A Performance Studies Approach to *The Tragedy of Mariam*

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This essay offers insights from workshops exploring Elizabeth Cary’s *The Tragedy of Mariam* in a range of contrasting sites. The Tragedy of Mariam has a slender performance history, a fact which arguably presents barriers to production and reception in traditional theatre settings. This lack of practice-based understanding makes future performance less likely, and consequently limits appreciations of the play. The workshops in four sites documented here create new lenses through which to view Mariam. By taking a performance studies approach, valuing what Carol Chillington Rutter terms the excess of meaning generated through performance of play-texts, this article aims to contribute performance and practitioner insights to the current Cary discourse.

In *Unstable Ground*, Gay McAuley describes her responses to a performance of *Segments from an Inferno*, a durational performance based upon Dante’s *Inferno* on the parade ground of Sydney’s Hyde Park Barracks by Bodyweather practitioners Tess de Quincey and Stuart Lynch.1 McAuley suggests that the site activates imaginings and memories (collective or individual) in spectators during the process of spectating site-specific performance, an activation she regards as a constitutive element of the experience. She argues that ‘site seems to prise open the contemporary reality of the place and permit the past to surge into the present’ and adds: ‘The performance began to speak powerfully to me of lives lived in that place, of the experiences endured on that very ground’.2 Clifford McLucas, site-specific scenographer and joint artistic director with Mike Pearson of Wales’s Brith Gof, persuasively characterized the experience of the present of the performance co-existing with traces of the past as ‘the host and the ghost’ to evoke something of the relationship between place and event: ‘The host site is haunted for a time by a ghost that the theatre makers create. Like all ghosts it is transparent and the host can be seen through the ghost’.3 McAuley’s observations, identifying the capacity of knowledge or memory of the past to contribute to the present performances,

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suggest that site-specific performances potentially contain a rich capacity to illuminate and revalue hidden pasts. The ‘ghost’ of the present performance resonates with other ghostly, imagined presences whose recognition in the present may serve a purpose in attending to marginalized pasts.

McAuley’s insights into the role of memory and imagination in site-specific performance inform this discussion of a series of workshop performances I directed working with Elizabeth Cary’s *The Tragedy of Mariam*. The different workshop locations contributed to a rich and varied range of meanings enlivening each process and performance. This richness helped me to reconsider the text in several different lights. Carol Chillington Rutter has argued for the power of a performance studies approach in attending to the ways in which performances, and particularly performing bodies, ‘exceed’ the play-texts they spring from:

> the body in play bears continuous meaning onstage, and always exceeds the play-text it inhabits. My business is to pay attention to that ‘excessive’ performance text …. I re-perform performance, retelling telling to new listeners and generating what Clifford Geertz calls ‘thick descriptions’ to produce the kind of archival record of my own viewing that remembers it accurately for subsequent readers — even as I acknowledge its inaccuracy.⁴

For Rutter, attending to performance texts creates space to reimagine the canon: without reading performance texts, she argues, ‘we’re reading only half Shakespeare’s play’, and by reading performance texts, we can begin ‘opening up its supplementary physical, visual, gestural, iconic texts, making more space for the kind of work women do in play’.⁵ What might be the consequence then for plays with little or no performance histories, if we are not able to read performances of them? How much less than a full understanding can we have, if the plays we study and theorize have no performances to reperform?

In this article, I will argue that the excess of meaning arising from both the process of performance and the encounters with the sites created conditions for *Mariam* in which audiences were able to consider and receive Cary’s voice and the play-text in these excessive ways, allowing multiple new associations to arise. *Mariam* has a slender performance history and lacks practice-based understanding: the play exists in a vacuum in terms of experiential knowledge accruing around it. Working in non-theatre places leads to encounters with other stories, new pressures, associations, and connections.
A supportive richness available in site-specific processes enables new discoveries and associations to emerge. This process contributes in significant ways to the text’s and the playwright’s recuperation as a significant voice in the present cultural moment.

*Mariam* is a play of many extraordinary qualities, the most relevant in this context being the numerous extended and complex female roles. The play is unprecedented in its focus on female experience and female voices. Cary’s is a distinct, strident, and challenging theatrical voice and that voice sounded different in the six performances I have directed of *Mariam*. Perhaps the most divergent of these was between workshops held in the formal constraints of Royal Holloway’s Victorian Picture Gallery, contrasted with the intimate domesticity of the Gardener’s Cottage, also on site at Royal Holloway. In the Picture Gallery a sense of oppression in the site drew out, amongst other things, the stridency of rebellion in Cary’s women, both in Mariam and in Salome. By contrast, the kitchen and bathroom of the cottage foreground the smothering oppressions of domesticity. In each site we’ve worked in, the performance encountered each site, and the text (through the performers) responded. In St John’s Church at Burford, Cary’s use of subverted religious iconography emerged strongly, through Mariam’s self-sacrificing death. The stage of the Globe Theatre gave memorable evidence of Cary’s accomplishments as a creator of engaging and affecting soliloquy. Each performance has taken place in a different ‘framing’ location, and in the director’s and performers’ work of making the text meet the site, new discoveries emerged from the combination.

**The Old Red Lion Pub Theatre, London**

**Rehearsed Reading, 22 July 2007**

This *Mariam* formed part of Primavera Theatre Company’s series of readings exploring underperformed texts in front of a live audience. This reading was not a performance in which place played a pre-rehearsed role, but like many pub theatres this site had helpful qualities of intimacy and familiarity and less helpful, distracting ‘noises off’ from the pub downstairs.

I worked with the play in its entirety, which made for a very long reading, but a valuable exercise. Hearing the lines both in rehearsal and then before an audience emphasized not only the sophistication of Cary’s language, but also the balance between rational argument and an audacious dramatic ‘life’. Characters often begin by making nicely turned arguments over the nature of
marriage, grief, or the rule of law but then become embroiled in messy familial strife: insulting, cursing, attempting to manipulate one another. Cary is developing flawed human characters, and dialogues are not always rational or well-argued; often a well-aimed insult wins over logic. This factor arguably sits in tension with *Mariam*’s status as a decorous neo-classical play.

The second major insight that emerged from working with *Mariam* in the informality of a pub theatre space was the way the play hovers between, and operates in and out of, spaces which are very formal, grand, and palatial, and spaces that are extremely intimate. This site spatializes the tensions between the conventions of Cary’s chosen form — the neo-classical play with argued and counter-argued speeches, choruses, unity of time and action — and her theatrically animated depiction of the nitty gritty of human relationships: the sister (Salome) who can twist her powerful brother (Herod) around her finger; the overbearing mother (Alexandra) who will not permit her mourning daughter (Mariam) to weep. Cary is adept at portraying the manipulations and foibles of interpersonal relationships. The spatialized dichotomy of grandeur/formality versus domestic/intimacy which emerged here went on to play a role in my selection of later performance sites for *Mariam*.

**The Picture Gallery, Royal Holloway Workshops April 2013**

**Salome’s Shame: Mariam 1.4**

Royal Holloway’s Victorian Picture Gallery was a setting that certainly spoke to the formality of Cary’s play structure and settings. A space replete with both wealth and rules — ‘don’t touch’ — the gallery invited specific codes of conduct, and with its array of Victorian, predominantly narrative paintings, created a rich, potentially generative site for *Mariam*. I was particularly fascinated by the central presence of Edwin Long’s painting *The Babylonian Marriage Market*. Long’s painting depicts a reframing of Herodotus’s story through a Victorian lens. In it eight women are lined up like so many pieces of livestock to be sold at a chaotic-looking, male-dominated marriage market. The women, following Herodotus’s description, are ordered according to their physical beauty, an ordering which also (in Long’s depiction) associates whiteness with the most beautiful, and darkness of skin with ugliness and undesirability. Long’s depiction of the women’s misery is empathetic, and I felt it connected with Mariam’s late existential realization of the treachery of her reliance on beauty, in her soliloquy:
Am I the Mariam that presumed so much,
And deemed my face must needs preserve my breath?
Ay, it was that thought my beauty such
As it alone could countermand my death.
Now Death will teach me he can pale as well
A cheek of roses as a cheek less bright. (4.8 1–6)

At the same time, Long’s somewhat uncritical perspective on feminine subjection contrasted powerfully with the anger of Cary’s depiction of female subjugation, so that the encounter of these two narratives provided an entry point for some of the work in the space. Both readings (Cary’s and Long’s) of beauty transect female objectification with hard to stomach readings of race, which contributes to a complexity of associations between the two texts which felt rich and worth exploring.

Of the work explored in this setting, a text-based improvisation performed by actor Pippa Wildwood, playing Salome, was the most immediately relevant. We worked with a fragment of Salome’s soliloquy in 1.4, where she expresses her desire to divorce her husband and marry her lover. Through exploring the chaotic, rule-breaking capacities of this character in this extremely formal site, something of the shock value of Cary’s writing became tangible in the space, as Wildwood embraced Salome’s existential carpe diem. Entangled in a chair, Wildwood lurched across the floor, grunting with effort, as chair after chair was sent skittering across the varnished floor and Salome demanded ‘Why should such privilege to men be given?’

Particularly revelatory was Salome’s meditation on ‘shame’. She declares of herself:

But shame is gone, and honour wiped away,
And impudency on my forehead sits. (1.4.33–4)

In the public and formal setting of the gallery, Salome’s attack on shame became a powerful and self-aware call-to-arms. The gallery’s decorous restraint functioned within this workshop to actualize the rules that Salome’s speech seeks to destroy. The tension the audience members felt emerged from our awareness and expectations of this space, which, as McAuley suggests, interplayed with the performance. As Wildwood knocked over chairs, grunted, and lurched, she activated, by transgressing, notions of how we felt we should behave in formal institutional space. This site generated for the audience in this moment a lived experience of the power and danger of Cary’s
radicalism, and her willingness, like Salome, to break through restraint, taking the audience's identification with Salome beyond the intellectual and into the territory of uncomfortable complicity.

The Gardener’s Cottage, Royal Holloway Workshops April 2013
Salome’s Shame Revisited / Mariam’s Grief Mariam 1.1–4

The Victorian Gardener’s Cottage at Royal Holloway generated a contrasting Mariam. Although close to a busy road, the cottage feels very isolated; it is hidden away, amongst overgrown bushes. Inside most rooms have pianos — music students use the cottage for practice — a kitchen, a bathroom, a boarded up fireplace, a sense of both domestic and of institutional space. While working with Wildwood on the same fragment of Salome’s ‘shame’ speech discussed above, an absolutely different emotional affect emerged. Wildwood chose to speak Salome’s speech from a bath. The speech became intimate, confessional; in the vulnerability of her bath, the working out of Salome’s demands took on a far more reflective quality. In the confines of a small, domestic setting, Salome’s rebellion lost its disruptive force, its self-confident audacity, gaining instead the quality of a confided secret. Her private acknowledgement of shame became an act of confession, and Salome in the bathroom felt more vulnerable and ambivalent about her actions, a much more human figure. Salome is a brilliantly written part, a grandstanding villain who easily out-maneuvers every other character onstage; a grand, diabolical performance is pleasurable and important, but seriously limits her complexity. In the cottage, Salome became humanized, capable of eliciting empathy and compassion. The ‘cottage bathroom’ Salome problematizes Mariam’s status as a primarily neo-classical text. The encounter with the domestic setting instead promotes an intimate relationship to the characters’ interpersonal conflicts.

The cottage also enabled development of the ‘kitchen sink’ Mariam, an improvised piece of movement and text performed by dancer Flora Wellesley-Wesley, working with Mariam’s first soliloquy, which offers insights into Mariam’s response to her husband Herod’s supposed death. Mariam describes her surprise and incapacity to act, despite objectively knowing what her feelings ‘ought’ to be, and her sense of being suspended in indecision and an inability to act recall moments of Hamlet’s mental turmoil. Her condition invites comparison to attributes displayed by victims of domestic violence.
and abuse. In abusive relationships, the violence suffered may become normalized, even read as signs of ‘affection’, something which we may see Mariam as describing. Similarly, people who suffer the systemic degradation of self-esteem that an abusive relationship entails may display a sense of institutionalized shock if such a relationship comes to an unexpected end.

I was interested in exploring some of these possibilities, and decided to work in perhaps the most domestic space within the Gardener’s Cottage, the kitchen. The ‘kitchen’ space of the cottage is very sparse: a sink and taps, a sideboard and several units above and below. We worked with lines selected from Mariam’s soliloquy which open the play, in which Mariam acknowledges her past hatred of Herod, and her confusion, even tenderness for him now that she believes him to be dead:

Now do I find, by self-experience taught,  
One object yields both grief and joy. (1.1.9–10)  
When Herod lived, that now is done to death,  
Oft have I wished that I from him were free;  
Oft have I wished that he might lose his breath;  
Oft have I wished his carcass dead to see. (1.1.15–19)

But now his death to memory doth call  
The tender love that he to Mariam bare,  
And mine to him; this makes those rivers fall,  
Which by another thought unmoistened are. (1.1.31–4)

I suggested that Flora explore the physical possibilities offered by the sink and sideboards, looking in particular for repeatable movements and gestures that would allow her to explore ambivalence, suspension, and institutionalization. She focused initially on wiping, explaining her situation while wiping surfaces, wondering why she isn’t happy. The repetitive movements stopped and as if belatedly recalling herself, as a host, she poured a glass of water, offering it to the audience. Then she turned the glass upside down onto her palm, a strange messy act, suddenly dislocated from the realism of her movements. And then she started again, wiping, wiping, explaining, explaining, her movements getting bigger, the routine of cleaning turning into something compulsive as if she may be stuck, in this indecision, forever.

Mariam’s opening speech became entirely understandable and powerful as that of a woman reeling with shock at the unexpected death of a violent spouse. By placing this speech in a domestic environment, the site began
to help construct a reading of Mariam in which she emerged as a modest, human character. The cottage kitchen helped to make her conflict and difficulties recognizable as relevant to women today, even as it made real and tangible the sense of entrapment which underlies the speech.

**St John’s Church, Burford**
11 June 2013

St John’s, Burford, has strong links with Cary who grew up at nearby Burford Priory; St John’s is probably where she was married and her parents, the wealthy and much disliked Lawrence and Elizabeth Tanfield, are buried in the church, in an ostentatious tomb which the widowed Elizabeth Tanfield had constructed without permission. The tomb includes an effigy of Cary kneeling, appearing as a dutiful daughter, and Cary’s biography includes a reference to Cary being accustomed to kneel when speaking to her mother ‘more than an hour together; though she was but an ill kneel[er]’.

Given the church’s strong links with Cary, her presence seemed important, and in the performance we created for the 2013 Burford festival, I worked with actor Meghan Treadway to develop ‘Elizabeth’, a character inspired by our research into Cary. Most of the audience lived close by, in Burford and the surrounding area, and knew very little of Cary herself, though they did know something of her family. A feature of audience response to the work was pleasure at hearing and seeing parts of the play and a desire to know more about it and Elizabeth.

Treadway began the performance in a small space, surrounded by papers and candles as Cary’s biography tells us that she would bribe her servants to bring her these when her mother banned her from reading. Treadway worked with the *Mariam* choruses, exploring the idea of Cary in the process of composing these verses with the morally severe tone. From this starting point, Treadway’s ‘Elizabeth’ conjured the rest of the company into being — her characters, coming to life, stepping off the page, and surrounding her in the church. As scenes from the play were performed, Treadway looked on, sometimes intervening to explain or correct a point, or to comfort a disconsolate character. At the end of the play, as Mariam accepted her martyrdom, Treadway, as ‘Elizabeth’, watched, torn between what appears to be the inevitability of Mariam’s suffering and a desire to intervene and ‘save’ Mariam. The performance ended with Treadway’s ‘Elizabeth’ attempting to comfort Mariam, a comfort that seemed to be ashes in her mouth.
While some feminist scholarship has rightly cautioned against the tendency to biographize Cary’s writing, as limiting recognition of Cary’s relevance in broader discourses, in the context of a Burford performance, this biographical element brought a rich new layer to the play. The presence of an ‘Elizabeth’ character was one which a number of audience members (as well as we as performers) found very powerful, due, I am certain, to the site being one arguably ‘haunted’ by Cary herself, in its history. In McAuley’s terms, our practice allowed the theme of the repressed or missing cultural memory — that of Cary’s achievement — to come together powerfully with the site. For those watching the performance, thoughts of Cary co-existed with the live performance. One insight I gained from placing the choruses of the text in ‘Elizabeth’s’ mouth in the church was the dominantly moral tone discernable within them, and how at odds this voice was with the more lively and subversive shades in the acts between the choruses. In performance, a wide gap in sensibility between the meat of the play and the sense of social judgment in the choruses underlined the moral double bind Mariam perishes under. Cary puts her idea of the dominant, normative judgment of her characters’ actions onstage in the form of the choruses, but in performance we could play with the theatrical space to call these judgements into question, whether we played straight, sent up, or, as we did at Burford, subverted.

The other dominant quality of the space at St John’s church was its religious function. St John’s is a richly symbolic space, with stained glass windows, carved wood panelling, and sculptured stone arches. Every surface of the church speaks of Christianity. A religious function or orientation determines many routes through the space. Walking up the central aisle towards the altar one feels directed towards, but also held outside of, the sacred centre of the church. To someone standing beneath the pulpit, speakers above seem to have heightened authority and status. We worked with the religious aspects of the church and two strands in particular emerged: first, Mariam as Christ figure, and second, Salome and her transgressions.

Towards the end of the play, Mariam is depicted as imprisoned, awaiting death on the orders of her husband, Herod. She has failed to play the role of the good wife: not just to be good, but to appear to all and sundry to be both good and happy, despite having to live in close proximity with the man who murdered many of her family. Mariam’s sudden refusal to play the good, submissive wife has resulted in her death sentence, and now she acknowledges this ‘crime’ with shock and despair. Placing this scene of suffering within the church in which Cary worshipped made for a very powerful conclusion
to the performance. The literalness of seeing and hearing the pain of this
closest, trapped by her need to assert her own personhood, even at the cost
of her life, was profound. Witnessing Cary’s powerful intellectual argument
against female inequality, embodied within a suffering, Christ-like figure,
helped to emphasize the extent to which Cary understands the human cost
of resistance, and her willingness to write this truth, however unpalatable to
authority. Her insight continues to fill me with admiration for the integrity
of Cary’s significant but still marginalized voice and her play.

The encounter between Salome and the space also activated the powerful
symbolism of the church (See figure 1). As already discussed, Cary’s Sal-
Lome is a rule-breaker. Within the space of a church, this character trait took
on new dimensions, and the sacred spaces of the church became available
for subversion. Perhaps the most powerful image of the performance was
the figure of Salome, dressed in bright red, seated provocatively on the altar
throne. The challenge of her demands — for equal rights, for a voice —
enshrouded an exhilarating rejection of the spatial and symbolic rules of
the place. The contrast of this image of triumphant Salome with that of
despairing Mariam remains in my mind as vivid flipsides to one coin: both
rule breakers in a place full of rules, one getting everything she wants, the
other losing everything.

Fig.1 Sarah Vevers as Salome at St Johns Church, Burford. Image courtesy of Jamie Smith.
Working with Mariam in the world of an art gallery space enabled a big leap from a ‘literal’ staging of the play’s world. The young, hip gallery space and the association with the world of curators, openings, retrospectives, and celebrity became the ground for exploring the text as a ‘retrospective’ of a fictional artist, Cary, and her life’s work. The performance emerged as a counterfactual imaginary world in which I granted Cary fame, acknowledgement, and celebrity. This performance worked hard to air the issues and contradictions that abound in staging and exploring Mariam as ‘unknown’ play, and to explore this territory of ‘unknownness’ marking Cary’s relationship to many audiences today. The generative prompts of the site meant that we migrated significantly from a linear performance of the text, and the audiences encountered many sections of the text in the form of visual images, movement sequences, or small one-on-one intimate encounters.

While the theatre maker and image creator in me derived intense pleasure from this version — through the devising of playful, curated tours through the spaces, to the construction of installations derived from the text, to the performance of a multi-layered vocal arrangement of Cary’s ‘Dedication’ — what was also significant in performance was how intensely contemporary Cary’s scenes can feel. At two points in the performance fragmented cycles of character vignettes gave way to sustained performance of complete scenes. The first of these was Mariam’s opening soliloquy, performed here in a room-size installation of packing boxes, with Mariam seeming to be preparing for flight. Mariam’s dilemma — to await developments in the power vacuum after Herod’s ‘death’, or to escape with her life — took on deeply contemporary connotations in the summer of 2013 with upheaval in the Middle East, something the audience recognized and commented upon.13 The other performed scene was 4.8, Mariam’s cell scene here transposed to a small room, dressed to resonate with artist Louise Bourgeois’s ‘Cell’ installations. Here the entire audience arranged themselves into a small, tightly packed area to witness the action. This tiny space, an artwork in itself replete with symbolism of captivity and of desire, as the location of Mariam’s despairing soliloquy, was a scene which audiences found deeply affecting. Our audiences discovered current urgent relevance in Mariam, and gave themselves to the suffering of the central character. (See figure 2.)
The 2013 Globe Women in Shakespeare conference enabled us to perform an extract from *Mariam* on the Globe stage, something which felt hugely significant in this play’s performance trajectory. The research questions we brought to bear in preparing to work in this space concerned the hypothesis that Cary wrote with theatrical space in mind, and that the Globe stage, as it approximates to the stage where Cary could have seen performances take place, offers a particularly useful environment to explore this idea. In Gay McAuley’s terms, the Globe also offered an extraordinary opportunity to put site and text together and attempt ‘to prise open the contemporary reality of the place and permit the past to surge into the present’.¹⁴

We presented 1.1, 1.2, 1.3 and 4.8. Exploring the scenes with an emphasis on the long entrances and exits, what emerged was the attention with which Cary crafted these actions. In 1.1, Mariam is initially alone on the stage; she then observes the approach of her mother, whose entrance makes Mariam attempt to disguise her tears. By crafting a long entrance for Alexandra, Cary

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creates a theatrical tension — will Alexandra see the tears or not? — and also tells us reams about this mother/daughter relationship. At the end of 1.2, when Salome enters unnoticed by Mariam and Alexander, the Globe’s pillars readily offered a highly visible ‘hiding place’; the audience could relish Salome’s eavesdropping on Mariam, and take in Cary’s salient points about Salome’s duplicity, the soured sister-in-law relationship, and the political tensions in Herod’s palace. Later in the performance we progressed to playing with the entrances, entering in and out through the audience, positioning the audience alongside the characters.

Evidence of Cary’s theatrical craftsmanship and the possibility that Mariam was written with a Globe-like space in mind also appeared in 4.8, where an imprisoned Mariam encounters Herod’s returned first wife, Doris. In this scene Doris plays a game of cat and mouse with the distraught Mariam. Arriving unseen in Mariam’s cell, Doris calls out, casting judgmental insults at Mariam, who initially fears that Doris is a demon sent to taunt her. Mariam’s inability to see Doris gets theatrical support from the two Globe pillars which again provide a hiding place in full sight of the audience, easily and simply presenting the theatrical tension of watching Mariam being preyed upon by Doris.

Cary’s theatricality and stagecraft continued to be the most significant threads for us at the Globe. The soliloquy emerged as the predominant form for all of the female characters, and these soliloquies came easily and fluidly to life in the public intimacy of the Globe space. Directly addressing the audience, forging connections and allegiances, hectoring, bantering, and appealing, the performers enacted wonderfully what for Cary could only ever be an imagined Globe performance. While the performance context for Mariam was most probably the private intimacy of elite family theatricals, placing Cary’s writing in the Globe, a place of theatrical life, affirmed for me the robustness of the piece. As a director, I feel certain that this play, despite presenting some challenges to performance, nonetheless has within it the necessary theatricality to make successful contemporary performances possible.

Perhaps more profoundly the Globe performance suggested to what degree Cary in her writing was, like Mariam, clamouring for a public voice. She understood fully that she had something important to say and that she possessed the necessary gifts and talents to say it engagingly. That this affirmation took place on a single occasion, on a December morning at the Globe, in the ‘elite’ context of a conference is, for me, bittersweet. It affirms, yes, that
*Mariam* is worthy of performance, but also that Cary is, like so many female playwrights, still a marginalized voice. That the journey of these workshops came full circle, beginning and ending in theatre spaces, serves to illustrate for me the richness site-specific processes offer to marginalized texts. By getting away from traditional theatre spaces, where traditional expectations dominate, and working instead with sites that activate imaginings in their audiences to provoke, elaborate, and provide unexpected insights, connections, relevancies we can give texts such as *Mariam* an impact. So the Globe performance is part of an ongoing journey, and my hope is that moving forward, academic and practitioner interest in *Mariam* will continue to develop until this most female of tragedies can take a centre-stage position in our cultural landscape, and Cary’s past can ‘surge into the present’ challenging and inspiring women of today.

**Notes**

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2 Ibid.
4 Carol Chillington Rutter, ‘Preface’, *Enter the Body: Women and Representation on Shakespeare’s Stage* (London and New York, 2001), xiii

5 Ibid, xv.


10 Best known is Cary’s eldest son, the Royalist hero Lucius Cary who is also shown kneeling at the Tanfield tomb.


13 Via questionnaires.