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The Rejection of the Manege Tradition in Early Modern England: "Equestrian Elegance at Odds with English Sporting Tradition"

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THE REJECTION OF THE MANÈGE TRADITION IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND:

"Equestrian Elegance at odds with English Sporting Tradition"

by

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL PAGE

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This thesis began as a wild question posed to my advisor, Dr. Elizabeth L. Furdell: "Could I possibly relate horses and British history for a masters project?" With a simple nod from her, I was off in a flash, researching the various themes of the equestrian spectrum. After fruitless beginnings with a topic on English foxhunting, I redirected my focus on a subject which has consumed my being since I was seven years old - horsemanship. Having preferred the English style of riding for most of my life, I resolved to trace English horsemanship during the period of history which fascinates me most. What I discovered was a neglected topic, but one that seems helpful in understanding more about the nature of England in the early modern period as well as one that is interesting and illuminating to modern 'horsey' historians like myself.

There have been so many influences both directly and indirectly upon this thesis, but time and space are constraints which force me to target specific persons here. I am indebted foremost to my parents - Bob and Charlotte Simmons - for instilling in me a love for learning and for supporting my early obsession with horses. I am eternally grateful for the endless hours of lessons and horse shows, the costly equipment and mounts, and most of all, for their unwavering belief in me. Without them, my horsemanship would be lost, and this thesis might never have been written. I also want to recognize Dr. Tom Williams, an outstanding professor of history (presently at Green Mountain College in Vermont) who taught my first college history class at St. Andrews Presbyterian College. Both his erudite wisdom and his passion for studying history abroad have served as examples, creating in me the desire to emulate him as a professor of history.

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I also pay tribute to the UNF History Department and its professors. Special thanks are owed to Dr. Furdell who, in sharing my fondness for British history, wholeheartedly encouraged yet tempered my

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ABSTRACT

Renaissance creativity and obsession with classical traditions spawned a new form of horsemanship called the manège in sixteenth-century Europe. This study deals with England's ultimate rejection of the courtly horsemanship despite the dismal state of the nation's equestrian affairs. Tudor and Stuart monarchs utilized royal influence to attempt change - from legislative reforms to the importation of horses - but no specific monarchical effort proved immediately effective. The significance of royal influence is seen in the continued importation of quality stock and in royal support for equestrian-related sports. Both enriched equine bloodlines and promoted the development of sporting tradition in England. While, with royal encouragement, the manège and its 'dancing' horses enjoyed a brief acceptance in England, both were spurned in favor of sports and the developing Thoroughbred horse. English horsemen of the 1600s found their own voice regarding horsemanship in the written works of Blundeville, Markham, Astley, and Clifford. These English authors criticized the manège as 'violent.' Furthermore, such riding was considered futile in warfare and impractical for riding in the open English countryside. The majority of aristocratic riders became obsessed with the new riding styles made popular by racing and hunting. While other histories have given attention to the emerging group of horsemanship writers in England, this thesis deals with the aristocratic rebuff of the manège and its proponents. English nobles even disregarded their own reputable horseman, William Cavendish, whose teachings reveal a diligent manège master with a competent understanding of the equine mentality. By 1620, the associated 'violence' in manège training waned as a second generation of riding masters - largely French - advocated greater humanity and patience in methodology. However, the English had already charted their own course in horsemanship and had no use for the 'frivolous' riding. English renunciation of the manège is but one expression of the country's isolationism during the period, and its focus internally is congruent with a growing nationalism that favored things 'uniquely British.'

INTRODUCTION

For some, England is a peculiar nation which has reveled in its reputation for individualism. In the early modern period of English history, a pompous king defied the religious authority of Europe, establishing himself as 'Head of the Church of England,' and changed western religion forever; similarly, a virgin queen defeated the known world's most powerful armada with her fleet of small ships. These are but two of the more popular ways by which England has made a place for itself in history. England maintains a unique spot in equestrian-related history as well. Today, the area stands as the most infamous foxhunting country in the world, and certainly the country holds prominence for creating one of the world's most popular breeds of horses - the Thoroughbred. In the early modern period, England once again expressed its individualism by turning its back on the most celebrated form of Renaissance horsemanship in Europe: the *manège*.

Compared with continental countries like France and Italy, equestrian affairs in England were inferior - the English horse as well as the nation's horsemanship lagged far behind. Thus, English aristocrats were originally receptive to the 'enlightened' ideas of the manège system and its 'dancing' horses. Foreign masters were imported by English monarchs and other prominent horsemen to teach the classical style of horsemanship. However, the manège never took root because the majority of English gentlemen dismissed it as frivolously vulgar and found it lacking military purpose in an age of changing warfare. By the late sixteenth century, English gentlemen like Gervase Markham and Christopher Clifford wrote their own horsemanship manuals, questioning the practicality of the style and denigrating its aggressive nature in training. They championed the growing popularity of sporting traditions like racing and hunting, favoring the faster, sleeker breeds of horses.

By the end of the period, England became a nation respected for its unique horseflesh and distinguished by a love for sporting tradition. While the manège did sustain a few loyal advocates like William Cavendish, the majority of English gentlemen did not celebrate the lofty pursuits of the manège. Rather, they developed a "peculiarly British" style of horsemanship, reveling in the fact that their focus and approach was different.[1] While the 'dancing' horses of the manège flourished in continental regions,

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[1]Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992) 172.

Englishmen retreated to the countryside of their island, forming the basis for a unique equestrian culture which embraced the swift sports of the countryside and praised its arising hybrid, the Thoroughbred. By the late eighteenth century, roles had reversed; England was the number one exporter of fine horses to the European continent, and its tradition of riding sports followed suit. English renunciation of the manège is but one statement of the country's isolationism during the period, and its focus internally is congruent with a growing nationalism that favored things 'uniquely British.'

Generally, equestrian topics have not been deemed worthy of study by respected professional historians. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, historians and hacks alike wrote 'historical' accounts of and about the horse yet their overgeneralizing and typically non-objective approach failed to synthesize the material effectively. Various authors relied purely on legend and hearsay when transcribing their histories while others like British author Lady Wentworth made sweeping generalizations about their favorite breeds. Unfortunately, 'histories' of this nature did subsequent damage because erroneous information developed into popular myth. Much of what is written about horses today still serves to credit false notions concerning horses. For example, many 'histories' infer that the modern draught horse transcended the centuries as a remnant of the "Great Horse" yet extensive recent research by credible authors like R.H.C. Davis and Ann Hyland prove that the medieval warborse was never the stature or size of the modern day draught.[2] Moreover, animal-related histories have been severely criticized for their lack of contribution to the history of mankind. However, as cultural history has become popularly accepted within the historical profession, the door has opened for more specialized, unique research: the role of animals in human affairs and in art are two particular areas in which authors Keith Thomas and Roy Strong have made significant strides.

In more recent decades, there have been worthy studies of equestrian matters but with little recognition - a situation lamented by several well-published professors of academic history today. English scholar Raymond Carr predicted disapproval by social historians of his book *English Fox Hunting* because

[2] Many modern draught breeds were not recognized until after the sixteenth century. Moreover, archaeological research has produced equine bones that create horses of no more than fifteen hands high (h.h. - each hand is four inches) whereas draught breeds usually supercede that height by several inches - many draughts are *at least* seventeen h.h

of the controversy associated with the subject, but more importantly, he admitted that historians would gain little useful knowledge from his book simply because of the lack of useful information regarding equines. Carr accused the great learning centers and libraries with neglect of equestrian-related topics.[3] However, since Carr's publication in 1988, equine-related historical studies have become more prominent. Historians Ann Hyland and R.H.C. Davis have produced interesting and well-researched accounts of the medieval warhorse; Hyland carries on with her work, currently researching horses of the early modern era.

Another British historian, Joan Thirsk, believed that England's tie to the horse has been, and currently is, a significantly strong one. For her, the subject is a valid one from a historical perspective. An economic historian, she was surprised by the lack of interest given by historians to the role of horses, especially considering the "dramatic expansion of economic activity" of the early modern period; as viable economic and social elements, "horses were as indispensable to men as is the car, the lorry, and tractor today, and their companionship in toil, travel and recreation brought much comfort..."[4] According to Thirsk, the horse was as essential to the poor English farmer and the traveling chapman as it was to the urban merchant and highly affluent country gentleman, though utilization and need surely differed according to occupation and allowance for recreation and sport. By the late sixteenth century, England was regarded as the "land of comforts" by visiting foreigners overwhelmed by the fact that everyone - no matter the social distinction - rode rather than walked.[5] Thus, Thirsk maintains that by the end of the 1600s, horse keeping had become every man's business.[6] Owning and riding horses in early modern England was not limited to rich man's sport or to economic necessity.

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[3] Raymond Carr, *English Fox Hunting* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976) xii. Carr specifically charged the Bodleian Library at Oxford - normally known for its obscure sources and references - with having little pertinent information. He was more successful at the London Library. Perhaps more disheartening to Carr was the fact that another historian (Roger Longrigg) had access to the same information, but having a different attitude towards hunting, Longrigg wrote a completely different history of the subject.

[4] Joan Thirsk, *Early Modern Horses* (Berkshire, England: University of Reading, 1978) 1.

[5] Lewis Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England* (New York: The Columbia University Press, 1903) 225.

[6] Thirsk, *Early Modern Horses* 6. Her theory is supported by a traveling Frenchman named Guy Miége who in the seventeenth century wrote "the English nation is the best provided of any for land travel as to horses and coaches...Traveling on horseback is so common a thing in England that the meanest sort of people use it as well as the rest." (Thirsk, 28.)

So, while much historical attention has been given to the role of medieval horses, early modern horsemanship and horses in England have yet to be fully explored. This period in English history experienced drastic change in almost every facet of life, and equestrian matters were no exception. This thesis - though limited in scope- serves to highlight England's rejection of one of the most popular forms of horsemanship. In chapter one, the reader is provided with a thorough synopsis called 'medieval beginnings' so that he or she may be familiarized with the equestrian-related adversities which confronted aristocratic horsemen of sixteenth-century England. An understanding of medieval horsemanship, the horses, and equipment helps qualify the significance of these adversities, laying a framework for why England chose a different course in equestrian affairs. Chapter two focuses upon the emerging cultivation of classical horsemanship as an art, and it explains the lineage of the riding masters who spread the tradition throughout Europe and into England. A historiography, the third chapter explains how and why the manège tradition did not flourish in England even with influential English advocates like William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle. Convinced that the manège tradition offered nothing of value in military affairs and turned off by the rigorous discipline of the horsemanship, English gentlemen of the late 1500s rebelled against the classical tradition. By the end of period, they had developed their own individual equestrian style and manner, stimulated by the rapacious growth of sporting traditions like racing and hunting. Chapter four discusses the influence of the monarchy. Equestrian pursuits were championed by powerful kings and queens who helped set the standard in breeding and horsemanship for they possessed the financial resources and connections needed to import. Finally, the last chapter deals with the violence associated with the manège tradition by English horsemen who wrote in opposition to the 'fancy' horsemanship. Writers like Markham, Blundeville, Astley, and Clifford as well as their works have received some attention by various historians; however, much of the interest given to the topic focuses upon changing attitudes and mentalities of English horsemen. These horsemen complained about the unnecessary 'violence' in classical training methods yet seemingly neglected second generation manège trainers like Pluvinel and Cavendish whose horsemanship strayed from the 'violent' techniques of Grisone. With new equestrian pursuits in mind, most English horsemen of the seventeenth century steered clear from the manège despite advancements in its methodology - greater humanity, patience, and understanding of

the equine mentality. Such advancements were advocated by the riding master Cavendish, but the man himself was given little credit in England.

CHAPTER ONE: MEDIEVAL BEGINNINGS

The purpose of this chapter is to set the stage for the study of an elitist tradition of horsemanship which failed to flourish in early modern England. Equestrian matters of the nobility (i.e. horsemanship, type of horse, equipment, training, riding style, etc.) evolved greatly between the medieval and early modern eras in England, and without knowledge of preexisting conditions, the effect of the changes in horsemanship and type of horse bred in the early modern period is lost. What kind of horse existed and how was it used in the medieval period? What were training methods like and how did one learn medieval horsemanship? Was equipment comparable to early modern varieties in usage and style? The answers to these questions are not especially difficult to find for the elite. Literature of the early modern period provides written documentation of horsemanship theory by riding masters of the period as well as engravings and woodcuts which illustrate the type of horse and equipment used.

Generally, aristocrats utilized the horse in four ways during the European medieval period: for military, for hunting, for riding, and for menial labor.[1] Of lowest rank on the economic scale, horses called affers and sumpters toiled as physical laborers, pulling carts and wagons. Beasts of burden, these workhorses possessed minimal strength and were insignificant in stature. Riding horses such as hackneys, hobbies, and rounceys were commonly owned for daily transport. Lighter in frame and known for their high action in movement, riding horses of this type were not especially valuable or expensive. However, highly valuable riding horses did exist in medieval England yet never in great abundance. The most desirable riding horse was undoubtedly the palfrey as it had the most pleasurable gait for riding and was typically well-bred from imported stock. Since they were more valuable, most were owned by the clergy, who bred them, and by upper levels of society, who could afford several types of horses for multipurpose. Palfreys often passed between the two groups as gifts.[2] Many gentlemen kept at least one palfrey for the woman of the household. Palfreys also contributed to the military effort as more prominent knights could afford to ride palfreys to and from battle as their destriers were not comfortable over long distances; other

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[1] Refer to Appendix I for explanation of types and uses of medieval horses.

[2] Charles Gladitz, *Horse Breeding in the Medieval World* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997) 171. One such example exists in records dating from 1243; King Edward ordered the two most beautiful palfreys from Gascony for the Archbishop of Canterbury.

less affluent knights used rounceys for the same purpose. Coursers served hunting purposes but could also be seen in tournaments, earning the name "courser" as they were used to 'run at the courses'. Solid and swift yet usually unrefined, coursers made excellent tournament horses but were not utilized in battle. "Great Horses," or destriers were the most advantageous horses for war because of their size and strength.[3] Destriers, and the lesser known *equi*, were bred, of course, with particular effort and with special use in mind. Most knights wanted a mount which was strong yet proportionate, responsive yet patient, brave yet unflappable amidst the loud trumpets and blasts of warfare.[4] However, most aristocrats in England did not own massive warhorses; destriers made up less than a quarter of the nation's equine population. Without doubt, the upper classes owned and controlled the bulk of horses in medieval England, and certainly members of the aristocracy and the clergy owned and bred the finer, more valuable equines as money, land, and accessibility were more readily available to them. Still, destriers made up a significantly lower percentage of the equine population in England, greatly outnumbered by the smaller workhorses and by rounceys - on which many lesser soldiers rode into battle.

The knight is perhaps the most impressive, if not most familiar, icon of the Middle Ages yet it was his military partner - the warhorse - who bolstered his illustrious image and success. Clearly, the period was an 'equestrian age' in which use of the horse was prolific so it is hardly surprising that the warhorse witnessed its greatest popularity in the Middle Ages. The military warhorse helped build the "whole structure of feudal society in the Middle Ages" by sustaining "the arts of warfare and hunting, [and] chivalry."[5] Certainly, the life of the knight rested on the quality and worthiness of his mount. Almost always a stallion, the military destrier provided speed and strength, itself a unique weapon as well as a formidable defense. As a result, warhorses typically commanded the highest price of any horse at market (£50-100 or more) and were protected with a vengeance.[6]

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[3] The word "destrier" derives from the words "led from the right" as most knights preferred to ride comfortable light horses to the site of battle, leading their warhorse on the right.

[4] These qualifications remained viable as late as the mid-1600s with respected riding masters such as Frenchman Antoine Pluvinel praising these traits in instruction books on riding.

[5] Juliet Clutton-Brock, *Horse Power* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1992) 13.

[6] R.H.C. Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse: Origin, Development, and Redevelopment* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1989) 54. An illuminating example of the warhorse's importance, Datus, the Frankish founder of the abbey of Conques, refused to relinquish his warhorse to enemy Northmen who held his mother at

The story of the warhorse in England is plagued with complication. Because England was not naturally blessed with large, powerful warhorses but needed such horses for battle, considerable effort was exerted to produce and maintain them. Large-scale importation played a key role in its development. However, even with importation, the growth of the warhorse in England faced challenges. The difficulty and tremendous expense of securing and maintaining these horses remained a large problem for most nobles. Records from noble households across medieval England reflect that it was far more expensive to sustain a destrier than a soldier; in fact, the amount of money needed to board one destrier (one day) would pay close to two days wages of an English bowman.[7] Moreover, constant warfare and military campaigning destroyed significant numbers of English destriers, contributing greatly to the shortage of warhorses in England - a problem that would recur under Henry VIII.[8] Attempts to alleviate the ongoing problem were made by English kings who passed laws requiring large landholders to maintain at least one destrier for military service, but the attempts proved unsatisfactory as these laws were impossible physically to uphold - even with fines.[9] Finally, requiring the more affluent members of society to breed and raise warhorses was hardly feasible financially, much less intellectually. The war effort comfortably funded the expense of studs, but in peacetime, generally less effort and money were concentrated on maintaining the studs; most studs were disbanded or sold. In addition, little knowledge of genetics existed, and selective breeding had yet to become standardized so results were not consistent nor overwhelmingly successful. Historian Davis points to these facts in explaining why there was no collective improvement in medieval horsebreeding in England. The strides gained in bettering breed type were often lost, leaving producers of horses to start from scratch after studs were abandoned or sold. So, for many reasons, the appearance of the warhorse in England was enjoyed rather late in comparison to other continental regions.

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ransom and eventually killed her. The loss of valuable warhorses to the enemy could cost a kingdom.

[7] Ibid., 91. Further calculations by Davis reveal that the daily cost of housing and feeding a good horse (not necessarily a destrier) ranged from 6 1/4d. to 7 1/2d. in 1314-15. The significance of such costs become apparent with the knowledge that a *skilled* mason earned no more than 4d. a day (See Davis, 44).

[8] Gladitz, *Horse Breeding* 160. Casualties recorded at Falkirk (1298) show a higher percentage of deaths in destriers: 13.51% destriers, 7.37% rounceys. This makes good sense considering destriers were "battle horses" and often led the fronts, but the numbers of destriers in medieval England were scarce compared to other types of horses.

[9] At best, kings of the period could only implore nobles to show up for battle on destriers (or at least equi). Problems of enforcing such laws continued to plague the issue until the age of Henry VIII.

One must consider the pathetic condition of the English warhorse at the start of the Tudor period. Historians Davis and Hyland have done outstanding work in documenting the series of wars which depleted the number as well as the quality of valuable horses. Medieval battles with Scotland (Wars of Independence, 1291-1333) and France (Hundred Years War, 1337-1453) meant that large numbers of horses were taken out of England to supply the cavalry, and many were lost in battle. Equine casualties rose to such a level that English kings continually appropriated funds for continental imports. According to military historian, Andrew Ayton, England shipped thousands of horses to the Continent; one Exchequer report of the period shows that a total of 8,464 horses were launched to France in 1370 for Sir Robert Knolle's expeditionary campaign.[10] Though the Hundred Years War against France had ceremoniously ended by 1453, intermittent battles with the French continued to drain English equine forces as late as 1558 with the fall of Calais.

While disputes with the French lingered, England became racked with internal conflict and unrest in the mid-1400s, finally erupting in a series of wars between the dynastic houses of York and Lancaster called the Wars of the Roses (1455-87). There is much dispute among historians regarding specifics and interpretations of these wars, but one fact remains certain. Fighting ensued primarily between aristocrats, vying for control of the English throne, and it was they who suffered the greatest casualties in loss of life, property, and assets. As for the condition of the warhorse, the loss was subsequently detrimental as aristocrats bred, raised, and supplied the majority of horses for the military effort.[11] So severe the crisis, "England was no longer a major player in European land warfare" by the end of the century.[12] England continued to suffer from a horse shortage under Henry VII and well into the reign of his son, Henry VIII.

Medieval regard for riding was a commonality evidenced by a Carolingian proverb: "Whoever stays in school until the age of twelve without ever mounting a horse is fit for nothing but the priesthood."[13] In other words, learning to ride not only factored fundamental in the formal training of a

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[10] Andrew Ayton, "Arms, Armour, and Horses," in Maurice Keen, ed., *Medieval Warfare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) 198.

[11] Roger Longrigg, *The English Squire and His Sport* (London: Michael Joseph, 1977) 54.

[12] Maurice Keen, "Guns, Gunpowder and Permanent Armies," in Maurice Keen, ed., *Medieval Warfare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) 287.

[13] Luigi Gianoli, *Horses & Horsemanship Through the Ages* (New York: Crown Publishing, 1967) 76.

knight, but it also remained a basic requirement for any aspiring gentleman. Horsemanship took precedence as the most important skill an aspiring soldier could learn for his success depended heavily upon the animal; even mastery of the sword ranked secondary to mastery of the horse."[14] Knights faced the equivocal paradox of balancing offense with defense in both battle and tournament. Encased in thick, heavy metal armor, the knight ultimately strove to dismount or impale his enemy, but the paramount concern for every rider remained staying atop his horse and in an advantageous position. Because unexpected flight or unruliness by the horse threatened to unseat the knight, thereby putting his life at risk, control of the horse featured essential. To be separated unexpectedly from his horse rendered a knight vulnerable and virtually helpless because the rigid armor prevented the possibility of remounting the horse without assistance. Moreover, facing a mounted opponent from the ground proved treacherous for even the most proficient warrior; historian Luigi Gianoli concurs: "...a knight unhorsed was a man irremediably lost."[15] Therefore, the knight's horse played a key role not only in military strategy but also in the knight's safety. Offensively, the knight used the strength and power of his running horse to charge violently. Alternatively, the horse served as a defense mechanism to help counter the oncoming attack. With this in mind, a knight did not want just any horse as his partner in battle. He needed a charger with battle savvy, one which retained its composure despite the violent attacks and blows it suffered. A horse with such a temperament decided one's achievement as "mere adroitness with weapons was insufficient for victory."[16]

Thus, learning to ride proved essential for the medieval knight. Hunting manuscripts were drafted as early as the fourteenth century, but manuals on horsemanship were relatively rare until the 1550s. One learned to ride through practice and instruction. According to historian Luigi Gianoli, "there was no need to write texts on equitation, as these principles were passed on orally and through practice and emulation from father to son, from knight to page."[17] Young boys apprenticed in the households and stables of a neighboring lord where they learned the essentials of horsemanship and horsecare, spending long hours in

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[14] Sydney Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000) 265. "A good horseman, though a poor fencer, would have the advantage over an adversary who was a good fencer but a mediocre horseman." (Anglo, *Martial Arts* 255.)

[15] Gianoli, *Horses & Horsemanship* 103.

[16] Ann Hyland, *The Horse in the Middle Ages* (Gloucestershire, England: Sutton Publishing, 1999) 99.

[17] Gianoli, *Horses & Horsemanship* 98.

and out of the saddle. Fully armed, they were expected to leap upon a horse as well as show mighty courage and fearlessness in their riding.[18] Tutors supervised studies in horsemanship, fencing, and hunting, and the boys competed against each other to further their skills in the various arts. The youngsters also served as pages in the household, doing various chores about the house and kitchen, but their main responsibility was to the stables. Tack and military equipment always needed cleaning and the master's horses had to be properly cared for, exercised, and fed. Granted, these duties required much time and hard work, but the lessons learned were invaluable to the knight-in-training. Of course, the prospect of reward or promotion served as a constant catalyst for the young page; keeping the master's horses in top condition was one way a page earned the respect of his master and ensured his advancement to squire and ultimately to knight.

Prior to the 1560s, no formal public institutions existed by which European nobles could become educated in the arts of the courtly life. Education, then, was handled primarily by private tutors who instructed young men in the ways of the courtier. When a prospective courtier was deemed old enough, he and his tutor embarked upon a so-called "grand tour" of Europe which was designed to teach the young man through experience and travel. For most, this tour included travel usually throughout France and Italy, a brief stint at a monastery, and several opportunities for sowing wild oats.[19] During the Renaissance, courtiers of the period became fluent in topics of horsemanship, bloodlines, and breeding for speaking of horses "was a pleasant and cultural thing to do."[20] In writing about the courtier, Baldassarre Castiglione expressed just how significant horses were in the royal and noble courts of Europe during the height of the Italian Renaissance. A few lines from Castiglione's description of courtly life, *The Book of the Courtier*, read:

> The great lords are like that. Above all, one has to give them news of their horses, and chat with them for hours about them, then listen, without tiring, to whatever it pleases them to say on the subject.[21]

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[18] Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse* 19.

[19] Norbert Conrads, *Equestrian Academies of Early Modern Times* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982) 32.

[20] Gianoli, *Horses & Horsemanship* 95.

[21] Ibid.

Thus, horsemanship gave men power and status in a world in which the military strength of a nation depended heavily upon the number of mounted soldiers it could raise. It was, after all, an age of the horse. "An expensive symbol of wealth and status and, as St. Anselm put it, the 'faithful companion' of the chivalric warrior, the warhorse raised the military elite above the rest of society."[22] Many regarded riding as a perfect exercise in handling men for the horse knew no political boundaries or rank; it could just as easily throw a stable boy as a prince. The horse also provided an elegant image by which elite distinction was secured. Mounted warriors entered tournament and battle fields proudly, their heraldic banners flying. Bravery and courage in battle was enthusiastically rewarded by contemporary writers who fashioned heroes from hacks. Their manuscripts and literature provide further evidence that the warhorse "was at the heart of the medieval aristocrat's lifestyle and mental world."[23]

It was extremely costly to support such a war machine as the knight did. A knight's entourage required more than one horse. Each knight had two personal horses: a warhorse specifically for battle and a light horse, usually a palfrey, for riding to battle. Accompanying squires and apprentices provided aid and assistance so knights also had to provide horses for their helpers as well as packhorses to carry heavy equipment and supplies. Upkeep and maintenance of several equines - especially an expensive destrier or an imported palfrey - was an on-going expense. "In the eighth century military equipment for one man cost as much as twenty oxen."[24] So, this medieval war machine was not some simple duo meandering across the country from castle to castle; rather, it was more like a small military unit.

The warrior of the Middle Ages utilized his horse and his weapons in a variety of ways which might benefit him the most. According to historian R.H.C. Davis, a knight might hurl his lance or spear like a javelin, thrust the lance downward as if sticking a pig, thrust upwards to lift his opponent from his horse, or hold it in a 'couched' position - horizontal and aimed towards the oncoming enemy.[25] In addition to these four methods, the knight might also leap from his horse to attack with his sword. For knights of

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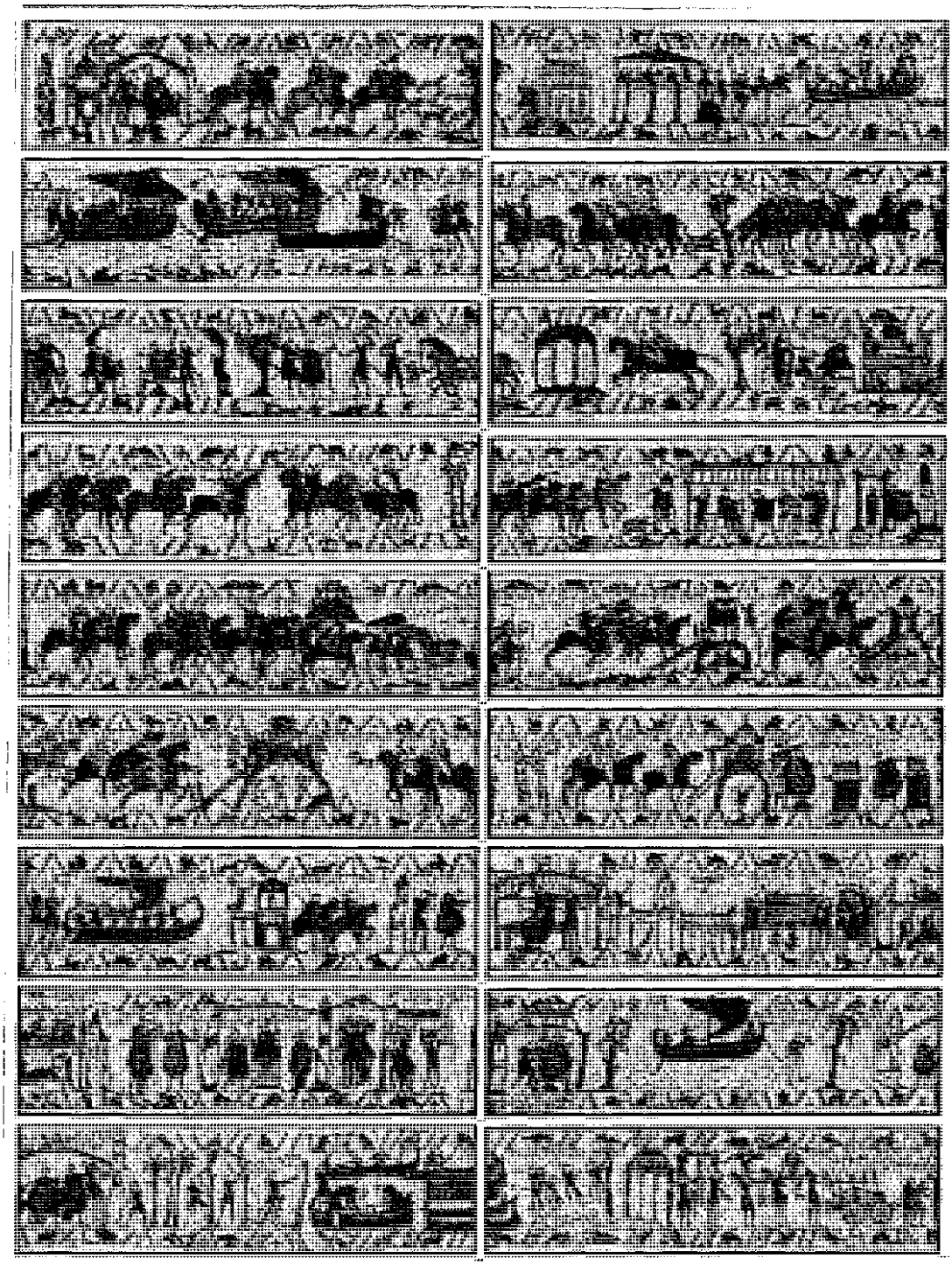
[22] Ayton, "Arms, Armour, and Horses" 187.
[23] Ibid, 189.
[24] Clutton-Brock, *Horse Power* 123. Twenty oxen provided plough teams for ten families.
[25] Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse* 15.

the early Middle Ages, jumping on and off the horse proved easier because armor was lighter, horses were smaller and lighter in frame, and saddles were not designed to hold a rider firmly in place. However, this changed as protective armor for both man and horse grew heavier and cumbersome. The transition is clearly seen in the Bayeux Tapestry (c. 1087). (Refer to Illustration 1.) One can see that horses wore no armor, leaving them exposed to archers, and as a consequence, light protective armor for the horse was designed to cover vulnerable areas like the back and flanks. Ultimately, protective coverings for the head (*shaffrons*), neck, and shoulder became commonplace, leaving the horse completely covered - head to hoof - in iron, sometimes even mail armor. Archers' arrows increased in effectiveness as well; by the eleventh century, some arrows could pierce light armor and coats of mail iron. Therefore, thicker plates of iron made armor for both knight and horse heavier and more intricate until the fourteenth century. Furthermore, equipment had to be solid if it was to withstand brutal blows and constant stress from rider and horse movement. Yet heavy armor restricted movement in the saddle for if the rider tipped forwards or backwards (as a result of impact or to charge), he risked being unhorsed. As a result, knights needed larger and stronger horses to withstand the increasing load of metal armor, but in exchange for greater protection, maneuverability and mobility were lost. Generally, larger horses moved slower and more awkwardly with an uncomfortable pounding gait.

Usually fighting was executed in quick, surprise attacks, and therefore, medieval knights depended upon the aid of certain equipment to stabilize their position. Knights rode in a specifically-styled saddle called a *selle á piquer*, featuring a high pommel and cantle that formed a cradle-like seat.[26] While the high pommel afforded protection against blows from an opposing lance or sword, it also provided security as a brace. Padded leg guards extending downward from the pommel and onto the leg flaps held the rider's thighs and knees firmly in place. Additional padded guards at the back of the knee kept the rider's leg from slipping backwards, and thereby prevented any disturbance of the rider's balance in the saddle. Therefore, the knight - firmly wedged into the saddle - threw his legs and feet in front of him and leaned against the back of the saddle, putting his weight into the stirrups to keep himself locked in this position. Throughout

[26] Gianoli, *Horses & Horsemanship* 83.

Illustration 1. Bayeux Tapestry (c. 1087).



the Middle Ages, the defensive position of the knight upon his horse remained essentially unchanged and relatively unquestioned as a suitable method of horsemanship in the medieval years.

Thus, the knight's position was a rigid oue with little ability to move or communicate with the horse by leg contact. Riders often employed harsh yet effective equipmeut like sharp, elongated spurs to urge the steed furiously onward; however the knight still lacked stoppiug and turning power. Maneuverability of the horse also diminished because the knight usually held both the reins and the shield in his left hand so that his right hand was free to manipulate his sword, lance, or mace.[27] Therefore, a strong curb bit by which the rider could directly control the movements of his mount was imperative. Since a curb bit acts as a leverage tool upon the tongue, roof, and bars of the horse's mouth, the torque action increases doublefold depending upon the pressure exerted by pulling the reins. The longer the length of the bit shanks, the greater the torque; hence, the pressure on the horse's mouth is considerably more severe. Medieval utilization of extremely long shanks was not uncommon; a plethora of examples of medieval equestrian dress and equipment in the art and literature of the period depict ornately-armored war horses fitted with curb bits whose shanks extended well past the neck and into the chest of the equine. A fifteenth-century German example, the shanks of which measure more than twenty inches long, remains on display at an armory museum in Europe; extremely long and elaborate bits persisted to the age of Henry VIII and further exemplify a fondness for Renaissance flair and embellishment.[28] (Refer to Illustration 2) Despite the regalia, horsemanship of the Middle Ages was strictly utilitarian. Compared to equitation developments to come in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, medieval equitation remained crude, stiff, and often brutal to both horse and rider because functionality reigned supreme, rather than the beauty or art of riding.[29]

To prepare themselves for battle, medieval knights and soldiers often participated in tournaments and in hunts, two medieval aspects of horsemanship that followed military structure and procedure closely. Though mock trials, medieval tournaments and jousts varied little from actual battle as they were serious

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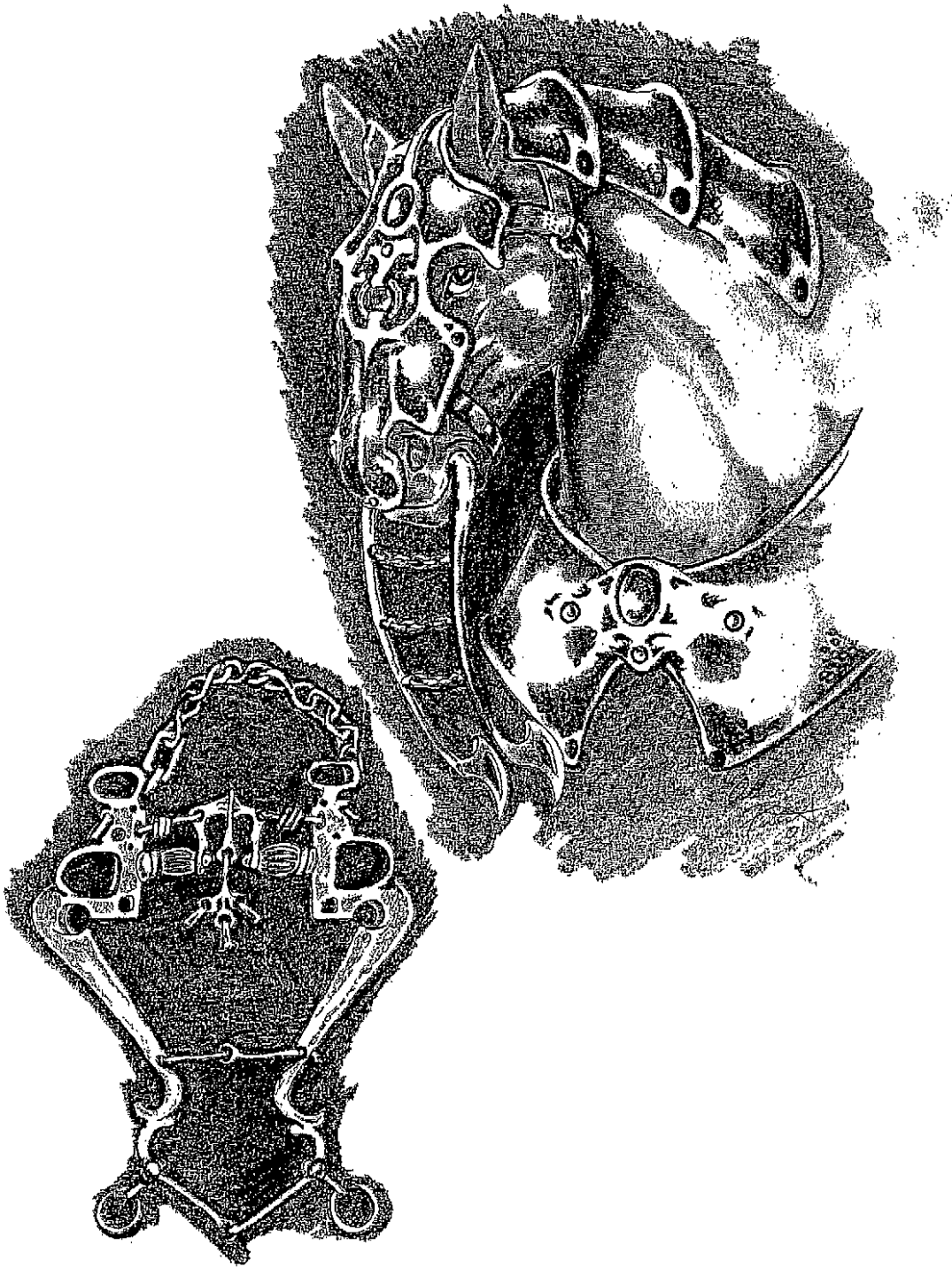
[27] Elwyn H. Edwards and Stephen Price, eds. *The Complete Book of Horse Saddlery and Equipment* (New York: Exeter Books, 1981) 29.

[28] Edwards and Price, *The Complete Book of Horse Saddlery and Equipment* 29.

[29] Horsemanship attained significant advancement with the rise of Italian riding masters in the 1550s.

Illustration 2. (Top right) Recreation of German bit with 20" shanks.
(bottom left) Curb bit attributed to Henry VIII.



events and were bound by chivalric codes of conduct. Participation allowed knights to practice combative maneuvers, attain real-life experience, vie for rank, and even settle disputes. More importantly, the tournament lance had become an effective war tool by the eleventh century, but it was unwieldy and much practice was needed before a soldier was adept at using it; tournaments afforded the necessary environment. In similar fashion, hunting enjoyed a seasoned reputation as schooling for war. In a book written at the turn of the twentieth century, Lt. Col. E.A.H. Alderson put forth a variety of reasons why hunting so adequately prepared soldiers for war.[30] Hunting conditioned a potential soldier to ride all day, and possibly all night, in all kinds of weather as well as taught him to chart his way through unknown territory without losing his way in enemy lands. Both hunters and warriors were expected to carry on despite fatigue, hunger pains, and saddle sores. Just as in war, there were instances of great danger and difficulty to be found in hunting. It was under these desperate conditions that the soldier learned the limits of his own physical courage as well as that of his horse and his fellow compatriots. Furthermore, hunting reinforced the principles associated with a military chain of command such as respecting authority, following orders, and learning correct procedure and terminology.

Roger Manning, in his history of hunters and poachers of the Tudor-Stuart era, placed the importance of the medieval hunt at the same par as that of the medieval tournaments:

> We need only recall how great a part was played by the chase in the life of a medieval man. It was the favourite sport of the nobles, in time of peace it offered a substitute for war, and was as dear to their hearts as the tournament itself.[31]

Historian Richard Holt concurs that hunting was never regarded simply as a form of amusement. Hunting proved vital in teaching men to fulfill military and official obligations such as riding and shooting.[32] In time, hunting became highly steeped in sport tradition and privilege. With a fraternity similar to the military, there were clear rules about who was allowed to hunt, what was to be hunted and where, and most importantly, how the hunt was to be conducted; unquestionably, poachers were not looked upon kindly.

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[30] E.A.H. Alderson, *Pink and Scarlet* (London: William Heinemann, 1900) 1. The justifications presented by Alderson show up in medieval hunting literature, thereby establishing a traditional union between hunting and preparation for war.

[31] Roger Manning, *Hunters and Poachers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) 35.

[32] Richard Holt, *Sport and the British* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989) 208.

Hunting was also a valuable tool in instructing aspiring gentlemen about proper and polite society (i.e. how to dress, talk, etc.,). Hunting even developed its own language which every 'hunting' gentleman was expected to know and utilize. In the Middle Ages, it was "imperative for the huntsman to use proper terms. He lost status if he did not know the right term for a deer at all its stages of life or spoke of a flock of geese instead of a 'gaggle'..."[33] Furthermore, participation in a hunt, especially a royal hunt, qualified one for mobility up the social ranks. In the words of Manning: "For the very reason that hunting was a feudal privilege, the wretch who indulged in it by main force...was driven to it less by reason of his poverty than because of the vague delusion that he would to some extent ennoble himself."[34]

The military benefits of hunting remained relatively positive throughout the Middle Ages, but not in the case of the tournament. Because knights charged each other, intending to unhorse each other, these tests of arms often resulted in seriously disastrous encounters - intentional or not. Certainly there were times when knights of the same order fell into argument and serious fighting resulted. Similarly, the violent nature of the sport frequently led to accidental bloodshed. Men and horses alike were often injured, maimed and killed in contest and practice. As a result, arguments for greater protection against unnecessary injury and death surfaced by the fifteenth century.[35] Special tilting armor was crafted, and blunted weapons became standard. Solid barriers called tilts, usually made of wood, were erected between charging knights to reduce collision and to make the angle of the lance's blow greater so that the lance would break, rather than penetrate upon impact.[36] Running at the 'tilt' became a regular game and gained popularity by the mid-sixteenth century. Another game, the 'quitain' emerged to eliminate violent clashes between knights. A dummy target was bolted to a swinging arm which, when struck by the knight's lance, would pivot around and unhorse those who were laggard or sluggish or those who failed to deliver a decisively precise blow. The test encouraged bravery and rewarded skill.

Mounted combat in the Middle Ages took many forms - the charge, jousting, tournaments - yet all

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[33] Sir William Beach Thomas, *Hunting England* (London: n.p., 1936) 7

[34] Manning, *Hunters and Poachers* 232.

[35] Henry II of France died of wounds received while tilting in 1559. Though his death occurred after preventative measures had been in place for many years, it served as a reminder of the ever-present dangers of mock combat (Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse* 112).

[36] Anglo, *Martial Arts* 227.

utilized the strength and power of the equine. Knights (single, pairs or groups) first attacked in a lance charge to surprise or shock the enemy. After charging, knights engaged one another in close fighting on horseback or dismounted to fight one another on foot. In early medieval England, soldiers mainly used their horses as transport to battle. Once there, they dismounted to fight on foot. Though arguments abound over this issue, the most recent historical research dates English cavalries to King Alfred. Certainly by the Battle of Hastings, King Harold had mounted cavalry as witnessed by the Bayeux Tapestry, but England still followed the old Germanic tradition of forming a shield-wall which meant dismounting from their horses. This form of fighting did not hold up under Norman attack.[37]

War in the Middle Ages was predominantly equestrian in nature, emphatically linked with the horse. The numbers of mounted soldiers increased as the heavy cavalry charge became significantly more effective in battle. Mounted warriors charged forward through an opposing front of men (and some horses), relying on sheer strength as well as the shock value to break the wall of human flesh. Once the line was broken, the mounted soldiers were at a distinct advantage atop their horses, able to inflict serious damage upon the amassed chaos below them. However, by the 1300s, the first in a series of military transformations changed medieval warfare. The heavy cavalry charges began to wane as popular modes of battle because they could not withstand longbow archers who administered severe losses from a safe distance; nor could they break the successive rows of foot soldiers who held tight defensive lines. Recurring defeats of powerful cavalries like the French at Crécy (1346), the Castillians at Nájera (1367), and the Portuguese at Aljubarrota (1385) brought an end to the heavy charge as typical military technique. Historian Clifford J. Rogers refers to this fourteenth-century chauge in warfare as an "infantry revolution" which altered modes and equipment of warfare as well as ideas, thoughts, and civil actions of war.[38] As medieval armies utilized more foot soldiers, the birth of the common infantry allowed for impressive military campaigns between "foot soldiers, with little or no involvement for aristocratic warriors."[39] By

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[37] Clutton-Brock, *Horse Power* 125. Tactics and systems of medieval warfare are subjects of keen debate among historians. For our purposes, the Normans maintained fine reputations as fighting horsemen.
[38] Clifford J. Rogers, "The Age of the Hundred Years War," in Maurice Keen, ed., *Medieval Warfare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) 143.
[39] Ayton, "Arms, Armour, and Horses" 203.

the fourteenth century, English archers - using the crossbow and longbow - delivered a devastating blow to Continental warfare and gained the respect of their enemies by simply outnumbering them, not because of any drastic improvement or technological advancement of their equipment. Infantrymen swarmed the battlefields, willing to fight as long as there was financial reward. Rogers' research notes the difference by comparing numbers of fighting men; the virtually limitless number of infantrymen came from the bulk of the population while the fighting elite only constituted the "two to four per cent at the top of the social pyramid who provided the bulk of the heavy cavalry."[40] The thundering hooves of the heavy cavalry charge faded away as did the proliferation of expensive warhorses since great power upon impact was no longer necessary. Cheap hackneys sufficed for critical transit, and armor became lighter in frame and less exorbitant in cost.

Equine contribution in transport did not wane nor did their numbers diminish. Horses remained essential in transporting supplies and equipment well into the next century - especially as utilization of heavier artillery and cannonry proved strategically beneficial. In 1431, the strength of twenty-four horses was enlisted to pull just one cannon; another thirty carthorses delivered the accessories. Similarly, forty-three years later, the Sire of Neufchâtel utilized 267 horses to haul twelve pieces of artillery weaponry.[41] Certainly, the horse for transport maintained its usefulness, however the gallant warhorse of the period was losing ground, as was the heavy cavalry charge, in the face of changing warfare. By the late fifteenth century, it appeared as if the tournament, a training for war, was waning as well. In reality, the tournament underwent a development which changed its functionality.

The tournament began as a festival, promoting the king as lord of the land and as the very epitome of honor and virtue. It became a standard ritual of courtly life, but the tournament served a necessary military function in instructing knights in the reality of war; knights learned mastery of the sword and lance on foot and on horseback, how to fight in groups, and most importantly, the necessity of prowess and honor in battle.[42] For three hundred years, the tournament grew in significance and popularity yet by the late

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[40] Rogers, "The Age of the Hundred Years War" 144.

[41] Richard L. C. Jones, "Fortifications and Sieges in Europe," in Maurice Keen, ed., *Medieval Warfare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) 181.

[42] Roy Strong, *Art and Power* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984) 12.

fifteenth century, the essence of the event changed, and the knight's life was hardly at risk. The growth of theatrics in the tournament meant violence subsided, making the event more a public spectacle of games rather than actual preparation for battle. Ultimately, tournaments increased in stylistic form and ceremony, becoming extremely elaborate and costly affairs often attended by kings and other dignitaries. While tournaments did not decline or fade away, they did lose their military practicality, and instead became avenues by which knights were rewarded for their popularity, beauty, and flair rather than skill and bravery. Emphasis on maintaining tactical form and performing serious, strategic maneuvers gave way to knightly participation in theatrical pageants of showy exhibitionism. Instead of concentrating on cultivating his knowledge and ability, the knight greatly feared appearing foolish or incompetent in front of the large crowds of onlookers and dreaded the criticism of his colleagues. The knight's concern is made clear upon examination of a statement made by a reputable French riding master; Antoine Pluvinel publicly criticized knights with bad posture and silly gestures by saying that they "would do better to stay at home than attempt what they do not understand."[43] The disgrace of public humiliation certainly defied chivalric ideals of honor and prowess.

The development of the tournament as a "festival ritual of homage and service to the crown" is exemplified by Henry VIII.[44] Henry VIII was an avid jouster and for twenty-six years he impressed English crowds with his skills. He considered jousting to be necessary in training for war and sanctioned it as legitimate tournament sport. However, royals like Henry VIII used the contests to reaffirm the God-given legitimacy of their reign. Royal participation enabled kings to display their "athleticism and royal prowess," and garner the people's attention, love, and loyalty with fantastic displays of horsemanship and testing of skills.[45]

Though an expert horseman, Henry's jousting career ended when he took a serious fall at a tournament in Greenwich on January 24, 1536.[46] After Henry, no other monarch of England physically

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[43] Anglo, *Martial Arts* 266.

[44] Strong, *Art and Power* 13.

[45] Anne Somerset, *Elizabeth I* (New York: St Martins Press, 1991) 366.

[46] Jasper Ridley, *The Tudor Age* (Woodstock, New York: The Overlook Press, 1988) 308. Henry lay unconscious for two hours after which he swore never to joust again. Perhaps the reality of the accidental death of French king Henri II by tournament finally made an impact?

participated in tournaments on horseback; there was no need. The cult of Elizabeth transformed the emphasis of the tournament; exercises in the arts of war became dramatizations which lavished attention upon the queen. Rather than concentrating on the hardships of battle, male participants, namely knights and courtiers, spent extravagant amounts of time and money on their costumes, ideas, poetry, and gifts - each trying to outdo the other in impressing the Queen.[47] Her presence lent credence and support to the tournament, making the event a flamboyant spectacle of entertainment. Queen Elizabeth died in 1603 and with her died the traditional medieval tournament in England as her successor, James I, preferred to 'train for war' by hunting.

On the Continent, the tournament experienced similar change in form, and an exercise called the equestrian ballet emerged in France and in Italy, where great riding centers had flourished since the twelfth century. The ballet sprang directly from the sporting contests of skill and orchestrated theatrics, but horsemanship differed in discipline and structure. The difference focused upon the newly emerging Italian equitation called school-riding which consisted of 'dressing' or 'managing' a horse in an indoor riding area; "the horse is taught what is called 'collection' in his natural movements and then a number of artificial movements called 'airs.' These latter 'airs' constitute the 'haute école' or 'hohe Schule'."[48] Performed by an intricate procession of riders, the ballet incorporated the various difficult and disciplined movements of the manège - both natural and artificial. Ballets became as popular as the tournament because they were grand celebratory events, beautifully choreographed to be pleasing to the eyes as well as the ears of audience members. Performed with all of the polish, style, and grace associated with Renaissance art, the horses essentially 'danced' along a rudimentary track system while their riders staged acts of mock-combat to music with pre-determined outcomes in glorification of a battle won or a king anointed. To compose and perfect each ballet - each specially prepared for a particular event - several months of practice and rehearsal were required.

The earliest known ballet occurred in the Parisian courtyard of the Louvre, honoring the wedding

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[47] Somerset, *Elizabeth I* 366. A most outlandish example, the Earl of Oxford presented himself dressed as a Knight of the Tree of the Sun, a clear reference to the virgin queen.

[48] Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, "The Equestrian Ballet in Seventeenth-Century Europe - Origin, Description, Development," *German Life and Letters* 36:3 (1983): 203.

of the Duc de Joyeuse, favorite to Henri III, to Marguerite de Vaudemont, a half-sister to the Queen of France, Louise de Lorraine in 1581.[49] Yet forms and techniques of school-riding originated in Italian riding schools under revered riding masters like Giovanni Pignatelli and Cesare Fiaschi. Were the two connected, and if so, how? At his riding school in Ferrara, Cesare Fiaschi used the soothing effect of music to set riding rhthyms and to encourage fraternal harmony between horse and rider.[50] In the introduction of his 1556 work titled *Trattato dell' Imbrigliare, Maneggiare et Ferrare Cavalli*, Fiaschi revealed that he was inspired by the great tournaments held in Ferrara during his lifetime and set out to achieve a more refined rapport with the horse by incorporating music. The employment of music by an Italian riding master certainly provided a link to the musical composition of the ballets. This may be a stretch in connection however there is more relevant evidence. Also, foreign students such as Solomon de la Broue and Antoine de Pluvinel attended Italian riding academies established and run by Pignatelli and Fiaschi. Surely, their schooling made them privy to the organiziation of events like the ballet. The two men certainly had the experience and knowledge to influence and produce such an event, but they also had the personal contacts; Pluvinel returned to Paris as equerry to Henri III, and La Broue personally knew the Duc de Joyeuse.[51] It is not known for certain whether the two horsemen played an active role in the first ballet, but it does seem likely.

The development of firearms in the late 1300s predicted the eventual collapse of the medieval destrier and knight. By 1455, perfections in the small firearm were complete, and its ramifications upon warfare were soon realized. Gunpowder revolutionized artillery and allowed battles to be fought from greater distances, thereby rendering the heavy cavalry knight and horse devoid of purpose. Lumbering forward at the tilt and into battle became outdated in the wake of explosive cannons and gunpowder. The battle of Pavia in 1525, depicted on a Flemish tapestry, illustrated the effectiveness of the handgun, which achieved a mastery over armored cavalry.[52] Indeed, it is not difficult to see how even footmen armed with

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[49] Richard Mühlberger, ed. *Glorious Horsemen: Equestrian Art in Europe, 1500-1800* (North Haven, Connecticut: The William J. Mack Co., 1981) 51.
[50] Ursula Bruns, *The World of the Horse* (London: Octopus Books, 1976) 123.
[51] Mühlberger, *Glorious Horsemen* 51.
[52] Ridley, *The Tudor Age* 300.

guns and standing at a distance easily overtook sword-wielding horsemen. Even English archers faced challenges. For the English, the transition did not fair well. Afraid to give up the dependable weapon which had produced so much fear in their Continental enemies, the English enjoyed their greatest weapon, the longbow, for the last successful time at Flodden in 1513. By 1544, the arquebus, or small firearm also called the hagbut, came into regular use, and by the 1590s, the English had completely abandoned the longbow.[53] The sixteenth-century gun proved less decisive in large battles as it only had a range of four hundred yards; nonetheless, its usage eliminated the need for traditional mounted warfare. Equine maneuverability, historian Sylvia Loch explains, became more important:

> Above all the new destrier must now be versed in all gaits and turns if his rider was to be able to load and fire unhindered. Precision and balance were suddenly of prime importance and a horse which could pull up dead from the gallop and wheel away from the line of enemy fire could save a man's life.[54]

In Loch's view, firearms facilitated an awakening in equitation. The sixteenth century witnessed the rise of a new academic kind of riding which merged science with artistic flair. Schooled refinement in horsemanship became extremely popular throughout Europe, surviving to this day in the form of the classical dressage taught at centers in Vienna, Saumur (originally Versailles), and Westphalia (the old school of Hanover).

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[53] Ibid., 302.

[54] Sylvia Loch, *The Royal Horse of Europe: The Story of the Andalusian and Lusitano* (London: J.A. Allen, 1986) 77.

CHAPTER TWO - TO MANÈGE, OR NOT TO MANÈGE?

In the sixteenth century, England faced a difficult situation: the nation possessed a reputation for poor horsemanship.[1] The English elite lagged behind in breeding warhorses in the medieval period, and as Renaissance styles surfaced relatively late, English riders quickly jumped to learn the latest style of classical riding from Italian and French horsemen who were again far ahead of the English in equestrian matters. The resurgence of the classical riding tradition created quite a stir in the equestrian world and was taught at great riding academies in Italy, France, Germany, and a few in Spain. Between 1500 and 1600, many aristocratic Englishmen developed a respect for Continental method and manner. Aristocrats, courtiers, and potential gentlemen journeyed abroad to cultivate their horsemanship, but by the seventeenth century, the popularity of the manège faded in England.

The Italian Renaissance inspired European horsemen to take another look at the ancient texts of Greece and Rome, particularly those of Xenophon. The first 'generation' of Italian riding masters advocated techniques that laid the foundation for a new scientific horsemanship called the *manège* by which,

> the brutally utilitarian equitation of the Middle Ages was transformed into a passionate, rigorous study of the horse - mathematically and physiologically supported - of the horse and rider as a dual entity at the various gaits, both natural and artificial. It was viewed in the light of a new aesthetic and rationale: the influence of the rider's seat and action on the comportment and reactions of the horse, along with the interplay of balance between horse and rider.[2]

Classical riding was decidedly linked by its movements with the military.[3] The medieval destrier had been utilized offensively and defensively by its rider, but its movements were generally cumbersome and slow. The manège tradition afforded the sixteenth-century rider improved strategy as well as provided the rider with a more sensitive and responsive mount. The new equitation taught the rider how to use his horse to both defend and attack in battle with the execution of a variety of movements by the horse. Simple movements like the *passage* and *piaffe* kept the horse alert and ready for attack while dramatic movements

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[1] Barbara Nelson, "Shakespeare's Use of Horsemanship Language," (Master's Thesis, Sul Ross State University, 1990) 8.

[2] Gianoli, *Horses & Horsemanship* 103.

[3] Refer to Appendix II which lists and explains the various movements of school-riding.

like the *capriole* were designed both to evade and attack the enemy. (Refer to Illustrations 3-4) For example, if a mounted officer became surrounded by foot soldiers, he signalled his horse for the capriole. The horse literally leapt above the heads of foot soldiers, dispersing them, and while in midair, the horse kicked out with its back legs to protect its vulnerable backside. Essentially, the capriole cleared the area, and the officer was free to get away. Other movements included the *pirouette,* a spin away from or towards the enemy by pivoting on the hindlegs of the horse, and the *courbette* and the *pesade* in which the horse reared up on its hindlegs, staying suspended in the air to give its rider a vantage point to slash down at foot soldiers. (Refer to Illustration 5) The simpler movements which kept the horse literally on the ground, including lateral movements, belonged to the "school on the ground" and required an agile and willing horse but one of average means. The more breath-taking movements of the capriole and ballotade called for a special equine partner of great talent, courage, and intelligence. The physically demanding "airs above ground" of the *haute école*, or high school, tradition required that the horse also be light in frame yet strong and powerful, quick on its feet yet patient on command.

To accomplish the rigorous movements of the new riding style, sixteenth-century riders needed a compact, strong horse with agility like Spanish, Barbary, and Neapolitan horses. These horses maintained the hearty features of the medieval destrier but, for centuries, had been mixed with 'hot' Oriental blood which lent refinement to their movements and instilled in them a flashy nature and spirited temperament. Moreover, these breeds served as excellent representations of power and wealth, exhibiting a natural style and grace with a distinct flair in every movement. Horses of Spanish descent had comfortable gaits that made riding look and feel more graceful and elegant, and therefore, the Spanish horse became the classic model of the manège horse. They performed the prancings and rearings and cavortings of the high school tradition unlike no other, becoming one of the most favored horses in all of Continental Europe. The French openly admired the Spanish horse; riding master Solomon La Broue publicly expressed his preference for the horse in 1600 saying, "Comparing the best horses, I give the Spanish horse first place for its perfection, because it is the most beautiful, noble, graceful, and courageous."[4] Aristocratic respect and

[4] Loch, *Royal Horse* 83.

Illustration 3. *Passage.*

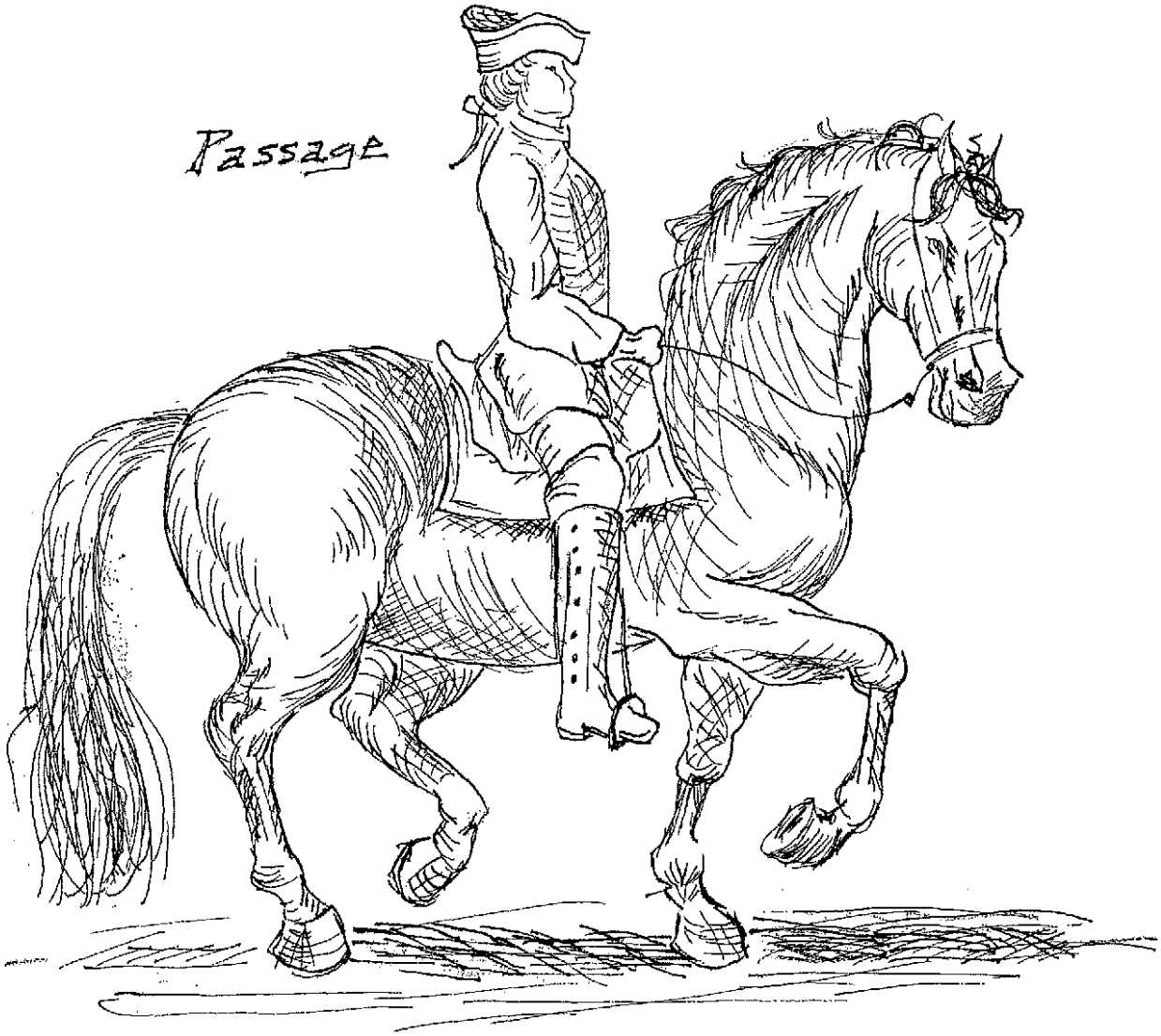


Illustration 4. *Capriole.*

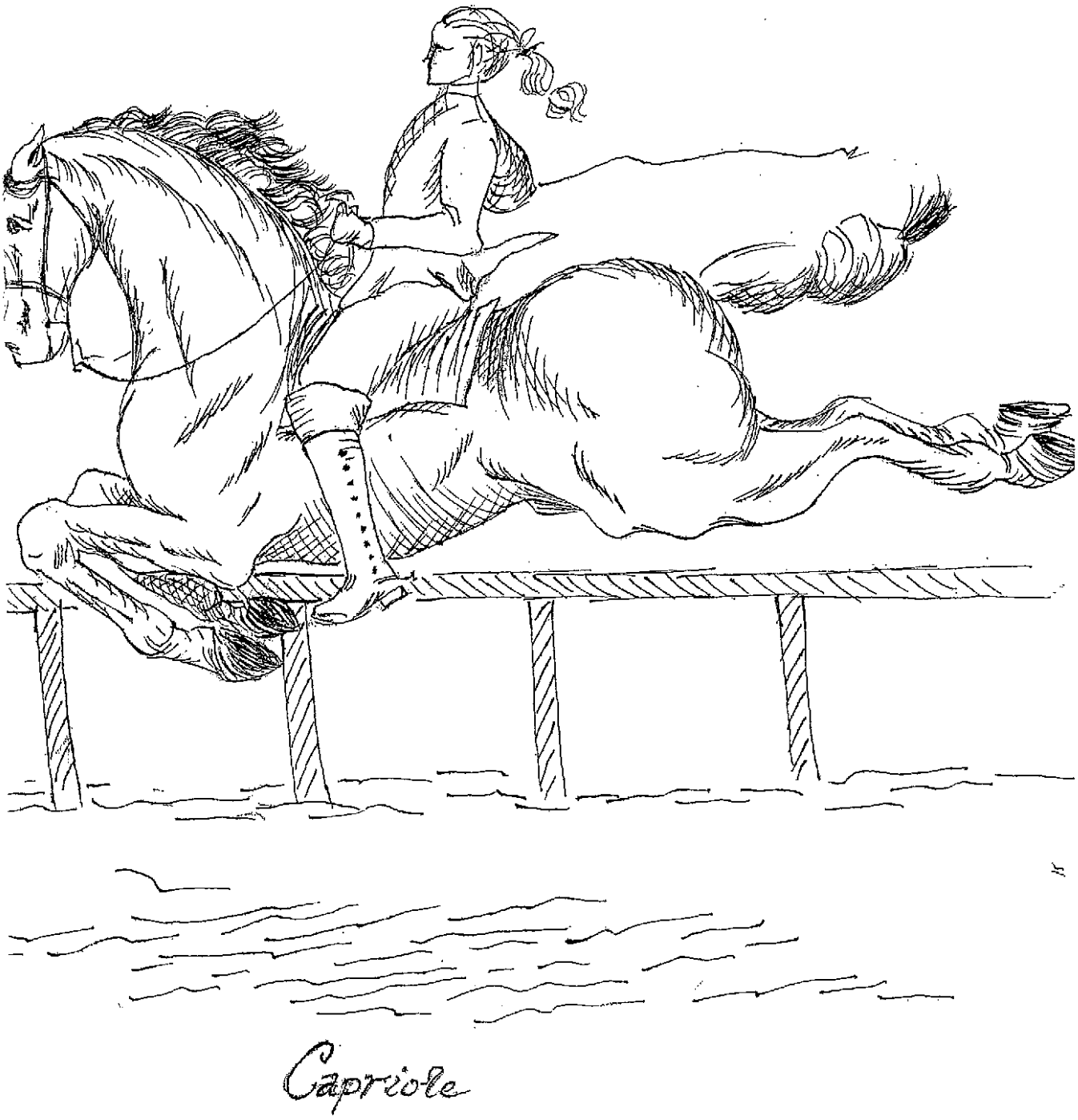
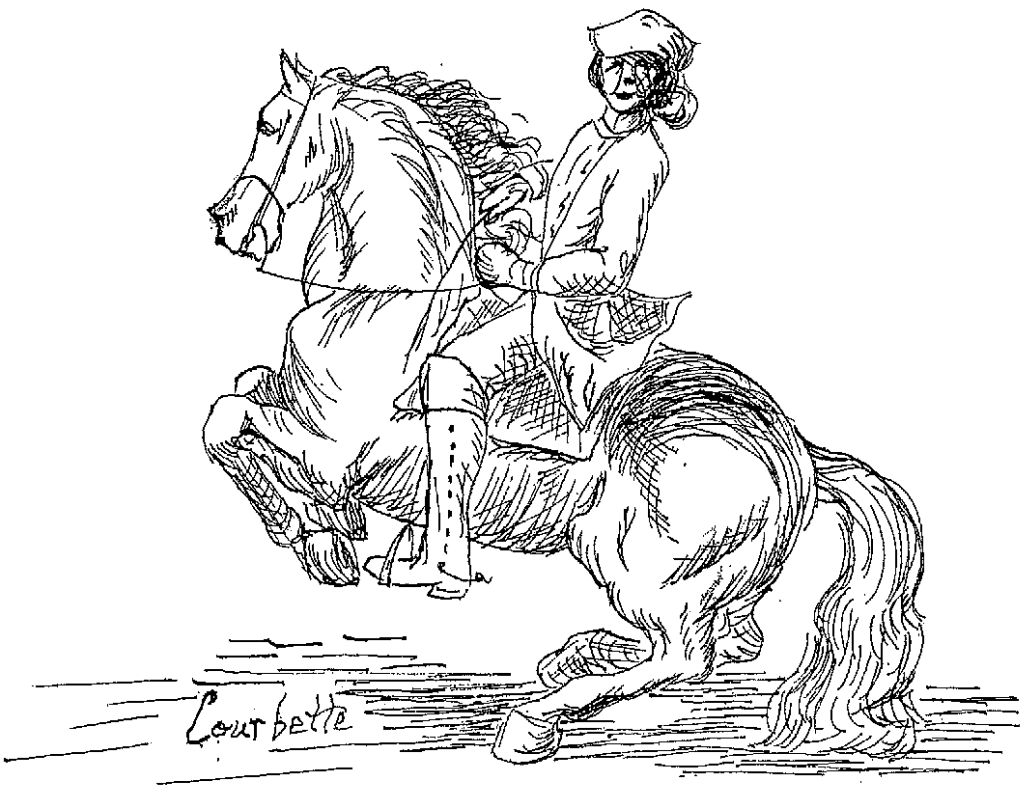
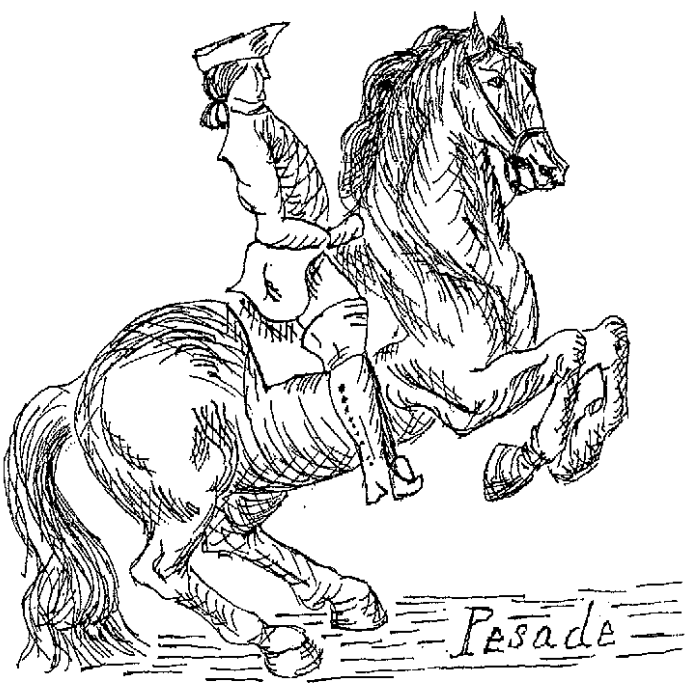


Illustration 5. *Courbette & Pesade*





veneration for the Spanish horse also appeared in England. Gentleman and equestrian author, Thomas Blundeville noted the esteem with which the Spanish horse was held "especiallie of noble men...[because] the horse of Spayne is finelie made, both head, bodie and legs, and very semmlie to the eie."[5] Furthermore, the image of the Spanish horse suited 'school' traditions which taught riders to perform wild, seemingly uncontrollable maneuvers while sitting calmly and passively in control. This image put the rider in the center of attention, as an apt leader in control of his fiery horse:

> He projected himself as lord of this universe, imperturbable, stoic. Here is the smile that appears on the faces of so many Renaissance portraits, that smug, cat-ate-the-canary smile.[6]

The Spanish horse perfectly fit the image of masculinity, power, and strength that noblemen wished to convey; thus, it is hardly surprising that the Spanish horse became touted as the best horse for the manège. From southern Italy sprang the notions of refined equitation in the middle of the 1500s, a time in which Spain controlled southern Italy through annexation (1502-1707). Large numbers of Spanish horses, leftover from the Spanish cavalry, inhabited Italy for fifty years or more. Gradually, the heavy Italian warhorse adopted Iberian characteristics. Oriental blood of the Iberian horse introduced a smaller-framed head with a more chiseled profile; it refined bone structure, resulting in neat, upright hooves and clean fetlocks (as opposed to the typical medieval destrier of western Europe with its hairy-legs and 'soup-plate' feet).[7] When one considers the Neapolitan horse of the mid to late sixteenth century, it is essentially a horse that carried Spanish traits and genes. Thus, Italian horsemen used Iberian horses, and it was this horse that found its way to Austria, Germany, and England through importation.[8]

The need for a new style of riding was caused by a combination of factors: changed role of cavalry in battle, improvements in breeds of horses, shifts in tournament focus, and a growing refinement in manners.[9] Despite changing trends in warfare and military strategy, horsemanship retained its value as one of the prime duties and expectations of the late Renaissance courtier. The Italian expert on courtiership,

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[5] Ibid., 75.
[6] Alan B. Rogers, "Tudor Horsemanship," (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 1992) 146.
[7] Loch, *Royal Horse* 77.
[8] Ibid., 80.
[9] Gianoli, *Horses & Horsemanship* 103.

Baldisare Castiglione instructed that, above all else, the courtier "should be a perfect horseman in every kind of saddle," and should aspire to have more knowledge than others about horses and riding.[10] The warhorse also remained a viable part of the sixteenth century but its role changed. Domination gave way to artistic maneuvering on the battlefield. "The primary role the nobility had played for centuries, as the vanguard in battle, the cutting edge of the military force, disappeared" before cannon ball and gunpowder.[11] Likewise, the tournament became less significant as training for war and more important for its theatrics and pageantry, especially in England under Elizabeth I.[12] While the new warhorses of the manège tradition served in battle, they also fulfilled ceremonial roles and played a significant part of the "military fantasy world of sixteenth century English nobility."[13] Furthermore, as humanism influenced the needs, tastes, and education of most gentlemen, approaches to training softened and masters advocated the mastering of the horse's pysche through gentle persuasion rather than brute force. Utilizing the powerful image of the horse, the nobility defined themselves in terms of their horses and their relationship with those horses. Riding became an avenue of artistic self-expression where the natural beauty of the horse was applauded and harmony in riding it was pursued.

Attaining cooperation of the horse remained paramount because a rider still needed an agile mount ready to move or turn at a moment's notice, and at first, early masters used whatever means necessary to achieve results. However, second 'generation' masters, predominantly French, refined the training processes of their Italian teachers as application of the manège spread quickly to France. By the1600s, a greater number of European aristocratic riders performed in partnership with their horses, using greater understanding in riding technique. Subtlety and relaxation in style was stressed, allowing horses to achieve suppleness and responsiveness, and cultivating an elegance of collected, calculated movements. As a result, horse and rider forged a unit performing effortlessly and in perfect harmony but with more individuality and spirit than its medieval counterpart.

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[10] Baldisare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. Charles S. Singleton (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1959) 38.
[11] Rogers, "Tudor Horsemanship" 138.
[12] For more information regarding pageantry and spectacle at court, see Roy Strong's *Art and Power*.
[13] Rogers, "Tudor Horsemanship" 134-135.

Obsession with the manège essentially began in sixteenth-century Italy with the publication of a horsemanship manual which revived classical styles of riding; passion for the new method spread northwesterly throughout Europe, creating a familial 'group' of riding masters in Italy, France, Germany, and to a lesser degree, in England. The new horsemanship was taught at equestrian academies so that young nobles could better prepare for positions in the army or at court without the costly expense and consumption of time that comprised a 'grand tour.' Academies sprang up all over Continental Europe, beginning in Paris in 1594 and spreading to Germany in 1598, Denmark in 1623, and other regions like Wallenstein, Turin, and Wolfenbuttel in the later 1600s.[14] In England, the manège was taught in various riding households like that of the Earl of Rutland at Belvoir Castle and in riding schools like Master Thomas Story's school at Greenwich and Prospero d'Osma's school in London's Mile End.[15] By the 1600s, many enthusiastic gentlemen in England added grand riding halls to their grounds, and a few survive to this day: Sir George Trenchard's at Wolfeton House in Dorset and another at Bolsover, the Duke of Newcastle's estate.[16]

In 1550, a Neapolitan nobleman by the name of Federico Grisone published a translation of antiquated documents concerning the ideas and horsemanship of Greek general Xenophon (430-355 B.C.), adding his own additions under the title *Gli Ordini di Cavalcare*. Xenophon's written work was not intended to be a manual but rather an exclusive reference of general advice on riding and training, horse care, stable management, and buying the right horse. The Greek general advised gentleness of hand and voice in training horses, and in riding, he recommended riders to gain a solid, balanced seat by using the muscles of the buttocks, thighs, and calves rather than dragging on the bit; the intended effect was that the rider remained motionless, as if the horse was performing on its own. Xenophon praised the look of a "raised," or arched, neck, encouraging the rider to take the horse "behind the bit" to "work at the noble gait [haute ecole]...and all exercises that stupefy spectators."[17] Grisone's book expounded upon these

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[14] Conrads, *Equestrian Academies* 54. Most English riders were attracted to the "Accademia Reale" at Turin. On an interesting note, the philosopher Leibniz was a student at Wolfenbuttel.
[15] Thirsk, *Early Modern Horses* 17-19; Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse* 115.
[16] Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse* 115.
[17] Gianoli, *Horses & Horsemanship* 35.

teachings, attempting to revive ancient principles but with little credit to the general. With the help of his patron, Hippolyto d'Este, Cardinal of Ferrara, Grisone founded his own riding school in Naples in 1532 and taught the new school tradition of manège.

Sources date the earliest riding academy in Naples to the twelfth century, a time when the gates to the Byzantine Empire and its horsemanship were open.[18] Historian Luigi Gianoli credits the Byzantines as the "first true creators of systematic virtuoso equitation, [modeling their] equestrian manners on their eternal enemies, the Persians - a people who by the fourth century B.C. were already the most finished of horsemen."[19] Gianoli's implication is experimentation and exchange of horsemanship method transpired in Naples prior to Grisone. Furthermore, earlier texts on classical training were written by King Duarte of Portugal (1401- 1438), titled *Da Arte de Domar os Cavallos* and *O Livro da Ensynança de Bem Cavalgar - Toda a Sella*, which correspond theoretically with methods found later in Naples; of special interest, King Duarte's title uses the word *domar* meaning 'to dress' which is exactly consistent with later terminology - *dressage*.[20] At best, Grisone can be credited as a starting point, perhaps a stimulus, from which a proliferation of manuals on the subject flowed. A list of names, dates, and publications gives an indication of how popular the tradition was to become. (Refer to List 1) Ultimately, classical equitation found advocates all over Europe - from Portugal, Spain, and Italy to Germany, England, and France.

Granted, the popularity of Grisone's work is undeniable for it became fundamental reading and reference for other aspiring Italian masters like Caracciolo, Curzio, and Santa Paulina and was translated into French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, and English, "influenc[ing] equestrian thought for a century thereafter."[21] Grisone and his riding academy in Naples became renowned, teaching men from all across Europe. Grisone's influence stretched as far as Spain though there was a shortage of serious practitioners there. Two exceptions, Pedro Aguilar and Vargas de Machuca studied in Naples in 1570 and 1600,

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[18] Ibid., 103. Gianoli and Mühlberger agree that Neapolitan riding academies date to the twelfth century; Mühlberger actually sets the date at 1134. (Mühlberger, *Glorious Horsemen* 40.)
[19] Ibid., 57.
[20] Loch, *Royal Horse* 93.
[21] Mühlberger, *Glorious Horsemen* 40.

List 1: Riding Masters and Their Written Work in Horsemanship 1550-1780

1550	Federico Grisone	*Gli Ordini de Cavalcare*
1556	Cesare Fiaschi	*Trattato dell'Imbrigliare, Maneggiare et Ferrare Cavalli*
1556	Leon Battista Alberti	*De Equo Animante*
1560	Thomas Blundeville	(Grisone) *Arte of Ryding & Breakinge Greate Horses*
1566	Thomas Blundeville	*The Order for Curing Horses Diseases*
1570	Pedro Aguilar	*Tratado de la Cavalleria de la Gineta*
1571	Thomas Blundeville	*Fower chiefyst offices belonging to Horsemanshippe**
1573	Claudio Corte	*Il Cavallerizzo*
1584	John Astley	*The Art of Riding*
1584	Thomas Bedingfield	(English trans. of Corte) *The Art of Riding*
1585	Christopher Clifford	*The School of Horsemanship*
1588	Georg Engelhard von Lohneyssen	*A Thorough Guide to Bridling and the Correct Use of Mouthpieces and Bits.* Later expanded to *Della Cavalleria sive de arte equitandi, exercitiis equestribus et torneamentis*
1593	Solomon de la Broue	*Precepts*
1593	Gervase Markham	*Discourse on Horsemanship*
1600	Vargas de Machuca	*Teoria y Ejercicios de la Gineta*
1600	Alessandro Massari	*Compendio dell'Heroica Arte di Cavallieria*
1607	Gervase Markham	*Cavalrice* (The English Horseman)
1615	Gervase Markham	*Country Contentments*
1616	Johann Jacobi von Wallhausen	*Art Militaire à Cheval*
1618	Michael Barrett	*Hippomania, or the Vineyard of Horsemanship*
1618	James I	*Book of Sports* (includes benefits of horsemanship)
1620	Antoine de Pluvinel	*La Manège Royale* (starts work)
1623	Crispijn van de Passe	*La Manege Royale*** (finishes Pluvinel's work)
1656	Thomas de Grey	*The Compleat Horseman*
1658	William Cavendish	*A General System of Horsemanship In All Its Branches...*
1664	Jaques von de Solleysel	*Le Parfait Mareschal*
1666	René Menou de Charnizay	*L'Instruction du Roy in l'exercice de Monter a Cheval*
1667	William Cavendish	*Méthode et invention nouvelle de dresser les chevaus...*
1674	Nicholas Coxe	*The Gentleman's Recreation* (reprinted 1686)
1677	Jacques von de Solleysel	(French trans. of Cavendish) *A General System of...*
1696	Luigi Santa Paulina	*L'arte del cavallo* (Padua)
1696	Sir William Hope	*The Complete Horseman*
1700	William Cavendish	(German translation of) *The Complete Rider*
1720	Francois R. de la Guérinière	*L'Ecole de Cavalerie*
1750s	Diogo de Braganza	*L'Equitation de Tradtion Française*
1761	Henry Herbert, Lord Pembroke	*A Method of Breaking Horses and Teaching Soldiers to Ride*
1771	Richard Berenger	*History and Art of Horsemanship*

* Blundeville's translation of Grisone's work on training received such veneration that he felt compelled to add to it. He wrote three other books (on the Breeder, Keeper, and Farrier) with some of these published as early as 1565. In 1571, he published all four books in a complete set called the *Fower Chiefyst Offices belonging to Horsemanshippe.*

** An artist, Crispijn van de Passe's rendition of Pluvinel's work was criticized by another of Pluvinel's students named René Menou de Charnizay who later published his version of the master's work called *L'Instruction du Roy en l'exercise de monter à cheval.* (De Passe was commissioned by his master Pluvinel to illustrate a writing project, but Pluvinel died before completing his work. De Passe finished the project alone.)

respectively, and according to historian Hans Handler, stand out as champions of the classical tradition in Spain.[22]

While Grisone's horsemanship spread slowly to countries like Germany and Spain, its arrival in England was somewhat expeditious. English aristocrats like Robert Alexander, Henry VIII's riding tutor at Hampton Court, studied in Naples under the master himself - a supposition verified by the fact that Grisone's academy opened in 1532, giving Alexander plenty of time to study and return to Henry before the king's death in 1549. Henry's daughter Elizabeth, queen by 1558, also developed a penchant for the manège for she sent her Master of the Horse, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester to Naples to be educated in the best riding academy of the time.

Grisone's international reputation leads one to speculate that these two noblemen were not the only two Englishmen to study foreign horsemanship. In fact, many sons of English aristocrats sent to 'tour' Europe as part of their education returned to the island having spent some months under the tutelage of various European masters. Similarly, as riding schools grew in number and popularity, "England imported its share of masters, grooms, and horses who were supposed to be the best at this sort of performance..."[23] By 1560, written copy of Grisone's methods permeated England; Englishman Thomas Blundeville translated Grisone's book, publishing it as an informative guide to the 'art of riding' which he dedicated to the Earl of Leicester. After Blundeville, a large number of treatises and manuals on horsemanship were written all over Europe.

However, modern histories applaud Grisone for writing the "first true manual of horsemanship of the Italian Renaissance."[24] Yet Grisone was an opportunist who not only pilfered the works of Xenophon but added his own ideas which changed the context and tone of the Greek's teachings. Not all of Xenophon's work survived, but what has remained shows that he realized the importance of understanding the mentality of the horse, and most importantly, he stressed kindness over anger.[25] To clarify his point,

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[22] Hans Handler, *The Spanish School- Four Centuries of Classic Horsemanship* (London: MacGraw-Hill Book Co., 1972) 72. Handler refers to the two Spaniards as "d'Aquino" and "Vargas."

[23] Rogers, "Tudor Horsemanship" 8.

[24] Mühlberger, *Glorious Horsemen* 40.

[25] Anthony Dent, *The Horse Through Fifty Centuries of Civilization* (New York: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1974) 77. Perhaps Xenophon learned his equine psychology during years as a mercenary in the Persian services where he dealt with foreign cavalrymen from Central Asiatic tribes - nomadic horsemen.

Xenophon compared the horse to a dancer: "A dancer really dances well when he does so with enthusiasm and not when he is forced to perform."[26] In contrast, Grisone believed scare tactics and raw force led to submission - punishment as a means to an end. The Neapolitan applied methods that were cruel and inhumane. Such methods included using hedgehog skins, sharp spurs, and hot irons to 'encourage' the horse to leap into the air as well as the application of stringent bits to maintain collection by force.[27] English authors of horsemanship, writing fifty to one hundred years after Grisone, clearly rejected the harshness of Grisone, and even fellow Italian, Claudio Corte "looked down on the methods of his countryman."[28]

In researching the histories and inspecting the credentials of the riding masters of the period, one finds essentially a close-knit family of equestrians but there seems to be some confusion as to who studied with whom. Respected Italian equestrian and author, Luigi Gianoli maintains that Grisone studied under Giovanni Battista Pignatelli, the founder of the first great riding school (in Naples) for which there are existing records.[29] Yet three sound sources conclude that Pignatelli was the pupil of Grisone, indicating that Gianoli is mistaken.[30] All three sources postdate Gianoli's work, and the authors are credible researchers and historians in their respective fields. Another viable source, Richard Mühlberger does not clarify either way, but his examination of the period does seem to suggest that Pignatelli's fame came decisively after Grisone which would place the author in agreement with Handler, Loch, and Phillips. Even inspection of a moderately contemporary source - *School of Horsemanship* - written by Francois Robichon de la Guérinière (1688-1751) does not clear the issue; he only reveals his respect for Pignatelli:

> [his] school was of such high repute that it was considered the best in the world. All members of the nobility of France and Germany who wished to perfect themselves in horse-manship felt obliged to take lessons from this illustrious master.[31]

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[26] Gianoli, *Horses & Horsemanship* 29.

[27] Reasons for Grisone's use of force and violence are explained in greater detail in chapter five.

[28] Rogers, "Tudor Horsemanship" 156.

[29] Gianoli, *Horses & Horsemanship* 103.

[30] See Handler, *Spanish School* 59; Loch, *Royal Horse* 83; G.M. Phillips, *Horses in Our Blood* (London: Turf Newspapers Ltd., 1974) 289.

[31] Francois Robichon de la Guérinière, *The School of Horsemanship*, trans. Tracy Boucher (London: JA Allen, 1994) 76.

A third twist presented by Ursula Bruns suggests Cesare Fiaschi, the great advocate of musical accompaniment in riding, taught Grisone while others (Handler, Loch, Mühlberger) contend that Fiaschi taught Pignatelli. Fiaschi is not given as much attention as Grisone and Pignatelli in the sources, but the years in which he lived place him in the correct vicinity of being able to influence both Grisone and Pignatelli in some way. The remainder of the student/ teacher list flows orderly as a sort of genealogical tree. (Refer to Chart 1)

Though none of his written works have survived, Giovanni Battista Pignatelli became a respected riding authority by producing fine teachers of equitation and through his own teachings and training equipment, which his students glorified in their works. Pignatelli is credited with inventions like the curb bit, "the whole apparatus consisting of the bar bit, curb chain, bridle, and rein," and the pillar.[32] Pignatelli taught a multitude of European noblemen including his nephew, Orazio della Mare who eventually took over his uncle's academy in Naples, and Alessandro Massari who, like his mentor, exalted the teachings of Xenophon. A credit to Pignatelli, Massari wrote a 'compendium of the heroic art of horsemanship' in 1600, defending the attributes of the horse and explaining use of the bridle and it worked in combat. But Pignatelli's most important students were French and would later be influential masters on their own accord: Solomon de la Broue and Antoine de Pluvinel (or sometimes referred to as Antoine Pluvinel de la Baume). While both returned to Paris to teach methods of the manège, La Broue is credited as the "first to bring the Italian equestrian style to France, attaining the rank of Ecuyer Ordinaire de la Grande Ecurie du Roi.[33] Strictly adhering to Pignatelli's method, La Broue is considered the most reliable source on Pignatelli, and it is through his written work of 1593 (*Precepts*) that one can trace which of the various movements, or *airs*, gained and lost fashion. Despite La Broue's initial success, the influence of Pignatelli's other student, Pluvinel, surpassed that of La Broue for Pluvinel maintained all of the right connections. Pluvinel was sent to Naples by Charles IX's Premier Ecuyer, M. de Sourdis, and when the

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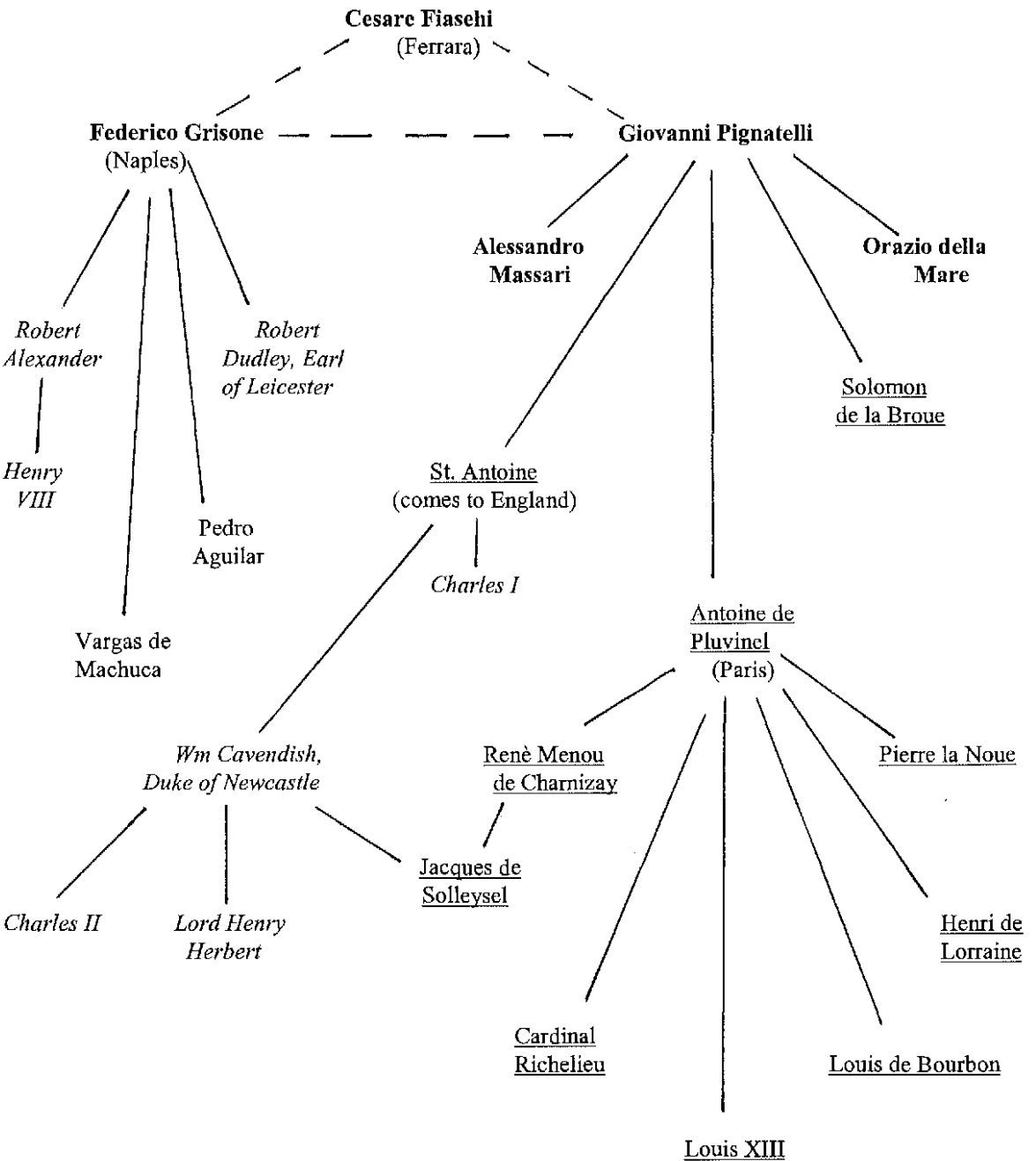
[32] Handler, *Spanish School* 59. Handler does not credit the invention of the pillar to Pignatelli but Edwards and Geddes do. The pillar was most notably used by Pluvinel, a student of Pignatelli, who might have seen it at work during his schooling.

[33] Mühlberger, *Glorious Horsemen* 42.

Chart 1: Manège Masters & Students

Key:
English **Italians**
Spanish French



young Frenchman returned, the Dauphin (later Henri III) was entrusted to Pluvinel's care for travel about Poland. When Henry IV of Navarre ascended the French throne in 1589, he bestowed the directorship of Grand Ecuries to Pluvinel, and five years later the king approved Pluvinel's request to build a Parisian riding school to rival even the most respected equestrian centers in Naples. Pluvinel's riding academy flourished under his tutelage, becoming a popular finishing school for many of France's historical celebrities such as the Duc de Vendôme, Henri de Lorraine, Louis de Bourbon, and Cardinal Richelieu.[34] Yet Pluvinel's greatest success came in 1610 when he was appointed Sous-Gouverneur to the future Louis XIII and began publicly documenting his instruction of the king.

Unlike La Broue, Pluvinel died before he could complete his riding manual. Emulating Xenophon, Pluvinel read the classics literally and sought to eliminate mistreatment and abuse by training horses with prudent progression, gentle treatment, and restraint in the application of aids. To create suppleness and smoothness in movements, Pluvinel worked his horses between one or two pillars. The horse was secured to the pillars with cavesson reins running from the noseband of the bridle or halter to the pillars and then asked to perform various movements. These exercises assisted "in flexing his neck and raising his forequarters, while bending his back legs, in performing the airs 'above the ground.'"[35]

Two of Pluvinel's students published their own versions of Pluvinel's teachings. An artist from the Netherlands, Crispijn van de Passe had studied with Pluvinel and was currently illustrating the master's work when Pluvinel died. De Passe continued on with the work but his contemporary, René Menou de Charnizay snubbed it as 'unfaithful' to the true art of Pluvinel and republished what he considered a better interpretation in 1666. Menou reported that Pluvinel himself saw the art of equitation rise to new levels of sophistication and success. Riders accomplished complicated maneuvers with perfect posture as their horses performed in complete precision with ease and visual grace.

The first generation of riding masters, primarily Grisone, was the most prolific in using violent means to accomplish their goals. Some second-generation masters like La Broue held on to the original traditions, believing in punishment as a means to an end, but later made revisions in their technique. La

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[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid., 43.

Broue improved upon the older teachings, modified bits, and conducted his own research as to why misunderstanding or a conflict in signals made a horse challenge its rider. His research gave him greater insight and in his written work, he explicitly chose not to divulge the more radical ways by which he had made a horse submit for he did not want to instruct others wrongly; he called himself "an enemy to those little secrets which have been invented for lack of skill."[36] Meanwhile, others like Antoine Pluvinel, who reputedly studied under the same instructor as La Broue, left Italy with different ideas. Pluvinel did not subscribe to the "punishment as a means to an end" theory; rather he felt that a good rider should maintain prudence and gentleness in his actions and train horses with praise and reward. Thus, by the early 1600s, the spirit within the teachings of the manège more closely resembled that of Xenophon.

The manège tradition of riding reached England before the mid-1500s because English sources describe Henry VIII's ability to perform several feats of the high school. Additionally, these sources document the fact that Henry's riding master at Hampton Court, Robert Alexander, trained with Italian masters who were considered at that time to be the greatest in the known world. However, the highly-disciplined art did not take root in England and prevail throughout 1600s and 1700s as it did on the continent. While there are many reasons for the withering of the manège in England, shifts in attitude and obsession with sports primarily account for England's dismissal of the riding style. Many English gentlemen began to question the value of the manège traditions in warfare. For others, the love for rural life led them outdoors and away from riding halls and academies. Land determined wealth and therefore, opportunists moved into the countryside, setting themselves up as country gentlemen. Renowned British historian, Lawrence Stone cited one Italian's recognition of the new wealth in England. Poggio Bracciolini wrote:

> the English...live in the country, cut off by woods and fields. They devote themselves to country pursuits, [and to] selling wool and cattle...I have seen a man who has given up his trade, bought an expensive estate, and left the town to go there with his family, turn his sons into noblemen, and himself be accepted by the noble class.[37]

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[36] Vladimir Littauer, *Horseman's Progress: The Development of Modern Riding* (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1961) 80.

[37] Lawrence Stone and Jeanne C. Fawtier-Stone, *An Open Elite? England, 1540-1880* (Oxford: Clarendon

In determining the expectations of an English squire in the Tudor period, historian Roger Longrigg indicates that the average sporting squire owned a plethora of horses for a variety of activities. A fixed number of coursers were required of him by law, and he certainly kept several hunting geldings and riding horses, and perhaps a few hobbies for hawking. An adequate supply of carthorses and pack-horses would have been necessary for travel, perhaps a draught horse or two for work on the land. In his leisure and certainly for pleasure, the sporting gentlemen of the period possessed a fair number of racehorses to satisfy personal gratification and maintain his prestige in the community. According to Longrigg, the English squire "would, by 1600, have bred them selectively and to their own kind only, fed them carefully, and been aware of specialized schooling and training."[38] Therefore, while the country gentleman in seventeenth-century England remained aware of 'special training' methodology, he developed an avid interest in racing and hunting sport. By 1650, riding hard and fast defined English horsemanship, and this sporting approach became distinctly English.

Press, 1984) 16.

[38] Longrigg, *English Squire* 55.

CHAPTER THREE - WITHERING OF THE MANÈGE TRADITION IN ENGLAND

According to the historian Sylvia Loch, there were many reasons why the highly disciplined and extremely impressive *haute école* training in military horsemanship enjoyed only a limited popularity in England. Under Stuart reign, a growing infatuation with horse racing led to the "thoroughly-bred" cultivation of a horse taller and lighter in frame as well as significantly faster than other horses.[1] This new English breed was a more streamlined horse with longer legs, and a leaner, more svelte neck and back. These characteristics were in direct contrast to those of the traditional manège horse, usually Iberian in breed. The equally elegant Spanish horse sported a short powerful back, a thick upright neck, a slight Roman-nose, a well-muscled shoulder, and it averaged between fourteen and fifteen hands in height.[2] The new English horse became known as the Thoroughbred - a horse much praised for its speed, strength, and stamina. Such characteristics were quickly recognized by the British as having distinct military advantages over the horse of the academy tradition and began to be utilized by military leaders like John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough.[3] The British cavalry reorganized into "formations of light dragoon regiments, moving in flying columns over the countryside and presenting a united front" so that military engagement was no longer one-on-one, but rather consisted of sweeping charges.[4] The difference of a faster horse was recognized as early as 1691 when Gaspard de Saunier recorded that school-horses could not make the transition necessary to accommodate the new 'charging' style of warfare; in his words, the horses "could barely drag themselves, dazed and stupefied as they were, along the paths of war."[5]

In *The Royal Horse of Europe*, Loch also maintained that changes within cavalry technique ultimately led to the demise of traditional types of warfare, making singular feats of chivalric heroism in the classic medieval sense extremely rare. The preliminary introduction of firearms allowed the manège horse to eliminate the need for the medieval Great Horse. School-horses allowed its rider to fire, then it

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[1] Rogers, "Tudor Horsemanship" 123.

[2] The equine confirmation term "Roman-nosed" implies a convex-shaped profile. See Appendix III which differentiates between (1) the truly coarse-nosed horse associated with the ancient Romans, (2) the slightly arched nose of the Iberian horse, and (3) the concave, or "dished" contour indicative of the Arabian horse. Note the Thoroughbred profile (4) which stems from the interbreeding of native English stock with Continental and Peninsular horses. Also, horses are measured in 'hands' which is roughly four inches.

[3] Loch, *Royal Horse* 89.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Gianoli, *Horses & Horsemanship* 118.

performed a half-turn, or *pirouette*, removing itself quickly from defensive fire and allowing its rider to reload and prepare for further engagement. However, as the fast Thoroughbred became more popular on battlefields, it overran the 'dancing' horses. The impressive jumps and leaps championed by the proponents of *haute école* were no longer effective on the battlefield, and the school-horse proved too slow for the new pace of war.

Because their fast horses complimented changes in British military procedure, most English gentlemen were convinced that academic horsemanship was obsolete in war. On the continent however, kingdoms highly steeped in the manége tradition had a hard time relinquishing their academic equitation and its horses. Among the regretful voices was Philibert de la Touche, who in 1670 wrote *Les Vrays Principes de l'espée Seule*. Compelled to write about the importance of being skilled in mounted swordplay, he was especially remorseful to see the elegant destriers of Naples and Spain tossed aside as 'outdated.'[6] Mounted upon well-schooled, Iberian-influenced chargers, the French continued to perform the movements of haute école at court as well as in the midst of battle well into the eighteenth century.[7] Of course, the entertainment value of the impressive schooling airs was one thing; its declining practicality in battle was another. Gianoli noted that a few French voices began to question, like the English, the usefulness of the academic tradition, but their protests were made in vain for the French cavalry still continued in the old military custom.[8] Unfortunately, the French held to their procedure well into the eighteenth century, and the ramifications were great. For instance, the Seven Years War (1756-1763) demonstrated the futility of schooled equitation in warfare. The success of the Prussian cavalry over the French was aided by changes in equestrian thinking instituted by Frederick the Great in 1740.[9] Author

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[6] Anglo, *Martial Arts* 268. De la Touche felt great big, powerful horses were still viable for their ability to break up crowds and overthrow other knights' horses.

[7] Some Englishmen agreed with the French as late as 1768. Philip Astley, an Englishman reputed to be one of the originators of the equestrian circus, left the Lambeth side of Westminster Bridge where for years he had performed daring feats of horsemanship, and moved to France where he gained notority in his profession by entertaining the French courts. Astley's horsemanship was essentially made up of trick riding exhibitions which featured riders who performed gymnastic-like tumbles from the back of one galloping horse to that of another. While Astley's horsemanship strayed far from the disciplined school tradition of dressage, Gianoli noted that Astley was gladly welcomed into the equestrian culture of the period by his colleagues. (Gianoli, *Horses & Horsemanship* 363.)

[8] Gianoli, *Horses & Horsemanship* 118.

[9] Littauer, *Horseman's Progress* 92.

Vladimir Littauer, a professional riding instructor and ex-cavalry officer of the early 1900s, traced the transition in military riding in his book *Horseman's Progress*; he noted that, like British equestrians, Frederick acknowledged the impracticalities of the popular manège style for war. Regarding his own cavalry, Frederick sourly remarked "[my] cavalry is not even worth the devil coming to fetch it away."[10] While collection remained important, more concentration was given to galloping outside of controlled, indoor arenas. Summing up the situation, Littauer offered that the old manège system - with its close association to royal anthority and tradition - reached its peak of sophistication in the 1700s on the Continent. The manège in England, however, never took firm root.

British cavalry tactics modernized, and ultimate favor transferred to England's Thoroughbred. Loch conceded that even though it lost its preeminence on the battlefield, the close-coupled and compact Spanish horse retained value as a ceremonial steed - proud, noble, and worthy in its representation of royalty. The effect and feeling that this horse continued to evoke was manifest by painters and sculptors well into the nineteenth century. For instance, even the artist who designed the commemorative statue celebrating the Duke of Wellington's victory in 1815 utilized Iberian war-horse characteristics rather than those of the typically celebrated Thoroughbred.

Thus, the appeal of manège riding lasted little more than a century in England. The first to question its practicality in warfare, Englishmen insisted upon empiricism in riding style and mount, an attitude that generally rejected the manège tradition. The fanciful horses of the manège had lost their contributions militarily and now, in most opinions, served as court theatrics. The increasing popularity of horse racing is another plausible explanation why classical equitation never reached national acclaim in England. The rise of a confident middle class eager to cultivate and explore vast new lands opened up by deforestation increased the number of sporting gentlemen in the countryside. Prosperous farmers as well as adventurous merchants from the city who bought land in excess were only too happy to attempt equestrian pursuits such as hunting and racing.[11] Interest in such activities was further spurred by various physicians

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[10] Ibid. Littauer defended his assertion by pointing out that Frederick's cavalry won fifteen of the twenty-two battles in the Seven Years War, "thanks to the cavalry's acting in close cooperation with artillery and infantry." (Littauer, *Horseman's Progress* 93.)

[11] R. J. Moore-colyer, "Gentlemen, Horses and the Turf in Nineteenth-Century Wales," *Welsh Historical*

of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who urged ailing patients to take to riding sports as a cure for depression and melancholy; apparently, a brisk ride over hill and vale was seemingly good for one's physical health as well as one's spirit. Furthermore, the gentry served as a 'stabilizing factor' in the countryside politically as well as socially and was encouraged by the monarch to go to the countryside:

> The countryside remained peaceful, and the peace was kept by unpaid Justices. The gentry could afford the burden of local government partly because the laws they administered benefitted themselves, they having helped to make them; partly because they continued prosperous. They feathered their own nests...and in interpreting the laws of the game, trespass, wage and price they still allowed themselves to be bound by statute...'King James was wont to be very earnest with the country gentlemen to go from London to the country houses.'[12]

Members of the gentry bred several types of horses throughout the early modern period to accommodate their needs and desires. Some used hunters with thoroughbred characteristics as 'running-geldings' for racing wagers in the countryside, and in the early seventeenth century, most became more serious in betting on the racecourse.[13] Far away from racing centers like Newmarket and Epsom, local gentry set up their own race-meetings; areas like Doncaster, Chester, and Salisbury hosted major race meetings hosted by city corporations to stimulate trade as well as provide recreation. Thus, an avid interest in racing horses developed, perhaps driven by sporting gentlemen who diverted attention away from the more classical, aristocratic style of horsemanship.

Royal influence, particularly that of the Stuart clan, contributed to racing's longevity as a popular sport in England.[14] While the early Stuarts -James I, Charles I, and Charles II - remained faithful to the manège discipline, they also propelled racing sport by importing fine Oriental racing stock for breeding and by taking a personal interest and role in the events. Substantial improvements were made in various areas: grandstands were built, courses were officially marked and measured, greater commitment was given to

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Review 16:1 (1992): 47. Historian Moore-colyer found evidence to support the fact that racing - however informal its constitution - was enjoyed during medieval times. However, the sport re organized with rules and regulations until the Tudor period, particularly in the latter years of Henry VIII's reign.

[12] Longrigg, *English Squire* 65.

[13] Ibid., 84.

[14] More complete information regarding the Stuart influence to English racing is given in the next chapter.

turf care, and larger purses and prizes were offered to attract better competition.[15] Yet, despite the attention they directed to the new national sport of racing, the Stuarts were unable to maintain the confidence of the people. The political stability of England was disturbed in the 1650s with the English Civil War, an event marked by the beheading of Charles I, again in 1660 with the Restoration of the monarchy (and Charles II), and again, with the Glorious Revolution of 1688 which allowed William of Orange and his wife Mary to force King James II into exile. Loch surmised that the growing negativity associated with the Stuarts may have had a damaging effect upon the way manège was viewed by the majority of English citizens. The Stuart reign was generally rebuked by the English people for its expensive indulgences and high cultural sophistication.[16] Could it be that the English were so tired of Stuart antics that any association with the Scottish dynasty was looked upon in disfavor? Loch argued that "perhaps the halls of scientific equitation smacked too much of Stuart extravagance" for the average English equestrian.[17] One anonymous squire of the period lends some credence to Loch's argument because to him, the manège was impractical *and* frivolous; he so greatly frowned upon the curvets and leaps of manège that he threatened to shoot his horse "if it ever behaved like that!"[18]

This unknown squire was not alone in the way that he thought. Attitudes toward pomp and circumstance were changing; practicality and purpose became the new order as more people adopted a "Corinthian attitude in their love for the great outdoors."[19] This is not to imply that country gentlemen assumed strict, Puritanical values. Rather, they directed their wealth and enthusiasm to down-to-earth pleasures of the countryside. The majority of English gentlemen preferred the less-regimented romp across the countryside, and they revelled in the whimsical and passionate thrills of the horserace. More impressed with the nation's new racing equine, the Thoroughbred, they distanced themselves from the old-fashioned, heavily disciplined art of manège and its fancy 'dancing' horses. Many grew resentful of what they considered to be impractical horsemanship. Furthermore, they paralleled the complicated artform with

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[15] Longrigg, *English Squire* 84.
[16] Refer to next chapter for details regarding the Stuart reign and its extravagance.
[17] Loch, *Royal Horse* 100.
[18] Elwyn H. Edwards and Candida Geddes, *The Complete Horse Book* (Vermont: Trafalgar Square Publishing, 1988) 30.
[19] Loch, *Royal Horse* 102.

their growing resentment of Stuart reign. Popular attitude of the day classified the Stuarts as extravagant and frivolous, bordering on vulgarity. Thus,

> ...anything which could be associated with past pomp or over-disciplined artistry was to be sharply resisted, even when it came to riding. 'What damn good was a piaffe on a stomping horse in the middle of a ploughed field, by Jove?...No need for *that* sort of fancy stuff anymore!' became the popular attitude.[20]

Furthermore, English equestrians considered themselves to be naturals in the saddle and "saw no need for being taught as they had ridden from the cradle."[21] English gentlemen gratefully traded in their repressive curb bits as well as their massive Iberian-influenced chargers for faster Thoroughbreds in simpler snaffle bits.[22] (Refer to Illustration 6) Like children, they were happier flying across the English countryside, far away from the stale drudgery of the classroom-like riding halls and academies.

Loch's argument was challenged by fellow historian and equestrian, Roger Longrigg, who maintained that the study of the manège did not fail because there was a total lack of taste for the subject in England. The equestrian artform did not take firm root in England for two simple reasons. The inflated expense in obtaining, housing, and keeping suitable horses for the intense exercises of school equitation was far more than most Englishmen were willing to spend. Similarly, the difficulty in acquiring expert training in the field posed significant problems. Horses of the manège were expensive, and from an aristocratic point of view, one would hardly denigrate such a gallant animal by utilizing it on the farm. Even if one were lucky enough to have a stable full of such horses, the English countryside remained meager in its supply of qualified manège riding masters in comparison to London and continental Europe. Costs of training were high as well: "the instructors of the Academy [tradition] devoted themselves entirely to the refinement of this style of riding...[and] their fees could be afforded only by the

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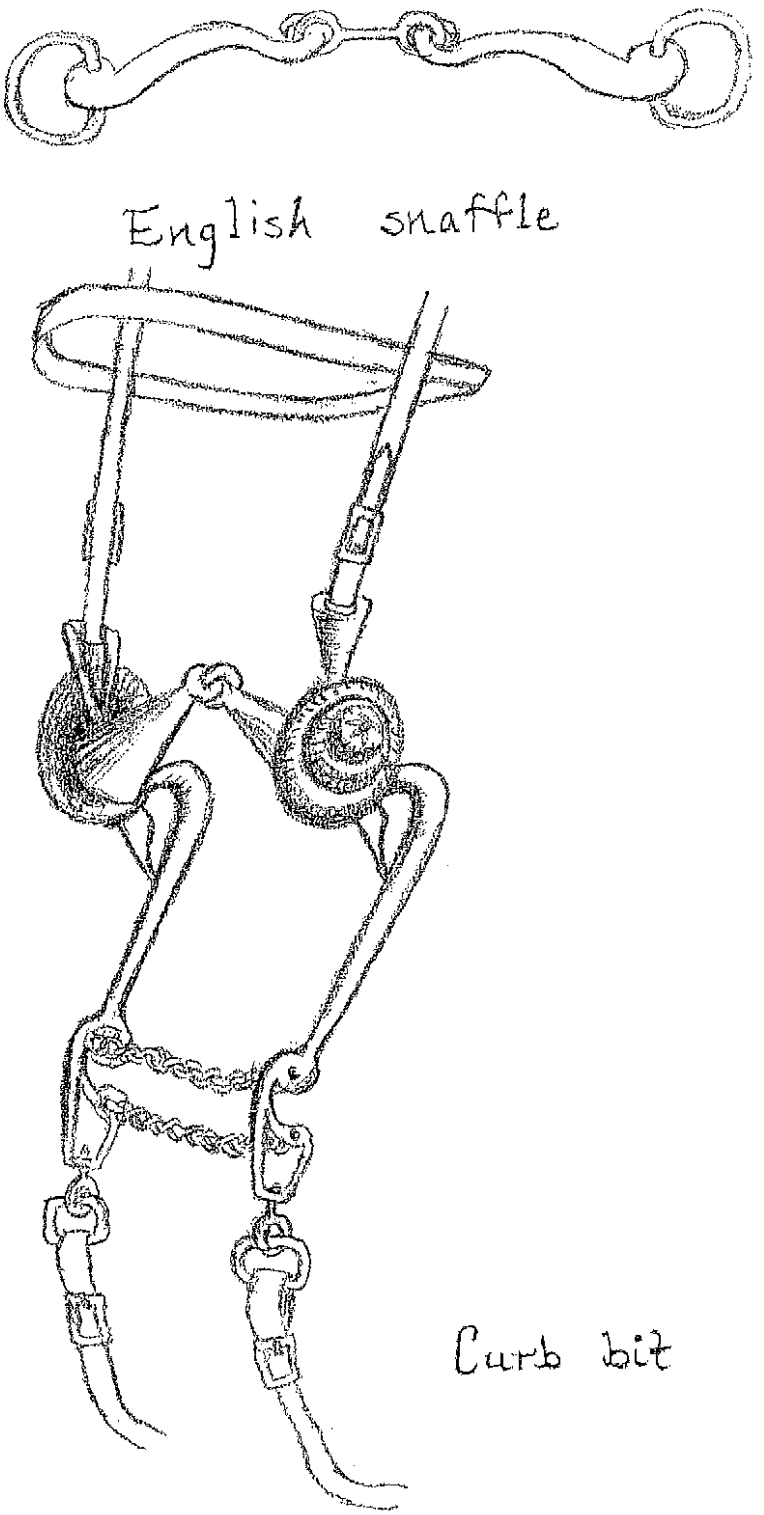
[20] Loch, *Royal Horse* 101-2.

[21] Edwards and Geddes, *The Complete Horse Book* 30.

[22] There are primarily two kinds of bits: leverage (curb) and direct pressure (snaffle). The snaffle is the least severe as it acts directly upon the horse's mouth (bars and tongue) with the same pressure with which the rider pulls. Alternately, curb bits utilize a leverage effect in which the rein pressure is doubled according to the torque action of the shank attachment. See Illustration 6 for curb and snaffle bits.

Illustration 6. (Top) Smooth snaffle used for racing.
(Bottom) Curb snaffle.



richest or most favoured of courtiers."[23] Thus, aspiring gentlemen who were indeed serious about furthering their horsemanship skills had to travel to the famous equestrian centers in France and Italy for training and instruction; without sponsorship from a wealthy family member or special selection from the royal court, most were out of luck.

For Longrigg, the fact that many could not secure the necessities for haute école training was not a clear indication that English disliked, disapproved of, or voluntarily steered away from such horsemanship. In his book *The English Squire and His Sport*, Longrigg verified some English interest in classical horsemanship by citing testament from two English gentlemen who were quite unhappy about the lack of alternatives. In 1680, Sir Thomas de Grey used his book *The Compleat Horseman* to decry the English renunciation of the "noble science" in favor of racing.[24] Moreover, a traveling Englishman in 1644 and 1645 revealed his contempt for the state of affairs regarding horsemanship in his home country. In his journal, Sir John Evelyn commented upon the prolific number of riding schools available to the hopeful horseman on the Continent; he wrote that almost every great house he saw had a riding hall attached to it.[25] However, to his chagrin, England offered nothing close in comparison despite the fact that some members of the gentry like William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, built or added on riding halls to their country estates.[26]

Whether or not Longrigg was correct regarding English desire for the discipline, study of the manège never truly persisted in England. English gentlemen, like Cavendish, who remained intent upon promoting scientific horsemanship in England were few in numbers. As a renowned master of the manège technique, Cavendish was quite distressed that most English squires had no use for scientific equitation and wrote two complete works, explaining his theories regarding training, riding, and horse care.[27] He

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[23] Bruns, *World of the Horse* 123. Longrigg neglected to discuss the high costs associated with the elaborate style of manège.

[24] Longrigg, *English Squire* 87.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Cavendish's first expense upon returning from exile was to refurbish the riding hall at his country estate at Bolsover. See Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, *The Life of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle* 2d. ed. Edited by C.H. Firth. (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1906) 70-71.

[27] William Cavendish, *A General System of Horsemanship* 2d. ed. (London: n.p., 1974) 2. Cavendish's first book was published in England in 1658 and its full title confirms Newcastle's frustration: *A General System of Horsemanship in All Its Branches: containing a faithful translation of that most noble and useful*

haughtily snubbed the relaxed riding style in England, comparing it to the riding style of the "ancient Tartars" which sported a straight, outstretched leg forward of the horse's center of gravity. Riding across the countryside in hunting and racing sport shaped the position of the English rider quite differently from the classical position. The English position or 'seat', while balanced, bore down upon the saddle and depended upon long stirrups and little collection. Such riding style encouraged a long, horizontal frame of the horse's neck, back, and hindquarters (its 'topline') which directly opposed the rounded frame needed for the execution of manège movements.[28] The classical seat of the 'school' tradition approved of a long and straight leg, but it used tight collection to keep the horse's neck upright and keep the horse balanced over his hindquarters. Perhaps the largest difference in the two riding styles was the effect each received from their respective horses. The English seat allowed the equine to stretch out and gallop with longer strides and momentum, elongating the neck of the horse as well as the body. Over time, the English seat encouraged the construction of a smaller, lighter-framed saddle known today as the "English" saddle which is still used racing, hunting, and show-jumping events.[29] Conversely, the classical seat restricted the actual *forward* movement of the horse, inviting it rather to spring upwards with similar energy. To perform in such a way, the horse had to be balanced back upon its hindquarters where the energy (or 'engine') rested. Riders of the classical tradition used a deeper-seated saddle which helped them maintain a solid seat over the back of the horse.

From a very early age, Cavendish began a lifelong occupation in royal service.[30] In 1638, he was appointed governor to the Prince of Wales and served as the future king's riding tutor; later, he defended

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work of his Grace William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, entitled, The Manner of Feeding, Dressing, and Training Horses for the Great Saddle, and Fitting them for the Service of the Field in Time of War, or for the Exercise and Improvement of Gentlemen in the Academy at home: A Science peculiarly necessary throughout all Europe, and which has hitherto been so much neglected, or discouraged in England, that young Gentlemen have been obliged to have recourse to foreign Nations for this Part of the Education.

[28] The naturally flat, extended frame of the Thoroughbred suited the English rider's position.

[29] Today, the English saddle is "possibly...the most popular single form of saddlery." (Harold Barclay, *The Role of the Horse in Man's Culture* (London: J.A. Allen, 1980) 140.) The riding discipline of dressage, lingering from early manège traditions, uses a form of English saddle though it is heavier and utilizes a deeper seat to allow the rider to sit deeply to engage the hindquarters of the horse.

[30] Cavendish received a teenage appointment as ambassador extraordinaire to the Duke of Savoy, and at the age of eighteen, he was one of twenty-five young Englishmen to be commissioned as attendants to Henry's investment as Prince of Wales. It was here in 1610 that Cavendish and his twenty-four counterparts were made Knights of Bath. In 1628, he was made a peer.

his king as a cavalier in the Royalist army during the civil war. After fleeing England in 1649, Cavendish earned his greatest reputation as an expert horseman while in exile abroad. Having trained with the prestigious French Chevalier Pierre Antoine Bourdin, Seigneur de St Antoine, Cavendish learned both Italian and French schools of horsemanship. His exiled home in Antwerp became a haven for a grand following of gentlemanly and royal admirers from Italy, Spain, France, Sweden, Poland, Flanders, Austria, and even England, and his horsemanship skills were touted as 'miraculous' by those who saw him ride and train horses.[31]

Though never revered as highly in England as in the rest of Europe, Cavendish managed to influence many, even one hundred years after his death. Baron Reis d'Eisenberg, a riding master in the Hapsburg court, toured England and wrote his *Description du Manège Moderne* in which he distinguished Cavendish as a mentor. Between 1761-62, the military benefits of manège training continued to be claimed by the likes of Henry Herbert, 10th Earl of Pembroke. Pembroke wrote *A Method of Breaking Horses and Teaching Soldiers To Ride, Designed for the Use of the Army* which encouraged the use of manège exercises in training men and horses for war, citing theory and discourse from Cavendish. But unlike the duke's meticulous riding manual, Pembroke's military 'lesson book' was a simpler, smaller instruction guide with a narrow focus on the absolute basics. Author Littauer noted that it was obvious even to a nobleman like Pembroke that military riding needed to be simplified; hence, soldiers were being weaned from the elaborate trappings of manége.[32] Excerpts support Littauer's theory:

> It would scarce be possible (neither is it at all necessary) to teach the many more difficult and refined parts of horsemanship, to the different kinds and dispositions, both of men and horses, which one meets with in a regiment; or to give the time and attention, required for it, to such numbers...[33]

In other words, Pembroke realized that the rigorous training of traditional equitation in the military was no longer pragmatically possible. Simple soldiers were less prone to study the elaborate art, and they were

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[31] After watching Cavendish ride, one Frenchmen said "Par Dieu, Monsieur, il est bien hardi qui monte devant vous!" ("By God, sir, it is quite bold which goes up in front of you!) and another said, "Il n'y a plus seigneur comme vous en Angleterre!" ("There is no other lord like you in England!). (Cavendish, *Life of Cavendish* xx.)

[32] Littauer, *Horseman's Progress* 94.

[33] Ibid.

even less inclined to spend the hours necessary to master the skills and techniques of manège when such riding seemed so useless in battle. Cavendish's influence still weighed heavy on aristocrats, for the Earl of Pembroke did not dismiss manège; he "merely abridged it."[34] Like Cavendish, Pembroke commissioned paintings of himself mounted upon Spanish and Barbary horses performing various movements of manège. Today, Pembroke's collection of paintings are housed in Wilton House in Salisbury and provide a "rare glimpse of English army officers working their horses through all the more advanced movements such as capriole and levade" as late as the 1750s; apparently, Cavendish's influence remained valid for a few higher ranking military men of the age.[35] Still, Cavendish was far more popular on the Continent than he was in his own homeland.

A few equestrian authors have argued that it was the cruelty of the Duke's methods which prevented the manège artform from flourishing in England. One such historian, G. M. Phillips, offered that because of the spread of Humanism into England, "the Duke of Newcastle's methods failed to create a durable basis in Britain, partly because of the cruelty of his methods."[36] An overgeneralization as well as an incorrect summation of Cavendish, Phillips' theory suggests that as creative and scholarly impulses of the Renaissance urged the use of greater understanding in training methods, English horsemen turned away from the 'violent and cruel horse training methods' of the manège and its masters. The problem with this idea is that Phillips categorized Cavendish as a master with 'cruel methods,' and he unfairly attacked the artform itself. Moreover, he suggested that an entire nation turned away from the tradition because of one man. Granted, some early masters like Grisone used blatant force to achieve results, but Phillips neglected to consider other riding masters who taught the 'gentle approach' like Pluvinel, Massari, and even La Broue (after revising his 'aggressive' methodology) and broadly typecast the tradition as 'cruel.' Furthermore, Phillips ignored the fact that the manège rose from humanist interest in reviving the ancient texts of classical Greece and Rome and sought to achieve perfect harmonious union between man and

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[34] Ibid., 95.

[35] Loch, *Royal Horse* 92. The Earl of Pembroke, Henry Herbert was the nephew of prominent horseman Sir Philip Sidney, and like Cavendish, young Henry was afforded an excellent education in horsemanship. The equestrian studies at Wilton House are credited to Baron Reis d'Eisenberg. (Dent, *The Horse Through Fifty Centuries* 178.)

[36] Phillips, *Horses in Our Blood* 290.

horse.

Other critics have suggested that movements of the manège were unnatural to the horse and were, therefore, 'violent' in terms of making the animal do something outside its normal capacity. But this is a far-fetched as well as ignorant argument. "None of the movements required from the horse in either high-school work or dressage are unnatural: one has only to watch a crowd of lively young horses in a field...to see, sooner or later, every one of these movements executed spontaneously."[37] Riding masters of the seventeenth century were well-versed in the movements of the horse and wished only to expound further upon the natural elegance and agility of the horse. It is clear that many masters of the seventeenth century never intended to force the horse do anything that was not within its own intrinsic capacity. A contemporary of Cavendish, French riding master Pluvinel cautioned against dominance that rendered the horse broken in spirit: "We should never smother the natural grace of the horse. Like the pollen of fruit blossom, it never returns once it has been wafted away."[38] Equally enlightened as master La Broue, Cavendish noticed that certain horses were better suited for certain 'airs' while others simply did not have the talent for extremely difficult movements like the capriole. In his book, Cavendish characterized horses from various regions in accordance with their general suitability to manège work, but he neither criticized nor degraded the horses whose qualities he found lacking. Simply, he admired all horses for their individual strengths and talents, but true to human nature, he had his favorites.[39]

Moreover, study of Cavendish's methodology reveals that the duke was not an advocate of forceful training nor was he despised as such. In another account of the period, author Keith Thomas confirmed that the mid-1600s witnessed a growing humanity in England towards animals as well as people, but he found no evidence to support the idea that Cavendish's methods were considered brutal or harsh by his fellow countrymen or abroad. The Duke's distinguished reputation suggests that there was little negative reaction caused by his horsemanship because he was highly regarded by his king, by his students

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[37] Bruns, *World of the Horse* 123.

[38] Ibid., 126.

[39] When asked which nation produced the best horse, the Duke replied "I could not decide it, till I knew for what purpose the horse was intended, each breed being good and beautiful in its kind." While there were good and bad horses from all nations, the Duke felt that Barbary horses were gentlemen and Spanish horses were the princes. (Cavendish, *A General System* 21)

and colleagues, and even by his adversaries and competitors. A contemporary riding master and admirer, Jacques von Solleysel, described the acclaim the duke enjoyed:

> The Duke of Newcastle was such a world-famous man that nothing I could dream of saying about him could begin to add to the exalted reputation he enjoys...What I have found most astonishing in one of his nobility is simply that he may quite justly be called the pre-eminent horseman of his time.[40]

Cavendish's written work taught that patience and understanding were essential in 'dressing' a horse for manège work: "It is true, that patience without knowledge will never do, as knowledge will seldom do without patience : you must therefore treat him [the horse] gently, and not exert your full power; but the thing is difficult...reduce him by degrees, mixing gentleness with helps and corrections."[41] While he was indeed a strict teacher and trainer, Cavendish encouraged his readers to "treat the horse with all the mildness imaginable."[42] The Duke taught that if a rider were to be successful horseman, then the rider should study both the physical as well as the mental aspects of the horse for each animal was unique in its agility, memory, and temperament. For these reasons, a horse should not be rushed in its training. Furthermore, Cavendish believed that every horse responded positively to physical reward and vocal praise. Cavendish even employed the soothing effect of training with music, a relatively unheard-of technique at that time used by an Italian colleague, Count Cesare Fiaschi.[43] Each of these points suggest a more enlightened and humane training process for the horse. But most importantly, at no point did the Duke implicate the use of cruel or harsh technique to overpower the horse and force it into submission; in fact, Cavendish strictly admonished horsemen against such behavior because of the damaging effects upon the horse. He complained "Many horses, naturally good, fall into the hands of bad masters, who ruin them..."[44] Without hesitation or doubt, Cavendish harshly questioned the use of pillars in training - a practice promoted by Pluvinel.[45] Cavendish felt that restraining a horse between two pillars forced the

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[40] Loch, *Royal Horse* 90. To many modern-day dressage enthusiasts, including Loch, Newcastle is still regarded as the finest instructor and rider of the manége tradition of his time.

[41] Cavendish, *A General System* 14.

[42] Ibid., 140.

[43] Geoffrey Trease, *Portrait of a Cavalier: William Cavendish* (London: MacMillan, 1979) 175.

[44] Cavendish, *A General System* 17.

[45] Essentially, a pillar is a form of post or hitching contraption to which the horse is secured (either by a

horse onto its haunches without properly teaching the horse to utilize its forehand to maintain its equilibrium. The horse 'performed' because it had to, not because it wanted to or had learned anything. For Cavendish, this method "went against the natural order and mortifi[ed] all horses" but the true basis for Cavendish's concern was the fact that many horse trainers employed pillars without sufficiently knowing how to use them, and sometimes, pillars were used as an alternative to patience and proper training.[46] The duke's disdain for cruelty is also apparent in his advice regarding the use of switches or whips:

> The switch is rarely used as a means of punishment, though it has manifold uses as an aid. It is more often an ornament than a necessity... If you choose to depend upon it in the training of the horse, your understanding may be said to be as ephemeral as the swish of the switch itself.[47]

Perhaps the confusion concerning Cavendish's method (and consequently, its association with violence and cruelty) resulted largely because of linguistics. For instance, in his training manual, Cavendish insisted that a horse "must fear his master" and "know his rider to be master, that is, must be afraid of him, and then he will obey him."[48] Unfortunately, the word 'fear' has a tendency to connote the idea of brutally scaring or demanding the horse to conform to the wishes of the rider, but this attitude was far from what Cavendish encouraged. In using the word 'fear,' the Duke implied respect. Unless the horse respectfully submitted to its master and willingly gave his attention and cooperation, then training was sure to be difficult and even fruitless.[49] Cavendish readily acknowledged that abuse or misuse of authority by trainers often created hatred and dread in the horse, characteristics that spoiled the art. Certainly Cavendish understood that horses became successfully 'dressed' through conditioning and repetition, but resistance was to be expected:

> There is in reality no horse that does not resist at first, and that will not endeavor, almost through the whole course of its dressing, to follow its own inclinations, rather than those of the rider... Subjection is not agreeable to a horse, nor to any other creature that

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lead from its head or cavesson reins from the noseband). The horse cannot move more than a few feet on any side, but the horse is able to perform the various movements of the 'school' - usually in place.

[46] Guerinière, *School of Horsemanship* 147.

[47] Handler, *Spanish School* 70.

[48] Cavendish, *A General System* 142.

[49] Any professional within the equine industry will guarantee this adage to be as true today as it was then. See Appendix IV for notes on submission in current dressage training.

> I know...It is only the habit of obeying that brings a horse to be dressed: But he will try all possible ways to avoid subjection, and it is not till he has no more stratagems to have recourse to, that he gives up the dispute.[50]

Revering the independence of the horse, Cavendish understood that no horse like to be controlled, but obedience was mandatory if a horse was to be adequately 'dressed' or trained. Repetition in schooling ensured that the horse, by his own free will, accepted and followed its master's wishes so that true harmony was attained. Thus, for Cavendish, 'success' depended upon both the horse's willingness to please as well as its concession to its rider. Cavendish referred to this willingness as love. By substituting the word 'respect' for 'fear,' the duke infers no violence: "a horse must fear his master and from this fear, love must proceed. Fear creates obedience in all creatures - in both man and beast;" in other words, a horse must first respect before it could love its master.[51]

Historian Loch disagreed with critics like Phillips who asserted that the Duke's training methods were cruel. She endorsed Cavendish, crediting him as currently "England's greatest-ever exponent of dressage" though she admitted that his writings did portray a certain arrogance; but even then, she tossed his arrogance aside as "likable conceit."[52] More importantly, she defended Cavendish by saying that his methods were not unkind and even went so far as to compare his technique to that of celebrated Frenchman Francois Robichon de la Guérinière. Today, La Guérinière is considered the 'father of French equitation', and his teachings are still so highly regarded that his writings serve as required reading at the Spanish Riding School at Vienna. Loch placed the two men upon the same pedestal, saying that both were pioneers who believed in the use of reward, encouragement, and affection in the training of their horses. Still, Loch's affinity for Cavendish seems directly skewed by a shared passion for the Iberian horse and its influence. Cavendish publicly applauded the Spanish horse as his personal favorite, but he did manage to keep his credibility intact. An honest judge of horseflesh, the duke admitted there were faults in his beloved Spanish horse without making excuses for the breed, and he was also able to recognize and commend desirable characteristics in other horses such as the Barbary and the Neapolitan horse. On the

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[50] Cavendish, *A General System* 142.

[51] Ibid., 138. Cavendish is a respected horseman today because his teachings are still valid; obedience is absolutely essential in producing a well-mannered, trained horse.

[52] Loch, *Royal Horse* 90-91.

contrary, Loch was not ashamed of her flamboyant celebration of the Iberian horse. She often left her reader with the feeling that the Iberian horse was most prolific in influence and unequivocally the best horse in all facets of horsemanship. Yet even when she was forced to admit that the Iberian charger was abandoned by early modern Englishmen in favor of the Thoroughbred, she insisted upon reminding the reader - almost in retaliation to those preferring the breed - that the English champion owed its very existence to the Iberian blood coursing through its veins.[53] Furthermore, she maintained that no matter how distinct the qualities of the Thoroughbred, it would never lose that "unmistakable presence...[of] those dominant Spanish genes."[54]

Early modern riding reached a new cultural sophistication under the manège tradition. Horseman Littauer believes that the fancy manège riding remained popular so "long as kings and nobles ruled Europe, and had the means to employ this elaborate riding to ornament their lives."[55] While royal influence supported and propagated traditions of the manège, it was not enough to sustain the riding style in England. Most aristocratic horsemen of the Stuart era purposely rejected school-riding for they felt it had lacked value and served no purpose in their equestrian pursuits of racing and hunting. They developed a unique manner of riding - an approach which thrived on personal experience and experimentation. The English preferred to keep their riding simple and outdoors.

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[53] Ms. Loch's obsessive love for the Spanish horse is similar to Lady Wentworth's affinity for the Arabian. Lady Wentworth claims that the Arabian is solely responsible for the creation of the Thoroughbred while Loch disregards any influence of the Arabian to the Iberian breed. Most historians agree that both the Arab and the Iberian horse influenced the development of the Thoroughbred.

[54] Loch, *Royal Horse* 99-102.

[55] Littauer, *Horseman's Progress* 105.

CHAPTER FOUR - THE INFLUENCE OF THE MONARCHY

Alan Rogers claims he titled his Emory University dissertation "Tudor Horsemanship" because "the royal family did much to inspire study of horsemanship during its tenure."[1] This chapter supports Rogers' theory but also demonstrates the concentrated attempts of some monarchs to refine equine bloodlines of the English elite. Both the Tudors and their Stuart successors spent small fortunes importing the finest horses as well as the best training techniques. The Tudors relied upon Italian-trained horse masters, such as Robert Alexander and Prospero d'Osma, for training and breeding advice while the Stuarts garnered knowledge and experience from the unequivocal riding masters of their time: the French. Courtiers of the Stuart period "spent as much time with Italian masters of fencing as they did with French masters of riding."[2] Both dynastic families patroned foreign styles of horsemanship, though the Stuarts did much more to enhance the physical nature of the horse than it did to improve horsemanship.[3]

Most equine histories are quick to point out the numerous legislative edicts of the 1530s to horse breeding. Because Henry VIII was concerned that England's supply of saddle and warhorses failed miserably to measure up to horses on the continent, legislation referred to as the "Horse Bills of Henry VIII" was passed in hopes of regulating breeding and ownership to create a larger quantity of mounts of greater size and strength. Difficult to enforce, Henry's laws were largely ineffective in bringing about rapid change - a fact evident to Elizabeth I in 1588 when she realized the mediocrity of her soldiers' mounts during the Armada scare - Henry's laws document monarchical recognition of the need for better breeding methods in raising quality stock. The majority of equestrian sources leap forward from here and focus upon the shift in Stuart England towards racing sport, citing Charles II as the true progenitor of valuable horse stock in England because of his obsession with the turf. Of course, no one particular monarch is responsible for radical results. Rather, the persistent flow into England of the best foreign methodology of horsemanship - beginning with Henry VIII - influenced how aristocrats utilized their horses. Similarly, consistency in importation of quality continental stock also gradually improved the physical nature of their horses. Of course, the simple act of importation alone did not change equestrian

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[1] Rogers, "Tudor Horsemanship," 6.
[2] G.P.V. Akrigg, *Jacobean Pageant* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962) 162.
[3] Carr, *English Fox Hunting* 34.

affairs in England. Monarchs maintained and improved the royal studs, appointed prominent horsemen and riding masters to positions of authority, encouraged and participated in riding sports, and patroned equestrian literature and art.

Monarchical responsibility for the production and maintenance of a decent supply of horseflesh for use in war, trade, and industry necessitated the keeping of royal studs. In the early modern period, the royal studs continued to be one of the king's most valuable assets, second only to his household; for nobles, studs ranked first in importance.[4] Housing the apex of horseflesh in England, the royal studs served a direct purpose in importing and dispersing the best breeding stock to noble studs throughout the countryside, the intent of which was to create valuable and competent military horseflesh for the sovereign's use. Indirectly, importation of horses procured valuable trade agreements which strengthened alliances between England and its allies on the Continent, particularly the Dutch. To aid in the improvements, sovereigns secured competent horsemen as horse trainers, riding instructors, and stud keepers for royal use; supervision of the royal studs was governed by the 'Master of the Horse,' an honorific position usually held by an officer of military reputation or of knightly rank.[5] Monarchs like Henry VIII, Charles I, and Charles II employed official royal riding tutors - men from reputable riding 'centers' on the continent or men who trained there - whose advice and training also found an audience among the gentry.

Royals also helped shape riding sports in England. Since most monarchs of the period were avid patrons, if not participants, of field sports like hunting and racing, they addressed relevant issues and supported the development of certain sports, thereby improving the system and rules by which each was performed. Riding sports, monarchs argued, not only improved the state of the horse but also improved the state of the nation.[6] For example, better horses and training methods meant better military defense and

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[4] Hyland, *The Horse in the Middle Ages*, 13. Any horses acquired by acts of war or invasion became property of the king. Nobles appreciated this as they usually led battle engagements and would have been rewarded for securing valuable booty.

[5] Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse* 94-95. The position was officially named such in 1383 with Sir Thomas Moreaux, but origins of the position date as early as 1322. Furthermore, the Master of the Horse was one of the most trusted men in the realm and stayed in close contact with the monarch.

[6] James was one such monarch to defend the use of the hunt as training for warfare in the *Book of Sports*.

security; likewise, more attentive efforts devoted to field sports meant greater attention to the countryside.[7] Finally, kings and queens of early modern England endorsed authors who wrote treatises on equestrian subjects like horsemanship and hunting in efforts to educate and inform England's upper classes. For instance, monarchical sponsorship of the proliferation of hunting literature of the Elizabethan period encouraged the burgeoning obsession for horsemanship and 'gentlemanly pursuits;' one such 'pursuit' involved perfecting hunt practice which was a particular concern for many hunting nobles and scholars like Sir Thomas Cockayne who set pen to paper in hopes of educating more English riders about the changing nature of the hunt in England.[8] Stimulated by Renaissance ideals, the crown also financed several works on horsemanship, which helped implant a new mentality in England that identified horsemanship as an art and not just a necessity for aspiring courtiers and gentlemen. By the Jacobean period, most courtiers aspired to have a stable full of fine horses and to manage their 'curvetting' with easy grace. Celebrating horsemanship as an artform, Charles I highlighted the aesthetic qualities of the horse in several commissioned equestrian portraits like *Charles I on Horseback* and *Charles I Riding Through a Triumphal Arch*, striving to revive the power of the monarchy during his tumultuous reign. (Refer to Illustrations 7-8)

At the time of Henry Tudor's ascension to the English throne in 1485, the nation's supply of serviceable military stock was terribly weak. Constant warfare in the High Middle Ages (Hundred Years War, Wars of the Roses) accounts for a large part of the destruction and loss in numbers of warhorses in England. Additionally, costs associated with raising warhorses remained high.[9] However, the new Tudor court attributed the shortage to a different problem altogether. Henry VII declared that cavalry horses - and

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[7] The proliferation of hunting and racing in the countryside allowed greater construction of race courses and hunt parks. Hunting became more popular as land rose as "an investment in prestige, in status, in political influence," giving way to the rise of a strong and secure landed society that "ran national politics and local affairs." See Carr, *English Fox Hunting* 46-47 for more information about the social foundations of English fox hunting in the late 1600s and 1700s.

[8] Patrick Chalmers, *The History of Hunting* (Philadelphia: JB Lippincott, 1936) 292. Thomas Cockayne, the Squire of Ashbourne, wrote *A Short Treatise of Hunting* in 1581, and is credited as the first master, in print, to specifically target the fox as prey.

[9] The warhorse was a military athlete and demanded more than pasture for subsistence. Nobles were expected to raise quality warhorses comparable to those of the king, and the king's horses ate enormous quantities of hay, oats, beans, and pease. (For more information, see Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse* 92-93.)

Illustration 7. *Charles I on Horseback.* (Anthony van Dyck)

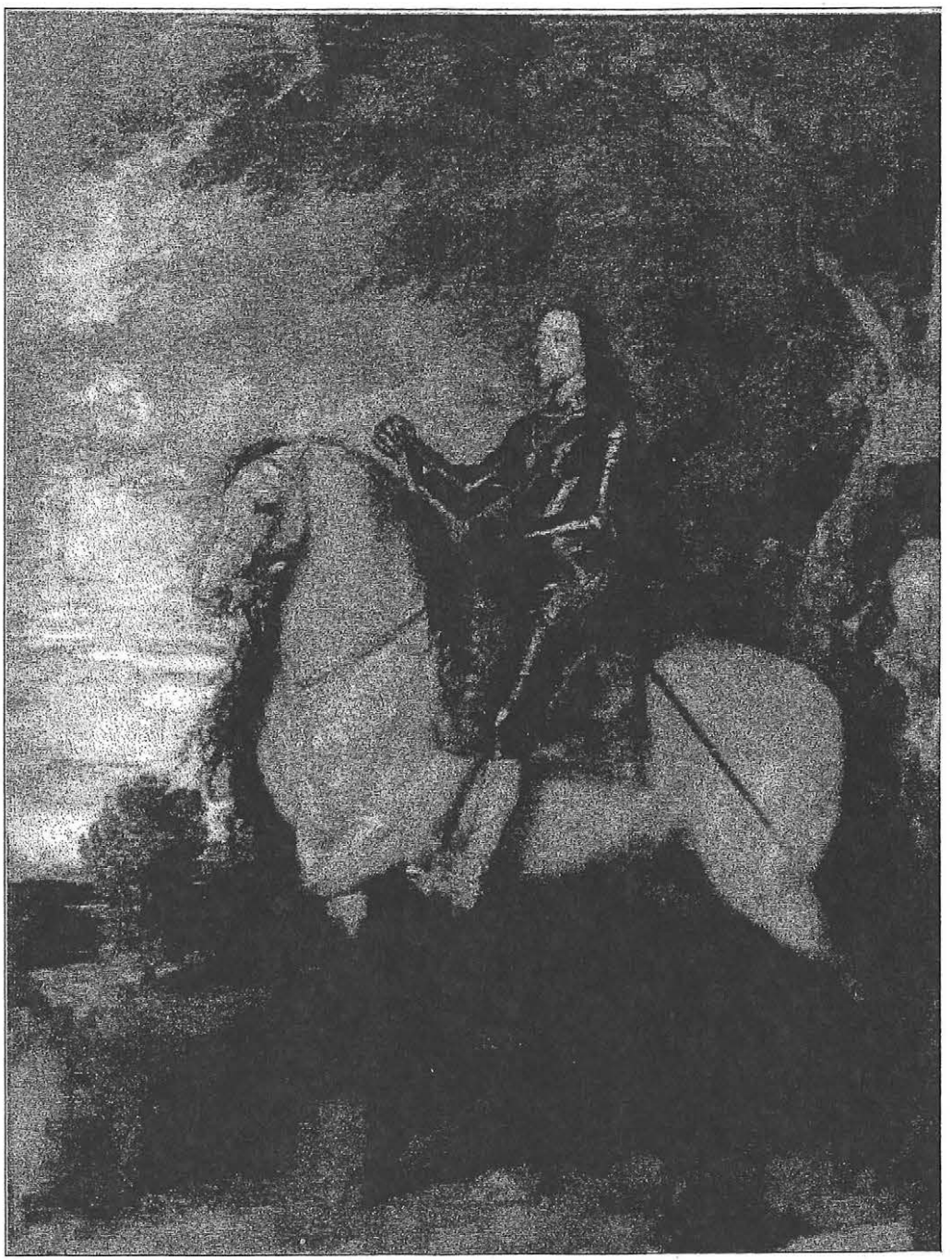
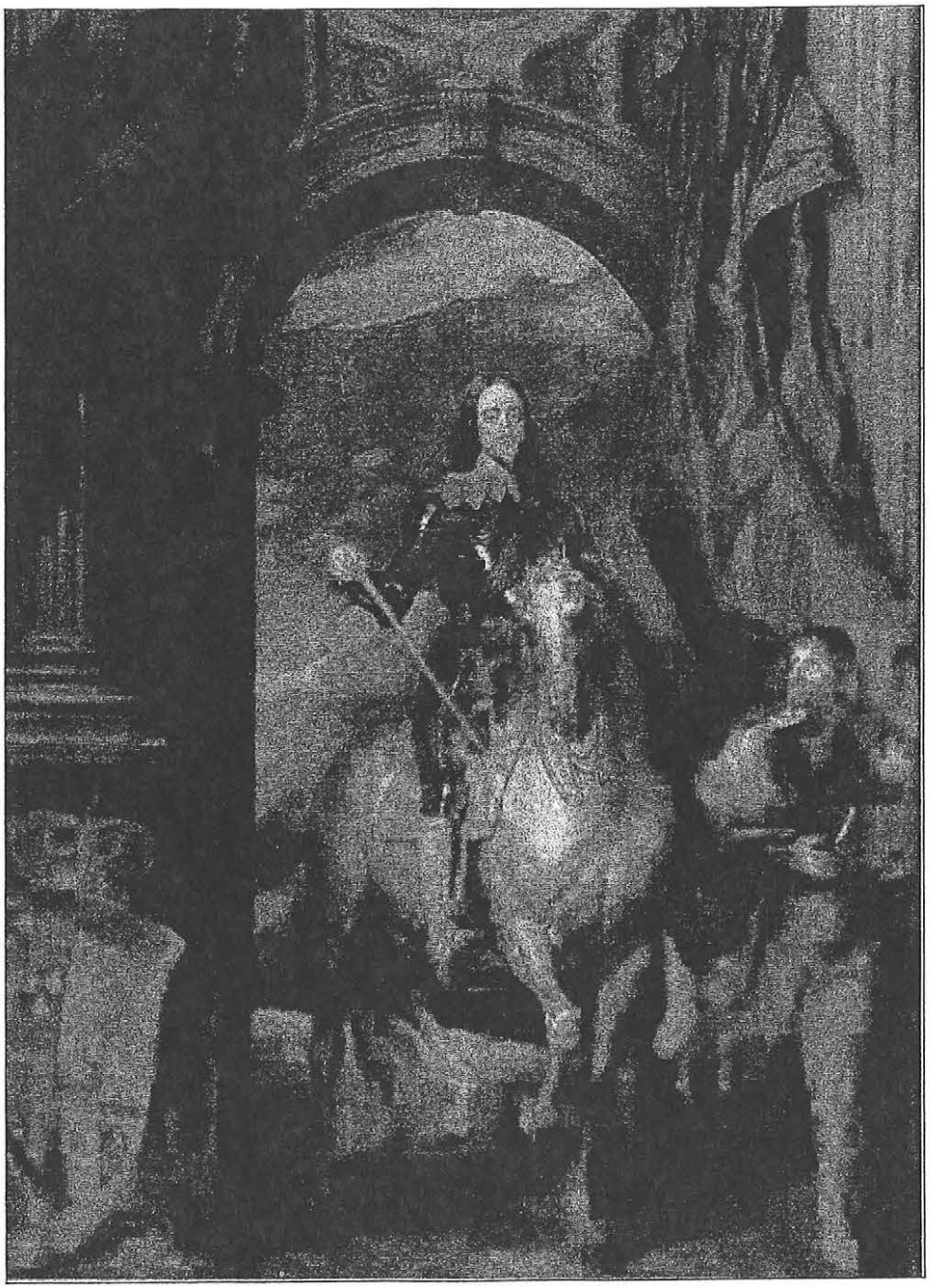


Illustration 8. *Charles I Riding Through a Triumphal Arch.* (Anthony van Dyck)



any good horses, for that matter - remained scarce in England because too many were being sold abroad.[10] Thus, to protect the quantity of usable mounts, Henry VII penned legislation in 1495 which prohibited the exportation of England's fertile young horses - especially stallions and fillies under two years old - to prevent any further loss of horseflesh across the borders. To resupply England's stock, Henry VII also initiated the practical reform of gelding stallions to help gain control over wild and feral horses roaming throughout England so that better stock was reproduced. Henry VII's attempts to assuage the situation had little consequence, primarily because some real problems were not addressed. England still had no formal breeding regulations in place to govern equine evolvement, and northern regions, especially Northumberland, suffered from the "decay of the borders."[11] Many defied the ban on exporting horses and continued trading because local ties of kinship across the border were stronger than loyalties to a distant monarch. Chronic insecurity caused by raiding also remained a problem. When Henry VIII succeeded his father in 1509, he inherited the on-going problems.

The tremendous shortage of large and powerful warhorses in England persisted in the first two decades of Henry VIII's reign. Dr. Joan Thirsk has done considerable research in addressing the incredible loss of serviceable horses during Henry VIII's military campaigns. In 1512, the English countryside was plundered by a king desperate to find horses to fight against the French; Thirsk maintains that the horse population was "drastically reduced by one royal shopping expedition."[12] By the 1530s, Henry made horsebreeding public policy to increase quality and quantity of serviceable cavalry stock. In 1531, he reaffirmed his father's prohibition of equine export, and a year later, the sale of horses to Scotland was banned. Yet little heed was given to the reinstitution of these laws, forcing Henry to react with stronger measures. In 1535, he began the first consistent efforts to improve the number and quality of the early modern English horse.

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[10] Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse* 97. The sources are somewhat vague about where horses were exported or sold abroad, but they are consistent regarding sale of horses in the north, specifically across the border to Scotland.

[11] Robert Newton, "The Decay of the Borders: Tudor Northumberland in Transition," *Rural Change and Urban Growth, 1500-1800*, Edited by C.W. Chalklin and M.A. Havinden. (London: Longman Group, 1974): 5-7.

[12] Thirsk, *Early Modern Horses* 8.

Several historians have credited Henry as the architect of the horse to come; in fact, historian Gianoli laments that Henry VIII is not given apt credit for his role in preparing a positive foundation in breeding which would lead to the creation of England's most famous horse, the Thoroughbred.[13] Understandably, many equestrian histories focus on the Stuart period, the era in which visible characteristics of the Thoroughbred horse began to be realized. However, research into legislation of the period shows that serious attempts to reform breeding began as early as 1535 with the implementation of three laws that dictated strict requirements in the type of horse owned, new standards in pasturing and breeding, and obligation of ownership according to land and material wealth. Though results took time, Henry's efforts helped lay the groundwork to produce the taller, leaner, and more refined horse evident by the end of the period - quite a different horse from the warhorse of Henry VIII's day. An important factor here is that constant effort over a long period of time produced effective genetic alteration. Similarly, Henry's awareness of the problem as well as his responses served to stimulate the aristocracy in England to become more active in equestrian affairs, writing and debating methods of horsemanship as well as breeding.

In 1535, Henry VIII passed the "acte concernyng the breeds of horses" which required every owner of an enclosed park to keep two fertile mares of at least thirteen hands high.[14] The real significance of this first law is in the height requirement. Henry endeavored to increase the numbers of larger horses, but the law neglected to deal with the horses of smaller stature that remained. Just because park owners were forced to keep two mares of a certain size did not necessarily eliminate breeding among smaller horses. The ineffectiveness of this law to create a substantial number of larger horses for war purposes is evident four years later when a musters report revealed that there were practically no serviceable horses in southern England and that only in Yorkshire and beyond was there an equal share of horses to footmen.[15]

Between 1535 and 1539, an important religious shift known as the Reformation occurred in

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[13] Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse* 108; Gianoli, *Horses & Horsemanship* 218.
[14] Ibid., 108-109.
[15] P.R. Edwards, "The Horse Trade in Tudor and Stuart England," *Horses in European Economic History*, Edited by F.M.L. Thompson. (Reading: The British Agricultural Historical Society, 1983): 119. See also Thirsk, *Early Modern Horses* 9-10.

England when Henry denounced Catholicism and the Pope and declared himself Head of the Church in England. A consequence of the Reformation, the 'Dissolution of the Monasteries' allowed members of the gentry to buy confiscated lands and valuable horses from the crown. Since the Middle Ages, England "had been a land of fair abbeys" with much skill and money poured into creating them.[16] Monasteries and religious houses in England prided themselves on the superior horseflesh raised within the confines of their parks and abbeys. High-ranking men of the church - often wealthy and important figures - imported horses from the continent just as the royals did and earned a reputation for breeding fine horses. During the three and a half years of the dissolution of the Catholic monasteries (1536-39), the crown confiscated both land and horses, distributing and auctioning both at its discretion. Prominent families like the D'Arcys, Fenwicks, and Chenys bought many of the Oriental racing varieties while the king sent the heavier types to his studs at Eltham and Hampton Court. Unhappily, many clergymen relinquished their fine herds while others fought the process and lost. Richard Whiting, the Abbot of Glastonbury staunchly refused to turn over his "princely collection" to Henry, and Henry responded by sending him to the gallows.[17] Henry also hanged several of the friars - a point which shows the strength of royal prerogative in the sixteenth century.

Henry's second act of 1540 - the "Bill for the Breed of Horses" - set the tone for rules concerning common pasturing although it was rather difficult to enforce. The preamble to Henry's legislation not only demonstrates England's need for quality horses but also shows the grievous state of the country's available equine supply. It reads as follows:

> Forasmuch as the generation and breed of good and strong horses within this realm extendeth not only to a great help and defence of the same, but also is a great commodity and profit to the inhabitants thereof, which is now much decayed and diminished, by reason that, in forests, chases, moors and waste grounds within this realm, little stoned horses and nags of small stature and of little value be not only suffered to pasture thereupon, but also to cover mares feeding there, whereof cometh in manner no profit or commodity.[18]

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[16] J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1984) 68.

[17] Anne Blunt, Lady Wentworth, *Thoroughbred Racing Stock* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938) 189. There was significant 'bullying' of churchmen for "fear was one of the king's best friends." (Scarisbrick, *Reformation and the English* 62.)

[18] Chalmers, *History of Hunting* 269.

Henry's declaration clearly illustrates the king's attempt to appeal to the economic senses of the 'inhabitants' of England - for their own sake as well as the future success and prosperity of England. Similarly, the king urged his subjects to use greater concern in pasturing and common breeding as it had become obvious that current practices, largely careless and neglectful, produced worthless animals with no work merit. Henry's bill of 1540 went on to declare that,

> ... no horse being above the age of two years, and not being of the height of fifteen 'handfulls' shall be put to graze on any common or waste land in certain counties...all horses, mares and colts not giving promise of growing into serviceable animals, or of producing them, were to be killed.[19]

Aristocrats and other nobles were typically large landowners with stables full of horses and sufficient land to accommodate them, but most horse owners were dependent upon the common pasturing system where there was no separation or division of horses according to sex, ownership, or work efficacy. This system often led to the random coupling of small horses, the result of which were "ill-assorted hybrids," usually economically worthless and physically unproductive.[20] To rectify the situation, Henry's regulation issued specific height requirements for horses grazing in the common pastures of thirty shires and districts. His decree not only excluded small, inferior horses from common pastures, but it permanently eliminated these horses as breeders, hoping to force the physical growth of equines. To inspire greater adherence to the law, Henry provided that all citizens had the right to seize any horse violating the decree, and owners who refused to measure their horses risked fines up to forty shillings.[21]

Henry's bill of 1540 instituted breeding reform at the ground level, but the third and final act of Henrician legislation focused primarily upon aristocratic owners of horses. The dense legislation of 1542 affected a wide variety of noblemen and clergymen, forcing them to keep a certain number of horses according to their wealth and position in society. As part of their duty as a titled landowner, archbishops and dukes were to own and "raise at least seven stallions fourteen hands high" by the time the horses were

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[19] Ibid., 269-270.
[20] Longrigg, *English Squire* 54.
[21] Chalmers, *History of Hunting* 269.

three years old.[22] Requirements in equine ownership descended as both level of income and rank of title decreased. Marquises, earls and bishops had only to maintain five "trotting" horses if their level of income exceeded one thousand pounds; barons and viscounts earning one thousand marks were to keep three such horses; and, gentlemen with incomes of only five hundred marks were required by law to maintain two. A subsequent part of the decree required clergy whose annual salary exceeded one hundred pounds sterling to keep at least one quality horse, meaning warhorse. Finally, the legislation struck a societal chord. Deemed bizarre by historian Gianoli, the final part of Henry's third act (1542) required every man earning at least one hundred pounds a year *and* whose wife wore "any gown of silk, or ...any French hood or bonnet of velvet, with any habilment, paste, or egg of gold, pearl or stone, or any chain of gold about their neck or in their partlets, or in any apparel of their body" to maintain one quality horse; laymen whose wives met the standards were also required to maintain one horse, or they could be fined twenty pounds.[23] Historian R.H.C. Davis, however, did not find the final part of the decree so bizarre. Rather he called it "clever" as it connected wealth and social position (according to dress) with the ownership of horses in hopes that not only quantity would increase but further refinements in quality would be made by the rich and affluent.[24] Park owners did not escape Henry's legislation either. Owners of parks and enclosed grounds bordering at least one mile were ordered to keep two mares of at least thirteen hands high for breeding. Owners of more than four miles of parks and enclosures were required to keep four mares of similar height. While Henry's acts are important as the first continuous efforts to reform breeding and ownership of horses in England, they did not bring about immediate change. In 1544, Henry was again borrowing cavalry horses from the Netherlands. The national supply of English horses remained so devastatingly low during Henry's on-going campaigns with France and Scotland that Henry was forced to seek (in excess of twenty thousand) horses from the Dutch - even the Queen Regent herself supplied 9,660 of her own personal warhorses.

In addition to the legislative effort to increase equine numbers and quality, Henry VIII set up a body of fifty Gentlemen Pensioners and required them to provide horses for ceremonial and military

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[22] Giauoli, *Horses & Horsemanship* 218.
[23] Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse* 109; Gianoli, *Horses & Horsemanship* 218.
[24] Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse* 109.

occasions.[25] These members were responsible for keeping fine breeding studs and, in return, they leased or 'borrowed' royal parklands to help maintain the horses; by 1539, these men also had access to clerical lands taken during the Dissolution of the Monasteries. Dr. Thirsk maintains that these 'leases' were not simply grants but were "deliberate attempts to improve the number and quality of English horses."[26]

The list of early modern Gentlemen Pensioners are fairly recognizable as many doubled as writers on horsemanship and horsecare and as breeders and keepers of their own horses. Sir Francis Knollys was given Caversham manor and a park in Berkshire; Sir Nicholas Arnold was given Highnam where he imported horses from Flanders and kept fine Neapolitan warhorses at stud.[27] By 1553, the writer Holinshed named Arnold as the keeper of the finest horses in England.[28] Later, names like Thomas Blundeville, Sir John Astley, Thomas Bedingfield, and Gervase Markham topped the list, avowing to their reputation as fine horsemen in England. Royal enactment of these horse 'agencies'shows that the crown was willing to help subsidize costs for improvement. Moreover, by encouraging greater education and entrusting responsibility in the hands of England's competent horsemen, the Tudor crown nurtured growth, flexibility, and independence in the equestrian methodology of English horsemen.

As the strongest political power of the nation, Henry passed legislation and designated aristocratic horsemen to improve the nature of the English warhorse. Of equal importance, Henry took an active role in setting standards in the equestrian community. Support for the idea of king as pinnacle of influence was used by historian Davis to prove that medieval kings of England often set the standard for the breeding of warhorses:

> It was he [the king] who knew when he wanted to make war and where, he who determined the quality of horses that should be brought into the army, he who had the most opportunity and resources for the purchase of valuable horses from abroad, he who could control their import and export, and he who, in the last resort, could exercise a right of pre-emption. It was inevitable that he would be the leader in almost every new development, and that

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[25] Ibid.
[26] Thirsk, *Early Modern Horses* 14.
[27] Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse* 110.
[28] Blunt, *Thoroughbred Racing Stock* 188.

the nobles would follow his lead.[29]

The same theory can be applied to the early Tudor years. A dominant and powerful ruler, Henry VIII was one of the last English kings to rule with full authority, his influence widespread. Henry had access to many fine breeds of horses from all over mainland Europe, but he also possessed the finances to support continued importation. Historian Luigi Gianoli believes that the creation of fine horses at this time in England was relatively eased by England's economic resources which were two to three times greater than those of even Italy.[30] Furthermore, Henry imported on a considerable scale, especially from Francesco Gonzaga, Marchese di Mantova, and from Spain, and his policies on importation were followed closely by a large number of individuals who kept their own studs.[31] Like medieval kings before him, Henry VIII set both policy and example in equestrian matters.

When Henry came to the throne, there were several royal studs in operation, but one historian has credited him as the "probable founder of the royal studs" because the improvements in his reign legitimized and organized the studs as fixed entities.[32] As Henry's determination to better the state of horses in England grew, he surmised that the studs at Eltham, Kent, and Hampton Court were not enough to sustain his projected rise in quantity and quality. Two additional studs were built - one at Tutbury in Staffordshire and another at Malmesbury (a former abbey) in Wiltshire. These studs quickly became well-known throughout England for housing celebrated imported stallions. The king sent agents to procure German, Flemish, and Neapolitan chargers to fill his studs, and of course Henry received horses as gifts from various countries. Spanish warhorses came from Ferdinand of Aragon as well as from the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V. Another important source for Henry's imports was the famous Mantuan stud owned by the famous Gonzaga family. By the early sixteenth century, the Italian stud held 650 quality horses from Spain, Frisia, Barbary, Sardinia, Ireland, France, and Italy.[33] Henry VIII imported several groups of bay

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[29] Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse* 70.
[30] Gianoli, *Horses & Horsemanship* 96.
[31] Longrigg, *English Squire* 54.
[32] Phillips, *Horses in Our Blood* 18. Operation and maintenance of the studs became constant during Tudor reign as opposed to earlier monarchs like Edward I, II, and III whom allowed the studs to disintegrate during times of peace. For more information, see Davis, 86-96.
[33] Hyland, *The Horse in the Middle Ages*, 19.

mares from Mantua, and some were sent as special gifts from Francesco Gonzaga in 1514.[34] The gifts of the "Royal Mares," or so they were dubbed, were a delight to Henry; one bright bay Oriental mare named 'Governatore' especially pleased Henry and he had offered the Marquis her weight in silver. To show his good favor, the Marquis simply gave the mare to Henry, as well as another Oriental named 'Altobello.'[35] Henry found the gift of horses very pleasing, saying that "for years he had not received such an agreeable present" and "had never ridden better trained horses."[36]

The most prestigious center of academic equitation since the thirteenth century (and possibly before), Naples continued to reign as the fount of European knowledge regarding horsemanship in the Henrician age. Because horsemanship figured prominently in aspects of traditional warfare, Henry sought the reputation of the Italians to improve his equestrian and military skills, often performing for his subjects at tournaments: "after the melée, it was common for Henry VIII to give a brief exhibition of horsemanship."[37] Henry became a staunch supporter of the Italians, encouraging their ideology in England by surrounding himself with excellent horsemen. Italians like Alexander de Bologna and Jacques de Granado served as officers in Henry's stables in 1526 and were still on the royal payroll in 1544. Bologna, or "Old Alex" supposedly acquired his skill under Grisone and continued as 'Master of the Royal Stables' well into the reign of Elizabeth.[38] Similarly, Mathew de Mantua became studman in 1545, and Neapolitan Master Hannibal was employed as the official royal farrier during Henry's reign.[39] By employing Italians in his own stables and encouraging others to do so, the king ensured that continental methods and techniques would be followed and passed down as tradition among English noblemen. Englishmen of wealth like Lord Walden utilized the services of Italians already in country like Master Hannibal; others like Sir Philip Sidney imported their own. A 'Signor Romano' taught Sidney's nephew, William Herbert

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[34] Gianoli, *Horses & Horsemanship* 386-392. The animals were gifts from the dukes of Mantua and Ferrara, and Catherine of Savoy. Gianoli credits the royal mares as the true "mothers" of the English Thoroughbred.

[35] Blunt, *Thoroughbred Racing Stock* 245.

[36] Basil Tozer, *The Horse in History* (London: Methuen and Co, 1908) 149. These mares are often mistakenly identified as the mares bought during the reign of Charles Stuart.

[37] Rogers, "Tudor Horsemanship," 147.

[38] Thirsk, *Early Modern Horses* 19.

[39] Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse* 110.

(later, an Earl of Pembroke), and another Italian named Signor Prospero d'Osma, upon Sidney's invitation, set up a riding school at London's Mile End.[40] Further support for Italian horsemanship and its masters came from various Englishmen traveling throughout Italy. Robert Dallington advised travelers in his *Method for Travel* to study riding under 'Il Signor Rustico' in Florence while Mr. Sidney spoke highly of Pietro Pugliano who taught at the Emperor's court.[41] Thus, royal support lent credence to foreign methodology and helped maintain comparable horsemanship among elites in England.

Henry also utilized his resources in England. He designated an English horseman named Robert Alexander as his personal riding tutor at Hampton Court but *only* after sending Alexander to Naples to learn the latest in the manège. A rider whose skill was credited as "the most honourable exercise" by Sir Thomas Elyot in 1531, Alexander was trained by the celebrated riding master, Grisone.[42] Certainly Alexander's appointment as royal riding tutor to the king elevated his popularity as well as his reputation, but it is not clear whether his formal Italian education or his prestigious post caused his contemporaries to credit him with the improvement of English teachers of riding.

As a young prince, Henry's education included training in horsemanship and participation in various sports to prepare him for his future role as king, leader, and defender of the realm. The tradition of learning equestrian skills stemmed from medieval practices when one's military success hinged upon the horse for flight, defense, and transport. Hunting was one such exercise, its reputation for preparing soldiers for war continuing on to the end of the period. Contemporaries wrote of the king's determination to prove his hunting skill and prowess.[43] In 1520, Henry's secretary, Richard Pace, confirmed Henry's devotion to the sport in a report to Cardinal Wolsey, a hunting companion of the king, saying "the king rises daily, except on holy days, at four or five o'clock, and hunts 'til nine or ten at night," to which he sardonically added, "he spares no pains to convert the sport of hunting into martyrdom."[44]

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[40] Ibid., 115.

[41] Einstein, *Italian Renaissance in England* 70.

[42] Longrigg, *English Squire* 57.

[43] Henry supposedly wrote his first love letter to Anne Boleyn astride his hunt horse, and almost ten years later, callously listened for the tolling of her death bell from a nearby hunt field. (Chalmers, *History of Hunting* 272.)

[44] Manning, *Hunters and Poachers* 198.

The hunt of the sixteenth century was far slower than the modern-day version and included no grandscale jumping; by French standards, the English hunt was "old-fashioned and rather tame."[45] The hunt horse had only to carry its rider as the hounds worked the quarry overland. As customary hunted prey - the 'noble' stag or hart - became more scarce, certain changes in hunt practice took place. To deter poaching as well as prevent game from escaping, aristocrats began to hunt in confined areas called parks. Land was divided by fences and stone walls, and Forest and Game Laws were passed to protect the parks as well as the game within. To aid in the maintenance of the parks, Henry granted keepership to noblemen like Arthur Plantagenet, Viscount Lisle (illegitimate son of Edward IV). Keepers like Lisle safeguarded the king's property as their own; neglection of duty landed them in disfavor with the crown and out of a job.[46] The 1530s witnessed the massive construction of deer parks and hunting lodges in and around London. In 1536, Henry officially declared Hyde Park a royal hunting ground, later adding St. James Park and land around Windsor Castle to the list of royal property. Thirty new royal hunting lodges were built; each afforded dog kennels, horse stables, bear pits for bear-baiting, and necessary roadwork like bridges, gates and fences.

An enthusiastic hunter, Henry fashioned hunting to serve his needs. For example, Henry introduced the idea of 'second horses' to the hunt. In other words, as Henry became the 'heavy-weight' that history popularizes, literal horse-sense insisted upon his having two mounts as one horse simply was not enough to carry the overzealous 'king' of sports to the day's end. One foreign ambassador reported that Henry "never takes his diversion without eight or ten horses..., and when one is tired he mounts another and before he gets home they are all exhausted."[47] Thus, relief horses became a standard feature for many hunting sportsmen by the nineteenth century (though it is no longer a feature of the foxhunt). Similarly, as Henry aged and slowed down, unable to physically hunt at *par force,* he opted for a different hunt style. In the *battue*-style hunt, game was driven past the king and his hunting party.[48] Although passionate about

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[45] Carr, *English Fox Hunting* 17.

[46] A.L. Rowse, *Court and Country*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987): 6. In 1533, Henry threatened to revoke Lisle's keepership of the Clarendon park if concern was not given to the decaying deer population.

[47] Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, 198.

[48] J.N.P. Watson, *The History of Foxhunting* (New York: Arco Publishing Co., 1978) 20. The battue-style

hunting, Henry did not restrict his horsemanship to the field sport of hunting. Under Henry's reign, horse racing became increasingly popular and organized. Further formalization of the sport was realized with the monarchical sponsorship and donation of silver prizes to winners of racing contests.

The early modern period was an age in which royalty exalted itself by any means necessary to add grandeur, respect, honor and power to their names; indeed, perception of royalty was an important appendage of authority. "To a large extent kings and princes were judged by their appearance, and that in turn was often determined by their horses."[49] Mastery of the horse was, and continued to be, highly esteemed, but more importantly, horses had the unique ability to separate nobility from lesser people. As a Renaissance prince, Henry exploited the magnificence and splendor of the 'courtly' horse in ceremony and in the pageantry of tournaments to help legitimize his reign.[50] In 1520 at the Field of Cloth of Gold, both Henry VIII and Francis I flaunted their military might to one another, engaging each other with horses rearing, circling, and dancing on hindend in a theatrical contest of strength and vitality.

Adding to the glamour and prestige, equestrian elites of the period fitted their horses with elaborate trappings and equipment. Much of this ornamentation is a remnant from the medieval ages, but the use of more expensive and fanciful saddlery increased in popularity. It was more than a fondness for embellishment that led to the increased use of extravagant materials and gilded inlays in making saddles and harnesses. Status played a key factor as seen in the example of Lady Lisle, Honor Grenville, the wife of park-keeper Lisle. A letter from 1534 documents the concerns of the family harness-maker who:

> ... wants to know if her ladyship will have her saddle and harness fringed in with silk and gold, and whether of Lucca and Genoa velvet. Other lords's wives have theirs of Lucca velvet fringed with velvet and gold, 'with buttons of the pear fashion and tassles quarter deep of silk

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literally brought the hunted to the hunter whereas hunting at 'par force' entailed wild chases after prey.

[49] Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse* 107. In explaining the impact of the Renaissance in England, Davis makes this observation aware of the fact that some people might regard the king's projected image as trivial.

[50] Sarah Tytler, *Tudor Queens and Princesses* (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1993) 266. Certainly it was normal to expect the king to have the most beautiful things: jewels, horses, women. Henry's reaction to his prospective German bride, Anne of Cleves exemplifies this clearly. Upon seeing her, Henry supposedly complained loudly about her appearance, comparing her to a "Flanders mare" which implied her features were plain and coarse. The typical Flanders mare of the period shows that Anne was not a svelte beauty, but rather had broad, unrefined features. Henry's analogy indicates he was not pleased with Anne's looks nor was he impressed with the beauty (or lack thereof) in horses from the Netherland regions.

> and gold.' Will she have the stirrup parcel-gilt, with a leather covered with velvet, or else to have a foot-stool according unto her saddle? And what device is to go in the saddle's head of copper and gilt?[51]

Of course, the sovereign's dressings were the finest, from the gold buckles on his shoes to the cloth-of-gold on his saddle. Even the bit became a symbol of social status which set certain people apart, according to equestrian author Louis Taylor.[52] For instance, non-military riders on palfreys used smaller bits of simpler design than did lords mounted on destriers.

The hectic decade between Henry's death in 1547 and Elizabeth I's accession in 1558 accomplished minimal change in equestrian matters. Sovereignty issues caused turbulence and instability within the nation, affecting society in a variety of ways, and in most cases, equestrian histories ignore these years as 'unfruitful.'[53] Yet it is hardly fair to accuse Edward VI and his half-sister Mary of purposeful neglect and disregard for equestrian matters. Supposedly, Edward VI was not fond of horses, yet contemporary sources of the period suggest that he showed a great deal of interest in following in his father's footsteps regarding equestrian affairs.[54] The boy king continued the tradition of employing Italian riding masters at court, and to confront raiding problems, Edward made horse stealing a capital offense in England. Furthermore, royal gifts of horses flowed across the Channel from Henry's old stud sources; in 1550, Edward received two beautiful Spanish horses from the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V.[55] At Edward's death, Mary ascended the throne. She married Philip II of Spain and gained access to Spanish horseflesh, renowned in this period; however, these resources were put to little advantage. Philip did not spend very much time in England during Mary's reign and therefore would not have been very effectual in equestrian matters. Additionally, expense accounts from her reign show that while she did import a variety of warhorses, the numbers of imports were small and inconsistent.

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[51] Rowse, *Court and Country,* 12.

[52] Louis Taylor, *Bits - History, Use and Misuse* (California: Wilshire Book Company, 1973) 125.

[53] Henry's death left his sickly son Edward VI to reign as a mere boy. He ruled for six years and died in 1553, leaving the nation at odds regarding an heir. A conspiracy attempt at succession was organized by the Duke of Northumberland who victimized the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey. Grey was queen for a short nine days before Henry's eldest daughter Mary (by Catherine of Aragon) and her Catholic supporters seized the throne. 'Bloody Mary' reigned for a short yet rebellious term of five years before she died, leaving the throne to her Protestant half-sister, Elizabeth in 1558.

[54] Tozer, *The Horse in History* 171. Tozer cites the contemporary source as Camden, the famous antiquary who lived between 1551-1623.

[55] Einstein, *Italian Renaissance in England* 69; Tozer, *The Horse in History* 171.

As the new queen of England, Elizabeth entrusted the future of her horse supply to a competent and dedicated horseman. She appointed her favorite Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester to the lofty position of Master of the Horse. With the reputation as one of England's preeminent horsemen, Dudley supported Italian horsemanship; Thomas Blundeville dedicated his translation of Grisone (*The Art of Riding*) to Leicester, certainly an endorsement of Leicester's abilities as a horseman.[56] The sources are not clear if Leicester personally trained in Naples under Grisone, or if he learned solely from Italian masters in England. However, records indicate that Leicester personally imported a prestigious Italian riding master named Claudio Corte in 1565.

As Master of the Horse, Leicester's primary duty was management of the royal studs and the diffusion of their services throughout the countryside. Leicester convinced Elizabeth to continue the importation of strong, swift stock. England's ambassador to the Netherlands, Sir Thomas Challoner, was commissioned to buy horses in Flanders in 1559 while Leicester personally ventured throughout Ireland in 1560, searching for "good strong gallopers" which might surpass the abilities of the queen's geldings.[57] In 1576, Leicester commissioned a Neapolitan breeding expert named Don Prospero d'Osma to examine the royal stables. Prospero, who had come to England under the invitation of Sir Philip Sidney, inspected the queen's stables and found them lacking in many respects. Prospero's reports are perhaps the most important written evidence which document the status of national breeding policy in England and the lack of equine knowledge regarding breeding and sanitation of the Elizabethan period.

In general, Prospero found Elizabeth's stables deficient because keepers lacked knowledge regarding pasture and barn management, and in some cases, were neglectful. Consistent hard work corrected the problems of poor fencing and improper sanitation disposal. Inadequate ventilation required better stable construction, and lackluster feeding methods improved as horses were moved off wetlands and given suitable fodder. The grazing areas and facilities of the Malmesbury stud were so deplorable that Prospero was convinced it should be closed down and its horses transferred to the Tutbury stud. Prospero's

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[56] Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse* 113. In Leicester, we see a lingering effect of Italian influence from the Henrician period.
[57] Somerset, *Elizabeth I* 115.

recommendation was not readily followed and operations persisted rather dismally until 1596; by the turn of the century, the stud was in such ill-repair that the keeper was dismissed and the necessary reparations were made between 1609 and 1611 at a costly sum of £382.16s.8d.[58]

In addition to the improvements in facilities and feeding, Prospero held definite conclusions regarding breeding habits. He preferred natural breeding methods where stallion and mare were pastured freely together to mate at will for he adhered to the principle that forced breedings were not only dangerous, but unnatural.[59] Prospero also recommended that more detailed breeding records be kept to ensure selective breeding, thereby beginning a process by which breeding of race horses became strictly regulated under the Stuarts. By keeping track of which sires were paired with which dams, horse breeders were more likely to obtain specific results from the alliance, thereby creating a certitude within the breed and instilling a confidence in breeders and their ability. According to historian Roger Longrigg, the "careful selection of stallions and the compilation of a stud-book were a large advance on the slapdash methods of the Tudor countryside."[60]

While the royal studs were improved, Elizabeth confronted persistent problems in sharp declines in numbers of military musters, particularly in the north.[61] Assuming attributes of warring tribal chieftains towards one another, members of the gentry raised large numbers of horsemen for support within their own circles, "but no similar effort was made to attend the musters."[62] Raiding continued as did the selling of horses to Scotland. By 1580, the dilemma remained unresolved, and Elizabeth ordered the Privy Council to investigate the matter. Among the grievances found, many complained of the daily sale of horses to Scotland and profit-oriented landlords. Raising sheep and wheat was more lucrative than raising warhorses so land owners began,

> convertinge their store of horses and furniture [equipment?] to
> store of cattle, and sheepe for the increase of their gaines...

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[58] Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse* 117.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Longrigg, *English Squire* 81.
[61] Newton, "Decay of the Borders" 13. Between 1538 and 1579, the musters of the East and Middle Marches (one area of Northumberland) fell from 2,766 to 1,468 equipped and mounted horsemen, falling again in 1584 to 1,086 horsemen and again in 1595 to 135 horsemen.
[62] Ibid., 12-13.

> Regardinge more their proffites than their defence by the strength of their tenantes, and inhance their rentes, dryvinge the most parte of their inhabytantes first to sell their horses and furniture for payment thereof and nexte to provyde cattle for manurance.[63]

With on-going problems in the north in 1580, Elizabeth also found the Spanish threat of war a real possibility. Following her father's statutes, she set up a "Special Commission for the Increase and Breed of Horses" to reiterate Henrician law of the 1530s. Reputable horsemen, such as Sir Philip Sidney's father, Henry, sat on the council and supervised the keeping and breeding of good horses by English gentlemen.[64] Yet muster rolls never increased under Elizabeth. Recreational uses of the horse became prolific, and England became a dominant sea power, managing to survive with less cavalry than any other European power at that time (and no standing army).

During the Tudor age, roughly a quarter of the land in England had been transferred from ecclesiastical to lay hands. The transference of land wealth into the hands of a growing middle class gave rise to certain literary developments as well as attitude adjustments concerning equestrian affairs. The gentry swelled with newcomers ignorant of the art and etiquette associated with their new class distinction. Treatises and manuals pertaining to horsemanship, hunting, falconry, and other gentlemanly codes of conduct were written, making horsemanship a learned science. New landholders dedicated themselves to the study of such manuscripts, combing each piece of literature for helpful hints at grammar, hunt language, and social graces as well as instructions and training pertaining to horsemanship.

The beginning of Elizabeth's reign was marked with a great increase in the number of hunting publications written both in England and on the continent. In 1555, an anonymous London writer, obviously a supporter of the hunt, wrote *The Institution of a Gentleman*, professing that "there is a saying among hunters that he cannot be a gentleman whyche loveth not hawkyng and huntyng..."[65] The art of being a gentleman meshed with hunting in early modern England. Hunting terms and references saturated Elizabethan plays and poems - the most popular of which were written by William Shakespeare. The importance of horsemanship in Shakespeare's day was clearly defined by his own incorporation of

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[63] Ibid., 3.
[64] Thirsk, *Early Modern Horses* 15.
[65] Chalmers, *History of Hunting* 273.

horsemanship terms and associations in such plays as "The Taming of the Shrew" and "Othello." Shakespeare often utilized the horse as a metaphor, an image, and a symbol in his works to speak to an audience that was familiar with equestrian-related ideas and terms. In "The Taming of the Shrew," Shakespeare crafted clear parallels between the marriage relationship (man as head of the household, wife as subservient) and the relationship between rider and horse. When the wife, Kate, was 'disobedient', her husband, Petrucio, was clearly vindicated in his right as master to punish her with brute force, an option most horseman of the period would confirm as good horsemanship. Shakespeare's play even used horse-related equipment such as the bit to curb the sharp tongues of women.[66]

It is easy to see why such literature would be important to the hunting community. Yet why was there an overwhelming popularity of such information during the Elizabethan age? Historian Chalmers deduced an answer from the diary of Master William Silence who explained that,

> for the first time, admission to the ranks of Esquire and Gentleman became easy, or...'good cheape. Gentlemeu... from the growing class of *novi homines*...[wanted] to 'be called gentleman [and reputed as such]. To these men the Book of Sport was an absolute necessity...[it] served as grammar, dictionary, and exercise-book in one.[67]

Thus, new gentlemen and nobles - who had not had the privilege of being raised in such lofty pursuits nor been taught the language of the gentle birth - eagerly consumed every hunt publication they could acquire so that they could learn the science of hunting and thereby become more gentlemanly. They "for monie haue a cote and armes bestowed vpon him by heralds" but they could not always pass the tests of the true gentleman.[68] Usually their language, or lack thereof, gave them away; sometimes it was a lack of horsemanship or bravery. No matter, these novice gentlemen appreciated the value of the hunt literature available, looking to sporting books for advice and encouragement as well as for the basic guidelines to gain acceptance into their new social position.

Regardless of hunting's traditionally royal background of influence, hunting in England did not become the monopoly of royal aristocrats like it did on the Continent. Since the early medieval years,

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[66] Nelson, "Shakespeare's Use of Horsemanship Language" 25.
[67] Chalmers, *History of Hunting* 285.
[68] Ibid.

hunting had been associated with royal right and privilege, a courtly courtesy enjoyed primarily by kings, nobles and members of the elite. Hunting and poaching on royal lands was punishable by law. In France, for instance, hunting was a showy yet elegant affair to be enjoyed by the respectful and admiring observer - "an upper class ceremony rather than a country sport." In England, the hunt became something radically different. No matter the greatness of the monarch or the prestige and power of the noble, the "right to hunt spread downwards socially" because English kings and nobles never maintained ultimate control over hunting.[69] English nobles encouraged hunting as noble exercise for all men. The Stuarts in particular encouraged gentlemen to aspire from London into the country where "every gentleman of five hundred or a thousand pounds rent by the yeere hath a parke;" by the end of the 1600s, England boasted more private deerparks than any other country in Europe.[70] Granted, many country gents actually enjoyed the thrill of the chase but others followed the hunt, using it as a chance to mingle with neighbours and converse politically; moreover, most country gentlemen were land-locked in counties "by bad roads and wet weather," making hunting a natural source of entertainment and freedom from the staleness of a sort of house arrest.[71]

Under the Stuarts, hunting as well as horsemanship flourished. Richard Burton, a contemporary of the Stuart period, acknowledged England's love of the hunt saying, [huntiug was] "the sole almost and ordinary sport of all our noblemen...indeed some dote too much upon it."[72] James I was a zealous hunter as evidenced by his leisurely 'hunting' his way down through Scotland and the north of England to claim the throne after the death of 'Gloriana' in 1603. James subscribed, as did many of his contemporaries, to the notion that hunting provided spleudid exercise in military training, claiming it was the supreme of all pursuits:

> Certainly bodily exercises and games are very commendable...
> but...I debarre all rough and violent exercises; as the foote-ball...
> the honourablest and most recommendable games that yee can

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[69] Carr, *English Fox Hunting* 19. See also Lougrigg, *English Squire* 57. This fact, as well as the uotion of a somewhat democratic hunt, is in direct contrast with similar activities in continental Europe, especially France where the hunt was a noble ritual savored by aristocrats.

[70] Carr, *English Fox Hunting* 19.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Longrigg, *English Squire* 55.

> use on horseback; for, it becometh a prince best of any man to be a faire and good horseman...I cannot omit here the hunting, namely, with running houndes, which is the most honourable and noblest sort thereof...[73]

As for horsemanship, England experienced a shift in foreign influence - from Italian to French - as the nation also exchanged dynastic families - from Tudor to Stuart. Scottish-French relations during his childhood ensured that James studied abroad at the greatest riding academies, taught by the unequivocal masters of the horse at that time on the continent: the French. As king of Scotland, James was in frequent contact with the French court and noble circles at a time when French riding and hunting techniques were the most advanced in Europe.[74] Upon entering England as the new king in 1603, James I criticized what he considered inferior horsemanship practice and summoned French riding masters to England. When his son was born, James 'borrowed' several grand chevaliers - like the Marquis de Vitry and St. Antoine - from the French king's court to tutor Charles.

Like his monarchical predecessor, James also employed a very qualified and capable horseman as Master of the Horse. Similar to Elizabeth's Leicester, George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham was given autonomous control of the royal studs, and he handled his duties and responsibilities quite effectively until his unexpected death in 1628.[75] Of course, the Stuart reign is obviously marred by a reputation of outlandish and oftentimes reckless spending without care for consequence. The Stuarts ransacked Parliament for exorbitant amounts of money, some of which was directed towards horse-related activities supported by Buckingham. However, the appointment of Buckingham as head of equestrian matters in England is deemed as one of extreme significance and interest for "the best horsebreeders were Cavaliers - pre-eminent amongst them...George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham...."[76] Buckingham was a knowledgeable horseman, having studied his craft in Paris for two years under the best masters. He returned to England with the polished manners of a French cavalier and set to the task of filling the royal studs with the finest horses. Buckingham certainly had a unique style and flair - he was a sly and charming

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[73] Joseph Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England* (London: Methuen, 1903) xxv-xxvi.
[74] Carr, *English Fox Hunting* 18.
[75] Gianoli, *Horses & Horsemanship* 218. Aside from his equestrian capabilities, Buckingham was a shady, greedy character who advocated stronger government through corruption. He irritated most of England with his stronghold over the king and as a result, was assassinated by a Puritan, John Felton.
[76] Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse* 121.

ambassador to producers of quality horseflesh, able to acquire through his cleverness exceptional horses from Spain and France.[77]

One rather amusing example of Buckingham's adeptness for acquiring fine horses stems from the botched marriage alliance between Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta.[78] As the legend is told, Buckingham convinced the prince to travel to Spain in 1623, both disguised as part of an English delegation, to catch a glimpse of the Infanta before wedding plans were firmly in place. Charles and Buckingham were discovered but were gaily welcomed into the Spanish royal court by the Spanish king, Philip IV who took the surprise visit as a possibility that Charles might accept the Catholic faith, and thereby convert his father (and England as well). At the prospect of an alliance with England, Philip IV presented Charles with twenty-four of his finest horses from his personal stud at Córdoba; Buckingham also made out like a bandit, receiving twelve similar horses himself. Despite the trouble brewing with Spain over its interference in the Palatinate (regarding Frederick and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of James), Buckingham continued personal correspondence with the Spanish court and seems to have made quite an impression. Though the marriage did not come to fruition, Buckingham still managed to acquire several dozen more 'presents' of choice equines from the royal studs of Spain.

Although the Stuarts appeared in congruence with Tudor equestrian policy upon the surface, there were issues of bitter debate that clearly separated the two royal families. James absolutely hated the idea of the *battue*-hunt which was so popular among the Tudors for he considered this type of hunting 'bad sport.' This dilemma seemed to solve itself however as hunting deer had waned by the time James took the throne. Thus, hunters turned explicitly to the fox and the hare as notable quarry. Likewise, James felt hunting was his royal prerogative and was clearly annoyed when interrupted by visitations of adoring new subjects whereas Elizabeth had marveled in the spotlight of her citizenry. Royal records caught James' anger in print,

> If they came to him in troops, as they usually did to Queen Elizabeth, he would passionately swear and ask the English nobles what they would have. They would answer, they came

[77] Olivier Bernier, *Pleasure and Privilege* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co, 1981): 215.
[78] Gianoli, *Horses & Horsemanship* 218.

> out of love to see him. Then he would cry out in Scottish, 'God's wounds! I will pull down my breeches and they shall also see my arse!'[79]

James not only ruled quite differently from his predecessor, but he did not fancy being a royal spectacle for adoring crowds; therefore, his popularity and influence took a different turn. Yet in equestrian matters, the new Stuart king found harmony with his new nation for they both championed an emerging passion: horse racing.

James' impact upon horse racing in England borders on profound. Five years before James' succession in 1603, Elizabethan inventories of the Tutbury stud showed a predominance of the heavy Spanish-type battle and High School horses as well as lighter coach and carriage horses. However, to James' delight, the small stud at Greenwich kept forty horses of Oriental racing stock, particularly Barbary horses. Like his subjects, James attended events at racing centers like Epsom and Smithfield. The king enjoyed racing and hunting sports so much that he built a lodge at Newmarket and patroned races there, thereby becoming virtually responsible for its success as a booming racing center. Author Dennis Brailsford insists that "the most permanent contribution of James I to English national life was, after the production of the Authorized Version of the Bible, the establishment of Newmarket as the centre of English horse racing."[80] Furthermore, Brailsford admits that it perfectly logical to assume that horse racing made significant strides under James because of royal attitudes as well as James's own affection for the sport.

The institution of racing spread like wildfire throughout England. By 1617, horse races reigned as the most common pastime with races held at Garterly in Yorkshire and at Enfield Chase in Lancashire. As a result, the royal studs witnessed radical innovation. Malmesbury was "Orientalized," housing over forty race-type mares, as were the studs at Hampton Court, and by 1624, Tutbury lodged forty-seven mares and six stallions - of these horses, only two were Spanish. Records of the period indicate a dramatic decrease in the number of Spanish jennets and chargers kept in comparison to the fast horses of the East.[81] James' favorite, the Duke of Buckingham held special esteem for Barbary horses and with his reputation and

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[79] Manning, *Hunters and Poachers* 202.

[80] Dennis Brailsford, *Sport and Society* (Toronto: Unversity of Toronto Press, 1969) 110.

[81] Blunt, *Thoroughbred Racing Stock* 195. By 1620, Hampton Court housed seven Spanish horses and thirteen Oriental racing mares. Similarly, in 1624, Tutbury had only six heavy horses. Eastern horses are usually categorized as Arabians, Barbs, and Turks.

control over the king, it is highly likely that his preference for such horses took precedence.

James's death in 1625 called for the succession of his son who became Charles I. Formally instructed in the art of manège as a youth, Charles continued the tradition, ensuring that his offspring trained under the best of teachers. In 1638, Charles named William Cavendish as governor to the Prince of Wales, and Cavendish taught the future king (Charles II) the refined art of manège both in England, and later when both were exiled on the Continent during the Interregnum. The fact that an Englishman was chosen to instruct royalty for the first time since Henry VIII seems to indicate a growth in English horsemanship among its elite. Perhaps English monarchs no longer felt compelled to look outside their own country for competent riding masters.

Stoking the nation's fervor for equestrian sports, Charles served as a patron of the art of hunting, supporting authors like Richard Blome (*The Gentlemen's Recreation*, 1709) who, like other hunting English gentlemen of the period, felt compelled to document the changing nature of hunting in England. Medieval and Tudor hunting targeted its usual prey of 'noble' stag and 'cunning' hare, but by 1686, Blome asserted that fox hunting as a divertissement of the gentry of England was "of no small esteem," implying an growing popularity.[82] By the sixteenth century, fox hunting in the north of England closely resembled modern fox hunting; Blome describes the decreasing use of "hewing and backing" the fox underground and more attempts to encourage the fox to "force away."[83] Charles also initiated progress in the national development of steeplechasing and horse racing, especially at Newmarket. He imported faster, sleeker horses from the East and Cromwellian inventories taken at Charles' death in 1649 show a significant infiltration of Eastern blood; of the one hundred and fifty-nine horses in the royal studs, all appear to be have been of Eastern blood as most were linked either through the 'Markham Arabian', the (Black) Morocco Arabian, the celebrated Arab stallion 'Rupert,' or the Fenwick Arabs.[84] Moreover, Charles maintained a personal interest in race horse development, keeping a personal stud of twenty fast 'hunters'

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[82] Carr, *English Fox Hunting* 54.

[83] Ibid., 29. Rather than driving it underground, hunters chased the fox for sport.

[84] Blunt, *Thoroughbred Racing Stock* 198. The studs included twenty stallions, fifty-four mares, twenty-five foals, twenty-two yearlings, seventeen two-year-olds, and twenty-one 'others.'

in addition to the royal studs.[85]

King Charles was a complex character. Shy yet defiant, Charles was described by some contemporaries as "chaste, temperate, and serious" yet personally charming.[86] Furthermore, the king was a loyal patron of the arts, encouraging "ingenuity in learning all arts," but conversely guilty of extravagant court expenditures and a lavish lifestyle during a period of the greatest financial crisis in England.[87] Desperate to revive imperial supremacy at a time when social, religious, and economic pressures threatened to turn society "upside down," Charles adhered to a policy of strict absolutism, guided by a firm conviction in the right to rule by divine right.[88] Yet Charles' ideology was not strange for a monarch of his period; Tudor monarchs certainly acknowledged themselves as the pinnacle of power and influence. The reign of Elizabeth provides an excellent example in how a monarch cleverly extracted the love and support of her people while managing to rule with absolute might. Elizabeth created a rapport between the crown and the general population by "personification of the ideas, attitudes, and ambitions of her people as a whole" which secured her popularity.[89] On the other hand, Charles created a coterie of clique-ish sophistication among his courtiers - himself at the "centre of an elitist culture," which alienated himself and his court from the vast majority of the general population. The essential problem was that Charles still expected his subjects to revel in his glorification. In attempt to exalt his royal prestige as well as that of the monarchy, Charles built a considerable collection of noble paintings which preserved his majesty in art. While the Stuart king is not glorified as one of the greats of English history, his manipulation of portraiture, especially the equestrian portrait, to illustrate the power and majesty of his monarchy is impressive.

Certainly the use of the equestrian theme was not a new artistic endeavor for immortalizing greatness. Equestrian statuary like that of *Marcus Aurelius* (Roman 2nd century) and especially

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[85] Chalmers, *History of Hunting* 310.

[86] Roy Strong, *Van Dyck: Charles I on Horseback* (New York: The Viking Press, 1972) 15. The words are quotes from the memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, 1664 (puhlished in 1802).

[87] Joan Thirsk, ed. *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967) 620-621.

[88] According to historian Christopher Hill, the middle decades of the 1600s in Britain saw the greatest upheaval in its history. From 1645 to 1653, there was "a great overturning, questioning, revaluing, of everything in England. Old institutions, old beliefs, old values came into question." Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down* (London: Penguin Books, 1972) 14.

[89] Alan G.R. Smith, *The Emergence of a Nation State, 1529-1660* (London: Longman Group, 1984) 211.

Donatello's *Gattamelata Monument* (1445-53) portrayed leaders upon magnificent warhorses as embodiments of majesty. (Refer to Illustration 9) Renaissance greats like Leonardo da Vinci, Albrecht Durer, and Michelangelo experimented with studies and sketches of horses to perfect equine shape and form in both sculpture and portraiture. By the early modern period, equestrian portraits became popular among nobility to commemorate victories and to create an impression: Titian's *Charles V* before the Battle of Muhlberg (1548), Rubens' *Duke of Lerma* (1603), and Velasquez's *Prince Balthasar Carlos* (1634-5). (Refer to Illustrations 10-12) In the height of the popularity of such paintings, Charles commissioned several royal portraits which cast him in regal confidence and nohle elegance, but perhaps the "most potent of all" is the equestrian portrait of 1638, *Charles I on Horseback*, painted by Flemish painter Anthony Van Dyck.[90] (Refer to Illustration 7, page 70) Charles is represented sitting astride a splendid Spanish mount with an air of imperial grandeur and authority: an all-knowing hero and warrior in complete control of his prancing steed, of himself, and of his nation. Is there any mistaking the implications of the painting? The remarkable thing about this portrait is the prominent role of Charles' horse. Van Dyck focused upon the king and horse as a pair, painting the horse against the landscape as vibrantly as Charles himself and drawing the observer's eye to the prancing grace of the horse. Art historian John Baskett concurs that Van Dyck "placed much more importance on the horse in his composition" than did Titian who painted Charles V's horse as secondary to the emperor, blending it into the dark background.[91] Even in the Velasquez, the prince's fat little pony lacks a certain vitality, besides the obvious fact that it is hard to take this pair seriously.[92] Consider an earlier equestrian portrait of Charles - Van Dyck's 1633 *Charles I Riding Through a Triumphal Arch*. (Refer to Illustration 8, page 71) Accompanied by his riding master, St. Antoine, Charles is surrounded by Roman allusions to emperorship, his entry under an imperial arch representative of absolutist triumph. For art historian Christopher Brown, "both equestrian portraits are

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[90] Strong, *Van Dyck*, 14. Refer to copy of portrait on page 4 of this chapter. This single portrait inspired art historian Roy Strong to write a book about Stuart exploitations of royal image.

[91] Baskett, *The Horse in Art* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1980) 76.

[92] There is an air of expectation in the horse of Van Dyck whereas the lack of life in the eyes of the Velasquez pony and its pose render it unbelieveable. Perhaps knowing that Velasquez painted the pony after it died and was stuffed makes the difference. (Baskett, *The Horse in Art* 76.)

Illustration 9. *Equestrian Monument of Gattamelata (Erasmo da Narni)*. (Donatello)

Illustration 10. *The Emperor Charles V on Horseback, in Mühlberg.* (Titian)

Illustration 11. *Equestrian Portrait of the Duke of Lerma.* (Peter Paul Rubens)

Illustration 12. *Prince Baltasar Carlos on Horseback.* (Diego Velasquez)

exercises in royal propaganda. They are conscious idealizations of the monarch."[93] Thus, use of the horse is not insignificant in any of the series of equestrian-related portraits of Charles. Moreover, the partnership of horse and rider, whether mounted or not, expresses the power of the horse in lending credibility to the importance of the human subject. Van Dyke's *Roi à la Chasse* (1635) - in which a nonchalant Charles stands ready for the hunt, his horse and groom patiently waiting off to the side - would somehow be less commanding of our attention, the king's image less believable, without his horse. (Refer to Illustration 13) As "the great Baroque master of the equestrian portrait," Van Dyck creatively used the horse to promote Charles' image and further the king's intentions of inspiring loyalty to the crown, reviving chivalry, and emphasizing the importance of reputation.[94]

However, Charles' influence on the state of English equestrian culture was cut short as the Civil War took his head in 1649. Royal influence in equestrian matters ground to a halt as England came under the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell. The English Civil War (1642-49) wreaked havoc upon the equestrian countryside of England; there is no question that it was a desperate time. Soldiers commandeered horses - for travel and for food - wherever they might find them, leaving writers like John Evelyn to note dismally in their diaries, "[the] country was much molested by soldiers."[95] By and large, horseracing was forbidden as Puritanical values criticized its link with gambling, which Puritans felt produced immoral effects on the populace. Though a sportsman himself, Cromwell and a few zealous members of the Roundheads discouraged horse races as they were perfect breeding grounds for aristocrats and nobles to gather and conspire a Royalist rebellion against the new government.

Regarding breeding, all of the previous years of work dedicated to consummating, recording, and protecting the bloodlines of superior English horses was interrupted and virtually destroyed as royal and noble studs were sold or confiscated for private ownership. Cromwell's armies ransacked royal and private deer parks as well as the studs of nobles and aristocrats throughout the countryside as early as 1644. Generally, members of the gentry population were allowed to keep their property but had to pay huge fines

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[93] Ibid., 168.

[94] Christopher Brown, *Van Dyck* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1982) 88. Van Dyck was a horseman as well as a painter.

[95] Longrigg, *English Squire* 68. Evelyn's diary dates to July 1650.

Illustration 13. *Roi à la Chasse.* (Anthony van Dyck)

or fees to do so, and while they lost their power, many survived by making concessions and cutbacks. However, the Roundheads seized the wealthier estates which they could sell to pay expenses; Sir John Fenwick's famous Arabian stud, valued at above £3000, suffered such a fate.[96] Other loyal royalists like Cavendish lost everything (valued at nearly a million pounds), fled the country, and found refuge in areas of France and the Netherlands. While his beloved horses were sold and scattered throughout the countryside, Cavendish used this opportunity to study and teach his continental horsemanship, finding greater acceptance and approval for his talents in Paris and Antwerp.

Immediately following the beheading of the king in 1649, the Cromwellian army quickly set to dispersing the royal studs, despite Cromwell's attempts to hold it together for himself. Royal horses were sold to men found in favor: Lord Grey, Sir Arthur Hazelrigg, Lord Fairfax, James Darcy, and Colonel Jones in Ireland, to name a few.[97] Cromwell only managed to obtain six royal riding horses for his personal use. With his new position and with a preference for the Arabian breed, Cromwell sought the very best from Aleppo. Cromwell's studmaster, a 'Mr. Place,' bought the highly regarded "Place's White Turk" (also known as the Darcy White Turk, or Arabian) in Aleppo while Cromwell's ambassadors secured fine horseflesh from Constantinople and France (Sir Thomas Bendishe and Colonel Lockhart, respectively). However, the imports were slow in coming to England, and letters between Cromwell and his agents document the difficulty iu securing Arabians from the East. During his eleven-year tenure, Cromwell continued to breed horses, but the national regulations and royal commitment by which breeding had previously been managed was gone. Several of the prominent Tudor stud farms, namely Tutbury and Malmesbury, never regained their coveted prestige nor the bulk in fine horseflesh even after the Restoration of Charles II in 1660.

Cromwell's death in 1658 left his son, Richard, as the new Lord Protector, but Richard failed to maintain financial and political stability for the nation and was subsequently overthrown in May of 1659. Charles II was restored to the throne in 1660, and equestrian pursuits were invigorated as political

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[96] Blunt, *Thoroughbred Racing Stock* 198.

[97] Ibid; Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse* 122. Darcy bought several mares and kept them at his stud at Sedbury in North Yorkshire. For more information on the royal mares, see C.M. Prior, *Early Records of the Thoroughbred Horse* (London: n.p., 1924) 5-7.

conditions stabilized. Tutored by the best masters of horsemanship and taught to value good breeding, Charles II maintained an affection for the manège tradition and its heavier horse. The king's tutor and mentor, Cavendish publicly acknowledged Charles II's skill and grace in the saddle in the preface of his book on horsemanship, published in Antwerp in 1658. But Charles II developed an obsession 'with the turf' and as a result, enriched bloodlines of England's horses far more than the country's equitation. Charles II placed stricter requirements upon breeding and increased the level of importation, paving the way for importation of three foundation sires to England - the Byerley Turk (1684), the Darley Arabian (1703), the Godolphin Arabian ((1728) - from which the Thoroughbred claims its roots. Yearly average expenditure in maintaining the royal studs under Charles II totaled in excess of £16,640 and this figure did not include racing studs and stables - they were separate establishments altogether. The king's labors eventually produced a more "thorough-ly bred" horse - the likes of which had never been seen.[98]

Matters of an equestrian nature reigned supreme with the newly restored king. Almost obsessively, Charles II sought to correct the damage inflicted during the Interregnum by relocating the original royal horses, and when that ultimately failed, he spent exorbitant amounts of money to obtain the best equine bloodlines. According to Parliamentary notes, Charles II wasted no time in attempting to recover the original royal horses; the day *before* Charles' coronation - May 28, 1660 - seven of Cromwell's finest were taken back to the Royal Mews, and Sir John Fenwick's Arabian stud was secured.[99] To aid in the endeavor, Charles II named James d'Arcy as Master of the Studs in England and entrusted to him the unenviable and almost impossible job of relocating other royal horses. Recovering the lost horses proved difficult and in 1663, Charles set up a Commission of Enquiry to officiate the investigation. Ultimately, Charles II never saw the full recovery of the royal studs, but there is historical speculation regarding the matter. If one maintains - as does historian Davis - that d'Arcy is the same James Darcy who bought several mares when the studs were dispersed, then Darcy himself possessed a few which would have been

[98] Rogers, "Tudor Horsemanship," 123.

[99] Blunt, *Thoroughbred Racing Stock* 200, 280. We are to assume that of the seven returned horses noted, six were the original taken by Cromwell for himself. Also, by royal decree, Charles II demanded goods (including horses) be confiscated by from all of those who sat in judgement upon his father. Horses obtained in this manner were sent directly to the Royal Mews.

returned to the monarchy. However, Anne Blunt (Lady Wentworth) disagreed with Davis' source (C.M. Prior, 1924) and felt that the Commission would have reported any horses returned by Darcy.[100] Yet Darcy was but one possible purchaser. Others like Lord Fairfax rescued royal horses during the Cromwellian regime and preserved them at his home at Nun Appleton. Fairfax even managed to acquire and secure the exiled Duke of Buckingham's estate and stud at Helmsley in 1657 by marrying his daughter into the Buckingham family.[101] However, the records do not show if Fairfax returned any horses to the crown.

Forced to replenish his studs, Charles II sent agents to procure fashionable horses from the East, allocating large sums of money to reputable horsemen for equine purchases. Between 1667 and 1668, 'Master of the Studs' James Darcy received £12,000, and in the year between 1676 and 1677 the Duke of Monmouth was given £11,000 to find suitable horses for the king. Two years later, the Duke received an additional £15,500 to purchases horses *plus* extra money to pay for grooms and other related expenses. The appropriation of such large sums to buy horses continued between 1681 and 1684; Henry Griffiths secured £18,313 10s.10d.[102] These figures are put in proper perspective upon recollection of the fact that on average, yearly maintenance of all the royal studs cost £16,640. Each financial allotment given to Darcy, Griffiths, and especially the Duke of Monmouth either just met or exceeded this average, the significance of which is that Charles II spent nearly the same amount on resupplying the royal studs as he did in maintaining them.

By 1674, a yearly provision to the 'Master of the Studs' was put in place to secure quality horses for the royal studs; expenditure records of the period show that Sutton Oglethorpe (replacing Darcy at his death in 1674) managed the studs and received an annual salary of £500 to supply horses to Hampton Court and Audley End. Oglethorpe's successor, Sir John Fenwick, imported Barbs and Turks from the Levant.[103]

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[100] Ibid., 200. It is arguable that Darcy returned any royal horses he purchased before the organization of the Commission, and it is even plausible that an appreciative Charles might have allowed him to keep a few. Yet no such documentation has presented itself to prove either of these theories. The commission makes no comment regarding the issue, according to Blunt.

[101] Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse* 122.

[102] Blunt, *Thoroughbred Racing Stock* 201.

[103] William Ridgeway, *The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905) 381.

Charles also relied upon the customary practice of royal gift-swapping of horses, receiving valuable horses from Eastern nobles and dignitaries: several Persian Arabs in 1662, one hundred and eighty coach horses from Prince de Ligne, and "curious[ly] beautiful Barbs" from the Moroccan Ambassador in 1681.[104]

Yet Charles II is best remembered and praised for reviving the sport of racing in England - an effort for which he toiled with almost a vengeance. He rebuilt his grandfather's house at Newmarket which had fallen into decay during the Interregnum and began running horses himself. To renew vigor, Charles boosted prize-winning purses to nearly one hundred guineas each, and to assure fairness, the 'Merry Monarch' imposed greater regulation, establishing the utilization of weights and distances to standardize the sport.[105] The prohibition of horse export enacted by Henry VII was overturned, and English horses began to flow to the mainland, especially to areas in France who took to England's Thoroughbred aud its raciug with a newfound appreciation and interest.

The concentrated efforts of English monarchs added much to the progression of the equestriau culture in early modern England. While they certainly recognized, utilized, and perhaps at times, overplayed their power and influence, the sovereigns of the early modern period set important standards within the elite equestrian community of their nation. Monarchs like Henry VIII realized the need to keep England equal with its rivals and pushed for better breeding habits; though physical improvements were slow and gradual, the transformation of the equine masses from medieval nag to military warhorse was complete by 1600. Similarly, English monarchs procured early contact and maintained relations with foreign riding masters and horsecare experts on the continent which slowly pulled English horsemanship out of its quagmire, stimulating English horsemen to experiment and write of their own methods and results. While both Tudor and early Stuart kings seemed dependent on foreign iufluence and technique, they did not ignore developments within their own nation. They embraced emerging traditions and horseflesh in Eugland and encouraged English horsemen to chart a new course in the equestrian world. As horsemanship writing proliferated in England, larger numbers of the English elite found pleasure in hunting and racing sports of the countryside, ultimately turning away from classical 'daucing' traditions of the

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[104] Blunt, *Thoroughbred Racing Stock* 200.
[105] Clutton-Brock, *Horse Power* 171.

manège. English kings like Charles I and Charles II followed. With consistent importation - from Henry VIII to Charles II - as well as an acknowledged importance for selective breeding, the eventual culmination of "thorough-ly bred" stock produced the sleek, racing-machine of the early eighteenth century.

CHAPTER FIVE - VIOLENCE AND HORSEMANSHIP METHODOLOGY

It can be argued that certain types of animals fared far better than others during the early modern period, depending largely upon their relationship to mankind. The horse was one such animal. Granted, the horse was not exactly a beloved pet in neither medieval nor early modern England yet it was considered both worthy and necessary to society and was, therefore, treated differently. In reconstructing the history of the horse, historian Basil Tozer noted "often in the early ages horses were immolated, yet deliberate cruelty to a horse upon other occasions was almost universally condemned by law. No precautions, however, were taken for the prevention of cruelty to any other sort of animal."[1] Logically, an owner wanted his property protected, especially valuable property like a warhorse. Economic historian Joan Thirsk agreed with this point of view but was more convinced by the humanitarian argument. By the early modern period, the difference in the tone of writings about horses suggests that English horsemen cared less about economics as they spoke more about the "pride and satisfaction to be gained from a superbly trained horse."[2]

The manège style of riding originated during the Renaissance as a resurgence of the ancient principles on classical horsemanship. Supposedly using 'enlightened' methods of the revered ancient masters, early Italian riding masters exercised horses in the movements of the manège, but horses often experienced the infliction of oppressive training devices. Total subjugation of the horse was necessary, in the masters' minds, to achieve results. Many early riding masters like Federico Grisone and Vincentio Respino resorted to terrible methods of 'persuasion' such as tying a hedgehog or 'shrewd' cat to the horse's tail or in between the horse's thighs in order to make the animal perform various maneuvers of the manège. Even in England, such methods were utilized as Henry VIII put on the pounds because this was the only way to get his horse to move under the tremendous weight. In his translation of Grisone, Thomas Blundeville noted that Respino achieved such success with these methods that he "had much ado afterward to keepe him [the horse] from the contrarie vice of running awaie."[3] To modern trainers and riders, the

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[1] Tozer, *The Horse in History* 104. Tozer admitted that early protection of horses stemmed from utilitarian motives rather than humanitarian ones.

[2] Thirsk, *Early Modern Horses* 18.

[3] Nelson, "Shakespeare's Use of Horsemanship Language" 38.

logic of such methodology is lost as the acts themselves constitute a flagrant form of abuse, but in the 1550s, animal abuse was not punishable by law, nor was it considered inhumane. Most importantly, horsemen of the period did not necessarily see themselves as being cruel.[4] They sought to make the horse perform to its ultimate potential. This thesis in no way condones their behavior, but it does serve to justify, albeit in a small way, their strict methodology. Just as today, horses were "creatures of habit and discipline, and were taught very little by example or kindness and almost everything by gentle force and the patient denial of their instincts and whims."[5]

It is fairly safe to say that riding masters had no intention of hurting horses for sheer pleasure; they regarded their techniques and equipment as effective in acquiring the necessary movements and body frame of the horse. To be fair, extremes within the methodology were grounded in serious attempt to train horses in the manège style. Educated men steeped in the equestrian tradition - mostly from the continent - trained the horse for specific purpose: to perform highly-stylized maneuvers and procedures such as asking the horse to leap above the heads of men and kick out, otherwise known as the *capriole*. Such a feat required immense physical and mental capability as well as proper framing of the horse's body.[6] To achieve 'roundness' the rider needed resolute collection in the front end to literally sit the horse down and back on its hindquarters so that an energetic spring or rear could result. While horses can and will jump and perform these 'airs' naturally, the scenario of adding a rider to the horse's back compounded the physical exertion of the horse which often mentally deterred it from wanting to perform. A horse could easily resist maneuvers by throwing or tossing its head. Therefore, masters utilized severe bits and other training devices to effect the necessary control.

However, there was a conscientious shift in thought and teaching between the first and second-generation riding masters on the continent. Second-generation of riding masters - those like Pluvinel,

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[4] Nor did medieval horsemen consider themselves cruel when in attempts to make their tourney horses run faster, they cut away a patch of skin where the spur would hit and packed the open wound with salt for three days. (Rogers, "Tudor Horsemanship" 140.)

[5] Baskett, *The Horse in Art* 8. Quote cited from foreword by Paul Mellon.

[6] The proper frame was a round, bent head and neck in full collection, fully engaged hindquarters, and balance at the horse's center of gravity. Horses who 'fell on their forehand' were not balanced correctly and were not able to perform manège movements effectively.

Massari, Cavendish, and La Broue in the seventeenth century - voiced significantly different training ideals in horsemanship, expressing foremost kindness and patience in dealing with horses. Punishment was no longer a means to an end. Continental riding masters finally seemed to be following the teachings of the ancient Greek equestrian Xenophon who advised in *Hippology*: "the one best rule and practice in dealing with horses is never to lose your temper, for an angry man acts without forethought and does things which he afterward regrets."[7] Yet similar sentiments were heard in England as early as the late sixteenth-century in horsemen like Gervase Markham and Christopher Clifford who advocated greater understanding and communication with the horse rather than stronger bits and more vicious spurs. Markham in particular urged men to develop a more personal relationship with their equines: "...there should be ever an entire love betwixt the horse and horse-man."[8] "Many English authors clearly reject[ed] much of what Grison [sic] taught."[9]

In the debate about the decline of violence, two historians argued a similar points. Alan Rogers' doctoral thesis titled "Tudor Horsemanship" held that the decline in the use of violence was explained easily; it was a matter of efficacy.[10] For Rogers, violence in horse training methods ceased because they did not produce results. Though they were 'enlightened' enough to realize that brutally forcing their hand achieved no real nor lasting results, horsemen of the Tudor age had no real sympathy for horses. So it was not the demoralizing effect that violence had upon the horse and its spirit that steered horsemen of the period away from such training methods, but rather the simple fact that it did not work in their favor. According to Rogers, English mentality concerning horsemanship progressed away from the seemingly pretentious 'schooled' riding and towards more practical (and pleasurable) purposes like racing and hunting and therefore, violent controls to achieve the fancy, highly-disciplined movements no longer made sense.

However, Rogers' argument does not explain why 'violent' methodology also ceased on the

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[7] Michael Seth-Smith, *The Horse in Art and History* (New York: Mayflower Books, 1978) 25. Considered a wise and effective horseman, Xenophon was highly revered by riding masters of the sixteenth century for not only his knowledge but also his non-violent methods of training.

[8] Gervase Markham, *Country Contentments* (London: n.p., 1615) 46. Markham particularly praised personal experience, warning his fellow horsemen of the more violent methods of foreign trainers and riding masters.

[9] Rogers, "Tudor Horsemanship" 156.

[10] Ibid., 166.

continent despite the fact that the manège tradition lingered on in popularity for close to two centuries. Moreover, Rogers argues that violent methods did not produce results. In effect, such methodology did obtain results - and it still does today as seen in trainers who "break" their horses - yet it also produced horses with broken wills and spirits. In essence, Rogers is correct because the point of the new stylized riding was to present an aesthetically-pleasing picture of cooperation between horse and rider. Ever zealous in maintaining such an image, many advocates of this riding style such as Cavendish, Pignatelli, and Pluvinel held the feelings of the horse in the highest regard and truly considered the animal to be a noble and magnificent creature of incredible talent and worth. The fundamental dilemma with Rogers' theory is that his portrayal of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century riding masters (especially continental ones) as brutal and uncaring trainers with little sympathy or love for horses overgeneralizes the reality of the situation.

Historian Luigi Gianoli approached the argument from a similar vantage point as Rogers but with a different perspective. He agreed with the ineffective nature of violence in training, but he maintained that barbarous training procedures became obsolete as improvements in the breeds of horses increased. For Gianoli, destriers of the Middle Ages were bred specifically to increase their weight-carrying ability, and the effect created a horse so large and cumbersome that maneuverability was sacrificed. Barbarous training methods were justified then to get the big 'oafs' to move.[11] Between 1450 and 1600, the warhorse changed physically. Infusion of Oriental blood - particularly Spanish, Arabian, and Barbary breeds - created a horse lighter in frame yet still well-muscled and strong. The 'hot' blood instilled greater agility, sensitivity, and responsiveness so that cruel techniques were no longer needed.

For today's rider, Gianoli's argument makes a significant point. Riding heavier horses of the cold-blooded variety requires, by and large, tremendous leg power on behalf of the rider to lift them up and produce energetic performance. Equally significant, Rogers' argument regarding efficacy is valid today; the majority of modern professional horse trainers feel that violence only creates tension and leads to miscommunication between horse and rider. Yet it is important to remember that horsemen of the early

[11] Gianoli, *Horses & Horsemanship* 103.

modern period did not operate under the same considerations. Men of power and wealth obtained their will by force as was characteristic of the period. Aristocratic horsemen of the early modern period, while tenacious and serious in their commitment to training horses, were also concerned with appearances. For many, it was a matter of one's ego which was at stake when a horse refused to cooperate. Scrutiny of the training manuals produced in both England and on the continent shows that many masters realized the intelligence of the horse. Expert masters like La Broue recognized the various potentials of certain types of horses and thought it ludicrous to ask a horse to execute maneuvers for which it was physically or mentally incapable. "It is equally mistaken to try to use in war a horse born to jump as it is to try to make a jumper out of a horse only fit for the riding-school."[12] But they also knew that stubbornness was often a factor in why horses refused to cooperate. In the words of Grisone,

> ...do not think that the horse, no matter how well made, well proportioned, and endowed by nature, can do things himself and go through his paces without help from a man and proper discipline....I am warning you that the horse will use any trick he can, like tossing his head, resisting the aids, or champing the bit. When he resorts to this, however, or to any such maneuver, you must reprimand him in a stern and angry tone of voice, shouting roughly and menacingly, using whatever words come to mind, like: "Come on, get on, get going, you traitor, rebel! About-face, turn, stop, turn this way, turn that..." and more of the same, so that your shouts are tremendously intimidating. Keep on with this until he gets it right.[13]

Perhaps this explains why Grisone and other masters felt physical force necessary. For historian Gianoli, Grisone remained an excellent master who understood the necessary support and resistance that needed to be utilized by the rider to make the horse perform with rhythm and cadences.

The interesting issue concerning the decline of violence in training methods is the fact that a number of English horsemen quickly began to question and denigrate the aggressive use of force advocated by Grisone and a few other first-generation masters. The publication of Grisone's work took about ten years to spread to England. An English gentleman, Thomas Blundeville published a loose translation of the

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[12] Mühlberger, *Glorious Horsemen* 42. By 'jumping' La Broue was referring to the elite *haute école*, or high school, where the 'airs' above ground were learned. 'Regular' school horses performed 'airs' on the ground.

[13] Gianoli, *Horses & Horsemanship* 104.

1550 manual - its first English copy. For twenty or so years, English horsemen appeared to accept Italian methods of horsemanship for English horsemanship closely resembled that of the continent. However, by the 1580s, English horsemen began to write their own ideas about horsemanship, equipment, and training, starting a 'gentlemanly' war of arguments among the English, French, and Italians. Challenges were made to Grisone's violence as well as to the practicality of schooled riding.

After translating Grisone in his first publication regarding the craft of the rider, Blundeville led the pack with his *Four Chiefest Offices of Horsemanship* in 1571, essentially a compilation of three added chapters on the horse breeder, keeper, and farrier. He became the first English equestrian writer of his time to publicly announce "the chiefest point of a horsekeeper is to love his horse and to seek to be loved again of him...."[14] However, one should remember Blundeville's primary role in bringing Grisone's ideas to England in 1560, ideas involving punching horses in the face to stop them from running away and burning them with blazing straw. He even referred to the English horsemen who tied strings around their horses' scrotums as a way to get results as "ignorant" - as Rogers' says, this was a case of the "pot calling the kettle black."[15] Yet twenty years later we find him recommending gentle, loving approaches. The sincerity of Blundeville's sympathy is speculative; knowing Grisone's methodology, Blundeville published the Italian's work complete with its violence. Did Blundeville experience some crisis of conscience after his translation of Grisone or were ideas regarding horsemanship truly changing in England?

Perhaps Blundeville was influenced by fellow English equestrian writers who reacted more harshly to violence in training. One such advocate, John Astley wrote *Art of Riding* in 1584 which described horsemen who adopted violent methods as "butchers rather than riders."[16] Vehemently against forceful training, Astley aimed for natural and gentle communication between horse and rider, expounding upon the importance of subtlety, gentle persuasion, and light hands. Like Cavendish, Astley felt that the whip (or switch) should be used with fairness and only by those educated in utilizing such an aid. Astley maintained a devout interest in the dancing, curveting style of the manège, but like others of his generation,

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[14] Rogers, "Tudor Horsemanship," 103.
[15] Ibid., 150. It begs the question: where was the line drawn between 'training' and 'ignorance'?
[16] Ibid., 151.

he wanted a serviceable animal. Even the highly-respected Italian expert and humanist who lived and worked in England, Claudio Corte, condemned Grisone, his Italian comrade, berating the use of cats and fire as well as cords wrapped around the testicles of the horse for "such helps are over base and unfit to be used by a gentleman."[17] Corte hailed from Pavia and penned his training methods in 1573 (*Il Cavalarizzo*) while in England; his work was translated by Thomas Bedingfield in 1584. While many of the Continental riding masters pushed harsh techniques, Corte advocated "that above all horses should be taught gently and with great patience."[18] Corte was especially emphatic about the training of young colts: they were not to be hit at all in initial training sessions. However as training progressed, 'corrections' were to become sharper and more intense - the use of 'terrible' voice was implied. Even so, Corte generally advocated practical approaches without enlisting brutality. Corte is significant as one of the first Italians in England to question the training techniques of his countrymen.

Some Englishmen like Christopher Clifford went further, criticizing the practicality of the manège. Unlike his compatriots, Clifford received no formal education and spent his life working with horses as a farrier and small-time veterinarian. However, familiar with the debate over horsemanship in England, he wrote in 1585, chastising the manège and its prancing horses as useless, and he agreed that violence was unnecessary in most cases. Still, he recommended heavy use of the whip and spur. Talk of greater understanding and compassion came later in the seventeenth century and was apparent in the works of Gervase Markham, another English equestrian and gentleman. In opposition to Grisone's use of hitting the horse in the face or waving fire to keep the horse from running away, Markham showed his keen understanding of the horse's psyche in advocating a practice of letting the horse choose its own direction. Horses are 'flight' animals, meaning they utilize their natural gift of speed when scared or in danger. In Markham's technique, a runaway horse was allowed to run until it tired, only then did it calm down and listen. This technique is still considered valid by many of today's horse trainers.

However, perhaps the worst cruelty in training horses came from ignorance or lack of knowledgeable experience by many horsemen, and this was acknowledged by 'enlightened' writers of the

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[17] Ibid., 152.

[18] Gianoli, *Horses & Horsemanship* 114.

period like Markham and Cavendish. They warned that unskilled riders and poor position usually caused horses to react adversely. Negative responses came to riders who gave untimely, inaccurate corrections or those with hard hands. Markham urged riders to learn *when* and *how* to correct for strong discipline remained important as a horse learned bad habits.[19] Therefore, Markham made a distinction between abuse and discipline as well as frowned upon total lack of correction. In disciplining a horse that reared in defiance, Markham preached against giving a rearing horse full length of rein because the rider not only sacrificed his control and safety, but he told the horse through his release that rearing was acceptable practice and gave the horse no consequence for its actions. Markham recommended spurring the horse hard with both legs and giving it a light smack between the ears with a riding stick. While 'smacking' a horse in the head can result in a head-shy horse, some modern trainers correct the problem, substituting a raw egg for the riding crop; when the egg cracks over the horse's head, it associates the sensation as pain inflicted upon itself (by rearing). This technique has proved effective for some modern trainers. Some might argue that Markham's method is essentially abuse, but rather Markham endorsed gentleness, merging it with practical subtlety in rendering discipline.

By initiating practicality in training, Markham became one of the first English horsemen to acknowledge and condone the usefulness of experimentation and personal experience. It can be argued that many Englishmen listened to horsemen like Markham because characteristics of horsemanship in seventeenth and eighteenth-century England show that more riders and trainers began to rely upon personal experience and practicality, rejecting in general the disciplined methods of school-riding. Markham's countrymen also adopted his advice concerning equipment. Elaborate mouthpieces, or bits, leftover from the medieval period retained their popularity and were celebrated for their power of control as well as their decorative ostentation by supporters of the high school tradition. But as more English trainers and writers like Markham denounced the practicality of such riding, the associated equipment also fell under scrutiny. Markham applied pragmatic principle to bitting; instead of fitting the horse's mouth (literally cutting the mouth or tongue) to the bit, Markham suggested fitting the bit to each respective horse according to its

[19] Gervase Markham, *Cavalrice* (London: n.p., 1607) 48. Italics are mine.

needs. In Markham's opinion, *good* horsemen did not require beastly instruments of torture like the 'wedge' and the elongated curb.[20] Many English racing enthusiasts fitted their racehorses with simple snaffles because they were effective in allowing the horse to run.[21] The need to repress forward movement, such as the curb effected in manège, was not a requirement for racing.

Like Markham, William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle believed that greater education and sensitivity were vital in improving one's horsemanship skills. Too many men - especially Englishmen - pretended to ride well while in reality they knew nothing, or so Cavendish maintained. Cavendish reprimanded haughty 'scholars' who neglected the study of horsemanship and condemned beliefs labeling horses as unintelligible beings. According to Cavendish, every horse was trainable because horses remembered through repetition and made clear, rational choices to obey.[22] Furthermore, the duke implored riding masters to be considerate of their horses as well as their students. His theory is best summed up in his own words,

> some masters are so passionate... that they are always beating their scholars with the switch or long staff. I have even heard say, that some fill their pockets full of stones to throw at them. If they forbear those vile practices, they abuse their scholars all the while they are on horse-back with most unbecoming language, such as -- poor fellow!-- Your humble servant, sir!--Ah the blockhead! he fits his horse like a portmanteau----Simpleton!...Some make use of much worse language than this, and that in a haughty and imperious manner, thinking to pass for great and able masters, by thus showing their authority; whereas they expose their own indiscretion and folly by giving themselves such insolent airs. Such behaviour is very un-becoming to a gentleman, who are such hy their profession...[23]

Both Markham and Cavendish maintained startlingly similar attitudes about the need for more education and patience in horsemanship, and both were led by compassion and concern in training rather than

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[20] Nelson, "Shakespeare's Use of Horsemanship Language" 124-125. The wedge was a 'u-shaped' iron noseband jointed in middle and with teeth along edges. When the rider crossed the reins, a wedge of teeth closed down, creating a vice over the horse's nose. Nelson says that Markham saw this device in operation; the rider also carried a hammer in his right hand so he could drive the teeth deeper into the nose if needed.

[21] Similar bits are seen today in many riding disciplines, its effect considerable as it has retained the name "racing' snaffle.

[22] Cavendish differed from earlier Renaissance thinkers like René Descartes who subscribed to the theory that beasts were unable to think and reason, even in simple terms.

[23] Cavendish, *A General System* 18-19.

violence. However in riding style and reputation, the two men could not have been more opposite. Cavendish supported school-riding while Markham saw no relevance in the pretentious form. The difference in preference of riding style also brought them at odds regarding choice of horseflesh. Markham has been cited as the 'Mr. Markham' who sold James I one of the first notable Arabian stallions to enter the royal studs.[24] Cavendish preferred the well-muscled yet refined Spanish horse to Markham's Arabian which he referred to as "a little bony pony of ordinary shape."[25] Furthermore, Markham received greater acknowledgment and support from his countrymen though his training and experience lacked the formal validity and expertise like that of Cavendish. Cavendish had studied at the best riding centers in the known world, had led the Royal Army in support of Charles I, had been selected to tutor England's young prince in horsemanship, and had earned a distinguished reputation on the Continent as a well-respected riding master. Unfortunately for Cavendish, his support of the manège found disfavor among his fellow Englishmen who preferred the hunting and racing sports of the countryside. Also, Cavendish's unique link with royalty damaged his credibility at a time of great social upheaval in England caused by the Civil War and the Interregnum. Still, the fact that both men - however different their backgrounds, style of riding, and preference of horse - supported the use of less violence in association with the horse shows that methodology was not necessarily a determining factor in the amount of violence a horseman used.

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[24] Longrigg, *English Squire* 81. In creating the Thoroughbred in the Stuart reign, three stallions are prized as being the the creators of the lineage: the Godolphin Arabian, the Byerley Turk, and the Darley Arabian. Markham's Arabian, whom James I paid £154 in 1616, predates these three but is clearly referred to in sources of the period as being influential to the emerging Thoroughbred.

[25] Clutton-Brock, *Horse Power* 172.

CONCLUSION

It is clear that England chose a radically different course in equestrian affairs during the early modern period, but the more interesting question is why. At the beginning of the early modern period, England's equestrian status was deficient compared to continental nations, and several English monarchs attempted reform in areas of breeding and horsemanship, using their royal influence to stimulate some change. The importation of foreign horsemanship methodology, its teachers, and its horses to England persisted throughout the Tudor and Stuart periods; however, England's equestrian status never reached parallels with equestrian-centered nations like France and Italy. While it served as an initial influence, the manège riding style never became the national standard.

For most English gentlemen, the manège failed to be important because they saw no practicality in its use. For much of the period, England remained a sea power, defending the island by water. When land forces were needed, English monarchs like Henry VIII temporarily avoided the problems surrounding England's meager numbers of quality horseflesh by securing horses on the continent for military use. Finally, as gunpowder and the use of canons and guns became standard in warfare, the need for heavy cavalry waned; large regiments of foot soldiers became prominent features, outnumbering cavalry forces more than ten to one. Again, England's problem concerning the severe lack of quality warhorses was alleviated. Furthermore, England played upon its isolation as an island, repelling foreign invasion by Spain in 1588. With the defeat of the Spanish Armada, Elizabeth I encouraged nationalistic fervor and helped create an image of strength and power for her nation. While xenophobic in nature, the English began to nurture an emerging nationality which allowed for greater exploration and experimentation in ideas and methodology. One way in which England championed this nationality was in the creation and care of the Thoroughbred as well as in the ever-increasing popularity of sports like racing and hunting in the countryside.

The greatest apparent shift in England's turning away from the manège is seen in the support of the development of their own breed of horse and sport. It is in the early modern period that origins of England's obsession with sporting tradition are found. Equestrian authors like Blundeville, Markham, and Clifford challenged Italian and French masters of manège and their methodology, writing manuals that

promoted new qualities in horses, mostly those associated with racing and hunting because such equine characteristics were radically different from those needed for the manège. Similarly, many of the authors were repelled by the 'seemingly' aggressive nature of training required to perform the dramatic movements and airs and continually questioned the usefulness of manège training to the new sporting traditions in England. By the end of the period, even the staunchest of English manège champions, the Duke of Newcastle, admired horse racing. He built a racing course at his Bolsover estate and spent his remaining years watching both racing event and manège performance.

An ironic twist to the xenophobic nature by which English hunting and racing sport developed, these sports did not remain confined to England. By the late eighteenth century, continental nations with considerable equestrian reputations - like France - sought the blood of the English Thoroughbred to promote racing sports in their countries. Likewise, French hunting enthusiasts marvelled at the faster-paced English hunt and began 'chasing' similar prey like the fox. Despite its horrible state in equestrian affairs at the beginning of the early modern era, England had become a nation known for its quality horses and style of riding by 1750. Thus, the English gentleman's love for sporting tradition in no way lowered riding standards. It merely helped change the focus and style of riding in England and provided the nation with yet another avenue by which to separate itself from the continent.

APPENDIX I
THE HORSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES AND EARLY RENAISSANCE

*AFFER [*affri*] The affer was a cheap workhorse used mostly for harrowing and ploughing. It was also a carthorse [*carectarius*] capable of light, smallscale haulage. The affer usually came from feral stock such as the ponies of Fen and Galloway. Its medieval worth was about two shillings. (The affer is also known by the name jade.)

*SUMPTER [*summarius*] Also called a capul, the sumpter was best utilized in wheeled transport or as pack animals. The Miller of *The Canterbury Tales* rode such an unrefined auimal. In medieval days, this horse was worth about seven to eight shillings.

*ROUNCEY [runcinus] The rouncey or hackney was very similar to the modern-day large pony. In the
or HACKNEY [*hakenay*] Middle Ages, artisans and squires rode these ordinary cobs. Refinement and gait separated the rouncey and the palfrey. The rouncey was always a trotter - paired legs moved diagonally rather than laterally - and was therefore considered less valuable as a riding mount as it was less comfortable. Its medieval price was about seven pounds.

*HOBBY Another typically light horse, the hobby was a riding horse and not a medieval fighter. Most associations with the hobby are Irish. The medieval hobby spawned the reputed Irish Hunter so popular in the 19th and 20th centuries as a hunting horse. The medieval hobby was worth about forty shillings, or two pounds.

*PALFREY [*palfridus*] A light, refined animal famous for its comfortable stride - typically a two-beat lateral trot gait. It was not a deeply-muscled horse (like the equi or destrier), and it stood on the smaller side of medium in size and frame. The palfrey was usually referred to as an "ambler" [*ambulante*], although palfreys could be pacers [lateral movers] or trotters [diagonal movers]. In most cases, the palfrey served as an expensive and elegant riding horse for ladies and clergymen for travel as well as for state occasions. It was popularly bred among laity and was often given as gifts. Its medieval price ranged between ten and eighty pounds.

*EQUI [*equus*] Medium in both size and value, the equi ranged somewhere between a rouncey and a destrier. It was a general mount for a knight and could typically carry sixteen stone in weight. Medieval pricing for such an animal averaged about eighteen pounds.

*COURSER [*corseiro*] Medieval jousts were also termed as running 'courses' so the lancer's horse was often referred to as a courser. Courser also became a synonymous term for the hunt horse [chascur] which was used for falconry and hunting the stag or fox. This horse was semi-large and swift, and only in the 18th century did the term 'courser' come to refer to race horses. Some coursers were as expensive as the palfrey; its medieval price ranged from ten to fifty pounds.

*DESTRIER [*dextrarius, equi magni*] Known as the "Great Horse," the destrier was ridden by kings and wealthy knights of importance. The destrier was considerably more muscular than any other medieval horse. Its neck arched high, and it was larger in the haunches. Most destriers were imported from the Continent - the best usually came from Spain, Flanders, Italy and Burgundy. Typically stallions, the best examples can be seen in the Bayeaux tapestry. Contrary to common thought, destriers were not huge draught horses; their medieval height did not exceed fifteen hands high. The most expensive horse of the medieval period, the destrier averaged between fifty and one hundred pounds in value.

*Horses are ranked in the order of smallest & cheapest to the largest & most expensive. Information compiled from S. Loch, L. Gianoli, R.H.C. Davis, and A. Hyland. See Bibliography for details.

APPENDIX II - MOVEMENTS IN MANÈGE

"School on the gronnd" - stylized walks, trots, canters, lateral movements; also, the *passage, piaffe, and pirouette*
"School above ground (airs)" - *courbette, levade, capriole*

PASSAGE - [passége] A high stepping trot with the impulse being more upward than forward. It is a variation of the standard trot defined by shorter, smoother and higher steps. La Guérinière explains the passage as 'a measured and cadenced' trot of which each step should be no more than twelves inches in length. Passage comes from the Italian word *spasseggio* and is also known as the Spanish trot.

PIAFFE - The piaffe is essentially the passage in place - trotting in place without moving forward, backwards or sideways, and again, the moving impulse is upward. The horse should lift its legs high and should move as if in suspension. In military use, this movement kept the horse held in constant anticipation, waiting for the signal to spring forward into sudden advance or attack. It is also allowed the rider to continue fighting with the added advantage of being able to leap np and away from offensive attacks from the ground. The movement was also popular in carousels and games, especially in Spain.

PIROUETTE - Just as it sounds, the pirouette is a circular movement (or volte), usually at the canter, in which the horse virtually pivots around the inside hindleg. This movement is best compared to the modern-day 'turn on the haunches.' It was utilized by the military horse to wheel quickly towards or away from the enemy.

VOLTE - A circle performed at the walk, trot, and/or canter. One can also utilize a demi-volte (or half-circle).

TERRE-Á-TERRE - A two-beat canter in which the two forelegs rise and descend together as do the hindlegs. It is a metered pace and to the untrained eye, it looks as if the horse is making several small jumps.

PESADE - An exercise in which the horse raises its forelegs so that his body is at a 45° angle to the ground; the horse remains motionless and is asked to hold this position. The pesade prepares the horse for later jumps such as the courbette and capriole by acquainting the horse with elevating its forehand.

LEVADE - The horse stands balanced on its hindlegs with its forelegs drawn tightly to its chest - its body at less of an angle than that of the pesade. As an evasion tactic, this highly-collected position allowed the rider to reach down and slash with thesword, being able to take careful aim from an elevated vantage point. Traditionally, this is the most famous position for mounted kings and military heroes in paintings.

COURVET - Literally, a jump forward in the levade position. Chalmers describes it as "a certaine continuall pransing and dansing up and downe still in one place, like a beare at a stake, and sometimes sidling to and fro, wherein the horse maketh as though he would faine run, and cannot be suffered."[1]

COURBETTE [crouptade] - The horse leaps into air on its backlegs and whilst suspended, moves forward to disperse foot soldiers around him. The courbette starts from the pesade position and is thoroughly attained by performing several jumps forward without the forelegs ever hitting the ground.

CROUPADE - A jump higher than the courbette in which the horse's hindlegs are drawn up under its body so that they are at an even height with the forelegs.

BALLOTADE - A jump very similar to the croupade; however, the hindlegs are not drawn up underneath the belly of the horse. Rather, the hindlegs are moderately extended as if poised to kick out.

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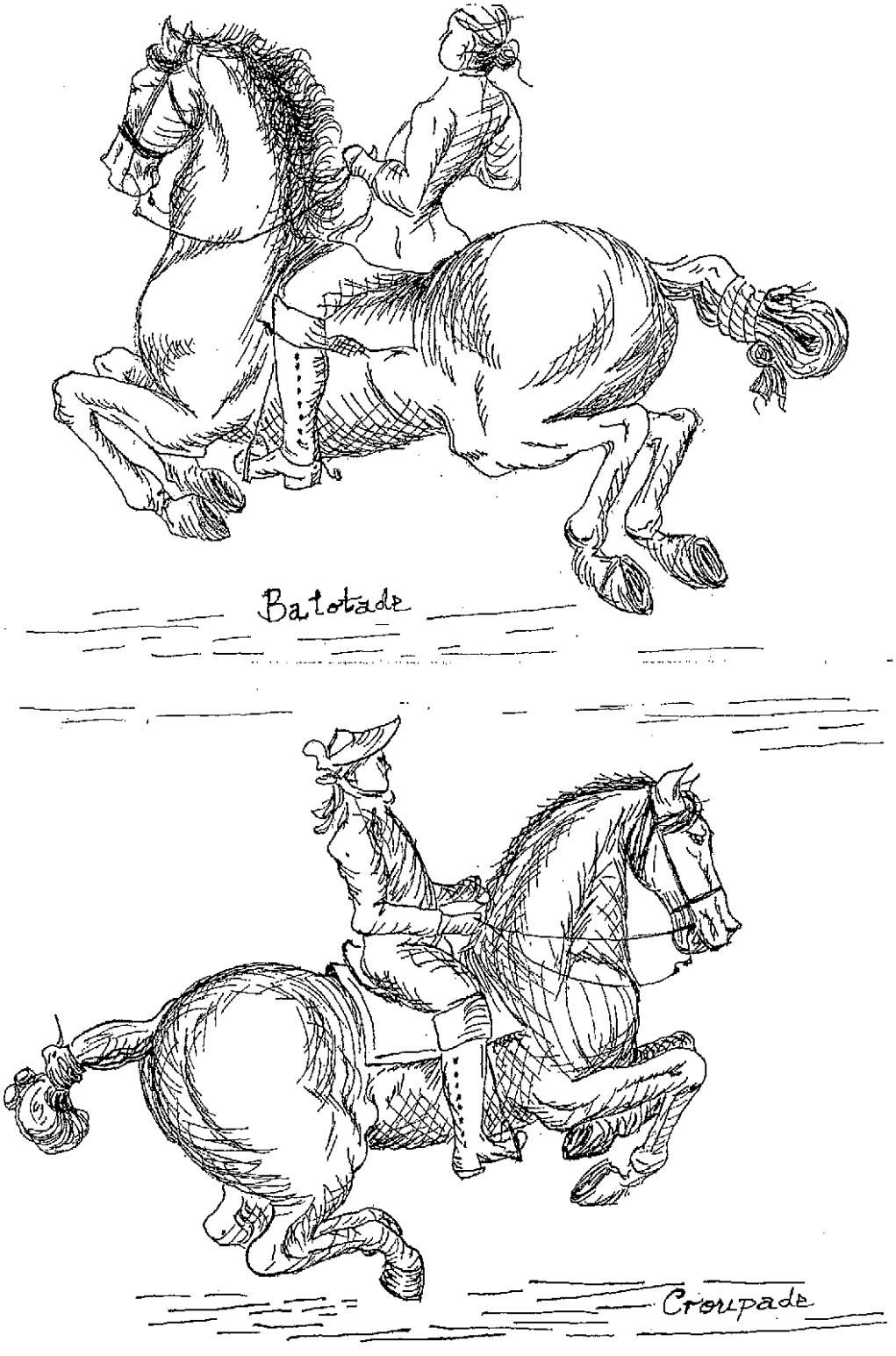
[1] Chalmers, *History of Hunting* 304.

CAPRIOLE - Usually attained from the levade position, the capriole is a giant leap into the air; the horse's forelegs remain tucked to the chest while the hindlegs thrust out behind in a kicking fashion. This is the highest air above ground and is commonly accepted as the most difficult to perform. In earlier days, it was referred to as 'separating' or 'tying the point'. In military usage, the capriole allowed horse and rider to leap over infantrymen as an evasion tactic but the movement also doubled as an offensive action, allowing the horse to strike out at potentially dangerous threats from behind. The horse could charge forward *over* the enemy in front of him and the rider could protect either side of the horse with his sword; however, the rear end of the horse was often left unprotected - a vulnerability to both horse and rider. Thus, the capriole was a very necessary defense tactic that also served as a grand offensive maneuver.

FLYING LEAD CHANGES - Performed at the canter, lead changes were necessary to keep the horse mobile and handy on the battlefield. Lead changes allowed the horse to switch directions quickly while still maintaining its balance and collection. The sequence of hoofbeats below show the difference in canter leads. The canter is a three-beat gait, and therefore, to execute a 'clean' flying lead change, the horse must actually pause midair and switch leg movements behind. The illusion is that the horse is flying as it maintains suspension in the air while swapping leads.

Left Lead Canter Sequence		Right Lead Canter Sequence	
3	2	2	3
2	1	1	2

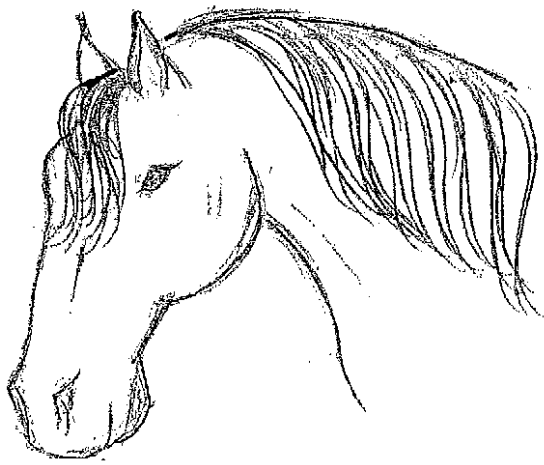
Illustration 14. *Ballotade* and *Croupade*.



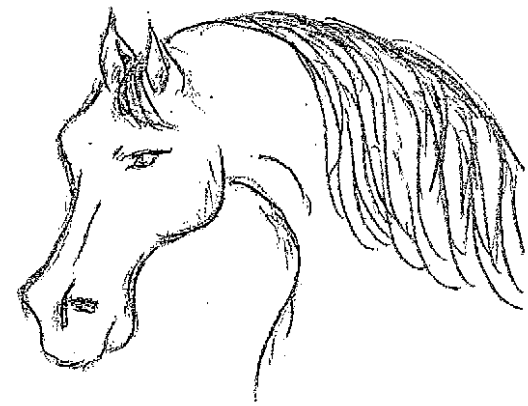
APPENDIX III: FOUR EQUINE PROFILES

a. Roman-nosed, coarse unrefined profile

b. Iberian profile (slightly convex)



c. Arabian - concave profile or 'dished' face. Smaller features but large eye & jaw



d. Thoroughbred profile. Long head & neck, svelte & elegant.

APPENDIX VI:
MODERN DRESSAGE & EARLY MODERN MANÉGE

The word 'dressage' is a French word meaning "training" and it is defined loosely as a disciplined system of horse training which adheres closely to a test of the horse's obedience.[1] In essence, modern dressage stems directly from the teachings of *manège* in the 1600s and 1700s. Technically, the professional working definition of such riding is best explained by the American Horse Show Association (AHSA); the object of dressage is "the harmonious development of the physique and ability of the horse. As a result, it makes the horse calm, supple, loose and flexible but also confident, attentive, and keen, thus achieving perfect understanding with his rider."[2] According to this definition, the teachings associated with the manège tradition of the early modern period in Europe are quite accurate and valid in regard to modern method and approach. Surely equestrians of the twenty-first century have progressed to a point of near-perfection in horse training and riding over the course of three hundred years, changing and improving both style and technique. But such a notion presents a difficult question: Has riding technique and training method *really* changed that dramatically in three centuries?

If one was to analyze the situation in reverse, one might reason that riders of the last three hundred years have merely expounded upon basic themes and principles set down by Europe's great riding masters, namely William Cavendish, the Duke of Newcastle, Antoine Pluvinel, Giovanni Pignatelli, and Francois Robichon de la Guérinière. This assumption becomes glaringly obvious when one considers the statement made by a current top contender in international dressage competitions, Barbara Burkhardt: "Dressage must be practiced as a science before it becomes an art."[3] Not only do Burkhardt's words ring loudly with a Renaissance-like tone, but they echo with a distinctly Cavendish-ian flavor. Furthermore, the guidelines of modern dressage remain honorable to those of manège.

Consider the issue of submission. Cavendish believed that horses could think - for how else could they be trained? "The horse knows the difference between reward and punishment and remembers and

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[1] Barbara Burkhardt, *Dressage from A to X* (North Pomfret, Vermont: Trafalgar Square Publishing, 1999) 2.

[2] Official definition from the American Horse Show Association rulebook.

[3] Burkhardt, *Dressage from A to X* 39.

chooses; he obeys the rider in fear of correction but also with hopes of being cherished."[4] Following Cavendish's conviction, a horse will follow its human master "because there is security in it."[5] The willingness of the horse to submit to its rider was of key importance to Cavendish, yet the manège horse was expected also to remain courageous in its attitude and artistic in its movement. On this note, modern-day dressage scholars agree with Cavendish that "submission is the opposite of resistance, irritation and unwillingness...[it] is not mechanical obedience...[which] shows as labored movements or a sullen attitude."[6] For both disciplines, what is realized (but often misunderstood by the untrained eye) is the notion of a truly harmonious partnership between horse and rider. In the words of equestrian author and professor Dr. Stephen Sloane, "...control is always involved in the horse-human relationship, but it is not the *purpose* of an harmonious [horsemanship] system."[7]

In general concept, the two artforms are very similar, but there are some slight differences between the modern dressage horse and the horse trained for the highly-specialized manège work of the High School. Historian Loch explained that the early modern manège horse worked in a much smaller area than the dressage horse, but this in itself is a small and seemingly inconsequential factor. While both horses were intended to move forward, herein lies a particular difference. Today, a talented dressage horse exhibits awesome forward-going power, covering lots of ground with bold yet precise movements. The modern-day dressage horse is encouraged to spring forward and cover the ground "in the most economic, balanced and rhythmical way possible" while performing (according to horse and rider's ability level) certain obedience tests, ranging in difficulty and including various but not all airs of haute école.[8] However, going forward meant something entirely different to the manège horse. Granted, both disciplines emphasize balance and power in the horse's back and hindquarters, but the manège horse was encouraged to 'explode' forward (or up) into a series of controlled jumps for the purpose of attack or defense. Covering large expanses of land was only necessary when the manège rider needed to flee from battle - and

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[4] Cavendish, *A General System* 12.
[5] Stephen Sloane, "The Spirit of Harmony," *Equus* 207 (1988): 20-27.
[6] Burkhardt, *Dressage from A to X*, 25.
[7] Sloane, "The Spirit of Harmony" 25. Italics are his.
[8] Loch, *Royal Horse* 236.

this, of course, would be a last ditch effort for most soldiers. Also, head and neck carriage was slightly varied between the two. Dressage promotes an extended neck and perpendicular profile, demonstrating that the horse has accepted the rider's contact and is "on the bit;" this concept is virtually unheard of in the early modern period.[9] True balance, to the old riding masters, progressed past this stage of extension and was complete only when the horse had transferred his weight from his head and forehand and into his hindquarters and hocks, leaving a raised and arched head and neck on a *loose* contact. So, which is fundamentally correct? This question is of little consequence since each discipline has its own specific purpose or ultimate goal. The modern-day dressage enthusiast does not train for battle but rather conforms to the preferred style or fashion of the day which can slightly vary according to what is deemed fashionable. On the other hand, necessity dictated that certain rules and procedure be followed by the manège rider who finely primed his art for battle. In the early modern period, a soldier's life depended heavily upon a light and nimble creature which was both quick and responsive to the slightest touch or command. Having his hands free, and thereby maintaining a loose contact, was an advantage to the cavalry officer.

Despite a few variations, both artforms emphasize lightness and freedom in movement as well as harmony between horse and rider. Additionally, both disciplines have achieved a beauty and style rarely surpassed in the equestrian world, but perhaps more interesting and revealing is the shared philosophy of dressage riders and early modern proponents of manège. Despite a tremendous gap in centuries, both disciplines seek to incorporate the horse into the 'civilized' circle of human society. For both, the equestrian partnership is reflective of an approach to life. For Burkhardt, a dressage competition is more than a performance test; it is "an expression of the finest qualities of life," with the ultimate goal being to please one's self by attaining true harmony with a horse.[10] Is it ironic that Burkhardt's words reflect the very ideals and mentality of the Renaissance?

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[9]Burkhardt described the training term "on the bit" as "maintaining a good connection, the horse responds instantly and generously to all the aids." (Burkhardt, *Dressage from A to X* 111.)
[10]Barbara Burkhardt, *Dressage from A to X* 285.

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VITA

Born in East Point, Georgia in 1972, Elizabeth Simmons moved with her family to the small historic town of Washington, Georgia at the age of five. She attended Wilkes Academy, graduating with academic and sport honors in 1990. An active member of the 4-H club, Ms. Simmons represented Georgia as one of eight delegates on the State Council. She became a Master 4-H'er after winning the state championships in the Hunt Seat division with her horse, 'Jaymes,' and represented Georgia at the Southern Regional Championships for three years in a row.

Ms. Simmons received academic and equestrian scholarships to St. Andrews Presbyterian College in Laurinburg, North Carolina; she served as head of the Appellate Court, president of the History Club, and participated in setting a Guinness World Record in the longest running debate in 1992. As a history major, she traveled to South East Asia twice - Korea,1992 and Thailand/Laos, 1994 - on study abroad trips as well as lived in London for six months, completing an internship. She graduated with honors in 1994 with a double major in History and Public Relations. After working in the restaurant business for a year, Ms. Simmons moved to Atlanta and began employment with World Travel Partners as a group travel coordinator during the 1996 Olympics.

In 1996, Ms. Simmons moved to Palm Coast, Florida and went into business with her partner, Shawn Hanewich. She began working on her Master's degree in January of 1998, and taught at UNF as a graduate assistant in CORE as well as taught history at the St. Gerard campus in St. Augustine. For the last four years, Ms. Simmons has worked as a riding instructor and horse show coach at Tall Pines in St. Augustine. In September, she will accept a new position as head riding instructor at Covington Equestrian Center in New Orleans, Louisiana.