

TRANSITS

# Queen Anne and the Arts

EDITED BY  
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## “SING GREAT ANNA’S MATCHLESS NAME”

Images of Queen Anne in the Court Ode

*Estelle Murphy*

THE TRADITION OF performing musical odes at the English court dates back to the early seventeenth century. These large-scale works for orchestra, solo vocalists, and chorus were presented before the monarch and nobility for special occasions, including martial victories, New Year’s Day, births, peace treaties, the monarch’s birthday, the monarch’s safe return from abroad, and so on. It was not until the late seventeenth century that the tradition of performing an ode at court began to solidify and become a biannual one, when typically the master of the music and poet laureate would provide a work in honor of New Year’s Day and the king’s or queen’s birthday. It is surely not by chance that the heyday of the court ode in England—ca. 1689–1714—coincided with both the period of the monarchy’s greatest instability and the reign of Queen Anne. In the context of a monarchy that was weakened and thereafter ruled by Parliament, following the volatility of the Civil Wars, the regicide, and the Cromwellian Interregnum, the court ode emerges as an important element in attempts to reassert the status of the sovereign and mold public opinion, all the more so in the wake of the further crisis of the monarchy in 1688–1689. Though some have argued that ceremony and culture declined during, or even because of, Queen Anne’s reign, the ode, by contrast, experienced a period of growth and was essentially stabilized as a tradition that would continue into the reign of George I and beyond.

The ode was an ideal ceremonial device with which to shape the monarch’s public image.<sup>1</sup> Its lyrics served to promote the visions of the sovereign regarding political and religious policies; to show or avoid partisanship; to enhance the public perception of the monarch’s power and right to the throne; to affirm stability in periods of volatility; and to reinforce the monarch’s intentions for the nation.

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As shall be demonstrated, throughout Anne's reign, the ode adjusted to reflect particular circumstances, often brought about by the incompatibility of the queen's actual body to the imagined "second body."<sup>2</sup> This essay will examine key examples that demonstrate the shifting uses of the ode by the queen and its creators in their attempts to adapt Queen Anne to ever-changing circumstances. Patterns of consistency emerge from these multiple-ode texts, emphasizing, variously, the following themes of self-fashioning: Anne as the "New Elizabeth" and "Nursing Mother" of her people; Anne as actively pious and devout; Anne as inactive, relying on stereotypes of gender; and Anne as the embodiment of "Britishness" and a focus for British national unity and identity. To provide a context for these images of Anne, I will discuss odes that feature her and men closely associated with her, namely, her husband, Prince George, and the Duke of Marlborough, John Churchill. I will also examine how certain verses of the ode, once set to music, can betray nuances of meaning and intention. In this respect, the ode emerges as a powerful method through which the queen manipulated her image, especially when one considers the ways in which it was disseminated outside court: as a printed poem, as printed music, and, perhaps most importantly, as a performance.

"Appear, Appear in all Thy Pomp":  
The Importance of Ceremony

Queen Anne's interest in the court ode no doubt developed from her aptitude for music, combined with her obsession with ceremony and ritual. In contrast to her predecessor, William III, Anne, a child of the Restoration court, had a respectable artistic upbringing. As princess, she loved music, prompting her father, the then Duke of York and future James II, to employ the famous virtuoso guitarist Francesco Corbetta in 1677 to teach his daughter for the fee of £100 a year.<sup>3</sup> She also had a singing master, as well as harpsichord and other music teachers, one of whom was probably Giovanni Battista Draghi.<sup>4</sup> Abel Boyer tells us that she "had an excellent ear, which qualified her for a true dancer and gave her a great relish for music, insomuch that she was accounted one of the best performers on the guitar."<sup>5</sup>

We know that Anne occasionally attended public concerts and operas, including Purcell's *The Fairy Queen* (Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 230). As a princess, she had a composer appointed to her, the French Catholic James Paisible. Having served James II in exile beginning in 1688, he returned to London in 1693, and became composer to Princess Anne and her consort Prince George.<sup>6</sup> Paisible con-

tinued to serve Anne following her accession and wrote an annual dance for her birthday as well as other state music.<sup>7</sup> Records of payment also show that Anne, when heir apparent, had her own band of musicians at court by 1699.<sup>8</sup> Because poor health kept her from going to the theater, Anne arranged to have numerous plays and operas performed at the court instead, testifying to her love of music and drama.<sup>9</sup> The Italianate opera *Camilla* was performed for her in 1707, and the frequent performances of Italian music in the later years of her reign, beginning with Handel's offering of 1711, display Anne's taste for all that was in vogue in London at this time.

Queen Anne's fervor extended beyond just the secular music for her own royal birthday. Celebrations of special days, as well as many private concerts in the bedchamber, all testify to the rich world of musical activity in her court (Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 230–35). She was also interested in church music; during her father's reign, she had insisted that the anthems of the Chapel Royal maintain the orchestral accompaniment they had received under Charles II (229). In addition, the singer Richard Elford appears to have been admitted to St. George's Chapel, Windsor, in December 1701, "having been recommended by the Princess."<sup>10</sup> Then, in April 1702, Anne, as queen, in her efforts to restore the Chapel Royal musicians to their former numbers, created "an Additional place to be added to the Establishment" for Elford (Burrows, 583). By reviving and attending the Thanksgiving Day ceremonies at St. Paul's, unlike her predecessor, who preferred his private chapel, Queen Anne exposed the Chapel Royal Choir and her musicians to an unprecedentedly large municipal congregation.<sup>11</sup> We also know she gave financial support to the musicians Richard Bradley, Bernard Gates, John Gostling, and Handel, as well as to the actress Mary Betterton.

Queen Anne has traditionally been viewed as intransigent, dull, and awkward, with an impressionable and weak character, as exemplified in her well-documented relationship with her adviser, Sarah Churchill, whose intervention throughout the reign was strong, to say the least. According to the numerous testimonies of contemporary courtiers, Anne's court was viewed as similar to her personality.<sup>12</sup> However, contrary to what one would expect from such a supposedly lackluster sovereign, Anne was not at all hesitant when it came to what she deemed a very necessary undertaking: making herself and her crown a focus for national unity by reestablishing and exploiting royal ceremony and symbol.<sup>13</sup>

Anne was a perfectionist when it came to ceremony, which contemporary observers remarked upon frequently, not always in a flattering way. She had such an obsessive interest in courtly ritual and custom that even Jonathan Swift felt

compelled to comment: “[She] would often descend so low as to observe, in her domestics of either sex who came into her presence, whether a ruffle, a periwig, or the lining of a coat, were unsuitable upon certain times.”<sup>14</sup> Similarly, “She once sent for Lord Bolingbroke in haste; and he gave immediate attendance in a ramielie, or tie, instead of a full-bottomed wig, which so offended her Majesty, that she exclaimed, ‘I suppose his lordship will come to court the next time in his night-cap!’”<sup>15</sup> Sarah, the Duchess of Marlborough, when writing her memoirs (published in 1742), remarked that Anne, despite having an “exceeding great” memory, chose to retain “very little besides ceremonies and customs of courts and suchlike insignificant trifles.”<sup>16</sup> Though perhaps tinged with a hint of cynicism, the foregoing examples reveal Anne to have been an authority on appropriate custom and ritual.

Anne did not seem to be as interested in celebrating church holidays or political anniversaries as she was in celebrating those anniversaries more personal to her, such as her birthday (February 6). The first such celebration during her reign earned Abel Boyer’s comment, “There had not been such a Magnificent Appearance at Court for Twenty Years past” (Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, 299).<sup>17</sup> Similarly, Nicholas Luttrell reported that at the 1711 birthday festivity, “The nobility and gentry went to compliment her majestie at St. James’s in richer habits than has been known since 1660,” and Swift described the 1713 festivity as never having been “celebrated with so much Luxry and fine Cloaths.”<sup>18</sup> Similar but less convoluted celebration took place on New Year’s Day, the queen’s accession day, Prince George’s birthday, and the queen’s coronation day (Bucholz, 300). These celebrations always included some form of music, including odes or songs, concerts of music, dances and balls, and so forth.

Music was, obviously, an important part of the queen’s ceremonial endeavors, although it is difficult to determine just how directly she might have been involved in fashioning her court odes. It seems very unlikely that she told the poet and composer directly to adopt a particular nuance or angle in presenting her public image in a given year. It is more likely that an individual such as the lord chamberlain, or one of his delegates, would have imparted any such directions. That being said, it must surely have been the case that the poet and composer, along with the rest of those in the employment of the court, and even the general populace at whom these intricate and calculated strategies were aimed, knew the queen’s intentions when it came to building her public image. The ode, after all, was not the only medium through which one could build such an image. The monarch’s speeches, addresses to Parliament, depiction in paintings and coinage, her motto, and even her physical appearance are all involved in her self-fashioning.

Therefore, it is probable that the composers and poets who normally produced the biannual court odes were well-informed courtiers who did not need direction regarding the themes of their works.

"An English Chief": Anne as the New Elizabeth

The tone of many of these odes was optimistic, proclaiming that Queen Anne would prove herself to be the "new Elizabeth" and would reward the nation with the glory and success associated with the Tudor queen's reign. From the outset, the comparison of the matronly Queen Anne, who had tried repeatedly and unsuccessfully to provide the nation with an heir, with Elizabeth—the virgin queen, married to her country—did not quite work. Nonetheless, many odes continued to paint her as the second Elizabeth, but, rather than blatantly doing so, they instead described Anne as having Elizabethan traits; she is praised for her Englishness, and subsequently Britishness, and for espousing the Elizabethan principle of the unification of the nation. Direct comparisons of Queen Anne with Elizabeth only occur in poetry not intended for music, produced by various men associated with the court, including the poet laureate Nahum Tate, who also wrote many of the texts for the birthday and New Year's Day odes.<sup>19</sup> This distinction between the musical ode and written odes suggests that the two genres had different audiences: a larger audience for performances, but a narrower reading audience for the published poems.

While the musical odes produced for Queen Anne are far more covert in their references to Elizabeth I than are the comparisons in the poetry, the references are nevertheless unmistakable and would certainly not have gone unnoticed by their contemporary audience. One illustration of the more covert references is in Thomas Tudway's 1706 birthday ode, which employs the phrase "in Ev'ry English heart still more entirely reign."<sup>20</sup> This is surely a veiled reference to Anne's first address to Parliament of 1702, in which she declared, "I know my own heart to be entirely English." Such a casual and implicit reference shows that, in the eyes of this poet, the construction of Queen Anne as the new Elizabeth had been successful: the case need not be belabored. The ode for New Year's Day in 1705 emphasizes Anne's Englishness, again in an oblique reference to Elizabeth I, with an Elizabethan flavor:

All odds but these the Foe cou'd boast,  
But all too weak Relief

Against an *English* Host,  
Led by an *English* Chief.

These references also remind the audience of the foreignness of Anne's immediate predecessor, William III, something emphasized in the earlier years of her reign.

Another example of this implicit treatment of Anne as Elizabeth occurs in the ode for New Year's Day in 1706 (figure 12.1).<sup>21</sup> The clear reference to Elizabeth's motto, *Semper Eadem*, which is emphasized by the capital letters of "EVER THE SAME," is another obvious, but covert comparison. It also assumes Anne's hereditary right to the throne and downplays her indebtedness to William III. She is seen as destined for queenship, "From the Cradle Renown'd," though in truth, her prospects for the crown were not originally thought to have been very high when she was an infant, given that her older sister, Mary, held first claim, and that her father could still have produced a male heir (and did in 1688, with the birth of Prince James Francis Edward to Mary of Modena). This ode's version of Anne as Elizabeth does more than reassert her claim to the crown, however, for in the second verse, quoted above, she is cast as a warrior, a guise often used to depict Elizabeth I, but an image that did not sit comfortably with the reality of Anne's overweight, matronly form. If the monarch were to be depicted as a warrior, she had to be Elizabeth rather than Anne. But typically, Anne is viewed not as a warrior, but as inactive and inconsequential when it comes to war.

As Anne's reign progressed, the obvious incompatibilities between her and Queen Elizabeth encouraged composers of odes to use, instead, the image of the nursing mother, again, inappropriate, given Anne's inability to produce an heir: the queen suffered seventeen unsuccessful pregnancies (including twins), and only one son survived infancy, William Henry, Duke of Gloucester, who died at the age of eleven in 1700.<sup>22</sup> Nonetheless, almost in recompense, her choice to embody the image of the nursing mother projected onto her people her own hopes and dreams, and in that sense, brought them closer to her. In a manner not unlike her virgin Tudor predecessor's symbolic marriage to England, Anne became the "nursing mother" of her people, as opposed to a real mother. The sermon chosen for Anne's coronation was Isaiah 49:23, "Kings shall be thy nursing Fathers, and Queens thy nursing Mothers" (Gregg, 130). Unlike the new Elizabeth image, the image of the nursing mother would become Anne's most successful image, something she would exploit, quite effectively, throughout her reign. As we shall see, the nursing mother image was developed in the figures of Pallas Athena and Britannia, two female goddesses used frequently in the odes to represent the monarch. Although useful, the nursing mother, Pallas Athena, and Britannia are

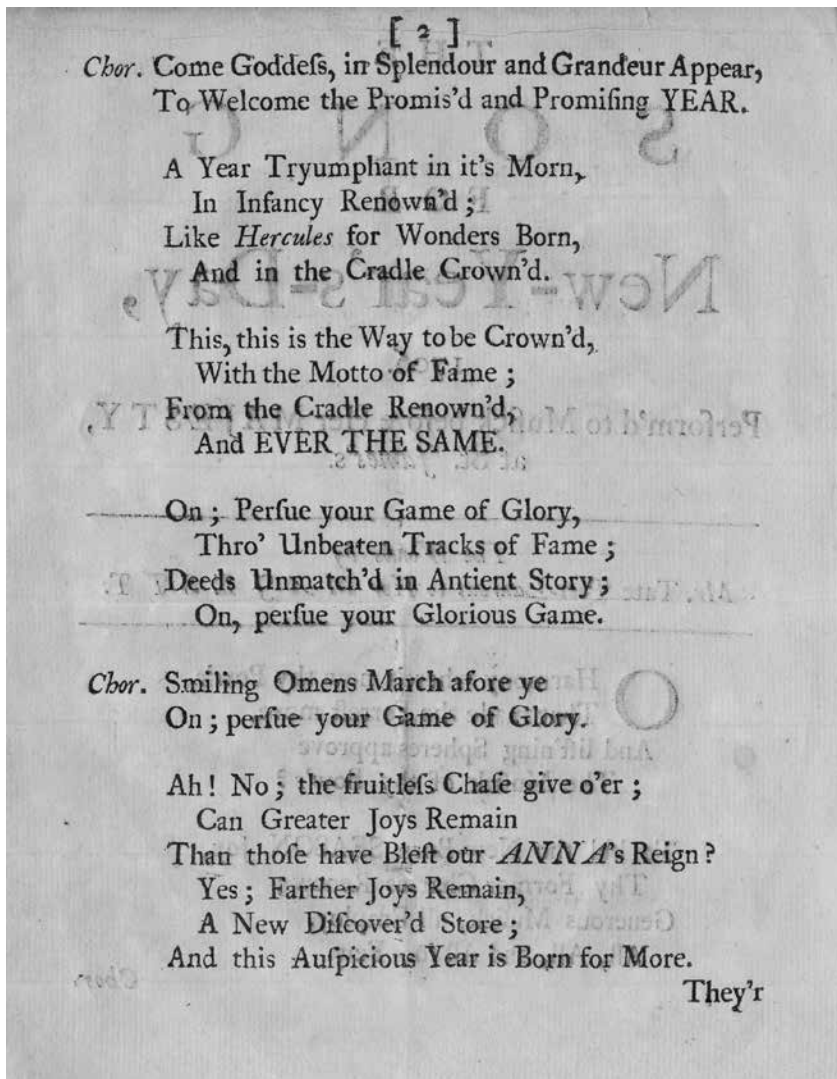


Figure 12.1. Second page of Nahum Tate and Jeremiah Clarke's *O Harmony where's now thy pow'r* (New Year's Day, 1706). US-Ws, 158–85q. Source: Folger Shakespeare Library.

all, obviously, female, and, in tandem with the attributes traditionally expected of a female monarch, led to the implications that Queen Anne was inactive and overshadowed by the men in her life.

“Prudent, Pious, Prosp’rous Care”:  
Active Piety and the Weak, Female Monarch

The language employed in the odes for Queen Anne is dramatically different from that used in those composed for her male predecessor, William III. The king’s odes are filled with martial imagery, references to past (and, of course, anticipated future) victories on the battlefield, references to William as the savior of Europe, rescuing England, that damsel in distress, from the claws of popery, and general traditional images of masculine power, strength, and domination. Mary II, with whom William ruled jointly, is painted in stark contrast to her husband as gentle, inactive, graceful, pious, and devout. Piety “was an expected attribute of queens and a necessary condition for successful queenship.”<sup>23</sup> As a Protestant queen and defender of the faith, Anne, as with her sister before her, would naturally be rendered as pious and devout. However, her presumed inactivity led to the bolstering of her husband, Prince George, and raised the Duke of Marlborough to a height that threatened to eclipse Anne as monarch. Marlborough was praised as if he were a king, and as his wartime successes grew, began to be praised even in the queen’s birthday odes. The poetry of the odes for Anne, as we shall see, though it may seem at first glance to indulge in unabashed feminine similes and evocations of female goddesses, on closer inspection, is relentlessly careful to make the queen active through devotion, even though she was literally inactive due to her gender and poor health.

Anne’s very first birthday ode as queen, *Inspire Us Genius of the Day*, is an interesting case of reworking. Originally completed and intended to be performed before William III in November 1701, the ode was revised by both its poet, Peter Motteux, and composer, John Eccles, and performed for Queen Anne in February 1703. The newly written movements use images of flowers and other such things associated with the feminine:

By Seasons, and by fleeting Hours,  
The Sun’s warm Comforts we compute,  
The Spring can boast but Leaves and Flow’rs  
Her Vertue still new Blessings pours,  
And round the Year we taste the ripen’d Fruit.

Such language was never used in the odes for William III, whose poets, constantly making him a hero, drew upon the imagery of battle and martial conquest. After her coronation, there is only one instance in the odes, in the following lines from *Inspire Us: Genius of the Day*, when Anne is associated with martial power, but even so, the reference is ambivalent:

Our *Pallas* thus appears in Arms  
 But to secure the World's Repose:  
 She shields its Friends, She quells its Foes  
 And awes at once and charms.  
 In vain on Seas in vain on Land,  
 Her Pow'r, her Genius, they withstand:  
 Whole Fleets, whole Countries, conquer'd, find  
 Wise Conduct with our *British* valour joyn';  
 And Crowns that Female Heads disclaim,  
 Now totter at a Female Name.

Pallas Athena seems a perfect choice: as a female goddess born of a male, she can "ally herself with male interests and still display positive nurturant behaviour."<sup>24</sup> That said, the image of Anne as Pallas does not sit easily with the poet; he observes that other monarchs disclaim "Female Heads," but quickly points out that the crowns of these enemies "totter" at her "Female Name." Though Motteux is predicting her ultimate victory over disparaging enemies, Anne's gender was a concern—as Robert Bucholz asserts, "If royal bodies mattered, female royal bodies were a problem."<sup>25</sup> Queen Anne's body, having been through numerous pregnancies and crippled with gout, was most certainly a problem, especially when compared to her "second body" as the new Elizabeth, as Britannia, as martial and Protestant heroine, lone ruler, and rightful heir. Despite her repeated failures to produce an heir, there is evidence that some still held hope that she would, eventually. In Jeremiah Clarke's birthday ode, *Let Nature Smile*, the unknown poet emphasizes that it is Anne's duty to provide the nation an heir:

In her brave offspring still she'll live,  
 Nor must she bless our age alone;  
 But to succeeding ages give,  
 Heirs to her virtues and the throne.<sup>26</sup>

Though the date of this ode is unknown, James A. Winn argues convincingly that the manner in which this verse is set to music shows that it was written soon after



the young duke's death in 1700. Typically, when the Duke of Gloucester was addressed in his mother's odes (and indeed, in his own), the music contained strong military references, with trumpet fanfares, drums, and marchlike rhythms. However, as Winn points out, this verse in Clarke's ode is strikingly different, with the vocalist entering in the key of D minor after a ritornello in B-flat major.<sup>27</sup> Such a solemn and lamenting tone suggests that the composer was sensitive to Anne's loss of a son.

The reality of Anne's situation plainly demonstrates Ernst Kantorowicz's theories regarding the dichotomy between the monarch's two bodies: one actual, living, physical—and in Anne's case, immensely female and bearing the remnants of that ever-present signifier of the flesh, pregnancy—and the other regal, immortal, heroic, and supreme.<sup>28</sup> The discrepancy between the queen's two bodies was obvious at least to her immediate contemporary audience, as revealed in a report, from the summer of 1706, by Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, one of the Scottish commissioners of the union. To Clerk, Anne appeared a "poor mean-like mortal," in the same "disorder as about the meanest of her subjects." The sight he beheld led him to ask how it was that Anne, a "poor infirm Woman," could possibly be one of the "Rulers of the World."<sup>29</sup> This reinforces the important role played by ceremony in making Anne seem worthy of her title. However, it is easy to see, from Clerk's report, just how difficult depicting Queen Anne as an active military leader was for her poets. She was literally and physically incapacitated, which reinforced further the notion of inactivity often associated with her gender.

Anne's perceived female inactivity and passivity are closely associated with her active piety, as the birthday ode for 1704, *Awake, Awake Harmonious Pow'rs*, written by Tate and set to music by Eccles, shows.<sup>30</sup> It states that at Anne's court, it is virtue and piety that are revered:

From the Cottage and Cell in State we resort  
To the Pallace and Court of a Queen and a Prince so Renown'd  
Where Vertues are Favourites and Piety Crown'd.

This implies, as Tate explains, that it is through piety and devotion, executed from the safety and privacy of her "Closet," probably referring to the political closet, that Anne directed military strategies to defeat her enemies (musical example 1).<sup>31</sup>

Her Pow'rfull Foes she thus Alarms  
She makes their mighty Hosts to yield  
With Devotion's stronger Charms  
And in her Closet wins the Field  
Well may her Arm successful prove



Oppressing Tyrants to Chastize  
 When Leagu'd with Heav'nly Pow'rs Above  
 And Guardian seraphs her Allies  
 Pow'rfull Foes she thus Alarms  
 She makes their mighty Hosts to yield.

Piety and devotion are described as being alarming to her foes and ultimately superior in force to physical combat, which excuses the queen from being personally involved in battle and enables her to call on these more virtuous "stronger Charms." This is essentially propaganda that, paradoxically, seeks to make a strength out of the queen's inactivity.

The way in which the verse is set to music further masks the queen's physical inactivity and draws the listeners' attention to the power she wields through her religious devotion and relationship with God. The movement is in 3/4 time and uses a ground bass—a repeated bass line—of five bars length, which is shortened in certain places and punctuated with some transitory passages (figure 12.2). The angular shape of this repeated line, coupled with the rocking 3/4 time, propels the music forward, creating movement, drive, and a sense of action; there is no resting point for the bass line throughout the movement, evoking the idea of a tireless monarch, relentlessly protecting the nation. The key of E minor adds solemnity and seems to suggest the burden the queen bears for her people. The vocal line of this *arioso* is dramatic and quite declamatory, serving to drive the impression of activity further, and the rather dense setting of words for a single movement conveys the impression of much action occurring quickly. A closer analysis reveals that the mood alters at specific phrases—through modulation and word painting—signaling a shift in meaning not otherwise immediately apparent in the text. The first example of this occurs at the word "yield" in bar 14, which is set with a minim, the longest note value to appear in the vocal part to this point. This word painting occurs at a perfect cadence—a natural stopping point in the music's harmonic progression—thereby stressing the word and giving a sense of rest in an otherwise restless passage. Not only this, but at this point, the ground bass has a cadence in the relative major, G major, which adds further relief to the line, ending with a positive and uplifting feeling (albeit brief) when contrasted with the minor key that dominates. At bar 19, this perfect cadence in G major again coincides with the word "yield."

Significantly, there is an alteration to the repeated ground bass at bar 21. Here, the music modulates to G major for a full eight bars (21–28), and the repeated bass line is shortened to a three-bar version. It is surely no coincidence that the words at these bars are "with Devotion's Stronger Charms." The change in to-

(141)  
A Verse upon a Ground in the Queens Birthday SONG 1704 Sung by M<sup>r</sup> Eiford

Her Po  
w'ful Foes she thus Ala...rms, she thus she thus alarms, she  
makes their Mighty Ho...sts to yeild, their Mighty Hosts to  
yeild, she makes their Mighty Ho...sts to yeild; their  
Mighty Hosts to yeild with Devotion, with Devo...tion's  
Stronger Charms, with de-vo...tion's Stronger Charms,  
and in her Closet wi...ns the Feild, and in her Closet wins the  
Feild, Well  
may her Arms succe...ffull Prove, succe...ffull Prove

Figure 12.2a. Nahum Tate and John Eccles, “Her Pow’ful foes she thus alarms,” from *Awake Harmonious Pow’rs* (1704). GB-Lbl. G. 300, 141.  
Source: British Library Board.

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...fi full prove oppressing Tyrants, oppressing Ty- rants to Chaf-  
 tize, when Leagu'd with Heav'n-ly Pow'rs a bove, and  
 Gua- rdian Seraphs her Al- lies,  
 Her Po- w'ful Foes she thus A- larms, she thus, she thus A- larms, she makes their  
 Mighty Ho- sts to yeild, their Mighty Hosts to yeild,  
 she makes their Mighty Ho- sts to yeild,  
 their Mighty Hosts to yeild.

Figure 12.2b. Nahum Tate and John Eccles, "Her Pow'ful foes she thus alarms," from *Awake Harmonious Pow'rs* (1704). GB-Lbl. G. 300, 142.  
 Source: British Library Board.

nality to the relative major and the alteration of the ground bass—now shorter and pushing forward more quickly in its repetition—stress the meaning in the poetry; the major tonality affirms the joy associated with religious devotion, and the pressing figure of the shortened bass line pushes the music forward, literally playing out the idea of activity and strength. The following four bars (28–31) break entirely from the ground bass pattern and establish the key of B minor, which builds gravity around the words “and in her Closet wins the Field.” More than this, however, Eccles seems to use this key whenever power associated with the heavens is mentioned in the text; he uses B minor again, for example, at the words “Heav’nly Pow’rs above and Guardian Seraphs her Allies’ (bars 48–54). The move to the solemn key of B minor at the words “Heav’nly Pow’rs” is made all the more significant when one considers that the preceding passage is set in the optimistic keys of D major (bars 39–41) and G major (bars 42–47), painting the picture of the queen’s triumph in chastising the “Tyrants” mentioned in the poetry. The queen’s piety is being made to seem active and necessary for military victory.

Similarly, in the ode for New Year’s Day in 1705, virtue and piety are presented as superior to military ambition:

Long may the Royal Pair remain  
 Guardians of the Land and Main,  
*Albion* and *Europe’s* safe while  
 They and Virtue Reign  
 Yes, Virtue has th’ Ascendant got,  
 Force and Fraud must now obey;  
 In vain perfidious Tyrants Plot,  
 While Pious Princes Pray.  
 In vain is Ambition superiour in Arms,  
 Against Valour and Virtue, and Piety’s Charms.<sup>32</sup>

The nation is invited to view Anne’s inactivity and lack of participation in military affairs as something of a fortunate circumstance; ambition without virtuous intent is inferior in its arms against the charms of valor, virtue, and piety.

Clarke’s birthday ode for 1701, *Let Nature Smile*, gets around the problem of Anne’s inactivity by shifting the focus:

*Chorus*  
 Long may great Anna live  
 Long may she live of lasting joys possess’d  
 With her Heroick consort bless’d.

Prince George, as admiral of the navy, rather than his wife, Anne, is labeled "Heroick." The prince is also more active than the queen in Anne's birthday ode for 1707:

Grand Chorus:} 'Tis Coming——This auspicious Day  
 To glorious Wonders leads the Way,  
 When ANNA's and Her GEORGE's Arms  
 The Tragick Scene shall close,  
 Like Thunder silence Wars Alarms,  
 And give the World Repose.<sup>33</sup>

This verse betrays a consciousness of the inappropriateness of considering Anne a victorious military leader, given her true status as a woman and, more importantly, as a servile wife. This is most peculiar, since the prince consort, unlike the wives of male kings throughout English history, did not ascend the throne alongside his wife. He is merely his wife's subject, which is what he himself declared upon her accession: "I am her majesty's subject, and have sworn homage to her today. I shall do naught but what she commands me."<sup>34</sup> As Charles Beem argues, the declaration served as an apotheosis for English female kingship. Queen Anne stepped into this supposedly male office, unlike her sister Mary, who presented a public image of subservient wife within a conventional marriage (102). Though Beem makes a case for Anne having therefore transcended "the limitations of her gender," it is clear from the texts of the odes that this notion of "female kingship" did not sit well with her contemporary audience. It has been well documented that Prince George was inactive politically and militarily throughout his wife's reign. The references to his martial exploits relied on the memory of his activity as a younger man, when he showed heroism in the Danish army. Nonetheless, his gender allowed him to be considered as a heroic leader of Britain's arms, even though he remained chronically ill and was physically unable to partake in any such exploits throughout Anne's reign. However much the odes tried to amplify Anne's power, she was still a female monarch, and as such ultimately fell victim to the same fate as Queen Mary's: being overshadowed, because of her gender, by the male figures in her life.

"Our Godlike Generals Praise": Fashioning Anne  
 in the Shadow of Mighty Marlborough

The Duke of Marlborough, John Churchill, and his wife, Sarah, had long been Queen Anne's favorites. Following Anne's accession to the throne, she and Sarah

were inseparable, which has led many historians to believe that during the earlier part of Anne's reign, the Churchills' influence was considerable. Shortly after her succession, Anne appointed Churchill a knight of the Order of the Garter, captain-general of the army, master-general of the ordnance, and ambassador extraordinary to the Dutch Republic (Gregg, 153). The success of his campaign of 1702, with the French forced out of the territories of Cleves and Cologne and the capturing of the fortresses of Venloo, Ruremond, Stevensweert, and Liège, stood in stark contrast to William III's failure to achieve similar victories (160). Anne appointed Churchill Duke of Marlborough in December of 1702, though this irritated the Tories, who opposed military involvement on the Continent (160, 165). The Duke of Marlborough continued to succeed in his campaigns, and he remained in the queen's favor even following his wife's self-inflicted estrangement in 1705 because of political disagreements between the two women.

Marlborough's undeniable status as a triumphant military hero, especially with the victories in the Battles of Blenheim and Ramilies, began to eclipse the achievements of the queen, so much so that, through the outpourings of praise he received, he seemed a king in all but name.<sup>35</sup> Just as William's activities had outshone Mary's in the early 1690s and turned many of the queen's birthday odes into odes for her husband, so too did Anne's odes begin to turn to praising the victorious duke. He even outshined Prince George, in lines such as these, by Tate, from the ode for New Year's Day in 1705:

While ANNA and GEORGE their Empire retain  
Of the Land and the Main,  
And a Marlborough Fights  
Secure are the Rights  
Of Albion and Europe in PIETY's Reign.<sup>36</sup>

Although Anne, pious as usual, is the driving force behind these successes, one cannot help noticing that the queen and prince retain their empire thanks to Marlborough. Her gender and resultant inability to participate in these important military events made it impossible for her to be described in the heroic Amazonian mode that was deployed in works composed for her as princess, such as John Blow's *A Pastoral Dialogue Complaining that the Princess's Birthday was not Celebrated, February 1698*.<sup>37</sup> As discussed, such heroic language was used too in the first birthday ode for her as queen, *Inspire Us Genius of the Day*.

Notice how Anne and George are treated in the ode for New Year's Day in 1706, Clarke and Tate's *O Harmony Where's Now Thy Pow'r*:

Happy *Britain*, Happy Realm!  
 Such a QUEEN and PRINCE in Court,  
 Such MINISTERS at Helm:  
 Such Troops by Sea and Land,  
 Such GENERALS to Command.<sup>38</sup>

While the syntax puts the queen and prince at the top, it also places them in court, while out at “Sea and Land,” the ministers and generals are at the “Helm,” steering the political course of the reign. The generals mentioned must surely be the Duke of Marlborough and the Duke of Ormond.

Anne’s birthday ode for the following year, *O Time Dispense thy Brightest Hours*, goes one step further and mentions the individual responsible for Britain’s military success:

Let Darkness shroud her Guilty Head,  
 While *MARLBORO*’s Conqu’ring Banners spread,  
 And *EUROPE*’s Rescu’d Realms shall come  
 With Addresses and Caresses,  
 Sing our Lawrell’d Heroes home.<sup>39</sup>

Though it was “ANNA’s day,” Marlborough is hailed as the hero, the rescuer of Europe’s realms, and is even decorated with a laurel. The 1708 ode for New Year’s Day, written by Tate and set by Eccles, goes even further and devotes an entire verse to Marlborough, whose exploits in the recent past complement the successes of the passing of the Act of Union in the previous year:

Trophies and Triumphant Spoils,  
 Due to our *ANNA*’s Royal Cares,  
 Due to our *ANNA*’s pious Pray’rs;  
 And *MARLBOROUGH*’s Martial Toils.

Fresh Lawrels shall Adorn his Brow,  
 Like those of *Blenheim*’s and *Ramillia*’s plain;  
 Nor less Renown’s his last Campaign;  
 Fame and the *Flying* Foe must This allow,  
 Their Troops He Conquer’d Then,  
 Their Heart and Courage Now.

Britain’s “Trophies and Triumphant Spoils” are painted as being a result of Anna’s “Cares” and “pious Pray’rs,” but, more realistically, as the consequence of



Marlborough's "Martial Toils." Although the ode closes by referring to Anne's "Triumphs" and the peace that shall ensue, the praise of Marlborough surpasses that of the pious, but inactive, queen.

Indeed, Marlborough's praise was short lived, for in 1711 he fell from the queen's favor when he refused to return to the Cabinet and support the peace negotiations at her request (Gregg, 345). As one would expect, there is a notable absence of any mention of Marlborough in the odes of the closing years of Anne's reign. And the intentions behind the ode were to change yet again. The image of Anne as being "entirely English," in keeping with the idea of the queen as the new Elizabeth, decreased in favor of the image of Britishness, doubtless a symptom of the queen's intention to create feelings of unity among her people in anticipation of the passing of the Act of Union in 1707. We now begin to see Anne, and the nation itself, as Britannia.

"Britannia's Anna Reigns":  
Anne as Queen, Goddess, and Nation

Although the idea of Britannia can be traced back to a collective Roman term for Albion, Hibernia, and many smaller islands, as Madge Dresser observes, it was under Queen Mary in 1554 that "a Catholic prototype of Britannia, 'Anglia,' first appeared on a medal."<sup>40</sup> The figure of "Aestrea," the fertile yet virgin goddess with obvious parallels to the mother of Christ, also served as a prototype for Britannia, who, following Britain's break from the Roman Catholic Church, became something of a Protestant version of the Virgin Mary.<sup>41</sup> Furtado remarks that it was not until the secularization of the country in the mid-seventeenth century that the secular persona of Britannia came to embody the nursing mother.<sup>42</sup> In fact, according to Dresser, there was no real need for Britannia until there existed a united political identity for her to represent. The role of Britannia allowed Anne to embrace her earlier role of nursing mother, while at the same time allowing her to embody the nation itself, creating a purposeful ambiguity that allowed for more fluidity in the boundaries between what was the queen and what was the nation. Queen Anne as Britannia thus inspired a new kind of nationalism, since Britannia came to represent "Britain's close identification with liberty, both religious and constitutional; its hegemony over the sea; its equal standing with the best of Greece and Rome; and its imperial destiny" (Furtado, 49). Even though, as Furtado admits, these characteristics had their roots in the sixteenth century, in the eighteenth century, Britain's dedication to liberty, its growing empire, and

the unification with Scotland in 1707, resulted in the use of these themes for very different means both by and for the monarch and the nation.

Perhaps the most striking example of Anne and Britain simultaneously representing Britannia occurs in the birthday ode for 1703, *Inspire Us Genius of the Day*, by Motteux and Eccles. As mentioned earlier, much of the ode was reworked, having originally been intended for William III. However, the following lines were written afresh for Anne. I will quote the lines in both forms: the first from the surviving manuscript of the ode, and the second version from the hitherto unidentified printed poem:

Firm as a Rock above y<sup>c</sup> Ocean seen  
 Unmov'd she sits Majestick and serene  
 Like her Britannia's self among the Isles a Queen.<sup>43</sup>

Firm as a Rock above the Ocean seen,  
 Our Guardian sits, Majestic and Serene,  
 Like her *Britannia's* self, among the Isles a Queen.<sup>44</sup>

In the first, the manuscript version, the word "she" could have referred either to Anne or to the island of Britain, making it unclear as to exactly whom or what is being referred to as sitting "Majestic and Serene." In the printed second version, it is "Our Guardian," Queen Anne, who "sits Majestick and serene," and who like "*Britannia's* self, among the Isles a Queen"; whichever version is read, Anne, Britain, and Britannia are all being blurred together.

A simpler change in the ode occurs in the line, on folio 9v, "Anna's birth and Britain's joys," which was originally "William's birth and Europe's joys." A small change, but replacing "Europe" with "Britain" gives us an Anne who is quintessentially English, as opposed to William, with his ties to Europe, both in his overseas campaigns and his Dutch heritage. In short, just as she declared that she knew her heart to be "entirely English," this ode reinforces her attempts to distance herself from her predecessor.

The ode for New Year's Day 1703, *Hark, how the Muses Call Aloud*, also written by Eccles and Motteux, displays a similar forging of the queen's Britishness in lines such as these:

Tell 'em *Britain's ANNA* Reigns,  
*Britannia's ANNA* Reigns, and *Europe* shall have Rest.<sup>45</sup>

Anne is no longer "entirely English," but instead is Britain's queen, as well as "*Britannia's ANNA*," which includes both Britain and the goddess Britannia. In performance,

“*Britain’s ANNA*” would be hard to distinguish from “*Britannia’s Anna*,” producing another type of blending. Although Anne is “*Britain’s Queen*,” later, in the grand chorus, a curious distinction is made between her and her consort:

*Grand Chorus.*] All that You can Happy call,  
On ANNA and her Royal CONSORT fall,  
The Prince of Early Fame,  
Illustrious as his Name,  
*England’s* Protecting GEORGE, AND Guardian of the Main.

She is Britain’s queen, while Prince George is “*England’s*” guardian and protector. Such a description of the royal consort, whose first name conveniently matches that of the patron saint and protector of England, also blurs the distinction between the prince and the saint as England’s guardians. Stressing her Britishness and making Anne a focus of national unity became ever more important, obviously, following the Act of Union of 1707, for as Linda Colley points out, “Few pretended at the time or later that a union on paper would automatically forge a united people.”<sup>46</sup>

Court music also influenced music of the streets, including ballads, songs, and even instrumental music, extending Anne’s image making beyond the nobility, to the nation at large. A ballad written around the time of the queen’s coronation in 1702, *Great BRITAIN’s Joy for her most Gracious Majesty Queen ANN’s being unanimously Proclaim’d through England, Scotland and Ireland with the Loyalists Health*, is explicit in its references to the unification of the nation.<sup>47</sup> The poet here writes two verses for each of the nations involved in celebrating the queen’s coronation and uses phonetic spelling to imitate the respective accents. The verses are written for an Englishman, a Welshman, a Scotsman, an Irishman, and a French Huguenot. Each character essentially expresses the same sentiments: joy at the news of Queen Anne’s accession, a call to the people to rejoice, and reassurance that the new queen will suppress Louis XIV. The characters stress different aspects of the queen, aspects that will appear in later odes and ballads: her emulation of Elizabeth I, her Protestantism, her intentions for unification, her Englishness. Of these, perhaps most interesting is the Englishman’s use of the name *Britannia*:

Our brave *English* Boys will make the Dogs dance,  
To quell the exhorbitant Power of *France*;  
Th’ Bug’rers will soon be compelled to own,

They are but as Slaves to *Britannia's* Crown,  
By a *Stuart*.

As discussed, though many compared her to her Tudor predecessor Elizabeth I in these early days of her reign, this use of the name *Britannia* is an entirely new concept and one that was used solely for Queen Anne. Equally, the word *Britannia* in this ballad refers to the nation, and Britain, as opposed to England, rather than purely to Anne alone, further emphasizing unification. The final verse is particularly significant to the unification of the nations represented. The language employed, especially the use of the first-person plural (“us,” “let’s,” “our,” and “we” throughout), suggests that, like the concluding chorus of an ode, all five voices were to sing together in this section:

Not for joy the blest *Ann* by three Realms must be Crown'd,  
A Health to her Glory by us shall go round,  
Long, long may she live, and ever us Reign,  
So to her Success let's Drink all again,  
Our *Blood* like our Wine doth sparkle for Joy,  
And our Lives we will venture her Foes to Destroy.

Though the unification of Britain was something that would not become manifest until 1707 with the Act of Union, it is clear from the information given in this ballad that Queen Anne's objectives for the nation were known to her people from the outset.

The foregoing discussion makes it clear that the ode was important in forging the queen's public image. Ritual and pageantry increased during her reign, in part because of Queen Anne's understanding of the importance and power of ceremony in inspiring loyalty from her subjects and unity throughout the nation. Her interest in celebrating those occasions more personal to her led to an increase in the importance of the birthday celebration and, as a result, in the birthday and New Year's Day odes, which fashioned images of the queen. Not only this, but it is evident that these images were manipulated and changed according to the varying circumstances of the queen's reign, reassuring the nation of the increased stability that would accompany her accession. Such assurances were crucial at this point in monarchical history, following regicide, the increase in the power of Parliament, and, of course, the threat of the Pretender, the Catholic James II, and, from 1701, his son, James Francis Edward Stuart. While, as we have seen, traditional gender stereotypes ultimately led to Queen Anne being overshadowed by the men who

surrounded her, her inactivity in military affairs was replaced by a positive image of active piety. This was enhanced by musical settings, with nuances created by key choice, key changes, rhythm, and vocal melody, not by word choice alone. Indeed, it is the musical nature of the birthday ode that makes it all the more suitable as a medium for creating a public self. When confronted with a musical performance, through which one might even be implored to “Sing great Anna’s matchless name,” the ode’s audience—be it the nobility at the first court performance, the “middling sort” at a repeat concert performance, or the ordinary purchasers of the printed song or music sheets—is invited to participate in a complex set of monarchical aspirations.<sup>48</sup> Through the ritual that is performance, even as an audience member, one participates in a web of images and supports the illusion of power so crucial for the monarchy’s continued existence. Thus, the ode reveals itself to be not only a reflection of social values, but also a device through which these values were transmitted. The ode’s consumers become the performers and the implorers and fashion themselves—the nation—in relation to the subject of power that is the focal point of unity: their queen.