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I. Prior's 'great monument', 1704-6

In 1706 Matthew Prior's *Ode, Humbly Inscrib'd to the Queen, on the Late Glorious Success of Her Majesty's Arms* was printed by Jacob Tonson the elder. This thirty-five stanza poem, modeled on Spenserian verse, celebrated the nation's recent successes in the Wars of Spanish Succession, especially the decisive victories led by the Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim in 1704 and at Ramillies in 1706. The ode closes with nine stanzas that envision the construction of a large-scale sculptural scheme to commemorate this great military achievement, in a sequence opening with an invocation to Calliope, the muse of epic poetry, calling for her to join with 'her Sister SCULPTURE' in erecting this monument:

While thus the ruin'd Foe's Despair commends
Thy Council and Thy Deed, Victorious Queen,
What shall Thy Subjects say, and what Thy Friends?
How shall Thy Triumphs in our Joy be seen?
Oh! daign to let the Eldest of the NINE
Recite BRITANNIA Great, and GALLIA Free:
Oh! with her Sister SCULPTURE let her join
To raise, Great ANNE, the Monument to Thee;
To Thee, of all our Good the Sacred Spring;
To Thee, our dearest Dread; to Thee, our softer KING.

Let EUROPE sav'd the Column high erect,
Than TRAJAN 's higher, or than ANTONINE 's;
Where sembling Art may carve the fair Effect,
And full Atchievement of Thy great Designs.
In a calm Heav'n, and a serener Air,
Sublime the QUEEN shall on the Summit stand,
From Danger far, as far remov'd from Fear,
And pointing down to Earth Her dread Command.
All Winds, all Storms that threaten Human Woe,
Shall sink beneath Her Feet, and spend their Rage below.¹

The association Prior draws here between sculpture and poetry as the two cultural mediums most apt for carving out monuments to fame was a natural one for the poet to make. By the time he composed the *Ode*, Prior had travelled widely on the Continent as a diplomat, spending much time in Paris where he had viewed the latest sculptural monuments raised to Louis XIV both in the city and at Versailles, and where he had developed his own artistic knowledge, appreciation and networks whilst acting as an art-buying intermediary for a range of English patrons.² Prior had seen great sculpture and here in the *Ode* he was envisioning an English scheme rivaling the best continental designs.

The scheme Prior details in his ode is certainly ambitious: his monument consists of a towering triumphal column, higher than the Classical columns erected in Rome to Trajan or Antoninus Pius, with a statue of Queen Anne crowning its top. This column is to be carved with a frieze depicting the tumultuous events of the Wars including the victories at Vigo, Gibraltar and Barcelona that had played a crucial role in securing Charles III's success in Spain. These scenes – the 'Eternal Characters engrav'd' (line 291) – represent Anne as a mother-like figure to Charles, and insist on her ultimate responsibility for his achievements since she has guided and assisted him to victory: 'Whom ANNA clad in Arms, and sent to War;/ Whom ANNA sent to claim IBERIA's Throne;/ And made Him more than King, in calling Him Her Son' (lines 298-300). Marlborough's victories in Germany and France are also to be depicted on the column, whilst personifications of

key places and rivers show their submission to Anne. The scenes are to be complemented by further decorative motifs: symbols of military might ('Bright Swords', 'crested Helms', 'pointed Spears', 'Shields indented deep' and 'Standards with distinguish'd Honours bright' (lines 321-325)) and those delineating Anne's empire (the 'BRITISH Rose', the 'NORTHERN Thistle', 'HIBERNIA's Harp' and the 'vanquish'd Lillies' of 'FRANCE' (lines 333-339)). The work will be completed by a final figure, carved at its base, of Calliope hanging up her harp now that the narrative of Anne's glory has been recorded and peace is at hand.

The sculptural vision Prior describes is indebted to a tradition of Classical monumental sculpture, drawing on Roman examples in terms of its conceptual scale and design, with ornately carved friezes charting the history of Anne's glory as they descend down from the feet of her statue, winding across more than thirty metres of marble. This design mirrors the trajectory and aim of Prior's ode itself, revealing the poem's own classical aesthetic with the triumphal column serving as a metaphor for its wider narrative about the glories of the state – one which culminates, at its height, with a focus on the figure of the queen. Panegyric poetry, like sculpture, entails the creation of a great monument, with Prior here making that comparison explicit as he harnesses the public and artistic status of sculpture to poetry. Prior's vision of a column that will stand throughout time as a record of Anne's legacy arises from the notion, foregrounded in this final section of the poem, that sculpture is a more durable artistic form than poetry and therefore a more suitable medium for a lasting monument. In this way, the *Ode* reveals a degree of anxiety about poetry's ability to endure through the ages, and implies the advantages of raising a physical sculpture to the queen. The *Ode*'s central message of celebration is tempered, then, in these final stanzas by a concern about how to ensure that these glories are remembered, how to achieve a lasting legacy.

In an admiring letter sent to Prior on 20 July 1706, the theologian Robert Nelson picked up on these concerns, noting that it was a shame that there was no sculptor in England capable of executing a worthy monument to Anne's reign:

P.S. I had almost forgot to do justice to those admirable materials [the six concluding stanzas of the *Ode*] you have provided for erecting a column to perpetuate the Queen's glory to future generations; and yet it struck me with particular pleasure, from that knowledge I have of those monuments that have been raised to the two Emperors you mention. It is a great misfortune that we have no eminent sculptor that can execute what you have so masterly designed. Such a work would make London exceed Rome in a monumental pillar, as much as it does already outdo her in trade and commerce. But we will glory that it stands fixt in your verses; where latest times may read Anna's immortal fame.³

Nelson, it seems, was unaware that by the time of the *Ode*'s composition in 1706 Prior was already involved in realizing such a scheme. Evidence of Prior's link to such a project rests upon his composition of four lines of Latin verse accompanied by four lines in English translation, first printed under the title 'For the Plan of a Fountain, on which is Queen Anne on a triumphal Arch, the Duke of Marlborough on Horseback under the Arch, and all the Rivers of the World round about the whole Work':

*Vos quocunque cito properatis Flumina Lapsu
Divisis late Terris Populisque Remotis,
Dicite, nam vobis Tamesis narravit, & Ister,
Anna quid imperijs potuit, quid Marlburus Armis.*

Ye active Streams, where-er your Waters flow,
Let distant Nations, and farthest Climates know,
What you from *Thames* and *Danube* have been taught,
How *Ann* commanded, and how *Marlb'* rough fought.⁴

These verses were clearly intended for carving onto the planned sculptural work of their title, which combines three of the most elaborate sculptural forms within a single scheme: a triumphal arch, an equestrian statue and a fountain. Whilst a clearly different design to the metaphorical scheme described in his ode, Prior here envisions a monument to Anne and British glory on a scale yet to be constructed in London, again signaling his investment in an ambitious sculptural vision that will create a lasting legacy for Anne's reign.⁵

So what was this second scheme with which Prior was involved, and to when does it date? The most plausible response to the first part of this question is to be found in the notebooks of the engraver and antiquarian George Vertue, who in the first half of the eighteenth-century recorded seeing,

a large print of a fountaine. a design that was proposed to be erected at Cheap Side Conduit the statue of Queen Anne at top. the Duke of Marlbro. on horseback – several river Gods. – from a *Model*. under the print opus equities Claudii David. Comitatis Burgundiae.⁶

The close correlation between the description of Claude David's sculptural design with the verses by Prior, which were intended as an inscription for a sculpture of this exact nature (incorporating Anne's figure, Marlborough on horseback, and personified river gods in a fountain scheme) strongly suggests a collaborative effort between the pair in promoting this design. The plans for David's sculpture were evidently abandoned as there is no evidence that the work was executed except in model form.⁷ Vertue does record the position it was intended for – 'Cheap Side Conduit' – a site which offered a water source, necessary to the construction of a fountain. Vertue must have been referring to the Little Conduit, on the North side of St. Paul's Churchyard facing the Old Change, since the Great Conduit at the other end of Cheapside Street had been destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666, with its remains removed in 1669. Vertue's note of David's scheme records no dates, either for the production of the print or the model. Surviving records show that David had arrived in England by 1700, and that by 1705 he had begun work at Lord Weymouth's home at Longleat where he led renovations on the house for several years. Prior was also a visitor to Longleat during this period: it was here that he met the writer Elizabeth Singer Rowe in 1703 whom he courted over the coming months. It is therefore possible that Prior first encountered David through their mutual connection with Weymouth during the sculptor's early years in England. Certainly the pair were closely acquainted by 1710, when that summer the Earl of Cholmondeley twice attached messages for David in letters to Prior, asking for them to be passed on to the sculptor who was presumably residing at 'Matt's Palace' in Westminster during this time.⁸ Such a theory would date the model's production and Prior's accompanying verses to c.1705, with the latest date at which Prior's verses were composed being 1707, when they first appeared in print.

To establish a yet more accurate date for the verses we can turn to Tonson's 1718 edition of Prior's collected *Works*, a handsome folio volume raised through subscription, and on which Prior closely collaborated with the bookseller. This was the volume that promised to establish Prior's place in the canon alongside the authors of Tonson's other similar subscription volumes of Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Pope and Congreve. Prior worked on it with care in establishing an authoritative edition. Indeed, the contents of the 1718 *Works* were edited by Prior himself and arranged chronologically. An inspection of the contents list reveals that verses 'For the Plan of a Fountain' is included immediately after a handful of poems bearing the date 1704, yet prior to the *Ode* of 1706. In light of this evidence the verses appear to have been written around 1704-5, and certainly before the *Ode* in 1706. Prior's apparent collaboration with the Burgundian sculptor soon before his composition of the *Ode* belies his working interest in the relationship of sculpture and poetry at a time when he sought to position himself as a leading national poet. It may well have been his involvement in this scheme that led Prior to explore and foreground his own ideas concerning

the design of a sculptural monument in the *Ode*, and to promote the idea of such a work's ability to serve as a lasting legacy to the glories of the present age.

II. Sculptural schemes of Anne for St. Paul's (1709-12) and The City Churches (1713-14)

Prior recognized the potential sculpture held to carve out a public legacy for Anne's reign, even if he was not to be actively involved in the realization of such a work. Such monuments were, however, to take physical shape in different hands.⁹ For within a few years work began on another elaborate sculpture centred on Anne, also to be constructed in St. Paul's Churchyard, in this case outside the West Front of the cathedral. This was the work of the leading-sculptor, Francis Bird, who had been commissioned by Sir Christopher Wren, the architect appointed to oversee the reconstruction of the cathedral in the wake of the Great Fire of 1666. The design for Bird's sculpture must have been completed by April 1709 when a warrant for the provision of eleven blocks of marble from the Royal Store Yard at Scotland Yard, signed by the Lord High Treasurer Sidney Godolphin, was issued to Wren bearing the stipulation that three of these blocks were 'for the Queen's Statue and Pedestal'.¹⁰ Bird and his team worked on the scheme in a hut on the St. Paul's site, which the German traveler, Zacharius von Uffenbach, visited in June 1710, recording the event in his diary:

We knocked at the door there and had everything shown to us; first the small models in plaster and wood, then we saw the large statues with great admiration. The Queen is done in white marble on a black pedestal, and round her sit the four kingdoms of Britain, including Scotland, (2) Ireland, (3) France, and (4) America. There is still a great deal of work to be done to it.¹¹

The scheme was completed by 1712, but not unveiled until the Great Thanksgiving Service for the Peace of Utrecht on 7 July 1713, more than three years after construction had begun. Von Uffenbach's description of the work proved fairly accurate: the completed scheme incorporated a statue of Queen Anne on a pedestal surrounded by four allegorical figures of France, Ireland, America and Britannia.¹² Two contemporary engravings of the sculpture were produced in the wake of its unveiling and provide a good sense of its final design, with the manufacture of these large-scale prints suggesting the status and interest accorded the work. One of these engravings (Fig. 1), produced c.1713-1720 and sold by Carington Bowles from his shop in the churchyard, depicts the sculpture as a standalone work, divorcing it from its topographical context. The image was likely produced for largely aesthetic reasons, focusing on the sculpture as a work of art meriting appreciation in its own right. Due to the locale of Bowles's shop it may also have served as an upmarket souvenir for those visiting the newly renovated site. A second engraving (Fig. 2), produced c.1713-1714, was sold by Henry Overton from his shop near Newgate. This topographical print situates the sculpture against the background of St. Paul's Cathedral, with the image's perspective making the work appear much larger than was the case. The queen's figure is raised into the skyline, competing successfully against Wren's dome and towers. Like the Bowles print, this image was not produced to give an exact sense of the sculpture's size or finish, presenting Anne and her four accompanying figures more in the guise of living women than sculpted marble. Despite this, the print offers a fascinating insight into the social life of public sculpture, as the monument has here drawn a crowd of fashionably dressed spectators, including children, who are clearly commenting on and appreciating the work.

The only sculptural monument then *in situ* in Britain likely to have exerted some form of influence on Bird's design was that of Gabriel Caius Cibber's fountain sculpture of Charles II surrounded by four personifications of English rivers including the Thames, Severn, Tyne and Humber, which had been completed in 1681 for the newly constructed Soho Square (Fig. 3). This sculpture was evidently modelled on Italian baroque designs, specifically Bernini's 'Four Rivers' fountain (1648-51) in the Piazza Navona, Rome, which Cibber may well have seen during his

Continental travels prior to his arrival in England in 1655. The Soho Square sculpture was broken up in 1876, and there are no surviving designs or drawings that provide details of its original formation: the figure of Charles was returned to the square in 1938, whilst the river personifications are now at Grimsdyke, Harrow. On viewing the solitary and eroded statue of Charles today it is hard to envision this figure as once crowning what would have then been an ambitious and innovative fountain scheme. Yet despite its present dilapidated state, Cibber's fountain sculpture of Charles II helps to locate an English context for subsequent schemes centred on Anne, and shows us that many of the readers of Prior's *Ode* and viewers of Bird's sculpture at St. Paul's would already have been familiar with another London example of an impressive, large-scale sculptural scheme constructed to celebrate the glories of the Later-Stuart monarchy.

Bird had been Cibber's pupil, and his sculptural formation of Anne surrounded by four female personifications pays homage to his former master's design whilst updating the earlier work's visual message. Where Cibber's sculpture reminded its viewers of Charles II's rule over an English nation – its borders defined by personifications of the rivers Thames, Humber, Tyne and Severn – Bird's topographical meanings were more complex. The sculptural scheme at St. Paul's had a dual purpose. First, it functioned aesthetically as a display of Anne's power over a vast international empire – including Britannia herself, who sits at Anne's right foot, and supports a cartouche bearing the royal arms with her left hand.¹³ Second, at a more domestic level, it created ideas about Anne's dominion at home through its topographical associations, with the sculpture's position playing into wider on-going power struggles in the capital. St. Paul's, as Nigel Aston has noted, was a 'contested site' since it was the locus of a 'four-way relationship between Crown, government, City and church'.¹⁴ Indeed, as Emily Mann reminds us in her article on London's walls and its bars, the City of London was a distinct space from the court, and one in which the monarch's powers had always been liable to some form of negotiation with the powerful guilds and corporations that controlled it.¹⁵ Positioned outside, and not within, the cathedral, Anne's statue provided the monarchy with a highly visible form of public representation in the city, where it would have been seen on a daily basis by the hundreds of people who lived and worked around St. Paul's. The work thus gave the monarchy a permanent and imposing physical presence, serving as a clear claim to dominion over the most affluent square mile in the land.

The topographical meanings created by the position of the sculpture of Anne at St. Paul's were yet more complex, harboring a significant religious dimension. For the scheme's location outside the West Front of the cathedral registered Anne's status as head of church and state, effectively marking the public entrance to St. Paul's, a path that culminated with the altar at the east end of the nave: this created a direct axis between a subject's queen and country at the one end, and their god at the other. This visual reinforcement of the relationship between church and state would have been especially important in a city in which Anne was keen to limit the spread of the various forms of religious dissent then perceived by many as a direct challenge to the stability of church and nation. The sculpture reflects ideas about Anne that are entirely in keeping with historical sources that reveal her ardent desire to protect and promote the interests of the Anglican Church, an agenda embodied in her choice of verses from Isaiah for her Coronation: 'king's shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers.'¹⁶ The St. Paul's sculpture is the only completed statue of Queen Anne known to have been commissioned with her direct support, and serves as a rare example of the type of public image she wished to invest in and convey. Across Europe, the social importance of public sculpture was often marked by a public celebration of its unveiling and, in this way, the St. Paul's sculpture's religious significance was made clear from the outset by the decision taken to delay its unveiling for many months until the auspicious occasion of a state service of thanksgiving at St. Paul's to mark the 1713 Peace of Utrecht.¹⁷

Many of these ideas about the statue's intended associations were registered in Joseph Trapp's *Peace. A Poem* (1713), which was written to commemorate the treaty and dedicated to Viscount Bolingbroke. In the final two stanzas of the poem Trapp turns his lens to the recently unveiled statue of the queen:

Herself, disclos'd, in awful Marble stands;
And all the Temple's awful Front commands.
Th'Effigie with August, Majestick Mien,
Looks *ANNA*, almost breathes, and speaks a Queen.
But Oh! what hallow'd Joy Within appears!
What sweet, celestial Musick charms our Ears!
Now, soft as Breezes of the breathing Spring,
Tremble the Vocal Airs, and warbling String:
Now through the Dome the bolder Notes rebound,
Swell'd with the lofty Trumpet's sprightly Sound.
The various Organ, pleas'd, with Both complies,
Sinks as They sink, and rises as They rise:
While Heav'n approves the consecrated Lays,
And Angels in replying Anthems praise.¹⁸

Trapp's poem here creates its own spiritual axis, directly connecting the statue of Anne outside the cathedral's West Front with the religious activities that took place within its doors. The harmony created between the voices of choristers, stringed instruments, the trumpet and the organ mirrors the greater harmony created between the cathedral and the almost living statue of Anne who commands the 'Temple's awful Front'. Acoustic symmetries are further invoked through Trapp's description of the queen's statue as one which 'almost Breathes' at the cathedral's entrance, and his reference to the 'vocal airs' which are sounded from within St. Paul's as 'soft as Breezes of the breathing Spring'. Trapp's poem develops and reflects on this scenography of concord with a nod to its wider religious promise:

From this Great *Æra* wond'rous Years shall run;
And *ANNA*'s Fame roll circling with the Sun [...]
True Liberty her Influence now shall spread,
And long distress'd *Religion* raise her Head.
No more shall Vice, Triumphant, Laws defy;
Nor Blasphemy unpunish'd brave the Sky. (p.20)

The cathedral is completed and given life by the queen's marble presence. Anne's reign, Trapp's poem suggests, has set in cycle a new age, one of liberty and Anglican prosperity – a promise signalled by the presence of her statue at the cathedral's door. In closing his poem with this homage to a recently unveiled monument, Trapp – like Prior before him – draws attention to poetry's commemorative possibilities, and its ability to create and record legacy in similar ways to sculpture. But where Prior had projected his own sculptural vision in the *Ode* and could therefore control its design and implicit meanings, Trapp was invoking an executed public work – his is a poem that attempts to shape meaning already in circulation, not to create meaning through the description of imaginative sculptural feats.

The wide-reaching religious implications of the St. Paul's sculpture are further revealed by state plans for a number of related sculptural schemes that followed in its wake and likewise sought to use sculpture to reinforce the association between Anne and her church. In a meeting on 25 June 1713 the City Church Commissioners, responsible for the construction of fifty new churches intended to regularise Anglican worship, introduced items into their minutes calling for,

8. A statue of Queen Anne, 'made by the best hands', to be set up 'in the most conspicuous and convenient part' of each new church.

9. Mr Bird and Mr Gibbons to be desired to provide designs and estimates for such statues.¹⁹

Less than a year later, on 29 April 1714, this scheme was replaced with a more focused initiative to erect a fifty-foot column outside St. Mary Aldwich at the top of the Strand, with a statue of Anne at its top:

5. Instead of statues to be put in the fifty new churches, a steeple in form of a pillar to be built at west end of the church near the Maypole in the Strand, with the Queen's statue on top, with bases for inscriptions to perpetuate the memory of the building of the fifty new churches.²⁰

James Gibbs and Nicholas Hawksmoor both submitted designs for the project (Figs. 4 and 5), with Gibbs's more ornate column selected as the winning scheme. The design with which Gibbs won the tender closely resembles the triumphal column that his friend, Prior, had described in his *Ode* of 1706, making it possible that his poetic depiction may have provided some form of inspiration. Work on the column began but was soon abandoned following the queen's death that August. The statue of Anne for the column's top, which had been commissioned at great expense from the Italian sculptor Giovanni Battista Foggini, appears to have been completed in Italy yet never arrived on English shores, its disappearance remaining a mystery to this day.²¹ Had Anne lived a little longer this ambitious project would likely have been completed, and a triumphal column similar to that which Prior early envisioned as a testament to the glories of her reign may have proved one of the most striking of London's landmarks.

III. Religion and Anne's sculptural legacy

An anonymously-written poem about the statue of Anne at St. Paul's, printed in 1712 and sold as a one-penny pamphlet, provides another insight into how contemporaries interpreted Bird's sculpture within a specifically Anglican context. *A Well-Timbered Poem, On Her Sacred Majesty; Her Marble Statue, And Its Wooden Enclosure in Saint Paul's Church-Yard* addresses the significance of the sculpture's location and foregrounds the religious meanings of Bird's work by drawing attention – as Prior had done previously – to the metaphorical possibilities that arose from the close relationship between poetic and sculptural legacies.²² The poem was composed in 1712 prior to the sculpture's unveiling, at a time when it was in position on site but covered with a wooden hoarding. The work thus sat in the most public of spaces but was, it appears, entirely obscured. *A Well-Timbered Poem* plays upon the fascination with what lay beneath the box, containing forty-four stanzas that operate through what initially appears to be a comical conceit: that the statue of Anne in its box was a living person, currently trapped in a 'darksom Hut' but soon to be released into the world. The poem's paratextual materials exaggerate this idea: the epigraph on the title page quotes from Psalm XXII, verse 16, 'The Wicked have Enclosed Me', and the titlepage carries an advertisement that 'another POEM will be Publish'd on This Subject as soon as Her Majesty's Statue becomes Visible. Written by the Author of This.'

A closer reading of the poem quickly reveals its more serious Tory High-Church motives and intensely anti-Catholic rhetoric, with the work serving as an allegory directed at Anne herself. The poem invites the queen and its readers to imagine and associate with her statue's position, which is one on the brink of physical, political and religious peril – on the one hand from the threat of a Catholic faith whose practice is yet to be properly extinguished, and on the other from the 'black Plots' (stanza 43) of the Whigs. The poem opens with a series of stanzas that establish the work's dualistic tone, one in part complementary and subservient to the queen, but at the same time cautionary, evoking imagery that draws attention to the current limits of Anne's power:

Our Glorious Mistress, from a different Cause,
Here, in *Effigie*, our Regard Commands,
And Peoples Eyes on Her Retirement draws,
Who thus, *Incognita*, in Publick stands.

To this poor Tenement confin'd,
Her Statue, like the Sun behind a Cloud,
Enjoys the Comforts of a Peaceful Mind,
And meditates Bright Blessings for the Croud. (stanzas 2-3)

These lines use the statue's enclosed position as a metaphor for Anne's 'Retirement' from public audiences in the final years of her reign as ill-health led to her confinement in the royal bedchamber. The poet plays upon Anne's publicly obscured position throughout the poem, suggesting it has hindered her ability to comprehend the pressing concerns of her nation. The poem thus positions itself as one that promises to educate Anne, guiding her to better acts of government, and in its next section it adopts a more optimistic approach in its educational programme. Thus, in stanzas nine to seventeen the poet lists examples of other prominent figures who have been, like Anne's statue, obscured by wood but have put this position to positive ends: these include the goddess Diana who is concealed by the woods during the chase; Charles II hidden in the Royal Oak during the Civil Wars; and even Aesop, a man who to outside appearances seemed 'Ill-built, Mishapen' and 'dull' like wood, but underneath this was 'Of Wit and shining Marble-Virtue's full' (stanza 15). Through these helpful examples the poet implies that Anne's confinement in her box can lead to great things.

In the second half of the poem the work's anti-Catholic rhetoric comes to the fore. Anne's statue is compared directly to the Bible, the receptacle of the word of God:

Before the Artifice of the Past was found,
(Our Subject the Comparison will bear)
The *Holy Book* in Real Boards was bound,
As Sacred *ANNA*'s Statue's cover'd here.

And when her Princely Figure's in Disguise,
Conceal'd beneath this Timber-Coverlid,
Like That most venerable Volume, 'tis,
In *Roman* Language, manifestly hid. (stanzas 18-19)

Anne's statue in its box here comes to serve as a metaphor for Protestantism itself, a faith that has broken free of the constrictions of the Latinate Bible and revealed its true origin and meaning through translation into the vernacular tongue. Here, a question is made implicit: will Anne break free of her box, and in doing so make possible, once and for all, the nation's transition out of the dark obscurity of Catholicism and into the light of Protestantism? The poem goes on to imply the validity of such a course by citing examples drawn from nature: the tulip, lily and rose break free of their winter 'ragged Thread-bare Coat' to bloom in the summer (stanza 25); the 'rugged Oyster' in its shell may appear 'the most unsightly of the fishy Kind' but this protects the pearl within (stanza 26); 'the Starry Diamond' is born out of a 'dull' carbon 'Cabinet' (stanza 27). Towards the end of the poem this religious message is emphasised further as Anne's statue in its box is compared to two very different types of ship – one mercantile, the other Biblical:

Tho' seeming Worthless in its outward Bulk,
Unvalu'd is the inward Prize unseen;
As some *East-India* Weather-beaten Hulk,
A Cargo of rich Treasure holds within.

Say, this Apartment be like *Noah's* Ark,
A shapeless and irregular Alcove;
Unlovely to the View, Unartful, Dark,
Yet it contains an Olive-Branch and Dove. (stanzas 29-30)

The optimism presented in these lines thinly masks the evident concern underlying the entire work: what will happen if Catholicism continues to threaten the interests of the Anglican Church? What will follow if the great edifice of St. Paul's Cathedral that Anne's statue stands before fails to live up to its promise of heralding a united and unchallenged national church? Indeed, in the final stanzas of the poem we shift to St. Paul's itself: 'That Sacred, that Stupendous Edifice,/ The Pride of *Britain*, and the Boast of Fame' (stanza 41). The poem closes by thinking about what the cathedral could mean in both religious and political terms. St. Paul's was perceived by contemporaries as a phoenix out of the ashes, a timber frame burnt down only for Wren's glorious structure to rise again. Anne's statue here comes to act as a wider metaphor for the purposes behind the entire project of the cathedral's reconstruction which, like her statue, 'Spent all its Nonage in a Timber Frame' (stanza 41). The poem reminds us that the cathedral's reconstruction wasn't a task solely undertaken to physically replace a structure that had burnt down, but moreover to build a Protestant bastion capable of fostering and protecting the spiritual heart of the nation. For the poem's anonymous author, the sculpture of Anne standing outside the cathedral's West Front was a powerful reminder of all that the queen had still to do – the legacy she had yet to achieve – and it was therefore apt that this monument was as yet unveiled because it marked an, as yet, incomplete triumph.

IV. Conclusion

A Well-Timber'd Poem, like Prior's *Ode* of 1706 and Trapp's *Peace* of 1713, reveals the complex ways that the possibilities of sculpture were promoted in poetry of the period. Whilst the sculptural scheme Prior describes was never executed, this was not indicative of a contemporary lack of investment in public sculpture of Queen Anne. For during Anne's reign there was a significant movement to commission sculpture of the queen, with at least twenty statues of her erected in Britain during the early decades of the eighteenth century.²³ At a basic level sculpture gave Anne's royal person a notable public presence – a presence that Robert Bucholz suggests the queen tried, but ultimately failed, to attain through the reimplementations of royal ritual and ceremony.²⁴ But more significantly, Anne's reign witnessed a new type of investment in royal public sculpture in terms of the ideas about the purposes to which it could be put, drawing together Anne's roles as head of church, nation and empire. These ideas weren't solely represented through the medium of stone, but through poetry and print, and played upon Anne's statue's ability to serve as a public surrogate for the queen. This essay has explored only a small, yet significant, handful of examples of public sculpture of Queen Anne and the types of designs, associations and aspirations such works harbored. There is plenty of work still to be done before we can appreciate the wider context of public sculpture of the queen, and the London-based works need to be situated alongside the many statues erected in the provinces if we are to gain a fuller understanding of interrelationships between these schemes at a national level.

Whilst it is impossible to ignore the likely influence of wider continental sculptural precursors upon the London sculptures of Anne, in which monumental sculptural works were used to redefine the topography of cities such as Paris and Rome, it is clear that statues of the queen were positioned within the landscape in ways that promoted very specific ideas about the relationship between Anne, the Anglican church and the British nation. The unifying concern of all sculptures of the queen – whether realized or not, written as poetry or carved in stone – was that of her legacy, and it is therefore poignant that Anne's sculptural legacy has largely gone unnoticed by subsequent

generations. Indeed, the visual narrative the St. Paul's sculpture sought to convey about the close relationship between Anne and the Anglican Church has since been distorted. For Bird's original scheme was moved in 1887 to East Sussex, where it stands decaying in the sea-breezes of the garden of an abandoned house (Fig. 6).²⁵ The original sculpture was replaced in 1886 with a Victorian replica completed by Richard Belt and Louis-Auguste Malempré.²⁶ This late nineteenth century work is not the exact copy it was intended to be, with comparisons between this work and early eighteenth century engravings revealing differences between the designs.²⁷ Furthermore, the scheme has a distinctly late-Victorian aesthetic leading members of the public to identify the central statue as that of Queen Victoria, despite the presence of Anne's name engraved on the pedestal.²⁸ In the long term then, the Anglican sculptural project centred on Anne failed to achieve its intended legacy, its schemes abandoned, eroded and distorted through acts of relocation. Prior's anxiety that poetry provides less durable monuments than sculpture appears to have been largely unfounded.

¹ Matthew Prior, *Ode, Humbly Inscrib'd to the Queen, on the Late Glorious Success of Her Majesty's Arms* (1706), reproduced in *The Works of Matthew Prior*, ed. by H. Bunker Wright and Monroe K. Spears, 2 vols (Clarendon P, 1971), 2nd edition, vol. I.241-242, lines 261-280.

² Helen Jacobsen's recent research into Prior's dual activities on the Continent as diplomat and art-buying intermediary for British patrons including the Earl of Dorset, Charles Montagu, Jacob Tonson the elder and Lord Somerset reveals Prior's engagement within a wider European connoisseur's Art market. See Jacobsen, 'The Connoisseurial Adviser: Matthew Prior, 1664-1721', in *Luxury and Power: The Material World of the Stuart Diplomat, 1660-1714* (Oxford: OUP, 2012), p.185-208. Jacobsen notes, 'Prior's artistic appreciation was intellectual as well as visual, and later correspondence and writings show the extent to which Prior understood art appreciation as a skill to be learnt and, ultimately, to be used for self-improvement' (p.195).

³ C. F. Secretan, *Memoirs of the Life and Times of the Pious Robert Nelson* (London: John Murray, 1860), p.238.

⁴ These verses were first printed in *The Miscellaneous Works of the Right Honourable the Late Earls of Rochester and Roscommon. To which is added, a curious collection of original poems and translations by the Earl of Dorset, the Lord S---rs, The Lord H-x, The Lord G-Lle, Sir Roger L' Estrange, Mr. Otway, Mr. Prior, Mr. Walsh, Mr. Smith. Mr. Rowe, &c.*, 2 vols (London: B. Bragge, 1707), vol. II.122-123. Wright and Spears date the poem later to 1709, placing its composition three years after the *Ode*. See Wright and Spears, vol. II.907.

⁵ This was not the only sculpture for which Prior wrote verses. Jacobsen draws attention to an antique bronze sculpture Prior bought from the Colbert collection in Paris in 1698, for which he subsequently designed verses for engraving onto a nine-inch pedestal, perhaps designed by Gibbs, before presenting this as a gift to Robert Harley, Lord Oxford in 1720 (Jacobsen, p. 202). Harley subsequently had an engraving made of the sculpture from three different angles, recording the verses on each side. For a text of the verses and further information see Wright & Spears, p. 522; the lamp is lost but the pedestal survives in the Portland Collection, Welbeck Abbey; the British Museum holds copies of all three engraved views (BM 1874-8-8-2351; 1874-8-8-2352; 1874-8-8-2353). Prior also wrote verses attached to the pedestal of a bust of Lady Margaret Cavendish Holles Harley, a work commissioned by her father Edward Harley from the sculptor John Rysbrack, c.1723 (Portland Collection, Welbeck Abbey).

⁶ George Vertue, *Vertue Note books*, 7 vols (Oxford: Walpole Society, 1930-1955), vol.II. 87.

⁷ In their annotations to the *Ode* (1706), Wright and Spears link David's model to Prior's metaphorical depiction of a triumphal column in the poem. The inference that these are references to the same sculptural project must be discounted as the projected designs are entirely different, with David's model not incorporating a column. See Wright and Spears, vol.II.897.

⁸ *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath Preserved at Longleat. Wiltshire. Vol. III (Prior Papers)* (Hereford: Anthony Brothers Ltd.: 1908), p.439, 442.

⁹ For an overview of sculptural works of Queen Anne see Kevin Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1714* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 2013), p.599-602; Nicola Smith, *The Royal Image and the English People* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), p.134-137.

¹⁰ Philip Ward-Jackson, *Public Sculpture of the City of London* (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2003), p.376. See Ward-Jackson's account of Bird's sculpture of Anne at St. Paul's for a detailed history of the work: Ward-Jackson, p.374-381.

¹¹ *London in 1710. From the Travels of Z. C. von Uffenbach*, ed. and trans. By W. H. Quarrell and Margaret Mare (London: Faber & Faber, 1931), p.35.

¹² No original designs for the work survive and it is therefore unclear whether the figure of Scotland (noted by von Uffenbach) was later substituted for one of Britannia, or whether von Uffenbach misinterpreted the design.

¹³ For a detailed description of the scheme see Ward-Jackson, p.374-375.

¹⁴ Nigel Aston, 'St. Paul's and the Public Culture of Eighteenth-Century Britain', in *St. Paul's: the Cathedral Church of London, 604-2004*, ed. by Arthur Burns, Derek Keene and Andrew Saint (New Haven & London: Yale UP, 2004), p.363-371 (p.364). Aston also discusses Anne's prioritization of the St. Paul's building project over any investment in royal building schemes (p.364).

¹⁵ Emily Mann, 'In Defence of the City: The Gates of London and Temple Bar in the Seventeenth Century', *Architectural History*, 49 (2006): 75-99.

¹⁶ *The Bible: Authorized King James Version with Apocrypha*, ed. by Robert Carroll and Stephen Prickett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), Isaiah 49:23, p.812.

¹⁷ For examples of impressive public unveilings see Burke's account of the unveiling of Martin Desjardin's statue of Louis XIV in the Place des Victoires, Paris; Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, p.93-96. Claude Lorrain's *Fireworks* drawings, engraved in 1637, provide a visual record of the elaborate unveiling of an equestrian statue of Ferdinand III prior to his papal confirmation as Holy Roman Emperor; see Lino Mannocci, *The Etchings of Claude Lorrain* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1988), p.164-203.

¹⁸ Joseph Trapp, *Peace. A Poem. Inscribed to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke* (London, 1713), p.19-20.

¹⁹ *The Commissions for building fifty new churches: The minute books, 1711-27, A Calendar*, ed. by M.H. Port (London: London Record Society, 1986), p.21.

²⁰ Port, ed., p.32.

²¹ For a detailed account of this scheme, the history of Foggini's statue of Anne and an account of subsequent schemes proposed following the abandonment of the column, see Terry Friedman, 'Foggini's Statue of Queen Anne', *Kunst des Barock in der Toskana: Studien zur Kunst unter den letzten Medici*, ed. Klaus Lankheit (München: Bruckmann, 1976), p. 39-56; Francesco Freddolini, 'John Talman in Florence: The Court of the Courtiers and the Artists', *John Talman: An Early-Eighteenth Century Connoisseur*, ed. by Cinzia Maria Sicca (New Haven: Yale UP, 2000), p.127-158 (especially p.143-148).

²² *A Well-Timbered Poem, On Her Sacred Majesty; Her Marble Statue, And Its Wooden Enclosure in Saint Paul's Church-Yard* (London, 1712). Other poems written about the St. Paul's sculpture include: Joseph Trapp, *Peace. A Poem. Inscribed to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke* (London, 1713), a celebration on the Peace which presents the newly unveiled statue as a metaphor for Anne's guardianship over church and nation; 'A Pasquin to the Queen's Statue at St. Paul's, during the Procession, Jan. 20. 1714' (London, 1714), a satirical attack on the impending Hanoverian succession; Sir Samuel Garth's 'On Her Majesty's Statue in St. Paul's Church-Yard', a retrospective and wistful account of Anne's reign likely composed between 1714 and Garth's death in 1719.

²³ The significance of this number is put in perspective through a comparison with the French 'statue campaign' of 1685-6 which, whilst a state-funded and organized project, culminated in the overall production of fewer statues of Louis XIV than those completed of Anne (which were, as a collective group, produced over a longer period of time, but derived from a combination of state-funded and privately-commissioned projects). Peter Burke has noted the significance of the number of completed Louis statues, stating that whilst many of the proposed sculptures were never executed, 'the scale of the operation remains impressive, recalling Roman emperors such as Augustus rather than modern monarchs.' Burke, p.93.

²⁴ Robert Bucholz, "'Nothing but Ceremony": Queen Anne and the Limitations of Royal Ritual', *Journal of British Studies*, 30: 3 (1991): 288-323.

²⁵ The work has recently been upgraded to category A status on the Heritage at Risk national register, indicating its precarious state: see <http://risk.english-heritage.org.uk/register.aspx?id=46614&rt=0&pn=1&st=a&ctype=all&crit=queen+anne> [accessed 17 Feb 2014].

²⁶ See Ward-Jackson, p.378-380.

²⁷ For example, in the Victorian replica Anne wields her sceptre pointing down over her subjects, whereas in all engravings of the original sculpture she holds it in a vertical position, in keeping with coronation portraits of the queen.

²⁸ This became apparent in the swathe of internet media reporting on the *Occupy London* protest (2011-2012).