encoded, and recognized as signifying the subject performing such gestures as "male" or "female." Butler's discussion of gender as performative is extremely useful to any analysis of how bodies make and are given meaning in a specific cultural context.³² In her later study, Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex (2003), Butler addresses the

³¹ Judith Butler, Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity (1990; rpt. with a new preface by the author, New York: Routledge, 1999), xxxii. The new edition also includes the original preface, dated 1990. I am quoting from the 1990 preface.

³² For a full discussion of gender and the performative see Butler, Gender Trouble, *passim*.

relationship between the body's materiality and the discursive practices within which the material body is shaped and interpreted. She hopes, as she puts it, "to make clear how a gendered matrix is at work in the constitution of materiality [...] and why feminists ought to be interested, not in taking materiality as an irreducible, but in conducting a critical genealogy of its formulation."³³ Butler's discussion of the "queer" body in this work is one I engage with, for she imagines the queer body as the material body that fails to "pass" within normative discursive practices, hence, exposing the gaps between the acceptable and the resistant (176). Butler's discussion of the queer body is, I think, a productive one, and it has been influential to me in my study of these five Restoration actors. This is true both for my analysis of characters within given play texts and in my discussions of the shaping of "type" and perceptions of the actor as a "queer" body. Butler's analysis, while written as a feminist intervention, is useful for discoursing about the meaning of both male and female bodies and the ways that cultural definitions of masculinity and femininity are written on given bodies.

The body that resists conventional body, gender, or sexual performance may be perceived, as Butler notes, as queer. My definition of the queer considers the acceptable and resistant, and I am also very much influenced by Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's more expansive definition of the queer in *Tendencies*, namely, that queer is

the open mesh of possibilities, gaps, overlaps, dissonances and resonances, lapses and excesses of meaning when the constituent elements of anyone's gender, of anyone's sexuality aren't made (or can't be made) to signify monolithically.³⁴

³³ Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex*, 32.

³⁴ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Tendencies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 8.

The queer body challenges conventional notions of masculinity and femininity. In my analysis of the queer, I think about both the body of the actor onstage playing a role and of him or her as celebrity body. To my mind, when looking at Restoration texts, a body can be queer if it is excessively lustful and ambitious (in women) or too soft and pining (in a man); or, if it is old, ill, or aesthetically unacceptable by conventional standards. I refer both to the on stage and off stage body of the player.

I also find that my definition of the queer overlaps with one put forth by E. Patrick Johnson in his essay, “‘Quare’ Studies, or (Almost) Everything I Know About Queer Studies I Learned from My Grandmother” (2001). Johnson, an African-American scholar whose focus in this essay is upon queerness and the exclusionary whiteness of queer studies, writes that

my grandmother uses “quare” to denote something or someone who is odd, irregular, or slightly off kilter—definitions in keeping with traditional understandings and uses of “queer.” On the other hand, she also deploys “quare” to connote something excessive—something that might philosophically translate into an excess of discursive and epistemological meanings grounded in African-American cultural rituals and lived experiences.³⁵

³⁵ E. Patrick Johnson, “‘Quare’ Studies, or (Almost) Everything I Know About Queer Studies I Learned from My Grandmother,” *Text and Performance Quarterly* 21.1 (2001): 1-25, on 2. Johnston is specifically speaking to African-American queer identities in the United States, sexuality, queer studies, queerness and the vexed relationship to the word “queer,” both in theory and practice. Johnston is (legitimately) interested in how queer studies in the academy have been guilty of erasing, effacing, and excluding African-American perspectives and experience. Therefore, I wish to state that in my position as a white reader, I agree with his arguments, and I do not wish to obfuscate his argument by deploying it and decontextualizing it to talk about white Restoration actors and bodies. In fact, I see this exchange between him and me as fertile and productive. Johnson’s definition of queer is astute and highly perceptive, and it describes well how I imagine

As a white, queer, middle class woman, it might seem that I am colonizing Johnson by importing his analysis, but my gesture is a respectful one. I admit that I am using his definition of the queer to read the bodies of white players on the seventeenth-century stage, and I understand the inherent tensions in this, because I am aware that Johnson means to foreground the vexed relationship between queer studies and non-whites. However, I find that I am inspired by his definition, as it is one of the most eloquent definitions of the queer that I have read, and one that I think so beautifully explains the queer bodies I am looking at—other, excessive, and somehow not right.

Finally, I embrace in this study the close connection between queerness and materiality that David Savran so clearly articulates in his collection of essays entitled A Queer Sort of Materialism: Recontextualizing American Theatre (2003). Savran reminds us that (even) Marx was “obsessed with the texture and materiality of everyday life; with the richness of the sensuous world; and with real, active human subjects, producing and reproducing willy-nilly.”³⁶ When we speak of queer bodies, we are not talking about abstract, discursive constructs divorced from the connection to tangible and often messy flesh and blood, feeling, and desiring bodies. What could be a better way to think about the player who embodies on stage intense feelings and desires? As Savran puts it, focus can rest (as it does in his collection of essays) on both “the materiality of desiring bodies and the materiality of culture” (vii). I see the definition of queer that I employ in this project as an unapologetic interplay among the definitions put forth by Butler, Sedgwick, Johnson, and Savran. The queer body on the Restoration stage—the living body of the

and define the queer. I wish to thank Professor Lisa Merrill for recommending this essay to me.

³⁶ David Savran, A Queer Sort of Materialism: Recontextualizing American Theatre (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), vii.

actor embodying both tidy and messy human experiences—may be odd, excessive, and/or fail to configure to cultural, gender, or sexual norms. Yet, the queer body is often an exciting, powerful, engaging body, and one that can transgress cultural limits, and therefore reveal both cultural anxieties and fantasies in a given historical period, and sometimes, across periods. I find it critical to consider the materiality of the body of the once living actors when I set about to read queerness in play texts.

The queer body fails in its performance of gender and sexuality. In Making Sex (1990), Thomas Laqueur stresses a kind of Butlerian performative in his discussion of seventeenth-century biological sex. Laqueur notes that through the end of the seventeenth century the one-sex model of bodies dominated medical understandings of what made one “male” and “female.” In simple form, within the framework of the Gallenic one-sex model of the body, based on the relationship among bodily fluids (the humors), women were biologically inverted men, who, lacking male heat, were physiologically female. Yet, the stability of the sexed body could be disrupted by behaviors that ran counter to “normal” gender expectations, as there were not two sexes, but one that manifested as (more) male or (more) female. During the latter half of the seventeenth century this idea was being challenged in the medical community, and Christianity, which provided a bedrock of internalized beliefs in seventeenth-century European culture, certainly held to the view that men and women were distinct beings, but the anatomical possibility of this spectrum of gender could surely have infused ways of seeing the body, making any “binary” between men and women potentially less stable than we might conceive it now. I am not suggesting that a seventeenth-century Londoner would have imagined that a man or women with whom they engaged might morph into a

different biological sex—surely life experience showed them that bodies did not go around changing in this way—but that the modern conception of the binary separation between male and female in a biological sense was not yet as clear cut. This was particularly true for adolescent bodies, which will become clear when I discuss Edward Kynaston’s lines of business. Kynaston specialized first in female and then in youthful male roles. Young men were perceived as softer than grown men, and their bodies as still forming. If bodies could be more fluid, then, as Laqueur suggests, the performance of male and female gender conceivably played a crucial role in stabilizing sex and sexuality in youths and in adults. Actors’ bodies, engaged in the exercise of playing on stage, were in theory and practice fluid, both stabilizing and destabilizing of sex, sexuality, and gender.

In The Feminist Spectator as Critic (1988), Jill Dolan raised the question of how women might challenge being “contained” by patriarchal theatre and performance structures, which she identifies as traditional, narrative drama (specifically, realism). Her materialist feminist project, generated in the 1980s, focuses as she puts it on the “construction of ideology and social formations influenced by gender, race, class, and categories of sexual preference.”³⁷ In other words, Dolan situates the body within its material conditions, sets about to deconstruct hegemonic power matrices that often pass as natural or as normalizing and in which women’s bodies are contained, and asks how women might challenge traditional representational practices and thereby the (male) gaze that denies subjectivity and agency to women. According to Dolan, the most resistant body is the lesbian body because it cannot be rendered unproblematically subject to the

³⁷ Jill Dolan, The Feminist Spectator as Critic (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988), 16.

erotic male gaze (67-81). One may ask how Dolan's discussion of the deconstruction of twentieth-century realism and the resistant lesbian body might be useful to an analysis of Restoration actors. The answer is, with caution and care, I can use Dolan's ideas to look at the resistant bodies of actresses who on stage perform either sexually "normal" or sexually "abnormal" bodies, and consider how sexuality is, for women, what determines whether the character is heroine or suspect. For example, Olivia's desire for Fidelity in Wycherley's The Plain Dealer is fierce, aggressive, sexual, and definitely queer. She prefers the more feminine body of the cross-dressed page to that of the hero, Manly. Gender confusion creates slippage, allowing for the possibility that Olivia sexually desires a woman, since she lusts after a feminine, cross-dressed page. Since two actresses were embodying the roles of aggressive lover (Olivia) and the young woman-dressed-as-page (Fidelity), there is a female-to-female erotic longing that is played with on stage, made possible because of comic confusion. Within the comic world, Olivia is made the fool because she has longed for the wrong body—the more feminine body, rather than the hero's body. Olivia and Fidelity were embodied by Marshall and Boutell, and I thus consider how the aggressive, heated female—the kind of role in which Marshall excelled—is a queerer body than that of the ingénue in both a gendered and sexual sense.

In addition to feminist theorists who have placed their focus on the twentieth century (Dolan) or trans-historically but selectively (Case), historians who have looked to write a feminist history of the English Renaissance provide context for the study of Restoration actresses. The English Renaissance, in particular Shakespeare, has received considerable attention in the field of gender studies because of the all-male professional acting troupes and the presence of boy players onstage. This means that studies of

women in Shakespeare's plays look to the absence of real women's bodies onstage and the fact that men played women. The study I find most useful and balanced is Lisa Jardine's Still Harping on Daughters (1989).³⁸ Jardine analyzes the women in Shakespeare's plays by focusing on some of the real-life economic, legal, and family circumstances that women faced. This is the strategy I take.

Turning to studies of the male body and masculinity, I acknowledge the work of David Savran, who, in Taking It Like A Man: White Masculinity, Masochism, and Contemporary American Culture (1998), considers how the male in modern America is subject to cultural expectations that a man must suffer physically and psychologically in order to prove he is a man.³⁹ Men, according to Savran, have internalized a sense of self-punishment that proves they are real men, and this internalized sense often manifests in outward acts of violence. Savran's work is important to me for two reasons: one, because of the connections he makes between manhood and "taking it," which will prove useful in my analysis of Restoration play texts, and two, because Savran sees this self-discipline and self-punishment as born in seventeenth-century England with John Locke, whose notion of internalized discipline and punishment was fundamental to the subjective experience of "taking it like a man." Savran's conclusion that the modern English-American notion of masculinity was born with Locke is highly useful.

³⁸ See Lisa Jardine, Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989).

³⁹ For full discussion see David Savran, Taking It Like A Man: White Masculinity, Masochism, and Contemporary American Culture (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 3-38.

Bruce R. Smith, in Shakespeare and Masculinity (2000), considers the interplay between understandings of body as a biological organism, contemporary perceptions of gender, ways in which masculinity is written into texts, and how masculinity is what Smith names “coalescence,” neither a construct nor an essential, but a coalescence of factors.⁴⁰ Smith’s focus is on Renaissance texts—specifically, Shakespeare’s—but I am inspired by his interest in reading both text and biological bodies. His term “coalescence” describes so very well the construction of maleness or femaleness. He is absolutely right; the perception that a man is manly (and, I add, that a woman is womanly) depends upon multiple factors—one’s physical body, health, age, behavior, and how much one conforms to or deviates from behaviors that are established as normative, and are of course gendered. Multiple factors contribute to the construction of gender, and, I assert, an actor’s onstage “type.”

In Man’s Estate: Masculine Identity in Shakespeare (1981), Coppélia Kahn seeks to tie what she sees as a self-conscious anxiety about masculinity in Shakespeare’s plays to men’s real-life relationship to women in a patriarchal culture where men exerted control over women’s sexuality yet were, beginning with their mothers, always emotionally vulnerable to women.⁴¹ Kahn relies primarily upon Freudian theory, which is of course anachronistic to the seventeenth century. However, the characters on the seventeenth-century stage had a psychology, or interiority, and further, they were vulnerable to women. Like Kahn, I read from a post-Freudian perspective, but this can

⁴⁰ For a full discussion of “coalescences” see Bruce R. Smith, Shakespeare and Masculinity (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 131-61.

⁴¹ See Coppélia Kahn, Man’s Estate: Masculine Identity in Shakespeare (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 1-20.

be a strength, for we can consider the psychology of characters of the past critically and with a respect for the distance between us and them. For example, Almanzor, the super-warrior in Dryden's 1670 play, The Conquest of Granada, does not possess the same psychology as Tom Cruise's super-soldier in the 1986 American film Top Gun, because the characters, although both constructed as masculine ideals, are born of different eras, and informed by different understandings of how the mind and body function. Almanzor was constructed long before our contemporary vocabulary for the analysis of a character's interior life existed, but he does have a psychology, an interiority, that we can analyze.⁴² As Kahn points out, there is anxiety when it comes to gender, a fear of a failed performance on the part of the all too vulnerable male, and this anxiety manifests in the play texts (or film scripts) constructed in a given period. Further, twentieth-century understandings of psychology very much infuse the way we read mind and personality, so Kahn's work becomes a boundary against which I test my own hypotheses.

In my discussion of the male hero—the kinds of heroes embodied by Charles Hart—I tease out some of the erotic power in the relationships between male warriors. I engage with the perceptive work, How to Do the History of Homosexuality, in which David M. Halperin astutely considers the challenges in reading male-male desire in an era that predates naming oneself as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or straight. In my discussion of the erotic power of male-male love between warriors in the plays of Nathaniel Lee and John Dryden, I borrow from Halperin the idea that “hierarchy itself is *hot*” and that tension

⁴² The analogy between The Conquest of Granada and Top Gun was brought to my attention by James Thompson in his article “Dryden's Conquest of Granada and the Dutch Wars.” Eighteenth Century 31.3 (1990): 211-226, on 214. Thompson asserts that Granada and Top Gun function “ideologically as a glorification of war.” He does not address character types, but I find the comparison between the hero lover-soldier in Granada and Top Gun useful.

between hero and young protégé can be erotically charged.⁴³ Two further studies tease out the homoerotic tension between warriors in several of the plays I analyze. In Men in Love: Masculinity and Sexuality in the Eighteenth Century, George Haggerty dedicates a chapter to the discussion of select Restoration texts, including Dryden's All For Love and Lee's The Rival Queens, and makes the important observation that relationships between warriors are erotically charged in both of these plays.⁴⁴ I draw a similar conclusion. However, Haggerty only briefly touches upon actors, while I focus both on text and on the actors embodying roles. In Figuring Sex Between Men from Shakespeare to Rochester, Paul Hammond briefly notes in his discussion of homosexuality and Lord Rochester's poems that Charles Hart and a younger male colleague were several times paired on stage in a relationships fraught with erotic tension.⁴⁵ I spend time focusing on these pairings, and I consider both casting and erotic tension embodied in my discussion of Charles Hart's "lines."

D. Men and Women in Seventeenth-Century Cultural Context

In addition to works I have cited above that focus on femininity and masculinity on the Restoration stage and those that focus on femininity and masculinity in

⁴³ David M. Halperin, How To Do The History of Homosexuality (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 118.

⁴⁴ George E. Haggerty, Men in Love: Masculinity and Sexuality in the Eighteenth Century (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 24-43. Haggerty discusses All for Love and The Rival Queens, and he also briefly visits John Wilmot, Lord Rochester's Luciana's Rape and, more extensively, George Lillo's The London Merchant.

⁴⁵ Paul Hammond, Figuring Sex Between Men from Shakespeare to Rochester (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2002), 253, note 80.

performance and theatre outside of the Restoration period, I employ works that focus on gender role expectations for men and women in seventeenth-century England. This body of scholarship helps me contextualize my analysis of the onstage body beyond the borders of the stage. Elizabeth A. Foyster's Manhood in Early Modern England: Honor, Sex, and Marriage (1999) does an excellent job of looking at how seventeenth-century male honor was contingent upon a man's control over wife and family, particularly concerning his wife's sexual fidelity.⁴⁶ Foyster relies primarily upon church court records of cross-class domestic lawsuits, and also upon contemporary plays and ballads. This tactic allows her to consider possible and even probable cultural constructions of male and, by extension, female honor. Foyster also looks at the issue of male violence as part of the performance of honor, and this context is important to the analysis of male violence in contemporary plays. I extend the frame to include how male sexual honor and violence might come into play in the shaping of a leading male actor's type. I also look to cultural conditions when I consider the shaping of female actor's type. I use material from Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford's excellent analysis of the lives of women in the long seventeenth century in their project, Women in Early Modern England (1998).⁴⁷ The authors draw from a wide range of sources generated by early modern women of diverse class and do an excellent job of looking at seventeenth-century understandings of women's bodies as the sum of economic, religious, medical, familial, sexual, and popular cultural forces. Anthony Fletcher in Gender, Sex, and Subordination

⁴⁶ See Elizabeth Foyster, Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex, and Marriage (London: Longman, 1999).

⁴⁷ See Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, Women in Early Modern England (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

in England, 1500-1800 (1995), provides a commendable overview of the constructions of masculinity and femininity in cultural context, although women perhaps receive shorter shrift, if only because Fletcher fails to interrogate some of his evidence for bias.⁴⁸

However, his work is a good reference source, because it provides the reader with examples of primary evidence concerning the perception of gender. Coming from a different direction, namely, the highly selective view versus the broader view of Fletcher as well as Mendelson and Crawford, Miriam Slater in Family Life in Seventeenth Century England (1984) provides an excellent window into gender expectations, both domestic and public.⁴⁹ Using thousands of letters written by a gentry family, the Verneys, Slater analyzes role expectations in meticulous and scholarly fashion. She does not attempt to enter the subjective minds of her subjects beyond what has been written in their own words, but analyzes how structures of behavior were determined by one's role within the family. Slater's focus is on the Interregnum, although she stresses that probably little change happened to family structure during the subsequent Restoration, save that the growth in London's population possibly allowed for a greater range of marriage possibilities for those residing in the city. In a culture organized around patriarchal families with rules of inheritance based on primogeniture and arranged marriage, I am curious about how the fantasy of stage love contrasted with the real, where romantic love was not the prime motive for marriage and relationships. Further, in a society which required deference to normative family structures, how did the bodies of

⁴⁸ See Anthony Fletcher, Gender, Sex, and Subordination in England, 1500-1800 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

⁴⁹ See Miriam Slater, Family Life in Seventeenth-Century England (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984).

the Restoration players, both male and female, who resisted such normative relationships measure against this norm?

When looking at gender in seventeenth-century context, I also rely on the work of Francis Barker who, in The Tremulous Private Body (1984), looks at what he suggests to be the new privileging of the private, self-disciplining body. Barker, like Savran, invokes Locke and internalized self-discipline, marking this shift toward privatization of the body in the heart of the seventeenth century. He also invokes Pepys's diary, specifically, an entry of 1668 that reveals what Barker reads as an internalized, "privatized" and self-policing anxiety over sex and sexual arousal.⁵⁰ Barker's discourses on the private body and power are indebted to Michel Foucault, whom I find myself speaking both for and against. In his influential work The History of Sexuality (1978), Foucault identifies the eighteenth century as the beginning of the formal categorization of the sexually pathological body.⁵¹ This, then, locates the seventeenth century as the much more free-spirited period when sexual acts had not yet been labeled or categorized as identities, as they would be by the nineteenth century. This by now well-trod argument has influenced many scholars whose work forms part of the body of my own knowledge. In trying to bridge the gaps between Foucault's revisionism and Slater's archeological approach, a question emerges for me that is useful: In what ways do normative and marginal bodies occupy codified space? Evoking Barker, what might be the fascination and fear of the actor's private body as conjectured from his or her very public body?

⁵⁰ For full discussion, see Francis Barker, The Tremulous Private Body (London: Methuen, 1984), 3-14.

⁵¹ See Michel Foucault, History of Sexuality: An Introduction, Vol. 1, Robert Hurley, trans. (New York: Random House, 1978; reprint, New York: Vintage Books, 1990).

E. The Body: Seventeenth-Century Medicine and Biology

In this project, I look not only to social roles but to how the body was understood in medical and biological terms in order to place the dramatic roles my actors played in context. I think about how healthy and deviant bodies might be understood in their day, based on assumptions of what makes a person healthy or diseased. This includes external appearance, internal constitution, disposition, sexual appetite, morals, and youth and age. Key works I invoke are the medical and cultural historian Roy Porter's Bodies Politic: Disease, Death, and Doctors in Britain, 1650-1900 (2001), wherein Porter offers visual examples of how a woman's body might be constructed as housing decay and death beneath a deceptive surface, a point I trace out in several lampoons that attack the bodies of actresses past thirty years of age.⁵² At times, the real body of the actor might in some way complicate their on stage "type," as when an aging Michael Mohun was struggling with gout in the mid-1670s and was still embodying sprightly young rakes, a matter that was addressed in an epilogue from the period that functions essentially as an apologia for Mohun's physical difficulty, but which also praises him as an English celebrity. In their work, Gout: The Patrician Malady (1998), Roy Porter and G.S. Rousseau eloquently argue that gout was a disease associated with the greatness and glamorousness of the exalted, physical, and action-driven body, and was popularly conceived as a "male" disease.⁵³ This study helps to contextualize my analysis of Mohun's "lines." Action and agency are critical to male identity. For example, in her article "Embryonic Individuals:

⁵² See Roy Porter, Bodies Politic: Disease, Death, and Doctors in Britain, 1650-1900 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).

⁵³ Roy Porter and G.S. Rousseau. Gout: The Patrician Malady (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 5.

The Rhetoric of Seventeenth-Century Embryology and the Construction of Early-Modern Identity” (2000), Eve Keller emphasizes seventeenth-century concerns about the formation of the body, gender, and identity in the fetal stage, which privileges male subjectivity and reveals anxieties over agency.⁵⁴ I am cautious not to make unwarranted leaps between culture and theatre, but to think about fields of possibilities for how the body might have been read in the seventeenth-century culture in which the London theatres operated, and when and how this is important to the reading of an actor’s body in performance.

F. Reading Players’ Material Bodies

I do of course bring myself in some degree to any past that I study, and there are virtues to this, the most notable being the desire to better understand with all tools at hand the history of actors past. I also use twentieth-century theater and performance theory that addresses the body of the actor to open up questions about the five actors I study. I thus draw upon twentieth-century phenomenological approaches to the study of actors and acting, especially Bert O. States’s Great Reckonings in Little Rooms: On the Phenomenology of Theatre (1985), primarily because it grounds performance and reception in the perceptual experiences of the body.⁵⁵ This has the advantage of bringing focus to the materiality, vulnerability, and flux of the live body in performance, and the disadvantage of a heavy reliance on subjective, perceptual experience, difficult to read in

⁵⁴ In Eighteenth Century Studies 33 no. 3 (2000): 321-48.

⁵⁵ See Bert O. States, Great Reckonings in Little Rooms: On the Phenomenology of Theatre (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

past subjects. But the point here is not so much to pretend to know what people experienced in the Restoration theatre as to look at ways in which the human experience of perception shapes and influences the “texts” of plays, performance, and even a given actor’s body of roles in given theatrical space.

I also turn to semiotics when I address certain material problems, such as what a body in performance might have “meant” within a given set of signs. Again, reading signs past is an interpretive act, so I stress my interest in a field of likely and well-justified possibilities rather than absolutes that cannot be proven. A key author I draw upon is Marvin Carlson, who has thoughtfully applied semiotic theory to his studies of performance and audience reception in such works as Theatre Semiotics: Signs of Life (1990) and the more recent The Haunted Stage (2001).⁵⁶ As Carlson points out, actor’s bodies signify meanings to a given audience via character names, gesture, costume, and the actor’s previous roles. This concept of ghosting, in which the actor’s present performance is “ghosted” by his or her past roles, is critical to my analysis of actor’s type and ensemble on the Restoration stage.

In my discussion of actor and celebrity, I draw upon Michael A. Quinn’s very useful discussion of the semiotics of the celebrity body. As Quinn explains, the body of the celebrity actor is a composite of the actor’s real body, the perceived celebrity body,

⁵⁶ See Marvin Carlson, Theatre Semiotics: Signs of Life (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990) and see Marvin Carlson, The Haunted Stage (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001).

and the role the actor is playing.⁵⁷ “Type” is thus a construction that depends upon the interplay between real and fiction and between player and perceiver.

In my study, I seek to reconstruct as well as possible ways in which Hart, Mohun, Kynaston, Marshall, and Boutell might have looked, sounded, and moved onstage. Unfortunately, we are in the dark about personal idiosyncrasies, except for reminiscences (Cibber and Downes) and the first-hand diary entries of Samuel Pepys, which are often cryptic and unapologetically subjective. Thus, in the absence of a fantasy, dream document that would illustrate how these particular actors worked, I am left with more general information and must build a case using collective evidence. For this, in addition to deductions from play texts, I find inspiration in two secondary studies that together frame the seventeenth century, namely, B.L. Joseph’s Elizabethan Acting (1964) and Dene Barnett’s The Art of Gesture (1987).⁵⁸ Both do an excellent job of reconstructing acting performances from extant evidence, specifically, manuals of rhetoric, medical treatises, and painters’ manuals. Joseph analyzes written and visual texts to draw conclusions about what the Elizabethan actor might have been expected to perform visually and vocally. Barnett is interested in the physical life, and has put his analysis of written and visual text into practice via his own body and via working with student actors. Joseph draws upon John Bulwer’s Chironomia and Chirologia and Barnett upon Le Brun and others to conjecture how an actor might have used face and body to convey emotions onstage based on codified systems that guided the portrayal of emotions in

⁵⁷ Michael L. Quinn, “Celebrity and the Semiotics of Acting,” New Theatre Quarterly 6: 22 (1990): 154-61.

⁵⁸ See B.L. Joseph, Elizabethan Acting, 2nd. ed (London: Oxford University Press, 1964 [1952]) and Dene Barnett, The Art of Gesture: The Practices and Principles of 18th Century Acting (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1987).

oratory and in art. The moral makeup of a character the actor embodied, for example, was communicated at least in some measure by the actor's use of facial muscles. A serene expression might signify balance of temper, or "goodness," and a distorted one signify some imbalance of a kind, or "evil." Similarly, violent motion, such as striking one's fist to one's palm, signified rage, and possibly moral distortion. We can thus deduce how the actors might have used face and body to convey "good" or "evil" characters. I also acknowledge Joseph Roach's work on seventeenth-century acting in The Player's Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting (1985), in which he hypothesizes a connection between passions and bodily fluids and the need for codified gesture to contain these vital forces, lest the actor might, like Proteus, be transported in some unhealthy way by the power of his or her emotions.⁵⁹ When I look at the playing of masculinity and femininity onstage, I can consider how the player's passions contribute.

As part of my study of the body in my analysis of the work of five Restoration actors, I will consider the voice of the actor, because an actors' voice is critical to playing and to "type." In this endeavor, I find inspiration in several works. The first is Bruce R. Smith's The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor (1999), in which Smith considers the relationship between voice and gender. Discussing acoustics, architecture, and actors' performances of text, Smith imagines a "male matrix" of sound, in which the voice of adult males is dominant and that of boy players more localized.⁶⁰ I borrow Smith's discussion of the male matrix on the Renaissance stage and

⁵⁹ See Joseph Roach, The Player's Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting (1985; reprint Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 23-57.

⁶⁰ For full discussion see Bruce R. Smith, The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

use it to consider how the voices of female players would be heard within a male matrix of sound, in which the deeper male voice is dominant. I also consider the interplay between same sex and opposite sex pairs in my discussions of Hart's, Mohun's Kynaston's, Marshall's, and Boutell's lines of business.

Like Smith, R. Murray Shafer in "Acoustic Space" considers how acoustics create a sense of space and community, which I apply to the space of the theatre and the community of actor and audience.⁶¹ Further, in his earlier European Sound Diary, Shafer imagined what images, including the Mona Lisa, would sound like if they could speak.⁶² I find this exploration provocative and useful, as I am imaging the sounds of actors' voices, based on written texts. With this task in mind, I borrow an intelligent and perceptive analysis of voice and gender from Catherine Clément.⁶³ Clément's focus is on nineteenth-century opera, gender, and character "types," but there is a clear parallel between the roles she describes and those in the serious, and in some cases, even the comic seventeenth-century plays that I am using for this study. I also find myself inspired by and engage with an important study in the field of acoustics and gender, namely, the anthology Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology (1994).⁶⁴ The

⁶¹ See R. Murray Shafer, "Acoustic Space," Dwelling, Place, and Environment: Towards a Phenomenology of Person and World, ed. David Seamon and Robert Mugerauer (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1985), 87-98.

⁶² European Sound Diary, ed. R. Murray Shafer (Vancouver, B.C.: A.R.C. Publications, 1977), 86.

⁶³ Catherine Clément, "Through Voices, History." Siren Songs: Representations of Gender and Sexuality in Opera, ed. Mary Ann Stuart (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 17-28.

⁶⁴ Philip Brett, Elizabeth Woods, and Gary C. Thomas, eds., Queering the Pitch: The New Lesbian and Gay Musicology (New York, Routledge, 1994).

essays in this anthology build important connections among gender, voice, and sexuality which I find useful and relevant to my analysis of play texts. I will look at play texts not only as cues to visual life on stage, but to acoustical life and the shaping of an actor's "type."

The interrelationships between the live, material body of the player, the text he or she performs, the company, the audience, and the playwright is critical to understand Restoration theatre practice. In The Ornament of Action (1979), Peter Holland analyzes the relationship between casting and audience expectations and discusses the original production of Wycherley's The Plain Dealer.⁶⁵ Holland considers the connections among actors, "lines," and new dramatic forms (81), which is certainly critical work, although I believe he somewhat oversimplifies the case and credits the actor with too much agency here. I am indebted to the work of Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, who, in Producible Interpretation (1985), stress both how the Restoration plays are plays for performance and how the Restoration plays do not in themselves have one interpretation, or meaning, but possible interpretations.⁶⁶ Key in their analysis is the importance of casting in reading meaning on the stage, both of individual characters and, by extension, the play as a whole. For example, Milhous and Hume are skeptical about a reading made by an early scholar that the passive and gentle Cleopatra in John Dryden's All For Love was written with actress Rebecca Marshall in mind. Rather, the part as written seems likely to have been intended for Elizabeth Boutell, who excelled in ingénue parts, and

⁶⁵ For full discussion see Peter Holland, The Ornament of Action (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 170-203.

⁶⁶ See Milhous and Hume, Producible Interpretation (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1985).

who in fact played the role (133). I concur. Marshall, who excelled in more tempestuous parts, would have made a darker Cleopatra than the one Dryden wrote. Derek Hughes echoes this when he states in English Drama, 1660-1700 (1996) that Rebecca Marshall would have made a “fearsomely voracious” Lady Fidget in Wycherley’s The Country Wife (150), as does Rose Zimbardo when she asserts that Olivia in Wycherley’s The Plain Dealer, a character Marshall did play, is like a “bitch in heat” (17).⁶⁷ This fearsomely voracious, bitch-in-heat type, at which Marshall excelled on stage is a pathological quality in female characters, comic and tragic both, hence critical to my discussion of the actor’s type and the performance of masculinity and femininity on the Restoration stage. As a further example, to borrow again from Hughes, Charles Hart, who was a leading man in the King’s Company and who almost always played the lead romantic hero when there was a hero to be found, wanted “To be loved or pitied but not hated.”⁶⁸ I will consider how this “love” and “pity” are contingent upon Hart’s performing male in a way the audience would expect.

As Emmet Avery pointed out in his important article, “The Restoration Audience” (1966), the audience in the Restoration playhouse was a mixed class audience. Of course, audiences became increasingly middle class in the later seventeenth century and even more so in the eighteenth century.⁶⁹ In the period under consideration, 1660 to 1678, the

⁶⁷ See Derek Hughes, English Drama, 1660-1700 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); and Rose Zimbardo, Wycherley’s Drama (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 17.

⁶⁸ From the panel discussion that followed the presentation of Hughes’s paper “Restoration and Revolution: Aphra Behn’s Abdelazar” (Eighteenth Century Revolutions: an Interdisciplinary Conference, CUNY Graduate Center, New York City, April 1999).

⁶⁹ Emmett Avery, “The Restoration Audience,” Philological Quarterly 45 (1966): 54-61.

theatre was closely tied to the court both in terms of patronage and personnel. Part of the aura of celebrity was the close connection between theatre space and court circles, although middle and lower class audience members were also in the theatre. The audience was thus a mix of the elite, the bourgeois, and to some extent the lower echelons. As a player, Charles Hart was constructed as both a Royalist and as a bourgeois celebrity, and this interplay is evident when one studies the extant records of Hart's celebrityhood as it has been recorded in lampoons, eulogies, and gossip.

The performance of masculinities and femininities on the early Restoration stage warrants study because there is such radical change in the theatre. With women on stage alongside men, how are male and female subjectivities embodied, and how do these embodiments differ from embodiments on the all-male, pre-Restoration stage? There is the birth of a new, modern male subject on the Restoration stage, and the introduction of women embodying women. Moving from the world of fiction to real-life, we can see how the Restoration actors were constructed as modern celebrities, the gendered expectations concerning these actors as "real" people, and how their bodies were ghosted by the roles they played on stage. There is a dynamic interrelationship between actor, role, and gender expectations on stage and in culture that affects the constructions of these actors in the imaginations of spectators. This is the interrelationship I examine in this project, using the bodies of five leading Restoration actors as the focal point for my analysis.

Chapter 2

The King's Company: Ensemble Composition and Actors' Types

This chapter offers an overview look at the King's Company ensemble between 1660 and 1678, the purpose of which is to provide context for the work of the five actors upon whom I focus in this dissertation. From the limited information we have available, what can we deduce about the daily operating patterns of the King's Company and their implications for both men and women?

To approach some kind of answer, I have organized my discussion in this chapter chronologically, thus offering a linear walk-through of the history of the ensemble composition of the company. I begin by looking at the nascent years, before women joined, and at the "birth" of the King's Company in November 1660.¹ I consider some of the factors behind women's introduction to the stage in 1660-61 and ways in which the introduction of women might have impacted the male actors and changed traditions in both casting and actor training. I then focus on what it meant to build an ensemble that included women players, that is, a group of actors who worked together to meet the intense demands put upon them in the repertory system, where a run of three days for a play was considered long. These actors, by necessity, specialized in lines of business in both comic and tragic plays, and, as logic dictates, the strongest male and female performers were cast in the most demanding roles in both comedy and tragedy. Actors needed to master roles in old (revived) plays, and these were the roles that initially shaped their lines of business. Women took on parts that had belonged to men or boys in

¹ A note about calendar dates and document dates cited in this dissertation: I use the modern style, meaning, the new year begins January 1, not March 25, as would have been the case for much legal documentation in the Restoration. Thus, January 1661 is 1661 by modern standards. The LS follows this same convention.

revived plays, which, as records tell us, formed the bulk of the King's Company repertory in its early years, 1660 to 1665. The number of new plays averaged only from three to nine per season through 1665, with eleven being the largest number of new plays recorded for the King's Company through 1677-78. When Restoration playwrights wrote plays—which, if they were fortunate, were accepted and made their way into the repertory—they needed to write parts that could be performed well by the leading actors in the company, and they were surely influenced by these actors' performances in popular stock plays.

In my discussion of building an ensemble, I devote some attention to actor training, sparse as the evidence is, to think about some of the similarities and differences between training for male actors and the earliest women performers. I consider what the training might have been like for both men and women in the early years, particularly before Killigrew and Davenant opened their Nursery, a training school for young actors, in 1667. The first generation of women actors worked alongside experienced male actors, and these men were responsible for training the women. Women like Rebecca (Beck) Marshall and Elizabeth Boutell would have had no formal training school to attend, but would have been apprenticed, as had been the case with boy actors prior to the Restoration. In my discussion of training, I also consider the background of actresses and basic requirements for them as first generation pioneers. This small cohort had to find a way to hold their own onstage quickly, so both potential and training counted.

I then turn my attention to three time periods: the early years, 1662-65, when women and men developed specializations that were now gender-specific; the middle years, 1666-71, when the King's Company began to hit its stride and achieved a high

level of solidarity; and the later years, 1672-78, when the company reached a level of artistic maturity, but was besieged by crisis, including the loss of their theatre space at Bridges Street to fire in 1672. Financial difficulties and mismanagement led to actor dissatisfaction and ultimately to company dissolution. A large blow to the ensemble was the loss of Rebecca Marshall, who, circa April 1677, left to join the rival Duke's Company for a short stay before quitting the stage. Hence, the King's Company lost their leading lady. This was one crisis among many from which the company did not recover, and by 1682, the company was dissolved and absorbed by the Duke's. I end with a brief discussion of the loss of status for the senior male actors in the King's Company at the time of the Union, especially for the by-then aging Michael Mohun, who had to resort to legal action in order to receive remuneration equal to his peers. The marginalization of an aging leading actor like Mohun is but one event that marks the changing of the guard, and it offers us insights into the various forces that shaped the company.

1. Before Women: The Nascent Years, 1659-60

The nascent years for the King's Company were chaotic, as surviving documentation shows. During the Interregnum, public acting performances, although officially outlawed, continued intermittently, despite such extreme measures as raids and the prosecution of actors as rogues. When Charles II returned to London in the spring of 1660, (at least) three acting companies were giving sporadic public performances: the company organized by John Rhodes at the Cockpit, Drury Lane, to which a young Thomas Betterton and the boy actor Edward Kynaston belonged; a second company organized by actor-manager William Beeston; and a third company of players at the Red

Bull playhouse, which included actors Michael Mohun and Charles Hart.² The Red Bull company formed the nucleus of what would become the King's Company, so it is this third company to which I give primary focus.

All three of the early companies were comprised of male actors only, both men and boys. The companies were organized around an apprenticeship system akin to that of the pre-Restoration commercial London theatre, with cultural roots extending back to the medieval performance practice of having men and boys play female parts in the guild-sponsored religious cycle plays. The repertory in all three companies consisted of revived plays. Edward Kynaston, roughly sixteen to seventeen years of age in 1660, played leading female roles in Rhodes's company, such as Evadne in Beaumont and Fletcher's The Maid's Tragedy, and the title role in Aglaura, by John Suckling.³ Thus, in these early years, young actors chosen to play leading female lovers would had to have been of appropriate age (under 21, and usually mid to late teens) and to have been endowed with the appropriate physical and vocal instrument. Kynaston, at age seventeen, was young enough, and also young relative to some other actors in the company, including the

² For an early and good discussion of the three companies, see Allardyce Nicoll, A History of English Drama 1660-1900, Vol. 1: Restoration Drama 1660-1700, 4th edition, (1952; reprint Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 284-92. For another authoritative view, see Leslie Hotson, The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928), 82-113. See also Gunnar Sorelius, "The Early History of the Restoration Theatre: Some Problems Solved," Theatre Notebook 27.2 (1979): 52-61.

³ The source for Kynaston's having played Evadne is Colley Cibber, An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber, ed. Robert Lowe, 2 vols. (London: John C. Nimmo, 1889), 1:120. The source for Kynaston's having played Auglaura is John Downes, Roscius Anglicanus, ed. Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1987), 45-46. Downes is our primary source for cast lists for unpublished early Restoration plays and often the only source for cast lists for revival plays.

twenty-four year old Thomas Betterton, who played male leads. Pepys himself called Kynaston a “boy” when he saw him perform in August 1660, so it is worth noting that a young man of seventeen might not be seen as an adult, or at least, that the label “boy” should be understood in the context of Pepys’s seeing Kynaston execute his part in a way appropriate to a boy player, that is, crossing gender.⁴

The Red Bull company consisted largely of older, more experienced actors than the younger players in Rhodes’s company, and many of the Red Bull players, like Hart and Mohun, had been trained as boy actors before the Interregnum. According to Wright, Hart apprenticed under Richard Robinson at the Blackfriars, and Mohun apprenticed under Christopher Beeston at the Cockpit in Drury Lane.⁵ Lawsuit evidence strongly suggests that Mohun was an important player with Beeston’s Boys. He was one of five actors arrested in 1637 for performing at the Cockpit when the theatre had been ordered shut due to plague concerns, and in 1640, he was one of three actors apprehended for appearing in an unlicensed play at the Cockpit and for not closing the theatre, despite an order from the Master of Revels.⁶ Prior to 1642, we have one role on record for Mohun,

⁴ The role was that of the Duke’s sister, Olympia, in Fletcher’s The Loyall Subject. See Pepys’s diary entry of 18 August 1660 in The Diary of Samuel Pepys, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols. (London: G. Bell and Sons Ltd., 1970-83), 1:224. Subsequent references to Pepys’s diary are to this edition.

⁵ Our source for this information is James Wright, Historia Histrionica, reprinted in Cibber, Apology, ed. Robert W. Lowe (London, 1889), 1:xxiv-xxv.

⁶ See Biographical Dictionary, 10:271-72. Also see G.E. Bentley, The Jacobean and Caroline Stage, 7 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941-68), 2:511-12 and 6:68-74. Bentley speculates that Mohun may have been a boy apprentice under Beeston while Beeston was managing Queen Henrietta’s Men. See Bentley, 2:512. This seems very probable, considering that Mohun stated in a 1682 petition that he had been an actor for forty-eight years, hence, since 1634, three years before Beeston founded Beeston’s Boys. The source is Mohun’s petition to the King circa November 1682, The National Archive: Public Record Office, LC 5/191, fol. 102v. See Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, A

that of the lead role of Bellamente in James Shirley's Love's Cruelty (in which Mohun performed by 1642, and most probably several years earlier), and a part which he kept after the Restoration. For Hart, we have two roles on record prior to 1642, and they are both women's parts: the Duchess in Shirley's The Cardinal (performed circa 1641-42) and the heroine Euphrasia, disguised as the boy Bellario, in Beaumont and Fletcher's Philaster (a role Hart performed circa 1638-42).⁷ During the Interregnum, both Hart and Mohun were soldiers in the King's army, and, based on the fragmentary information we have, they both continued to act. Hart was a member of an acting company working at the Cockpit in London in 1648, an ur-King's company, to borrow the terminology of Milhous and Hume, and may have been among the actors arrested during a raid.⁸ Abroad, Hart played in France, possibly before Charles II, and Mohun may have as well, although we lack evidence, save Pepys's reference to Mohun as having "lately come over with the

Register of English Theatrical Documents, 1660-1737, 2 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), no. 1169. Petition printed in full in Nicoll, 1:365-66.

⁷ Our source for Hart's having played the Duchess and Mohun's having played Bellamente is James Wright's Historia Histrionica (1699), reprinted in Cibber, Apology, ed. Robert W. Lowe (London, 1889), 1:xxiv-xxv. The source for Hart's having played a role in Philaster is from a MS cast first brought to our attention by David George in his article, "Early Cast Lists for Two Beaumont and Fletcher Plays," in Theatre Notebook 28, no. 1 (1974): 9-11.

⁸ For discussion of the ur-King's company, see Milhous and Hume, "New Light on English Acting Companies in 1646, 1648, and 1660," Review of English Studies, n.s.42 (1991): 487-509, *passim*. For a discussion of the raid in which Hart may have been arrested, see Hotson, 40. Milhous and Hume, in "New Light," 494, suggest that the account Hotson reports, based on James Wright's telling of it in Historia Histrionica, is probably a conflation of several episodes and personnel. See Wright, Historia Histrionica, 1:xxx.

King,” who had returned from France.⁹ Mohun did perform for Charles II at Antwerp in 1658.¹⁰ Thus, Mohun and Hart were both trained up from boy players, had both served in the Royalist army, and had continued acting during the Interregnum. In 1660, at the Red Bull, both men were playing leading male roles. Hart was roughly thirty in 1660, and Mohun roughly forty.¹¹

In order to make any assertions about actors’ “lines” during these chaotic and somewhat amorphous early years, we need some kind of basic information about acting company composition. Milhous and Hume, through their meticulous research into lawsuit records, have provided us with the most accurate roster we have to date for the ur-King’s, Red Bull company in 1659-60,¹² a roster that lists both Hart and Mohun.¹³

⁹ The reference to Mohun is in Pepys’s diary entry of 20 November 1660 in 1:297. For evidence of Hart’s having played on the continent, see Milhous and Hume, “New Light,” 490.

¹⁰ Evidence that Mohun played before the King at Antwerp is found in the Calendar of State Papers Foreign and Domestic. See note in Philip H. Highfill, Edward A. Langhans, and Kalman A. Burnim, A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, and other Stage Personnel in London 1660-1800, 16 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973-1993), 10:272.

¹¹ Hart was born circa 1625-30. In his entry on Hart for the forthcoming new edition of the Dictionary of National Biography, David Kathman argues in favor of a 1625 date of birth for Hart, citing baptismal records that may possibly be for Hart the actor, but admits that nothing is conclusive. I do not rule out the possibility of 1630, but the earlier date is possible. I wish to thank David Kathman for sharing with me his forthcoming entry on Hart.

¹² The London Stage gives an incomplete roster, listing only eight actors’ names: Mohun, Hart, Nicholas Burt, Theophilus Bird, William Cartwright, Walter Clun, Robert Shatterell, and William Wintershall. See The London Stage, Part 1: 1660-1700, ed. William Van Lennep, Emmet L. Avery, and Arthur H. Scouten (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1965), 6. The remainder of citations are from LS, and unless otherwise noted, are from Part 1.

¹³ The 1659-60 roster reads as follows: Michael Mohun, Charles Hart, Nicholas Burt, Theophilus Bird, William Cartwright, Walter Clun, Robert Shatterell, and William

This ur-King's company performed revived plays, for which we have a partial record.¹⁴ Evidence for consistency of members is found in an actors' roster dated 6 October 1660, when "the principal actors who agreed to work for Thomas Killigrew were sworn in as household servants to the King."¹⁵ This roster is similar to the one dated 1659-1660, but includes five new names. The 6 October roster reads as follows: Walter Clun, William Wintershall, William Cartwright, Charles Hart, Nicholas Burt, Robert Shatterell, Thomas Loveday, Richard Baxter, Michael Mohun, John Lacy, Edward Shatterell, Marmaduke Watson, Edward Kynaston, and Thomas Betterton (who went over to the Duke's Company a month later, in November 1660); and possibly this early on, Theophilus Bird, Abraham Ivory (possibly as wardrobe keeper, and almost certainly once a player of women's parts), J. Baxter, and Nicholas Blagden.¹⁶ The inclusion of Betterton and

Wintershall, Thomas Loveday, R. Baxter, William Hall, Thomas Jordan, J. Baxter, and possibly Thomas Bedford, Edward Shatterell, and Abraham Ivory. See Table 2, "Continuity in Personnel, 1648 to 1660," in Milhous and Hume, "New Light," 501. Scholars have long taken as a given that Mohun headed the Red Bull company, but this seems to be a case of projecting back into the past based on Mohun's later standing with the company. In fact, Milhous and Hume have shown through their analysis of contemporary lawsuits that Michael Mohun and John Lacy both joined up with an existing ur-King's company at the Red Bull circa May-June 1660. Both men's status was such that they quickly achieved prominence in the company, Lacy as a leading character actor, and Mohun as a leading man. The fact that Mohun joined later does not lessen his standing within the company. See Milhous and Hume, "New Light," 500.

¹⁴ See LS, 5-13.

¹⁵ Milhous and Hume, "New Light," 499.

¹⁶ See Table 2, "Continuity in Personnel, 1648 to 1660," in Milhous and Hume, "New Light," 501. The authors add the names of J. Baxter, Bird, Blagden, and Ivory, "Commonwealth actors known to have become members of this company" (501, note a); however, their names do not appear on the original roster (TNA: PRO LC 5/137, pp. 332-333). See Document Register, no. 29. As Milhous and Hume note in "New Light," 501, note e, "Marmaduke Watson's name is not in the LC list 5/137 list for 6 October 1660, but various composite lists give his name under that date (e.g. LC 3/73, fo. 100^v [Document Register, no. 24])." In TNA: PRO LC 3/73, fols. 100v, Watson is listed as

Kynaston suggests that this roster is in fact that for the so-called united company of actors who began performing on 8 October 1660. Leslie Hotson, paraphrasing the Latin in a complaint made by Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, and his assistant Simon Thelwall against Killigrew and Davenant on 16 October 1660, writes:

on 8 October, 1660, Killigrew *and* Davenant, of their own authority, set up a company of public actors of plays to the number of twenty persons [...] and have maintained the same so erected from that time to this, and have publicly performed plays on each day from that [Oct. 8] to 16 October, 1660, and received divers sums of money arising therefrom, and converted and disposed the same to their own proper use and commodity.¹⁷

We can gather from the combined evidence that the ur-King's company, whose members were a core part of the united company through 16 October or possibly as late as 5 November,¹⁸ consisted of eighteen to twenty performers. Since we only have the names of eighteen performers who were sworn in, we can assume that the figure of "to the number of twenty persons" in the lawsuit cited above is an estimate.¹⁹ Killigrew and

member dated 6 October 1660. Also see LS, 15-16. The LS editors give two separate rosters for the King's and Duke's company, which would have been appropriate post 5 November 1660. For discussion of Abraham Ivory's playing female parts pre-Restoration, see "New Light," 495, and David Kathman, "How Old Were Shakespeare's Boy Actors?", forthcoming In Shakespeare Survey (2005).

¹⁷ See Hotson, The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage, 205. Italics added.

¹⁸ 5 November is the first recorded date for a King's Company performance. See LS.

¹⁹ There has been scholarly debate as to whether or not this united company was inclusive of all actors in both companies, or select actors. Gunnar Solerius, following Robert W. Lowe, Allardyce Nicoll, and Leslie Hotson, has convincingly argued that most likely the company consisted of the strongest actors from amongst those who had comprised Rhodes's company and those who had comprised the Red Bull players (see Solerius, "Early History"). The 6 October 1660 roster information given by Milhous and Hume,

Davenant, in marketing their company, chose the strongest actors for their temporary union. As N. W. Bawcutt points out, a surviving nineteenth-century copy of an early theatre agreement between Killigrew and five leading actors of the Red Bull company (Burt, Hart, Mohun, Lacy, and Shatterell), dated summer 1660, indicates that Davenant and Killigrew had temporarily joined forces, probably to consolidate their power prior to the King's guaranteeing them exclusive patent rights as the only two licensed theatres in London, a privilege that both men sought.²⁰

Knowing the structure of the company in October 1660, we can map a general relationship between actors' ages and onstage types, as well as the age range of the company in its earliest years. I note that the age range of the October 1660 company must have been from about sixteen years of age (Kynaston, Watson) to roughly sixty (Hall, who, was circa October 1660 pressured by the other actors to retire, according to lawsuit evidence).²¹ We can assume that the younger players would have played women's roles, as Kynaston did in Rhodes's company. One of the actors, Marmaduke Watson, is listed in a manuscript copy of Thomas Heywood's tragedy The Royall King as playing the role of Isabella in the 1660-61 or the 1661-62 season. As the editors of the Biographical Dictionary point out, since Watson was assigned to play a lead female role at a time that women actors had joined the company, it is likely that he was a boy actor who played women's roles in this earlier 1659-1660 time period, which is the

and, in more skeletal form, by Hotson, offers sufficient proof that the united company was comprised of eighteen select actors.

²⁰ See N. W. Bawcutt, "'Abstract of the Articles': An Early Restoration Theatre Agreement," Theatre Notebook 51, no.2 (1997): 75-80.

²¹ For lawsuit information, see Milhous and Hume, "New Light," esp. 504-05.

justification for my naming him as a younger actor, above.²² Mohun, at roughly age forty, and Hart, at roughly age thirty, never performed women's roles after the Restoration in 1660.²³ Thus, in this early period, it is safe to assert that the performance of female roles, or "skirts" roles, was based in large measure upon age relative to other members of the company, and that actors who played female roles were found among the ranks of the younger members, as in the example of Kynaston playing women's parts.²⁴ It should also be noted that some young actors of course played male roles, although not leading male roles, which would have been assigned to more experienced actors like Mohun and Hart, who had high status in the ur-company and who were of a mid-range age relative to the other members. Age, while one determining factor in the assignment of female parts, is obviously not the sole criterion for determining type and who plays leads.

²² For discussion of the performance and cast, see LS, 37. The MS cast list is reproduced in LS in the set of illustrations between pages 64 and 65.

²³ LS lists Hart as playing the Duchess in Shirley's The Cardinal as late as 1662, but Milhous and Hume clear up this oddity in their discussion of manuscript editions of Shirley's plays, where Hart is clearly assigned the male role of Hernando. Hart, as I noted earlier, did as a boy player perform the role of the Duchess circa 1641-42. See Milhous and Hume, "Manuscript Casts for Revivals of Three Plays by Shirley in the 1660s," Theatre Notebook 39, no. 1(1985): 32-36, on 33.

²⁴ I find David Bradley's assessment of general patterns of casting based on his analysis of extant Elizabethan theatre plots likely for the nascent Restoration companies as well, in light of the number of male and female parts in the plays. Specifically, Bradley states that boys did not normally double in adult male roles, and men did not normally play female roles (41). He prefaces his study with the astute observation that any "hard and fast rule may be out of place" (19). I assert the same. See David Bradley, From Text to Performance in the Elizabethan Theatre: Preparing the Play for the Stage (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1992). For example, Downes names eight players in Rhodes's company who took men's parts and six players who took women's parts (44). This signals the usual assignments for actors in terms of their gender specializations in the company. Adult men may have been called upon to sometimes play women, although, based on extant evidence, probably not romantic lover roles, which went to boy actors.

I will discuss this further in Chapter 3, where I will analyze in-depth the shaping of types for Kynaston, Hart, and Mohun.

2. Survival of the Fittest: Transitions, 1660-61

During the chaotic first season of 1659-60, when theatre was being reestablished in London, actors needed to find ways to survive and continue to work.²⁵ One of the central changes actors faced was the new presence of women in the theatre companies, a change motivated by the commercial interests of Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Davenant, two enterprising courtiers who wanted to secure a theatrical monopoly in London. I will explore some of the nuances of this situation, as best as can be discerned from surviving documentation, in order to consider both why the decision was made to include women in the companies, and what this change meant for male performers. It is not my primary purpose here to try to read the subjective position of the men, nor to probe into all of the complexities involved in the birth of the companies, but to demonstrate the following: a central part in the actors' survival was to comply with the Killigrew and Davenant and accede to some of their demands, even if these demands meant restructuring ways in which the company functioned. One of the major restructurings was the inclusion of women.

During the summer of 1660, the players at the Red Bull continued to perform revived plays. By the fall of 1660, as stated above, the principal actors at the Red Bull who had agreed to work for Thomas Killigrew, including Hart and Mohun, and several from Rhodes's company, including Betterton and Kynaston, were sworn in as household

²⁵ The theatrical season ran from September-June, and some summer performances were given, usually by minor players. Thus, 1659-1660 means September 1659-August 1660.

servants to the King.²⁶ If we assume that this united company was the result of an agreement that protected the interests of both men until more formal and independent structures could be put in place, then by November, there were two separate companies, with each of the managers holding a warrant granting him rights to manage a theatre: the Duke's managed by Davenant, and the King's managed by Killigrew. This "birth" is important because the core male players of the King's Company, excepting those few who died, remained with the company through Rebecca Marshall's departure in 1677, close to the *terminus ad quem* of my study. This means that after 1660 the analysis of actor's type can be made against the backdrop of a fairly stable environment, at least as far as the presence of major actors is concerned. This is most true for the men, although a handful of the more important women players who joined early on would remain with the company at least through 1677.²⁷

Most of the Duke's Company came from the Rhodes's company, and most of the King's from the Red Bull players. This means that Killigrew was for the most part working with more experienced, older actors, while Davenant's players were younger men. For some unknown reason, Kynaston, who had been with Rhodes's company and who was on the united company roster in October 1660, joined the King's Company at the time of its official birth in November. Why Kynaston was hired away from Rhodes's company, taken over by Davenant essentially intact, is unknown. Probably, in

²⁶ See Milhous and Hume, "New Light," 499.

²⁷ Specifically, the women who joined in 1661 and who were active with the company through 1677 were Beck Marshall; Katherine Mitchell Corey; Margaret Rutter; and possibly Elizabeth Knepp, if she and Mary Man were one and the same. Also included was Elizabeth Farley Weaver, who was sworn in sometime in 1661 and who dropped out of the company intermittently, but who continued to return and was active until 1678.

negotiating who would get whom, Kynaston was given to Killigrew. Kynaston was a valuable commodity: a young male actor who had already proven himself accomplished at playing female roles. This speculation is logical and seems the obvious, although admittedly conjectural, reason.

Kynaston was one of the actors who, once he joined the King's Company, played both male and female roles at least through January 1661.²⁸ Despite this arrangement, it is clear that both Killigrew and Davenant fairly early on planned to include women in their company. In the summer 1660 agreement reprinted by Bawcutt, article nine states that Burt, Hart, Mohun, Lacy, and Shatterel do "covenant with the said TK. And Sir WD. that they will before Michaelmas [29 September] next cause the womens parts in the said playes [...] to be acted and performed by women, and procure all parts to be acted in habitts proper to the person and Country where the Scene is laid and to have and use scenes proper to the matter represented."²⁹ Verisimilitude is clearly the stated rhetoric here, the guiding principle voiced as part of the politics of negotiation for actors seeking to assuage the theatre managers. According to this rhetoric, bodies and objects on stage should seem as they are. Habits and scenes will appear "proper to the person and Country where the Scene is laid," and biologically real women will now take on women's parts.

One way to read the pressure put upon the actors to conform is that Killigrew and Davenant were promoting themselves as innovators who would incorporate at home continental stage practices, to which the King had been treated during his exile, hence

²⁸ Right up through his playing *Epicoene*, the boy disguised as a girl, in Jonson's The Silent Women, as recorded by Pepys on 7 January 1661. See Pepys, Diary, 2:7.

²⁹ MS agreement quoted in Bawcutt, "Early Restoration," 76.

justifying their desire to have sole rights to produce theatre. Why the managers wanted these changes thus seems obvious. The benefit to the actors is less certain, beyond their need to be allowed to continue performing. Clearly, the five actors whose names appear on the summer agreement felt pressured to agree with the changes in practice, and perhaps they welcomed these changes if they meant a good house. But equally clearly, change would mean more work for them, as the women players who would come on the stage would have no training or experience. The petition of the Cockpit players to the King on 13 October 1660 sheds some light on the actors' motivation in promising to make women a part of the company. The seven actors listed on the petition (Mohun, Shatterall, Hart, Burt, Cartwright, Clun, and Wintershall) justifiably complain that "M^r. Killegrew, haueing yo^r. Ma^{ties}. former Grante supprest vs vntill wee had by covenant obleiged our selues to Act with Woemen a new Theatre and Habitts according to our Scaenes."³⁰ David Thomas and Arnold Hare note that the wording in the petition suggests "some opposition amongst the actors to all three [conditions], namely, working with women, working in a new theatre, and working with painted scenery to match."³¹ Thomas and Hare's interpretation seems absolutely valid. It is probable that the actors felt coerced

³⁰ From the petition housed at the British Library, Add. MS 19.256, f. 71, quoted in The Control and Censorship of Caroline Drama: The Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels 1623-73, ed. N.W. Bawcutt (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 235-36. Note that the wording in the petition is a bit ambiguous. Does the past tense refer to the promise to make the changes, or to the changes having already begun? Gunnar Sorelius, in his article "The Earlier Restoration Theatre: Some Puzzles Solved," suggests that "It is also possible that the first appearance of a woman on the Restoration stage dates from the period between 6 October and 3 November" (58), but this is entirely conjectural.

³¹ See David Thomas and Arnold Hare, eds. Theatre In Europe: A Documentary History: Restoration and Georgian England, 1660-1788 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 14, note 2.

to go along with Killigrew's ambitions, having been pressured and harassed as a result of all the legal wranglings between Killigrew and Davenant, who were seeking patents, and Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, who was seeking to maintain his power to license plays for performance.³² It is possible that some of the actors, especially those who had played overseas and for whom the idea of actresses was not new, would have had little trouble adapting to the thought of working with women, although they were surely aware of the additional work required to put women in women's parts, since this meant adjusting company dynamics, casting, and surrendering ownership of certain roles. Certainly, the actors in the wording in their 13 October petition were using their compliance as leverage, and perhaps some would have preferred not to work with women at all. Hiring women to play women would mean that the traditional apprenticeship system, with men training boys, would have to be restructured. These changes, motivated by commercial interests and managers seeking to obtain letters patent, would lead to new ways in which the body was performed.

³² For example, on 14 August 1660, Mohun, Shatterell, Cartwright, Wintershall, Clun, Hart, and Burt agreed to pay Herbert a sum of money in an attempt to protect their rights to continue to produce plays, independent of Killigrew or Davenant. As we know, since this Red Bull, or ur-King's company, agreed to work for Killigrew in October 1660, their attempts to remain independent were unsuccessful. See Hotson, 202-04. Herbert's power was in fact limited during Charles II's reign, as the warrants (and later patents) issued to Davenant and Killigrew effectively curtailed much of his former power. When Herbert died in 1673, Killigrew became Master of the Revels, and was followed by his son.

3. “Real, Beautiful Women”: The First Women Company Members, 1661-62

In his Apology, actor Colley Cibber, reminiscing some eighty years after the first women joined the London acting companies, wrote that “The additional Objects then of real, Beautiful women, could not but draw a proportion of new Admirers to the Theatre.”³³ Cibber recognized what attracted the interests of Killigrew and Davenant, namely, the presence of women, in a competitive commercial theatre system, could help sell tickets. Once actors agreed to these changes (and they had little choice), the transition, while rough, came quickly. Women were on stage by December 1660, were sworn into acting companies by 1661, and were sanctioned by Charles in 1662 when a stipulation was written in his patent to Killigrew that only women could play women’s roles.

Although Davenant’s opera the Siege of Rhodes, performed at Rutland House in 1656, included a female performer, this was a showing in a “private” house, and the early companies working in public theatre spaces in 1659-60 did not yet include women.³⁴ Despite the assertion in the summer, 1660 agreement between the five actors and Killigrew that women would be onstage by Michaelmas 1660, the first known performance by a woman player is as Desdemona in Shakespeare’s Othello, produced by the King’s Company in early December of that year. Possibly, the seeming delay is a matter of missing information, or possibly it is the result of trying to find women players

³³ See Cibber, Apology, 1:90-91.

³⁴ The performer was Mrs. Coleman, a singer, in the role of Ianthe. See Elizabeth Howe, The First English Actresses (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 23. Later, when Davenant produced a new version of The Siege of Rhodes in 1661, he created what Howe calls a “foil” for the virtuous Ianthe (played in 1661 by Mrs. Betterton), namely, the villainess Roxolana (played by Hester Davenport, no relation to Elizabeth Davenport, later, Boutell). See Howe, 148-49 for discussion.

to hire and train. As Cibber notes in his Apology (1740), “Women were not admitted to the Stage, ’till the Return of King Charles, *yet it could not be so suddenly supplied with them*, but that there was still the Necessity, for some time, to put the handsomest young Men into Petticoats.”³⁵ If indeed the stage could not be so supplied with women until later than the promised Michaelmas deadline, and the December 1660 date for the first appearance by a woman is correct, then this gives approximately a four to six month period in which women were hired and began to work onstage.³⁶ If the promised Michaelmas date *was* met, then this cuts the time frame down to approximately a one to two month period.³⁷ The King’s Company, which I have already noted as the more traditional company, comprised of older actors, is the company for whom we have the first record of a woman actor performing in a commercially produced play on the British stage. Although this is no guarantee that the December date is the first time a woman appeared onstage, or that women were not onstage at Davenant’s company at an earlier date,³⁸ it is proof that Killigrew wasted no time in insisting upon his actors’ compliance with the changes, despite his company’s being the more traditional one in terms of personnel and repertory. The evidence for the 8 December debut of women is found in the prologue written for Othello on this occasion by Thomas Jordan, which contains the

³⁵ Cibber, Apology, 1:119. Italics added.

³⁶ Depending on the actual date of the summer 1660 agreement cited in Bawcutt, for which we only have a possible range.

³⁷ See Sorelius, 58, cited above, note 18. Nicoll also conjectures, like Sorelius, that the wording of the October 1660 petition implies “that the appearance of women on the stage has already been talked of”—a given, based on the summer and October documents—“and probably already experimentally tried by that time”—which is pure conjecture (71).

³⁸ Both John Harold Wilson and Allardyce Nicoll conjecture as I do here. See Wilson, All The King’s Ladies, 4-5, and Nicoll, 70-71.

heading, “A Prologue to introduce the first Woman that came to Act on the Stage in the Tragedy, call’d *The Moor of Venice*.”³⁹ The prologue begins, “I Come, unknown to any of the rest / To tell you news; I saw the Lady drest: / The Woman plays to day, mistake me not, / No Man in Gown, or Page in Petty-Coat; / A Woman to my knowledge, yet I cann’t (if I should dye) make Affidavit on’t. / Do you not twitter Gentlemen?” In playing with the space between stage bodies and the real bodies of actors, the prologue foregrounds the presence of a real woman in the role of Desdemona while acknowledging that theatre is a space of disguise, where men and boys play women, and thus, an actor’s sex can be masked and the eye fooled.⁴⁰ The prologue goes on to plead with viewers that they not judge the woman or the company harshly and call the woman’s presence “crime,” as this practice is an “honour” in France. The London Stage gives another source for the December debut of women, Andrew Newport, who, in a letter dated 15 December wrote, “Upon our stages we have women-actors, as beyond the seas.”⁴¹ These references to the continental practices sanctioned by Charles, insisted upon by the theatre

³⁹ The prologue is quoted in full from MS sources in The Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration 1660-1700, 2 vols., ed. Pierre Danchin (Nancy: Publications de l’Université de Nancy II, 1981), 1:55-56. The editors of LS use this heading as evidence that 8 December marked the debut of the first actress. The source for the editors of LS is Thomas Jordan’s A Royal Arbour of Loyal Posie (1664), in which the Prologue is printed.

⁴⁰ I find it interesting that Thomas Jordan had been an actor and played at least one female role while a boy player. Jordan was a member of the King’s Revels Company prior to 1642 and is recorded as playing the role of Lepida, the mother to the title character, in Nathan Richards’s Messalina. See Edwin Nunzeger, A Dictionary of Actors (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929; reprint New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1971), 212-13 and see Bentley, 1:285, 1:297, and 2:487-90.

⁴¹ From a communication by Andrew Newport to Sir Richard Leveson, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 5th Report, 1876, Part 1, p. 158. See LS entry for 8 December 1660.

managers, and adapted to by actors, ushered in changing practices and invited changing aesthetics.

Changes were underway, but the transition may have been a bit bumpy. On 8 January 1661, Pepys saw a production of Middleton's The Widdow with women players, but complained that the performance was "wronged by the womens being much to seek in their parts," meaning, they were struggling and probably going up on lines.⁴² Elizabeth Howe plausibly speculates that Killigrew might have been pushing his women actors to get on stage before they were ready.⁴³ Five days earlier, Pepys had seen women players in The Beggar's Bush, a play he had watched in November 1660 with an all-male cast and featuring Mohun, and his response to the 3 January performance was that it was "very well done; and here the first time that I ever saw women come upon the stage."⁴⁴ Pepys has no problem with the women's performances here, at least none worth noting. However, the women's roles in The Beggar's Bush are less textually demanding than those in the The Widdow, and the leading parts smaller.⁴⁵ By 12 February, Pepys saw a revival of Beaumont and Fletcher's The Scornful Lady and wrote in his diary that "it was

⁴² Pepys, Diary, 2:8.

⁴³ Elizabeth Howe, The First English Actresses, 24.

⁴⁴ Pepys, Diary, 2:4-5.

⁴⁵ Howe makes no mention of this 3 January performance, nor does Tiffany Stern in her invocation of Howe. See Howe, The First English Actresses, 24; and see Tiffany Stern, Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 143. Stern uses the evidence of 8 January to support an assertion that "At various different stages in the life of the Restoration theatre, bad rehearsal practice was particularly noticeable." Stern writes, "In the early days, when all actors were new to the trade, rehearsal seems to have been generally well attended, though Pepys complained that a 1661 production of The Widdow was 'wronged' by actresses." (143). Stern's conclusions are sometimes problematic, but she makes the plausible claim that women were probably rushed onto the stage, using Howe as her source.

now done by a woman, which makes the play appear much better than it ever did to me” (he had seen the all-male version on 25 January).⁴⁶ Taking all factors into account, it seems likely that the new experience of men and women working side-by-side for the first time before a live audience probably was a time of stops-and-starts and rough patches, along with the successes and new achievements.

By March 1661, women were being sworn into the King’s Company as “His Majesty’s Weomen Comaedians.”⁴⁷ Most if not all of these women probably came to work with the company circa October-January 1661, and some possibly as late as March. Women, even the leads, were hirelings, thus salaried like the less important male performers, not sharers like the principal male ones.⁴⁸ Women, however, were clearly given important roles from the start, and evidence suggests that every effort was made to make sure that women played women.

The first women to be sworn into the King’s Company were Anne Marshall, sworn in on 26 March 1661; Katherine Mitchell Corey; Mrs. Eastland; Mary Man [Mrs. Knepp?]; Margaret Rutter; and Rebecca Marshall, all sworn in 27 March 1661. Elizabeth Farley Weaver was also sworn sometime this year.⁴⁹ Here, I will provide a short

⁴⁶ Pepys, *Diary*, 2:12. Howe perceives the 12 February performance as evidence of rapid progress in terms of women’s readiness for the stage. She paints a smoother “evolutionary” picture than I, and perhaps smoothes things over too much.

⁴⁷ TNA: PRO LC 3/73, fols. 100v-101, 113 and TNA: PRO LC 3/25, p. 159, cited in Milhous and Hume, *Document Register*, no. 24 and no. 70.

⁴⁸ The women sworn in as his majesty’s servants were eventually given liveries, like the male players so sworn, but the women, as hirelings, made less money and had little voice in company decision making. For a summary of warrants granting liveries to members of the King’s Company, see Nicoll, 1:363-65.

⁴⁹ See Milhous and Hume, *Document Register*, no. 70 and see Downes, 7, note 26, for discussion. The editors suggest that Mary Man may have been Mrs. Knepp’s maiden

description of the kinds of roles each actress played. I devote some extra time to Elizabeth Farley Weaver, whose standing in the company was affected by her being a single mother. I save Rebecca Marshall and her sister Anne for last.

Katherine Mitchell Corey was a character actress who excelled in comic roles. The earliest recorded role we have for her is in a manuscript cast list for Richard Flecknoe's Erminia (1661), in which she is assigned the role of Althea, a waiting woman.⁵⁰ Later, she played such roles as the rollicking Doll Common in Jonson's The Alchemist and the acerbic Widow Blackacre in William Wycherley's The Plain Dealer (1675). She was generally cast as the older female, as she was in the revivals of Beaumont and Fletcher's A King and No King, where she played the role of Arane, the noble queen mother.⁵¹ She must have been a decent tragic actress, for, in addition to playing one of the more serious roles in that play, in December 1677, she created the role

name. Mary Man does not appear on company rosters as listed in LS until 1663-64, and Mrs. Knepp not until 1664-65, so the date sequence suggests that this may well be the case. We know that Man was sworn in 1661, hence on the roster, so there appears to be a gap in LS. John Harold Wilson also suggests that Man may have been Knepp. See All the King's Ladies, 154.

⁵⁰ There has been some speculation that Katherine Corey may have been the actress who played Desdemona in December 1660 (the actress's identity being guess work). This speculation is based on a 1689 petition by Corey to the Lord Chamberlain, in which she pleads that "she was the first and is the last of all the actresses that were constituted by King Charles the Second at his Restauration [*sic*]." Petition quoted in John Harold Wilson, All the King's Ladies, 7. We don't know if Corey means she was the only "first" or one of a group of women. Hence, reading this as proof that she was the first woman on the stage is conjectural. Howe speculates that it was Anne Marshall (24), but this is also entirely conjectural. We know the pool of early actresses, but not who was assigned to which role prior to their being sworn in.

⁵¹ Casting information for all roles under discussion is found in LS or BD, unless otherwise noted. John Harold Wilson, in All the King's Ladies, provides a handy narrative summary of each actress's roles and career. While not flawless, it is highly useful.

of Octavia in John Dryden's All For Love. Thus, Corey is an important player. Mrs. Eastland played smaller roles throughout her career, such as Halyma, a slave girl, in Dryden's epic The Conquest of Granada (1670-71). No roles are listed for Mary Man, but if Man was Elizabeth Knepp's birth name, then we can identify her as Knepp. Elizabeth Knepp was a popular performer in the King's Company, and a singer and dancer, although she mostly played secondary roles and the occasional larger role like the sexually voracious Lady Fidget in Wycherley's The Country Wife.⁵² Margaret Rutter played such roles as the simpleton widow Dame Pliant in revivals of The Alchemist, the character role of Old Lady Squeamish in The Country Wife, and Emilia in a revival of Othello (1674). She also played the role of Iphigene, the girl bred up as a boy, in a revival of John Suckling's Brennerolt opposite Charles Hart and Beck Marshall, and in a manuscript cast she is assigned the important role of Clara opposite Hart and Marshall in Shirley's The Court Secret.⁵³ She appears, then, based on extant cast information, to have usually played fairly substantial character parts rather than leading lady roles, and the occasional supporting lead.

Elizabeth Farley Weaver serves as a case study of how an actress's career might be interrupted for personal reasons, reasons that meant a stalled career and social ostracism. Weaver seems to have been a competent actress, yet she never achieved

⁵² Knepp's high profile status was in large part social. She was Pepys's friend and sometime consort. See BD 9:53-58. Also, Knepp's presence as a singer and dancer gave her prominence in terms of spectacle onstage. She appears to have been a talented player, although she was stronger in comedy than in tragedy.

⁵³ The MS cast for The Court Secret is discussed in Milhous and Hume, "Manuscript Casts for Revivals of Three Plays by Shirley in the 1660s," 34-35. The copy of The Court Secret that contains the MS cast is housed in the Brotherton Collection at the University of Leeds.

prominence in the King's Company, in large measure due to her unstable presence. Weaver was unmarried and pregnant by circa 1662, and this caused significant problems. Few of her roles are known—we have only twelve documented. She was cast by Flecknoe as the pure-hearted lead in his play Erminia (1661); is named in a manuscript cast for the lead role of Bianca, a fallen woman, in a revival of Ford's Love's Sacrifice; is listed in the manuscript cast for The Court Secret as playing the virtuous princess Isabella; and later, played the role of Alibech, wife of the Indian hero Guyomar (played by Edward Kynaston) in Dryden's The Indian Emperor (1665). Unfortunately, despite her apparent strengths as an actress, a conclusion drawn from her being cast in important roles, her career appears to have been frequently interrupted for personal reasons. She was for a time a mistress of Charles II, like her famous colleague Nell Gwyn, and she bore a child by and took the name of a gentleman at Grayes Inn, James Weaver, apparently passing herself off as his wife, probably to avoid creditors, as she was heavily in debt. Weaver was in the unfortunate position of falling in love with, seeking security through, or both being in love with and seeking security through a man in order to provide for herself and her child. In 1662, she turned in her parts to the King's Company, apparently with the intention of leaving the stage, as she was with child.⁵⁴ Our evidence comes from an undated letter written by Sir Robert Howard, brother-in-law to John Dryden and building-sharer in the King's Company Bridges Street theatre, which Milhous and Hume have (tentatively) dated circa October 1662. The letter is a response to the King's apparent concern that Weaver had been wrongly dismissed from the company. Howard writes:

⁵⁴ See BD, 15:305-06.

M^{rs} Weaver's, three weeks agoe and above, of her own accord brought in all her part's and warn'd the Company that after such A day which is expird shee would act noe more, I my selfe spoke with her twice about it, and shee continu'd her resolution to goe; and then all her part's were given out [to another actress or actresses]; since indeed shee has appeared big with Child; and now knowne to be shamefully soe, for which many women of quality have protested they wld [would] never come to thee house to see A woman actinge at part's of virtue, in such a shamefull condition. This S^f has been the cause that wee are not troubled for the losse of her, but the first cause of her leavinge the house came from her own selfe.⁵⁵

Howard's tone is moralistic, and his discomfort with Weaver's "condition" is evident. Some two years earlier, in the prologue to the 8 December Othello, the discomfort about an actress's morality was made plain in the lines "'Tis possible a vertuous woman may / Abhor all sorts of looseness, and yet play." This apologia very directly attempts to diffuse any possible tensions that the actress is inherently morally loose and thus stave off any negative judgments. This same tension is evident in Howard's letter when he focuses on Weaver's pregnant body. His explanation of Weaver's absence rests in his being able to name her as "shamefully" with child and so defend himself against accusations of firing her.

⁵⁵ Sir Robert Howard, Letter to Secretary Bennet about Mrs. Weaver." TNA: PRO SP 29/109, no. 16. Quoted in full in H. J. Oliver, Sir Robert Howard (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1963), 123-24. I have retained the original spelling, punctuation, and capitalization as reproduced by Howard. For date information for Howard's letter, see Milhous and Hume, Document Register, no. 163.

Despite her leaving, Weaver soon returned to the stage, but her work is spottily recorded. Most likely, then, she came and went, or the number of parts assigned to her was limited, probably because her presence could not be counted on. Wilson, based on his reading of a contemporary verse epistle which he dates circa 1670, conjectures that Weaver possibly became a “professional *fille de joie*” after leaving the stage in 1678,⁵⁶ but his reading is problematic. As David Vieth argues, the epistle has been attributed to Rochester, but was probably written by Charles Sackville, known then as Lord Buckhurst, circa 1663-64, and, if so, was not written ca. 1670, but earlier on in Weaver’s (admittedly) stop-and-go acting career.⁵⁷ Further, speaking of actresses as whores was a common way to denigrate them in lampoons and satires, and nowhere does the text make explicit that Weaver [called by her birth name Farley in the epistle] became a prostitute. The epistle begins, “Dreaming last night on Mrs. Farley,” and the speaker, who wakes up from his dream with an erection, describes standing up in the cold room in order to urinate. He shifts to talking about a lustful Cleopatra, then (possibly) alludes to the pox (“With *Warts* of Rocks, and *Spawn* of Shells’), and then thinks about finding whores.

⁵⁶ See John Harold Wilson, All The King’s Ladies, 144.

⁵⁷ The verse epistle is “The First Letter from B[uckhurst]. to Mr. E[therege].” For discussion, see David M. Vieth, Attributions in Restoration Poetry: A Study of Rochester’s Poems of 1680 (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1963), 239-48. Vieth makes a strong case that the epistle was one of a group of four written circa 1663-64 (241), and comments in his discussion that John Harold Wilson is one of the scholars who has attributed the epistle to Rochester (241). As Vieth notes, the epistle was first ascribed to Rochester in Poems on Several Occasions, by the Right Honourable, The E or R— (Antwerp, [1680?]). In an email communication dated 10 January 2003, Dr. Harold Love asserted that he believes that no one has improved on Vieth’s analysis, and he is satisfied that Buckhurst is indeed the author. He agrees with Vieth’s dating of the epistle, noting that if the poem was written later than 1663-64, it was not by more than a few years (so mid 1660s). Love, who kindly reread the epistle in response to my query, agrees that the poem in no way suggests that Weaver became a prostitute. I wish to acknowledge Dr. Love’s input and express my thanks for his expert comments.

The textual association of Weaver with bodily arousal, urination, pox, and sexual appetite may paint her as whore-like, but tells us little about whether or not she prostituted herself for money.⁵⁸ Further, the abrupt shift from dream to an uncomfortable reality creates a contrast between Weaver as a kind of ideal fantasy, perhaps unattainable, a far cry from the cold room, bodily pains, and whores that the speaker looks to hire. Is the poem meant to build a bridge between Weaver the actress and whores, contrast her with those whores, or blur the lines between dream and real? Due to content and date, we cannot know from this epistle what happened to Weaver after she left the stage, but her case serves as an example of how the lack of options for unmarried actresses who found themselves with child led to personal and professional dislocation. These women almost always quit the stage (like Gwyn, who bore two children to Charles II), or else their careers were seriously disrupted, and they were, at the extreme, ostracized and marginalized. Lacking financial resources or legal protections such as those afforded by marriage, they may well have ended up existing at the margins. Weaver's case is one of the more extreme examples of how any actress who was an unmarried mother could end up disenfranchised and struggling to survive.

Comparatively speaking, the careers of the two Marshall sisters, Anne and Rebecca, were stable and prolific, particularly Rebecca's. Anne, the elder Marshall, and Rebecca, the younger Marshall, were both leading ladies with the King's Company.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ My source for the text is Poems on Several Occasions, 77-79. Electronic image scan version at Early English Books Online Text Creation Partnership website. University of Michigan and University of Oxford. <<http://ets.umdl.umich.edu/e/eebo/>>. 1 December 2002 (hereafter EEBO).

⁵⁹ Pepys referred to the sisters in comparative age terms, Anne as the "eldest" (see Diary, 5:34), and Rebecca as the "younger" or "young" (see Diary, 7:399 and 8:235). This may have (sometimes) been practice in the playhouse as well. The MS cast list for Heywood's

Anne appears to have played leading roles from the start. Her movement skills, voice, and ability to convey a sense of character apparently were strong enough early on to warrant her being trained to play leads. Her earliest roles include Edith in Fletcher's Rollo, Julia in John Ford's Love's Sacrifice, Celia in Jonson's Volpone, and later, probably the villainess Almeria in Dryden's The Indian Emperor (1665).⁶⁰ Anne Marshall was married sometime between June 1665 and February 1667, and she returned to the stage in 1667 under the married name of Quin. About the latter date, she played the role of Candiope in Dryden's Secret Love opposite her sister Rebecca, who played the Queen, in a plot which used them as rivals for the affection of a courtier, played by Michael Mohun. Whereas Rebecca's status in the company was increasing, Anne's was diminishing, possibly because of the time that she spent away from the stage, and possibly because Rebecca's skills and popularity were increasing to the point that she eventually outshone her sister. Wilson discusses Anne's being treated upon her return to the company as a newcomer and her subsequent appeal to the Lord Chamberlain for assistance. On 4 May 1667, the Lord Chamberlain ordered "Charles Hart et al." to "admitt Mrs. Anne Quynn...to Act againe at ye Theatre Royall And that you assigne her all her owne parts...And that you assigne her a dressing roome with a chymney in it to be

The Royall King lists an "E.M" and a "Y.M" in the left margin, and it seems likely this is shorthand for the Marshall sisters, although it is uncertain which roles they were assigned in the play, if any.

⁶⁰ The "Mrs. Marshall" listed for the role of Almeria was probably Anne and not Rebecca, but see Downes, p.11 note 36, and p.26, note 66. As Milhous and Hume note, Downes specifies "Anne Marshall" for only one play. Thus, roles played by "Mrs. Marshall" prior to 1665, before Anne began performing under her married name, must be treated with caution when interpreting whether a role was played by Anne or by Rebecca. Based on the trajectory of Rebecca's career and Anne's early status as leading lady in the company, Anne probably played the role.

only for her use & whom she will admit.”⁶¹ The private dressing room was an amenity granted to the leading players, showing that the leading women, although hirelings, did have special treatment. Despite Anne’s restored status, she left the stage in 1668, possibly to raise a family.⁶² She did not return to the stage until she joined the Duke’s Company in 1677, where she played the beautiful, villainous, and also abandoned prostitute Angelica Bianca in Behn’s The Rover, which gives some sense of her status even at this late date, as Angelica is a significant role. She was back in the King’s Company by the 1681-82 season and there are two recorded roles for her: the lead role of Queen Elizabeth in John Banks’s The Unhappy Favorite, and the aging villainess Sunamire in Thomas Southern’s The Loyall Brother. In total, Anne Marshall’s recorded career spanned twenty-two years.

Rebecca Marshall, like her sister, was a lead player. She began in strong secondary roles and then moved on to be the leading lady in tragedy and in comic plays. I will analyze Rebecca Marshall’s roles in depth later, but will note here that when the theatres reopened in 1666 after a year and a half hiatus due to plague closure, Beck began to consistently take on lead roles. She was proving herself to be a strong actress and highly capable of carrying lead parts. She played the kinds of heroic leads that her sister played, and also went on to play sexy evil women with the King’s Company. Rebecca, like her sister, apparently showed promise and ability early on and was able to perform a wide range of strong women’s roles, from heroic to villainous. Rebecca’s range in the long run seems close to Anne’s, and perhaps the greatest difference between the two

⁶¹ Dated 4 May 1667. LC 5/138, p. 376. Quoted in Milhous and Hume, Document Register, no. 384, and in Nicoll, 1:321n. See Wilson, 169, for general discussion.

⁶² See BD, 12:243.

women's body of roles is that Rebecca specialized in fiery villainess parts in comedy as well as tragedy, whereas Anne, at least with the King's, did not. I will explore Rebecca's lines of business in depth in Chapter 4.

From the onset, as I've shown, women were playing both leading and supporting roles, as well as bit parts. The male actors who had played women's roles, like Kynaston, probably Marmaduke Watson and Thomas Hancock, and possibly William Hughes, soon took on male parts.⁶³ There was, however, a brief transition period, during which time women were being integrated into the company. The fact that Kynaston played roles like Epicoene in The Silent Women one month following the first recorded appearance of an actress tells us that boy actors who were popular and skilled in certain roles were still at this time acceptable in those parts, probably because they had already mastered them, and because they were still a commercial draw in such roles, although this was fast changing. Epicoene is the last recorded cross-gender role for Kynaston.⁶⁴ The role doubles a real-life transition, as Epicoene is a young man disguised as a woman who reveals his "true"

⁶³ See Downes, 5-6, notes 18 and 22.

⁶⁴ The LS editors list Kynaston still playing the title role in Suckling's Aglaure as late as 28 December 1661, but this would have been almost a year after women started taking over women's roles. In my view, the LS editors are probably wrong. They base their assertion on Downes (45-46) and on Herbert's Dramatic Records (see Bawcutt, no. R40), but Downes is speaking of Kynaston's playing the role in 1659-60 with Rhodes's company, and Herbert gives only a play title. If Kynaston did play the role as late as December 1661, then it must have been a novelty performance. We have no further documentation about how he was cast in later revivals of this play, if at all. A surviving promptbook copy of Aglaure dating from the 1670s lists only one actor's name, Michael Mohun. Mohun's name is written in the promptbook margins in two places: once to note blocking, and once to signal his entrance onstage. We can deduce from these notes that he played Auglaura's brother, Ziriff. A facsimile of the promptbook is printed in Edward A. Langhans, Restoration Promptbooks (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1981), 163-95. Mohun's name is marked on pages 171 and 192 of the promptbook; see Langhans's discussion on 31.

gender at the end, foregrounding the theatricality of Kynaston's own performance as boy playing girl and marking his crossing over to playing male on stage once women would be taking over female parts. When the play was revived later, Kynaston had been re-assigned to the role of Dauphine.⁶⁵

As a further example of how some boy players continued to perform in women's parts during women's first months with the company, I turn to the manuscript cast list for Thomas Heywood's tragicomedy The Royall King. Men are marked for playing significant female roles alongside women. Howe, in her discussion of women's being integrated into the company, makes no mention of The Royall King, but it is one of the strongest pieces of evidence we have for side-by-side male and female casting in leading female parts.

In The Royall King, Thomas Hancock is cast in the romantic second lead role of the Princess,⁶⁶ who, in the world of the play, becomes wife to the Lord Martial, the leading male character, a role assigned to Michael Mohun. Marmaduke Watson is cast as The Martial's daughter, Isabella, a female lead, who is the young wife to the King by royal command and the mother of his child. Assuming the manuscript cast is accurate (and it is hard to read in some cases exactly which role is assigned to which actor, as the LS editors discuss, although the assignments of Watson and Hancock seem pretty clear),

⁶⁵ Kynaston was probably reassigned to Dauphine before 1668, when Pepys saw Elizabeth Knepp playing Epicoene, and possibly sooner. The new cast would have been available anytime between 1664 and 1677. Cast is listed in Downes, 13, and see footnote 41 for a discussion of cast availability. Downes gives no date for the performance. The LS editors list the cast for a 23 December 1666 performance, but this is pure conjecture.

⁶⁶ Hancock is spelled Handcock in the MS. See MS reproduced in LS, following p. 64. For the best discussion to date of the problems in trying to interpret the MS cast for The Royall King, see Edward A. Langhans, "New Restoration Manuscript Casts," Theatre Notebook 27, no. 4 (1973): 149-57, on 149-50.

the play was probably performed in 1660-61 sometime in early winter, if it was performed at all. The editors of The London Stage suggest 1660-61, or, more probably, 1661-62, but give no reason.⁶⁷ I demur, for Watson and Hancock playing leading female lover roles as late as 1661-62 would be anachronistic and exceptional, although not impossible, based on the recorded integration of women into performances by that time.⁶⁸ I therefore suggest that if the The Royall King was performed, then it was likely performed earlier, circa December-March 1660-61.

Despite dating problems, the manuscript cast list for the play offers essential clues about the ways in which women were integrated into the company and serves as important evidence about the transition period from all male to mixed sex companies, offering us insights into ways in which women were made a part of the group and how they might have been apprenticed. Elizabeth Weaver is marked to play Margaret,

⁶⁷ See LS, 37-38 for discussion.

⁶⁸ For example, a MS cast list in a copy of Ford's Love's Sacrifice, housed at the Folger Shakespeare Library and printed in LS 70-71, lists a roughly forty to forty-five year old Thomas Loveday in the old woman "skirts" part of Morona circa 1661-64, which is a different type of role from a leading lady part. The casting is possible but suspect. The MS contains two cast lists, one in the left margin, and one in the right. The left margin list does not name any actor as Morona and lists Loveday in the male role of Petruchio, while the right margin list names Loveday as Morona and Petruchio, with his assignment as Petruchio crossed out and "Majors/Moons/Brother" substituted, in the only known reference to Mohun's brother, first name unknown and believed to be a box keeper in the 1670s (see Langhans, "New Restoration Manuscript Casts," 150). Bill Lloyd has plausibly suggested that the reference to Mohun's "Brother" might be to his brother-in-law, Theophilus Bird, Jr., and this is certainly possible (Bill Lloyd, email to the author, "Re: loue's sacrifice," 29 January 2004). Langhans, despite some very helpful analysis, seems to accept the plausibility of both lists at face value, and mistakenly writes that LS names Loveday as Morona in both lists. In my view, the right margin list is more problematic because of the way that roles are distributed, for example, naming Kynaston in a role assigned to Mohun at left which is totally in keeping with Mohun's line. The left margin list seems much more likely to represent an actual performance cast, but nothing is conclusive.

Isabella's sister and the love interest of the Prince, a role assigned to Charles Hart.

Margaret is a substantial role in terms of size and emotional intensity, although the lead, Isabella, is the stronger, more pathetic role.

In the world of the play, Margaret's beauty is measured against her sister Isabella's, and the verdict is in favor of Margaret when the Prince (Hart) remarks that "I have not seen a Lady more compleate; Her modesty and beauty, both are matchless."⁶⁹ From this critical distance, it is tempting to imagine that a contrast is being staged not only in the world of fiction, but at the level of live bodies, where Weaver's body, as Margaret, makes the most "compleate" female beauty. Indeed, it may be possible that this was a conscious pointing to the live body of the actress in contrast with the men playing women alongside her. It is worth noting that in this play, Kynaston, whom Downes described as a "Compleat Female Stage Beauty" and who could easily have played any of the three principal women's roles, as they were all well within his range, was cast in the minor comic role of Corporal Cocke, a good-natured, pretty-boy soldier.⁷⁰ The casting of The Royall King gives us some sense of the ways in which women were assimilated into the previously all-male ensemble via performing alongside male players who were playing both male and female parts. Such side-by-side playing was an essential part of learning. In a play like The Royall King, the women could train by doing and by

⁶⁹ From Thomas Heywood, The Royall King, in The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood, 6 vols. (1874; reprint New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1964), 6:65.

⁷⁰ The MS reads "K" next to Corporal Cocke, and most probably this refers to Kynaston, based on the roster of the company. Edward A. Langhans asserts this in "New Restoration Manuscript Casts," 150, and I concur. My knowledge of Kynaston's later comic roles makes his playing Cocke very credible, in retrospect, and I can see how Cocke could be an early prototype for his later work. A comely young actor would need to play the role, and Kynaston fit the bill on this count. For the Downes reference, see Downes, 46. Downes is speaking of Kynaston's tenure with Rhodes's Company.

watching the male players work. Watching Watson and Weaver play sisters meant witnessing the changing of the guard.⁷¹

4. Building an Ensemble: Actor Training in the Early Years for Men and Women

Little is known about the training of Restoration actors, men or women. We know that Hart and Mohun, who performed pre-Restoration, were trained up from boy players and therefore learned to perform through the traditional apprenticeship system, a system rooted in modeling more senior members of the company. Actors, particularly those who would become leading players, needed some measure of ability, training, and good powers of observation in order to learn from the senior performers. Such was the way Hart and Mohun began.

The “spine” of apprenticeship was learning by watching and doing, since expertise had yet to be reached on the part of the learning actor. In her discussion of

⁷¹ Although the cast list gives evidence of how men and women worked alongside one another in these early years, it should be remembered the cast may be for a planned performance that may or may not have taken place. Certainly, the actors’ names on the manuscript suggests that the play may have been mounted, and looking at the roles that can be identified as being assigned to a particular actor, it was well cast and suited the talents of the company. Further, it is impossible to say, barring new evidence, exactly who wrote the actors’ names in the script. Was it someone in house pondering how to cast the parts or recording the names of the actors who played the roles? Or, is it an example of fan recall? In an email correspondence to Bill Lloyd dated 28 December 2003 (“Royall King, my response”), I addressed his queries to me about the cast list. One of his questions concerned the name “Jatter,” which Langhans in “New Restoration Manuscript Casts,” on 150, has (logically) identified as [Robert or Edward] Shatterell. In response, Lloyd suggested that “Jatter” might be an example of botched fan recall. This is certainly possible. (Bill Lloyd, email to the author, “Fwd: The Royall King, my response,” 31 December 2003). The cast list may have been generated from someone in house, or from a theatergoer trying to recall who played what part (assuming the play was actually staged). Whether performed or not, the cast list is evidence of the negotiation of role assignments during the period when women were being worked into the company, and of men being cast in female parts.

Restoration actor training, Tiffany Stern points to a passage from the pamphlet Tyranny Triumphant (1743) by Patrick Fitz-Crambo (a pseudonym).⁷² Fitz-Crambo writes the following words, praising Hart and Mohun's ability to learn through others as a kind of evidence of ability and character, and also of humility and willingness to learn, ascribing an artistic and even moral value to instruction as a road to mastery:

Major Mohun, and Captain Hart, the first, as King Charles the IInd used to call him, the best Player under the Sun, and the last, the best under the Moon, were both Gentlemen, liberally educated, had borne Commissions in the Army, had each a surprising Genius, both greatly practiced and universally applauded, and yet even they with [James] Nokes, [Cave] Underhill and the other wonderful Performers of that Age, would earnestly solicit Instruction from any one they thought able to inform them in any Thing relative to Acting.⁷³

Fitz-Crambo is praising the standards of the Restoration stage and its early actors, and his account is somewhat romanticized in tone, as he is extolling the virtues of a past age. His words tell us something about his perceptions of the actor as one willing to learn, and about learning as a system rooted in observation and imitation, together with the actors' own original stamp, which made him (or her) "genius." Unfortunately, we need to be cautious in reading Fitz-Crambo's account as factual. His pamphlet, which sides with

⁷² See Stern, Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan, 155, note 115. Stern makes no mention of Fitz-Crambo's name being a pseudonym, but it is catalogued by the British Library as such.

⁷³ Patrick Fitz-Crambo [pseudonym], Tyranny Triumphant! and Liberty Lost; the Muses run Mad, Apollo Struck Dumb; and all Covent-Garden Confounded. Or, Historical, Critical, and Prophetical Remarks on the Famous Cartel Lately Agreed Upon by the Masters of the Two Theatres. London, 1743, 8. Readex. I have retained all spelling and capitalization in the quotation except that I have modernized "s."

theatre managers in the 1743 struggle with actors (including Garrick), is internally inconsistent, derivative, and late (sixty years past the age of Hart and Mohun).⁷⁴ We have no way to know if Hart and Mohun were as open as Fitz-Crambo says to soliciting instruction from any they thought able to inform them, but we cannot rule out this possibility. If this was part of their approach to acting even after they were leading players, then this is important information about how they approached their work and prepared for a role. To corroborate, we can look to Charles Gildon's account of Betterton and Barry in The Life of Mr. Thomas Betterton (1710). Gildon (speaking as Betterton) writes, "It has always been mine and Mrs. Barry's Practice to consult e'en the most indifferent Poet in any part we have thought fit to accept of," thus, soliciting instruction from the playwrights.⁷⁵ Gildon's work is not without problems (the manuscript Betterton allegedly shows him is probably fictitious), but his understanding of theatre practice is sound. It is also thirty-three years closer in time to the heyday of the King's Company than is Fitz-Crambo's pamphlet, although admittedly not as early as one would like. Lacking direct evidence about Hart and Mohun's approach to preparing new roles, we can read these anecdotes as windows into possible and even probable practices of the time, and also to what was esteemed by at least some as a kind of character virtue in an actor and apprentice both—willingness to consult and learn, which Fitz-Crambo, in his romantic anecdote, admires in Hart and Mohun.

Just as Hart and Mohun had been apprenticed as boy players, an actor like Kynaston, who came on the stage as a young man in 1659, was apprenticed by more

⁷⁴ I acknowledge Judith Milhous for her expert comments on the pamphlet, as they were of a tremendous help to me when I was evaluating its contents.

⁷⁵ Charles Gildon, The Life of Thomas Betterton (1710; reprint London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1970), 16.

experienced performers who could teach him how to embody female, and later, male characters. There was no formal training, as far as we know, except by doing. We can speculate that probably private coaching may have taken place, and some training in movement (possibly dance and fencing) as well as some vocal training. Most likely, those with weak voices or poor coordination were weeded out, and those with the most gifted voices and bodies stayed. Probably, young actors began in utility roles and progressed, if they were talented enough and if there was room for them, to leading roles.

A change occurred when, in 1667, a training school/company, called the Nursery, co-owned by Killigrew and Davenant, opened. At the Nursery, young male and female actors were nurtured by actor-managers like George Jolly, and later others.⁷⁶ The fact that the Nursery opened in 1667 suggests that there was at least some desire on the part of Killigrew and Davenant to formalize training. The Nursery also mounted productions with a cast of actors-in-training. In addition to these productions, the so-called “younger players,” or hireling actors who worked for the King’s Company, performed off-season in summer productions and occasionally at Lent. Thus, the more minor actors gained experience by taking on larger roles in off-season performances. Occasionally, a more seasoned lead actor or actress would perform alongside younger players in leading roles, as did Beck Marshall circa January 1677, when she played Lady Lovely in John

⁷⁶ The others were Edward Bedford and John Perin. For a full discussion, see Hotson, The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage, 179-96. George Jolly introduced women to the stage while on the continent in the 1650s. Charles II granted Jolly license to operate a theatre when he returned to England, thus threatening Killigrew and Davenant’s theatrical monopoly. The two managers later managed for a time to secure for themselves Jolly’s warrant for a patent and to have it revoked on 24 April 1667. For a full discussion of Jolly’s activities on the continent and his association with Killigrew, Davenant, and with the Nursery, see Hotson, 167-96. Hotson misread the date of the revoked patent as 2 April; see Milhous and Hume, Document Register, no. 381.

Leanerd's comedy The Country Innocence.⁷⁷ This kind of "star" performance could give the younger players an additional learning opportunity, as they would have the chance to work more extensively with a more experienced player.⁷⁸

For women, training in the early years is largely a matter of conjecture, due to a lack of evidence. As discussed earlier, women had to be trained by the male actors they worked with, thus, they were apprenticed, as boy actors had been. Boy actors, however, earned the right to play leading roles over time, whereas the first women actors had to take major roles immediately and had to be trained quickly. Further, these women, especially those who played leading parts, had to meet some basic requirements. John Harold Wilson speculates about the backgrounds of these first actresses and the early

⁷⁷ LS dates the play March 1677 and asserts that the presence of minor players suggests performances during Lent, but Milhous and Hume feel that the March 1677 date is probably too late, and that the play was most likely staged earlier that season. Their argument is based on publication data, and by 1677 the average time lapse between performance and publication was roughly three months. Leanerd's play was licensed 6 April 1677 and listed in May in The Term Catalogues, a quarterly publication that advertised books recently printed, indicating a possible May publication date. Milhous and Hume also suggest that the presence of minor players in the cast at this point in the King's Company history may not be a reliable gage for indicating a Lenten performance, as by this time the company was in disarray due to managerial problems, and things may not have been status quo. See Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, "Dating Play Premieres from Publication Data, 1660-1700," Harvard Library Bulletin 22 (1974): 374-405, on 381 and 386-87.

⁷⁸ Cast information is listed in LS, 255. Beck, as leading lady of the company, was the biggest "star" in this production, but Margaret Rutter, Elizabeth Knepp, Marmaduke Watson, and Edward Lydall were also in the cast. The rest were younger players, including Jo Haines, Martin Powell, Sarah Cooke, and Cardell Goodman. In his preface to the play, quoted in LS, Leanerd speaks of a successful first run and then of the play failing "by a Mischance which hapned [sic] to one, whose part was too considerable to be quickly studied." The identity of the actor is unknown, but it is clear that it he or she had a large role in the play. Stern uses Leanerd's words as evidence to support her generalized (and therefore problematic) argument about rehearsal practices in the Restoration theatre and playwrights complaining about a lack of sufficient study-time for preparing plays, but this is not what Leanerd is speaking about. See Stern, 153-54.

training they might have had, as well as the basic requirements that were needed. His passage is worth quoting in full:

How did the managers find these pioneering actresses, and where did they come from? Again no precise answers are possible. Perhaps they came from such schools as that at Chelsea where Mrs. Pepys's maid, Mary Ashwell, once acted in a masque. Perhaps they came from dancing schools, or were recommended by musicians, choir masters, dancing masters, and actors. In the beginning the candidates can hardly have been numerous, although the requirements were modest: some measure of good looks, the ability to read and memorize lines, some small skill at singing and dancing, and the simple willingness to venture forth in an untried profession [...] No 'lady' of course, could consider a career on the stage; her kinfolk would rather see her starve than degrade a genteel or noble name. On the other hand, the barmaid-and-brothel class lacked all education and refinement; such a natural actress as Nell Gwyn was truly a sport.⁷⁹

Clearly, there are problems with Wilson's argument. The tone slips into misogynistic generalization, yet the core of his argument makes good sense. Gwyn had to be a survivor, and plucky, to make it to the stage. Wilson's attaching the adjective "natural" to Gwyn seems, as far as we can tell, valid. "Natural" is admittedly a problematic and elusive term, but one that suggests a charismatic performer with good presence, popular with audiences, who could handle the demands of the profession.

As Wilson points out, a basic prerequisite for actresses was the ability to read and memorize lines. Although it is difficult to say how skilled the first actresses were at

⁷⁹ John Harold Wilson, All the King's Ladies, 8-9.

reading text, it is safe to assume that any of the leading players of the first generation of women came to the profession with basic reading skills. Their male colleagues may have been, in some cases, superior readers because of their longer exposure to reading and memorizing parts, but the women who played leading roles would surely have caught up because they, too, needed to read and memorize massive amounts of text. As David Cressy has noted in his discussion of literacy in Tudor and Stuart England, reading was a “task for the eye and voice,” as was the memorization of roles.⁸⁰ Cressy further states that “It is quite likely that the migration of people to London [between 1560-1700] involved a creaming off of talent, education, and energy, bringing to the City women as well as men who had learned their literacy elsewhere” (149). Some actresses may have had more of a struggle than others going in, but those who aspired to leading parts had to know how to read. Nell Gwyn, for example, came from the lower class, but as Mendelson and Crawford discuss (90), even lower class girls in seventeenth-century England were often trained to read. We cannot assume Gwyn did not know how to read simply because her origins were low, and if she did not, she had to learn fast once she joined the King’s. We can assume that she, like the other actresses, improved through the doing.⁸¹ Pepys

⁸⁰ See David Cressy, Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 24. For discussions of female literacy in seventeenth-century London, see Cressy, Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England, *passim*; and see Sarah Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, Women in Early Modern England (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 90.

⁸¹ John Harold Wilson writes in Nell Gwyn: Royal Mistress (New York: Pellegrini & Cudahy, 1952), that “skill at reading was essential” (29) for actresses memorizing lines for a stock company, where dozens of roles needed to be remembered. He points out that Nell taught herself to read at a level that would allow her to assimilate text, even though she never learned how to write anything more than her initials (29-30). As David Cressy discusses, an inability to write did not necessarily signal an inability to read, and in fact, they are two distinct activities. Cressy notes that young schoolchildren, for example, were not taught to sign their own names (Cressy, 25).

writes of Elizabeth Knepp's staying home one evening to "get her part" of Epicoene in a revival of The Silent Woman for a performance the next day, a role she had (probably) played before (and the part Kynaston had played in 1661).⁸² Pepys, seeing her in the part the following day, writes that she performed "mightily well."⁸³ He also writes of running lines with Knepp backstage before curtain for a performance of Flora's Vagaries, and of Gwyn cursing hours later because of the poor turnout for the play, possibly because she would need to con lines fast for whichever play would be put in the repertory tomorrow, since the poor house signaled that another play would need to be substituted for the failure post haste.⁸⁴ Thus, because of the demands of the repertory—a run of three days was considered long and successful—actors had to be facile at learning parts and flexible about refreshing their memories quickly for parts already learned.

For new roles, hearing lines at readings was also a part of training and preparing for a role. Playwrights read their new plays at least once for the cast. Cibber's anecdote about actor Michael Mohun is a case in point: "while [Nathaniel] Lee was reading to Major *Mohun* at a Rehearsal, *Mohun*, in the warmth of his Admiration, threw down his part, and said, Unless I were to *play* it, as well as you *read* it, to what purpose should I

⁸² Pepys, Diary, 9:310. The date is September 1668, but Knepp was probably playing the role prior to this season, possibly as early as 1664. See Downes, 13, and see my footnote 59 in this chapter. With Knepp as Epicoene, there was a new kind of gender reversal in play onstage. With a female actor performing boy-playing-girl, the ending of the play must have read differently to an audience. Rather than unmasking gender, the final revelation scene perpetuates the disguise, foregrounding the deliberate manipulation of gender and the continued slippage in reading the "real" onstage, potentially a kind of in-joke for the audience.

⁸³ Pepys, Diary, 9:310.

⁸⁴ See Pepys, Diary, 8:463-64. The author of Flora's Vagaries is Richard Rhodes.

undertake it?"⁸⁵ Mohun's alleged response indicates that Lee's reading was instructional for him in that he sought to master the role so that he could speak the text as well as Lee. Cibber draws a comparison between Lee's successful reading and a poor reading by Dryden of his Amphytrion (1690), and this is a point Tiffany Stern takes up in her discussion of playwrights' readings and how they might influence actors' reception of the text.⁸⁶ As discussed earlier, an actor might seek out a playwright for further instruction concerning the interpretation of a part, perhaps beyond the first reading, although we lack evidence. Mohun's ownership of the role following the reading by Lee went beyond imitation, of course. A skilled actor clearly did not execute lines as the playwright did without owning the role in the embodied sense. The process was thus complex and ongoing.⁸⁷ Stern, for example, stresses the time actors spent in private study as essential to mastering their parts, in preparation for the group rehearsal process.⁸⁸ Further, others might attend rehearsals of a new play and make suggestions. Fitz-Crambo writes, "when an ingenuous Author had writ a good Play, the best of our noble Critics would attend a

⁸⁵ From Cibber, Apology, 1:113-14. Somewhat ironically, Lee had been an actor with the Duke's Company and then was on the King's Company acting roster in 1673-74, but he apparently suffered from severe stage fright, which put an end to his acting career. Cibber notes this point when he praises Lee's talents as a reader. For discussion, see Thomas B. Stroup and Arthur L. Cooke, eds., The Works of Nathaniel Lee, 2 vols. (1954; reprint Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Reprint Corporation, 1968), on 1:11, and see Downes, 72-3.

⁸⁶ See Stern, 147.

⁸⁷ See Milhous and Hume, Producible Interpretation: Eight English Plays, 1675-1707 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1985), 47-52.

⁸⁸ See Stern, 153-57. Stern, however, tends to overemphasize the importance of private study and downplay the importance of group study. See Paulina Kewes's review in Review of English Studies 53, no. 209 (2002): 127-29.

Rehearsal, to assist even a *Mohun* or a *Hart* to get up their Parts.”⁸⁹ Fitz-Crambo’s anecdote cannot be taken as fact, as stated above, but it is possible that critics attended rehearsals and gave notes, as evidenced in Buckingham’s *The Rehearsal* (1671).⁹⁰ Of course, such visits might be more social than work related, but we cannot rule out the possibility of collaborative exchange between actors and friends or associates who spent time in the playhouse during rehearsal hours. How often this happened, and which particular King’s Company actors participated in such an exchange, and in what capacity, are unknown.

Sometimes, one-on-one mentoring relationships helped ready an actor for the stage. Perhaps the most famous example is Nell Gwyn, who began her career as an orange girl selling fruit in the theatre. Her romantic rags-to-riches story points to two actors as early mentors: Charles Hart, who was also her lover, and John Lacy, who was her dancing teacher, and possibly her lover as well.⁹¹ Hart is usually given credit for having the biggest hand in bringing Nell to the stage. Gwyn, as Hart’s lover, could have conned her lines with Hart’s help and improved her reading and acting abilities under his tutelage, as he would have helped train her for the stage presumably with close attention, just as Elizabeth Barry would later be trained as a performer by Rochester, who was her lover, or as someone like Anne Bracegirdle was trained under the tutelage of her “foster” parents, Thomas and Mary Betterton. Eventually, these actresses came to stand on their own, once they developed craft. Further, such relationships were but one kind of

⁸⁹ Fitz-Crambo, *Tyranny Triumphant*, 8.

⁹⁰ See Milhous and Hume’s discussion of *The Rehearsal* and its relationship to actual rehearsal practices of the day in *Producible Interpretation*, 59-63.

⁹¹ See *BD*, 6:458.

apprenticing and probably not the norm for the majority of the early actresses. For example, we have no evidence that Beck Marshall or Elizabeth Boutell had a close mentoring relationship with a party or parties who took special interest in them, but this does not mean we can rule out this possibility. Parents, or others, may have encouraged their daughters to pursue a career in the theatre and looked to provide them with some kind of pathway and persons to help facilitate this process. Wilson's speculations that some women may have come from choirs or dancing schools, or schools where theatrical performances took place, is possible, but not provable. It is also possible that some of these early actresses were very determined young women who came to London and took their chances. Anne and Beck Marshall, for example, could have given each other mutual support and companionship in the early days (admittedly an optimistic view), and their joining the company together was potentially less scandalous than their showing up as single women without family. Probably, some of the early actresses did have this kind of drive to succeed, but we cannot move beyond speculation here.

Most actresses were from the working or middle class. Acting was morally a very questionable profession, particularly for women, as the public display of the body of an unmarried woman thwarted cultural values about protecting that body until she could be married. Thus, women from good families would generally not have considered entering into the profession, as John Harold Wilson asserted, albeit in moralistic terms. It is true that in general good families would not have approved of their daughter becoming an actress. Colley Cibber writes, "A Lady, with a real Title, whose female Indiscretions had occasion'd her Family to abandon her," desired to be admitted to the stage, but that this

was looked upon as an “Addition of new scandal to her former dishonor.”⁹² Despite this moral taboo, a minority of the women who became actresses did come from well-to-do families, as did Elizabeth Boutell (née Davenport),⁹³ although we have no way of knowing if her family approved or helped her financially or emotionally. Frances Davenport, whom we know from Boutell’s will was her sister, and Jane Davenport, possibly a sister to Elizabeth, were also members of the King’s Company in the mid to late 1660s, although minor players. It is thus conceivable that the Davenport sisters could have, like the Marshall sisters, offered each other emotional support. Perhaps Killigrew hoped the sisters would help protect each other and be less isolated and vulnerable than they would be if the women had joined *sola*. If so, in the case of the Davenports, the arrangement lasted for only a few short years. There is no record of Jane or Frances after 1668, and we have evidence that Frances, despite her families’ means—from which she may or may not have benefited—left the stage to be kept by a male lover. Pepys writes on 7 April 1668 that “The eldest Davenport [Frances] is it seems gone from this House [the King’s Company] to be kept by somebody; which I am glad of, she being a very bad

⁹² Cibber, Apology, 1:75. John Harold Wilson refers to this quote from Cibber in his All the King’s Ladies, 9, note 11, which is what first brought it to my attention. Cibber’s daughter, Charlotte Charke, was an actress, and the relationship between father and daughter was apparently strained later in life due to some shame she had caused him, as she reports it. The tension was not because she was an actress, but there is irony here. See Charlotte Charke, A Narrative of The Life of Mrs. Charlotte Charke, ed. Robert Rehder, London: Pickering & Chatto, 1999, digital rpt. 2002, esp. 61-66.

⁹³ See Judith Milhous, “Elizabeth Bowtell and Elizabeth Davenport: Some Puzzles Solved,” Theatre Notebook 39, no. 3 (1985): 124-34, on 131. Boutell married probably in 1669, and while her husband’s family was well off, evidence shows that her birth family was also very well off. Note that “Bowtell” is an alternative spelling for “Boutell.”

actor.”⁹⁴ Some scholars, John Harold Wilson among them, have suggested that women after the earliest generation came to the stage looking for keepers or husbands, and this is probably true in some cases.⁹⁵ Even if they did not come looking, they may have ended up finding keepers, as did Frances Davenport, whose motives for entering the profession we will never know, although her apparent failings as an actor tell us that she lacked her sister Elizabeth’s talent. Surely, single women from the lower to middling classes could not expect to make it on their own without finances, which would have had to come from family, from marriage, or from a “found,” keeper relationship, as was the case with Elizabeth Farley Weaver. The problem with generalizing in this way is that some women may genuinely have had a desire to perform, or found a desire through the doing. Further, those who came from families who were better off, as did Elizabeth Boutell, may have been attracted to the stage for reasons other than financial rescue. We can only guess at the early actresses’ motives for seeking a career in the theatre, and a case-by-case study of internal motives is not possible, since we lack evidence.

We are on surer ground when we look at qualifications. One is personal tenacity, beginning with entering into a very demanding profession. Actresses had to be willing to put in long, hard hours and make “sacrifices” in terms of choosing career over the more “normal” course of marriage, although some managed to do both, as did, for example,

⁹⁴ Pepys, *Diary*, 9:156. As editors Latham and Matthews note, the name of Frances’s lover is unknown. Further evidence that she received support from a lover comes from our knowledge that she had a portrait painted, a luxury that would need to be supported by moneyed patrons. The portrait was in Elizabeth’s possession when Elizabeth made her will. See Milhous, “Elizabeth Davenport and Elizabeth Boutell,” 131, and see this article for a further discussion of Frances’s life and love entanglements, esp. 128-29.

⁹⁵ See Wilson, *All the King’s Ladies*, 11.

Elizabeth Boutell, who married sometime post October 1669, and probably by 1670.⁹⁶ Her marriage, however, was unconventional, in that she and her husband, an army man, often lived apart for long periods, although they remained married for more than thirty years.⁹⁷ The couple appears to have had a mutually agreeable relationship, and one that was accommodating of Boutell's acting career. Most of the women who joined the King's Company in the early years I believe to have been single, based on extant evidence, and these women were perhaps most vulnerable to financial instability and lack of support should anything happen to jeopardize the status quo—witness the many interruptions in Elizabeth Farley Weaver's career. As a single mother, Weaver continued her career as a player for seventeen years, and was sometimes active with the company, and sometimes not. Whether single, as the majority of the first actresses were, or married, the women who chose to risk entering the field and who made it in the business negotiated an often difficult and challenging terrain, both financially and emotionally.

In addition to tenacity and drive, the first actresses had to have had some degree of what might be called presence, looks that could sell them in certain roles on stage, a capable voice, a capable body, and a capable emotional instrument. An ingénue role placed fewer obvious demands upon a performer physically, vocally, and emotionally than a leading lady role, so the actresses in a company could have a range of talent, some

⁹⁶ See Milhous, "Elizabeth Bowtell and Elizabeth Davenport," 124, for the evidence of a post October 1669 marriage date. Boutell began appearing in cast lists under her married name, the first being the cast list in the 1671 edition of William Joyner's The Roman Empress, performed circa August 1670. The other women in the company who were married were Anne Marshall Quin (already discussed); Katherine Mitchell Corey (in 1662, to playwright John Corey, and at that time a widow); and Elizabeth Knepp.

⁹⁷ See Milhous, "Elizabeth Bowtell and Elizabeth Davenport," 130. We know from legal documentation that the couple was still married in 1701. We lose track of Barney Boutell after he leaves the army in 1705. Elizabeth was a widow by 1711.

possessing more talent as performers than others (as is true with actors who make it today). Similarly, male heroic leads placed great demands on an actor physically, vocally, and emotionally. The stronger actors, like Hart and Mohun, had the strongest presence and probably the strongest talent. Part of presence was that actors, both male and female, had to look their parts, but type was surely more than looks, and looks was probably a somewhat fluid concept in terms of what “look” could pass for what “type” when it came to the casting of roles. For the women, it is easy to imagine that the looks factor was a more pressing issue, particularly because the actresses were less experienced, so their appearance had to help sell a part. As Colley Cibber stated, the introduction of “real, Beautiful women” onstage was both novelty and selling point.⁹⁸ Audiences coming to a theatre complete with the new addition of women must have had some expectations and must have begun developing new expectations about what a woman should bring to the stage. In the beginning, this probably matched very closely the basic qualifications for actresses, namely, presence, looks, and some measure of ability. The first women would have been playing alongside male actors who had experience working together collectively, so the women were at a disadvantage in that respect. Further, individually, the best male performers, by virtue of long years of experience, would have had an edge over the best new women because they had greater mastery of craft, while women’s selling power early on probably came more from novelty and gender-presence, even if they were good. Later, as women who stayed with it, like Beck Marshall, became stronger in their craft, audiences surely looked forward to

⁹⁸ See Cibber, Apology, 1:90-91.

witnessing their achievements as performers. Always, however, the women were shadowed by the ghost of physical allure in a way that the men were not.

Just as women, as a new commodity, sold, actors like Kynaston, who specialized in women's roles, lost their power to sell such roles once women came on stage. Kynaston had a long career playing male roles, which testifies to his ability to acclimate to changing conditions. Further, it may be that an actor like Kynaston, trained to perform women, apprenticed the first women, but this is entirely speculative.⁹⁹ Most probably, the more senior actors, the generation that would have trained actors like Kynaston, trained the women, as they would most likely have been given this responsibility, and had themselves, as boy players, probably played women. The 1704 key to Buckingham's The Rehearsal reports that William Wintershall "was a most excellent, judicious actor, and the best instructor of others."¹⁰⁰ This suggests that Wintershall trained young men, and

⁹⁹ In a recent and historically problematic comedy by Jeffrey Hatcher about the life of Edward Kynaston entitled The Compleate Female Stage Beauty (2000), Hatcher creates a scene between Kynaston and actress Margaret Hughes, in which Kynaston trained Hughes to play Desdemona, a role that (according to the play) had been played by Kynaston. This is entirely fictitious, but in theory, it is possible. (As a point of interest, a film version of the play was shot last summer in London, featuring Hollywood actor Billy Crudup as Kynaston. The film will be released in the US by Artisan Entertainment, according to that studio's press announcements.) John Harold Wilson, in Nell Gwyn: Royal Mistress, conjectures that because Hart and Kynaston played women before the Restoration, they both could have taught "an aspiring orange-girl how to imitate a fine lady on the stage" (30). This is not provable, although clearly within the realm of possibility. In this scenario, a senior actor (Hart) and a more junior actor (Kynaston) would both share the responsibility of training women.

¹⁰⁰ A Key to the Rehearsal of a Critical View of the Authors, and Their Writings that are expos'd in that Celebrated Play in Villiers, Miscellaneous Works, 2 Vols., London, S. Briscoe, 1704-05, 2:6. The key was quite possibly authored by multiple parties, and Buckingham probably had little hand in it, as Robert D. Hume notes in his email to the author, 18 December 2002. Hume further comments in this correspondence that "The reference to Wintershall is unprovable but plausible in terms of the general reliability of

possibly women. Wintershall was likely trained as a boy actor, and may well have played women's roles. David George discovered a manuscript cast that lists Wintershall as playing Evadne in The Maid's Tragedy as late as circa August 1660.¹⁰¹ This is a problematic piece of evidence because Wintershall would have been roughly forty-five years of age, long past the age at which men normally played a lead female lover role, even before women joined the stage, unless Evadne was deliberately painted as an obviously aging woman opposite Hart as the young lover and in contrast with a younger boy (unknown) as the ingénue Aspatia. This interpretation, at least in theory, is not impossible. Although the character of Evadne is not middle-aged, she is older than marriageable age, and is probably in her mid-twenties, as she mocks Amintor for thinking she could have a maidenhead at her years (2.1.194-95)¹⁰² A forty-five year old Wintershall in skirts would have to have created a markedly different Evadne from the other performers whom we know played the role, namely, the roughly twenty-five year old Beck Marshall in 1666, or the roughly seventeen year old Kynaston in 1659-1660.

the Key in the respects that can be checked." I am grateful to Robert D. Hume for his expert comments on the Key's authorship and the Wintershall reference.

¹⁰¹ The manuscript cast list is in Folger Art Folio 271. Only two other actor's names are listed in the MS: Hart (as Amintor), and Cartwright (as Calianax). See David George, "Early Cast Lists for Two Beaumont and Fletcher Plays," 10. The play was in the Red Bull repertory (See Bawcutt, no.R3) in summer and early fall 1660, and the MS cast predates actresses, as Milhous and Hume point out in their edition of Downes, page 15, note 45. The play may well have been performed in the spring or summer of 1660 with Wintershall as Evadne, if the MS is correct in this assignment, but the assignment is suspect, in my view. George accepts the MS cast at face value pre-November 1660, is skeptical about its validity for any time beyond, and notes that after 1663 Wintershall was playing the King.

¹⁰² Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, The Maid's Tragedy, edited by Robert K. Turner, Jr. Vol. 2 of The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon, edited by Fredson Bowers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Even if the assignment of Evadne to Wintershall as late as 1660 is wrong, he may well have played the part or others like it earlier. Whatever the case, by virtue of his long years of experience, he would have been a good candidate for training both men and women.

Once women gained experience, it is likely that they served as models for younger women. One wonders if an actress like Marshall, who joined the King's Company in 1661, might have had a hand in training women who joined several years after, like Boutell, but we have no way of knowing. Probably, this responsibility went to the men, although the women surely could have given each other advice, and certainly, the women who joined later could have looked to the women who were already members as models. Women were the new apprentices, replacing the all-boys system,¹⁰³ so we at least have an idea of the means of training in its roughest sense, as women studying under and/or alongside more experienced male actors. The exact methods, however, remain a mystery, even if we can make best guesses. Eventually, through experience, many of these women, like Marshall and Boutell, became artists, and probably mentors in their own right. As audiences got used to real women playing women's parts, women's biological sex, timbre of voice, comfort levels with female clothing and how to move in costume would give them an advantage in executing female roles, and therefore, in passing that tradition down to other women. Real female bodies became the expected norm by 1662, rather than boys' bodies trained to capture the essence of women through

¹⁰³ Boys, as in the case of sons of actors, did continue to apprentice after the Restoration. See, for example, Oscar L. Brownstein, "The Duke's Company in 1667," Theatre Notebook 28, no. 1 (1974): 18-23, on 20.

a system of formalized gestures, a practice that had its own strengths and beauties, but one that yielded in changing times to the new vanguard—women playing women.

5. Early Ensemble Days: 1662 to 1665

1662 to 1665 are important years in the shaping of the company, for they mark the development of an ensemble, a company with a stable core of actors working together. In this ensemble, men and women both had a significant presence. The leading male actors often had shared managerial responsibility, as when Killigrew made Hart, Mohun, and Lacy co-managers of the company in 1663.¹⁰⁴ Although this arrangement did not last long, and Killigrew again assumed official management, the actors still shared in managerial duties. When the Lord Chamberlain ordered the company to reinstate Anne Quin in 1667, as cited above, he addressed his request to “Charles Hart et al.,” evidence that Hart had power when it came to decision making. Women of course, had no such managerial power, but they were officially given the sole right to perform women’s parts, which protected their place in the company. They, like the men, owned their parts, and there was power in this. As Tiffany Stern points out, this was not only conceptual but literal: the players took their parts, or “sides,” home with them and thus had them in their physical possession, “encouraging them to feel a sense of ownership over the lines themselves” (to which I add a sense of ownership over the parts themselves and a sense of place in the company, particularly because the sides often constituted the only available copy of the text).¹⁰⁵ Now, both men and women developed specializations in lines in tragedies and comedies, as the intense demands of the repertory company meant

¹⁰⁴ Document Register, no. 200 and no. 202.

¹⁰⁵ Stern, 149.

that actors would be cast in both tragic and comic roles. For the first time, a fundamental requirement of casting was that the biological sex of a character had to match the biological sex of the actor playing the role. The majority of plays that were performed in 1662-1665 were revival plays, and a small number of new plays were also produced. Thus, after the early transition period through circa January 1661 of casting revivals with mixed-sex casts, revivals were recast or newly mounted with women in women's roles. This pattern continued until the theatres were officially closed in June 1665 due to the plague.

In April 1662, Charles II granted Killigrew letters patent that replaced his and Davenant's initial warrants. Killigrew's patent, dated 25 April, 1662, contained the order that only women could play women's roles. What began with management's interest in commercial achievement and with actors' concession to managerial demands soon developed into sanctioned and controlled practice. The official justification was that women had to play women's roles for moral reasons, as the following statement shows:

and wee doe by theis present declare all other companie and companies before mentioned [those other than Killigrew's or Davenant's] to be silenced and suppressed, and for as much as many playes formerly acted doe conteine severall prophane, obscene, and scurrulous passages, and the women's part therein have byn acted by men in the habit of women, at which some have taken offence, for the preventing of these abuses for the future, wee doe hereby strictly comande and enjoyne, that from henceforthe noe new play shall be acted by either of the said companies conteyninge anie passages offensive to pietie and good manners, nor any old or revived play conteyning any such offensive passages as aforesaid,

untill the same shall be corrected and purged by the said masters or governours of the said respective companies from all such offensive and scandalous passages as aforesaid: And wee doe likewise permit and give leave, that all the woemen's part to be acted in either of the said two companies for the time to come may be performed by woemen soe long as their recrea[tion]es, which by reason of the abuses aforesaid were scandalous and offensive, may by such reformation be esteemed not onely harmless delight, but useful and instructive represent[a]tions of humane life, to such of our good subjects as shall resort to the same [...]¹⁰⁶

If we look at the repertory, however, plays were not systematically purged of scurrility or offensive material, nor did the presence of real women lead to moral purification.

If we judge by the content of Restoration plays, both revivals and new, tragic and comic, in which sexual innuendo and the sensuality of bodies was often prolific, the sentiments in the patent served as a kind of lip-service political justification. Thomas and Hare read the moral angle as an excuse that disguises the real motive of fulfilling the patentees' wish to include women for commercial reasons.¹⁰⁷ Elizabeth Howe, invoking Leo Hughes, suggests that the mention of those who have taken offense to men impersonating women is a reference to Puritans, and that the phrasing here serves as a

¹⁰⁶ From Killigrew's patent, 25 April 1662. Original housed at the Theatre Museum, London. Passage quoted above printed in Percy Fitzgerald, A New History of the English Stage, 2 vols. (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1882), 1:80. Patent printed in full 77-80. I have retained original spelling and punctuation as printed in Fitzgerald. See Document Register, 131.

¹⁰⁷ Thomas and Hare, 18, note 1 to Killigrew's patent. More recently, Laurence Senelick came to a similar conclusion in The Changing Room: Sex, Drag, and Theatre (New York: Routledge, 2000) when he wrote that the wording in the patent was most likely a "subterfuge, to smuggle in actresses as a profitable commercial venture under the cloak of moral probity" (211).

device of control to suppress literally and symbolically anti-theatrical, Puritan dissonance.¹⁰⁸ I note that, as a “device of control,” cross-dressed male bodies carry a significant load in the “reformation” of the theatre as worded in the patent, despite the fact that male actors were still willing to play women, had agreed to include women only under pressure, and that audiences were patronizing all-male theatre companies in the nascent years of the Restoration. In point of fact, the moral rhetoric in the royal patent was a means to an end, limiting theatrical rights to two patentees and suppressing all others—underneath the moral polemic, there was a business motive.

In her discussion of the motives behind the incorporation of women into the theatre companies, Elizabeth Howe suggests that there were other factors at work besides commercial ones, namely, that as the seventeenth century progressed, “a new model of sexual relations became increasingly accepted, in which the woman as well as the man was entitled to full and adequate individuality,” and that, as she further asserts, “woman began to be defined as the opposite, yet indispensable sex.”¹⁰⁹ Howe’s suggestion that there was a major shift in male-female relations is appealing, but greatly oversimplifies and over generalizes cultural conditions for women. We really cannot read the inclusion of women in the theatre companies as a sign of growing feminist impulses within the culture, for reasons already discussed. It seems that the commercial motive and the close link between court and theatre are the most likely explanations for the inclusion of women, coming out of an immediate need to secure commercial rights, rather than

¹⁰⁸ See Elizabeth Howe, The First English Actresses, 26. Howe evokes Leo Hughes’s excellent study of eighteenth-century theatre audiences, The Drama’s Patrons (Austin: University of Texas at Austin Press, 1971), 140.

¹⁰⁹ See Howe, 21.

theoretical shifts from one to two sex models, or from more oppressed to less opposed women. Howe *is* right when she says it was not practical or efficient to abandon the traditional apprentice system in favor of adding women to the company,¹¹⁰ a point which serves as the bulwark in her argument that the motives went beyond commercial, but commercial motives seem to me the bottom line here. It must be remembered that the actors (as far as we can tell from legal documents) resisted the changes, and that it was the managers who advocated for change.

Fifty years later, actor Colley Cibber would look back on the age when boys played women as a kind of grotesque, where, to create my own metaphor, the pre-Restoration theatre was the anti-masque to the masque proper of the new age where women played women. Cibber wrote, “before the Restoration, no Actresses had ever been seen upon the English Stage. The Characters of Women, on former Theatres, were perform’d by Boys, or young Men of the most effeminate aspect. And what Grace, or Master Strokes of Action can we conceive such ungainly Hoydens to have been capable of?”¹¹¹ Howe uses this quote from Cibber to assert that a twentieth-century audience member might find it easy to agree with his expressed opinion that the change from all male to mixed sex companies was one for the better.¹¹² Elsewhere in his Apology, however, Cibber takes a more sympathetic view, admiring the work of Edward Kynaston, with whom he performed in the 1690s, and evoking (in general terms) Kynaston’s early

¹¹⁰ See Howe, 20-21.

¹¹¹ Cibber, Apology, 1:90.

¹¹² See Howe, 19-20. Howe quotes Cibber.

experience playing women. His words read both as a nod to Kynaston's talents and as an acknowledgment of actor's habits ingrained in the body at an early age. Cibber writes:

[Kynaston] had 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. But even that in Characters of Superiority had its proper Graces: it misbecame him not in the Part of Leon, in Fletcher's *Rule and Wife, and &c.* which he executed with a determin'd Manliness and honest Authority well work the best Actor's Imitation.¹¹³

Cibber, as a practical man of the theatre, endeavors to articulate his thoughts about Kynaston's technique and the influence of his early training in pragmatic and even in complimentary terms. Perhaps, some anxiety seeps out of Cibber's words on craft, as he takes pains to reassure the reader (and himself) that Kynaston's on stage masculinity is in no way compromised by his having played women, and in fact, that it may have benefited him for certain roles. Cibber, born too late to have seen boy players playing women, can observe in Kynaston, an actor he admires, the traces of an earlier tradition, yet, pages earlier, he can use rhetoric that suggests that men playing women was a kind of unnatural barbarism.¹¹⁴ Moral rhetoric may follow, rather than precede, changes in trends.

The new practice, like the old, was a commercially driven, demanding one, and actors' physical presence was critical. Leading players—now, men *and* women—formed

¹¹³ See Cibber, *Apology*, 1:121. Cibber abbreviates the title of Fletcher's play, *Rule a Wife and Have A Wife*. Cibber is our only source for Kynaston's having played the lead role of Leon in the 1690s. Kynaston is on record as playing the role of Michael Perez, the romantic young lover in the play, with Betterton's rebel company in 1696. Mohun played the role of Leon in the King's Company in the 1660s and perhaps in the 1670s, and Hart played the role of Michael Perez.

¹¹⁴ Cibber was born in 1671. See *Apology*, 1:7.

the central “core” of the group. The company roster remained fairly stable through 1665 in terms of the most central performers, with some new men joining after 1660, mostly minor players, and sometimes a more important player, like Edward Lydall, who played strong secondary roles and eventually the major role of Prince Abdalla in Dryden’s The Conquest of Granada (1670-71).¹¹⁵ The same is the case for the women, as mostly minor players came and went, with the noteworthy exceptions of two major players: Nell Gwyn and Elizabeth Boutell. I will give more extensive focus to Boutell’s specializations in Chapter 4, but for the moment, I will point out that both Gwyn and Boutell’s careers began circa 1664, and both were prominent performers in the King’s Company and two of its most important actresses, along with Anne and Rebecca Marshall.¹¹⁶ Boutell stayed with the King’s Company until it was absorbed by the Duke’s to form a united company in 1682, and her career continued, with some interruptions, until 1696. Boutell excelled in ingénue roles in both tragedy and comedy, and Gwyn, although weak in tragedy, was an immensely popular performer and an excellent comedienne. Gwyn continued to work until 1671, when she left after being successfully wooed by Charles II. Her meteoric rise

¹¹⁵ See appendix for list of minor players, both male and female, for whom we have a record, 1660-1678. Prior to the publication of plays with cast lists, our sources for minor players are the Lord Chamberlain’s records of company rosters (as documented in LS and by Milhous and Hume in Document Register) and occasionally Downes. Downes records mostly major roles in his cast lists rather than smaller or utility parts, so we don’t always know how these minor players were cast, save to say they played minor characters.

¹¹⁶ In early cast lists, Boutell is listed as either Boutell or Davenport, her maiden name. See Judith Milhous, “Elizabeth Bowtell and Elizabeth Davenport,” 124-34. The BD lists Boutell and Davenport as two separate women, as did previous scholars, but Milhous proved through her analysis of legal documents that they were one and the same person. Gwyn’s name appears on an early manuscript cast in a minor role in Shirley’s The Court Secret, dated circa 1661-64. See Milhous and Hume, “Manuscript Casts for Revivals of Three Plays by Shirley in the 1660s,” 34.

from poverty to riches and her ending up as the mistress of Charles and mother of his children has led to a kind of mythologizing of her, giving her a celebrity status, which probably extends beyond what her actual stage contributions should warrant.¹¹⁷ Boutell, on the other hand, seems to have been the more versatile and skilled actress, able to play both tragedy and comedy well. She became the leading ingénue in the company, and would, beginning in the later 1660s, go on to be cast opposite Beck Marshall in plays that required the pairing of what Elizabeth Howe calls the “angel” and “she-devil,”¹¹⁸ a critical dynamic in the analysis of women actors and type on the Restoration stage.

The men who had been with the company since its start remained through 1665, with the exception of Walter Clun, a character actor who played important roles like Iago, and who was killed in 1664, and of Theophilus Bird, who played older male roles, and who died in 1663.¹¹⁹ Studying the shape of the company in the first five years, between 1660 and 1665, we find a fairly stable group. This allows us to outline “types” in roughly the following manner, looking at the players who played major roles.

[Tables 1 and 2 about here]

¹¹⁷ BD devotes a full 17 pages to Gwyn, more than to any other Restoration actress. More paintings were made of Gwyn than of any other Restoration performer, further evidence of her popularity in her day, and of her celebrity status. BD reproduces a number of paintings, necessarily by moneyed patrons, and lists all known ones, also contributing to the length of the section devoted to her. I am not minimizing Gwyn’s importance as female cultural icon, or her contributions as an actress, but the fact remains, from the point of view of acting and ensemble composition, that her range was narrow.

¹¹⁸ See Howe, 147-70.

¹¹⁹ The Theophilus Bird who appears on the rosters after 1664 was Bird Jr., Theophilus Bird’s son, who, unlike his father, seems to have been a minor player.

Looking at these rough outlines, we can deduce that the ensemble structure allowed for stock roles to be performed in the revival plays—leading roles, young lover roles, old man (comic or serious), old woman (comic or serious), clown roles, villain and villainess roles. Hart, Mohun, Burt, and Clun played the stronger male roles, with Hart and Mohun being the strongest actors, and, in general, taking the strongest leads.¹²⁰ Hart usually played the romantic lead, be it hero or romantic villain, and in comedies the dashing lover. Mohun generally played the strongest heroic soldier part, sometimes a lover role, and sometimes a splashy villain, like Lorenzo in Shirley's The Traitor, or, after Clun died, Iago. In comedies, he might play a curmudgeon, a soldier, or a lover. Kynaston, based on extant records, played second lead or even minor male courtier roles, at least earlier on, and later, romantic courtier roles in both tragic and comic plays. Wintershall, Cartwright, and Bird Sr., all roughly five to fifteen years older than Mohun, and fifteen to twenty years older than Hart, played the elder generation. Lacy, who was about Mohun's age, played character parts, with a particular strength in comic roles.

Looking at five of the major women players during the 1662-65 period, we can see how the women were cast in particular "lines" and how they had a critical place in the ensemble. Anne Marshall played leading lady roles, and Rebecca Marshall usually played strong secondary roles before 1665 and at least one lead role that we know of from extant manuscript records and from a documented performance date. The play is James Shirley's tragicomedy, The Court Secret. The manuscript cast lists Beck Marshall as playing the role of Maria, the Spanish Princess, with other actors who would have been

¹²⁰ For further discussion of the talents and careers of Burt and Clun, see BD entries on these two actors.

available circa 1661-64.¹²¹ We know that Pepys saw the play on 18 August 1664, presumably with Beck playing Maria, as actors usually owned their roles in revival plays, just as they owned their roles in new plays.¹²² The part of Maria did not require a huge emotional range, but rather, an even presence as a strong, intelligent woman, who willingly gives up her lover (who turns out to be her brother) when she realizes his true devotion to another. This kind of early lead role would help prepare Marshall for the challenges that lay ahead in her taking on more emotionally volatile leading women, as she did beginning in the 1666-67 season. Elizabeth Boutell played ingénue roles, often in breeches; Nell Gwyn, comic lovers, also often in breeches; and Katherine Corey, character roles and older women roles. The remainder of the women in the company usually played secondary roles or bit parts. Thus, we get a sense of how the ensemble was shaped.

If we look at the leading male and female players, it becomes clear that the dramas most revolved around a strong male-female couple or sometimes two couples, with the men usually more central. The men around whom the dramas most revolved were played by the strongest leading actors of the middle generation—Hart and Mohun, followed by Clun and Burt. The older actors cast as the elder generation (Byrd, Cartwright, Wintershall) generally served to create a kind of authoritative structure within the world of the play, articulating the values of the kingdom (for good or for bad) as kings and nobles, within which the leading characters played out their drama. In serious plays, the lead male characters were generally polarized by degrees of altruism and

¹²¹ See Milhous and Hume, “Manuscript Casts for Revivals of Three Plays by Shirley in the 1660s,” 34.

¹²² See Pepys’s diary entry of 18 August 1664, in *Diary*, 5:245-46.

selfishness. The heroes were self-sacrificing and the villains self-motivated. The leading woman's character, on the other hand, often suffered a loss of identity, often through sexual violation, and thus her goodness was compromised, and there was often an irreconcilable rift between inner goodness and tainted body, which usually meant suicide or death at the hand of another. The ingénue role, in contrast, served as a stabilizing presence, the eternal good whose inner self was not mutable, although her outside circumstances might put her in temporary jeopardy. This meant that the actress who specialized in lead roles, not surprisingly, usually had more demands placed on her in terms of emotional range than did the ingénue. The same is true for the leading male players like Hart and Mohun. These patterns were also true in comedy, where the strongest actors and actresses played the roles with the most grit and fire.

In June 1665, the theatre closed because of plague and then because of the Great Fire in September 1666. They would not reopen again until December 1666. When they did, the composition of the company was intact, and the most significant change, for the purposes of my study, was that Rebecca Marshall now became the leading lady of the King's Company.

6. Phoenix Rising: The Middle Years, 1666 to 1671

During the years 1666 to 1671, the King's Company achieved its greatest level of solidarity. This is not to say there were no interpersonal problems—Mohun ceased playing with the company for a short time in December 1667 due to “some difference

[between] Heart [Hart] and Moone [Mohun],” as Pepys writes.¹²³ The tension between Hart and Mohun was probably over business matters, and in several weeks’ time the conflict appears to have been resolved, although Mohun was docked pay for “the tyme he was absent from playing.”¹²⁴ In August 1667, Nell Gwyn was apparently estranged from the King’s Company, perhaps due to personal reasons, as Pepys writes that Charles Hart, “her great admirer, now hates her,” but by October 1667 she had resumed playing.¹²⁵ Despite such rough patches—inevitable for people working together daily in a demanding environment like the theatre—on the whole the ensemble was in good shape. Women were now an integral part of the company, and major playwrights like John Dryden were writing plays with particular actors in mind, to showcase the talents of performers. During the period 1662-1665, the huge majority of plays that had been performed by the King’s Company were revivals of pre-Restoration plays. This percentage remained true in 1666-1671, with the number of new plays in the repertory cumulatively increasing by later in the decade and into the 1670s, although pre-Restoration revival plays still made up a large portion of works performed.¹²⁶ The company’s continued reliance on old plays meant that actors filled roles already written.

¹²³ Pepys, Diary, 8:569, and see Document Register, no. 407.

¹²⁴ See Document Register, no. 410.

¹²⁵ Pepys, Diary, 8:402, and see Document Register, no. 396. We know from Pepys that she was back at work by 5 October. See Pepys 8: 463-64.

¹²⁶ As I explain at the start of this chapter, the number of new plays performed per year between 1660-1677 numbered from three to eleven. Some years there are more new plays on record, and some less, even into the 1670s. See LS. For example, in 1668-69 there are eight new; 1670-71, three new; and 1676-77, eleven new. Three new plays in 1670-71 is an incredibly low figure when compared with the rival Duke’s Company, and may indicate an over reliance on revivals, which may in turn play a role in the company’s financial turn for the worse in the later 1670s.

For revival plays, senior actors or managers cast the roles. Thus an attempt was made to align “type” with roles past, or to fit the actors in the slots the best way possible.

Playwrights writing new plays thus could witness performers in revivals and shape new roles for them based on their strengths as performers. With new plays, playwrights often cast the roles, or casting was decided in conjunction by playwright, senior actors, and managers.¹²⁷

Sometimes, a best fit rather than an ideal fit needed to be made for a given play using the bodies at hand, explaining to some extent how a line of business was often a flexible structure rather than an absolutely rigid one. Sometimes, too, a revival could showcase the strengths of the ensemble members in a way that would advance the likelihood of commercial success. An example of how such a “fit” might be made is suggested through my brief analysis, below, of the casting of one of the first plays that the King’s Company produced in autumn 1666. Following the year and a half closing of the theatre, the King’s Company mounted a revival production of Beaumont and Fletcher’s The Maid’s Tragedy, suggesting that they expected this play to draw a crowd. Thus, casting the right actors in the roles would increase the likelihood of a successful production. Since the play was revived again after 1669, presumably with the same cast since the actors owned their roles and the named cast was available through 1677, the relationship between casting and success is borne out. Downes gives us cast information that confirms this hypothesis, because the cast is all a “good fit,” based on actors’ respective specializations and the interactive nature of “types,” for high visual and

¹²⁷ For some insights on casting, see Milhous and Hume’s excellent discussion in Producible Interpretation, 47-52 and also 59, where the authors discuss managers and/or senior actors taking over rehearsals of revival plays (and by deduction, casting duties).

emotional contrast. Downes's list, undated, but pertaining to the period 1663-64 through spring 1677, when Beck Marshall left the company, lists the following cast: The King, Wintershel; Melantius, Major Mohun; Amintor, Charles Hart; Calianax, Apsatia's father, Shatterel; Evadne, Mrs. [Beck] Marshall; Aspatia, Mrs. Boutell.¹²⁸ Based on a diary entry by Samuel Pepys dated 7 December 1666, we can assume that the Marshall who played Evadne is Beck, and not her sister Anne. Since Pepys makes no mention of other actors in his entry, and makes special mention of Rebecca's giving the strongest performance in the play that day, she must have been playing a leading role, and Evadne, one of two lead female parts in the play, was the kind of role in which Beck specialized. Pepys writes:

To the King's playhouse, where two acts were almost done when I come in; and there I sat with my cloak about my face, and saw the remainder of "The Mayd's Tragedy," a good play, and well acted, especially by the younger Marshall, who is become a pretty good actor, and is the first play I have seen in either of the houses since before the great plague, they having acted now about fourteen days publickly.¹²⁹

Beck's acting stands out for Pepys. Evadne, played by Marshall, was the more emotionally demanding role, requiring broader range and a combination of admirable and darker qualities, and the kind of role in which Marshall excelled.

¹²⁸ Downes, 15-16, and see their note 45, page 15, for a discussion of dating. Note that "Wintershel" is an alternative spelling for Wintershall. For the sake of clarity, I retain Downes's spelling of the name in my discussion here of cast and play.

¹²⁹ See Pepys, *Diary*, 7:399.

The other significant female role in the play is the role of Aspatia, probably played by Boutell, and an ingénue role played in breeches, a line in which Boutell specialized.¹³⁰ An analysis of the major female and male roles in the play for which we have cast members' names serves to prove that that all of the lead players were cast in roles in which they could excel, as following numbered list of role "types" shows:

1. The King (Wintershel): Fallen King. He abuses power, and is a selfish rather than an altruistic ruler. Fulfilling his private desires takes precedence over his sense of public responsibility. He is governed by his lust, and is eventually punished for his crime of seducing Evadne and of tricking Amintor into marrying her when Evadne murders him, at her brother's request.
2. Melantius (Mohun): Evadne's brother, and a righteous and choleric soldier. His standards are high, and he has a black and white sense of what is right and wrong, for he is governed by strict codes of personal honor. He is loyal, and demands loyalty from others. He feels intense shame over his sister's sexual transgressions, and seeks to right her dishonor. He is morally good, but he is hard on her, and forces her to kill the King, else she will be disowned by him forever.
3. Amintor (Hart): Romantic Hero. He is a lover who is morally good. He rejects the tainted woman for the sexually pure, and is a dupe in a power game managed

¹³⁰ The identity of the actress who played Aspatia is, as cited in LS (98), in part guesswork, but in all probability the role was played by Boutell, as LS suggests. Downes's naming Boutell for a cast that would have been available as early as 1663-64 is our best evidence. See Downes, 16. Also see footnote 28, page 8, in Downes for editorial comments on Boutell, and Milhous, "Elizabeth Bowtell and Elizabeth Davenport," 125. Since Boutell was very probably with the King's Company by 1663-64, she would have been available to play Aspatia in December 1666, and the part was exactly her "type."

by the King. He kills himself when his lover, Aspatia, is killed. He is too good to live in a world that is governed by evil.

4. Evadne (Marshall): Fallen women. She is sexually tainted because she has been made a lover to the King. She is ambitious, yet repentant, and feels shame when her brother confronts her with his knowledge that she is the King's lover. She avenges the wrong done to her by murdering the King. She wants Amintor to love her, but he cannot, hence, she kills herself, a stock gesture in Jacobean tragedies for a woman whose body is sexually tainted, demonstrating that there is a conflict between moral right and wrong within her. She is temptress, yet a victim, and although a fallen women, she does not fit into an easy binary of "good" or "evil."

5. Aspatia (Boutell): Innocent Heroine. She is pure of heart and body, and she loves the hero, Amintor. In a suicidal gesture, she disguises herself as a boy so that she might duel with Amintor and die by his hand. He kills her. She is a victim, who, like Amintor, is too pure to survive in the world of evil that surrounds her.

In the universe of The Maid's Tragedy, innocence does not survive. We thus see a moral polarity between good and evil, and characters who are closer to one end of the continuum than the other. We might consider Aspatia a simple character in that she represents pure good, and Evadne a complex character in that she wrestles with elements of light and dark. Wintershel plays the older generation, and corrupted royalty, and his amorality sets the tone for the world of the play, as in Macbeth, Hamlet, or King Lear, in which the sign that the universe is "off" is found by looking at the state of the kingdom.

(In fact, Wintershall often appeared as good, gentle royalty, so he could apparently handle both good and evil roles.)

Several triangles exist in the play: King-Evadne-Amintor; Evadne-Amintor-Aspatia; and even Melantius-Evadne-Amintor. The King, Melantius, and Amintor are all high status roles that need to be played by strong actors who possess the ability to portray forceful emotions, as each of their characters struggles to reconcile internalized moral codes with irrational desires. Melantius is a man defined by his public role and “face”: he is committed to appearing honorable at all costs. His desire in the play is to preserve the integrity of his and his family’s honor. For him, private honor codes must support the larger social hierarchies; therefore, private and public honor codes are synonymous. Melantius is consumed by the need to be honorable. In direct contrast, the King’s obsession with Evadne eventually consumes him, and we have no sense of him as public ruler, only as a man who uses his public power to obtain what he desires in the form of a sexual playmate. Amintor is a victim, and we see him wrestle with private and public roles. Thus, the tensions between good and evil, age and youth, public and private roles, lust and morality, and men and women are a part of the essential fabric of this play. This play, which had been in the repertory since 1659, establishes Hart and Mohun’s respective types relative to one another. It also serves as an example of one of the ways in which Marshall and Boutell were cast relative to one another post 1666. Appropriate casting is part of what made the play work so well on stage. The right actors in the roles could create exciting theatre. To use Cibber’s words, the theatre was a “sensual Supply of Sight and Sound.”¹³¹

¹³¹ Cibber, *Apology*, 1:94.

Ensemble composition remains stable during the period 1666 to 1671, with a couple of exceptions. There are minor actors and actresses who join the company, some of whom achieved a measure of prominence. Three of them are noteworthy. Jo Haines, a comic actor, joined in 1667, but his constant run-ins with more senior actors made him an unstable presence.¹³² Margaret Hughes was with the company by 1668 and left in 1670.¹³³ She specialized in morally good ingénue or lead roles, but lighter roles than Beck Marshall. Elizabeth Cox, who joined in the 1670-71 season, specialized in ingénue parts, playing behind Boutell as Hughes played behind Boutell or Marshall.

As I will explore later in my analysis of the work of Elizabeth Boutell, Cox sometimes performed ingénue roles that were of a similar type to Boutell's ingénues of the 1660s. For example, in Dryden's Marriage A-la-Mode (1671), Cox played the serious romantic ingénue part of Palmyra, and Boutell played the comic romantic lover role of the beautiful but ridiculous Francophile Melantha. This casting probably says more about Boutell's range as an actress than it does about Cox's representing new competition. Cox was popular in serious young innocent roles, but based on casting records, she did not possess Boutell's comic skills. There is also an interesting casting note concerning Hughes, Boutell, and similar "type." According to the 1670 edition of Dryden's

¹³² For discussion, see BD, 7:7-17.

¹³³ Possibly sooner, based on Downes, but he may have been projecting backwards, and his cast lists are notoriously out of order. The editors of BD feel that Hughes did not join until 1668, and in Pepys's diary entry of 7 May 1668 he writes of kissing backstage "the pretty woman newly come, called Pegg," probably a reference to Hughes (see Wilson, All the King's Ladies, 189, and Pepys, Diary, 9:189). A "Hews" appears in the MS cast list for The Royall King, but the BD editors, following John Harold Wilson, suspect that she did not join until circa 1668, and that is quite probably, based on the absence of earlier recorded roles for her. See BD, 8:24-27. By 1670, Hughes had become mistress to Prince Rupert, which may have given her certain leverage when it came to casting. She returned to the stage in 1676, but joined the Duke's Company.

Tyrannick Love, which gives a cast list for the premiere production in 1669, Hughes played the role of the beautiful martyr Saint Catherine. Downes, however, lists Boutell. In their edition of Downes, Milhous and Hume suggest that when Hughes left the stage in 1670, Boutell took over the role; therefore, Downes's cast list reflects performances in the season of 1670-71, as Nell Gwyn was also in the cast, and Gwyn left the stage for good in 1671.¹³⁴ What we can deduce from this is that sometimes actors' specializations apparently allowed for the occasional overlap in terms of casting. A role like St. Catherine could be played by an actress who could embody goodness and beauty. In the play, St. Catherine is verbally threatened with torture on the wheel and is then murdered offstage, and the brutality of this act would be made more outstanding by an actress who could successfully portray innocence from the moment she makes her entrance on stage, something Hughes, and certainly Boutell, could do. The most important point is that the leading actors in the company, male and female, were a fairly stable group, and that newcomers certainly did not displace these players, primarily because actors owned their parts and the leading actors were first in line for new roles. Actors who played behind other actors could cover a lead actor who was absent due to illness or for other reasons. Further, the presence of the newer performers would allow playwrights to flesh out the number of parts in plays, or at the least have more people available who could fill certain roles, as seems to be the case with Hughes playing a role that was also played by Boutell.

During this 1666 to 1671 period, when revival plays continued to form the mainstay of the repertory, some new plays were being produced as well, and the most important, for the King's Company, were those by Dryden, who was under contract to

¹³⁴ See LS, 162 for 1670 edition cast, and see Downes, 28, note 70.

write three plays per annum.¹³⁵ The plays Dryden wrote for the company took full advantage of the proven strengths of the leading players. I will explore this more deeply in Chapters 3 and 4, when I focus on the roles played by the five actors who are the primary focus of this study. New playwrights who were less prolific than Dryden also contributed plays with particular actors surely in mind. For example, William Joyner wrote a play that was produced by the King's Company in August 1670 entitled The Roman Empress, a Phaedre-like tragedy. Marshall played Fulvia, tortured by love for her stepson, Florus. Boutell played Aurelia, a breeches role, and the innocent in love with Florus. Mohun played the wronged Emperor Valentius. Kynaston played a lead role, that of the Hippolytus-like Florus, the emotionally wrought youth who tries to escape his stepmother's unwanted attention. (Hart did not appear in this play.) Joyner relies upon classical models (myth combined with the versions of history told of the Roman Emperor Constantine, who converted to Christianity; his wife Fausta; and his son by a first marriage, Crispus).¹³⁶ Fulvia, the villainess "Pagan" role Joyner wrote and which Marshall played, provided her with her most evil role to date. In his preface to the play, Joyner admits to taking liberties with history in making his Fulvia so wicked, but he adds that her evils are not unimaginable for a "Pagan" woman, so he thus begs the reader's (and viewer's) pardon.

¹³⁵ See Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, Producible Interpretation, 41. Dryden never fulfilled the promised terms laid out by the contract.

¹³⁶ In the preface to the first edition of The Roman Empress (London: Printed by T.N. for Henry Herrington, 1671), n.p., Joyner writes that he changed the names of the historical persons upon whom his play is based, but that "The ancient Phaedre is here set off in a real Fulvia."

The role of Fulvia seems to have been a prototype for Dryden, who some four months later would create the role of the villainess Lyndaraxa in The Conquest of Granada with Beck Marshall in mind. Thus, from this kind of dynamic, we can see how casting is a dialogical process between player, playwrights, and between the old, and the new. This dialogical process also involves the audience, who learn to expect certain types of performances from their favorite actors.¹³⁷ The fact that actors owned their roles meant that audiences could easily develop certain expectations. It might be said that lines of business solidified the abstract principle of what Marvin Carlson has called “ghosting,” the “process of recalling previous roles while watching the creation of new ones.”¹³⁸ This process of recalling created in the audience what Carlson describes as an “aura of expectations based on past roles. The actor’s new roles become, in a very real sense, ghosted by previous ones.”¹³⁹ The structure of the company was fairly reliable, barring death or an actor’s quitting the theatre (which happened more with women than with men). The success of this structure made sense due to the nature of repertory theatre and to the fact that the audience was familiar with the plays and players.¹⁴⁰ In this respect, the Restoration theatre, as Robert D. Hume has discussed, was a relatively “closed

¹³⁷ “Dialogism” is a concept developed by Mikhail Bakhtin in his discussion of the novel and its reader. Marvin Carson is the first to apply this concept and term to theatre. See Carlson, “Theater and Dialogism,” in Critical Theory and Performance, ed. Joseph Roach and Janelle Reinelt (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 313-23.

¹³⁸ See Marvin Carlson, The Haunted Stage, 69-70.

¹³⁹ Carlson, 67.

¹⁴⁰ For a good discussion of the demands the repertory system placed on actors, as well as the demands that new plays place on actors, see Milhous and Hume, Producible Interpretation, 39-40.

system.”¹⁴¹ This allows us to analyze the work of any actor in the company knowing that the major players made up a “stable mass,” to use a scientific metaphor.

7. Maturity and Endings: 1672 to 1678

The years 1672 to 1678 are in many ways paradoxical. The company had hit its stride, and some of the most outstanding writers made contributions during these years: Dryden contributed new plays, William Wycherley had three plays produced by the King’s Company, and Nathaniel Lee began writing under contract for the King’s. Like Dryden, Wycherley and Lee proved themselves to be prodigious writers, providing material that would showcase the strengths of leading actors.¹⁴² However, the company faced a string of hurdles. In 1672, the Bridges Street theatre was destroyed by fire, and this disaster seriously undermined their financial stability. They spent two seasons at Lisle’s Tennis Court, now abandoned by Davenant, before moving to the new Drury Lane theatre in March 1674, which we can safely assume was designed by Christopher Wren.¹⁴³ Thus, the company was undergoing a transition with regard to performance space, and while the new space was a very fine theatre space, the King’s could not compete with the spectacle plays being produced at Dorset Gardens by the Duke’s.

¹⁴¹ See Robert D. Hume, The Development of English Drama in the late Seventeenth Century (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 16.

¹⁴² Some other playwrights whose plays were performed by the King’s in this period are William Cartwright (the actor), John Crowne, Thomas Duffet, Thomas D’Urfey, and Edward Ravenscroft.

¹⁴³ See Richard Leacroft, The Development of the English Playhouse (Norwich: Fletcher and Sons, Ltd., 1973), 89-90, for discussion of Wren’s designs and the Drury Lane theatre. This was the third house for the company. They started at Vere Street in 1660-63, and then moved to Bridges Street 1663-1672.

This is not to say they did not try. New plays were mounted along with popular revivals of pre-Restoration and Restoration favorites. In 1671, William Wycherley wrote his first comedy, Love in A Wood, which was performed by the King's Company. His best two comedies were produced by the King's Company in 1675 and 1676, namely, The Country Wife and The Plain Dealer,¹⁴⁴ the former probably written specifically with King's Company actors in mind, and the latter certainly for them.¹⁴⁵ Beginning in May 1674 with Nero, Nathaniel Lee began writing tragic plays for the King's, some being more successful than others.¹⁴⁶ Lee was an exciting enough writer that he, like Dryden, was put under exclusive contract.¹⁴⁷ Lee's plays have thoughtfully been described by Robert D. Hume as works in which a defining element is "the centrality of violent emotion and its expression in streams of words forced past the limits of sense."¹⁴⁸ Hume's vivid description is a good one. Lee's world as he creates it in his best tragedies such as Sophonisba and The Rival Queens is often a nightmare world, where passions

¹⁴⁴ Wycherley's second comedy, The Gentleman Dancing Master, was produced by the Duke's Company in 1672.

¹⁴⁵ For a compelling discussion of the original cast and its effect on play interpretation, see Milhous and Hume, Producible Interpretation, 73-106. For a provocative analysis of text and original cast of The Plain Dealer, see Peter Holland, The Ornament of Action (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 170-203.

¹⁴⁶ Five of Lee's plays were staged between May 1674 and February 1678: Nero, Sophonisba, Gloriana, The Rival Queens, and Mithridates. The Rival Queens was by far the most successful, followed by Mithridates and Sophonisba. Nero did not fare as well at the box office, and Gloriana apparently failed. For individual discussion, see the excellent introductions to the plays in Stroup and Cooke, eds., The Works of Nathaniel Lee, and see Downes, 72-3.

¹⁴⁷ See Milhous and Hume, Producible Interpretation, 42. Ironically, both Dryden and Lee decamped in 1678 when they co-authored a version of Oedipus for the Duke's Company.

¹⁴⁸ Robert D. Hume, The Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 198.

distort. The rich leading roles in his plays allowed the actor to show off his or her emotional range. For example, one of Charles Hart's most successful roles was that of Alexander, the tragic hero in The Rival Queens, which earned him this contemporary praise from Downes: "he Acting [Alexander] with such Grandeur and Agreeable Majesty, That one of the Court was pleas'd to Honour him with this Commendation: That Hart might Teach any King in Earth how to Comport himself."¹⁴⁹ Even if Downes's anecdote is an exaggeration based on affection for the by then-long-deceased Hart, it is nevertheless revelatory, for it demonstrates how an actor, playing a role that fell within his specialization, could master a "type." It also suggests that the actor's merits were measured by how the stage performance reflected the real, or even, in this case, the ideal. Charles Hart could perform royalty and do so convincingly, and his tragic hero was expected to be a crowd pleaser. When actors came on stage, the Restoration audience knew what to expect from them, both theme and variation.

Despite crowd pleasing performances like Hart's Alexander, poor management had left the King's Company in dire straits by the later 1670s. As evidence of problems with company cohesion, in December 1675, articles were drawn up for better regulation of the King's, consisting of thirteen numbered rules. Among these were the following: actors who refused roles would be fined; actors who wore costumes outside of the theatre would be fined; actors could not neglect rehearsal; and actors could not give away their parts without consent of the company.¹⁵⁰ Despite such attempts to exert discipline, some

¹⁴⁹ Downes, 41.

¹⁵⁰ "Articles for Better Regulating the King's Company." 9 December 1675. TNA: PRO LC 5/141, p. 308. Summarized in Nicoll, 1:324-325n. Also see Milhous and Hume, Document Register, no. 949. The articles were drawn up on 9 December and approved

of the leading players quit performing, and the Lord Chamberlain issued an order on 14 February 1676 to Killigrew and the actors, who “have left off Actinge upon private differences and disagreements between themselves” to resume playing.¹⁵¹ Conditions so disintegrated that by 1676, Hart, Mohun, Kynaston, and Cartwright were ordered by the Lord Chamberlain to assume joint management, until troubles led to Hart’s for a time assuming that responsibility *solus*.¹⁵² Kynaston, as we know from a 1696 bill of complaint, announced sometime around 1677 that he planned to retire from the King’s Company. He ceased acting (at least for a time) some three months after, apparently dissatisfied with arrangements.¹⁵³

by the King and Lord Chamberlain on 14 December. The articles were signed by the sharing actors in the company (Mohun, Hart, Kynaston, Lacy, Shatterell, Wintershall, Cartwright, Burt), and by Killigrew.

¹⁵¹ “Order to the King’s Company to Resume Acting.” 14 February 1675/6. TNA: PRO LC 5/141, p. 358. See Milhous and Hume, Document Register, no. 962.

¹⁵² “Orders for management of the King’s players,” 9 September 1676, TNA: PRO LC 5/141, p. 455; and “New Master of the King’s Company,” 22 February 1676/7, TNA: PRO LC 5/141, p. 539. See BD, 1:151, and see Document Register, no. 975 and no. 997.

¹⁵³ The source is Kynaston’s bill of complaint in Kynaston vs. Clayton, 31 October 1696, TNA: PRO C6/438/34. On 1 May 1676, a sharing agreement was reached between Killigrew and the sharing actors, including Mohun, Hart, and Kynaston. The agreement stated that three month’s notice of playing time was to be given for intention to retire, that a daily allowance of 5 shillings per acting day after retirement be granted, and that one hundred pounds be bequeathed to the actor’s executor after death. See Document Register, no. 966. When Kynaston announced his retirement, he clearly banked on a retirement salary. We know from his bill of complaint (and from the deposition of Thomas Betterton, who was one of his witnesses) in Kynaston vs. Clayton that the state of disarray at the King’s led to these terms not being met. Clayton was executor for William Wintershall’s estate and sued Kynaston as a surviving sharer in the by then long defunct King’s Company for unpaid returns on Wintershall’s shares to Wintershall when he was alive (he was buried on 8 July 1679). Kynaston claimed he was not liable. I acknowledge Judith Milhous for generously providing me with a copy of her transcription of Kynaston’s bill of complaint, as housed in the TNA: PRO.

In September 1677, Killgrew's son, Charles, along with several building sharers and nine young actors, entered into an agreement that essentially meant a split off from the more senior actors.¹⁵⁴ This matter was resolved, and some of the younger players were given sharer status under Charles Killgrew by July 1680, with Kynaston at that time listed as a non-sharer, and Hart and Mohun not mentioned.¹⁵⁵ The sense is that once Charles got full control of the King's, the older players were more and more marginalized. Poor management continued to lead to company dissention that reached a point of no return. On 14 October 1681, Hart and Kynaston entered into a secret agreement with the rival Duke's Company promising, among other matters, to try and free themselves from the King's Company and in the meantime to refuse to perform, with Kynaston promising to free himself up so that he could play at the rival Duke's.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ "New King's Company building agreement." 28 September 1677. TNA: PRO [C7/194/57]. See Document Register, no. 1023. For a colorful discussion of the 1677-78 season and the internal dissentions, see John Harold Wilson, Mr. Goodman the Player (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964), esp. 65-81.

¹⁵⁵ "New King's Company sharing agreement." 30 July 1680. TNA: PRO [C7/133/82]. Document Register, no. 1114.

¹⁵⁶ "Secret Agreement of Charles Hart and Edward Kynaston with the Duke's Company Managers." See Document Register, no. 1134. Agreement reprinted in Gildon, 8-9. A further account is offered by Thomas Betterton in his 1697 deposition in Kynaston vs. Clayton, "Kynaston and Mr hart did leave the Company pursuant to the Agreement made betweene them for that purpose before the Union of the two Compaynes." Betterton goes on to say (correctly) that Hart and Kynaston never received payment owed as per the terms of their agreement, and that they both complained of this to him. From Betterton's Deposition in Kynaston vs. Clayton re Union of 1682. P.R.O. C24/1197, no. 56. Jur. 26 die Janij 1697. Some abbreviations expanded. I acknowledge Judith Milhous for kindly providing me with a copy of her transcription of the deposition.

Finally, in May 1682, the King's Company was dissolved and absorbed by the Duke's Company.¹⁵⁷ Once the King's united with the Duke's, the by now aging Mohun, who had been a leading player, had to petition the King for wages equal to those of Hart and Kynaston.¹⁵⁸ According to his petition of November 1682, Mohun had lost his one and a quarter share and had become a salaried player "now only proffered 20 s. a day when they haue occasion to vse him," which he reports was seldom.¹⁵⁹ Mohun's concerns during this tangle seem just. He writes:

yo^r pet^r most humbly prayes That yo^r Ma^{te} will be graciously pleased to Order the p^rsent Company to allow him the same Conditions as M^r Hart and M^r Kinaston haue, (whos Shares were all equall before) wherby he may be enabled to support himselfe & his 5 children And yo^r pet^r shall as in duty bond pray &c.

Mohun's request was granted and it was ordered that he "haue his owne parts to Act."¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ "Articles of Union." 4 (?) May 1682. British Library Add. MS 20, 726, fols. 10r-13v. See Document Register, no. 1151.

¹⁵⁸ There is a romantic account by Edmund Bellchamber, who edited an 1822 edition of Cibber's Apology, of Mohun resisting the Union and forming a rebel company, with Kynaston as a supporter, but it is inaccurate and there is zero evidence. Perhaps Bellchamber projected forward Mohun's (and the other Red Bull actors') attempts at resistance against Davenant and Killigrew in 1660. See Lowe, ed. An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber, "Memoirs of the Actors and Actresses Mentioned By Cibber, Taken from Edmund Bellchamber's Edition of the 'Apology,' 1822," 2:328-29.

¹⁵⁹ "Mohun's Petition to the King." [mid-November 1682]. LC 5/191, fol. 102v. See Document Register, no. 1169. Petition quoted in Nicoll, 1:365-66. Mohun's request was granted on 23 November 1677, and the order repeated on 5 December (suggesting that restitution had not yet been made). See "Order About Mohun's petition," 23 November 1682, TNA: PRO LC 5/191, fol. 103, Document Register, no. 1170; and "Order on Mohun's petition repeated," 5 December 1682, TNA:PRO LC 5/191, fol. 105, Document Register no. 1175. Both orders are quoted in Nicoll, 1:366.

¹⁶⁰ From the order on Mohun's petition, 5 December 1677, LC 5/191, fol. 105, printed in Nicoll 1: 366, and listed in Document Register, no. 1175.

Mohun's petition points to some of the problems that might arise for aging actors.

Most of the leading players in the King's Company were aging, by contemporary standards. In 1677, Marshall was roughly thirty-two to thirty-six,¹⁶¹ while Boutell was twenty-eight, and the thirties were past prime age for lead women performers in the commercial market. Kynaston was around thirty-five years of age, but Hart was around fifty, and Mohun was around sixty. Prodigiously, Kynaston continued to work through 1701, and Boutell, with a couple of hiatuses, until 1696. Marshall disappears from the performance rosters after 1677. After 1682, there are no recorded roles for Hart and only one possible role recorded for Mohun, perhaps due to a combination of health problems and politics.¹⁶² Betterton stated in his 1697 deposition as a witness for Kynaston in Kynaston vs. Clayton that Kynaston, Cartwright, and Mohun did perform with the United Company.¹⁶³ This is the only piece of evidence we have to tell us Mohun continued to

¹⁶¹ We have no birth date for Marshall, so this is a speculation based on my guess that she was between 16 and 20 when she joined the King's in 1661, and probably closer to 18 and 20. Boutell joined at 15, and Gwyn at 13, and Marshall was probably a bit older, based on analysis of roles played.

¹⁶² Cibber writes that the Union was "so much in favour of the Duke's Company, that Hart left the Stage upon it, and Mohun survived not long after." See Apology, 1:96. According to Downes, Hart's retirement was due to illness. He writes that after the Union Hart "never Acted more, by reason of his Malady; being Afflicted with the Stone and Gravel, of which he Dy'd sometime after. Having a salary [pension] of 40 Shillings a Week to the Day of his Death." See Downes, 81. Judith Milhous, in Thomas Betterton and the Management of Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1695-1708 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978), asserts that she sees Mohun's petition as one sign of the "inevitable friction in the integration of the companies" at the time of the Union, despite apparent attempts to accommodate as many performers as possible, perhaps, as she puts it, "as a means of ensuring acquiescence" (41).

¹⁶³ Cartwright, one of the eldest actors in the King's Company and significantly older than Mohun, rarely acted by 1680-81 due to illness, but he apparently recovered. He continued to act after the Union until his retirement in 1684-85, at roughly age eighty. See BD, 3:91. Cartwright, however, was a character actor who played older men roles, while

work; thus, it is invaluable. Mohun's roles, however, are unknown, so we can say virtually nothing about how much he worked or how he may have been cast, save for a manuscript cast list dated circa 1682-83 that names him as the soldier Mardonius in A King in No King, a role that was his in the King's Company.¹⁶⁴ By the late 1670s, Hart and Mohun were both in poor health. Hart died in 1683 and Mohun in 1684. This marked the end of an era. The first generation of leading men who had acted before the Restoration was now gone.

Despite problems and inequities at end, during the years 1672-1678, casting and specializations in the King's Company maintained their status quo, as far as we can tell, and Marshall (until she left in Spring 1677), Boutell, Kynaston, Hart, and Mohun were five of the most important players. Some new actors signed on in the last years, but the older actors continued to perform the roles they owned and acquired new leading roles in new plays, plays that suggest a level of maturity for the company.

In the next chapters, as I enter into my analysis of the work of Charles Hart, Michael Mohun, Edward Kynaston, Rebecca Marshall, and Elizabeth Boutell, I begin with these basic fundamentals: women were new to the stage, thus apprenticed, and hence needed to quickly master new skills; the company composition was fairly stable between 1660-1678, if we measure this by the presence of the leading players, particularly the men; and specializations were established that carried over between old and new plays.

Mohun was still playing leads in the late 1670s, along with the occasional character part. Probably there was less of a place for Mohun after the Union.

¹⁶⁴ The manuscript is housed at Yale. While the play was probably performed with this cast, we lack definite evidence. For discussion, see LS, 314 and BD, 10:275-76.



Figure 1. Portrait of Major Mohun. British School, c. 1642-45. Private collection at Knole House, Kent. Reproduced courtesy of Lord Sackville.

Chapter 3

Lovers, Rogues, Villains, and Supermen:

Charles Hart's, Michael Mohun's, and Edward Kynaston's Roles

In this chapter, I analyze the lines of business of three leading male performers in the King's Company between the years 1660 and 1678: Charles Hart, Michael Mohun, and Edward Kynaston. My purpose here is to study in depth the kinds of men these actors played on stage. To do so, I turn to the texts that they once embodied.

Charles Hart was the leading romantic actor in the company, and he excelled at playing soldier-lovers who were gifted in love and in battle. He was also usually cast as the leading lover in comedies. Occasionally, he took on villain roles, but these villains were always emotionally passionate and sympathetic in at least some capacity, as I will explain. Michael Mohun was also a leading man, and he specialized in loyal soldier roles, jealous tyrant parts, and in eccentric lover roles in comedies. Mohun was often paired opposite Hart, who tended to play the more emotionally acrobatic leads. Edward Kynaston began his career playing leading female parts, and by the early 1660s switched over to male roles. He began in secondary male parts, eventually working his way up to leads. Kynaston excelled at playing young lovers, and later, tempestuous military leader roles and beautiful villains. After considering "lines," I turn my attention to how the three men were cast in relation to one another. In this discussion of three, or triangulations, I explore two play texts in depth in order to consider how ideal masculinity is constructed by the juxtaposition of heroes and less perfect men.

A. Charles Hart's roles

There are sixty-two roles on record for Hart, and the number would be higher if there were no gaps in casting and repertory records.¹ From the information about roles that we do have, it is clear that he had a wide range as an actor. Hart excelled as the leading romantic lover in both serious and tragicomic plays. By romantic, I mean a man who is highly expressive and demonstrative physically and emotionally, who is the superior soldier and the most desirable lover, and who is always paired with a leading female player cast as his main love interest. Hart was also skilled in playing roguish, dashing leading lovers and handsome scamps in comedies. Occasionally, he played villains, but only when the villain was the most romantic male part in the play. His earliest known roles are women's parts. He created the leading role of The Duchess in Shirley's The Cardinal in 1641 when he was roughly twelve years of age, and circa 1638-42 he was cast in Fletcher's Philaster as the romantic heroine Euphrasia, who cross dresses as a page in order to follow her beloved. By 1660, he was a leading man. When Philaster was revived in the 1660s, he played the title role of the noble lover-soldier who wins Euphrasia's love.

Considered across genres, Hart's roles are characterized by a sense of finesse and agility. Writing about leading actor Stephen Hammerton, who specialized in women's roles and then in young lover parts in the generation before Hart, G.E. Bentley describes

¹ Five of these roles are conjectural, and all are highly plausible and I believe likely, with the exception of one, which I discuss in Appendix A, "Actors' Roles: Charles Hart." I consider these roles part of the "on record" number because they are listed either in the BD or by other scholars, and thus part of the scholarly citation of Hart's work. Note that in the appendix the total number of roles for Hart numbers at sixty-four. This is because his roles are listed sequentially, beginning with roles that were his prior to his tenure with the King's Company. Two roles that were his in 1659-60 were also his post 1660. Thus, they appear twice in the appendix, but I do not add them into the total count here.

Hammerton as “the matinee idol of Blackfriars in the forties.”² To borrow Bentley’s analogy, Hart was the matinee idol of the Theatre Royal in the 1660s and 1670s. Like Hammerton, Hart began in female roles and then took on such lover roles as Amintor in Beaumont and Fletcher’s The Maid’s Tragedy. Early parts in revivals show his range. By 1660, he was playing Florez, the dashing, handsome Prince disguised as an honest merchant in Fletcher’s tragicomedy The Beggar’s Bush; Arbaces, the impassioned ruler in A King and No King who falls in love with his sister, and subsequently learns his love is not incestuous when it is discovered that he is a commoner and no king by birth; and the title role in Fletcher’s Rollo, or The Bloody Brother, an example of an early villain role.

Hart played few villains, but the villain roles he took on showcased his talent for creating strong leads. Rollo is illustrative of the kinds of villains Hart could excel in playing: anti-heroes in which one can see mangled greatness. Rollo is an elder brother who has been wronged by his father’s violation of the laws of primogeniture. The father has divided the kingdom equally between Rollo and his younger brother, Otto.³ Rollo seizes power by murdering his brother in front of his mother and sisters, and then continues on a bloody spree, killing, among others, the father of the woman he desires and falls in love with, Edith. In spite of these atrocities, Rollo is not without his sympathetic side. He initially decides against murdering his brother, but is persuaded to follow through by an ambitious sycophant, Latorch (played by Nicholas Burt), who is

² Bentley, The Jacobean and Caroline Stage, 2: 460.

³ Hart may have played the younger brother, Otto, circa 1648, as cited in Chapter 2. If so, this is an example of an actor working his way up to stronger leading parts. Kynaston played Otto opposite Hart’s Rollo.

thus the locus of greater evil. Rollo's attempted seduction of Edith can be made all the more powerful by an actor who can make an audience wonder if there is sincerity in his capacity to reflect on and to regret some of his chosen actions, or, if he is merely deceiving Edith as he begs her to

Look not upon me as I kill'd thy father,
 As I was smear'd in bloud doe thou not hate me,
 But thus in whitenesse of my wash'd repentance
 In my hearts teares and truth of love to *Edith*,
 In my faire life hereafter (67-68).⁴

Edith hesitates to kill him because he expresses remorse, but when cornered, he quite despicably uses her body as a shield against physical attack. He is finally killed by a soldier. Played by an actor like Hart, who could portray Rollo's darkness with relish but who could also find and project his more sympathetic traits, the part could become much more than one-dimensional and the performance potentially more pleasurable for an audience. Downes numbers Rollo amongst Hart's roles that if played by him "but once in a Fortnight, the House was fill'd as at a New Play" (41).

There are only three other serious villain roles on record for Hart, and only two of these were definitely performed: the title role of the ambitious arch conspirator in Jonson's *Catiline* (revived 1668); and the title role of the lascivious and murderous emperor in Nathaniel Lee's first play, *Nero* (1674), a role probably composed with Hart in mind.

⁴ John Fletcher, *Rollo, or The Bloody Brother*. EEBO. 9 January 2003.

Nero is an early work for Lee, and rather rough in its construction, but the male and female leads, Nero and Poppea, are well developed as characters, and thus good material for the capable actor. Nero is a lover-villain who believes he is a god. When Hart created the role of the young emperor in 1674 at the age of forty-four, he had been a leading man for fourteen years, and he took on a part that was outside of his usual line of sympathetic leads. Did he want to play Nero, and if so, what was the appeal of the role? Derek Hughes has said that Hart was an actor who wanted to be loved or pitied, but not hated.⁵ Although we cannot know what Hart subjectively “wanted,” we can deduce that he excelled in sympathetic leads, that he was saleable in those leads, and, considering his high status in the company, he probably desired to play those leads, and realized his strengths as an actor. The company agreed to stage Lee’s play, and the best matches between roles and actors were made. Nero was a role well suited to Hart’s strengths, because he could create a Nero who was a compelling and charismatic anti-hero, a leader with promise but consumed by megalomania and madness.

Nero is physically beautiful, but a decadent who revels in sensual pleasure, and who is unfit to govern because he is distracted by his excesses, including sodomy. His crimes, which are conflations of history and myth, include raping and killing his mother, dressing a young boy lover up as a girl and parading “her” before the court, seducing another man’s wife (the beautiful Poppea, played by Beck Marshall), murdering the young Prince Britannicus’s sister, murdering Britannicus’s young lover, and eventually poisoning Britannicus. Nero’s passion for and violence against bodies involves continual

⁵ From the panel discussion that followed the presentation of Hughes’ paper “Restoration and Revolution: Aphra Behn’s Abdelazar.” (Eighteenth Century Revolutions: An Interdisciplinary Conference, CUNY Graduate Center, New York City, April 1999).

acts of penetration into other's bodies, male and female, by poison, sword, seduction, and rape. His desire for young boys is made clear when he boasts that he is god-like, and thus has the power to change someone's sex. As he speaks, he displays to the court his young boy lover (Sporus), now dressed as a girl:

Who but a GOD like me, could sexes change?

Sporus be witness of my Mighty art;

Sporus, now my lady, once Lord of my heart [...]

This hand does all the sweets of nature sow.

I ransack Nature; all its treasures view;

Beings annihilate, and make a new:

All this can I, your God-like Nero do. (31)⁶

Nero delights in ransacking nature, in tearing apart the physical boundaries between male and female by forcing the young boy to play the role of a girl in dress and in sexual play. He desires female and male bodies, and pleasures in manipulating those bodies as an expression of his power. His desires that transcend sex boundaries mark him, in the Restoration sense of the word, as a sodomite. The sodomite, as Cynthia Herrup puts it in her discussion of sodomy in the seventeenth century, desires everything:

The danger of the sodomite was not that the focus of his attention was a man, but that his desires had no focus; they ran in indiscriminate streams that undermined

⁶ Nathaniel Lee, *Nero*, in *The Works of Nathaniel Lee*, vol. 1, ed. Stroup and Cooke. Subsequent references are from this edition.

alleged categorical boundaries between men and women [...] Sodomy was less about desiring men than desiring everything.⁷

Nero desires everything: mother, boy, and another's wife. His most passionate desire is for a married woman (Poppea), and it is only before he meets her that he pleasures in a young, male body. Hart, as Nero, is made by play's end a man who loves and sexually desires women. He comes to the home of Poppea and her husband, woos Poppea with a promise, "be mine / and I will make thee More happy, than those powr's we call Divine" (50), and promises to make her his Empress. He wins her, and she becomes his wife.

Nero's end is pathetic, and his final speech clearly written to elicit sympathy for the actor embodying the role. He is tormented by Caligula's ghost, and his mind begins to melt: "Swords, Famine, Plagues combine; / Your madness trebled cannot equal mine" (59). When the boundaries of his city are invaded by a victorious army, and when he has lost Poppea to death, Nero mourns her, rages at "Destiny," and commits suicide (70). The emotional and excessive Nero who sexually plays with boys and women is the most interesting male character in the play. Hart was the right actor for the part, because of his ability to create charismatic leads, probably making Nero's insatiable desires for bodies and power tolerable and perhaps even pleasurable to some members of the audience, who may have enjoyed watching Hart play the impassioned, decadent Roman leader.⁸

⁷ Cynthia B. Herrup, A House in Gross Disorder: Sex, Law, and the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). Herrup's perceptive study focuses on the 1631 trial of Mervin Touchet, the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven, and his conviction for rape and sodomy, and, as Herrup persuasively argues, for his failure to maintain order as the head of the household. She contextualizes the trial by looking at broader cultural circumstances, including contemporary perceptions of sodomy.

⁸ Stroup and Cooke, write that Nero was "neither a decided success of an absolute failure." It was published in 1675, and the editors suggest that the play was "not without its popularity, as may be judged by its reissue in quarto in 1696." Nero was acted before

In Figuring Sex Between Men from Shakespeare to Rochester, Paul Hammond writes of the “old commonplace associating Rome with sodomy” that figures in select Restoration poems and plays.⁹ It figured in Nero, and also in John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester’s Lucina’s Rape. Rochester, who may well have been inspired by Hart’s performance in Lee’s tragedy, assigned Hart the role of the shockingly evil and Nero-like Valentinian in Lucina’s Rape (composed circa 1675), according to a manuscript cast list.¹⁰ Valentinian’s crimes include raping another man’s wife (which the audience hears) and making love to a eunuch (which the audience sees), but this play was probably not performed during Hart’s lifetime.¹¹ Rochester’s wish list offers us important information

Royalty (Charles 11) when it premiered on May 16, 1674, according to a November 1674 warrant. See The Works of Nathaniel Lee, ed. Stroup and Cooke, 1:21, and see Document Register, 879, and Nicoll, History of English Drama, 1:345. This is the only record of a King’s Company performance, and it may or may not have been revived with Hart in the title role.

⁹ Paul Hammond, Figuring Sex Between Men from Shakespeare to Rochester, 240.

¹⁰ Rochester’s cast list is reproduced along with the play text in The Works of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, ed. Harold Love (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 133-231. Love looked at three manuscript copies of Lucina’s Rape, and his source text for all accidentals was British Library Add. MS. 28692, ff. 3^r-169^r. I looked at this manuscript copy in the British Library, and the Dramatis Personae list, with actor’s names, is written in the same hand as the play text. Love speculates that this manuscript was “copied under his supervision for purposes of presentation, that BLa92 represents the most faithful and immediate of these copies,” and that “the intended user of the manuscript, if not Rochester himself, was someone close enough to him to not need [Rochester’s name in the copy].” See The Works of John Wilmot, Love, 623-24.

¹¹ The 1685 version of the text contains the scene in which Valentinian makes love to the Eunuch (probably post-coitus). We know the play was performed in 1685, and this text contains a cast list, but whether or not the scene was cut in performance is unknowable. It may well have been staged as written, and if so, the audience would have watched a highly titillating scene of homoerotic play. I note that in BL Add. MS. 28692, the entire scene between Valentinian and the eunuch is crossed out in dark black ink, and the color of the ink suggests that this change may have been made after the seventeenth century, possibly be a later owner of the text (seventeenth-century ink would by now probably have faded to brown).

about how a playwright might perceive an actor's strengths. Derek Hughes identifies Hart's "occasional forays into villainy," listing his three known villain parts in serious plays, and my guess is that the ratio would not change even if we had complete cast and repertory records.¹² Hart seems to have played villains only when the villain was the most charismatic and romantic character in a play.

In most serious plays in the repertory, the romantic and charismatic roles were, of course, the hero parts. Hart excelled in playing leading men who were both lovers and soldiers, often of superman proportion. The superman lover and soldier was the hero of Restoration heroic tragedy, and John Dryden was the playwright who most perfected this kind of hero. The epic superman has great prowess in battle and the ability to single-handedly defeat armies. He stands for the voice of good and often enters the scene as a rebel loner, who becomes a part of community via defeating evil and winning a high-born woman's heart. This superman-hero lives in a universe where justice triumphs and virtue is rewarded.¹³ The purest example of this superman is Almanzor in Dryden's two-part Almanzor and Almahide, or The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards (1670-71). The journey for Almanzor and for some of his immediate prototypes—Montezuma in Dryden and Edward Howard's The Indian Queen (1664) and Armusia in the 1668 adaptation of

¹² Derek Hughes, English Drama 1660-1700, 6.

¹³ I decided upon the term "superman hero" to describe the characteristics of Almanzor and kind. I have since discovered that James William Johnson uses the term "superman hero" in his discussion of general hero types in his essay: "England, 1660-1800: An Age Without A Hero," in The English Hero, 1660-1800, ed. Robert Folkenflik (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1982), 25-34, on 34. The idea of a hero who is titled a Superman of course extends back to Nietzsche's "ubermench." The D.C comic book character Superman, the twentieth-century caped crusader, captures the feeling of Almanzor: a fantasy hero who fights the forces of evil and whose prowess is unmatched.

Fletcher's The Island Princess—is one from outsider to integral part of community.¹⁴ As Dryden points out, such hero fighters who stand outside of community structure have classical roots. He names Homer's Achilles as a chief model for Almanzor, who

in strength and courage surpass'd the rest of the *Grecian* Army: but, withall, of so fiery a temper, so impatient of an injury, even for his King, and General, that when his Mistress was to be forc'd from him by the command of *Agamemnon*, he not only disobeyed it; but return'd him an answer full of contumely; and in the most opprobrious terms he could imagine.¹⁵

Hotspur, another of Hart's roles, also comes to mind, for fiery stubbornness, and Brutus, for zealous passion that leads to violent rebellion, but all of these characters (Almanzor, Hotspur, and Brutus) could, with the wrong actor, read as canting and irrational. These men earnestly believe they fight for the right cause, and their egos are also completely joined to their victory, but their virtues are strength, courage, and independent spirit,

¹⁴ Hart created the role of Armusia in the 1668 version of The Island Princess, adopted from Fletcher by an anonymous author. The California Dryden editors plausibly state that Hart most likely created the role of Montezuma in Dryden and Edward Howard's The Indian Queen (1664). Based on my reading of the play and my study of Hart's roles, I absolutely concur. Montezuma is in Hart's line, and is very clearly a prototype for Almanzor. See The Works of John Dryden, vol. 8, ed. John Harrington Smith, Dougald MacMillan, and Vinton A. Dearing (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), 321.

¹⁵ John Dryden, "Of Heroique Plays," in The Works of John Dryden, vol. 11, ed. John Loftis, David Stuart Rodes, and Vinton A. Dearing (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 8-18, on 14. Subsequent references to this essay are from this edition. In his essay, Dryden also names Tasso's Rinaldo and Artaban from La Calprenède's romance Cleopatra (1647-58) as influences, writing that La Calprenède was clearly inspired by Homer and Tasso when he wrote the character of Artaban (14). As Herbert Wynford Hill notes in his excellent study, "La Calprenède's Romances and the Restoration Drama, Part II: The Influence of Cassandra and Cleopatra on the Restoration Drama," in University of Nevada Studies 3. 2 (1911), 57-158, on 75-81, Almanzor shares many of Artaban's traits, from his innate passion to defend the weak to his fierceness in battle, "inspiring awe and reverence in the hearts of friends and paralyzing with terror his foes" (76). Almanzor is very much the seventeenth-century romance hero.

which keeps them driving forward in their quest to win for what are justifiably good, even if imperfect, reasons.

The first image in Granada, Part 1, is of Almanzor defeating a bull, and the passage could be straight from folk tales, evoking a Beowulf: “the beast than bellowed loud and his strong neck to a new onset bowed. Th’ undaunt’d youth / Then drew; and from his Saddle bending low, / Just where the neck did to the shoulders grow, / With his full force discharg’d a deadly blow” (1.1.88-91).¹⁶ In his discussion of mythic heroes, Lord Raglan identifies “victory over a giant, dragon, or wild beast” as an action that marks the archetypal hero, and Almanzor’s defeat of the bull is just this sort of victory.¹⁷ When the actor playing Almanzor enters in the next scene, he must be able to carry this load—how can one write an epic on the body?

Poetic justice governs the world in which the superman hero lives. He is a rebel, a man who structures his own universe: “I alone am King of me. / I am as free as Nature first made man” (1.1.206-07). In this sense, he is very much the liberal subject as Catherine Belsey defines the term, a man “whose essence is freedom,” and who is the “free, unconstrained author of meaning and action,” a liberal subject that seems to have been born in, or at least became more acutely defined in, the era of the English Civil Wars.¹⁸ Although we need to be cautious about generalizations and clear shifts born

¹⁶ John Dryden, The Conquest of Granada Part 1, in The Works of John Dryden, vol. 11. Subsequent references to the play are from this edition.

¹⁷ Raglan’s list was first brought to my attention by Robert Folkenflik in his introduction to The English Hero, 1660-1880, 9-21, on 15. For the complete list, see Fitzroy Richard Somerset, Lord Raglan, The Hero: A Study in Tradition, Myth, and Drama (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1936; reprint, New York, Vintage Books, 1956), 174-75.

¹⁸ Catherine Belsey, The Subject of Tragedy: Identity and Difference in Renaissance Drama, 8.

from an admittedly cataclysmic social event, it is probable that a constellation of causes, including the massacre of Charles I and the cultural trauma that event caused, created change. As Leo Braudy puts it, somewhat too tidily but perceptively,

the execution of Charles I along with the political and military excesses of Cromwell, the “private man” who had ruled without the sky falling in, left the growing impression that human aspiration need not depend on the monarch’s approval to define its goals or achievements.¹⁹

Almanzor, a character born after the English Civil Wars, and based on earlier classical and romance models, is this kind of aspirant defying a monarch. He is a liberal man, but also an aristocrat, and one who is at essence a royalist (as was Dryden). He will overthrow the pagan monarch, and ultimately agree to serve the new Christian king as the glorious leader of his army.

Almanzor defies any voice of authority except his own, yet his choices eventually align him with the side of good and with the crown. The marriage of rebel and community comes through a discovery of his true identity—he is a Spaniard and a prince, and also a Christian in a world that is now Christianized (this echoes Armusia’s story in The Island Princess, as his noble beauty prompts the princess he loves to convert to his Christian faith). Despite his serving on the side of good, this hero has flaws: arrogance, self-righteousness, and rhetorical flourish that reads at times as bombast. Almanzor as type is parodied in the bombastic hero-fool Drawcansir in Buckingham’s The Rehearsal (1671), produced by the King’s Company shortly after Granada, although the butt of the

¹⁹ Leo Braudy, The Frenzy of Renown: Fame and Its History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 344.

joke is the writer (Dryden) and not the actor who created the role (Hart).²⁰ Almanzor's boast when his loyalties are in flux that "My two-edg'd sword can cut the other way" (4.1.29) destabilizes any sense of loyalty to a cause other than the self, which is parodied in Drawcansir when he bounds about annihilating two opposing armies, boasting how he gleefully slays "both friend and foe" (340). The superman is now a clown, a liberal subject run amok.²¹

No doubt Hart's finesse in hero roles made his supermen dashing figures, able to rise above their flaws. Almanzor is also a lover and undergoes genuine transformations in his journey toward self-discovery, although this discovery comes primarily through actions, not reflection. Male virtue in Almanzor is physical virtue, and it is also the ability to feel deeply and passionately. Part of the evidence of the superman's growth is that his discoveries move him to seek identity through his communion with a female partner and with male comrades. Before this alliance he struggles against that which threatens autonomy. He articulates falling in love as a loss of physical control: "I'm numm'd, and fix'd, and scarce my eyeballs move; / I fear it is the Lethargy of Love!" (3.1.336-37). Lethargy and a fixed gaze are stock responses to love's effect onstage, but Almanzor contrasts this paralysis with that which is prized in the hero man, namely, control of muscle and movement. The paralyzing effect of love is painted as a counterpoint to masculine independence. Only when love no longer interferes with

²⁰ We don't know who played Drawcansir. Of course, it would be brilliant if it was Hart.

²¹ George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and others, The Rehearsal. In British Dramatists from Dryden to Shakespeare, ed. George H. Nettleton and Arthur E. Case, revised by George Winchester Stone (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969), 39-66, on 65.

control of the physical body is it acceptable: although love struck, Almanzor returns to action. He is both lover and fighter, and a man who is action-driven: he fights and wins.

The man who never loves remains a stranger, but these supermen heroes love and love deeply, bringing them into community in a way that heroism alone cannot.

Alamanzor is in love with Almahide (played by Gwyn), who belongs to another, and he arrogantly demands her hand in exchange for his military aid, yet our sympathies are firmly aligned with their joining. The promise of their marriage at the end of Part 2 assures us that this epic-hero belongs. In a more tragic world, the hero might lose both his love and his life. King Phraates in John Crowne's successful The Destruction of Jerusalem, for example, a role Hart created when the play premiered in 1677, dies wildly fighting enemy troops on top of a mountain after the death of his lover.²² Phraates is a tragic Alamanzor. He is one of the victims, and the landscape is darker than in Dryden's tragicomic vision of the epic-heroic landscape, where the virtuous characters are rewarded and embraced in a final *komos*.

Throughout the play, Almanzor rebels against a jealous king, and proudly boasts that he is his own man. Hart's liberal heroes are acutely aware of their thoughts and feelings, and expressive in those thoughts and feelings. They have a highly developed sense of self, and a clearly developed interiority. The men Hart played were strongly defined by their autonomy, and need to be free in their choices of love, loyalty, and cause.

²² See John Crowne, The Destruction of Jerusalem, Part 2, in The Dramatic Works of John Crowne, 2 vols. (1874; reprint, New York, Benjamin Blom, 1967), 2:387. The reference is cited by page number. Crowne was in fact under contract with the Duke's Company. They refused the play, and Crowne brought it to the King's. See Milhous and Hume, Document Register, 1:1059.

Hart excelled at playing liberal princes, and he was also cast as a king who learns that he is no king by birth, and thus is free to marry the woman he desires. Hart owned the role of this king-cum-private citizen, Arbaces, the lead character in Beaumont and Fletcher's A King and No King. Arbaces, as Nancy Klein Maguire has astutely pointed out, is a clear prototype for Dryden's Almanzor in his emotional makeup and rebelliousness:

[Arbaces] Approximates the tone and temper of the Restoration supermen more nearly than Fletcher's other heroic warriors and lovers. Flaunting his "power" which "Is like the Sea, that is to be obey'd / And not disputed with" (II.221), Arbaces provides a model for the inflated valour of Dryden's prototypical superman Almanzor.²³

Arbaces, a part composed in circa 1618, and embodied by a Restoration actor who excelled in playing heroes who were liberal men, is different from Dryden's Almanzor in terms of his station. Arbaces is a private citizen who believes he is a king by birth. This is the inverse of Almanzor's situation, as Almanzor believes himself to be a private man—"I alone am King of me"—but is in fact a true prince by birth. Arbaces struggles with incestuous desire for a woman who he believes to be his sister, he has tirades, he is distracted from war by love, and we are privy to the consciousness of his thoughts. However, unlike Almanzor, he struggles to be free of those thoughts, and believes that he has a public role which must take precedence over his private desires. As the public ruler

²³ Nancy Klein Maguire, Regicide and Restoration: English Tragicomedy, 1660-1671 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 58. Maguire is quoting from Act 2 of Beaumont and Fletcher, A King and No King, ed. George Walton Williams, in The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon, ed. Fredson Bowers, 10 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966-1996), 2:221.

tortured over his desires as a private man, Arbaces has a fracturing sense of interiority, until he coheres at play's end by accepting his status as not-king. Almanzor clearly does have a cohesive interiority, and one that is not changed by his status, although, as a royal son, his rebelliousness is tamed because his energies are channeled into collective cause when he puts himself in service to the King. Arbaces, the private man who believes himself to be King, claims his power as a king; Almanzor, the king who believes himself to be a private man, claims his power as a private man. Because Almanzor is in fact a king, his body is sanctioned and his private desires are appropriate to his station as an aristocrat, a hierarchy that Dryden very much upholds in his play. Hart excelled as Arbaces, just as he did as Almanzor, and in both cases the characters have a highly developed inner life. Arbaces is an early prototype for the liberal hero, Almanzor.

Hart also played the leading heroes in Nathaniel Lee's dramas. Lee, like Dryden, was under contract with the King's Company as a playwright, and his work is clearly influenced by Dryden's. My sense is that he shaped his characters with a very definite idea of which actors would play them. Five of Lee's tragedies were produced by the King's Company between 1674 and 1678, and in all five Hart is cast in the most glorious male role. Following his appearance as the decadent emperor in Lee's Nero (1674), Hart played three of Lee's warrior-lover heroes: King Massinissa in Lee's version of Sophonisba (1675); Caesario in Gloriana (1676); and Ziphares in Mithridates (1678). He also played the tempestuous warrior-king role of Alexander the Great in The Rival Queens, or, The Death of Alexander the Great (1677), the most commercially successful of Lee's plays and a role for which Hart is remembered by Downes as being so majestic "that he could teach any King on earth how to comport himself" (41). All of these roles

allowed Hart to show off his range as an actor. In the three hero roles, he was physically and ethically the most beautiful man and he was in love with the most beautiful and virtuous woman. These heroes are emotional, but also accomplished warriors, and this balance is critical. They are feeling and physical men.

Hart, as Alexander, played a king who is loved by two beautiful women, and by a young man, the noble Hephestion, his favorite. His passion for Hephestion is intense, physical, and perhaps erotic. There is a hierarchical difference between Alexander and Hephestion, both in age and rank (as well as between Hart and Thomas Clark, the actor playing Hephestion), and as David M. Halperin notes in How To Do The History of Homosexuality, “within the horizons of the male world [...] hierarchy itself is *hot*: it is indissociably bound up with at least the potential for erotic signification.”²⁴ Alexander’s first actions are to enter and stand before his army and to take the young man he loves into his arms:

Rise all, and thou my second self, my Love;

O my Hephestion, raise thee from the Earth

Up to my Breast, and hide thee in my Heart.

Then, there is a change in the young man’s physical body, which Alexander responds to:

Art thou grown cold? Why hang thine Arms at a distance?

Hugg me, or else by Heaven thou lov’st me not. (240)

Alexander knows the younger man’s body well, and this suggests that the two have a physical, demonstrative, familiar relationship, what Haggerty describes as “the aura of the erotic” (34). Haggerty stresses the ties between Lee’s depiction of the love between

²⁴ David M. Halperin, How To Do the History of Homosexuality, 118.

Alexander and his young favorite and knowledge of the real life Alexander: “Alexander the Great had a reputation for loving his young officers, and that reputation is being depicted here, loosely and according to the conventions of Restoration tragedy, of course” (33). When the young man begins to cry because Alexander doubts his love, Alexander soothes him and stresses that he is no less manly for this action: “no Tears, Hephestion, I read thy Passion in thy Manly Eyes” (240). This assertion of manliness is important, for focus is on the love between soldiers as a celebration of the male body and its glories, and not as an effeminizing act. Building on this image of the manly love between men, Alexander now discourses about his great battles and accomplishments as a warrior, where, he states, he shines like a “dazling Eagle” (241). Typical of most of the roles Hart played, Alexander is unabashedly theatrical—he is aware of the power of self-performance within the world of the play, and he performs himself as being an ideal, eagle-like warrior. Yet, Alexander’s love for the young man potentially queers his warrior body, for he has a tendency to love to excess, an excess which his General, the loyal and self-disciplined Clytus (played by Michael Mohun), will later criticize as antithetic to the ethos of soldiery. In A Treatise of the Art of War (1674), Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, makes a similar assertion when he writes that in soldier’s camps, “I would have all Excess, or Debauchery, both strictly prohibited, and severely punish’d, if practised; for Debauchery in Armies is the High-way to Ruine, since those obey best, that are most sober.”²⁵ “Debauchery” and “Excesses” point to any abuse of the body, be it from drinking, whoring, or male-male sodomy, and Clytus faults Alexander for his lack

²⁵ Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, A Treatise of the Art of War, Dedicated to the Kings Most Excellent Majesty. London, 1674, 17. EEBO. 10 December 2003.

of temperance, and later, for his “debauch’d” life, yet Alexander’s free use of his body is the mark of the liberal hero.

Alexander’s greatest love is for his new wife, Statira (played by Elizabeth Boutell). In a scene that could easily have inspired incredible sympathy for the hero, he kneels at her feet to beg for her forgiveness. This action follows his betrayal of their love, because, lacking self-discipline, he slept with his first wife, the Medea-like Roxana (played by Beck Marshall), when he was away from the city, which is to Statira a deep betrayal of their love. Alexander, kneeling, orders his whole army to fall on their knees before her to show deference, asking the soldiers to yield as he does. Hart, embodying this character who, while flawed, loves deeply, would have created a sympathetic and majestic penitent hero.

Alexander is a warrior who is free in his body: expressive, passionate, yielding, and aggressive, thus more fluid than Clytus, who strictly disciplines himself and focuses only on war. Alexander believes that he can use his body as he pleases and pleasures in his closeness to men and women. In his thoughtful and now classic study, Homosexuality in Renaissance England, Alan Bray invokes the words of a man who was caught making love to another man in an open field in early eighteenth-century London, and who expressed to the constables who arrested and questioned him, “I did it because I thought I knew him, and I think there is no crime in making what use I please of my own body.”²⁶ This real-life heroic assertion of self and free will is paralleled on stage in the liberal hero, who responds to a beautiful woman or warrior and makes what use he pleases of his

²⁶ Alan Bray, Homosexuality in Renaissance England (London: Gay Men’s Press, 1982), 114. The man was named William Brown, and he was arrested in 1726. Bray’s source is Select Trials for Murders, Rapes, Sodomy, Coining, Frauds, and Other Offences at the Sessions-House in the Old Bailey, vols. 1-3 (London, 1742), 3:39-40.

body in his expression of affection and love toward them. In Laurence Stone's words, this is an "affective individualism," and the liberal subject uses the "free exercise of will within limits set by the need for social cohesion."²⁷ Alexander's love for women, or men, is a reflection of choice, and also of his worth, for his love is reciprocated.

When his desires exceed limits, chaos ensues, but love for the young man does not cause this chaos. Chaos comes from Roxana, his Medea-like, abandoned first wife, and from the evil young Cassander, who loves her. (Lee was obviously marrying classical polygamy with modern monogamy, as Alexander abides by the rules of monogamy, and transgresses from the point of view of his new wife when he has sexual relations with his first.) When the young warrior Hephestion loves him, it affirms his role as ideal man and model warrior. He is affectively strongly connected to the young warrior and to his new wife, and ultimately his woman-directedness is manifested by his love for the most virtuous woman in the play, which transcends all other loves.

Alexander's strengths are his passion, expressiveness, and achievements as a warrior. Despite these strengths, his ego and excesses have led him to commit at least two errors in judgment: one in the immediate past (sleeping with Roxana) and one in the present, an action motivated in part by ego and in part by his loss of control over his body and mind because he has been poisoned, and is slowly dying. At court, when Hephestion and several other soldiers praise Alexander for his greatness and bravery, his faithful General Clytus (played by Mohun), openly criticizes Alexander's excesses and his being distracted by effeminate love, telling him that he is less of a man than was his father, who

²⁷ Laurence Stone, *The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), on 224 and 253. This reference was brought to my attention by David Savran, *Taking It Like A Man*, 25.

“fought men, but Alexander women” (267). Alexander, confused and unmanned by the poison, shouts distractedly, “Was I a woman / when like Mercury / I left the walls to fly amongst my Foes?” (268), but then childishly pelts Clytus with fruit, “like a Boy with Apples” (268). He bids Clytus leave, forgiving his hot words, but when the stoic Clytus bids Alexander to look to forgive himself for the “riots of a most debach’d life,” Alexander lunges at the General (268-69). His decision to murder Clytus is impulsive, and his passions immediately physicalized, as if this is how he will play the hard warrior and assert his manhood. Realizing what he has done, he is overcome by intense emotion. He falls on Clytus’s body, and his language is visceral: “here I will lye / Close to his bleeding side, thus kissing him” (271).²⁸ This impassioned and physically expressive lament follows an impulsive choice, and Alexander cannot temper rage via reflection until after he faces the consequences of his actions. Because he has been poisoned, he is a victim. The emotional, passionate, expressive warrior-lover is effeminized by sorrow and by his loss of physical and mental control.

Alexander, the male warrior-lover, loses control of his expressive body. Dying, he verbally ejaculates in an operatic rant: “Ha! Who talks of Heav’n? / I am all Hell, I burn, I burn again” (280). His final speech focuses on his body that burns in pain, on the materiality of his flesh. The discipline of his body is the assertion of will and male subjectivity. He is a victim who is “taking it like a man,” taking pleasure in laughing through his physical pain, a modern male subject “eroticizing submission and

²⁸ Nathaniel Lee, *The Rival Queens*, in *The Works of Nathaniel Lee*, vol. 1, ed. Thomas B. Stroup and Arthur L. Cooke. Unless otherwise indicated, subsequent references are from this edition.

victimization while trying to retain a certain aggressively virile edge.”²⁹ He plays the action of laughing at death, and thus asserts his manliness through physical suffering.

The heroic male body is virile in love and war. In Dryden’s All for Love (December 1677), Hart created the role of the heroic Antony, the strong and feeling warrior distracted by love for a woman, who is torn between his role as soldier and as lover. Like Alexander, Antony is emotional and expressive in his love toward women and men who are valued by him. The bonds between men are weakened because of Antony’s passionate love for Cleopatra, which has taken him away from wife, children, and his Roman army. When the Roman General Ventidius (played by Michael Mohun), older in years than Antony, tries to break the spell that Cleopatra has over the wayward warrior, he does so by proclaiming his strong devotion to him, a devotion born in the warrior world of homosociability :

Ant. I would be private; leave me.

Vent. Sir, I love you,

And therefore will not leave you.

Ant. Will not leave me?

Where have you learned that Answer? Who am I?

Vent. My Emperour, the man I love next Heaven:

If I said more, I think ’twere scarce a Sin;

Y’are all that’s good, and good-like. (8)³⁰

²⁹ David Savran, Taking It Like A Man, 4 and 9. Savran writes of the “white male as victim” (4) and one whose masculinity is subjectively defined in large measure by a masochistic impulse to tolerate and even welcome physical and psychic pain.

³⁰ John Dryden, All for Love, or, The World Well Lost. London, 1678; facsimile edition, London: Scolar Press, 1969, reprint 1973. Reference is to page numbers.

Ventidius devotes himself and his body to war, and to Antony, who heads the Roman army; Antony, rejecting war, wife, and fellow soldiers, devotes his passion to a woman. There is a contest here between love between men and between women and men. The love between Ventidius and Antony is not sexual, but it is passionate. Halperin notes in How To Do the History of Homosexuality that such male friendships are “traditionally *masculinizing*, insofar as they express the male subject’s virility and imply a thoroughgoing rejection of everything that is feminine” (121). Ventidius plays the platonic lover, the devoted soldier of the man he serves, even to the end, where he kills himself rather than taking Antony’s life. This is a matter of honor, and deference, but there is also love, but a love that affirms maleness.

Antony is passionately in love with Cleopatra, but also shows deep devotion, even affectionate passion, to the men in his life. He is most physically expressive with the young and beautiful soldier, Dollabella (played by Thomas Clark).³¹ Ventidius, hoping to bring Antony’s attention back to war and to soldiery and away from women, encourages Antony to remember his love for Dollabella: “I know he loves you [...] He has thus long been lab’ring for your peace” (33). As George Haggerty writes in Men in Love: Masculinity and Sexuality in the Eighteenth Century, “Dollabella is introduced [by Ventidius] in an attempt to wrench Antony’s attention away from Cleopatra and back to

³¹ In Figuring Sex between Men from Shakespeare to Rochester, Paul Hammond notes at 253, note 80 that Clark was assigned the role of Lycias, the Eunuch, in the manuscript cast of Rochester’s Lucina’s Rape opposite Hart’s Valentinian. He then observes that Clark was cast as Hephestion to Hart’s Alexander in Lee’s The Rival Queens and Dollabella to Hart’s Antony that same year, which makes him “wonder how that relationship was portrayed on stage.” I note that Clark was also cast as Massina, nephew to King Massinissa, played by Hart, in Lee’s Sophonisba (1675). The relationship between Massinisa and the King is also intimate and passionate. Thus, three times Clark played the young man beloved by Hart’s heroes.

their proper subject, his position in the Roman empire.”³² Seeing Dollabella after a long absence, Antony is overcome by emotion. He runs to the younger man, and proclaims that his love for him surpasses that of a bridegroom’s for his bride:

Ant. ’Tis he himself, himself, by Holy Friendship! [*Runs to embrace him.*]

Art thou return’d at last, my better half?

Come, give me all my self.

Let me not live,

If the young Bridegroom, longing for his night,

Was ever half so fond. (33-34)

There is play here between two male bodies who embrace, and slippage between platonic, romantic, and sexual expressiveness when Antony joyfully proclaims that he loves Dollabella with a passion beyond that of a bridegroom eager to make love to his bride. Haggerty sees this play between Antony as bridegroom and Dollabella as young bride as an action that feminizes Dollabella in relation to the more manly Antony, and positions the young soldier as a different kind of man, “soft, tearful, and somehow not the man, say, that the soldier Ventidius is” (27). However, Haggerty continues, “this redefinition of masculinity [the young Dollabella as a softer man] in the object of Antony’s affections does nothing to diminish the power of the heroic stance; rather, it increases it” (28). Indeed, fierce love between soldiers—Antony’s love for both Ventidius and Dollabella, and theirs for him—is positioned as surpassing the love between a man and a woman, because the love of women distracts the warrior.

³² George Haggerty, Men in Love: Masculinity and Sexuality in the Eighteenth Century, 28.

The young Dollabella's worship of Antony's male body affirms the beauty of that body. However, a woman will soon take the place of Antony in Dollabella's heart, just as a woman reigns in Antony's. Antony is devoted to Cleopatra, and Dollabella will find himself stunned by Cleopatra's beauty and charms, fall in love with her, and become for Antony a potential rival, which severs trust and separates the bond between the men. The bodies of the men are separated by the bodies of the woman. The love Antony expresses for a favorite young man who in turn worships him is celebrated, but his love for a woman is the love central to him. His softness is associated with effeminacy, but because of his dotage on female, not male bodies. He confesses to Dollabella, "Thou hast what's left of me. / For I am now so sunk from what I was" (34). Loving Dollabella affirms Antony's manhood and warrior self, because it is a woman who has stripped him of his greatness and left him "so sunk from what I was." This fluid movement between male and female object affection may seem "bisexual" in today's vernacular, and both Alexander and Antony, as they are written, seem capable of expressing passionate feelings to both men and women; if not sexual, then physical and intimate.³³ Yet, Antony's great passion is for Cleopatra, as Alexander's was for Statira. The most

³³ In his influential work The History of Sexuality (1978), Foucault identifies the eighteenth century as the beginning of the formal categorization of the sexually pathological body. This, then, locates the seventeenth century as the much more free-spirited period where sexual acts had not yet been labeled or categorized as identities, as they would be by the nineteenth century. Scholars have made efforts to locate what would now be called "gay," "lesbian," and "bisexual" desire in eras that pre-date categorical, sexual identity labels. See for example, Lisa Merrill's thoughtful study of Charlotte Cushman, lesbian identity, and lesbian desire in When Romeo Was a Woman: Charlotte Cushman and Her Circle of Female Spectators (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999) and Jonathan Ned Katz's study of male homosexual desire in his study, Love Stories: Sex Between Men Before Homosexuality (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

beautiful and virtuous woman (in both cases, played by Boutell) is the central love, and the love that surpasses all others.

Like Alexander, Antony is a physically and emotionally expressive warrior-lover, whose manliness comes from his great depth of feeling and his skill in battle. After he defeats Caesar's army, he is crowned by Cleopatra following a ceremony to honor his victory, and his first spoken words are those of a lover who desires to be taken into her body:

I thought how those white arms would fold me in;
And strain me close, and melt me into Love;
So pleas'd with that sweet Image, I sprung forwards;
And added all my strength to every blow. (30)

Images of the male body are images of action, both as lover and fighter, but Antony inscribes the body of the warrior within that of lover who is melting into the body of Cleopatra.

I am convinced that Antony in Dryden's All For Love (1677) was a role created for Hart to play and was very much influenced by Hart's work in Lee's plays. Antony is a wayward warrior, enslaved by his love for Cleopatra. His greatness, however, cannot be diminished in performance, or the audience will lose interest: he must read as heroic. Much of this balance can be achieved through the play's content, but the right actor in the role is also necessary. Antony, like Lee's heroes, emotes, and he is demonstrative in his affection toward both women and men, which is a strength in a man who uses good judgment and finds the balance between his role as lover and as warrior, and a flaw in a hero whose judgment has been compromised by excess of passion. The ability to create

sympathetic heroes of both kinds was one of Hart's strengths as an actor, and almost always the most romantic soldier-lover role went to him during his life with the company.³⁴

Hart was also a strong comic lead. He excelled at playing romantic comic lovers who were what I call soft rakes. In his comic roles, Hart could play parts where liberal subjectivity is the guiding principle in the pursuit of pleasure, which for the male hero almost always took the form of female flesh, and occasionally, money. Comic heroes have it easier than their serious counterparts. Comedy is a fantasy of adventure in which heroes can be masters of their own bodies without punishment or a debilitating collision

³⁴ Hart's other romantic hero lover-soldier roles on record in new plays and not cited in the body of my discussion are Cortez in Dryden's The Indian Emperour (1665); Lord Delaware in Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery's The Black Prince (1667); Valerio in Flecknoe's Damoiselles a la Mode (1667); Poryphyrius in Dryden's Tyrannick Love (1669); Gabriel Towerson in Dryden's Amboyna (1672-73); and the title role in Dryden's Aureng-Zebe (1675). Hart is also marked in an MS cast list as the Duke of Urbin in William Killigrew's The Seege of Urbin (1664-65), which may have been staged, and in the published version of Flecknoe's Erminia (1660-61) in the role of the Prince. This casting, however, is Flecknoe's wish list, and the play may not have been produced. Hart is mentioned in Settle's preface to Fatal Love (1682), but it is difficult to discern if Hart actually performed in the play, or if Settle hoped that he could have. By the time the play was performed, Hart may have already been retired. If he did perform in the play, I deduce, based on my reading of the text, that he played the heroic role of Philandor. Hart may also have created the role of Gonsalvo in Dryden's The Rival Ladies (1664), as the role is in his line. See The Works of John Dryden, 8:321. My reading of the play leads me to the same conclusion as the California editors. In revivals, Hart is named in MS cast lists for three plays by Shirley, in the following roles: Manuel in The Court Secret (premiered circa 1661-64); Honario in The Imposter (1661-64), and Hernando in The Cardinal (1661-64). He is also named for the role of Hippolito in a MS copy of Shirley's Love's Crueltie and for Fernando in an MS cast list, dated circa 1663, for Ford's Love's Sacrifice. He is named in an MS cast dated circa 1663 in the role of the Prince in a revival of Heywood's The Royal King. His other known lover-soldier roles in revived plays include Cassio, and later the title role in Othello; Almerin in Suckling's Brennoralt; the title role in Chapman's Bussy D'Ambois; and Demetrius in Beaumont and Fletcher's The Humorous Lieutenant. Hart also played the roles of the shepherd Strephon and Europe in John Crowne's masque, Calisto (1675).

with one's limits. They can be liberal with their bodies without disrupting social cohesion in a community, even if they disrupt the lives of some minor characters.

The charms of Hart's liberal, soft rakes were physical beauty, attentiveness to women, virility, an easy-going way with his male comrades, and a sense of playfulness. Usually, he was a madcap, what Robert Jordan has named an "extravagant rake," one whose hot-blooded temperament is in fact the ideal model in the world of the play (82-83). Characterized by an acute sense of self-awareness (76), he is an attractive carnival figure whose sense of playfulness stands in stark contrast to both the more repressed and to the buffoonish (87).³⁵ An example of this kind of dashing soft-rake role is the part of the soldier-lover Philidor in James Howard's All Mistaken, or, The Mad Couple (1665). Philidor is one of the more scurrilous of Hart's soft-rake roles, and quite challenging because the character needs to remain likeable. Philidor's behavior towards women is potentially disturbing. He is confronted by three nurses who carry in their arms babies he has fathered, and later by six women whom he has promised to marry and has subsequently abandoned. In performance, Pepys records that Hart, as Philidor, held a baby in the scene with the nurses, presumably after they had run off stage and left the children behind (12).³⁶ Pepys writes that the baby Hart was holding began wailing, and that mother of the child "by force got upon the stage, and took up her child and carried it away off of the stage from Hart."³⁷ Thus, in the real-life space of the theatre, the

³⁵ See Robert Jordan, "The Extravagant Rake in Restoration Comedy," in Restoration Literature: Critical Approaches, ed. Harold Love (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1972), 69-90.

³⁶ James Howard, All Mistaken, or The Mad Couple (London, 1672). I am reading from the original text.

³⁷ See Pepys, Diary, 8:594.

potentially disturbing moment in the scene was in fact quite distressing in life to this woman, who could not bear to let the leading actor hold her obviously and understandably distressed child. Hart no doubt recovered and continued forward. In the world of the play, he finds new nurses for the children, and thinks upon how to escape “A certain flock of women that I have / Promis’d Marriage” (18). Hart, as Philidor, resists playing the domestic role of father or husband. His manliness comes from his being able to be free with his body in sexual play.

However, being a lover of many women proves only that Philidor’s body is sexually capable, but it is not the full measure of manhood, even for the soft rake. When Mirida, his female counterpart enters, Philidor is immediately infatuated. Mirada (played by Nell Gwyn) is of course the opposite of the women he has left behind—playful, wild, and engaging in the banter of the benefits of remaining single. Hart and Gwyn were frequently paired in this kind of “gay couple” partnership, and in this kind of partnering, Hart excelled.³⁸ After seeing All Mistaken, Pepys not only commented on the baby being pulled from Hart’s arms, but on Hart’s and Gwyn’s acting, which he found to be the best part of the play: “[I] saw *The Mad Couple*, which is but an ordinary play; but only, Nells and Hearts [Hart’s] mad parts most excellently done.” Hart’s mad part, the soft-rake Philidor, was in Hart’s “line” and was the kind of role in which he excelled.³⁹

On stage, Hart, as Philidor falls in love, and this demonstrates that he is capable of an emotional bond to a woman, important to defining the manliness of the soft rake. At play’s end, the pair protest against marriage and refuse the ritual, but this carnival ending

³⁸ See John Harrington Smith, The Gay Couple in Restoration Comedy (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1948), *passim*. Smith coined the term “gay couple” for the partnering of two playful madcaps on the Restoration stage.

³⁹ Pepys, Diary, 8:594.

does not lessen the sense that they are a perfect couple, and hence, may, in all likelihood, end up together. The spirit is one of good-natured fun and celebration of play in love. Philidor is by far the most dashing male in the world of the play, and his heat and lustiness mark him as the ideal man in this comic world. The lusty soft-rake Philidor is a prototype for the later soft-rake roles written for Hart by Dryden, including the slightly-tamer Celadon in Secret-Love, who, at play's end, proposes to his lover (played by Gwyn), and the charismatic Aurelian in Dryden's cape-and-sword comedy The Assignation, who is smitten with the beautiful maid Laura (played by Boutell) and rescues her from the nunnery where her father has sent her.

Another prototypical soft-rake role for Hart was that of the lead role of Don Juan in Buckingham's adaptation of Fletcher's The Chances (probably 1664).⁴⁰ The name Don Juan, as Marvin Carlson points out in Theatre Semiotics: Signs of Life, is an example of a name that is associated with a "certain sets of actions or personality traits."⁴¹ True to his name, Buckingham's Don Juan has an appetite for ladies, and he is also a witty and likeable rogue, in the tradition of the romantic comic Restoration rakes. Don Juan is very much the libertine, as Leo Braudy has eloquently asserted about this "type" in The Frenzy of Renown.

the figure of the rake, the rebel against God and man first depicted in sixteenth-century Spanish drama as Don Juan, reappeared in both England and France as

⁴⁰ References to this play are from the edition by Robert D. Hume and Harold Love, forthcoming from Oxford University Press. I acknowledge Professor Hume's generosity in providing me with a copy of this manuscript. A somewhat problematic MS cast list suggests a 1664 premiere, as discussed by Hume and Love in their introduction, on 7.

⁴¹ Marvin Carlson, Theatre Semiotics: Signs of Life, 31.

the forerunner of a libertine philosophy of freedom that stressed the naturalness of social codes [...] a style of individualism. (349-50)

Don Juan in Buckingham's adaptation of Fletcher's The Chances is a rebel, not so much against god, but in his secular world. This secularized Don Juan of Fletcher and Buckingham has a style of individualism that is rooted in freedom of choice. Like Philidor, another rake who craves freedom of choice, Don Juan resists domestication, such as when he holds a baby in his arms given to him for safe keeping and laments the potential loss of freedom and his history of the "Massacre of a Million / Of Maidenheads" (1.4.18-19). Also like Philidor, he falls for a country-girl, the 2nd Constantia (played by Gwyn), and by play's end goes off with her, vowing to his friend Frederick in the heat of his passion to forswear all other women. However, even at end, Don Juan describes marriage as that which kills passion, so his playboy ways seem not to be behind him. He is a romantic scamp; charming, warm, and endearing, as Hart could play him, and his antics come across as madcap play in a man who has not yet met his female match. He describes his own body as "well-knit (2.2.91)," and eschews "Eunuch honor" (2.2.28) and modesty as being but traits "fit for a Constable" (2.2.116). Don Juan defines a man who is a true man as:

A handsome man; a wholesome man, a tough man,
A liberal man, a likely man,
Made up like Hercules, unslack'd with Service:
The same to night, to morrow night, the next night,
And so to perpetuity of pleasures (2.2.117-21).

The epic hero is faithful to one love, but the comic lover takes pleasure in sexual freedom. He believes (like the epic hero) in the power of choice: he chooses whom to love, and when and if to marry. The soft rake has a legitimate place in the community as respecting the honor codes of the soldier (defending those who are wrong), but his manhood is also measured through sexual conquests and by his ability to respond to one woman romantically and as a special partner. Nothing for this hero is compulsory: all comes from his exertion of free will, and he is a social man who is also very much the liberal man, the man who sets his own course and who sees himself as master of his own body and mind.⁴²

In addition to these soft-rake roles, Hart played rakes in more cynical comedies. An early example is the rakish Jolly in John Wilson's city comedy The Cheats (1663), a Jonsonian play that attacks Puritanism. Jolly is the cavalier rogue who outfoxes sundry dotards and charlatans and helps arrange a marriage between his friend Afterwit (played by Burt) and Beatrice, a rich citizen's daughter, but who also gulls a young squire (aptly named Tyro) into marrying Beatrice's very pregnant servant Cis, who complains that

⁴² The other soft-rake roles on record for Hart are Wildblood in An Evening's Love (1668) and Palamede in Marriage A-la-Mode, both by Dryden; and Michael Perez in Rule a Wife and have a Wife and Welford in The Scornful Lady, both by Fletcher. Hart most probably created the role of the dashing roguish lover, Welbred, in James Howard's The English Mounsieur (first performed circa 1663). See Robert D. Hume's introduction to The English Mounsieur, (Los Angeles: Augustan Reprint Edition), i-xvi. Hume acknowledges Montague Summer's assertion in The Playhouse of Pepys that "Hart was Welbred" (192), a piece of guess work that Hume finds "highly plausible" (x). My reading of the play leads me to conclude that it is very likely that Hart took the part, as it is exactly in his line. Hart also played the roguish lead in Corneille's The Liar (1663), and this early revival, which Dryden saw, most likely served as a model for the comic leads Hart went on to create in Dryden's plays.

“[Jolly] has got me a child.”⁴³ Jolly is the comic trickster who dupes those even more corrupt than he, a necessary ingredient for a comic hero, but his impregnating Cis haunts like a dark shadow, in keeping with the satiric tone of the play. Jolly is a Renaissance, and not a Restoration character, yet he anticipates the liberal traits of the Restoration comic rake, although his interior life is not as developed. Later, Hart created the role of the hard-core rake Horner in The Country Wife (1675), one of the best-known characters in Restoration drama. Horner is a character of disguise, mythologizing himself as a eunuch so that he can access women’s bodies sexually. In one of the last roles recorded for Hart, he played the dashing but sleazy rake Monsieur Thomas in Thomas D’Urfey’s Trick for Trick, or The Debauch’d Hypocrite (1678), a character who both romantically woos his lover (Boutell) and who also quite villainously threatens to rape her while both of their fathers look on with amusement, and his own father (played by Mohun) cheers him on with a cry of “to her agen Son *Thomas*, to her agen Boy---ha, ha, ha.”⁴⁴ Hart’s embodying the role probably made the part more glamorously villainous than it might otherwise have been. The hard-core rakes he played were self-serving tricksters willing to take on personas in order to access what they desire—sometimes money, and always women. To this list of dark comic roles I would add another that belonged to Hart: Mosca, whose serpentine and sleazy machinations as Volpone’s self-serving creature

⁴³ John Wilson, The Cheats, ed. Milton C. Nahm (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1935). Facsimile edition. UMI (2002). Subsequent references are from this edition.

⁴⁴ Thomas D’Urfey, Trick for Trick, or, the Debauch’d Hypocrite, London, 1678, 61. Readex. D’Urfey adapted Fletcher’s Monsieur Thomas, but significantly darkened the leading role. Hughes rightly calls the adaptation a “radical revision” (202). In Wycherley’s Love in a Wood (1671), Hart created the role of Ranger, a soft-rake character who, like the harder rake, Thomas, tries to rape a virtuous lover, played in both cases by Elizabeth Boutell. Ranger redeems himself at end when he marries a young girl he has been courting.

make him a kind of nightmare trickster, although one who orchestrates his manipulation of the seedy Volpone and his sycophants with a finesse that is admirable, despite his fall at the end.

Hart could embody dark comic characters as well as light, romantic wits, and this was a necessary skill in a repertory company for a leading man whose lines of business included lover-hero roles in both serious and comic plays. The hero needs to be believable as a desirable subject and one who is never too eccentric for the world he inhabits.

In one of Hart's quirkier roles, the discontented sea-captain Manly in Wycherley's The Plain Dealer (1676), he is comparatively normalizing, as his misgivings about cultural phoniness prove true. He also falls in love with the ingénue and is ultimately less eccentric than the other men in the world of the play. He has a dark side, particularly when he decides to forgo his compulsory plain-dealing and to jump on the bandwagon of disguise after becoming disenchanted by the selfish Olivia's shortcomings. He is blunt, direct, and gruff, with a "noble, Lyon-like Meen" and a "manly roughness of voice" (426), as Olivia, the lover who rejects him, biting puts it, mocking his presumptuous and territorial claim upon her body.⁴⁵ As "Manly," he is the embodiment of male virility, but he is also hypermasculine, aggressive, and physically explosive. He violently throws two of Olivia's suitors out of doors, despising their foppishness, attention to her, and their "Effeminacy," and is then sarcastically called by Olivia "Swaggerhuff." (427). His most violent action is to enter Olivia's (offstage) bedroom under the pretence of playing his

⁴⁵ William Wycherley, The Plain Dealer, in The Complete Plays of William Wycherley (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1966). Subsequent references are from this edition.

page (a cross-dressed Fidelity), whom she is expecting, with the intention of raping her—an action which is left ambiguous, as we do not know whether he goes through with it. We thus see in Manly a dark comic character, both trickster and semi-hero. Despite his quirkiness and penchant for violence, we are signaled in many ways to see him as desirable, and even as good, because the beautiful and virtuous woman wants him, and because he manages to expose the dishonest wags. I agree with Robert D. Hume that although Manly is not a noble hero, a “comic butt reading is at odds with [...] the character type associated with Charles Hart, who created the role.”⁴⁶ Manly is not an ideal man, nor a parody of manhood. He embodies the spirit of play but also the most worthy, or “Manly” expression of maleness as it is constructed in the world of the play—he can fight, woo, and love, perhaps sloppily, but ultimately better than the others. Manly, as played by Hart, most likely came across as roguish, charismatic, and a character that one would like to be able to forgive.

B. Michael Mohun's roles

There are sixty-three roles on record for Michael Mohun.⁴⁷ Like Hart, Mohun was a leading actor. Mohun's earliest roles in revival plays show his ability to perform in

⁴⁶ Robert D. Hume, “Concepts of the Hero in Comic Drama, 1660-1700,” The English Hero, 1660-1800, ed. Robert Folkenflik, 61-78, on 68.

⁴⁷ As with Hart, et al., the number of roles would be higher if there were no gaps in repertory records. I contest only one of these roles. See Appendix A, “Actors' Roles: Michael Mohun.” Note that in the appendix the total number of roles for Mohun numbers at sixty-four. This is because his roles are listed sequentially, beginning with roles that were his prior to his tenure with the King's Company. A role that was his in circa 1638-42 is also his post 1660. Thus, it appears twice in the appendix, but I do not add them into the total count here.

strong leads and character parts across genres. He excelled at playing stoic soldiers and characters single mindedly driven by a zealous sense of loyalty (the heroes) or by driving jealousy (the darker tyrants and villains). Often, his roles counterbalanced Hart's more emotionally acrobatic romantic leads. Mohun's three lines of business in serious plays (tragic, epic-heroic, and tragicomic high plots) were brooding young lovers; soldiers; and tyrant warrior-kings, who were often fathers. His three comic lines of business in comedies and tragicomic low plots were eccentric young charlatans; eccentric, randy, or, sometimes, earnest rakes; and tyrant-lovers. One gets the sense looking at how Mohun was cast that he had a strong and commanding mien and that he acted his parts with force and muscle.

The earliest role on record for Mohun is that of the lover-soldier Bellamente in Shirley's tragedy Love's Cruelty (ca. 1638-42), a part he performed when he was roughly eighteen years of age opposite a young Nicholas Burt, who played Bellamente's unfaithful wife, Clariana.⁴⁸ Mohun excelled at playing men who collided with their own limits and inability to control their destinies. Bellamente is such a role. In Love's Cruelty, Bellamente deeply loves and is betrayed by his wife, Clariana, who falls in love with Bellamente's comrade and friend, the handsome Hippolito (a role played by Hart post-1660).⁴⁹ They meet, woo, and go to bed. Bellamente learns of this betrayal, but is guided

⁴⁸ The play was performed by Beeston's Boys (and earlier by Queen Henrietta's Men), as cited in Chapter 2. Mohun's other recorded roles in this tragic young lover-soldier line are Ziriff in Suckling's Aglaura and Sebastiano in Shirley's The Maid's Revenge.

⁴⁹ Hart's presence in the cast was first pointed out by Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume in "A 1660s Promptbook of Shirley's Love's Cruelty," Theatre Research International, 11, no. 1 (1986): 1-13, on 2. Based on performance records, the authors reasonably speculate that the play was in the repertory, with Hart and Mohun in the cast, through circa 1668.

by a fierce sense of honor, true of Mohun's lovers in general: "the innocence I carry in my breast /Armes me against the thoughts of others treason" (3.3.29-31).⁵⁰ When he does find them in bed, he decides against killing them and in favor of keeping the affair secret. This choice is motivated by his shame, and also, which a good actor like Mohun could find, by love—he does not want to lose the wife and friend who are already and irrevocably lost to him. The secret isolates Bellamente and perpetuates his role as victim, like a Hamlet who has seen the Ghost. Hippolito later proves his moral worth by leaving Clariana for a virtuous woman whom he loves, but Bellamente cannot leave his wife without outing himself as a man betrayed. In an echo of his earlier discovery, Bellamente finds Clariana in a garden, where she has lured Hippolito, and, thinking that they are meeting as lovers, runs away for aid. He returns to find that they have played each other's executioner. Bellamente's "honest love" is the voice of conscience which bade him hold off, but which has twice left him powerless (5.1.14). He dies from shame, in a swoon, a passive death for a soldier. His shame prevents him from naming the "cause" of these senseless deaths (5.1.23), an utterance which would brand him cuckold, hence a failure as a man.

In a much later role, at approximately age fifty-five, Mohun created the part of the young hero Britannicus in Lee's tragedy *Nero* (1674), who, like Bellamente, is a tragic victim.⁵¹ Mohun played characters of a wide variety of ages, some of which were

⁵⁰ Citations are from *James's Shirley's Love's Cruelty: A Critical Edition*, ed. John Frederick Nims (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1980).

⁵¹ As Stroup and Cooke point out, three plays on the Nero theme had been produced in England prior to Lee's. Of these, only the anonymous *Nero* (1624) was a source. Probably in response to the King's Company production of Lee's *Nero*, the anonymous 1624 play was revived under the title *Piso's Conspiracy* by the Duke's Company in 1675. Stroup and Cooke add that in his construction of *Nero*, Lee seems to have also been

far removed from his own age. However, Nero is unique in that it is the only example on record of Mohun's being cast as a young hero opposite Hart's villain, casting that can be justified when one considers the nature of the parts. There is parity in age between Nero and Britannicus, but Britannicus reads as younger because he is such an innocent. Unlike the flashy and emotionally extravagant Nero, Britannicus, as rendered by Lee, is admirably noble, but he is rather flat as a character. He is possessed of a narrower emotional range than Nero, and is rather singular in focus, in keeping with the types of men Mohun played. Nero was the first of Lee's plays to be produced, and it is rougher in construction than his later works, which probably accounts for the lack of nuances in characterization. Mohun's willingness to take on the role of Britannicus is a compliment to Lee, who, in 1674, was a beginner, and Mohun's ability to play driven earnestness onstage would have made for a good match between actor and role.

Britannicus is the embodiment of loyalty and devotion to justice. He is virtuous, and his presence reminds the viewer of the moral qualities that have been marginalized in a city morally disfigured by Nero's excesses. Britannicus loves the virtuous Cyara (played by Boutell), and this is the focus of the secondary plot line. He believes her dead when she disguises herself as a boy to test his love for her, a device which in a tragicomedy would lead to a happy ending. Here, Nero, in a rage, kills her. Mourning and powerless, and fiercely devoted to the woman he loves, Britannicus, who has already witnessed his sister's murder at Nero's hand, goes mad.

influenced by Jonson and Shakespeare. See The Works of Nathaniel Lee, ed. Stroup and Cooke, 1:21. It should be noted that Racine's Britannicus (1669) was not a source for Lee.

Madness violates Britannicus's physical and psychic borders more than it does Nero's, who hosts madness like a virus within. In his delusional state, Britannicus is tempted by Nero's lascivious wife, Poppea (played by Beck Marshall), but with the help of his dead lover's ghost, resists her, a sign of his honor. He is mentally disintegrating from a sorrow that drives him mad, and, in his disoriented condition, is poisoned by Nero, and is driven into a severe hallucinatory state before he dies.

Like Hart's Alexander, Mohun's Britannicus physically burns, his body in pain, but rather than laughing at death to prove his manhood as Alexander does, he imagines himself as the lover to death, personified as the cold North. His way of taking it like a man is to eroticize death, thus mock it, but he casts himself not as a male lover, but as a (hot) wanton girl:

Bring the cold North, I'll kiss his out-blown cheeks,
 Upon my flaming breast I'll lay my head,
 And hug him in my heart, for he is cold,
 With my hot arms I'll claspe his frosty limbs,
 And twine about him, like a wanton girle.
 Oh! Oh! (61)

His last ejaculatory cry, which could be a man (or girl) spilling seed, is not a sexual death, but a physical one. In imagining himself as the wanton girl lover who wraps his body around his male lover, the cold North/death, he queers his male body, a male body that is queered by death. His body has been invaded by poison, penetrated (like a girl's), and is thus made vulnerable and soft, rather than hard, lusty, and manly. His mind is destroyed because his code of honor does not register in the world around him, and his

body is destroyed because his flesh is violated. This type of tragic hero is disabled by his inability to prevent wrongs. He is impotent in life to fight injustices through mental and physical action, the mark of a man, and he dies imagining himself as the passive, the feminine, the man who is the wanton girl reaching for the cold arms of death.⁵²

Britannicus feels hyper-responsible about his inability to control outcomes. The inverse of this is villains who care nothing for how their actions affect others, beyond how their manipulations of others will win them what they want. Mohun was sometimes cast as such solipsistic men: Iago (a role he inherited after Clun died in 1664), and Iago's twin-in-temperament, Lorenzo in Shirley's The Traitor, a role he is first known to have played in 1660.⁵³ But these kinds of hard villains generally did not go to Mohun. More frequently, he was cast as a man who was flawed but not evil. This usually meant that he was not as morally good as the heroes Hart played, but better than the darkest characters. In the universe of the epic-heroic, for example, opposite Hart's glamorous superman hero leads, Mohun was often cast as his adversary, and one whom, like the tragic young lovers Mohun played, were victims of circumstances and a burgeoning awareness that they were unable to change outcomes through force of will. In Dryden's The Indian Emperor, or,

⁵² In two other instances on record, Mohun played a good character opposite Hart's villain, but these were in his aging, loyal soldier line: Aubrey opposite Hart's Rollo, and Acius opposite Hart's Valentinian in Rochester's Lucina's Rape (intended cast). He also played the loyal soldier Mardonius opposite Hart's tempestuous and volatile Arbaces in Beaumont and Fletcher's A King and No King, an early prototype for these later pairings.

⁵³ Mohun may also have played the Iago-like plotter, Roderigo, in Shirley's The Court Secret. A MS cast lists him for the role of the young lover Carlo, but a second annotator, in the text of the same MS, marks him for Roderigo and Burt for Carlo. Mohun could have handled either role, as could have Burt. For discussion, see Milhous and Hume, "Manuscript Casts for Revivals of Three Plays by Shirley in the 1660s," on 34. One of Mohun's final roles was that of the jealous plotter Ismael in Thomas Southerne's The Loyal Brother (1682). Ismael is at end upstaged by two villains more vicious than he.

The Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards (1665), Mohun was cast in the title role of Montezuma. In this (loose) sequel to The Indian Queen, Dryden reconfigures the character of Montezuma so that he is an exotic tyrant rather than the young epic hero.⁵⁴ Like Bellamante, he is an ambiguous character, both flawed and admirable.⁵⁵ Montezuma stands in contrast to the heroic Spaniard Cortez, played by Hart, who represents Europe, Christianity, and colonization. Montezuma is motivated in large measure by territorial urges: protecting daughter, land, and self-pride. For Montezuma, land is sacred, and it is territory, an extension of his body. Thus, he will not relinquish it to Spanish rule. He also will not relinquish his obsession for the woman he wants (the evil Almeria, played by Anne Marshall), a sure sign in the epic-heroic world that he will fall.

⁵⁴ As pointed out in my earlier discussion of Hart's roles, the California Dryden editors assert that Hart probably played Montezuma in The Indian Queen. In their discussion, they suggest that Mohun probably played the Inca, although I am less confident in assigning the Inca to Mohun than I am Montezuma to Hart, simply because Montezuma is a more clearly defined character. My reading of both plays, however, leads me to similar conclusion as that put forth by the California editors. Montezuma is a prototype for Almanzor and is exactly in Hart's line, and if Mohun was in the cast for The Indian Queen, it is likely, based on character "type," that he played the Inca. I note that there are five recorded performances of The Indian Queen in LS: four in 1664, and one in 1668. There are ten recorded performances in LS of The Indian Emperour between 1665 and 1674. I conclude from this that most likely, The Indian Queen was revived the year that Anne Marshall returned to the company for a short stay, and I assume that she played the role of Zempoalla, a role that she likely created when the play premiered. Records suggest that The Indian Emperour remained in the active repertory, but I suspect The Indian Queen was not revived as frequently by the late 1660s, and it is not impossible that it was dropped from the King's Company repertory after 1668. Records indicate, therefore, that audiences would not have been watching Hart's Montezuma from the earlier play and Mohun's from the latter performed in close proximity to each other.

⁵⁵ In "Connexion of the *Indian Emperour*, to the *Indian Queen*," a prefatory short essay affixed to the published play in 1667, Dryden writes that Montezuma "in the Truth of the History, was a great and glorious Prince; and in whose time happened the Discovery and Invasion of *Mexico* by the *Spaniards* [...] I have neither wholly followed the story nor varied from it; and, as near as I could, have traced the native simplicity and ignorance of the *Indians*, in relation to *Europæan* Customes." The Works of John Dryden, vol. 9, ed. John Loftis and Vinton A. Dearing (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 27.

Unlike the epic superman hero, who enters a stranger and becomes an integral part of community, Montezuma begins as a part of community and becomes a stranger in his own land. Montezuma is isolated, but he also possesses a physically strong body that does not look like it “runs the risk of being merged into other bodies,” to borrow Richard Dyer’s words in White.⁵⁶ Dyer defines the ideal (white) male muscular body as a body with perfect mass, definition, and proportion (152). Montezuma’s body (a non-white, Mexican body) is not the body destined to be invulnerable (this belongs to Cortez, who, as the conquering European, is the whitest body in the play, and his whiteness needs to be understood in its comparative sense). Onstage, the actors playing Mexicans did not, as far as we know, brown their faces and bodies with makeup to look darker, so the actor would have been embodying a racial other through his or her own white skin.

Montezuma’s body will be broken once he is colonized. In his most sympathetic scene, Montezuma is stretched on a rack by misguided Christian priests, who torture him and threaten him with eternal damnation. This scene was clearly written as high spectacle and as a showcase scene for Mohun, an actor who could feelingly portray great courage. Dying and wracked, wondering if he loves the wrong gods, Mohun, as Montezuma, notes the ambiguity that lies in human action: “all Religions with each other Fight [...] But ’till that one hath some more certain mark, / Poor humane kind must wander in the dark” (5.2.57-58).⁵⁷ Then, attention is brought to the material and to the torture of the body, as well as to the intensely physical warrior. Montezuma, the fallen

⁵⁶ Richard Dyer, White (New York: Routledge, 1997), 152.

⁵⁷ John Dryden, The Indian Emperour, in The Works of John Dryden, vol 9. Subsequent references are from this edition.

warrior-king, proves his ability to withstand physical pain and berates his high priest, who is being tortured next to him, for dying a coward's death on the rack.

Montezuma's body is broken. He struggles to hold himself up on his wounded legs. Trapped in a room like a cornered animal, he is tricked by his evil lover into luring his daughter into the space. Violence ensues. His daughter is stabbed but lives, Almeria dies, and Cortez is victorious. Lost without his empire, Montezuma turns his violence in another direction. He picks up his sword, daring the world around him with a battle cry that turns back in on itself: "The shame continues when the Pain is gone: But I'm a King while this is in my Hand" (5.2.233-34). He rids himself of shame through suicide. As A. Alvarez writes in The Savage God: A Study of Suicide,

in some warrior societies, whose gods were those of violence and whose ideal was bravery, suicide was often looked on as a great good. For example, the paradise of the Vikings was Vahalla, 'the Hall of those who had died by violence', where the Feast of Heroes was presided over by the god Odin. Only those who died violently could enter and partake of the banquet. The greatest honor and the surest qualification was death in battle; next best was suicide. Those who died peacefully in their beds, of old age or disease, were excluded from Vahalla for all eternity.⁵⁸

Montezuma is such a warrior, and he lives by a warrior's creed: death over captivity.

One of Mohun's most compelling dark tyrant-kings was the title role in Nathaniel Lee's Mithridates, a part he created when the play premiered in 1678, and a part almost

⁵⁸ A. Alvarez, The Savage God: A Study of Suicide (1971; reprint New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1990), 72.

certainly designed for him to play.⁵⁹ Mithridates is a king and a father to the virtuous lover and soldier Ziphares (Hart), and he desires his son's beautiful lover and wife-to-be, Semandra, played by Elizabeth Boutell. Insecure because he is aging and overshadowed by a burgeoning glory now enjoyed by his son, Mithridates is susceptible to the suggestions of two sycophants, who urge him to act on his attraction for his son's young partner. His selfish pursuit causes him to forsake his own intended bride and eventually leads to the double suicide of Ziphares and Semandra. The cause of this tragedy is Mithridates's demands. He forces her to abandon her lover, threatening to kill him if she will not. If he cannot possess her feelings, than he will her body, first through a forced marriage, and later, by rape. He is invasive and territorial, exhibiting what Coppélia Kahn describes as a "total sublimation of virile energy" into a set of actions.⁶⁰ Kahn, focusing on Tybalt in Romeo and Juliet, asserts that for "Tybalt, such [virile] energy [is] channeled directly and exclusively into aggression." (90) The sword becomes phallic, and functions like the penis, penetrating. For the aging Mithridates, who can no longer wield a sword like his still young and still virile son, energy is directed into forced penetration not by sword into the flesh of a male enemy, but by penis into the flesh of a woman whom he takes, physically enters, and therefore, slays (she later commits suicide, along with her young lover). In an extremely powerful onstage moment, playing both messenger and confessor, he enters the stage to report and repent his rape of her:

And, as I drew her trembling to my Arms,

She fainted still, and woo'd me with such wailings,

⁵⁹ Mohun also played the roles of the fierce warrior Hannibal in Lee's Sophonisba (1675) and the tyrannical Caesar Augustus in his Gloriana (1676).

⁶⁰ Coppélia Kahn, Man's Estate: Masculine Identity in Shakespeare, 90.

Such languishings, and broken sighs, to leave her;

That, had not more than monstrous appetite

Transported me, the Rose had been unblasted. (340)⁶¹

Mohun could handle this text with grace—that is, with poise, strength in carriage, feeling, and with appropriate mood and dignity—and create a genuinely tormented Mithridates.⁶²

Mithridates is anxious about failing, and his conquest of a woman's body is his attempt to assert, and thus prove, his maleness. Rather than allow his son to mature into adulthood and for Mithridates to accept his own aging body, he rebels by aggressively asserting what he perceives to be his prerogative as a king, a father, and a still virile and heated man.⁶³

Mohun also excelled in serious loyal soldier parts that were characterized by a stoic sense of honor and a rugged and often gruff physicality.⁶⁴ Examples are Clytus,

⁶¹ From Nathaniel Lee, Mithridates, in The Works of Nathaniel Lee, vol. 1, ed. Stroup and Cooke. Subsequent references are from this edition.

⁶² Downes's anecdote about Mohun's reading the title role in Mithridates with such success that he moved the playwright (Lee) to "suddenly vent" words of praise serves as evidence about Mohun's ability to handle text of this magnitude with aplomb. See Downes, 42, quoted in my Chapter 2.

⁶³ Mithridates' anxiety about losing his (male prerogatives), and attempting to assert his maleness through aggressive, territorial claims over a woman's body invokes for me Eve Keller's discussion of male agency, in vitro bodies, and anxieties around the issue of male dominance as early as the fetal stage. In her article "Embryonic Individuals: The Rhetoric of Seventeenth-Century Embryology and the Construction of Early-Modern Identity," Keller writes that according to the seventeenth-century animalculist theory of embryology, the fetus is formed in the father, and "takes responsibility for its own growth [...] depending upon the maternal body only to the extent that it can claim it for its own use, the fetus is a conqueror who sends forth its 'vessels' and 'lays hold' on its new territory" (340). Mithridates conquers in this way, claiming the body of the woman he rapes, sending forth his seed, and laying hold of her as if she were his new territory.

⁶⁴ The dark version of such a soldier was Cethegus in the revival of Jonson's Catiline, a role Mohun played opposite Hart in the title role. Mohun also played the brooding soldier

Alexander's noble general in Nathaniel Lee's The Rival Queen (March 1677), who criticizes Alexander's being distracted by his passion for women, and Ventidius, Antony's loyal general in Dryden's All for Love (December 1677). It is likely that Dryden saw Mohun performing the role of Clytus and designed Ventidius with the actor in mind. In the play, Dryden provides us with a striking physical image of Ventidius as an outstanding soldier and man. A priest of Isis sees him from the distance and asks who he is: "By his Warlike port / His fierce demeanor, and erected look / He's of no vulgar note"(4). Alexander, Cleopatra's eunuch, answers that "the plainness, fierceness, rugged virtue / Of an old true-stampt Roman lives in him"(4). Ventidius is the antithesis of the beautiful but falling warrior, Antony. He criticizes Antony's obsession with Cleopatra as a failure of manhood: "she has quite unman'd him: Can any Roman see, and know him now [...] Unbent, unsinew'd, made a Womans Toy" (6). Ventidius, a man who has dedicated his life to martial hardness, now weeps like a boy: "I have not wept this Forty years; but now / My Mother comes afresh into my eyes; / I cannot help her softness" (9). Ventidius's final action is to do what has always been unthinkable: he rebels against Antony, refusing to obey Antony's request that he kill him. Unwilling to "kill my Friend" (73), Ventidius kills himself.⁶⁵

Mohun's stoic soldiers were gruffer than Hart's polished heroes. In comedies, this translated to his being cast in coarser roles than Hart. One of Mohun's comic lines was

Abdelmelech in Dryden's The Conquest of Granada; the title role of the moody soldier in a revival of Suckling's Brennoralt; and Cassius to Hart's Brutus.

⁶⁵ Ventidius's devotion to his role as soldier is noble in tragedy, but might be fodder for a joke in comedy. Leonitus in Fletcher's The Humorous Lieutenant, another part owned by Mohun, is just such a role. In the play, the hyper-zealous General Leontius mentors the young lover-soldier Demetrius (Hart) in soldiery.

that of sleazy charlatans. He played such roles as Face in The Alchemist, Volpone, and Mopus in John Wilson's The Cheats (1663). Mopus is a softer version of Face; less manipulative, less bright, but sillier, and equally roguish. He is a charlatan astrologer who makes a living by exploiting naïve customers, and this business in fact fronts a sleazier profession—he and his wife are also bawds. The role requires the actor to handle difficult verbal passages comprised of astrological mumbo jumbo: “Saturne and Iupiter come to a Trine I Taurus and Capricorne, hu—” (1.3.3). Further, the actor must engage in some flirtatious play onstage. In a scene with the visiting Alderman's wife (played by Katherine Corey), Mopus plans to “pumpe” her mind for information (2.1.30). He moves physically close to her, and as indicated by her broken speech, probably tries to charm her by kissing her hand, and perhaps boldly tries to kiss her neck or face. While he is near her, ready to “pumpe” her mind, he lets out an ejaculatory “o.” (2.1.39)⁶⁶

Mohun's rakes, like his charlatans, were eccentric, and seedier than Hart's. Mohun played several eccentric rakes who lacked the wit and grace of the leading rogues, including Dapperwit, the “brisk, conceited, half-witted fellow of the town,” in Wycherley's Love in a Wood (1671).⁶⁷ Dapperwit is sleeping with two women. The first is Lucy, a young teenage girl whom he has promised to make an actress (53), a given circumstance that is not without ironic overtones to an audience familiar with the real life

⁶⁶ A close cousin is the roguish servant Mascarillio disguised as a gentleman in Richard Flecknoe's Damoiselles a la Mode, performed in circa 1667 (this part of the plot was borrowed from Molière's Les Précieuses ridicules). The role was created with Mohun in mind. Flecknoe names his ideal cast in the printed version of the play, which was published pre-performance.

⁶⁷ The description of Dapperwit is from the *Dramatis Personae* list in William Wycherley's Love in a Wood, in The Complete Plays of William Wycherley, ed. Gerald Weales (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1966). Subsequent references are from this edition.

history of actresses like Nell Gwyn, whose lover, Charles Hart, helped bring her to the stage. The second woman Dapperwit is promised to is Martha, a rich, young heiress (Elizabeth Farley Weaver) who is worth thirty thousand pounds. At play's end, he proposes to Martha, seeing in her both beauty and the means to wealth, and then learns she is six months pregnant with (probably) his child. Further, his hope that he and his new wife will inherit her father's estate is thwarted when the covetous old father (played by Lacy) marries Dapperwit's old paramour, Lucy, and disinherits Martha. Dapperwit's fate is hardly perfect. In D'Urfey's Trick for Trick (1678), Mohun played Sir Wilding, an old rake who threatens to disown his son, Thomas (played by Hart), because he believes him to have forsworn the bawdry life and his rather twisted paternal values. D'Urfey was obviously capitalizing on the successful Mohun and Hart rogues-in-heat combination, but Wilding is an odd character, and his "tricks" include bringing home a character named Whore (Elizabeth Farley Weaver, in one of her final roles) and checking her teeth as he would a race horse's. Although he has picked her up on the street, he is blind to the fact that she is truly a prostitute by trade, and believes he is about to wive and bed an innocent who is much younger than he. When Wilding learns from his son that Whore has slept with a slew of men and is a professional Fleet Street prostitute, he throws her out of doors. Later, watching his son, Thomas, attempting to rape the virtuous Cellida (played by Elizabeth Boutell), his cheers of encouragement to Thomas make this aging rake borderline monstrous.⁶⁸

Mohun might also play a rake whose eccentricity comes from his being too earnest and not fueled enough by the overabundance of testosterone that drives the hyper-

⁶⁸ Thomas D'Urfey, Trick for Trick, London, 1678. Readex.

sexual comic hero lovers played by Hart, as when Mohun played Don Frederick opposite Hart's Don Juan in Buckingham's The Chances. In An Evening's Love (1668), Dryden wrote a role for Mohun that was obviously influenced by his familiarity with both Mohun's comic charlatans and with his comic rakes. Bellamy is a rogue cavalier traveling in Spain with his friend Wildblood (played by Hart), reminiscent of the Don Frederick and Don Juan pairing. The pursuit of female bodies is a shared activity, an example of homosocial bonding between men.

In her discussion of the homosocial and libertine pleasure, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick stresses the connection between the male libertine's pursuit of the female body as a sexual conquest and the construction of heteronormative masculinity. Sedgwick sees male libertines as exhibiting compulsory behavior, in that any homoerotic attraction between two (or more) men is safely displaced upon female bodies while simultaneously cementing the bonds between men.⁶⁹ To borrow Sedgwick's analysis and import it to my discussion of An Evening's Love, in the comic and carnival atmosphere of this play, there is no overt sexual tension between Bellamy and Wildblood, no obvious slippage between what we might now call homosexual and heterosexual desire. Yet, their shared pursuit of women is exalted and does serve to affirm their maleness. So does their homosocial connection as two men with strong libidinal energies who seek to find women to satisfy their desires, and who engage in this task together. However, when they

⁶⁹ For her discussion of libertine pleasure and the homosocial, See Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire, 49-66. Sedgwick focuses primarily on The Country Wife, and I find it useful for a discussion of An Evening's Love, in which two libertine soldiers fall for two women. Following Sedgwick, Andrew P. Williams offers an analysis of The Country Wife and of libertinism as a need to prove and define maleness. See Andrew P. Williams's "Soft Women and Softer Men: The Libertine Maintenance of Masculine Identity," in The Image of Manhood in Early Modern Literature, ed. Andrew P. Williams, 95-118.

meet and fall in love with two sisters, their libidinal energies become directed toward wooing special partners, although Bellamy (Mohun's part) is devoted to the women he falls in love with from the start, while the more rakish Wildblood (Hart's role) stumbles before he is tamed. Bellamy falls in love with the beautiful but more serious and less available sister, Theodosia (played by Hughes, and later, by Boutell), and Wildblood falls in love with her roguish younger sister, Jacinta (played by Gwyn). Theodosia belongs to another, but, fortunately for Bellamy, his rival is a dishonest rogue (played by Burt) who is also courting Theodosia's cousin (played by Beck Marshall). Bellamy's servant Maskall, caught in a trap, tells Theodosia that Bellamy is a famous astrologer. The earnest Bellamy balks but is gulled into the masquerade. During a final, farcical chase, Bellamy convinces the sisters' father that the sisters are demons in disguise so that they can escape his scrutiny. At the end, Bellamy wins Theodosia's heart. This silly, sexy romp showcased Mohun's talents for creating eccentric but likeable rakes opposite Hart's charmers.

In Richard Rhodes's Flora's Vagaries (first performed in 1663), Mohun played the rakish comic hero Alberto opposite Gwyn in the only instance on record of the two being teamed up as a gay couple. Alberto, however, is too eccentric a character to have been written for Hart to play. He does have the spitfire Flora's heart and marries her at the end, but he is an unconventional hero. Drinking hard one night, he tries to seduce Francisco (played by Nicholas Burt), the villainous suitor to Flora's sister. In a tavern, he sees Francisco in the dark, and thinks he is a woman. When Francisco spurns him and mocks him for being drunk, Alberto still sees him as a woman, and hallucinates that there is a bed in the tavern upon which the two might engage in sexual play: "Come, huswife,

shall thou and I have a delicate tumble on this Bed?" (47)⁷⁰ Alberto's drunken efforts to seduce a man whom he believes to be a woman allows for slippage in the erotics of desire, queering his body. The scene is meant to be a farce, with a possible dangerous edge, in that Alberto, the comic hero, drinks to excess, lusts after a man in a tavern, and wants to make love to this man. Following Francisco's rejection of him, Alberto passes out in the streets, drunk, and lies there until he is carried home. Although we see that he loves Flora, he suggests to his friend Lodivico that they swap mistresses. When his friend resists, Alberto, building upon the woman-as-sailor metaphor that his friend introduces, sets about convincing him that Flora "rides" (i.e. kisses) well, and hungrily:

I saw her once boarding the Butler's face, she clapt on all her grappling Irons together, down went the Main-mast, all the Sayles were rent, she e'en almost quite spoyl'd his upper deck, at last the fellow made a lucky shot, hit her 'twixt wind and water, turn'd up her keel and got off. (26)

As Alberto tells it, Flora "boards" the Butler's "upper deck" (face) with her vigorous kiss, temporarily overpowering him, until he escapes by putting his hands on her diaphragm, between "wind and water" (wind as breath, water as urine), and pushing her off of him. There is room in this farcical text for the actor to play with the possibility of bawdier implications in these lines, which might suggest more advanced stages of lovemaking. Alberto's coarseness marks him as an eccentric romantic rake; sweet, but clownish.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Richard Rhodes, *Flora's Vagaries*, London, 1670. Readex.

⁷¹ Other leading rake roles of similar type played by Mohun include Trivultio in Francis Fane's *Love in the Dark* (1675) and Valentine in a revival of Fletcher's *Wit Without Money*. Breakbond in Edward Howard's *The Man of Newmarket* (1678) is in Mohun's eccentric rake line, although we only see him talk of women, and he has no love interest.

In contrast to his rakish comic characters, Mohun might also play a romantic young lover in a tragicomedy, similar in type to his tragic young lover roles.⁷² When he played in young lover parts alongside Hart, his lovers were comparatively more brooding and serious. An example is Rudyas in The Island Princess (1668 version), who loses the heroine to the superman hero, Armusia, played by Hart. Mohun was also more likely to be cast as a married (or betrothed man) than was Hart. The cast of Dryden's The Rival Ladies is unknown, but the editors of the California edition speculate that Mohun played Rodorick, the passionate but jealous lover and intended husband to the beautiful Julia, whom they suggest was played by Anne Marshall. They further speculate that Hart played the romantic young hero Gonsalvo, Rodorick's long-lost younger brother, who falls in love with Julia but who fails to win her away from Rodorick.⁷³ My reading of the text leads me to a similar conclusion, as Roderick is very much in Mohun's "line," and Gonsalvo, in Hart's. The Mohun and Hart pairing of loyal partner and charming new temptation was repeated in Dryden's Marriage A-la-Mode (1671). Mohun was cast as the courtier-soldier Rhodophil and Beck Marshall as his wife Doralice, who both bemoan the dullness of marriage and the dulling of erotic feelings. Eros is subsequently reawakened by a flirtatious romp with two other potential partners, played by Hart and Boutell. The men debate creating a happy foursome in which each can enjoy the other's woman, but

⁷² These roles include Philocles in Dryden's Secret Love (1667), Don Alvarez in John Corey's The Generous Enemies (1671), and Ziriff in revivals of Suckling's Aglaura. There are two versions of Aglaura because Suckling rewrote the play with a happy ending, and both versions could have been in the King's Company repertoire.

⁷³ Probable casting. As I discuss in my section on Hart, editors John Harrington Smith and Dougald MacMillan plausibly argue in The Works of John Dryden, 8:321, that Mohun and Hart were likely cast in these roles, and I absolutely concur. Other pairings of this kind are based on MS cast lists: Carlo (Mohun) and Manuel (Hart) in Shirley's The Court Secret, and the Duke of Lorenzo, disguised as Fernando (Mohun) opposite Hart's Duke of Urbin in William Killigrew's The Seege of Urbin.

judiciously change their minds for fear that their woman may choose the other man.

Although Rhodophil toys with the idea of bedding another, he cannot stand the thought of his wife doing so, as he truly loves her. Rhodophil needed to be likeable in order for the play to work on stage, and Mohun no doubt created a sympathetic lead.

Like the young lovers who struggle with jealousy and uncertainty, tyrant lovers in tragicomic plays often face the same uncertainty because they have placed their affection in the wrong places. Mohun excelled in these types of roles. In both Roger Boyle's The Black Prince (1667) and Dryden's The Assignment (1672), Mohun is cast as the father of an idealistic young courtier (played by Kynaston in both plays), who covets his son's lover (played in both cases by Beck Marshall) and is driven by jealousy, losing all sense of perspective, like a comic Mithridates. He finally relinquishes her, thereby cementing the bonds between father and son and returning order to the community.

These tyrant-fathers wrestle with the wills of their sons. In Fletcher's comedy, Rule a Wife and Have a Wife, Mohun played Don Leon, a young lover who wrestles with the will of his wife.⁷⁴ In contrast to the dashing rogue Michael Perez, played by Hart paired opposite Elizabeth Boutell and a match between equals, Don Leon's relationship with the woman he is paired with in the play's high plot is one of strenuous power struggle. Don Leon is a man who is described as sexually desirable, a man of "good presence" and of "a lusty body" (2.3.7-8).⁷⁵ In the play, he outfoxes the wild Heiress

⁷⁴ The play was in the King's Company repertory by January 1662, at which time Mohun probably played Don Leon. Downes gives a cast for what appears to be the 1663-64 season, with Mohun cast as Don Leon (see Downes, 11, note 37).

⁷⁵ John Fletcher, Rule a Wife and Have a Wife, ed. George Walton Williams. In The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon, ed. Fredson Bowers, 10 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966-96), 6:531.

Margareta (played by Anne Marshall), who is seeking a docile weakling to be her husband as a cover to allow her sexual liberty. When he meets her, Don Leon initially feigns complacent acceptance of her stated terms about her rights to sexual freedom, and then he tames her as he would a wild horse. This “taming” is dependent upon a traditional polarity of active (husband) and passive (wife), but, in terms of the play’s internal value system, Don Leon is written as the hero whose responsibility it is to redeem a fallen woman now that she is his bride. For him, a bad husband is a fool and cuckold, which he will have none of:

I am your husband,
 But what are husbands? read the new worlds wonders,
 And you will scarce finde such deformities,
 Such husbands as this monstrous world produces,
 They are shadowes to conceal your veniall vertues,
 Sailes to your mills, that grinde with all occasions,
 Balls that lye by you, to wash out your staines,
 And bills naild up with horne before your stories,
 To rent out lust. (3.1.93-101)

Don Leon’s words serve as double entendres, suggesting both his fear of male subjugation through domestication and cuckoldry (nailed up with horn when Margarita rents out her lust) and the dream of male dominance through sexual command and penetration: grinde; balls; lye.⁷⁶ His awareness of his wife’s *intended* role for him is set

⁷⁶ According to the *OED*, by 1630 (and the play was licensed in 1624), “grinde” (grind) was slang for sexual intercourse. Long before this, one definition of “balls” was testicles. Soap was also shaped into balls for washing clothes, in which case, “balls” of soap

against the *actual* role that he writes for himself: the virile husband with an obedient and sexually faithful wife. He owns the name of husband and labels a “type” (weak husband=cuckold), but then sets himself in opposition to that type and the fate that type will endure. Arthur Flannigan-Saint Aubin has described such “contest/opposition” as that which “appears to be the masculine modality par excellence and the obvious masculine route to self-identity: I come to know myself only by knowing that something else is not me and is to some extent opposed or set against me.”⁷⁷ Drawing upon psychoanalytical theory, he asserts that men separate themselves from that which is other (feminine) in order to define their masculinity, and later, from any condition that threatens that masculinity: “masculinity has constantly to be proved and can at any time be taken away because genitals provide no assurance” (244). Although I am wary of universalizing statements about male identity formation, the contest/opposition model is a useful one here, and male anxiety about being castrated by an unfaithful woman is a very real element in these plays. Don Leon shapes his identity as husband by opposition. The husband is by type a cuckold, the man who has been queered. Don Leon plays against type, and is the *not-queer*, *not-cuckold*.

cleansed the garments that covered the body. “Lye” (lie) was slang for sexual intercourse, as well as meaning lie next to in bed, as would a husband and wife. “Balls that lye by you to wash out your stains” here takes on the meaning of Don Leon’s male body washing out the sexual stains of his wife, both because his presence—if he lets himself be cuckolded—would allow her to play the respectable role of wife while she cavorts, and because, in a more scatological sense, Don Leon, during sexual intercourse, penetrates his wife’s “tainted” vagina, and in the exchange of body fluids, “washes out her stains.”

⁷⁷ Arthur Flannigan-Saint Aubin, “The Male Body and Literary Metaphors for Masculinity,” in *Theorizing Masculinities*, ed. Harry Bond, Michael Kaufman, and Michael S. Kimmel (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1994), 239-57, on 244.

The failure to perform is the failure of the male body, something that is alien to the young, virile Don Leon. Mohun would play Don Leon's nightmare when he created the role of the forty-nine year old cuckold Pinchwife in The Country Wife (1675) opposite Hart's virile Horner. Pinchwife is presented in the play as past his prime, and maleness in The Country Wife, as Andrew P. Williams asserts, is predicated on men conquering women, thus, asserting their phallic power and proving that they are harder than "soft" women.⁷⁸ If libertine conquest, hard bodies, and erect penises are privileged, where does this leaves Pinchwife? Pinchwife is a man in his late forties who is described by Horner as an "old Whoremaster" type, both jealous and gout ridden.⁷⁹ He stands outside of the virile, libertine circuit, the circuit that facilitates homosocial bonds between men, as Sedgwick describes these bonds in her discussion of the play.⁸⁰ As a result of his being outside of the libertine circuit, Pinchwife is isolated from other men. He marries a young and beautiful wife from the country, believing that she is purer than city women, and that she will thus be faithful to him and think him a worthy man. This marriage is, however, a mismatch. Pinchwife's aging body is positioned as less attractive than that of his young and beautiful wife (played by Boutell) or of Horner. All of London believes—with the exception of Pinchwife, who is not in the rumor loop—that the handsome Horner is no longer a whole man, but a eunuch, post the treatment of a (quack) doctor who treated his venereal disease by castrating him. The rakish Horner, however,

⁷⁸ See Andrew P. Williams, "Soft Women and Softer Men: The Libertine Maintenance of Masculine Identity," in The Image of Manhood in Early Modern Literature, 95-118.

⁷⁹ William Wycherley, The Country Wife, in The Complete Plays of William Wycherley, ed. Gerald Weales, 272. Subsequent references are from this edition

⁸⁰ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire, 49-66.

possesses an intact penis, and he possesses an uncanny ability to captivate and arouse women. He wields phallic power by gaining access to women's bodies because he poses as a eunuch and dupes unsuspecting husbands. Pinchwife, ever vigilant about younger male temptations that may distract his wife, is hyper-aggressive in his efforts to prove his own maleness, and rightly sees Horner as a danger. He is a comic tyrant-king who fails to control his wife, Margery. He forces her to write Horner a letter of rejection, and when she rebels, he punishes her. In a moment of rage, he tyrannically (and phallically) wields a sword over her head as she writes the letter in an effort to rule over her: "I'll make an end of you thus, and all my plagues together" (337). If he cannot conquer her by penis, then he will by phallic sword, as she is enraptured neither by him or any of his body parts. The younger Horner does sexually conquer Margery, and Pinchwife is the fool.

In their discussion of the play's original cast, Milhous and Hume ask if Mohun's Pinchwife would have come across as a menacing tyrant or as a clown, noting that either type was in his range.⁸¹ I agree that either "type" was, and like the authors, I see no reason to assume a rigid either/or: Mohun's Pinchwife could have been both clownish *and* frightening. Pinchwife, past his prime, and not wanting to fail in his performance of masculinity, becomes aggressive in his desire to control his wife. As an aging man, Pinchwife is in danger of being forced to recognize himself as a failing man, a man who lacks the younger Horner's excessive libidinal energy, and who is not sexually desirable to his wife, although he desires her. His attempt to control her marks the clownish, tyrant king who is desperate to assert his power and what he perceives as his male prerogative by dominating the body of his wife in the kingdom of his private home.

⁸¹ Milhous and Hume, Producible Interpretation, 95.

In his study Making Sex, Thomas Laqueur writes that “The male body may always be the standard in the game of signification, but it is one whose status is undetermined by its unrepentant inconstancy.”⁸² Maleness must be proved, asserted, and often through force and will of body and mind. Witness the bloody death of the tyrant Mohun played in Dryden’s epic tragedy Tyrannick Love (1669) in a final scene for which success in execution depended upon Mohun’s physicality and ability to portray exploding passions, and to suffer a bloody and masochistic death. In this scene, death is both tragic and comic, for the desire to suffer is so extreme that it parodies the death of epic heroes. In Tyrannick Love, the Emperor Maximin (played by Mohun) seeks control over others’ bodies, and when he falls in love with St. Catherine, the martyr, he rages when he cannot win her. (Here is where he resembles the old comic cuckold, an analogy that the California edition editors point out).⁸³ Maximin orders St. Catherine murdered, then changes his mind, but is too late. Now, his world slips away from him. In a highly physical final scene, Maximin is stabbed. Maximin wrestles the dagger away from his murderer, Placidius (played by Kynaston), the young lover to Maximin’s daughter, who has just committed suicide. Like a raging boy in a tantrum, he screams at Placidius and shoves the dagger in Placidius’s side. A bleeding Maximin then sits down upon Placidius’s dying body, while his camp breaks into mutiny. His irreverence and the grotesquely violent physical actions seem to parody the formal dignity of epic deaths.

⁸² See Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud, 22-23.

⁸³ John Dryden, Tyrannick Love, or, The Royal Martyr, in The Works of John Dryden, vol. 10, ed. Maximillian E. Novak and George Robert Guffey (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 389. References to the play are from this edition.

Maximin's absurdly rigid defiance of death and his sitting on the body of his victim while delivering soliloquies suggests a physical intimacy and irreverence that belongs more in the comic world than in the tragic. Isolated and cursing at the "feeble Deities" above, Maximin dares the Gods, "But I will give my self the strength to rise." The stage direction in the printed text reads: "*He strives to get up, and being up, staggers,*" a direction that can be textually justified, and probably comes close to the way the scene was blocked in live performance. Maximin, unable to conquer his own failing body, voices the intention to move physically to the supine body of his victim: "It wonnot be. My body has not pow'r my mind to bear. I must return again----and conquer here. *Sits down upon the Body*" (5.1. 613-18). Maximin's identity is rooted in the physical world of command over his and others' flesh. He laments the betrayal of his body: "My coward Body does my will controul" (5.1.619). Because he is a villain, his rage does not turn back in on itself, as it would for Mohun's brooding heroes, but explodes out upon others, like Pinchwife swinging a sword. Basely and maniacally, Maximin turns his rage on the now-dead Placidius and stabs him again, and during this postmortem execution, dies. These were the kinds of roles in which Mohun excelled: men with strong wills and strong bodies who have to muscle their way to what they want.

C. Edward Kynaston's Roles

There are forty-seven roles on record for Edward Kynaston between the years 1659 and 1678.⁸⁴ In 1659-60, when he was roughly seventeen years of age and with the

⁸⁴ See Appendix A, "Actors' Roles: Edward Kynaston." Kynaston continued to perform until 1701. Total roles on record for Kynaston, 1659 to 1701, number at eighty-nine (forty two are post 1678). Records for roles 1659 to 1678 are patchier for Kynaston than

Rhodes Company, he played leading female lover roles, such as the spirited Ismene in Fletcher's pastoral comedy, The Maid in the Mill, and the noble Arthiope in William Davenant's tragedy The Unfortunate Lovers.⁸⁵ By 1661, as a member of the King's Company, Kynaston was moved out of female parts and into secondary male roles, eventually working his way up to leads. In serious plays (tragic and epic) Kynaston specialized in young lover roles, and later, tempestuous military leader roles and young villain parts. He excelled in playing romantic young lovers in high plots in comic plays, and he was sometimes cast as the astute young cynic in city comedies.

Kynaston's earliest male roles in serious plays were young courtier-lover parts. He was cast as the young, soft, and beautiful Count D'Alvarez in Shirley's The Cardinal (first performed with Kynaston in the cast circa 1661-64, when he was roughly eighteen to twenty-one).⁸⁶ Alvarez is beloved by the beautiful Duchess, a widow, who is promised to the soldier Columbo (played by Mohun), nephew to the evil Cardinal. She does not want Columbo, who tests her love by writing a letter in which he severs the relationship. She believes he is in earnest and leaves him for her beloved Alvarez. They marry. At the

for Hart or Mohun. Kynaston's status was initially lower, and secondary roles were not always marked with actor's names in extant cast lists. Downes lists roles for Hart, and to a lesser extent, for Mohun, separate from cast lists, but he does not do this for Kynaston. This is but one reason that we know less about Kynaston's roles.

⁸⁵ Other female parts on record for Kynaston are the title role in Suckling's Aglaure, Olympia in Fletcher's The Loyal Subject, and the Princess in Fletcher's The Mad Lover. All four plays are listed by Herbert as being amongst those acted by the King's Company 1660-1662 (Bawcutt, R40, and referred to in Milhous and Hume, Document Register, no. 45). It is highly probable that Kynaston kept (at least many of) the female roles he had played with the Rhodes Company until he was moved over to male parts. Kynaston may also have played Evadne in The Maid's Tragedy and Desdemona in Othello.

⁸⁶ Evidence that Kynaston played Alvarez was pointed out by by Milhous and Hume, "Manuscript Casts for Revivals of Three Plays by Shirley in the 1660s," on 33.

wedding banquet, Alvarez is brutally murdered in front of his bride by the jealous Columbo, who comes out onto the court stage in mask. Columbo is the hyper-masculine fighter: physical, brutal, primal, and aggressive. The ideal male in this play is Hernando (played by Hart), the noble soldier who chastely loves the Duchess and who takes on the role of her avenger. Alvarez, in contrast, is innocent, gentle, and boyish; a lover who, like Romeo, defies the stars: “my youth dares boldly Meet all the tyranny o’ th’ stars, whose black / Malevolence but shoot my single tragedy” (1.2.219-21).⁸⁷ Alvarez, the adolescent, has all the arrogance and innocence of youth, but this cannot save him.

Around the time he was playing Alvarez, Kynaston also began taking on young male lover roles in comedies. Evidence points to his having created the role of Comely in James Howard’s comedy The English Mounsieur in 1663. Comely is the young gentleman friend to the hero, Welbred (probably Hart), and he is a playful and physically beautiful young man who is very much the romantic. He decides to leave the city for the country because he can find no woman worthy to love, but on his way meets and falls in love with Elsbeth, a simple country girl who loves a country boy named William.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ James Shirley, The Cardinal, ed. Charles R. Forker (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1964). Subsequent references are from this edition.

⁸⁸ As Robert D. Hume discusses in his introduction to James Howard’s The English Mounsieur on x-xi, Comely’s action in Act 4, scene 2 is parodied in Buckingham’s The Rehearsal (3.5.93-108), first pointed out in the 1705 “Key to the Rehearsal.” The character Volscius falls in love at first sight just as he is about to leave London, and then hops about with one boot on and the other off. As Hume points out, a MS ascribed to Buckingham (Bodleian MS. Eng. poet e. 4. pp.198-99) contains Volscius’s speech, written out by hand, and next to it this note: “On the humour in Mr Howard’s Play, where Mr Kinsaton disputes his staying in, or going out of Town, as he is pulling on his boots”(xi). Hume comments that Montague Summers noted the implicit cast information in The Playhouse of Pepys, 193 (xiv, note 17). I note that the BD editors list Volscius as one of Kynaston’s roles, but this seems to be speculation, although not outside the range of possibility.

Comely asks Elsbeth to choose between him and William, and the contest is one of words. The best wooer will win. William speaks in earnest but clumsy fashion, and Comely uses the heightened prose of a romantic lover:

Oh if that beauteous frame of thine were in my Custody i'de guard it safe as
Angels do the Holy, nothing should e're approach it but my love, and that so
gently too, as when I toucht thee, it should be as Nurses handle Limbs of Infants;
i'de never kiss thee but with Lips perfum'd with purer love, and gaze on thee with
maiden eyes that n're knew love before (57).⁸⁹

Here, the stock rules of romance are toyed with when Comely, the well-born, beautiful young man, falls for a girl beneath his station, Elsbeth, and then fails to win her from a sweet country bumpkin. In Comely's poetic discourse to Elsbeth, he speaks innocently of love's touch, referring to her body as one as innocent as a new-born infant's, which he will touch like a mother. He casts himself as a lover who will touch her as gently as a mother would a new-born babe and promises to look upon her with "maiden eyes." This plea softens him and casts him in a boyishly androgynous light rather than as a young man of the city. Since Comely was an early role created by an actor who had played beautiful and witty heroines, the slippage between boyishness and girlishness that the actor plays with is worth noting. The speech is meant to be funny because of the circumstances in which it is delivered and to whom it is addressed, but Kynaston could have played it with a true gentleness and sweetness, which would have added to the humor (his serious pursuit of Elsbeth would have heightened the comic effect) and also a sense of depth to the moment, as Comely's attraction to her is legitimate.

⁸⁹ The English Mounsieur, introduction Robert D. Hume. References are from this edition.

During the festive marriage celebration that serves as the play's *komos*, Comely dances with Elsbeth and magnanimously and with earnest boyish optimism promises her an annual settlement for life, which, as Hume puts it, is "romantically generous" (ix). In this comic world, the romantic Comely is no comic fool, for he is witty and perceptive about his circumstances. He ends the play with a joke about his own vulnerability: "For by my self I find, Whilst there's a Woman no man knows his mind" (64). The young lover, without the girl, vows again to leave the city. The fun comes from the rakish young man-cum-romantic falling for the girl he can't possibly lose, but does. Kynaston could have performed the role with playful grace.

As an adult actor in his twenties and thirties, Kynaston continued to play young lovers who were either adolescent, or adolescent-like. In Dryden's epic-heroic The Indian Emperor (1665), opposite Hart as Cortez and Mohun as Montezuma, Kynaston played Montezuma's youngest son, Prince Guyomar, beloved by the princess Alibech (played by Elizabeth Farley Weaver). Guyomar is the youthful version of a superman hero: a superboy. He is noble and pure of heart. He urges his father to chose peace, not war. His older brother, Odmar (played by a roughly fifty-five year old Wintershall) attacks Guyomar's peaceful nature by reading it as a sign of failed masculinity: "Where has thou been since the fight first began, / Thou less than Woman in the shape of man?" (2.3.17-18). Guyomar counters with a story of slaying a man, hard, steely, and bearded:

I fell'd along a Man of Bearded Face,

His limbs all cover'd with a Shining case:

So wondrous hard, and so secure of wound,

It made my Sword, though edged with Flint, rebound. (2.3.25-28)

Like Almanzor's slaying of the bull, his first action after entering the city and one which signals to us that he is "more than man," Guyomar's slaying of the bearded enemy marks the beginning of his growth from the soft, young prince he was at the beginning of the play into an adolescent fighter to be reckoned with. As an adolescent superboy, Guyomar has a fiercely high sense of honor, and although he leads the army that defeats the Spaniards, he is also willing to return Cortez's sword to him because Cortez yielded it up and because Cortez once helped Guyomar's father. Guyomar is the most romantic hero on what is inevitably the losing side, and, because the Europeans, led by Cortez, ultimately win, Dryden creates sympathy for the Mexican Guyomar by making him a very pure example of virtue in war and in love, and by stressing his role as adolescent lover who has ascended into manhood both as an appropriately hard fighter and an appropriately soft lover. When Guyomar wins at battle and defeats the Spanish army, he frames victory as the duty of a good son and love as his true reward: "I only Fought for Conquest, not for Fame, / Your Love alone can recompense my Flame" (4.3.33-34). Guyomar and Alibech are married. This utopian love is almost destroyed by the near-rape of Alibech by Guyomar's jealous brother, but the lovers escape when Guyomar's brother is killed by the treacherous Spaniard, Vasquez (played by Burt), who also wants Guyomar's wife. In his final act of war, and one that marries youthful lover and superboy fighter, Guyomar slays the evil Vasquez.

In the closing scene of the epic, Guyomar makes the pastoral escape from his role as superboy fighter. The victorious Cortez asks Guyomar if he will agree to stay and govern the city, now under Spanish rule. Guyomar refuses, and instead, proposes to his young wife that they leave the city to live in untamed country, like two pastoral lovers:

“There, Love and Freedom we’l in Peace enjoy” (5.2.370). This last image is a retreat to adolescence, a return to innocence. Guyomar renounces his city and takes on the role of utopian lover, who cannot be corrupted by war, governance, or greed.⁹⁰

In a more tragic world than this epic-heroic one, the young soldier-lover would not make the pastoral escape. In Lee’s Gloriana (1676), Kynaston played the young and passionate soldier, Marcellus, son of the tyrannical Augustus Caesar (played by Mohun), and bosom friend of Caesar’s foe, the noble Caesario (played by Hart), whom Marcellus has been fighting alongside in Spain. Caesar fears Caesario as a young rival, and Marcellus’s loyalties are torn. Like Guyomar, he chooses honor over blood, asking the brave Caesario not to give up his desire for justice in pursuing the fall of the tyrant. His virtuousness wins this lavish praise from an admiring Caesario, who answers him with romantic devotion, admiring his loveliness and beauty as a soldier and young man:

E’en while thou flatter’st me, thou lovely art,
By Heav’n young man thou hast thy Souldier’s heart;
And while I hold thee to my faithful breast;
Caesar with empire is not half so blessed. (165)⁹¹

The homosocial bond the man and boy experience in the battlefield is ruptured when they enter the darkly ambiguous world of the city. In the unstable universe Lee creates in this play, Marcellus’s youthful exuberance is soon twisted. He believes a false rumor that his

⁹⁰ Other epic-heroic young lover roles on record for Kynaston include (probably) Ascus in The Indian Queen (1664) and Placidus in Dryden’s Tyrannick Love (1669). Other tragic young lover roles on record include such roles as Antonio in a revival of Shirley’s The Maid’s Revenge and Florus in Joyner’s The Roman Empress (1670).

⁹¹ Nathaniel Lee, Gloriana, in The Works of Nathaniel Lee, vol. 1. ed. Stroup and Cooke. Subsequent references are from this edition.

young wife, Julia, has been unfaithful to him, and his reaction is manifestly paranoid. Deeply in love, and driven to avenge his spoiled honor, he enters their bedroom in his palace. Holding a sword, he threatens to kill Julia, but freezes. She urges him on to prove her own honesty, and her words give us the physical picture: Kynaston, as Marcellus, stops moving, pulls his arm back, and lets the sword fall from his hand: “Why shrinks thy arm as if it feared to wound, / And drops thy coward weapon to the ground?” (181).

Marcellus then turns his rage back in on himself, bidding her to kill him:

Here, Julia, execute thy bloody will,

I know thy purpose is at last to kill:

Be but thus kind, life freely I resign;

Thou’rt born to break all hearts, and must break mine. (181)

She will not, swears that she is faithful, and they reconcile. Marcellus’s equilibrium is temporarily restored, but he soon learns that his sister has died from sorrow over unrequited love. Marcellus, the once valiant soldier, now dies from sorrow in the arms of his wife. His heated jealousy is followed by a soft, passive death. As Anthony Fletcher writes, “Manhood was hot but it was also hard: effeminacy, or femininity, represented dilution and softening.”⁹² Marcellus softens and dies like a woman “without a wound” (207), stretched underneath the body of his wife who lies on top of him, a visual “dilution” of his masculinity as his passive, dead body merges with hers. Marcellus’s passive death is a far cry from the active battles he waged as a boyish young warrior who showed promise at war, and his death is like Guyomar’s retreat recast in a tragic vocabulary. He is the boy lover who never grows up to be a man.

⁹² Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex & Subordination in England, 1500-1800*, 95.

Kynaston was called upon to die the death of sorrow when he played the heroine Arthiope in Davenant's The Unfortunate Lovers (1659), an interesting cross-over from his female young lover line to his male young lover line. Death from sorrow was a rare way for male characters to expire unless they were already established as characters bound by circumstances that rendered them passive victims. Michael Mohun was also called upon to die this way when he played Bellamante and Britannicus, two passive heroes. In the latter case Britannicus's death is actually caused by poison, but he is already disintegrating from sorrow, which makes him vulnerable to attack, as he is too disoriented by sorrow and ensuing madness to realize that there is a plot against him. Most male heroes died by fighting or suicide. For example, the young Acasis in The Indian Queen stabs himself, and Antonio in The Maid's Revenge is killed at duel. Kynaston probably played Acasis, and he played Antonio.

Kynaston's lovers might never grow up to be men, but he also played young and tempestuous military leaders who wrestled with sensuous feelings. By the 1670s, Kynaston was Mark Antony opposite Hart's Brutus and Mohun's Cassius in a revival of Shakespeare's Julius Caesar. Mark Antony is Caesar's favorite; young, passionate, and intelligent, but also "given to sports, wildness, much company...and revels all the night" (2.1.189-190).⁹³ This sensuousness is one sign of a character weakness—none of the men in this play are without demons—and Antony loses his good judgment in his drive to avenge the murder of Caesar, and oscillates between heated emotionalism and coldness toward others, willing, for example, to arrogantly use a valiant soldier as he would "my horse [...] a creature that I teach [...] his corporal motions governed by my spirit"

⁹³ William Shakespeare, Julius Caesar, in The Complete Works of Shakespeare, 4th edition, ed. David Bevington (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1992), 1021-59.

(4.1.29-33). He is young and ambitious, but lacks temperance and a sense of perspective and humility, exemplified by Brutus (played by Hart).⁹⁴

In Crowne's two-part epic The Destruction of Jerusalem (1677), Kynaston was cast as Titus, Emperor of Rome, who struggles between sensuous feelings and military duty. Titus makes his first appearance in Part Two. He is about to conquer falling Jerusalem, but only after conquering his love for the Jewish Princess Berenice (played by Beck Marshall), to whom he has been a lover, but cannot marry without compromising his tenability as a leader. As a leader, Titus is highly emotional, and he is foremost a lover who must defeat love's hold on him in order to grow up into his role as ruler: "I but wider tear the wounds of love. / These thoughts no more shall in my soul contest, / I'll pull this shaft of love out of my breast" (323).⁹⁵ By play's end he has made the ascent and rejects his lover during a military conquest. As the conquering outsider, he is the alien in the land, but he also (like a Cortez) is the man who embodies the new order. Titus is cool and remote: he has a role to play in a machine that is greater than he (Rome), and he must play his part well. He heads the army that kills the romantic hero and rebel-in-the-land, Phraates (played by Hart). Kynaston, as Titus, embodies the new, but the loss of the noble city, and its heroes and heroines, is meant to be tragic. Titus is the lover who does not make the adolescent escape, evident in his final speech: "I despise / Those flatt'ring poms, and splendid mockeries, / Where I am worshipt like a pow'r Divine, / and yet all

⁹⁴ Kynaston also played the young soldier roles in several revivals: Otto in Rollo, Cassio in Othello, Doran in Brennoralt, and the minor comic soldier role of Corporal Cocke in The Royall King.

⁹⁵ John Crowne, The Destruction of Jerusalem, Part 2, in The Dramatic Works of John Crowne, vol. 2 (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967).

hearts are free to love but mine” (393). Titus, the imperial loner, banishes love with tortured resolve in order to play his role as a military man.⁹⁶

By the 1670s, Kynaston was also cast as another kind of loner: the young villain. He created the role of the young villain Harman Junior in Dryden’s propaganda play, Amboyna (1672-73). Written and performed during the Third Dutch War, the play is based on the real-life brutal murder of English soldiers captured by the Dutch.⁹⁷ The hero of Dryden’s play is the English captain Gabriel Towerson (played by Hart), who marries the native Indian Isabinda (played by Beck Marshall), a virtuous and beautiful maid born on the island of Amboyna. Harman Junior is the son of one of the Dutch plotters, and he is initially on good terms with Towerson because Towerson helped him at sea, but his loyalty is short lived. He is overcome by lust upon sight for Isabinda. In a brutal scene, he lures her into the woods on her wedding night, before she has consummated her relationship with Towerson, promising her that he is bringing her to him. He then tries to force her to have sexual intercourse with him: “you know you are now going to your Bridal Bed [...] ’tis but the Scene still you were to act; only the person chang’d, it may be for the better” (4.4.48-51). She asks if he fears heaven, and he answers, “No, I hope one in you” (4.4.56). She runs, and we hear her screams as he (offstage) ties her to a tree and

⁹⁶ The other role on record in Kynaston’s military leader line is that of Scipio in Lee’s Sophonisba (1675), a character that I talk about in the “Triangulations” section of this chapter. Also, within this line, with more emphasis on lover than warrior, is the tyrannical Major Boabdelin in Dryden’s The Conquest of Granada.

⁹⁷ For a full discussion of possible premiere dates for Amboyna and the real-life circumstances that inspired Dryden’s plot, see The Works of John Dryden, vol. 12, ed. Vinton Dearing (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 257-269. References to the text of Amboyna are from this edition.

brutally rapes her. Later, the audience sees her bound to the tree, disheveled, where she is discovered by her husband, Towerson.

At an age of innocence, Harman Junior is a nightmare. In his discussion of seventeenth-century moralists and concerns about the “dark” and “dangerous age” of youth, Paul Griffin summarizes a list of five sins outlined by one writer in 1662: “pride, sensual pleasures and delights, mocking and scoffing at religious men and things, rashness, lustful and wantonness [...] they were the ‘special sins of youth’” (34-35).⁹⁸ I note that Harman Junior commits all of these “special sins.” Dryden was no preachy moralist, and Griffin rightly asserts that youth were not the only ones to commit such sins. Nor we cannot assume that moralists spoke for all of their contemporaries. However, the idea that youth are malleable, vulnerable, and still in the process of growing into men and women is surely the impetus behind some of this moralizing anxiety about a “dark age” of youth. The image of Harman Junior running wild marks a young man’s loss of control to dark desire, and since Dryden was creating a play that attacks the Dutch, a young and beautiful Dutch rapist was one way to exploit such loss of control for full dramatic potential. Dryden maximizes the effect by having Harman Junior turn penitent. He reenters the stage ashamed and distracted, crying out, “Oh, I have nothing left of Manhood in me; I am turn’d Beast or Devil; Have I not Hornes, and Tayle, and Leathern Wings? methinks I should have by my Actions----Oh I have done a Deed so ill, I cannot name it” (4.4.39-42). Harman’s father is angry at his son for showing remorse, but Harman Junior, now rejecting his father’s dark morals, sees himself

⁹⁸ Paul Griffin, Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560-1640 (Oxford: Clarendon University Press, 1996). Griffin is citing Thomas Brooks, Apples of Gold for All Young Men and Women and a Crown of Glory for Old Men and Women, London, 1662, 84-101.

as a devil emasculated by his own monstrous behavior. He is killed by the avenging hero, Towerson, and dies in a panic, calling up, “oh mercy, mercy Heaven” (4.5.141). He is a young man distorted by “special sins” who, about to die, suffers fear.⁹⁹

Harman Junior is a darkling youth, and also a beautiful darkling youth. Like the beautiful temptress, he deceives the viewer because his pleasing surface masks a dark interior. When Harman Junior dies, the Dutch plotters frame Towerson for murder by willfully exploiting the innocent appearance of Harman’s corpse, claiming that the body of this “Sweet, unfortunate young Man” lying before them with “trembling Lips” could not possibly have committed such an atrocious crime (4.5.161-63). Kynaston being cast in the role, because he usually played noble young lovers who were physically beautiful, was surely disturbing. As Peter Holland rightly says in his analysis of actors and casting, “Every actor has his limitations. Restricted by appearance, voice, or temperament, there are certain types of roles which are simply impractical for him. By continuing to play a certain limited range of roles, an actor can affect a play simply by going outside that range.”¹⁰⁰ In Amboyna, Kynaston was cast against type in a role in which type (beautiful and innocent looking youth) is used as a mask.

In Lee’s The Rival Queens (1677), Kynaston played another villain: Cassander, who covets the body of the dark Empress Roxana, the first wife of the hero Alexander

⁹⁹ Kynaston played another young villain-cum-penitent when he created the role of the evil younger half-brother Morat opposite Hart as the noble older brother in Dryden’s Aureng-Zebe (1675). Morat ambitiously tries to manipulate his father (Mohun) into giving him the kingdom, and then turns on his father. He also misuses his wife by abusively rejecting her and using her as a go-between so that he can seduce a young and virtuous maid. He dies in the arms of his wife while asking her forgiveness. Thus, he dies the feminine death of sorrow, like Marcellus.

¹⁰⁰ Peter Holland, The Ornament of Action: Text and Performance in Restoration Comedy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 77.

(Hart) and the mother of his unborn child.¹⁰¹ Cassander describes himself as Roxana's male twin: "I know her jealous, bloody, and ambitious / Sure 'twas the likeness of her Heart to mine, / And Sympathy of Natures caus'd me love her" (2.1.62-64). He longs for her: "Long have I Loved---" but she, repulsed by his love, interrupts his speech and orders him to hold, calling him "villain." (4.1.475-76). He is as dark as she, and it is he who heads the conspiracy against Alexander and who contrives the plot to poison him, which succeeds. Cassander is young, bright, and attractive, but vainglorious, driven by excessive lust for a woman, and rejected by the woman he desires. He does not die, unusual for a villain, but because he is young this can be played for tragic effect—he is a dark youth in a chaotic universe, and this is nightmarish, in keeping with the world gone askew that Lee creates. Kynaston's Cassander with the black soul would have been effectively chilling, and this evil young villain helps to weight the scales in favor of Hart's flawed but heroic Alexander.

Kynaston also excelled in playing sterling young men whose outer beauty was matched by a shining inner beauty. One of his most popular lines in the world of tragicomic and comic plays was as the young lover in a romantic high plot. These lovers were of high social status—kings, dukes, and princes.¹⁰² There is an ethereal quality to

¹⁰¹ Cassander, Harman Junior, and Morat in Aureng Zebe are the three villain roles on record for Kynaston through 1678.

¹⁰² Kynaston's roles on record in this line include the Duke in Buckingham's The Chances, the title role in The Black Prince, Prince Frederick in The Assignation, Signor Flaminio in The Generous Enemies, and Tigranes in A King and No King, a role he took over from Burt by 1675. Kynaston also played the young King in The Island Princess, although he had no love interest. Kynaston is listed in the MS cast of Love's Sacrifice in the role of Roseilli, a young noble who disguises himself as a fool and at end wins the kingdom and restores peace. He is also listed as playing the rejected and jealous Duke Caraffa in the second MS cast list for this play, but this list is more problematic. He is named in the MS cast for Shirley's The Imposture, which contains two sets of actors'

Kynaston's lovers—they are romantic ideals, and they belong in the world of fairy tales and dreams. For example, as Count Sforza in Francis Fane's Love in the Dark (1675), he falls in love with the beautiful ingénue in the play's high plot, which contrasts with the farcical low plot about the eccentric rake, Trivultio (played by Mohun), whose antics include dressing up like a woman and a Cardinal. Kynaston's lover puts him through a series of tests, disguising herself, but he proves faithful. In Marriage A-la-Mode (1671), Kynaston is cast in the play's high plot as the young lover, Leonidas, who is the long-lost son to the usurped King. Leonidas, like Kynaston's other noble young lovers, is "classically" beautiful in temperament and boyish innocence, characterized by awe of the world, emotional openness, nobility, and grace. As with his other young lover roles in this line, Leonidas is devoted to a beautiful and royal maid—in this case, Palmyra, and he resists the beauty of another whom he has been ordered to marry by the tyrannical usurper. In contrast to the playfulness of the roles played by Hart and Mohun in the comic low plot, Kynaston had to speak serious lines that were devoid of banter. They needed to be delivered with earnestness for the part to work, and Leonidas has to be likable, not foolish. The challenge in delivering the text was in handling heightened, even syrupy, love poetry, and success depended on the actor's ability to convey a sense of sincere virgin innocence, which Kynaston could do:

I felt, the while, a pleasing kind of smart;

names. One set lists him in the bit part of the servant Antonio, and the other in the leading male lover role of Honorio, the Duke's son. Milhous and Hume reason that when Clun died, the play was recast, which explains the two lists. Kynaston seems to have taken over the role of Honorio from Hart, with Hart moving over to the minor role of Petronio. See Milhous and Hume, "Manuscript Casts for Revivals of Three Plays by Shirley in the 1660s," on 32-33.

The kiss went, tingling, to my very heart.
 When it was gone, the sense of it did stay;
 The sweetness cling'd upon my lips all day,
 Like drops of Honey, loath to fall away. (2.1.440-44).¹⁰³

This speech is characteristic of all of Leonidas's speeches in the play. Compare this with the words of the comic romantic hero, Palamede (played by Hart), when he thinks about himself as a lover: "I take heat after heat, like a well-bred courser" (4.1.188). The leading comic hero is in heat, experienced, desirable, and has loved many women; the young romantic hero (Kynaston's line) is an innocent—he has never made love to a woman, and he is awed by the effect a kiss can have on his virgin body. As the most high-status character in the world of the play, the crown prince Leonidas takes on a symbolic function. He represents the voice of order, balance, and justice. His innocent yearning is maturing into devoted love, and his taking his young lover as a bride marks his growth into the role of prince, and from boy to man.

Kynaston was also cast in three of Wycherley's city comedies, and his roles in these plays show a range from the pastoral, high romance lover to a young trickster lover, to a spirited but cynical scamp. In Love in a Wood (1671), Kynaston created the role of Valentine, a romantic young lover who in temperament and demeanor belongs to the world of a dignified high plot, but who is living in the world of city hijinks. Valentine is the lover of the virtuous Christina (played by Boutell), and his earnestness and elegance contrast with Hart and Mohun's comic rogues. Ranger (played by Hart) pursues

¹⁰³ John Dryden, Marriage A-la-Mode, in The Works of John Dryden, vol. 11, ed. John Loftis, David Stuart Rodes, and Vincent A. Dearing (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978). Subsequent references are from this edition.

Christina, who remains true to the faithful Valentine. Valentine is “worthy the love of a Princess” (104) but possesses a mind full of the “Fantastick Goblin’s” of “Jealousie” (101).¹⁰⁴ He struts and frets through contemporary London, deeply in love with the virtuous Christina. Valentine’s feverish earnestness sets up the joke—earnest seriousness against rakish romps—which helps to drive the comic action. This tension between high romance and city grit explodes at moments, as when Valentine, hiding behind a door in his friend’s lodgings, bursts forth brandishing a sword to challenge Ranger, his perceived rival for Christina’s love. A friend frantically thrusts him back behind the door before Ranger or Christina see him (89). The overly zealous prince is shoved behind the comic screen.

Kynaston also created the role of Harcourt in The Country Wife (1675). Harcourt is the citified version of the stock young romantic lover and is consequently a scamp romantic. Harcourt is friend to the rakish Horner, which aligns him with the rough-and-tumble world, and then, like a stock romantic lover, he falls in love at first sight with the young and pretty sister to Pinchwife, Alithea. Love rewrites Harcourt for us as audience, taking him out of his role as sidekick-to-the-lead and thus away from Horner’s world of homosocial, libertine pleasure.¹⁰⁵ Horner’s other friend, Dorilant (played by a secondary actor, Edward Lydall), is left to function as Horner’s confidant while we follow Harcourt’s own romantic pursuit in the subplot. Thus, Harcourt ceases to be stock best friend, and takes on a new role as stock young lover. However, the romantic codes he

¹⁰⁴ William Wycherley, Love in a Wood, in The Complete Plays of William Wycherley, ed. Gerald Weales. Subsequent references are from this edition.

¹⁰⁵ For further discussion of libertinism and male homosociability in The Country Wife, see Sedgwick, Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire, 49-66.

operates by skew away from the predictable romance formula. Alithea is engaged to another, an eccentric coxcomb, Sparkish. Harcourt nevertheless pursues Alithea, wooing her in front of her overly-trusting husband-to-be (in a fairy tale this would be the prince rescuing the beautiful maid from an ogre). Then, Harcourt behaves like a comic trickster and poses as a parson to marry the two so that the vows are worthless, and he can eventually have Althea for himself.

However, there is a thorny issue: Harcourt reads from the Book of Common Prayer. According to Gellert Spencer Alleman's excellent study, Matrimonial Law and the Materials of Restoration Comedy, a marriage ceremony conducted by a layperson (like Harcourt), provided that layperson reads from the Book of Common Prayer, was considered, in real life, a legal match. Alleman names the Alithea-Sparkish marriage as a structurally being a valid, "successful mock marriage."¹⁰⁶ He notes that "Harcourt assumes the costume of his brother, a [Anglican] priest, and reads a portion of the service" (75). Observing that the "absence of a genuine priest" (75) in the comic world often serves as a catalyst to invalidate marriage, he points out that this is a slippery matter. As Alleman words it, "the marriage of Alithea and Sparkish in The Country Wife could be invalid only because Alithea suspects that the priest is Harcourt and hence withholds consent" (77). Harcourt expresses that his posing as a parson is meant but to "hinder his Rivals enjoyment, though but for a time" (316), thus, he seems innocent of the fact that the marriage could in fact legally stand if Althea objects not. In the play, Sparkish comments that Alithea denies their marriage because "our Parson was not in lawful orders, and did not say all the Common Prayer" (334). Partial reading of the

¹⁰⁶ Gellert Spencer Alleman, Matrimonial Law and the Materials of Restoration Comedy (Wallingford, Pa: Privately printed, 1942), 102.

Common Book of Prayer would not have been enough to render the marriage invalid, but Alithea's recognizing her lover as the imposture and "not in lawful order" would be. The humor comes in watching these two young lovers meet because the stock convention is that they must match, and in this play the match is brought down from the ivory tower and into the messy world of comic stratagems. Harcourt is devoted to Alithea, and the two are well suited, as they are attractive, young, and mutually love-struck and absorbed in each other. Kynaston could have created a moon-eyed, eager, and elegant Harcourt.

In The Plain Dealer (1676), Kynaston was cast as the astute young cynic, Freeman. Freeman is the hero Manly's lieutenant, "a Gentleman well Educated, but of a broken Fortune, a complier with the Age."¹⁰⁷ Freeman is poised, elegant, and able by means of his intelligence to manipulate others. He tries to woo the forty-five year old litigious Widow Blackacre (played by Elizabeth Corey) so that he can win her money, which amounts to stealing the inheritance that belongs to her son.¹⁰⁸ He does this by first trying to seduce her, which she will have none of because it means losing her right to sue—a wife cannot sue without her husband's approval—although, onstage, the comic possibilities could increase if the Widow is attracted to Freeman and to the idea of a young sexual partner. In "type," widows are notoriously sexual in comedies, and there is room for this possibility in the text of The Plain Dealer. The comely Kynaston opposite the rollicking and portly Katherine Corey as the Widow would have made for good, farcical fun if there was tension between sexual interest on her part and disgust at the

¹⁰⁷ As described in the *Dramatis Personae* list in 1677 published text, reprinted in William Wycherley, The Plain Dealer, in The Complete Plays of William Wycherley, ed. Gerald Weales, 387. Unless otherwise noted, references to the play are from this edition.

¹⁰⁸ Freeman is "five and twenty" (436), and "twenty Years younger" than the Widow (433), making her forty-five years of age.

maneuverings of this ambitious young shark. She is, after all, selfish and fixated on fortunes, and Freeman pursues her using the language of her “game”: goods for goods, and his body as a means of exchange in the marketplace.

In his seduction, Freeman is plain-dealing about the practical reasons for the match: “I am a younger Brother, and you are a Widow” (432). He, in essence, whores himself by offering through marriage to be her sexual plaything, promising that he can please her: “I’ll make you pleasanter business than any you have [...] Try me but, Widow, and employ me as you find my abilities, and industry” (432). To up the stakes in his pursuit of the Widow’s money, Freeman manipulates the Widow’s son into stealing her legal papers so that she is forced to get them back, but she frees herself from this obstacle by declaring her son a bastard. Undaunted, Freeman has her arrested, and says her only way out is through marriage to him. She balks again, and he gets out of this by having her sign papers which grant him a settlement for life.

Unlike the hero, Manly (played by Hart), whose view of the world seems cynical but is at heart romantic because it is idealistic, Freeman is a true cynic and realist, one who dexterously romps after what he wants (money) with no sense of guilt about exploiting fools at their own game. Freeman tries to expose Manly’s insistence upon plain dealing as folly because it is impossible in the real world. As Peter Holland puts it, “Freeman is in part the voice of social ideals. But [...] Freeman’s actions are barely desirable and Manly is a libertine without the critical intelligence”(182). Freeman possesses the necessary critical intelligence for a comic winner. However, it is Manly who finds true love with a virtuous heiress and unmasks his deceivers. Freeman lacks the love of a beautiful woman and is bound by the structures he manipulates, a sure sign that

he is not the comic “junior” hero in any sense of the term. He is a new cog in the machine of city folk who are driven by material interests. Kynaston, as Freeman, plays a foil to the leading man, and he comes across as smart, dexterous, but rather selfish and heartless. In this respect, he is more like Kynaston’s body-hungry villains than his moon-struck lovers.¹⁰⁹

D. Triangulations: Male Bodies On Stage

Masculinity on stage is constructed not by one body, but by multiple bodies. The male hero may be the most exemplary male, but he is not without flaws, and he is a man in conflict with other men. In this section, I will look at two plays produced by the King’s Company, both of which were commercially successful and both of which featured Mohun, Hart, and Kynaston playing different kinds of men. The first of these is The Black Prince by Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, a rhymed heroic tragicomedy that premiered in 1667. The second is Sophonisba, or, Hannibal’s Overthrow, Nathaniel Lee’s second play, produced in 1675. These plays clearly demonstrate the contrast between the three actors’ “lines” and the ways in which they were cast to complement one another on stage. In both of these plays, men are expected to be honorable in war and in love, and the exemplary man is the most gifted soldier, the most generous lover of women, and a loyal friend to his male comrades-in-arms.

¹⁰⁹ There are two other roles in this line on record for Kynaston: Peregrine in Volpone; and Dauphine in The Silent Woman. Other comic roles on record for Kynaston are Young Loveless in Fletcher’s The Scornful Lady and Eustace in Fletcher and Massinger’s The Elder Brother. Both are prodigal younger brothers. Eustace redeems himself in Prince Hal-like fashion.

The Black Prince opened to a crowd. Pepys writes that on the first day it was acted he had trouble getting into the crowded theatre: “we came by 2 a-clock, yet there was no room in the pit, but we were forced to go into the upper box at 4s apiece, which is the first time I ever sat in a box in my life.”¹¹⁰ He also notes that the King was among the audience members that day. Orrery could offer up popular fare: courtly romance wherein love is in contest with honor. The characters in his play are drawn from English history, but the story is what Robert D. Hume describes as “pseudo-history,” and is high romance escapism at its finest.¹¹¹ In contrast to the often heated emotionalism in Lee’s plays, the The Black Prince, to borrow from Hume’s assessment of Orrery’s dramaturgy, depends upon an “endless series of reports and static debates appropriate to the chilly loftiness of tone he cultivates.”¹¹² The static courtliness of the drama gives it a rather frigid quality, and the characters operate within the strict codes of idealized court life, in which there is a strong sense of controlled decorum in language and demeanor. Good actors, however, could make the tension between courtly language and the heated feelings that lie beneath very much alive, and the play was well cast with actors who could breath passion into what might otherwise have been smart but rather sterile text. Mohun was cast as the lover-tyrant King Edward, Hart as the passionate and romantic Lord Delaware, and Kynaston in the title role of the virtuous Prince of Wales.

Orrery’s original title for the play was Edward, y^e Black Prince, which, according to the playwright, “I writt by y^e Kings Command [...] And if ever I writt anythinge fit for

¹¹⁰ Pepys, Diary, 8:487.

¹¹¹ Hume, Development, 196.

¹¹² Ibid.

y^e Theatre this Play is it.”¹¹³ “Edward” was later dropped from the title, but the virtuous young Edward, Prince of Wales, Kynaston’s role, had in real life been named the Black Prince and had gallantly defeated the French King John in 1356. Orrery had reason to try and curry Charles’s favor through flattery and favorable portraits of ideal noble sons. Orrery’s family resided in Ireland at the time of his birth, having migrated there in the 1580s. In the 1650s, Orrery took an active part in the English resistance to the Irish rebellion, thus defending the interests of the Commonwealth under Cromwell. According to Basil Duke Henning, Orrery was “highly successful in the field, and thenceforth saw himself as first and foremost a soldier.”¹¹⁴ When the crown was restored to the Stuarts, Orrery, whom Henning asserts was a “Royalist and an Anglican at heart [...] played [a] principal part in persuading the Irish army to accept the Restoration.” Thereafter, he served the Royalist cause, and his favorable presentation of a young, royalist hero in the The Black Prince was a politically astute choice. In the play, the young Prince is the epitome of virtue.¹¹⁵ In the world in which he lives, the ability to sacrifice self-interest for others is crucial to relationships and to manhood, and male honor depends upon

¹¹³ See LS, 92. The evidence comes from a letter written by Orrery to Edward, Viscount Conway, 17 July 1666. Orrery also writes, “If we meet at London you will see a Play Acted,” but he does not specify date or company. Perhaps he planned on the King’s Company mounting the play sooner than it did (recall that Pepys wrote that the play was first acted on 19 October, 1667, in Diary, 8:487). The theatres were closed for plague in July 1666, and would remain closed until circa early December of that year.

¹¹⁴ Basil Duke Henning, The House of Commons 1660-1690, (London: Secker & Warburg, 1983). For a provocative discussion of Orrery’s career as a playwright and the connections between his life and work, see Nancy Klein Maguire, Regicide and Restoration: English Tragicomedy, 1660-1671, 164-189.

¹¹⁵ Edward, Prince of Wales, (1330-1376) was the son of King Edward III (Mohun’s role in the play). Young Edward goes by the name “Prince” in the play, and I follow suit.

altruistic selflessness. A summary review of the play's given circumstances will set the stage for analysis.

In The Black Prince, there is a triangular contest among the three leading men: the Black Prince (played by Kynaston), King Edward (played by Mohun), and Lord Delaware (played by Hart). Each loves the beautiful Plantagenet, but only the Prince is her rightful partner. However, some damage must first be undone. Due to the deceitfulness of the now-dead Lord of Kent, Plantagenet, who was in love with and betrothed to the Prince, left him on the day they were to marry because she believed him unfaithful. The cause was a letter, written by the Prince at Kent's urging, to a young court lady whose love the Prince could not return because of his devotion to Plantagenet. Unbeknownst to the Prince, Kent arranged to deliver the letter to Plantagenet so that she would believe she was the rejected lady. Kent's plan succeeded, and the heartbroken Plantagenet then married Kent. He died at war but on his deathbed confessed the truth to Lord Delaware, giving him a copy of the letter. Plantagenet, now a widow, still loves the Prince. King Edward (Mohun) has since fallen in love with her, forsaking his love for a noble lady, Alizia, and the Prince, back from the war with France, falls in love with Plantagenet anew. Lord Delaware (Hart), soldier and friend to the Prince, also loves Plantagenet and now fears revealing Kent's secret, because he hopes her love will be returned. There is also a fourth rival, the captive King John of France (Wintershall), whom the Prince had captured at war, and who falls in love with Plantagenet, a complication that is resolved when Plantagenet does not return his affection. King Edward and Delaware ultimately renounce their love and the Prince is joined with Plantagenet, and this is the journey we witness.

Orrery constructed a drama in which virtuous courtly behavior is exalted, and the shadow caused by misrule is exorcized from the body of the kingdom. King Edward, Mohun's role, brings a shadow to the kingdom, for he behaves tyrannically, jealously coveting the body of the woman who is beloved by his son. King Edward is a role in Mohun's tyrant-father line. In the tragicomic world, the tyrant-father redeems himself by renouncing his selfish attraction for a woman who belongs to another. This renunciation also brings about the happy resolution, for it allows lover and Prince to join. Before resolution comes, King Edward exhibits behavior typical of all of Mohun's tyrants: narrow focus on one woman that results in a loss of balanced reason; jealous control over her body; insensitivity to others he may hurt; and a fear that his son may outshine him in love and war. He also, according to the fair Plantagenet, "usurp'd on his own Fathers right, / Then stain'd a Scaffold with his Unkles gore / For striving his wrong'd Brother to restore" (25), a piece of his history that repels her.¹¹⁶ King Edward is an impetuous man: he orders his own son imprisoned because he is a rival in his love for Plantagenet, and he audaciously courts her in her bedchamber and ignores her wishes that he desist. They are interrupted by the forsworn Alizia, who, believing herself betrayed, threatens to kill herself. King Edward's cruelty becomes clear when Plantagenet begs him to let her go after the distressed Alizia, and he refuses. Strong actors created these roles: Beck Marshall played Plantagenet, the perceived rival to Alizia, who was most likely played by

¹¹⁶ Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery. *The Black Prince*. In *Two New Tragedies*. London, 1669. EEBO. 9 May 2003. The play is published under the name tragedy, but its structure clearly makes it a tragicomedy. None of the main characters dies, the tyrant is miraculously converted, and there is a happy resolution.

her sister Anne. The scene was no doubt forceful.¹¹⁷ When Anne, as the wounded Alizia, leaves the stage, Beck Marshall and Mohun are called upon as actors to speak in rapid stichomythia:

PLAN.: Deta[i]n me not, She'll die through our delay.

KING: And I shal die should you thus go away.

PLAN.: She needs my help.

KING: But does not it implore.

PLAN.: Her Case deserves it.

KING: Mine deserves it more.

PLAN.: Her Grief does wound me.

KING: So my Love should do.

PLAN.: Your Love's her debt.

KING: 'Tis onely due to you. (44)

She leaves, and he is angered that she is gone, showing no regard for his now-suicidal ex-lover. A plot complication gives him new impetus for revenge, when he discovers in

¹¹⁷ The 1669 published version lists "Mrs. Guinn" in the role of Alizia, most likely a variant spelling of "Quin," Anne Marshall's married name. Milhous and Hume note in their edition of Downes, on 37, note 82, that an edition of the play published in 1672 also lists "Mrs. Guinn." The authors point out that some scholars have interpreted "Guinn" to mean Gwyn (Downes lists "Gwin" next to Alizia's name, which is how he generally spelled Nell Gwyn's name), and they present a concise summary of the scholarly debate over the casting. Milhous and Hume rightly say that "Alizia is more in Quin's line than Gwyn's," noting that "No definite conclusion is possible." I agree. I also note that the Marshall sisters had played rivals-in-love who vied for the attention of a courtier played by Mohun in Dryden's commercially successful Secret Love, which premiered in February 1667, eight months before The Black Prince. The successful sisters-as-rivals formula may well have been repeated in The Black Prince. Anne Marshall would have made an excellent Alizia. Gwyn, however, cannot be ruled out.

Plantagenet's room what he believes to be a man, who is in fact the cross-dressed young lover to the captive French King.

Thoughts of revenge fall away when King Edward confronts the dying Alizia. Magically converted by her virtue and suffering, he awakens from his tyrannical stupor. He renounces his desire for Plantagenet, and begs Alizia to live:

Oh no, that Love and Grief which you have shown
Has all the Magick of her Eyes o'rethrown:
On Fancies Wings I my past flight did take,
But 'tis on Tryals Wings that I fly back. (49)

Having passed this trial of his manhood and joined once again with Alizia, King Edward faces a further trial when his son asks for Plantagenet's hand in marriage. At first, the redeemed King Edward refuses his consent on point of honor, but the sundry obstacles are removed when Lord Delaware reads the letter proving Plantagenet's innocence, and when King Edward learns that the man hidden in Plantagenet's room was in fact a woman. Satisfied, he gives permission for them to be joined, and his is the authoritative voice that reasserts order: "Now all th' Alarm's of Love and War shall cease, /And yield their roomes to the soft Joyes of Peace" (63). He thus heals his manhood by choosing virtuous action, which in turn, allows for peace in the kingdom.

Lord Delaware, Hart's role, is also a rival to the Prince. The Prince is Delaware's friend and a soldier in the English army. He feels a keen sense of loyalty to the Prince, but when he learns that the Prince still loves Plantagenet, he chooses to try and dissuade the Prince from embracing this love because he wants her for himself: "Oh let it never of my Prince be said, / He yields to one by whom he was Betray'd!" (19) The Prince will

not surrender his love and assigns Delaware the role of messenger to Plantagenet.

Delaware, alone, wonders at this and moves forward with optimistic hope: “Some Fatal Planet at my Birth did Reign [...] Yet of a Remedy I will not doubt, / Love which has Led me in may Lead me out” (20). Delaware then boldly states his love to Plantagenet, with romantic devotion, but she swears her love to the Prince and asks him to switch roles and play her messenger. He marvels at this:

Oh Fate! Oh Love! why do you both agree,
To give such Beauty so much Cruelty?
Is't not enough my Flame is scorn'd by you,
But you would make me help my Rival too? (39)

He goes forth sullenly, promising, “If I can, my Flame I will suppress” (40). He ultimately renounces his love for Plantagenet at the urging of his sister, who bids him make the right choice. This reversal shows that he is virtuous, although blinded by love. He takes right action, which in this play is characterized by altruistic sacrifice, by giving up his desire for a woman who loves and is beloved by another. He then heroically rescues the love between Prince and Plantagenet when he reads Kent's letter aloud to the lovers and King Edward, thereby freeing them from the secrets of the past and allowing them to embrace the future. As Nancy Klein Maguire comments in Regicide and Restoration: English Tragicomedy, 1660-1671, “Delaware extricates [the Black Prince] from his dilemmas” (183). He is thus a major catalyst, in keeping with the kinds of parts Hart usually played. Delaware's revelation via the letter, which follows upon his decision to forget Plantagenet, allows true healing to begin in the community.

Delaware was meant to exemplify right action, but in the theatre—despite the romantic virtues of the role—when Hart, as Delaware, read the letter in Act 5, there was at least one recorded problem. Watching the performance of the play on 19 October, 1667, Pepys writes that it was an “excellent letter” and that

the whole House was mightily pleased with the play all along, till towards the end he [Delaware, played by Hart] comes to discover the chief part of the plot by the reading of a long letter; which was so long and some things (the people being set already to think too long) unnecessary, that they frequently began to laugh and to hiss twenty times, that had it not been for the King’s being there, they had certainly hissed it off the stage [...] the letter of itself at another time would be thought an excellent letter, and ended an excellent Romance; but at the end of the play, when everybody was weary of sitting and were already possessed with the effect of the whole letter, to trouble them with a letter of a quarter of an hour long was a most absurd thing. After the play done, and nothing pleasing them from that time of the letter to the end of the play, people being put in a bad humour of disliking [...] I home by coach, and could not forbear laughing almost all the way home.¹¹⁸

Pepys notes at a performance of the play four days later (23 October) that the letter was now printed and distributed to the audience, and that the new solution was “some short

¹¹⁸ Pepys, *Diary*, 8:488. The published version of the text contains a letter of sixteen lines, which cannot have taken a quarter of an hour to read. Perhaps the published version is edited from the original, or perhaps Pepys exaggerates. Or, perhaps, being tedious, it *felt* like a quarter of an hour. Pepys writes that his wife, Elizabeth, who went with him to watch the play, “was angry with me and the world for laughing, because the King was there, though she cannot defend the length of the letter.”

reference made to it by Heart [Hart] in the play, which doth mighty well.”¹¹⁹ Such moments foreground the point that ideal men onstage are played by real actors in real theatre spaces where circumstances can be less than perfect. Although the characters could be compelling, during live performance, even the hero might stumble—in this case due to a structural problem. Hart’s acting seems not to have been the primary problem for Pepys, as the awkwardness seems to have lain in the letter clumsily recounting events that the audience already understood from the play’s action. However, we cannot rule out the possibility that Hart might have given a flatter reading here than in other moments in the play, and at the least, failed to compensate for a clumsy dramaturgical choice with the requisite panache. Hart apparently did not anticipate the problem in rehearsals, perhaps because he knew he would be holding the letter in hand on stage. Since rehearsal time was spent running lines and blocking scenes, he might not have rehearsed the letter in advance of the performance, or failed to notice that exposition at the end of the play about events with which the audience was already familiar would be redundant. Whether he could have compensated for the clumsiness of the letter is a matter of speculation, but Hart lost his audience during a critical moment when his character was performing an action that was meant to exemplify male virtue.

Despite such difficulties in live performance, Delaware was very much the onstage romance hero. He wrestles with his feelings with romantic fervor, and he

¹¹⁹ Pepys, *Diary*, 8:498. Pepys comments here that the play is “the worst play of my Lord Orery’s,” but he was apparently inspired enough by it that night to “read the true story in Speed of the Black Prince, and so to bed.” As Latham and Matthews remark in note 3, Pepys is referring to John Speed’s *The History of Great Britaine*, published in 1650. Six months later, on 1 April, 1668, Pepys again saw *The Black Prince* and wrote that it is “a very good play” (9:144). *LS* lists three recorded performances between October 1667 and April 1668, but records are fragmentary. The play may not have outlasted the 1660s.

emerges as a triumphant man because he renounces his love out of honor to Prince and country. Orrery's play favors symmetry, balance, and tidy resolution, appropriate to the style of courtly romance. Thus, Delaware's sacrificing his love helps restore balance in the kingdom. Delaware equates the body of the woman the Prince loves with England and confesses that he succeeded as a warrior because he loved, which in turn made him long for England: "As making me more fit to Court her Love; / Rais'd by this thought for *England*, Sir, I came" (54). He deliberately conflates woman and country, and then, with further word play, curries the Prince's favor with what easily reads as charmingly earnest self-boasting that befits a comic hero more than a serious romance character: "Though, Sir, 'twas much your Mistress to adore, / To help you, while your Rival, yet is more" (55). Delaware's sacrifice of personal gain for community makes him both ideal warrior and ideal courtier, and he wins the Prince's pardon and is embraced by his continued love. Delaware manifestly expresses in his actions what Derek Hughes identifies as defining characteristics of Orrery's characters, written by a playwright who demonstrated in his work a self-conscious concern about social allegiances:

Orrery's characters can only fulfill themselves by acting as social beings, cultivating an exemplary honour in which the self is exalted and purified by the mastery of those desires which estrange the individual from the shared demands of human culture.¹²⁰

Delaware's exemplary behavior measures his manhood. He fell in love with Plantagenet while out in the battlefield. Now, back at court, he sacrifices his love for a woman who is not his to have.

¹²⁰ Derek Hughes, English Drama, 1660-1700, 32-33.

Edward Kynaston played the title role of the Black Prince. He is a model of perfect nobility and is gallant in war, love, and friendship. He is described as “Fierce in the Fight and Humble after it” (4), is gracious with his enemies, and is a competent soldier and military leader. His sense of honor is so pronounced that he demonstrates unending understanding to rivals in love. When he learns that the French king, whom he defeated in battle and who is now at the English court, loves Plantagenet, he tells this king that he too, loves her. He is hyper-virtuous and concerned that his prior love for her will not strain the French king’s respect for him, or his honor. This heightened sense of honor and selflessness is a core part of his masculine virtue, and his being loved by the woman who is desired by all men in the play also affirms his masculinity. Further, he is young, virile, strong, and physically beautiful, and his youthful manliness is thus shaped by what Bruce R. Smith, in an analysis of masculinity in Renaissance England, has called a “coalescence” of factors.¹²¹ The Prince loves Plantagenet despite her having left him on their wedding day (because of the deception, explained above), and he struggles because he learns his father is a rival in love. His father uses the argument that his son forsakes loyalty to crown by loving her, when in fact, he, like Delaware, wants her for himself. The Prince, however, chooses lover over father, as he tells Lord Delaware:

I must my Mistress or my Father Loose [*sic*];

Why should he strive by Nature to remove

The highest bond of Nature that of Love?

Though Nat’ral ’tis t’Obey a Fathers call,

Yet to love her is much more Natural. (30)

¹²¹ See Bruce R. Smith, Shakespeare and Masculinity, 131-61.

The Prince's stance against his father is his most rebellious act, but because his father, King Edward, is very clearly a darker character in the play, his response to his father's tyrannical actions is warranted. The Prince acknowledges filial duty, but feels his father has forsworn the bond with him, hence, with nature, and it is his responsibility to right this wrong and to restore natural order. Love thus precedes duty in a bond between father and son that the Prince sees as already violated because of his father's unnatural lust.

Unlike the more renegade Delaware, the Prince never masks truth to serve his own end, hence, never needs to reform or to undo the effects of his words. He steadfastly waits for others to see truth. In this respect, the role of the Prince is a less demanding role than that of Delaware, for Delaware has to master an inner demon. Kynaston, as the Prince, had to embody a heightened sense of virtue, and this was the kind of role in which he excelled. His final choices in the play are model examples of right action. The Prince, at risk to himself, asks the French king to declare his love to Plantagenet so that Plantagenet has the right of choice in love. She of course chooses the Prince. Joyous, he then asks his father to release the French king, who has been to the Prince prisoner of war, rival, and friend: "Now, Sir, to raise our Joys above Increase, / To this great King give Liberty and Peace" (55). Love wins over war and allows for the restoration of order. The virtuous young Prince is the hope for the future. His manhood balances public and private cause, and his altruism wins him the heart of the woman he loves and the love of male friends.¹²²

¹²² In her brief but intelligent analysis of The Black Prince in Regicide and Restoration, Nancy Klein Maguire expresses that "The Black Prince himself scarcely qualifies for kingship" and that the play lacks a "definitive hero" and thus diffuses focus (183). I disagree. It was not unusual for there to be an emotional, romantic hero (in this case, Delaware) paired with a younger, more innocent and idealized hero (here, the Prince)

In Orrery's play, the ideal man finds balance between community and self, war and love, and action and reflection. The same holds true for Nathaniel Lee's Sophonisba, with one key difference: the men in Lee's tragedy fail to secure for themselves happiness even if they reach for right action.¹²³ As in all of Lee's plays, the characters revel in emotional conflict that drives the action forward. Sophonisba is the second of Lee's plays to be produced by the King's Company, and unlike Nero, it was a commercial success.¹²⁴ All of the actors are cast as one might expect them to be by the 1670s: Charles Hart played the romantic hero King Massinissa; Michael Mohun the tyrant-warrior General Hannibal, and Edward Kynaston the steely military leader, Scipio, Consul of Rome. Maleness is defined by one's role as a warrior and one's role as a lover. The ideal male (Massinissa) excels as a warrior and is also a passionate lover; however, his weakness for Sophonisba is his *hamartia* as a tragic hero. Hannibal is the harder man and the oldest soldier, who has fought since youth, but one who also loves. Scipio resists love with cold resolve, but this steeliness is by no means ideal within the world of the play. In fact, he willingly surrenders his role when Massinissa dies, realizing the flaws in his own value system, a system which blindly privileges collective cause.

onstage, and Hart and Kynaston excelled in this kind of partnership. Male virtue is doubled in the bodies of the men who make right choice. For Maguire's reading of the play, see Regicide and Restoration, 180-83.

¹²³ The apparent sources for Lee's version of the Sophonisba story are Livy's account of the Second Punic War in English translation; Orrery's Parthenissa (1654), a romance; and John Marston's The Wonder of Women, or Sophonisba and her Tragedy (1606). For a full discussion, see The Works of Nathaniel Lee, ed. Stroup and Cooke 1:75-76.

¹²⁴ There are six recorded performances of the play between April 1675 and November 1676, as listed in LS. It was revived again during the 1680-81 season.

Scipio has the highest status within the social hierarchy of the play. He is concerned most with glory—winning at war and honor. He is a man who sacrifices all for his role as a military leader. He is arrogant about his power, threatening Massinissa, “I shine above thee like a Star fix’d higher, / Whom though you cannot reach, you may admire” (96).¹²⁵ He has a deep love for King Massinissa, but his sense of duty to Rome is greater than the calling of a personal relationship. When Massinissa marries Sophonisba, his prisoner of war, Scipio orders him to release her. Massinissa bows at his feet, and Scipio orders him to rise:

Let not your passion Royalty degrade,
 Rise valiant Prince, I’ve thought of what you said.
 And as your friend my temper cannot keep,
 Mourn your Misfortunes, and like you can weep.
 Curse Roman Tyranny, and wish you were
 Forever Joyn’d with that unhappy fair. (138)

Massinissa thanks him for what he believes to be permission to join with his lover, but Scipio then gives his order. Note how Massinissa’s iambic is completed by Scipio; thus, the interruption signifies the re-inscription of space between the two men so that the boundaries marked are clearly those sanctioned by a warrior’s credo:

K. MASS: Oh you have blest me!
 SCIP.: Massinissa stay,
 You only heard what friendship bid me say.
 But as Rome’s Consul and the Lord of power,

¹²⁵ Nathaniel Lee, *Sophonisba*, in *The Works of Nathaniel Lee*, vol.1., ed. Stroup and Cooke. Subsequent references are from this edition.

I now command you never see her more. (138)

Although Scipio is steely, he is not without compassion, as witnessed by his ability to empathize with Massinissa.

Scipio rejects male friendship for glory, and he also rejects desire for women. However, when he sees the beautiful Rosalinda (played by Elizabeth Boutell), a Roman who is lover to his enemy, General Hannibal of Carthage, he is overcome with longing for her. He immediately orders that she be banished from his sight, seeing her as the cause of invasive and uninvited emotion. He confronts the emotions foreign to him using questions first, suggesting both the violence of the unexpected feeling and his loss of control: "How her Eyes shine? what killing fires they dart? / And all within I feel the fatal smart. / Away with her, she is a Sorceress, go" (103). He cares not where she goes, but only that she goes, so that he does not lose control over himself and hence lose his ability to lead and be victorious: "To Freedom, Chains, to Death, or Banishment: / Bear her where I may never see her more." (104). Then, she is removed from the tent, and there is a physical and psychological change in Scipio, a return to stasis as he defines it within himself, as a man willingly fixated on war:

She's gone, and now I am as heretofore,
 My panting heart with thirst of Glory burns;
 Fame flies before, and beck'ning Fortune turns,
 Bevers and Bucklers, Swords and massie Shields,
 And all the wonted Objects fancy yields,
 Black Hills, and dusty Plains, and bloody Fields. (104-05)

In this speech, images of war replace the image of the woman's body as objects of desire

and become the site of passion and the way in which self-identity is constructed.

Rochester, turning a satirizing eye upon Lee, perceived these moments of outburst as problematic because they denigrated, in his eyes, the historical Scipio: “When Leigh [Lee] makes temperate Scipio fret and Rave [...] I laugh.”¹²⁶ Lee, however, seems not to have been concerned with creating historically authentic dramatic characters so much as he was with creating dynamic ones, and the frets and raves gave the actor a chance to showcase his wares. The moment when Scipio rejects love offers the actor the opportunity to play against a genuine obstacle. From a later vantage point, Derek Hughes identifies this moment of love’s rejection as an action that turns Scipio into an “imaginatively crippled semi-human” (101),¹²⁷ an image that I find striking but which I cannot entirely agree with. I do agree that Scipio’s rejection of desire is a heightened moment and an important one for the character (and actor). However, Scipio’s rejection of love happens in his second scene onstage, and I think is less of an action that “turns” him than one that helps define for the audience the kind of man he has cultivated himself to be. He is a crippled man because glory blinds him, and he is unapologetically driven by the fevered military ethos that feeds him. Doubtless Kynaston, as Scipio, was capable of playing with the idea that his rejection of desire both marks a pre-existing distortion of values and initiates a further crippling of self.

¹²⁶ John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, An Allusion to Horace 10 Sat: 1st Book, in The Works of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, ed. Love, 71-74, on 72. I learned of this reference from the discussion of Sophonisba that precedes the play in The Works of Nathaniel Lee, ed. Stroup and Cooke, 1:76. Love categorizes the satire as amongst those poems probably written by Rochester. The satire was included in the collection Poems on several occasions by the Right Honourable, the E. of R----- (Antwerp, 1680).

¹²⁷ Derek Hughes, English Drama, 1660-1700, 101.

In contrast to the male who banishes love from his psyche, Hannibal is a warrior-lover who takes pains to rationalize how he can be both lover and hard-edged fighter. He is older than Scipio and King Massinissa, “Born in a Winter’s Camp, in Battles bread, / Whilst yet a Stripling durst an Army head” (132). Hannibal’s is the first voice we hear in the play, and he criticizes the “Dull Counselors” of Carthage who “Sleep till high Noon” and then presume to render judgment upon military matters (86). He disapproves of their sensuousness and indulgences, in keeping with the gruff soldier roles Mohun usually played. He threatens to “Set fire to Carthage” and watch “sulph’rous flames their gorged vitals choke” (86), but decides against this violence because he feels loyal to his country despite the weaknesses of its current politicians. Hannibal has been raised from a boy to be a fighter and to live in the hard world of martial rule, a world governed by men: “My Father the great Master of our Arms [...] Swore me Rome’s foe, when in my ages bud, / Wean’d me from milk, and nurs’d me up in blood, / And taught me to be obstinately good” (87). Hannibal’s sense of maleness comes from having lived the codes of a soldier since boyhood.

Yet, Hannibal loves deeply. He is beloved by the beautiful and much younger Rosalinda (Boutell), whom Scipio desired upon sight and banished. When she describes Hannibal’s character, she does not reject military life as that which is antithetical to passion between a man and a woman, but of his military prowess as that which is lovely in him:

’Tis true, in War most dreadful he appears,
All Cruel, Glorious, dangers thick he wears:
Not to amuse you, when I have nam’d all

That's great, and lovely, think on Hannibal. (99)

Rosalinda equates soldier with lover, and, further, loves him although he is significantly older than she, and would if he were older still, because he is the superior soldier:

"Were his head whiter than the Alpine snow, My youth his age into one piece should grow [...] Honour to youth, and beauty I prefer / I'm for the best and bravest Man in War" (99). Her love is reciprocated, and unlike Scipio, who rejects love for war,

Hannibal justifies how great warriors can be lovers:

Since Gods themselves, and God-like Men have lov'd,

Why should not I with beauty's charms be moved?

The highest Power has love's blind Mazes trod,

Then Hannibal love on, and imitate a God. (100)

Such moments of vainglorious romantic wrestling were criticized by Rochester in his satire; he was troubled by the depiction of Hannibal as a "whining, amorous slave" (72). Although Rochester's satire cannot be said to stand for all views, it is valuable as an example of contemporary criticism. Lee's softening of Hannibal's masculine hardness is seen as a fault. However, Hannibal may have been no more than a convenient site upon which Rochester could fix an attack on Lee's excesses.¹²⁸ Others beside Rochester may have been distressed by seeing Hannibal as a pining romantic lover, but this kind of conflict between love and ambition created good drama and offered rich fuel for the actor.

¹²⁸ Lee dedicated *Nero*, his first play, to Rochester, but Stroup and Cooke point out that Rochester's presentation copy of the play, with corrections (probably) in Lee's handwriting, is the only evidence of a relationship between the two, and that Rochester seems not to have been a supporter of Lee. See Stroup and Cooke, 1:11-12.

Hannibal acts as a lover-warrior when he learns that Scipio has shown mercy to Hannibal's scouts who were behind enemy lines, but fears that Scipio, in whose camp Rosalinda stays, may be in love with her. Jealousy motivates him to take action:

And now he keeps her close.---which should he dare,

With fire and sword we'l carry on the War:

Yes, we will instantly our bodies join,

The world's at stake, let it be his or mine. (101)

The image of his body joining with Scipio's in war (and by extension, the bodies of their armies) is one of the jealous lover who must not lose. The two men's bodies meeting in battle eroticizes war. It is a site where the male body conquers a sexual rival through hard physical contact.

Lee foregrounds hard physical contact between men in battle. Similarly, Orrery, in his Treatise of the Art of War (1667), published the same year that The Black Prince was produced, stresses the importance of close body-to-body contact in the training of soldiers. Orrery proposes that young men in army training camps ought to develop their battle skills by engaging in competitive physical games, particularly wrestling:

During these Campings, such time as was not employed in handling Arms,

exercising, marching in several forms of Battel, and Skirmishing, I would have

employed in Jumping, Running, but most of all, in Wrestling, to make their

Bodies the more active, and strong, and to hinder them from all ill employments:

But above all, I would recommend Wrestling; for whoever thinks himself the

strongest, and activest of body, will strive to come closest to his Enemy; and if he

be so, will the sooner overcome him. (17)

Like Orrery's imaginary soldiers-in-training, Lee's soldiers make hard and close body-to-body contact.

Now with his lover, Rosalinda, who has returned to the Carthaginian camp after Scipio set her free, Hannibal accuses her of loving the handsome young Prince Massina, nephew to King Massinissa. In a jealous and tyrannical rage, Hannibal chastises her for being unfaithful, misreading her concern for the Prince, who escorted her to the camp, as a sign of love, which it is not—she has resisted his seduction because she loves Hannibal. Hannibal physically binds the Prince, then the wave of jealousy passes, and he yields to Rosalinda's pleas (108-09). When the shamed young Prince is unbound and she still rejects him, he kills himself (109). We sympathize with her loyalty to Hannibal, and his decision to believe her is a compassionate one that gains him favor. Ever superstitious, Hannibal goes to consult with sorceresses who can tell him whether he will win at war and whether Rosalinda will be safe, and storms against the visions he has seen: "Shall Rosalinda then untimely dye? / 'Tis false and all these damn deceivers lye" (122). To prevent her death and the massacre of Carthage, he proposes to Scipio that they mutually agree to end the war and to divide territories between them: "What sayest thou Scipio, is it Peace or War?" (130). Scipio refuses. Rosalinda, dressed as a soldier to be near her lover, dies in battle, and Hannibal's final action is to avenge her death by threatening more slaughter: "new Consuls overthrow, / To Rome with far more dreadful Armies go" (136). Hannibal, overthrown, is driven to seek, unrelentingly, military victory.

King Massinissa, Hart's role in the play, is the romantic hero. He is not a man who loves war for war's sake, nor for whom carnage comes easy, and he has humility. He excels as a superfighter and is an exceptionally gifted soldier, as one witness tells us in

his account of King Massinissa's defeat over Syphax, enemy to Rome: "When Massinissa more than Man appear'd / And with his overflowing valour clear'd / Those mighty odds which first our Souldiers feared" (105). He is more than man: his acts of martial valor make him a superior man. Yet, he is also a man who loves a woman passionately and longs for her. However, according to the soldier's credo, love for women is threatening. It is perceived as weakening focus and softening the man who is distracted by emotions, which have an effect on his body, thus, unmooring and hence, unmanning him. Yet, the true man must be able to love women and to be sensitive to a woman's effect on him.

Our first image of Massinissa is as a lover who pines over a love he has lost—Sophonisba, whose father forced her to marry Syphax, the usurper, while Massinissa was in Carthage, at war. For Massinissa, war and martial victory is meaningless without love, that "with our sweet hopes do harsh pain beguil, / And, midst of Javelins make the Souldier smile" (88). He bids his young nephew and protégé, Prince Massina, shun women for the pain they can inflict is worse than "all the horrors of a bloody War" (90), yet he cannot do this himself. He is vulnerable and sensitive to love's effect, and this has, according to the ethos of soldiery, softened him as a man. He is passionate in his expressions of love to his young nephew, as he tells him, "Massina, thou are all that I wou'd have; There's nothing after thee, but a low grave" (90). The body of the young boy is idealized as untainted by the love of women, and still pure in its potential to enter into manhood without the distraction of women confusing one's sense of purpose as a warrior, or softening one's manliness. The bond between men is here imagined as sacred and intimate, and male-male love in this homosocial space of war

imagined as the finest love, and one that affirms maleness. Then, Massinissa is called to physical action when two soldiers alert him to arm himself against Syphax, his rival in war and in love. He shakes melancholy off as if awakening himself from a dream:

Awake! where hast my drowsy Soul,
In Lethae steep'd, or freezing near the Pole?
I feel her now, my benum'd limbs inspire,
Like sparks that scatter from a kindling fire;
The Plots of Love inglorious are, and dark,
Blindly he aims, and night is all his mark;
Like day I'll dart him through, and through, I will,
To cure my honor, I my Love will kill. (92)

Heat is coursing back into Massinissa's body, awakening him from the lethargy of love, which has cooled, thus, effeminized him. Yet, he is uneasy about fighting: "methinks I am uneasy still; / What real pleasure can it be to kill?" (92) This softness marks him, and the soldier Lelius, Scipio's lieutenant, names him a "Frail Prince" whose actions waver because of love, but whose maleness can be restored in the heat of battle: "War fires the brave" (92). The hero fights love's effect by using his body to win at war.

Massinissa fights and wins, killing Syphax.¹²⁹ He then succumbs to love's wound a second time when he faces his former lover and Syphax's widow, Sophonisba. He shakes when he hears her name, and his eyes with "strange motion roul" (115). He is possessed by desire and it invades his body. Sophonisba is his prisoner, and he vows to

¹²⁹ This happens offstage. Syphax is not a character in the play, although he is erroneously listed in the *Dramatis Personae* list in the 1676 published version of the text. This was corrected in the 1681 published version. The lists are reproduced in Stroup and Cooke, 1:83-84.

keep her safe. She planned to kill herself so that her body would not be Rome's captive, and Massinissa's love offers safety. He proposes marriage so that he can protect her from Scipio, "Who yet will not molest you being mine" (117). This marriage and the joining of their bodies, a ritual which in life is a passage into adult manhood, unmans him. He is transformed. Lelius, Scipio's lieutenant, sees him pass, and criticizes him for being once "Like Mars" and now "Like soft Adonis," riding in a Chariot drawn by "milk white Steeds," while Sophonisba leans upon his breast (123). Milky white is an effeminate image, as is his soft body against hers. (Remember that Hannibal had in the first scene of the play set up the contrast between milk and blood, with blood being the male domain and the mark of a soldier.) In his Treatise of the Art of War, Orrery outlines the qualities that make for a good soldier, and cautions against married men being pressed into soldiery unless the army needs to increase the number of men in its ranks:

the Married are generally too much incumbred to follow the War with that intentness of mind, which the Profession does require, as appears by what St Paul sayes, No man that warreth, intangleth himself with the affairs of this life, that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a Soldier. (19-20)

In Lee's play, Massinissa's marriage is seen by his fellow military men as that which distracts him from the art of soldiery and as a communion that contaminates his body. The romantic hero is ostracized by his fellow soldiers because he loves too much.

The bodies of the three soldiers never join until the final battle scene in Act 5, a scene that establishes Massinissa as the superior warrior. The stage directions read: "SCENE of Hannibal and Scipio fighting, the Consul [Scipio] gives ground; Enter King Massinissa and Lelius and beat Hannibal off" (133). Massinissa becomes the dominant

male, and his entering with Lelius, the soldier who had twice voiced that Massinissa was made effeminate through love, affirms, by male allegiance, Massinissa's masculinity. Victory in battle is not enough to secure Massinissa's happiness, for Scipio demands that Massinissa turns Sophonisba over to him as a prisoner of war. When Massinissa begs Scipio, on his knees, to allow him to remain with Sophonisba, Scipio offers him a kingdom to govern, hence, prestige and power. Massinissa refuses. He looks upon himself as no more than a foolish boy who, with boyish arrogance, imagined winning all of his battles as a man:

Love and ambition have their utmost done,
 'Twas love allur'd, and ambition led me on.
 Like a rash Boy, who a steep Mountain Climbs,
 Big with brave thoughts of reaching Heaven betimes,
 And puffs and blows, and mighty pains he takes,
 Plyes all his strength, and much ado he makes;
 And having reach'd the top he views aloof,
 The fancied Heaven, and all the painted roof. (140)

Massinissa reflects upon his own limits within the stage of "fancied" Heaven and "painted roof," in which power is a boyish dream of "puffs and blows." This is the most sympathetic speech in the play, and it is a defining moment for Massinissa. He mocks his own boyish *hubris*, and is, consequently, the most humane. He has promised his lover, now his wife, protection, and he will not forswear this, but realizes that he is unable to change the course of events when his marriage to Sophonisba fails to keep her safe. Massinissa now perceives himself as a failure as a husband, hence, as a man. He chooses

suicide so that he can die with his wife rather than watch her perish or become a Roman slave. Husband and wife drink poison. Massinissa's dead body has tremendous power. Scipio, gazing upon Massinissa's corpse, now surrenders his role as a warrior: "Since thou most great and lovely Prince art dead, / War's marches Scipio shall no longer tread" (143). Further, he chooses to retreat to a small village where he "will study not to live, but how to die" (143). The ethos of soldiery fails. The living man is now, like Massinissa, the dead, and this is the final visual image.

What is the image of ideal masculinity that is being constructed here, and what kind of men are the leads? In "Theatre of War: Combat, the Military, and Masculinities," David H. J. Morgan writes, "One way of understanding military life and its relationships with gender is in terms of the construction of the masculine body. Training involves the disciplining, controlling, and occasional mortification of the body. *The individual body and the self that is identified with that body are shaped into the collective body of men*" (167).¹³⁰ In the theatre of war in which Massinissa, Hannibal, and Scipio fight, a man is expected to be a self-sacrificing soldier who will forswear love and who will allow his body to be subsumed by the collective bodies of men at war. Scipio embraces this ethos most fully. His self-control is borderline paranoiac, as if he will dissolve if he feels. He disciplines himself not to respond sexually or romantically to a woman and to prevent his love for a man from affecting his choices as a leader. The lover, Massinissa, is not defined by this hard ethos and is hence a softer man. His physical and emotional life is more expansively defined than the hard physicality central to soldiery. As Morgan writes, "Physicality may become finality in the remains enclosed in a body bag" (167). The dead

¹³⁰ David H. J. Morgan, "Theatre of War: Combat, the Military, and Masculinities," in Theorizing Masculinities, ed. Brod, Kaufman, and Kimmel, 165-182. My italics.

body of Massinissa foregrounds the tragic result of the ethos of war—Scipio’s ethos—and signifies the failure of that ethos. Scipio grieves. Casting Kynaston as the remote and distant leader, Mohun as the impassioned and stubborn general, and Hart as the romantic warrior who humbly sees his own limitations no doubt made for powerful theatre. All three actors could well embody the characters they were assigned, thus creating a powerful triangle onstage between men who were each in their own way driven by heightened codes of honor and then smashed down, left, like Massinissa, to “launch into eternity” (142).

Charles Hart, Michael Mohun, and Edward Kynaston were three of the most important male performers in the King’s Company. Hart most embodied ideal male virtue onstage, and also, when he played soft rakes, ideal male sexuality as it was constructed in the world of the play. Mohun excelled in playing both jealous passion and loyal idealism, and the men he played (at least in tragedy) were usually victims of changing circumstances or of greater heroes. Kynaston’s young heroes were often ethereal and the children of romance. His steely military men and young villains, like his lovers, were adolescently blinded by passion. They tended to be more brittle beings than Hart’s sensuous supermen or Mohun’s hot-tempered warriors. The bodies of these three actors on stage together shaped masculine identity, defined not in isolation, but relationally, and in contest. The hero is the hero because of his deeds, but also because of how his gifts in war and love outshine those of other men in the world in which he lives.

Chapter 4

Heroines, Scamps, and Monsters:

Rebecca Marshall's and Elizabeth Boutell's Roles

In this chapter, I trace the lines of business for two leading women players in the King's Company: Rebecca Marshall and Elizabeth Boutell. I use the same strategy here that I did in my analysis of Hart's, Mohun's, and Kynaston's "lines," namely, to study the roles Marshall and Boutell owned in order to draw conclusions about the kinds of women they played on stage. The study of Marshall and Boutell's "types" thus begins and is most grounded in the written texts that they once owned and embodied.

The first roles that Marshall and Boutell played were in revived plays, and in these they took female parts that had originally belonged to boys or young men. Boutell played the softer roles, and Marshall, the fiercer. The actresses were cast in a similar fashion in new plays. A shift happened when Marshall began playing villainesses when she was about thirty years of age in serious, and later, in comic plays. The villainess was a cousin to the tainted young women she played in revived plays. Boutell's lines stayed consistent, but when Marshall left the company in spring 1677, Boutell became leading lady for her remaining year with them. Her leads were noble and gentle, but there was no actress playing her "evil" nemesis to create strong onstage contrast. Without a performer of Marshall's caliber or "type" in the by then fracturing company, actors and writers had to adjust.

A. Rebecca Marshall's Roles

There are thirty-seven roles on record for Rebecca Marshall.¹ She joined the King's Company in March 1661. By 1666, she was the leading lady, replacing her sister Anne after Anne dropped out for the first time in 1665. In serious plays (tragic and epic) Marshall specialized in leading virtuous maid or young wife roles, leading tainted young woman roles, and villainess roles. She was cast as noble lovers in tragicomic high plots. In comedies, she played spirited lovers and sexually voracious wicked women.

An early lead role for Marshall is that of Evadne in a revival of Beaumont and Fletcher's The Maid's Tragedy, a role that was probably hers by 1666.² Evadne is the King's mistress and is then married off to the hero, Amintor (played by Hart), so that the King can continue to keep her at court as his lover. She is sexually active and ambitious, and, on her wedding night, verbally abusive to Amintor, a sign of the siren woman who is

¹ Recorded roles for leading women are much more fragmentary than those for leading men, and Marshall's early roles, pre-1666, when she was working her way up, are very scantily recorded. In partial cast lists, leading men tended to be marked for roles more often than women. Downes, for example, listed roles for Hart and Mohun in his narrative discussion, increasing our knowledge of the roles they played beyond those given in his cast lists, which he did not do for the women, or for that matter, for Kynaston. The number of roles Marshall played is probably much closer in ratio to the number of roles played by the leading men in the company, at least post-1666, at which time she began consistently taking on lead parts. See Appendix A, "Actors' Roles: Rebecca Marshall."

² For a discussion of the evidence that Marshall probably played the role, see Chapter 2. Prior to Evadne, there are two roles on record for Beck Marshall: the secondary role of the tainted Colona in John Ford's Love's Sacrifice, probably revived circa 1661-64; and the lead role of Maria, the noble and passionate Infanta of Spain, in Shirley's The Court Secret (performed in 1664), as discussed in Chapter 2. Colona is an early role in Marshall's "dark" young woman line, thus, is a prototype for Evadne. She is a young lady-in-waiting who is carrying the child of a lover who has impregnated three women. She and the other two lovers he has rejected murder him during a court masque. Evidence that Beck Marshall played the role comes from an MS cast list in a contemporary hand. We do not know, however, if the play was performed, or if the cast is for a hypothetical performance.

bold with her tongue (the virtuous maid is never loose or inappropriate in her speech). He wants her, but she mocks him: “A maidenhead, Amintor / At my years?” (2.1.194-95).³ On stage, a twenty-three to twenty-five year old Marshall playing Evadne in the 1666 revival would have been of a reasonable age to still possess her maidenhead—the mean age for marriage for a young woman was twenty-five or twenty-six—but the character is meant to be scornful, past the age when she could enter into a licit sexual encounter, and sexually active outside of marriage.⁴ She uses her loss of virginity as a weapon and is critical of Amintor’s naiveté and gullibility in marrying a woman who is someone else’s lover. Amintor does not at first believe her, and is shocked at her boldness, assuming it is madness: “Sure she raves” (2.1.196). Shamed, he turns his focus to appearances and asks her to pretend to others that they have made love as husband and wife. When her brother, Melantius (played by Mohun) learns of her transgression from Amintor, he confronts her and threatens to kill her and “put the light out of such base offenders” (4.1.102). She is shamed into submission and chastises herself for her waywardness. As Lisa Hopkins cogently puts it: “She falls, she weeps, she accepts the truth of general misogynistic discourse” (68).⁵ She berates herself: “Sure I am monstrous, / For I have done these

³ Evadne’s verbal boldness marks her as a serious transgressor of cultural codes concerning gender performance. As Lisa Jardine asserts in Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare, on 109, women in the fictitious world of the stage were encoded within the framework of ideal sufferers, and hence suffered, if they were *real* women, in silence. The framework Jardine speaks of absolutely holds for the The Maid’s Tragedy.

⁴ David Cressy, Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 287.

⁵ Lisa Hopkins, “‘A place privileged men do wrong’: The Anxious Masculinity of The Maid’s Tragedy,” The Image of Manhood in Early Modern England: Viewing the Male, ed. Andrew P. Williams (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999), 55-72.

follies” (4.1.181-82), internalizing her brother’s hard words. She strives to redeem herself, and her brother asks her to kill the King.

Now, coming before Amintor, Evadne polarizes her blackness opposite Amintor’s brightness: “I am hell, / Till you my deare Lord shoot your light into me” (4.1.229-30). She names herself the dark woman who is unworthy to be loved by her virtuous and beautiful young husband. Her action is bold. She climbs into the King’s bed and ties his arms to the bedpost under the pretense of bondage play, a piece of physical business which can be inferred from the play text when the King asks, “What prettie new device is this, *Evadne*? / What, doe you tie me to you?” (5.1.47-48).⁶ Evadne then stabs him. She tells her lover that this act, unnatural to a woman, comes from too much (male) heat, and that she, like a changeling, has been poisoned by her foul sexual play with him:

I am not [*Evadne*], nor bear I in this breast

So much cold spirit to be called a woman,

I am a Tiger, I am any thing

That knows not pittie. (5.1.69-72)⁷

Evadne specifically invokes a carnivorous and dominant animal, the “Tiger.” Later, bloody knife in hand, she finds Amintor, wanting him to accept her as a wife, but he is repulsed that she has murdered the King. Onstage, Evadne commits suicide. Her suicide

⁶ There has been some scholarly debate as to whether the stabbing scene was excised from performance, but evidence suggests that the scene was almost certainly performed during Marshall’s tenure with the company. See Robert D. Hume, “*The Maid’s Tragedy* and Censorship in the Restoration Theatre,” *Philological Quarterly* 61 (1982): 484-90.

⁷ As Lisa Hopkins notes, “both the masculine and feminine spheres are implicated with beastlike descriptors” throughout the play (69). Hopkins invokes Evadne’s speech, cited above, although she does not expound upon “Tiger.” Her discussion, as a whole, is thoughtful and insightful.

is a gesture that cannot, in her world, undo the reality of her spoiled flesh. Rather than proving her moral worth, it illustrates the gap between the ideal woman and the woman she is not. Her body becomes a “queer” body, the queer body Judith Butler evokes, a body that exposes the gaps between acceptable and resistant.⁸

Marshall continued to embody tainted young woman roles in revivals into the 1670s. By circa 1673-74, she played the role of the young Berinthia in James Shirley’s The Maid’s Revenge.⁹ Berinthia loves and is beloved by the young and beautiful Antonio (played by Kynaston), but Berinthia’s father insists that her older sister marry first, thus her and Antonio’s *de futuro* contract is meaningless until this problem is resolved. Berinthia’s sister also longs for Antonio and contrives to kill Berinthia. Antonio saves her and takes her to his castle, but her older brother, Sebastiano (played by Mohun) enters to bring her home. The man and the boy fight, and Antonio is killed. Berinthia desires to avenge his death. She calls upon furies to fill her soul with the blackness necessary to do the deed, and this incantation is like Lady Macbeth’s calling upon spirits to unsex her: “Come from the womb of night, assist a maide / Ambitious to

⁸ See Judith Butler, Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of ‘Sex’, 176. Evadne fails to perform the gender role expected of the passive female, thus, her performance fails to configure to cultural expectations of the kind that Butler explores in Gender Trouble. Evadne’s behavior is also queer in E. Patrick Johnson’s sense of the term: irregular, off-kilter, and exceeding culturally defined parameters of what it is to perform (in this case) femininity. See Johnson, “‘Quare’ Studies, or (Almost) Everything I Know About Queer Studies I Learned from my Grandmother,” 2.

⁹ For an excellent discussion of cast and probable date of performance see Edward A. Langhans, Restoration Promptbooks, 36. Langhans proposes that the promptbook from which he draws his arguments belonged to Marshall and then passed into the hands of the prompter and his colleagues, as there is a slanted mark next to Berenthia’s name throughout, suggesting that the actress put a tic next to her lines. This is of course possible, and an exciting possibility, although unusual in that actors generally possessed sides rather than full scripts.

be made a monster like you” (5.2.7-8).¹⁰ She stabs her brother and poisons her sister. She expires at play’s end, her body unable to contain the sorrow of the loss of her lover and of her own violent actions.

The woman who commits a crime is punished through isolation or death. The woman who is the victim of violence also suffers from isolation and death. Once a woman’s body has been sexually violated, she cannot return to community. Marshall also played these violated victims. She created the role of the noble Indian Princess Isabinda in Dryden’s Amboyna (c.1672-73), who is savagely raped by Harman Junior.¹¹ Isabinda’s rape happens on her wedding night, and the destruction of her virtue by a man who sexually takes her is a moment of high pathos. The rape happens offstage, but the scene opens to find her on stage, bound, after the rape. Similarly, as Dorothea in a revival of Dekker and Massinger’s The Virgin Martyr (1668), she played a young innocent who successfully converts several other young women to Christianity and is hence persecuted by the Roman leader. She refuses to renounce her faith. As Simon Shepherd notes in Amazons and Warrior Women: Varieties of Feminism in Seventeenth-Century Drama, “Dorothea is ‘other,’ is outside the world,”¹² and this woman-hero serves to critique carnal and material interests. She undergoes the ordeal of the martyr, transcending violation of the body. What is staged in this performance of violation is the sensuousness of her body, of her flesh as desirable even as she yearns for the spiritual

¹⁰ James Shirley, The Maid’s Revenge, ed. Albert Howard Carter and Stephen Orgel (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1980). Subsequent references are from this edition.

¹¹ Kynaston played her young rapist, as discussed in Chapter 3.

¹² Simon Shepherd, Amazons and Warrior Women: Varieties of Feminism in Seventeenth-Century Drama (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1981), 197.

escape. She is eventually bound, and several servants are ordered to rape her. The specter of rape, of the violation of her body, constitutes the climax of the play. One by one, the men summoned to rape her refuse this act. She is then taken offstage and beheaded.¹³

Dorothea's most passionate scene is with her angel, and it is a love scene, not one that will be consummated in fleshly terms on earth, although it will eventually be spiritually consummated, when she ascends to heaven. Dorothea is warmed by the body and voice of her angel (addressed as a male, but played by Nell Gwyn) in a way that no human male has ever made her feel, and bids him to stay with her. Her action is motivated by her passion for his godly, "pretty body," which she responds to as a woman:

Dor.: Thy voyce sends forth such musicke, that I neuer
Was ravish'd with a more celestially sound,
Were euery seruant in the world like thee,
So full of goodnesse, Angels would come downe [...]
This little pretty body, when I comming
Forth of the temple, heard my begger-boy,
My sweete fac'd godly begger-boy, craue an almes,
Which with glad hand I gaue, with lucky hand,
And when I tooke thee home, my most chaste bosom

¹³ Other roles in Beck's virtuous line who were victims of violence: Beck was marked for the role of Lucina in Rochester's Lucina's Rape (composed circa 1675), although the play was probably not performed until 1685, with a different actor in the role. Lucina is a young wife who is raped by the villainous Valentinian. She then commits suicide. She is threatened with death in Dryden's Tyrannick Love (1669), in which she played the noble Queen Berenice.

Me thought was fill'd with no hot wanton fire,
 But with a holy flame, mounting since higher [...]
 I would leaue Kingdomes, were I Queene of some,
 To dwell with thy good father, for the sonne
 Betwitching me so deeply with his presence,
 He that begot him must doo't ten times more,
 I pray thee, my sweete boy, shew me thy parents,
 Be not asham'd.¹⁴

This love is one between woman and angel, embodied by two women. There is erotic tension that sounds in the chaste Dorothea's words about being moved by her angel's holy body and being willing to give up kingdoms to see the boy's beautiful father, "the son bewitching me so deeply with his presence." This is Dorothea's most sensitive, passionate, and sensual scene, for her flesh will soon be violated by attempted rape and by mutilation to her body.

When Marshall played the virtuous young exotic, the Portuguese Princess Quisara in the 1668 adaptation of Fletcher's tragicomic The Island Princess, the vulnerability of her body was again staged. Quisara, rejects her lover Rudyas (played by Mohun), because he shows cowardice, and falls in love with Armusia (played by Hart), the superman hero who rescues her brother from captivity. Before she chooses the superman, she faces him in public and in private spaces. At the center of the play is a bedroom scene. The role would have originally been played by a boy actor, but with Marshall in the cast, there were new dynamics: the actress getting dressed for bed, and the staging of heterosexual

¹⁴ From Act 2, scene 1 in Thomas Dekker and Philip Massinger, The Virgin Martyr (London, 1622), n.p. EEBO. 19 December 2003.

desire in the bedroom with bodies that were biologically correspondent with the fictional roles they embodied. The staging of the actress in bed serves two purposes: the hero transgresses by coming into her private space to tell her he loves and would marry her, but does not violate her honor, therefore, showing his; and the audience is given the pleasure of watching her lie in bed, or about to lie in bed (there is ambiguity here), dressed for sleep. She is fierce in her pride and vocal in her discomfort with this invasion of her private space, and the actress could play with the tension between her own attraction, as the Princess, to Armusia, and the need to preserve her honor:

I am Mistress of my self, Sir,
And will be so, I will not be thus visited;
These fears and dangers thrust into my privacy,
Stand further off, I'll cry out, else. (42)¹⁵

We know from this he has come too close to her, but his respect for her body wins her. Rudyas then enters, and she berates him for falsely accusing her of courting Armusia in her chamber. These accusations dishonor, and she tells him that it was his “good face” (45) that she was attracted to, but that this face, as surface, masks his flawed substance, as he is “nothing but a sound, but a shape, / The meer sign of a Souldier,—of a Lover” (45). She chooses the brave (and Christian) Armusia to be her husband, the body of the

¹⁵ The Island Princess, or the Generous Portugal. Adapted from John Fletcher by anonymous, with alterations and the addition of new scenes. London, 1669. EEBO. 4 June 2003. The scene is almost identical to Fletcher’s original. Two of Armusia’s speeches are shortened by several lines, but the sense of the scene is unchanged. For a good summary of the differences between the 1668 adaptation and the original, see John Fletcher, The Island Princess, ed. George Walton Williams, in The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon, ed. Fredson Bowers, vol. 5, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 542, note 1.

virtuous and beautiful young woman thus affirming the goodness of the virtuous and beautiful young man.¹⁶

In the revival of John Suckling's Brennoralt (circa 1673-75), Marshall played a young woman who has been promised since childhood to the young hero, Almerin, played by Hart, whom she is soon to marry. However, she finds her self responding to and allows herself to be courted by a young soldier who is her lover's friend. This soldier is in fact a woman, Iphigene, who has been living as a boy since childhood, when her father, who wanted a son, vowed to breed her up as a boy (184).¹⁷ There is a different configuration of bodies now that women are playing the leading roles instead of boys on stage, as the body of the female characters corresponds with their biological sex. What the audience sees is leading player Beck Marshall as the young Francelia, beguiled by a woman whom she believes to be a man. Iphigene (played by Margaret Rutter) courts Francelia willingly because Iphigene, too, loves Almerin. She hopes to break his match with Francelia by getting closer to the beautiful maid and winning her so that Francelia might forget the handsome Almerin. This is an ambiguous courtship, for in playing suitor, Iphigene becomes suitor, embodying the words of a lover, and whispering to her

¹⁶ Marshall's other roles in her virtuous line in serious plays were the title role in Lee's Gloriana (1675); and the Jewish Queen Berenice in Crowne's The Destruction of Jerusalem (1677). She also played Calphurnia, Caesar's virtuous wife, in a revival of Julius Caesar and may have played the widowed Duchess in The Cardinal. She most probably took over the role of Edith in Rollo after her sister, Anne, left the company, as the role was in her line, and the play remained in the repertory. The California editors suggest her for the role of the Incan Princess Orizia in Dryden and Howard's The Indian Queen (1664). This is complete speculation, although the role was in her line. See The Works of John Dryden, 8:321.

¹⁷ The source text is a facsimile copy of Brennoralt that contains promptnotes, including the names of King's Company actors in the margins of the text which would have served to cue their entrances (Bodleian Vet. A3. F824). The text is reproduced in Langhans, Restoration Promptbooks, 232-260, with a discussion on 37-38.

“lover” in private, “may I not kiss your hand this night?” (176) At end, Almerin discovers them together while Francelia is giving Iphigene a lock of her hair (182), and “his eyes grow sick” at the betrayal (183). Emotionally wounded, and chastising himself for being too weak in his response—“I am too tame”—he runs at them with his sword, fatally wounding them (183). Iphigene, bleeding, confesses to him that she is a woman.

Francelia, lying wounded on the floor, and now knowing the truth, tries to soothe her “Sweet Iphigene,” telling her that she shall stay and enjoy the world’s wealth, “thou I possess you not” (185). Iphigene, moved by her love, and doubting “which sex I shall be happier in,” answers her with a promise that friendship, while less scorching than love, is no less pleasant, and that this is how their love will now be expressed (185). Francelia then feels a weakness in her body, and tells her lover, now friend,

But I fear

I cannot stay the making. Oh would you

Had never un-deceiv’d me, for I had dy’d with

Pleasure, believing I had been your Martyr. (186)

Francelia loves her, but regrets that Iphigene is not a man so that she could have died as her rightful lover. There is also a play between sexual and physical death, in dying with pleasure as a euphemism for climaxing. Rather than dying into her lover, she faces death losing her role as a lover. Love between women is configured as what it must be by Iphigene: friendship, without sexual desire. Despite the assertion in this final scene that woman to woman love can only be friendship, and man to woman love passionate and sexual, when the real body beneath the costume is “confessed,” there is slippage. The play between the women is passionate and erotic, and allowed to go as far as it does

because of the cross-dressing and confusion about biological sex, as in Twelfth Night. However, in this serious play, there is a tragic consequence to crossing gender boundaries. Francelia's giving Iphigene a love token has led to death, because Iphigene's body is read by Almerin (and Francelia) as male. When Francelia reads the signs that signify male gender (wooing, clothes, soldiery) she falls in love with the woman that performs the part of male lover, and now, at death, loves that woman, even though she longs for her to be a man. What is most striking about this casting is that this is one of Marshall's few roles in a young victim line, and this young victim is queered by her love for someone of her own sex. In this scene of violence against the body, queer materiality is foregrounded. The living, messy body that desires and feels queer love is punished, penetrated, and left to die bleeding.

The women Marshall played tended to be headstrong and rebellious. By 1670, Marshall was specializing in another kind of rebel role: villainess parts. Records of roles tell us that Marshall first began playing villainesses in 1670, but it is possible that we are missing information. Her sister, Anne, was the leading villainess before she de-camped for the first time in 1665, and, since Beck took up Anne's lines, I suspect that she may have been playing the evil "type" sooner than records indicate. Whatever the case, the first evil woman role she played in a new play was the part of the Phaedre-like Fulvia in William Joyner's The Roman Empress. I will provide a brief outline of the plot, below, and take up the play again later in my discussion of Boutell's "lines" and in the "Doubles" section of this chapter.

The plot is straightforward: Fulvia lusts after her stepson, Florus (Kynaston), and is determined to possess him. When he rejects her, she conspires with her emotionally

wounded niece, the young Aurelia (played by Boutell), to bring about his fall. The women win, and Florus is condemned to death by his father, Fulvia's husband (played by Mohun). Marshall seems to have excelled in the role. In his preface to the play, Joyner wrote that Fulvia was "incomparably acted" by Marshall.¹⁸

Having seen Marshall embody tainted young women in revivals, Dryden designed a villainess part in which he could capitalize on Marshall's strengths in dark roles. In his two-part epic, The Conquest of Granada, which premiered in December 1670-January 1671, Marshall created the role of the fiery temptress, Lyndaraxa. Whether Dryden was influenced by Marshall's work as Fulvia is impossible to say, but he probably wrote the play before summer 1670, when The Roman Empress opened. In the excellent John Dryden and His World, James Winn writes, "I believe Dryden had begun to work on the Conquest as early as the winter of 1668-69" and asserts that, if so, Dryden "interrupted his labors in the spring [of 1669] to write another rhymed heroic play, Tyrannick Love," which premiered in June of that year, and which, as Winn notes, Dryden admitted to hastily composing in seven weeks.¹⁹ In his epilogue to Part 1 of Granada, Dryden writes

¹⁸ William Joyner, preface to The Roman Empress, London, 1671, n.p. Joyner does not mention performers names, but actors' names are listed in the Dramatis Personæ list in the 1671 edition. The role of Fulvia is assigned to "The young M^{rs}. Marshall."

¹⁹ James Anderson Winn, John Dryden and His World (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 200 and 204. In his preface to Tyrannick Love, as Winn notes, Dryden wrote, "This poem was contrived and written in seven weeks, although afterwards hindred [*sic*] by many accidents from a speedy representation." See John Dryden's preface to Tyrannick Love, in The Works of John Dryden, 10:109-113, on 111. The delay in production seems in large measure to have resulted from problems in the completion of scenery, but matters may have been more complicated than that. The company may have been stalling on paying bills. The scene painter, Isaac Fuller, brought suit against Hart, Mohun, and "ye rest of his Majesties Comaediens concerned" in January 1670 for failing to pay him for services rendered. See Milhous and Hume, Document Register, 542. Fuller was awarded damages. The actors, in turn, countersued in June 1670. See Document Register, 558. For a nearly complete transcription of the June 1670 chancery suit, brought

that one reason for the play's delay was the absence of several of the actresses, suggesting that he wrote the roles for particular performers, or at least that the company was functioning without some of its more important women players for a period of time, hence, chose not to mount the play until their return. Dryden, writing of himself in the third person, begs the audience's pardon in the epilogue for the eighteen months' lapse between the premiere of Tyrannick Love and Granada and the year's delay in getting one of his new plays up on the boards:

Think him not duller for this years delay;

He was prepar'd, the women were away;

And men, without their parts, can hardly play.

If they, through sickness, seldome did appear,

Pity the virgins of each Theatre!

And pity us, your servants, to whose cost,

In one such sickness, nine whole Mon'ths are lost. (99)²⁰

The reference to "nine whole Mon'ths" leaves no doubt that Dryden was referring to absences caused by pregnancy. Gwyn was out for pregnancy (Charles II was the father of this child) and some of the other actresses may have been too, in either house, although

to my attention by Milhous and Hume in their Document Register, editorial notes to 558, see the appendix in The Works of John Dryden, 10:539-547. For further discussion, also see Winn, 204-05.

²⁰ See John Dryden, epilogue to The Conquest of Granada, Part 1, The Works of John Dryden, 11:99-100. I retain the italics used in the original, and reprinted by the California edition editors. I wish to thank Judith Milhous for challenging me to consider when Dryden began composing Granada. I am grateful. I also wish to acknowledge James A. Winn's discussion of the epilogue in John Dryden and His World, on 208, and to James Thompson, the scholar who first reminded me of Dryden's playful reference to pregnancy in the epilogue. See Thompson, "Dryden's Conquest of Granada and the Dutch Wars," The Eighteenth Century, vol. 31, no. 3 (1990): 211-226, on 213.

probably not Beck (at least, there is no evidence that points to her being pregnant or bearing a child in 1669-70). Elizabeth Howe intelligently points out that Dryden “developed the character of Lyndaraxa far beyond anything suggested by the [romance] sources of the play, such as La Calprenède’s Cassandra and Cleopatra.²¹ She quotes Herbert Wynford Hill’s study of La Calprenède and Restoration drama:

Lyndaraxa was probably intended to be the stock unscrupulous rival of the heroine [Almahide, played by Nell Gwyn], but this capable and fascinating woman develops so rapidly under the hand of the entranced author [Dryden] that she outstrips her type and challenges in interest the heroine herself.²²

Hill imagines Dryden as entranced by the character he designs in Pirandello-esque fashion, and there is, I think, something to this in that Dryden did write a character who is more than “stock.” He knew the strengths of the company for which he wrote, and sexy, intelligent villainesses were popular fare. Dryden had already written sexy, successful villainess roles: Almeria, who redeems herself at end, in The Indian Emperour (1665), a role probably created by Beck Marshall’s sister, Anne, although Beck most likely took the part when the play was revived in the 1670s, and the wicked Zempoalla in Dryden and Howard’s The Indian Queen (1664), who was almost certainly played by Anne Marshall.²³

²¹ Elizabeth Howe, The First English Actresses, 153.

²² Herbert Wynford Hill, “La Calprenède’s Romances and the Restoration Drama, Part II: The Influence of Cassandra and Cleopatra on the Restoration Drama,” 82. This article was first brought to my attention by Elizabeth Howe, who quotes the above passage on 153. However, it should be noted that Howe gives the year of publication as 1910, and her citation is incomplete, for she does not note that the work is an article in a series. Part 1 of Hill’s article was published in 1910, and Part 2, the source for her citation, in 1911.

²³ Downes names Mrs. Marshall in the role of Almeria. See Downes, 26. The California

I believe that Dryden probably wrote the villainess role of Lyndaraxa knowing that Beck Marshall was available for the role and could do it justice. Beck had already established herself in revival plays as the bold and headstrong tainted young woman. With her sister Anne Marshall, Dryden's favorite villainess before 1665, gone from the company by late 1668, Beck would have been the only one who could have sold the part, and Dryden was probably aware that when he composed the role of tailoring it to the strengths of Beck, who, by 1666, was the company's leading lady. Beck's presence in the company and her ability to carry strong roles helped to "turn up the decibel of female assertion in the world of live entertainment," to borrow from Susan A. Glenn's description of women performers in another context.²⁴ I have no doubt that Dryden knew that Beck could handle Lyndaraxa, a very fiery and radically assertive leading comic-epic villainess possessed of both strong sexual heat and a keen and witty mind. It is possible that Dryden hoped Anne could have played the role, if he began writing the epic in 1668, as Winn suggests. However, when Anne returned for approximately a year's time in

Dryden editors present a good case for Anne's playing Zempoalla in *The Indian Queen*. Evidence does seem to point that way. See *The Works of John Dryden*, 8:319. The editors write that "Pepys twice (1 February 1664, 27 June 1668) notices [Anne Marshall] as Zempoalla in the *Queen*" (319). Pepys never actually mentions the role Anne played, but I agree with the editors that it was most likely the showcase role of Zempoalla, since it pulls so much of Pepys's attentions. Pepys writes on 1 February 1664 that "the eldest Marshall did do her part most excellently well as ever I heard woman in my life" (*Diary*, 5:34), but writes on 27 June 1668 that "[I] do not dote up[on] Nan Marshall's acting therein as the world talks or her excellence therein" (*Diary*, 8:250). Whether Pepys's lukewarm response to Anne suggests that her powers were diminishing, or she was having an "off" night, or that he somehow, watching that particular performance, found her lacking when measured against his prior memory of her in the part, she was cast in villainess roles well into her forties. As I note in Chapter 2, as late as 1682, Anne was playing the sexy-but-aging villainess part of Sunamira in Thomas Southerne's *The Loyal Brothers*, produced by the King's Company.

²⁴ Susan A. Glenn, *Female Spectacle: The Theatrical Roots of Modern Feminism*, 222. Glenn is speaking of 1960s female folk and rock singers.

1667-68, she was cast in the secondary role of the mild Candiope opposite Beck's headstrong Queen in Dryden's Secret Love (1667) and as the meek Alizia opposite Beck's passionate Plantagenet in Orrery's The Black Prince (1667). Anne did create the rich, female fop role of Aurelia in Dryden's An Evening's Love (1668), a role that Beck only inherited after Anne's departure. Anne was, I think, a more gifted comic performer than her younger sister, based upon her being cast in such roles as Aurelia and as Mrs. Double Diligence in The Cheats (1663), two women's parts that require great skills in comic timing and characterization. However, Beck could handle comic roles and excel in playing characters with Lyndaraxa's fire and cutting wit. My guess is that Dryden composed Lyndaraxa with Beck in mind, or, possibly, if he began the work in as early as 1668, with Anne in mind, presumably unaware she would soon be departing. Dryden surely knew that two women were capable of carrying this sexy, showcase role, and his writing a villainess part that "outstrips in type" his original sources is not surprising, considering that Anne, or Beck, could have excelled as the stormy Lyndaraxa. By 1670, Beck was carrying the stronger roles and the darker parts.

Lyndaraxa is the superman hero Almanzor's dark twin, and whereas he enters a stranger and becomes an integral part of community, she is part of community and becomes a stranger. As David B. Haley asserts, "Almanzor is her counterpart until he falls in love" (198).²⁵ Love is not in Lyndaraxa's vocabulary. She runs, as Anne T. Barbeau puts it, "helter skelter" and is "wild and variable" (123).²⁶ She is ambitious and

²⁵ David B. Haley, Dryden and the Problem of Freedom (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

²⁶ Anne T. Barbeau, The Intellectual Design of John Dryden's Heroic Plays (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970). Barbeau's arguments are compelling, but her conclusions sometimes puzzling. Robert D. Hume is probably correct in saying that her emphasis on

duplicitous, using her charms of beauty and wit to try and seduce men into giving her what she wants: the crown.

In the epic universe of the Restoration, there are no superwomen, and ambition in a female character marks a female rebel. Lyndaraxa is a maiden, but no innocent. She uses the erotic power of her body but does not yield it, and is coldly determined to find power in and through her body. Lyndaraxa is a Moor and is beloved by two Moorish soldiers who vie for the King's crown. She heartlessly yet gracefully plays them against each other, biding her time until she sees which man will prove victorious: "I will be constant yet, if Fortune can / I love the King: let her but name the Man" (4.2.7-8). She is bold in her sexuality, snarling at the smitten Abdelmelech (played by Mohun) that he has no right to tell her whom she can gaze upon: "And when did I my pow'r so resigne, / That you should regulate each Look of mine?" (3.1.138-39). She seduces the keys to the fortress away from Abdalla, Abdelmelech's rival, and when Abdalla is losing in battle, refuses to let him into his fortress, thus, colonizing his space and making it her own. Her final action in Part 1 is to leave him outside of the gates, vulnerable.

Seeing that neither rival is the man most likely to win, in Part 2, she sets her sights on the superman hero, Almanzor (played by Hart), despite his love for the virtuous Almahide: "Not his vow'd Constancy shall scape my snare; / [...] I'll melt into him e're his Love's aware" (3.3.65-67). She attempts to seduce him in the castle courtyard during an exchange of political prisoners, in full view of the armies, moving seductions that were private in Part 1 into the male, public sphere, like a Clytemnestra. Lyndaraxa's

"intellectual design" and her correspondent de-emphasis on theatre and entertainment value is what leads to problems in her argument (Hume, Development of English Drama, 197). It seems so to me, as well; however, like Hume, I agree that in her analysis she demonstrates "a good deal of subtlety and complexity in Dryden's characters" (197).

arrogance and fierce autonomy mark her as unruly, and as a (female) liberal subject who poses a threat to male order and integrity. Almanzor, who does find her fair “As Summer mornings” (3.3.173), is not seduced, and his rejection of the female transgressor proves his moral virtue. Lyndaraxa is the mythic temptress, the woman whose beauty will enrapture and destroy the unsuspecting male, but not the superman hero.²⁷

Rejected by him, she now moves *sola*. She tries to cover up her brother’s attempted rape of Almahide by framing Abdelmelech and is cold-hearted in this effort. Her allegiance is always to herself and to no other. When she realizes that the Spaniards will win, she sends her armies to assist them, thus forsaking family and blood. King Ferdinand rewards her by making her Queen of Granada. In her moment of victory, the rejected Abdelmelech stabs her and then himself, so she is punished for her “black designs” (5.3.267). Lyndaraxa’s final words reveal her pleasure in tasting empire (5.3.265), and this unrepentant reaching for material gain cements her darkness. Lyndaraxa is unique because she is a marriage between comic heroine and evil woman, witty, coy, but the most evil body in the play.²⁸ She is selfish, egotistical, and thus an outsider.²⁹

²⁷ Peter Holland asserts in The Ornament of Action, 182, that “Lyndaraxa is passionately in love with Almanzor,” but there is no evidence for this in the text. She sees him and says, “In gaining him, I gain that fortune too / Which he has Wedded” (3.3.61-62). Perhaps she finds him beautiful, but she is attracted to what she perceives as his usefulness to her, which is different from love.

²⁸ Marshall’s other villainess role in an epic-heroic play is the role of Almeria in Dryden’s The Indian Emperour, a part she took over from her sister Anne. Unlike Lyndaraxa, Almeria is penitent at play’s end. I conjecture that she may also have played the role of the dark Fulvia in the 1668 revival of Jonson’s Catiline, staged as an epic spectacle. The role is in her line, and she would have been, as leading lady, the best candidate to play it.

²⁹ For a further discussion of egoism versus altruism in the world of The Conquest of Granada, see Bradley Rubridge, “The Code of Reciprocation in The Conquest of

Three years after creating *Lyndaraxa*, Marshall created the role of *Poppea*, the young and beautiful wife to *Otho* (*Wintershall*) in Lee's *Nero* (1674). She is described to *Nero* (played by *Hart*) by a sycophant as dark and wanton: "Her quick black eye does wonder with desire [...] her long black locks, on her fair shoulder's flow" (34). She is enchanted by *Nero*, leaves her first husband, and becomes *Nero*'s second wife and Queen. Like *Eve* seduced by the serpent, she is, as a woman, written as the gendered being more susceptible to sin, more vulnerable, and more lascivious. (As an analogue, her near contemporary, *Sin*, in Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667), is Satan's *daughter*.) She dreams of crown and flesh, and once *Nero* touches her, desire continues to multiply inside of her so that it festers into what Gregory Bredbeck in another context has called "undifferentiated debauchery," that pool of licentious desire that is a mark of the decadent in Lee's play.³⁰ She articulates that she perceives herself to be a victim of these feelings, and cannot, as a weak woman, help herself. When the mad *Britannicus* comes to court, incoherent, and *Nero* treats him like a jester, she falls in love with him *as mad* and articulates that she must have him: "I love him [...] I must enjoy him" (54). The decay of his mind matters not; it is his flesh she craves. She attempts to seduce him, and he, mad, is tempted until the ghost of his noble lover (played by *Boutell*) warns him to stay away from *Poppea*, as her touch equals death: "She tempts like a *Circe*" (57). Lee thus uses the evil woman / good woman binary to create dramatic tension and sexual tension. Although this may be a circus-like staging of a sexual freak, it is a powerful ticket. *Poppea*'s debauchery grows more and more monstrous. She fails to pull *Britannicus* into

Granada," in *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700*, 31-56.

³⁰ Gregory W. Bredbeck, *Sodomy and Interpretation: Marlowe to Milton* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 16.

bed, so moves on to a new victim: her disguised brother, whom she, maddened by lust as Britannicus was by sorrow, fails to recognize. She beckons her brother to come to bed: "Henceforth, what e're I like, I will enjoy" (65). He refuses. He stabs her in the hands, maiming her, and she is then killed by her first husband, whom she has abandoned. Her death is devised to be titillating but also to foster sympathy for the dark Nero, who, before he commits suicide because of his loss at battle and his own mental instability, mourns the loss of his young wife. Poppea is in "type" like the court woman smeared in a contemporary lampoon:

But Lechery so oversway'd her
She had no discretion at all;
The Cunt that first had rais'd her
Was now the cause of her fall.³¹

Poppea, as type, "lampoons" women driven and over swayed by bodily longings, who, in their ambitions, overreach.

Even more wicked than the ambitious whore is the lascivious and ambitious mother. In 1675, Marshall created the role of the evil mother, Nourmahal, in Dryden's Aureng-Zebe. Mother to the evil Morat (played by Kynaston) and stepmother to the noble Aureng-Zebe (played by Hart), she spurns her own son when he proves disobedient, and sexually craves the body of her stepson. When she loses power, she commits suicide,

³¹ From "Lampoon" (1676), anonymous author, British Library Harleian MS 6913, 89-90, on 89. The lampoon is an attack on Barbara Villiers Palmer, Countess of Castlemaine, later Duchess of Cleveland, mistress to Charles II and allegedly to Charles Hart and others. The lampoon is reprinted, with modernized spelling, in Court Satires of The Restoration, ed. John Harold Wilson (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1976), 20-22. Wilson gives the pagination as 177 (the full citation should read 177-79, as Wilson notes initial pages only in his citations) but the British Library has since assigned new folio numbers to Harleian 6913 that replace the old page numbers.

mutilating her insides with poison: “I burn, I more than burn; I am all fire” (5.1.639). She does what all evil women must do: falls and dies.

Before she physically dies, however, she is emotionally dying, vulnerable and in pain about no longer being beautiful enough to compel male attention. Prior to turning her desire upon her stepson, she experiences her husband’s rejection of her as a lesser, aging woman. Nourmahal enters to find her husband (played by Mohun) soliciting a younger rival, the lover to Aureng-Zebe. Nourmahal’s rage at this is driven by fear: “My eyes are still the same, each glance, each grace, / Keep their first luster, and maintain their place; / Not second yet to any other face” (2.1.209-211).³² Her husband crosses toward her and comes close to her face, as the stage directions indicate, “*Offers to kiss her,*” (2.1.231), an act that we can also deduce from the response that follows when Marshall, as the rejected Empress, responds with fury: “Me would you have, me your faint kisses prove, / The dregs and droppings of enervate Love?” (2.1.232-33). She might have stopped the kiss by turning her face away, or by putting up her hand, by stepping away, or through the power of her voice and a confrontational gaze, as the text indicates that she, as Nourmahal, rejects his touch, refusing to take “an Absent Husband in her Arms” (21.237). An actress who could play the genuine pain in this moment as well as the anger, and also the fear that, as an aging beauty, she can no longer compete, could flesh out the role so that the dark mother is not without sympathy. Marshall was approximately in her mid-thirties when she created the role opposite a roughly fifty-five

³² John Dryden, *Aureng-Zebe*, *The Works of John Dryden*, vol. 12, ed. Vinton A. Dearing (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

year old Mohun, thus, much younger than her on-stage husband, but visibly older than the younger Elizabeth Cox, who was playing her rival.³³

In comedies, Marshall was cast in strong lover roles, and later, as evil women in the spirit of the witty epic-villainess, Lyndaraxa.³⁴ Marshall played the virtuous lover, the First Constantia, in February 1667 in Buckingham's adaptation of The Chances. The First Constantia is noble, beautiful, and a young mother whose clandestine marriage to the noble Duke (played by Kynaston) has forced her to go into hiding to escape her brother's rage. In contrast to the Second Constantia, a sprightly country girl played by Gwyn and the love interest of Don Juan (played by Hart), the First Constantia is a loyal wife. She serves as a catalyst for misunderstandings, however, as when she gives her baby to Don Juan for safekeeping, leading to comic confusion. The action in the play is driven in large measure by mix-ups generated over the fact that there are two women named Constantia, and parties believe they are talking about one. Thus, the noble First Constantia is meant to contrast with the wild Second Constantia. First Constantia is a rather passive role for Marshall, but one to which she could bring dignity and a noble bearing, necessary for the role as the virtuous and beautiful wife of the heroic Duke.

The role, however, was probably not created by her. The history of this casting is interesting, because manuscript evidence brought to light by Ken Robinson strongly

³³ The other evil mother roles on record for Marshall are Fulvia in William Joyner's The Roman Empress (1671), a stepmother rather than a biological mother; and Roxana in Lee's The Rival Queens (1677), an expectant mother.

³⁴ In The Ornament of Action, Peter Holland writes that Marshall "rarely played in comedy" (182), but this exaggerates the facts. Seven out of the thirty-four roles on record for Marshall are roles in comic plays. She was not a comedienne like Gwyn or Knepp, but she did play comic roles, albeit "heavier" ones: virtuous lovers in high plots, or sexy scamps or villainesses. Compare this, however, to Elizabeth Boutell: seventeen out of the thirty roles on record for Boutell are in comic plays, a much higher ratio.

points to the role having belonged to Elizabeth Boutell in circa 1664, the probable premiere date of the play.³⁵ But on 8 February 1667, Marshall gave a deposition in which she testified that she had “performed in the play” on 5 February. The play was (Buckingham’s) The Chances.³⁶ Thus, it appears that she took over the role from Boutell.³⁷ It seems likely that Boutell was away from the company (see my discussion of Boutell later in this chapter), and Marshall took the part in her colleague’s absence. She may or may not have kept the role in later revivals.³⁸

Marshall also played willful coy women in comedies. In circa November 1671, Marshall created the role of the roguish Doralice in Dryden’s Marriage A-la-Mode. Together, Doralice, her husband Rhodophil (played by Mohun), the handsome Palamede

³⁵ For the evidence that the role had belonged to Boutell, based on an MS cast in a nineteenth-century hand, see Ken Robinson, “Two Cast Lists for Buckingham’s The Chances,” Notes and Queries, 224 (1979): 436-37. Also see introduction to The Chances, ed. Hume and Love, on 13, from their edition of Buckingham’s collected works, Oxford University Press, forthcoming.

³⁶ The deposition is reproduced in facsimile in BD 7:426-27. Pepys saw The Chances on 5 February, so we have corroborating evidence (Diary, 7:45-46). John Harold Wilson names Marshall as the First Constantia, citing her deposition as evidence (All the King’s Ladies, 170). The LS editors cite Wilson and suggest Beck for the role.

³⁷ This is the only case on record of Marshall playing a role “owned” by Boutell. It is extremely unlikely that Marshall, as a lead player, was substituting for another lead player on an emergency basis, as this was not the general practice. Normally, if a lead performer was ill, another play in the repertory was generally put on the boards. Therefore, we can assume that the company wanted to mount the play and had to do so without Boutell. I am grateful to Robert D. Hume for his positive reception to my notes about Marshall’s having played the role on 5 February 1667, and for the thoughtful e-discussion that followed between Professor Hume and me on 7 and 8 April 2003.

³⁸ The other virtuous, noble lover role of similar type to First Constantia, but with a droller wit, is that of the widow Lady Lovely in John Leaned’s The Country Innocent, or, the Chambermaid Turned Quaker, a role Beck created circa March 1677 that featured a cast of young actors. She also played the regal, witty, and intelligent Queen of Sicily in the high plot in Dryden’s Secret Love (1667).

(played by Hart), and his fiancé, Melantha (played by Boutell), almost become a “blessed community” of four (5.1.351) so that each man can enjoy the other’s partner. The men give up this dream for fear the women “would both be wishing for the longest cut” (5.1.356-57), a culinary pun on the better man and possibly a play on penis size, but the dream of four comes of all parties engaging in opposite-sex courting with each other’s partners. Doralice, the wife, is willful, strong, and sexually alive. She is bored with her husband, in part because he no longer makes love to her,³⁹ and she breaks rules to flirt with the handsome young Palamede. She invites him to meet her during her prayers, and then, when that plan is thwarted by her husband’s unexpected arrival, dresses as a boy so that she can follow her new interest and join him in an eating house. There, they are discovered by her husband and the precocious and similarly cross-dressed Melantha (played by Boutell).⁴⁰ Palamede and Rhodophil, called away on business, suggest that the two take lodgings together, but Doralice protests: “What, lie with a Boy? For my part, I own it, I cannot endure to lie with a Boy” (4.3.174-75). This seems less a question of honor than of taste—wanting a man, but not a boy page—as she is not resistant to the idea of cavorting with Palamede, but an actress might be able to make something of Doralice’s being confronted with the very real possibility of being alone in a house with a young man and not really wanting to take the cheat. If so, the fun for her with Palamede is in the *possibility* of making love to him. At end, it is Doralice who has the final word on the arrangements between the four: “I will adde but one Proviso, That who ever breaks

³⁹ See 3.1.72-73 and 3.1.90-91.

⁴⁰ This is the only breeches role on record for Marshall, although she wore breeches when she spoke the prologue and epilogue to Killgrew’s The Parson’s Wedding when it was revived with an all female cast in 1672. Marshall was probably cast in the play, but we do not know what role she played, or whether male or female.

the League, either by war abroad, or by neglect at home, both the Women shall revenge themselves, by the help of the other party” (5.1.351-366). Doralice’s coy words end the dialogue on “switching.”

A role that crossed both virtuous lover and wild woman was Lucretia in Dryden’s The Assignment (1672), a part almost surely written with Marshall in mind. The Assignment is a boisterous comedy set in Spain and written in cape-and-sword style. Lucretia is destined to be a nun, but, while she is in the convent, sees through the gate the young Prince Frederick (played by Kynaston). He woos her, and they fall in love. Lucretia devises a means to go in mask to court to see her lover. At the masquerade, she is aggressively courted by her lover’s father, the Duke, attention she does not want, although she does long for Frederick. She runs away from the convent, is almost molested by the Duke, but is rescued by Frederick, and will be his wife, as even the abbess agrees she is not designed for the holy life. The business is true farce, and the near-rape almost too dark to neatly inscribe in the play’s ending. The plot is busy, physical, more about action than relationships.⁴¹ The play, however, was cast in “type.” Marshall was well matched with Kynaston as the beautiful and noble lovers in the play’s high plot, who belong together and who move with grace through the carnival world they inhabit.⁴²

⁴¹ As I discuss in Chapter 6, the play initially failed, perhaps because it was too hastily mounted and there were text memorization problems. It remained in the active repertory.

⁴² Marshall’s other comic lover roles on record include the fiery Jaccinta in John Corye’s The Generous Enemies (1671) and the fashionable coquette role of Lady Mary or Lady Anne in Flecknoe’s Damoiselles a la Mode (1667). The Marshall sisters are assigned (generically) to the roles in the published version of the play, which was printed before it was performed. Flecknoe’s wish list is not clear on which sister he intended for which part. Howe assigns Lady Anne to Beck (The First English Actresses, 187). I suggest Beck for Lady Mary, the more fiery sister, and a role more in her line, but my conclusion

In the late 1670s, Marshall created one of her most fiery comic women, and this one a villainess in the spirit of Lyndaraxa: Olivia in Wycherley's The Plain Dealer.

Olivia is biting, covetous, mocking, and manipulative. She is also sexual, intelligent, and incredibly witty. She is beloved by Manly (played by Hart), who, before he went to sea, left her his jewels. He imagines himself contracted to her, but, unbeknownst to him, while he was away, she married his supposedly bosom friend.⁴³ She spurns Manly now that he is home. Her bluntness is appealing to him when her targets are rival suitors, but when she turns on him, she is equally vicious, sarcastically attacking him and maleness both:

that noble Lyon-like meen of yours, that Souldier-like weather beaten
complexion, and that manly roughness of your voice; how can they otherwise
than charm us Women, who hate Effeminacy! (426)

Olivia coldly tells him that she is "lately, and privately marry'd" (429).

Marriage vows mean naught when Olivia meets and lusts after Manly's page, the heroine Fidelia in disguise (played by Boutell), and tries to chase "him" into bed, which Manly observes: "Wuh, she makes Love like a Devil in a Play; and in this darkness,

is equally speculative. The other role is the Lady in Fletcher's The Scornful Lady after Anne Marshall's departure. In their edition of Downes, on 18, note 50, Milhous and Hume cite Pepys and write that he reported that Knepp played the Lady on 27 December 1666 and implied that she played the role again on 3 June 1668 (he mentions no role, but that she needed to review her part). From this evidence, they speculate that Knepp took over Anne Marshall's role when Anne left. However, Pepys actually wrote that Knepp played the Widow on 27 December, (Diary, 7:422), not the Lady, so this then implies that she played the Widow again on 3 June 1668. The Lady and the Widow are two different characters. The Lady was in Beck Marshall's line, and she is the best candidate for the role. She also took over from Anne the role of Aurelia, the beautiful but eccentric female fop in Dryden's An Evening's Love, a witty and wonderful role.

⁴³ Alleman describes Olivia's marriage to Manly's friend, Vernish, as a clandestine one because "she is engaged to Manly." See Alleman, 86.

which conceals her Angels face; if I were apt be afraid, I shoul'd think her a Devil” (481). He cannot watch her aggressive pursuit of the effeminate Fidelia, in part because he feels betrayed that Olivia has married another, and bruised because she is still on the chase but obviously prefers Fidelia's gentle face to his gruff one. Olivia purrs: “Captain, your young Friend here has a very persuading Face, I confess” (429).

Manly retaliates and enters her bedroom pretending to be Fidelia. We are not sure, as audience, if he rapes her (rape because she is expecting a different lover, Fidelia), as he vows he will, in revenge, or if he changes his mind: his lines upon exiting her bedroom are ambiguous on this count (485). Whether she engages in sexual intercourse or not, she enters the room starved for sexual contact and tries to pull Fidelia in anew. She, helter skelter, loses control when she falls for Fidelia, both because of the power of her desire, and because Fidelia is a woman, hence, Olivia the comic fool. There is room for the actress to create an Olivia who lusts after Fidelia like a “bitch in heat,” to quote Rose Zimbardo's description of Olivia's animal-like hunger,⁴⁴ and one who also responds to Fidelia with a budding romantic interest, which for her translates into sexual impulse. Fidelia tries to stall with pretty talk so as to avoid being pulled into bed by the hungry Olivia, but Olivia has no interest in discourse, only in love making:

Oliv. Who's there? My dearest?

Fid. My life—

Oliv. Right, right: where are thy lips? here, take the dumb, and best Welcomes, Kisses and Embraces: 'tis not a time for idle words. In a Duel of Love, as in others, Parlying shews basely. (481)

⁴⁴ Rose Zimbardo, Wycherley's Drama, 17.

Olivia is not interested in the coy play of words, the medium of communication for the comic heroine. She uses language only to confirm the identity of Fidelia, which, ironically, she fails to see. Olivia's heated desire and her lusty, forceful pursuit of the soft, feminine girl dressed as boy queers her. She prefers the soft boy-girl to the rough and virile Manly, and her lust is strong.

Like Lyndaraxa, Olivia is punished for her black designs. She is unmasked, and Manly wins back his jewels and wins the page. Embarrassed by the revelation of Fidelia's female gender and angry at the loss of her fortune, she storms away: "I [to] my revenge" (514), leaving Fidelia to ascend as the "natural" woman in this play—gentle, loyal, devoted, and selfless. Olivia is Fidelia's antithesis: a renegade who is desirous, devouring, deceiving, and devilish. She is ostracized from what had been home to her, while the outsider Manly, the plain-dealer who plays the game to defeat Olivia, is made a part of community.⁴⁵

B. Elizabeth Boutell's Roles

There are thirty-two roles on record for Elizabeth Boutell between 1664 and 1678.⁴⁶ Boutell (née Davenport) joined the King's Company circa 1664, and started in secondary roles, and possibly the occasional lead. By 1670, she was playing lead ingénue roles, and by the late 1670s, virtuous leading women. Dramaturgically, Boutell's

⁴⁵ Marshall's other role in this comic villainess line is that of Maria in D'Urfey's *A Fond Husband*, performed by the Duke's Company in May 1677, and her last recorded role.

⁴⁶ As with Beck Marshall, the number of recorded roles is significantly lower than those of leading men in the company. Women's roles are more sporadically recorded. Boutell's roles prior to circa 1669 are sometimes recorded under her maiden name, Davenport. There are also fourteen roles on record for Boutell post-1678 (between 1688-1696). See Appendix A, "Actors' Roles: Elizabeth Boutell."

characters were seldom in the position to be agents, and therefore, were more passive roles than the bolder ones generally played by Marshall. Such passivity did not mean that the young women Boutell played were without any strength or spirit, but moments of self-assertion were contained by their overall passive construction as dramatic characters: they were most often sufferers and idealists. In comedies, she played romantic young lovers. These young lovers were usually virtuous. Occasionally, they were spirited scamps who tamed the wild romantic rogue. Boutell excelled in breeches roles, and ten of the thirty-one roles on record for her were played in breeches.

One of Boutell's earliest known roles is Estifania in a revival of Fletcher's Rule a Wife and Have a Wife (circa 1663-64), at which time Boutell would have been around fifteen, a surprisingly young age to take on the role, but not impossibly so.⁴⁷ Estifania is the heroine of the comic low plot and the love interest to the comic hero, Michael Perez (played by Hart). She is also a former servant to Margareta (played by Anne Marshall), the rich heiress who marries Don Leon (played by Mohun). As I discuss in Chapter 3, in the high plot of the play, Margareta, who is looking for a docile husband so that she can have her sexual freedom after marriage, marries Don Leon, who forcefully curbs her will

⁴⁷ Boutell is assigned the role of Estifania in the cast named in Downes, 11-12. Clun is also named in the cast, which suggests a *terminus ad quem* of August 1664 and points to Boutell's probably playing the role circa 1663-64. She was still playing Estifania as late as the 1695-96 season, by which time she would have been about forty-six years of age. For the best discussion to date of the probable date at which Boutell joined the company and the evidence that she played Estifania as early as 1663-64, see Judith Milhous, "Elizabeth Bowtell and Elizabeth Davenport: Some Puzzles Solved," 125. If Boutell did not play the role this early, then it was probably hers by 1667, at which time she would have been eighteen or nineteen years of age. There is one possible performance recorded on 14 February 1667, and Boutell might have just been returning to the company around mid February or so, but my guess is that the play was most probably in the active repertory after this date. Downes's naming Boutell in an early cast, however, supports the probability of her taking the role at the earlier date of 1663-64.

and wins her love. The comic low plot serves as a counterbalance to this taming of the shrew main plot, for Estifania, a young rebel, wields significant power over Perez.

Comic female rebels can transgress in ways that their more serious cousins cannot, and thus, these rebels, despite rule-breaking antics and assertions of will, can be re-inscribed at play's end by the restored order that relegates the woman to a more appropriate part: that of happily married young wife.

The hijinks in the love story in the low plot are driven by the teenaged Estifania, who plots ways to try and outfox the handsome, lead comic rogue, Michael Perez (Hart). Perez, the roguish soldier and ladykiller, meets the young and beautiful Estifania, who tricks him into believing that she is the Heiress, and Margareta, her servant. Intrigued by Estifania's supposed wealth, as well as by her wit and beauty, Perez wants to make her his wife. They marry. Estifania has convinced her new husband that Margareta's house is hers, and now theirs, and this ruse is thwarted when Margareta returns unexpectedly. Perez, high on his wife's beauty, wit, and alleged riches, believes her when she says that they must vacate the house because Margareta needs to "pretend" it is hers—thus, Estifania projects her scampish role-play onto Margareta.

Estifania promises they can return to "their" home, and the two then move into a vagrant area and live in squalor. Having lied to her husband, Estifania now robs him and runs away. He spies his wayward wife and threatens her: "But thou must meet me face to face to kill thee?" (5.4.5) A comic, violent skirmish ensues, in verse—as is all of the dialogue—with the actors playing off each others' formal verbal rhythm, finishing each others' iambs, and parrying in time. Like a true spitfire, in the midst of this rhythmical

parry, Estifania pulls out a pistol and “dagge” on the unsuspecting Perez.⁴⁸ In this scene, she is the one who wields the power through surprise, and because her behavior is unexpected in a wife and in a woman:

Estef. Now now sir now, [*Shewes a Pistoll and a Dagge*].

come on, doe you start off from me,

Doe you sweat, great Captaine, have you seen a spirit?

Perez. Doe you weare gunnes?

Estef. I am a souldiers wife sir,

And by that privilege I may be arm'd,

Now whats the newes, and let's discourse more friendly,

And talk of our affaires in peace.

Perez. Let me see,

Pre thee let me see thy gun, 'tis a very pretty one.

Estef. No, no, sir, you shall feelee---(5.4.25-32).

The comic violence has an element of danger, and also of taboo: she draws, as a woman, and draws upon her husband. When the young Boutell played the role, an audience saw a teenager wielding weapons on a thirty-something Hart playing her husband, and the

⁴⁸ A dagge was either a knife or a heavy pistol. OED gives both definitions for this time period. R. Warwick Bond states emphatically that it was a gun. See John Fletcher, *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*, ed. R. Warwick Bond, *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, Variorum Edition, ed. A. H. Bullen, 4 vols. (London: George Bell and Sons & A.H. Bullen, 1904), 3: 453. In Elisha Coles, *An English Dictionary*, London, 1676; facsimile edition, Menston, England: Scholar Press, 1971, n.p., “Dagge” is defined as a dagger. The comic effect might be greater with one gun and one knife, as if the attacker is covering all bases. On the other hand, Perez asks Estifania if she wears “gunnes” and makes no mention of a dagger, and the scene could have been staged very effectively with Estifania carrying two different kinds of guns-in-hand. In either case, whether “dagge” is gun or knife, Estifania is brandishing two weapons.

effect must have been both comic and disconcerting. How can innocence be so violent, even if playfully violent? Of course, the playfulness of the role made the taboo possible, and the role would have worked best played by a young ingénue who looked the part.

Estifania ends the fight by showing her husband a purse filled with money that she secured by scamming a usurer, to whom she had pawned her husband's jewels. Before pawning them, she discovered them to be trinkets, and hence, as worthless to her as "her" house was to her husband. Thus, the male and female rogues have played upon each other a trick-for-trick. She is, to Perez, an irresistible woman of mettle, and he admits that he will play her fool as long as he is under her spell: "I see I am an asse when thou art neere me" (5.4.42). As a comic heroine, Estifania can claim power, enough so that her husband and she are well-matched.⁴⁹

In The Maid's Tragedy, Boutell played another spirited young lover, the "beautifull Aspatia" (1.1.80), the troth-plight (betrothed) wife to Amintor. They are in love as well as promised to each other. Amintor breaks his contract with her when the King orders him to marry Evadne, the woman who is the King's mistress. Boutell was cast opposite Hart and Marshall, and this casting of Marshall as the dark Evadne and Boutell as the noble Aspatia is a prototype for the she-devil and angel pairing for which the two were famous in the 1670s, as Howe discusses.⁵⁰ Aspatia spends the first part of the play lamenting her loss and bears the task of helping with several other ladies-in-waiting to dress Evadne for bed on her wedding night. Evadne goes to the bedchamber,

⁴⁹ The other roles on record in Boutell's virtuous young lover line that are, like Estifania, trickster-lovers, are Bellinganna, the young wife in Francis Fane's Love in The Dark (1675), and Cellida opposite Hart's Thomas in D'Urfey's Trick for Trick (1678).

⁵⁰ Elizabeth Howe, The First English Actresses, 152-56. Boutell probably played the role as early as 1663-64 and also in later revivals, opposite Beck Marshall.

and Amintor, played by Hart, enters the ante-room and finds Aspatia there. Aspatia confronts him and ominously raises the spectre of death by vowing that she will “trie / Some yet unpractic’d way to grieve and die” (21.123-24). Before she leaves him, she is bold enough to kiss him, which we can discover in the text, both in her lines and in the extant stage directions, as the physical action must happen to justify her lines: “Ile trouble you no more, yet I will take / A parting kisse, and will not be denied. [*Kisses Amintor.*] / You’le come my Lord and see the virgins weepe, / When I am laid in earth” (2.1.115-18). After “denied,” she steals the kiss, thus *is not* denied in this moment the right to claim his body as hers as she releases him. This is the last time she sees Amintor as herself, as a woman, for her “unpracticed way” to die is one by which she can confront her lover physically not as rejected virgin, but as avenging soldier. She performs the role of her older brother, who has come to avenge his sister’s spoiled honor. When Amintor tries to discourage his attacker, the cross-dressed Aspatia, she baits him into fighting through violent words and violent actions:

Asp. Thou art some prating Fellow,
 One that has studied out a tricke to talke
 And move soft-harted people; to be kickt *She kickes him.*
 Thus to be kickt---[*aside*]. Why should he be so slow
 In giving me my death? (5.3.92-96)

As Jennifer A. Low provocatively suggests in her recent study, Manhood and the Duel: Masculinity in Early Modern Drama and Culture, Aspatia’s “refusal to use the sword (logically, she would not have known how to wield it) ensured that she would retain

audience sympathy.”⁵¹ I agree, but Aspatia’s violent kicks are designed to provoke and are transgressive gestures for a passive ingénue who turns momentary renegade. She promises the duel and baits it though verbal and physical bravado, but cannot deliver, lacking the requisite skills or the desire to finish the performance. Aspatia “apes” masculinity, as Lisa Hopkins puts it (70), and does so that she may participate in a male ritual of battling over a woman’s honor: her own. Amintor is finally pulled in by her goading: “A man can beare / No more, and keepe his flesh” (5.3.96-97). He wounds her with his sword, and this penetration is, tragically, the most intimate physical contact the lovers share. Evadne (Marshall), the dark woman, now enters with her bloody knife. Amintor, repulsed, rejects her, and she commits suicide while he turns to his innocent lover. Realizing he has slain Aspatia, he commits suicide by her body.

Aspatia, to borrow from Alisa Solomon’s analysis of cross-dressing, crosses toward power when she puts on boy’s clothes, which allows her access to Amintor’s body in a way she could not have as a woman, but this cross for power is for her, suicidal, and the end of her body.⁵² As Solomon writes, such theatrical fashion-as-drag roles “say it’s sexy for women to take on a little power, a little hint of power, nothing more” (146). Originally, Aspatia would have been played by a boy actor, but here, with Boutell crossing to male, the audience watches a biologically real woman “cross.” Boutell was one of the first women to play Aspatia, allowing for a new commercial advantage: embodying the female-to-male cross to power with an actress making that cross onstage;

⁵¹ Jennifer A. Low, Manhood and the Duel: Masculinity in Early Modern Drama and Culture (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), 149.

⁵² Alisa Solomon, “It’s Never Too Late to Switch: Crossing toward power,” in Crossing the Stage: Controversies on Cross-Dressing, ed. Leslie Ferris (New York: Routledge, 1993), *passim*. I retain Solomon’s use of upper and lower cases in the title.

selling heterosexual erotics between men and women on both the fictive and the real level, and selling the bodies of women whose bodies could be revealed in breeches in ways they might otherwise not have been.

Of the ten breeches roles on record for Boutell, two were in revived plays: Aspatia, discussed above, and Castabella in Shirley's tragedy, The Maid's Revenge. Like Aspatia, Castabella disguises herself as a boy so that she can be near her lover. The remaining eight breeches parts on record for Boutell were in new plays. It is clear that she was capable in such roles, that audiences liked her in these parts, and that playwrights were interested in exploiting her salability in boy's dress. Wycherley, for example, made good use of Boutell's abilities. Margery Pinchwife in The Country Wife (January 1675), a role played by Boutell, if not written for her, dons breeches so that she can go to the playhouse, an issue I take up later in this chapter. A year and a half later, in The Plain Dealer (December 1676), Fidelia, a role surely written specifically with Boutell in mind, lives in breeches like the boy-pages of Fletcherian romances. In both revived and new plays, Boutell was, commercially, popular in breeches.⁵³

Manuscript evidence points to Boutell's having created the role of the First Constantia in Buckingham's The Chances (1664). The First Constantia is a role in Boutell's virtuous young lover line. As I discuss above, Beck Marshall's playing First Constantia in early February 1667 suggests that she took over the role from Boutell. Boutell, who may well have left London when the theatres closed in 1665 for the plague,

⁵³ The remaining breeches roles on record for Boutell are: Aurelia in William Joyner's The Roman Empress; Benzayda in Dryden's The Conquest of Granada; Lysander in John Corye's The Generous Enemies; Melantha in Dryden's Marriage A-la-Mode; Clara in The Amorous Old Woman; and Princess Cyara in Lee's Nero. Boutell also spoke the prologue in breeches to a revival of Secret Love with an all-female cast in the spring of 1672.

seems to have been absent from the company when The Chances was mounted in February. Boutell may not have returned to the company until circa later February 1667, when she played the secondary role of the young lover Sabina, a spirited, innocent, “*Amazon in decimo sexto!*” (4.1.162) in Dryden’s Secret Love.⁵⁴ Sabina is one of two sisters to be courted by Palamede (played by Hart) and a cross-dressed Florimell (played by Nell Gwyn), and, although a gullible country innocent, she is plucky. When she is flirting with the cross-dressed Florimell, she jilts the unfaithful Palamede and enjoys the power of this decision: “we have the advantage to have left you; not you us” (4.1.92-93). With Gwyn as the comic lead, Boutell’s comic ability was put to good use in this secondary role.⁵⁵

In William Joyner’s The Roman Empress, Elizabeth Boutell played a substantial role: the part of Aurelia, the young female lead, opposite Kynaston as her lover, Florus. In his preface to the play, Joyner describes Aurelia as sharing some of the evil Fulvia’s

⁵⁴ John Dryden, Secret Love, or, The Maiden Queen, in The Works of John Dryden, vol. 9, ed. John Loftis and Vinton A. Dearing.

⁵⁵ If Boutell was out through mid to late February 1667, then she might not have played Aspatia in The Maid’s Tragedy performance on 7 December 1666 opposite Beck Marshall as Evadne. As I discuss earlier, the role was probably hers by 1663-64, and she played it in later revivals. It is, in theory, possible that Boutell was active in December and out in January to early February, although this is unlikely. The fact that Marshall took over one of her roles suggests that the company was working with an absence on Boutell’s part. No definite conclusion is possible; however. I am indebted to Robert D. Hume for our email correspondence regarding Boutell’s absence, 8 April 2003. Other minor roles on record for Boutell include the servant Kecka in Killigrew’s Thomaso in a MS cast dated circa 1664, and the servant role of Lady in Orrery’s The Black Prince (1667). She is marked for the role of the innocent lady-in-waiting, Marcellina, in Rochester’s Lucina’s Rape (circa 1675), probably unperformed until the 1680s under the title, Valentinian. An MS cast list in a copy of a 1685 edition of Valentinian, cited in LS, on 369, lists Boutell for the role of Celandia. I note that the name reads Celandia in the *Dramatis Personae* list in the published 1685 edition, but this is probably an error, an error LS repeats, because in the body of this edition, the character is named Claudia, as in the 1675 original. Claudia is a much less innocent lady-in-waiting.

darkness: “I have for the greater variety of the Stage divided [Fulvia], conferring some share of [her characteristics] on Aurelia.” Joyner further compliments Boutell in this ingénue-tainted-by-evil role: “though a great, various, and difficult part, [it] was excellently performed.”⁵⁶ The role is rich and demanding, and, although Aurelia is basically noble, she pursues a path of revenge: hence, the potential for titillation is exploited by Joyner’s merging innocence and wickedness in Aurelia’s young body. I can only speculate as to Joyner’s intentions: he may or not have intended to construct Aurelia as a split good/evil character in order to titillate. Perhaps he was simply trying to drive a story forward and saw this as an easy means to do so, or perhaps he was of the mind that women were a weaker vessel and more inherently corruptible, which he chose to dramatize. Regardless of intention, evil in Aurelia’s young body could be, in a commercial sense, provocative on stage.

Joyner’s plot focuses on war between two families. Aurelia loves Florus, son of Valentius (played by Mohun), Emperor of Rome and enemy to her father. Her father, showing her a bloody handkerchief, lies and tells her that the blood is that of her twin brother, whom, he says, Florus has slain in battle. Hurt, she is vulnerable, and, as a young innocent who desires to avenge her brother’s death, invokes rage as her companion so that she can have the courage to do so: “Rage, choller, fury, offsprings of hell increase / And multiply here in this breast, which freely I open to you” (5). Such a role is unusual for Boutell, who most often embodied pure virtue in serious roles. Here, she bears characteristics of both the dark and the light woman. Aurelia spies Fulvia, Florus’s stepmother, who has just told Florus of her love for him and has been rejected. Fulvia lies

⁵⁶ As with Marshall, Joyner does not specify Boutell by name, but the Dramatis Personæ list names her in the role of Aurelia.

and tells Aurelia that Florus is responsible for the death of members of her family.

Hearing this, Aurelia tells Fulvia her woes and proposes that the two women join forces to take revenge. Fulvia builds upon this, and is thus using Aurelia, her access to Aurelia coming from Aurelia's disorientation.

The dialogue between the two women is structured upon images of multiplying evil, and this is a misogynistic scene: the idea of women, alone, wreaking havoc on men through words, a nightmare exchange of gossip. In her discussion of gossip, Elizabeth Foyster invokes a seventeenth-century satire, Samuel Rowlands's A Crew of Kind Gossips (1613), in which six women complain about their absent husbands. One of the husbands complains of how his wife "lay me open (as in scorne) / To her companions scoffing me so."⁵⁷ In The Roman Empress, as in Rowland's ballad, the wicked wife and the gullible maid gossip and then plot, and this mutual seduction is rather queer. I borrow from Rebecca Schneider's description of the queer in The Explicit Body in Performance, which I think describes very well the dynamics in the scene between Fulvia and Aurelia as they gossip: "The queer unsettles the norm—or asks the norm to 'come out' from behind the veil of its dreamscaped secretions."⁵⁸ Here, the women secrete *via* gossip, and what has a cultural stigma in real life is rendered into a monstrous nightmare. Aurelia

⁵⁷ Quoted in Elizabeth Foyster, Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex, and Marriage, 59. Rowlands's ballads focused on lower middle class Londoners, but women's gossip was also derided in more elite circles. For example, in "An Answer to the Satire on Court Ladies" (1680), the anonymous author writes, "home-spun sisters too / Daily inform what their acquaintances do." As John Harold Wilson notes, the satire was probably written by a court poet who was attacking "Court half-wits." See "An Answer to the Satire on Court Ladies," Harleian MS. 7319, p. 93, printed in John Harold Wilson, Court Satires of the Restoration, 41-46, with introductory notes on 41.

⁵⁸ Rebecca Schneider, The Explicit Body in Performance (New York: Routledge, 1997), 45.

“queers” herself when she urges Fulvia along with her to “cast off” the softness of their female sex and to invert norms. Foul is now fair: “Madam mistake not; and let nothing pass / With us for criminal, but what is virtuous.” (35) She and Fulvia are the catalysts for the murder of a son by his father. The death shocks Aurelia back to “herself.”

Distracted by her guilt and remorse, she calls out to daylight to cleanse her: “From thy approach all things receive below / New face, and restoration” (54). To restore her honor, she poses as a boy who killed “her” and is killed by her father. Only in death can she un-queer herself.⁵⁹

Throughout the 1670s, Boutell was regularly cast as a virtuous young innocent. She created the role of Princess Cyara in Lee’s Nero, the young lover to the hero, Britannicus. On stage, Cyara’s goodness was contrasted with Nero’s wickedness in one critical scene in which their bodies are placed in a triangular configuration. Britannicus stands on stage, with Nero and his sycophant at one door, and Cyara and the Roman Sylvius at the other. Cyara and Nero both fix their gaze on the hero. Cyara dotes, “Oh, I could ever on that Object gaze, / And lose my Senses in that goodly maze!” Nero threatens: “He dies, that bold Controller of my will” (40). The audience thus watches Britannicus beloved and hated, with Cyara’s budding love a hope for the future, destroyed by Nero’s violence. Distortions abound, for in testing Britannicus’s love, Cyara dresses as a boy and tells her lover she is dead, and this sends him, already mourning the loss of his

⁵⁹ Howe asserts that Boutell underwent a “radical change in type halfway through [the play]” (The First English Actresses, 152). I think this overstates the case a bit, but I may be arguing semantics: Howe’s point about type conflation is true in the main, and she notes Joyner’s prefatory remarks about the character. She also writes that this is the first time Boutell and Marshall performed together, apparently unaware that Boutell was working with the company since circa 1663-64, under her maiden name, Davenport, and that the women had most probably worked together earlier. In spite of my criticism of these points, I am indebted to Howe’s thoughtful and groundbreaking work.

sister at Nero's hand, into madness. Cyara, ever loyal, stays with him but is killed by Nero. Casting Boutell as the innocent Cyara would have made for a strong contrast with Hart's mercurial villain and Marshall's lascivious villainess.

In December 1677, Boutell created the role of Cleopatra in Dryden's All for Love, or The World Well Lost. Heretofore, in tragedies, Boutell had played virtuous lovers who contrasted with the evil women played by Marshall. Cleopatra, however, was different in that she was the leading female role, the only other significant female part in the play belonging to character actress Katherine Corey, who played Antony's abandoned wife, Octavia. Roles needed to be well cast so that Cleopatra very clearly read as the heroine. Struggling to articulate how he has rendered the play according to rules of decorum when the focus is a relationship "founded on vice," Dryden sees the importance of his audience's perceiving Antony and Cleopatra as heroes and their love as admirable, despite their "voluntary" choice to commit a crime in loving each other, an evocation of classical precepts about *hamartia*.⁶⁰ On stage, Hart embodied the hero, Antony, and Mohun the loyal soldier Ventidius opposite Boutell's Cleopatra, whose love for Antony is a force inimical to the credo of a military man. The right actors in the roles helped to balance the reading of the characters in performance. The gentle Cleopatra was very much in Boutell's line, and the romantic and emotional Antony, in Hart's.

Dryden's Cleopatra is soft in nature, but not without spirit. She promises Antony, "You command me, / And I am dumb" (23), yet three times breaks silence when he asks her to listen (23-24). She tangles with Octavia and defends herself against Octavia's

⁶⁰ John Dryden, preface to All for Love (London, 1678. Facsimile edition. London: Scholar Press Limited, 1969; reprint 1973, n.p.). In quotations, I have modernized "s," but I have otherwise retained all characteristics of the original.

imagines that “Nature meant me / A Wife, a silly harmless household Dove, / Fond without art” (47), rewriting her slur that Octavia was a “Household Clog.” Cleopatra thus articulates that she is neither a temptress who stands in opposition to wife, nor a whore antithetical to lawfulness. Rather, she envisions herself as loyal and a rightful wife by love, a greater law. This is a rationalization, but one that governs her internal moral code and makes her admirable. She is faithful, and her love for Antony is right because it preceded any other: “*Caesar* first, / You say, possess’d my love. Not so, my Lord: / He first possessed my Person; you my Love.” (26). Abandoned, she agrees to play the temptress and feign a seduction of the beautiful Dollabella, a young soldier beloved by Antony, and one who has desired her. She finds she cannot play the charade:

Th’ advance of kindness which I made, was feign’d,
To call back fleeting love by jealousy;
But ’twould not last. Oh, rather let me lose
Than so ignobly trifle with his heart. (51)

Cleopatra’s performance as the seducer of Dollabella fails because she violates her sense of self and does violence to her internalized sense of loyalty to her lover. Later, when her subjective sense of self as Antony’s loyal lover crumbles because she believes Antony is dead, she commits suicide, her single most aggressive act. Her suicide would have been more likely to elicit a sympathetic response if the audience could accept Cleopatra as virtuous. Boutell specialized in playing virtue in tragedies—in fact, as far as our records go, these are the only kinds of roles she played, with the exception of the confused Aurelia in The Roman Empress—and this points to Dryden’s text as being very clearly designed for her. It is one of the best pieces of evidence we have that playwrights

designed plays with given actors in mind. Beck Marshall, the leading tragedienne, left the company eight months before the play premiered. Dryden's gentle Cleopatra being embodied by an actress who specialized in evil villainess parts and fiery leads would have worked against the text. This is why I concur with Milhous and Hume that the role as written—"honest, constant, and rather passive"—seems likely to have been designed with Boutell in mind, and why I agree with the authors that John Harold Wilson's assertion that Marshall was more suited to the role is problematic.⁶² The nuances of the role as written, and the success of Cleopatra as a tragic heroine, depend upon the audience's perception that she is virtuous, gentle, and, at essence, mild.

In 1678, Boutell played another young lover, Semandra, opposite Hart as the noble Ziphares in Lee's Mithridates. Semandra, like Cleopatra, is the leading lady role, and in "type" similar to the virtuous innocent roles Boutell specialized in throughout the 1670s. The two lovers are meant to mirror each other's beauty. They are both virgins and innocents sexually, and each idealizes the other. She is to him "The lovely Chance-work, Master-piece of Nature," and she accepts this praise only because it comes from her lover's mouth, being otherwise immodest: "Yes, I am fair, A Queen, a Goddess, any thing / That my dear Lord is pleas'd to have me be" (306). As I discuss in my review of Michael Mohun's roles, Semandra is forced by Ziphares's father, Mithridates (Mohun), to leave her lover and is then raped by him. Mithridates is undone because of his violence

⁶² Milhous and Hume, Producible Interpretation, 133. The authors cite John Harold Wilson, Mr. Goodman The Player. Wilson states that it was hard to picture "blue-eyed Betty Boutell as Cleopatra, the serpent of the Nile, and the comedienne, big Katherine Corey, as a Roman matron [...] Rebecca Marshall, a Cleopatra type, had deserted the company" (58). Dryden's Cleopatra is not Shakespeare's, and, on a pickier note, we do not know that Betty Boutell had blue eyes, although it is probable that they were light in color, but whether blue, grey, green, or light brown, we cannot say. This is an example of modern cultural bias being projected onto a body of the past.

against such goodness, as is she. She and Ziphares commit suicide. Semandra is an ideal: devoted, passive, and a decidedly misogynistic fantasy figure, but one who would have created a strong contrast opposite a dark tyrant and who would have complemented the beauty of the male hero. In Lee's play, innocence is blasted and good polarized against evil in operatic style, and the most innocent virtue is that of the innocent virgin girl. Good actors could also enrich these "types" and explore the depths possible in a relationship between lovers who are both vulnerable to each other.⁶³

The soft, gentle lover in tragedies may not survive, whereas in comedy, she lives and thrives. In Wycherley's Love in a Wood (1671) Boutell was cast as Christina, the virtuous young lover to Valentine (played by Kynaston). Christina is an intelligent and serious lover of high social status, with a dignified bearing. She is devoted to Valentine, but despite her steadfastness, misunderstandings abound. She misses him because he has been in exile since he killed a rival. She is distressed to learn he has returned to London but has not sought her out. He fails to see her virtue and believes that she is being unfaithful to him with a wild rake, Ranger (Hart), from whose unwanted attention she is in fact trying to free herself. Matters are resolved in the park when Valentine, disguised as Ranger, is told by Christina, who believes she is talking to the rogue she despises and not to her lover, that she loves only Valentine. Although brave, and vocal, she is vulnerable, and her idealized virtue and concomitant softness make her young heroine distinct from the kinds of fiery noble woman Marshall played:

⁶³ Other roles on record in Boutell's virtuous ingénue line in serious plays and not discussed in the body of the text, above, include Benzayda in The Conquest of Granada (1670-71); the martyr St. Catherine in Dryden's Tyrannick Love, a role she took over, by 1671, from Margaret Hughes after Hughes left the company; Semandra in Lee's Sophonisba; Queen Statira in Lee's The Rival Queens (1677), and Clarona in Crowne's The Destruction of Jerusalem (1677).

Our mutual love confirm'd by a contract, made our hearts inseparable; till you
rudely, if not maliciously, thrust in upon us, and broke the close, and happy knot:

I had lost him before for a month, now for ever. [*She weeps.*] (105)

Bravery here shakes her body; she is innocent and overwhelmed by emotions. Her “victim” role is perpetuated when she is almost raped by the real Ranger, who vies for a fling before leaving her for his own female partner. Christina is rescued by Valentine. In this romantic resolution, his sins are absolved and her virtue is rewarded.⁶⁴

There is one eccentric young lover role on record for Boutell: that of Melantha, the Francophile in Dryden's Marriage A-la-Mode (1671). Elizabeth Cox, who also played ingénue parts, was cast opposite Kynaston as the beautiful noble lovers in the play's high plot, while Boutell was cast in the comic low plot as Palamede's (Hart's)

⁶⁴ Other roles on record in Boutell's virtuous young lover line in comic plays include Donna Theodosia in Dryden's An Evening's Love, a role she inherited from Hughes by 1671; Clara in D'Urfey's The Spanish Rogue (1663-64); Lysander in Corye's The Generous Enemies (1671); Laura in Dryden's The Assignment (1672); Alcinda in the anonymous The Amorous Old Woman (1663-64); Glorianda in the anonymous adaptation of Chamberlayne's Wits Led By the Nose (1677); and the romantic young lover Matilda opposite Thomas Clark in King Edgar and Alfreda (1677). She may also have played Lillia Bianca in a revival of Fletcher's The Wild Goose Chase. Downes lists her as playing Lillia Bianca in his cast for The Elder Brother, an error for Lilly, a young, country wife role that could also have been played by Boutell. See Downes, 19, note 19. Boutell may well have played Lillia Bianca, a comely young lover who feigns being a bookworm, and then a free spirit, and finally presents herself as is in order to win the young man she desires. I speculate that Boutell may also have created the breeches role of Angellina in The Rival Ladies (1664), in which she battles with a female rival over relative height differences in a scene that parallels the fight between rival sisters in Secret Love (1667). Boutell and Rutter played the rival sisters in the latter play, and Rutter could have played the tall Honoria in the earlier, as the editors of the California edition speculate. However, they dismiss the possibility that Boutell could have played the petite Angellina, basing their argument on the erroneous assumption that Boutell was not in the company as early as 1663-64. See The Works of John Dryden, 8:319-21. Angellina is a gentle and virtuous young lover and is in Boutell's line. She may have played the part, although we cannot move beyond speculation. Gwyn is another candidate, although she learns the hero, a role in Hart's line, is her brother, so loses him, an unlikely outcome for any lovers embodied by Gwyn and Hart.

fiancée, paired with Marshall and Mohun as the married couple who enter into an intrigue with the young betrothed couple. Thus, the role is experimental and unique, and the right actress needed to be cast in the part for it to work. The joke comes in large measure from Melantha's being a desirable young lover with a fatal flaw: a fetish for the French tongue and a bubbling and affected temperament that exhausts those around her. Boutell usually played "straighter" roles rather than butt-of-the-joke characters, but here, she is both butt of the joke and love object of the two leading rogues, a rare combination.

Scholars have debated about whether the role was written for Boutell or Nell Gwyn, and fell to Boutell by default when Gwyn left in 1671. For those who favor the idea that the part was written for Gwyn, the general contention is that Boutell's Melantha would have been softer, more naïve, and more helpless than the character suggested in the text, and that Boutell's soft Melantha would have lacked the centrality that the text indicates the character should have.⁶⁵ Although I do not dispute that the role may have been written for Gwyn, both because Dryden wrote leading madcap lover roles for her and because he liked pairing her with Hart, I disagree that Boutell's performance would have necessarily worked *against* the text and the character as written. Boutell had a history of playing comic women, albeit not female fops. However, if Boutell could carry wily roles like Estifania, why not an eccentric female madcap like Melantha?

⁶⁵ See Mark S. Auburn, Introduction, John Dryden, Marriage A-la-Mode (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), xvi; and Elizabeth Howe, The First English Actresses, 75. I am indebted to Howe for bringing my attention to the matter of casting and to Auburn's discussion. Also see John Loftis, David Start Rodes, and Vinton A. Dearing, The Works of John Dryden, 11:465 and 11:550-51. The editors seem of a mixed mind. They write that Melantha was probably written with Boutell in mind (465), but that the role seems "more obviously appropriate to Nell Gwyn's talent" (550).

Melantha is young and comely, and a young-looking, twenty-two year old Boutell would have been well cast. Although she is flighty, Melantha is far from helpless in her dealings, again, part of the joke. She bosses her servant around—"Truce with your interpretations: make haste" (31.212)—yet, like a star-struck schoolgirl, flits about, willing to abandon one partner in conversation if a person of higher status comes along. I agree that the character as embodied by Boutell probably had a softer quality than if the role had been played by Gwyn, but this need not have been a handicap.⁶⁶ Melantha is an important lover role—the second largest female role in the play, after Doralice—and the character cannot become too hard-edged. Boutell could have held her own as a member of the ensemble of four lovers, which is what this play asks for. Further, the language is too demanding to be played passively: it would be working against the text, and the scenes could not possibly succeed, suggesting to me that Boutell was able to execute the text well in performance.⁶⁷

An analysis of one of Melantha's speeches shows that the role is technically demanding. Melantha spots her quarry, the Princess, and attempts to charm her using a list of French words that her servant has just provided her with. She frantically runs her lines like an actor about to go on stage and then attempts to use these words in context:

⁶⁶ Further, in we accept Douglas Butler's convincing argument in favor of a 1642 birth date for Gwyn, this would make Boutell approximately seven years her junior. A girlish Melantha would probably read better played by an actress Boutell's age than one of about thirty, although Gwyn did specialize in youthful parts. The age information at least points to the possibility that Dryden may have designed the young Melantha for Boutell. See Douglas Butler, "The Date of Buckingham's Revision of *The Chances* and Nell Gwyn's First Season on the London Stage," *Notes and Queries* 29 (1982): 515-16.

⁶⁷ According to records, the play was revived again in 1674 and 1675, probably with the same cast, since actors owned their roles.

O here's her Highness! Now is the time to introduce my self; and to make my court to her, in my new French phrases. Stay, let me read my catalogue—*suite*, *figure*, *chagrin*, *naivite*, and let me die for the Parenthesis of all [...] Madame the Princess! Let me die, but this is a most horrid spectacle, to see a person who makes so grand a *figure* in the Court, without the *Suite* of a Princess, and entertaining your *Chagrin* all alone; (*Naivite* should have been there, but the disobedient word would not come in). (5.1.80-90)

Melantha needs to cross to the Princess after running her list of words and before the salutation, "Madame." She might have an initial impulse to run to the Princess, but, catch herself and saunter over in a *faux* sophisticated manner, itching to move faster but not wanting to appear vulgar. Or, she might fail to check her impulse to run to the Princess, in which case, she gushes and fawns. Whatever the choice, the role demanded high energy from the performer, whose physical actions included running from scene partner to scene partner on stage and making high speed entrances and exits.

Boutell would go on to play a young wife who falls when she created the role of Margery Pinchwife in The Country Wife (1675), the innocent and naïve country girl who cheats on her covetous husband, Pinchwife (played by Mohun) when she is wooed by the rake Horner (played by Hart). They eventually bed. Before she meets and is seduced by him, she begs her husband to let her go to the playhouse so that she can see for herself the handsome city men that her body yearns for. She manipulates Pinchwife into a yes so that she can go to the city, and dresses as a boy, a disguise her husband suggests, thinking it will keep her safe from male advances. The joke was no doubt heightened for any audience member accustomed to seeing Boutell cross-dress in serious plays in order to

join her heroic lover. Seeing through her disguise, Horner begins to seduce this boy/girl, and she accepts his attentions eagerly.

In an anonymous ballad published in London in 1629, “The lamentation of a new married man briefly declaring the sorrow and grief that comes by warrying [*sic*] a young wanton wife” the author warns young men of the dangers of marrying a young wife: “with lusty youngsters / This gallant dame must dance [...] She must go to a play, / To purge abounding Choller, / And driue sad dumps away.”⁶⁸ Margery is an embodiment of innocent young wife *cum* wanton, an image that circulates in the imagination of contemporary popular culture.⁶⁹ Her final words in the play reveal her anxiety in lying about her innocence because the “lye” means returning to her husband. “Since you’ll have me tell more lyes”—as she says in her aside to Horner and Althea—she performs her confession of innocence and privately mourns that she cannot “doe what I list.” (360).

C. Both with Comely Faces, but One a Darkling: Doubles

Like masculinity, femininity on stage is constructed not in isolation, but relationally. As I have endeavored to demonstrate in my analyses of Marshall and Boutell’s respective “lines,” Marshall specialized in darker roles than Boutell, who most excelled at playing female innocence. A popular configuration was to cast Marshall and

⁶⁸ “The Lamentation of a New Married Man Briefly Declaring the Sorrow and Grief that Comes by Warrying [*sic*] a Young Wanton Wife,” London, 1629. EEBO. 16 June 2003.

⁶⁹ Another role on record in Boutell’s comic young lover line, that is, like Margery, a roguish country wife, is that of Lilly, the servant Andrew’s young wife, in the revival of Fletcher’s The Elder Brother. Lilly and Andrew’s landlord, an older man, tries to blackmail Lilly into sexual relations with him by threatening to throw her and Andrew off the land. She resists him, but there is ambiguity in the text as to whether or not she might succumb to his offer. The potential “fall” is avoided when Andrew enters.

Boutell as high contrast characters: Marshall as bad, and Boutell as good. For my discussion of their work together, I will focus specifically on three new plays produced during the 1670s, by which time both women were playing leading roles in the company: William Joyner's The Roman Empress (1670), discussed previously in this chapter; John Corye's The Generous Enemies, or The Ridiculous Lovers (1671), and Nathaniel Lee's The Rival Queens, or The Death of Alexander the Great (1677). Joyner's play is unique in that Marshall and Boutell's characters both share "evil" duties until Boutell's character experiences a desire to be reborn into goodness. Building on my prior discussion of Elizabeth Boutell's roles, I wish to focus more specifically on the conspiracy scene between Fulvia and Aurelia and the birth of a monstrous double.

John Corye's play, The Generous Enemies, is a simple and derivative comedy, but it was obviously cast with the strengths of the company in mind. Marshall played a hot-tempered young woman bent on revenge, and Boutell a patient innocent determined to rescue her lost love. Lee's The Rival Queens was produced late in both women's careers and is one of the last performances on record for Beck Marshall. A central trope in the world of this play is the articulation of the difference between the ideal and the monstrous woman as it manifests in the flesh and in metaphors about the body, most especially breasts. There is a strong interdependency between images of the body and of the interior self that Lee makes active use of in this play, hence my reason for exploring this text with a bodily, visceral focus. I also give attention to the very significant fact that the villainess in this play, a role that was embodied by Marshall, is pregnant with the hero's child. I consider the implications of this in the reading of "type" and performance.

Having already discussed Marshall's and Boutell's lines, I turn back to The Roman Empress and begin with the scene in which female liberal subjectivity is written as monstrous and as queer. Joyner was an amateur playwright, and this is the single play by him on record. We have no idea when or how often it was revived, although Joyner reported in his preface that it was initially well received thanks to the excellent acting of the roles, singling out Marshall and Boutell.⁷⁰ As I have previously discussed, the action is one in which evil woman and ingénue join together to plot the murder of the noble hero, Florus. Fulvia (Marshall), the wicked stepmother who desires Florus, is rejected by him. Her young and beautiful niece, Aurelia, who loves and is beloved by Florus, believes herself to be betrayed by him because her father lied and told her that Florus murdered her twin brother. The image of her twin brother haunts Aurelia, who, seeing Fulvia, begins what proves to be a conversation with deadly consequences. The two women share woes, and Aurelia, disoriented by her loss, suggests to her aunt that they together avenge themselves against their common enemy: Florus, whom the audience knows is innocent. Aurelia's body, "queered" by her lust for revenge, meets Fulvia's "queer" body, queer because she covets and lusts. Fulvia is a desiring subject who is

⁷⁰ There is one recorded performance of The Roman Empress. The premiere probably occurred in August 1670—Joyner's dedication, "To the Honorable Sr. Charles Sidley" [variant spelling for Sedley], published with the play in 1672, reads, "this tragedy, in spite of a dead Vacation, and some other impediments, found the applause & approbation of the Theatre as oft as it appear'd." (With the exception of modernizing s, I have retained the characteristics of Joyner's original.) Although a summer premiere seems likely, no specific performance dates are known for this play. Also see Gerard Langbaine, An Account of the English Dramatick Poets, or, Some Observations and Remarks on the Lives and Writings, of all those that have Publish'd either Comedies, Tragedies, Tragi-comedies, Pastorals, Masques, Interludes, Farces or Opera's in the ENGLISH TONGUE (Oxford: Printed by L.L. for George West and Henry Clements, 1691), 308. EEBO. 6 August 2003. Langbaine repeats Joyner's claim. Langbaine's rehashing of Joyner's words tell us that the play was revived, and popular, and hence, more than a vacation throw-away.

insatiable in her desire to destroy male order and the body of Florus, and the younger Aurelia finds herself attracted to Fulvia's desire for vengeance.

This conspiracy scene occurs in Act 3, at the play's structural center. Hearing both of their travails, Aurelia suggests that they together plot: "Madam, then let us strive to be reveng'd of both [our wrongs]" (35). She then adds that she doubts that others who seek vengeance should "have so faithful companions in the stratagems, as you have." This vow between faithful companions in revenge is followed by a rhapsodic exchange of words in which images of evil are multiplied, and the boundary between the two women is eerily blurred:

Au. Let fear and modesty, companions of

Our sex, so much enclin'd to virtue, be

Now cast off by the thoughts of our revenge.

Ful. My passion shall esteem no sin unlisenc'd.

In me let one crime beget another;

And let it not be thought a crime, which does

Not multiply itself in many others;

And ever with increase, the latter greatest.

Au. Madame mistake not; and let nothing pass

With us for criminal, but what is virtuous.

Ful. 'Tis the delightful fruit of vice to think,

That no vice, which is caus'd by interest.

Au. True of our selves, better than that of state;

Which no great Prince values at any rate.

Ful. They never else in Court or Camp would find,
With all their pomp, tranquility of mind.

Au. 'Tis on this ground that I'll prepare to act

Those things I cannot think, unless enrag'd. (35-36)

One of the more striking images in this passage occurs in Fulvia's line that concerns multiplying evil: once the "evil" threshold is crossed, "my passion," Fulvia adds, "shall esteem no sin unlicensed." In other words, the monster has been unleashed. Aurelia's "let nothing pass with us for criminal, but what is virtuous," builds upon this, to which Fulvia then responds by "doubling" Aurelia's inversion of values: "'Tis the delightful fruit of vice to think that no vice which is caused by interest."

What ghosts the scene is the potential for what the women might do. They plot, vow to slander and murder, and they might, once these boundaries break, perform some yet unnamed vice in which their bodies consume the bodies of men. In this multiplicity of images of criminal acts in the quest to un-do a man, the women become frighteningly evil. Like the archetypal first woman, they taste the "delightful fruit of vice." Here, their bodies are ghosted by the sins of Eve. Fulvia and Aurelia were written with women players in mind for the parts. Now that women players were on stage, as Sue-Ellen Case puts it in her discussion of the Restoration in Feminism and Theatre, the "fiction of the female gender [could now be] securely inscribed on real women."⁷¹ Joyner wrote the

⁷¹ Sue-Ellen Case, Feminism and Theatre, 27. Following Case's lead, Leslie Ferris suggested that women on the Restoration stage could only play a symbol of women, and never themselves, as they were historically denied (in England) embodied representation on the stage. I do not entirely agree with Ferris that only a "symbol" of women could be played—rather, I see the real body of the actress as asserting women's flesh and blood presence and as dialogically engaged with the fictions she is performing. Nor do I believe that men on stage were automatically more "real" because they were historically allowed

roles of the evil Fulvia and the wayward Aurelia for women to embody. The fiction of the mythical temptress was inscribed on the bodies of Marshall and Boutell, and the temptress as double played through the living bodies of the two players.

Aurelia then asserts that she will act that which is not in her nature because of a set of given circumstances: "I'll prepare to act those things I cannot think, unless enrag'd." She thus rationalizes her actions both as situation specific, and as no worse than are those actions that might be justified by a Prince in Machiavellian fashion, when ends justify means. She inverts values so that she might pursue a "right action" that for her rights a wrong—murder. Fulvia's situation is less sympathetic. While Aurelia is a victim of a lie, Fulvia is lascivious and incestuous. She is thus the worse monster, and the mutual seduction between the two women—not sexual, but queer in the sense that the two women are conspiring and enrapturing one another with their shared desire for revenge, exceeding bounds of feminine decorum—is possible because the dark Fulvia is able to exploit the vulnerability of her younger partner. There is a queer, erotic tension in the Fulvia/Aurelia relationship that is evident in the lines spoken by the players in this scene, a twisted inversion played through women's bodies of the older warrior, younger warrior bonds that were idealized in plays like All for Love and The Rival Queens.⁷²

embodied representation on stage. See Leslie Ferris, Acting Women: Images of Women in Theatre, *passim*.

⁷² I see an interesting analogy here between the queer erotics between the older Fulvia and her younger niece and the queer erotics in the mother-daughter relationship in Jane Bowles's play In the Summer House (1953). For an excellent discussion of Bowles's text, lesbian desire, and queerness, see David Savran, A Queer Sort of Materialism, 155-69. Joyner's play precedes All For Love and The Rival Queens by several years, but passionate warrior bonds were a common trope in seventeenth-century romances, including Calprenède's Cassandra, the full narrative of which was translated into English in 1661, as George E. Haggerty discusses in Men In Love, 33-34.

Aurelia seeks to blast the reputation of Florus as well as take his life, and Fulvia then encourages further dark actions, urging Aurelia to remember that they need to destroy Florus's reputation as well as his body. Fulvia's words end the scene: "That merits not the title of revenge, / When we destroy and [*sic*] enemy, and give / Leave to his reputation still to live." Aurelia suggests revenge, Fulvia encourages this, and the result is a two-headed monster that destroys the noblest male body in the play.

Joyner's preface offers further clues to his construction of the character of Fulvia, and he takes obvious pains to defend himself against possible attacks of indecorousness:

The ancient Phaedre is here set off in the real Fulvia; and I am inform'd, some exceptions are taken at the wickedness I have shown in her person: but sure these people want a subject of discourse, and trouble, who would fain concern themselves in my not concealing the ill qualities of a Pagan woman: who for the atrocity of these crimes is known in History to have had a miserable end.⁷³

⁷³ Gerard Langbaine speculated that Joyner's play was based on the life of Holy Roman Emperor Constantine, who converted to Christianity. He writes, "By the Advice of Friends, he tells us, that he hath disguis'd the Names: yet that this Emperour was One of the Greatest that ever *Rome* boasted. I am apt to believe, that under the Character of *Valentius*, the Author means *Constantine* the Great; and that *Crispus*, and his [*Crispus*'s] Mother-in-law *Faustina* [*sic*], are shadow'd under the Characters of *Florus* and *Fulvia*: but this being only Conjecture, I must leave it to the Criticks Decision." See Langbaine, *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets*, 309. EEBO. 28 June 2003. Constantine executed his second wife, Fausta, allegedly on charges of adultery, while Crispus was executed for unknown reasons. See *Who Was Who in the Roman World*, ed. Diana Bowder (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980), 72 and 89. Surfing the web, one can find versions of the story in which Fausta and Crispus are put to death for adultery, possibly because they were accused of being lovers, and others in which Fausta was put to death for falsely accusing Crispus of adultery. Contemporary popular culture still circulates variant forms of history, which blurs fact and fiction and makes myth, which I imagine was as true in the seventeenth century as it is today. The adultery version of the history corresponds closely to the story of Phaedra and Hippolytus, and to Joyner's plot. Although Joyner invokes Phaedre in his preface, he says nothing about his historical, or "real" source. Langbaine may be correct in his speculation. His interpretation,

Joyner writes that he does not create a wicked character, but, rather, that he chose not to conceal the ill qualities of a Pagan woman, which he rationalizes as being natural to that woman and historically true. Despite his words to the contrary, Joyner's assertions shift focus away from the specific, historical person, who, in his preface, remains anonymous. Her anonymity helps to point attention away from the singular "woman" to a "type" of woman, specifically, one who is Pagan. Implicit in his naturalization of evil as belonging to this "type" of woman is that she is the antithesis of the "natural," Christian woman: obedient, passive, tempered, modest, virtuous, pious. Significantly, both Fulvia and Aurelia are exiled from community because of their unnaturalness: Fulvia by leaving the city, and Aurelia, by suicide. Aurelia, as Joyner writes in his preface, is half-Fulvia: "I have for the greater variety of the Stage divided this Character, conferring some share of it on Aurelia." Yet Aurelia comes back to herself when Florus dies, at which time Fulvia, serpent-like, escapes. Aurelia, who, in "type," is a virtuous girl *cum* monster, stays, repents, verbally flogs herself, and seeks her own execution, thus attempting to be forgiven for her sins via a desperate act of contrition.

At the end of Act 4, the noble Florus rebukes Fulvia and Aurelia, the latter whom he has loved, for their plotting. He states that he would prefer an honorable death to their infamous life: "So happy 'tis to die / So, then like you, to live in infamie." Fulvia responds with a taunt, inverting his values: "All after death uncertain is: in life, / No such felicity as our revenge" (53). After this line, Fulvia disappears. Joyner writes in his preface that "In the escape of Fulvia I have followed the example of Medea." Fulvia, Phaedre-like in her incestuous desire as stepmother to Florus, and Medea-like in her

interestingly enough, lingers. The New York Public Library, for example, catalogues Joyner's play as one based on the story of Constantine.

escape from onstage punishment, will live no more within the borders of the community.

The dark woman vanishes.

On stage, the audience could watch two leading actresses perform the monstrous fall. This was Marshall's first recorded foray into evil roles in new plays, and she apparently excelled, as Joyner reported. Those familiar with Marshall's work in revived and new plays would have expected her to be a headstrong and fiery character, and they would not have been surprised to see her playing a "tainted" woman, as her roles in revivals prior to the premiere of The Roman Empress tell us. Boutell, however, always played virtue in serious plays, to judge by surviving records. Thus, her "fall" as Aurelia would have been a double surprise to the audience, who would have been watching the character perform against "type," as well as the actress. In no other serious play on record was Boutell cast as an evil or split good/evil character. In all but one of the six remaining plays produced in the 1670s that featured the two women, Marshall and Boutell played contrasting devil and angel characters, with Marshall always taking the evil part.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ The exception to the good-evil contrast in the six remaining serious plays on record that featured Marshall and Boutell is Crowne's The Destruction of Jerusalem, but this play was intended for the rival Duke's Company. In the play, Marshall played the noble and headstrong Jewish Queen Berenice, and Boutell played the virtuous Clarona. As I discuss in Chapter 3, Crowne, who was under contract with the Duke's Company, brought his play to the King's when the Duke's turned it down. Although the roles were designed for performers in the rival company, the play was well cast, and it proved to be a huge success for the King's. Marshall and Boutell appeared together in a total of eight serious plays. Prior to The Roman Empress, Marshall played the dark Evadne opposite Boutell's virtuous Aspatia in The Maid's Tragedy. Following The Roman Empress, and excluding The Destruction of Jerusalem, already named, the women appeared together in five more serious plays for which we have records, and in the following roles: the villainess Lyndaraxa (Marshall) and the noble young lover, Benzayda (Boutell) in The Conquest of Granada; the passionate Berenice (Marshall) and the martyr, St. Catherine (Boutell, replacing Hughes), in Dryden's Tyrannick Love, which premiered in 1669, but which was revived with Boutell opposite Marshall by 1671; the dark Berinthia (Marshall) and the virtuous young Castabella (Boutell) in a revival of Shirley's The Maid's Revenge;

In comic plays, angels rescue, and darkness is banished. In John Corye's The Generous Enemies, first performed in circa June 1671, Marshall and Boutell were both cast as high-status young lovers, one with a dark streak, and the other otherworldly pure, echoing the way they were cast in serious plays, most recently, Dryden's The Conquest of Granada, produced some six months earlier. Corye would have been familiar with Dryden's play and certainly with others in which the two women appeared. Corye's play is the earliest comedy on record in which Marshall and Boutell were cast as contrasting dark and light characters. It is also one in which the young lover whom Marshall plays rages, when threatened, with a fiery, Lyndaraxa-like heartlessness.⁷⁵

Corye's play, as drama, is rather thin and formulaic, and what Robert D. Hume calls a "pastiche of other sources."⁷⁶ It is a comic romance story set in Seville. Derek Hughes writes that the play was hopelessly out of fashion in 1671 and imitative of the style of Sir Samuel Tuke's The Adventures of Five Hours, produced by the Duke's Company in 1662, and a far superior play.⁷⁷ However, I note that during the 1670s

the villainess Poppea and the noble Cyara in Lee's Nero; and the evil Roxana (Marshall) and the virtuous Statira (Boutell) in Lee's The Rival Queens. No doubt records are incomplete.

⁷⁵ On the basis of surviving records, Marshall and Boutell appeared together in a total of five comic plays: Corye's The Generous Enemies; An Evening's Love, Marriage A-la-Mode, and The Assignment, all by Dryden; and Wycherley's The Plain Dealer. They also appeared together in two tragicomic plays: Dryden's Secret Love and Orrery's The Black Prince, in the latter of which Marshall played the lead role of Plantagenet and Boutell played a minor servant part.

⁷⁶ Hume, Development, 293. According to Montague Summers, Corye borrowed from Thomas Corneille, Beaumont and Fletcher, and others. For discussion, see Summers, The Playhouse of Pepys (1935; reprint New York: Humanities Press, 1964), 388-90. Summers describes the play as a "mosaic, but a cleverly wrought mosaic" (390).

⁷⁷ Derek Hughes, English Drama, 1660-1700, 113.

romances and Spanish intrigue comedies continued to be mounted by the King's Company, some, like Duffett's The Spanish Rogue (1663-64), as formulaic as The Generous Enemies. Such evidence allows us to conclude that "formulaic" Spanish intrigue fare was enough in vogue in 1671 to be banked upon as a potential crowd pleaser, whatever Hughes's reservations are about the play's being *passé*. There is one performance of the play on record, and a possible later revival in 1696. My choice to focus on this text, then, is not on the grounds of its artistic merit or commercial viability. Although derivative in its design, the roles as written in Corye's adaptation exploited the talents of the actors in the company to good advantage. Perhaps this was the result of family ties: actress Katherine Corey and a John Corye were granted a marriage license in October 1662, and the editors of the Biographical Dictionary speculate that the John Corye in question may have been the playwright (Corey is a variant spelling for Corye).⁷⁸ Katherine Corey played the humorous nurse role of Julia in this play—not one of her strongest roles, as written, but suited to her. If the playwright was not her husband, he was apparently familiar enough with the company's work to patch together a text that was a good fit. Despite the play's justifiable lack of importance in the "canon" of Restoration plays, it was well cast.

The leading lover roles were given to Edward Kynaston, Michael Mohun, Beck Marshall, and Elizabeth Boutell (Charles Hart was not in the cast). Edward Lydall and Elizabeth James, both more minor players who occasionally took leads, were cast as young lovers who eventually match but who create an obstacle for the leading couples. The comic low plot featured William Cartwright as an elderly suitor to the young lover

⁷⁸ BD, 3:493. This was the only play by Corye to be produced by the King's Company. His next play was not produced until circa 1699.

played by James, thus creating another obstacle, as well as a humorous diversion.

Marshall and Kynaston were paired, as they often were in high romance plots. Mohun and Boutell were cast as the other couple in an onstage partnering that prefigures their later appearances as lovers in Lee's Nero and Sophonisba and as the mismatched Pinchwives in The Country Wife. Marshall took the role of the fiery, imperious, noble Jaccinta, and Boutell took the role of the devoted, self-sacrificing, gentle page Lysander (the ingénue, Semena, in disguise). The contrast between the characters of Jaccinta (Marshall) and Lysander (Boutell) echoes that found in the serious plays, in which Marshall played "dark" opposite Boutell's "light."

The main plot is relatively straightforward intrigue fare, situated around conflicts between love and honor. Jaccinta (Marshall) loves and is beloved by Flaminio (Kynaston), who is born of an enemy house. Exposition reveals that while at war, Jaccinta's brother, Alvarez (Mohun), saved Flaminio's life. Thus, despite the history of family animosity, Alvarez and Flaminio are now friends. We also learn that a marriage was arranged between Alvarez and Flaminio's sister, Semena (Boutell), but on the day they were to be married, Alvarez, who did not love her, left her. Semena decided to follow her lover by dressing as a page, Lysander. She gave a letter to her mother that cryptically stated that she must leave her home city, which her mother misconstrued, believing that Semena had been shamed because Alvarez had ravaged her. Now, Alvarez loves Alleria (James), who loves Cassadore (Lydall), who in turn desires Jaccinta.

Jaccinta, Marshall's role, is the strongest female "showcase" role in the play. A smart decision on Corye's part was to have Jaccinta enter at the top of Act 2, thus introducing his strongest female lead about twenty minutes into the performance, helping

to drive the action forward. Her language is formal, decorous, and determined, characteristic of the high-status young noblewoman that Jaccinta is. She is bold in her assertions and critical of Alleria's ill treatment of Alvarez. Loyalty to brother and family is the motivating force for her anger at Alleria. In the street, she spies Alleria treating Alvarez harshly, and frowns upon this: "Froward woman [...] She had better have been less rigorous" (16).⁷⁹ Her own lover then enters unexpectedly, and this takes her focus. She impulsively decides to "lie down under the fountain and fain myself asleep" (17) so that Flaminio can find her. Her nurse finds this action forward: "Her tender Modesty is a little sea-sick only" (18), a tease for the audience.

Now alone with Flaminio, Jaccinta feigns sleep. Speaking in the syrupy style of a high romance lover, which Kynaston could play attractively, Flaminio spies her and starts: "ha, what Angel cloth'd / In flesh and blood is this?" (18). She wakes and is brazen in her directness concerning her attraction to him, typical of Marshall's lovers: "We both love with equal flame [...] excuse my blushes" (18). "Blushes" is tongue-in-cheek humor, because her behavior is hardly docile, but "blushes" is also her apology for boldness. Thus far, we see a passionate, aware, and intelligent lady. Then, Flaminio performs a too-familiar action, by kneeling and kissing her hand. This renders him unrecognizably rude to Jaccinta:

Jac. Sweet God protect me, who is this?

Fla. What have I done, a curse upon my rashness. (18)

Jaccinta's honor depends upon her not being too free with her body, and Flaminio's kiss is disrespectful of that rule of chastity. Jaccinta is virtuous, but playfully virtuous, and

⁷⁹ John Corye, The Generous Enemies, or the Ridiculous Lovers. London, 1672. Readex.

Marshall's performance would have foregrounded Jaccinta's fieriness of temper and her sensuality—characteristics that a weaker actress might have undercut—and also conveyed, in body and deportment, Jaccinta's nobility and her sometimes imperious demeanor.

Despite her poise, Jaccinta has a hot temper, and this shimmering beneath the surface to explosive outcomes is what Marshall excelled at. To get back at Alleria for her peevishness with Alvarez, Jaccinta goes along with her nurse's suggestion that she make Alleria jealous by flirting with Cassadore, whom Alleria loves. Jaccinta has been trying to rid herself of Cassadore's unwanted attention, but it is now convenient for her to use him to put Alleria in her place. Flaminio finds this confusing, as does Alleria, who makes up a story that she and Flaminio are to be married.

Through this comedy of errors, Jaccinta's brother, Alvarez, mistakenly believes that Flaminio has been courting Alleria. Hot-tempered and prone to jealousy, he names Flaminio false before sorting out the facts. He wants Flaminio to challenge him to a duel over matters of love, and Jaccinta defends her lover's character, believing her brother is angry because of the love between her and Flaminio, and knowing nothing yet of Alleria's lie. Alvarez, ignorant of the love between Jaccinta and Flaminio, names Jaccinta "generous" in her compassion (40), and tells her that Flaminio is the lover to Alleria. Jaccinta instantly rages: "O flie to your revenge; let him not live a moment, / Now I curse the rash Compassion that I bestow'd upon him [...] Go, go, and punish in his blood the crimes of his false soul" (46). This is strong language for a comic lover, and, within the world of the play, Alvarez perceives Jaccinta's language as being perverse in nature: "What, in a Turtle's look a Tyger's mind" (46). Labeled "Tyger," Jaccinta is

marked as the unnatural. Her wrath continues and her focus becomes more graphic and corporeal: "haste to your revenge: as many / Minutes as you deserve it, so many wounds you / Make upon his breast" (47). Alvarez now rejects her violently: "Away, rash woman, thou art no more alli'd / Unto my nature, then a Vulture to a Dove" (47). This is a dark scene, the darkest in the play, and Marshall and Mohun were exceptionally suited to the parts. Jaccinta, later learning the truth, forgives Flaminio, and they will marry, but this noble lover has a "Tyger" within, thus, she was ideally cast. For any audience members familiar with her work, Marshall's body in performance could have here been ghosted by her dark roles in serious plays, including the epic comic-villainess, Lyndaraxa.

Lysander, Boutell's role, was also extremely well cast. In contrast to Jaccinta, Lysander is patient, mild, and a "victim" of abandonment who patiently follows her unfaithful lover, ever devoted to him. She is a serious, high romance character and the counterpart to Kynaston's Flaminio in her earnestness and gracefulness. Like Boutell's other gentle ingénues, she shows strength through a quiet braveness, and the character is clearly descended from the pastoral ingénue/boy page tradition so perfected by Fletcher.

We meet Lysander early on. Alvarez, mourning his betrayal by the unfaithful Alleria, laments. Lysander then recounts to him a story of an abandoned girl (herself), allegedly a friend, who was betrayed by a young lover: "I dare tell you, Sir, of one deserves compassion / More than you [...] I but take the boldness to repeat it" (6). Lysander's boldness reaches no further than this gentle telling:

There was a young Lady, Sir, that lov'd me tenderly,
Who scarce had numbered 15 years, ere she

Was sought in Marriage; but he that was design'd
 To have her, not being possest with the same flames,
 Gave liberty to his heart to love another. (7)

Lysander, hoping Alvarez will recognize her, further confesses that the young girl dressed in “Masculine habit” and followed her lover, and thus “underwent a pleasing bondage / Performing all her services with joy; he not knowing her” (7). Alvarez, disoriented, fails to hear her. Semena, as Lysander, is invisible to him: he cannot see through her disguise or her honest confession. Giving love for love is the utopian exchange Lysander believes in, and her unrequited, but not hopeless, devotion to Alvarez drives the speech. The speech is formulaic, embodying a pastoral ideal, but, if played simply and sincerely, could be quite moving onstage. Boutell could have done it justice.

The range of the role is narrow, and what is required from the actress is a calm and gentle presence. By play's end, Lysander's (Semena's) mother has come to Seville and has asked Lysander/Semena's brother, Flaminio, to avenge the loss of his sister by killing Alvarez, who abandoned her. Flaminio and Alvarez duel, and Semena, still dressed as Lysander, stops the deadly match by revealing that she is, in fact, the lost heroine. As the virtuous woman, she heals and transforms her wayward lover, who, now knowing that Lysander is his abandoned spouse, asks her to avenge her honor by striking him through with his sword, as he has shamed her. She refuses. He aligns this action with her innate goodness: “This act of Pardon, Madam, is a bounty as matchless / As your vertue. Now if your honored Parent / Would think we worthy of her Indemnity, nothing shall prevent / our Union” (71). What began as an arranged marriage is now one of romance, of fantasy. Alvarez, humbled, allows for symmetry in their love. This marriage

of virtue begins with his vow that the lovers will merge in utopian bliss: "Hereafter we will be like streams which flow / In curle together, and no difference know" (72).

Lysander, the pastoral ideal, heals the violence around her. Embodying Lysander, Boutell needed to do what she did best: play the constant, loyal, gentle young innocent. The Generous Enemies is formulaic, but given that it is a text for performance, it is fair to say that despite Corye's lack of originality, it was well suited to the members of the company.

Tensions between noble and selfish drives can be staged in comic plots, but, in serious plays, the contrast between dark and light can be most exploited for spectacular effect. The Rival Queens, or The Death of Alexander the Great (1677), was such a play, and it was Nathaniel Lee's most popular work. It received its premiere on 17 March 1677, and was revived in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries.⁸⁰ The hero of the stormy tragedy is Alexander, a role created by Charles Hart. Michael Mohun played Alexander's loyal and earthy general, Clytus, and Kynaston was cast as the wicked Cassander, the head conspirator in the plot against Alexander's life. The two female leads were played by Marshall and Boutell. Marshall created the role of the violent and passionate Roxana, first wife to Alexander, and Boutell the role of the gentle and honest Statira, his second wife.⁸¹ According to Stroup and Cooke, Lee's decision to

⁸⁰ For a brief discussion of stage history, see the Introduction to The Rival Queens, in The Works of Nathaniel Lee, ed. Stroup and Cooke: 1:213-17, on 213. For a more detailed account, see P.F. Vernon's very good discussion in his introduction to The Rival Queens, ed. Vernon (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press), 1970, v-xxvii, on xiv-xviii. I note a recent adaptation: writer Dan Rebellato's version, staged in London in 2001.

⁸¹ Stroup and Cooke name several sources for Lee's play. Lee relied primarily upon a 1661 English translation of La Calprenède's romance, Cassandra, and on Plutarch and Curtius for the character of Clytus and for historical details. Stroup and Cooke, crediting Van Lennep, point to Shakespeare and Otway as obvious influences. They further

make Roxana and Statira rivals for the love of Alexander seems to be of his own invention. This suggests to me that he tailored these roles to the talents of Marshall and Boutell, and, as he was under contract with the King's Company, he obviously composed his plays knowing what specific performers would embody them. Lee was capitalizing on a proven "success" formula by casting Marshall and Boutell as dark and light rivals. Recall that in his first play Nero, Marshall played the evil Poppea, and Boutell the innocent Cyara. When Lee composed The Rival Queens, he knew that Boutell could sell purity and innocence on stage and that Marshall could appeal to an audience as the sexually viperous, wicked woman. By writing clashing rivals roles for them, he used their talents to maximum advantage.

The conflict between the women centers on a competition for Alexander's love. While away from Babylon, in Susa, Alexander slept with his first wife, Roxana. Although it is within the bounds of custom for him to take more than one wife, he had promised Statira when he married her that he would forget Roxana. We thus see Lee balancing ancient tales of polygamy and more contemporary marriage norms, in which lovers pledge themselves to one. Alexander's taking of two wives is criticized by his stoic general, Clytus, because it creates distraction and disruption: "now Two Wives he takes, two Rival Queens disturb / The Court" (228). Now returned, Alexander seeks to forget Roxana, whom the men speak of as "jealous, bloody, and ambitious" (239), a woman who, abandoned, is now free to wreak vengeance. Alexander desires to forget

elucidate that in Cassandra, Statira and Roxana do not fight over Alexander but over a different lover, and eventually become friends. Lee allows no such reconciliation in his version: this is the staging of fury versus martyr. It is worth noting that Lee appears not to have been influenced by other playwrights' renderings of the Alexander story, including Racine's Alexandre Le Grand (1665). See Stroup and Cooke, 1:213-14.

Roxana and to come back to the arms of his beloved second wife, the faithful Statira. Statira learns of his deceit through the villain Cassander, who seeks to destroy Alexander. He tries to move Statira to rage like a “Medea” (234), but this is not in her character. Rather, she turns anger on herself and vows to retreat from the world. Roxana comes to Babylon, and Cassander tells her that Alexander desires to return to his new wife. Roxana vows revenge, and she threatens Statira before Statira has made her promised retreat, swearing that she, Roxana, will now have Alexander to herself. Statira decides against retreat. Alexander returns, and Statira forgives him, but tells him she cannot come to his bed again. He begs her to stay with him, kneels before her, and orders his whole army to imitate him, a supreme act of deference (256). She yields and forgives. She urges him to go to his festival celebration with his soldiers, promising that she will wait for him in his bower. Cassander, who is in love with Roxana, offers to kill Alexander and confesses his love to her. Roxana, disgusted, spurns him and forbids him to harm her lover. Cassander asks her to make a sacrifice and kill Statira. Liking his idea, Roxana agrees to do so. She goes to the bower where Statira waits for Alexander and murders her. Alexander enters and rejects Roxana, who, abandoned and pregnant with Alexander’s child, leaves the city when he orders her banished.

The images of flesh, specifically of breasts, emerge and reemerge throughout the play, and what is embodied in the discourse about woman’s flesh is an essentialized difference between wicked and good women. In performance, breasts are but a small part of the spoken text, but the verbal images of breasts, which in the mouths of the actresses would be sounded words, are a specific site for the discourse about selves, bodies, sexuality, and femaleness. Both women are described as devastatingly beautiful in the

world of the play, but Roxana's body and character are marked as toxic. Body and character are enmeshed, each reflecting and affecting the other. As Michael C.

Shoenfeldt notes in his study, Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England:

[bodies] articulate what we would call a psychological state [...] they aspire to the mysterious inwardness toward which living, intact flesh can only point [...] bodily condition, subjective state, and psychological character are in this earlier regime fully imbricated.⁸²

Bodies in The Rival Queens are imbricated in this manner, and breasts are body parts that receive special intention within the play in the discourse between characters.

"Breast" is first articulated in the image of the lover who is mother-like tender. Statira remembers, "[I] Laid [Alexander] all Night upon my panting Bosome / Lulled like a Child, and hush'd him with my Songs" (235). She then refers to the vulnerable manliness of Alexander's own breast: "opening Buds / Are half so sweet as Alexander's Breast" (235). The first female character to use the word "breast" as a feminine body part is the warrior Roxana. Marshall, as Roxana, makes her first entrance in Act 3. She lashes out at Cassander, the bearer of the news concerning Alexander's faithlessness in returning to his new wife: "Away, be gone, and give a whirlwind room, / Or I will blow you up like Dust [...] Fury, revenge, disdain, and indignation tear my swoln breast, make way for fire and tempest" (249). She is fully prepared to engage in this battle against her new rival, Statira, telling the men who listen that in her youth she was raised as a female warrior and that she taught her "she-companions [...] like Amazons, to ride and chace /

⁸² Michael C. Schoenfeldt, Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spencer, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1.

Wild Beasts in Deserts, and to Master Men” (249). As a warrior, Roxana refers to herself as Amazon-like, and her body is aligned with warriors who, legend has it, would go so far as to disfigure their feminine bodies, specifically, their right breast, so that they would have no fleshy impediment that might interfere with their bow-shooting hand. In

Gynaikeion (1624), playwright Thomas Heywood wrote of Amazons that

Their garments couer not their bodies round; their right side is still bare towards
their brest; their vpper roabe which is buckled or buttoned aboue, descends no
lower than the knee; one of their brests they reserue safe and vntouched, with
which they giue sucke to their infants; the right brest they burne off, that with the
more facilitie they may draw a Bowe, thrill a Dart, or charge a Launce. (223)⁸³

Roxana’s reference to her own “swoln breast” is to a body part engorged not with milk so as to nurse, but with blood, so to rage, and her promised undoing of a rival is to her like the familiar hunt of prey.

Roxana then recalls how she, as a young warrior woman, fell in love with Alexander, and “Left all my sports, the woman now returned” (250). Her love for him, as she tells it, restores her womanhood, her femininity. She then moves from this picture of innocence to that of a young wife who is sexually heated as she boldly tells Cassander what she and her husband did in bed:

What said he not in the Bridal Bed

⁸³ Thom:[as] Heywoode [*sic*], Gynaikeion: or, Nine Bookes of Various History. Concerninge Women; Incribed by y^e names of y^e Nine Muses (London: Printed by Adam Islip, 1624). EEBO. 6 August 2003. The reference to Heywood’s work came to my attention via Jennifer A. Low’s Manhood and the Duel, 137, note 9. Low writes, “The name ‘Amazon’ was supposed to derive from *a-mazon*, without breast, from the reputed Amazon practice of searing off one breast to enable the warriors to pull a bow more easily” (136-37). For an earlier study, see Simon Shepherd, Amazons and Warrior Women, 15, a work Low also cites in her discussion.

He clasp'd my yielding body in his arms:
 When with his fiery lips devouring mine,
 And moulding with his hands my throbbing breast,
 He swore the Globes of Heav'n and Earth were vile
 To those rich worlds. (250)

"Breast" is erotic, and the "rich worlds," not one but two, globe-like breasts, are molded by Alexander's eager hands. Roxana's body is thus intact as far as the feminine norm: she moves from the language of the singular "breast" to that of two, fleshy and sensuous "Globes." Roxana imagines her breasts as two worlds that she will allow Alexander to fondle, mould, and claim as his own. (One can also hear the voice of the male playwright, Lee, staging a fantasy of fleshly conquest, which he articulates through Roxana.) Then, in language that parallels Hannibal's words in *Sophonisba* that he, the true soldier, was weaned from milk and nursed in blood (87), Roxana draws a comparison between herself and Statira, and one that invokes motherhood and breasts: "That puny Girl, that Ape of my ambition? / that cry'd for milk, when I was nursed in bloud!" (250). Roxana, now confronting her rival, names her "sickly Virtue," (252), but Statira succumbs not, and with quiet strength, challenges her rival: "Rival, take heed, and tempt me not too far; / My blood may boyl, and blushes shew in war" (253). The boundary between the two women blurs when Statira imagines hers and Roxana's bodies intertwining in an act of aggression in which she stakes her own claim as Alexander's rightful love. She uses the metaphor of curling herself around Roxana and draining her rival's body of its moistness and suppleness: "like an Ivy I will curl thee round / Thy sapless Trunk of all its pride confound / Then dry, and wither'd, bend thee to the ground" (253). Statira further blurs

the boundary between her and Roxana's two separate bodies when she later tells Alexander that she will not go to his bed, for fear that

I shall find Roxana in your arms
And taste her kisses left upon your lips:
Her curs'd embraces have defil'd your body.
Nor shall I find the wonted sweetness there,
But artificial smells, and aking odours. (256)

Lee's language continually foregrounds the flesh, and Statira's words give heavy emphasis to the sensory experience of the traces of Roxana that haunt her mind, and which she imagines, in her metaphor, as haunting her senses. For Statira, Roxana's body contaminates Alexander's and her own.

In her rage at Alexander's faithlessness, Roxana threatens to "hurl the Spears about like sportive Balls" (260). This is again a masculine, phallic image, where spheres are hurled, in sport, like the sportive play of the hunt. Recall that earlier she spoke of leaving "sports" and becoming a woman when she met Alexander, and she is now returning to the image of the warrior, the huntress, using megalomaniacal language appropriate to a bloodthirsty soldier. Balls, used in sport, might also invoke male genitalia, although I cannot be certain any member of the audience would have thought of this. Lee surely intended focus to rest on the sports and hunt analogy. The moment depended on Marshall's playing the analogy between games and revenge in Roxana's daring to imagine that she can wield superhuman powers in the cosmos. I note, however, that "balls" is a word that can mark the male body, and that it foregrounds the visceral quality of the language in this play that depends so much upon the body as sensual feast.

When Roxana kills Statira, she commands her to “put forth her Royal Breasts, / Where our false Master [Alexander] so often languish’d” (273). Roxana calls specific attention to Statira’s breasts as a site of sexual pleasure for Alexander, just as she had earlier remembered his enjoyment of her own breasts molded by his eager touch. She then invokes the milk and blood image she had earlier used, ordering Statira to open her breasts to her so “That I may change their milkie Innocence / To blood, an die me in a deep Revenge” (273). Milk (the feminine, nurturer, motherhood) is here positioned against Blood (the masculine, violent, and war), and Statira, the embodiment of a feminine ideal, is threatened by Roxana, the grotesquely unnatural, who imagines herself “died,” or soaked with, the blood (deep Revenge) of her rival. On stage, Boutell, as Statira, probably knelt before Marshall as if she had just been awakened from sleep. She would have to have been facing Marshall in a posture that allowed her chest to be open, and the stabbing would have been feigned through breasts decorously covered by a costume. The language, however, is fleshy. Roxana turns her rival’s breasts into bloody gore, like an Amazon disfiguring herself in order to throw a weapon in sportive games. Statira, stabbed, performs as the martyr, telling her beloved Alexander to “Leave not the Earth / Before Heav’n calls you: spare Roxana’s life” (276). She is idealistically generous, forgiving, the embodiment of (Christian) charity, turning the other cheek, even in death. Her murder is high spectacle and was put in the hands of two actresses who had long worked together and who had significant experience playing dark and light.

Roxana is violently dark, and she is also a mother-to-be. She stabs Statira in the breast, the body part that she herself associated with warlike blood and with mother’s milk, earlier attacking her rival’s softness as being the result of her having been nursed in

milk rather than in blood. Roxana is carrying Alexander's child, and the very real possibility is that this monstrous mother whose womb is filled will give birth to a monstrous child. Such a statement is defensible because of what Lee sets up in the play, as I will explain below, and because of cultural context.

Contemporary medical and popular conceptions concerning mothers and unborn children point to the responsibility of the mother in conceiving and producing a healthy child. The power of the mother's imagination, it was held, could play a significant role in the conception and the formation of the unborn child. Alexander Paré, a respected sixteenth-century French surgeon whose collected volumes on medicine were published as The Works of that Famous Chirurgion Ambrose Parey, Translated out of Latin and Compared with the French by Th.[omas] Johnson, London, in 1634, relayed a story of a "Maid all hairy, and an Infant that was Black by the imagination of their parents [...]" "[the hairy maid's] Mother earnestly beheld in the very instant of receiving and conceiving the seed, the image of St. John covered with a Camels skin."⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Quoted in Sander A. Gilman, Sexuality: An Illustrated History (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1989), 106. Sanders cites a 1678 reprint edition, and gives the title in short form, as The Works, Translated out of Latin and Compared with the French. As Janis L. Pallister points out in her recent, authoritative version of Paré's text, the version of the text translated from the Latin is corrupt, but this is the version that was in circulation in seventeenth-century London. From the original French, according to Pallister's translation, the quote concerning St. John reads that the young mother gave birth to a hairy maid from "having looked too intensely at the image of Saint John [the Baptist] dressed in skins, along with his own body hair and beard, which picture was attached to the foot of her bed while she was conceiving" (9). Here, John the Baptist's own body hair is implicated. In this version of the text, accompanying image 26, the subject of which is a black child and a hairy maid, the caption reads, "Two figures, one of a furry girl, and the other of a child that was black because of the imagination of their parents" (39). See Amboise Paré, On Monsters and Marvels, trans. Janis L. Pallister (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982). For a discussion that maps the history of the translations of this text and also considers historical context, see Pallister's introduction. For a provocative discussion of motherhood, heredity, and the role of the mother's imagination upon an

Alternatively, if the woman held in her imagination the image of her lover (or husband) at the moment she was conceiving, she would produce a child that resembled the father. As printed in the immensely popular sex-for-married couples guide, Aristotle's Master-Piece, or, The Secrets of Generation Displayed in all the Parts thereof ... very necessary for all Midwives, Nurses, and Young-Married Women published in London in 1694 and containing folk and medical views current in the 1670s,

nothing is more powerful than the Imagination of the Mother; for if she conceive in her Mind, or do by chance fasten her Eyes upon any Object, and imprint it in her Memory, the Child in its outward Parts, frequently has some representation thereof; so whilst a Man and Woman are in the Act of Copulation, if the Woman earnestly hold his Countenance, and fix her Mind thereon, without all peradventure, the Child will resemble the Father; nay, so powerful is its Operation, that though a Woman be in unlawful Copulation, yet if fear, or any thing else, causes her to fix her Mind upon her Husband, the Child will resemble him, tho' he never got it.⁸⁵

unborn child in the works of two important post-Restoration playwrights, Ibsen and Strindberg, see Marvin Carlson, "Ibsen, Strindberg, and Telephony," PMLA: Publications of the Modern Language Association of America 100:5 (1985):774-82. Carlson cites Paré on 774.

⁸⁵ Aristotle [pseudonym], Aristotle's Master-Piece, or, The Secrets of Generation Displayed in all the Parts thereof ... very necessary for all Midwives, Nurses, and Young-Married Women, London, 1694, 20. EEBO. 1 July 2003. It is worth noting that Paré's illustration of the black child and hairy maid served as the frontispiece for the 1694 edition of Aristotle's Master-Piece. For an outstanding discussion of the historical significance of this text, see Roy Porter, "Medical Folklore in High and Low Culture: Aristotle's Master-Piece" and "Appendices to Chapter 2," The Facts of Life: The Creation of Sexual Knowledge in Britain, 1650-1950, ed. Roy Porter and Lesley Hall (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 33-53 and 54-64.

In her manual for midwives published in London in 1671, Jane Sharp wrote that sometimes if the mother is “frighted or conceives wonders,” the unborn child can be born monstrous (92).⁸⁶ Further, “a strong fancie of the mother” can play a role in the way the child looks (94). It is probable that much of the audience watching The Rival Queens in 1677 would have been familiar with the belief that the mother’s imagination had an effect on the shape, looks, and normal development of the child upon conception and *in vitro*.⁸⁷

Imagery in the text of the play strongly points toward Lee’s being aware of this popular discourse and playing with the idea of a monstrous birth. In the opening scene of the play, Cassander, the villain, speaks of a vision in which he meets a bloody, wailing, gory “monstrous Child” (238). Later, Roxana, pleading with Alexander not to send her away, speaks in a foreboding manner about the health of the child: “the little wretch I bear, / leaps at your wrath, and dyes within me” (277), haunting him with the possibility that his baby will be “imprinted” by his words via its mother and perish, wretched, dying within her. Earlier, she threatened with a disturbing image: that of conceiving not merely

⁸⁶ See Jane Sharp, The Midwife’s Book, or the Whole Art of Midwifery Discovered, ed. Elaine Hobby (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). Sharp invokes the story of John the Baptist’s image found in the seventeenth-century edition of Paré’s works, by this time in general circulation. She writes that a woman “brought forth a child all hairy like a Camel, because she usually said her prayers kneeling before the image of St. John the Baptist who was clothed with camels hair” (92). As Elaine Hobby notes in her introduction, on xv, nothing more is known about the identity of Jane Sharp, but scholars accept the work as authentic. The title page of the 1671 manual reads, “Mrs. *Jane Sharp* Practitioner in the Art of MIDWIFRY above thirty years.” I have retained the characteristics as printed.

⁸⁷ Paré lists thirteen causes of monstrous births: the glory of God; God’s wrath; too great a quantity of seed; too little a quantity of seed; the imagination; the narrowness or smallness of the womb; falls or blows during pregnancy; hereditary or accidental illnesses; rotten or corrupt seed; mixture or mingling of seed; artifice of wicked spital [*sic*] beggars; Demons and Devils (3-4). It was believed that both men and women produced seed, and both of their seeds were involved in procreation. Note the complex mixture of spiritual and material causes catalogued in Paré’s work.

a wretch, but a fury shaped by her own hatred: “May the Illustrious blood that fills my womb, / And ripens to be perfect Godhead born, / Come forth a Fury” (251). The baby who should be a “perfect Godhead” like its father may instead be deformed by hatred and hence, imperfectly monstrous. An idea that is toyed with here in the text is that the aggressive and heated Roxana’s seed may have in fact overpowered the vulnerable Alexander’s own during conception. If so, the baby might resemble its mother more than its father. As expressed in Aristotle's Master-Piece, “if a Woman in the Act of Copulation afford most Seed, her likeness will have the greater impression upon the Child; but if on the contrary, then will follow the contrary effects; or if a proportionable quantity proceed from either, then will the Similitude depend upon either”(19).

The heated Roxana’s threat to deliver a fury is sparked by her hatred of Statira, suggesting also that Roxana’s body and imagination might distort the unborn child. Roxana vows that such monstrous things should pass only when “I permit Statira to enjoy Roxana’s right,” Alexander (251). But the possibility looms that Alexander’s image will deform in her womb. Fighting with the villain Cassander, whose advances she spurns and whose words against Alexander she decries, she brings focus to the unborn baby:

Do I not bear [Alexander’s] image in my womb?

Which while I meditate, and roul revenge,

Starts in my body like a fatal pulse,

And strikes compassion though my bleeding bowels. (261)

The baby strikes in Roxana a sense of compassion, and viscerally, tears at her insides. Alexander’s leaving is an abandonment of both her and child, and the unborn baby is both her greatest power and her most vulnerable body part. Her body and the baby’s are

conjoined, and her meditations on revenge threaten to fatally harm its body and hers, making, as she graphically describes it, her bowels bleed. I am suggesting that Lee is playing with a tension between the usually sympathetic position of mother—and Roxana is an abandoned mother—and the fear of danger to the child, a danger brought about by Roxana's own rage.

In his discussion of Restoration performers, Joseph Roach ponders over how the actress, playing Roxana, mother-to-be, would have physicalized a line in The Rival Queens in which she makes a reference to her breasts: "My breasts go bigger with the vast delight" (262).⁸⁸ Roach writes that "implied stage directions do not guarantee that the expressions there described were delivered exactly as specified in performance. For example, it is hard to imagine what Nathaniel Lee really expected the actress to do with this line."⁸⁹ Roach is correct that caution is required in reading implied (or even specified) stage directions when one is trying to assess past realizations in performance. In this case, however, I think it is easy to imagine that the actress did not need *to do* anything more than say her line. Here, she is speaking of subjugating Alexander to her will and winning him back into her arms. In the line that proceeds this one she speaks of her veins swelling (262), and it follows that she is describing the interior of her body, which she feels as a rush of heat, her breasts filling with pumping blood, effectively

⁸⁸ I am quoting the line directly from the Stroup and Cooke edition. Roach cites the quotation from another source, but only capitalization differs. See Joseph Roach, "The Performance," 28.

⁸⁹ Roach, "The Performance," 28. Roxana's line which immediately proceeds the one that Roach quotes (he was reading it out of context) is one in which she says, "Then my veins swell, and my arms grasp the poles." This could not have been literal, and is intended as metaphor, and one in which body and larger world are co-mingled. In her imagination, her power and her presence reach beyond her body into the larger world.

“doubling” attention back to swollen breasts, motherhood, and the unborn baby. As metaphor, the line’s function may have been to bring the audience’s imagination to the breasts, to the flesh, to the body of the character and actress, a body which the woman, playing woman, can promise to the audience as the tease of very real body parts. Maybe her “breasts grew bigger,” too, as she took a breath, panting with delight, but what the actress most needed to do was to articulate the words that drew an image of the interiority of her body. Lee might have expected nothing more than to let the power of imagination work.

In a play where the hero’s body is described as being of “Flesh as soft / And penetrable as a Girls” (233), a reference to vulnerability and also sexual penetration, the body and its materiality hold center stage. The play was extremely well cast, with star actors who could embody and thus flesh out the roles written by Lee. At play’s end, Alexander poses to her a question: “And dar’st thou Monster, think to scape?” (275) Roxana, the Monster, does, and only because she carries the unborn, which may be the image of its father, or, a fury born of its mother’s raging imagination.

Rebecca Marshall and Elizabeth Boutell had a core place in the company and played the most challenging roles written for their respective “types.” In revivals and in new plays, the audience could expect Marshall to play fiery, passionate boldness and often wickedness, and Boutell to embody purity, gentleness, and sometimes playful roguishness in comic plays. By 1669, after her sister’s departure, Marshall had no direct competitors in her lines, and in the 1670s, she excelled at playing showcase wicked women’s parts such as the epic villainess, Lyndaraxa, and the lascivious, farcical Olivia. By the early 1670s, Boutell was the leading ingénue performer in the company, and by

the middle of the decade she was taking on virtuous leading lady roles in new plays, sometimes alongside Elizabeth Cox in the younger ingénue parts. During the 1660-70s, the onstage partnering of Marshall and Boutell as bad and good was popular fare. After Marshall left in the spring of 1677, there was no wicked female “foil” to the virtuous female lead. Boutell’s mild Cleopatra was without a sexy virago as nemesis.

A

THE FACES OF MASCULINITY AND FEMININITY ON THE
EARLY RESTORATION STAGE: A STUDY OF FIVE ACTORS

by

Jennifer Renee Danby

Volume II

A dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty in Theatre
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2004

Chapter 5

Moving Bodies, Sounding Voices: Masculinity and Femininity On The Early Restoration Stage

In this chapter, I wish to expand upon my earlier analysis by considering how the bodies of Hart, Mohun, Kynaston, Marshall, and Boutell may have looked, moved, and sounded, and why this evidence is important to the analysis of the performance of masculinity and femininity onstage. As I have demonstrated in my study of these performers' respective "lines," play texts are the primary source that allows us to consider questions of embodiment and what kinds of men and women these actors played. The challenge, of course, lies in the fact that although we possess the play texts, we cannot experience the performance itself: the body of the actor is long gone. The evidence we do have about the moving and sounding body of the actor past is worth evaluating, but it must be treated with caution, as I will demonstrate. In this chapter, I will consider what we can surmise about what was expected of the actor kinesthetically, in physical type, and in voice. To accomplish this, I will look at anecdotes; contemporary or near-contemporary manuals of rhetoric and related works, and vocal treatises. I also borrow from present day theorists who have attempted to tackle the elusive task of trying to reconstruct the once living body of the performer.

A. Sounding Voices

In European Sound Diary, F. Murray Shafer beckons the reader to walk through a “Paris Soundwalk: the Louvre.”¹ He asks the reader to listen to the images he has reproduced and imagine their “soundtrack.” Next to a small black-and-white reproduction of Leonardo da Vinci’s Mona Lisa, he ponders over the noises that might be coming from her body: “She may well be making a sound, swallowing, or suppressing a giggle, or a moan.”² In this exercise of the imagination, the painted image becomes a flesh and blood, sounding woman.

To imagine from the printed word what Mohun, Kynaston, Hart, Boutell, and Marshall sounded like is the same kind of exercise. Since plays of the past are a record of words spoken by actors past, they are thus speech scores that were once embodied by given actors. Speech, the shaping of vibration from the vocal chords with articulators, and sound, the amplification of vibration created through resonance in the bodies’ cavities, are both fundamental to the exercise of playing. I would like to consider the importance of the sound of the voice in shaping type and as a key factor in the actor’s embodiment of a role. We cannot know what Mohun, Hart, Kynaston, Marshall, and Boutell sounded like separately or together, but we can explore some possible ways in which their voices may have shaped their performance and ways in which their voices interacted. I draw my inspiration from Bruce R. Smith, who, in his seminal study The Acoustic World in Early

¹ European Sound Diary, 86. Shafer’s work on sound and landscapes is further explored in his thoughtful article, “Acoustic Space” (1985).

² European Sound Diary, plate 5, 88.

Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor, provides an excellent model.³ Smith maps pre-Restoration play texts, voices, and soundscapes in the early modern theatre, and this is the task I set for myself here. Some of the points I will make apply to actors in other times and places as well as to actors in Restoration London, but I am specifically interested in how text may have sounded coming through the bodies of these five actors, and how the sound of their voices may have helped shape their “types.”

To begin with, Restoration actors, male and female, needed to have command over basic speech and voice skills: articulation, pronunciation, phrasing, breath, volume, or projection, rhythm of speech, speed, tone, pitch, and color. Cibber suggested that the demands on the voice of the speaking actor were akin to those of the singer: “the Voice of a Singer is not more strictly ty’d to Time and Tune than that of an Actor in Theatrical Elocution.”⁴ As with singers, the shape of the actors’ physical bodies and their anatomies would have determined range, although range can be extended to some degree with training. In The Life of Betterton (1710), Gildon writes of the problem of Masters who “teach or suffer the Boys to cant out their lessons in one unvary’d Tone for so many Years” (104).⁵ A “magnificent Tone” is thus a varied and flexible tone. Tone is pitch,

³ Bruce R. Smith, The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor, *passim*.

⁴ Cibber, Apology, 1:110. This reference was brought to my attention by John Harold Wilson, “Rant, Cant, and Tone on the Restoration Stage,” Studies in Philology 52 (1955): 592-98, on 597.

⁵ Gildon devotes fifty-eight pages to the discussion of speech and voice. See 80-138. His work is a good source because it was published in 1710, and, while this is forty years past the 1670s, the end point of my study, it is closer in time and in geography than other extant treatises for actors. Gildon drew upon continental (and possibly native) manuals of rhetoric, but he was also a playwright and critic who would have had the opportunity to watch Restoration actors perform and who would have been familiar with contemporary performance styles. For a further discussion of Gildon’s sources, see Wilbur Samuel

color, vocal attack, and the skilled actor would be trained to use his voice to meet the demands of verse and prose.⁶

There has been much scholarly debate about what Restoration actors sounded like, and whether they toned in a chant-like, rigidly cadenced manner. What was their vocal style? In “Rant, Cant, and Tone on the Restoration Stage,” John Harold Wilson drew upon a scant number of mostly eighteenth-century sources in which the voices of Restoration actors were parodied in order to support his hypothesis that actors who played lovers and heroic roles in serious plays on the Restoration stage whined, canted, ranted, and toned. However, as Linda Hutcheon has adroitly noted in A Theory of Parody, paraphrasing John Barth, “if Beethoven’s Sixth Symphony were composed today, it would be an embarrassment—unless it were done ironically to show that the composer was aware of where music both is and has been.”⁷ Perhaps the eighteenth-century references to “toning” reflected this same kind of self-consciousness on the part of particular writers, and tell us little about how voices were perceived in the 1660s or 1670s, never mind how they sounded. I am inclined to agree with B .L. Joseph’s generous assertion in Elizabethan Acting that the unskilled actor might fall into “chanting, monotony, or rant,” while the “frequencies of pitch” used by the skilled

Howell, “Sources of the Elocutionary Movement in England: 1700-1748,” The Quarterly Journal of Speech 45:1 (1959):1-18, on 10.

⁶ See John Harold Wilson, “Rant, Cant, and Tone on the Restoration Stage,” Studies in Philology 52, *passim*.

⁷ Linda Hutcheon writes in A Theory of Parody (1985; reprint Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2000), 8. Hutcheon quotes John Barth, “The Literature of Exhaustion,” The Atlantic (August 1967): 29-34, on 31 (*pace* Hutcheon).

players would “belong to the normal speaking range;”⁸ in other words, not forced, or otherwise enervating. There is also the question of pace and rhythm. Vocal delivery could easily have degenerated into monotonous chanting if lines were rushed, or if the actor had merely learned a passage by rote but not bothered to interpret it. Therefore, even the skilled actor might occasionally chant a line, but I suspect that for the most part “chanting” did not characterize a Restoration actor’s vocal style. Exactly what the delivery sounded like remains a matter of speculation.

In her recent article, “Henry Purcell’s “Dido and Aeneas: A Strategy for Historically Informed Role Allocation in the Twenty-First Century,” opera singer and scholar Elizabeth Holland, discussing the vocal range of the hero, Aeneas, asserts that:

Baroque singers used a different technique from modern singers, with a higher larynx position enabling them to sing stratospheric notes in their ‘natural’ voice. The only way to replicate the sound of a Baroque tenor today would be to employ tenors singing with a folk or rock singer’s technique, but the chances of finding a classical singer willing to risk their vocal health for this, or a rock singer willing to moonlight as a Purcell singer, are unlikely in the extreme. Another drawback would be that the sound created would go against the current perception of ‘good’ classical singing held by both performers and audiences.⁹

⁸ B. L. Joseph, Elizabethan Acting (1954; second edition. London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 69. Also see Arthur Colby Sprague, “Did Betterton Chant?” in Theatre Notebook vol. 1, no 5 (1946): 54-55. Sprague asserts that “Betterton may have chanted. But the evidence that he did so stops far short of proof.” Sprague thereby strongly infers that Betterton did not chant. My guess is that Hart, Mohun, Kynaston, Boutell, and Marshall, who were skilled actors like Betterton, did not chant either.

⁹ Elizabeth Holland, “Dido and Aeneas: A Strategy for Historically Informed Role Allocation in the Twenty-First Century,” n.p. Published in the refereed online journal

In other words, it is hard to go back and measure the past by present standards.

Teasing out Holland's analysis, I note that folk or rock singers tend toward producing a brighter sound with greater use of the nasal and mask resonators, which then creates a brighter tone with more attack. Further, the higher position of the larynx approximates the position of the larynx for speaking. As John Potter points out in Vocal Authority: Singing Style and Ideology, the "new technique" used by opera singers today of lowering the larynx in order to lengthen the vocal tract and obtain a darker color in the voice did not develop until the nineteenth century. Prior to this, the larynx was likely kept in the higher position (hence Holland's claim that a rock singer comes closest to the sound of a seventeenth-century singer).¹⁰ Even if Restoration actors speaking lines did not work with the larynx in a higher position than we are used to today, they very likely used their voices differently, perhaps physiologically so, and the sounds they produced are sounds that we cannot hear from this distance in time. We can, however, try and imagine what the bodies of the actors might have sounded like by using a musical schema to consider relationships between bodies, vocal ranges, and character "types."

Like bodies, voices are perceived as gendered. Physiologically, post-puberty, the male voice is deeper. The deeper tones are associated with masculinity, the treble [soprano] tones with the feminine, with boyhood or womanhood, as Bruce R. Smith

British Postgraduate Musicology 5 (June 2002). <<http://www.bpmonline.org.uk/>>. Site visited 10 November 2003. Purcell's opera was performed by 1689, and possibly as early as circa 1683-84. For a discussion of the scholarly controversy surrounding the premiere date of the opera, see Mark Goldie, "The Earliest Notice of Purcell's Dido and Aeneas," Early Music 20 (August 1992): 392-400.

¹⁰ John Potter, Vocal Authority: Singing Style and Ideology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 53. Like Holland, Potter is a trained singer and scholar.

discusses in his excellent study, The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor. Smith writes that

the change of voice that males undergo at the age of puberty was understood by early modern physiology to be the result of an increase in heat, which in turn produces a larger body—and a larger voice [...] boys and women posses vocal chords of comparable length. Early modern physiology explained the similarities in sound as a function of the coldness and moistness boys' bodies shared with women's bodies---the same factors that produced, in each case, a "smaller" sound than adult male voices.¹¹ (227-28).

In a 1674 version of a handbook for singers, The Art of Descant, Or Composing Musick In Parts, refashioned from Thomas Campion's A New Way of Making Fowre Parts in Counterpoint (c.1614) and published by Restoration composer John Playford, the deep, male voice is described as follows: "The Bass [...] is the lowest part and foundation of the whole Song [...] the Bass expresseth the true nature of the Earth, who being the gravest and lowest of all the Elements, is as a foundation to the rest."¹² The bass voice, as expressed in this English treatise, is the grounding voice; the weightiest; the bottom.

¹¹ Bruce R. Smith, The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor, 227-28.

¹² Thomas Campion, The Art Of Descant, Or Composing Musick In Parts, by Dr. Tho. Campion; With Annotations Thereon, By Mr. Chr. Simpson. London, 1674, page 26. Bound with John Playford, An Introduction To The Skill Of Musick In Two Books : The First, The Grounds And Rules Of Musick, According To The Gam-ut, And Other Principles Thereof, The Second, Instructions & Lessons For The Bass-viol, And Instruments & Lessons For The Treble-violin. EEBO. 6 November 2003. The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (2001) gives the following information in its entry on Thomas Campion: Playford's Introduction was first published in 1660, and Campion's treatise was its second book. Campion's treatise built upon an earlier (and perhaps unpublished) one by John Coprario, Rules How to Compose, completed circa 1613, but Campion in his treatise made some "revolutionary points concerning key relationships

I want to begin with the actor who, among the five upon which I focus, was most likely the vocal bottom. I can conjecture that Mohun—the actor who specialized in earthy, brooding, muscular roles—may well have had a deeper voice than his colleagues. We can imagine a bass, or possibly as high as a deep tenor voice for Mohun, what we now would call a baritone, with a range that encompassed the higher notes of the bass register and the lower of the tenor. If we are looking for correlations between body size and voice, we can use as a piece of evidence Nathaniel Lee’s description of Mohun as a “*little Man of Mettle*.”¹³ Possibly, he was shorter in stature than Charles Hart, if we can believe Thomas Davies.¹⁴ If Mohun was muscular in the “fit,” sense, but “little,” it is unlikely that he would have possessed a deep, bass voice, since laryngeal dimension are largely determined by body size. A lower voice, whether bass, deep tenor, or in a range between, would have suited his parts: jealous and passionate lovers and tyrants and determined and heated soldiers.

(tonality) and fundamental basses” (4:890). Further, “It was reprinted in various guises in subsequent editions of Playford’s introduction until it was replaced in the twelfth edition of 1694 with a new section contributed by Henry Purcell.” (4:890).

¹³ See Downes, 42. Italics in the original.

¹⁴ Thomas Davies, *Dramatic Miscellanies*, 3 vols. (1784; reprint New York: AMS Press, 1973), 3:262. Davies writes that Hart was “taller, and more genteel in shape” than Mohun. Davies was Garrick’s first biographer and, according to Leigh Woods, had for a time been an actor in Garrick’s company at Drury Lane. See Leigh Woods, *Garrick Claims The Stage: Acting As Social Emblem in Eighteenth-Century England* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984), 19. Also see the entry on Davies in *BD* 4:203-08, on 203-06, which outlines Davies’s career as an actor in London and in the provinces. His London roles included King Henry to Garrick’s Richard in *Richard III* and Alvarez in Dryden’s *Don Sebastian*. His wife was also an actor. The fragmentary details that Davies gives about early Restoration actors would have had to have been passed down to him through word-of-mouth, or possibly through lost written artifacts, since he as born after Kynaston, one of the last of the early Restoration actors to hold the stage, died.

In her article, “Through Voices, History,” Catherine Clément explores the relationship between nineteenth- and twentieth-century opera voices and character type. Although we must be cautious in applying nineteenth-century vocal typology to the analysis of late seventeenth-century voices, I think it is worth considering how this overlay might make logical sense in terms of vocal color and contrast between character types onstage. Clément writes that baritones are generally “Older, more prudent [than tenors], they hide their rebellion and calculate their plots [...] not too young, not too old. They do not really succeed in contesting the ancient order; often they fail and sometimes they die [...] [they] are strongly articulate, violent, full of anxiety.”¹⁵ She gives the example of Iago in Verdi’s *Otello*, and Mohun of course played this “type” when he played Iago in Shakespeare’s *Othello* (after Clun died) and the Iago-like title character in Shirley’s *The Traitor*. Although it is impossible to know exactly what Mohun’s vocal range was, the possibility of a range from bass to deep tenor seems plausible for an actor who specialized in forceful, heated, brooding roles.

Mohun, said Allardyce Nicoll, “appears to have been a slightly heavier” actor than the company’s leading romantic actor, Charles Hart (67). Nicoll is referring to a quality of “heaviness” on the stage, which is a fair description for Mohun’s specialization in playing more brooding and jealous roles than Hart. If we extend this to Mohun’s voice being “heavier” than Hart’s in color and pitch, then we can explore a soundscape for male to male voices. We cannot hear Hart’s voice, but we can imagine, based on his wide range, a voice that could carry serious and comic parts: flexible, strong, playful, heated,

¹⁵ Catherine Clément, “Through Voices, History,” *Siren Songs: Representations of Gender and Sexuality in Opera*, ed. Mary Ann Stuart (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 17-28, on 23.

forceful, beautiful, sweet, moderate, meaning, in good technical control, not inappropriately soft or loud. For example, in The Plain Dealer, Olivia (Beck Marshall) mocks Manly, a role created by Hart, for his gruff manliness: “that noble Lyno-like Meen of yours, that Soldier-like weather beaten complexion, and that *manly roughness of your voice*; how can they otherwise than charm us Women, who hate Effeminacy!” (426)¹⁶ The “manly roughness of voice” and Olivia’s other criticisms are ways of mocking Manly’s rude, direct, physically gruff behavior, but it also suggests that Hart may have been delivering the role with a kind of gruffness in voice: a rougher, bolder, coarser sound, perhaps with a more muscular vocal attack.

Gildon’s discussions of two “types,” brave hero and rake, and vocal delivery are in theory clues to how Hart might have used his voice in different roles, but they are frustratingly cryptic descriptions. Of heroes, Gildon writes, “If you were to give the Character of a great and brave Hero, with a visible Esteem of him, he [the actor] must do it with a loft and magnificent Tone, and a Voice noble as the Theme” (120). How does one measure “magnificent Tone” and “noble as the Theme?” What was that sound? For the rake, Gildon writes that “if a young Rake or Debauchee be introduc’d, [the voice] must be loose and effeminate” (129). This, he says, contrasts with the “grave and severe” voice of a “venerable Old Man” (129). If we apply Gildon’s instructions, then the speech of the young rake, roles in which Hart excelled, needed to be loose, lighter, and even effeminate. This last adjective is a curious one. If the male actor playing a rake ought to play it with an effeminate voice, does this refer to tone, variety, or volume? Is it possible

¹⁶ My italics. I note that Davies uses “rough” to describe the “manly” voice. He writes that “The voices of girls do not alter like those of boys, which generally, at a certain age, become rough and manly.” See Davies, Dramatic Miscellanies, 3:50.

that the rake, because of his sensual and wild pursuits, is comparatively effeminate to the grave and serious hero? The rake is a comic character. If an effeminate voice came out of Hart's male body when he played a Philidor, or a Don Juan, would this somehow emasculate the actor, or is it within the range of acceptable for the actor, since Gildon, speaking as Betterton, intends it as prescriptive, although one cannot take his descriptions as law?

Despite Gildon's generalized assertion, I find it highly doubtful that Hart would have sounded effeminate by early modern standards when he played his soft-rake roles, but the slippage between masculine and feminine in the descriptions of male voices is potentially useful for thinking about vocal modulations role-to-role. A leading male actor like Hart may have needed to vocally "butch up" the graver heroes by using his voice differently: a more modulated pitch range, a more controlled sound, a more forceful delivery, appropriate to the general seriousness in tone of heroic characters. I think the strongest actors would always have allowed for play and vocal variety in all of their parts. A Don Juan who plays with his vocal range—using the deeper register, the middle, the higher, and playing with pitch, rhythms, and stops, would be a more lively character. Hart had to have tremendous vocal play in all of his roles—they are too demanding, and would become too tiring for the listener if anything but colorful, alive, and nuanced.

Because Hart was a leading man who tended to play the most beautiful and idealized heroes, we can imagine that his voice came closest to a male ideal, and this is probably one reason his "type" was leading romantic parts in serious and comic plays. Of the ideal male voice, Gildon, invoking Seneca, writes that the "compleate" male actor will posses a "Sweetness in his Voice, tho extremely strong and robust; for it seldom

happened that the same Voice is both sweet and solid” (90). Sweet; solid; strong, robust: the last three descriptors sound muscular, physical, vigorous; the first, sweet, is allusive, suggesting a pleasantness in quality, a liquidness, perhaps, a comely sound, a softening that tapers the hard masculinity of solid, strong, robust.

Let us imagine that Hart had a tenor voice, the voice that Clément describes as “Young, courageous, imprudent, heroes of a rebellion against the social order, fighting for love [...] most tenors are the masculine equivalent of sopranos” (22). Hart excelled in these kinds of roles in both serious and comic plays, and he, as the beautiful hero or soft rake, was matched with the most beautiful woman (often the ingénue). A rich tenor voice would well complement the higher voice of the female lead and could convey the sense of youthful impetuosity that defined a large number of the characters Hart played. Further evidence that he may have had a tenor voice is that he sang the role of the young shepherd lover, Strephon (and was double cast as the ideal and energetic Europe) in John Crowne’s Calisto, a masque staged at Whitehall Palace in 1675.¹⁷

Let us reconstruct a plausible soundscape for Dryden’s All For Love. If Hart, as Antony, had a tenor voice, one higher in range than Mohun’s deeper register, we can hear how the text is brilliantly orchestrated for sound. Ventidius, played by Mohun, rejects the feminine as embodied by Cleopatra and her eunuch, and tries to win Antony back to the male world of soldiery. If Mohun’s voice is deeper than Hart’s, then we hear his voice as the grounding voice, contrasted with Hart’s higher voice as the romantic warrior. Further, Ventidius uses vocabulary that marks the difference between male and female voices.

¹⁷ Calisto: or the Chaste Nymph was published in London in 1675. In this edition, Hart is listed in the Dramatis Personae list as playing Europe in the prologue. He is also named as a member of the chorus, in which he assigned the role of Strephon, “sung by Mr. Hart.” Reprinted in The Dramatic Works of John Crowne, 2:248-50. Also see LS, 228.

Using sound as metaphor, he names the bold and penetrating sound of the trumpet as male, phallic (penetrating), action-oriented, and strong, and the sound of soft timbrels, a tambourine-like percussion instrument, as feminine, decadent, and weak.¹⁸ He orders the Eunuch Alexis to “Go, tell thy Queen, / *Ventidius* has arriv’d, to end her Charms. / Let your *Ægyptian* Timbrels play alone; / Nor mix Effeminate Sounds with Roman Trumpets. / You dare not fight for *Antony*” (6-7).¹⁹ The “Roman Trumpet” is a trumpet but also the sound of the warrior’s voice. “Roman Trumpet” is a metonym for *Ventidius* and Rome, and hence, for the warrior part of *Antony*. If in performance, *Antony*’s voice is like that of a trumpet—bright, brash, higher in pitch than deeper bass instruments, like a bassoon, or viola de gamba, lower in pitch than a higher, more treble violin or flute—and thus resembles in comparative range a human tenor voice, then his voice marks his manliness. If *Antony*’s trumpet, or tenor, voice is softened by his dotage and by his speaking the words of a lover in softer, sweeter tones, rather than in the rougher tones of a warrior, it will be swallowed into the feminine and become too soft. *Antony*’s male body must be purged of the effeminate influence that unmans him, and to accomplish that he must not hear the intoxicating sounds of *Cleopatra*’s higher voice. *Ventidius* hopes that his grounded male voice will stir the manhood he sees as having leaked out of *Antony*.

¹⁸ The timbrels are associated with women and the feminine in another play, Lee’s *Sophonisba* (1675). The young Massina tells his uncle, King Massinissa (Hart), that “Women, Sir, I oft have seen, / Dancing with Timbrels on the flowry Green” (89).

¹⁹ The eunuch Alexis was played by a then approximately twenty-four year old Cardell Goodman, who, based on this casting, had a voice higher in pitch than either Hart or Mohun, or forced his voice into a higher register, probably also speaking with a soft and lilting attack in order to embody the effeminacy of the eunuch through his adult male body.

Earth, heat, manliness: the lower, deeper, stronger voice is associated with masculinity. The higher, treble voice of boy or woman is measured against the ground notes articulated by male bodies. Having watched a young Edward Kynaston performing the role of Olympia in The Loyal Subject in 1660, Pepys wrote that “one Kinaston, a boy, acted the Dukes sister but made the loveliest lady that ever I saw in my life, only his voice not very good.”²⁰ For Pepys, Kynaston’s voice as compared with the adult male actors he is performing with is somehow failing. Why, and how? We cannot be sure, but we can speculate as to some possibilities. Kynaston would have been about seventeen years of age in 1660, and he may well have been in puberty, thus, his voice in flux. As Gina Bloom notes, “it is the ability to control the voice that signals manhood,” and the unstable voice in puberty is more ambiguously gendered.²¹ Or, if his voice had changed, perhaps he sounded too male, or too “rough” in the part. It is also possible that his voice being “not very good” was due to a problem on a particular performance with congestion or fatigue, or some other nagging vocal problem that can affect actors and singers. Pepys was pointing to a discrepancy between looks and sound, between Kynaston who was visually the “loveliest lady in the house” except “only his voice not very good.” There is slippage in the performance. If Kynaston’s voice was too unstable, was the body in puberty a distraction? Pepys enjoys watching the male Kynaston play the part, but is disappointed by the fact that Kynaston’s voice fails in performance: he cannot carry off

²⁰ Pepys, Diary, 1:224

²¹ Gina Bloom, “‘Thy Voice Squeaks’: Listening for Masculinity on the Early Modern Stage,” Renaissance Drama, ed. Jeffrey Masten and Wendy Hill (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2000), 39-71, on 62.

the part, and his maleness, as the play between nouns and pronouns (“lady,” “his”) reveals, leaks and breaks the illusion of impersonation.

Did Kynaston’s voice sound feminine? According to manuscript evidence Kynaston played the role of Antonio in a revival of Shirley’s The Cardinal in the early 1660s. He would have been about age twenty, and a reference in the play text to a face and voice that are youthful and girlish points to the likelihood that Kynaston looked and sounded soft, or could play looking and sounding soft, as opposed to looking and sounding “rough” in the “manly” sense.²² He is described in a playful scene between the Duchess and her lady-in-waiting, during which the Duchess tries to keep her love for Alvarez a secret:

Valeria. Hee’s young, and active, and compos’d most sweetly.

Duchess. I have seen a face more tempting.

Valeria. It had then

Too much of the woman in’t, his eyes speak movingly

Which may excuse his voice, and lead away

All female pride his captive. His hair Black,

Which naturally falling into curls—

Duchess. Prithee no more, thou art in love with him. (1.2.36-43)

²² As Richard Rastall notes: “it was not unusual to find an eighteen-year-old still singing treble [...] 17-18 was a rough average age for male puberty; thus, while voices did change as early as fourteen or so, it was not exceptional for a boy to remain treble until the age of 20. Kynaston’s voice may have changed, but through technique he could probably have managed a boyish delivery, even if his voice had changed. Perhaps his voice changed late, at approximately 19-20. Richard Rastall, “Female Roles in All-Male Casts,” Medieval English Theatre 7.1 (1985): 25-50, on 28-29. Rastall’s discussion encompasses the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, with primary focus on sixteenth and seventeenth-century evidence about boy singers.

Alvarez is described as beautiful to a degree that if he were any more beautiful, he would be a woman. The description of his hair might be that of a woman's, "naturally falling into curls." His eyes "excuse his voice," which suggests perhaps a voice that does not meet the masculine ideal. The reasons are unspecified, but perhaps because it is soft, or high in pitch if he was pre-pubescent, or possibly, changing if he was in puberty. "The voice not very good" corresponds with the looks so beautiful that they are almost womanly, suggesting youthfulness. The soft look is acceptable; the soft, or changing, adolescent voice thus might be pardoned, with the promise of adult manhood to come.

Let us imagine that when his voice matured Kynaston had a bright tenor voice, possibly a high tenor voice (what would then be called a counter tenor voice), with a well developed upper register. Such a voice would be appropriate to "counter" the more heroic tenor of Hart and to contrast with Mohun's darker and stormier vocal range. Further, the higher register would bring Kynaston closer in soundscape to the young ingénues he courted in high romance love scenes and in Dryden's epic plays, in which he frequently specialized as young, idealistic lover-warrior "superboys," like Guyomar in The Indian Queen. When Guyomar lunges at the evil and older Vasquez with sword and commands him to "Stay, let me see where noblest I may fall" (2.3.51), a bright voice with clear high tones, young, brave, and a hope for the future, would have cut through the soundscape. A high tenor voice would also be appropriate for roguish youthful scamps and temperamental and high strung villains, both of whom contrast with the hero and with the darker male roles. A vocal range of high tenor might well explain Cibber's remark that Kynaston in his male villain roles had a "quick Imperious Vivacity in his

tone of Voice that painted the Tyrant truly Terrible.”²³ A higher, strident, piercing sound would be very apropos to the youthful, emotional tyrants he specialized in, the sound penetrating in an aggressive, demanding manner. A high tenor voice would have been bright, perhaps what might be described, in Cibber’s terms, as quick and vivacious. Kynaston clearly had a range that allowed him to play youthful lovers or tyrants. Vocally, this could be achieved by changing vocal attack. All of his roles could be played well with an actor who possessed a vocal range of or near high tenor.

Sixty years after Kynaston’s death, Thomas Davies wrote an anecdote about Kynaston’s voice, claiming that it had been effeminized by Kynaston’s early experience as a boy actor who specialized in female parts. He colorfully reported that Kynaston’s voice was so affected by his impersonating women onstage that it drove a fellow performer to vomit:

I have been informed, by some of the old comedians, that, from his early representation of female characters, Kynaston had contracted some disagreeable tones in speaking, something like whining, or canting. When [actor] George Powell was once discharging the intemperance of the preceding day from his stomach, during the time of action Kynaston asked him if he was sick.—‘How is it possible to be otherwise, said Powell, when I hear you speak?’ (3:336-37)

Kynaston’s voice, according to this anecdote, was queered by his early work in female roles, perhaps reflecting a discomfort on Davies’s (or Powell’s part, if the story is true) with the old tradition of boys playing women. Kynaston’s voice, as in Cibber’s discussion of Kynaston’s body, is imprinted by his early work in female roles. The

²³ Cibber, *Apology*, 1:121.

“queer” sound of Kynaston’s voice is a productive site to explore the voice as sensual and physical experience, primarily because of the way in which it was sometimes described in uneasy terms. We cannot know exactly how Kynaston sounded, but the references to the sound of his voice point to the gendered assumptions about voice and bodies: adolescent versus adult; male versus female, lovers versus piercing tyrants.²⁴

In The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor,

Smith suggests that the soundscape in the early modern playhouse was an acoustic “male

²⁴ This incident, if true, probably occurred after 1695, when Kynaston and Powell were members of Betterton’s rebel company at Lincoln’s Inn Fields, and before 1701, when Kynaston retired. I note that Powell’s verbal bashing of Kynaston and of possibly queer voices coming from male bodies needs to be understood within its cultural context. The correlation between ideal seventeenth-century English male bodies onstage and deeper voices is culturally specific. In Italy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, castrati were cast in both male and female hero roles. Pepys heard a castrato sing in London in 1667, but compared the castrato’s performance unfavorably to the sound of a woman’s voice: “the voices of Eunuchs I do not like like our women.” See Pepys, Diary, 8:154. John Evelyn saw castrati singers during his travels in Italy in the 1640s, for example, in June 1645, when he writes that while in Venice, he attended the opera, and heard “The famous Voices [including that of] *Anna Rencia* [Renzi], a Roman, & reputed the best treble of Women; but there was an Eunuch, that in my opinion surpass’d her.” See John Evelyn, The Diary of John Evelyn, ed. E.S.d De Beer, 6 vols. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1955), 2:450. Around forty years later, when he saw the celebrated castrato Siface on tour in London in 1687, he admired the sound of his voice, but criticized him for being a “wanton, effeminate child,” thus, not a true man. See John Evelyn, Diary, 4:547. Castrati were a huge commercial draw in eighteenth-century London. However, I note that when an Italian tenor, Gustavo Lazzarini, was cast in a heroic role at the Pantheon opera house in London in 1791, it marked the beginning of the end of the eighteenth-century vogue for Italian castrati singers in such parts. Thus, the voice was re-naturalized as correspondent with an anatomically complete male body, with the tenor sound of the heroic male body in opera replacing the higher pitched sound of castrati. This important shift in the London opera house was brought to my attention by Judith Milhous, Gabriella Dideriksen, and Robert D. Hume, Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London, Volume 2: The Pantheon Opera and its Aftermath, 1789-1795 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 415-16. Returning to circa 1695-71, I venture a speculation: if Powell truly did verbally berate Kynaston for the sound of his voice, one wonders if Powell’s uneasiness was provoked not only by Kynaston’s having played women, but also in part by a possible awareness of the “queer” bodies of Italian castrati, whom he may or may not have seen or heard.

matrix,” against which voices perceived as gendered female would be measured. The male voice would dominate in the theatre space because of the physics of sound, with lower frequency sounds (men’s voices) able to more amply fill the space, and higher frequency sounds (boys’ voices) tending to be heard as more localized. He writes that, “speech sounds gendered as male would pervade the wooden O, filling it from side to side; speech sounds gendered as female would be heard as isolated effects within this male matrix” (229). Smith’s primary focus is on Shakespeare’s Globe, but he adds that in the rectangular, indoor space of the Blackfriars Theatre, which sat about 500, and was, I note, close in size and shape to a Restoration playhouse in the 1660s and 1670s, the sounds would have had greater attack because of bounce. Sound waves in the rectangular indoor theatres that seated 500 and that, like the Globe, were mostly made of wood, would have filled the space in an even more circular manner than at the Globe, contributing to “the dispersal of sound in its full range of frequencies” (217).²⁵ Thus the male matrix in the rectangle still encircles.

Borrowing Smith’s image of the male voice as filling the space of the rectangular and mostly wooden Restoration playhouses the King’s Company occupied (Vere Street, Bridges Street, Lincoln’s Inn Fields, and Drury Lane), I use as an example Lee’s The Rival Queens to explore how a play text might serve as a score for a male matrix that will be articulated by actors. In The Rival Queens, the world is seeped in madness: women distract Alexander; the villain, Cassander, has mad dreams and goads the jealous Roxana to murder her rival, Statira; Roxana murders; Alexander himself, poisoned, goes mad and murders his noble General, Clytus. It is Clytus, the example of stoic masculinity, who

²⁵ For Smith’s full discussion of the Blackfriars Theatre and sound, see 215-17.

begins the play with his words, “What, are you Mad-men! ha---” (227), words spoken with a muscular action, as he parts two fighting soldiers. This exclamation marks a world of chaos, a male world of martial code, and a male world invaded by men infatuated with women and hence unmanned. The male matrix is established by the sound of Clytus’s voice as he engages in a physical action: parting two men in battle. Clytus was played by Michael Mohun, and the delivery must have been strong, booming, forceful, perhaps deep in pitch, deeper than the actors playing the young soldiers whom he parts. Clytus’s martial voice is a hard, masculine voice steeled by war, and not softened by lust for women or distractions caused by love for women. This entrance offers a very clear example of the male voice and male body creating a male matrix that in the world of the play, goes mad.

What did happen when women came on the stage? In the performance space, were their voices localized within a male matrix, as boys had been? According to the physics of sound and to the proximity between the vocal registers of boys and adult women, probably yes. Prior to the Restoration, boys with higher voices sounded against the deeper voices of men. Although a boy’s voice approximates the sound of an adult woman’s voice in pitch, as Bruce R. Smith points out, boys’ voices sound different from adult female voices because of anatomical differences:

Because their vocal tracts are relatively narrower and shorter than women’s are, boys when they speak give more prominence to the fundamental at the expense of the upper harmonics. The result is a less complicated sound, “purer” in timbre and sharper to the ear. (229)

The voices of boys are sharper to the ear, and the voices of women comparatively softer in timbre, because the women's voices are more colored by upper harmonics. Thus, speaking in the generalized case, a woman player's voice, softer in color than that of a boy player, would be even more localized within the male matrix than would a boy's.

Building upon this model, what did the voice of the leading female player sound like within a male matrix? An anecdote about lead ingénue Elizabeth Boutell describes her voice in a way that physically would have been comparatively localized when compared with deeper male voices. When, some forty years after her death, Grub Street printer Edmund Curll cryptically described (perhaps fancifully) Boutell's attributes, he wrote that her voice was "weak, tho' very mellow."²⁶ "Tho" is here a qualifier, functioning as "although" or "but," and hence compensating for the adjective "weak." Her voice, he tells us, was appropriately mellow for a woman. If Curll is wrong that Boutell had a "weak" voice, then he could still be right in asserting that a weak (small) but mellow voice is in theory acceptable for a woman, whereas in a man a weak (small) voice would be a failure of manhood, like the cracking voices of boys.

In his praise of Cardell Goodman as Alexander in The Rival Queens, a role that Goodman took over after Hart, Gildon praises him for performing the role with a "just Heat, and Loudness, and yet a *Smoothness* is all that can be desired" (84). In another passage on voice, Gildon stresses "Moderation" for the male actor, a balance between Loudness and the "lowest Degree of Softness and Effeminacy" (109).²⁷ If the voice is too soft in a man, it is effeminate, but a soft voice in a woman is appropriate. The

²⁶ Edmund Curll, "Betterton's" History of the English Stage (London, 1741), 21. Quoted in John Harold Wilson, All The King's Ladies, 120.

²⁷ Gildon devotes fifty-eight pages to the discussion of speech and voice. See 80-138.

“mellow” voice of Boutell that Curll writes of suits the idea of an ingénue. Her voice, also described as “weak,” implies a physical limitation, a localization too extreme, a problem with the power of projection. Gildon, borrowing from Seneca, comments that a “*weak*” voice is one that seems “rather to Pip like a young Chicken, then to speak like human kind” (90).²⁸ Clearly, Boutell’s voice, although softer, would have been audible, and been within an acceptable volume range, in order for her to be cast in leads. It would also need to have been aesthetically pleasing—Curll’s qualifying “mellow”—in order for her to consistently play lead parts where she is the ideal embodiment of female beauty. Further, the soft and gentle voice of the ingénue could contrast well with what was probably the louder and brasher voice of a character actress like Corey, or with the more demanding voice of a fiery villainess as played by an actress like Beck Marshall.

We can imagine that in Boutell’s heroine roles in serious plays, the softer sound of her voice would enter into the soundscape, and sometimes in such a way as to mark a shift from male-dominated to more feminine, localized, spaces. For example, In Lee’s Mithridates, Boutell, as the gentle Semandra, hears the tyrannical Mithridates, played by Mohun, perjure his son. She interjects with the cry, “’Tis false: ’tis all most horrid Perjury; / And the cursed spotted Souls of these vile Traytors / Shall burn for this beneath” (330). The end of her speech marks the struggle for her feminine voice to be heard, and this moment would play better if her voice was acoustically softer, and she had to quite literally beg to be heard within the male matrix, a matrix dominated by Mithridates’ deep, baritone voice. Her speech ends with a cry to him, “O yet hear me!” (330) But he does not, and says that “not Mercy’s self, adorn’d / in all Semandra’s

²⁸ Italics in the original.

Beauties, in her tears [...] shall move me” (330). Mercy, tears, and beauty describe the ideally feminine Semandra, and the sound of her voice would likely also have had to convey these qualities in order for her to successfully embody the leading role. Boutell, however, also had to carry comic roles that required more animated vocal energy, such as Estifania and Melantha, but an actress with a “mellow” voice could do so, varying intensity for the role, playing the sounds more energetically than she might have in her passive heroine roles.²⁹

Let us imagine that Boutell’s voice was a soprano (treble) voice. What, then, if Beck Marshall’s voice was stronger, perhaps deeper in pitch, and louder, in keeping with her playing headstrong, fiery, and wicked women? What if she had the register of what we would now call a mezzo-soprano, or even an alto? Or, what if she were a soprano whose voice was darker in color (which would have been the designation assigned to her in the seventeenth century, if true)? In other words, what if the two women had the same vocal range, but a different quality to their sound? Characteristics of the voice are, after all, determined by more than pitch. They are also created by the shape of the body itself, its size, its resonance, the amplitude of sound that then results, as Joke Dame discusses:

²⁹ To offer a male analogue, the diminutive David Garrick allegedly had limited vocal power when compared to other male actors of the age, but he was still a popular leading performer. Leigh Woods, having studied Garrick’s letters, writes that “Garrick’s initial slender frame was joined to a life-long disposition toward colds and respiratory congestion” and suspects that this compromised his speaking voice. See Woods, *Garrick*, 81. I suspect that if Garrick’s voice was overly weak, he would not have been as popular as he was, but my point is that if he had a weaker voice than some other leading male performers, he was still from a commercial vantage point within the range of acceptable, and he obviously performed roles that he could successfully embody. Boutell’s vocal range, in kind, could have been on the softer side, but she seems to have had a voice that was commercially viable for her given “lines.”

there is more to voice than merely pitch. The tension of vocal chords, larynx, and pharynx—that is, the physical effort involved in producing a tone—is just as characteristic. The same is true for resonating cavities. In other words, what you hear is not simply a certain pitch, you also hear a body.³⁰

Even if we cannot hear the exact pitches of the voices of these actors, we can assert that Boutell's "body" would have sounded differently than Marshall's.

Without knowing the exact vocal range of either woman, can we make a claim for likely ranges comparatively, and how would these comparative ranges have played a role in shaping their lines of business? In her analysis of the opera voice, Catherine Clément describes the soprano voice in serious operas as traditionally that of a persecuted victim (22). If Boutell was a soprano with a bright sound, Marshall's darker voice would create strong contrast. Clément's discussion of the mezzo soprano voice and type well describes Marshall's "lines" on stage. Clément writes that the mezzo soprano is

far from a fresh young voice [...]. Like the baritone, the mezzo possesses active thought; she is articulate. And again like the baritone, she is capable of violent contestation. I insist on this similarity—"like the baritone"—for perceptions of the mezzo often focus on her "masculine" way of life. (23)

If Marshall possessed a dark in color soprano voice, this would contrast with the brighter sound of a higher soprano voice, which Boutell, who specialized in playing innocence, may well have had. Alternatively, if Marshall was a mezzo, she was closer in sound to the male range and by contrast aurally less "feminine" than Boutell.

³⁰ Joke Dame, "Unveiled Voices: Sexual Difference and the Castrato," Queering the Pitch: the New Gay and Lesbian Musicology, ed. Brett, Wood, and Thomas, 139-53, on 143.

What would have been the soundscape created by the contrast between a bright and a dark soprano voice? In a scene between the two women, playing without male partners, their female voices could have created a kind of “B” section, a female matrix of sound, against the “A” section of male voices, voices suspended for the moment. Two women’s voices could have played out the tensions between rivals by contrast in pitch, timbre, resonance. The sound of the scene between two women, contrasted with the scenes between men or between men and women, would have shaped a different soundscape. Two female voices together, as Joke Dame notes in her analysis of baroque opera and castrati, allows for a closeness in pitch between voices in climactic moments that could create a riveting tension and heighten the sense of contact between the two women: they sound closer to one another than male to female voices do (150).³¹

In The Rival Queens, when Statira threatens Roxana that “like an Ivy I will curl thee round” (253), she curls her voice around the body of her enemy. Roxana then threatens her, “Sure the disdain’d Statira does not dare.” Statira replies by co-opting her words, “Yes, tow’ring proud Roxana, but I dare.” (253). The echo of dare by two female voices brings the two enemies closer: they share vocabulary, they parry thoughts, and this is both erotic and threatening. Then, they allude to height differences, which may well reflect actual differences in stature between the bodies of the two actresses, for whom the

³¹ Dame uses the love duet between Nero and Poppea in act 1, scene 3 of Monteverdi’s opera L’incoronazione di Poppea (1643) as the text for her analysis. The part of Nero, and possibly of Poppea, would originally have been sung by castrati. Dame convincingly asserts that a combination of two soprano voices comes closest to maintaining the sound integrity of the original score in terms of pitch and the interplay between voices. I recently had the opportunity to hear this duet performed by two women, and I did hear how the proximity between the two female voices allowed for a provocative tension. The duet was performed by Jolle Greenleaf and Jennifer Ellis as part of the program “Scherzi Musicali: Duets and Dialogues by Claudio Monteverdi.” Concert Hall of St. Michael’s Church. New York City. 30 October 2003.

roles were written. There is also an allusion to Roxana being higher in status that suggests a play on her being physically taller than Statira, who names her enemy “tow’ring proud.” Roxana’s verbal response emphasizes a probable height difference, and if her comeback was delivered with a strong and biting vocal emphasis, the “tow’ring” effect would be all the more pronounced: “I tow’r indeed o’re thee; Like a fair Wood, the shade of Kings I stand, / While thou, sick Weed, does but infect the Land” (253). When the (likely) more petite in height and higher in vocal register Boutell, as Statira, fights back, threatening to curl round Marshall’s Roxana, and doing so with her voice, the effect must have been shocking: the softer, higher feminine voice silences the darker, more aggressive one. The friction between the two female voices is created both because of their closeness and their difference: Boutell probably with a softer sounding voice than Marshall, and very plausibly higher in pitch.

Between a man and woman, there is a different kind of vocal tension and play—one of more distance. In the vocal interplay between a tenor and soprano, as Dame notes, “the two voices do not actually touch one another. The natural octave interval keeps their voices apart” (150). Take for example, a spoken love duet in Dryden’s cape-and-sword play, The Assignment (1673). I will here allow for an imaginary reconstruction of sounds and suggest that Charles Hart’s voice was almost certainly lower in pitch than Boutell’s. Consider how the senses of sound and touch inform the play between actors in this duet, one in which they cannot depend upon sight, it being night in the world of the scene and each character in shadow, which allows them to meet in secret. In the wooing scene in Act 2, scene 3, the comic, flirtatious interplay between them takes place under false pretenses: they each believe the other to be a servant and hence that they have fallen

in love with someone beneath their station. Their voices and the silkiness of skin too smooth to be that of a servant, however, is puzzling and attractive. It is the sound of each other's voices that is seductive and alluring, along with the touch of skin as they take each other's hands in the dark:

Aurelian: Oh, 'tis so soft [your hand], as if it were made on purpose to take hearts, and handle them without hurting. These Taper fingers too, and even joynts, so supple, that methinks I mould 'em as they pass through mine: nay, in my conscience, tho' it be nonsense to say it, your hand feels white too.

Laura: Methinks [your hand] is very hard, for a Serving-mans: but where, in the name of wonder, have you learned to talk so courtly? you are a strange *Valet de Chambre*.

Aurelian: And you are as strange a Waiting-woman: you have so stab'd me with your repartees tonight, that I should be glad to change the weapon to be reveng'd on you.

Laura: These, I suppose, are fragments which you learn'd from your wild Master

Aurelian: many a poor woman has pass'd through his hands, with these very words. You treat me just like a Serving-man, with the cold Meat which comes from your Masters Table. (2.3.99-114)³²

The playful banter teases out genuine social tensions. There is a concern about crossing class, but also a strong and compelling attraction, which allows each to believe that the other rises above his or her station because of gifts: beauty of wit, voice, appearance,

³² John Dryden, *The Assignation*, *The Works of John Dryden*, vol. 11, ed. John Loftis, David Stuart Rodes, and Vinton A. Dearing (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).

smooth (upper class) skin. Aurelian “talks courtly,” both in language, but also, I suggest, in sound, which increases Laura’s confusion. She then makes a pun on words being “cold Meat,” scraps used on women before, and there is also here a possible double entendre, which is meant to warn him that the power of false words, or sounds, cannot so easily win her body, although her body responds to and desires his words. This is the kind of double entendre that a lead woman in a comic play would never use with a person of mean social station, and her use of it signals that she is responding to him as a man of higher class. She also brings focus to the lower stratum: meat, digestion, genitals. “Meat” might be a play on penis (at least to some members of the audience, if not for Laura), and draws attention to heat, the physical and the sexual.³³ She coyly warns him he is too bold, but enjoys the attention. She wonders at his words. How could a servant speak this way if he had not in fact learned these fragments from a “wild Master?”

Sound and touch, however, confuse both of them as they find themselves yearning for the other. Aurelian thinks he is seducing a servant-girl, but finds himself truly falling in love; Laura believes that she is falling in love with a servant and struggles to reconcile this in herself, just as she enjoys the play between them, and does not want it to end. Because the audience knows that they are well matched, the attraction is safe from a class perspective. It remains only for the characters to discover that each is in fact courting a person who would make a suitable match. In this scene, the play between the voices, the deeper voice of Hart, and the higher of Boutell, the voices an octave apart that do not actually touch in pitch, allows for a playful tension that comes with distance. To touch,

³³ According to the OED, as of the late sixteenth century, “Meat” was coarse slang for “The penis; the female genitals; the human body regarded as an instrument of sexual pleasure.”

to take a hand, is bold. To flirt is bold, and the sound of the male and female voice calling and responding is erotically charged. They reach for the other, and each leads the other into further verbal play. This goes beyond the content of what they say, to the pleasure in hearing the physical sounds they both make—the melody created between them, the tension between octaves.

The act of trying to reconstruct the actual sounds of Restoration actors' voices involves conjecture. We can create at least a rough sound tapestry in its gendered sense; we can safely say that the voices of Hart, Mohun, and Kynaston were probably lower in pitch than Marshall's and Boutell's, simply because of anatomical differences. Men usually have thicker and longer vocal chords than women, and the sound of their voices is generally deeper than women's. However, we can then tease out the possibility that Marshall's voice was lower in pitch than Boutell's, and probably stronger, or used more strongly. I would guess that Mohun's was deeper than Kynaston's, and probably Hart's. I have suggested that Kynaston's voice might have been higher in pitch than either Hart's or Mohun's, but we need to allow for a range of possible ways that their voices may have sounded. What is critical is that the ways that they sounded helped shape the ways they were cast and typed. The physical presence of an actor's body on stage was measured in part by the sound of his or her body.

B. Moving Bodies

An actor's body is a sounding body; it is also a living and moving body. "Type" is not created by a static body, but by a mobile body in flux. Further, an actor's "type" is a mesh of the real and fictional, the body of the actor with the character. In order to

reconstruct how an actor may have embodied a role, we need to imagine the body as animate when we read the pages of a play text or an anecdote. The actor needed to be able to move well onstage, and how he or she moved was determined by tradition and training but colored by individual characteristics, which would be read as part of the composite of “type.” The reading of types is thus the reading of a kinetic, moving, living flesh and blood bodies. In this section, I would like to explore how the bodies of Hart, Mohun, Kynaston, Boutell, and Marshall might have moved onstage. In my discussion of the female body, I also include some specific references to Nell Gwyn’s body on and offstage, because of the usefulness of these descriptions.

I note that in my discussion of the bodies of these actors, both in terms of general movement styles and their physical embodiment of select roles, some of what I discuss is specific to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England and probably much of the rest of Europe, as far as we can deduce from extant sources. Further, based on what we do know, movement style on the Restoration stage was very much informed by sixteenth-century practices. It is possible that actors like Hart and Mohun, who were boy players prior to the Restoration, could have witnessed continental performance styles when they were abroad during the Civil War that informed their sense of how a body might move and hold itself on stage, but if so, any adjustments were, I suspect, mostly minor, and built upon an already established foundation. Some of what I discuss will also extend beyond the borders of the early Restoration period. There are expectations for male and female bodies in all periods and places. Once women began acting on stage, the polarity between constructions of “maleness” and “femaleness” could be played through bodies that were anatomically correspondent with the roles they performed, except in the case of

cross-dressed roles, such as breeches parts. Even breeches roles, however, took on new meanings when performed through female bodies than when they were performed through the bodies of boys. When a female player shed her identity as a page, she performed a correspondence between her anatomically female body and the performance of a female body onstage. Alternatively, comic skirts roles played by men, both before and after the Restoration, depended upon reading the body of a male player as failing to perform ideal femininity, the kind of femininity articulated through the bodies of actors playing leading female lovers and heroines. Once women were on the stage, the contrast was now between women dressed in skirts and men dressed in skirts. As I will discuss, leading players Mohun and Hart each played one comic skirts role, based on records. However, in both cases, their performances of femininity were meant to be comical because their maleness leaks through to those within the world of the play and thus to the crowd in the playhouse. Further, they were both playing dashing male lovers who were temporarily disguising themselves in skirts within the world of the play in order to gain access to the bodies of beautiful women.

The body onstage was the body in Action. "Action" was a word used to describe the actor's body in motion and in sound onstage. For example, Dryden, who complained about the initial failure of his play The Assignation, despite strong performers like Hart and Boutell, wondered if "the fault was in the Play it self, or in *the lameness of the Action*, or in the number of its Enemies."³⁴ If the action (i.e. acting) was lame, then the actors may have stumbled, perhaps over memorization problems if it was mounted with

³⁴ John Dryden, "To My Most Honour'd Friend Sir Charles Sedley, Baronet," dedicatory epistle to the first edition of The Assignation (1673), in The Works of John Dryden, 11:319. My italics.

speed, as suggested by Montague Summers.³⁵ Further, as Colin Visser has discussed in his excellent imaginary reconstruction of the staging of Samuel Tuke's cape-and-sword farce, The Adventure of Five Hours, which as he notes The Assignment resembles in mode, scene changes were rapid and often indicated by the physical position of the actors onstage, by their entrance and exit points, and by possible positions for high intensity choreography, as when "the [sword] fighters issue from the wings" (62).³⁶ Movement requires muscles-in-motion, and this high intensity, farcical choreography was likely challenging to execute, especially when mounted on the boards in the rapid manner customary for the period.³⁷ The play was cast with popular actors who were used to the

³⁵ For discussion see Dryden: The Dramatic Works, 6 vols., ed. Montague Summers (1933; reprint, New York: Gordian Press, 1968), 3: 273. Also see The Works of John Dryden, vol. 11, ed. Loftis, Rodes, and Dearing, 506. The editors write: "We may plausibly guess that the 'lameness of the Action (i.e. 'acting') resulted from haste in mounting the play. The cast included experienced actors and actresses who had proved their abilities."

³⁶ Colin Visser, "The Anatomy of the Early Restoration Stage: The Adventures of Five Hours and John Dryden's Spanish Comedies, Part 1," Theatre Notebook 29, no. 2 (1975): 56-69. Visser's plausible conjecture of staging practices is the best to date. Also see Part 2 of this article in Theatre Notebook 29, no. 3 (1975): 114-19, on 117-19, where he makes a strong case for Dryden's using the actual scene pieces that were used by Davenant to stage Tuke's farce. Visser also provides a brief but very good discussion of the scene change requirements for The Assignment.

³⁷ In The Ornament of Action, on 36, Peter Holland asserts that Restoration serious plays were performed largely upstage and Restoration comedies largely on the forestage. Visser's analysis, published four years before Holland's book, allows for a more flexible way of thinking about how the upstage space would have been used in comedies. Further, performances in which actors were planted on one part of the stage would have been inherently boring, as well as impractical. Comedy often depends on rapid entrances, exits, and near-escapes, as well as overlapping actions that help build momentum, and the pace would drop to a halt if one had to wait for actors to march onto the forestage while others exited. The forestage was a "hot" spot, and no doubt used for many soliloquies and intimate scenes, as well as other things, and I can imagine that was true for both serious and comic plays. I note that in Producible Interpretation, on 65, Milhous and Hume respectfully reject Holland's artificial division between serious and comic plays and upstage/forestage use. P.A. Skantze has recently argued for Restoration actors working

mental and physical demands of this kind of play, but who may have stumbled over lines and choreography.

Action, at the level of bodies, involved muscular response and execution. In his 1698 treatise for painters, A Method to Learn to Design the Passions, of which an English edition was published in English in 1734, Charles LeBrun defined Action as “nothing else but a motion of some part [of the body], and motion is made only by the elasticity of muscles.”³⁸ LeBrun continues, stating that muscles

receive their motion from the nervous juice, which passes through them; the nerves act only by the spirits contained in the cavities of the brain; and the brain receives the spirits immediately from the blood, that passes continually through the heart, which heats and rarifies it so, that, being strait conveyed to, and filling the *cortex* of the brain, a certain fluid juice is there produced, called *Animal* spirits. The brain thus filled, sends back a supply of these spirits to other parts by the nerves, which are like so many little Threads or Pipes, that them to the muscles, in proportion to their need, for the Action to which they are called.

(13-14)

both upstage and on the forestage in comedies by stressing how this kind of blocking would more actively engage the audience. She writes, “playing could engage an intimate actor-to-audience compact on the edge of the apron stage. Managers could also set the racy, bawdy bits all the way to the back of the stage between the moveable scenes: this would force the audience to lean forward, to patch together out of what they could see and what they could hear an idea of what the actors were doing.” This kinetic image of relationship between actor and audience supports the idea of a dynamic use of stage space, for such use would make the comedy more alive, more visually dynamic, and more engaging. See P.A. Skantze, Stillness in Motion in the Seventeenth-Century Theatre (New York: Routledge, 2003), 156.

³⁸ Charles Lebrun, A Method to Learn to Design the Passions (1698), translator John Williams, London, 1734. Facsimile edition. (University of California, Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1980), 13-15, on 13.

The body moves, feels, and responds to the passions, the Animal spirits or “fluid juice,” that changes the internal state, or humor, of the body. The passions, or “emotions of the Soul” to use Le Brun’s definition, might be simple or complex: love is an example of simple passion; despair of complex, a combination of desire and sadness.³⁹

Since passions changed the fluid balance of the body, they affected the internal mental, emotional, and physical states. Love, for example, is described as medicinal:

When Love is unattended with any extraordinary degree of Joy, Desire, or Sadness, the pulse beat regular, and are much higher and stronger than usual: it diffuses a genial warmth into the breast, and procures an easy digestion of food to the stomach; so that This Passion is very good for the health. (19)

An actor onstage in love would be, according to this understanding of the body, in a state of emotional and physical bliss, blood pumping, body juices flowing.

As Le Brun describes them, the passions strongly affect facial expression, and the illustrations in his study all focus on the face and its visual representation in painting. He pays meticulous attention to how the muscles of the face both reflect and reveal inner emotion.⁴⁰ “Pure Love” is serene and “soft,” the face muscles relaxed, the eyes looking

³⁹ See Le Brun, 15 and 38.

⁴⁰ Some of Le Brun’s facial expressions are physiologically impossible, at least in total. As Jennifer Montagu notes in her excellent study, The Expression of the Passions: The Origin and Influence of Charles Le Brun’s Conférence sur l’expression générale et particulière (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 101, “In 1794 James Parsons delivered two lectures to the Royal Society entitled ‘Human Physiology Explain’d,’ which appears to have been the first attempt by a medical man to investigate what really happens to muscles in the face during its various expressive movements [...] he attacked Le Brun [...] for his ignorance of anatomy which led him to multiply the muscles used in each expression.” Montagu then notes that “the results of his investigation come in most cases very close to Le Brun,” the notable exceptions being the muscular expression for Despair, which Parsons imagined as characterized by a laxity of the muscles; Scorn and Derision, for which he faulted the raised corner of the upper lip that Le Brun suggested;

“softly toward the beloved object” (34). “Extreme Despair,” on the other hand, contorts the face. There is a “gnashing of the Teeth [...] and biting of the Lips; the Forehead wrinkled [...] the Eyes all on fire and full of blood [...] the Mouth open, drawing extremely back” (46). The eyebrows are knit, the eyes are wild, the muscles of the mouth are distorted. One must be careful, of course, in assuming that the actor’s face would be the same as the face in a painting. There are practical problems. If the face is too contorted, too enraged, the muscles of the mouth too tight, articulation, for example, could be compromised. The listening actor would of course have more freedom to contort the muscles of the mouth or to bite the lip. I think it is a safe guess that the actor’s face on the Restoration stage reflected internal states to some degree: the face was alive, and the inner condition of the body registered on the muscles of the face. As a point of comparison, the eighteenth-century French actress Clairon wrote in her Mémoires that

All the muscles of the heart should be read on the countenance: muscles which become taut, veins which swell, skin which flushes, give proof to an interior emotion, without which there is never any great talent.⁴¹

and Fear and Terror, for which he “specifically denied that parts of the eyebrow can move in contrary directions, thus undermining the whole theoretical foundation of Le Brun’s system” (102). As another example, Montagu describes the efforts of several seventeenth-century French painters who attempted to find student models to pose in their studios and perform Le Brun’s expressions. One artist tried to get the student to represent Wonder mixed with Joy, which failed, allegedly because of the incompetence of the student. Another sitting, in which a young woman represented Affliction, was a success. Still another artist was concerned that it would be impossible for his model to pose with an expression without its degenerating into a grimace (of course, a model would need to have held an expression for a more extended period of time than would an actor). See Montagu, 95.

⁴¹ Clairon, Mémoires D’Hippolite Clairon, Paris, 1799, 57. Quoted in Dene Barnett, “The Performance Practice of Acting: The Eighteenth Century. Part IV: The Eyes, the Face and the Head,” Theatre Research International 5.1 (1980): 1-36, on 17. Barnett quotes the first edition of Clairon’s Mémoires, in English translation. In the original French the

According to Clairon, the actor's face needed to *prove* by showing the inner emotion, and this included tautness, or a tightening, of the muscles.

To explore the way that the actor might (in theory) have manipulated the muscles of the face, I use the example of Beck Marshall playing opposite Elizabeth Boutell in the climactic murder scene in act 5, scene 1 of The Rival Queens. Marshall, playing Roxana's rage, might have contorted and tightened some of the muscle around her eyebrows, forehead, and lips, which would have made her appear externally wilder than her victim, Statira. She is distorted within by rage, which distorts her without. Her face would reflect her heated inner state, and this level of hot rage shows on and through her female body, for the ideal woman, embodied by Statira, is passive, gentle, and not heated. When Statira is angry, perhaps the muscles on her face might be less knit, as she is to convey noble and just anger, whereas we are to believe that Roxana, while abandoned, is also by her nature venal, heated, jealous, and storming. Today, actors are often called upon to work with subtext, with the discrepancy between appearance and inner motives; thus, the face often masks inner emotions. For the Restoration actor, this would likely be an alien concept. The body would reflect the inner state. Even in moments of deception, I would think the actor's face would "leak" the inner state, either when he or she faces a partner, or when he or she turns away, the strain of the hiding showing on the face, the burn of the heated emotions pushing against the surface of the skin, metaphorically speaking, but quite literally, the muscles of the face responding to the emotions the actor is playing.

passage reads, "Tous les mouvemens de l'ame doivent se lire sur la physionomie: des muscles qui se tendent, des veines qui se gonflent, une peau qui rougit, prouvent une émotion intérieure, sans laquelle il n'est jamais de grand talent."

One idea that surfaces and resurfaces in the primary material concerning the face is that the eyes begin the action (seeing the object), followed by the turn of the head in the direction of the eye, followed by gesture, and then by voice.⁴² This of course happens fluidly, so that the movement from eyes to voice seems to move from the body as if inspired by the effect of that which it perceives. This supports the notion that what is experienced within soon finds movement and sound, from a smaller movement (the look of the eye) to a larger claiming of space through gesture and voice. We cannot know if this is exactly how roles were enacted on the Restoration stage, but I feel fairly confident in asserting that the eyes, face, and head played a prominent role in embodiment. Le Brun writes that the face, being closest to the brain, expresses the passions most strongly (20). This idea is further commented upon by Gildon, who had the opportunity to observe London actors in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, and who wrote that “The Countenance, indeed, is chang’d into many Forms, and it is commonly the certain Index of the Passions of the Mind” (45). Gildon’s assertion may reflect an ideal, but it seems likely that the face of the actor played an important role in communicating emotions and even in shaping the perception of type.

Beyond the face, the carriage and movement of the body was of course integral to the playing of roles. Our understanding of seventeenth-century acting styles, as far as can be deduced by extant evidence, is that the gestures were codified and passed down by tradition. In his impressive study of seventeenth and eighteenth-century manuals of rhetoric and treatises on acting and oratory, Dene Barnett observes that across time and

⁴² See Dene Barnett, The Art of Gesture: The Practices and Principles of 18th Century Acting (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1987), 368-377. Also see Barnett, “The Performance Practice of Acting: The Eighteenth Century. Part IV: The Eyes, the Face and the Head,” *passim*.

geographies there seem to have been certain consistencies in the rules for oratory and rhetoric, and that these are also reflected in the treatises by actors that he has studied and by extant images.⁴³ Although in his book length study Barnett focuses on gestures used in serious plays, I would like to venture a guess about comic playing style in its broadest sense.⁴⁴ Based on what we can deduce from the materials we have, with the Restoration theatre, we are talking about a style of performance in which the body of the actor would be expected to work in a physically demanding, high energy manner, both in serious and comic plays. Charles Hart, for example, would in a comic, dashing soft-rake role be called upon to use gestures to flirt, seduce, challenge, fight, and so on, but probably in a more informal way than in serious plays. The idea that Hart would need to move differently as Don Juan than as Antony is most probably true, but how, specifically, is not provable. We can speculate that most likely the leading actors had to have flexible voices and bodies in order to meet stylistic demands.⁴⁵

In serious roles, he and the others in the cast would most likely have embodied their roles using more formal, codified gesture. Barnett makes a division between “epic,”

⁴³ Barnett, *The Art of Gesture*, *passim*. Also see his series of five articles, “The Performance Practice of Acting: The Eighteenth Century,” in *Theatre Research International*, 1977-1981; “Part 1: Ensemble Acting,” vol. 2, no. 3 (1977):157-185; “Part II: The Hands,” vol. 3, no. 1 (1977):1-18; “Part III: The Arms,” vol. 3, no. 2 (1978): 79-92; “Part IV: The Eyes, the Face and the Head” (1980); Part V: Posture and Attitudes,” vol. 4, no. 1 (1981):1-32.

⁴⁴ See Barnett, *The Art of Gesture*, 15. In Barnett’s opinion “the performance of 18th century comedy was rather more formal and less naturalistic than that of modern comedy, and consequently many of the basic techniques described here can quite validly be applied to comedy.”

⁴⁵ As Milhous and Hume note in *Producible Interpretation*, 65, there would most likely have been stylistic differences between serious and comic plays both in terms of voice and physical life, although not the radical divisions that some scholars have proposed.

“intermediate,” and “plain” styles of rhetorical delivery, which is categorically useful.⁴⁶ Comic playing, at least for the leads, would probably be “plainer” in the main, meaning, simpler and less ornamental, unless the character was performing a formal social gesture, such as a bow or curtsy. I can imagine, however, that even in comic plays more formal and less formal gestures would be used by the actor in a role, depending on where he was, who he was with, and what he wanted. The “epic” style, what one could reasonably expect to find in a Restoration serious play, was heightened, and akin to opera in its demands. Barnett stresses that opera and the “epic style” of acting, in other words, the acting of heightened roles in serious plays, demanded similar performance styles.⁴⁷

What did the gesture of this operatic actor look like? I would like to explore this by imagining the body of the male epic hero in a moment of victory. As I discuss in Chapter 2, John Downes praised Hart in the role of the hero Alexander the Great in Lee’s The Rival Queens for his majestic presence onstage:

Hart acting that [Alexander the Great in Lee’s The Rival Queens] with such Grandeur and Agreeable Majesty, That one of the Court was pleas’d to Honour him with the Commendation; That *Hart* might Teach any King on Earth how to Comport himself. (41)⁴⁸

⁴⁶ See Barnett, The Art of Gesture, 326-345.

⁴⁷ See Barnett, The Art of Gesture, 15-17, and see “Finding the Appropriate Attitude: Dene Barnett in Conversation with Ian Parker,” Early Music 8 (January 1980): 65-69.

⁴⁸ Thomas Davies paraphrases Downes’s words, although he presents the passage as a direct quote. In Davies, the passage reads as follows: “[Hart’s] action, in that character [Alexander], was so excellent, that no prince in Europe need be ashamed to learn deportment from him.” See Davies, 3:260. This has a somewhat different and interesting meaning: the lower-in-status actor was so skilled in his embodiment of nobility that he could teach deportment to a European nobleman, with no shame to the noble.

How did one play majesty, and what did Hart look like in the role?

From what we can deduce, Hart as Alexander might have looked something like this in his carriage: feet, while standing, set in a position much like the third position in ballet, or perhaps, for a narrower stance, in a fourth position. The feet, as far as we can deduce, were most likely never placed heel to heel with toes pointing out, or in parallel, as this was considered ungainly.⁴⁹ The arms, so surviving manuals of rhetoric tell us, had a slight bend in the elbow and generally moved between waist and chest level, except for extreme emotions, as when an actor might gesture toward heaven.⁵⁰ Male actors may have worked with their arms more akimbo and with the elbow thus further away from the body, particularly if they were playing warriors, and we ought to allow for a range of widths for both men and women.⁵¹ A woman playing a bolder, high status character might well have worked with her arms further away from her body. Costume, of course, played a part in arm movement and position. The cut of the shirt, and the fit of the men's coat and women's dress, affected how high the arm could reach and necessitated a bend in the elbow joint.

To imagine Hart's body as Alexander, we need to conjecture, for we have no visual image to show us what he looked like. However, there is an extant engraving of a later leading actor, William Smith (1730-1819), playing Alexander. One must be cautious

⁴⁹ See Barnett, The Art of Gesture, 134.

⁵⁰ See Barnett, The Art of Gesture, 134, and "Part III: The Arms," TRI, *passim*.

⁵¹ I take my inspiration from the work on sixteenth and seventeenth-century elbow positions by Joaneath Spicer, who studied European portraits dated 1500-1650 as well as primary documents. See Joaneath Spicer, "The Renaissance Elbow," A Cultural History of Gesture, ed. Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg, intro. Sir Keith Thomas (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 84-128, *passim*.

about reading actual performance practice from engravings; however, the body in the engraving seems in accord with other extant evidence about embodying roles.

The engraving of Smith is an imaginative exercise that shows him gesturing and articulating lines from act 2, scene 1 in The Rival Queens.⁵² Alexander has just returned to Babylon, and he faces his general, Clytus, members of the court, and his army of soldiers. If this were the live performance, the conspirators who are planning his death would be onstage, and although Alexander would not see them, his presence would fuel their anger and desire to kill. In the live performance, we would have just seen an omen staged over and probably behind the heads of the actors in which an eagle, which we will soon learn represents Alexander, is defeated by a dragon and drops to his death (238). The engraving captures Smith's body as he gestures upward, articulating the lines that are recorded on the engraving, "When Glory like the dazling Eagle stood / Perch'd on my Beaver in the Granick Hood" (241).⁵³ By gesturing upward, he emphasizes his connection to the gods, and to his own status as powerful warrior whom the fates have

⁵² Printed in John Bell, Patron of British Theatrical Portraiture: A Catalogue of the Theatrical Portraits in His Editions of *Bell's Shakespeare* and *Bell's British Theatre*, ed. Kalman A. Burnim and Philip A. Highfill, Jr. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998), plate 309. Artist: J. Roberts. Engraver: J. Thornthwaite. Line engraving 11.4 x 9.2. The engraving of Smith in the role was first published on 23 November 1776 in Bell's British Theatre. It reads "Act II, scene 2;" however, there is no scene 2 in Lee's play, based on the 1677 edition, nor do Stroup and Cooke indicate such an alternation being present in later editions (217). Since this is the opening scene, "scene 2" seems an error. As the BD editors note, Smith first played Alexander in the 1766-67 season. See BD 14:176. I note that according to LS Part IV, ed. George Winchester Stone, vol. 3, Smith was still playing Alexander in the mid-1770s. He is on record for playing the role on 21 December 1773 and on 28 March 1776, eight months before the engraving was published. See LS, Part IV, 3:1772 and 3:1964.

⁵³ Alexander defeated Darius at Granic. In these two lines he is saying that he was a glorious fighter at Granic, that he smote the enemy, that the gods were with him, and that his eagle-like bravery shown forth from him.

until now favored. Remembering that in the theatre we would have just watched an eagle fall, this moment is ironic and foreboding. The fall of the eagle is important to an understanding of Alexander's character, for he utters four lines later in this speech (and this line is not marked on the engraving) that "I myself appear'd the leading God" (241).

In the engraving, Smith stands with feet in fourth position, chest broad and open, the body in a gentle "S" curve extending diagonally from left foot to right hand. The head is upright, the gaze in the direction of the sky strong. The right hand reaches up toward the sky above, fingers wide, and the left hand grasps a spear. The right hand stretching upward is in accord with ideas articulated in manuals of rhetoric and in visual images produced during the eighteenth century and traced by Barnett, and as articulated by physician John Bulwer in Chirologia (1644), bound together with his Chironomia and published in 1644. Bulwer makes the point that an actor invoking god or heaven ought to reach his hand toward heaven: "[at the] Olympique Games [...] there enters the Stage a ridiculous Player, who when in a Tragedy he had cried out *O Zeus, O Coelum!* [Oh Zeus, Oh Heaven], he put forth his Hand to the earth."⁵⁴ The player, as Bulwer tells it, is ridiculous because his gestures are illogical: the actor ought not to point toward earth when he cries to heaven. In another reference to the hands stretched upward to heaven, Bulwer writes that "the EXTENSION OF OUR HANDS, which supplying the place of

⁵⁴ John Bulwer, Chironomia, bound as Chirologia, or the Naturall Language of the Hand, Composed of the Speaking Motions, and Discoursing Gestures thereof; Whereunto is added Chironomia, Or, The Art of Manuel Rhetoric, London, 1644, 135. ProQuest facsimile edition, 2002. Translation courtesy of Chirologia: or, the Natural Language of the Hand and Chironomia: The Art of Manual Rhetoric, ed. James W. Cleary, forward by David Potter (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1974), cxiii, notes 549 and 550. Unless specified otherwise, all quotations henceforth are from the 1644 facsimile edition.

[angel's, or possibly bird's] wings, helpe our hearts in their flight upward [...] to the throne of grace.”⁵⁵ This juxtaposition is appropriate to a warrior who is recalling a great battle, who is a self-proclaimed eagle spreading his arm-wings, who gestures upward to hearken toward the gods and to emphasize his own power, but who is very much of the flesh-and-blood world, and a warrior hungry to be remembered as brave. His right arm and hand seem to be making the gesture “*Praeclara aggredior* (I attempt to perform great deeds),” based on Bulwer’s written description: “he is said to have his RIGHT HAND EXHALTED [lifted] who is made powerful and glorious.” Quoting the Bible, Psalm 89, he continues, “Thou hast a mighty Arme, strong is thy *Hand*, and HIGH IS THY RIGHT HAND” (70).⁵⁶ I am not claiming that the engraving represents the exact body position of Smith, or of Hart before him. However, the bold, broad gesture toward the sky can be defended as a possible way that it might have been played in accordance with character type and moment in the action, based on written and visual evidence.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Bulwer, *Chirologia*, 14-15. I preserve the capitalization in the original text.

⁵⁶ Unfortunately there is no chiroform for this gesture, but the written description aptly describes the position of Smith’s arm and hand as he articulates Alexander’s lines of self-proclaimed glory. For the full description of the gesture, see Bulwer, *Chirologia* (1644), 69-71. For the reference to Psalm 89, see Cleary (1974), lxvi, note 333.

⁵⁷ The engraving, for example, seems accurate in terms of its showing Smith reaching up with his right hand. The right hand, as Barnett stresses in *The Art of Gesture*, 24, would in general be favored, the exceptions being if the left hand needed to support the story told by the gestures with the right, or if using the right hand would result in the actor’s upstaging him or herself. I strongly suspect that in live performance the right hand was favored for many of the gestures made by heroic characters, but this would be sacrificed if the actor needed to use the left hand so as not to block the front of his or her body. Goethe, for example, articulated in his *Rules for Actors* (1803) that “He who stands on the right side acts with the left hand and conversely, so that the breast be covered as little as possible.” See “Appendix: Goethe’s Rules for Actors (1803),” in Marvin Carlson, *Goethe and the Weimer Theatre* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978), 309-318, on 316, rule 60. Barnett reprints this rule in a slightly different translation.

As my analysis of this engraving has shown, the direction in which the arm reached was an important tool for communication on the Restoration stage. Like arms and faces, muscles and joints of the hand seemed to have been very specifically articulated in an actor's embodiment of roles. John Bulwer, who was the first in early modern England to write a systematic study of rhetorical gestures replete with visual aids, specifically, chiroforms of hand positions, stressed that the language of the hand might be "as easily perceived and understood, as if Man had another mouth."⁵⁸ Bulwer's meticulous attention to the body as physically articulating meaning is profoundly important to acting. In *Elizabethan Acting*, B. L. Joseph has eloquently covered this topic, tracing the close relationship between rhetorical gesture, oratory, and early modern acting, and I see no reason to challenge the idea that there were strong correlations between oratory and acting.⁵⁹ Joseph quotes, for example, playwright John Webster's short piece, "An Excellent Actor" (1615), in which Webster suggests a strong correlation between oratory and acting practices: "Whatever is commendable in the grave orator, is most exquisitely perfect in [the excellent actor]; for by a full and significant action of body, he charms our attention."⁶⁰ I am leery of saying that the gestures were rigidly codified across disciplines without variance, but I imagine that they were likely a part of the actor's vocabulary in a systemized, even if slightly modified form in the gap from

⁵⁸ John Bulwer, *Chirologia*, 1. This quote was brought to my attention by Julie Stone Peters, *Theatre of the Book 1480-1880: Print, Text, and Performance in Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 156. Peters cites Cleary's edition, on 15.

⁵⁹ Joseph, *Elizabethan Acting*, *passim*.

⁶⁰ Quoted in Joseph, *Elizabethan Acting*, 5. My source is the copy of the complete short piece as reprinted in *Actors on Acting*, ed. Toby Cole and Helen Krich Chinoy (1949; New York: Crown Trade Paperbacks, 1970), 88-89, on 89.

Elizabethan oratory to Restoration acting companies, and possibly more fluid in their execution than the rigid prescriptions suggest. Nor can we see the moving transitions from position to position when we look at Bulwer's chiroforms, which are fundamental to gestural life and embodiment in terms of pace and rhythm alone.

Bulwer was in fact interested in how these gestures could be used by "men that are borne deafe and dumb."⁶¹ The body is seen by him as capable of a heightened expressiveness, which is essential to rhetoric, oratory, and to acting. Bulwer based his system of gestures on his readings of classical works (for example, the Bible, Vergil's *Aeneid*, Quintilian, and Cicero's writings on oratory), but he justified them in his introductory epistle as useful to the civil man or woman, as "Gestures of the Body, which are no less comprehensible by Art, and of great use and advantage, as being no small part of civill prudence."⁶² Bulwer's system was, after all, an ideal embodied in contemporary terms, evidenced by the way in which he overlays Christ on classical rhetoric: "This *naturall Language of the Hand*, as it had the happiness to escape the curse at the confusion of Babel: so it has since been sanctified and made a holy language by the expressions of our Saviours *Hands*" (7). Bulwer creates a system so that the body can be an ideal, heightened, even glorified expressive instrument, and these are exactly the demands placed on an actor's body.

⁶¹ Bulwer, *Chironomia*, 5. For a short but good discussion of Bulwer's interest in developing a gestural language that could be used by the deaf, see James R. Knowles, "The Idea of Gesture as a Universal Language in the XVIITH and XVIIITH Centuries," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 26 (1965): 455-508, on 496-97.

⁶² Bulwer, "To the Candid and Ingenious Reader. This Copy of my IDEA; or the Hint, Scope, and generall Projection," n.p. For a full list of Bulwer's classical sources, see Cleary (1974), introduction, xx-xxi.

Onstage, the gesturing actor, controlling the muscles in hands, limbs, and face, would had to have been aware of body posture, and the position of the body was probably very open. Most likely the chest was kept open to the audience, much as Smith's is in the engraving, because the actor probably spoke his or her lines in a full or three quarter position, although he or she may have turned more toward partners to listen. These assertions are based on surviving manuals, but also on the acoustical situation in the playhouse. As Robert D. Hume and Judith Milhous have recently asserted in vivid terms, "Decorum" in the Restoration playhouse was not unlike that of a "present-day football game."⁶³ Audiences could be rowdy, and noise levels in the theatre high. If the actor turned to the side to speak, projection out into the house would be compromised in what was already a competitive situation—the actor had to talk over the lively crowd. My personal sense is that all these "rules" are ideals, and that in the real space of the theatre, the actor's body was more flexibly used than it is described on paper. The body has to move, turn, cross, express in time and space moment-to-moment, and I think that the codifications of movement were part of the fabric of technique, but that we must allow for variances.

I would like to use the simple example of a bow in a comic play to consider how a formal gesture would be endowed by circumstances, affecting its actual execution. In Acting in Restoration Comedy, Simon Callow describes very well the way in which the physical body is informed by a character's desires. Callow is speaking here of his experience playing Lord Foppington in John Vanbrugh's The Relapse (1696), a role

⁶³ Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, "Murder in Elizabeth Barry's Dressing Room," forthcoming in the Yale Library Gazette. I wish to thank the authors for providing me with a copy of their draft.

created by Colley Cibber in the original production. Foppington is physically extravagant, but the details that Callow outlines can be extended to other types of roles, for he speaks of the body affected by, and trying to effect, another:

In Restoration society, if I am bowing to a man who is almost my social peer, there is a certain familiarity and ordinariness to the bow, as of long practice. If I am bowing to a woman that I desire, I take trouble to make sure she experiences it fully. I catch her with my eye, make her aware that I am perhaps touching the ground as I bow, and I catch her eye as I come up again, maybe adding a flourish or two with my hand as I go. Neither the man nor the woman to whom I bow would fail to understand the signals that I was putting out. Because the practice of bowing has social formality, it is hard for the husband to legitimately take offence, even though the gesture of the particular bow may be quite explicit to both husband and wife.⁶⁴

Callow is a twentieth-century actor, so one must use caution in overlaying his ideas upon seventeenth-century actors, but what he says makes sense for interactions on stage in order for the actor to be responding to a partner in a way that is unique, and not general and wooden. On stage, Hart as Don Juan in The Chances, for example, would surely have bowed differently to the Second Constantia, whom he is trying to seduce; to his friend Frederick, with whom he has a close and familiar bond; and to the Duke, with whom he has a formal relationship and to whom he would need to show deference. In his carriage, he probably displayed some of the characteristics of Il Capitano: chest wide and open, a confident stride, an expressive face, bold in his use of space without being overly-

⁶⁴ Simon Callow, Acting in Restoration Comedy (New York: Applause Books, 1991), 62-63

aggressive, and courtly in his use of arms, hands, and in carriage, to reflect that he is well bred.

Don Juan's attitudes would no doubt shift depending on whom he is with: there is a difference between standing with a woman to whom one has just made love and confronting an angry lord, for example. When he chases after the Second Constantia, his body might break—that is, he might move more loosely, fluidly, rapidly, and then, when speaking, again assume a resting but still animated posture of the soldier-gentleman. The sense of play lives in the actor's body when he embodies a role. Hart had a wide range, and his body, as the romantic lead body, was probably more alive and fluid than the manuals suggest.

What, if anything, were the differences between the way men and women used their bodies onstage? The manuals of rhetoric were written for men. Women players probably used the same gestures used by male players, derived, at least in large measure, from these sources. Boy actors playing women would have been trained in the same rhetorical system as adult male players (many of whom, including Hart and Mohun, would have learned to gesture as youths). It seems likely, although not provable, that once men and women began working together onstage, male players' vocabulary of gestures was simply passed onto women unchanged, just as it once would have been to boys who were playing female parts. However, I suspect that women players' gestures, particularly the heroine or passive woman's (the kinds of roles that Kynaston played as a youth), would have in general been less bold in space than the gestures of adult male players. Likewise, the women players in leading innocent roles surely would have been less bold in their movements than would the women playing bold, headstrong villainesses

or broader character parts—roles that at one time were almost surely played by adult men. Cibber's account of Kynaston's early work in female roles, which I have previously cited, contains a specific reference to the "stately step he was so early confin'd to, in a female Decency."⁶⁵ We cannot know how literal this is, but it was likely physically true that there was a feminine type of "stately step." Women's stances may have been narrower, their arm movements closer to their body. Hannah Woolley wrote in her conduct manual for women, published in 1673, that

It is an easie matter to gather the disposition of our heart, by the dimension of our Gait. A light carriage most commonly discovers a loose inclination; as jetting and strutting, shew haughtiness, and self-conceit. Were your bodies transparent, you could not more perspicuously display your levity than by wanton Gesticulations. *Decency*, when she seeth Women, whose modesty should be the Ornament of their beauty, demean themselves in the streets, or elsewhere, more like an Actoress [sic], than Virtu's Imitatress.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Cibber, *Apology*, 121.

⁶⁶ Note "Actoress" breaks down into Actor-ess, which is a feminization of the male noun. Hannah Woolley, *The Gentlewomans Companion; or, A Guide to the Female Sex Containing Directions of Behaviour, in All Places, Companies, Relations, and Conditions, from Their Childhood Down to Old Age: Viz. As, Children to Parents. Scholars to Governours. Single to Servants. Virgins to Suitors. Married to Husbands. Huswifes to the House Mistresses to Servants. Mothers to Children. Widows to the World Prudent to All. With Letters and Discourses Upon All Occasions. Whereunto is Added, a Guide for Cook-maids, Dairy-maids, Chamber-maids, and All Others that Go to Service. The Whole Being an Exact Rule for the Female Sex in General* (London, 1675), 37. Bodleian MS. 80.D.2(1)Art. Facsimile copy in *Conduct Literature for Women, 1640-1710*, ed. William St Clair and Irmgard Maassen, 6 vols., (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2002), 4: 164-367. In their excellent introduction to the text, 159-63, St Clair and Maassen note that Woolley was born into the middling classes, and that she was "one of the first women who earned a living by the pen" (162). They also discuss the complex publication history of this text. Apparently, an unauthorized edition was published in 1673 under her name, culled from another text by her. She threatened a lawsuit (murky

Here, “Decency” is a personification who seeks to instruct the woman whose carriage and gestures might otherwise be as loose as that of an “actress,” meaning, liberal in her display of the body. The female body, as Woolley imagines it, must be policed, else it will lose its “female Decency,” to borrow Cibber’s words in his description of Kynaston’s early work in female parts.

Conduct manuals idealize the body of the aristocrat and can hardly be said to reflect real behavior in all its variances, but they can be read for their attempt to codify the body.⁶⁷ For women, this codification is containment: the body must be decent, delicate, unassuming, and never too bold, else one, says Woolley, risks being no better than an actress. Here, Woolley probably refers to the idea of the real-life actress, a woman bold (and in her mind, immoral) enough to enter an unseemly profession, but possibly also to the actress onstage, who, in certain roles, might be called upon to be physically assertive in ways that would be considered indecorous in life, as far as an aspirant to the aristocratic ideal might be concerned.

Onstage, of course, a leading actress would have to know how to present a body controlled, poised, and contained. Since women players, with rare exception, came from the lower to middle economic strata, they would not have been conditioned since

territory in a period before plagiarism laws were formalized). Apparently, her threat worked, for she then gained permission to look over the book, removing, as she put it, what was “scandalous, ridiculous, and impertinent” (161). The editors add that “the book was imprinted with her name, unchanged and apparently unprotected, at least twice by a different publisher in 1675 and 1682,” and make the astute point that “Conduct literature, by its nature, has always been characterized by a high degree of intertextuality” (161-62). I am quoting from the “authorized” 1675 edition of the text. I note that in the 1673 edition (online version, EEBO, 37-38, site visited 9 November 2003), the passage I quote above reads verbatim.

⁶⁷ For discussion, see Michael Curtin, “A Question of Manners: Status and Gender in Etiquette and Courtesy,” *Journal of Modern History* 57 (1985): 395-423, on 396-98.

childhood to comport themselves in an aristocratic manner. An actress like Gwyn, who came from the lower class, and who, if a piece of gossip is accurate, may have been “brought up in [her mothers’] bawdy-house to fill strong waters to the guests,”⁶⁸ would have had to learn in her training as an actor how to carry herself like royalty on stage, at least for heroic roles.⁶⁹ In comic roles, where the body could be more animated in the female rogue parts she played, a more boisterous use of the body could be an asset. An actress who could be “in her body,” to use a contemporary expression for the actor who is physically free onstage, would have an advantage when it came to embodying physical horseplay, as when Gwyn, playing the comic rogue Mirida and teasing a clownish suitor, rolled about on the floor of the stage in James Howard’s All Mistaken.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ See Pepys, Diary, 8:503; and see John Harold Wilson, Nell Gwyn, 7-8.

⁶⁹ The ability or lack thereof of an actress to carry her body like one of higher station than middle class was commented upon by Clairon in her “Portrait de Mlle. Dumesnil,” in which she criticized the actress’s body and gestural flaws: “Mlle. Dumesnil was neither beautiful nor attractive; her features, her figure, her whole appearance, though without any actual defects, *presented to the eye only a middle-class woman devoid of grace and elegance, one often on a level with the lowest class of people* [...] Her gestures were often too vigorous for a woman: they had neither fullness nor mellowness.” My italics. Note the use of “mellowness” to describe a desired quality in female gesture, reminiscent of Curll’s use of “mellow” to describe Boutell’s voice. As A.M. Nagler notes in A Source Book in Theatrical History (New York: Dover, 1952), 292, Clairon was “by no means an objective critic” of her future rival’s work, however, she was also forthcoming in her praise of Dumesnil’s strengths in her “portrait.” See “Portrait de Mlle. Dumesnil,” Mémoires de Mlle. Clairon (Paris, 1822), pp. 288-291, excerpt reprinted in Nagler, 292-93.

⁷⁰ James Howard, All Mistaken, or the Mad Couple, London, 1672, 55. I am reading from the original text. Lampoon evidence suggests that Lord Buckhurst, George Sackville, later Earl of Dorset, fell in love with Gwyn when he saw her rolling about on the floor in this scene: “He saw her role the stage from side to side / And threw her drawers, / The powerful charm descry’d.” From “The Lady of Pleasure or The Life of Nelly Truly Drawn—From Hop-Yard Cellar to the Throne ’Till into th’ Grave it Tumbl’d Down.” Bodleian Firth c. 15, 245-60, on 256. Wilson gives a colorful version of this love-at-first sight story in Nell Gwyn, 71-74.

For men, the vigorously physical body seems to have been in real life and onstage more exalted. Men and women were encouraged to keep their bodies healthy, but males could participate in more robust and competitive sport, and were encouraged to. Such a notion that males ought to have strong and able bodies might be projected unto them at a very early age, suggesting that the connection between maleness and physical activity, at least for some, was strong. Adam Martindale, born into the yeoman class, boasted of his two-year old son in circa 1663 performing a precocious, and I note, Almanzor-like action by fighting off a calf with a stick:

[John] was a beautiful child, and very manly and courageous for his age [...] We had a wanton tearing calfe, that would runne at children to beare them over. This calfe he would encounter with a sticke in his hand, when he was about two yeares old [...] stand his ground stoutly, beate it back, and triumph over it, crying *caw*, *caw*, meaning he had beaten the calfe. I doe not think one child of 100 his age durst do so much.⁷¹

Martindale describes his two year old son performing this physical action with “manly” courage. As another example, Lady Mary (Verney), in 1647, wrote to her husband of their thirteen year old son Jack that he “appears to me by candlelight to be a brave lusty

⁷¹ Adam Martindale, The Life of Adam Martindale, Written By Himself, ed. Rev. Richard Parkinson, Remains Historical and Literary Connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, vol. IV (Manchester: Charles Simms and Co., 1845), 154. Martindale’s autobiography was brought to my attention by way of Elizabeth Foyster, “Boys will be Boys? Manhood and Aggression, 1660-1800,” English Masculinities, 1660-1800, ed. Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen (London: Longman, 1999), 151-66, on 153. She draws upon a secondary source rather than Martindale’s original autobiography.

boy.”⁷² Costume alone, both off stage and onstage, would have encouraged boys to be more physically active, or “lusty,” and girls, more physically contained. Boys, at least of a certain social rank, were ceremoniously breeched at about five or six, marking a rite of passage from “the nursery into the male world.”⁷³ Prior to this age, both sexes lived in skirts. Boys of the lower to middle classes would also have been put in breeches in youth, with or without formal or informal ceremony.

In Jean Gailhard’s conduct manual for young men, The Compleat Gentleman, published in London in 1674, physical activity is exalted:

Young men do very well to follow those Exercises, which make the body healthful, lusty, and strong, for they are good: such are the forenamed [Dancing, Fencing, Riding] with Running, Wrestling, Leaping, if decent, which are of great use in War, because they fit the body for hardship.⁷⁴

⁷² Lady Mary to Sir Ralph Verney, 4 March 1647. Excerpt cited in Miriam Slater, Family Life in the Seventeenth Century: The Verneys of Claydon House (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 126. Also cited by Fletcher, Gender, Sex & Subordination in England, 1500-1800, 87. Unfortunately, in Fletcher’s study, we lose the full context. Lady Verney was apparently stressing the physical robustness of the boy because the bones in his legs were deformed, possibly as a result of rickets. In a letter to his wife dated 28 February/10 March 1647, Sir Ralph asks if the doctor had “a remedy for Jack’s leggs” (quoted in Slater, on 126). Fletcher is right to stress that physical robustness and a “lusty” body were seen as important virtues in a young male, even, in this case, if “lusty” was a word used by a mother trying to reassure her anxious husband of the health of their ill son.

⁷³ Fletcher, Gender, Sex & Subordination in England, 1500-1800, 87. Paul Griffiths qualifies breeching ceremonies as belonging to a certain rank in Youth and Authority, 140.

⁷⁴ Jean Gailhard, The Compleat Gentleman, or Directions for the Education of Youth as to Their Breeding at Home and Travelling Abroad. In Two Treatises, London, 1678. British Library. Shelfmark 1030.f.1.(1-2.), 1:51. Although these were ideals, they were ideals that might be embraced by the gentry. For example, In A True Relation of My Birth, Breeding, and Life (1656), Margaret Cavendish, nee Lucas, born in 1623 into a wealthy gentry family, and Lady Marchionesses and later Duchess of Newcastle, proudly

The healthy male body is here imagined as lusty and strong, words that suggest physical boldness and even a freedom to use and extend the body in space.

In The Life of Mr. Thomas Betterton (1710), Charles Gildon also placed stress upon the need for what he named the complete actor to be healthy and physically fit:

He should not be too tall, not too low and dwarfish, but of a moderate Size;
neither over-fleshy, which is prodigious, nor over-lean, like a Skeleton [...] A
Player, therefore, should be of an active, pliant, and compacted Body, which may
be improv'd by learning to dance, fence and vault. (140)

Gildon's ideal actor is a male persona, so the emphasis on fencing and vaulting needs to be understood as being addressed to male performers (women players would of course need to train in dance). Fencing is one means by which a man might literally thrust his body forward and lengthen the reach of his arms by means of a rapier as extension of that limb, so that the volume of space he takes is wide. Jennifer A. Low equates the seventeenth-century rapier with the twentieth-century hockey stick in its ability to widen the male sense of space: "the extension of personal space may initially depend on actually extending the rapier which is experienced as part of the body. Nor is this sense unique to

stated that "[My brothers'] practice was, when they met together, to exercise themselves with fencing, wrestling, shooting and such like exercises, for I observed they did seldome hawk or hunt, and very seldome or never dance, or play on Musick, saying it was too effeminate for Masculine Spirits." See Paper Bodies: A Margaret Cavendish Reader, ed. Sylvia Bowerbank and Sara Mendelson (Ontario, Canada: Broadview Literary Press, 2000), 41-63, on 44. Margaret Cavendish was a writer whose works include plays, none of which were staged, although several of her husband William's were. The reference to Cavendish's comment on her brothers' exercises was brought to my attention by Fletcher, Gender, Sex & Subordination in England, 1500-1800, 87, note 12.

the sword; a twentieth-century hockey player, for example, may consider his stick a part of him.”⁷⁵

A male actor would be accustomed to taking up more space. He would be trained in fencing, while the women would not have been, as a rule, although they may have been instructed on how to hold the rapier and make basic moves for certain parts. For example, Nell Gwyn, playing Mirida in All Mistaken, fights with a sword to rid herself of the corpulent male suitor who dotes on her : “Come, I’le let out all your Fat and Love at / One Thrust.-----[*Fights and disarms him*] (56). In such instances the woman player would have been coached by one of her male colleagues to hold the sword and swing, and the scene would have been short and tightly choreographed.⁷⁶ If the fighting was slightly ungainly, that might have added to the humor, although one gets the sense from the All Mistaken scene that the humor comes from Gwyn’s being surprisingly capable with the sword, at least enough so as to disarm a physically unfit male, a kind of gender slippage that could pass in the comic world.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Low, Manhood and the Duel, 49.

⁷⁶ We have a known eighteenth-century example of a female performer studying sword fighting in preparation for a role, and in this case, studying it extensively. The performer is Mme Théodore Dauberval, who played the lead role of Calysto in a production of the ballet Le Siege de Cythère, staged at the Pantheon in London in 1791. As Judith Milhous, Gabriella Dideriksen, and Robert D. Hume note in their thoughtful discussion of the production in Italian Opera in the Late Eighteenth-Century London, vol. 2, an extant scenario of the ballet survives, in which are jotted marginal notes by Mme Théodore. The authors summarize Mme Théodore’s notes concerning her study as follows: “Mme Théodore noted that she studied swordsmanship for months in preparation, to perfect the ‘delicacy’ of her timing in contrast to the many blows demonstrating her opponent’s strength” (586). Mme Theodore’s opponent, Brontes, was played by a male performer. The authors note on 586, note 3 that Mme Theodore identifies her instructor as Donadieu.

⁷⁷ There is also a tragicomic example: William Killigrew’s Seege of Urbin (London, 1664), in which, according to the author’s manuscript copy of the play with emendations for performance (or intended performance) and a cast list (Bodleian MS. Rawl. Poet. 29),

Onstage, the male actors who played leading lover roles would be expected to have a graceful, fit, able body; in short, the “ideal” body evoked in the conduct books, the content of which advocates an upper class ideal. As evidence, I invoke Don Juan’s words in The Chances, spoken by Hart, who created the role, when he describes his body as “well-knit” (2.2.91) and the ideal man as “A handsome man; a wholesome man, a tough man, / A liberal man, a likely man, / Made up like Hercules, unslack’d with Service” (2.2.117-20); in other words, a gentleman soldier’s body that is sportive, conditioned, lusty, confident. Similarly, Mohun, embodying the soldier Ventidius in All For Love, is “braver” than other Romans, possessing the “fierceness” and “rugged virtue” of a martial warrior—sportive, physically strong, muscular (4). Mohun, as Ventidius, must be perceived as strong, fit, and capable of intense and even deadly physical action. The playful comic hero and the noble serious soldier are both physically conditioned men. The descriptions of these “types” of male characters thus probably closely corresponded to the bodies of Hart and Mohun, at least in the 1660s and possibly into the 1670s. I note

Anne Marshall (Rebecca’s sister) played the noble Celina and Nell Gwyn played her maid, Melina. The two women cross-dress as soldiers and run away so that Celina can escape her father’s tyranny. Celina, dressed as Florio, and Melina, dressed as Pedro, fight off by sword robbers who are attacking the heroic Fernando, a role assigned to Mohun in the manuscript. Florio/Celina fights admirably, as evidenced by her success in fighting off the thieves, and in Fernando’s impassioned question to her as an able swordsman who is as beautiful as Venus: “To what Angel’s Face, and Heroes Arms, do I owe my Life? Or has great Mars put Venus’s figure on? [...] what are you Sir?” (7). My source is the Readex copy of the 1664 text. It is not certain that the play was performed. The LS editors assert that if it was acted, it was likely acted in the 1664-65 season (see LS, 82). In Restoration Promptbooks, Langhans quite logically asserts that the existence of the amended manuscript suggests a possible performance (516), and Montague Summers, in The Playhouse of Pepys, suggests the same (255-57). Summers studied the amended manuscript and summarized the changes to the original, and I note that the scene in which Florio fends off the robbers is left intact. This is not surprising, for Anne Marshall and Nell Gwyn wielding swords as dashing, cross-dressed soldiers in this romantic tale would have been a commercial draw. I find it plausible that the play was staged, and if so, this is another example of an actress learning to manage a sword.

that by the time All for Love premiered in December 1677, Mohun was roughly fifty-seven, and Hart roughly forty-seven, and both were struggling with health problems that could have affected movement. Hart left the stage in 1678 due to illness (stone and gravel), and Mohun was by the mid 1670s plagued with the gout. Thus, their bodies at forty- and fifty- something may not have moved in the same manly, lusty, and virile manner as they did fifteen or even five years prior. I note that the character of Antony is younger than that of Ventidius, and it would be appropriate for Antony's movements to be quicker and more elastic than the older general's. My guess is that even into his late forties Hart still moved with a fair amount of agility onstage, which would have suited the physical life of the warrior-lover Antony, a character who is probably in his early thirties.

I would like to return again to a detailed use of a body part, this time the head, to explore how gesture played a role in embodying character and in the performance of masculinity and femininity. Cleopatra in All for Love, embodied by Boutell, is described for her gentle beauty, her body viewed not as physically sportive, but as that which is meant to be worshipped, her face so beautiful that even sorrow cannot alter it: "She comes! What charms have sorrow on that face! / Sorrow seems pleas'd to dwell with so much sweetness" (47). The muscles in her face were probably relaxed, and her head, in sorrow, might have hung down to the side, a stock position, as extant sources suggest, for indicating languish and sorrow.⁷⁸ Her arms might well have been pressed close to her

⁷⁸ See, for example, Le Brun on 40, and also Gilbert Austin, Chironomia, or, a Treatise on Rhetorical Delivery (1806), ed. Mary Margaret Robb and Lester Thonssen, forward by David Potter (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1966), 482. Austin, an Irish preacher, wrote his treatise in the late eighteenth century and published it in the early nineteenth, but it articulates the same gestures, rules, and methods as do the early-to-mid

sides (though not pressed too tightly, which was considered coarse), and her steps might well have been slow, gentle, and refined, indicating both status and her state of sorrow, as though she meant to constrict her body in space. A man, too, might hang his head to the side and languish. Hart may well have done so when, as Antony, he pined over Cleopatra. Distracted by love, he is marked in the world of the play as infected by effeminacy, and the passive, languishing position, although it is performed by the male body as well as the female, might in this case indicate a feminization as his body softens. The heroic male body, in its balanced state, is perceived as ready for clear thought and martial action, with head erect.

In "Toward a Universal Language of Motion: Reflections on a Seventeenth-Century Muscle Man," Stephen Greenblatt explores a text by Bulwer entitled Pathomyotomia, or a Dissection of the Significant Muscles of the Affections of the Mind (1649), published five years after his Chirologia and Chironomia. Greenblatt applies the term "Muscle Man" to describe the muscular focus given to bodies in Bulwer's treatise, which Greenblatt accurately summarizes as focusing on "isolating, analyzing, and naming the muscles of the head that govern the range of human expression" (28). In Pathomyotomia, Bulwer writes, the position of the head communicates a precise intention: "When we would bow low, as in assenting with reverence, or to adore, worship, or profess a submissive respect, the whole Neck with the Head is inclined and

eighteenth-century manuals of rhetoric studied by Barnett. Barnett asserts that it is a reliable treatise for the study of eighteenth-century manuals of rhetoric, and it certainly seems to follow that tradition, based on my reading of Barnett. See Barnett, The Art of Gesture, 479.

lowly bent forward” (51-52).⁷⁹ If, rather than allow his head to fall to the side, as with a languishing warrior like Antony, the male hero bows his head forward in reverence toward a beloved or respected object, he assumes a passive but more securely male position. Hart, playing Alexander in *The Rival Queens*, may well have done so when he knelt before Statira, played by Boutell, in supplication (256). The male warrior who adores the beautiful woman with his head bowed forward does not put his masculinity at risk. He can afford this gesture only because his status is high and his manhood intact, affirmed by his gesture to her as desired object, and by her returned gaze upon him.

At the opposite pole is the female body animate and physically sportive, exceptional, even transgressive, used for comic or for dark effect: Estifania (Boutell) pulling pistols on her lover (Hart) in a violent comic skirmish, with head held high and eyes upon her target; or, more seriously, Roxana (Marshall) in *The Rival Queens*. “Proud” Roxana would have kept her head erect, determinedly meeting the horizon with her gaze. One can think of this in muscular terms. Greenblatt presents a vivid description, quoting Bulwer, of a proud Muscle Man. I import both his and Bulwer’s words to think about Roxana as a prideful Muscle Woman:

“the Arrogant paire or the Muscles of Disdainfull Confidence” [...] work in tandem with “the Insulting or Bragging paire or the Muscles of Insolent Pride, and fierce Audacity”—that is, the proud stiffening of the neck and elevation of the

⁷⁹ Quoted in Stephen Greenblatt, “Toward a Universal Language of Motion: Reflections on a Seventeenth-Century Muscle Man,” *Choreographing History*, ed. Susan Leigh Foster (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 25-31, on 28.

head produced “when all the hinder Muscles in the Back, which are like a Labrynth of many waies, work together.”⁸⁰

From Bulwer’s text we sense the muscular tightness that might have been present in Marshall’s body when she embodied Roxana’s arrogant pride. The taut muscles of the back would have been engaged when she threatened, her body tensing in rage, to “hurl the Sphears about like sportive Balls” (260). Imagine the actress’s face angry, her body storming, her arms reaching out from her, increasing the space she takes on the stage, making it bolder, her step violent, perhaps stepping forward, perhaps gesturing like or close to Bulwer’s notes for *Explodo* [I explode (in anger)], “clapping the right fist [...] on the left palm,” thus emphasizing violent word with violent gesture.⁸¹

Marshall, moving in skirts, would as the villainess have had the chance to move more boldly than her gentler rival, but would still have been confined by costume. An actress in breeches, on the other hand, would have the opportunity to move in a more physically assertive manner, which was part of the appeal of the roles: audiences could watch women move boldly and enjoy the thrill of the playful “passing,” as well as the shape of the female leg, usually covered in public by the folds of a skirt. Although there are no extant references to the way Elizabeth Boutell moved in her breeches roles, there is a reference to her colleague, Nell Gwyn, playing in breeches. After watching Gwyn perform the role of the female rogue Florimell in Dryden’s Secret Love, Pepys commented on the way she moved her body in an appropriately animated manner, and he is unable to imagine the performance being improved upon by any actor of either gender:

⁸⁰ Greenblatt, “Muscle Man,” 29, quoting Bulwer, Pathomyotomia, 78.

⁸¹ Bulwer, Chirologia, 36.

There is a comical part done by Nell, which is Florimell, that I never can hope to see the like done again by man or woman [...] so great a performance of a comical part was never, I believe, in the world before as Nell doth this, both as a mad girle, and then, most and best of all, when she comes in like a young gallant; and hath the motions and carriage of a spark the most that ever I saw any man have. It makes me, I confess, admire her.⁸²

Pepys makes a special mention of motion and carriage, and of her use of her body as being appropriate to a spark “the most that ever I saw any man have.” Pepys confesses that he admires her for being able to so transform.

There is also one role on record for Hart in “skirts,” and one for Mohun. Both of these are comic roles and intended to be farcical, and in both instances, the humor comes from their bodies reading as ungainly women’s bodies. Mohun donned skirts to pass as *Vigilia*, the duenna of the woman he attempts to woo (played by Boutell) in Fane’s farcical *Love in the Dark*. Mohun, playing the leading rakish lover, Trivultio, enters her house, and she, seeing him, immediately comments on the transformed appearance of his face, which leads him to try and pass by curtsying:

Bell.: Oh, *Vigilia*, how does thy swell’d Face?

Triv.: Something better, Madam, with a Medicin I had from the *Speciale*.

[Curtsying]. (23)

Although he tries to pass, I suspect that part of the comic effect, visually, is that he would have been clumsy in the execution of the curtsy. (Mohun’s voice, probably pitched to the squeaking top of his register in his effort to play this moment of passing, would doubtless

⁸² Pepys, *Diary*, 8:91.

also have been clumsy. Further, there may have been a planned, clumsy break into his natural register, creating a comic obstacle for him, as Trivultio, to play.) As a man, Mohun, playing Trivultio, would know how to bow, but the curtsy would be an imitation of a gesture he watched performed in women, and now had to mimic. As an actor who specialized in roles that required a force of muscle and a boldness of mind, Mohun was probably able to make much of this moment, perhaps attacking it too vigorously, or, in the vernacular of the period, too lustfully and in too manly a fashion: bolder strokes, physical strength, a stronger attack in the physical space. Moments later Trivultio whips off his disguise and reveals his male identity. He wishes to engage with the women he desires as a man, and not as a disguised woman. His passing was needed long enough to allow him access to the house, and he is anxious to show her his male body.⁸³

Hart is also on record in one cross-dressed role. In a revival of Beaumont and Fletcher's The Scornful Lady, he is cast as the dashing and handsome Welford who agrees to dress as the wife of the Elder Loveless (played by Nicholas Burt). The Lady of the title (played by Marshall) has rejected him. Hart, playing Welford, now disguised as

⁸³ The comic effect was no doubt heightened by the fact that Bellinganna has invited Trivultio (Mohun) to enter the house, but has asked that he come disguised as a Moor. Unbeknownst to her, he refuses, preferring to dress as a woman. The comic fool who is also interested in Bellinganna enters the room at the same time as Trivultio, and he is dressed as a Moor. A series of misunderstandings ensue, including the clown courting Trivultio, who has hastily thrown his women's disguise back on at the urgings of Bellinganna so that they are not caught. This is obviously an extremely negative representation of race, and a joke that is therefore difficult to translate from the Restoration period to our own. I note that Mohun was cast as Cleander, the General who dresses as a Moor so that he can spy on the wife whom he believes to be unfaithful, in Flecknoe's Erminia (published in 1661). Cleander, reunited with his wife, is found in bed with her, still wearing blackface, so all mistakenly believe that she is bedding a Moor. A lead actor's donning of blackface would have been very rare. The play may or may not have been staged.

the “wife,” enters with Loveless, who hopes to make the Lady jealous. Emphasis is put on the ungainly appearance of Welford’s body, as articulated by the Lady: “I do not thinke this woman can by nature / Be thus ugly” (5.2.127). Loveless has tried to stress that appearance is not all: “what are shape and colours else, but pictures? / In that tawny hide [Welford’s, as the wife] there lies an endless mass / Of virtues” (5.2.115-16).

Welford, ever the rogue, moves closer to the Lady, as she asks that he “Keepe your breath nearer you, I doe not like it” and he comments lustily on her “worthy parts,” which Loveless jumps to stop (5.2.122-25). Hart, as Welford, then proceeds to pass, befriending the sister of the Lady, ending up in bed with her once she learns he is a man, and is then urged by Loveless to “get her to Church” so that they might legally marry (5.4.204).⁸⁴ He is playing a beautiful man whose attempt to pass as a woman is meant to be physically comical. Since Hart created leading female roles as a boy player, he surely had the skills, but did not attempt to earnestly pass here. The joke played here was that his beautiful male body in comic “skirts” did not a beautiful woman make.

Having considered how the male body might be feminized by cross-dressing for farcical effect, I would like to consider how the body of the hero might be feminized in a serious play, specifically through stilling the physically active body. I focus on the still body of the romantic hero, Caesario, a part created by Charles Hart, in act 5, scene 2 of Lee’s Gloriana. The setting is the tyrant Caesar’s bedroom. The captive Gloriana has come to murder her captor, but Caesario, who is in love with her, and whom she also loves, mistakenly believes that she is being unfaithful to him. He enters the bedroom to

⁸⁴ Source text is Beaumont and Fletcher, The Scornful Lady, ed. Cyrus Hoy, The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon, ed. Fredson Bowers, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

confront her. The stage directions in the printed text show that the scene begins with physical action, and it makes sense that this is how it would have been played on stage:

*Caesario enters, goes to the Bed, draws the Curtain, and
gazes on her: she rises amaz'd.*

GLOR. Who's this? Am I awake, or do I see?

Caesario here indeed, can this be he?

If thou be Caesar's Son that did adore

The blood of Pompey, speak, or love no more.

CAES. Love no more.

GLOR.: Why dost thou thus with frightfull action gaze?

Or art thou but the Ghost of him that was?

CAES. The Ghost of him that was.

GLOR.: Such by thy stedfast eyes thou wou'dst appear,

Thy dreadful replies unusual horror bear,

Yes sure that form my soul can never fear.

Who was thy murd'rer, if thou murd'rer be?

By Caesar slain, or wert thou killed by thee---

CAES. Killed by thee.

GLOR.: Cease, horrid echo, cease. (202)⁸⁵

Marking the physical action, I note that Caesario enters, pulls the curtain back, probably not timidly, but with drive; gazes and continues to gaze, as witnessed by Gloriana's multiple references: "Why dost thou thus with frightfull action gaze?", silently looking

⁸⁵ I have italicized the stage directions.

upon him with “steadfast eyes.” I conjecture that the muscles in his face were tensed, responding to his horror at finding her here. Borrowing from the description of “horror” in Le Brun, I imagine the muscles of Hart’s face contorting, as follows:

the Eye-Brow [...] knit [...] the Pupil, instead of appearing situate in the middle of the Eye, will be sunk low; the Mouth will be half open, but more compressed in the middle than at the corners, which will seem drawn back. By this Action will be form’d wrinkles in the Cheek; the face will appear of a pale colour; the Lips and Eyes a little upon the livid: in which this Passion has some resemblance of Fright. (30)

Fright, Le Brun writes, “raises the Eye-brows exceedingly in the middle; the muscles, that conduce to the motion of those parts, are very visible and swelled, pressing against each Other.” (31)⁸⁶ Hart’s face may well have looked like, or come close to this description of a face that is distorted, tight, muscular, bound, with the eyes fixed. The “pale colour” in the cheeks, a result of shock and of bodily fluids cooling, might be hard for an actor to perform, but the rest is within his muscular control. The body is paralyzed, the speech too, the muscles around the eyes tight as he fixes on the object (here, Gloriana). Caesario is frozen by the gaze of horror as much as if he were gazing with love and adoration, stung, like the superman hero Almanzor, by lethargy. A good actor, like Hart, would also have played the silence, and Marshall would have been able to respond to this tension, working off of his silence and using her impassioned speech to try and

⁸⁶ Recall that aspects of the eyebrow movements in the expression Fright as described by Le Brun were physiologically impossible, as discussed earlier in this chapter. However, it is physically impossible to at least raise one’s eyebrows, and tighten the face muscles. I suspect that Hart’s face showed some kind of muscular tension in this moment of horror and fright.

move him. The actors would treat the silence as part of the score of sound and physical action—silence is alive in time, as it is in music.

As John Playford asserts in his manual for singers published in 1674, “Pauses or Rests are silent Characters, or an artificial omission of the Voyce or Sound.”⁸⁷ Silence is the suspension of sound, which stresses its tangible, physical, felt quality. It is physical and embodied, the actor actively listening, actively contributing to the tempo of the scene. Here, Ceasario’s body is violently consumed by passions that immobilize it and render it silent. Face tense, gaze fixed, body locked, a body immobilized by horror. This moment of echo is an unstable moment; the hero has lost bodily stasis, what Joseph Roach has eloquently described as the bodily instability of the Protean actor.⁸⁸ Roach suggests that this Protean actor might, from a seventeenth-century perspective, have been perceived as severely destabilized on a bodily fluid level by the passions he or she embodied. I find this tantalizing, but I suspect Hart may not have been so shaken, although Caesario was. However, the instability he performs was surely evocative for an audience who could imagine the internal state of the body articulated through its skin. Roach’s suggestion that the codified gestures used by the performer were perceived as helping to contain the body made unstable is provocative, and I add that in this scene, sparse language is used to contain the horrified and heated body. Just as the paralysis registers shock, it plays with a tension between reacting to a horrific object and trying to contain unruly rage and heat by constricting, or containing, though sparse language. This is, for the hero, a retraction in space: he is silent and still.

⁸⁷ John Playford, An Introduction To The Skill Of Musick In Two Books.

⁸⁸ See Joseph Roach, The Player’s Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting, 23-57.

Caesario, vulnerable, constricts. But the body of the still hero is beating silent notes in time. As Bruce R. Smith articulates in “E/loco/com/motion,” “Always and everywhere, even in sleep, living bodies are in motion.”⁸⁹ Ceasario’s still body is still heated, his chest rising and falling with each breath, the warm air from his mouth and nose beating out of his body. Then, speech returns. When sound comes out of the actor’s body, it breaks the physical silence through physical action. Playford stresses the physical and sensual experience of making sound when he writes of the singer’s need to sustain a vowel sound by “beat[ing] every Note with the throat upon the Vowel” (47-48). But the speech that comes from beating every note is damaged. Caesario speaks in monosyllabic prose, breaking the iambic of Gloriana’s, not completing it, but hanging between it, flaccid, a man made impotent, his virility and ability to engage playfully with her suspended. The male body, the graceful body in movement and speech, is living, but paralyzed. His three sentences mark his body: “love no more [...] the Ghost of him that was [...] killed by thee.” When he speaks again, he threatens self-punishment by banishment (204) and then commits suicide by means of the duel, begging his rival to “give me my death” (206). He dies performing a masochistic, one might even say auto-erotic hyper-masculine physical action, bleeding and crawling on the ground, sword in hand, still fighting, crying: “With the remains of life I’le drag me on, / And at my knees for ever lay me down. / Oh happiness!” (206). This pain might be Caesario’s greatest

⁸⁹ Bruce R. Smith, “E/loco/com/motion,” forthcoming in an anthology of theatre history essays to be co-edited by Peter Holland and Stephen Orgel and to be published by the Huntington Library. A short version of this paper entitled “Moving Pictures at the Globe” was delivered at the Group in Early Modern Cultural Studies (GEMCS) conference in Newport Beach, CA, October 23-26, 2003 on the panel “Authorizing Images Shakespearean and/or Otherwise,” 24 October 2003. I wish to thank the author for most generously providing me with a copy of the full version of his paper.

expression of heat and male physicality, and one in which he experiences great pleasure through pain. David Savran, quoting a seventeenth-century medical treatise, cites a passage that represents the male body and genitalia as swelling with blood and bodily fluid because of blows, “and the Part, which distinguishes us to be Men, should be raised by the charm of invigorating Lashes.”⁹⁰ The erect, male body, moving and bleeding in hot temper, in contrast to the contracted, still, and flaccid body in cold fear, is alive, virile, and manly. On stage, Hart may have showed this heat with broad, forceful, and lusty gestures, and through his voice roughly and blissfully cutting through the soundscape, crying the last “O happiness!” The body of the betrayed hero effeminized by sorrow reasserts its masculinity by dying into and through physical action, a hard body moving.

A playscript, as Milhous and Hume note in Producible Interpretation, is “a bundle of potentialities” (5). In this chapter, I have endeavored to look at the written materials as bundles of potentiality so as to try and reconstruct possible ways in which Hart, Mohun, Kynaston, Boutell and Marshall may have sounded and moved onstage. Sound and movement of the body is critical to understanding an actor’s work, to an analysis of “type,” and to the way male and female bodies played on stage, a stage that we can no longer see or hear except by an exercise of the imagination.

⁹⁰ In this case, “Lashes” as blows of the sword and cuts to the body. In the original context, the writer is referring to the rod, but I apply this concept to the male body pained and aroused. See David Savran, Taking it Like a Man, 11. Savran is quoting from a 1718 English translation of Johann Heinrich, De Flagrorum Usu in Re Veneria & Lumborum Renumque Officio [On the Use of Rods in Venereal Matters and In the Office of the Loins and Reins] (1629), in Ian Gibson, The English Vice: Beating, Sex, and Shame in Victorian England and After (London: Duckworth, 1978), 2-3.

Chapter 6

Celebrity Players: Public Bodies, Private Bodies, and “Types”

In 1692, William Mountfort, second generation Restoration leading actor, was murdered by a young soldier who perceived the actor as a rival in his love for a leading actress.¹ Two extant lampoons survive about the death of this leading player. The first of these is entitled “On Mr. Will Montfort, The Famous Actor Unfortunately Kill’d to the Tune of Mary Live Long.” In it, he is imagined as outdoing the “fam’d” Charles Hart and Michael Moon [Mohun]:

For in playing a Part
He excels the fam’d Hart
Or Moon that’s dead too,
Nay, no one that’s living.
Can Mountfort outdo.²

By invoking Hart and Mohun as famous players, the poet inscribes Mountfort as one in an elite group, and asserts that no other living actor can equal Mountfort, and that he even outdoes the dead. In this chapter, I am interested in how the bodies of five famous players, Hart, Mohun, Kynaston, Marshall, and Boutell, were thought about and constructed as “types” in the interplay between stage and real, and between public and

¹ The actress was Anne Bracegirdle. For a discussion of Mountfort’s (platonic) relationship with Bracegirdle, his murder, and the subsequent prosecution against one of the men involved, Lord Charles Mohun (no relation to Michael Mohun), see the entry on Mountfort in *BD* 10:354-59, on 357-59. The man who actually killed Mountfort, Captain Hill, escaped.

² Broadside, “On Mr. Will Montfort, The Famous Actor Unfortunately Kill’d to the Tune of Mary Live Long,” facsimile in Albert E. Borgman, *The Life and Death of William Mountfort* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), printed between pages 158 and 159. Also quoted in part in *BD*, 10:357.

private. By “private,” I mean the ways in which the private bodies of these leading actors were conjectured from their public playing onstage. Building upon my earlier focus on these players’ respective “lines of business,” I turn now to texts other than play texts: anecdotes; gossip; lampoons; several petitions by actors; a portrait of Mohun, the only actor of these five for whom we have a visual record; and also to five examples of prologues and epilogues, texts which frame play texts, and texts in which the interplay between stage and real is more deliberately manipulated. I conclude with an unusual epilogue to Lee’s Gloriana, a play which featured Hart, Mohun, and Marshall. In this epilogue, the company clown and known renegade Jo Haines lampoons the body by toying with gender play, images of (male) actors as mock-whores, and by himself playing the antithesis of the idealized male hero that Charles Hart, probably the most famous player in the King’s Company (with Mohun a close second), had moments before embodied in the play.

The fragments about Charles Hart’s work as an actor are cryptic and romanticized, but they allow us a glimpse of what, at least potentially, made the actor famous.³ We must rely on written descriptions, for no portrait of Charles Hart survives, nor any detailed description of his physical “type” or acting style. Therefore, to read his “type” and popularity as a famous actor, we need to draw upon evidence that describes him as a player, and often in general terms. In Tragedies of the Last Age (1678), Thomas Rymer commented on Hart’s ability to make what Rymer considered even flawed texts

³ I employ both the word “famous” and “celebrity” in this chapter. Both words were in use in the seventeenth century, according to the OED, and both words pre-date the Restoration.

seem charming. He writes of a revival of Beaumont and Fletcher's A King and No King, in which Hart played the romantic lead, Arbaces:

Mr. Hart pleases; most of the business falls to his share, and what he *delivers*, every one takes upon *content*; their eyes are preposet and charm'd by his action, before ought of the Poets can approach their ears; and to the most wretched of Characters, he gives a lustre and brilliant [sic] which dazles the sight.⁴

Rymer also praised Hart and his colleague, Mohun, for their work as Amintor and Melanthius in The Maid's Tragedy and their abilities to rise above flawed text:

"Whatever defect may be in *Amintor* and *Melanthius*; Mr. *Hart* and Mr. *Mohun* are wanting in nothing" (138).

Hart is similarly praised, this time posthumously, by playwright Thomas Durfey in his preface to his revised version of Chapman's Bussy D'Ambois, published in 1691.⁵ Hart had performed the title role using the original text, and Durfey pays homage to him in his discussion of performer and text, devoting particular attention, like Rymer, to his power to make flawed text attractive:

About sixteen years ago [c. 1675], when first my good or ill Stars ordained me a Knight Errant in this Fairy Land of Poetry, I saw the *Bussy D'Ambois* of Mr. Chapman acted by Mr. Hart, which in spite of the obsolete Phrases and intolerable Fustian, with which a good Part of it was cramm'd, and which I have

⁴ Thomas Rymer, The Tragedies of The Last Age: Consider'd and Examin'd by the Practice of the Ancients, and by the Common Sense of All Ages, in a Letter to Fleetwood Shephard, Esq. London, 1678. Facsimile edition. (Yorkshire, England: Scolar Press, 1972), 6. I have modernized "s," but I have otherwise retained all characteristics of the original document.

⁵ Durfey's preface was published eight years after Hart's death, which occurred in August 1683.

altered in the new Sheets, had some extraordinary Beauties, which sensibly Charmed me; *which being improved by the graceful Action of that eternally Renowned, and Best of Actors, so attracted not only me, but the Town in general,* that they were obliged to pass by and excuse the gross Errors in the Writing, and allow it amongst the Rank of the Topping Tragedies of that Time.

For a long time after it was buried in Mr. Harts Grave, who indeed only could do that noble Character Justice [...] Mr. Mountfort did me the Favour [of acting the revised version with success]; who, though he was modestly very diffident of his own Action, coming after so great a Man as Mr. Hart, yet had that Applause from the Audience, which declared their Satisfaction.⁶

In his eulogistic preface to Fatal Love (published 1680), playwright Elkanah Settle mourned the still-living Hart's absence from the playhouse (probably due to illness), naming him as a god-like "Oracle" and "Golden Head":

the Theatre Royal was once all Harmony; where the Heroick Muses sung so sweetly, and with Voices so perfectly Musical, as few or no ears could escape Enchantment. But when this hapless Play came forth, its sweetest Pipes were stopt; and like a shatter'd Organ, it had only left what could do little more than squeak and jar. But, Oh, that their Oracle should be quite silent! Ah, that their Golden Head would speak agen, and bring once more the scatter'd Quire [choir] around him! Then Tragedy might re-assume its Majesty, and Passion plead with

⁶ Thomas Durfey, Dedicatory Epistle "To The Right Honourable Edward Earl of Carlisle Ciscount Howard of Morpeth & C.," n.p., Bussy D'Ambois or the Husband's Revenge. A Tragedy. Newly Revised by Mr. D'Urfey. London, 1691, n.p. Readex. My italics. This reference was first brought to my attention by the BD editors. See BD 7:153.

such an Emphasis, till the charm'd Spectatour should almost wish to be the Real suffering Hero he admires, and share his very Fate, to move but half his Pity. For my part, were I a Poet, nay a Fletcher, or a Shakespear, I would quit my whole Title to Immortality, so that one Actor might never Die. This I may modestly say of him, (nor is it my own particular opinion, but the Sense of all Mankind) that the best Tragedies on the English Stage have receiv'd their Lustre from Mr. Hart's Performance, that he has left such an Impression behind him, that no less than the Interval of an Age can make them appear agen with half their Majesty, from any second Hand. And when he leaves the Stage, the Reign of Tragedy Expires, for then in must dwindle from a Monarchy to a Common-wealth.⁷

Settle stresses Hart's "Majesty" and draws an analogue between the great actor, Tragedy, and Monarch. I suspect from my reading of the play that Settle hoped that Hart could play his hero, Philandor, and that without Hart, Philandor is less of a "Real Hero." Hart, playing this "Real Hero," attracted Settle, and, as he asserts, the whole town. In this sense, Hart the celebrity is more than Hart the real man could ever be. To borrow a sentence verbatim from Bert O. States, and replace the name of another seventeenth-century actor that States is invoking with Hart's, "Hart onstage is Hart plus a text, a Hart

⁷ Elkanah Settle, "The Epistle Dedicatory," n.p., Fatal Love, or the Forc'd Inconstancy. A Tragedy. London, 1680. Readex. Also see BD 7:152, in which is printed an excerpt. I note that this positioning of Hart (likewise the positioning of other actors discussed in this chapter) is an example of what Bourdieu calls a "labour of categorization, of making things explicit and classifying them [which is] continually being performed, at every moment of ordinary existence, in the struggles in which agents clash over the meaning of the social world and their position in it, the meaning of their social identity, through all the forms of speaking well or badly of someone, of blessing or cursing and of malicious gossip, eulogy, congratulations, praise, compliments, or insults, rebukes, criticism, accusations, slanders, etc." See Bourdieu, Language and Symbolic Power, 236.

minus the freedom to be “himself.”⁸ This is the very tension that Michael A. Quinn explores in his essay, “Celebrity and the Semiotics of Acting” when he discusses the perceived celebrity body of the actor overlaying the real body buried beneath.⁹ In Settle’s lament, Hart’s real body is fused with the “Real” heroes he has played.

I have already invoked John Downes’s praise of Hart’s talent and his box office power, and I note Downes’s stress upon Hart’s “Majesty”:

Mr. *Hart*, in the part of *Arbaces*, in [A] *King and No King*; Amintor, in the *Maid’s Tragedy*; *Othello*; *Rollo*; *Brutus*, in *Julius Caesar*; *Alexander*, towards the latter End of his Acting; if he Acted in any one of these but once in a Fortnight, the House was fill’d as at a New Play, especially *Alexander*, he acting that with such Grandeur and Agreeable Majesty, That one of the Court was pleas’d to Honour him with the Commendation; That *Hart* might Teach any King on Earth how to Comport himself.¹⁰

Downes’s account is a romantic, nostalgic one for the by then deceased Hart, but it seems, based on the bodies of roles Hart played, to reflect some truths: Hart was a commercial asset even late in his career, and he excelled in leading romantic roles, including roles in which he had to carry himself like royalty.

Downes also praised Hart for his work in comedy, claiming that he was so skilled that none of his successors equaled him:

⁸ Bert O. States, Great Reckonings in Little Rooms, 35.

⁹ Michael L. Quinn, “Celebrity and the Semiotics of Acting,” on 159-60.

¹⁰ Downes, 41.

He was no less inferior in Comedy [than in tragedy]: as *Mosca* in the *Fox*, *Don John* in the *Chances*, *Wildblood* in the *Mock Astrologer*; with sundry other Parts. In all the Comedies and Tragedies, he was concern'd he Perform'd with that Exactness and Perfection, that not any of his Successors have Equall'd him. (41)

When we read the fragments about Hart's work as an actor, we are dealing with writers who seek to contextualize Hart as a celebrity.

In An Essay of Dramatic Poesy (1668), Dryden invokes Hart in a manner that I would call the praise of a native son. Speaking as Neander, Dryden praises Hart's performance in his translation of Corneille's comedy, Le Menteur: "that part of *Dorant* acted to so much advantage [by Mr. *Hart*] as I am confident it never receiv'd in its own Country."¹¹ Although Dryden feels that even Hart's acting could not ennoble the French comedy enough to place it on par with the best English comedies (his interests here lying in proving the superiority of English dramatic poesy over French), he does make special mention of the actor's ability to enrich text, and of Hart's ability to outrank any French actor in the part. Hart is painted by Dryden as an English actor who is superior to any French player. Hence, I suggest that Dryden alludes to Hart as a player who is a kind of national hero. Dryden is using Hart as an emblem of English superiority—Hart, the famous actor, is better than the best French players. Hart is invoked as an English celebrity.

¹¹ John Dryden, An Essay of Dramatic Poesy (1668), in The Works of John Dryden, ed. Samuel H. Monk and A.E. Wallace Maurer (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 2-82, on 44-45. As the editors explain on 45, note 1 and on 377, "by Mr. *Hart*" was added by Dryden in Quartos 2 and 3. The text in the California edition is from Quarto 1; hence, the editors add the note on Hart, with an explanation.

In The Frenzy of Renown: Fame & Its History, Leo Braudy speaks of “The Royal Actor” and the relationship between the presence of the monarch and that of the actor. He considers the discrepancy between real and stage, and the body of the actor as an idealized version of the King. His anecdote concerns actor Edward Alleyn, and therefore pre-dates the Restoration, but the analogue to the Restoration period and the mythos surrounding Hart’s ideal body in Downes’s description—Hart as the actor who can “teach any king on earth how to comport himself”—is worth noting:

Ideally, the monarch is the good actor, whose appearance in the world matches the virtue of his or her inner nature. But once acting has become a familiar experience and audiences become increasingly sophisticated about its styles and varieties, then the relation between monarch and actor might just as easily work to the king’s discredit as to his benefit. When [...] James I entered London as part of his coronation festivities, he was welcomed by the actor Edward Alleyn, who played the Genius of the City. What an instructive contrast that must have been to those ready for the lesson! The dumpy, somewhat unattractive real king greeted by the six-foot-six, extraordinarily handsome actor—who had already made a career playing the world-shattering heroes of Christopher Marlowe in plays like Tamburlaine and Faustus.¹²

I am not suggesting that Charles II was a “dumpy” king—he was not—but that the actor might portray an idealized warrior-king like Alexander, more beautiful than a beautiful king, and both Dryden’s allusion to Hart as a national hero and Downes’s nostalgic rendering of Hart’s majestic body positions Hart as greater than real.

¹² Leo Braudy, The Frenzy of Renown: Fame & Its History, 331.

An actor's performance, as Marvin Carlson notes in The Haunted Stage, can ghost his or her future performances, informing the way the body is read.¹³ Hart's "Majesty" as Almanzor, for example, would have ghosted his later performance as Alexander, thus shaping the way in which his body in the exercise of playing read to an audience familiar with his repertory of roles. A great actor's performance can also ghost the performance of other actors, and his performance can become the "ideal" performance. As Carlson notes, in the seventeenth-century repertory company, the actor who created a leading role "set" the delivery of that role in large measure for subsequent actors, since the tradition was to pass down the original performance of the role.¹⁴ Hence, the original player's work was ghosted in a highly structured way by subsequent players. It made functional sense for players to imitate the way a role was embodied by the player who created it, because it was efficient to do so, and the demands in the repertory were high. In this sense, the actor took on a celebrity status as the "originator" of a role, or as one who inherited the role but played it better than those who followed him, thus leaving the trace of his body on his successors, who are measured against him. Gildon gives an account of the actor Cardell Goodman, who succeeded Hart in the role of Alexander, as delivering a performance that others failed to imitate:

I remember [...] an Instance in the Madness of *Alexander the Great*, in *Lee's* Play, Mr. *Goodman* always went through it with all the Force the part requir'd, and yet made not half the Noise, as some who succeeded him; who were sure to bellow it out in such a manner, that their Voice would fail them before the End.

(84).

¹³ See Marvin Carlson, The Haunted Stage, 67.

¹⁴ Carlson, The Haunted Stage, 83.

Goodman was imitating Hart, who had created the role.

Thomas Davies also provides an anecdote that attests to Hart's power in the part of Alexander, and the way in which Hart seems to have ghosted the work of a subsequent famous player who sought to remember how Hart had spoken a line. Davies reports that Betterton, rehearsing the part of Alexander years after Hart had created the role, asked if anyone in the acting ensemble could recall how Hart had delivered one of Alexander's lines:

When [Betterton was] rehearsing this character, [he] was at a loss to recover a particular emphasis of Hart, which gave a force to some interesting situation of the part; he applied, for information, to the players who stood near him. At last, one of the lowest of the company repeated the line exactly in Hart's key.

Betterton thanked him heartily, and put a piece of money in his hand as a reward for so acceptable a service. (3:271-72) ¹⁵

The story may or may not be apocryphal, but it is in the realm of the possible, at least in the general sense. Hart is a star performer whose mastery in a role is remembered, and his influence upon subsequent performers, even if mythologized to some extent, is part of the aura of his celebrityhood. He is remembered as the first generation Restoration actor.

Hart is also eulogized in an anonymous broadside elegy, which was probably issued on 31 August 1683, thus less than two weeks after Hart's death. ¹⁶ Broad-sides could be purchased in the streets, and hence, were a commercial venture. Hart's elegy is

¹⁵ Carlson, in *The Haunted Stage*, 83, invokes this Davis reference.

¹⁶ John W. Draper, "An Elegy on that Worthy and famous Actor Mr. Charles Hart," *A History of Broadside Elegies* (London: Ingpen and Grant, 1928), 162-63, on 162. The manuscript notes on the copy used by Draper consist of a handwritten date by the diarist Luttrell, whom Draper suggests may well have "bought this broadside for 1d. on August 31st, 1683. The date reads "31. Aug. 1683," and is written just under the title.

intended to be circulated to city, and not to court folk, although it may have well have crossed over those borders. The broadside is entitled, "An Elegy On that Worthy and Famous Actor, Mr. Charles Hart, Who departed this Life Thursday August the 18th, 1683." The elegy, printed in facsimile in Draper's "A Century of Broadside Elegies," consists of five long and laudatory paragraphs, in which Hart is remembered as a great man and actor. I print here a selection:

The *Best* but *Imitate*, *None Equal Thee*;
 With Thee the Glory of Stage is fled,
 The *Heroe*, *Lover*, both with HART lie dead:
 Of whom all speak, when of his Parts they tell,
 Not of a *Man*, but some great *Miracle*.
 Such Pow'r He had o'r the Spectators gain'd,
 As forc'd a *Real* Passion from a *Feign'd*.
 For when they saw AMINTOR bleed, straight all
 The House, for every Drop, a Tear let fall,
 And when ARBACES wept by sympathy,
 A glowing Tide of Wo gush'd from each Eye
 Then, when he would our easie Griefs beguile,
 Of CELEDON or PEREZ made is smile:
 Thus our Affections He or *Rais'd* or *Lay'd*,
Mirth, *Grief*, and *Love* by wondrous Art He sway'd.¹⁷

¹⁷ An Elegy On that Worthy and Famous Actor, Mr. Charles Hart, Who departed this Life Thursday August the 18th, 1683." British Library MS. Lutt.1, page 62. Facsimile copy in Draper, A History of Broadside Elegies, 163. The four roles mentioned in the eulogy

Hart is here envisioned as the kind of Proteus Roach invokes in A Player's Passion: a player whose power to embody forces a real passion from the feigned in the spectator, and he whose craft allows him to shift from role to role with a "Pow'r" "o're the Spectators" en masse. This is an image of the actor as a Protean, famous player who can spellbind (charm, to use Rymer's word) his crowd. Other players, even the "*Best*," but "*Imitate, None Equal Thee*," and then he is described as more than man: "when of his Parts they tell, / Not as a *Man*, but some great *Miracle*." Hart is more than man: a miraculous example of the manly player.

The player who plays the ideal prince is a construct and a fantasy. Another kind of fantasy is that of the player as the ideal bourgeois gentleman. Other writers linked Hart

were roles that Hart was popular in: Amintor, the hero in Beaumont and Fletcher's The Maid's Tragedy; Arbaces, the tempestuous lead role in Beaumont and Fletcher's A King and No King; Celadon, the leading comic lover in Dryden's Secret Love; and [Michael] Perez, the leading comic lover in Fletcher's Rule a Wife and Have a Wife. Hart was famous for his work in popular revived plays as well as in new plays. Arbaces had been played by Joseph Taylor, and possibly Burbage before him, although we lack evidence, save that Taylor inherited many of Burbage's roles. A manuscript which contains two cast lists for The Duchess of Malfi offers us one example. Burbage is listed as Fernando in list one, which T.J. King dates as pre 1614, and Taylor is listed as Fernando in list two, which King dates as circa 1619 to 1623, post Burbage's death in March 1619. The cast list is reproduced and analyzed in T.J. King, Casting Shakespeare's Plays: London Actors and Their Roles, 1590-1642 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 51-53. Amintor was played by Stephen Hammerton, and possibly Burbage before him, although we lack evidence, and the role may also have belonged to Taylor, who, as Bentley points out in The Jacobean and Caroline Stage, was usually cast as "the handsome, heroic young lover, though sometimes the handsome and dashing near-villain" (2:591). Bentley, building upon the work of earlier scholars, also suggests that Taylor played Michael Perez in Rule a Wife and Have a Wife (2:591), and if so, I note that he probably created the role, since the play was completed in 1624, when Taylor was a leading man. Thus, Hart played roles in revivals that had been played by Taylor, Hammerton, and possibly before them, Burbage. It is worth noting that Richard Burbage earned similar tribute to Hart when his death caused an even greater "outburst of eulogy and sorrow," as Nungezer describes the response to Burbage's death in A Dictionary of Actors, on 73. See Nungezer, A Dictionary of Actors, 67-79, in which a number of the extant eulogies to Burbage are reproduced in whole or in part.

more to the bourgeois than to the regal (and certainly playwrights seeking to ennoble their work are not objective). Richard Steele (b.1672) wrote in The Tatler approximately twenty years after the death of Hart and Mohun that “My old friends, Hart and Mohun, the one by his natural and proper force, the other by his great skill and art, never failed to send me home full of such ideas as affected my behavior, and made me insensibly more courteous and humane to my friends and acquaintances.”¹⁸ Based on syntax, “natural and proper force” seems to refer to Hart, and “great skill and art” to Mohun. The choice of words is interesting, for Hart is described by Steele as natural, as “Real,” but the “Real Hero” invoked by Settle—that of young Prince in the realm of fantasy—is here imagined as the “Real Hero” of the bourgeois. Steele goes so far as to imagine Hart’s acting to be instructional and a guide to good and neighborly behavior. The whole exercise is an imaginary one on Steele’s part, for he would have been seven years old when Hart and Mohun retired, and he is speaking here in his Tatler persona, and takes liberties with the logic of time in this invocation of the actors. Steele reads the body of Hart as Everyman, but an exemplary Everyman, and writes the idea of an Everyman onto the body of Hart. The writer of Hart’s eulogy in 1683 and Steele, despite the greater distance in time between 1709 and Hart’s heyday, both foreground the importance of the actor’s presence in embodying text. Steele does something else, however, in his “persona”: he stresses the connection between public and private by emphasizing that Hart, the famous actor of the English stage, goes “home” to “friends and acquaintances,” and not, for example, to Lady Castlemaine’s or to Nell Gwyn’s beds, which, as I will discuss shortly, was the focus of Pepys’s and of satirists’ imaginings about what Hart did in private. Hart is here Steele’s

¹⁸ Richard Steele, The Tatler, no. 99, 26 November 1709, printed in The Tatler, ed. Donald Bond, 3. vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 2:108.

model of the gentlemanly celebrity player, and this association positions Hart as the ideal private man. It should be noted that Mohun, in his “great art and skill,” is also painted by Steele as a model private man; however, he is described as the hard working craftsman, who succeeds through effort, while Hart is described in glowing terms as the more natural actor who plays his roles with a “natural and proper force.” Steele’s construction of Hart and Mohun as bourgeois actors emphasizes both an appropriate forcefulness and skill in the art of playing and in the case of Hart, a natural exertion of body and emotions.

Thomas Davies, whose anecdotes about the early Restoration actors must be treated with caution because they appear so long after these actors were living, also imagines Hart as a bourgeois gentleman: “Hart was always esteemed a constant observer of decency in manners and a respecter of the clergy.”¹⁹ Here, Hart’s celebrity power lies in reconstructing him as a man who treated others decently—in other words, focus is on him as the private man. Davies contrasts Hart with low comedian and perpetual troublemaker Joe Haines, who, according to Davies, tricks the clergy into believing that the players want to reform, and tricks him into coming into the playhouse:

This impudent trick was carried so far, that the clergyman was introduced by Haines, with a bell in his hand, behind the scenes, which he frequently rang, and cried out, audibly, “Players! Players! Come to prayers!” While Joe and some of the actors were enjoying this happy contrivance, Hart came into the theatre; and, seeing the parson and his bell, soon found out the imposition; he was extremely angry with Haines, whom he smartly reprehended, and invited the clergyman to dine with him.

¹⁹ Davies, *Dramatic Miscellanies* 3:263. The following quotation is also from this same volume and page number.

Davies reports that Haines was soon dismissed for this incident. This seems to be a conflation of two episodes from The Life of The Late Famous Comedian, Jo. Hayns, published in 1701.

In The Life of The Late Famous Comedian, Jo. Hayns the episode—which may or may not be fantasy—has it that Jo approached the parson after being fired from the playhouse, not before. Further, in the earlier version, Hart is no gentle respecter of the clergy, but a temperamental leading man who comes storming out of his dressing room when he hears the parson, then invites him into his study for a “Glass of Sack” (31), tells him that he’s been hoodwinked, and sends him away.²⁰ According to The Life of The Late Famous Comedian, Jo. Hayns, Jo was fired for another reason: upstaging Hart and violating stage protocol, a story which, as the editors of the Biographical Dictionary note, is “possibly a fiction.”²¹

According to this earlier version of the story, the conflict had more to do with a player of much lower status upstaging a leading man than with a lack of respect for clergy, and possibly Haines’s lack of respect for the exercise of acting, although Hart’s ego was clearly part of the cause for dismissal, if we are to believe the anecdote. The earlier version tells of a revival of Catiline, in which Hart played the title role of the dark but charismatic arch-conspirator:

There happen’d to be one Night, a play Acted, Call’d Catiline’s
Conspiracy, wherein there was wanting a Great number of Senators.

²⁰ Tobias Thomas (?), The Life of the Late Famous Comedian, Jo. Hayns (London, 1701), microfilm copy, 27-32. According to this version, the King was so amused by this Jo’s contrivance that he “remanded him back to the Play-house” (32). This seems invented.

²¹ BD 7:149.

Now Mr. Hart, being chief of the House, wou'd oblige Jo. to dress for one of the Senators. Altho Jo's Sallary being then 50s. per Week, freed him from any such obligations.

But as I said, Mr. Hart being sold Governour of the Play-House, and at a small variance with Jo. commands it, and the other must obey. Jo. being vexed at the slight Mr. Hart had put on him: He gets a Scaramouch dress, a large full Ruff, makes himself Whiskers, from Ear to Ear, puts on his head, a long Merry Andrew's Cap, a short Pipe in his mouth, a little three Leg'd stool in his hand, and in this manner, follows Mr. Hart upon the Stage, sets himself down behind him, and begins to smoke his Pipe, to Laugh, and Point at him.

Which Comical Figure put all the House in an uproar, some Laughing, some Clapping, and some Hollowing. Now Mr. Hart, as those that knew him can aver, was a Man of that Exactness and Grandeur of the Stage, that let what wou'd happen, he'd never discompose himself, or mind any thing but what he then Represented, and had a Scene fall'n behind him, he wou'd not at that time look back, to have seen what was the matter, which Jo. knowing, remain'd still Smoaking, the audience continued Laughing, Mr. Hart Acting, and Wondering at this unusual occasion of their Mirth, sometime thinking it some disturbance in the House; again, that it might be something amiss in his dress, at last, turning himself toward the Scenes, he discover'd Jo. in the aforesaid Posture, whereupon he immediately goes off the Stage, Swearing he wou'd never set foot on it again,

unless Jo. was immediately turn'd out of Doors; which was no sooner spoke, but
in Practice.²²

Several points are worth noting here. First, Hart, as the leading man, is accurately described as having the greatest standing in the house as well as managerial authority. Haines, the clown, is the “star” of the story in that his antics are those of a rebel in action. Hart is envisioned as a master of his craft and as unwilling to compromise the integrity of the play or of his playing. Hart, like Haines, is also painted as the working man, as a man engaged in his task and not wanting to compromise product. However, he is also the greater celebrity, but one whom the audience is quick to abandon in the moment when they are captivated by Haines’s transgression of stage protocol. The image of Hart as leading man and as king of the playhouse is a far cry from the image of him as the benevolent bourgeois imagined by Davies. Both stories, however, are celebrity tales in which the actor is brought to life through anecdotes designed to record a moment in the life and also to entertain.

²² The Life of the Late Famous Comedian, Jo. Hayns, 23-24. Quoted in BD 7:10-11 in the entry on Joseph Haines. A shorter excerpt appears in the entry on Hart, BD 7:149-50. As the BD editors note, the reference to Hart as “sole Governour” suggests that this revival performance took place in 1677, when Hart was managing the King’s Company (7:11), and they note that the salary of 50s. quoted for Haines sounds high for a player of his standing. He was a lead low comedian, but joined the company in the early 1670s, and was of a much lower status in the ranks than Hart. For further discussion of the veracity of this story or lack thereof, see Kenneth Cameron’s excellent discussion of Haines and The Life of Jo Hayns in Theatre Notebook 24, no. 2 (Winter 1969/70): 56-67, on 59 and 61. Cameron believes that if the incident happened, then it was in the 1668 revival performance, and not in the 1670s. He asserts on 61 that Downes dates the incident in 1672, but as Milhous and Hume note in Downes, 69, note 203, the date cannot be pinned down with any precision, and could have occurred in 1668 or later. Downes says only that “[Haines] having affronted Mr. Hart, he [Hart] gave him a Discharge and then [Haines] came into our [the Duke’s] House” (69).

In Davies's anecdote, the bourgeois Hart is ennobled; in The Life of Jo Hayns, the imperious Hart is brought down (until, of course, he has his way and Haines is fired). Samuel Pepys, whose Diary is decidedly modern with its focus on the private, subjective self, makes several cryptic references to Hart's work as an actor in both enthusiastic and blasé terms, and Hart is very much the player, not the king. Cryptic as they are, Pepys's accounts are the only audience response records to Hart's performance written in the 1660s (the Diary covers 1660-1669), and also what might be the most immediate responses, presumably written on the same day that Pepys saw Hart, or shortly thereafter. There are a total of six entries concerning Hart, and they are impressionistic and quirky fragments, but because they are virtually all we have, they are invaluable. I have already mentioned Pepys's disappointment with [Hart's] reading of the letter in Orrery's The Black Prince, which by implication tells us that Hart could not "charm" the eye and ear enough to transcend the flaws in that text.²³ However, he misses Hart as Cassio in a 1669 performance of Othello after another actor had taken over the part, and he praises Hart and Gwyn for their work in a 1667 performance of All Mistaken, but prefers Gwyn's work: "Nell's and Heart's mad parts are most excellently done, but especially hers," although he adds that she is not strong in tragic roles.²⁴ One can make the case for Pepys preferring, or at least being more attracted to, the performances by his favorite female players (Gwyn and Knepp), hence accounting for his more effusive entries on them, but he also names Hart along with Gwyn and Knepp as among the actors who have the power to draw him to the playhouse. On 1 May 1667, he writes that

²³ Pepys, Diary, 8:488. Pepys does not mention Hart by name, but he created and played the role.

²⁴ Pepys, Diary, 9:438 and 8:594.

We sat at the upper bench next the boxes, and I find it doth pretty well—and hath the advantage of seeing and hearing the great people, which may be pleasant when there is good store [...] but here was neither Hart, Nell, nor Knepp; therefore the play was not likely to please me.²⁵

Pepys wants to see the “great people” in the house and his favorite actors on stage. He moves between focus on the house as a space of entertainment (seeing the great people) and the play (performance) itself. Without Hart, Gwyn, and Knepp, he is not likely to be pleased with the play, even if he could be pleased with the close encounters with court celebrities in house.

In his Apology, Cibber wrote that he believed that “the private Character of an Actor will always more or less affect his Publick Performance.”²⁶ I wonder, too, if the public performance of the early Restoration actor more or less affected perceptions of his (or her) private character. In surviving gossip, celebrity player Charles Hart is portrayed as a lover with Don Juan sex appeal. Hart, a bachelor all of his life, was allegedly a partner of such celebrated women as Nell Gwyn, whom he reportedly helped to bring to the stage, and also of Barbara Villiers Palmer, Countess of Castlemaine, later, Duchess of Cleveland, affairs recorded for posterity by writers like Samuel Pepys. Was the “buzz” about Hart’s private life of interest to a contemporary diarist because Hart was a celebrity

²⁵ Pepys, Diary, 8:196. The play was a revival of Shirley’s Love in A Maze, featuring John Lacy. As Latham and Matthews point out, Pepys’s seat in the “upper bench next the boxes” is “the back row of the pit, which was just in front of the boxes at the rear of the auditorium.” See Diary, 8:196, note 2. In his diary entry, Pepys records that there were “Now only Prince Rupert” and two other courtiers in house, and is apparently disappointed by the lack of more “great people,” or perhaps he is disappointed that these are the only courtiers he is seeing, and not “great” enough for his liking.

²⁶ Cibber, Apology, 1:250.

actor? How useful is this kind of evidence in an analysis of an actor's "type" and commercial appeal? I am curious if Hart's offstage body was ghosted by his onstage "type" in the imaginations of audience members and if his onstage "type" was informed by the gossip about him as a lover.

In The Country Wife, in which Hart created the lead role of Horner in 1675, Margery Pinchwife (played by Elizabeth Boutell) answers the nervous question of her husband (played by Mohun), "but thou lik'st none better than me?" with an all too eager, "Yes indeed, but I do, the Player men are Finer Folk" (275). In the world of the play, Hart played Horner, who, like a player, pretends to be what he is not and who is one of the "Finer Folk" whom Margery swoons over. Some eight years before Hart played this role onstage, Pepys wrote of Hart the player who was a lover to beautiful and celebrated ladies, one an actress, and the other, a court lady, but who, like the everyday man, is also vulnerable to losing a lady's affections. Pepys provides us with a tantalizing bit of scuttlebutt about Hart's love tangles with his colleague Gwyn, who, in 1667, left Hart for George Sackville, known then as Lord Buckhurst: "Hart, her great admirer, now hates her."²⁷ Perhaps Pepys took pleasure in Hart's fallibility because it closed the gap between player and diarist, or placed him in a superior position to the player, or perhaps, allowed him to imagine and take pleasure in the fantasy of being close to the bodies he wrote about.²⁸

²⁷ Pepys, Diary, 8:402.

²⁸ As Patricia Myer Spacks notes in her recent study, Privacy: Concealing the Eighteenth-Century Self, privacy mean physical privacy—what one does in the bedroom, the home, the private chamber (as opposed to one's being in public places), but also interiority. As she puts it, "Privacy is above all an imaginative category" that depends upon "self-imaging and of imagining the other" (8). For Pepys, imaging the private bodies of others, as well as discoursing about his own private thoughts, persists throughout his Diary. See

The liaison between Castlemaine and Hart was the subject of more gossip by Pepys, who voyeuristically reported that

My Lady Castlemaine is mightily in love with Hart of their House and he is much with her in private, and she goes to him and doth give him many presents; and that the thing is most certain, and Becke Marshall only privy to it and the means of bringing them together—which is a very odd thing.²⁹

Pepys' voyeuristic fascination with the lives of the celebrities Hart, Gwyn, and Castlemaine is written in a private place, his Diary, and one can imagine him experiencing a furtive pleasure in imagining and recording the gossip about these celebrities in his private book. Pepys wrote about King Charles and Lady Castlemaine in a similar manner, giving special attention to the King as a private man and less than ideal, and also to his body parts. He writes that "walking in White-hall garden, [I] did see the King coming privately from [his lover] my Lady Castlemaynes; which is a poor thing for

Patricia Meyer Spacks, Privacy: Concealing the Eighteenth-Century Self (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 8. Myers's primary focus is on eighteenth-century constructions of privacy of the "mind and heart" (8) and surrounding social tensions, particularly in the case of women and concerns about their private sexual fantasies, behavior, and concealed thoughts.

²⁹ Pepys, Diary, 9:156. I note that in her pioneering essay "'Playhouse Flesh and Blood: Sexual Ideology and the Restoration Actress'" English Literary History 46 (1979): 597-617, Katharine Eiseman Maus makes a comment which I sympathize with, but also feel the need to qualify. She writes that audiences were not as concerned with the sex lives of the male players on the Restoration stage (603), but I think this is not quite accurate. There may have been more anxiety about the sex lives of women, and perhaps, in particular, actresses, thus a hyper-focus on women's sexual habits. Yet, Hart's sex life is clearly of interest to Pepys. Clearly, the same standards do not apply to men as to women. Hart, quite simply, is never called a whore; his lover Gwyn is. To Borrow Gayle Rubin's phraseology in her essay "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex," *passim*, the fascination with Hart and the male players shows that indeed there can be a "Traffic in Men," and one that objectifies them, although the objectification of Hart's body is often very positive, or at the least, romanticizes his virility.

a Prince to do.”³⁰ The real Charles, spied in a private moment, is less than the ideal construct of King. Pepys would later write about the King’s bedroom habits as a distraction, commenting on the rumored size of the King’s sexual organs: “the King doth mind nothing but pleasures and hates the very sight of business. That my Lord Castlemayne rules him; who he says hath all the tricks of Aretin that are practiced to give pleasure-in which he is able, hav[ing] a large ____.”³¹ The boundaries between player and king, public and private, famed and common become blurred in Pepys imaginings of famed bodies in private sexual acts, of the “mess of the body and its passions,” as Francis Barker puts it in his discussion of Pepys’s furtive pleasure reading a forbidden piece of “lewd text” in his private chamber before tossing it into the fire.³² Pepys’s private writings about Hart connect Hart to the circle of court lovers and the mess of the bodies’ passions. Most of the lampoons, gossip, and anecdotes represent the actor as “type”: in the case of Hart, as a leading man who can play royalty, who has dalliances with actresses and court ladies, who wins and loses women’s hearts but who is sexually involved with the same celebrity women as the King. The writings about Hart are

³⁰ Pepys, Diary, 4:30.

³¹ Pepys, Diary, 4:136-37. As Latham and Matthews note on 4:136, note 3, “Aretin” refers to Pierre Arentino, whose erotic writings had become well known in England in the 1650s.

³² Francis Barker, The Tremulous Private Body, Essays on Subjection (London: Methuen, 1984), 6-7. For further discussion of Pepys and erotica, see James Grantham Turner, Schooling Sex: Libertine Literature and Erotic Education in Italy, France, and England 1534-1685 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 226-40. The “lewd text” was (Claude Le Petit?) L’Escole des filles (1655; 1668). As Turner points out, the English translation The School of Venus was first mentioned in a MS datable to 1676-77. For a concise discussion of publication history, see Turner, Schooling Sex, xxv-xxvi.

evidence of what Joseph Roach has recently called “early modern celebrity erotics.”³³

The images of Hart created in these writings contributed to the celebrity discourse about him as player and as man.

As the leading man, Hart’s sexual appeal to women is virtuously intact in surviving gossip and even, as I will now discuss, in satiric poems. As the most famous male player, he may be imagined as being a dashing lover offstage as well as on, but when a woman (Gwyn) leaves him, the subject of fascination for the satirists, it signifies his failure to please her as a man and as a lover. The ghost of Hart’s being abandoned by Gwyn is that Hart (and his penis) may not be pleasing enough, at least not enough to outweigh a woman’s ambition as she climbs higher and higher up the social ladder, leaving player for lord for King.

Two lampoons housed in the manuscripts collection of the British Library invoke Hart’s past relationship with Gwyn, and in both, written approximately two years after he retired from the stage, he is gently mocked for being Nell Gwyn’s fool. In the first, “A Panegyrick” (1681), he is (accurately) named as one of the lovers to Nell Gwyn prior to her becoming mistress to Charles II. (It should be noted that Nell is the primary subject of attack in the lampoon, not Hart.) It is suggested that Hart has been jilted and victimized (ensnared) by Gwyn:

Much more her [Gwyn’s] growing Vertue did sustaine

Whils’t dear Charles Hart and Buckhurst su’d in vain.

In vain they su’d curst be the Envious Tongue

³³ Joseph Roach, “Celebrity Erotics: Pepys, Performance, and Painted Ladies,” Yale Journal of Criticism 16.1 (2003): 211-230, on 216. I wish to thank Professor Roach for sending me a copy of his article.

That her undoubted Chastity wou'd wronge
 For should we same believe we then might say
 That Thousands lay with her as well as they
 [...]
 There Harts & Rowleys Soul she did Ensnare
 And made a King a Rivall to a Player.³⁴

Hart, jilted, is painted in the imagination of this satirist as afraid that any accusation against Gwyn's chasteness will reflect negatively on his manhood. If "Thousands lay with her as well as they," Hart, the player, is but one of many lovers. As a player, he is made to rival a king because they make love to the same woman, but this portrait of Hart as celebrity emphasizes the difference between actor and King. The actor is baser, and the King debased because he makes love to the same woman as the player, Hart.

In the second lampoon reference to Hart, found in "The Lady of Pleasure or The Life of Nelly Truly Drawn—From Hop-Yard Cellar to the Throne 'Till into th' Grave it Tumbl'd Down," (1686) he is posthumously painted in a reasonably good light, manhood intact. However, he is rendered guilty by association, being, along with colleague John Lacy, one of Gwyn's former lovers and allegedly early mentors. This lampoon downplays any potential reading of Hart as the loser in love, and instead stresses his manners and vigor:

³⁴ "A Panegyrick." British Library Harleian MS. 6913, 94-96 on 94-94b. (Old pages 187-191, on 187-88.) Also in Harleian MS. 7913 145-49, on 145. Reprinted in *Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660-1714*, Volume 2: 1678-1681, ed. Elias F. Mengel, Jr. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 242-245. Buckhurst, as I discuss earlier, refers to Lord Buckhurst, George Sackville, Duke of Dorset, who became Gwyn's lover. Rowley is a nickname for Charles II, as noted in Wilson, *Court Satires of the Restoration*, 196, note 235.

Then enter Nelly on the publick stage
 Harlot of Harlots, Lais of the age;
 But there what Lacy's fumbling age abiy'd
 Hart's sprightly vigour more robustly eye'd.
 Yet Hart more manners had, than not to tender
 Whom Noble Buckhurst beg'd him to surrender.
 He saw her Roll the stage from side to side
 And throw her drawers, the powerfull charm descry'd.
 Take her my Lord (Quoth Hart) since you'r so mean
 To take a player's leavings for a Queen;
 For tho I love her well, yet as she's poor,
 I'me well contented to preferre the whore.³⁵

Hart is portrayed as man possessed of well-mannered virility befitting a young romantic lover: youthfully sprightly, vigorous, robust, in contrast to Lacy's "fumbling age," and a man who gives the "Harlot" Nell to Buckhurst. Hart was intimate with Nell in the 1660s, when he was in his mid thirties, an age at which a man could still be considered in his lusty prime, and he continued to play young and beautiful lovers until his retirement at age forty-eight, when he was ill with stone and gravel (kidney disease). This satire thus invokes the healthy, youthful body of Hart, and although the writer playfully and rather gently mocks that body, he also immortalizes that body as forever young and lusty. The

³⁵ From "The Lady of Pleasure or The Life of Nelly Truly Drawn—From Hop-Yard Cellar to the Throne 'Till into th' Grave it Tumbl'd Down." Bodleian Firth c. 15, 245-60, on 256. Lacy is John Lacy, Hart's colleague, allegedly an early lover of Gwyn's. The BD editors quote this excerpt and cite their source: Buckingham's Works (1715), in which the poem is attributed to Etherege, which the editors rightly note is probably erroneous. See BD 7:148-49.

writer imagines Hart handing Nell over to Buckhurst and mocking the fact that Buckhurst takes Hart's (a player's) "leavings." It is Nell whose status rises because she is a "whore," discovered while a player. Hart, as a player, does not rise through the ranks. His status is contrasted with that of a noble (Buckhurst). The tension between a player's prolificness and his lack of class status is continually foregrounded. By writing the player as the jilted lover, he is mythologized as passive victim, as a celebrity man who is as vulnerable as any man. He is a man whom even the actress eventually leaves. These two lampoons ghost the body of the by then retired Hart as a virile but fallible Don Juan.

The other leading player in the King's Company, Michael Mohun, received less celebrity "press" than Hart. Several anecdotes survive about his work, including those already mentioned: Steele's praise of Mohun as an actor possessed of "art and skill," and Downes's anecdote about Mohun being praised by Nathaniel Lee: "Oh, *Mohun, Mohun, Thou little Man of Mettle, if I should write a 100 Plays, I'd Write a Part for thy Mouth*" (42). Downes also writes of Mohun that "in all his Parts, he was most Accurate and Correct." He is remembered by others as a skilled player. Langbaine praised the by then seven years deceased Mohun as "that compleat Actor Major Mohun," inscribing Mohun as a kind of theatrical, if not cultural, icon:

Wit without Money, a Comedy which I have seen acted at the Old House in little *Lincolns-Inn-Fields* with very great Applause; the part of *Valentine* being play'd by that compleat Actor Major *Mohun* deceas'd. This was the first Play that was

acted after the Burning of the King's House in *Drury-lane* [sic]: a New Prologue
being writ for them by Mr. *Dryden*.³⁶

Annotations by an anonymous writer in a manuscript copy of Dryden's new prologue describe Mohun's handling of the prologue:

The Curtaine being drawne up, all the Actors were discover'd on the stage in
Melancholick postures, & Moone advancing before the rest speaks as follows,
addressing himself chiefly to the King.³⁷

If the description is accurate, and the company stood onstage in melancholic postures at the opening of the new and much more cramped playhouse, they could then have thrown off their sadness after Mohun earned the King's applause. Mohun is the celebrated player who delivered the prologue at the (temporary) new house, before the King.

In the prologue, Mohun, speaking Dryden's words, makes an analogy between stage and real, and draws a parallel between the Great Fire and the recent fire at the Theatre Royal, Bridges Street:

But as our new-built City rises higher,

³⁵ See Langbaine, *An Account of the English Dramatic Poets* (1691), 216. Also see *BD*, 10:274. Langbaine says "Drury-Lane" when he ought to say Bridges Street. He is apparently conflating events, for when the theatre at Bridges Street burned, the actors moved into the Lincoln's Inn Fields playhouse, and *Wit Without Money* was put on the boards on opening day. However, the confusion is understandable. Mohun also spoke a prologue written by Dryden for the opening of the new house at Drury Lane two years later, in March 1674. The play was a revival of Fletcher's *Beggar's Bush*. What is important is that Mohun spoke the prologues for the opening performances at both houses. For citation, see *LS*, 215. I note that Pierre Danchin, in his well-researched study, neglects to mention that Mohun spoke the prologue to *Beggar's Bush*, although he is generally very thorough. See Pierre Danchin, ed., *The Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration 1660-1700*, Part 1, 2:580-82.

³⁷ British Library Sloane MS. 4455, fol. 26 v, quoted in Danchin, *The Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration 1660-1700*, Part 1, 2: 464-66, on 464. Also see *BD* 10:274.

So from old Theatres may new aspire
 Since Fate contrives magnificence by fire.
 Our great Metropolis does farr surpass
 What ere is now [...]
 Your presence here [referring to King Charles], for which we humbly sue,
 Will grace old Theatres, and build up new.

Mohun and Dryden flatter the King, and also humbly sues for Charles's continued patronage. In the play that followed, Fletcher's Wit Without Money, Mohun played the lead rake role of Valentine. Thus, the company chose a popular play, and one that required little scenery, considering the limitations of the temporary playhouse, and a play that featured one of the King's favorite actors in a great (lead) part. Mohun was showcased, and the fact that he spoke the prologue further attests to this, for, as Danchin notes in his introduction to The Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration Stage, 1660-1700, "the element which resulted in the striking development of prologue literature was the sheer personality of some of the actors and actresses concerned."³⁸ The prologue was written by a celebrated playwright, Dryden, specifically for Mohun to speak before the King on the opening of the new house. Mohun was the spectacle.³⁹

Pepys makes the earliest reference we have to Mohun's association with the King and to his work as a skilled actor, an actor with the kind of "sheer personality" that

³⁸ Danchin, The Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration, 1660-1700, Part 1, 1:xxxix.

³⁹ There are five prologues on record for Mohun through 1678: possibly to Part II of The Conquest of Granada (1671); to Wit Without Money (1672); to The Amorous Old Woman (1674); and to Beggar's Bush (1674). There are five epilogues: to The Cheats (1663); to Damoiselles a la Mode (1667); to Love in A Wood (1671); to Marriage A-la-Mode (1671); and to Trick for Trick (1678).

Danchin writes of. Pepys had heard via gossip that Mohun was the best actor in the world. In his Diary entry dated 20 November 1660, Pepys writes

To the new Play-House at Lincolnes Inn fields (which was formerly Gibbon's tennis-court where the play of [Fletcher's] Beggar's Bush was newly begun. And so we went in and saw it. It was well acted (*and here I saw the first time one Moone, who is said to be the best actor in the world, lately come over with the King*).⁴⁰

Mohun is here reported by Pepys to be "the best actor in the world," a panoramic, colonizing image (and much like Dryden's later assessment that Hart could outrank any actor in France.)

Mohun is mentioned in a total of five diary entries by Pepys (as opposed to Hart's six), and only three make mention of his acting skills. After admiring Mohun in Beggar's Bush, Pepys makes two more fragmentary observations about his acting, but both of these suggest that the actor continued to be held in high esteem. Of Mohun's performance in the title role in Shirley's The Traitor on 22 November 1660, he writes that "Moone did act the Traytor very well."⁴¹ His next reference is on 6 February 1669, when he writes that "Moone (which did a little surprise me) [was] not acting Iago's part by much as well as Clun used to do."⁴² The fact that this "did a little surprise" Pepys

⁴⁰ Pepys, Diary, 1:297. My italics. As I discuss in Chapter 2, Mohun's role is not noted, but based on my reading of the play, casting information we do have, and my knowledge of his "lines," I suggest that he may well have played Hemskirk, the splashy, stormy, and brooding villain. Note that in this passage Pepys does not complete the first set of parentheses.

⁴¹ Pepys, Diary, 1:300.

⁴² Pepys, Diary, 9:438.

suggests that he expected Mohun to deliver strong performances, and his dislike of Mohun in the role may have to do with his liking Clun, the actor Mohun replaced, in the part. All of this is conjecture, but Pepys also wrote that another actor did not act Hart's role (Cassio) as well, and that Burt also did poorly as Othello, and not "as well as I once thought he did." Pepys mentions Mohun when Mohun is new to him (1660), and then not again until Mohun's performance disappoints him (1669), and we can deduce that Mohun usually impressed Pepys in the period 1660 to 1669. The fact that Mohun's acting is mentioned only three times by Pepys probably means nothing more than that nothing unusual happened onstage in terms of the quality of Mohun's playing. What interests Pepys in the interim is two small pieces of gossip about Mohun's interactions with Hart and the King. In the first case, he writes of Mohun's falling out with Hart, which shuts down the playhouse: "The King's House is at present, and hath for some days been, silenced upon some difference [between] Hart and Mohun."⁴³ He also gives attention to Mohun's going to the King on the company's behalf, a subject I take up below. By thinking and writing about Mohun, Pepys renders him, however casually, a part of his subjective landscape, internalizing the public body of the actor.

Evidence about conceptions of Mohun's "type" within the gossip circles is scarce. He was not a target in lampoons, and there are no extant tales of any sexual dalliances. (We know that he was married to Ann Bird, daughter of actor Theophilus Bird, Senior.) Mohun was Catholic, thus, potentially an "outsider," but I have not found him targeted in any anti-Catholic lampoons in the manuscripts that I have studied at the British Library or at Oxford. He seems to have been a favorite of the King's. Pepys reports that when

⁴³ Pepys, *Diary*, 8:569.

Charles II closed the Theatre Royal, having taken offense at anti-court sentiments as expressed by the clown figure (played by Lacy) in Edward Howard's The Change of Crownes, it was Mohun who visited the King to plead on behalf of the company:

Knipp [Knepp] tells me the King was so angry at the liberty taken by Lacy's part to abuse him to his face, that he commanded they should act no more, till Moone went and got leave for them to act again; but not this play.⁴⁴

Mohun was apparently confident enough in his standing with Charles II to write a letter on 14 December 1678 to the Secretary of State with the request that he, Mohun, be exempted from the recently issued royal decree whereby all Catholics were banished from the city, arguing that "if I went, ye Play-house must of necessity lye still."⁴⁵ Mohun was in a sympathetic position as a leading actor and as a royalist.

A late eighteenth-century engraving of Mohun shows a virile, youthful, even cherubic actor-as-soldier, very much in keeping with Mohun's real-life image and with one of his most popular onstage "lines." The portrait upon which this engraving is based is in the collection at Knole, as the editors of the Biographical Dictionary point out.⁴⁶ I have a color copy of this portrait in my possession, and, like the engraving, it shows a virile, handsome young man holding a sword, ready for physical action. The portrait has been assigned a date of circa 1660 by various scholars, but the age of Mohun in the portrait, combined with various pieces of evidence I have unearthed during my research

⁴⁴ Pepys, Diary, 8:168.

⁴⁵ TNA: PRO SP 29/408, no. 64. Excerpt printed in Milhous and Hume, Document Register, no. 1068.

⁴⁶ See BD 10:276.

on this visual artifact, have led me to question this date.⁴⁷ I believe that the portrait dates earlier than 1660, and closer to the early 1640s, when Mohun was an active cavalier soldier. He is very obviously a young man of roughly twenty in the portrait, which supports the earlier date.

One of Mohun's most popular "lines" was that of soldier in revival and new plays, so in this respect, Mohun's real-life role as soldier corresponded with his "type" on stage. The portrait captures the body of a young cavalier on canvas, and is, for me, a celebrity portrait, and one that gives me a different sense of Mohun's physical body and "type" as an actor. The young man in the portrait is stormy, brooding, strong in build, and manly. His dark brown hair falls over one shoulder, cavalier style, and his eyes are a deep brown. Looking at it, I see more clearly how he was "typed" as soldier, and even as stormy and tempestuous lover, and this reflects to me my desire to find the original body as much as it does the way that body might have looked or read onstage.

Just as my gaze is colored by my knowledge of Mohun's roles onstage and in life, Mohun's royalist allegiances may have bled into the way he was read by some members of the audience who watched him perform onstage. Jocelyn Powell has suggested that Mohun's real-life history as a civil war soldier influenced the kinds of roles that Dryden wrote for him, roles with a "blunt, military presence."⁴⁸ He also considered how Mohun was "an actor who could cry on stage" (118) citing the stage directions "*Half crying*" (3.1.155) in the first scene between Abdelmelech (Mohun) and his lover, the villainess Lyndaraxa (Marshall), in Part I of The Conquest of Granada. Stage directions may or

⁴⁷ See, for example, BD 10:276, which gives the date of the portrait as circa 1660.

⁴⁸ Jocelyn Powell, Restoration Theatre Production, 118.

may not reflect what Mohun actually did, or if he could cry onstage, but they do suggest that he could have been contorting his face muscles as if crying, and that he was stung by strong emotions. Further, he may well have turned upstage or covered his face and simulated real tears, thus conveying his emotional pain through gesture and posture. Powell is interested in how an audience might have read Mohun's body in performance vis-à-vis their knowledge of his real-life past as a major in the Royalist army. In Granada, Mohun played the renegade soldier Abdelmelech who rebels against the king and kills the villainess. It is possible, using Powell's model, that audience sympathy was more clearly aligned with Abdelmelech because the actor playing him was ghosted by his history as Royalist soldier. But in 1670, ten years had lapsed since the end of the Civil War, and audiences were also reading his body based on their knowledge of his past roles as stormy, jealous lovers, rather than, or at least adjacent to, his real-life past. Further, as Langbaine asserted thirty years later in his analysis of the play text, Abdelmelech's slaying of the villainess was an unmanly act, which at least theoretically complicates a reading that Mohun's body was nostalgically read as a Royalist soldier's body.⁴⁹ Rather than trying to determine how the body was read, I am interested in possible ways in which Mohun's body may have been read, and some of the ways in which stage and real interplay and ghost one another. Recalling that in 1660, Pepys wrote of the close connection between Mohun and King Charles II and between Civil War soldier and

⁴⁹ From Langbaine, An Account of The English Dramatic Poets (London, 1691), 143, EEBO, 30 November 2003. Langbaine writes that Dryden was wrong to accuse playwright John Fletcher, whose works were frequently revived in the Restoration, of writing morally suspect male characters. Langbaine supports this by saying that Dryden himself made the same error when he wrote the part of Abdelmelech, the part played by Mohun. Langbaine refers only to the written play text, not to Mohun or live performance.

celebrity actor when he described Mohun as “the best actor in the world, lately come over with the King,” the connection between soldier and actor was at least in the early years plausible in the construction of his “type.” Further, in extant published cast lists in the 1670s, and as late as 1682, Mohun is sometimes referred to with the title “Major,” another kind of doubling between soldier and actor.⁵⁰

Age brings change. As I discuss in Chapter 2, in 1682, as a member of the new United Company, a roughly sixty-year old Mohun petitioned the King for remuneration, as he was apparently not being called to the theatre to work. Male actors could play lead roles well past middle age. Charles Hart continued to play leading lovers into his late 40s, when he left the stage due to illness, and Edward Kynaston until 1701, when he was long past his prime. Cibber wrote in his Apology that Kynaston at sixty was possessed of a “handsomeness” and the white teeth of a “Toast of Twenty” (1:121), but adds that he “staid too long upon the Stage, till his Memory and Spirit began to fail him” (1:127). This may have been true for Mohun. Mohun asserts in his petition that he is now making less money than Kynaston and Hart, with whom he had always held equal (and in the case of Kynaston, higher) status. According to his claim, Mohun had lost his one and a quarter share and had become a salaried player “now only proffered 20 s. a day when they [the company] haue occasion to vse him.”⁵¹ I have previously addressed how Mohun’s request was answered in the affirmative, and his roles ordered returned to him, but this

⁵⁰ Examples of cast lists in which Mohun is listed as “Major Mohun” are Dryden’s Secret Love (first performed 1667; published 1670); Dryden’s Tyrannick Love (first performed 1669; published 1670); Dryden’s The Assignation (first performed 1672; published 1673); Fane’s Love in the Dark (performed and published in 1675); John Banks’s The Unhappy Favorite, or the Earl of Essex (performed 1681; published 1672); and Thomas Southerne’s The Loyal Brother (performed and published 1682).

⁵¹ TNA: PRO LC 5/191, fol. 102v.

was followed by another decree, which indicates that the actor was not being called to perform.⁵² The petition presents important evidence about age, the body, and marketability. Mohun seems to have wanted to work and thought himself fit, but the petition brings to mind questions and captures the body past in a very different light than does the romantic portrait.

Was Mohun's body at sixty a commercial liability? He suffered from gout, a painful inflammatory disease which affects the joints.⁵³ Was he capable but no longer being cast, or was he stubbornly resisting his own physical limitations? His petition points in a hands on manner to the very real circumstances for this sixty-something actor. It stands in stark contrast to the portrait which forever shows the actor in his prime as a Toast of Twenty: young, virile, physically strong.

In the epilogue to Fane's Love in the Dark (1675), spoken by Joe Haines, in which Mohun played the madcap lover Trivultio, Mohun's gout is referred to in a playful (if biting) passage on him as a "Wonder" of the English Stage. He, as the aging wonder, is placed in contrast with the new, young, "Half Player" who merely apes man:

like an Ape's mock face

By near resembling Man, do Man disgrace.

Though pac'd ill Actors, may perhaps be cur'd,

Half Players like half Wits, can't be endur'd.

Yet these are they, who durst expose the Age

⁵² Mohun's request was granted on 23 November 1682, and the order was repeated on 5 December. See Document Register, no. 1170 and no. 1175, and see Nicoll, 1:366. As I discuss in Chapter 2, one manuscript cast lists him in the role of Melanthias in a 1682-83 revival of A King and No King, a role he owned as a member of the King's Company, but this is the only recorded role for Mohun with the United Company. See BD 10:275.

⁵³ For discussion, see BD 10:275.

the great *Wonder* of our English Stage [Mohun].
 Whom Nature seem'd to form for your delight,
 And bid him speak, as she bid *Shakespeare* write.
 Those Blades indeed are Cripples in their Art
 Mimmick his Foot, but not his speaking part.
 Let them the *Traytor* or *Volpone* try,
 Could they—
 Rage like *Cethegus*, or like *Cassius* die,
 They ne'er had sent to *Paris* for such Fancies,
 As Monster's heads, and Merry *Andrew*'s Dances.⁵⁴

The epilogue playfully praises, and also gently mocks Mohun's "crippled" body with the words that young Half-Players "Mimmick his Foot." The words in total form an apologia for his gout, and also in the spirit of play honors him as a great English actor, and adds that if there were others like him instead of the lesser sort, there would be no need for Parisian style entertainments. There is a play between national borders, and Mohun, like Hart, is the English hero. Fane's epilogue is not a serious homage, and considering Haines's history of irreverence in performance, I doubt that it was delivered with earnest devotion. Yet the playwright writes gout and Mohun's body into the epilogue, which, like the prologue, is a framing text that bridges the play space between stage and real. We can deduce from the epilogue that in 1675 Mohun's body was affected by the disease enough to be a potential distraction on stage, and my guess is that the actor may have put

⁵⁴ Epilogue to Fane's *Love in the Dark*. EEBO, 28 November 2003. This reference was brought to my attention by the *BD* editors on 10:275, in which is printed three lines from the epilogue.

in a request for this apologia. (He would probably have had to do so, for neither Fane nor Haines had enough standing to write and perform this without Mohun's consent.)⁵⁵ The epilogue deliberately ghosts his gouty body with his past great roles.⁵⁶

Was Mohun's gout more frequently ignored, mocked, or romanticized? Did it make him read as less of the forceful, manly, lusty soldier, tyrant, or rake, "lines" that he specialized in onstage? Certainly it would have limited his physical mobility, and hence his ability to play his parts, his aging body ghosted by his younger, more virile one. This very gap between what the body should be able to do in a particular "line" and what it can no longer do is what drives the epilogue to Love in the Dark. Whether Mohun was conceived as less manly for this is a more complicated question. In their engaging study Gout: The Patrician Malady, Roy Porter and G.S. Rousseau present a very convincing argument for gout as being historically associated with the "great and the glamour[ous]" and also as a male disease.⁵⁷ As Porter and Rousseau articulate it, men "were made for action. Their diseases would more likely hit at their mobility: hence gout" (5). Mohun's

⁵⁵ I note that in The Country Wife (1675), as I discuss in Chapter 3, Pinchwife (Mohun's role) is described in "type" as plagued with "jealousy and gout" (272), suggesting another possible reference to Mohun's real-life illness.

⁵⁶ An interesting twentieth-century fantasy about the relationship between Haines and Mohun occurs in Kenneth Cameron's novel based (loosely) on the life of Jo Haines, Our Jo (New York, Popular Library, 1974). The novel is written in a first person voice, with Haines as the narrator. In it, young Haines, "a coming man" (i.e. up and coming man) sees Beggar's Bush at Vere Street and is struck: "The actors the finest gentleman that ever you saw. Major Mohun was in it" (106). In his earlier scholarly article about Haines, Cameron called Haines an "*infamis*," noting that for every "immoralist [player] there is an Edward Alleyn or a Mohun." See Cameron, Jo Haynes, Infamis, 56. Cameron imagines Mohun in the article as an exemplary, moral actor, and then imagines him in the novel as a great celebrity spotted by a moon-struck up and coming actor. The novel is itself a curious example of what seems to be a scholar's own fascination with celebrityhood, as Cameron takes on the persona of (a now sympathetic) Jo Haines in this admittedly commercial and unabashedly entertaining venture.

⁵⁷ Roy Porter and G.S. Rousseau, Gout: The Patrician Malady, 5.

body in the epilogue is both romanticized as the actor with a lusty body besieged by gout, literally crippled in his onstage playing of the rake, and queered, or made different than other, a body in between healthy and diseased, a body that is a great and glamorous body but also embarrassingly real—not ideal at all, but marked by physical limitations. Here, where there is a gap between “type” and real—the sprightly Trivultio does not have gout, but the celebrity actor playing him does—it is foregrounded in the irreverent words spoken by the company’s clown, Haines, serving as a kind of eulogy for the body of the younger Mohun now gone. Mohun’s force of action as a man of fifty-five is now compromised. The epilogue is an apologia for Mohun’s gouty body.

Hart and Mohun, the two leading men in the King’s Company, were both exalted as famous players. Edward Kynaston, who began in women’s roles, and who then took on young male leads, is a harder case to assess in terms of how his body was perceived. He was twenty years younger than Hart and thirty years younger than Mohun. Thus, he was in his physical prime when these actors were aging. Onstage, however, Hart and Mohun played the lustier, more manly leads, while Kynaston embodied youthfulness, either in young lover parts, or later, beautiful and youthful villains and steely military men who give up love for women for the art of war. He thus played junior parts opposite the leading men, and in some cases, much less sympathetic roles than Hart, whose leads were always the more exalted lover-warriors.

Unlike Hart, Kynaston was not eulogized, at least based upon what is extant, and there is no reference to him as an English hero, or an exalted everyman. That Kynaston was famous as a boy player of female parts there can be no doubt. Downes memorialized

him as such in his Roscius Anglicanus, writing that Kynaston was a physically beautiful actor who could well embody the feminine:

being then very young [Kynaston] 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 been Disputable among the Judicious, whether any Woman that succeeded him so Sensibly touch'd the Audiences as he.⁵⁸

Downes, writing in 1708, was an actor in the 1661 season, and he surely saw Kynaston perform in female parts, so this is an example of a true remembering via first-hand contact.⁵⁹ Kynaston is admired for his great skills, and we must note that admiring him for his skill in impersonating women does not preclude his being skilled (and even beautiful) as a male player. Downes offers no commentary on that count.

Cibber gives us an anecdote about Kynaston's fame as a boy player, and one that supposedly came from Kynaston himself. In this tale of a celebrity player, Kynaston is described as being so beautiful that the women who came to the theatre took him with them after the play for jaunts in the park:

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 [...] Of this Truth I had the Curiosity to enquire, and had it confirm'd from his own Mouth in his advanc'd Age. (1:120)

⁵⁸ Downes, 46. *Arthiope* was the leading female part in Sir. William Davenant's tragedy, The Unfortunate Lovers and *Aglaura* was the leading lady in Suckling's tragedy of the same name. There was also a tragicomic version of Aglaura. Downes seems to be referring to the tragic version, since it is a role that he says elicits "Compassion and Pity."

⁵⁹ See the BD entry on Downes, 4:462-64, on 462.

Kynaston, in his “advanc’d Age,” remembers his youthful body, and boasts, if we can believe Cibber’s word that it came from Kynaston himself, of his fame with the women. Is this a boast of his being attractive to these women, who found him so beautiful and so delight in him that they took him with them in women’s dress? Or is this about his ability to pass? If the latter, is it about his ability to pass and play the woman, or is about his ability to play along with the women and have access to them in a way that he would not have as a man, thus, boasting of his skills as a player and of his appeal to women audience members? Lacking other evidence, we can only speculate and claim that this is a very strong example of an image of the player being circulated in culture and a memory of a by-then aging actor in his prime as a leading player of female parts.

There is no doubt that Kynaston was celebrated as a boy player. The nostalgia for the past that we see reflected in the Hyde Park anecdote is quite plausibly the result of an admiration for or a curiosity about a tradition long past and a memory of Kynaston at the height of his celebrityhood, both as far as others, and possibly he, were concerned. Further, this could be nostalgia for the once beautiful, youthful, healthy body of a player now that he was in advanced age. Cibber writes that

Kynaston staid too long upon the Stage, till his Memory and Spirit began to fail him. I shall not therefore say any thing of his Imperfections, which, at that time, were visibly not his own, but the Effects of a decaying Nature. (1:126-27)

The closing line is interesting, for Cibber sees the marks of Kynaston’s decaying, aging body as “visibly not his own,” but as the decay of the true or natural body of the younger actor in his prime. His younger body is conjectured from his aging one. Kynaston’s celebrated, youthful body is imagined in retrospect.

What, then, do we know of him and his fame as a male player? Certainly, we know that he was a leading actor of young male parts (what would later be called juvenile leads). This fact attests to his success in such roles, probably to his popularity, probably to his commercial appeal, and possibly to a correspondent fame, although of what magnitude, and to whom, we cannot be certain. For evidence about his work in the 1660s, Pepys is our only extant eyewitness source. Pepys mentions Kynaston in a total of five Diary entries, two of which focus on Kynaston's early work in female parts, which I have discussed in previous chapters.⁶⁰

Pepys's only reference to Kynaston's work in male parts comes via the three diary entries concerning Kynaston's allegedly mimicking a courtier, Sir Charles Sedley, in a play called The Heiress, now lost. He must have executed the part well, for his playing led to violence in the form of what I will call player-bashing. On 1 February 1669, Pepys writes that he went to see The Heiress only to find that Kynaston was absent due to an assault, and the play cancelled:

we find no play [...] Kinaston, that did act the part therein to abuse Charles Sidly [Sedley], being last night exceedingly dry-beaten with sticks by two or three that assaulted him—so he is mightily bruised, and forced to keep his bed.⁶¹

⁶⁰ I note that there are no prologues or epilogues on record for Kynaston for the duration of his time on the stage. Perhaps we are missing evidence (although that would be a lot of evidence to miss), or perhaps he was not a good prologue or epilogue speaker. He did not have Mohun's or Hart's status, and this certainly factors in, as does the fact that Mohun and Hart were more skilled at comedy, thus, they would have been much more adept at handling the witty, comical lines in prologues and epilogues. I wonder, too, if the sound of Kynaston's voice factors in; as I discuss in Chapter 5, his voice was probably higher in pitch than was Hart's or Mohun's. Further, his voice seems to have been perceived, at least by some, as less manly than the voices of the other two actors.

⁶¹ Pepys, Diary, 9:435.

And on 2 February, Pepys writes of Kynaston and the King:

to the King's playhouse, where *The Heyress*, notwithstanding Kinaston's being beaten, is acted; and they say the King is very angry with Sir Ch. Sidly for his being beaten; but [Sedley] doth deny it.⁶²

On 9 February, Pepys observes that Kynaston is well enough to act again:

Abroad with my wife to the King's playhouse and there saw The Island Princess, which I like mighty well, as an excellent play; and here we find Kinaston to be well enough to act again, which he doth very well, after his beating by Sir. Ch. Sidly's appointment.⁶³

Kynaston is physically assaulted, and he recovers, and acts again. This is all we know. There are no tales of his seeking revenge, or with manly courage avenging himself on Sedley, which would have been looked at unfavorably by the King, in any case. Charles is distressed, if we can trust Pepys, that one of his King's Company actors has been physically attacked. The play was not removed from the repertory when Kynaston was absent. Rather, another actor played the role, reading from the script.⁶⁴ One wonders if Hart or Mohun were absent from a play if that play would have been taken off the boards and another substituted in its place. Kynaston's part seems to have been an important part (although one cannot tell without a surviving text whether it was a large role, or simply a splashy role), since Pepys writes that Beeston "is fain to read [Kynaston's part]

⁶² Pepys, Diary, 9:436.

⁶³ Pepys, Diary, 9:441. Kynaston played the high romance role of the kidnapped king in The Island Princess, a role, I note, that could be performed with minimal physical movement.

⁶⁴ Pepys reports that William Beeston, a secondary actor, took Kynaston's role and read from the script. See Pepys, Diary, 9:436.

out of a book all the while, and thereby spoils the part and almost the play, it being one of the best parts in it.”⁶⁵ Judging by Pepys’s comments, Kynaston’s part was at least a substantive secondary part, if not a leading role. Perhaps the play was kept on the boards to minimize the scandal or to keep making money, but having an actor hold a script on stage only pointed to the absent body of Kynaston, which was the talk of the town, it seems.

Beyond the reference to The Heiress, we know nothing else about Kynaston’s fame as a player of male parts that dates from his years with the King’s Company. We can deduce from The Heiress episode that Kynaston was skilled at playing, enough so as to offend Sedley because he was so able to imitate (and probably caricature) him. But what else can we know about his fame in male parts? To answer this, we need to look ahead to Colley Cibber, who was able to witness Kynaston’s work as an adult player, certainly post 1690-91, when Cibber began playing, and possibly as early as the 1680s. If we assume that Cibber’s observations are based on his witnessing Kynaston’s work as a fellow player, than we are looking at a Kynaston advanced in years, approximately fifty to sixty years of age. Cibber’s comments, which focus on Kynaston’s skills, memorialize him as an able player of male roles. Cibber asserts that the bodily effect of Kynaston’s early training in female parts “misbecame him not in the Part of Leon, in Fletcher’s *Rule a Wife*, &C. which he executed with a determin’d Manliness and honest Authority well worth the best actor’s Imitation” (1:121). “Best actor” in this context seems to imply a skilled and manly actor, and Cibber’s assertion that Kynaston could play the wife-taming Leon well (a part that belonged to Mohun, which I discuss at length in Chapter 3), is a

⁶⁵ Pepys, Diary, 9:436.

somewhat anxious statement, which seems designed to ensure the reader (and possibly Cibber) that there was nothing queer about Kynaston's male body.

Cibber praised Kynaston in other male roles. He admired Kynaston's ability to play tyrant parts with a "fierce, Lion-like Majesty in his Port and Utterance" (1:121). He also speaks of Kynaston's majesty in the role of King Henry in Henry IV, praising him for the "private Scene between the King and Prince his Son: There you saw Majesty in that sort of Grief which only Majesty could feel," and writes that Kynaston succeeded in "expressing all various Motions of the Heart with the same Force, Dignity, and Feeling, they are written" (1:126). Like the leading man of the King's Company, Hart, Kynaston is in his later years described as possessing regal "Majesty."

As a player of male roles, how was Kynaston seen? Subjective responses are not knowable, beyond saying that he was popular as the soft, young lover in the 1660s and 1670s, as temperamental but beautiful bad boys, and as the military men who abstained from sexual contact and who sacrificed love for war.

In contrast to the stable manliness and even well-mannered virility of Hart in the two lampoons about him, Kynaston was attacked much more viciously in writing. In "Satyr upon the Duke of Bucks, by Mr. D[ryde]n" (1678), a roughly thirty-five year old Kynaston is accused of being the "bottom" in a sexual encounter with George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. The lampoon reads, "And Kenastons [Kynaston's] arse knows its own Buggerer."⁶⁶ Montague Summers wrote as early as 1935 that Kynaston was

⁶⁵ The lampoon excerpt is reprinted in BD, 9:82-3, and also in Poems on Affairs of State, vol. 2, 192-199, on 194, note 20. I use the full title of the lampoon as printed in this note material in Poems on Affairs of State. The Biographical Dictionary editors write that the "lampoon is supposedly by Dryden," but offer no further commentary on authorship, nor do the editors of Poems on Affairs of State. I find it very unlikely that Dryden authored

bisexual, using the lampoon as evidence, but lampoons probably tell us more about cultural anxieties used as fodder for adolescent-level poetry by a court in-group than they do about actual private lives, or even general public reputations.⁶⁷ They might also tell us something about entertainment value: the lampoons “report,” but in biased, subjective, and unreliable ways, and they are projections of fantasies more than reports of facts.

Joshua Gamson writes in Claims to Fame: Celebrity in Contemporary America that for journalists approaching the subject of a celebrity’s private life “the primary question is not what is most important to know about them or what will reveal them most truthfully but what about them will be most interesting.”⁶⁸ I am suggesting that the writer of the seventeenth-century lampoon may have had a similar impulse to make Kynaston’s body interesting by making it the most lascivious body he could imagine—that of Buckingham’s male whore. The focus on Kynaston and his “arse” as carnally knowing makes ambiguous whether Kynaston enjoys this sexual play. Halperin notes that the male who actively desires to submit his body passively to sexual play may be constructed as deviating in “personal style, one aspect of which is a ‘womanly’ liking for a ‘passive’ role in sexual intercourse with other men.”⁶⁹ At the same time that this fantasy projection (assuming it is fantasy and not truth) expresses anxiety about sodomy and the passive male, it is plausible to say that the writer could pleasure in this fantasy vicariously. The

this satire (although he was politically at odds with the Duke of Buckingham), but whoever did implicated Kynaston as a lover of Buckingham’s.

⁶⁶ See Montague Summers, The Playhouse of Pepys, 331, footnote 78.

⁶⁸ Joshua Gamson, Claims to Fame: Celebrity in Contemporary America (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994, 98.

⁶⁹ David M. Halperin, How to Do the History Of Homosexuality, 122.

satirist imagines the bodies of Kynaston and Buckingham engaged in anal intercourse. This invoking of the sodomite and the passive lover may also characterize a voyeuristic fascination with the private body, as well as being a lurid description of the (imagined) real-life player as being of a certain “type,” or kind.⁷⁰ Bodies, in fact, resist such easy categorization (and Kynaston may or may not have had sexual relations with men). Legal records tell us that Kynaston was married in 1662, so very early on in his career, and that he had at least one child.⁷¹

In another lampoon, “The Litany of the Duke of Buckingham” (1680), which echoes in theme the satire quoted above, Kynaston is named as one of the *bon gars* whom Buckingham sodomizes, with “Kynaston acting both Venus and Mars.”⁷² The *double*

⁷⁰ James Nokes, the Duke’s Company player who specialized in comic roles, including old women skirts parts, and who, like Kynaston, started as a boy player of female roles, was named a buggerer in a lampoon, which reads, “You smock fac’d lads secure your gentle Bums / For full of Lust & fury see he comes / Tis Buggering Nokes whose damn’d unwieldy Tarse / Weeps to be buried in his Foremans Arse.” From A Satire on the Players. British Library Harleian MS. 7317, 51b-54b (old pages 96-102). Also in Harleian MS. 7319, fol. 144b-148b. The lampoon is reprinted in John Downes, Roscius Anglicanus, ed. Montague Summers (1929; reprint New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968), 55-59. William Mountfort, who specialized in the occasional heroic part (such as Alexander, Hart’s part in The Rival Queens) and in lover and fop roles was also named in a lampoon as being buggered by a man whose wife he had seduced: “There’s a story of late / That the Chancellor’s mate, / Has been fucked and fucked by player Mountford / Which though false, yet’s as true, / My lord gave him his due / For he had a small tilt at his bum for it.” “Vindication, Part I,” Harleian MS. 7319, 453, quoted in Wilson, Court Satires of the Restoration, 158, note 158. The Chancellor was the controversial Lord Chancellor Jeffreys. Mountfort stayed with him and his wife for a time in 1686 (see BD 10:355).

⁷⁰ For information on Kynaston’s marriage date, see Biographical Dictionary, 9:81. My further understanding of Kynaston’s marriage comes via discussion and email correspondence with Dr. Judith Milhous, March 2001, concerning the will of Kynaston’s wife’s father, TNA: PROB11/390/229^r-230^r. I wish to thank Professor Milhous for generously providing me with a copy of her transcription of the will.

⁷² “The Litany of the Duke of Buckingham,” printed in Poems on Affairs of State, vol. 2, 192-199, on 194.

entendre is that Kynaston is both top and bottom to Buckingham (Kynaston as Venus and Mars, or playing the woman, playing the man), and the intentional pun is that he acted both women and men on stage and in bed. The pun succeeds because of ghosting—Kynaston is written as “type,” as player-sodomite, and a mercurial player who can act both Venus and Mars. When this poem was written, Kynaston was roughly thirty-seven years of age, and the poem thus invokes his past career as a player of women’s parts. In this configuration, the unstable body of the player boy—part of Kynaston’s past overlaid onto the present—is made analogous to the unstable body of the sexually queer.⁷³

I now turn to a sobering bit of evidence, only because I am about to claim that the surviving engraving of Kynaston—one of the few extant images we have for any of the first generation Restoration actors, with the exception of Nell Gwyn, who was frequently painted—is almost certainly not Kynaston at all, but another youth, possibly unknown, or possibly the son of the painter of the original portrait of this youth, Mary Beale.

A surviving piece of visual evidence, long believed to be an engraving of Edward Kynaston, turns out to be problematic. The engraving, a mezzotint by Robert Bowyer Parkes (b. 1830) and printed in the Lowe edition of Cibber’s *Apology* in 1889, is based on an early nineteenth-century engraving by Robert Cooper, which in turn is based on a

⁷³ Davies provides an anecdote which seems based on a letter from the early eighteenth-century and was originally cited in Curll’s *The History of The English Stage*, according to *BD* 9:79. The story as Davies tells it is that the grandson of Edward Kynaston refused to ever speak of his grandfather, apparently because Kynaston’s grandson “thought it no honour to be the descendent of a player” (3:337). Note the contrast between this story and Davies’s romantic account of Hart as a man respectful of the clergy, and of his inviting a clergyman to dinner after Haines had played a prank on him. (Of course, Hart was not related to the clergyman).

portrait.⁷⁴ The portrait, allegedly by Peter Lely, has long been assumed lost. At the Heinz Archive in London, I found print copies of both the Cooper engraving and the original portrait. Further research, including consultations with two expert archivists, has led me to conclude that this portrait is not by Lely at all, but that it is very likely by Restoration painter Mary Beale.⁷⁵ Further, it is almost certainly not a portrait of Kynaston.

The portrait shows a youth who looks to be about thirteen or fourteen years old, and certainly not much older. Kynaston was apprenticing at this age, and he would have been in his early teens in the mid 1650s. The portrait was assigned at the National

⁷⁴ See “List of Mezzotint Portraits, Newly Engraved by R.B. Parkes,” in Cibber, *Apology*, page facing xvi. The engraving is labeled, “Edward Kynaston, comedian. After R. Cooper,” and reproduced between pages 122 and 123. Robert Bowyer Parks is identified by Ian Mackenzie as a “mezzotint engraver of portraits mainly after 18th century British painters and genre and sentimental subjects after his contemporaries. He worked in London.” I believe R.B. Parkes is Robert Bowyer Parkes. Mackenzie identifies Robert Cooper as flourishing in 1798-1826, and as a “Line Engraver of portraits and book illustrations after various artists.” See Ian MacKenzie, *British Prints: Dictionary and Price Guide* (1987; revised edition Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Antique Collectors Club, 1998), 127 and 268. Samuel Redgrave describes Cooper as an engraver who did several character portraits and “also several private plates for the Duke of Buckingham.” See Samuel Redgrave, *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School: Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers, and Ornamentists*, 2nd Edition (London, 1878; facsimile edition Bath: Kingsmead Reprints, 1970), 97. Also see the entry on R. Cooper in the *DNB*, in which it is stated that Cooper “executed numerous engravings of leading actors and actresses of the day for various theatrical publications” (1072). Did R. Cooper name the engraving “Kynaston,” based on the earlier portrait, or did the misattribution precede him?

⁷⁵ Heinz Archive, National Portrait Gallery, folder “Kynaston, Edward.” The portrait is cataloged by the Heinz Archive, National Portrait Gallery, as being by “Beale” with a question mark, and parenthetically this attribution is credited to “RG.” I am grateful to Catherine Macleod, curator of seventeenth century portraits at the National Portrait Gallery, for pointing out to that “RG” stands for Robin Givens, former curator at the NPG. Macleod looked at a copy of the portrait, and concurred that yes, it does appear to be by Mary Beale, and not by Lely. Catherine Macleod, email to the author, “RE: Portrait Query from a USA doctoral candidate,” 7 October 2003. Tabitha Barber, curator of the Tate Collection and a Beale expert, also studied the image and asserted that it does indeed look as if it is by Mary Beale. Tabitha Barber, email to the author, “RE: Kynaston (?) portrait and Beale,” 10 October 2003.

Portrait Gallery a tentative date of 1665. However, this would make Kynaston roughly twenty-two years of age, too old to be the youth in the portrait. Further, according to Tabitha Barber, an expert on the work of Mary Beale and to whom I showed a copy of this image, the portrait looks like it could date from the mid 1670s, rather than from the mid 1660s.⁷⁶ If Barber's dating is accurate, this makes it all the less likely that this is Kynaston, as he would have been in his thirties in the mid 1670s.

In the portrait and the later engravings, the youth's hands are in a rhetorical position, which might suggest the hands of a boy player. Barber admits that the hands are highly unusual for Beale, and wonders if they might have been added later, perhaps to "turn the portrait into Kynaston."⁷⁷ However, Barber points out to me that the hands could well be by Beale and suggests that they are in a rhetorical pose that indicates a youth in the guise of a philosopher, or someone of intellect, and not necessarily an actor in performance. For example, in Charles Beale's 1681 Notebook, he writes that his wife Mary painted "Mr Wotton's pictr, (ye prodigious youth that understands 13 Languages & is not yet 15 yeares old)".⁷⁸ She also points out that Beale, following common practice, frequently used model hands made of plaster and added them after the sitting.⁷⁹ I note

⁷⁶ Tabitha Barber, email to the author, "RE: Kynaston (?) portrait and Beale," 10 October 2003.

⁷⁷ Tabitha Barber, "RE: Kynaston (?) portrait and Beale," 10 October 2003.

⁷⁸ Charles Beale, MS Notebook for 1681; Heinz Archive, National Portrait Gallery, London. Transcription by Judith Milhous. 15 January 2004. I wish to thank Professor Milhous for kindly studying the original notebook and for sending me her notes. The Wooten portrait is among those listed by Charles Beale in his notebook as "Pictures done in 1681, by my D. H. [Dear Heart, i.e., his wife, Mary] upon account of Study, & Improvemt." The reference to Wooten was first brought to my attention by Barber in her email to the author, "RE: Kynaston (?) portrait and Beale," 10 October 2003.

⁷⁹ Tabitha Barber, "RE: Kynaston (?) portrait and Beale," 10 October 2003.

that the gesture of the youth's right hand is identical to a study of two right hand plaster hand models that Beale used in her studio, based on her son Charles Junior's sketch of a pair of these model hands.⁸⁰ The youth's left hand closely resembles his right, with fingers slightly more relaxed.

The youth in the portrait may very well be Beale's young son, Charles Junior, although this is not provable. A portrait of a youth believed to be Charles Beale Junior, dated circa 1681, could easily be the boy in the "Kynaston" portrait five to six years later, based upon physical similarities. Further, a known portrait of Charles Beale Junior (and his older brother) that pre-dates the "Kynaston" portrait could be a younger version of "Kynaston"; however, this is more difficult to assess, because of the very young age of the boy in the earlier portrait—Charles Junior is four or five years old.⁸¹ I think it very

⁸⁰ See Tabitha Barber, Mary Beale: Portrait of a Seventeenth-Century Painter, her Family, and her Studio (London: Geffrye Museum Trust, Ltd., 1999), page 75, plate 28. I note that in a portrait of her husband Charles Senior, Charles's left hand is an identical shape to his right hand, thus, a "mirror" image. Both hands are in the same position as the right hand models in Charles Junior's drawing. The portrait, "Charles Beale c. 1665/6," is reproduced in Barber, 32, plate 5.

⁸¹ Mary Beale, "Portrait of a Youth, possibly Charles Beale Junior c.1681," Oil on coarse fabric with a twill weave, 45.7 x 33 cm, St. Edmundsbury Borough Council, Manor House Museum (Richard Jeffree Bequest through the National Art Collections Fund), in Barber, Mary Beale: Portrait of a Seventeenth-Century Painter, her Family, and her Studio, 79, plate 35. I noted this similarity between the youth in the "Kynaston" portrait and the 1681 portrait of Charles Beale, and Tabitha Barber made the same observation. Tabitha Barber, email to the author, "RE: Kynaston (?) portrait and Beale." See also Mary Beale, "Self-portrait c. 1665/6," Oil on canvas, National Portrait Gallery, in Barber, 33, plate 4. The boys are in a portrait-within-a-portrait, and Mary Beale rests her hands on the portrait of her two young sons. The 1665/6 portrait of her husband suggests that it is a companion piece to this one. If one were to place both images on the wall, Charles Senior would be to Beale's left and with his body facing his wife, and she, on his right, turned toward him holding the portrait of the two boys between herself and her husband. Elizabeth Walsh and Richard Jeffree identify the boys in the portrait as "the only certain likenesses of them." They assert that the c.1681 portrait of the youth who may be Charles Beale Junior could be the portrait named by Charles Beale Senior in his 1681

possible that the “Kynaston” portrait could be in fact a portrait of Charles Beale Junior at roughly age fourteen (he was born in 1660).⁸² This is almost certainly not a portrait of Kynaston, and thus we are left with the fact that we do not have a visual image of this actor extant.

What we can gather from this case is that there is an intense desire to see bodies, which may lead us to see what we hope to see, rather than what is. In a provocative but very problematic essay, Thomas A. King argued that Kynaston was perceived as hermaphroditical in his day (possible, but not provable) and that the engraving is evidence of this. King’s primary focus is on the direction of Kynaston’s eyes in the engraving (and by deduction, the earlier “lost” portrait). One immediate problem is that, although the gaze in the portrait and the two engravings is the same, Parkes’s engraving, and to a lesser extent, Cooper’s, effeminize Kynaston’s body and alter the features of his face significantly from the original. This could be the result of poor artistry or very rapid copying. Neither of these men were novices, however, and Parkes, who was probably commissioned to design these mezzotints specifically for the Lowe edition, seems to have taken true liberties with the face, even taking into the account the printed evidence in the Apology that his mezzotint is after R. Cooper. The youth in the Parkes’s engraving looks to my eye to be about seventeen to eighteen years old (similar to the Cooper), but is very fair (blond), and is decidedly feminine looking, more so than in Cooper, and much more so than in the original portrait, which Parkes was not working from and may never have

notebook as “Son Charles looking up.” They add that “the identification remains purely speculative although there appears to be a distinct family resemblance to his parents.” See Elizabeth Walsh and Richard Jeffree, ‘The Excellent Mrs. Mary Beale’ (London: Inner London Education Academy, 1975), 21 and 32.

⁸² For information on Charles Junior’s date of birth, see Elizabeth Walsh and Richard Jeffree, ‘The Excellent Mrs. Mary Beale’, 12.

seen. I suggest that this is an example of an artist embellishing a body because of his idea of that body—Kynaston as a beautiful, youthful player of female parts—and thus creating an image based on an idea of Kynaston. Thomas A. King reads from a late nineteenth-century mezzotint, and I wonder whether, if he had seen the original portrait, he would have been as inclined to make such a strong case for Kynaston's being an effeminate subject.

The bedrock of King's argument about the "hermaphroditical" portrait is not that "Kynaston" looks pretty, but that he does not look directly back at the viewer. This is true. However, King then deduces that Kynaston's body is effeminized by the "failure of the gaze," marking him as the "habitual sodomite."⁸³ King admits, and rightly, that a sideways glance "is in keeping with the style of portraiture of the period," and asserts that the gaze implies another spectator to whom Kynaston directs his glance. (I qualify King's statement by saying that this may imply another spectator, or it may imply another point of focus, human or not, the purpose being to create a dynamic sense of movement and animation in the body). King asks, "should the boy actor who plays with the duality of the gaze be located within a discourse specific to pederastic desire?" (134-35) He assumes an agency here that is problematic; namely, that the boy actor is playing with the duality of the gaze, a gaze that may possibly be located within a discourse specific to pederastic desire. Thus, according to King's assertion, the boy performs for the pedophile.

⁸³ Thomas A. King, "'Displacing Masculinity: Edward Kynaston and the Politics of Effeminacy,'" in The Image of Manhood in Early Modern Literature, ed. Andrew P. Williams, 119-40, on 137.

King's analysis of the gaze of the sitter is highly problematic, for three key reasons. First, he asserts that the male subject gazed upon is feminized, which is an argument Kristina Straub made about eighteenth-century actors in "Actors and Homophobia," generalizing from several select cases.⁸⁴ The issue of gazing, objectifying, and effeminizing are worthwhile concerns, but as Peter Lehman has eloquently argued in his analysis of twentieth-century American film, gazing upon and objectifying the male body can also privilege the male body and masculinity, and even an ideal masculinity.⁸⁵ Thus, not only are we dealing with theories that postdate the Restoration, but I argue, like Lehman, for the likelihood of multiple responses to bodies, male and female, on the part of "gazers."

Second, King draws upon John Bulwer's Chirologia to make the point that "the turning eye, when it became customary in a man, indicated an inherent state of effeminacy" (132). What Bulwer actually says is, "The gate, the turn of the eye, the finger on the head, and the WAGGING OF THE HAND show a shameless wanton." He

⁸⁴ Kristina Straub, "Actors and Homophobia," Cultural Readings of Restoration and Eighteenth-Century English Theatre, 258-80. Anti-theatrical treatises produced in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also conjured images of boy players and conflated boy players' bodies with the perceived effeminizing dangers of the theatre and with sodomy. For a very good discussion, see Jonas Barish, The Anti-Theatrical Prejudice, 80-131.

⁸⁵ Peter Lehman, Running Scared: Masculinity and the Representation of the Male Body (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), *passim*. Lehman, who acknowledges the importance of Laura Mulvey's seminal essay on the male gaze, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," Screen 16, no. 3 (1975), 6-18, writes that Mulvey makes a "serious mistake in her theorization of the male spectator; she presumes that visual pleasure in the cinema for men lies exclusively in fetishizing the female form, in bringing the guilty woman under the control of the powerful male in the narrative, or both. But this is an error even from Mulvey's psychoanalytic perspective, since a male's development through the mirror stage establishes a powerful mechanism for pleasure in looking at the male body" (21). Lehman is writing from his own subjective position as a heterosexual man.

is describing the gesture *Effoeminate festino* [I hasten effeminately], which is to “WAG THE HAND IN A SWINGING GESTURE.”⁸⁶ Thus, Bulwer does not identify eye position in and of itself as a marker of effeminacy, but as one part of a sum of body movements that together point to effeminacy. King tries to make a case for Kynaston’s wavering in the portrait, inviting with one hand, and dismissing with another, a fairly questionable assertion when one studies Bulwer’s chiroforms for “Invito” [I invite] and “Dimitto” [I dismiss]. Further, he attempts to read this “wavering” as correspondent with a wagging of the hand, thus an effeminate gesture (134).⁸⁷

As I discuss above, the right hand is identical to the models drawn by Charles Beale Junior, and appears to be in a similar position, with the fingers slightly more relaxed and curled. The right hand loosely represents “Invito,” but the wrist position is wrong; there is no sense of beckoning the viewer to the painting with the hand, as would be the case with this gesture, and the palm is not up, but facing inward, toward the youth’s chest. The left hand does not represent “Dimitto,” as far as I can discern. The palm should face the dismissed subject, with the fingers pointing up and perpendicular from the ground, as if stopping a body from approaching (this is a gesture we continue to make today). The left hand in the portrait is rather neutral, and with finger gently curling. In fact, in the original portrait, the fingers are slightly more relaxed on both hands than they are in the engraving, and part of this may be due to the flattened effect in the engraving, and loss of shadows to the hands. Thus, I suspect that the opposing gestures were used to create a sense of dynamic motion, and I suspect that these gestures are not

⁸⁶ Bulwer, *Chirologia*, 72-73.

⁸⁷ The chiroforms are in Bulwer, *Chirologia*, 151, and discussed on pages 55-57. The chiroforms are reproduced in King, 133.

meant to signify action (motivation) on the part of the youth sitting as much as they are being used for visual effect, and possibly to portray the youth as a young philosopher possessed of a keen intellect, as Barber suggested.

Third, King writes that the “Lely portrait is an act of transvestism,” and states that “Lely gave Kynaston his trademark eye—the sleepy, wanton eye popularized in the portraits of Charles’s elite mistress, the Duchess of Cleveland,” and he adds, in Nell Gwyn’s portraits as well (132). There are several problems here. The portrait is not by Lely, although King follows a long misattribution problem, dating to at least the early twentieth century, and probably earlier.⁸⁸ He is looking at an engraving that he assumes copies the portrait in a true likeness. In fact, as I stress above, Parkes significantly alters the physiognomy of the face from Cooper, who had already altered the face from the portrait. Parkes paints the heavy eye, but the boy in the original portrait has no such wanton expression. King is thus reading an eye designed in Victorian rather than Restoration London.

⁸⁸ See, for example, C.H. Collins Baker, Lely & The Stuart Portrait Painters: A Study of English Portraiture Before and After Van Dyck, 2 vols. (London: Philip Lee Warner, Publisher to the Medici Society, 1912), 2:34. Baker writes that “Mrs. Beale is generally held responsible for any Lelyesque pieces that seem obviously too poor to be actually by the master. She owes this doubtful honour to the fact that her name has come down, in a sort of interesting atmosphere, as one of Lely’s pupils.” She probably did not formally train with Lely, although he was an acquaintance, and the Beales visited his studio, and he theirs. Thus, he may have been a mentor. Charles Beale writes in his 1677 notebook that Lely visited the Beales in January 1677, and told Beale that “M^{rs} Beale was very much improved in her painting” and that, according to Walsh and Jeffree’s summary of the rest of the notebook entry, he was “particularly impressed by the casts of hands and arms that she used, some of which were taken from her own [hands and arms]. The summary continues: “shortly afterwards he generously lent then his own portrait of the Duke of Ormond for Mary to copy ‘in little.’” See Walsh and Jeffree, ‘The Excellent Mrs. Mary Beale’, 14. The authors quote and summarize Charles Beale, MS Notebook for 1677, Bodleian MS. Rawl. 8^o 572.

Most troubling is that King's understanding of seventeenth-century painting conventions is frankly, misguided, and even though he knows such glances are convention, he insists on reading "Kynaston's" glance as a hermaphroditical one, and assumes this portrait was executed by Lely, who painted "Kynaston" with wanton eye and languorous lid. Since the original portrait is almost certainly by Mary Beale, we are dealing with a woman painter, and not a known court painter who is allegedly feminizing his subject. (I am hard pressed to imagine Mrs. Beale painting a youth playing the habitual sodomite who is "located within a discourse specific to pederastic desire.") As we have established that a sideways glance was in fact an accepted convention in the Restoration (and Commonwealth) period for both men and women sitters, I now add that it did not, as far as I can discern, serve by itself to mark gender or sexual proclivities on the part of the subject. For example, Royalist painter William Dobson painted a (now unknown) naval commander with a sideways glance, and painted his own portrait with his eyes facing almost center toward the viewer but focused slightly toward the left, as if he was looking at a person or object over the left shoulder of the viewer.⁸⁹ Mary Beale's painting of the youth who may well be her son shows him with a similar sideways (and slightly upwards) glance. Although I respect King's desire to explore the queer implications in the career of an actor who made the transition from female to male roles, he unfortunately reads the sidewise glance in the engraving of "Kynaston" wrongly, acknowledging that it was a convention, but then labeling what could be a very

⁸⁹ "An Unknown Naval Officer," William Dobson; 36 x 28. Housed in the National Maritime Museum, London, in Malcolm Rogers, William Dobson, 1611-46 (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1983), page 45, plate 16, and color plate VI, facing page 17. As Rogers points out on 46, this must be a naval commander, but he has not been convincingly identified; William Dobson, "Portrait of the Artist," 24 x 18. Private Collection, in Rogers, William Dobson, page 22, plate 1.

appropriately manly gaze in both men and youths as sodomitical. An even greater problem with King's argument—and one that might be excused in so far as he had not seen the lost portrait—is that he is reading the wrong body. I suspect that King's desire to see the body of Kynaston as the beautiful boy player colored his readings of the mezzotint. Kynaston's body is now a greater mystery, because we lack visual images of him.

The bodies of celebrity women actors are perhaps even more elusive, because of the dearth of evidence. Further, the evidence that does remain about women players is often even more fragmentary and cryptic than that which remains for men. This is certainly the case with Elizabeth Boutell and Rebecca Marshall. Although they were both leading players, surprisingly few traces remain about them. There is no extant image of either woman. Although Pepys makes several admiring comments about Marshall's ability as an actor, he never once mentions Boutell, although, to be fair, her prominence in the company became greater after 1669, by which time Pepys had stopped writing his Diary accounts.

I begin with Elizabeth Boutell, for whom we have the least extant commentary about her abilities as a player. Despite the fact that Boutell was the leading ingénue in the King's Company, there is only one recorded response to her playing during her years with the King's Company (1664 to 1678), which I have already cited: William Joyner's praise of Boutell playing the fallen good girl in The Roman Empress (1670), when he writes "though a great, various, and difficult part, [it] was excellently performed."⁹⁰ We know Boutell was skilled and popular because of her "lines," but with this paucity of

⁹⁰ As with Marshall, Joyner does not specify Boutell by name, but the Dramatis Personæ list names her in the role of Aurelia.

evidence, how are we to understand her “type” beyond the borders of the playtext? What made Boutell marketable as a lead ingénue?

The actress who plays the ingénue must be able to portray innocence on stage. Further, she must embody characters that are supposed to be beautiful enough to inspire the male characters, or at least the hero, to be madly in love with her. We know nothing about Boutell’s style on stage, beyond what can be conjectured from her “lines” and from informed guesses about voice, body movement, and deportment, as I discussed in Chapter 5. Further, next to nothing is known of Boutell’s physical characteristics, beyond references to her as petite in several play texts, and a 1688 lampoon reference to her as being “Chestnut-Man’d”.⁹¹ A paragraph-length physical description of Boutell exists, but it was written some thirty years after her death. In 1741, Grub Street printer Edmund Curll wrote a colorful but short description about the by-then deceased Boutell. He describes both her body and her voice, and alleges that she had been a very popular actress:

Mrs. *Boutel* was likewise a very considerable Actress; she was low of Stature, had very agreeable Features, a good Complexion, but a Childish look. Her Voice was weak, tho’ very mellow; she generally acted the *young Innocent Lady* whom all the Heroes are mad in Love with; she was a Favorite of the Town.⁹²

⁹¹ Cited in Chapter 4, and also in Chapter 5 in my discussion of the scene between Roxana and Statira, where Marshall, as Roxana, towers above Statira, played by Boutell. The reference to Boutell as having chestnut colored hair is in the lampoon entitled “The Session of Ladies,” British Library Harleian MS. 7319, 280-85, on 281. Old pages 557-567. Reprinted in John Harold Wilson, Court Satires of the Restoration, 204-16.

⁹² Edmund Curll, Betterton’s History of The English Stage. London, 1741, 21. Quoted in John Harold Wilson, All The King’s Ladies, 120-21. Curll is comparing Boutell to

According to Curll, she was petite (low of Stature), comely but girlish (Childish) looking, with a soft (weak tho' very mellow) voice, and was a popular actress (Favorite of the Town). Curll describes an archetypal ingénue—beautiful, comely, soft, and also beloved as an actress, if we can trust his account.

To speak further about how her body was imagined in writing beyond play texts, I need to move ahead to her work post 1678, because prior to this date we lack evidence. As I will show, it is also possible that writings about her private body began later in her career, possibly because she was over thirty. After quitting the King's Company in 1678, Boutell returned to the stage in 1688 for a short stay, and again in 1695, by which time she would have been about forty-five years old. That year, she supposedly played the teenage role of Estifania in a revival of Fletcher's Rule a Wife and Have a Wife, a role she had first created when she was about fifteen.⁹³ Her colleague and her frequent onstage partner, Charles Hart, played young lovers like Horner when he was forty-five, but standards were very different for women. Although Boutell seems to have aged well, based on the fact that she continued to play young girl parts into her forties (rare for an actress, as over thirty for a woman was considered aging by Restoration standards), her thirty-plus body did not escape satiric attack. In "A Satire on Benting" (composed circa 1689), an indictment against actress Moll Davis, who, like Gwyn, was a lover to Charles II, Boutell is mocked as being too old to be on the stage, and of whoring herself to men:

Elizabeth Barry, hence the "likewise a very considerable Actress," and this is no small praise.

⁹³ As I discussed in Chapter 4, for the best discussion to date of the probable date at which Boutell joined the company and the evidence that she played Estifania as early as 1663-64, see Judith Milhous, "Elizabeth Bowtell and Elizabeth Davenport: Some Puzzles Solved," 124-34, on 125.

And if she [Davis] wanted F—k in her old Age,
 She might set up with Bowtel on the stage,
 That Whore, we hear, poor Armstead's life betray'd,
 And passed upon Maccarty for a Maid."⁹⁴

Whether or not Boutell was a lover to these two men, the focus on her as sexually loose is tied into her being a woman who (at about age forty) is labeled old. She was also by this time frequently living on her own, traveling, and was in a position to loan money to men. She was thus very independent for the age, and it might be argued that she, along with the other actresses—but most especially those who might be seen as rebellious offstage—was the kind of real-life rebel female liberal subject of which Catherine Belsey speaks. As Belsey puts it,

The history of the installation of women as subjects is not one of steady and deliberate assaults on the territory of patriarchal absolutism. On the contrary it is

⁹⁴ From "A Satire on Benting," Bodleian MS. Firth c. 25, p. 311. Reprinted in John Harold Wilson, *Court Satires of The Restoration* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1982), 217-26. Judith Milhous reports in "Elizabeth Bowtell and Elizabeth Davenport: Some Puzzles Solved," on 127, Armstrong was executed in 1684 for treason after being implicated in the Rye House plot. Milhous reports that Boutell testified that she "first became acquainted with Sr Thomas [Armstrong] by his frequenting the playhouse" (c. 1670) and that, as Milhous adds, paraphrasing Boutell, "at one time he and his children lived in the same lodging house she and Barnaby [Boutell, her husband] lived in." The other man mentioned in the libelous poem is Justin Maccarty, whom Milhous points out was a soldier and later a member of the peerage. The relationship between Maccarty and Boutell is a matter of speculation, but Milhous cites testimony given by Boutell in 1692, in which Boutell stated that she had received a three hundred pound due debt from Colonel Mccarty, so she had apparently loaned him money. She may or may not have been sexually intimate with either of these men, although the poet obviously wishes to assert that she was.

a story of startling and radical conceptual and discursive advances followed by hesitations, uncertainties, and retreats.⁹⁵

Women playing onstage and leading lives as working women is a considerable radical act, especially in the earliest years, and even in the 1680s and 1690s, the bodies of unmarried or unconventionally married women players like Boutell might be seen as dangerously free. The satires against actresses are fraught with anxiety about women's liberalism and their agency as sexual beings. Onstage, those bodies are contained, and the woman who plays innocence onstage and is commercially viable in such roles might still be policed offstage.⁹⁶

Boutell's sexual behavior at roughly age forty was the subject of attack in another satire. In "A Session of Ladies" (1688), which targets all of the alleged lovers of actor and highwayman Cardell Goodman, Boutell is graphically smeared as "Chestnut-Man'd Bowtel, whom all the town Fucks."⁹⁷ Elizabeth Barry, who came onto the stage in the

⁹⁵ Catherine Belsey, The Subject of Tragedy: Identity and Difference in Renaissance Drama, 194.

⁹⁶ There is a late and dubiously reliable anecdote about Elizabeth Barry and Anne Bracegirdle each performing in the same innocent role. Bracegirdle, who had a reputation for virtue, apparently excelled in the part, but when Barry, who had a reputation for offstage lasciviousness, entered and articulated a line about her virtue, the audience laughed her off of the stage. Even if the story were true, it should be noted that this kind of discrepant awareness was not always the case, and I suspect by the time that the second generation of Restoration actors were working, focus on the private lives of the actresses may have become more acute, simply because a framework for thinking about celebrity female players was more securely in place. In the earliest years, their presence was a novelty, and while one could argue that this meant they exploded onto the scene, I believe that constructs about women's "identity" as players were still in a developmental stage. The Barry-Bracegirdle tale is discussed in Wilson, All the King's Ladies, 105-06. Wilson is quoting prompter William Chetwood, A General History of the Stage (London, 1749), 28.

⁹⁷ From "The Session of Ladies." British Library Harleian MS. 7319, 280-85, on 281.

mid 1670s, was indicted with Boutell in the lampoon, and, like Boutell, was mocked for being an aging thirty-eight (when she was in fact twenty-four) in another poem.⁹⁸

Boutell's fellow player Nell Gwyn, who was frequently lampooned because she was a lover to Charles II, was similarly attacked in writing in a 1682 lampoon, when she was really about thirty-eight years of age, for being a whore who was "Old Wrincl'd [wrinkled], ugly, Loathsome as a Grave."⁹⁹ The aging, over thirty bodies of at least certain actresses seemed particularly subject to attack, not only via the trope that an actress is a whore, but that the over thirty women is lascivious and undesirable.

How much were the attacks on Boutell based on fact? As I discuss in Chapter 2, Boutell was married in circa 1669 and apparently had a long partnership, although the union was unconventional in that she and her husband, an army man, frequently lived apart. This in and of itself would not have interfered with her onstage image of innocence. To give a twentieth-century analogy, I borrow from Michael L. Quinn, who in his study of celebrity actors writes that "Elizabeth Taylor [...] fulfilled an image of feminine beauty in her films while resisting male appropriation in her chequered private life."¹⁰⁰ Conflations might be made in the readings of actor's stage and real bodies in the Restoration playhouse, but, as with Elizabeth Taylor and Hollywood, a discrepancy between stage and real did not automatically preclude an actor's being cast in a certain

⁹⁸ From "On Three Late Marriages." British Library Harleian MS. 6913, p. 345. Reprinted in John Wilson, Court Satires of The Restoration, 76-18. For a discussion of this poem in reference to Barry and her being about 24 when it was composed, see Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, "Murder in Elizabeth Barry's Dressing Room," Yale Library Gazette, forthcoming.

⁹⁹ A Satyr (1682), Bodleian Firth c.15, 133-40, on 134.

¹⁰⁰ Michael L. Quinn, "Celebrity and the Semiotics of Acting," 159.

way—unless of course one was Jo Haines, whose wildness offstage was too well known for it not to bleed onto his onstage life (and further, he was not able to carry serious roles well—his range was narrow). Perhaps—and this is speculative—Boutell’s twenty-something onstage body could be read as innocent even if she were not perceived that way in life, but as she aged, her older body was ghosted by another typology—aging woman living alone as a lascivious whore. If unconventionality made Boutell’s real-life checkered, this did not affect her ability to successfully portray a “type”—innocence—onstage.

In my study of published sources and of manuscripts at Oxford and the British Library, I (like John Harold Wilson) did not find a single reference to Boutell in a lampoon before 1688. I then ask if her onstage “type” as the young innocent, combined with her being a married woman (and married to a soldier) made her less vulnerable to attack. Did she keep a low profile offstage, meaning, lead a domestic life, rather than cavort with the court crowd? Or was she simply not as interesting a target as her colleague Nell Gwyn, who slept with a lead player and then with a King? She never made an appearance in Pepys’s gossipy accounts of actors backstage lives, and Pepys tended to write about actors onstage whom he also gossiped about, and vice versa. One wonders if she kept a low enough profile to avoid being the subject of attack, or, possibly, attacks were written that have not survived.

So later, what changed? Did her work as a thirty (and forty) something year old actress make her more subject to ridicule in satirical poems, wherein the female player is painted as sexually insatiable, like widows or whores, and therefore, ridiculous? Although she continued to play virtue and youth onstage in the 1680s and 90s, she was

painted as lustful and old in attacks at these dates. What does this tell us about the conception of the forty-something actress as “type” in the popular culture of the day? In her thirties and forties, Boutell for the first time began playing mothers and comic mistresses, but she also took roles in the young girl “line,” even in new plays. I find it compelling that one trope was to link women’s bodies with death: beautiful and seductive on the outside, and decaying within. In Bodies Politic: Disease, Death, and Doctors in Britain, 1650-1900, Roy Porter, speaking about early eighteenth-century British satire, writes that “Female sexuality was nauseating trickled out to conceal the sordid truth of decomposition and disease beneath.”¹⁰¹ In a lampoon about Boutell’s former colleague, a thirty-something Nell Gwyn, her body is described in sordid and diseased terms:

Dayly struck stabb’d by all the Pricks in Town

Yet still her stubborn Courses come not down

But ly and nourish old deseases there.¹⁰²

The focus on actresses’ lascivious, dirty bodies hidden under clothing seems to only have gotten worse for actresses once they reached their thirties, when, as Porter puts it speaking of visual parodies in eighteenth-century England, satire “discharged volleys of violence against the body” (47). Boutell’s post-thirty body is subject to this violence.

Onstage, where Boutell performed innocence, her colleague, Rebecca Marshall, embodied more fiery roles. Marshall is not, surprisingly, sexually denigrated in lampoons, even in her thirties, although a woman named Marshall, possibly a roughly

¹⁰¹ Roy Porter, Bodies Politic: Disease, Death, and Doctors in Britain, 1650-1900, 46.

¹⁰² An Essay on Scandal, British Library Harleian MS. 6913, 81 (old page 161); also in Harleian MS. 7319, 135. Also in Wilson, Court Satires of the Restoration, 63-67, with modernized spelling. “Courses” in the plural in the Restoration period (and earlier) meant a woman’s periods, according to the OED.

forty-year-old Rebecca, was named in a 1683 lampoon as being an alleged lover to a court fop, George Hewitt. Focus is placed on the fop being in “Marshall’s Reign,” evoking woman-as-Circe, who enchants and governs the bodies of men.¹⁰³ Such roles were in Marshall’s line, and if the woman mentioned was Beck, this may or may not have been a deliberate ghosting of type and real body, for the idea of being in a lover’s reign is a generic trope about the power of a woman’s love to captivate. However, the idea of a woman as enchantress is evident in the words about her “reign” over the heart of a man, and this is the archetypal myth that sold her body onstage when she embodied roles in these “lines.” Another anonymous lampoon, written in circa 1678, suggests that she may have had a daughter whom the writer mocks as turning whore, but we have no way of knowing how accurate this is. There is no further evidence that she had a child, inclusive of two depositions in the mid-1660s in which she gave testimony for violence against her body by two male playgoers, an issue I take up later in this chapter, unless—to speculate wildly—she bore a child and gave it away. These speculations are fantasies, and the child may be a fiction. (Further, the “Marshall” in the lampoon may not be Beck at all, so I consider it tenuous evidence.)¹⁰⁴ Despite the fact that Marshall specialized in playing sexually voracious villainesses on stage, in the lampoon evidence that survives, her body is never sexually smeared in the same way as is Boutell’s.

¹⁰³ From “A Satire on Both Whigs and Tories,” British Library Harleian MS. 7319, 237-47, on 241. Reprinted in Wilson, *Court Satires of the Restoration*, 121-30. Also discussed in *BD* 10:108.

¹⁰⁴ For example, in the satire “A Song The First,” British Library MS. Harleian 7317, p.69b (old page 132), a Lady Marshall of Southampton is mentioned in a lampoon about wives of peers, and this surely was not Beck. Although the copyist makes heavy annotations throughout, identifying names of persons mentioned, he makes no annotation for Lady Marshall, as was the case in the satire about the fop Hewitt and (Rebecca?) Marshall, cited above, where the copyist did not identify the actress.

I also find it striking that in the Harleian MS. 7317 copy of the Satire on Whigs and Tories, in which the copyist makes copious notes explaining the identities of the people mentioned in the satires, Marshall's name, like all the other names in the several hundred page manuscript, is underlined. At the end of the manuscript, following the last lampoon, the date "25 March, 1691-2" is inscribed. This may or may not be a later inscription, but it is written in the same style of penmanship as all of the lampoons are (this is an unusually neat MS). If the date of 1692 (new calendar) inscribed in the manuscript is correct, it is important evidence that Marshall's identity is blank, if indeed this is the actress. The lack of annotation suggests to me that the writer did not know who she was in circa 1692, fifteen years after her retirement from the stage.¹⁰⁵ I do not wish to generalize about this, beyond noting that in the hundreds of pages in this manuscript, Marshall as the lover to Hewitt is one of the only names left blank, and this includes the names of Nell (Gwyn) and Moll (Davis), both of whom are mockingly remembered as player-whores who were lovers to the King. If this Marshall was Beck, then we may be dealing with a once famous body forgotten. In a day when the celebrity body was documented by portrait, gossip, anecdote, or satire, what would make one celebrity body disappear from the discourses of popular culture, and not another? Or, if this is not Beck, we are left with the interesting possibility that she was not a target in lampoons, despite her unconventional life as a single woman and actress, and despite the fact that she

¹⁰⁵ Satire on Whigs and Tories, British Library Harleian MS. 7317, f.14-19 (old pages 21-31), on 16, old page 25. As I noted earlier, the "Lady Marshall" of Southampton is also left blank, so we may or may not be facing the body of the same Marshall. The BD editors on 10:108, assume (as they did with the 1678 Lampoon and the reference to a child) that the Marshall in A Satire on Whigs and Tories is the actress Rebecca. Wilson, in Court Satires of The Restoration, 128, note 83, says only that this is "Possibly Rebecca Marshall, leading lady of the King's Company of Comedians, 1663 to 1677."

played lustful women on stage. It is possible that evidence is missing, but it is also possible that Marshall was not the victim of volleys of discharge about her body, for reasons unknown, although audiences clearly enjoyed her playing onstage as the rebel and sexual woman. The writer does not document her body as celebrity, or as sexual body. She is not imagined in the poems that survive with graphic, physical, or sexual vocabulary.

As with Boutell, there is little detail about Marshall's physical appearance. She may have had brown hair and eyes, based on references in play texts, although such evidence must be used with caution.¹⁰⁶ Pepys, who mentions Marshall in nine of his diary entries (thus beating out Hart by three) was apparently pleased to sit near her one night in the playhouse and discover to his delight that up close she was as beautiful as she seemed onstage. He wrote that he "sat by Beck Marshall, who is very handsome near-hand,"¹⁰⁷ but provides us with no further description. He also delights in sitting near her and Nell Gwyn, who were both in the audience for an April 1665 performance of Orrery's Mustapha, mounted by the rival Duke's Company:

¹⁰⁶ See Chapter 4.

¹⁰⁷ Pepys, Diary, 8:433. Marshall was at Lincoln's Inn Fields watching a Duke's Company production of a play, which Pepys identifies as The Ungrateful Lovers. However, as Latham and Matthews point out on 8:433, note 2, no play with this title has been found. The editors speculate that Pepys's may have been referring to Davenant's The Unfortunate Lovers, which seems plausible to me, as the play was in the Duke Company's repertory in the 1660s. The LS editors list the play performed that day as "The Ungrateful [Unfortunate] Lovers." See LS, 117.

All the pleasure of the play was, the King and my Lady Castlemaine was there—
and pretty witty Nell at the King's house, and the younger Marshall, sat next to us
[Pepys, his wife Elizabeth, and a male friend], which pleased me mightily.¹⁰⁸

In 1665, early in Marshall's career, Pepys is already counting her among the number of
"celebrity" persons he so admires in the house: Gwyn, the King, and Castlemaine. His
proximity to Nell, and to Marshall, "pleases him mightily."¹⁰⁹

He does say a bit more about her acting, which, while only bits, is precious
evidence. I have previously cited his optimistic response to her performance as the
rebellious Evadne in A Maid's Tragedy in 1666, when he writes that it was "a good play,
and well acted, especially by the younger Marshall, which has become a pretty good
actor."¹¹⁰ Of Dryden's Secret Love, or the Maiden Queen, he writes on 24 May 1667 that

¹⁰⁸ Pepys, Diary, 6:73.

¹⁰⁹ Compare Pepys's response to the celebrity players and court people at this playhouse performance of Mustapha with John Evelyn's negative response to a court performance of the play because of his disgust with the female players' liaisons with noble men and with what he considers to be an "aesthaeticall liberty." Evelyn writes on 18 October 1666 that he was invited to a performance of Orrery's Mustapha at Court. He elaborates as follows: "[I was] very seldome at any time, going to the publick Theaters, for many reasons, now as they were abused, to an *aesthaeticall liberty, fowle & undecent*; Women now (& never 'till now) permitted to appeare & act, which inflaming severall young noble-men & gallants, because of their whores, & to some their Wives, witnesse the E: of Oxford, Sir. Robert Howard; Pr: Rupert, the E: of Dorset, & other greater person than any of these, who fell into their snares, to the reproach of their noble families, & ruine both of body & Soule." Evelyn, Diary, 3:465-66. My italics. As I discuss in an earlier note, the Earl of Oxford was involved with Duke's Company actress Hester Davenport, known as "Roxalana" because she created the roles of two characters by that name in The Siege of Rhodes and Mustapha, respectively. Evelyn does manage to record for us the latest gossip concerning love intrigues: Davenport quit the stage to be with her lover, the Earl of Oxford; Margaret Hughes quit the stage to be with hers, Prince Rupert; and Nell Gwyn left the stage in 1667 when she became involved with Lord Buckhurst, later Earl of Dorset, but Evelyn's gossip suggests that their relationship may have begun by 1666, unless Sackville was seeing another actress.

¹¹⁰ Pepys, Diary, 7:399.

though I have seen it often, yet pleases me infinitely, it being impossible, I think, ever to have the Queen's part, which is very good and passionate, and Floramell's [sic] part, which is the most Comickall that ever was made for woman, ever done better than they two are by the young Marshall and Nelly.¹¹¹

Pepys liked the play well enough to see it many times, and part of what he most seems to admire is the acting of Nell and Beck Marshall.

Praise continued. Just past a year later, after seeing Beck as the noble Christian heroine Dorothea in a revival of Dekker and Massinger's The Virgin Martyr on 27 February 1668, Pepys gushed

thence with my wife and Deb [Willet, a servant] to the King's House to see *Virgin Martyr*, the first time it hath been acted a great while, and it mighty pleasant; not that the play is worth much, but it is finely Acted by Becke Marshall."¹¹²

Pepys liked looking at beautiful actresses, but the fact that he makes no mention of Elizabeth's opinion suggests that she too was pleased.¹¹³ Marshall's acting seems to have been worthy enough—even before she hit her stride in the 1670s with roles like Lyndaraxa and Olivia—to make a middling play pleasurable.

Pepys is also preoccupied with the change in the women once they leave the stage and enter the tiring room. Writing again about Marshall, Pepys is struck by her behavior

¹¹¹ Pepys, Diary, 7:235.

¹¹² Pepys, Diary, 9:93-94.

¹¹³ Pepys several times reported his wife's dislike of the performance of a play. She was not shy in this respect, it seems, nor was he about recording her criticism of a play. For example, in his Diary entry dated 19 June, 1668, Pepys writes "and by and by comes in my wife and Deb, who have been at the King's House today, thinking to spy me there; and saw the new play, *Evening's Love* (of Dryden's), which though the world commends, she likes not." Diary, 9:246-47.

and Gwyn's after another performance of The Virgin Martyr, in which Marshall played the role of the noble Christian heroine Dorothea and Gwyn the role of her boy angel guide. Pepys initially sees the women in character when he describes their physical bodies backstage: "I did see Becke Marshall come dressed off of the stage, and looks might fine and pretty, and noble—and also Nell in her boys clothes, mighty pretty," and he is then apparently startled by the discrepancy between the way the women seem on stage and the way they behave backstage: "but Lord, their confidence, and how many men do hover about them as soon as they come off the stage, and how confident they [are] in their talk."¹¹⁴ As I will discuss later on, Marshall twice rejected the unwanted attention of two male admirers in the playhouse, so it is hard to discern from Pepys's account what her subjective experience of the hovering men was. Perhaps she enjoyed it, or perhaps she was coping and being gracious, but Pepys is shocked at the shift between onstage "type"—virgin martyr—and offstage player. He also rather indulgently records a bit of gossip that he had heard secondhand about an alleged backstage tiff between Marshall and Gwyn. Both name each other whore, and, according to the story, Marshall's being the daughter of a parson is used by her colleague as a means to shame her for failing to perform in her private life as she should:

Nelly and Beck Marshall falling out the other day, the latter called the other my Lord Buckhurt's whore; Nell answered that "I was but one man's whore, though I was brought up in a bawdy-house to fill strong waters to the guest; and you a whore to three or four, although a Presbyter's praying daughter."¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ Pepys, Diary, 9:189.

¹¹⁵ Pepys, Diary, 8:503. Marshall was the daughter of a provincial parson, and Latham and Matthews write that he married the bastard daughter of a squire. By deduction, this

The story may be spurious, but it shows a fascination on the part of the gossipers with the real behavior of these women who onstage played lovers and passionate queens. Pepys seems quite infatuated with the women's sexual habits and the effect they have on (male) admirers.

Unfortunately, we have no extant evidence by female writers to attest to the effect that actors, male or female, had on them. Pepys tells us that Lady Castlemaine was madly in love with Charles Hart, and that his wife, Elizabeth, joined him in kissing Nell Gwyn backstage in admiration of her playing, and that she was enamored enough of Thomas Betterton to name her dog after him.¹¹⁶ He also writes that he and Elizabeth saw Betterton in Massinger's The Bondman and that after the performance he was "called by us the best actor in the world" (the same words that Pepys had used to describe Mohun in November 1660 when he went to see him for the first time in Beggar's Bush).¹¹⁷ Elizabeth's opinion of Betterton's acting, coming as it is through Pepys's hand, is one of the few references she makes (through him) to particular actors' performance, and none of them are King's Company actors. In analyzing the evidence at hand, we are forced to conjecture from male generated evidence about any female response to specific actors.

would make Marshall the daughter of a bastard mother. For discussion, see Latham and Matthews's editorial comments in Pepys Diary, 8:503, note 1.

¹¹⁶ See Pepys, Diary, 8:27 and see David Roberts, The Ladies: Female Patronage of Restoration Drama, 1660-1700 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 62-62. Roberts writes that Elizabeth named her dog after Betterton, and cites Shorthand Letters of Samuel Pepys, transcribed and edited by Edwin Chappell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933), 22. Roberts's discussion of Elizabeth is very good, and he devotes a chapter to her, which is probably the strongest chapter in the book. Considering the fragmentary evidence he has to work with, his reconstruction of her play going is admirable.

¹¹⁷ Pepys, Diary, 2:207. My attention was drawn to this reference by Roberts, The Ladies: Female Patronage of Restoration Drama, 1660-1700, 63.

Left without the words of female audience members, I would like to consider a space in which we can hear the voices of two women actors, Marshall and Boutell, commenting on possible responses to their bodies from both men and women. The two players are not speaking private words, of course, but playing speeches written by men and intended to sell the players as personalities in public: prologues and epilogues. Here, I will focus on two pieces that foreground the possibility of erotic response from female (and male) audience members. The first is an epilogue spoken by Marshall, and the second, a prologue spoken by Boutell. Both pieces tease out the possible ways in which men and women may have looked at them in the playhouse, playing with attraction to cross-dressed bodies. Both actresses are using words about the idea of “types”—Marshall is playing actor (boy or woman) as sexual plaything and as mimic, who like Kynaston, could play a beautiful man or woman, and Boutell is playing the beautiful young boy, a familiar “type” to an audience accustomed to her specializations as young ingénues in the Fletcherian tradition who dress as pages and ape young men so that they can be close to their male lovers.

In the epilogue spoken by Marshall in men’s clothes to an all female production of Thomas Killgrew’s The Parson’s Wedding in 1672, obviously designed to playfully persuade the audience that it was acceptable for women to play all the parts in the play, she invokes the “ghost” of boy players as an analogue to the current all-female cast of players, and gives attention to man-boy sexual attraction in the Elizabethan playhouse:

When boys play’d women’s parts, you’d think the Stage,

Was innocent in that untempting Age.

No: for your amorous Fathers then, like you,

Amongst those Boys had Play-house Misses too:

They set those bearded Beauties on their laps,

Men gave 'em Kisses, and the Ladies Claps.

But they, poor hearts, could not supply our room;

They went but Females to the Tying-room:

While we, in kindness to our selves, and you,

Can hold out Women to our Lodgings too.

By shifting focus to the private space of "Lodgings," Marshall puts stress on the "real" bodies of the women players, rather than the roles they enact onstage. She then confesses to the ladies in the house that should the women approach them privately, they would "find the cheat in th' empty Pantaloon," but asks the ladies, after pointing to the lack of male parts underneath her costume, if the women players can entertain their gallants, with a pun on both public and private playing:

Well: though we are not Womens-Men, at least

We hope to have your Gallants constant Guests;

Which if you grant, and fill our house each day,

We will return your kindnesses this way:

We'll build up a new Theatre to gain you,

And turn this to a House to entertain you.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ "Claps" is a play on both clapping (the verb) and venereal disease (the noun). Thomas Killgrew, "Epilogue to the Parson's Wedding," reprinted in Danchin, The Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration 1660-1700, Part 1, 2:498. See Covent Garden Drollery (1672), ed. G. Thorn-Drury (London: P.J. & A.E. Dobell, 1928), 5. There are five epilogues on record for Marshall: Hyde Park (1668); The Parson's Wedding (1672); Philaster (1672); possibly an epilogue at the University of Oxford, although this may have been given by Boutell (see Danchin, Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration

There is slippage in reading surfaces of the body, what Elin Diamond has called in her discussion of another Restoration actress a “pleasurable moment for reading the clouds.”¹¹⁹ In this epilogue, there is play between male and female identities, costume and body parts, and desire for bodies. This play, this slippage, is what fuels the pleasures discoursed about in this textual moment, where the theatre might become the house of pleasure, and the cross-dressed Marshall can tantalize a man or woman gazing upon her.

In “Masks and Faces: Female Legibility on the Restoration Stage,” Will Pritchard writes that “Restoration culture was both remarkably attentive to bodily exteriors and deeply suspicious of their truthfulness.”¹²⁰ Although I do not necessarily subscribe to the idea that in 1660s and 1670s London culture this was true for all people all the time, it certainly applies to the staging of bodily exteriors and the need to be suspicious of their truthfulness in this epilogue, where Marshall confesses that she lacks the requisite body parts to play the man in bed. Marshall, dressed as a man—and possibly as the dashing lead role of the Captain, based on the Captain’s words that he will speak the epilogue in the 1664 published text, and on the fact that the role was in her “line” in terms of boldness, wit, and strength—promises to please the men in the playhouse and to entertain

1660-1700, Part 1, 2:177); and to The Destruction of Jerusalem (1677), that, as Danchin points out in Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration, 1660-1700, Part 2, 3:227, was a true acting piece, in which Marshall “mimicked the behavior of two supposed speakers,” Queen and confidant. There are two prologues on record for the actress: The Parson’s Wedding and Philaster. The Parson’s Wedding, Philaster, and Secret Love were staged as all female productions in the 1672 season. Pepys notes on July 11, 1668 that he saw a revival of Shirley’s Hyde Park, “a very moderate play; only, and excellent Epilogue spoke by Becke Marshall.” Pepys, Diary, 9:260.

¹¹⁹ Diamond’s specific focus is on a prologue and play text by Aphra Behn, but the analogy holds. See Diamond, “Brechtian Theory/Feminist Theory: Toward a Gestic Feminist Criticism,” on 92.

¹²⁰ Will Pritchard, “Masks and Faces: Female Legibility on the Restoration Stage,” on 31.

the women.¹²¹ The joke may have been enhanced by the fact that it was fashionable for women in the playhouse to wear vizard masks. Elizabeth Pepys, for example, owned one, and we can trust that she probably wore it, at least for a time. Pepys records on 12 June 1663 that after he went to the Theatre Royal with his wife and saw a lady whom they admired put on her vizor, “which is of late become a great fashion among the ladies, which hides their whole face, [I went] to the Exchange, to buy things with my Wife; among others, a vizard for herself.”¹²² Wearing a vizard, a woman could disguise the features of her face, and hence, mask her identity.

Boutell, too, spoke of the cheat to women who may look at and desire the body of an actress dressed as boy when she delivered the prologue to the all-female revival of Dryden’s Secret Love in the 1672 season. The directions in the printed text say that Boutell directs her lines to Beck Marshall, who is playing the title character: “Spoken by

¹²¹ Act 5, scene 3 in Thomas Killigrew, The Parson’s Wedding, in Comedies and Tragedies Written By Thomas Killigrew (London, 1664; facsimile edition New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967), 154. We must be cautious about asserting that Marshall did play the Captain, but she may well have. My guess is that Killigrew probably wrote a new epilogue for the 1672 revival, although it may have been resurrected from an early 1664 all-female revival, whether modified or not. Pepys asserted that an all-female production of The Parson’s Wedding was playing in 1664. On 4 October he writes, “Tomorrow, they told us, should be acted, or the day after, a new play called *The Parson’s Dreame*, acted all by woman.” “Dreame” seems an error for “Wedding,” for on 11 October, Pepys reports that a friend “tells him what a bawdy loose play this *parsons wedding* is, that is acted by nothing but women at the Kings house—and I am glad of it.” See Pepys, Diary, 5:289 and 294.

¹²² Pepys, Diary, 4:181. This reference was brought to my attention by Roberts, The Ladies: Female Patronage of Restoration Drama, 1660-1700, 78. The masks remained in fashion, and there was an uneasy relationship between masks and female licentiousness, as prostitutes seem to have also taken to wearing the masks. In Wright’s Historia Histrionica: An Historical Account of the English Stage (1699), a specific reference is made to the masks and prostitution: “Whereas of late, the Play-houses are so extreemly pestered with Vizard-Masks and their Trade (occasioning continual Quarrels and Abuses) that many of the more Civilized Part of Town are uneasy in the Company, and shun the Theatre as they would a House of Scandal” (xxvii).

Mrs. Boutell to the Maiden Queen.” Here, the playful banter is for at least much of the time between two women on stage, while the audience is invited to share in the joke about costumes, bodies, and thwarted desires:

Women like us (passing for men) you’l cry
 Presume too much upon your Secrecie.
 There’s not a fop in town, but will pretend,
 To know the cheat himself, or by his friend.
 Then make no words on’t, Gallants tis e’ne true,
 We are condemn’d to look, and strut, like you [...]
 The Ladies we shall not so easily please.
 They’l say what impudent bold things are these
 That dare provoke, yet cannot do us right,
 Like men with huffing looks, that dare not fight.¹²³

Aping a man in play, Boutell cannot give the Maiden Queen or any other woman in the house the satisfaction of the penis; thus, she struts and huffs like a braggart soldier who cannot fight. The jest is that a woman dressed as a man, in this case Boutell, can “provoke” (sexually arouse) a woman but cannot, speaking as one of the ladies in the house, “do us right” (satisfy a woman sexually by playing the man). This prologue, like Marshall’s epilogue, foregrounds the idea that a woman looking at them from the audience, and thinking they are men, might want them and expect to be pleased by

¹²³ Dryden, Prologue to Secret Love, or, The Maiden Queen, reprinted in Danchin, Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration, 1660-1700, Part 1, 2:289-90.

them—hence, Boutell’s apologia that she cannot please a woman on stage, or in the house.¹²⁴

The success of Marshall’s epilogue and Boutell’s prologue depended upon the audience—men and women—being familiar with the two actresses’ respective “lines” and with the actor-as-type: as protean and one who puts on a costume to play the part, and, in terms of the women actors, as sexually available. Here, in the spirit of comic play, the actress is the one who bandies the words she is hired to speak through her own body, whereas in the lampoons, male writers bandy words about the idea of female bodies. The words Marshall and Boutell speak were written by male writers, but performed through their own bodies. They are not the authors of these written words, although they author the words through their embodiment of the written text (both in prologues and epilogues and in the plays themselves) by mean of voice, body, and emotional investment, as Gay Gibson Cima has eloquently argued.¹²⁵ The actress can in this space ape men on stage, can tease men and women with her cross-dressed body, and can play in the space between real and stage. This play, however, is part of the actress’s identity as player, and is not a performance of her “real life” self, even though the audience may conflate it as such. As Jones Derriter eloquently puts it

¹²⁴ There are two prologues on record for Boutell through 1678: to Secret Love and to The Spanish Rogue (1673). There are two epilogues that she may have spoken: one at the University of Oxford in 1674; and the other, based on MS evidence, the epilogue to Sophonisba (first performed 1675), but for a 1681 production at Oxford. For discussion on her possibly speaking the epilogue to Sophonisba, see Danchin, Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration, 1660-1700, Part 2, 4:679.

¹²⁵ Gay Gibson Cima, Performing Women (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), *passim*. Cima’s focus is on nineteenth and twentieth century performance, but her thoughts on actresses and authorship through embodiment are relevant to my discussion of seventeenth-century playing.

Actors are neither free agents nor puppets; the control they exercise over themselves is compromised and contested by the controls imposed on them by other people—playwrights, directors, fellow performers, spectators—and by a variety of circumstances representing the material effects of social, literary, and historical contexts.¹²⁶

The actress authors the words and stages the body that is commercially viable, a body that is liberal, free, sexual, and able to promise material pleasure.

To explore the boundary between type, playing, and real, I would like to turn again to a male view and to Lady Castlemaine, Hart's one time lover and acquaintance of Beck Marshall who one night, like a player, aped a man to perform the part of a bridegroom. The story of Castlemaine's gender play comes to us via Pepys, who is as beguiled by Castlemaine as he is by his favorite actresses, even reporting in his Diary that he had an erotic dream about her.¹²⁷ On 8 February 1663, Pepys writes of Castlemaine's one night frolick with a female friend whom she allegedly "married":

Another story was how my Lady Castlemayne, a few days since, had Mrs. Stuart to an entertainment, and at night began a frolique that they two must be married; and married they were, with ring and all other ceremonies of church service, and ribbands and a sack-posset in bed and flinging the stocking. But in the close, and

¹²⁶ Jones DeRitter, "'Not the Person She Conceived Me': The Public Identities of Charlotte Charke," Genders 19 (1994): 3-25, on 4.

¹²⁷ Pepys, Diary, 6:191. He writes, I think [last night's dream] is the best that ever I dreamed—which was, that I my Lady Castlemayne in my armes and was admitted to use all the dalliance I desire with her, and then dreamed that this could not be awake but that it was only a dream."

it is said that my Lady Castlemayne, who was the bridegroom, rose, and the King came and took her place with pretty Mrs. Stuart. This is said to be very true.¹²⁸

And the story may well have been true. If it was not, it was in the realm of the imaginable, rebellious act, in this instance, a “mock” rebellion that is normalized by Castlemaine getting out of bed, and Charles taking her place. There is ambiguity here as to whether Lady Castlemaine, as the bridegroom frolicking in bed with her bride, engaged in any sexual play before she got out of bed. Pepys’s comment, “This is said to be very true,” may be a reference to the story in its entirety, but it punctuates the truth of Castlemaine’s transgression ending—this ending of the mock marriage *is very true*, and this is the closing of the entry. Pepys takes pains to contain the female body that desires another female body, a performance that serves an analogue to the bodies crossing gender onstage. To import Jill Dolan’s analysis of twentieth-century performance and the lesbian body, the most resistant body is the lesbian body because it cannot be rendered unproblematically subject to the erotic male gaze.¹²⁹ Castlemaine’s hermaphroditical act (what we might now call a lesbian act) is troubling to Pepys, who then contains her resistant body with the assertion that a man took her place, thus allowing for an erotic image of the rule-breaking Castlemaine and her “bride” who stop the performance so that male to female desire can be consummated. The transgression is still pronounced—church rites, mocking marriage vows, “aping” a man, climbing into bed with her young

¹²⁸ Pepys, *Diary*, 4:37-38. Mrs. Stuart (sometimes spelled Steward) was Frances Therese Stuart, one of the Queen’s Maids of Honor.

¹²⁹ For discussion, see Jill Dolan, *The Feminist Spectator as Critic*, 67-81.

bride. The rebellious female Castlemaine is imagined as if she were a player.¹³⁰

Castlemaine's wedding is a private theatrical, complete with audience, costume, and

¹³⁰ It should be noted that seventeen years after Castlemaine's alleged mock wedding night, in September 1680, two women were married in London, one of whom was dressed as a bridegroom. The women were married for six months before the marriage was annulled. The "wife," Arabella Hunter, went on to become a prominent singer and musician at the court of Queen Mary II. For an excellent and sensitive discussion, see Patricia Crawford and Sara Mendelson, "Sexual Identity in Early Modern England: The Marriage of Two Women in 1680," *Gender and History* 7, no. 3 (1995): 362-377. Crawford and Mendelson also discuss this marriage in their subsequent book, *Women in Early Modern England*, 248-51, but the article is designed to be more in-depth, as it includes transcriptions of testimonials taken when the marriage was ended. The authors brought to my attention a probable reference to this marriage in Aphra Behn's *The False Count, or, A New Way to Play an Old Game*, produced in 1682, in which in act 2, scene 1 a young woman's elderly husband expresses jealous concern over her attention to women. When she asks him how he can be jealous of a petticoat, he replies "Come, come, Mistress Pert, I have known as Much danger hid under a Peticoat, as a Pair of Breeches. I have heard of two Women that Married each other--oh abominable, as if there were so Prodigious a Scarcity of Christian Man's Flesh." See Behn, *The False Count, or, A New Way to Play an Old Game*, London, 1682, 16. EEBO. 8 December 2003. The Castlemaine marriage tale was also lampooned in the satire, "On the Ladies of Court" (1663), Bodleian MS. Don. B.8, 179. Reprinted in Wilson, *Court Satires of the Restoration*, 3-9, with modernized spelling. The satire reads, "Strangely pleasant were their [Castlemaine's and her friend's] chats / When Mayne [Castlemaine], & Steward play'd at flats." Wilson references "Lesbian practices" in his discussion of the meaning of "flats," and quotes a 1691 satire, "The Ladies Complaint to Venus" (Landsdowne MS. 852, f. 43), in which Venus chastises her followers: "you are to blame / and have got a new game / Called flats, with the swinging clitoris." Laura Gowing, in her recent *Common Bodies: Women, Touch, and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2003), 98, quotes a striking seventeenth-century erotic joke told by Nicholas Le Strange about his uncle, in which he reports that "whensoever he saw two women kiss, (otherwise than in the way of salutation) Oh how my Breech waters at That? As longing to be betwixt them." Gowing's source is a manuscript reproduced in *Merry Passages and Jests: A Manuscript Jestbook of Sir Nicholas le Strange* (1603-1655), ed. H.F. Lippincott (Salzburg: Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, Universität Salzburg, 1974), 153. The original manuscript is British Library Harleian MS. 6395. As Gowing astutely notes, perhaps in this joke "there is a shade of anxiety in the male fantasy of male intrusion into female intimacy" (98). One can perceive the same mix of fascination, bemusement, and anxiety in Pepys's entry concerning Castlemaine's allegedly dressing as a bridegroom and frolicking with her female friend in a playful marriage ceremony.

props. The “type” Pepys imagines when he thinks about Beck Marshall, Nell Gwyn, and Castlemaine is of sexually untamed women who become for him objects of fascination.

To return to the playhouse, leading man Charles Hart, speaking the prologue to The Country Wife, refers to the actresses as objects of fascination and as women who will be promised to male patrons as sexually available:

But we the Actors humbly will submit

Now, and at any time, to a full Pit

Nay, often we anticipate your rage,

And murder Poets for you, on our Stage

We set no Guards upon our Tying-Room

And when with flying Colours, there you come,

We patiently you see, give up to you,

Our Poets, Virgins, nay our Matrons too.¹³¹

The actors, male and female, “humbly will submit” themselves to the judgment of the audience, but this male vulnerability is quickly upstaged by the promise to open the tiring-house up to male admirers so that they might visit poets and actresses. Emphasis ends with the bodies of the female players—both virgins and matrons (married women)—and this tease of the promise of touching actresses’ bodies was of course part

¹³¹ Reprinted in Danchin, Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration, 1660-1700, Part 1, 2:190-91. There are a total of eight prologues on record for Hart: to Marriage A-la-Mode (1671); to Henry the Third of France (1672); to Arvigas and Philicia (1672-73); a prologue at the University of Oxford (1674); a prologue by Dryden to a 1675 performance of The Silent Woman; the prologue to The Country Wife, the prologue to The Plain Dealer; and possibly the prologue to The Rival Queens, or, Alexander the Great. For discussion, see Danchin, Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration, 1660-1700, Part 2, 3:23. Hart is on record for speaking the epilogue to Part I of The Conquest of Granada.

of the mythos of the playhouse. Articulated by Hart—the leading man who in the world of the play he is about to perform will embody a eunuch so that he has easy access to women’s bodies—the words take on an added resonance. Hart, the manly, celebrity actor, sells the appeal of women’s bodies, and hence sells his own virility. Speaking as the celebrity player about to play Horner, a character who, to borrow from Harold Weber’s analysis of the Restoration rake-hero, derives his definition “primarily from his eroticism,” teases the male audience members with the promise of actresses’ bodies, bodies that he, Hart, plays in close proximity to onstage.¹³²

Onstage, the male players interact in a passionate but artistically disciplined manner with the women on stage. When Hart, as Horner, pitches that the actresses are sex objects, this is a fantasy. He plays on the edge of the apron that he, Horner/Hart, is a leading lover, and then the audience watches Hart, as Horner, seduce a slew of actresses. But this is fiction. In life, delight in an actress’s body, and privatizing the body of the

¹³² Harold Weber, The Restoration Rake-Hero: Transformations in the Sexual Understanding in Seventeenth-Century Literature (1986), 3. Weber offers a provocative if over-generalized discussion of the Restoration rake-hero. He asserts that the Restoration rake-hero is “the first character in the history of English literature to derive his definition primarily from his eroticism,” which is a valuable point, but he tends to generalize from a small number of examples. As Robert D. Hume has discussed in The Rakish Stage (1983), only three Restoration characters (Horner, Dorimant in Etherege’s The Man of Mode, and the incarnation of Don Juan in Shadwell’s The Libertine) constitute hard-core rakes in the way Weber means the term, but Horner is among the number, and he certainly fits the definition of the character who “derive(s) his definition primarily from his eroticism.” For Hume’s discussion, see “The Myth of The Rake in ‘Restoration Comedy’” in Hume, The Rakish Stage (Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1983), 138-75. I note that Howe, in The First English Actresses, visits the prologue to The Country Wife, which she sees as “clearly designed to be spoken by Hart, the star of the play who created the role of Horner,” noting that this was “an intimate communication between actor and audience” (92). As I mentioned in Chapter 2, The Country Wife may or may not have been originally targeted for the King’s Company, but the prologue was designed for the lead playing Horner, and may well have been designed specifically for Hart.

actress through one's own imagination, might, in the best case, lead to harmless fantasies of pleasure, like Pepys's erotic dream. In the very worst case, it might lead to more dangerous outcomes, as was the case twice with Rebecca Marshall.

In 1665, Marshall filed a petition against Mark Trevor, a play goer who was harassing her and who, she testifies, followed her home and tried to break into her house. In her petition, entitled "To the King's Most Excellent Majestie, The Humble Petition of Rebecca Marshall," she reports that

your petitioner has several times been barbarously and insolently affronted by one Mark Trevor of the Temple Esq. as well upon the Stage as off[f], your petitioner hath forborn to pros[ecute] quick Justice against him in hope he would henceforth forebeare to injure hir. But so it is that this afternoon the said Trevor assaulted her violently in a Coach and after many horrid Oaths and Threats that he wound be revenged of her for complaining to my Lord Chamberlaine formerly of him, pursued her with his sword in his hands, and when by flight she had secured herself in a house, he continued his abusive language and broke the windows of the adjoining house, and by this manner of his carriage your petitioner is in feare of her life.¹³³

Two years later, on 8 February 1667, Marshall again filed a deposition for protection from the King. She testified that audience member Hugh Middleton was in the playhouse and was visiting the women players backstage, customary at the time, but that he was, according to her, harassing the women, for which she told him to desist. He then

¹³³ TNA: PRO SP 29/142 pt. II, no. 160, p.195. I am reading from a copy of the original. The petition is reprinted with modernized spelling in Thomas and Hare, Restoration and Georgian England, 1660-1778, 185. Also see Document Register, no. 318.

apparently hired a ruffian, who assaulted her one night as she was walking home, smearing excrement in her face and hair. The petition, reprinted in facsimile in the Biographical Dictionary, describes this violence as follows:

On Saturday last, Sr. Hugh entering into the Tying house or behind the scenes of the Playhouse, Mrs. Marshall taxed him with some ill language he had cast out against the women actors of that house, and added that shee wondered he would come amongst them. Sir Hugh being disgusted at this after a short discourse grew into a heat, and told her she lyed, and concluded the injury with calling her Jade and threatened he would kick her and that his footman should kick her.

Mrs. Marshall on the monday following frightened with his menaces, complained of him to the King, and desired his Ma.^{ties} protection from further injuries.

Upon Tuesday in the evening having acted in the play that day and returning to her lodging in the great Entry going out of the Playhouse into Drury lane, shee saw Sr Hugh Middleton standing there, w:^{ch} gave her some apprehension that he lay in wait to do her mischief or affront. W:^{ch} she declared to M^r. Quin [her sister Anne's husband] who led her home. Some few doores from the Playhouse a Ruffian pressed hard upon her, insomuch that shee complained first of his rudeness, and after turned about and said I think the fellow would rob mee, or pick my pockett. Upon w:^{ch} he turned his face and seemed to slink away. And when shee thought shee was quite rid of him, neare the entrance of the Court where she lodgeth (the street being there free of coaches the same Ruffian ran close up to her and clap'd a Turd upon her face and hairr and fled away in a

Trice.¹³⁴

This assault on Marshall is one concrete piece of evidence we have about her real flesh-and-blood body and the expectations of two male audience members who assumed that she would perform as they desired by responding favorably to their advances. By 1667, the date of the second petition, Marshall was already specializing in the rebel woman “line,” and onstage, the rebel female is contained, and an attempt is made to contain the rebellious actress—the one who fails to perform as both of these men desire—through verbal and physical violence.

Did Marshall fail to perform the “type” that Middleton expected (actress as available, as what she was on stage, in character, and as a woman, in her place), and why did he insist on marking her as a type (actress equals whore, whether or not she sexually delivers) by smearing excrement in her face because she would not play her part?

In Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London, James Grantham Turner suggests that marking a woman’s face with excrement was one way to mark her as a whore (26). He specifically invokes the attack on Rebecca Marshall, stating that she was “put in her place” by this “disgusting trick” (26). His argument is compelling. However, Turner’s only other two examples beside the attack on Marshall are one Roman legal case and one seventeenth-century German work of fiction, and thus I fear he may over

¹³⁴ TNA: PRO SP 29/191, no.31, pp. 53-54. Facsimile in BD 7:426-27. I am reading from the facsimile copy. Reprinted with modern spelling in Thomas and Hare, 186. Also see Document Register, no. 360. The petition is dated 8 February 1666, but this is old calendar (when the New Year began on March 25 rather than January 1). The date in the modern calendar is 8 February 1667. The petitions offer an example of Marshall attempting to position herself and to assume agency, in Bourdieu’s sense of the term; the attacks, alternatively, positioned her through the objectification of her body. See Bourdieu, Language and Symbolic Power, 229-30 and 234.

generalize.¹³⁵ I cannot conclude, at least without reservation, that the Restoration theatre crowd would have taken this act as a symbolic way of marking Marshall as a whore, although it is possible that this was one way in which it may have been read by some. I note that Marshall makes no reference to being marked like a whore in her petition. If it is the kind of action that would have been widely read as whore-marking, I suspect that she might have articulated this, unless it was too shameful, or unless it was edited out by her transcriber. It should be noted that Turner's discussion of excrement is in fact a part of a broader focus about how prostitutes' faces might be marked by knife or excrement, and this is where I think he does a convincing job of showing how the body of the woman perceived as whore is contained. The transgressive and undesirable woman, whether whore, actress, or a conflation of the two—and a conflation in currency during the Restoration—is contained by a violent act against her body which marks her. In the case of Marshall, this marking comes not because she plays the whore but because the man who sees her as a whore is furious that will not play her part. The “ruffian” marks her face and hair with ugly and putrid turd. The petition evidence tells us something about how these celebrity actors' bodies might, in the extreme, be fetishized by members of the audience, and ways in which overlaps and dissonances between actors onstage “types”

¹³⁵ The two cases Turner names are one in which a Roman courtesan hired a man to thrust excrement in her rival's face, and the title character of Grimmelshausen's novel, *Courasche* (who would later be incarnated as Brecht's *Mother Courage*). Turner otherwise speaks in general terms, saying that shoving excrement in the face of a whore was an “offensive action that became common enough to earn its own category in legal discourse and to be featured in revenge narratives across Europe,” but cites no other sources or examples. His only named European example is Grimmelshausen (26).

and offstage behaviors interplayed in the shaping of the celebrity body, in this case, in a disturbing and violent manner.¹³⁶

As an example of the way in which the body of a male player might be offered up to women, I want to turn to a pre-Restoration example: a 1641 staging of Killigrew's The Parson's Wedding. The original epilogue, still extant in the text published in London in 1663, makes an explicit reference to the real-life body of Stephen Hammerton. He was aptly described by Bentley as the matinee idol of the 1640s English stage, just as Charles

¹³⁶ In Dramatic Miscellanies, Thomas Davies mentions Marshall and reports that he bases his brief account on Curll's History of the English Stage (1741). His report (like Curll's) is full of errors and strange confluences of events. Davies writes that Marshall "Excelled in characters of dignity, and of expressing strong emotions of the heart" (3:278), but leaves out her rebel woman and villainess lines entirely. This is especially interesting, because in the sentence before he mentions her as the original Roxana in The Rival Queens, a villainess role. He continues: "the high sentiments of honour in many of her characters, were correspondent to the dictates of her mind, and justified by her own private conduct." The relationship Davis draws between the honour of many (and I would qualify this as some) of Marshall's characters and her private conduct is worth noting in terms of readings of the actress's body, but he gets his facts wrong both in terms of stage "lines" and real life. He writes that Marshall was "particularly admired as Roxalana, a character of heroic virtue, in one of Lord Orrery's plays." However, Roxalana was created by popular Duke's Company actress Hester Davenport (no relation to Elizabeth Davenport, later Boutell), and was later played by Mrs. Betterton. Further, Davenport, who also created the role of Roxalana in The Siege of Rhodes with the Duke's Company, was known in real-life by the nickname "Roxalana." This detail is important, for Davies conflates Hester Davenport and Marshall. He writes that Aubrey de Vere, the Earl of Oxford, tried to "seize her, by force, as she came from the playhouse" (3:278), assaulted her, wooed her, promised to marry her, lured her away from the stage, and abandoned her. Davis then reports that the King ordered the Earl to give her a yearly pension of 500 pounds, and forbid him to marry during "the life of her son by him" (3:280). We know that the Earl was not the man named in either of Marshall's petitions, and that there is no legal document concerning the matter of the King, the Earl, and Marshall's having a son by said Earl. Hester Davenport, however, did leave the stage to be with Aubrey de Vere. See Davies, Dramatic Miscellanies, 3:277-80, and Curll, 23-25. Curll adds that "This lady [Marshall, or perhaps he means Davenport, as it is impossible to say which is which with the conflation problem] possessed a Mind which shone with a haughty and severe Virtue according to the Haughtiness of that Age" (24). He thus criticizes both assertive women and early Restoration manners, in sweeping terms. I note that in his short discussion of Boutell on 3:280, Davies repeats Curll's physical description of Boutell almost verbatim, and does not venture into stories about her private life at all.

Hart, I add, was the matinee idol of the 1660s and 1670s. Hammerton excelled in roles such as Amintor (a role that became Hart's after the Restoration) and Mirabell, the beautiful soft rake in Beaumont and Fletcher's The Wild Goose Chase, and a prototype for the Restoration soft rakes that Hart so excelled in. At the close of the final scene of the The Parson's Wedding, the actor playing the Captain tells Lady Love-all, a character described in the *Dramatis Personae* list as "An old Stallion Hunting Widow," that if she can find a way to revenge themselves upon the courtier who wrote this play, he will reward the ladies by procuring for them the beautiful body of Hammerton: "if you can bring this business about, I may find a way, as Epilogue, to be thankful, though the Captain abus'd you today. Think on't, *Stephen* [Hammerton] is as handsome, when the play is done, as Mr. Wild was in the Scene" (154). Then, speaking the Epilogue, this actor asks the audience to clap apace, for if they do not, "Stephen misses the Wench" (154), an allusion to sexual play between the beautiful Stephen and the Widow. By promising "her" the body of Hammerton, the Captain gets his way. (Of course, in the 1641 production, the Widow would have been played by a male actor, and thus the tease of play between Hammerton and a player playing the Widow "Wench" is ghosted by the reality that this man-woman consummation would be physically impossible, unless one reads in this a punning allusion to sexual play between Hammerton and a man.) This was meant to elicit a laugh, for the sexual play between player and wench is a joke of illusion. However, in the deliberate banter about bodies, the stage, and the real, the body of the real actor playing the beautiful hero is playfully pandered, foreshadowing the same kind of play we see in prologues and epilogues of the Restoration, in which, of course, it was

mostly women players who were at least explicitly pandered. Any player on the stage, male or female, might fuel fantasies about closer encounters.¹³⁷

Moving ahead thirty years to the Restoration stage of the 1670s, I want to conclude with a highly unusual epilogue that also rests on pandering the male body as desirable body, and takes the play between real and stage to exceptional heights. Unlike the epilogue in which Hammerton is invoked as the beautiful player, this piece, the epilogue to Lee's Gloriana, uses grotesquely comical images of robbery, whoring, and shadowy encounters between men. I choose this piece so that I might explore the extreme borders between stage, real, and between the satiric trope of players as whores, this time, in the unusual shape of male whores.

In the epilogue, violence, whores, and the bodies of two male players are jokingly promised to willing Gallants, who will then be made fools. The epilogue, by Nathaniel Lee, was performed following the staging of Gloriana in January 1676, in which Hart, Mohun, and Marshall were cast in the leading roles. It was delivered by the company rebel/clown, Jo Haines, whom I mentioned earlier as the actor who allegedly antagonized Hart. Speaking this highly unusual epilogue, Haines, who had been involved in rebel antics outside of the theatre, ranging from his having been suspended from acting that season because he had "with ill & scandalous language & insolent carriage abused" a

¹³⁷ This invaluable reference to Hammerton in the epilogue was brought to my attention by Bentley, The Jacobean and Caroline Stage, 2:461. Also see Nungezer, A Dictionary of Actors, 173-74. Nungezer cites another example of Hammerton's name being invoked in an epilogue, this time to Suckling's The Goblins: "O, if Stephen should be kill'd, / Or miss the lady, how the plot is spill'd (quoted in Nungezer, 173). He is also mentioned in an epilogue to Shirley's Doubtful Heir (1653), in which, as Nungezer notes, he seems to be referred to as the actor who played the role of King Ferdinand, and as I note, may possibly be an example of the speaker trying to remember how Hammerton played the part, or it may possibly be a deliberate conflation of actor with role: "How did king Stephen do, and t'other prince?" Quoted in Nungezer, 173.

gentleman and his wife, to unpaid debts, to a lawsuit from his landlords for defaulting on payment for lodgings and food,¹³⁸ teases the audience with the promise that he and actor William Cartwright will dress as whores. They will then offer themselves to the men exiting the theatre, drawing an analogy, in the closing words of the epilogue, between libels, lampoons, plays, and playing:

Libels and Lampoons we for Plays must write
 Criticks like Lovers pal'd with their delight,
 Always esteem those kisses best that bite.
 We'l deal with you, Gallants, in your own way,
 And treat you like Punks that Love for pay;
 Cartwright and I dressed like two thund'ring Whores,
 With Rods will stand behind the play-house doors,
 And firk you up each day to pleasure duly,
 As Jenny Cromwell does, or Betty Buly.¹³⁹

Haines, speaking Lee's epilogue, draws an analogy between writing and bodies—the “kisses that bite” are the best—biting satire, or even rough sexual play. Haines and

¹³⁸ Cited in BD 7:10.

¹³⁹ Printed in The Plays of Nathaniel Lee, vol. 1, ed. Stroup and Cooke, 208-09. Jenny Cromwell was a prostitute, and Betty Buly, by context, seems to have been as well. In Court Satires of the Restoration, Wilson identifies Jenny Cromwell as a bawd. See 214, note 45 and 194, note 120. The BD editors note that “During that 1675-76 season the only known theatrical activity for Jo was the speaking of the prologue [sic] to Gloriana on 29 January 1676.” (This seems an error for epilogue, as according to the 1676 text, the prologue was spoken by Elizabeth Roch and makes references to the speaker's being female, and the epilogue is marked as being “Spoken by Mr. Haynes,” of which the content also makes clear.) Haines may have been on again, off again with the company that season, or possibly he was totally absent. As the editors explain, Haines was in trouble in the theatre and outside of it for the above cited incidents. See BD 7:10.

Cartwright promise to dress like women “Punks” (whores) but with “Rods,” a stick or bundle of sticks used for beating, to stand outside to “firk,” meaning, to beat, thrash, or press upon, which invokes the bodily image of bodies violently (and perhaps sexually) pressing or beating the Gallant “to pleasure duly,” like the two whores he libels, Jenny Crowell and Betty Buly.¹⁴⁰ The playful but dark humor here lies in the joke/threat that the two men will cross-dress as whores to trick willing gallants into approaching them, beat and thrash them, and take their money. The joke may also lie in the fact that whores were available who would flagellate men, but they would not have advertised by holding a

¹⁴⁰ The definitions for firk, punk, and rod which I identify here are cited from the OED. I note that “Gallants” could mean women or men (Pepys used the word “gallant” to describe Kynaston dressed as Epicoene in 1661, in *Diary* 2:7), but by the Restoration era, it was more common to use “Gallant” to describe men, according to the OED. If Haines was addresses women as well as men, then the implied transgression is still a queer one—women approaching men dressed as women. I also note that Pepys wrote in his Navy White Book in 1669 that at dinner, he was told by a navy commander that Damaris Page, the madam of a seaman’s brothel, whom Pepys identifies as “the most Famous Bawd in the Towne,” furnished this sea commander, Spragge, with male whores. According to Pepys, the commander said that as long as Page lived “hee was sure hee should not lack Men.” Pepys writes that John Evelyn overheard this boast, and “took notice of it to mee with great affliction.” See *Samuel Pepys and the Second Dutch War: Pepys’s Navy White Book and Brooke House Papers*, transcribed by William Matthews and Charles Knighton, ed. Robert Latham (London: Scolar Press, 1995), 217. Also quoted in Pepys, *Diary*, 10: 307, a companion volume to the *Diary* proper. This reference was first brought to my attention by Christopher Hill, who, in *The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill*, 3 vols. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1986), 3:231 and 234, note 16, writes that he reads Pepys’ account as evidence that there were male whores available to men, and this is what the naval commander means when he speaks to Pepys. In this case, the reference to male whores in the epilogue would not be without a real-life referent. However, in my reading of Pepys’s passage, I take it to mean that the commander was willing to turn to the male patrons of brothels to man his ship during peace time, an act known as impressment and one which Pepys objected to, as noted by Robert Latham in his introduction to *Samuel Pepys and the Second Dutch War: Pepys’s Navy White Book and Brooke House Papers*, xxii. Latham also reads Spragge’s words as an effort to press men into service. There may be possible slippage here between finding men to serve on the ships and finding men willing to (sexually) pleasure men, but how aware Lee, Haines, or audience members were of this real-life brothel is a matter of speculation. (Pepys certainly was, but he stopped writing his *Diary* before *Gloriana* premiered.)

bundle of rods, so this is a comic realization. To borrow from Marvin Carlson's analysis of the body of an eighteenth-century actor, because it so well applies to Haines, Haines's "public persona outside the theatre as a rather unstable and dangerous figure" would have ghosted his dangerous threat onstage and reinforced it.¹⁴¹ Haines's mock threats to "firk" men with "Rods [that] will stand" are further ghosted by the image of sadistic, violent and even sexual body to body contact to come for those who decide to play along.¹⁴² Haines puns on the promises that he and Cartwright will pleasure men while dressed as women (what Marshall and Boutell said they could not do for women, dressed as men) and thus lampoons his own player's body, making it a subject of scandal, as a cross-dressed body that will firk men outside and can pleasure any women who sees that there is no cheat beneath his skirts. I use this rather extreme example to consider the conscious use of play between stage and real in the text between audience and popular players. Haines's performance is meant to be a joke, but the shadow is that his flesh and blood body is looked upon, perhaps desired, and that, more dangerously, he asserts as part of his performance that he is willing to play a real-life criminal game. The epilogue foregrounds the possible ways in which the players might be enjoyed, admired, mocked, hated, and celebrated.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Carlson, *The Haunted Stage*, 84.

¹⁴² "Rod" did not come to mean penis until the early twentieth century, according to the OED, but the image of a straight pole that stands certainly could potentially evoke the image of an erect penis. Further, the rod was used in some pornographic texts to arouse men, as David Savran notes in *Taking it Like A Man*, 19. Savran quotes, for example, from *The School of Venus* (London, 1680), trans. Donald Thomas (New York: New American Library, 1971), 137, "which tells of women who, as a prelude to copulation, beat men with rods 'until they see their yards grow erect.'" (19).

¹⁴³ I note that a year and a half later, in June 1677, Jo Haines was arrested for "reciteing [sic] at the Theatre Royall a scurrilous & obscene Epilogue." (TNA: PRO LC 5/190,

In the play which this bawdy epilogue frames, Hart played the beautiful hero. The player who specialized in superman and sympathetic warrior-lovers, as the most famed actor in the King's Company, played his manly, majestic, and impassioned hero, no doubt with proper and natural force. The most famed player performs the prince, and when he exits the stage, the clown enters and promises to mock-play the whore. The contrast between hero and clown onstage is what is later written into the tales about Hart and Haines, and becomes part of the mythos of Hart's "type" as a majestic, gentlemanly, celebrity player.

Hart, Mohun, Kynaston, Marshall, and Boutell were five of the celebrity players in the King's Company of actors. As I have endeavored to show, the evidence about actor's bodies in writings outside of play texts, including examples of framing prologues and epilogues, shows an interplay between fact and fiction. Conceptions of these men and women as players and as private beings who courted, loved, made love to, were whored, suffered disease, aged, and, in the case of Hart, were memorialized as a man who was a Miracle player, are born of a curiosity about the bodies of celebrity players. When I read the bodies of these players from this critical distance, I also engage with this material, and thus I wrestle with the interplay between private and public in my reconstruction of

fol.178). The manuscript is quoted in Danchin, Prologue and Epilogues of the Restoration, 1660-1700, Part 2, 3:52, and Nicoll, A History of English Drama, 1660-1800, vol. 1, 328, note 4. (Nicoll lists LC/188, which seems an error, unless there are two records). Also see Document Register, no. 1015. The play was Chamberlayne's Wits Led By the Nose. Danchin notes that the Epilogue in question "probably means the present prologue" as printed. The prologue and epilogue are reproduced in Danchin, Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration, 1660-1700, Part 2, 3:52-56. My attention was brought to this incident by Deborah C. Payne, "Reified Object of Emergent Professional" Rethorizing the Restoration Actress," Cultural Readings of Restoration and Eighteenth-Century English Theatre, ed. Canfield and Payne, 13-38, on 23. Reading these texts as reproduced in Danchin, I note that the present prologue (and the present epilogue, for that matter) are not nearly as scurrilous as the epilogue to Gloriana.

once living bodies. The portrait of Mohun is a useful example. I read the dark, stormy, beautiful soldier in the portrait as “type,” as the player who could well embody the warrior lovers and tyrants he played on stage, and come face to face with my own desire to see and make sense of his body.

Conclusion

I have out-fac'd myself, and justified / What I knew false to all the World, beside

--Almanzor, The Conquest of Granada, Part II, 5.1.1-2.

I begin this conclusion with a line spoken by Charles Hart as the superman hero, Almanzor. To outface oneself is to put on a brave front; to perform the bravado that hides fear and self-doubt. Almanzor is defending the virtue of his beloved, whom he has publicly announced as being true to him: “she is not ill / nor can she be; / She must be Chaste, because she’s lov’d by me” (Part II, 4.3.396-97). Privately, he wonders at her virtue; thus to perform for the world his virtue and manliness, he “out-faces” and puts on a face that is not his so that he might play the brave and fearless warrior. In order for his manhood to be whole, his honor must be, too. And so it is that the virtuous woman must be true, else he would be less than virtuous for loving her. As it stands, she is indeed virtuous; thus, his face is not false. One can hear the anxiety about performing maleness embedded in his words, and a desire to perform in a way that will let Almanzor quite literally save face. Almanzor is the superman hero of the epic landscape, the leading character who is the most ideal body in the world of the play. He is an exemplary lover and soldier, and he feels deeply. His aside to us that he has outfaced himself is part of what makes him a hero, for he can feel vulnerable, but still win. The hero is never a soldier who does not feel love, or a lover who does not fight. He is an intelligent man, an emotional man, and also a physical and an appropriately lusty man who is a gifted warrior.

What of his female counterpart? The female lead in any epic or serious play is a virtuous innocent who is faithful to the man she loves. She is a rather passive woman, one

who is meant to be worshiped by her lover and admired for her chasteness by him and by the community. She is not, however, without spirit or intelligence, which a skilled actress embodying the playwright's words could ably show, a point I asserted in my discussion of Elizabeth Boutell's roles. I have endeavored in this project to demonstrate that even the passive innocent—the "line" Boutell specialized in—was not without will, occasional fire, or dramatic interest. Thus, to reduce the virtuous woman to passive drapery for the hero is to misread the "type." We cannot escape the fact that she is admired within the world of the play for essentially passive qualities associated with the feminine: patience; modesty in speech and action; calmness of emotions, although tears might be allowed; faithfulness; and sexual innocence. She seems passive when compared to the leading men or to the villainess, but she might also display moments of strength, integrity, and even willfulness, as when the mild Statira (played by Boutell) boldly threatens her nemesis, the stormy Roxana (played by Rebecca Marshall). Both of these "types" place their own demands on the actor, although the tempestuous Roxana needs to be embodied by an actress with a very strong physical presence and vocal power. Beck Marshall was this kind of player, as I have discussed at length in Chapter 4.

The nemeses of the virtuous hero and heroine are the darker souls: villains or lustful women characterized by a selfish egoism. These villains are queer folk: aggressive and sexual women, and high-strung, impulsive men hungry for power. They are also anti-social, beyond their interest in a mate whom they sexually and/or romantically desire to possess. What becomes clear is that the unrepentantly evil characters fail in their performance of masculinity and femininity, according to community standards. The evil woman is a failed woman because she is too aggressive

and thus too lusty for a woman. She is imperfect, a haywire liberal subject, and therefore, a dangerous element. Similarly, the male villain is a failed man: his egoism and impulse control problems distort his manhood. The young villains played by Edward Kynaston were such “types.” Harman Junior’s cry, “Oh, I have nothing left of Manhood in me” (5.4.39) when he gives in to his desires and rapes the innocent Isabinda, serves as an illustration. When this beautiful, young villain violates the body of a woman, he violates his own burgeoning manhood. Further, he is a youth, thus, not fully a man, but with a woman’s softness. When he is slain by the English hero, Towerson (played by Hart), his body is described as womanly-like, as a “young Man” whose last breath hovers “betwixt his trembling lips” (5.5.162-63). Only the two anti-heroes played by Hart, namely, Fletcher’s Rollo and Lee’s Nero, managed to remain sympathetic, in large measure because Hart’s body would have been ghosted by his leading hero roles. Potentially effeminized by their indulgences and dotages, his anti-heroes were romanticized, and their maleness asserted through their fierce attachment to a female lover and by delivering a highly sympathetic apologia. Like leading lovers, Rollo and Nero feel deeply and with appropriate manly heat, although they are characterized by a selfishness rather than heroic altruism. The romanticization of the leading villain roles would not have been complete if Hart had not taken the parts. No other actor in the company could have managed to sell the villain as a charismatic lead quite like he could have done, and this is critical. Actor and role together created “type.”

In comedy, there is a bit more flexibility: a comic heroine can be more aggressive than her serious counterpart and not lose her standing as a “good” woman who is misbehaving, as long as she is eventually tamed by love. There is no doubt when reading

these plays that the taming of wild women reflects uneasiness about women as free and autonomous agents. The comic hero, on the other hand, can be sexually free with his body. In James Howard's All Mistaken, for example, Gwyn's Mirida is wild but a virgin, while Hart's soft-rake Philidor is no virgin, but boasts about making love to many women. He is a liberal subject who pleasures in women's bodies and in the freedom to choose the women he wants to bed. His manliness and lustiness is confirmed by his sexual liberality, yet, he also responds to one special partner, also an essential part of his manliness. Without this, he would come across as too loose, and thus, effeminate.

The moral structure in comedy is a laxer version of that in serious plays. To illustrate, the epic Almanzor falls in love, which plays a part in taming his ego, and this is similar to the journey Philidor undergoes from the beginning to the end of the play. However, jokes about multiple partners would ill befit a superman hero, and Almanzor proves his virility not through love making, but in the liberal use of his sword: he chooses where he will place his loyalties. Both the soft rake and the superman exert a right of choice: this is a very modern construct, and one that privileges individuality, but an individuality that ultimately supports community. Solipsistic self-interest marks the villains, and never the romantic leads who care for a partner. Leading man Hart's wicked but romantic Nero, for example, thinks beyond himself and therefore beyond the usual scope of the villain "type" when he deeply mourns the loss of his lover. Although Hart's Nero is villainous, he is also the lead, and hence, the role falls in Hart's "line," an excellent example of why it is important to consider which actor created a role. Similarly, Mohun's brooding warriors, like Montezuma in The Indian Emperour, were designed to be sympathetic, although less so than the ideal heroes embodied by Hart. Better than

villains, they lacked the perfection of the model men Hart embodied. As men, they suffered because they fought on the wrong or outmoded side, and Mohun excelled at playing these kinds of parts. Although manly and lusty, they were less stellar than the heroes, although powerful men in their own right. Very often, they died, making way for the new man, and these were the heroes usually played by Hart.

The groundwork for my analysis of “lines” was laid in my discussion of company structure in Chapter 2, in which I showed that Hart and Mohun were the leading male players, and thus had the strongest position in the company. The leading women were also important members of the company, although they lacked the status of men and were hirelings rather than sharers. Women were a vital part of the ensemble of players. Like the men, they owned their roles. I need only recall the stability of presence of Marshall and Boutell, or the orders to Hart to restore Anne Marshall Quin’s roles to her upon her return and to give her a private dressing room, to remind myself that working inside of this patriarchal structure, women had a kind of power, even if that power depended upon the good graces of men to support the woman’s position within the company. Anne Marshall Quin asked for her roles back; they were returned to her. This is not quite liberation, but it is unarguably a present-ness. Most importantly, on stage women had power because they created roles. They authored the roles through their bodies, as I discuss in Chapter 6, and the early Restoration female players like Beck Marshall and Elizabeth Boutell were among the first women to specialize in female “lines” designed to be played by women.

The spine of my study focused on the “lines” played by Hart, Mohun, Kynaston, Marshall, and Boutell, the subject of Chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation. By reading all

of the play for which we have recorded roles for these actors, I was able to assess the kinds of men and women they embodied on stage. Masculinities and femininities are constructed relationally, body-to-body, as my analyses of their “lines” showed. My goal in this project was to try and make as three-dimensional as possible the bodies of the five actors I have studied. How? By giving time not only to their “lines,” but also to how they may have moved and sounded on stage. In Chapter 5 I focused specifically on this challenge of trying to reconstruct the once-living bodies of actors. To do this, I imported an analysis of nineteenth-century opera voices, and I drew upon primary texts to try and reconstruct the ways in which the ideal male body would likely have moved and sounded. I asserted that the ideal male would have been bolder in space than a leading woman, graceful, and may very well have had an agile tenor voice. The ideal female would likely have moved with a refined gait and taken up less physical space than her male counterpart when she gestured, and may well have possessed a light, soprano voice. As I discussed, Hart almost always played the hero, and Boutell (by 1670) almost always played the heroine, so these two actors provide models for the most “ideal” man and woman on stage.

The women and men who were not these ideals deviated from the norms that the hero and heroine demonstrated in body movement and vocal delivery. The stormy women Marshall played, who were more dynamic than Boutell’s characters, were surely more aggressive in space and more violent in motion. Further, I suggested that Marshall very likely had a darker voice than Boutell, both in color and pitch, thus marking female “types” in an acoustical sense. The aggressive and therefore more masculine villainess

may well have been what we would now call a mezzo, and the gentle and innocent heroine a soprano.

Similarly, male “types” were characterized in part by vocal pitch. On both sides of Hart’s voice, I suggested that Mohun’s voice was in a lower register, and Kynaston’s in a higher register. Quite literally, the hero was acoustically framed, his voice most central in the soundscape during the exercise of playing. Although I am forced to conjecture because of lack of evidence, I feel that my reconstruction of moving bodies and sounding voices on the early Restoration stage, rooted as it is in the compelling and informative (if not unproblematic) fragments that do remain, serves an important function. I cannot tell the reader exactly what Hart sounded like, but I share with the reader my thoughts on ways that maleness was embodied in timbre and pitch, and this allows me to conjecture about what the vocal qualities of Hart and company might have been. Voice is gendered in a given time and place. Inspired by the work of Bruce R. Smith, I suggested that the female voice performed within a male matrix of sound. The “home” pitch is the sound of the heroic man, and a woman’s voice sounds more localized in space than the voices of men do. What kind of world does this create? One in which the woman is measured against the man. The more innocent woman sounds more ideally “female” in the interplay of sounds between male and female voices, not only in her language, but in her pitch and projection.

In Chapter 6, I turned to the vexed problem of how the bodies of these actors were imagined and seen by their contemporaries. I wanted to provide a comprehensive survey of the fragmentary evidence that does remain, and also ask how the bodies of the actors were measured in terms of gender and sexual norms. I noted that Hart suffered less

denigration than his colleague Edward Kynaston, the boy actor cum adult player who was attacked as a sodomite in writing. I discussed the dangers in over-reading the evidence: can one assume that Kynaston was seen as a sexual deviant, or as effeminate, based on these attacks? What if we are missing other responses? On the other hand, the attacks do point to a connection between playing the woman onstage and off, at least in the imaginations of two writers. I stressed that we must allow for varied responses, and give consideration to what does remain without over generalizing. It is hard to argue against Hart's having been a celebrity, for example, based on the eulogies and eulogy-like writings about him, or for Mohun's gout as having been an issue for him on stage, at least by the mid 1670s, when he was still playing young lovers, as epilogue evidence tells us.

The ways in which these actors were imagined as celebrities is important to a discussion of their work and the performance of masculinity and femininity, for the actor is more than just his or her roles. The celebrity is never only the actor bare and unmasked on stage. He or she plays the written role in the play text and also plays the celebrity actor that the audience imagines and helps to invent, a dynamic that is foregrounded in prologues and epilogues, a play space between stage and real life. Further, the actor is ghosted by his or her past roles, so the construct is a complex one: the body of the celebrity actor in performance is ghosted by past roles, as well as by the actor's own celebrity status. Mohun playing the tyrant-father Mithridates in 1678 might be perceived as a constellation of any or all of the following: Mohun embodying the temperamental Mithridates; Mohun playing the jealous Abdelmelech, the tyrannical Maximin, the loyal warrior Clytus, and the comic tyrant, Pinchwife; Mohun the former Royalist soldier and

Catholic; Mohun the real-life husband and father; Mohun aging and facing gout; and Mohun the celebrity.

In the days before television, the internet, and high-tech videos could manipulate and sell the appeal of the body and thus help to manufacture celebrityhood, the construction of celebrity was simpler, if no less powerful, allowing for a more immediate relationship between actor and audience. Celebrityhood was thus more localized. For example, I seriously doubt that Hart was known outside the borders of his own country, and probably London, except by the rare few—this is before the days of international stardom—but this localization does not make his celebrityhood any less real to his audience. By “real,” I mean a perceptual phenomenon shared by a group, in this case, the Restoration theatre-goers, and perhaps bleeding at times into the larger populace, as when Hart’s eulogy was peddled on the streets of London in August 1683. Hart was clearly the greatest celebrity, followed, I suggested, by Mohun. Hart and Mohun, as celebrity actors, embodied virile, lusty, and manly men onstage and were imagined that way off stage, even if in a less ideal manner. In real life, Mohun even measured himself against the virile ideal, asking for his roles to be restored to him when his gout-ridden body had surely compromised his ability to perform them successfully. How, then, does this expression of a desire for restitution reflect what might have been Mohun’s own sense of what the ideal man ought to be? He works, he supports his wife and five children, and he does not lose face by losing his livelihood. I cannot read Mohun’s subjective thoughts beyond this petition, but it is in itself as evidence enough to tell me that he measured himself against a standard of what a man ought to do and be entitled to do. I find this

profoundly important, for even the few sentences in a legal document can tell us much about actor, body, type, and gender.

The evidence that remains is fragmentary, yet, as in the case of Mohun's petition, these fragments reveal much. While writing this dissertation, I have never once been distracted by absences, but instead, been inspired by how much what does remain tells me. I have lived, so to speak, with these five actors for a year and a half in the writing, and for several years before that. I have been able to consider the question of "lines" and the performance of masculinity and femininity on the early Restoration stage from a variety of sources, often unexpected. I did not know, for example, that when I went to London in August 2003 I would return home with a color copy of Mohun's original portrait in hand, an image that has brought me closer to his body than the much later engraving. I have endeavored to create a record of the work of these actors and to theorize their bodies for their gendered, "straight," and queer implications. I have come to an end of this dissertation, but not to my study. It is my intention to continue with my work, and I believe that this dissertation is a critical step in my future writings on the bodies of these actors and their colleagues. There is more to be done, building upon the foundation that I have laid here. I believe that I have provided much needed information on the work of these five leading players, the exercise of playing, and the performance of masculinity and femininity on the early Restoration stage. I am satisfied that I have accomplished my goals for this project, and I am inspired to continue my research, which is, I think, a sign that this has been a good collaboration.

Appendix A: Actors' Roles

This appendix lists the roles on record up until 1682 for Charles Hart, Michael Mohun, Edward Kynaston, Rebecca Marshall, and Elizabeth Boutell. A blank in the "Source" column means that the role information is derived from a published cast list. The symbol * indicates that the date when the role was performed is projected. Detailed discussions of projected dates are footnoted in Chapters 2, 3, and 4, *passim*. For a discussion of role ownership, which allows us to read forward or backward from recorded roles, see Chapter 2.

"Projected cast" means that the play may or may not have been performed, although the cast is named in a MS cast list. "MS cast" means that we know the play was performed and that the cast is given in a manuscript. "MS" by itself means MS evidence not in a play script. "By" and a date means by that year the role was the actor's. A year given for date means the year in which the actor is first known to have performed the role. The role would have remained his or hers in subsequent years, as discussed in Chapter 2.

Charles Hart

Active 1641-1678. No roles on record for Hart post 1678.

Roles 1641-48

Role	Type	Play	Playwright	Year	Source
1. Duchess	Leading female lover	<u>The Cardinal</u>	Shirley	1641	Wright
2. Euphrasia	Ingenue	<u>Philaster</u>	Beaumont and Fletcher	c. 1638-42*	MS cast
3. Otto	Young soldier	<u>The Bloody Brother</u>	Fletcher	1648-49	Wright

Roles 1659-1660, Ur-King's Company

4. Florez	Young hero	<u>Beggar's Bush</u>	Fletcher	1659-60	MS
5. Amintor	Young lover-soldier	<u>The Maid's Tragedy</u>	Beaumont and Fletcher	1659*	Downes

Roles November 1660 to 1678 with the King's Company

6. Florez	Young hero	<u>The Beggar's Bush</u>	Fletcher	1660*	MS ¹
7. Amintor	Young lover-soldier	<u>The Maid's Tragedy</u>	Beaumont and Fletcher	1660*	Downes

¹ The MS evidence dates circa the season of 1659-60. Since the play was in the King's Company repertory, Hart probably played the role in the 1660s and 1670s, as it was exactly in his "line."

8.	Arbaces	Leading lover and King	<u>A King and No King</u>	Beaumont and Fletcher	1660*	Downes and 1675 published cast list
9.	Rollo	Romantic villain	<u>Rollo, or, The Bloody Brother</u>	Fletcher	1660*	Downes
10.	Prince	Young hero	<u>The Royal King</u>	Heywood	c. 1660-61*	MS projected cast
11.	Dorant	Young rogue lover	<u>The Liar</u>	Corneille	1660-61	Dryden
12.	Prince	Young rogue lover	<u>Erminia</u>	Flecknoe	1660-61	1661 published play, with projected cast
13.	Hernando	Young hero-soldier	<u>The Cardinal</u>	Shirley	c. 1661-64*	MS cast
14.	Honorio, then Petronio	Young lover-soldier; Servant	<u>The Imposter</u>	Shirley	1661-64	MS cast
15.	Manuel	Young lover-soldier	<u>The Court Secret</u>	Shirley	1661-64	MS cast
16.	Michael Perez	Comic hero soldier	<u>Rule a Wife and Have a Wife</u>	Fletcher	1663*	Downes
17.	Jolly	Comic rogue	<u>The Cheats</u>	Wilson	1663	MS cast
18.	Demetrius	Young lover-soldier	<u>The Humorous Lieutenant</u>	Fletcher	1663*	Downes
19.	Hippolito	Young rival lover	<u>Love's Crueltie</u>	Shirley	Early 1660s*	MS cast
20.	Fernando or Ferentes	Young lover or romantic villain	<u>Love's Sacrifice</u>	Ford	1663-64	MS projected cast

21. Gonsalvo	Young lover-soldier	<u>The Rival Ladies</u>	Dryden	1664	Dryden CA editors
22. Wellbred	Soft rake	<u>The English Mounsieur</u>	Howard	1664	Scholarship ²
23. Montezuma	Young warrior	<u>The Indian Queen</u>	Dryden	1664	Dryden CA editors
24. Don Juan	Soft rake	<u>The Chances</u>	Villiers	1664	Downes
25. Philador	Soft rake	<u>All Mistaken, or, The Mad Couple</u>	Howard	1664	Pepys
26. Duke	Young lover and ruler	<u>Seege of Urbin</u>	Killigrew	1664-65	MS projected cast
27. Mosca	Comic rogue	<u>Volpone</u>	Jonson	1665	Downes
28. Cortez	Leading lover-soldier	<u>The Indian Emperor</u>	Dryden	1665	Downes
29. Valerio	Young lover	<u>Damoiselles a la Mode</u>	Flecknoe	1666-67, 68	
30. Welford	Comic rogue lover	<u>The Scornful Lady</u>	Beaumont and Fletcher	1666	Downes
31. Celandon	Soft rake	<u>Secret Love</u>	Dryden	1667	
33. Lord Delaware	Lover-soldier	<u>The Black Prince</u>	Boyle	1667	
34. Hotspur	Young soldier	<u>Henry IV</u>	Shakespeare	1667*	Downes

² Summers and Hume. See my Chapter 3.

35. Philaster	Leading lover-soldier	<u>Philaster</u>	Beaumont and Fletcher	1667	Settle's prologue to his revised <u>Philaster</u> (1695)
36. Wildish ?	Soft rake	<u>The Mulberry Garden</u>	Sedley	1668	Pinto ³
37. Wildblood	Soft rake	<u>An Evening's Love</u>	Dryden	1668	
38. Armusia	Leading lover-soldier	<u>The Island Princess</u>	Fletcher	1668	
39. Catiline	Romantic villain	<u>Catiline</u>	Jonson	1668	
40. Cassio	Soldier	<u>Othello</u>	Shakespeare	1669*	Downes
41. Porphyrius	Lover-soldier	<u>Tyrannick Love</u>	Dryden	1669	
42. Almanzor	Leading lover-soldier (superman)	<u>Conquest of Granada</u>	Dryden	1670-71	
43. Ranger	Soft rake	<u>Love in A Wood</u>	Wycherley	1671	
44. Brutus	Soldier	<u>Julius Ceasar</u>	Shakespeare	1672*	Downes
45. Palamede	Soft rake	<u>Marriage A-la-Mode</u>	Dryden	1672	
46. Aurelian	Soft rake	<u>The Assignation</u>	Dryden	1672	

³ Pinto suggests that Hart played the father role of Forecast, but this is probably incorrect, as the "line" is wrong for Hart. If he was cast in the play, he probably played one of the young lover roles, possibly the soft rake Jack Wildish, as the role is in his line. See Pinto's preface to The Mulberry Garden in The Poetical and Dramatic Works of Sir Charles Sedley, ed. V. De Sola Pinto, 2 vols. (1928; reprint New York: AMS Press, 1969), 101-106, at 106.

47. Gabriel Towerson	Leading lover-navy officer	<u>Amboyna</u>	Dryden	1673	
48. Almerin	Young lover-soldier	<u>Brennoralt</u>	Suckling	c. 1673 to 1675*	MS promptbook
49. Nero	Romantic villain	<u>Nero</u>	Lee	1674	
50. Bussy	Lover-soldier	<u>Bussy D'Ambois</u>	Chapman	by 1674	Durfey's dedication to his revised <u>Bussy D'Ambois</u> (1691)
51. Horner	Rake	<u>The Country Wife</u>	Wycherley	1675	
52. Othello	Lover-soldier	<u>Othello</u>	Shakespeare	1675	(1681 ed.)
53. Valentinian	Romantic villain	<u>Lucina's Rape</u>	Wilmot	c.1675*	MS projected cast
54. King Massinissa	Leading lover-soldier	<u>Sophonisba</u>	Lee	1675	
55. Aureng-Zebe	Leading lover-soldier	<u>Aureng-Zebe</u>	Dryden	1675	
56. Europe/Strephon	Young hero-lover	<u>Callisto</u>		1675	
57. Caesario	Leading lover-soldier	<u>Gloriana</u>	Lee	1676	
58. Manly	Comic rogue lover	<u>The Plain Dealer</u>	Wycherley	1676	
59. Phraartes	Leading lover-soldier	<u>Destruction of Jerusalem</u>	Crowne	1677	
60. Alexander	Leading lover-soldier	<u>The Rival Queens</u>	Lee	1677	

61. Antony	Leading lover-soldier	<u>All For Love</u>	Dryden	1677	
62. Ziphanes	Leading lover-soldier	<u>Mithridates</u>	Lee	1678	
63. Monsieur Thomas	Rake	<u>Trick for Trick</u>	D'Urfey	1678	
64. Philander	Young hero- lover	<u>Fatal Love</u>	Settle	1681	Preface ⁴

⁴ Hart probably did not perform in the play, although the author had him in mind, probably for the young hero part of Philander. See Chapter 3 and 6.

Michael Mohun**Active by 1637 through 1682-83. No roles on record for Mohun after 1682-83.****Roles pre-1660**

<u>Role</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Play</u>	<u>Playwright</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Source</u>
1. Bellemente	Lover-soldier			By c. 1637-1642*	Wright

Roles 1660-1683

2. Bellemente	Brooding lover-soldier	<u>Love's Cruelty</u>	Shirley	1660*	MS cast list
3. Melantius	Soldier	<u>The Maid's Tragedy</u>	Beaumont and Fletcher	1660*	Downes
4. Hemskirk?	Villain soldier	<u>The Beggar's Bush</u>	Fletcher	1660	Pepys
5. Lorenzo	Villain	<u>The Traitor</u>	Shirley	1660	Pepys
6. Face	Rogue Trickster	<u>Alchemist</u>	Jonson	1660*	Downes
7. Mardonius	Soldier	<u>A King and No King</u>	Beaumont and Fletcher	1660*	Downes
8. Aubrey	Soldier	<u>Rollo, or the Bloody Brother</u>	Fletcher	1660*	Downes
9. Ziriff	Lover-soldier	<u>Aglaura</u>	Suckling	1659-60;* 1660-61*	MS promptbook
10. Lord Martiall	Hero soldier	<u>The Royall King</u>	Heywood	c. 1660-61*	MS cast list
11. Cleander	Lover-soldier	<u>Erminia</u>	Flecknoe	1661*	Published cast list 1661 (wish list)
12. Friar/Bertoldi (later cast)	Noble counselor; eccentric clown	<u>The Imposture</u>	Shirley	c. 1661-64*	MS cast list
13. Columbo	Brooding lover-soldier	<u>The Cardinal</u>	Shirley	c. 1661-64*	MS cast list

14.	Carlo	Brooding lover-soldier	<u>The Court Secret</u>	Shirley	c. 1661-64*	MS cast list
15.	Don Leon	Tyrant lover comic	<u>Rule a Wife and Have a Wife</u>	Fletcher	1662*	Downes
16.	Mopus	Eccentric lover-charlatan	<u>The Cheats</u>	Wilson	1663	MS cast list
17.	Leontius	Zealous Soldier	<u>The Humorous Lieutenant</u>	Fletcher	1663	Downes
18.	Caraffa or Fernando	Jealous lover	<u>Love's Sacrifice</u>	Ford	1663-64*	MS cast list
19.	Rhodorigo	Brooding lover-soldier	<u>The Rival Ladies</u>	Dryden	1664	Dryden CA editors
20.	Inca	Jealous father and lover	<u>The Indian Queen</u>	Dryden and Howard	1664	Dryden CA editors
21.	Fernando/Lorenzo	Lover-soldier	<u>The Seege of Urbin</u>	W. Killigrew	1664-65	MS projected cast list
22.	Volpone	Villain	<u>Volpone</u>	Jonson	1665*	Downes
23.	Emperor	Tempestuous father-warrior	<u>The Indian Emperor</u>	Dryden	1665	
24.	Truewit	Witty rogue	<u>The Silent Woman</u>	Jonson	1666*	Downes
25.	Mardonius	Loyal soldier	<u>King and No King</u>	Beaumont and Fletcher	1666*	Downes
26.	Mascarillo	Comic rogue-lover	<u>Damoiselles a la Mode</u>	Flecknoe	1666-67	
27.	Philocles	Brooding lover	<u>Secret Love</u>	Dryden	1667	
28.	King Edward	Tyrant father and lover	<u>The Black Prince</u>	Boyle	1667	
29.	Alberto	Eccentric rake	<u>Flora's Vagaries</u>	Rhodes	1667-68	

30. Bellamy	Lover	<u>An Evening's Love</u>	Dryden	1668	
31. Rudyas	Brooding lover-soldier	<u>The Island Princess</u>	adapted from Fletcher	1668	
32. Cethegus	Villain soldier	<u>Catiline</u>	Jonson	1668	
33. Everyyoung	Old tyrant father	<u>The Mulberry Garden</u>	Sedley	1668	Pinto ¹
34. Iago	Villain	<u>Othello</u>	Shakespeare	1669	Pepys
35. Maximin	Tyrant father and lover	<u>Tyrannick Love</u>	Dryden	1669	
36. Valentius	Jealous lover-father	<u>The Roman Empress</u>	Joyner	1670	
37. Abdelmelech	Jealous lover-soldier	<u>Conquest of Granada</u>	Dryden	1670-71	
38. Dapperwit	Eccentric rake	<u>Love In a Wood</u>	Wycherley	1671	
39. Don Alvarez	Brooding lover-soldier	<u>The Generous Enemies</u>	Corye	1671	
40. Cassius	Soldier	<u>Julius Ceasar</u>	Shakespeare	1672	Downes
41. Valentine	Eccentric rake	<u>Wit Without Money</u>	Fletcher	1672	Downes
42. Rhodophil	Brooding lover	<u>Marriage A-la-Mode</u>	Dryden	1672	
43. Sebastiano	Brooding lover-soldier	<u>The Maide's Revenge</u>	?	c. 1673-74*	MS promptbook
44. Duke of Mantona	Tyrant lover and father	<u>The Assingnation</u>	Dryden	1672	
45. Mr. Beaumont	Lover-soldier	<u>Amboyna</u>	Dryden	1673	

¹ This role designation may be wrong. Pinto speculates that Mohun may have taken this part (106), but it is an aging comic father role, and not exactly in his "line" in 1668. If he was in the play, he may have been one of the young rakes.

46. Brennoralt	Brooding lover-soldier	<u>Brennoralt</u>	Suckling	1673 to 1675*	MS promptbook
47. Hemskirk?	Villain soldier	<u>The Beggar's Bush</u>	Fletcher	1674	Prologue speaker ²
48. Brittanicus	Young brooding hero	<u>Nero</u>	Lee	1674	
49. Pinchwife	Tyrant husband	<u>The Country Wife</u>	Wycherley	1675	
50. Hannibal	Lover- soldier	<u>Sophonisba</u>	Lee	1675	
51. Trivultio	Eccentric rake	<u>Love in the Dark</u>	Fane	1675	
52. Acius (intended)	Loyal soldier	<u>Lucina's Rape (Valentinian)</u>	Wilmot from Fletcher	Circa 1675*	MS projected cast
53. Old Emperor	Tyrant father and lover	<u>Aureng-Zebe</u>	Dryden	1675	
54. Augustus Ceasar	Tyrant lover-soldier	<u>Gloriana</u>	Lee	1676	
55. Matthias (high priest)	Noble father	<u>The Destruction of Jerusalem</u>	Crowne	1677	
56. Clytus	Loyal soldier	<u>The Rival Queens</u>	Lee	1677	
57. Edgar	Brooding father and lover	<u>King Edgar and Alfreda</u>	Ravenscroft	1677	
58. Ventidius	Loyal soldier	<u>All For Love</u>	Dryden	1677	
59. Mithridates	Tyrant father and lover	<u>Mithridates</u>	Lee	1678	
60. Breakbond	Eccentric rake	<u>Man of Newmarket</u>	Howard	1678	

² As I discuss in Chapter 3, Mohun may have owned the role of Hemskirk. If so, when the play was performed in 1674, Mohun would have played the role.

61. Sir Wilding Frolick	Eccentric rake and father	<u>Trick for Trick</u>	D'Urfey	1678	
62. Burleigh	Ambitious courtier	<u>The Unhappy Favorite</u>	Banks	1681	
63. Ismael	Villain soldier	<u>The Loyal Brother</u>	Southerne	1682	
64. Mardonius	Loyal soldier	<u>A King and No King</u>	Beaumont and Fletcher	1682-83* United Company	MS cast Yale ³

³ Discussed in BD and in my Chapter 2.

Edward Kynaston

Active 1659 to 1701. This appendix lists all of his known roles until 1677. There are no roles on record for Kynaston with the King's Company post 1677. By 1682, he was active with the new United Company.

With the Rhodes Company, 1659-60

<u>Role</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Play</u>	<u>Playwright</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Source</u>
1. Auglaura	Leading female lover	<u>Auglaura</u>	Suckling	1659-60	Downes
2. The Princess	Leading female lover	<u>The Mad Lover</u>	Fletcher	1659-60	Downes
3. Ismena	Leading female lover	<u>The Maid of The Mill</u>	Fletcher and Rowley	1659-60	Downes
4. Arthiope	Leading female lover	<u>The Unfortunate Lovers</u>	Davenant	1659-60	Downes
5. Duke's sister	Leading female lover	<u>The Loyal Subject</u>	Fletcher	1660	Pepys
6. Evadne	Tainted young woman	<u>The Maid's Tragedy</u>	Beaumont and Fletcher	1659-60*	Cibber
7. Desdemona	Young wife	<u>Othello</u>	Shakespeare	1659-60*	Cibber

With the King's Company, November 1660 forward

8. Arthiope	Leading female lover	<u>The Unfortunate Lovers</u>	Davenant	1660*	Downes
9. Otto	Soldier, younger brother	<u>Rollo</u>	Fletcher	1660*	Downes
10. Corporal Cocke	Preening comic soldier	<u>The Royal King</u>	Heywood	Circa 1660-61*	MS projected cast
11. Epicoene	Young wife (young man disguised)	<u>The Silent Woman</u>	Jonson	1661	Pepys
12. Aglaura	Leading female lover	<u>Aglaura</u>	Suckling	Circa 1661*	MS promptbook

13. Antonio then Honorio	Young lover-courtier	<u>The Imposture</u>	Shirley	c. 1661-64*	MS cast
14. Alvarez	Young lover-courtier	<u>The Cardinal</u>	Shirley	c. 1661-64*	MS cast
15. Antonio	Young lover-courtier	<u>The Court Secret</u>	Shirley	C. 1661-64*	MS cast
16. Roselli or Caraffa	Young lover disguised as a mad clown; or jealous young Duke	<u>Love's Sacrifice</u>	Ford	1663-64*	MS projected cast
17. Eustace	Vain, young courtier	<u>The Elder Brother</u>	Fletcher	Post 1663-64*	Downes
18. Acacis	Young soldier-lover	<u>The Indian Queen</u>	Dryden and Howard	1664	Dryden CA editors
19. Peregrine	Young trickster-courtier	<u>Volpone</u>	Jonson	1665*	Downes
20. Guymar	Young hero warrior-lover	<u>The Indian Emperor</u>	Dryden	1665	Downes
21. Dauphine	Rogue hero	<u>The Silent Woman</u>	Jonson	By 1666*	Downes
22. Beaumont and Young Loveless	Younger wayward brother	<u>The Scornful Lady</u>	Fletcher	1666*	Downes
23. Prince (title)	Noble lover-soldier	<u>The Black Prince</u>	Boyle	1667	
24. Le Fleur	Lover-courtier	<u>Damoiselles a la Mode</u>	Flecknoe	c. 1667-68	
25. King	Noble ruler	<u>The Island Princess</u>	from Fletcher	1668	
26. Unk		<u>Catiline</u>	Jonson	1668	cast list ¹

¹ Kynaston is listed in a published cast list, but with no clear role designation. See LS, 149.

27. Unk (in imitation of Sir Charles Sedley)	Comic courtier (?)	<u>The Heiress</u>	[Cavendish]	1669	Pepys
28. Placidius	Noble young soldier-lover	<u>Tyrannick Love</u>	Dryden	1669	
29. Florus	Young prince and lover	<u>The Roman Empress</u>	Joyner	1670	
30. Major Boabdelin	Jealous husband and King	<u>Conquest of Granada</u>	Dryden	1670-71	
31. Valentine	Young lover	<u>Love in a Wood</u>	Wycherley	1671	
32. Signor Flaminio	Young lover	<u>The Generous Enemies</u>	Corye	1671	
33. Volscius (?)	Young lover (parody)	<u>The Rehearsal</u>	Villiers and others	1671	MS and scholarship ²
34. Anthony	Young, tempestuous soldier	<u>Julius Caesar</u>	Shakespeare	1672*	
35. Leonidas	Young prince and lover	<u>Marriage A-la-Mode</u>	Dryden	1672	
36. Prince Frederick	Young prince and lover	<u>The Assignation</u>	Dryden	1672	
37. Harman Junior	Young villain	<u>Amboyna</u>	Dryden	Circa 1672-73	
38. Antonio	Young lover-soldier	<u>The Maid's Revenge</u>	Shirley	Circa 1673-74*	MS promptbook
39. Doran	Young soldier	<u>Brennorault</u>	Suckling	Circa 1673-1675*	MS promptbook
40. Cassio	Young soldier	<u>Othello</u>	Shakespeare	1674-75*	1681 edition
41. Harcourt	Young lover and trickster	<u>The Country Wife</u>	Wycherley	1675	

² Hume. See Chapter 3.

42. Scipio	Steely military leader	<u>Sophonisba</u>	Lee	1675
43. Count Sforza	Young lover	<u>Love in the Dark</u>	Fane	1675
44. Morat	Young villain	<u>Aureng-Zebe</u>	Dryden	1675
45. Tigranes	Lover-warrior and new King	<u>A King and No King</u>	Beaumont and Fletcher	By 1676*
46. Marcellus	Young soldier and husband	<u>Gloriana</u>	Lee	1676
47. Freeman	Young and ambitious rogue	<u>The Plain Dealer</u>	Wycherley	1676
48. Titus	Military leader who surrenders love	<u>The Destruction of Jerusalem</u>	Crowne	1677
49. Cassander	Young and beautiful villain	<u>The Rival Queens</u>	Lee	1677

Gives notice that he plans to retire. No new roles recorded 1677-82 with the King's Company.

Rebecca Marshall**Active circa March 1661 through 1677. No roles on record prior to 1663.****Roles 1663 to 1677**

<u>Role</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Play</u>	<u>Playwright</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Source</u>
1. ? Maybe	Unk	<u>The Royall King</u>	Heywood	c. 1660-61*	MS projected cast list
2. Colona	Tainted young girl	<u>Love's Sacrifice</u>	Ford	c. 1663*	MS projected cast list
3. Maria	Noble lover	<u>The Court Secret</u>	Shirley	c. 1664*	MS cast list
4. Orizia	Noble lover	<u>The Indian Queen</u>	Dryden and Howard	1664	Dryden CA editors
5. Evadne	Tainted lover	<u>The Maid's Tragedy</u>	Beaumont and Fletcher	1666*	Pepys
6. Lady	Fiery lover	<u>The Scornful Lady</u>	Fletcher	1666*	Downes ¹
7. First Constantia	Noble young wife and mother	<u>The Chances</u>	Buckingham	1667	Marshall's Petition; February 1667
8. Queen of Sicily	Noble lover and Queen	<u>Secret Love</u>	Dryden	1667	
9. Edith	Noble young lover	<u>Rollo</u>	Fletcher	1667*	Downes ²
10. Plantagenet	Noble lover	<u>The Black Prince</u>	Boyle	1667	
11. Role (Duchess?)	Leading lover	<u>The Cardinal</u>	Shirley	c. 1667*	Pepys
12. Lady Anne (or Mary?)	Headstrong young lover	<u>Damoiselles a la Mode</u>	Flecknoe	1667	Cast list ³

¹ Downes names "Mrs. Marshall" for the Lady, which probably refers to her sister Anne, although Beck would likely have taken over the role post her sister's departure by 1665, and again by 1668.

² This role had belonged to Anne Marshall. Beck Marshall would have played it post her sister's departure in 1668.

13. Dorothea	Passionate martyr	<u>The Virgin Martyr</u>	Dekker and Massinger	1668	Pepys
14. Princess Quisara	Spirited young lover	<u>The Island Princess</u>	adapted from Fletcher	1668	
15. Berenice	Noble wife and lover	<u>Tyrannick Love</u>	Dryden	1669	
16. Fulvia	Villainess	<u>The Roman Empress</u>	Joyner	1670	
17. Lyndaraxa	Villainess	<u>The Conquest of Granada</u>	Dryden	1670-71	
18. Jaccinta	Fiery young lover	<u>The Generous Enemies</u>	Corey	1671	
19. Aurelia	Eccentric comic lover	<u>An Evening's Love</u>	Dryden	by 1671	
20. Calphurnia	Loyal wife	<u>Julius Caesar</u>	Shakespeare	1672	
21. Dorothea	Spirited female lover and wife	<u>Marriage A-la-Mode</u>	Dryden	1672	
22. Captain?	Swaggering rogue lover	<u>The Parson's Wedding</u>	T. Killigrew	1672	<u>Covent Garden Drollery</u> ⁴
23. Lucretia	Spirited young lover	<u>The Assignation</u>	Dryden	1672	Published
24. Berinthea	Tainted young lover	<u>The Maid's Revenge</u>	Shirley	c. 1673-74*	MS promptbook
25. Isabinda	Loyal wife and lover	<u>Amboyna</u>	Dryden	c.1672-73	
26. Poppea	Villainess	<u>Nero</u>	Lee	1674	
27. Almeria	Villainess	<u>The Indian Emperour</u>	Dryden	1674 performances	Quarto

³ The role designation in the published cast list is unclear, but one of the two sisters. See my discussion in Chapter 4.

⁴ The Covent Garden Drollery identifies Marshall as the speaker of the prologue and epilogue. For my discussion, see Chapter 6.

28. Spaconia	Spirited lover	<u>A King and No King</u>	Beaumont and Fletcher	by 1675	MS promptbook
29. Francelia	Headstrong young lover	<u>Brennoralt</u>	Suckling	c. 1673 to 1675*	
30. Lucina	Noble wife	<u>Lucina's Rape</u>	Rochester	c. 1675*	
31. Nourmahal	Villainess wife, lover, and mother	<u>Aureng-Zebe</u>	Dryden	1675	MS projected cast
32. Gloriana	Noble lover	<u>Gloriana</u>	Lee	1676	
33. Olivia	Villainess	<u>The Plain Dealer</u>	Wycherley	1676	
34. Queen Berenice	Noble lover and Queen of the Jews	<u>The Destruction of Jerusalem</u>	Crowne	1677	Downes
35. Lady Lovely	Virtuous and comely widow	<u>The Country Innocence</u>	Leanerd	1677	
36. Roxana	Villainess wife, mother- to-be, and lover	<u>The Rival Queens</u>	Lee	1677	
37. Maria	Villainess	<u>A Fond Husband</u>	Durfey	1677 (Duke's Company)	

Elizabeth Boutell**Active with the King's Company circa 1663-64 to 1678.****Roles 1663-1678**

<u>Role</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Play</u>	<u>Playwright</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Source</u>
1. Estifania	Comic rogue heroine	<u>Rule A Wife and Have A Wife</u>	Fletcher	c. 1663*	Downes
2. Kecka (servant)?	Young servant	<u>Thomaso</u>	Killigrew	1664*	MS cast
3. First Constantia	Virtuous young wife and mother	<u>The Chances</u>	Buckingham	1664*	MS ¹
4. Lilly	young wife	<u>The Elder Brother</u>	Fletcher	Post 1663-64*	Downes
5. Lillia Bianca	Young lover	<u>The Wild Goose Chase</u>	Fletcher	Post 1663-64*	Downes
6. Aspatia	Heroine (breeches)	<u>The Maid's Tragedy</u>	Beaumont and Fletcher	Post 1667; possibly Dec. 1666*	Downes
7. Sabina	Young innocent	<u>Secret Love</u>	Dryden	1667	
8. Lady	Young servant	<u>The Black Prince</u>	Boyle	1667	
9. Aurelia	Innocent cum-rebel (breeches)	<u>The Roman Empress</u>	Joyner	1670	
10. Benzaydna	Young innocent (breeches)	<u>Conquest of Granada</u>	Dryden	1670-71	
11. Donna Theodosia	Leading virtuous lover	<u>An Evening's Love</u>	Dryden	by 1671	
12. St. Catherine	Virtuous martyr	<u>Tyrannick Love</u>	Dryden	by 1671	Downes

¹ Hume and Love. See Chapter 4.

13. Christina	Leading lover, virtuous	<u>Love In A Wood</u>	Wycherley	1671	MS Promptbook
14. Lysander	Young innocent lover (breeches)	<u>The Generous Enemies</u>	Corye	1671	
15. Melantha	Eccentric and beautiful lover (breeches)	<u>Marriage A-la-Mode</u>	Dryden	1672	
16. Laura	Young and virtuous lover	<u>The Assignment</u>	Dryden	1672	
17. Castabella (breeches role)	Virtuous young lover	<u>The Maid's Revenge</u>	Shirley	c. 1673 (?)*	
18. Alcinda	Virtuous lover	<u>The Spanish Rogue</u>	D'Urfey	1673	
19. Clara	Virtuous lover (breeches)	<u>The Amorous Old Woman</u>	unknown	1674	
20. Cyara	Young lover (breeches)	<u>Tragedy of Nero</u>	Lee	1674	
21. Margery Pinchwife	Young wife and lover (breeches)	<u>The Country Wife</u>	Wycherley	1675	
22. Rosalinda	Virtuous lover (breeches)	<u>Sophonisba</u>	Lee	1675	
23. Bellinganna	Roguish young wife	<u>Love in the Dark</u>	Fane	1675	Projected cast
24. Marcellina	Selfish young servant	<u>Lucina's Rape (Valentinian)</u>	Wilmot, from Fletcher	c. 1675*	
25. Fidelia	Virtuous young lover (breeches)	<u>The Plain Dealer</u>	Wycherley	1676	

26.	Clarona	Virtuous young lover	<u>The Destruction of Jerusalem</u>	Crowne	1677	Downes
27.	Statira	Virtuous wife	<u>The Rival Queens</u>	Lee	1677	
28.	Glorianda	Virtuous maid	<u>Wits Led By The Nose</u>	Chamber- layne	1677	
29.	Matilda	Virtuous maid	<u>King Edgar and Alfreda</u>	Ravenscroft	1677	
30.	Cleopatra	Leading lover	<u>All For Love</u>	Dryden	1677	
31.	Semandra	Virtuous young lover	<u>Mithridates</u>	Lee	1678	
32.	Cellida	Roguish innocent and lover	<u>Trick For Trick</u>	D'Urfey	1678	

Appendix B: Minor Players in the King's Company sworn in 1660 to 1678, and not cited in Chapter 2.

The below lists of names are taken from the Lord Chamberlain records of King's Company actors sworn in, as recorded in Document Register, from 1660-1678. In some cases, no roles are known for actors. The status of these players ranged from that of the player of small roles to those who played secondary parts and who lacked the status of leading actors. Since this list is intended to be a list of players not cited in my Chapter 2, personnel marked as scene keepers, machinists, etc., on company rosters have not been included, nor have names that I have been able to identify as other personnel (e.g., Mrs. Meggs, the orange woman). The symbol (MS)* means a name added from MS cast evidence. All other names appear in DR. It is important to note that minor players were not always sworn in.

The list of minor male performers sworn in 1660 to 1678:

Thomas Bateman; George Beeston; William Beeston Jr.; Richard Bell; John Benion; Nicholas Blagden; John Bradley; Richard Brooke; Thomas Calverley; John Chudleigh; Thomas Clark; John Coysh; Peter Deodore; Thomas Disney; Alexander Douglas; Edward Eastland; Rupert Eastland; Thomas Gradwell; James Gray; Philip Griffin; Henry Hailes; William Harris; William Houseman; William Hughes; Dick Ingle (MS)*; Matthew Kempton; Thomas Kent; Nathaniel Kew; Robert Lewright; John Littlewood; Thomas Loveday; George Manfield; John Murray; William Murray; Carey Perin; Martin Powell; David Raverick; Thomas Reeves; Charles Rotch; Thomas Sheppey; George Shirley; Gilbert Soper; Thomas Tanner; Robert Topatt; James Triggs; Robert Vudale; John Wiltshire; Henry Wright; John Young.¹

The list of minor women players sworn in 1661 to 1678:

Frances Baker; Katherine Baker; Rachel Browne; Anne Child; Mrs. Christmas; Sarah Cooke; Mary Corbett; Amy Dalton; Jone Ellett; Susanah Elliott; Mrs. Gatward; Mary Glynne; Mrs. Hackett; Elizabeth Hall; Elizabeth James; Ursula Knight; Ruth Norton; Elizabeth Offley; Dorothy Palmes; Jane Rathborne; Anne Reeves; Elizabeth Roch; Jane Russell; Betty Slade; Anne Uphill; Susan Uphill; Elizabeth Youckney.²

¹ Milhous and Hume discovered the name Dick Ingle on the Shirley MSS cast lists housed at the University of Leeds, discussed in Chapter 2. The authors logically assert that the name of the mysterious "Dingle" on the MS cast list for The Royall King, housed at the Folger, is probably a mistake for "Ingle." The name that appears to read as "Mr. Dyke" on the MS cast list for The Royall King has not been accounted for. Perhaps he was a minor player, or this is a misspelling. "Dinion" on the MS cast list for The Royall King is a mistake for Benion, who is listed above. For a fuller discussion of this MS cast, see my Chapter 2.

² I have included Sarah Cooke, who was not sworn until 1688, but she was active with the company in the 1677-78 season and was being trained to take on leading roles. She appears on a King's Company sharing agreement in 1677. See DR, no. 1023 and no. 1316. I have also included Elizabeth Roch, who was not sworn, but who was named with Jo Haynes in a certificate concerning fees, livery, and protection, and who spoke the prologue to Lee's Gloriana in January 1676. See DR, no. 1081.

Bibliography

This bibliography is divided into primary and secondary sources. The primary sources are subdivided as "Plays" and as "Printed works, manuscripts, and online texts." The secondary sources include both printed and electronic works. Please note that the full citation for the Early English Books Online Text Creation partnership, a source for primary texts, is as follows: Early English Books Online Text Creation Partnership. University of Michigan, University of Oxford, Council on Library and Information Resources (CLIR), and ProQuest Information and Learning. <<http://www.lib.umich.edu/eebo/>>. Hereafter, the citation will be abbreviated as EEBO.

Primary Sources

1. Plays

The Amorous Old Woman, or, 'Tis well if it Take. London, 1674.

Banks, John. The Unhappy Favourite, or, The Earl of Essex. London, 1682. EEBO. 16 January 2003.

Beaumont, Francis and John Fletcher. A King and No King, edited by George Walton Williams. Vol. 2 of The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon, edited by Fredson Bowers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

----. The Maid's Tragedy, edited by Robert K. Turner, Jr. Vol. 2 of The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon, edited by Fredson Bowers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

----. Philaster, or, Love Lies A-Bleeding, edited by P.A. Daniel. Vol. 1 of The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, edited by A. H. Bullen. Variorum Edition. London: George Bullen and Sons & A. H. Bullen, 1905.

Behn, Aphra. The False Count, or, A New Way to Play an Old Game, London, 1682. EEBO. 8 December 2003.

Boyle, Roger, Earl of Orrery. The Black Prince. Two New Tragedies. London, 1669. EEBO. 9 May 2003.

Cavendish, Margaret. The Convent of Pleasure. London, 1668. In The Convent of Pleasure and Other Plays, edited by Anne Shaver. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1999.

Chapman, George. Bussy D'Ambois, edited by Robert J. Lordi. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964.

- Corneille, Pierre. The Liar. Seven Plays, edited and translated by Samuel Solomon. New York: Random House, 1969.
- Corye, John. The Generous Enemies, or the Ridiculous Lovers. London, 1672. Readex.
- Crowne, John. Calisto. Vol. 1 of The Dramatic Works of John Crowne. 1874. Reprint, New York, Benjamin Blom, 1967.
- . The Destruction of Jerusalem, Part 2. Vol. 2 of The Dramatic Works of John Crowne. 1874. Reprint, New York, Benjamin Blom, 1967.
- Davenant, William. The Unfortunate Lovers. London, 1643. Vol. 2 of The Works of Sir William Davenant. London, 1673. Reprint, Benjamin Blom, 1968.
- Dryden, John. All for Love, or The World Well Lost. London, 1678. Facsimile edition, London: Scolar Press Limited, 1969. Reprint, 1973.
- . Amboyna. Vol. 12 of The Works of John Dryden, edited by Vinton Dearing. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- . The Assiguation, Vol. 11 of The Works of John Dryden, edited by John Loftis, David Stuart Rodes, and Vinton A. Dearing. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.
- . Aureng-Zebe. Vol. 12 of The Works of John Dryden, edited by Vinton A. Dearing. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- . Don Sebastian, King of Portugal. London, 1690. Readex.
- . The Conquest of Granada. Vol. 11 of The Works of John Dryden, edited by John Loftis, David Stuart Rodes, and Vinton A. Dearing. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.
- . The Indian Emperour. Vol. 9 of The Works of John Dryden, edited by John Loftis and Vinton A. Dearing. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966.
- . Marriage A-la Mode. Vol. 11 of The Works of John Dryden, edited by John Loftis, David Stuart Rodes, and Vincent A. Dearing. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.
- . Prologue to John Fletcher, Wit Without Money. 1672. Library Sloane MS. 4455, fol. 26 v. Quoted in Part I: 1660-1676, vol. 2 of The Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration 1660-1700, 464-66. 7 vols, edited by Pierre Danchin. Nancy: Publications de L'Université de Nancy II, 1981.

- . The Rival Ladies. Vol. 8 of The Works of John Dryden, edited by John Harrington Smith, Dougald MacMillan, and Vinton A. Dearing. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965.
- . Secret Love, or, The Maiden Queen. Vol. 9 of The Works of John Dryden, edited by John Loftis and Vinton A. Dearing. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966.
- . Tyrannick Love, or, The Royal Martyr. Vol. 10 of The Works of John Dryden, edited by Maximillian E. Novak and George Robert Guffey. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970.
- Dryden, John and Sir Robert Howard. The Indian Queen. Vol. 8 of The Works of John Dryden, edited by John Harrington Smith, Dougald MacMillan, and Vinton A. Dearing. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965.
- Duffet, Thomas. The Spanish Rogue. London, 1674. Readex.
- D'Urfey, Thomas. The Fond Husband. Two Comedies: Thomas D'Urfey, edited by Jack Vaughn. Rutherford: Farleigh Dickenson University Press, 1976.
- . Trick for Trick, or, the Debauch'd Hypocrite. London, 1678. Readex.
- Etherege, George, Esq. The Man of Mode; or, Sr Fopling Flutter. London, 1676. Readex.
- Fane, Francis. Love in The Dark. London, 1675. EEBO. 28 November 2003.
- Flecknoe, Richard. The Damoiselles a la Mode. London, 1667. Readex.
- . Erminia, or The Fair and Virtuous Lady. London, 1661. Readex.
- Fletcher, John. Beggar's Bush, edited by P. A. Daniel. Vol. 2 of The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, edited by A. H. Bullen. Variorum Edition. London: George Bullen and Sons & A. H. Bullen, 1905.
- . The Chances, edited by E.K. Chambers. Vol. 4 of The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, edited by A. H. Bullen. Variorum Edition. London: George Bullen and Sons & A. H. Bullen, 1905.
- . The Humorous Lieutenant, edited by Cyrus Hoy. Vol. 5 of The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon, edited by Fredson Bowers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- . The Island Princess, edited by George Walton Williams. Vol. 5 of The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon, edited by Fredson Bowers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

- . The Loyal Subject, edited by Fredson Bowers. Vol. 5 of The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon, edited by Fredson Bowers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
 - . The Mad Lover, edited by Robert Kean Turner. Vol. 5 of The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon, edited by Fredson Bowers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
 - . The Maid in the Mill. Vol. 9 of The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon, edited by Fredson Bowers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
 - . Rollo, or The Bloody Brother. EEBO. 9 January 2003.
 - . Rule a Wife and Have a Wife, edited by George Walton Williams. Vol. 6 of The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon, edited by Fredson Bowers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
 - . Rule a Wife and Have a Wife. Vol. 3 of The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher, edited by R. Warwick Bond. Variorum Edition, edited by A. H. Bullen. London: George Bell and Sons & A. H. Bullen, 1904.
 - . The Scornful Lady, edited by Cyrus Hoy. Vol. 2 of The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon, edited by Fredson Bowers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
 - . The Wild Goose Chase, edited by Fredson Bowers. Vol. 6 of The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon, edited by Fredson Bowers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
 - . Wit Without Money, edited by Hans Walter Gabler. Vol. 6 of The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon, edited by Fredson Bowers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Fletcher, John and Phillip Massinger. The Elder Brother, edited by W.W. Greg. Vol. 2 of The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, edited by A. H. Bullen. Variorum Edition. London: George Bullen and Sons & A. H. Bullen, 1905.
- Ford, John. Loues Sacrifice. A Tragedie. London, 1633. Reprint, Amsterdam: De Capo Press, 1971.
- Heywood, Thomas. The Royall King. Vol. 6 of The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood. 1874. Reprint, New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1964.
- Howard, Edward. The Change of Crownes, edited by Frederick S. Boas. London: Oxford University Press, 1949.

----. The Man of Newmarket. London, 1678. Readex.

Howard, James. All Mistaken, or the Mad Couple. London, 1672.

----. The English Mounsieur. London, 1674. Facsimile, Los Angeles: Augustan Reprint Edition, 1977.

The Island Princess, or the Generous Portugal. Adapted from John Fletcher by anonymous, with alterations and the addition of new scenes. London, 1669. EEBO. 4 June 2003.

Jonson, Ben. The Alchemist. Vol. 1 of Ben Jonson: Three Plays, edited by Brinsley Nicholson and C.H. Herford. 1957, Reprint, New York: Hill and Wang, 1964.

----. Catiline, edited by W. F. Bolton and Jane F. Gardner. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972.

----. The Divell is an Asse. London, 1641. Early English Books Online Text Creation Partnership. 14 February 2003.

----. Epicoene, or The Silent Woman, edited by A. L. Beaurline. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966.

----. Volpone. Vol. 1 of Ben Jonson: Three Plays, edited by Brinsley Nicholson and C.H. Herford. 1957, Reprint, New York: Hill and Wang, 1964.

Joyner, William. The Roman Empress. London, 1671.

Killigrew, Thomas. Epilogue. The Parson's Wedding. Reprinted in Part 1, vol. 2 of The Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration 1660-1700, edited by Pierre Danchin, 498. Also printed in Covent Garden Drollery. London, 1672, edited by G. Thorn-Drury, 5. London: P.J. & A.E. Dobell, 1928.

----. The Parson's Wedding. Comedies and Tragedies Written By Thomas Killigrew. London, 1664. Facsimile edition, New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967.

----. Thomaso, or, The Wanderer. Comedies and Tragedies Written By Thomas Killigrew. London, 1664. Facsimile edition, New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967.

Killigrew, William. The Seege of Urbin: A Tragicomedy. Oxford, 1666. Readex.

Leanerd, John. The Country Innocence, or, The Chamber-maid Turn'd Quaker. London, 1677. Readex.

- Lee, Nathaniel. Gloriana. London, 1676. Vol. 1 of The Works of Nathaniel Lee, edited by Thomas B. Stroup and Arthur L. Cooke. 1955. Reprint, Metchuen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Reprint Corporation, 1968.
- . Mithridates, King of Pontus. London, 1678. Vol. 1 of The Works of Nathaniel Lee, edited by Thomas B. Stroup and Arthur L. Cooke. 1955. Reprint, Metchuen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Reprint Corporation, 1968.
- . The Rival Queens, or, The Death of Alexander the Great. London, 1677. Vol. 1 of The Works of Nathaniel Lee, edited by Thomas B. Stroup and Arthur L. Cooke. 1955. Reprint, Metchuen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Reprint Corporation, 1968.
- . The Princess of Cleves. London, 1689. Vol. 2 of The Works of Nathaniel Lee, edited by Thomas B. Stroup and Arthur L. Cooke. 1955. Reprint, Metchuen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Reprint Corporation, 1968.
- . Sophonisba, or, Hannibal's Overthrow. London, 1676. Vol. 1 of The Works of Nathaniel Lee, edited by Thomas B. Stroup and Arthur L. Cooke. 1955. Reprint, Metchuen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Reprint Corporation, 1968.
- . The Tragedy of Nero, Emperour of Rome. London, 1675. Vol. 1 of The Works of Nathaniel Lee, edited by Thomas B. Stroup and Arthur L. Cooke. 1955. Reprint, Metchuen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Reprint Corporation, 1968.
- Middleton, Thomas. The Widdow. London, 1652. Vol. 2 of Thomas Middleton, edited by Havelock Ellis. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904.
- Ravenscroft, Edward. King Edgar and Alfreda. London, 1677. Readex.
- Rhodes, Richard. Flora's Vagaries. London, 1670. Readex.
- Sedley, Sir Charles. The Mulberry-Garden. London, 1668. Vol. 1 of The Poetical and Dramatic Works of Sir Charles Sedley, edited by V. De Sola Pinto. London, 1928. Reprint, New York: AMS Press Inc., 1969.
- Settle, Elkanah. Fatal Love, or, The Forc'd Inconstancy. London, 1680. Readex.
- Shadwell, Thomas. The Libertine. London, 1676. Thomas Shadwell's The Libertine: A Critical Edition, edited by Helen Pellegrin. New York: Garland, Publishers, 1987.
- Shakespeare, William. Julius Caesar. The Complete Works of Shakespeare. 4th edition, edited by David Bevington. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1992.
- . King Henry The Fourth, Part 1. The Complete Works of Shakespeare. 4th edition, edited by David Bevington. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1992.

- . Othello. The Complete Works of Shakespeare. 4th edition, edited by David Bevington. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1992.
- Shirley, James. The Cardinal, edited by Charles R. Forker. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1964.
- . The Court Secret. London, 1653. "A Critical Edition of James Shirley's The Court Secret," by Linda Kay Ward Ellinger, University of Iowa, 1979.
- . Hyde Park. London, 1637. Vol. 2 of The Dramatic Works and Poems of James Shirley, edited by Alexander Dyce. 1833. Reprint, New York: Russell & Russell, 1966.
- . The Imposture. London, 1652. In vol. 5 of The Dramatic Works and Poems of James Shirley, edited by Alexander Dyce. 1833. Reprint, New York: Russell & Russell, 1966.
- . Love's Cruelty. London, 1640. James's Shirley's Love's Cruelty: A Critical Edition, edited by John Frederick Nims. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1980.
- . The Maid's Revenge, edited by Albert Howard Carter and Stephen Orgel. New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1980.
- . The Traitor, edited by John Stewart Carter. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965.
- Southerne, Thomas. The Loyall Brother. Vol. 1 of The Works of Thomas Southerne, edited by Robert Jordan and Harold Love. Oxford: Clarendon, Press, 1988.
- Suckling, John. Aglaure. London, 1638. Facsimile edition, Menston, Yorkshire: Scolar Press, 1970. Reprint, 1973.
- . Brennoralt. In Fragmenta Aurea. 3rd edition. London, 1658. Bodleian copy Vet A3. F824. Facsimile, Restoration Promptbooks, by Edward A. Langhans. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1981.
- Vanbrugh, John, Sir. The Relapse, or, Virtue in Danger. London, 1697. Readex.
- Villiers, George, Duke of Buckingham. The Chances. Adapted from John Fletcher, edited by Robert D. Hume and Harold Love. Plays, Poems, and Miscellaneous Writings Associated with George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham. Oxford University Press, forthcoming.

Villiers, George, Duke of Buckingham, and others. The Rehearsal. British Dramatists from Dryden to Shakespeare, edited by George H. Nettleton and Arthur E. Case. Revised by George Winchester Stone. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969, 39-66.

Wilmot, John, Earl of Rochester. Lucina's Rape. British Library Add. MS. 28692, ff. 3^r-169^r.

----. Sodom. The Works of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, edited by Harold Love. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

----. Valentinian. Online version. EEBO. 9 April 2003.

Wilson, John. The Cheats, edited by Milton C. Nahm. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1935. Facsimile edition, UMI, 2002.

Wits Led by the Nose, or, A Poet's Revenge. London, 1678. Readex.

Wycherley, William. The Country Wife. London, 1675. The Complete Plays of William Wycherley, edited by Gerald Weales. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1966.

----. The Gentleman Dancing Master. London, 1673. The Complete Plays of William Wycherley, edited by Gerald Weales. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1966.

----. Love in a Wood. London, 1672. The Complete Plays of William Wycherley, edited by Gerald Weales. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1966.

----. The Plain Dealer. London, 1677. The Complete Plays of William Wycherley, edited by Gerald Weales. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1966.

2. Printed works, manuscripts, and online texts

Aristotle [pseudo.]. Aristotle's Master-Piece, or, The Secrets of Generation Displayed in all the Parts thereof ... very necessary for all Midwives, Nurses, and Young-Married Women, London, 1694. EEBO. 1 July 2003.

"Articles for Better Regulating the King's Company." 9 December 1675. The National Archives: Public Record Office LC 5/141, p. 308.

Austin, Gilbert. Chironomia, or, a Treatise on Rhetorical Delivery. 1806. Reprint, edited by Mary Margaret Robb and Lester Thonssen. Forward by David Potter. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1966.

Beale, Charles. Charles Beale, MS Notebook for 1677. Bodleian MS. Rawl. 8^o 572.

----. Charles Beale, MS. Notebook for 1681. Heinz Archive. National Portrait Gallery.

Betterton, Thomas. "Deposition in Kynaston vs. Clayton re Union of 1682." TNA: PRO C24/1197, no. 56. Jur. 26 die Janij 1697. Transcription Judith Milhous.

Boyle, Roger, Earl of Orrery. A Treatise of the Art of War, Dedicated to the Kings Most Excellent Majesty. London, 1674. EEBO. 10 December 2003.

[Buckhurst, Lord, George Sackville, later Duke of Dorset]. "The First Letter from B[u]ckhurst. to Mr. E[therege]." In Poems on Several Occasions, by the Right Honourable, The E or R—. Antwerp, [1680?]. Electronic image scan version. EEBO. 1 December 2002.

Bulwer, John. Chirologia, or the Naturall Language of the Hand, Composed of the Speaking Motions, and Discoursing Gestures thereof; Whereunto is added Chironomia, Or, The Art of Manuel Rhetoric. London, 1644. ProQuest facsimile edition, 2002.

----. "To the Candid and Ingenious Reader. This Copy of my IDEA; or the Hint, Scope, and generall Projection." Introductory Epistle. Chirologia, or the Naturall Language of the Hand, Composed of the Speaking Motions, and Discoursing Gestures thereof; Whereunto is added Chironomia, Or, The Art of Manuel Rhetoric. London, 1644. ProQuest facsimile edition, 2002.

Campion, Thomas. The Art Of Descant, Or Composing Musick In Parts, by Dr. Tho. Campion; With Annotations Thereon, By Mr. Chr. Simpson. London, 1674. Bound with John Playford, An Introduction To The Skill Of Musick In Two Books : The First, The Grounds And Rules Of Musick, According To The Gam-ut, And Other Principles Thereof, The Second, Instructions & Lessons For The Bass-viol, And Instruments & Lessons For The Treble-violin. EEBO. 6 November 2003.

Cavendish, Margaret. A True Relation of My Birth, Breeding, and Life. London, 1656. Reprinted in Paper Bodies: A Margaret Cavendish Reader, edited by Sylvia Bowerbank and Sara Mendelson. Ontario, Canada: Broadview Literary Press, 2000.

Charke, Charlotte. A Narrative of The Life of Mrs. Charlotte Charke. Edited by Robert Rehder. London: Pickering & Chatto, 1999. Digital Reprint, 2002.

"Charles Hart's Will." 10 July 1683. TNA: PRO Prob/11/374.

Cibber, Colley. An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber, edited by Robert Lowe. 2 vols. London: John C. Nimmo, 1889.

Clairon, Mémoires D'Hippolite Clairon, Paris, 1799.

- . "Portrait de Mlle. Dumesnil." Mémoires de Mlle. Clairon. Paris, 1822, pp. 288-291. Reprinted in A.M. Nagler, A Source Book in Theatrical History. New York: Dover, 1952, 292-93.
- Coles, Elisha. An English Dictionary, London, 1676; Facsimile edition, Menston, England: Scolar Press, 1971.
- Covent Garden Drollery. London, 1672, edited by G. Thorn-Drury. London: P.J. & A.E. Dobell, 1928.
- Curl, Edmund. Betterton's History of The English Stage. London, 1741.
- Davies, Thomas. Dramatic Miscellanies. 3 vols. London, 1784. Reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1973.
- Downes, John. Roscus Anglicanus. Edited by Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume. London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1987.
- . Roscus Anglicanus. Edited by Montague Summers. 1929. Reprint, New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968.
- Dryden, John. "Connexion of the *Indian Emperour*, to the *Indian Queen*." Prefatory essay. The Indian Emperour. London, 1667. Vol. 9 of The Works of John Dryden, edited by John Loftis and Vinton A. Dearing. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966.
- . An Essay of Dramatic Poesy (1668). Vol. 17 of The Works of John Dryden, edited by Samuel H. Monk and A.E. Wallace Maurer. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.
- Durfey, Thomas. Dedicatory Epistle, "To The Right Honourable Edward Earl of Carlisle Ciscount Howard of Morpeth & C.," n.p. Bussy D'Ambois or the Husband's Revenge. A Tragedy. Newly Revised by Mr. D'Urfey. London, 1691. Readex.
- "An Essay on Scandal." British Library Harleian MS. 6913, 81. Old page 161. Also in Harleian MS. 7319, 135.
- "An Elegy on that Worthy and Famous Actor Mr. Charles Hart." British Library MS. Lutt. 1. A History of Broadside Elegies, edited by John W. Draper. London: Ingpen and Grant, 1928, 162-63
- "Elizabeth Bowtell's Will." 2 November 1714. TNA: PRO Prob/11/374.
- Evelyn, John. The Diary of John Evelyn, edited by E.S.d De Beer. 6 vols. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1955.

Fitz-Crambo, Patrick [pseud.]. Tyranny Triumphant! and Liberty Lost; the Muses run Mad, Apollo Struck Dumb; and all Covent-Garden Confounded. Or, Historical, Critical, and Prophetical Remarks on the Famous Cartel Lately Agreed Upon by the Masters of the Two Theatres. London, 1743. Readex.

[Foote, Samuel]. A Treatise on the Passions, So far as they regard the Stage; With a critical Enquiry into the Theatrical Merit of Mr. G---K, Mr. Q---N, and Mr. B---Y. London, 1747. Reprint, New York: Benjamin Blom, 1971.

Gailhard, Jean. The Compleat Gentleman, or Directions for the Education of Youth as to Their Breeding at Home and Travelling Abroad. In Two Treatises, London, 1678. British Library. Shelfmark 1030.f.1.(1-2.), 1:51.

Gildon, Charles. The Life of Thomas Betterton. London, 1710. Reprint, London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1970.

Heywoode [sic], Thom:[as]. Gynaikeion: or, Nine Bookes of Various History. Concerninge Women; Inscribed by y^e names of y^e Nine Muses. London, 1624. Early English Books Online Text Creation Partnership. 6 August 2003.

Howard, Sir. Robert. "Letter to Secretary Bennet about Mrs. Weaver." TNA: PRO SP 29/109, no. 16.

"His Majesty's Weomen Comædians." TNA: PRO LC 3/25, p. 159.

Joyner, William. Preface to The Roman Empress. London, 1671.

Kemp, William. Kemps Nine Daies Wonder: Performed in a Daunce From London to Norwich. London 1600. Reprint London, 1840, with introduction and notes by Rev. Alexander Dice. Reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1968.

A Key to the Rehearsal of a Critical View of the Authors, and Their Writings that are expos'd in that Celebrated Play. Vol. 2 of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Miscellaneous Works. London, S. Briscoe, 1704-05.

"The Lamentation of a New Married Man Briefely Declaring the Sorrow and Grief that Comes by Warrying [sic] a Young Wanton Wife." London, 1629. EEBO. 16 June 2003

"Kynaston's Bill of Complaint in Kynaston vs. Clayton." 31 October 1696. TNA: PRO C6/438/34. Transcription Judith Milhous.

"The Lady of Pleasure or The Life of Nelly Truly Drawn—From Hop-Yard Cellar to the Throne 'Till into th' Grave it Tumbl'd Down." Bodleian MS. Firth c. 15, 245-60.

"Lampoon." 1676. British Library Harleian MS. 6913, 89-90, at 89.

Langbaine, Gerard. An Account of the English Dramatick Poets, or, Some Observations and Remarks on the Lives and Writings, of all those that have Publish'd either Comedies, Tragedies, Tragi-comedies, Pastorals, Masques, Interludes, Farces or Opera's in the ENGLISH TONGUE. Oxford, 1691. EEBO. 30 November 2003.

Lebrun, Charles. A Method to Learn to Design the Passions (1698). Translator John Williams, London, 1734. Facsimile edition, University of California, Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1980.

"The Litany of the Duke of Buckingham." Vol. 2 of Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660-1714, edited by E.F. Mengel Jr. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965.

Marshall, Rebecca. "Petition Against Sir. Hugh Middleton." 8 February 1666/7. TNA: PRO SP 29/191, no.31, pp. 53-54.

----. "To the King's Most Excellent Majestie, The Humble Petition of Rebecca Marshall." 1665. TNA: PRO SP 29/142 pt. II, no. 160, p.195.

Martindale, Adam. The Life of Adam Martindale, Written By Himself. Edited by Rev. Richard Parkinson. Remains Historical and Literary Connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, vol. IV. Manchester: Charles Simms and Co., 1845.

Mohun, Michael. "Letter from Michael Mohun to Joseph Williamson." 14 December 1678. TNA: PRO SP 29/408, no. 64.

----. "Mohun's Petition to the King." [1682]. TNA: PRO LC 5/191, fol. 102v.

"On Mr. Will Montfort, The Famous Actor Unfortunatly Kill'd to the Tune of Mary Live Long." Facsimile. Albert E. Borgman, The Life and Death of William Mountfort. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953.

"On The Ladies Of Court." Bodleian MS. Don. B.8, 179.

"On Three Late Marriages." British Library Harleian MS. 6913, p. 345.

"Order to Charles Hart et al., to readmit Anne Quinn to the King's Company." Dated 4 May 1667. TNA: PRO: LC 5/138, p. 376.

"A Panegyrick." British Library Harleian MS. 6913, 94-96 at 94-94b.

Paré, Amboise. On Monsters and Marvels. Translator Janis L. Pallister. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

Pepys, Samuel. The Diary of Samuel Pepys, edited by Robert Latham and William Matthews. 11 vols. London: G. Bell and Sons Ltd., 1970-1983.

----. Letter to Sir. William Penn. December 1664. Shorthand Letters of Samuel Pepys, transcribed and edited by Edwin Chappell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933.

----. Navy White Book. Samuel Pepys and The Second Dutch War: Pepys's Navy White Book and Brooke House Papers, transcribed by William Matthews and Charles Knighton. Ed. Robert Latham. London: Scholar Press, 1995.

"Petition of the Cockpit Players to the King" 13 October 1660. British Library, Add. MS 19.256, f. 71.

Playford, John. An Introduction To The Skill Of Musick In Two Books : The First, The Grounds And Rules Of Musick, According To The Gam-ut, And Other Principles Thereof, The Second, Instructions & Lessons For The Bass-viol, And Instruments & Lessons For The Treble-violin. EEBO. 6 November 2003.

Rymer, Thomas. The Tragedies of The Last Age: Consider'd and Examin'd by the Practice of the Ancients, and by the Common Sense of All Ages, in a Letter to Fleetwood Shepheard, Esq. London, 1678. Facsimile edition, Yorkshire, England: Scholar Press, 1972.

"A Satire on Benting." Bodleian MS. Firth c. 25, p. 311. Reprinted in Court Satires of The Restoration, by John Harold Wilson. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1982, 217-26.

"A Satire on the Players." British Library Harleian MS. 7317, 51b-54b. Old pages 96-102.

"A Satire on Both Whigs and Tories." British Library Harleian MS. 7317, f.14-19.

"A Satire on Both Whigs and Tories." British Library Harleian MS. 7319, 237-47.

"A Satyr." 1682. Bodleian MS. Firth c.15, 133-40, at 134.

The School of Venus. London, 1680. Translator Donald Thomas. New York: New American Library, 1971.

"The Session of Ladies." British Library Harleian MS. 7319, 280-85, at 281.

Sharp, Jane. The Midwife's Book, or the Whole Art of Midwifery Discovered. Edited by Elaine Hobby. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

"A Song The First." British Library MS. Harleian 7317, p.69b.

Steele, Richard. The Tatler. Number 99. 26 November 1709. The Tatler. Edited by Donald Bond. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.

"Sworn Servants of the King's Company." TNA: PRO LC 3/73, fols. 100v-101, 113.

[Thomas, Tobias (?)]. The Life of the Late Famous Comedian, Jo. Hayns. London, 1701. Microfilm.

Webster, John. "An Excellent Actor." 1615. Reprinted in Actors on Acting, edited by Toby Cole and Helen Krich Chinoy. 1949. Reprint, New York: Crown Trade Paperbacks, 1970.

Will of William Clayton (Kynaston's wife's father). TNA: PROB11/390/229^f-230^f. Transcription by Judith Milhous.

Wilmot, John, Earl of Rochester. An Allusion to Horace 10 Sat: 1st Book. The Works of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, edited by Harold Love. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Woolley, Hannah. The Gentlewomans Companion; or, A Guide to the Female Sex Containing Directions of Behaviour, in All Places, Companies, Relations, and Conditions, from Their Childhood Down to Old Age. London, 1675. Bodleian MS. 80.D.2(1)Art. Facsimile, vol. 4 of Conduct Literature for Women, 1640-1710, edited by William St Clair and Irmgard Maassen. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2002.

Wright, James. Historia Histrionica. Reprinted in Vol. 1 of Colley Cibber. An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber, edited by Robert Lowe. London: John C. Nimmo, 1889.

Secondary Sources (printed and electronic)

Abegglen, Homer. "The Premiere of Wycherley's The Plain-Dealer at the Theatre Royal, December 11, 1676." Master's thesis, Western Reserve University, 1943.

Alleman, Gellert Spencer. Matrimonial Law and the Materials of Restoration Comedy. Wallingford, Pa: Privately printed, 1942.

Alvarez, A. The Savage God: A Study of Suicide. 1971. Reprint, New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1990.

Armistead, J.M. Nathaniel Lee. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979.

- Asleson, Robyn, and others, eds. A Passion for Performance: Sarah Siddons and Her Portraitists. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1999.
- Astington, John H. "John Rhodes: Draper, Bookseller and Man of the Theatre." Theatre Notebook 57, no. 2 (2003): 82-88.
- Aubin, Arthur Flannigan-Saint. "The Male Body and Literary Metaphors for Masculinity." Theorizing Masculinities, edited by Harry Bond, Michael Kaufman, and Michael S. Kimmel. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1994.
- Auburn, Mark S. Introduction to Marriage A La Mode, by John Dryden. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981.
- Avery, Emmett. "The Restoration Audience." Philological Quarterly 45 (1966): 54-61.
- Baker, C.H. Collins. Lely & The Stuart Portrait Painters: A Study of English Portraiture Before and After Van Dyck. 2 vols. London: Philip Lee Warner, Publisher to the Medici Society, 1912.
- Barbeau, Anne T. The Intellectual Design of John Dryden's Heroic Plays. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970.
- Barber, Tabitha. Email to the author. "RE: Kynaston (?) portrait and Beale." 10 October 2003.
- . Mary Beale: Portrait of a Seventeenth-Century Painter, her Family, and her Studio. London: Geffrye Museum Trust, Ltd., 1999.
- Barish, Jonas. The Anti-Theatrical Prejudice. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.
- Barker, Francis. The Tremulous Private Body, Essays on Subjection. London: Methuen, 1984.
- Barnett, Dene. The Art of Gesture: The Practices and Principles of 18th Century Acting. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1987.
- . "The Performance Practice of Acting: The Eighteenth Century. Part III: The Arms." Theatre Research International vol. 3, no. 2 (1978): 79-92.
- . "The Performance Practice of Acting: The Eighteenth Century. Part 1: Ensemble Acting." Theatre Research International vol. 2, no. 3 (1977): 157-185.
- . "The Performance Practice of Acting: The Eighteenth Century. Part IV: The Eyes, the Face and the Head." Theatre Research International vol. 5, no. 1 (1980): 1-36

- . "The Performance Practice of Acting: The Eighteenth Century. Part II: The Hands." Theatre Research International vol. 3, no. 1 (1977): 1-18.
- . "The Performance Practice of Acting: The Eighteenth Century. Part V: Posture and Attitudes." Theatre Research International vol. 4, no. 1 (1981): 1-32.
- Barth, John. "The Literature of Exhaustion." The Atlantic (August 1967): 29-34.
- Bawcutt, N.W. "'Abstract of the Articles': An Early Restoration Theatre Agreement." Theatre Notebook 51, no.2 (1997): 75-80.
- ., ed. The Control and Censorship of Caroline Drama: The Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels 1623-73. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Belsey, Catherine. The Subject of Tragedy: Identity and Difference in Renaissance Drama. New York: Routledge, 1985.
- Bentley, G. E. The Jacobean and Caroline Stage. 2 Vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941.
- Bloom, Gina. "'Thy Voice Squeaks': Listening for Masculinity on the Early Modern Stage." In Renaissance Drama, edited by Jeffrey Masten and Wendy Hill. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2000.
- Boswell, Eleanore. The Restoration Court Stage, 1660-1702. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1932.
- . "Young Mr. Cartwright." Modern Language Review 24.2 (1929): 125-42.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. Language and Symbolic Power, edited John B. Thompson. Trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991.
- Bowder, Diane, ed. Who Was Who in the Roman World. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980.
- Bradley, David. From Text to Performance in the Elizabethan Theatre: Preparing the Play for the Stage. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Bratton, Jacky. "Women on Stage: Historiography and Feminist Revision." Theatre Notebook 50, no. 2 (1996): 62-65.
- Braudy, Leo. The Frenzy of Renown: Fame and Its History. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- . From Chivalry to Terrorism: War and the Changing Nature of Masculinity. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003.

- Bray, Alan. Homosexuality in Renaissance England. London: Gay Men's Press, 1982.
- Bredbeck, Gregory W. Sodomy and Interpretation: Marlowe to Milton. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Brownstein, Oscar L. "The Duke's Company in 1667." Theatre Notebook 28, no. 1 (1974): 18-23.
- Brett, Philip, Elizabeth Woods, and Gary C. Thomas, eds. Queering the Pitch: The New Lesbian and Gay Musicology. New York, Routledge, 1994.
- Burnim, Kalman A. and Philip A. Highfill, Jr., eds. John Bell, Patron of British Theatrical Portraiture: A Catalogue of the Theatrical Portraits in His Editions of Bell's Shakespeare and Bell's British Theatre. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998.
- Butler, Douglas. "The Date of Buckingham's Revision of The Chances and Nell Gwyn's First Season on the London Stage." Notes and Queries 29 (1982): 515-16.
- Butler, Judith. Antigone's Claim: Kinship Between Life and Death. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.
- . Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'. New York: Routledge, 1993.
- . Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity. 1990. Reprint, with a new preface by the author, New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Callow, Simon. Acting in Restoration Comedy. New York: Applause Books, 1991.
- Cameron, Kenneth. "Jo Haynes: *Infamis*." Theatre Notebook 24, no. 2 (Winter 1969/70): 56-67.
- . Our Jo. New York, Popular Library, 1974.
- Canning, Kathleen. "The Body as Method? Reflections on the Place of the Body in Gender History." Gender & History 11, no. 3 (1999): 499-513.
- Carlson, Marvin. Goethe and the Weimer Theatre. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978.
- . The Haunted Stage. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001.
- . "Ibsen, Strindberg, and Telegony." PMLA: Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, 100:5 (1985):774-82.

- . "Theater and Dialogism." In Critical Theory and Performance. Edited by Joseph Roach and Janelle Reinelt. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992.
- . Theatre Semiotics: Signs of Life. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.
- Case, Sue-Ellen. Feminism and Theatre. New York: Routledge, 1988.
- Castle, Terry. The Apparitional Lesbian: Female Homosexuality and Modern Culture. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.
- Cima, Gay Gibson. Performing Women. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- Cleary, James, ed. John Bulwer. Chirologia: or, the Natural Language of the Hand and Chironomia: The Art of Manual Rhetoric. Foreword by David Potter. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1974.
- Clément, Catherine. "Through Voices, History." In Siren Songs: Representations of Gender and Sexuality in Opera, edited by Mary Ann Stuart. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Cope, Jackson I. Dramaturgy of the Daemonic. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1984.
- Crane, Mary Thomas. "What Was Performance?" Criticism: A Quarterly for Literature and the Arts 43.2 (2001): 169-87.
- Crawford, Patricia, and Sara Mendelson. "Sexual Identity in Early Modern England: The Marriage of Two Women in 1680." Gender and History 7, no. 3 (1995): 362-77.
- Cressy, David. Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- . Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- Curtin, Michael. "A Question of Manners: Status and Gender in Etiquette and Courtesy." Journal of Modern History 57 (1985): 395-423.
- Dame, Joke. "Unveiled Voices: Sexual Difference and the Castrato." In Queering the Pitch: the New Gay and Lesbian Musicology, edited by Philip Brett, Elizabeth Wood, and Gary C. Thomas. New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Danchin, Pierre, ed. The Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration 1660-1700. 7 vols. Nancy: Publications de L'Université de Nancy II, 1981.

- Davis, Tracy C. Actresses as Working Women: Their Social Identity in Victorian Culture. New York: Routledge, 1991.
- DeRitter, Jones. "'Not the Person She Conceived Me': The Public Identities of Charlotte Charke." Genders 19 (1994): 3-25.
- Diamond, Elin. "Brechtian Theory/Feminist Theory: Toward a Gestic Feminist Criticism." The Drama Review 32:1 (1988): 82-94.
- Dolan, Jill. The Feminist Spectator as Critic. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988.
- Donahue, Emma. Passions Between Women: British Lesbian Culture 1668-1801. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1993.
- Downie, J.A. "Marlowe: Facts and Fictions." In Constructing Christopher Marlowe, edited by J.A. Downie and J.T. Parnell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Draper, John W. A History of Broadside Elegies. London: Ingpen and Grant, 1928.
- Dyer, Richard. The Matter of Images: Essays on Representation. 1993. Second edition, New York: Routledge, 2002.
- . Stars. 1979. New Edition, with a supplementary chapter and biography by Paul MacDonald. London: British Film Institute, 1998.
- . White. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Elam, Keir. The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama. New York: Routledge, 1980.
- Ferris, Leslie. Acting Women: Images of Women in Theatre. New York: New York University Press, 1989.
- Fielding, Henry. The Female Husband and Other Writings. Ed. Claude E. Jones. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1960.
- Fletcher, Anthony. Gender, Sex & Subordination in England, 1500-1800. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Folkenflik, Robert, ed. Introduction. The English Hero, 1660-1800. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1982.
- Foucault, Michel. History of Sexuality: An Introduction. Vol. 1. Translator Robert Hurley. New York: Random House, 1978. Reprint, New York: Vintage Books, 1990.

- . Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason. New York: Random House, 1965. Reprint, New York: Vintage Books, 1973.
- Foyster, Elizabeth. "Boys will be Boys? Manhood and Aggression, 1660-1800." In English Masculinities, 1660-1800, edited by Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen. London: Longman, 1999.
- . Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex, and Marriage. London: Longman, 1999.
- Fujimura, Thomas. The Restoration Comedy of Wit. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1952.
- Gamson, Joshua. Claims to Fame: Celebrity in Contemporary America. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- George, David. "Early Cast Lists for Two Beaumont and Fletcher Plays." Theatre Notebook 28, no. 1 (1974): 9-11.
- Gibson, Ian. The English Vice: Beating, Sex, and Shame in Victorian England and After. London: Duckworth, 1978.
- Gilman, Sander A. Sexuality: An Illustrated History. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1989.
- Glenn, Susan A. Female Spectacle: The Theatrical Roots of Modern Feminism. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000.
- Goldie, Mark. "The Earliest Notice of Purcell's Dido and Aeneas." Early Music 20 (August 1992): 392-400.
- Gowing, Laura. Common Bodies: Women, Touch, and Power in Seventeenth-Century England. New Haven, Yale University Press, 2003.
- Griffin, Paul. Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560-1640. Oxford: Clarendon University Press, 1996.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. In "Toward a Universal Language of Motion: Reflections on a Seventeenth-Century Muscle Man." Choreographing History, edited by Susan Leigh Foster. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995.
- Gurr, Andrew. Playgoing in Shakespeare's London. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Haggerty, George E. Men in Love: Masculinity and Sexuality in the Eighteenth Century. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

- Halberstam, Judith. Female Masculinity. Durham: Duke University Press, 1998.
- Haley, David B. Dryden and the Problem of Freedom. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Halperin, David M. How to Do the History of Homosexuality. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Hammond, Anthony. "The 'Greatest Action': Lee's Lucius Junius Brutus." Poetry and Drama 1570-1700: Essays in Honour of Harold F. Brooks, edited by Antony Coleman and Antony Hammond. London: Methuen, 1981.
- Hammond, Paul. Figuring Sex Between Men from Shakespeare to Rochester. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2002.
- Harvey, Karen. The Substance of Sexual Difference: Change and Persistence in Representations of the Body in Eighteenth-Century England." Gender & History 14, no. 2 (2002): 202-23.
- Henning, Basil Duke. The House of Commons 1660-1690. London: Secker & Warburg, 1983.
- Herrup, Cynthia A. A House in Gross Disorder: Sex, Law, and the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Herzel, Roger. The Original Casting of Molière's Plays. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981.
- Highfill, Philip H., Edward A. Langhans, and Kalman A. Burnim. A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, and other Stage Personnel in London 1660-1800. 18 vols. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973-93.
- Hill, Christopher. The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill. 3 vols. Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1986.
- Hill, Herbert Wynford. "La Calprenède's Romances and the Restoration Drama, Part II: The Influence of Cassandra and Cleopatra on the Restoration Drama." University of Nevada Studies 3.2 (1911): 57-158.
- Hitchcock, Tim. English Sexualities, 1700-1800. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.
- Holland, Elizabeth. "Dido and Aeneas: A Strategy for Historically Informed Role Allocation in the Twenty-First Century." Online journal British Postgraduate Musicology 5 (June 2002). <<http://www.bpmonline.org.uk/>>. 10 November 2003.

- Holland, Peter. The Ornament of Action: Text and Performance in Restoration Comedy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- . "Reading to the Company." Reading Plays: Interpretation and Reception, edited by Hanna Scolnicov and Peter Holland. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Hopkins, Lisa. In "'A place privileged men do wrong': The Anxious Masculinity of The Maid's Tragedy." The Image of Manhood in Early Modern England: Viewing the Male, edited by Andrew P. Williams. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999.
- Hotson, Leslie. The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928.
- Howe, Elizabeth. The First English Actresses. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Howell, Wilbur Samuel. "Sources of the Elocutionary Movement in England: 1700-1748." Quarterly Journal of Speech 45:1 (1959): 1-18.
- Hughes, Derek. "Dryden's Don Sebastian and the Literature of Heroism." Yearbook of English Studies, 12 (1982): 72-90.
- . Dryden's Heroic Plays. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981.
- . English Drama, 1660-1700. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- . Panel Discussion. "Restoration and Revolution: Aphra Behn's Abdelazar." Eighteenth Century Revolutions: An Interdisciplinary Conference. CUNY Graduate Center, New York City, April 1999.
- . "Race, Gender, and Scholarly Practice: Aphra Behn's Oroonoko." Essays in Criticism: A Quarterly Journal of Literary Criticism, 52:1 (2002):1-22.
- Hughes, Leo. The Drama's Patrons. Austin: University of Texas at Austin Press, 1971.
- Hume, Robert D. "Concepts of the Hero in Comic Drama, 1660-1700." In The English Hero, 1660-1800, edited by Robert Folkenflik. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1982.
- . The Development of English Drama in the late Seventeenth Century. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.
- . "English Drama and Theatre 1660-1800: New Directions in Research." Theatre Survey 23 (1982): 71-100.
- . Email to the author. "Re: Buck's KEY and "Dreaming" epistle." 18 December 2002.

- . Email to the author. "Re: THE CHANCES and Beck Marshall." 7 April 2003.
- . Email to the author. "Re: THE CHANCES and Beck Marshall." 8 April 2003.
- . Introduction to The English Mounsieur, by James Howard. London, 1674. Los Angeles: Augustan Reprint Edition, 1977.
- . "The Maid's Tragedy and Censorship in the Restoration Theatre." Philological Quarterly 61 (1982): 484-90.
- . "Opinion: The Aims and Limits of Historical Scholarship," Review of English Studies: Quarterly Journal of English Literature and the English Language 53, no. 211 (2002): 399-422.
- . "The Politics of Opera in Late Seventeenth-Century London." Cambridge Opera Journal 10, no. 1 (1998): 15-43.
- . The Rakish Stage. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983.
- . Reconstructing Contexts: The Aims and Principles of Archeo-Historicism. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.
- . "Securing a Repertory: Plays on the London Stage 1660-5." In Poetry and Drama 1570-1700: Essays in Honour of Harold F. Brooks, edited by Antony Coleman and Antony Hammond. London: Methuen, 1981.
- Hume, Robert D., ed. The London Theatre World, 1660-1800. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1981.
- Hume, Robert D., and Harold Love, eds. Introduction to The Chances, by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Adapted from John Fletcher. Plays, Poems, and Miscellaneous Writings Associated with George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham. Oxford University Press, forthcoming.
- Hutcheon, Linda. A Theory of Parody. 1985. Reprint, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2000.
- Hutcheon, Linda and Michael Hutcheon. Opera: Disease, Desire, Death. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996.
- Hutner, Heidi. Colonial Women: Race and Culture in Stuart Drama. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Jardine, Lisa. Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare, 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1989.

- Johnson, E. Patrick. "'Quare' Studies, or (Almost) Everything I Know About Queer Studies I Learned from My Grandmother." Text and Performance Quarterly 21.1 (2001): 1-25.
- Johnson, James William. "England, 1660-1800: An Age Without A Hero." In The English Hero, 1660-1800, edited by Robert Folkenflik. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1982.
- Jordan, Rob. "An Addendum to the London Stage 1660-1700." Theatre Notebook 47, no. 2 (1993): 62-75.
- Jordan, Robert. "The Extravagant Rake in Restoration Comedy." In Restoration Literature: Critical Approaches, edited by Harold Love. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1972.
- Joseph, B. L. Elizabethan Acting. 1954. Second edition, London: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Kahn, Coppélia. Man's Estate: Masculine Identity in Shakespeare. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.
- Kathman, David. "Charles Hart." Forthcoming in the Dictionary of National Biography, 2004.
- . Email to the author. "Re: boy actors, Wintershall, Mohun, Hart." 4 January 2004.
- . Email to the author. "Charles Hart in Stratford." 5 January 2004.
- . "How Old Were Shakespeare's Boy Actors?" Forthcoming in Shakespeare Survey (2005).
- Katz, Jonathan Ned. Love Stories: Sex Between Men Before Homosexuality. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- Keller, Eve. "Embryonic Individuals: The Rhetoric of Seventeenth-Century Embryology and the Construction of Early-Modern Identity." Eighteenth Century Studies 33, no. 3 (2000): 321-48.
- Kewes, Paulina. Review of Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan, by Tiffany Stern. Review of English Studies 53, no. 209 (2002): 127-29.
- Kimmel, Michael. "The Birth of the Self-Made Man." In The Masculinity Studies Reader, edited by Rachel Adams and David Savran. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd. 2002.

King, Bruce, ed. Twentieth-Century Interpretations of All for Love: A Collection of Critical Essays. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968.

King, Thomas A. "As if (she) were made on purpose to put the whole world into good Humour': Reconstructing the First English Actress." The Drama Review 36, no. 3 (1992): 78-102.

----. "Displacing Masculinity: Edward Kynaston and the Politics of Effeminacy." In The Image of Manhood in Early Modern Literature, edited by Andrew P. Williams. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1999.

King, T.J. Casting Shakespeare's Plays: London Actors and Their Roles, 1590-1642. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Knowles, James R. "The Idea of Gesture as a Universal Language in the XVIITH and XVIIITH Centuries." Journal of the History of Ideas 26 (1965): 455-508.

Langhans, Edward A. "New Restoration Manuscript Casts." Theatre Notebook 27, no. 4 (1973): 149-57

----. "A Restoration Actor's Part." Harvard Library Bulletin, 23, no. 2 (1975).

----. Restoration Promptbooks. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1981.

Laqueur, Thomas. Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Leacroft, Richard. The Development of the English Playhouse. Norwich: Fletcher and Sons, Ltd., 1973.

Lehman, Peter. Running Scared: Masculinity and the Representation of the Male Body. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993.

Lloyd, Bill. Email to the author. "Fwd: Royall King, my response." 31 December 2003.

----. Email to the author. "Re: loue's sacrifice." 29 January 2004.

Love, Harold. Email to the author. "Re: Rochester attribution / epistle question." 10 January 2003.

Low, Jennifer A. Manhood and the Duel: Masculinity in Early Modern Drama and Culture. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003.

Lowenthal, Cynthia. Performing Identities on the Restoration Stage. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2003.

- Maguire, Nancy Klein. Regicide and Restoration: English Tragicomedy, 1660-1671. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- MacKenzie, Ian. British Prints: Dictionary and Price Guide. 1987. Revised edition, Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Antique Collectors Club, 1998.
- Macleod, Catherine. Email to the author. "RE: Portrait Query from a USA doctoral candidate." 7 October 2003.
- Macleod, Catharine, and Julia Marciari Alexander. Painted Ladies: Women at the Court of Charles II. London: National Portrait Gallery, 2001.
- Mangan, Michael. Staging Masculinities: History, Gender, Performance. London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003.
- Masters, Anthony. The Play of Personality in the Restoration Theatre, edited by Simon Trussler. Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 1992.
- Maus, Katharine Eiseman. "'Playhouse Flesh and Blood: ' Sexual Ideology and the Restoration Actress.'" English Literary History 46 (1979): 597-617.
- McCormick, Ian, ed. Secret Sexualities: A Sourcebook of 17th and 18th Century Writing. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Mendelson, Sarah and Patricia Crawford. Women in Early Modern England. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Mengel, Elias F. Jr., ed. Volume 2: 1678-1681, of Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660-1714. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965.
- Merrill, Lisa. When Romeo Was a Woman: Charlotte Cushman and Her Circle of Female Spectators. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999.
- Milhous, Judith. "Elizabeth Bowtell and Elizabeth Davenport: Some Puzzles Solved." Theatre Notebook 39, no. 3 (1985): 124-34.
- . Email to the author. "Re: Kynaston." 8 March 2001.
- . Thomas Betterton and the Management of Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1695-1708. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979.
- Milhous, Judith, Gabriella Dideriksen, and Robert D. Hume. Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London. Volume 2: The Pantheon Opera and its Aftermath, 1789-1795. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001.

- Milhous, Judith and Robert D. Hume, "Dating Play Premieres from Publication Data, 1660-1700." Harvard Library Bulletin 22 (1974): 374-405.
- . "Murder in Elizabeth Barry's Dressing Room." Forthcoming in the Yale Library Gazette.
- . "Manuscript Casts for Revivals of Three Plays by Shirley in the 1660s." Theatre Notebook 39, no. 1(1985): 32-36.
- . "New Light on English Acting Companies in 1646, 1648, and 1660." Review of English Studies, n.s.42 (1991): 487-509.
- . Producible Interpretation: Eight English Plays, 1675-1707. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1985.
- . A Register of English Theatrical Documents, 1660-1737. 2 vols. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991.
- . "A 1660s Promptbook of Shirley's Loves Crueltie." Theatre Research International 11, no. 1 (1986): 1-13.
- Montagu, Jennifer. The Expression of the Passions: The Origin and Influence of Charles Le Brun's Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Morgan, David H. J. "Theatre of War: Combat, the Military, and Masculinities." In Theorizing Masculinities, edited by Harry Bond, Michael Kaufman, and Michael S. Kimmel. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1994.
- Mulvey, Laura. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." Screen 16, no. 3 (1975): 6-18.
- Nagler, A.M. A Source Book in Theatrical History. New York: Dover, 1952.
- Nicoll, Allardyce. A History of English Drama 1660-1900, Vol. 1: Restoration Drama 1660-1700. 4th edition. 1952. Reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965.
- Nungezer, Edwin. A Dictionary of Actors. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929. Reprint, New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1971.
- Oliver, H. J. Sir Robert Howard. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1963.
- O'Donnell, Katherine and Michael O'Rourke, eds. Love, Sex, Intimacy, and Friendship Between Men, 1550-1800. New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2003.

- O'Neill, John H. "Sexuality, Deviance, and Moral Character in the Personal Satire of the Restoration." Eighteenth Century Life 2 (1975): 16-19.
- Orgel, Stephen. Impersonations: The Performance of Gender in Shakespeare's England. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Payne, Deborah C. Review of The First English Actresses, by Elizabeth Howe. Theatre Journal 45, no. 3 (1993): 396-97.
- . "Reified Object or Emergent Professional? Retheorizing the Restoration Actress." In Cultural Readings of Restoration and Eighteenth-Century English Theatre, edited by J. Douglas Canfield and Deborah C. Payne. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1995.
- Peters, Julie Stone. Theatre of the Book 1480-1880: Print, Text, and Performance in Europe. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Phelan, Peggy. Mourning Sex. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Porter, Roy. Bodies Politic: Disease, Death, and Doctors in Britain, 1650-1900. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001.
- . Mind-Forged Manacles: A History of Madness in England: From the Restoration to the Regency. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1987.
- Porter, Roy, and G.S. Rousseau. Gout: The Patrician Malady. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Porter, Roy, and Lesley Hall. The Facts of Life: The Creation of Sexual Knowledge in Britain, 1650-1950. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Potter, John. Vocal Authority: Singing Style and Ideology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Powell, Jocelyn. Restoration Theatre Production. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984.
- Pritchard, Will. "Masks and Faces: Female Legibility on the Restoration Stage," English-Century Life 24 (Fall 2000): 31-52.
- Quinsey, Katherine M., ed. Broken Boundaries: Women and Feminism in Restoration Drama. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1996.
- Quinn, Michael L. "Celebrity and the Semiotics of Acting." New Theatre Quarterly 6:22 (1990): 154-161.

- Rastall, Richard. "Female Roles in All-Male Casts." Medieval English Theatre 7.1 (1985): 25-50
- Redgrave, Sir Michael. In My Mind's "I": An Actor's Biography. New York: Viking Press, 1983.
- . Mask or Face: Reflections in an Actor's Mirror. New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1958.
- Redgrave, Samuel. A Dictionary of Artists of the English School: Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers, and Ornamentists. 2nd edition. London, 1878. Bath: Kingsmead Reprints, 1970.
- Roach, Joseph. "Celebrity Erotics: Pepys, Performance, and Painted Ladies." Yale Journal of Criticism 16.1 (2003): 211-230.
- . "The Performance." In The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre, edited by Deborah Payne Fisk. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- . The Player's Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting. 1985. Reprint, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993.
- Roberts, David. The Ladies: Female Patronage of Restoration Drama, 1660-1700. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Robinson, Ken. "Two Cast Lists for Buckingham's The Chances." Notes and Queries 224 (1979): 436-37.
- Rogers, Malcolm. William Dobson, 1611-46. London: National Portrait Gallery, 1983.
- Rothstein, Eric. Restoration Tragedy: Form and the Process of Change. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967.
- Rubridge, Bradley. "The Code of Reciprocation in The Conquest of Granada." Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700 23, no. 1 (1999): 31-56.
- Rubin, Gayle. "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex." In Toward an Anthropology of Women, edited by Rayna R. Reiter. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975.
- Savage, Roger. "Calling Up Genius: Purcell, Roger North, and Charlotte Butler." Performing the Music of Henry Purcell, edited by Michael Burden. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

- Savran, David. A Queer Sort of Materialism: Recontextualizing American Theatre. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003.
- . Taking It Like A Man: White Masculinity, Masochism, and Contemporary American Culture. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.
- Schanke, Robert A. "Alla Nazimova: 'The Witch of Makeup.'" In Passing Performances: Queer Readings of Leading Players in American Theatre History, edited by Robert A. Schanke and Kim Marra. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998.
- Schneider, Rebecca. The Explicit Body in Performance. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Schoenfeldt, Michael C. Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.
- . Epistemology of the Closet. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- . Tendencies. Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.
- Senelick, Laurence. The Changing Room: Sex, Drag, and Theatre. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Shafer, R. Murray. "Acoustic Space." In Dwelling, Place, and Environment: Towards a Phenomenology of Person and World, edited by David Seamon and Robert Mugerauer. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1985.
- ., ed. European Sound Diary. Vancouver, B.C.: A.R.C. Publications, 1977.
- Shapiro, Michael. Children of the Revels: The Boy Companies of Shakespeare's Time and Their Plays. New York: Columbia University Press, 1977.
- . "The Introduction of Actresses in England: Delay or Defensiveness?" In Enacting Gender on the English Renaissance Stage. Ed. Viviana Comensoli and Anne Russell. University of Illinois Press, 1999. 177-200.
- Sheingorn, Pamela. "Joseph the Carpenter's Failure at Familial Discipline." In Insights and Interpretations: Studies in Celebration of the Eighty-fifth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art, edited by Colum Hourihane. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.

- Shepherd, Simon. Amazons and Warrior Women: Varieties of Feminism in Seventeenth-Century Drama. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981.
- Sher, Anthony. Year of the King. 1985. Reprint, London: Methuen, 1997.
- Skantze, P.A. Stillness in Motion in the Seventeenth-Century Theatre. New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Slater, Miriam. Family Life in Seventeenth-Century England. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984.
- Smith, Bruce R. The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- . Shakespeare and Masculinity. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- . "E/loco/com/motion." Huntington Library, forthcoming.
- Smith, John Harrington. The Gay Couple in Restoration Comedy. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1948.
- Smith, John Harrington, Dougald MacMillan, and Vinton A. Dearing. Vol. 8 of The Works of John Dryden. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965.
- Solomon, Alisa. "It's Never Too Late to Switch: Crossing toward power." In Crossing the Stage: Controversies on Cross-Dressing, edited by Leslie Ferris. New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Somerset, Fitzroy Richard, Lord Raglan. The Hero: A Study in Tradition, Myth, and Drama. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1936. Reprint, New York: Vintage Books, 1956.
- Sorelius, Gunther. "The Early History of the Restoration Theatre: Some Problems Solved." Theatre Notebook 27.2 (1979): 52-61.
- . The Giant Race Before the Flood: Pre-Restoration Drama on the Stage and in the Criticism of the Restoration. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri AB, 1966.
- Spacks, Patricia Meyer. Privacy: Concealing the Eighteenth-Century Self. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.
- Spicer, Joaneath. "The Renaissance Elbow." In A Cultural History of Gesture, edited by Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg. Introduction by Sir Keith Thomas. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Sponsler, Claire. "The Culture of the Spectator: Conformity and Resistance to Medieval Performances." Theatre Journal 44, no. 1 (1992):15-29.

- Sprague, Arthur Colby. "Did Betterton Chant." Theatre Notebook vol. 1, no 5 (1946): 54-55.
- St Clair, William, and Irmgard Maassen. Introduction to Hannah Woolley, The Gentlewoman's Companion. Vol. 4 of Conduct Literature for Women, 1640-1710. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2002.
- States, Bert O. Great Reckonings in Little Rooms. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
- Stern, Tiffany. Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000.
- Stone, George Winchester, Jr., ed. Vol. 3 of The London Stage, Part IV: 1747-1776. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1962.
- Stone, George Winchester Jr. and Philip H. Highfill, Jr. In Search of Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatrical Biography. University of California, Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1976.
- Stone, Laurence. The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England 1500-1800. New York: Harper & Row, 1977.
- Strand, Ginger. "'My Noble Spartacus': Edwin Forrest and Masculinity on the Nineteenth-Century Stage." In Passing Performances: Queer Readings of Leading Players in American Theatre History, edited by Robert A. Schanke and Kim Marra. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998.
- Straub, Kristina. "Actors and Homophobia." In Cultural Readings of Restoration and Eighteenth-Century English Theatre, edited by J. Douglas Canfield and Deborah C. Payne. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995.
- Streett, J.B. "The Durability of Boy Actors." Notes and Queries 20 (1973): 461-65.
- Styan, J.L. Restoration Comedy in Performance. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Summers, Montague. The Playhouse of Pepys. London: Kegan Paul, 1935. Reprint, New York, Humanities Press, 1964.
- . The Restoration Theatre. London: Kegan Paul, 1934. Reprint, New York, Humanities Press, 1964.
- ., ed. Vol. 3 of Dryden: The Dramatic Works. 1933. Reprint, New York: Gordian Press, 1968.

- Tait, Petra. Performing Emotions: Gender, Bodies, Spaces in Chekhov's Drama and Stanislavski's Theatre. London: Ashgate Publishing, 2002.
- Thomas, David, and Arnold Hare, eds. Theatre In Europe: A Documentary History: Restoration and Georgian England, 1660-1788. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Thomas, Gary C. 'Was George Frederic Handel Gay'? On Closet Questions and Cultural Politics." In Queering the Pitch: The New Lesbian and Gay Musicology, edited by Philip Brett, Elizabeth Wood, and Gary C. Thomas. New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Thompson, James. "Dryden's Conquest of Granada and the Dutch Wars." Eighteenth Century 31.3 (1990): 211-226.
- Thompson, Roger. Unfit for Modern Ears: A Study of Pornographic, Obscene, and Bawdy Works Written or Published in England in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century. Totawa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1979.
- Toulalan, Sarah. "Extraordinary Satisfactions: Lesbian Visibility in Seventeenth-Century Pornography in England." Gender & History 15, no. 1 (2003):50-68.
- Traub, Valerie. The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Turner, James Grantham. Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality, Politics, and Literary Culture, 1630-1685. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- . Schooling Sex: Libertine Literature and Erotic Education in Italy, France, and England 1534-1685. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Trumbach, Randolph. Sex and the Gender Revolution. Volume 1: Heterosexuality and the Third Gender in Enlightenment London. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Van Lennep, William, Emmett L. Avery, and Arthur H. Scouten, eds. The London Stage, Part 1: 1660-1700. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1965.
- Vernon, P.F. Introduction to The Rival Queens, by Nathaniel Lee. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970.
- Vieth, David M. Attributions in Restoration Poetry: A Study of Rochester's Poems of 1680. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1963.

- Visser, Colin. "The Anatomy of the Early Restoration Stage: The Adventures of Five Hours and John Dryden's Spanish Comedies," Parts 1 and 2 Theatre Notebook 29 nos. 2 and 3 (1975): 56-69, 114-19.
- Wahl, Elizabeth. Invisible Relations: Representations of Female Intimacy in the Age of Enlightenment. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.
- Walsh, Elizabeth, and Richard Jeffree. 'The Excellent Mrs. Mary Beale'. London: Inner London Education Academy, 1975.
- Weber, Harold. The Restoration Rake-Hero: Transformations in the Sexual Understanding in Seventeenth-Century Literature. Madison: Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986.
- West, Shearer. The Image of the Actor: Verbal and Visual Representation in the Age of Garrick and Kemble. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991.
- Williams, Andrew P. "Soft Women and Softer Men: The Libertine Maintenance of Masculine Identity." In The Image of Manhood in Early Modern Literature, edited by Andrew P. Williams. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1999.
- Wilson, John Harold. All the King's Ladies: Actresses of the Restoration. Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1958.
- . Mr. Goodman the Player. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964.
- . Nell Gwyn: Royal Mistress. New York: Pellegrini & Cudahy, 1952.
- . "Rant, Cant, and Tone on the Restoration Stage." Studies in Philology 52 (1955): 592-98.
- Winn, James Anderson. John Dryden and His World. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987.
- Wondra, Kelli. "A 1663 Cast List for The Alchemist." Theatre Notebook 69, no. 2 (1995): 66-68.
- Wong, Erwin John. "Ideas of Madness in the Drama of Nathaniel Lee." Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1983.
- Wolf, Stacy. A Problem Like Maria: Gender and Sexuality in the American Musical. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002.

Woods, Leigh. "Actors' Biography and Mythmaking: The Example of Edward Kean."
In Interpreting The Theatrical Past: Essays in the Historiography of Performance,
edited by Thomas Postlewait and Bruce A. McConachie. Iowa City: University of
Iowa Press, 1989.

----. Garrick Claims The Stage: Acting As Social Emblem in Eighteenth-Century
England. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984.

Zimbardo, Rose. Wycherley's Drama. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965.