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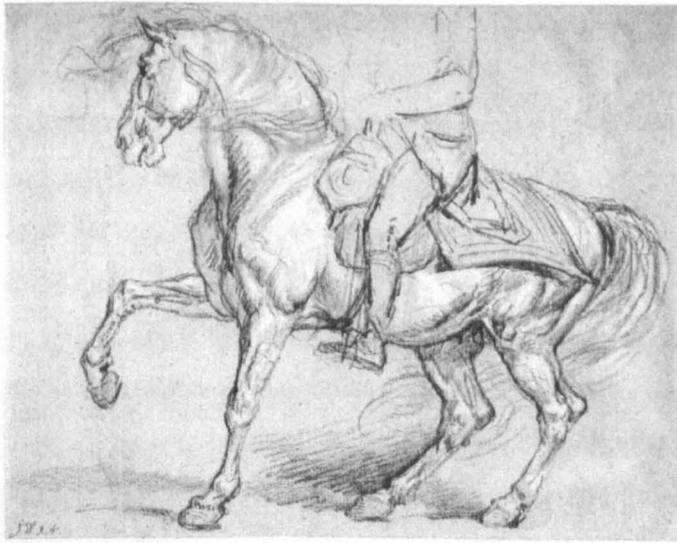
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PERFORMING HORSE-MEN:
ENGLISH MASCULINITIES AND NONHUMAN ANIMALS, c. 1618-1830.

by

MONICA MATTFELD



A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

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ABSTRACT

.....

Inter-species discourse, visibility and representations of human-animal co-embodiment were closely associated with horsemen throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and these becomings were frequently described as the ideal state of being, an essential state of being, for a solid, balanced and prosperous nation. In this thesis I explore how the presence of an animal, interactions with it and human-animal performance as a horseman, were embodied and used by men in constructing, visualizing and destabilizing, or solidifying, masculinities. Masculinities that were at once influenced by changes in normative gender codes, but which were also tied to the longer tradition of honourable and militaristic human-animal communication. I argue it was through the visible and material presence of horses that many men worked to establish themselves as élite members of a close community of fellow horsemen and of society at large. Horses were the mediators through which men were viewed, reviewed and understood, and through which their public reputations as masculine horsemen were established.

Formed of four core chapters, this thesis focuses on key horsemen from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It first explores the associated political discourses and modes of centauric display used by William Cavendish, the first Duke of Newcastle, in the seventeenth century, and the many practitioners (male and female) of Mr. Carter's, Philip Sidney's and Domenico Angelo's riding Academies in the early eighteenth. It also investigates the analogous but unique horsemanship and horses of Astley's Amphitheatre, and the politicized equestrian caricatures of Henry William Bunbury at the end of the century. This 'snapshot' approach allows for the inclusion of the nonhuman into the study of masculinity, and for new understandings of how men understood themselves as men; how they performed their gender, status and political beliefs; and how central horses were to the lived realities of socially élite men.

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To my parents.
Thank you.

I

INTRODUCTION: OF EQUINES AND EQUESTRIANS

It was a horse, yet it looked queer—it had something
on its back. So that was a man!

— Henry Herbert Knibbs¹

You must be an *enthusiast!* Sir, an *enthusiast!*

— Sir Sidney Meadows²

England's past has been borne on his back.
All our history is his industry:
We are his heirs, he is our inheritance.

— Robert Duncan³

.....

On the twelfth of February, 1754, King Nobby died at the age of thirty-two. Fondly remembered for his loving 'affection', 'sense, courage, strength, majesty, spirit, and obedience', King had been the 'faithful servant' and companion of John Boyle (fifth Earl of Cork, fifth Earl of Orrery and second Baron Marston) for twenty-eight years. During this time King accompanied Boyle on his frequent travels around England, 'performed two journeys into Ireland, without accident and without fatigue,' and was scarcely 'lame or sick during the long course of his life.' For Boyle, King was, '———Oh! he was all perfection.' While his death was not unexpected, as King's health had been in a steady decline for two years, Boyle still took the loss of his companion to heart. After King's death, a mourning Boyle had him buried in his gardens at Marston, and had a memorial urn placed over his final resting place. The entire memorial was later published anonymously in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1780 as *Monumental Inscriptions on an Urn in the Gardens at Marston*. While a burial of this kind outside of sacred ground was unusual for any person in the eighteenth century, it was not in the case of Boyle and King for one simple fact: King Nobby was a horse.⁴

¹ Henry Herbert Knibbs as quoted in Thomas Meagher, ed., *The Gigantic Book of Horse Wisdom* (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, Inc., 2007), 279.

² Quoted by Strickland Freeman, *The Art of Horsemanship Altered and Abbreviated, According to the Principles of the Late Sir Sidney Meadows* (London: Printed for the Author by W. Bulmer and Co. Cleveland-Row, St. James's; and sold by James Carpenter, Bookseller to their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, Old Bond-Street; and G. and W. Nicol, Pall-Mall, 1806), xii.

³ Ronald Duncan, 'Ode to the Horse,' *Horse of the Year Show*, <http://www.hoys.co.uk/show-information/history/> (accessed 28 August, 2011).

⁴ John Boyle, 'Monumental Inscriptions on an Urn in the Gardens at Marston,' *Gentleman's Magazine* 50 (May 1780): 242. The *Gentleman's Magazine* printing of this memorial has been critically introduced and re-printed in Emily Lorraine de Montluzin, "'Oh! he was all perfection": The Earl of Orrery's Tribute to His Horse,

Boyle was not alone in his memorializing of a cherished equine companion. While, as Ingrid Tague has argued, many obituaries or memorials for nonhuman animals, frequently pets, were intended as satire or comedic effect, some horse memorials such as King's or the later anonymous epitaph upon the usefulness and superior morality of the horse printed in a 1771 edition of the *Annual Register*, were entirely serious performances of grief and affection for a missed loved one. In the *Annual Register*, the horse, described in the language of the fallen hero, was

A Generous foe, a faithful friend ——
 A victor bold, here met his end.
 He conquer'd both in war and peace;
 By death subdu'd, his glories cease.
 Ask'st thou, who finish'd here his course
 With so much honour? —'Twas a HORSE.⁵

The anthropomorphising language and representation of these memorials to fallen equine companions is further reflected in the unique positioning of horses within seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English society. Most authors who discussed the horse considered it to be superior in skill, usefulness, beauty, intelligence and nobility than any other, even man's proverbial best friend, the dog. 'In Fields nor Pastures, Woods nor Forrests wide, / Does any Beast so Noble as this reside', William Hope rhetorically asked in 1696; while 'THE various excellencies of this noble animal,' for Thomas Bewick author of the 1807 *A General History of Quadrupeds*, included 'the grandeur of his stature, the elegance and proportion of his parts, the beautiful smoothness of his skin, the variety and gracefulness of his motions, and, above all, his utility, entitle him to a precedence in the history of brute creation.'⁶ While horses have not always enjoyed such illustrious positioning within the chain of being, or experienced the caring treatment that often accompanied it – as many authors, artists and scholars have illustrated – for many horsemen the horse was a morally and physically superior animal to all other kinds.⁷

Posthumously Printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, ANQ 20 no. 4 (Fall 2007): 13-17. For a brief history and general introduction to animal epitaphs in the eighteenth century see: Ingrid H. Tague, 'Dead Pets: Satire and Sentiment in British Elegies and Epitaphs for Animals,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 41 no. 3 (2008): 289-306.

⁵ 'Horse, an, epitaph upon,' *Annual Register* 14 (December 1771): 237.

⁶ William Hope, 'Supplement of Riding; Collected from the best Authors,' in Jacques de Solleysel, *The Compleat Horseman Discovering the Surest Marks of the Beauty, Goodness, Faults and Imperfections of Horses* (London: Printed for M. Gillyflower, in Westminster-Hall; R. Bently, in Covent-Garden; H. Bonwick, in St. Paul's Church-Yark; J. Tonson, W. Freema, T. Goodwin, M. Wotton, in Fleet-street; J. Walthoe, in the Temple; S. Manship, and R. Parker, in Cornhill, 1696), Preface; Thomas Bewick, *A General History of Quadrupeds. The Figures Engraved in Wood by Thomas Bewick* [1807] (London: Ward Lock Reprints, 1970), 1.

⁷ Most scholars of the eighteenth century who look at animals in history have focused on the many kinds of abuse animals experienced during the time, and the ethical and moral consequences such actions could have on the human abuser or for the wider society. Rob Boddice's *A History of Attitudes and Behaviours Toward Animals in*

It was this superiority of the horse over other brute kind in a position next to that of humans that resulted not only in the animal's humanization, but also in it becoming central to men's identification, visualization and subjectification as men of different classes, reputations, social positions, epistemologies and masculine ontologies. Horses had agency, and it was their interaction with men, along with men's interactions with them, that allowed for the performance and visibility of masculinities that negotiated normative and divergent modes of gender creation during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One anonymous author writing in 1776 recorded this role of the horse – and the necessity of associating with the horsey community – through the publication of a poetical account of his experiences within a London riding house. The author, having fallen prey to the fickle nature of lady Fortune, had to endure one of the worst events that could happen to a horseman. Due to a lack of funds he was forced to leave the comforting confines of the riding house, and to leave his close friends behind. 'Pleased at your sides no longer shall I stand,' he lamented in *An Elegy in a Riding House*, 'Stroke your smooth necks, and feed you from my hand'. No longer would he 'in the manege bid you bound, / Close the quick change, and wheel the rapid round; / Or slowly stepping with majestick pace, / Exhibit *motion* in its utmost grace.' 'Go then, my steeds, once happy creatures, go?' he asked without hope; yes, the horses must go to 'Leave your sad master to lament and moan, / His joy, his pride, his occupation gone.'⁸ Without his horses this man was not only deprived of the companionship of other horsemen, but also of companionship of the four-footed kind. Without his horses this man lost his joy, pride and occupation; take away the horse and the horseman is just a man without purpose, status or identity.

i. PERFORMATIVE HUMAN-ANIMAL STUDIES

Even though horses had such an impact on some men in history and enjoyed a privileged position in the species hierarchy, the study of horse-human interaction (or any investigation of the influences horse-kind had on English society, culture or gender formation for that matter) has only recently become the focus of scholarly investigation, and remains a nascent subject in the

Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Britain (New York and Queenston, Ontario: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2008), provides a comprehensive overview of these investigations and offers a reading of eighteenth-century animal cruelty that re-situates such behaviour back within period discourses rather than in modern definitions of ethics and cruelty/benevolence towards the nonhuman other.

⁸ *An Elegy in a Riding House. In Imitation of Virgil's First Pastoral* (London: Printed for J. Robson and Co. New Bond Street, 1776), 14.

extreme. This is similar to its parent field of human-animal studies.⁹ Frequently referred to as a sub-discipline within posthumanism, human-animal studies is a multi-disciplined and loosely defined field where diverse and multifaceted questions regarding the subjectivities of ‘animal’ and ‘human’ are the focus. Yet, determining a survey of the field is, as Cary Wolfe posited with tongue-in-cheek humour, ‘a bit like herding cats.’¹⁰ With scholars from biological science, ethics, law, sociology, anthropology, history, literary criticism and other approaches lending wonderful interdisciplinarity, studies which fall under the umbrella of human-animal studies are diverse indeed. Recently, though, there have been signs of consolidation under unified questioning and goals.¹¹ Here the destruction (or at least the problematization) of the boundaries between the nonhuman animal and human animal, along with the decentring of ‘the fundamental mechanism of humanism’, that is finding ways of moving ‘beyond the anthropocentric outlook and anthropomorphizing tendencies of humanism theory and practice’, are now central to the field.¹² The unnatural categories of ‘human’ and ‘animal’ (the definitions of which frequently negate the presence of the breed, culture or individual¹³) are beginning to be approached and theorized not as binary pairs within a teleological ladder of order, but as reciprocally-informing

⁹ This emergent field of investigation has now become the focus for numerous conferences and centres for study, and has become a priority for a host of academic presses of which the University of Minnesota Press (Haraway’s *When Species Meet*) and Reaktion Books (Animal series edited by Jonathan Burt that dedicates each volume to a separate animal species: ape, ant, oyster, horse, moose and rat, among others) are among the most influential. In addition to these presses are the flurry of journals and special journal editions dedicated to the question of the animal. These include the new on-line journal *Humanimalia* (www.depauw.edu/humanimalia), *Society and Animals* by the Animals and Society Institute (www.animalsandsociety.org), and the H-Animal sub-forum of the H-Net discussion network (www.h-net.or/~animal). The special journal issues include: *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 52 no. 1 (2011); *PMLA* 124 no. 2 (2009); *Parallax*, ‘Animal Beings,’ 12 no. 1 (January – March 2006); *Oxford Literary Review*, ‘Derridanimals,’ 29 no. 1 (June 2007); *Mosaic*, ‘The Animal – Part I’ 39 no. 4 (December 2006), ‘The Animal – Part II,’ 40 no. 1 (March 2007); *Configurations*, ‘Thinking with Animals,’ 14 no. 12 (Winter – Spring 2006); *Worldview*, 9 no. 2 (July 2005); *Performance Research*, ‘On Animals,’ 5 no. 2 (Summer 2000). It also became the subject of recent pedagogical tools (sample syllabi, introductory essays and bibliographies) for teaching human-animal studies in the academy, such as Margo Demello, ed., *Teaching the Animal: Human-Animal Studies across the Disciplines* (New York: Lantern Books, 2010). For further information on the field and the many critical sources available see Wolfe, ‘Human, All Too Human: “Animal Studies” and the Humanities,’ *PMLA* 124 no. 2 (March 2009): 564-574; and *What is Posthumanism?* (Minnesota and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2010) for a further survey of the field and its associated controversies and theoretical and disciplinary approaches.

¹⁰ Wolfe, ‘Human, All Too Human,’ 564.

¹¹ Wolfe, ‘Human, All Too Human,’ 565.

¹² Interview with Cary Wolfe as quoted in Jennifer Howard, ‘Creature Consciousness: Animal Studies Test the Boundary Between Human and Animal – and Between Academic and Advocate,’ *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 23 (October 18, 2009). <http://chronicle.com/article/Creature-Consciousness/48804/> (accessed 21/03/2010). Boria Sax, ‘The Posthumanism of Roberto Marchesini,’ *Humanimalia*, 1 no. 2 (Spring 2010): www.depauw.edu/humanimalia/issue02/sax.html (accessed 20/03/2010).

¹³ Jacques Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, ed. Marie-Louise Mallet, trans. David Wills (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008).

concepts.¹⁴ As Donna Haraway argues in her paradigmatic *Companion Species Manifesto* (and in its later incarnation of *When Species Meet*), the evolutionary history of all earth's inhabitants is a story of co-development and opportunism. For her, 'Earth's beings are prehensile, opportunistic, ready to yoke unlikely partners into something new, something symbiogenetic. Co-constitutive companion species and co-evolution are the rule, not the exception.'¹⁵

The history of animal-human interaction is one of recognition of a being both like and unlike ourselves, of the intelligence, subjectivity, motivations and needs of the nonhuman animal, while understanding or seeing the co-dependence and evolution that make up 'companion species'.¹⁶ For Haraway, there can be no essentialized human over animal, and there can be no human without animal; there are only beings constitutive of both. When this constitutive intersubjectivity is recognised, the traditional parameters of humanism are problematized and the nonhuman animal – in all of its messy, shared co-companion situatedness – becomes an acting agent in history.¹⁷ As such, human-animal studies requires a scholar not only able to see the nonhuman animal, but to understand and critically question its rational, lived, communicating and very real presence. We need to understand the gendering, politicizing, racializing, classing and sexualization of such creatures, while following the many traces in which animals construct humans and humans, in turn, construct animals over time.¹⁸ Scholars within human-animal studies argue that there must be a movement beyond animal as symbol in order to understand how animals are never fully animal and humans are never fully human but amalgamations of both.¹⁹ The inclusion of real, actual, animals in the creation, visibility and visibility of group, individual, human and nonhuman identity is necessary for Erica Fudge; matter must come to matter, to paraphrase Karen Barad, and the power of discourse must be questioned.²⁰ Within this theoretical framework any understanding of history and culture must

¹⁴ Kimberly W. Benston, 'Experimenting at the Threshold: Sacrifice, Anthropomorphism, and the Aims of (Critical) Animal Studies,' *PMLA* 124 no. 2 (2009): 550.

¹⁵ Donna Haraway, *The Companion Species Manifesto: Dogs, People, and Significant Otherness* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2003), 32; Donna Haraway, *When Species Meet* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).

¹⁶ Haraway, *The Companion Species Manifesto*, 32.

¹⁷ Donna Landry, *Noble Brutes: How Eastern Horses Transformed English Culture* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

¹⁸ Wolfe, 'Human, All Too Human,' 597; Erica Fudge also calls for this historical investigation in 'The History of Animals,' *H-Animal*, H-Net, (May 25, 2006). www.h-net.org/~animal/ruminations_fudge.html (accessed 18/04/2010).

¹⁹ Lucinda Cole, 'Introduction: Human-Animal Studies and the Eighteenth Century,' *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 52 no. 1 (2011): 1.

²⁰ Erica Fudge, 'A Left-Handed Blow: Writing the History of Animals,' in *Representing Animals*, ed. Nigel Rothfels (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2002), 14; Karen Barad, 'Posthumanist Performativity:

include the many manifestations of nonhumans in human life and at the heart of historical processes. We must allow the animal to speak, and we must listen when it does.

Such listening, while providing the opportunity for the acceptance of animal agency, allows for alternative and shared languages between human and animal other than of oral speech. Throughout much of Western history animal otherness and subordination to humans has been predicated on their ability or inability to talk, or in the case of Cartesian philosophy, on their inability to respond, whether in an understandable form or not. However, by deconstructing this metanarrative of the nonhuman other and of human-animal non-verbal interaction, exciting and alternative ways of understanding historical subjects and periods emerge. No longer is the human the centre of the historian's gaze.

One way of breaking such hegemonic discourses of the other, and of continuing to destabilize the artificial boundaries between human and animal, is through the questioning of animal-human hybrid – not simply animal – performativity. As human gender and subjectivity are formulated and negotiated through performance, or 'the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly regulatory frame that congeal over time'²¹ that 'literally embody how we are in the world...', so too is animal gender, subjectivity and being in the world according to Lynda Birke, Mette Bryld and Nina Lykke. However, 'non-human otherness' is 'a *doing or becoming*, produced and reproduced in specific contexts of human/non-human interaction'.²² As Keri Brandt has found for horse-human relationships today, 'humans and horses co-create a language system by way of the body to facilitate the creation of shared meaning.' This kinesthetic and visually hybrid language 'challenges the privileged status of verbal language' while opening the stable door, as it were, to alternative ways of understanding and of being in the world.²³ The animal, the horse in this instance, must negotiate throughout its life complex networks of communication not only within its nonhuman herd but also with other non-horses; it must not only understand, function and communicate with nonhumans, but it also must be able to function intelligibly within the horse-rider relationship. Through this communication horses become, as I will trace throughout this thesis, more than other animals,

Toward an Understanding of How Matter Comes to Matter,' *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28 no. 3 (2003): 801-831.

²¹ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 33. Lynda Birke, Mette Bryld and Nina Lykke, 'Animal Performances: An exploration of intersections between feminist science studies and studies of human/animal relationships,' *Feminist Theory* 5 no. 2 (2004): 173.

²² Birke, Mette and Lykke, 'Animal Performances,' 169.

²³ Keri Brandt, 'A Language of Their Own: An Interactionist Approach to Human-Horse Communication,' *Society & Animals* 12 no. 4 (2004): 299. Donna Haraway also argues for a recognition and understanding of this mutual '*dance of relating*' in 'Encounters with Companion Species: Entangling Dogs, Baboons, Philosophers, and Biologists,' *Configurations* 14 no. 1-2 (Winter-Spring 2006): 110.

more than horses; they become hybrid as horse-plus-human while humans become human-plus-horse in a reciprocal becoming of the other. According to Ann Game, KIRRILLY THOMPSON, Vinciane Despret, Lynda Birke and Keri Brandt, who have all theorized on this subject, through repeated acts of human-horse interaction (primarily mounted, although unmounted interaction is equally formative here) over time ‘both horse and human bodies *are changed*’; worlds meet with embodied hybridity as the result.²⁴ For Game, this interspecies interaction, or ‘entraining’, not only allows for the meeting of the other (face to face), but allows for the embodied ‘mixing of the centaur.’²⁵ Unlike the kinds of beings characterized by Elizabeth Lawrence that display ‘many different dichotomies’ which illustrate the boundaries between ‘man and beast, male and female, and culture and nature’, through the performance of riding the rider and horse become something more than either; riding ‘is the bringing to life of *the relation* between horse and rider, involving a mutual calling up of horse and rider in each other.’ They call up the essential elements in the human that ‘are always already part horse’, and the essential elements in the horse that are ‘part human’ to create and make visible the human-animal as hybrid, more-than-singular, trans-species being.²⁶ The creation and visualization of hybrid human-animals allows for a reorientation of attention from the boundaries (often binaries) between human and animal and the possibilities for active agential participation and subject creation by both nonhuman animals and human animals to ‘focus instead on the *performance* of human-plus-nonhuman – where the constituting discursive practices must be understood to include the material, participating nonhuman.’ When the emphasis is placed on the reciprocal ‘*relationships*’ inherent in this performativity not only are the conventional categories of human/animal overturned, but the individually subjective and agential actions of both centauric elements can be seen to work ‘together to produce both order and disorder in their joint social worlds.’²⁷

The performativity of the human-plus-nonhuman can also speak to an ongoing ecopolitics that sees close connections between the ethical position of animals in society and other human

²⁴ Birke, Mette and Lykke, ‘Animal Performances,’ 175; Ann Game, ‘Riding: Embodying the Centaur,’ *Body & Society* 1 (2001): 1-13; KIRRILLY THOMPSON, *Performing Human-Animal Relations in Spain: An Anthropological Study of Bullfighting from Horseback in Andalusia* (Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Adelaide, 2007); Vinciane Despret, ‘The Body We Care For: Figures of Anthro-zoo-genesis,’ *Body & Society* 2-3 (2004): 111-134; Lynda Birke and Keri Brandt, ‘Mutual Corporeality: Gender and human/horse relationships,’ *Women’s Studies International Forum* 32 (2009): 189-197.

²⁵ Game, ‘Riding: Embodying the Centaur,’ 3; Richard Nash, ‘Joy and Pity: Reading Animal Bodies in Late Eighteenth-Century Culture,’ *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 52 no. 1 (2011): 52-53.

²⁶ Elizabeth Atwood Lawrence, ‘The Centaur: Its History and Meaning in Human Culture,’ *Journal of Popular Culture* 27 no. 4 (Spring 1994): 62; Game, ‘Riding: Embodying the Centaur,’ 5, 1.

²⁷ Birke, Mette and Lykke, ‘Animal Performances,’ 177

marginalized or subordinate groups.²⁸ With this continual interweaving of animal, subordinate human and animalized human in mind, Licia Carlson has argued for the development of ‘a *positive* philosophy of the non-human animal’. Here, if ‘traces of the human face and masks of the beast’ are found ‘on *both* sides of the divide between Reason and Unreason’ ‘we find new possibilities for interrogating the convergence of two contemporary discourses: one which asks us to humanize our view of the “cognitively disabled”’ (or other frequently animalized others such as women; indigenous peoples; children and people of non-hegemonic genders, femininities, masculinities or sexualities; among others), and the ‘other which demands that as humans we embrace our animality and rethink our relationship to the *animal other*.’²⁹ For Carlson and Roberto Marchesini, animality does not automatically define or signal the degenerate, deformed, weak, irrational, bestial, monstrous, subversive or dangerous. Instead, it allows for further understandings and inclusion of animalized humans and human others within the rubric that calls for a philosophy of ‘pluralistic’ otherness that includes nonhuman animals, human-animals, and animalized humans.³⁰ Indeed, such an approach allows for the inclusion and understanding of ‘a shared trans-species being-in-the-world’ complete with its own communication, visualities, ontologies, epistemologies, ways of seeing and systems of feeling.³¹ Until this is done, I argue, there can be no understanding or theorizing of a positive animality that works to overturn the negative bestiality associated with animalized others in both contemporary and past societies.

Carlson’s notions of a positive, and negative, animality were functioning elements of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century society. Both interpretations, discourses and visualities of animalized humans (and of humanized animals) functioned within a society that saw non-verbal relationships between human and nonhuman enacted daily, and it was these interspecies communications – practicing the becoming of the other – that created positive animality that functioned alongside the more familiar definitions of bestial, monstrous and dangerous. This challenge of human superiority over the natural world also, as Erica Fudge has argued, ‘can, surely, only impact positively on human relations with that natural world and the nonhuman animals that live in it’, while opening the field for new understandings of human-animal and

²⁸ Lucinda Cole, Donna Landry, Bruce Boeher, Richard Nash, Erica Fudge, Robert Markley, Cary Wolfe, ‘Speciesism, Identity Politics, and Ecocriticism: A Conversation with Humanists and Posthumanists,’ *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 5 no. 1 (2011): 88,

²⁹ Licia Carlson, ‘The Human as Just Another Animal: Madness, Disability, and Foucault’s Bestiary,’ *Phenomenology and the Non-Human Animal: At the Limits of Experience*, eds. Corinne Painter and Christian Lotz, (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer, 2007), 127.

³⁰ Roberto Marchesini, ‘Alterity and the Non-human,’ *Humanimalia* 1 no. 2 (Winter 2010): 94.

³¹ Wolfe, *What is Posthumanism?*, 141.

human-human relationships over time.³² While any study of animal identity is hampered by species-specific language barriers, by coming to understand the human as never human (as always animalized) there is room for the study of how co-constitutive relationships have formed the identity and social visibility of the human-plus-animal subject, and how humans have used this relationship for self-formulation.

ii. CONFORMATION OF THE FIELDS

While sociologists, anthropologists and other social scientists have engaged critically with the aims of human-animal studies and the inclusion of the animal, historians and literary scholars have been slower in their adoption.³³ Within the sub-field of horse-human studies this is also the case, and only a handful of scholars have looked beyond the horse as object to be acted upon or the horse as representation and symbol, to the horse as agential subject that acts in return. Donna Landry's *Noble Brutes: How Eastern Horses Transformed English Culture* is one of the more comprehensive of these, and her work places the emphasis firmly on the role of the horse in human historical events and cultural change. Sandra Swart's '*Horses! Give Me More Horses!*': *White Settler Identity, Horses, and the Making of Early Modern South Africa* similarly explores the multivalent impacts of horse ownership, interaction, and the lack of either in the colonization of Boer South Africa; while for Elizabeth LeGuin in her *Man and Horse in Harmony* it was the hybridized interactions between man and horse through the art of horsemanship that formed her conceptualization of early-modern identity and musicality. For Landry, Swart and LeGuin, then, the horse was central to ideas of nationhood, globalization, colonization, gender, politics, economics, and subject formation. However, their work, so useful for not only approaching questions of the animal and the human but also for more 'traditional' historical investigation, remains a minority approach among scholars who tackle the horse and human in history.³⁴

³² Cole, Landry, Boeher, Nash, Fudge, Markley and Wolfe, 'Speciesism, Identity Politics, and Ecocriticism,' 95.

³³ This trend is not as prevalent within the study of animal ethics or the history of animal rights movements. For details on these subjects see: Bruce Boeher, *Shakespeare Among the Animals: Nature and Society in the Drama of Early Modern England* (New York and Houndsmills: Palgrave, 2002); Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1897); Christine Kenyon-Jones, *Kindred Brutes: Animals in Romantic Period Writing* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2001); Frank Palemeri, ed., *Humans and Other Animals in Eighteenth-Century British Culture: Representation, Hybridity, Ethics* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2006); Linda Kalof and Brigitte Rest, eds. *A Cultural History of Animals – Six Volumes* (Oxford: Berg Publishing, 2007); Rob Boddice, *A History of Attitudes and Behaviours Towards Animals in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Britain: Anthropocentrism and the Emergence of Animals* (New York and Queenston, Ontario: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2008).

³⁴ Landry, *Noble Brutes*; Elisabeth LeGuin, 'Man and Horse in Harmony,' in *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World*, eds. Karen Raber and Treva J. Tucker (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 175-196; Sandra Swart, "'Horses! Give Me More Horses!': White Settler Identity,

That is not to say that the work done by other scholars is not essential for furthering our understanding of the past and the role horses, or their textual and visual representations, have had. First emerging out of popular history, the study of horses was securely confined to the work of economic and agricultural historians such as F.M.L. Thompson's *Horses in European Economic History: A Preliminary Canter*, Joan Thirsk's ground-breaking *Horses in Early Modern England: For Service, for Pleasure, for Power* and Peter Edwards' *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England*.³⁵ It is only recently, and generally confined to one publication – Karen Raber's and Treva Tucker's edited volume, *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World* – that horse-human studies has moved beyond the horse as economic or statistical object in need of quantification.³⁶

That being said, as a result of its infancy horse-human studies remains fragmentary in its coverage and approach, and much of the work has confined itself to the sixteenth century and pre-1660 seventeenth century. This is in addition to no detailed coverage of the Restoration era and only spotty attention paid to the remainder of the long eighteenth century. Even though Giles Worsley has produced a general history of *haute école* horsemanship from the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century in his *The British Stable and A Courtly Art: The History of Haute École in England*, his work focuses chiefly on architectural developments of the riding house and stable with little literary or visual investigations. This has resulted in work, like that of R. J. Moore-Colyer's *Horse Supply and the British Cavalry: a Review 1066-1900* (one of the only other surveys that looks beyond the end of the seventeenth century as an unofficial cut-off point for the study of horses and horsemanship) that remains general in detail and unengaged with divergent or resistant forms of horsemanship that emerged over that time.³⁷

The heavy focus on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has also included a disproportionate emphasis on the life and writings of William Cavendish, first Duke of Newcastle. Karen Raber, Elspeth Graham, Lucy Worsley and Elaine Walker all have focused on Cavendish, and have added to our understanding of the practice of seventeenth-century

Horses, and the Making of Early Modern South Africa,' in *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World*, eds. Karen Raber and Treva J. Tucker (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 311-328.

³⁵ F.M.L. Thompson, ed. *Horses in European Economic History: A Preliminary Canter* (Reading: British Agricultural Society, 1983); Joan Thirsk, *Horses in Early Modern England: For Service, For Pleasure, For Power* (Reading: University of Reading Press, 1978); Peter Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

³⁶ Karen Raber and Treva Tucker, eds. *Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

³⁷ Giles Worsley, 'A Courtly Art: The History of Haute École in England,' *Court Historian* 6 (2001): 29-47; R. J. Moore-Colyer, 'Horse Supply and the British Cavalry: a Review 1066-1900,' *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 70 no. 284 (1992): 245-259.

horsemanship, horse-human interaction, the political ramifications of the art, architectural trends and the wider history of the period as a result.³⁸ However, this focus (the consequence of the availability of Cavendish's manuals of horsemanship, the previous interest in his politics and life by historians, and Cavendish's own self-promotion) has resulted in the subordination of other equally influential authors and texts on horsemanship. It has also resulted in little understanding of alternative horsemanship discourses and practices, and the accompanying constructions of political subjectivity or status, that were in direct opposition and competition to Cavendish's brand of normative riding. They have also tended to emphasise Cavendish's paradigmatic status within the longer corpus of horsemanship practices, which is evident to some extent, but has also certainly been overstated. He did introduce new methods of training, but he did not revolutionize the art of horsemanship or the ways in which humans interacted with their mounts. His situatedness within older horsemanship epistemologies, discourses and practices has become lost, and any continuity or change to be found within the practice and its related gendering, classing, and political embodiment has not been investigated. As for the eighteenth century, like the Restoration period the early century remains uncharted territory, and the entire period remains dominated by studies on the related practices of hunting culture and sporting art rather than horsemanship proper, as Landry's and Stephen Deuchar's work illustrates.³⁹

My work follows in these scholars' footsteps, but it also seeks, in the vein of human-animal studies, to question the hegemony of the human, and to allow for alternative or subversive humanness/animalness within the human and nonhuman animal being that is the horse-man. The mutual calling up of the other, or '*compenetración* (mutual influence)' for Thompson, in turn 'can have its own performativities and relationships to other social and cultural institutions.'⁴⁰ As

³⁸ Karen Raber, "'Reasonable Creatures": William Cavendish and the Art of Dressage,' in *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday*, eds. Patricia Fumerton and Simon Hunt (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 42-66; Elspeth Graham, '*So great a love ... for good horses*': *William Cavendish, Bolsover Castle and A General History of Horsemanship* (Conference Paper: The Renaissance and Early Modern Horse, Roehampton University, London, 2009); Lucy Worsley, *Cavalier: The Story of a 17th-Century Playboy* (London: Faber and Faber, 2007); Elaine Walker, '*To Amaze the People with Pleasure and Delight*': *An Analysis of the Horsemanship Manuals of William Cavendish, First Duke of Newcastle (1593-1676)* (Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Birmingham, 2004).

³⁹ Landry, *Noble Brutes and The Invention of the Countryside: Hunting, Walking and Ecology in English Literature, 1671-1831* (New York: Palgrave, 2001); Stephen Deuchar, *Sporting Art in Eighteenth-Century England: A Social and Political History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1988).

⁴⁰ Thompson, *Performing Human-Animal Relations in Spain*, 84; Birke, Mette and Lykke, 'Animal Performances,' 15, 175. Thompson works from G. Marvin's definition of the phenomena as conceived in human-bull relationships enacted within the American rodeo and ranching cultures, but uses it as a formulation of the horse-human centaur. Marvin defines '*compenetrado*' or '*compenetración*' as 'a term which means to be fused or interpenetrated, but also, figuratively, to undergo mutual influence or to share another's feelings.' Marvin as quoted in Thompson, *Performing Human-Animal Relations in Spain*, 231.

such, my thesis also seeks to question the socio-political institution of gendering the horse-man subject, a task that most scholars of horses in history have either overlooked or taken for granted. The question of gender is one that sociologists or anthropologists have focused on as a part of larger issues within feminist studies or human-animal interaction in general, but while the vast majority of riders in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were men, and most of the surviving sources on the subject were written by men about other men, what manhood or masculinity meant to a horseman or what the interaction with a nonhuman other meant to gender construction and the visuality of identity has rarely been examined.⁴¹ Karen Raber and Treva Tucker are exceptions to this trend, with Raber working on horsemanship as a formative element in Cavendish's political identity, and with Tucker wonderfully examining horsemanship as a virtue-producing exercise for élite men of the seventeenth century. Deuchar is also one of the few to examine the eighteenth century, and does so by studying the role hunting played in masculinity formulation.⁴² However, even here the gendering and performance of hegemonic and subordinate masculinities, along with the influence of nonhuman animals in such creations, remains general in scope.

There is the opposite problem when we take a look at the work by scholars of masculinity in history. Here it is the animal, any animal – with the growing exception of the lady's lapdog and the cult of pet ownership in general – that is rarely contemplated in relation to constructions of human gender, subjectivity and identity.⁴³ When an animal subject is addressed, it is usually as representation or metaphor, not as a live being capable of its own subjective agency. Instead, it is, as Lucia Carlson has pointed out, human degeneration in the form of negative animalness, or bestiality, ignorance and monstrosity, that is the focus for scholars.⁴⁴ In addition to this glossing of the animal, and the eschewing of any possible alternative or positive states of being human-

⁴¹ Birke and Brandt, 'Mutual Corporeality,' 189-197; Birke, Bryld and Lykke, 'Animal Performances,' 167-183; Thompson, *Performing Human-Animal Relations in Spain*.

⁴² Raber, "'Reasonable Creatures'"; Treva Tucker, 'Early Modern French Noble Identity and the Equestrian "Airs above the Ground",' in *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World*, eds. Karen Raber and Treva J. Tucker (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 273-310; Deuchar, *Sporting Art in Eighteenth-Century England*.

⁴³ Works on pet ownership and lady's lap dogs especially are the exceptions to this trend, and explicitly examine the relationship between nonhumans and constructions of gender – in most cases constructions of femininity: Laura Brown, *Homeless Dogs and Melancholy Apes: Humans and Other Animals in the Modern Literary Imagination* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2010); Jodi Wynn, 'The Lap of Luxury: Lapdogs, Literature and Social Meaning in the "Long" Eighteenth Century,' *LIT* 10 (2001): 275-301.

⁴⁴ Felicity Nussbaum, *The Limits of the Human: Fictions of Anomaly, Race, and Gender in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

animal, masculinity studies suffers from the common problem (like horse/human studies and human-animal studies) of being nascent with few researchers working in the field.

Scholars still know relatively little about manhood and masculinity during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Frequently restricted to the description of categories and stock characters, and working under a plethora of approaches, gender studies is only now beginning to entertain masculinities that follow or question hegemonic masculinity, and to consider them as a part of larger historical events. However, according to Karen Harvey, 'We still know too little to argue for an ancien régime of masculinity'.⁴⁵ This emergent status has led to the situation where the man of the early and the man of the later seventeenth century appear to be 'different species rather than different generations.'⁴⁶ This separation, as Alexandra Shepard has correctly pointed out, is due more to the methodologies of scholars than to any major shift in identity formation or enactment. Study of the beginning of the century is dominated by an approach which focuses on men in a patriarchal role within the domestic household, an approach which argues that normative manhood, and the many divergent manhood discourses, were formulated, enacted and continuously imperilled through interaction with women – most often wives. Elizabeth Foyster's *Manhood in Early Modern Britain* and Anthony Fletcher's *Gender, Sex and Subordination* are two such works, and like most other texts which approach manhood through the lens of the domestic and gendered interaction, both have based their research on the popular domestic advice literature that was beginning to emerge at the time.⁴⁷ Within this narrative, it is gendered power of the patriarchal man over women, interacting with codes of honour, that is the subject. It is argued that through the maintenance of control over the household and its residents (of all genders) a man could reach the patriarchal ideals of hegemonic masculinity and gain honour in the process.⁴⁸

This patriarchal picture stands in rather dramatic contrast to what is seen in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Here it is man's participation in a 'public' consisting chiefly of other men that has become the primary focus of scholars. As Shepard argues, 'Crudely summarized, the long eighteenth century is heralded as the passageway to a reconfigured private domestic order, and to modern gender identities, rooted in notions of binary sexual difference (as

⁴⁵ Karen Harvey, 'The History of Masculinity, circa 1650-1800,' *Journal of British Studies* 44 (April 2005): 311.

⁴⁶ Alexandra Shepard, 'From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen? Manhood in Britain, circa 1500-1700,' *Journal of British Studies* 44 (April 2005): 282.

⁴⁷ Elizabeth Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (New York: Longman, 1999); Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

⁴⁸ Harvey, 'The History of Masculinity,' 298.

opposed to a gender hierarchy which placed men above women on a continuum)'. These identities in turn 'were increasingly internalized and ... [were] ultimately connected with a modern sense of self' as part of the longer 'civilizing process' identified by Norbert Elias.⁴⁹ In these arguments the socially defined patriarchal head of the household or his opposite, the cuckold, are replaced in the Restoration period by a veritable explosion of male identities increasingly defined by interiority of identity as masculinity rather than 'public' displays of manhood. While, as Anthony Fletcher notes, how pervasive masculinity 'involved an internalised identity – an interiority of the mind and emotions – as opposed to a sense of role-playing – is very hard for the historian to judge', the standing consensus among scholars is that masculinity, the internalized sense of self, is defined by homosocial interaction rather than heterosocial relationships that created an externally-defined identity of manhood.⁵⁰ Within this narrative, manhood prior to 1660 was primarily related to social status, while the 'public' man of the Restoration and eighteenth century was of cultural construction.⁵¹ This is easily identified in what scholars have argued regarding the history of duelling. Here honour becomes in the eighteenth century not so much a performance before others capable of conveying honourable status to the duellists, but as an increasingly outmoded form of internal emotion that had little bearing on social status.⁵²

While this change from manhood to masculinity was not instantaneous, and after the Restoration the patriarchal man of honour stepped aside to allow the sexually predatory Libertine (most famously represented by John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester) and the effeminate or luxurious and somewhat feminine figure of the fop (characterized by his ostentatious fashion and fixation on consumption and luxury) to take the stage, these characterizations take second seat to socially or 'publicly' defined categories of identity formed in relation to politeness.⁵³ Philip Carter and Michèle Cohen are the most influential authors here, and it is their work that has led the vanguard in the emphasis on politeness as the new and overwhelmingly hegemonic form of

⁴⁹ Shepard, 'From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen?' 10. Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: State Formation and Civilization*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982).

⁵⁰ Fletcher, *Sex and Subordination*, 322; Shepard, 'From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen?' 284.

⁵¹ Shepard, 'From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen?' 289.

⁵² Harvey, 'The History of Masculinity,' 303; Donna Andrew, 'The Code of Honour and Its Critics: The Opposition to Duelling in England, 1700-1850,' *Social History* 5 no. 3 (October 1980): 409-434; Robert Shoemaker, 'Male Honour and the Decline of Public Violence in Eighteenth-Century London,' *Social History* 26 no. 2 (May, 2001): 190-208.

⁵³ Elaine M. McGirr, *Eighteenth-Century Characters: A Guide to the Literature of the Age* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

masculinity that supplanted most older forms of manhood.⁵⁴ This aspect of manhood studies increases the tendency for scholars to point to a sea change of identities somewhere between the seventeenth, eighteenth and even nineteenth centuries, where there may not be any, or where such changes have been overstated. As such, while there is ample evidence that polite culture was indeed a strong moulding force within late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century society, its metanarrative status is, as Karen Harvey has pointed out, clearly problematic.⁵⁵ Here, it is the post-1660 man of commerce and conversation, most often from the middling sorts, that pushes aside the landed gentleman as the primary figure of investigation, which is a trend that is carried out for the rest of the eighteenth century. As masculinities studies now stands, there is no 'comparing like with like' over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which 'undermines any attempt to draw a line from the seventeenth-century patriarch to the eighteenth-century polite gentleman' as a result.⁵⁶

iii. STRAIGHT FROM THE HORSE'S MOUTH

It is this line between the seventeenth-century patriarch and eighteenth-century politeness that this thesis seeks to draw, and it does so by following the lives, publications and human-horse relationships of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century horsemen. As Donna Landry, working from the theories of Garry Marvin, has rightly argued, 'we need to interrogate the significance of the various "social, cultural, economic, political and environmental contexts" that give shape to particular relationships between humans and animals, and to particular representations of animals, in specific times and places.... Horses are a specific species and also individuated among themselves.' For both Landry and Marvin, horses are a unique species of nonhuman whose relationships with humans must be approached individually. Marvin also argues that the 'complex feedback systems' functioning between 'representations and constructions that create the conditions or contexts for relationships which embodied animals in the world' and 'the relationships themselves that create or generate representations which then create ... relationships out of representations, representations out of relationships.' For Marvin, the 'feedback systems are not, however, timeless, fixed or mechanical, and it is necessary to consider carefully now and why both social, economic, political and cultural changes within human

⁵⁴ Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800* (Harlow, England: Pearson Education Limited, 2001); Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1996).

⁵⁵ Harvey, 'The History of Masculinity,' 303, 311, 306.

⁵⁶ Shepard, 'From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen?' 287; Harvey, 'The History of Masculinity,' 307.

societies, and the continuities and changes of how animals behave in their world, give rise to new representations and relations.⁵⁷ This thesis follows both Marvin's initial theorization and Landry's work in her *Noble Brutes* – in which she interrogates the feedback loops of horse-human relationships to see the wider political, cultural and geographical exchanges of equestrian practices and symbolisms between East and West. I focus on not only constructions of 'human' and 'animal' over the loosely-defined English long eighteenth century, but I also explore the changes between horse-human relationships and how these relationships influenced, and were influenced in turn by politics, social convention, sporting pastimes and performances and constructions of gender.

I examine both elements of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century horse-man, his inter-species relationships, and argue that for men of the period it was understood that both human and nonhuman elements of the horseman – figured in centauric language – work together as animality through the co-constituting and visual performativity of riding. These relationships in turn could not only uphold but also decentre and destabilize social convention and hegemonic or normative visualities of gender, status and identity. Functioning within a cyclical pattern of horsemanship practice, horse-human masculinity remained remarkably coded by militaristic and honour conventions while continuing to be cognisant of developments in normative gender performance. During this period, as within equestrian communities today, horse-human relationships were visualized through the actions of the rider but also through the aesthetic corporeality of the performing horse. Human-animal visibility was very much a partnership of performance, a performance of their inter-species relationship, and a performance of their internal qualities. Through the shared physical characteristics of man and animal, and through the horse's visible response – or its lack – to the communication of the rider, the social status, political allegiances, horsemanship ability and gender of the rider was made visible. Horsemen of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, I argue, sought to belong to a community of fellow horsemen which shared similar equestrian abilities, horsemanship methodologies, ideologies and political leanings. It was through their enacted visualities, their performed relationships and transparency of similitude to the nonhuman, before spectators of similar epistemological backgrounds, that horsemen constructed their status as masculine men – and through which they frequently came under fire for effeminacy from competing horsemanship communities.

⁵⁷ Garry Marvin as quoted in Donna Landry, 'English Brutes, Eastern Enlightenment,' *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 52 no. 1 (2011): 24.

Broken down into four core chapters that provide brief ‘snapshots’ of some of the period’s most influential horsemen and their manuals of horsemanship, the thesis begins its analysis of horse-influenced gender with William Cavendish, first Duke of Newcastle. This chapter explores not only the formation of a uniquely equestrian community that continued to influence, like the horses that were a part of it, the horsemanship discourses, methodologies and ontologies of its members, but also Cavendish’s Centauric becoming. I show how an ideal visual embodiment of a dual-species relationship, or its lack, affected the perceived honour, status and political abilities of the rider. I also argue that Cavendish’s theories of political horsemanship (becoming Centaur) and ability to rein (reign) rightly were firmly grounded in Hobbesian political theory where the image and embodiment of a horseman were not only inherent components of the experienced reality of the English nobleman but also intrinsic to the representation of the body politic.

The next chapter follows the many changes that occurred to the horsemanship community during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, while focusing on Mr. Carter’s, Sir Sidney Meadows’ and Domenico Angelo’s London riding houses. Following the increasing popularity of sporting and mechanistic riding over the Cavendish model, I argue that horsemen were embracing the new political discourse of liberty as embodied in an impediment-free and forward movement in riding and commerce, while remaining firmly grounded in honourable, militaristic masculinity. In this chapter I also trace the newly widespread inclusion of women into the riding houses, and focus on horsemen’s relationship with a new masculine aesthetic that mandated the visibility of a lack of sartorial splendour. This new aesthetic saw parallel visibilities and masculinities with the popularization of simplified styles of horsemanship, but it was also, paradoxically, followed by men who looked to their horses for spectacular personal display of the older style. I argue that within the many London riding houses men were instructed not only in horsemanship of the Cavendish style, but also in that of the newer, liberty-embracing style creating a hybrid form of equitation and masculine display. This display at once demanded the following of older honour codes, while at the same time practicing polite refinement in gender-mixed society.

I next follow the career of one of Angelo’s most famous pupils, Philip Astley, and the horsemanship performed in his Amphitheatre. Astley’s Amphitheatre, an early circus, was the site of masculinities and femininities that at once corresponded to the wider horsemanship community, but that also exaggerated, distorted and played with those very constructions. Performances and discourses of the Amphitheatre introduced nonhuman animals and lower-class

humans that were visualized as greater – more rational, more masculine, more courageous – than their counterparts outside of its confines. The horsemen and horsewomen of the Amphitheatre were super, celebrity, sexual figures of inhuman ability. In the Amphitheatre, the horseman's interiorised self was spectacularized, as with horsemen elsewhere, through the performing horse, but in the Amphitheatre it was a self that was idealized, acted, masked because of the superior status of the nonhuman.

The final chapter considers the most vocal and influential critic of Astley's, Henry William Bunbury and his visual and textual satires of eighteenth-century horsemen. Bunbury satirized the inept, monstrous and common practices of horsemanship at Astley's and as performed by the new, liberty-loving, horsemen of the new horsemanship. From the social élite, Bunbury looked to useful relationships with horses, and illustrated them through his manuals as a means of reintroducing civic humanist thought and a love of the nation among, what he considered to be, a thoroughly effeminate horsemanship community. By illustrating the opposite, he was, I argue, working to instruct his readers on ideal masculinity as political men, like Cavendish before him, and was working to (re)establish a community of horsemen that looked to older traditions of horsemanship and masculinity in the face of, what was to him, the increasing *embourgeoisement* of society.

iv. ENACTED METHODOLOGIES

Any study of horse-human, or animal-human relationships, in turn, raises interesting questions about scholarly methodology. In order to approach the question of the human-animal, and to be able to understand the agency and subjectivity of the animal or the relationship between horsemen, does a scholar need to have a personal experience of such relationships? Does the scholar need to experience the mixing of the Centaur? For non-horse related animal studies, I would argue, probably not. As Keri Brandt points out, human-horse interaction is vastly different from, say, human-cat or human-dog interaction. It is an interaction, a communication or language, that is body-based in the extreme (more will be said on this in subsequent chapters). While humans do engage bodily by touch with their dogs and cats, this communication is augmented – frequently to a great degree – by vocal language, and when interacting humans 'do not ask them to do complicated physical and mental tasks while astride their backs' as riders do.⁵⁸ Because this kinesthetic and frequently silent communication between human and horse is vastly different from other human-animal interaction (and is a language learned through horse-human

⁵⁸ Brandt, 'A Language of Their Own,' 300-301.

relationships over time), the scholar, I argue, needs to enter into the relevant languages of human and horse. In order to read, to understand and then to analyze the shared becomings of both human and animal as human-animal Centaurs and historical actors, first their language, and the language through which they are understood by other Centaurs or non-Centaurs within contemporary and historical society, needs to be internalized by the scholar through critical (re)enactment.

This personal engagement is an emerging question for scholars within human-animal studies' sub-discipline of human-horse studies. For example, in the spring of 2009 an international conference on Renaissance and early-modern horses and horsemanship was held at Roehampton University, London. Here many of the emerging researchers and leading scholars of animal and horsemanship studies met to discuss not only new research in the field, but also some of the methodological issues associated with the study of horse and human kind. The main, and one of the most contentious, of these was the question of whether purposeful (re)enactment or (re)enactment as personal equestrian experience was necessary for even a rudimentary exploration of any historical horse culture, or whether a scholar could proceed in research without any equine exposure and still find the sources fruitful. Needless to say, there was no consensus that day, and none looks to emerge any time soon.

Similarly, much has been written on the validity of historical (re)enactment in general as a useful methodology for the interpretation of the past, again with no clear consensus emerging. Many researchers continue to maintain the uselessness of (re)enactment as a tool for scholars of history, and there is considerable resistance to its introduction into the wider academic bag of methodological tricks. Although many scholars remain sceptical, suspicious or outright hostile towards it as a viable methodology, others maintain that (re)enactment is a fruitful endeavour in which, according to Vanessa Agnew, the 'essential otherness of historical agents and conveying this awareness through sympathetic and differential studies of the liminal and the everyday' can be productive in generating historical insights.⁵⁹ That is not to discount the great work done by researchers on horse-human interaction in history who do not employ (re)enactment, of which Peter Edwards is the most well known, but their work has been bounded by their lack of

⁵⁹ Vanessa Agnew, 'Introduction: What is Reenactment?' *Criticism* 46 no. 3 (Summer 2004): 329. An earlier draft of this discussion appeared at: Monica Mattfeld, 'Dressage, Horsemanship and (Re)enactment: The Question of Historical Investigation', *The University of York: Institute for the Public Understanding of the Past* <http://www.york.ac.uk/ipup/projects/reenactment/discussion/mattfeld.html> (accessed 13/02/2010).

personal, lived engagement with horses and horsemanship.⁶⁰ They ask questions and search for answers available to the outsider. For a project, such as I undertake in this thesis, which examines the intersubjective relationship between man and horse, it seems to me that a scholar must learn the interspecies language of horsemanship, must have experienced the changing of self that interaction with a nonhuman creates, in order to see or begin to understand such relationships in the past. (Re)enactment of similar partnerships as those experienced by historical actors is, I argue, necessary for any excursion into the world of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century horsemanship. It is increasingly the familiar and synchronous in cooperation with the otherness which creates awareness of the historical epoch.

The practice of classical dressage today is the direct descendent of Xenophon's fourth-century BCE theories of horsemanship, which have been handed down through written and oral instructions. These methodologies and theories have changed somewhat over time, but even a cursory reading of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century horsemanship manuals reveals amazing similarities between practices, methodologies and ideologies from that time and what is taught in dressage circles today. An example of the similarities between early-modern and twenty-first century horsemanship, and an instance of how knowledge of one might be seen as irreplaceable for understanding the other, can be found in the case of an anonymous author of an early seventeenth-century, unpublished horsemanship manual. In the manuscript the author describes an exercise designed to help shift the horse's weight to his hindquarters in order to facilitate increased agility, manoeuvrability and power. Generally, horses naturally carry more weight on their forehand than their hindquarters, but if a horse is to be made fit for a horseman he needs to be 'rayed in his forepartes' so he 'w^lall yealde and rest sufficiently vppon his hinder partes'. The author asks the horse to do this by aiding him for a halt while not completely following through with the command, only collecting and slowing the forward movement, or to 'gather him [the horse] vpp as though you mente to stoppe him, and deceauing him of his stappe [sic] starte him againe assmuch [sic] as afore'.⁶¹ The act of a partial or 'half' halt creates the desired shift in weight and power from the forehand to the hindquarters. Once the horse has stepped under himself in preparation for a halt (felt by the rider through the technologies of reins and saddle), the rider asks for increased forward momentum while maintaining the integrity of contact with

⁶⁰ Peter Edwards, and others who do not possess personal equestrian knowledge, continue to ask useful questions about the subject through more traditional questions found within history, and look to the sources for more quantitative rather than qualitative information.

⁶¹ Anonymous, *A discourse Contayning many principles of horsmanshippe, collected ffrom di uers good authors, w^l sum necesarye additions* (Cambridge University Library, Add. MS. 8469: n.d.), 7, 13. My pagination. I am grateful to Hugh Adlington for finding this rich source and to Donna Landry for introducing me to it.

the horse through the reins. As the horse's weight has shifted to the hind legs during the partial halt, the power to move forward will in turn come from the hindquarters rather than the shoulders, which is generally the case with untrained horses on the forehand, and the maintained contact prevents the power shifting back to the shoulders and the horse falling back onto his forehand. If this putting a horse 'upon the Haunches' is exercised with regularity the horse will gradually come to maintain the shift of weight onto his hindquarters at all gaits and in all movements, which in turn increases his 'competent perfection' of balance and 'agillitte' in human-animal performance.⁶² Today, this pseudo halt, what is termed the half-halt, is one of the primary reciprocal linguistic interactions (entraining tools) utilized at all levels of dressage riding, and is performed in the same way and for the same reasons as expressed in the seventeenth century.

While the bulk of this information is available in modern dressage training manuals, the complexities of such interactions and the interconnectedness of all elements of equine conformation, movement and agency with the subtleties of riding, of which the above discussion is but a simplified example, often prohibits scholars unfamiliar with horses and body-based equestrian languages from pursuing the subject in their research. It is impossible in many cases, even with widespread archival research, to gain an understanding of what the authors of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century manuals were discussing without having extensive individual training in the same discipline. Often even the most basic terminologies, concepts and experienced communication, of which the above discussion of the half-halt is but one example, are frequently not defined in any of the manuals or period dictionaries requiring a scholar to look to her own Centauric experiences for any understanding. As such, for the basic entering into the texts, and the world of the early-modern horseman, critical (re)enactment is here an indispensable scholarly methodology, and it has allowed me, as Alexander Cook has argued for (re)enactment in general, to go 'back to conventional sources of historical evidence armed with a new set of questions and a renewed sensibility.'⁶³ The otherness and familiarity experienced during dressage as (re)enactment have created fruitful ways of seeing and approaching source evidence, and further comprehension of seventeenth-century bodily experiences has been

⁶² William Cavendish, *A General System of Horsemanship in all it's Branches: Containing a Faithful Translation of that most noble and useful work of his Grace, William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle...* (London: Printed for J. Brindley, Bookseller to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in NewBond-street, 1743. Facsimile reproduction. Introduced by William C. Steinkraus and technical commentary by E. Schmit-Jensen. North Pomfret, Vermont: J.A. Allen, 2000), 106; Anonymous, *A discourse Contayning many principles of horsmanshippe*, 5.

⁶³ Alexander Cook, 'The Use and Abuse of Historical Reenactment: Thoughts on Recent Trends in Public History,' *Criticism* 46 no. 3 (Summer 2004): 492.

generated through similar, self-critical activities. (Re)enactments, especially when a scholar is investigating an activity or element of society which is no longer a part of most people's everyday, lived experiences – such as horsemanship – are fundamental to historical questioning.

Other scholars of early-modern horsemanship traditions, such as Karen Raber, Donna Landry, Treva Tucker, Ann Hyland, Judith Walker and Elisabeth LeGuin, encompass much of the (re)enactment vanguard, and repeatedly elucidate the absolute necessity of equestrian knowledge and experience for their own studies.⁶⁴ All of these scholars are self-identified horsewomen, and as I have, use their equestrian practices within their historical investigations. Some, like Hyland, have taken this practice further by purposefully engaging with critical equestrian (re)enactment to further their understanding of the past. Such purposeful investigations have also become large-scale international endeavours. For example, in the same year as the contentious Roehampton conference, a (re)enactment of Evliya Çelebi's seventeenth-century Ottoman travels on horseback by a group of international scholars, journalists and horsepeople was successfully undertaken. These twenty-first century adventurers took advantage of the possibilities (re)enactment presents not only to re-connect Turkey to its equestrian heritage, but also to investigate what (re)enactment on horseback could teach them about Evliya Çelebi, his way of seeing and experiencing his world, and what can be newly learned about Ottoman history in this period.⁶⁵ While I do not engage my sources through purposeful (re)enactments of period training techniques or husbandry practice, I do approach my sources from a horsewoman's perspective. With extensive experience negotiating relationships with horses at various stages of their *manège* (dressage), show jumping and eventing careers in England, the United States and Canada, along with intensive training in classical dressage under the guidance of a horseman from the Spanische Hofreitschule Wien, my questioning of men's multiple embodied experiences as horsemen, their gendered identification as such and their often spectacular visuality within an equestrian-driven society is influenced and approached through the lens of sensitively-critical, Centauric (re)enactments.

iv. A NOTE ON SOURCES

⁶⁴ Raber and Tucker, *Culture of the Horse*; Landry, *Noble Brutes*; Ann Hyland, *Equus: The Horse in the Roman World* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1990); Elaine Walker, 'To Amaze the People with Pleasure and Delight': *An Analysis of the Horsemanship Manuals of William Cavendish, First Duke of Newcastle (1593-1676)* (Ph.D. Thesis: University of Birmingham, 2004); LeGuin, 'Man and Horse in Harmony,' 179.

⁶⁵ See the project's website at www.kent.ac.uk/english/evliya/index/html and blog at www.hoofprinting.blogspot.com. The project's scholarly implications will be discussed in Donna Landry and Gerald MacLean, eds. *Becoming Ottoman, Evliya Celebi's Way: Expedition and Re-enactment*, (Forthcoming).

The core sources for this thesis consist of horsemanship manuals published in England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which are the most accessible and informative sources on horses, horsemen and horsemanship from the time. With close connections to the genre of courtesy or behaviour literature, especially in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the early manuals consistently blur the boundaries between what was considered advice on personal deportment and what was advice on horsemanship. Castiglione's immensely influential behavioural guide, *The Courtier*, is a key example of this trend. William Segar's *Honor Military, and Ciuil* of 1602 likewise not only provides information on ideal honour and gentlemanly behaviour, but also illustrates how the act of horsemanship influences a man's honourable status within society. For the later works of Nicholas Morgan, his 1609 *The perfection of horse-manship* and his 1620 *The Horse-mans Honour*, it was instruction in religious ideals which overlapped with specific details on horse training and horseman formulation. However, later in the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth such blurring between genres tends to decrease but not disappear completely, with practical equine and equestrian training taking precedence over overt moralistic or courtesy education. Even Jean Gailhard's influential *The Compleat Gentleman* of 1678 covers horsemanship in European academies in brief detail as an integral element of gentlemanly deportment for English élite both at home and while on the Grand Tour.⁶⁶

As scholars who work with courtesy literature for their formulation of gender or identity have consistently illustrated, what is advocated within the texts is frequently misleading in relation to personal embodied realities and only provides a partial look, at best, of morals, social behaviour and identities.⁶⁷ There is a similar danger inherent in the study of manuals of horsemanship, with some of the advocated behaviour, actions and visuality providing only a partial look at horsemen, horsemanship and equestrian society at the time. What is found within the manuals of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries does not provide a picture of the entire horse-working society: the manuals were intended for a socially élite audience, an audience

⁶⁶ Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, [1528], trans. Charles S. Singleton (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1959); William Segar, *Honor Military, and Ciuil, contained in foure Bookes* (London: By Robert Barker, printer to the Queenes most Excellent Maiestie, Anno Dom., 1602); Nicholas Morgan of Crolane, *The perfection of horse-manship, drawne from nature; arte, and practise* (London: [By Edward Allde] for Edward VVhite, and are to be solde at his shop at the signe of the Gun, neere the little north dore of Saint Paules, 1609); Nicholas Morgan of Crolane, *The Horse-mans Honour: or, The Beautie of Horsemanship* (London: Printed for the widdow Helme and J. Marriott, 1620); Jean Gailhard, *The Compleat Gentleman: or Directions For the Education of Youth As to their Breeding at Home And Travelling Abroad* (London: In the SAVOY: Printed by Tho. Newcomb, for Iohn Starkey at the Mitre in Fleet Street, near Temple-Bar, 1678).

⁶⁷ Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 25.

which could afford to purchase, train and keep horses (for the most part, although this was not universal as we will see in Chapters III and IV), and they were not intended for men who used horses to work the land or for other labouring occupations. However, unlike the texts that can be categorized as belonging to a ‘courtesy literature’ tradition, manuals of horsemanship, I would argue, reflect the lived and embodied experiences of horsemen. While some of the material and images of horsemen found within the manuals have been idealized or caricaturized, and will be explored in due course, much of the practical equestrian instruction and that which described or was designed to influence men’s identity, behaviour and social image accurately reflect lived experiences and goals for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century horsemen. This is the result of the mediating influence of the horse on human behaviour and ways of thinking.

Even though each horse is and was considered to be a unique individual with its own identity, history, behaviour and ways of being that a horseman must negotiate when interacting with it, working with horses in general comes with certain ontological practicalities inherent to the species as a whole which in turn influence the lived, embodied, enacted realities of reading/riding humans. For example, horses, as other scholars of horsemanship have pointed out, are and always have been prey animals whose gregarious society and social interaction function upon set codes of power, behaviour and communication.⁶⁸ For a horseman to engage successfully with his equine partner he must in turn embody primarily ahistoric and specific ways of being and doing, as detailed within the texts and visualized within the accompanying images. Horsemen had the very real problem of how to negotiate successfully a relationship with an animal who spoke an alien language, was much larger than them, and which had the potential to become violently dangerous towards them, or which could cause harm without any intention of doing so, at any time during the training and riding process. How horsemen viewed and theorized such elements of equine reality, along with shifting social images and roles of horsemen and the practice of horsemanship, influenced how men were to interact with their mounts, which in turn dictated the material of the manuals themselves. Richard Berenger gives an example of this materiality of the intangible word: for him, ‘The present Henry [Herbert] earl of Pembroke, (*non corpus fine pectore*) is an illustrious labourer in this vineyard [of horsemanship]: he has honoured the art by composing a treatise upon “The *Method of breaking* Horses;” and practising what he preaches, instructs the world both by precept and example.’⁶⁹ Like other horsemen, such as William Cavendish, William Hope or Sir Sidney Meadows, Herbert practiced what he

⁶⁸ LeGuin, ‘Man and Horse in Harmony’, 181; Elaine Walker, *Horse* (London: Reaktion Books, 2008), 13.

⁶⁹ Richard Berenger, *The history and art of horsemanship. ... In two volumes* (London: Printed for T. Davies, in Russel-Street, Covent-Garden; and T. Cadell, in the Strand, 1771), 214.

preached in his 1762 *A Method of Breaking Horses and teaching Soldiers to Ride, Designed for the Use of the Army*. He lived and experienced what was written in the manual similarly to what is very much the case today with manuals of horsemanship that not only comment in detail on external kinesthetic actions, but also on internal behaviour and processes necessary for riding; these constructed elements of embodied subjectivity as a horseman in turn are enacted on the ground and in the saddle, as it were, while interacting with a non-human animal.

For Chapter IV on Astley's Amphitheatre this enactment of the manuals becomes complicated by a scarcity of evidence. Even though Astley published two full manuals of horsemanship, a pamphlet on the topic, along with other miscellaneous works on subjects such as magic tricks, military tactics and military history, information on the horsemanship performances within the Amphitheatre remains minimal in the printed texts. To supplement the manuals I will look primarily at newspaper and handbill evidence found within the various Astleyan and Circus archives of the British Library (BL) and the Victoria and Albert Museum's Theatre and Performance Collection (V&A). The largest collection of Astley miscellany in the BL is from a three-volume scrapbook, Astley's 'Miscellanea Collection', that consists of over 4,000 newspaper cuttings, manuscript notes and even a lock of hair from Hannah Astley (Astley's daughter in law) produced between 1768 and 1851.⁷⁰ Another major collection within the BL is clergyman Daniel Lysons' *Collectanea: or, a Collection of Advertisements and Paragraphs from the Newspapers Relating to Various Subjects*. Primarily consisting of newspaper cuttings, posters and prints with some manuscript items, this four volume scrapbook contains not only circus ephemera, but cuttings from the London theatres, records of various curiosities (human and nonhuman) and details on the latest mechanical breakthroughs. I have also gathered information from the V&A's Astley collection, anonymously collected and stretching to eighteen boxes (thankfully chronologically organized).

Like the manuals, the information and details recorded within these archives comes with varying degrees of representation, idealization, exaggeration and reality. Many of the Astley newspaper references and publications (ranging in type from songs, reviews and letters to the editor) are puffs, or news and reviews of the Amphitheatre performances generated by Astley or his hired writer.⁷¹ Also, many of the manuscripts contained within the collections consist of puff

⁷⁰ For further information on this collection, and other Astleyan collections, see Marius Kwent, *Astley's Amphitheatre and the Early Circus in England, 1768-1830* (Ph.D. Dissertation: Magdalen College, University of Oxford, 1994), 11-12.

⁷¹ Charles Dibdin the Younger remarked on the puff creation at Astley's: 'By the Bye, the Astleys had in their employ an *author* who used to write their paragraphs and advertisements and carry them round to the Newspaper offices, and was also a sort of call boy or runner to the Theatre—he really had some Genius, and had

rough drafts or instructions to the newspapers.⁷² As such, details of outside perspectives and responses to the many and varied horsemanship performances of the circus are scarce and difficult to distinguish from the puffs and have been approached with caution.

As the circus performances suggest, both today and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, horsemen were not confined to one single practice of horsemanship. The term itself encompasses a diversity of epistemologies, approaches and applications that differ not only over time but frequently between manuals of a similar temporality. The practice of horsemanship in general, though, includes the participation and understanding of riding (either in the *manège*, trick riding, vaulting, ambling or *haute école*), along with knowledge and practical abilities in all other aspects of equine care: dressing, farriery, shoeing and stabling, for example. However, the term 'horseman' does not, interestingly enough, encompass at any time the activities of hunting or racing, both of which will be discussed in further detail in Chapter III, even though both activities frequently were included in the manuals. As for what constituted a horseman throughout our period, the treatises tend to differ considerably in their definition. These differences are found between manuals which cover horsemanship alone and those which cover it in conjunction with sporting or racing materials, and they are frequently found between manuals published in the seventeenth and long eighteenth centuries. In general, however, a horseman was a man who practiced the *manège*, to some extent, and someone who possessed adroitness, again to various degrees, in un-mounted horsemanship.

The act of *manèging* a horse, traced throughout the thesis, is an enactment that allows for insight into changing human-animal interactions and definitions as well as changing discourses and performances of masculine subjectivities. To *manège* or school a horse in the manuals throughout our period includes the improvement of both horse and rider, and incorporates the walk, trot, gallop, stop, and in the early manuals tournament activities such as running at the tilt or the *carriere* (running at the ring). Frequently, ambling or pacing are included in this category as well. The term *manège* was defined by John Brindley in his addition to Cavendish's *A General System*, 'A Dictionary Explaining the Technical Terms that Belong to the Stud, Stable, Manage, and Farriery: Or Whatever else relates to Horses', as: 'a word that signifies a place, not only set

produced for them some of the best pieces they were then in the habit of performing' Charles Dibdin (the Younger), *Memoirs of Charles Dibdin the Younger*, ed. George Speaight (London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1956), 19.

⁷² See British Library, 'Astley's Cuttings from Newspapers,' Scrapbook, vol. 1 (1768-1789), Th.Cts.35., Items 3 and 4, for an example of this.

a-part for the exercise of riding the great horse, but likewise the exercise itself.⁷³ For him, and others, the *manège* also included the *haute école*; however, this usage was not universal, and there tend to be varying meanings attached to the word throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As a result, my usage of the term does not follow Brindley's, and instead differentiates between the *manège* and the *haute école* to aid in the ease of separation between the various horsemanship practices and to allow for further understanding of changes in discourses over our period. As for the *haute école*, it is French for the high school, and the term is here used to refer to the *manège* movements defined to be airs above the ground and the ones categorized as useful to the parade ground. These included the *capriole*, *terra a terra*, *balotade*, *curvet*, *groupade* (*croupade*), *pesade*, *piaffeur* (*piaffe*), and general leaps and yerks earlier in the seventeenth century. (The definitions for these terms, along with those of other movements found within the *manège*, are given in Appendix I.) The word itself was not coined until the 1850s, as Elaine Walker has pointed out, but I use it here, like my use of *manège*, to help differentiate between the various discourses and practices of mounted horsemanship enacted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁷⁴

Regardless of the terms used, I follow the perspective that argues, following W.J.T. Mitchell, that 'all arts are "composite" arts (both text and image); all media are mixed media, combining different codes, discursive conventions, channels, sensory and cognitive modes.'⁷⁵ This is especially the case when working with media which are overtly and intentionally mixed, with the inclusion of illustration for the further understanding of the text within a source, or which serve to augment the content of the text in other ways while making visual the multivalent ideal identities of rider/reader, artist and author/rider.⁷⁶ The horsemanship manuals of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are a particularly strong case in point for this as many of the manuals contain visual imagery in the form of frontispieces or detailed illustrations designed as supplements to the text. These illustrations often detail the movements of the amble, *manège*, *haute école*, hunting or racing, the training of which makes up the content of the text, and are clearly educational in purpose. Such images can be found within manuals such as: William

⁷³ John Brindley, 'A Dictionary Explaining the Technical Terms that Belong to the Stud, Stable, Manage, and Farriery: Or Whatever else relates to Horses', in William Cavendish, *A General System of Horsemanship in all it's Branches* [1743], Facsimile reproduction. Introduced by William C. Steinkraus and technical commentary by E. Schmit-Jensen (North Pomfret, Vermont: J.A. Allen, 2000).

⁷⁴ Walker, 'To Amaze the People with Pleasure and Delight', 21.

⁷⁵ W.J.T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 95.

⁷⁶ Pia Cuneo also makes this point in her *Visual Aids: Equestrian Iconography and the Training of Horse, Rider, and Reader in Seventeenth-Century German Books of Horsemanship* (Conference Paper: The Renaissance and Early Modern Horse Conference, Roehampton University, London, 2009).

Cavendish's *A General System* (1658 and 1743), William Hope's *A Supplement of Riding* (1696), Josephus Sympson's *Twenty five actions of the manage horse* (1729) and Philip Astley's *The Modern Riding-Master* (1776) and *Astley's System of Equestrian Education* (1801). Further images within the manuals include those which are portraits or intended as satire, of which Thomas de Grey's *The compleat horseman and expert ferrier* (1639) and Henry William Bunbury's satirical *An Academy for Grown Horsemen* (1787) and *Annals of Horsemanship* (1791) are good examples. Such visuals are literally bound within the confines of the texts and will be examined in conjunction with the manuals' written contents; however, when the sources do not present intertextual imagery from which to work, I have looked to the wider visual context of the more 'traditional' grand equestrian portrait, the pictorial advertisements and broadsides of the circus, and for the later eighteenth century, to visual satire, the print context within which horsemen functioned and the manuals were published. When the two interrelated and mixed media that are the horsemanship manual and the equestrian image are examined in conjunction with each other, new insights into the performative and spectacular elements of riding, and gender and identity creation, come to light that would be obscured or distorted if they were analysed separately.

While the practices of some scholars is changing with more becoming aware of the necessity of studying media as mixed media, many continue to operate within the grasp of postmodernism's metanarrative that sees the subordination of the visual to the textual. This is the case within the field of horse and horsemanship studies, although because of its interdisciplinary connections to art history, the primacy of the text over the image is not as severe as within masculinity studies, which has been dominated to a large extent by literary scholars. Walter Liedtke's *The Royal Horse and Rider* is one example of this scholarly trend. His study of early-modern European horsemanship portraiture is intended as a revisionist study which re-introduces the practice of horsemanship to the study of equestrian images.⁷⁷ However, the horsemanship which he re-introduces is limited to the visual specificity of the various *manège* and *haute école* performances, while the subtleties of early-modern horsemanship, the image's dialectic relationships with the art and its practitioners, and the wider horsemanship contexts have gone unexplored or have been subordinated to the accepted master-narrative found within art history's 'traditional' and teleological approaches to equestrian portraiture. Roy Strong is somewhat more adept at avoiding these predilections. He focuses on the artist Anthony van Dyck and his

⁷⁷ Walter Liedtke, *The Royal Horse and Rider: painting, sculpture, and horsemanship 1500-1800* (New York: Abaris Books, 1989).

equestrian portraits of Charles I, and utilizes the images to aid his understanding of various elements of Charles I's character and of English society in the early seventeenth century. While this examination is engaging and thorough, Strong has done the opposite of other writers; he has subordinated and in some cases completely ignored the nonhuman presence, and textual reference, of the horse within the image and within the ontological setting that was its inspiration.⁷⁸ The full understanding of any equestrian image requires the investigation, as with the examination of other historical sources, of both the horse and man as mixed media themselves – as interspecies beings on the road of becoming together all the while situating the entirety of the image within its associated contexts.

More recent scholars, such as Karen Raber, Elaine Walker, Stephen Deuchar and Sarah Cantor have navigated the reciprocal relationship between the written and visual in connection to the horse with more success. Cantor's work, for example, illuminates the intrinsic interconnectedness between contextual discourses and aesthetics of horsemen and horsemanship, and potentially subversive or digressionary practices of representation.⁷⁹ Such an approach allows for the recognition of previously unrecognized events and performative actions of the historical subject and the related wider political, social and cultural context. That being said, very rarely are visual images used as source evidence by literary or history scholars who examine gender formation even though they are well aware of gender's performative nature which is frequently made visible, in addition to the text, within visual imagery.⁸⁰ When images are incorporated into a narrative it is usually as a brief example of a larger argument, and they are treated as objects that can stand on their own with minimal critical engagement. Elaine McGirr in her study of early eighteenth-century forms of masculinity falls victim to this trend, as does Robin Ganey in her work on eighteenth-century representations of male and female sexuality.⁸¹ Here it is still the text which fully dominates the image. Other scholars who examine physical appearances in conjunction with gender and identity formation, such as Margaret Powell and Joseph Roach in their study of eighteenth-century wig styles, navigate the interconnectedness of image and text as mixed media with more success.⁸² That being said, there are still many

⁷⁸ Roy Strong, *Van Dyck: Charles I on horseback* (London: Penguin Press, 1972).

⁷⁹ Sarah Cantor, *Caravaggio's Horses: Conflicting Ideals in the Two Versions of the Conversion of St. Paul* (Conference Paper: The Renaissance and Early Modern Horse, Roehampton University, London, 2009).

⁸⁰ This is not the case with the growing number of art historians who examine the gendered body in art: Martin Myrone, *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinities in British Art, 1750-1810* (New Haven and London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2005)

⁸¹ McGirr, *Eighteenth-Century Characters*; Robin Ganey, 'Milkmaids, Ploughmen, and Sex in Eighteenth-Century Britain,' *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 1 (January 2007): 4-67.

⁸² Margaret Powell and Joseph Roach, 'Big Hair,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38 no. 1 (2004): 79-99.

scholars in the field, and especially within the study of masculinity or performance, who neglect the image almost entirely, or if the visual is discussed it is only in passing or as superfluous evidence for a larger text-based argument. Indeed, ‘historians prefer to deal with texts and political or economic facts, not the deeper levels of experience that images probe’.⁸³

vi. THE ART: A PONY-SIZED HISTORY

No look at the history of *manège* horsemanship can begin without a discussion of the fourth-century BCE writings of Xenophon. His *Hippike* or *The Art of Horsemanship* is the earliest surviving Western text on horsemanship, and it created the mould for all subsequent treatises on the subject.⁸⁴ His text, itself based on the now lost manual by Simon of Athens, was studied, debated and followed (often to the letter) through the eighteenth century; while his ideologies, grounded on ‘patience and gentleness’, and his methodological ‘observations’, that were ‘true and just’, formed the backbone of horsemanship through the early-modern and modern periods – as they continue to do to this day.⁸⁵ However, Xenophon’s teachings were not known to Western horsemen for nearly the next 2000 years. In the meantime, it was the texts on husbandry, the history of animals and agriculture by Greek and Roman authors that became the key reference points for Renaissance and early-modern authors of horsemanship. These authors included: Aristotle’s *Historia Animalium* (350 BCE), for breeding and raising horses; Varo’s *Res Rusticae* (37 BCE), for equine conformation; Virgil’s *Georgics* (29 BCE), one of the more popular sources for riding and training horses for the parade and warfare; Pliny the Elder’s *Historia Naturalis* (77 ACE), which included descriptions of heroic horses and horsemen such as Alexander’s Bucephalus and the Scythian cavalry; and Oppian’s Greek *Cynegetica* (early third century ACE), which was the first text to discuss horses in the context of hunting.⁸⁶ These classical texts of a hybrid Mediterranean world formed much of the basis for horsemanship practices during the Renaissance and early-modern period.

⁸³ Gordon Fyfe and John Law as quoted in Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 10.

⁸⁴ Gabrielle MacDonald, *Horsemanship as a Courtly Art in Elizabethan England: Origins, Theory, and Practice* (Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Toronto, 1983), 4. For a longer history of the horse in world history see Walker, *Horse*.

⁸⁵ Xenophon, *Xenophon’s Treatise on Horsemanship. From the original Greek*, Richard Berenger, trans., in Richard Berenger, *The History and Art of Horsemanship* (London: Printed for T. Davies, in Russel-Street, Covent-Garden; and T. Cadell, in the Strand, 1771), ‘Volume 1,’ 228, 239. Colonel Alois Podhajsky, former Director of the Spanische Hofreitschule Wien and one of the twenty-first century’s most trusted experts of horsemanship, also points out the continuing influence of Xenophon’s treatise in the riding school and for classical dressage in general. Alois Podhajsky, *The Complete Training of Horse and Rider: In the Principles of Classical Horsemanship* (Wykey, Shrewsbury: The Sportsman’s Press, 1991), 17-20.

⁸⁶ MacDonald, *Horsemanship as a Courtly Art*, 15-20.

This classical tradition fed into European cultures and combined with vernacular traditions to create a thriving equestrian culture and print climate, as Hilda Nelson points out, that saw the publication of equestrian-related texts such as *Les Livres des Tournois du Roi René* (1460), *The Book of St. Albans* (1486) and *Le Livre de la Chasse* (1387-39) prior to Xenophon's re-printing, but they did not treat horsemanship as an art in the classical sense.⁸⁷ Such alteration from riding in the vernacular to the classical art required Xenophon's manual. His text was retrieved from Constantinople by Giovanni Aurispa, a Sicilian, in 1423, and may have first been re-published in Naples in 1516.⁸⁸ The city was also home to one of the most influential horsemen active during the formative years of the art during the early-modern period; Frederico Grisone erected the first riding academy in 1532, and was one of the first to publish a manual of horsemanship after Xenophon. His transitional 1550 *Gli Ordini di Cavalcare* was immediately successful, and was quickly translated into French (1559), English (1560), Spanish (1568) and German (1570) with sixteen Italian and eleven French editions published by 1620. The teachings from his manual, very much in debt to classical and Ottoman sources while being firmly grounded in the more familiar vernacular methods, were taught in turn to some of the most renowned horsemen of the time.⁸⁹ His pupil, Giovanni Battista Pignatelli, was riding Master to 'the three key French horsemen' who would shift the focus of horsemanship education from the Neapolitan school to France in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and come to play a significant role in English *manèged* horsemanship under some of the most influential horsemen of the time: the Chevalier de St Antoine, Salomon de la Broue and Antoine de Pluvinel.⁹⁰

Pluvinel was chief equerry to Louis XIII, Master of his own riding academy in Paris, founded in 1594, and author of two manuals of horsemanship: *Le Maneige Royal* in 1623 and re-published with the original text as *L'Instruction du Roy, En L'Exercice de monter à cheval* in 1625.⁹¹ It was these texts, which were a clear antecedent to William Cavendish, the first Duke of Newcastle's, own manuals of horsemanship published in the seventeenth century, according to Hilda Nelson, that truly incorporated the more gentle teachings of Xenophon alongside those derived from other classical sources handed down through Grisone to produce two of the most

⁸⁷ Hilda Nelson, 'Introduction. Antoine de Pluvinel: Classical Horseman and Humanist', in Antoine de Pluvinel, *The Maneige Royal* [1626], trans. Hilda Nelson (London: J.A.Allen & Co. Ltd., 1989), viii.

⁸⁸ MacDonald, *Horsemanship as a Courtly Art*, 1.

⁸⁹ For further information on the Ottoman influences on Renaissance horsemanship and Grisone's work see Landry, *Noble Brutes*, 21-22.

⁹⁰ Giles Worsley, *The British Stable* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2004), 54.

⁹¹ Nelson, 'Introduction', vii; Giles Worsley, *The British Stable*, 57.

revolutionary texts of the time.⁹² As for de la Broue, he was author of the 1593 *Preceptes Principaux Que Les Bons Cavelerises Doivent Exactement Observer en Leur Escoles*, the treatise that became a standard reference text for many English authors of horsemanship in the early sixteenth century such as Gervase Markham in his 1607 *Cavelarice*.⁹³ St Antoine, in turn, was transferred to England as part of a coronation gift of horses from Henri IV to James I in 1603. He was to become a central component in the Frenchification of the English *manège* community, and was to take an active role in educating a select group of English élite – including Prince Henry, Charles I and Cavendish – in classical horsemanship.⁹⁴

It was much earlier, however, that the *manège* first made inroads into England. Before Grisone's manual was translated into English the awareness of the practice was already influencing English courtly equestrian culture. Gentlemen were traveling to the Italian courts where they learned the art, and subsequently brought it back with them to England, and purposefully-bred and trained horses were beginning to be desired throughout European courts. Henry VIII, as Giles Worsley has shown, first received horses trained 'in the Spanish fashion' by Giovanni Ratto, envoy to their sender, the Marquis of Mantua. Henry quickly converted to this new classical art, and frequently performed the movements of the *manège*, including those of the *haute école*, at court tournaments. This art quickly spread among the English courtiers, so that when Nicolo Sagudino viewed such a tourney he could record in 1517 that 'Between the course, the King and the pages, and other cavaliers, performed marvellous feats, mounted on magnificent horses, which they made jump and execute other acts of horsemanship, under the windows where the most serene Queens of England and Dowager of France were, with all the rest of the beauteous and lovely and sumptuously apparelled damsels ... The King performed supernatural feats, changing his horses, and making them fly rather than leap, to the delight and ecstasy of everybody.' Such performances, and an increasing interest in the art, helped along by the repeated importation of Italian riding Masters by the King or the titled aristocracy, led to the *manège* and *haute école* horsemanship, or riding the great horse, becoming the dominant equestrian practice amongst the English ruling élite by the end of Henry's reign.⁹⁵

⁹² Walker, 'To Amaze the People with Pleasure and Delight', 16.

⁹³ Gervase Markham, *Cavelarice, or The English horseman contayning all the arte of horse-manship, as much as is necessary for any man to vnderstand, whether he be horse-breeder, horse-ryder, horse-hunter, horse-runner, horse-ambler, horse-farrier, horse-keeper, coachman, smith, or sadler* (London: Printed [by Edward Allde and W. Jaggard] for Edward White, and are to be solde at his shop neare the little north doore of Saint Paules Church at the signe of the Gun, 1607).

⁹⁴ Worsley, *The British Stable*, 58.

⁹⁵ Nicolo Sagudino as quoted in Worsley, *The British Stable*, 54.

Indeed, by the time of Elizabeth I *manèged* horsemanship had not only become an actively promoted component of the expected education of a young courtier, but the art had entered into a golden age. The Elizabethan era witnessed the beginning of England's trade in horsemanship manuals, and the first of these, not so much a translation as a re-writing of Grisone's manual by Thomas Blundeville, was *A New Booke Containing the Arte of Ryding, and Breaking Grete Horses* of c. 1560. After Blundeville quickly came others who drew from Grisone's original and Xenophon's Greek treatises: Thomas Bedingfield's *The Art of Riding by Claudio Corte* (1584) (a translation of Claudio Corte's *Il Cavalerizzo*), John Astley's *The Art of Riding* (1584), Christopher Clifford's *The School of Horsemanship* (1585), and Gervase Markham's first books among many – *A discourse of horsemanshippe* (1593) and *How to chuse, ride, trayne, and diet, both hunting-horses and running horses* (1596). As Worsley has made clear, these authors and other horsemen were operating in a 'closely knit circle' and were 'exchanging and training each other's horses, while dedicating books to each other.' According to him, it was Astley who encouraged Blundeville to re-work Grisone's manual, and Astley and Bedingfield dedicated their works to Henry Mackwilliam who had received from Henry VIII the responsibility for improving horse breeding in England.⁹⁶ These authors, and most subsequent ones, also frequently utilized similar wording, phraseology, content and format from their equestrian peers, and some even went so far as to take entire sections verbatim – with or without acknowledging their sources – from other manuals.

The erection of purpose-built riding houses for academies, such as Master Thomas Story's Greenwich school, Sir Humphrey Gilbert's in London, and Sir James Scudamore's in Holme Lacy, Herefordshire, also began during Elizabeth's reign, and continued up until the Civil Wars. At these schools horsemen gathered to learn from the newest Master from Italy, in Markham's case from Prospero who had been brought back to England by Sir Philip Sidney (one of the greatest horsemen of the time) from his travels to the continental academies to train in Thomas Story's school.⁹⁷ Indeed, *manège* horsemanship was all-pervasive enough for Shakespeare to use references to it repeatedly in his works, as Bruce Boehrer and Anthony Dent have shown.⁹⁸ However, as we move into the reign of James I the Italian dominance on English horsemanship begins to change. While Italian influences on English horsemanship did not

⁹⁶ Worsley, *The British Stable*, 57.

⁹⁷ Worsley, *The British Stable*, 56.

⁹⁸ Bruce Boehrer, 'Shakespeare and the Devaluation of the Horse,' in *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World*, eds. Karen Raber and Treva J. Tucker (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 91-113; Anthony Dent, *Horses in Shakespeare's England* (London: J.A. Allen, 1987).

disappear, and young men of élite status continued to travel to Italy for instruction while seeking out the few Italian riding Masters working in England for further training of their mounts and themselves, gradually France and French horsemanship came to dominate English and European horsemanship circles. In England St Antoine recruited fellow Frenchmen as esquires in the royal mews, while at the same time the growing fame and influence of Pluvinel and de la Broue shifted the heart of the *manège* to the French court.⁹⁹

During the reigns of James I and Charles I, the Elizabethan golden age of horsemanship showed few signs of diminishing. It was here that some of the most influential texts on the subject were written, such as Michael Baret's *An Hipponomie* (1618), Nicholas Morgan's *Perfection of Horse-manship* (1609) and *A Horse-mans Honour* (1620), and Thomas de Grey's *The Compleat Horseman* (1639). Charles also continued the practice of the *manège* and *haute école* not only through patronage of the art, but through personal performance of it. As a Venetian ambassador to the court of Charles I recorded: 'He [Charles] excels at tilting and indulges in every other kind of horsemanship, and even if he were not prince one would have to confess that he surpassed others.'¹⁰⁰ Similarly, while James I by all accounts was not a devoted *manège* participant, his son, Henry, and his followers carried on the Pignatelli horsemanship – through St Antoine's teachings – and formed one of the strongest and most accomplished circles of horsemen of the time.¹⁰¹

However, even with every sign present of the *manège*'s continued popularity, *manéged* horsemanship was never welcomed or adopted into England with open arms. At the heart of this were questions of the art's usefulness for men and horses of the military, and seemingly a distrust of foreign methods of riding. In Baret's 1618 *An Hipponomie*, the still relatively new art of horsemanship in the *manège* was struggling to take hold due to continuing influences of local English custom. As a result, his 'earnest desire' was 'to haue this now withered and dead Art of *Horsemanship* (being such a famous Art [in Europe]) the more to flourish in this Kingdome, which hath been so long frost-bitten with the congealing rygne of ancient traditions; whereby Custome hath taxed such false impositions upon these noble Creatures, as now they are become most ignoble and base'.¹⁰² This trend of the threatened *manège* continued throughout the seventeenth century, and in 1639 Thomas de Grey, in his *The Compleat Horseman and Expert*

⁹⁹ Worsley, *The British Stable*, 58.

¹⁰⁰ As quoted in Arthur MacGregor, 'The Household Out of Doors: The Stuart Court and the Animal Kingdom,' in *The Stuart Courts*, ed. Eveline Cruickshanks (Phoenix: Sutton Publishing Ltd., 2000), 110.

¹⁰¹ Worsley, *The British Stable*, 58.

¹⁰² Michael Baret, *An Hipponomie, or, the Vineyard of Horsemanship: Deuided into three Bookes* (London: Printed by George Eld, 1618), 'Book I,' Dedication.

Ferrier, complained that in addition to a paucity of horses serviceable for the *manège*, there was a worrying trend in ‘laying aside of the great Saddle and Cannon, and neglect of the Horse of Menage’ in the face of changing equestrian pursuits. For him it was the growing interest in sporting riding and racing that led to ‘the most ancient honour of Horseman-ship peculiar to this our Kingdome’ becoming ‘almost vanished and lost’.¹⁰³ With that being said, however, there were champions of the art.

For William Cavendish (1596-1676), first Duke of Newcastle, and many other authors of the subject, horsemanship was a sure method of developing and maintaining physical strength, a long and healthy life, and above all an élite bearing and confidence in addition to skill at arms and warfare. However, the inclusion of sporting pastimes alongside the *manège* and *haute école* in these new manuals, and the authors’ continual and often repeated insistence on the *haute école* importance, does illustrate a considerable and growing backlash against the use, keeping and training of horses for such ‘frivolous’ pursuits as the *haute école* was thought to be. Cavendish questioned what ‘makes these *Men* speak against it’ in his *A New Method*, in which he concluded that it was primarily due to their ignorance of the art and disinclination to ‘take Paines’ to become Masters of the art that was to blame. Those who ‘think it a Disgrace for a Gentleman to do any thing Well’, like riding, were further acting on the changing perceptions of the horse as useful in warfare and the protection of the commonwealth, and were arguing that for a gentleman such as Cavendish to spend vast amounts of his wealth, time and energy working with horses was not producing anything useful to the nation. Likewise, Karen Raber interprets Cavendish’s defence of the *haute école* as a sign of his disconnection from prevailing trends that dictated the uselessness of the practice, even dismissing it as an ‘obsolete’ exercise, and Alexander SSDent argues that the *haute école* was ‘an elaborate pretense’ for any military training.¹⁰⁴ However, for Cavendish, ‘in A Horse of Mannage’, one trained in all aspects of the *manège* including the *haute école*, there is ‘both Use and Pleasure’ to be found. ‘It is True,’ Cavendish argued, ‘that if there was nothing Commendable but what is Useful, strictly Examined; we must have nothing but Hollow Trees for our Houses, Figg-leaf-Breeches for our Clothes, Acorns for our Meat, and Water for our Drink; for certainly, most things else are but Superfluities and Curiosities.’¹⁰⁵ For him, not only was the *manège* of use to the kingdom, but it was also necessary for pleasure; the

¹⁰³ Thomas de Grey, *The Compleat Horseman and Expert Ferrier: In two bookes* (London: Thomas Harper, and are to be sold by Nicholas Vavasour, at his shop in the inner Temple neere the church doore, 1639), ‘Dedication to James, Marquesse Hamilton...’.

¹⁰⁴ Raber, “‘Reasonable Creatures’”, 45-46; Dent *Horses in Shakespeare’s England*, 93.

¹⁰⁵ Cavendish, *A New Method*, 14.

absence of which reduces man to a state of simple necessity, unrefinement, incivility and savagery at the expense of the civilized and refining arts. As we will see, the *manège*, beautiful horsemanship, was for Cavendish far from a useless pastime, it remained central to his notion of militaristic and honourable masculinity and continued to define his ideal political animal.

Cavendish's horsemanship manuals and mounted example of virtuous behaviour remained a definitive source for equestrian knowledge and ways of being throughout the eighteenth century in select communities of horsemen. As I argue in Chapter III, it was the horsemanship and way of being for élite men who sought to distance themselves as a class above other horsemen who practiced a newer style of riding somewhat disparaging of Cavendish's example and closely tied to late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century discourses of liberty, freedom and politely social masculinity. The followers of the Cavendish model, of the *manège* and *haute école*, reciprocated the dislike of their rival equestrian traditions while continuing to be influenced by them. These influences created a hybrid form of riding in the middle eighteenth century, as I discuss in Chapters III and IV, which was not only practiced in many London Academies and riding houses (such as those of Sir Sidney Meadows and Domenico Angelo) by both men and women but also by Philip Astley in his Amphitheatre. Astley, I argue, practiced this hybrid horsemanship – the mixture of the *manège* and the new riding traditions – while joining it to a third horsemanship custom – that of vaulting or trick riding – to create something entirely new. He, along with his son and wife, exhibited as spectacle in the early circus gender constructions that were at once in keeping with wider trends in politeness, courage and honour, but which also encompassed notions of chivalry, physical beauty and allure, and of animalized human greatness. Astley's form of horsemanship and masculinity, along with those of the newer horsemanship tradition from which he drew, was ridiculed in turn by Henry William Bunbury at the end of the century – the focus of Chapter V – as effeminate, useless and uncivil. Bunbury's ideal masculinity was sentimental in form and had the seventeenth-century as its influence; it was back to Cavendish, his teachings and the tradition of the *manège* and *haute école* that Bunbury and others of the Cavendish tradition looked for their visualization as civically-useful, masculine and animalized horsemen.

This thesis describes a cyclical and inter-informing history of horsemanship practices and associated constructions of gender that were at once greatly influenced by the longer tradition of horsemanship practice, but which were also situated within wider socio-political developments. It shows that horsemen, depending on which horsemanship community and level of skill the commentator belonged, and because of the mediating, and sometimes agential, presence of

horses, were understood as normatively manly, worryingly effeminate or dangerously inhuman. It tells a tale of human-animal relationships that were absolutely central to the construction and understanding of the gender, class, reputation and public persona of the riders; and it shows how various conceptions and embodiments of the animal as companion species, slave, protector or alternate self in turn influenced their visuality as human and masculine. Horses, for all of the men and women discussed in this thesis, regardless of class or equestrian tradition, were the means through which they lived their lives, how they were viewed and understood as horsemen and horsewomen (or not), and by which they were able to position themselves within the changing terrain of the gendered horsemanship communities. It is to the most influential of these communities, and to one of its most important horsemen – William Cavendish – that I turn next.

II

WILLIAM CAVENDISH AND HOBBSIAN HORSE-MANSHIP

To turn and wind a fiery Pegasus,
And witch the world with noble horsemanship.

— William Shakespeare¹

As art united with experience long
Taught him those lofty steeds in awe to hold.

— Nicholas Morgan²

.....

‘May it please your Grace,’ began John Dryden in his dedication to William Cavendish the first Duke of Newcastle, ‘AMongst [sic] those few persons of Wit and Honour, whose favourable Opinion I have desir’d, you own Virtue and my great Obligations to your Grace, have justly given you the Precedence.’ Cavendish was John Dryden’s patron, and was renowned among his other biographers and admirers as a man of virtue, courage and political savvy. According to Dryden, Cavendish was ‘admir’d and honour’d by all good Men’, was ‘for so many years together, the Pattern and Standard of Honor to the Nation’, and his ‘whole Life has been so great an Example of Heroick Virtue’ for other men who sought an honourable reputation. Cavendish possessed ‘all the advantages of a noble Birth and Education,’ and had ‘rendered both, yet more conspicuous by’ his ‘Virtue’ or self-improving labour.³ Dryden’s glowing praise of Cavendish’s moral reputation and interest in the arts was typical for those, such as Giles Jacob, G. Sewell and Thomas Shadwell, who discussed him in their biographies or dedications;⁴ but while not all

¹ William Shakespeare, ‘First Part of King Henry IV,’ in *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* (London: Abbey Library, n.d.), IV, i, 425.

² Nicholas Morgan in his 1609 obituary for Sir Robert Alexander (Zinzano), as quoted in Anthony Dent, *Horses in Shakespeare’s England* (London: J.A. Allen, 1987), 92.

³ John Dryden, ‘An Evening’s Love: or, the Mock-Astrologer,’ in *The Comedies, Tragedies and Operas, Written by John Dryden, Esq; Now first Collected together, and Corrected from the Originals. In Two Volumes* (London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, at Gray’s-Inn-Gate in Gray’s-Inn-Lane; Thomas Bennet, at the Half-Moon; and Richard Wellington, at the Lute in St. Paul’s Church-Yard, 1701), The Epistle Dedicatory, 275.

⁴ Giles Jacob, *The Poetical Register: or, the Lives and Characters of all the English Poets. With an Account of their Writings. Adorned with curious Sculptures engraven by the best Masters. Vol. 1.* (London: Printed, and Sold by A. Bettesworth, W. Taylor, and J. Batley, in Paternoster-Row; J. Wyat and C. Rivington, in St. Paul’s Church yard; E. Bell and W. Meadows, in Cornhill, and J. Pemberton and J. Hooke in Fleetstreet, 1723), 190; G. Sewell, ‘Dedication’, in *A New Collection of Original Poems, Never Printed in any Miscellany* (London: Printed, and Sold by A. Bettesworth, W. Taylor, and J. Batley, in Paternoster-Row; J. Wyat and C. Rivington, in St. Paul’s Church yard; E. Bell and W. Meadows, in Cornhill, and J. Pemberton and J. Hooke in Fleetstreet, 1720); Thomas Shadwell, *The Dramatick Works of Thomas Shadwell, Esq; In Four Volumes* (London: Printed for J. Knapton, at the Crown in St. Paul’s Church-Yard; and J. Tonson, at Shakespear’s Head over-against Katharine-Street in the Strand, 1720).

writers considered him to be the embodiment of honour and political brilliance, William Cavendish was an acknowledged man of poetry and plays, political know-how and honour.⁵

Cavendish was educated in the 'traditional' manly pursuits of fencing, horsemanship and poetry as a child, and went on to be an influential man at court, in national politics and in local affairs. An acknowledged man of the new science (he was friends with philosophers such as Hobbes – with whom he discussed philosophical, scientific and equestrian subjects, and planned to co-author a manual on mathematical swordsmanship – and Descartes with whom he frequently corresponded),⁶ Cavendish was a forward thinker and influential patron of the arts and sciences. He established 'a courtly academy in the provinces' with his brother Charles at their estate at Welbeck Abbey in the 1630s, and his family became 'a vital centre of intellectual and cultural activity' during their *inter regnum* exile on the European continent.⁷ Continually ambitious in his political and personal image, Cavendish worked hard throughout his life to increase his status at court through patronage and unwavering support of the royalist cause before, during and after the Civil Wars. As Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, wrote: Cavendish 'was a very fine Gentleman, active, and full of Courage, and most accomplish'd in those Qualities of Horsemanship, Dancing and Fencing, which accompany a good breeding; in which his delight was.' In addition, Cavendish 'was amorous in Poetry and Musick, to which he indulged the greatest part of his

⁵ For a more complete list of Cavendish's writings see Gloria Italiano Anzilotti, *An English Prince: Newcastle's Machiavellian Political Guide to Charles II* (Pisa: Giardini Editori e Stampatori, 1988), 47; or Nick Rowe, "'My Best Patron": William Cavendish and Jonson's Caroline Drama', *The Seventeenth Century, Special Issue: The Cavendish Circle* 9, no. 2 (Autumn 1994): 197-212.

⁶ Hobbes was employed, after his graduation from Oxford in 1608, as tutor for Cavendish's cousins – the second and third Earls of Devonshire, both also named William Cavendish – and instructed them in the classical humanist tradition. While at this post he became an acquaintance of Cavendish and his younger brother Charles, and by 1636 began to correspond regularly with them on matters of science and philosophy. Hobbes was well versed in horsemanship principles as taught by Cavendish, and at one point received money from Cavendish in order to purchase a horse while he was living in Paris. In this instance he participated in a detailed correspondence with Cavendish over the animal's conformation, training and general abilities. He wrote on Aug. 15/25th, 1635: 'I told M^r Biniamin and Mons^r di Pri ... of the faults yo^r, Lo^y found in y^r Horse. For y^r opening his mouth, they confesse it, and say that when he was young and first began to be dressed he put out his hind too much, w^{ch} they that dressed him, indeavouring to amend, for want of skill, did by a great bitte convert into this other fault of gaping, For his [side] ... they obstinately deny that he has any fault in them at all, and do suppose that the iourney may have hurt him, or his wrawnesse made it seeme so. That he has no other ayre but Corvettes, is a thing yo^r Lo^y was made acquainted with before. The greatest fault in his price, w^{ch} price adding the 40 pound you gave me, is a very good reason why he should hence forward be called Le Superbe.' British Library, Additional MS, 70499, fol. 184^v-185^v. See fols. 210^v-213^v in the same MS for examples of his philosophical and scientific (on optics) correspondence with Cavendish. Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics, Volume III: Hobbes and Civil Science* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 3-6. Hobbes dedicated his *Elements of Law* to Cavendish in 1640, and penned one half of *The Truth of the Sorde* in 1646. British Library, Eg. MS., 2005; British Library, Harley MS, 5219.

⁷ Elaine Walker, *'To Amaze the People with Pleasure and Delight': An Analysis of the Horsemanship Manuals of William Cavendish, First Duke of Newcastle (1593-1676)* (Ph.D. Thesis: University of Birmingham, 2004), 24. See Lucy Worsley's *Cavalier: The Story of a 17th-Century Playboy* (London: Faber and Faber, 2007), for further biographical details of Cavendish's life and family estates. Cavendish also collaborated with a number of authors for his own prose and masques. See Lynn Hulse, "'The King's Entertainment" by the Duke of Newcastle,' *Viator* 26 (1995): 355-405, for further information on his prose work.

time; and nothing could have tempted him out of those paths of pleasure, which he enjoy'd but Honour and Ambition to serve the King.⁸ This incessant drive for honours is reflected in the list of titles he held throughout his life, and had printed as a part of the title for his *A New Method and Extraordinary Invention to Dress Horses* of 1667. Cavendish, in one instance of shameless self-promotion among many, described himself as:

Duke, Marques, and Earl of *Newcastle*; Earl of *Ogle*; Viscount Mansfield; and Baron of *Bolsover*, of *Ogle*, of *Bertram*, *Bothal*, and *Hepple*: Gentleman of His Majesties Bed-chamber; One of His Majesties most Honourable Privy-Council; Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter; His Majesties Lieutenant of the Country and Town of *Nottingham*; and Justice in *Ayre Trent-North*: Who has the honour to be Governour to our most Glorious King, and Gracious Sovereign, in His Youth, when He was Prince of *Wales*; and soon after was made Captain General of all the Provinces beyond the River of *Trent*, and other Parts of the Kingdom of *England*; with Power, by a special Commission, to make Knights.⁹

His role as Captain General began in 1642 with the outbreak of the first Civil War when he was appointed supreme commander of the royalist forces in the North. While, as Elaine Walker argues, Cavendish was by many accounts a competent leader, his disastrous defeat in 1644 at the Battle of Marston Moor (and his unfruitful struggle to obtain the office of Master of the Horse – the most important office at court after those of the Lord Steward and the Lord Chamberlain) has made him a figure famous for inglorious defeat.¹⁰ He has been recognized as being ‘much better qualified for a court than a camp’, and has become known more as the ‘silken General’ who fled the field of battle rather than as a highly influential man within court, scientific and artistic circles.¹¹ While some scholars are beginning to shift their focus away from his checkered military career towards his influential patronage and role as horseman, more work needs to be done to understand Cavendish (as many of his peers and future generations did) as a horseman and as a pioneering author of horsemanship.¹²

⁸ Edward Hyde as quoted in Walker, *To Amaze the People*, 29.

⁹ William Cavendish, *A new method, and extraordinary invention, to dress horses, and work them according to nature: as also, to perfect nature by the subtilty of art, which was never found out, but by ...* (London: Tho. Milbourn, 1667), Title Page.

¹⁰ Walker, *To Amaze the People*, 25-27.

¹¹ *A true Relation of my Lord Ogle's Engagement before the Battle of Edgehill and after; written by Himself, about the year 1645*, British Library, Add. MS 27402, fol. 83^r.; An anonymous pamphleteer as quoted in Rubenshuis and Rubenianum, *Royalist Refugees: William and Margaret Cavendish in the Rubens House, 1648-1660* (Antwerp: BAI, Schoten, 2006), 13. Even though he was not widely recognized for his military prowess, he was intimately acquainted with the horrors of warfare. See his poem ‘The Battle’ for an example of this. British Library, Add. MS, 32497, fol. 80^{v-r}.

¹² For his horsemanship see for example: Karen Raber, ‘“Reasonable Creatures”: William Cavendish and the Art of Dressage,’ in *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday*, eds. Patricia Fumerton and Simon Hunt (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 42-66; Karen Raber and Treva Tucker, eds. *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Lucy

As a youth, Cavendish, dubbed ‘the Prince of Horsemen’ by Hope, trained alongside Prince Henry with Monsieur St. Antoine (who was himself trained with the founding fathers of *manège* horsemanship discussed in Chapter 1 – Giovanni Battista Pignatelli and Antoine de Pluvinel) and undertook a grand tour in 1610 to improve his courtly skills.¹³ Cavendish’s first manual, *La Méthode Nouvelle et Invention Extraordinaire de Dresser Les Chevaux*, was sumptuously illustrated, modeled after Pluvinel’s 1623 *Le Maneige Royal* and published in 1658 while he was in exile at Antwerp – where he was forced to flee after the royalist defeat. This publication was small (50 copies),¹⁴ with the majority of books produced for presentation. Upon his return to England after the Restoration of Charles II to the throne in 1660, Cavendish published an English edition of *La Méthode Nouvelle* which was ‘neither a Translation of the first [book], nor an absolutely necessary Addition to it’. His 1667 *A New Method and Extraordinary Invention to Dress Horses* was to ‘be of use by it self, without the other [book], as the other has been hitherto, and is still, without this [content]; but both together will questionless do best.’¹⁵ Although *A New Method* was produced without the plates of the original Antwerp edition, it was still a handsome publication printed on imperial folio and dedicated to the King. It was erroneously believed by the French Master of horsemanship and avid admirer of Cavendish, François Robichon de la Guérinière, that the plates for *La Méthode Nouvelle* had been destroyed in a fire that claimed part of the first edition; however, the plates had been kept in the Cavendish family, and after Cavendish’s death in 1676 his granddaughter, the Countess of Oxford, along with printer John Brindley reissued the 1658 Antwerp edition in French in 1737 with all of the original illustrations from the plates by Abraham van Diepenbeke and Charles Parrocel. After a presumably successful print run, Bindley translated *La Méthode Nouvelle* and published it in 1743 as *A General System of Horsemanship*.¹⁶

Worsley and Tom Addyman, ‘Riding Houses and Horses: William Cavendish’s Architecture for the Art of Horsemanship,’ *Architectural History* 45 (2002): 194-229; and Peter Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (London: Continuum Books, 2007). On his patronage see: Timothy Raylor, ed. *Seventeenth Century – Special Issue: The Cavendish Circle* 9 no. 2 (Autumn 1994): 141-298.

¹³ William Hope, ‘Supplement of Riding; Collected from the best Authors,’ in Jacques de Solleysel, *The Compleat Horseman Discovering the Surest Marks of the Beauty, Goodness, Faults and Imperfections of Horses* (London: Printed for M. Gillyflower, in Westminster-Hall; R. Bently, in Covent-Garden; H. Bonwick, in St. Paul’s Church-Yark; J. Tonson, W. Freema, T. Goodwin, M. Wotton, in Fleet-street; J. Walthoe, in the Temple; S. Manship, and R. Parker, in Cornhill, 1696), 3. See Walker for further information on Cavendish’s education and experiences while on the tour. Walker, *To Amaze the People*, 34-37.

¹⁴ François Robichon de la Guérinière, [*Ecole de Cavalerie*] *School of Horsemanship* [1729-31], trans. Tracy Boucher (London: J. A. Allen, 1994), 78.

¹⁵ Cavendish, *A New Method*, ‘To the Readers’.

¹⁶ William Steinkraus, ‘Foreword’, in William Cavendish, *A General System of Horsemanship in all it’s Branches* [1743] (North Pomfret, Vermont: J.A. Allen, 2000). Cavendish was buried alongside his wife Margaret in Westminster Abbey.

These publications, similar in content and frequently containing verbatim passages from each other, made the already well-known Duke of Newcastle the most influential seventeenth- and eighteenth-century horseman in England, and one of the most respected on the continent. For example, de la Guérinière wrote in 1729-31 that Cavendish ‘honoured the profession infinitely with the unique study he made of it throughout the course of his entire life; he was considered, moreover, to be the greatest expert of his age in the matter of horses.’¹⁷ Like de la Guérinière, almost all horsemen writing and practicing after Cavendish, well into the nineteenth century, drew on his teachings and ideologies in their own treatises of horsemanship, or indicated their awareness of his importance to the development of horsemanship if they had not managed to obtain a copy of any of his publications. Cavendish’s manuals were repeatedly republished in France, Germany and Spain during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries;¹⁸ William Hope, a student of Cavendish’s, even went so far as to re-issue entire sections of *A New Method* in his *The Compleat Horseman* of 1696; Claude Bourgelat reworked *A New Method* for his own *Nouveau Newcastle, au nouveau traité de cavalerie* of 1754; Richard Berenger in his *History and Art of Horsemanship* of 1771 thought Cavendish ‘honoured’ the art of horsemanship ‘with his practice, and greatly enriched it with his knowledge’; and Henry Herbert, the Earl of Pembroke, in his 1762 *A Method of Breaking Horses and teaching Soldiers to Ride* simply called Cavendish ‘great’.¹⁹

I will be examining Cavendish’s relationship with his nonhumans, and how his visual presence with a horse influenced his status as a great man. For Cavendish, I argue, there was no separation between honour and politics, and no separation between his ideal manly behaviour and gentlemanly sovereignty while mounted or not. To be a gentleman was to be a man of honour who could fulfill his duty to the state and the monarch as an absolute and virtuous sovereign through the interspecies activity of horsemanship. By riding a horse, as this chapter will show, a man was ultimately participating in a kinesthetic action that enhanced his visibility as a patriarchal man who was governed and capable of governing in turn, an interchange that metaphorically and ontologically embodied a Hobbesian body politic and provided an avenue for

¹⁷ Guérinière, *School of Horsemanship*, 78.

¹⁸ Walker, *To Amaze the People*, 12.

¹⁹ Berenger goes on to say Cavendish’s ‘treatise is a proof of the vast science he possessed, which, nevertheless, from the random manner in which it is wrote, the want of method and perspecuity, the redundancy and tautology in which it abounds, has done justice neither to the art, nor to the strong sense and infallible precepts with which it is replete.’ Richard Berenger, *The history and art of horsemanship. In two volumes* (London: Printed for T. Davies, in Russel-Street, Covent-Garden; and T. Cadell, in the Strand, 1771), 213. Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, *A Method of Breaking Horses and teaching Soldiers to Ride, Designed for the Use of the Army* (London: Printed by J. Hughes, Lincoln’s-Inn-Fields, 1762), 86.

the practice of political and equestrian governance. Horsemanship for Cavendish was an activity through which a man could gain and perform manly virtues essential to his social reputation, and the prosperity and safety of the body politic.²⁰ For Cavendish 'there is nothing of more Use than A Horse of Mannage; nor any thing of more State, Manliness, or Pleasure, than Rideing'.²¹

i. THE VINEYARD OF HORSEMANSHIP

Cavendish, and other horsemen of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries functioned within, and sought to belong to, an élite and highly selective social group constructed according to shared interests, gender, economic and hereditary status, and possession of honour. This organization is similar to what Mervyn James has termed a 'community of honour'.²² A man's honour, as Anthony Fletcher argues, was at the heart of his reputation within the kingdom, and central to his identity as a nobleman or gentleman in England.²³ To be honourable in the seventeenth century was to hold an elevated social and moral position within society, and it was one of the key elements by which manhood was measured and conceived. Manhood was discussed using the language of honour, the language Elizabeth Foyster claims was dominant in defining manhood in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.²⁴ Honour was a complicated and slippery term throughout our period, and was organized along class lines. It could be referred to as 'reputation', 'credit', 'virtue', 'honesty', 'character' and 'good name' interchangeably between the classes, although 'credit' was least frequently used by the élite who tended to distance themselves from credit or business-related activities; the élite were the ones who used the term 'honour' most frequently, although 'reputation' was also popular. According to Faramerz Dabhoiwala, some of these terms stood for 'moral standing', such as 'virtue', 'honesty', and 'character', while others such as 'rank' or 'quality' usually stood for social

²⁰ Cavendish was unhappy with the luxury and perceived effeminacy of the court under Charles I, and lamented the decline of courageous, chivalrous and 'traditionally' manly pursuits and visualities. According to Hulse, Cavendish 'believed that Charles's failure to maintain ceremony and degrees of honor had ultimately weakened the nobility and brought them into contempt.' Hulse, "'The King's Entertainment' by the Duke of Newcastle,' 378.

²¹ Cavendish, *A New Method*, 13.

²² Mervyn James, *English Politics and the Concept of Honour 1485-1642* (London: Past and Present Society, 1978).

²³ Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 126.

²⁴ Elizabeth A. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (New York: Longman, 1999), 5.

position. Also, 'honour', 'reputation' and 'credit' could apply to both concepts, with 'honour' and 'reputation' being especially performative in their conception.²⁵

Regardless of the language used to describe a man's publicly-defined state of being, and regardless of his social standing, all men to some extent belonged to the 'community of honour'. By the time William Cavendish was producing his manuals on horsemanship this community revolved around the central figure of the monarch, and membership in it was dependent not only on acknowledgment by the monarch for honourable or virtuous actions in service to the state, but also on a man's adherence to a regulatory 'code of honour' and the collective opinion of the other members.²⁶ Of course lineage, the older measurement for community membership, was still very much a part of the conveying of honour, but in the early seventeenth century its importance in a man's community status was accompanied, and almost supplanted, by honours for actions in benefit of the state. It became the ideal for honour to be composed both of natural lineage and of virtue, wisdom and 'civill and political' involvement according to Thomas Milles writing in 1610.²⁷ Indeed, as Francis Segar in his 1557 *The schoole of Vertue*, recorded, men who were born with innate virtues – which led to the display of natural honour – were considered to be blessed, but men who gained honour through virtuous actions in service to the state were 'double happy and counted most wyse.'²⁸ Through civic action a man could be reputed as a virtuous, honest, and honourable citizen who placed the honour of the commonwealth before his own.

One of the primary components of seventeenth-century honour was the visual display of honesty, temperance, and generosity, but the most important virtues to be acquired and visualized were associated with reason and rational thought, and the full managing of desires and actions. Without this self bridling, a man could be subject to questioning or impairment of his

²⁵ Faramerz Dabhoiwala, 'The Constructions of Honour, Reputation and Status in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, vol. 6 (1996): 204; Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, 7-8.

²⁶ James, *English Politics*. Henry Peacham found 'the Honour of blood in a Race or Linage,' was 'conferred formerly upon some one or more of that Family, either by the Prince, the Lawes, customes of that Land or Place,' due to exemplary performance of the intellect and the display of above average education, or the display of 'knowledge, [and] culture of the mind.' These symbols of honour and status could also be bestowed for 'some glorious Action performed, ... [which] have beene usefull and beneficiall to the Common-wealths and places where they live.' These actions would have included service to the state either in the political arena or in the military camp. Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman: Fashioning him absolute in the most necessary & commendable Qualities concerning Minde or Bodie that may be required in a Noble Gentleman* (London: Imprinted at London for Francis Constable and are to bee sold at his shop at the white lion in Paules churchyard, 1622), 2.

²⁷ James, *English Politics*, 65; Thomas Milles in his *Catalogue of Honor* as quoted in James, 65.

²⁸ Francis Segar, (F.S.), *The schoole of Vertue: and booke of good Nourture for chyldren, and youth to learne theyer dutie by* (London: in Paules Churchyarde at the signe of the Hedgehogge by Wyllyam Seares, 1557), 7 of 29.

ability to influence his own, his family's, and the commonwealth's honour and virtue.²⁹ Without the characteristics of temperate and moderate rational behaviour from the managing of the passions, the very position of an élite man as a responsible adult within the community was uncertain. To be unreasoned, irrational, intemperate was to be subject to connotations of ignorance, baseness, effeminacy, and inhumanity.³⁰ Therefore, 'Temperance or modestie, ought to accompanie every wise man, and chiefly him that hath authoritie over others: For no man there is that can rightly judge, howe to direct the maners of other men, that knoweth not first how to governe him selfe.'³¹ Unmanaged gentlemen were 'brutes' who, in stations of power in the military camp or political cabinet, 'having prostituted their reason, and inslaved themselves to their passions,' created nothing beneficial to king or country. Thus, 'when in man passions are exalted above reason, nothing follows but disorders, mischiefs, and unavoidable ruine both within and without.'³² Indeed, those who could not govern, did not know how to, were ignorant, and 'those that know ignorance, can neyther purchase Honour nor weild it.'³³

These components of the code and community of honour applied to horsemen of the seventeenth century as well as men who did not interact with the animal on a regular basis; however, horsemen were subject to similar but more stringent codes and discourses of honour within the wider community. Horsemen were members of the community's most élite social organization which was closest to the body of the King, and hence the one that allowed 'the performative effect of preferment and autonomy within a patriarchal society in which' all humans, including other men, were under the power of other men. According to Thomas King, this power structure created a 'Male entitlement' that 'was therefore tenuous, limited to certain spaces and times, a privilege to be exercised and not a bond defining men as psychologically and ideologically equivalent'.³⁴ Horsemen of the seventeenth century functioned within a space that was classed, patriarchal and courtly, and within this space, termed the Vineyard of Horsemanship, the horsemen exercised agencies of space – hierarchy – and of masculine selfhood.

²⁹ James, *English Politics*, 74, 78.

³⁰ Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 174; Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, 29-31; Alexandra Shepard, 'Manhood, Credit and Patriarchy in Early Modern England, c. 1580-1640,' *Past and Present* 167 no. 1 (2000): 83, 85.

³¹ Segar, *Honor Military, and Ciuil*, 208.

³² Gailhard, *The Compleat Gentleman*, Book I, 29.

³³ Nicholas Morgan of Crolane, *The Perfection of Horsemanship, drawne from Nature, Arte, and Practice* (London: [By Edward Allde] for Edward VWhite, and are to be solde at his shop at the signe of the Gun, neere the little north dore of Saint Paules, 1609), Dedication.

³⁴ Thomas King, *The Gendering of Men, 1600-1750. Volume I: The English Phallus* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 4-5.

Nicholas Morgan of Crolane first introduced the Vineyard in his 1609 *The perfection of horse-manship, drawne from nature; arte, and practise*, but it was not until Michael Baret's 1618 *An Hipponomie; or the Vineyard of Horsemanship* that the complexities of horse-human interaction within it were discussed in detail.³⁵ Being one of the more lengthy treatises on the subject in the seventeenth century (well over 400 pages), this extensive work was dedicated to King James I and was intended for an élite audience well grounded in horsemanship principles; and although his horsemanship manual only had one printing, it became a central text of horsemanship for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English horsemen.³⁶ For example, Richard Berenger favourably referred to *An Hipponomie* in his own 1771 *History and Art of Horsemanship*,³⁷ and John Lawrence went on at great length about the continued usefulness of Baret's treatise (he was more admiring of it than Cavendish's work). Lawrence even went so far in his 1802 *A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on Horses* to say that any readers of Baret's manual would 'find great store of important and useful observations, by no means inapplicable even to the present enlightened period', and that Baret 'ought ever to be mentioned with honour and respect'.³⁸ As for Cavendish, while he does not mention *An Hipponomie* explicitly he does follow the social organization outlined in Baret's manual, and boasts that he had 'Practised, and Studied Horse-manship ever since I was Ten years old; Have Rid with the Best Masters of all Nations, heard them Discourse at Large, and Tryed their several Wayes: Have Read all their Italian, French, and English Books, and some Latine ones; and in a Word, All that hath been Writ upon that Subject, Good and Bad'.³⁹ He probably read Baret's work, and if not it is highly likely that Cavendish was introduced to his theories by other horsemen. In any case, Cavendish was functioning within a social hierarchy that was well known and considered an elite community by himself and other horsemen.⁴⁰

The Vineyard, as conceived by Baret and followed by Cavendish, was one among many other Vineyards in operation during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The epistemological and ontological differences and similarities between them will be discussed in

³⁵ The language of the Vineyard can be found in the publications of Nicholas Morgan: *The perfection of horse-manship* and *The Horse-mans Honour: or, The Beautie of Horsemanship* (London: Printed for the widow Helme and J. Marriott, 1620).

³⁶ Michael Baret, *An Hipponomie, or, the Vineyard of Horsemanship: Deuided into three Bookes* (London: Printed by George Eld, 1618).

³⁷ Berenger, *The history and art of horsemanship*, 214.

³⁸ John Lawrence, *A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on Horses and on the Moral Duties of Man Towards the Brute Creation, Volume 1* (London: Printed by C. Whittingham, Dean Street, Fetter Lane, for H.D. Symonds, Paternoster-Row, 1802), 18.

³⁹ Cavendish, *A New Method*, 41.

⁴⁰ Letter, 'Pembroke & Montgomery' to Cavendish as Earl of Newcastle, from Whitehall, 20th of May, 1631, BL, Additional MS, 70499, fol. 143^r – 144^v.

due course, but first a general outline of Baret's conceptualization needs to be introduced. Like the larger community of honour, Baret's and Cavendish's Vineyard was 'self-selective and self-authenticating' to the exclusion of those who did not visibly exhibit the required class, virtue or honourable reputation.⁴¹ Karen Raber and Treva Tucker argue that a horseman only needed to be 'noble and male' in order to be considered a horseman (in principle at least); horsemanship, for them, 'helped to create a sense not just of group identity but also of group superiority. Those who fell outside the 'right' categories (noble and male) were not merely forbidden access to certain types of horsemanship' and Vineyards, such men were 'also deemed incapable of performing these mounted activities, or at least of performing them properly if somehow they managed to obtain access to them, because they lacked what accompanied noble manhood.' According to Tucker and Raber, only those of accepted 'rank' and 'gender', and by extension the proper 'characteristics that accompanied that rank and gender' could become horsemen.⁴² As such, in its very essence the Vineyard was highly competitive. Indeed, as Thomas Hobbes argued, to have power (social standing) was to have honour; and there is 'a generall inclination of all mankind, a perpetuall and restlesse desire of Power after power, that ceaseth onely in Death.'⁴³ This search for endless power and status was not, for Hobbes, done simply for its pleasurable attainment but 'because he [man] cannot assure the power and means to live well, which he hath present, without the acquisition of more.'⁴⁴ Similarly for Cavendish, as he informed his sons in the incomplete *The Truth of the Sorde*, 'Honor' 'Is much more then your Lives & Securers your Lives withall'.⁴⁵ For gentlemen, and horsemen within the micro-community that was the Vineyard, to maintain or even to increase their honourable standing within the Vineyard was a matter of essential (social) survival and one of the driving characteristics of men's nature. A horseman was above all to keep and to seek continually to increase his honourable status, his power, in the commonwealth.

To generate this honour in turn, like the wider community, for a horseman of the Vineyard it was in service to the state that he not only gained the all important personal reputation as an honourable man, but also gained honour for the wider Vineyard, community and

⁴¹ James, *English Politics*, 22; Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, 58. As John Cleland wrote in 1607: 'honour is not in his hand who is honoured but in the hearts and opinions of other men.' John Cleland as quoted in Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 126.

⁴² Raber and Tucker, eds. *The Culture of the Horse*, 22-23.

⁴³ Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* [1651] (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1968), 161.

⁴⁴ Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 161. 'Honour consisteth onely in the opinion of Power', and to be 'Honourable is whatsoever possession, action, or quality, is an argument and signe of Power.' *Leviathan*, 156-157.

⁴⁵ William Cavendish, *The Truth of the Sorde by the Marquis of Newcastle*, British Library, Harley MS, 4206, fol. 2^v.

commonwealth. As Baret argued, man was ‘not borne, onely for our selves, but partly for our country, partly for parents, and partly for our friends, but the least part to our selves.’⁴⁶ Men worked to gather honour for themselves, their family and for the wider community and commonwealth, and they did so through the visual enactments of horsemanship rationally performed. Baret’s and Cavendish’s Vineyard was based on ‘practises’ and ‘endeauours’ that ‘worke by the rule of reason’ to ensure the prosperity of virtue, honour and manliness (the Vineyard ‘fruits’) for the Vineyard members – and by extension of the Vineyard itself. Through reason or self-governance, for Baret horsemen ‘will make such a firme and sure fence, that the wild beasts of the Forrest shall not breake downe their hedges nor spoyle their grapes, that is their wills and affections shall not so ouercome them, that they shall passe the bonds of reason, and fall into either of the extreames of violence or lenity, and so confuse their labours and discourage their practise’.⁴⁷ A horseman of the Vineyard produced ‘fruits’ only if he adhered to tightly controlled bodily and mental conduct that kept out beastly unreason and irrationality while displaying, in Alexandra Shepard’s terms, ‘discreet bearing, moderation, bodily strength, and even-headedness’.⁴⁸ A man, but especially a horseman (as we will see) was required to govern not only his mount but himself through reason, experience and patience to avoid appellations of ignorance and irrational animality, and the eventual destruction of his own manliness and honour (along with that of the Vineyard and the state⁴⁹) through extremes of behaviour towards his mount.

Also, while membership was only accessible to the social élite (to those who could financially afford the time, horses and schooling required for the art), access to the Vineyard was determined by more than simply noble ‘characteristics’ like honour or reason. For Cavendish and Baret, a man’s adroitness at all components of the art determined his positioning in, and even whether or not he was worthy of inclusion within, the Vineyard. According to Baret, youth, who could not yet claim the title of men and who were beginners in the art of horsemanship, were able to enter into the Vineyard’s élite ranks on their own reputations, but they could not be

⁴⁶ Baret, *An Hipponomie*, Preface to the Reader for Book I. Shelley Burit terms this need to advance the honour and virtue of others before oneself as “civic virtue.” Shelley Burit, *Virtue Transformed: Political Argument in England, 1688-1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 7.

⁴⁷ Baret, *An Hipponomie*, Book I, 21-22. Baret’s Vineyard was also expressly religious in aspect, and used the image of the vine similarly to what Stephen Bann has found in much Renaissance and early-modern Western art: ‘If the vine does not (as in the words of Christ) have the force of a parable, it implies a sympathetic connection with the message of the Christian gospel’, and is connected to ideas of ‘divinely blessed fruitfulness’. Cavendish does not seem to include this emphasis on Christianity in his own work. Bann, *The True Vine: On Visual Representation and the Western Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 10, 55.

⁴⁸ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, 46.

⁴⁹ James, *English Politics*, 18-19.

considered influential or honourable members therein.⁵⁰ While these ‘Impes’ must continually be drawn to the Vineyard to prevent the imperiled art and the Vineyard on which it was based from becoming corrupted, dishonoured or non-existent, it fell to the ‘Vines’, or Vineyard-defined experienced, practiced and ‘true’ horsemen who were able to rule themselves, other men and their mounts with reason and virtue, to ‘preserue’ the ‘fruits’ of the Vineyard and to ‘merit great fame’ for themselves.⁵¹ Only horsemen (Vines) were able to claim the title of honourable, manly and ‘true’ horseman, and were able to enforce the member’s adherence to a Vineyard-defined code of horsemanship-based honour.

Indeed, as the keen sportsman and accomplished horseman Philip Herbert, fourth Earl of Pembroke and first Earl of Montgomery, made clear in his May 20, 1631, letter to Cavendish, it was only after a man gained skill and experience with horses and in horsemanship that he could be invited by other Vines to join the Vineyard. He argued that it was for the benefit of the ‘whole Commonwealth of horsmen [sic]’ (to which both he and Cavendish belonged) that one Henry Babington (who was ‘industrious & honest, a good improuer, & a most affectionate seruant to’ Cavendish) receive ‘accommodation’ in ‘very faire & honourable Conditions’, or tutelage in horsemanship and general tenancy from Cavendish in order that he could be brought ‘to perfection’ in his riding and self-governance and eventually come ‘to performe with’ Cavendish feats of horsemanship.⁵² However, this personal governance and passion control were not standard across the Vineyard; instead, it was dictated by the horse what emotions or bodily actions and reactions were to be displayed. Such governance was only gained through experience and years of generating and performing relationships with horses, and experience of their un-governed and unskilled state. Unlike the wider community of honour, the Vineyard of Horsemanship was composed of men and their nonhuman others; individual others who responded to attempts to form relationships with different actions and visualities. A horseman of the Vineyard was obliged to ‘proportionate the command of his will and affections, according to his Horses inward disposition’, not simply to a normative social standard.⁵³

⁵⁰ Alexandra Shepard argues that it was only once a man arrived at an age at which he was able to control rampant youthful desires and actions, generally 25 or as late as 35 and ending around 50 when old age began that he was considered to be properly a man. Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, 54-56.

⁵¹ Baret, *An Hipponomie*, Book 1, 21-22, 47.

⁵² For information on Herbert, along with a copy of his signature and various MS references, see James Doyle, *The Official Baronage of England: Pembroke-Zetland. Volume 3 of The Official Baronage of England: ...* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1886), 26-29. British Library, Add. MS, 70499, fol. 143^r-144^v.

⁵³ Baret, *An Hipponomie*, Book II, 118; William Cavendish, *A General System of Horsemanship in all it's Branches* [1743] (North Pomfret, Vermont: J.A. Allen, 2000), 17.

The Vines of the Vineyard were also responsible for determining which rider, whether a self-proclaimed Impe or Vine, was to become a member, as Pembroke's letter implies. Only those who were practitioners of the Vine's ideal of normative horsemanship were eligible. According to Baret, for the Vineyard's Vines to flourish in society and for the Vineyard itself to remain a strong and influential element within society and civic arenas, first the ground (Art of horsemanship) must be 'laid out' and 'weeded and drest from the errors of ignorance, and after that be made formall, by a good decorum and order.'⁵⁴ The social appropriateness and normatively acceptable practices of the art of horsemanship, the ground of the Vineyard, needed to be 'drest' or solidified by established Vines in order to ensure the continued purity, use (made formall) and prosperity of the true art – the reason Babington was seeking Cavendish's instruction. Like the 'community' the Vineyard was self-authenticating, but it also was defined by the type or form of horsemanship practiced. For Cavendish, his Vineyard was that of the most élite, dedicated and knowledgeable horsemen, and was primarily composed of the practice of continental and 'classical' horsemanship. As we saw in Chapter I, the Vineyard of horsemanship was grounded on methodologies, ideologies and expectations that can be traced back to the teachings of Xenophon in his fourth century BCE *Hippike* (Treatise on Horses), which were in turn brought to England through the French and Italian schools in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁵⁵ These teachings, as Cavendish himself points out, were not yet accepted (and never were entirely) as English; connotations of continentalism continued to be attached to Vineyard horsemanship throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries regardless of the mounted activities performed.

Cavendish's Vineyard was composed of men who practiced the *manège* in its most elevated form – that of the *haute école* – and which was based on the premise that true horsemanship was that of visibly absolute perfection and beauty on horseback made possible by the full obedience of the horse. It was the long labour and dedication to horsemanship, his ideal of normatively-true horsemanship, that helped to distinguish those who were members of his Vineyard from those who were not; indeed, mirroring the increasing importance placed on honour from action and virtue rather than lineage, for Vineyard members 'Labour is both the matter and glory of vertue, and therefore he which despiseth the one, must needs faile of the other.'⁵⁶ As a result, those men who did not practice true Vineyard horsemanship were not able

⁵⁴ Baret, *An Hipponomie*, Book 1, 21-22.

⁵⁵ Giles Worsley, 'A Courtly Art: The History of Haute École in England,' *Court Historian* 6 (2001), 30-31.

⁵⁶ Baret, *An Hipponomie*, Book 1, 43.

to become members therein and were not viewed as honourable men by the Vines. The Vineyard, through the level and type of horsemanship practiced, distinguished the élite members of the honourable community from the socially and virtuously inferior chaff. The Vineyard was composed of the élite of the élite, of the visibly true and perfect horsemen, not the community-defined false riders from other horsemanship communities or non-equestrians who continually sought to invade the Vineyard's closed ranks through their own forms of normative (non-Cavendish) horsemanship. As a result, to be honourable required a man to continually seek power through virtue, coupled with lineage, and to do so before other Vineyard members. A man's honour was determined by 'public', that is before other Vines, visibility and spectacular performance. For Hobbes, the more adept a man was at an art, the more honour he could attain from it through the 'admiration' and 'flattery' of the spectators for his 'excellence in ... art';⁵⁷ and for Cavendish the most beneficial 'art' for the creation of honour (besides swordsmanship) was that of spectacular horsemanship.

ii. SPECTACLE AND CEREMONY

For a man to become a member of the Vineyard, or to advance his status therein, he must make visible (along with his manly virtues) his practice of Vineyard-defined, normative horsemanship. He must become a spectacle on horseback for other Vines to witness and judge. However, the spectatorial Vines were not simply looking to the human animal in their viewing; instead, they were also observing the nonhuman animal for clues to his honour, status and horsemanship abilities. For horsemen, not only were physical indicators and their associated meanings interchangeable between species, but the characteristics and epistemological status of the man could be made visible through the physical spectacle of his horse. Even though the dual practice of pathognomy (study of bodily movement) and physiognomy (study of static physical traits) suffered fluctuating popularity over both centuries, the basic concepts of the practice remained part of English ways of seeing.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 161. William Cecil in his advice to his son also pointed to a sliding scale of honour partially defined through visible behaviour and the performance of defined normative virtues. He advised his son to 'Towards thy superiors be humble yet generous, with thy equals familiar, yet respective, towards inferiours shew much humility and some familiarity, as to bow thy body, stretch forth thy hand, uncover thy head, and such like popular compliments.' As Shepard argues, Cecil's first point of advice was to gain social advancement, the second for securing a good reputation, and the third for 'popularity'. William Cecil as quoted in Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, 35.

⁵⁸ Barbara M. Benedict, 'Reading Faces: Physiognomy and Epistemology in Late Eighteenth-Century Sentimental Novels,' *Studies in Philology* 92 no. 3 (Summer 1995): 314.

With this discourse it was believed there were many correlations between the physical features of humans and animals – primarily between men and apes, elephants and horses.⁵⁹ For Giambattista della Porta at the end of the sixteenth, and Johann Casper Lavater at the end of the eighteenth century, for example, these physical similarities allowed for further understandings of the masked elements of a person's character. Lavater was the most forthcoming on the subject, and argued, quoting della Porta's 1586 *De humana physiognomonia libri*, that 'No proposition, undoubtedly, is more certain than this: "The resemblance of forms [man and horse] supposes a resemblance of characters"' (Figure 2).⁶⁰ He further illustrated this point when discussing the various signifying visualities of equine physiognomies found in hog-necked horses (thick, round, unsupple and insensitive):

The neck above and below is alike broad; the head hanging downward; the middle of the nose is concave, in profile; the ears are long, thick, and hanging; the eyes small, and ugly; the nostrils small; the mouth large; the whole body round; and the coat long, and rough. These horses are intractable, slow, and vicious; will run the rider against a wall, stone, or tree. When held in, they rear, and endeavour to throw the rider. Blows or coaxing are frequently alike ineffectual, they continue obstinate and restiff.—I leave the reader to apply these remarks to the human countenance.⁶¹

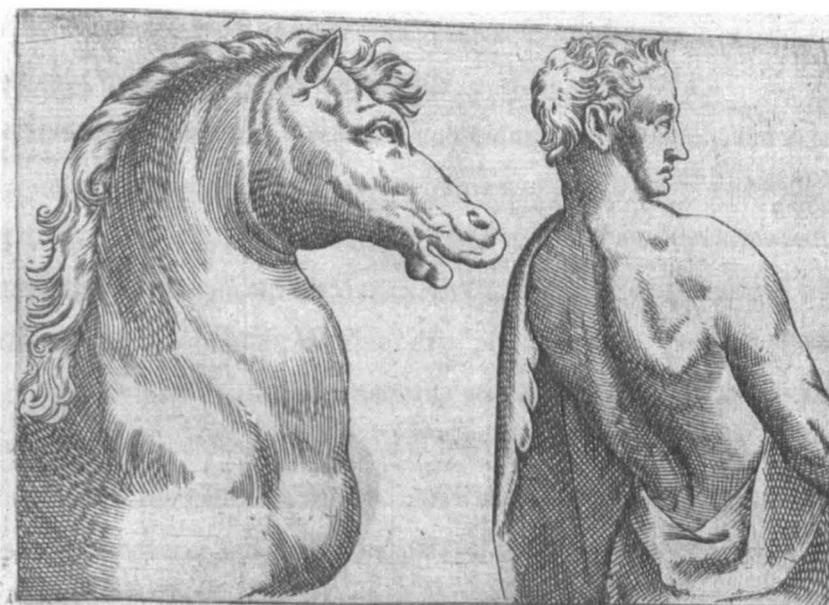
If a rider shared a similar conformation to that of his mount he was thought to possess the same characteristics, passions and temperaments symbolized by those physical features. In this case a man who was built like a hog-necked horse would also be prone to harming others (run the rider against a wall, stone, or tree), be unreasonable (obstinate and restive) and violently irrational and unwilling to take direction (when held in they rear and endeavour to throw the rider) in contravention to a properly functioning civil society.

⁵⁹ Johann Casper Lavater, *Essays on physiognomy, designed to promote the knowledge and the love of mankind. By John Caspar Lavater, ... Illustrated by more than eight hundred engravings ... Executed by, or under the inspection of, Thomas Holloway. Translated from the French by Henry Hunter, ...In 3 Volumes* (London: printed for John Murray; H. Hunter; and T. Holloway, 1789-98), Vol 2, 107.

⁶⁰ Giambattista della Porta as quoted in Lavater, *Essays on physiognomy*, Vol. 2, 107. Della Porta's work on physiognomy was considered in the eighteenth century to be a commentary on Aristotle's *History of Animals* and *Treatise on Physiognomy*, and was widely followed and copied by other physiognomists, artists, theorists and caricaturists such as Charles Le Brun, Francis Grose, Henry William Bunbury and Thomas Rowlandson. Arline Meyer, 'Man's Animal Nature: Science, Art, and Satire in Thomas Rowlandson's "Studies in Comparative Anatomy"', in *Humans and Other Animals in Eighteenth-Century British Culture: Representation, Hybridity, Ethics*, ed. Frank Palmeri (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006), 128-129; Madeleine Pinault Sørensen, 'Portraits of Animals, 1600-1800,' in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Age of Enlightenment*, trans. Janice C. Zinser, ed. Mathew Senior (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2007), 166-169.

⁶¹ Lavater, *Essays on physiognomy*, 2nd printing, Vol 2, 180.

Performing Horse-Men



[Figure 2: Giambattista della Porta, *De humana physiognomonia libri IIII* (1586), 83. Courtesy of the US National Library of Medicine's Historical Anatomies on the Web Project, www.nlm.nih.gov/exhibition/historicalanatomies/porta_home.html]

Baret argued that not only were the qualities of the rider visualized through the actions of the horse, through physiognomy and pathognomy, but that both the virtuous and monstrous elements of the rider's interiority were magnified through the horse's mediating influence, and as a result, were made far more clear to a spectator than if the rider had appeared on foot. He wrote: 'for the least disorder in the gesture of the man, causeth a greater in the horse, not onely in his teachings ... but also in the grace of his show, for the least error that a man doth commit in the government of himselfe [mentally and physically], is increased in the horse, in a double proportion.' Likewise for Thomas de Grey in his 1639 manual of horsemanship: '*For the countenance is the true Index of the minde: And a lewd looke prognosticateth a lewd condition: And again; a deformed countenance doth delineate a wicked and deformed disposition and manners*'.⁶² '[E]very free agent' could be judged by his actions when dismounted; however, for a horseman it was not only his actions and self-government that was visible, but his success in virtuous bridling could become a spectacle through his horse.⁶³ Not only could a horseman's

⁶² Thomas de Grey, *The compleat horseman and expert ferrier: In two bookes.* (London: Thomas Harper, and are to be sold by Nicholas Vavasour, at his shop in the inner Temple neere the church doore, 1639), 23. This work was reprinted in 1651 and 1670.

⁶³ Baret, *An Hipponomie*, Book I, 41.

bodily actions divulge 'the secret fantasies of the minde,'⁶⁴ a horseman's reason and control of his passions, but now the actions of the horse could (even more) as well.

These 'fantasies of the minde' were self-consciously, intentionally and determinedly visualized before audiences primarily composed of men; although men of varying education and ways of seeing differentiated by class, economic standing, horsemanship knowledge and variances in normative horsemanship discourses. Even though the vast majority of training and riding of a horse took place within the confines of a 'private' environment, such as a nobleman's *manège*, riding house or fallow field, horsemanship was an essentially 'public' calling. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries 'public' and 'private' actions of a man could greatly influence his honourable reputation within society. Historians of gender have shown, for example, that sexual behaviour and patriarchal control of the household could equally influence a man's honour in more 'public' activities such as political involvement. As most scholars of gender argue, to enact governed and rational actions within the 'private' household greatly influenced a man's 'public' honour, reputation and social standing.⁶⁵ In Richard Cust's words: 'The "public" and the "private" are, and were, constantly intertwined, particularly in the early modern period when the family was routinely perceived as a microcosm of the commonwealth.'⁶⁶ To generate honour, reputation and virtue a man could visualize his manliness both in his 'private' home or in 'public' to enhance his 'public' (Vineyard) reputation as a horseman.

Even when horsemanship was practiced in 'private' there were family members, household servants, grooms and visiting apprentice riders there to see. As Lucy Worsley has shown, Cavendish made it a habit to ride before others in his riding house at Welbeck Abbey on a daily basis before and after his exile; and his servants John Booth and Andrew Clayton recorded that 'the horses were a Rideing and we present as usually.'⁶⁷ While riding before the uninitiated, servants or grooms did help to uphold patriarchal norms within the 'little commonwealth'⁶⁸ of the home and did convey honour to the horseman to some extent (it did elevate him over non-riders), performing before non-Vines did not produce the requisite honour

⁶⁴ Richard Brathwaite, *The English gentleman containing sundry excellent rules, or exquisite observations, tending to direction of every gentleman, of selecter ranke and qualitie; how to demeane or accommodate hi mselfe [sic] in the manage of publike or private affaire* (London: Printed by Felix Kyngston [and R. Badger], and are to be sold by Robert Bostocke at his shop at the signe of the Kings head in Pauls Church-yard, 1633), 5.

⁶⁵ Richard Cust, 'Honour and Politics in Early Stuart England: The Case of Beaumont vs. Hastings', *Past & Present* 149 (November 1995): 81. Shepherd, *Meanings of Manhood*.

⁶⁶ Cust, 'Honour and Politics', 61.

⁶⁷ Lucy Worsley and Tom Addyman, 'Riding Houses and Horses', 216.

⁶⁸ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, 75.

for being a member in good standing within the Vineyard of Horsemanship. For a man to define his honourable status within the Vineyard, to be ‘publicly’ reputed and viewed as an élite horseman, it was not the opinions of the uneducated that he must win, but those of other Vineyard horsemen. It was through spectacular action on horseback that a horseman’s honour, virtue, governing ability and potential for usefulness to the commonwealth could be visualized, and his hierarchical membership to the Vineyard was determined. As Anthony Dent argued for sixteenth-century riders, ‘ideal horsemanship’ ‘had everything to do with display, with ‘magnificence’, and was ‘above all theatrical’ with necessary ‘presentation either to a select audience of the Prince and his court or less frequently to the eyes of the vulgar’.⁶⁹ As in the sixteenth so in the seventeenth century, for Cavendish and his predecessors only fellow horsemen who were themselves knowledgeable capable of conveying honour were worthy of witnessing spectacular performances and bestowing honour in turn. According to Baret, ‘they are not Horsemen which are set on practice, and haue the applause of the common people, but hee which knoweth how to gouerne and teach his Horse aright, and so to bring him to true obeience.’ For him there was ‘[n]o credit in the vulgar applause’ of the non-Vineyard man, but only in the display of a horseman’s knowledge in the true governing of himself and his horse before other Vines.⁷⁰

These viewing Vines, themselves spectacular horsemen, must further, according to Baret, ‘bee set so that the Sunne may nourish them, that is, they must direct all their worke in such sort that they may be ripened with the heat of the truth, and so they shall the more easily obtaine their desire’ to be perfect horsemen and complete members of the Vineyard. They must learn to identify and come to adopt in all of their actions the ‘true’ or Vineyard-defined methods of (continental) horsemanship, not ‘traditional’ (English), and visibly ‘*species infinit*’ (infinite beauty) within themselves and other horsemen – they must gain the truth of sight and judgment – and the ‘higher that they grow by the frames aforesaid,’ by practice and experience, ‘the more shall bee their knowledge in the truth’ and their ability to identify and see beautifully governed horsemanship. The ability to know truth, to see, increased with knowledge and practice (as did, conversely, the opacity of a horseman’s visible governance of his horse), and the more a horseman could see the more he was able to understand the goal of horsemanship (graceful perfection), and the methods (aids) and time needed to ‘obtaine’ perfect horsemanship (their desire). As Gervase Markham recorded in his 1607 *Cavelarice*: a true Vine, or ‘euen the finest

⁶⁹ Dent, *Horses in Shakespeare’s England*, 89.

⁷⁰ Baret, *An Hipponomie*, Book 1, 28.

eyde beholder must hardly perceyue the motion [of another Vine's leg aids], otherwise it is grosse and vncomely'. For him, agreeing with Salomon de la Broue – another of Pignatelli's pupils – horsemen who made visible their communication with their mounts, those who displayed 'farre fetcht motions with the legges, these flancke spurrings, and vnversitie riding, euer digging in a horses sides' visualized 'the most preposterous motions that can be seene in a horseman'. Such elementary, non-perfected, visibility illustrated a rider's ignorance, 'the roote of all euils and disorder', and non-Vine identity.⁷¹ Indeed, the more a horseman/spectator knew and practiced the 'true' or normative horsemanship (heat of the truth) the more he was able to see, to understand and recognize, exceptional horsemanship – and by extension – exceptional honour in other Vines. The level and quality of honour extended to men of the Vineyard, like the 'community of honour', was of different quality and amount depending on the honourable or knowledgeable standing of the bestower. The higher the status the more honour could be conveyed; thus, the further a man traveled down horsemanship's path the more he would contribute to keeping the Vineyard weed free by furthering the proper horsemanship methodologies and ideologies, and by identifying and selecting other Vines who were visibly worthy of membership while excluding those who were not.⁷²

Cavendish followed these tenets of the Vineyard, and consciously sought out honour and reputation from other high-ranked Vines (those able to see) throughout his horsemanship career.⁷³ There is evidence that when Cavendish was exiled in Antwerp and living in the former home of Peter Paul Rubens, he had Rubens' painting studio converted into a small *manège*. This 'famous riding house' was graced with a viewing gallery for the comfort and enjoyment of his many notable equestrian guests, which included the Marquess of Caracena, the Marquess of Seralvo (Master of horse to Don John and governor for the castle of Antwerp) and Don John of Austria.⁷⁴ Cavendish recorded in his *A New Method* that he had ridden 'three *Horses*' and his 'Esquire five' before 'many Noble-Men of *Flanders*, as the Duke of *Ascot*, and others' who reported to Don John that Cavendish's horses were such '*that they wanted nothing of Reasonable Creatures, but Speaking.*' Later, the Marquess of Caracena was 'civilly earnest to see' Cavendish ride, and upon completion of his performances, as Cavendish recorded, 'some *Spaniards* that

⁷¹ Gervase Markham, *Cauelarice, or The English horseman* (London: Printed [by Edward Allde and W. Jaggard] for Edward White, and are to be solde at his shop neare the little north doore of Saint Paules Church at the signe of the Gun, 1607), Book II, 74, 100.

⁷² Baret, *An Hipponomie*, 'Book I,' 24, 21-22.

⁷³ Walker also argues that horsemanship was central to Cavendish's drive to be viewed as a man of status and influence during the troubling years of his exile and eventual return to England. Walker, *To Amaze the People*.

⁷⁴ Lucy Worsley and Tom Addyman, 'Riding Houses and Horses', 217.

were with him, cross'd themselves, and cried, *Miraculo.*' In addition to these great men, Cavendish's *manège* attracted 'Many *French* Gentlemen, and Persons of the greatest Quality of that Nation' including 'the Prince of *Conde*', and his fame as a horseman brought even the '*Landgrave of Hesse*' (Landgrave Friedrich of Essen-Eschwege) from Germany. Cavendish received so many people to his *manège* that 'It would fill a Volume, to repeat all the Commendations that were given to [his] *Horses*, and to [his] *Horsemanship*, by several worthy Gentlemen, of all Nations, *High and Low-Dutch, Italians, English, French, Spaniards, Polacks, and Swedes*, in my own private *Riding-House*, at *Antwerp*; which though very large, was often so full, that my Esquire, Capt. *Mazin*, had hardly Room to *Ride*'.⁷⁵ Through his spectacular horsemanship, his visibly élite skill on horseback, Cavendish's reputation as a great man grew to the extent that the social, political and equestrian élite of the continental courts traveled from all across Europe to witness the miracles he could perform with his reasonable creatures.

The interior of a similar riding house, possibly a French school, to that of Cavendish's is illustrated in his *A General System*. This image (Figure 3), situated on the first page of the first chapter and drawn by Charles Parrocell, clearly illustrates the diverse classes of men within the Vineyard who would have been present at a riding school at any one time.⁷⁶ In the foreground the Master of the school, or trainer like Cavendish was to his visiting Impes and Vines, directs his pupils and provides supporting aids from the ground to help the training of the horsemen. The horsemen themselves are shown performing the advanced movements of the *manège* and *haute école*, the actions so important to Cavendish's system of manly equestrian spectacle, such as (from left to right) the *capriole*, trot or *passage*, *curvet* or *pesate* and *piaffeur*. In the background are unoccupied '*Palsrenier*' or grooms,⁷⁷ invited spectators and other horsemen waiting for their turn to learn from the Master. The exact identities of the viewers remain unknown, as do those of the riders, in this print; however, the continuous spectatorship of the audience and admirable performance by the horsemen are clear. Having other Vines witness honourable horsemanship had the potential to elevate the rider within the Vineyard, and Cavendish certainly was attempting to do just that by inviting spectators to his *manège*.

⁷⁵ Cavendish, *A New Method*, 'To the Readers'. For further information on Cavendish's visitors to his *manège* at Antwerp see Rubenshuis and Rubenianum, *Royalist Refugees*, 50.

⁷⁶ Charles Parrocel (1688-1751) was also the illustrator for François Robichon de la Guérinière's 1733 *Ecole de Cavalerie (School of Horsemanship)*, and was in high demand and greatly respected for his representations of horsemen. Jack C. Schuman, 'Introduction,' in Guérinière, [*Ecole de Cavalerie*] *School of Horsemanship*, xii-xiii.

⁷⁷ Cavendish, *A General System*, Plates 23-28.



[Figure 3: Charles Parrocel, 'A Riding Academy,' in *A General System of Horsemanship*, [1743], by William Cavendish (2000).]

However, for Cavendish horsemanship was not simply a method of gaining and keeping manly honour through beautiful riding, it was also fundamentally central to the maintenance and strength of the nobility and the monarchy (newly restored).⁷⁸ For him, horsemanship, manly horsemanship within the Vineyard, was the amalgamation of honour and political governance visualized through the 'public' ceremony of riding itself. To be a virtuous and manly Vine within the Vineyard was to be a political animal who made visible his governance through horsemanship. As such, 'Seremoney though itt is nothing in itt Selfe, yett it doth Every thing,' argued Cavendish in his letter of advice to Charles II (written in late 1658 or early 1659, and presented to Charles during the spring of 1659). '[F]or what is a king,' he continued,

more than a subiecte, Butt for seremoney, & order, when that fayles him, hees Ruiend,—what is the Church, without Seremoney, & order, when that fayles, the Church is Ruind,—what is the Lawe without Seremoney, & order, when that fayles, the Lawe Goes Downe, ... what is a Lord more Then a footman, without Seremoney, & order,—A Dispised Title, —what is parents, & Childeren, masters, & Servants, officers in all kindes, in the Comon wealthe, without Seremoney, And order, nothing at all,—Nay what is an Armeey without Seremoney, & order, & there the strictest Seremoney, & order, for hee that Continues Longest in order, which is In Bodes, wines the Battle: — what are all Counsells, & states, without Seremoney, & order, nothing but Confution, &

⁷⁸ Lucy Worsley and Tom Addyman also point out the relationship between Cavendish's horsemanship and his political theories. 'Riding Houses and Horses', 216.

Ruin, So that Seremoney, & order, with force, Governes all, both In peasce, & warr, & keepes Every man, & Every thing within the Circle of their owne Conditions⁷⁹.

Cavendish was unhappy with the luxury and perceived effeminacy of the court under Charles I, and lamented the decline of courageous, chivalrous and ‘traditionally’ manly pursuits and visualities. According to Lynn Hulse, Cavendish ‘believed that Charles’s failure to maintain ceremony and degrees of honor had ultimately weakened the nobility and brought them into contempt’ – eventually resulting in the Civil Wars.⁸⁰ As a result, it was through the visible displays of power, honour and élite manhood, for Cavendish, that the establishment and maintenance of a social and class order within English society were upheld, republicanism was repulsed and another Civil War, or ‘horid rebellion’, was effectively avoided.⁸¹ If the people were allowed to leave the ‘Circle of their owne Conditions’, or their allotted position on the chain of being, to interfere with government and state affairs, the central power of the monarch would be defused.⁸² There would be no coherent government, no order, and the state would fall; it was through ‘Seremoney’, in spectacular horsemanship, that this order and power partially were upheld.

This ceremony, while certainly present in a *manège* or an academy, was also a constant element in and visible reason for the Elizabethan and Tudor jousts. When not hosting visitors at his own *manège* Cavendish was advocating that the King and the nobility spend their time in a decidedly archaic practice: in running at the ring, tilting and jousting in order to display visibly their own honour before other Vines. Cavendish was a self-identified Elizabethan throughout his life, and nostalgic references to Elizabethan government run rampant throughout his political writings as do references to Elizabethan chivalry in his horsemanship manuals.⁸³ Martin Butler described this tendency of his as an indication of Cavendish being ‘out of his depth in Charles’

⁷⁹ William Cavendish, *Newcastle's Advice to Charles II* [1658-59] (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1984), 44-45.

⁸⁰ Hulse, “‘The King’s Entertainment’”, 378.

⁸¹ Cavendish, *Newcastle's Advice to Charles II*, 35. Conal Condren also argues that for Cavendish all ‘that separates a king from a subject is ceremony’. Conal Condren, ‘Casuistry to Newcastle: ‘The Prince’ in the world of the book,’ in *Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain*, eds. Nicholas Phillipson and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 169, 180.

⁸² Anzilotti, *An English Prince*, 24.

⁸³ Cavendish even wrote to Lord Fairfax during the Civil Wars to invite him to chivalrous single combat: ‘This [single combat] is more conformable to the Examples of our Heroicke Ancestors, who used not to spend their time in scratching one another out of holes, but in pitched Fields determined their doubts. This would quickly set a Period to the sufferings of the People, unlesse he desire rather to prolong those miserable distractions, which were begun with breach of Promise. It were pitty if his desires lead him this way, but he should be satisfied: And let the God of Battels determine the right of our English Laws and Liberties.’ William Cavendish, *An answer of the Right Honourable Earle of Newcastle, his excellency &c. to the six groundless aspersions cast upon him by the Lord Fairfax in his late warrant (here inserted) bearing date Feb. 2, 1642 by the Earl himselfe* (Printed at Oxford and reprinted at Shrewsbury: 1642), 11.

progressive court, isolated, distrustful and saddened by the decline of the English nobility.’⁸⁴ However, as Conal Condren argues, Cavendish’s exhibition of the old followed widespread acceptance of the ‘traditional’ within English society.⁸⁵ Chivalrous traditions within politics, for Cavendish, were lamented for their decline, and were lauded as signifying a time where ‘men of honour flourished’ who ‘brought rebellion to reason and government.’⁸⁶ Indeed, Cavendish repeatedly advocated chivalrous honour, physical robustness and an independent life to the two Charleses (first in a letter to Charles I before he took the throne and again to Charles II) in order to offset the negative influence on the kingdom of what he saw as disastrously effete courtiers. This view is supported in Cavendish’s play *The Variety* (written c.1639-1641 and published in 1649) where the hero, aptly named Manly, frequently masquerades as the Elizabethan Earl of Leicester in a play set in a time contemporaneous to Cavendish’s own. The Earl, like Cavendish, was ‘an embodiment of proud, baronial independence’.⁸⁷

Also lamented for their decline, and once considered a central element to both reasoned honour and ideal government, were the ceremonious competitions on the jousting field. Cavendish recommended to the King that he should ‘ride’ his ‘Horses of manege, twice a weeke, which will Incurage Noble men, to Doe the Like, to wayte of’ him and to ‘To make matches, with the Noble men, So many of aside, to rune Att the Ringe, for a supper, & a play, or Some Litle Juell’. Upon the King’s coronation day, Cavendish wrote, it would be beneficial to the commonwealth if the King was ‘to have, a Tilting by your young Lordes, & other Great persons’. Such virtuous exercises were no longer performed at Charles’ masque-loving court, a change Timothy Raylor shows was due to Charles’ desire to be viewed as the focus, rather than the jousting baronage, for all court entertainment. In a tournament, Raylor argues, the focus was on the horsemen, not the King (unless he personally participated in the tourney, an activity Charles was not a practitioner of), who become spectacles to further their own honour for their independent reputations and for that of their monarch. In a masque, by contrast, the representation of the monarch is not that of a ruler who depends on his nobles for prestige, but as one upon whom the nobles depend. However, even in light of these changes at court Cavendish still felt, incorrectly perhaps, that tournaments were necessary to entice other nobles to the

⁸⁴ Martin Butler, *Theatre and Crisis 1632-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 195.

⁸⁵ Condren, ‘Casuistry to Newcastle’, 183.

⁸⁶ Cavendish, *The Variety [1641]*, as quoted in Rubenshuis and Rubenianum, *Royalist Refugees*, 18.

⁸⁷ Timothy Raylor, ‘A Manuscript Poem on the Royal Progress of 1634: An Edition and Translation of John Westwood’s “Carmen Basileuporion”’, *The Seventeenth Century, Special Issue: The Cavendish Circle* 9 no. 2 (Autumn 1994): 176.

activity and to make visible to 'the Lordes And the Ladeies' the honour and embodied chivalry of the participants and the English monarchy.

Cavendish even went so far as to host a tournament as a part of the festivities at Welbeck during Charles I's visit there in 1633. John Westwood recorded much of the visit, including the *manège* and *haute école* performances, and presented a copy of the finished Latin text to Charles Cavendish (William's brother) in 1634. At the arrival of the King to Welbeck, Westwood reports there was a vast crowd consisting of the local ruling élite, including 'knights' or horsemen who 'rush in from either side upon their stout racing mounts' present to welcome him to Cavendish's estate. Once the tournament itself begins, the men, who 'the sacred hunger for renown has goaded' and who 'demand ... the high honour of men',⁸⁸ joust or tilt before an audience consisting of Vines (including the King) and common people. Chivalrous and hospitable equestrian performance on the tilt yard, frequently accompanied by displays of *manèged* and *haute école* horsemanship, constituted 'the most Glorious Sight That can bee seen, & the most manlyeste' activity available to an élite. They were also an activity that almost guaranteed – if performed properly, as we will see – to generate honour for the performers, elevate their position within the Vineyard, and to draw other gentlemen to spectacular horsemanship; they ultimately lead to the security and honour of the Vineyard and the commonwealth itself.⁸⁹ Ceremony was the means of ensuring obedience from man and horse, for Condren, through 'a habitual acceptance of status which is affirmed ... in ritualistic display.'⁹⁰ As Richard McCoy argues, chivalrous spectacles were 'as much a celebration of the aristocracy's enduring martial aspirations and exalted social status' as they were about celebrating coronation anniversaries.⁹¹ Ceremonies such as those of the tilt yard and *manège* were enacted for the preservation of the self, honour of the Vineyard and security of the body politic.⁹²

iii. EMBODYING *BON HOMME A CHEVAL*

When Cavendish hosted guests to his *manège* or practiced his ceremonial horsemanship what the spectators would have viewed was a man who had not only visualized his governance of himself through the bodily actions of his horse, but also his level of governance and skill in

⁸⁸ John Westwood, '[Carmen Basileuporion sive Regale iter] Royal Journey Ode or The Royal Journey', Jackson Bryce, trans. *The Seventeenth Century, Special Issue: The Cavendish Circle* 9 no. 2 (Autumn 1994): 193.

⁸⁹ Alan Young and George Philip, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (London: George Philip, 1987), 67. Cavendish, *Newcastle's Advice to Charles II*, 61.

⁹⁰ Condren, 'Casuistry to Newcastle', 175.

⁹¹ Richard McCoy as quoted in Lucy Worsley and Tom Addyman, 'Riding Houses and Horses,' 218.

⁹² Condren, 'Casuistry to Newcastle', 176.

horsemanship through his becoming of one with his mount as all good Vines were supposed to do. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the boundaries between what was considered 'human' and 'animal' were porous, malleable, with movement between the two categories commonplace. An example of this, one among many and one of the most famous, can be found in the remarkable life of Mary Toft who was thought to have given birth to rabbits, seventeen all told, in October 1726. Her monstrous births were eventually found to be a hoax, but what is so remarkable about her story was not that she fascinated London for over a month, but that Mary was believed by the general public and was even legitimized by learned physicians who had examined her during and after her supposed birthing episodes.⁹³ For her early eighteenth-century society it was possible for a human to be partially animal, and for an animal to be partially human – a true human-animal; however, according to many scholars of early-modern human animal identities, such boundary migration was generally not desired. The potential for bestiality was frequently manifested as insult, slander and dishonour, and was generally associated with connotations of irrationality and inhumanity in general, as Erica Fudge, Dennis Todd, Licia Carlson and Alexandra Shepard have shown.⁹⁴ That being said, for Cavendish, to be viewed and visualized as partially animal was the ultimately élite and usefully spectacular way of being.

As we have seen, Vines within the Vineyard did not possess the same level of skill, or of honour, due to differences in their horsemanship ability; it was only those who were Masters, those who had perfected horsemanship, who would be visualized and viewed as one entity with their mount. In this instance the communication, aids, between man and horse would be so slight as to be almost invisible, and the horse, due to advancement in training, would seem to obey his rider's very thoughts. Cavendish advised his readers that '[s]hould it be necessary to pinch him with the spurs, the bent of the ham puts them so much the nearer to him; and that motion ought to

⁹³ See Dennis Todd, *Imagining Monsters: Miscreations of the Self in Eighteenth-Century England* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Erica Fudge, Ruth Gilbert and Susan Wiseman, eds. *At the Borders of the Human: Beasts, Bodies and Natural Philosophy in the Early Modern Period* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1999); and Erica Fudge, Ruth Gilbert and Susan Wiseman, 'Introduction: the Dislocation of the Human' in their *Borders of the Human*, for information on Mary Toft and other animalized 'humans' like Peter the Wild Boy.

⁹⁴ Erica Fudge, *Brutal Reasoning: Animals, Rationality, and Humanity in Early Modern England* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2006); Todd, *Imagining Monsters*; Licia Carlson, 'The Human as Just an Other Animal: Madness, Disability, and Foucault's Bestiary,' in *Phenomenology and the Non-Human Animal*, eds. Corinne Painter and Christian Lotz (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer, 2007), 117-134; Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*. Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park argue that monstrosity in the early seventeenth century had the potential to produce feelings of wonder or admiration in an audience, but by the end of the century and into the eighteenth monstrosity created more disgust and distaste among Enlightenment thinkers than admiration. Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* (New York: Zone Books, 2001), 212.

be very little, and performed with secrecy [sic], as if you did not help him at all.’⁹⁵ A spectator who was not highly educated in Vineyard horsemanship was not able to see the rider’s aids being delivered, while a knowledgeable spectator was, due to his own education in horsemanship, made aware of the finer nuances of the rider’s opaque kinesthetic governance of his mount. He was then able to judge how fine, how nuanced, and how refined, the communication was within the human-animal, and then determine the skill, and by extension, reasoned honour of the rider. When viewing a Master such as Cavendish, a knowledgeable viewer ideally was to see an intersubjective becoming of one; a becoming that was at once metaphorical and an embodied reality. For Cavendish, the act of riding at the highest level created a being which bodily experienced ‘but one Body, and one Mind’.⁹⁶ For Ben Jonson, quoting the human-animal beliefs of horseman, Phillip Sidney, from the sixteenth century, Cavendish was mythic in his human-animal stature; he was heroic, strong and embodied the Centaur:

When first, my lord, I saw you back your horse,
 Provoke his mettle, and command his force
 To all the uses of the field and race,
 Methought I read the ancient art of Thrace,
 And saw a Centaure, past those Tales of Greece,
 So seem’d your horse and you both of a piece!
 You shew’d like Perseus upon Pegasus,
 Or Castor mounted on his Cyllarus:
 Or what we hear our home-born legend tell,
 Of bold Sir Bevis and his Arundell.⁹⁷

Just as Donna Haraway’s companion species are ‘co-constitutive’, so also horsemen for Cavendish were fashioned through the willed kinesthetics of their horses and their horses were formed through the rational domination of the rider in a reciprocal relationship that produced embodied human-animal ‘sybiogenesis’.⁹⁸ By coming to know the other’s ‘culture’, as Ann Game argues, man and horse learn the language of riding, of communication, and over time come to inhabit the other. Horsemanship, for her as we saw in Chapter I, ‘is the bringing to life of *the* relation between horse and rider, involving a mutual calling up of horse and rider in each other. What horse and rider entrain with is the relation, the rhythm between, the transporting

⁹⁵ Cavendish, *A General System*, 90.

⁹⁶ Cavendish, *A New Method*, 13. This phrase can be traced back to sixteenth-century authors of horsemanship such as Christopher Clifford’s 1585 *The schoole of Horsemanship*, and is also found in other authors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from Michael Baret and Joseph Blagrave to Richard Berenger.

⁹⁷ Ben Jonson, ‘An Epigram to William Earl of Newcastle,’ in *The Works of Ben Jonson* (London: Elibron Classics, Adamant Media Corporation, 2005), 331; Phillip Sidney, *The Defence of Poesie* (London: Printed for VVilliam Ponsonby, 1595), 1 of 78.

⁹⁸ Donna Haraway, *The Companion Species Manifesto: Dogs, People, and Significant Otherness* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2003), 32.

flow, the *riding*.⁹⁹ This living of the centaur is remarkably similar to what can be found in Cavendish's relationships with his nonhumans, and of his self visualization. For him, a truly elite horseman was intentionally visualized and viewed as metaphorically part beast, while the horseman would physically experience the two into one through sharpened communication and increasing obedience to the rider's aids; the rider would seem simply to think his command and the horse would instantly obey with their shared mind in a clear instance of what is today called the 'isopraxis phenomenon'. As Vinciane Despret writes: 'Unintentional movements of the rider occur ... when the rider thinks about the movements the horse should perform. The horse feels them and, simultaneously, *reproduces* them.'¹⁰⁰ These movements are refined in the rider simultaneously while the horse becomes increasingly sensitive and able to understand them as the human-animal's training in the *manège* progresses. They eventually become internalized as habit, and are expressed as unintentional or unconscious movements; as a result, the rigorous training in the *manège* 'will manifest the difference betwixt the true knowing and ignorant Riders, which will be perceived by the very Horses doings', argued Joseph Blagrave in 1669; in this situation 'the Horse doth represent and express himself most beautiful, and thereby renders the expert Rider and the Horse to appear most nobly, with such delight to the Beholders, that they will seem to be ravished with it.'¹⁰¹ An expert rider and his horse would become beautiful to the knowledgeable spectators who would be in awe at the human-animalness of the pair. What Cavendish argued was the ideal state of being for a manly horseman of the Vineyard, was a very real, continual, essential, and empowering inhabiting of the other, in Game's formulation, through the art of riding; for the horsemen of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the boundaries between the defined categories of 'human' and 'animal', between rider and mount, were desirably nonexistent.¹⁰²

One sketch of Peter Paul Rubens vividly illustrates this becoming of the other as mutual agential action while making clear the long tradition of such representation and reality in Western society. In his c. 1603 *The Lost Battle of Anghiari*, a copy of the now missing work by Leonardo da Vinci, the boundaries between animal and human are effectively erased (Figure 4). The embattled figures in the upper right are depicted with rider facing rider and horse engaging

⁹⁹ Game, 'Riding: Embodying the Centaur,' 5.

¹⁰⁰ Vinciane Despret, 'The Body We Care For: Figures of Anthro-zoo-genesis,' *Body & Society* 10 no. 2-3 (2004), 115.

¹⁰¹ Joseph Blagrave, *The Epitome of the Art of Husbandry* (London: Printed for Ben. Billingsley and Obadiah Blagrave, 1669), 284.

¹⁰² Cavendish, *A New Method*, 13; Hope, 'Supplement of Riding,' 1; Ann Game, 'Riding: Embodying the Centaur,' *Body & Society* 1 (2001): 8.

horse in an interesting visualization of a horse actively moving to support the life, livelihood, reputation and honour of his rider. The horses are shown to be as enraged, as violent and as committed to the fight as the human riders; here they do more than reflect the emotional status of the rider as subjectless signboards, and instead the horse feels the emotion of the rider and comes to share and express it through intentional action in a moment of being more than pure horse. This 'mixing of the centaur' is literally embodied by the first mounted figure on the left. With the head of the horse conspicuously missing, this actual Centaur, shown *en pasade*, possesses the body of a horse and the head of a human. With his animalness emphasized by the ram-head flourish on his breastplate and the mirrored swirls of the ram's horns and shell ornaments on his helmet and armor, the body of the human rider has been contorted and twisted to conceal the equine nonhuman form of the horse and to replace it with the mastery of the human-animal Centaur.



[Figure 4: Peter Paul Rubens after Leonardo da Vinci, 'The Lost Battle of Anghiari' (c. 1603).]

The Centaur figures in Rubens' work also highlight a further discourse and ontology found within the Vineyard: that of nonhuman animal agency and honour creation. While all of the personal governance requirements of the Vineyard are relatively similar to those for

belonging to the wider community of honour, the Vineyard was a community made up of both humans and animals. The manly honour and enviable reputation of the Vine was not created, held or lost by the human alone; the nonhuman horse in the human-animal partnership was also thought to act as an independent – and frequently rational – honourable member of the partnership. We saw this in Chapter I in the extract from ‘Horse, an, epitaph upon’, published in the *Annual Register*, where the horse was described as a friend and fellow in arms who was strong and virtuous in battle while remaining a trustworthy companion for his rider. Here it was the horse that gained and held honour rather than his rider.¹⁰³ However, when read with the Centaur in mind, the epitaph automatically reflects the honour and martial skill of the rider as well. As with Rubens’ sketch and Cavendish’s ideal becoming of two into one, the actions of the horse – along with any ascribed honour – were a reflection and addition to the honour of the rider. One was made visible in the other, and the Vine horse – or the Centauric nonhuman half of the human-animal – would work of its own volition to support the manly reputation and visibility of his rider.

This was also a primary component of Cavendish’s welcome tournament for Charles at Welbeck. As Westwood recorded:

The knights rush in from either side upon their stout racing mounts; all at one you could view the rivalry of both knights and steeds. One violently jolts [possibly in *capriole*], while another walks at a trot [*piaffeur*]; a third races slack-reined at full tilt [superior governance and seat to ride without the aid of the reins]. Everything is aglitter, decked out with rare art, and in rivalry each steed displays his new embossed trappings. This one shows off his mantle; and that one, his sleek neck wrapped with a collar, struts his limbs in close array. Another wears golden accoutrements, a many-layered collar; another floats on high a crest with varicoloured plumes. Wondrous splendour shines on every side.¹⁰⁴

In Westwood’s account, it is the horses that display the same rivalry as their riders. Here it is the horses that proudly show off their clothes and physical prowess; it is the horses that ‘strut’, through the performance of the *haute école*; it is the horses that are described as rational, thinking, intelligent beings who deliberately perform as spectacles for their own and their rider’s honour. In Westwood’s anthropomorphic record, the nonhuman animals are aware of their beingness, of their subjective physical selves, and intentionally choose to enhance and spectacularize themselves in the same way as their human-animal partners in order to gain honour and reputation. They purposefully allied themselves with their Masters in order to create

¹⁰³ ‘Horse, an, epitaph upon,’ *Annual Register* 14 (December 1771): 237.

¹⁰⁴ Westwood, ‘Royal Journey Ode’, 190-191.

and maintain a particular (normative) masculinity, visible social status and visuality for themselves and for their riders.

These Centaur figures, as with the ones in Rubens' sketch and Cavendish's idea of the horse-man, also contained elements of the Platonic classical tradition of the dangerous dual-natured creature from myth – where the human-animal being could simultaneously signify both bridled nature and human dependence on unmanageable, disturbing and untrustworthy qualities. This classical centaur was a 'peculiarly mixed creature, capable both of extraordinary wisdom and equally remarkable depravity' – the centaur could represent a disturbing tendency for humans to fall into moral baseness – unlike Ann Game's idealized and spiritual becoming of the other.¹⁰⁵ A horse's passions, for Cavendish especially dangerous for the rider, must be controlled and tamed. As a result, a man's 'Reputation' or 'stampe vpon Nobilitie' was to be preserved through '*Temperence*' and '*Moderation of the minde*' or passions according to Henry Peacham. Horsemen, and seventeenth-century men in general, were to 'bridle', 'curbe' and 'breake' the 'ranke and vnruely Passions', signified by the classical centaur of myth, of themselves and their horses in order to maintain their 'Reputation and honest Fame; without which, as one saith, we are dead long before we are buryed', and from that base of guarded moderation, for man and animal, to become a 'true' horseman, a Centaur.¹⁰⁶

Expressly against Descartes' 'beast-machine' theory (even though Cavendish was one of Descartes' patrons and a close friend) and Hobbes' insistence on speech as a hallmark for rationality, horses for Cavendish were animals that were remarkably human.¹⁰⁷ Diverging from Descartes' and Hobbes' arguments on animal rationality, and worth quoting at length, Cavendish argued nonhuman animal rationality was visible and understandable to him because he was a horseman; he was a man who observed and communicated with them on a daily basis, and as such had come to recognize that they simply could not possess the level of agency experienced by him, be trained or perform his instructions without it. 'A horse must be wrought upon more by proper and frequent lessons, than by the heels, that he may know, and even think upon what he ought to do', Cavendish explained.

¹⁰⁵ Bruce Boehr, 'Shakespeare and the Devaluation of the Horse,' in *The Culture of the Horse*, eds., Karen Raber and Treva J. Tucker (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 95; Game, 'Riding: Embodying the Centaur,' 10-11.

¹⁰⁶ Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, 185-186.

¹⁰⁷ René Descartes, *Discourse on Method and the Meditations* [1637], trans., F.E. Sutcliffe (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1968), 73-76. For an introduction to Cartesian theory regarding animals see Mathew Senior, 'The Souls of Men and Beasts, 1630-1764,' *A Cultural History of Animals in the Age of Enlightenment*, ed. Mathew Senior (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2007), 23-45.

If he does not think (as the famous philosopher DES CARTES affirms of all beasts) it would be impossible to teach him what he should do. But by the hope of reward, and fear of punishment; when he has been rewarded or punished, he thinks of it, and retains it in his memory (for memory is thought) and forms a judgment by what is past of what is to come (which again is thought;) insomuch that he obeys his rider not only for fear of correction, but also in hopes of being cherish'd. But these are things so well known to a complete horseman, that it is needless to say more on the subject.¹⁰⁸

As Erica Fudge points out in her study of early-modern animal and human rationality, for Cavendish horses were able to think and had reason as nonhuman animals: 'the horse can be understood to be like a human but that the horse *as a horse* is reasonable.' Regardless of its seeming humanness, Cavendish's horses, for Fudge, remain essentially other in form and being; rationality does not equate with the human as most earlier philosophers argued.¹⁰⁹ This was because of the type of rationality and understanding experienced by the nonhuman animal. Cavendish followed the arguments of Hobbes, and other Empiricists', such as John Locke and David Hume, that animals were capable of a limited understanding of their world based on the experience of physical sensation. However, this understanding was not equal to that of humans; animals were not capable of abstract thought, nor of expressing themselves through language.¹¹⁰ This lack of human language, for Cavendish, did not necessarily mean that animals were not capable of communication; they could express their desires, thoughts and understanding to a horseman if he knew how to listen:

Altho' horses do not form their reasonings from the ABC, which, as that admirable and most excellent philosopher master HOBBS says, is no language, but the marks and representation of things, he must notwithstanding give me leave to think, that they draw their reasonings from things themselves. For instance; that I observe the clouds to darken, I see it lighten, or hear it thunder, and that I have been once wetted after having made these observations, and that a horse at pasture has been likewise wetted: tho' he knows of these words, *dark, cloud, lightning, thunder*, both he and I will notwithstanding take to our heels to shelter ourselves from the rain under the trees. So far the one is as wise as the other. I am reasoning by marks express'd in language, and he is reasoning from the presence or absence of things without these marks. The same judgment is to be made in a thousand other things.

Horses as well as humans functioned from the influence of external stimuli, and just because humans expressed their thoughts in language did not mean they were superior to a horse which expressed his thoughts through bodily action. One was as wise as the other regardless of what Hobbes said on the subject. A horse was able to know his rider, rationally to understand his

¹⁰⁸ Cavendish, *A General System*, 12.

¹⁰⁹ Fudge, *Brutal Reasoning*, 164.

¹¹⁰ Gary Steiner, *Anthropocentrism and its Discontents: The Moral Status of Animals in the History of Western Philosophy* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005), 140, 156-157.

rider's passions of 'love, hatred, thirst of revenge, envy, &c.', to the same extent that a rider could know his horse; for Cavendish there was little difference between a rational horse and a rational man on the chain of being.¹¹¹ However, it was because of this similarity of feeling, this '*compenetración*', that a horseman needed to understand horse rationality and intelligence, and to negotiate, to discourse, through 'human argument' in order to form a partnership with the nonhuman.¹¹² It was only through extensive training (entraining), through prolonged education for both human and nonhuman in communication, that the human gained mastery over the horse and its will. The horseman's Centaur was a becoming of the other, made possible by the bridling of the mind and body, and through that taking on the other coming to embody extra-human greatness, which was ultimately the result of human-animal status. Here horse will was managed and brought to follow the human, but also through that managing (*manèging*) naturally vice-ridden human nature – our earlier classical centaur – was likewise controlled and conquered; and a new (elevated élite) being of human-animal was created – a literal horse-man.

In order to become or appear as a Centaur a horseman was required to highlight a specific set of skills to other true-seeing Vines in order to avoid the label of 'ignorance' or mere 'scholar' in exchange for that of horseman.¹¹³ A true horseman, as we have seen, needed to temper his passions, but he also was required (along with his horse) to display grace, gentility and beauty while doing so. It was through experience, through long practice and labour, that such bodily ease and control was gained, and it was one of the qualities which immediately distinguished the Master from the common, lower or non-Vineyard rider. Horsemanship consisted of more than taking a 'gallop from St. Alban's to London, or to make a horse trample with a snaffle and martingal the old English way'; it took years of concentrated effort for ease on horseback to develop, and those 'are mistaken vastly, who think themselves great masters, because they have learned to ride a month or two, and have not been thrown.'¹¹⁴ A horseman, instead of concentrating on staying on or simply getting to his defined destination, the occupation of 'Presumptuous ignorant Fellows', was to develop a graceful seat with his 'breast ...in some measure advanced', his 'countenance pleasant and gay' (but not laughing), and his gaze directed 'between the horse's ears'. Once in this position (Figure 5) a horseman was required to maintain

¹¹¹ Cavendish, *A General System*, 12.

¹¹² Fudge, *Brutal Reasoning*, 164; Kirrilly Thompson, *Performing Human-Animal Relations in Spain: An Anthropological Study of Bullfighting from Horseback in Andalusia* (Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Adelaide, 2007), 231.

¹¹³ Cavendish, *A New Method*, 17.

¹¹⁴ Cavendish, *A General System*, 82; Jean Gailhard, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London: In the SAVOY: Printed by Tho. Newcomb, for John Starkey at the Mitre in Fleet Street, near Temple-Bar, 1678), 'Book II,' 50.

at all times a 'free and easy position' ('dancing with a free air') with a 'martial look, posture, and countenance on horseback', instead of sitting 'stiff like a post' or 'like a statue'.¹¹⁵ A horseman needed to move with his horse in everything that he did, he needed to flow from movement to movement while remaining strong, courageous and masterful; and it was this hard-won ease, this 'genteel' and 'martial' seat, that was a key quality necessary in the making of a 'good horseman.'



[Figure 5: Abraham van Diepenbeke, 'Plate 14,' in *A General System of Horsemanship*, [1743], by William Cavendish (2000).]

'Noble Horsemen,' began Cavendish in a letter outlining the visibility of his ideal Centaur,

there is no exercise so good, nor is any attended with more honour and dignity, than that of Riding; provided a person rides with address, which he cannot do unless he is well versed in the art. Without it, nothing seems so ridiculous, so awkward so irregular, as a man on horseback. His members appear to be dislocated, because they are out of their natural situation; and his posture uneasy, because it is constrained; whereas a good rider sits in his natural place, and his posture is easy, because free and unconstrained. It is in Horsemanship as in other things: regularity is beautiful, while distortion and compulsion must be without grace. There is an elegance moreover in Horsemanship, which looks as

¹¹⁵ Cavendish, *A New Method*, 17; Cavendish, *A General System*, 82.

if it was natural, tho' it proceeds from art. Thus, tho' a perfect horseman rides with art, it seems rather natural than acquired by practice; and he makes his horse appear as if nature had produced such a creature for no other end, but to be conducted, governed, and rid by man. What is more, a good horseman rides as one may say with harmony; for his horse being of the same mind with himself, moves in such exact manner, steps so equally, and keeps such just time; turns, piroüettes, rises so equally, so easily, so lightly, that it is very agreeable to see, as well as a very profitable science to learn. For whoever is not a perfect horseman, can never ride wither with grace or safety; and no man can be perfect in this art, unless he learns it at the Manege; because that gives him a true and sure seat, a firm hand, a heel that moves in just time, a free posture, and a powerful command, that constrains his horse. Without all this one cannot be a good horseman, nor ride a horse boldly, either for pleasure, or in war; neither pleasingly to others, nor with satisfaction to one's self.¹¹⁶

Learning the rhythm and harmony of riding, or the mechanics of horse-human communication, so agreeable and profitable an enterprise for Cavendish, was essential for horse-manship. It is this moving together that allows for the Centauric becoming, communication and visibility. According to Ann Game, 'On the part of the rider, entraining with the rhythm takes skill and awareness, and an ability to surrender to it, which can then help establish it in the horse.' This establishment, or the coming together of horse and human worlds, 'involves imagining the rhythm, feeling it in our bodies, taking it up in relation with the horse, riding into the rhythm.' For her, and for Cavendish I argue, 'There is an unmistakable moment in the process of finding-creating the rhythm when "it comes together". ... In that moment I am *with* the horse.'¹¹⁷ This ideally sustained moment, when both horse and rider move in an exact manner, was the moment that Cavendish strove for, the moment he worked with his horses to achieve, and the moment that was at the heart of his identity as a horse-man in the Vineyard. It was a moment that was impossible without the aid of skill and a sure seat. For Cavendish, a 'good seat' or '*parfaite posture*' (perfect posture),¹¹⁸ illustrated on plate 14 from his 1657-1658 and 1743 manuals (Figure 5), was of 'such importance' as it was the most visible indication of a horseman's skill and primary means of communication with his mount, was 'profitable' in that it and the resulting grace of display in a horse were 'agreeable to see', a 'pleasure', for the spectators – the spectators who decided a horseman's entrance into the Vineyard (and ranking within it) of perfectly performed horsemanship. For Cavendish the 'regular movement of a horse' and rider, like gentility, perceived governing ability, 'dignity' and manly honour, 'entirely depends upon' a

¹¹⁶ Cavendish, *A General System*, 133.

¹¹⁷ Game, 'Riding: Embodying the Centaur,' 8.

¹¹⁸ Cavendish, *A General System*, 'Plate 14'.

horse-man's ability to move in harmony and rhythm with his horse as one being – as an animalized human.

As such, those who display 'stiffness or formality', or those who are incapable of developing a good seat and Centauric harmony, 'look aukward and silly' and are incapable of bringing 'pleasure' or honour to themselves or to the spectators.¹¹⁹ 'But let us see now, how These Men are on Horse-back, and what their Horses do under them', Cavendish continues. For him, 'This Cavalier Seats as far Back in the Sadle as he can, his Leggs stretcht as far Forward before the Shoulders of the Horse, with his Toes out, that he may Spur him in the Shoulders'. This gentleman, loosely titled as such, also 'Stoops in the Back, which they call a Comely Seat; not Knowing how to hold the Bridle in his Hand, nor Ghesse at any Helps at all; and appears on Horse-back as if he were three quarters Foxt, so Ridiculous is that Seat'.¹²⁰ Unlike a graceful and composed horseman's seat this rider, as a result of his effeminate habits, inability to manage either himself or his horse, and his consequent cowardice, is deformed and ridiculous in appearance to the extent that he becomes not only effeminate but also partially inhuman. This rider is associated by Cavendish with Reynard the fox, an animal considered sly, untrustworthy, dishonest, harmful to farmers' livelihoods, and ultimately, vermin.¹²¹ A non-rider or one who was cowardly (the same creature for Cavendish and most other authors of horsemanship treatises), was not only effeminate and useless, he was associated with monstrous beastliness (generating notions of abhorrence and disgust) and harmfully emasculating vices. Indeed, a cowardly man 'is as farre from obtaining the true knowledge thereof [of horsemanship] as a Coward is to gaine so much prowess as to bee a Generall in the field' according to Baret in 1618 (a sentiment Joseph Blagrave echoed 51 years later).¹²² A cowardly man, an effeminate man, was unreasoned and became animal, brute, and then truly incapable of communication or of Vine/Centaur status. Thus, for 'he who is not *Bel homme a cheval*, or a Handsome and Graceful Horseman, shall never be *Bon homme a Cheval*, or a good Horseman.'¹²³ Awkward riders are also incapable of generating one will with their mounts, and of becoming Centaurs; they do not have 'harmony' (visually of the 'same mind') and must resort to 'distortion and compulsion' (tyranny) to force their mounts to follow their wills. Only a graceful and perfect horseman, one who has spent long hours practicing the manly art to develop a perfect posture, could claim

¹¹⁹ Cavendish, *A General System*, 30.

¹²⁰ Cavendish, *A New Method*, 9.

¹²¹ Stephen Deuchar, *Sporting Art in Eighteenth-Century England: A Social and Political History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1988).

¹²² Baret, *An Hipponomie*, 'Book I,' 33; Blagrave, *The Epitome of the Whole Art of Husbandry*, 254.

¹²³ Cavendish, *A New Method*, 206; also verbatim in Hope, 'Supplement of Riding,' 18.

honour or could, because he is a sovereign and rides with art, make his horse willingly conform to his will; he could make 'his horse appear as if nature had produced such a creature for no other end, but to be conducted, governed, and rid by man.'

We can see this in Plate Three from his *A General System* (Figure 6). Here Cavendish is not mounted, instead he is depicted as a monarch making a triumphal entrance before the worshipful gaze of his adoring subjects. He is illustrated sitting in a stately carriage reminiscent of those popular for masque enactment with a monarch's crown on his head and decorated (both him and his carriage) with royal lions, while gesturing imperiously to the surrounding circle of worshipful horses of the *manège* with a switch. Cavendish is illustrated in the manliest age, as a muscular man at the prime of his life, even though he was in his sixties by the time this print was made public, as Elaine Walker has pointed out.¹²⁴ He is shown as a 'genius' and ultimate ruler over horse/human kind through his art of horsemanship, but he is depicted as a conqueror over Centaur status as well. These beings are represented as literal centaurs who have been harnessed to Cavendish's carriage, and who are willingly, joyously, obediently and with pride, pulling (*en lavade* in accordance with the teachings of the *manège's haute école*) Cavendish on his triumphal arrival. Through his own visibly kinesthetic governance and successfully complete unity with his mounts, Cavendish has proven himself to be an élite Vine among other Vines, he has been able to 'triumph over the knights', and through his 'Philosophizing' on horseback he has come to possess the 'power to tame the spirited, and the wise'. As a result, 'all together make tribute' and bow down before his awesome majesty.¹²⁵ Cavendish, through his art, has become the Centaur among Centaurs, a governor among governors, and a Cavalier among other military Cavaliers. Cavendish is shown to be the embodiment of those who are 'triumphers both in Camps & Courts', and as an élite man capable of perfect personal (classical centaur), equestrian and commonwealth governance.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Walker, *To Amaze the People*, 221.

¹²⁵ NEWCASTLE: cest la force de ton genie.

Que te fait triompher le la Cavalerie;
Qui au choc furieux pour l'amour de la glorie.
Dedans tes combats enporte la victoire.
Dedans tes cercles tu te fais que conjurer,
Quand tu monte tes chevaux, que Philosopher;
Puis que tu dom[p]te è fougueux, et le sage,
Et que tous ensemble js te font hommage.

NEWCASTLE: that is the power of your genius.
What makes you triumph over the knights;
Who furiously collide for the love of glory.
Within the fighting win the victory.
Within your circle you ward off danger,
When you mount your horses, you Philosophize;
You have the power to tame the spirited, and the wise,
And all together make tribute to you.

Cavendish, *A General System*, Plate 3.

¹²⁶ Sidney, *The Defence of Poesie*, l of 78.

Impes in the Vineyard and Vines therein, men were required to further their labours beyond that of epistemologically shallow visibility. They needed to earn their status as honourable Vines; they could not simply mount a previously-trained horse, sit prettily there and expect to be taken seriously as horsemen by other Vines. For Cavendish, the horsemen from the academies did not receive a complete and useful education: 'For the most part of what they know, is only a Graceful seat, the rest being only a meer Rott, beat unto them by the ser form of Bauling, which Masters commonly make use of so soon as ever their Horses begin a Reprise, of the truth of which many young people when they come to a little more knowledge, are by their woful experience most sensible, especially when they come to break and work any young, Rude, or Unmannaged Horse, which is not already made to their hand.' Upon leaving the Academies, and only having learned a 'Graceful seat' and the rest by 'Rott' as part of a supposedly solid education, when a pupil came to train his own horse for the first time he would find that all he learned were some basic aids and minimal bodily control. The student had not gained the experience or expertise needed for training an inexperienced horse, he did not understand the solutions to problems in training, and he remained ignorant of how to manage his own or his horse's 'passions'.¹²⁸ He had only gained the skill of the 'setting foorth of an other mans vertue' by riding a 'perfect Horse', not the performance of his own.¹²⁹

While Peter Edwards argues that most gentlemen did not participate in the schooling of their own horses but employed other riders of similar or lower social status to do it for them, the concern expressed by Cavendish and William Hope after him over the schooling-deficient education received by gentlemanly pupils in the Academies at least points to a practical need for all horsemen to know how to train young or inexperienced mounts.¹³⁰ For Cavendish, to be a horseman, to be a Vine within the Vineyard, a man was required to know how to 'break and work any young, Rude, or Unmannaged Horse, which is not already made to their hand' for the sake of his safety while mounted on such an animal and for the sake of his honourable and manly reputation. If these steps were not taken, through the actions of the horse his own inability in governance would be made clear to knowledgeable spectators. 'Thus you see,' Cavendish argued, 'That any Groom, or Tinker, may Sit, and yet be no Horse-man, which is a Greater Business than only Sitting; for a Jackanapes in Paris Garden, when he is Baited with Musled Mastiffs, the Gentleman Sits very Sure, but not very Comely, and in my Conscience is no

¹²⁸ Hope, 'A Supplement of Horsemanship,' 6; Cavendish, *A New Method*, 45-47.

¹²⁹ Gervase Markham, *Countrie contentments, in two bookes: ...* (London: I[ohn] B[eale] for R. Iackson, and are to be sold at his shop neere Fleet-street Conduit, 1615), 35.

¹³⁰ Edwards, *Horse and Man*, 23, 44.

Excellent Horse-man· Sitting is but One thing in Horse-manship, and there are Thousands of things in the Art.¹³¹ As a result, according to Cavendish a rider needed to gain the knowledge and experienced required how to master his mount absolutely. He needed to gain the ability to govern his horse, and through this knowledge the ability to rule a people. For Cavendish, to be a Centaur was not only to sit prettily on horseback, it was to be adept at right reining.¹³²

iv. RIGHT REINING

Today most scholars of horses and horsemanship agree that the embodied act and semiotic, visual image of riding a horse were inherently political during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹³³ With that said though, the intricacies of this relationship and visuality, as we saw in Chapter I, still require clarification. This is also the case for Cavendish, that most studied of horsemen, even though Karen Raber has taken up the reins, so to speak, and has examined Cavendish's politics in relation to horsemanship; however, in her study she has not focused on his close connections to Hobbes and the following of his political philosophies. She argues that Cavendish, while he may have been a royalist on the outside, was harboring deep-seated, and possibly unknown to him, political leanings that were more in line with emerging republican philosophies than older monarchical ones. For her, Cavendish's horsemanship introduces subjectivities that point more to the 'profound, political transformation which eventually reshaped England's government as a representative republic' than to a balanced monarchy or strong class hierarchy.¹³⁴ I argue, however, that Cavendish's theories of political horsemanship (becoming Centaur) and ability to rein rightly were firmly grounded in Hobbes' theory of the state, including that of sovereignty, liberty and a strong monarch. Furthermore, I argue that the image and embodiment of a horseman was not only a symbolic representation of a body politic (as Walter Liedtke argues), but was an intrinsic component in the embodied ontology of the human-animal Centaur.¹³⁵

¹³¹ Cavendish, *A New Method*, 16. Baret also felt this way about the seat. He argued that 'hee is not a Horseman that can sit a rough Horse, but hee that can gouverne him according to the Art.' Baret, *An Hipponomie*, 'Book III,' 62. For more information on Paris Garden in the borough of Southwark and the popular animal sports that were held there, see H.E. Malden ed. "The borough of Southwark: Introduction," 125-35, in *A History of the County of Surry: Vol. 4.* (1912) British History Online, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=43041> (13/02/10).

¹³² Raber, "Reasonable Creatures," 46-47; Walter Liedtke, *The Royal Horse and Rider: Painting, Sculpture, and Horsemanship, 1500-1800* (New York: Abaris Books, 1989); J.G.A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton and London: Princeton University Press, 1975), 356.

¹³³ Raber, Tucker and Liedtke have covered this subject in the most detail.

¹³⁴ Raber, "Reasonable Creatures", 50-51.

¹³⁵ Liedtke, *The Royal Horse and Rider*.

This Hobbesian body politic, and its ruling sovereign, were by necessity, according to Jacques Derrida in his series of lectures on the subject, already partially animal. Working off Aristotle's *zöon politikon*, men, for Derrida, are in a state 'intermediate between those two other living beings that are beast and god'. For him, man is a "political animal" or "political being," but also a double and contradictory figuration ... of political man as *on the one hand* superior, in his very sovereignty, to the beast that he masters, enslaves, dominates, domesticates, or kills, so that his sovereignty consists in raising himself above the animal and appropriating it, having its life at his disposal, but *on the other hand* (contradictorily)' sovereignty consists of 'a figuration of the political man, and especially of the sovereign state *as animality*, or even as bestiality, ... either normal bestiality or a monstrous bestiality itself mythological or fabulous.' For Derrida, and Tobias Menely after him, 'Political man as superior to animality [as a God-like figure] and political man as animality' exist simultaneously.¹³⁶ When considered in light of horsemen, Derrida's figurations of political, sovereign, man as animality take on an especially important dimension. If we read Cavendish's horsemanship as Hobbesian, his human-animal other, the Centaur, becomes the artificial being of the state/human-animal with the multitude, represented by the horse, looking to become one person, or a Centaur, through the act of covenant with a sovereign, or horseman. Cavendish, in this figuration, is visualized as a mythological, fabulous, sovereign secure in his dual-natured animality with his horse, together forming the embodiment of the sovereign state as animality.

To see how this embodiment of the figurative and politically symbolic worked for Cavendish, I will first introduce Hobbes' theories of the body politic. For Hobbes man is essentially by nature in a state of violent and competitive being (as the incessant search for honour illustrates), but paradoxically continually searching for peace as a means of ensuring his security and safety. According to Hobbes, this peace is only gained through giving up of some of man's natural freedoms, such as the freedom of independent movement or resistance to a stronger body than one's self. The relinquishing of some of these freedoms or natural rights to a sovereign, or the indication of the will (desire) to relinquish them, through a 'covenant', creates 'subjects' of the natural persons. Covenant through 'Institution' created a three-tiered being for Hobbes, where in the first instance covenanting, in effect, served to 'reduce' the people's (horse's) 'Wills, by plurality of voices, unto one Will'. This resulted in a situation where the

¹³⁶ Jacques Derrida, *The Beast and the Sovereign, Volume I*, eds. Michel Lisse, Marie-Louise Mallet, and Ginette Michaud, trans. Geoffrey Bennington (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 26; Tobias Menely, 'Sovereign Violence and the Figure of the Animal, from *Leviathan* to *Windsor-Forest*,' *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33 no. 4 (2010): 567-571.

‘reall Unitie of them all’ brought into being and was represented ‘in one and the same Person’; the artificial person of a commonwealth or state (Vineyard and Leviathan). This state, this Leviathan, was an artificial monster created by human art, and had a very real and great power over the lives of the people; Hobbes defined it as: ‘One Person, of whose Acts a great Multitude, by mutual Covenants one with another, have made themselves every one the Author, to the end he may use the strength and means of them all, as he shall think expedient, for their Peace and Common Defence.’ This person, this state, as it was artificial, ‘monstrous’ in its animality and incapable (like inanimate objects or figments of the imagination according to Quentin Skinner) of acting independently of outside influence, was required to have a representative, like a servant acting out the will of his lord, to perform specific public actions on behalf of the covenanted multitude. This representative (usually a natural person able to account for and instigate his own actions), the person who represents the multitude, who ‘that carryeth this Person [of the state], is called SOVERAIGNE, and said to have *Souveraigne Power*’.¹³⁷

Cavendish followed Hobbes’ thinking in this regard; however, when it came to creating covenants, ‘a little body politic’ where the will of the multitude is ‘involved’ or ‘included’ with the will of the sovereign, with animals he seemed radically to disagree with Hobbes’ theory.¹³⁸ According to Hobbes a covenant requires the indication of the will, so ‘[T]o make Covenant with brut Beasts, is impossible; because not understanding our speech, they understand not, nor accept of any translation of Right; nor can translate any Right to another: and without mutuall acceptation, there is no Covenant.’ Man (in this instance in the role of sovereign) is not intelligible to the nonhuman animal, and because the animal (the multitude of people) cannot think abstractly or speak it is unintelligible to man. As a result, the horse/people is incapable of making its desire to covenant, to add its own interests to that of its sovereign, clear, of understanding its natural rights to man or of understanding man’s conditions of right when presented to it.¹³⁹ However, as horses were rational beings capable of understanding and (admittedly limited and dumb) communication with their riders, for Cavendish, they had will, were capable of indicating it, and horsemanship was the medium through which their othered

¹³⁷ Skinner, *Visions of Politics, Volume III*, 177-208. Hobbes as quoted in the same volume, 191-192, 198, 202, 199.

¹³⁸ Cavendish, *Newcastle's Advice to Charles II*; Hobbes as quoted in Quentin Skinner, *Hobbes and Republican Liberty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 188, 46-47, 104.

¹³⁹ Hobbes *Leviathan*, 197; Skinner, *Hobbes and Republican Liberty*, 46.

addresses, in this case their inferred will, was understood and the language of their human-animal partners was made known.¹⁴⁰

The recognizing of horses' reasoned thought, understanding and ability clearly to communicate with humans was not unique to Cavendish. Instead, much like many other aspects of his horsemanship theory, the anthropomorphizing of his horses was conducted in accordance with a longer historical tradition. The most well-known example is from the sixteenth-century author Michel de Montaigne who argued that nonhuman animals (not only horses) could think and had intelligence. To illustrate this point he questioned: 'When I play with my cat, who knows if I am not a pastime to her more than she is to me'.¹⁴¹ Montaigne's cat and Cavendish's horses share many similarities; they are agents who can think, can reason, feel, are intelligent and share 'human-like' motivations for interacting. Karen Raber argues that Cavendish's 'humanizing' of his horses 'introduces elements that work against the class hierarchy', which in turn maintain the social ranking of 'the absolute monarch and, by extension, the identity and position of the aristocracy who have traditionally been defined by their service to him.' According to Raber, Cavendish's essentially equal positioning of horses on the chain of being, and his subsequent 'humane' training of them through 'a cooperative partnership', resulted in a horse-rider relationship that 'is no longer fully, fixedly, or naturally hierarchical.'¹⁴² However, as my discussion on the formation and visualization of the human-animal Centaur has made clear, for Cavendish, and other early-modern authors, the boundaries and hierarchies between human and animal were in continual flux and subject to numerous discursive shifts; the chain-of-being hierarchy was only maintained for Cavendish through the establishment of obedience, and through that obedience an unequal and reciprocal relationship between sovereign and covenanter.

However, the wills of horses did not easily comply with those of their sovereigns; horses for Cavendish were incapable of naturally possessing the will or desire to covenant with a rider, or of understanding the concept of the transfer of right – unlike humans. It was for this reason, in addition to personal safety and the generation of honour before other Vines, that a graceful seat and great skill at schooling or *manèging* a horse were so important to Vines within the Vineyard. According to Cavendish, a sovereign horseman through his horsemanship ability was to instigate

¹⁴⁰ For Hobbes covenants could be created through verbal indicators or inferred acts: 'Signs of Inference, are sometimes the consequence of Words; sometimes the consequence of Silence; sometimes the consequence of Actions; sometimes the consequence of Forebearing an Action: and generally a signe by Inference, of any Contract, is whatsoever sufficiently argues the will of the Contractor.' Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 193-194.

¹⁴¹ Michel de Montaigne as quoted in Fudge, *Brutal Reasoning*, 95.

¹⁴² Raber, "Reasonable Creatures", 50-51; Lucy Worsley and Tom Addyman, 'Riding Houses and Horses,' 223.

the desire to covenant, teach horses how to seek it, and as master, to educate them in their rights and the rights of the sovereign by generating 'love' in, or becoming 'friends' with, his mount.¹⁴³ The horse must become fully anthropomorphized, civilized, before it can covenant or wish to do so. 'The whole' goal of horsemanship, for Cavendish, 'therefore is to make the horseman and his horse friends, and bring them to will the same thing', that is to be 'Obedient to his Rider' as patriarchal sovereign.¹⁴⁴ Indeed, an 'expert Rider' on a perfectly *manèged* horse would have 'small use of a Rod, or any other help, but to keep his true, just, and perfect seat, because his Horse, by the least token of Bridle or Spur, will do all things in such time and measure, as the Beholders will judge the Man and Horse to be but one Body, one Mind, one Will'.¹⁴⁵ The horse's state of nature, of discomfort and sense of anarchy, was similar to man's, and without a covenant with a sovereign rider the horse and man would, as Hobbes set down in his *Elements*, live in 'a *bellum omnium in omnes*, a war of all against all.'¹⁴⁶ As it was also man's, and horses', desire to live in security and peace, it was essential to seek direction, governance from the rider, and ultimately to seek to create a covenant.

This 'Ground of Dressing all Horses whatsoever' for Cavendish was knowing, after governing himself, how to govern a horse (enforce the laws) through a combination of rewards (cherishing) and punishments.¹⁴⁷ However, cherishing was only to be given in moderation; it was the 'Fear' of possible punishment that 'doth Much', for Cavendish and Hobbes, while 'Love' from the rider, or excessive leniency and cherishing, 'doth ... Little.' It was useful, but it 'is Impossible to Dress any Horse, but first he must Know, and Acknowledge me to be his Master, by Obeying me', began Cavendish in his explanation on human-animal governance; 'That is, He must *Fear* me, and out of that *Fear*, *Love* me, and so *Obey* me ... For it is *Fear* that makes every Body *Obey*, both Man and Beast'.¹⁴⁸ It is 'Fear' that creates the desire for covenants, ensures

¹⁴³ Karen Raber has shown that this language of love and friendship had a long history, and was common in manuals by the time Cavendish was writing. What was new was the connection of this discourse to Hobbesian political theory. Karen Raber, 'From Sheep to Meat, From Pets to People: Animal Domestication 1600-1800,' in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Age of Enlightenment*, ed. Mathew Senior (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2007): 76.

¹⁴⁴ Cavendish, *A General System*, 105; Cavendish, *A New Method*, 13.

¹⁴⁵ Blagrave, *The Epitome of the Whole Art of Husbandry*, 227; also verbatim in A.S., *The Gentleman's Compleat Jockey: with the Perfect Horseman, and Experience'd Farrier* (London: Printed for Henry Neime, at the Leg and Star, over-against the Royal Exchange in Cernhil, 1696), 37.

¹⁴⁶ Skinner, *Hobbes and Republican Liberty*, 94.

¹⁴⁷ Cavendish, *A New Method*, 198.

¹⁴⁸ Cavendish, *A New Method*, 196; Cavendish, *A General System*, 138-39; verbatim in Hope, 'Supplement of Riding,' 30; Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 188. This 'Fear' for Cavendish does not mean a fear of death for the horse, the 'Passions that incline men to Peace' for Hobbes, just a fear of bodily harm through punishment. However, interestingly enough when today's understandings of equine behaviour are taken into consideration, the very act of training a horse (done in isolation from its herd) very much introduces the fear of death. Horses find protection in

obedience from a horseman's inferiors, either man or animal, and it is 'Fear', like honour, that ensures a natural hierarchy of animal to man. As Cavendish summarized:

It is impossible to dress a horse before he obeys his rider, and by that obedience acknowledges him to be his master; that is, he must first fear him, and from this fear love must proceed, and so he must obey. For it is fear creates obedience in all creatures, in men as well as in beast, Great pains then must be taken to make a horse fear his rider, that so he may obey out of self-love, to avoid punishment. A horse's love is not so safe to be trusted to, because it depends on his own will; whereas his fear depends on the will of the rider, and that is being a dressed horse. But when the rider depends on the will of the horse, it is the horse that manages the rider. Love then is of no use; fear does all: For which reason the rider must make himself feared, as the fundamental part of dressing a horse. Fear commands obedience, and the practice of obedience makes a horse well dressed. Believe me, for I tell it you as a friend, it is truth.¹⁴⁹

This 'Fear', as Elisabeth LeGuin argues, did not suggest being afraid of something or someone as the more familiar designation of the word means today. Instead, LeGuin asserts, Cavendish's 'Fear' was patriarchal in tone and defined as the command 'Fear God' or 'the physical enactment of respect' towards a father figure.¹⁵⁰ While this definition is partially correct, Cavendish's 'Fear' was more Hobbesian than previously thought. For Cavendish and Hobbes, 'Sovereignty causes fear, and fear makes the sovereign'; it was the basis for law and governance, and the one did not exist without the other.¹⁵¹

It was 'Fear', according to Hobbes, that was the basis of human-animal and nonhuman animal governance, and that was central to his theory of liberty under monarchy. Hobbes, in a 1645 letter written to Cavendish (later published in *Leviathan*), defined liberty as 'the absence of Opposition; (by Opposition, I mean externall Impediments of motion;) and may be applied no lesse to Irrationall, and Inanimate creatures, than to Rationall. For whatsoever is so tyed, or environed, as it cannot move, but within a certain space, which space is determined by the opposition of some externall body, we say it hath not Liberty to go further.'¹⁵² In other words, it

the herd from predators, and to be taken away from that protection leaves them open to predation. When training, according to some schools of thought, the trainer endeavours to become a replacement herd for the horse (the dominant members) to create an artificially safe environment. This new 'human' herd (if the trainer remains the most dominant 'horse' on the herd hierarchy) will allow for further training and full obedience of the horse.

¹⁴⁹ Cavendish, *A General System*, 138-139. One of Cavendish's unpublished poems, titled 'On the best of kings', also supports this theory and reads: 'Wee all doe love thee, yett we feare they rodd, / Nott love for feare, butt feare for love, like Godd'. As quoted in Walker, *To Amaze the People*, 200.

¹⁵⁰ Elisabeth LeGuin, 'Man and Horse in Harmony', in *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World*, eds. Karen Raber and Treva J. Tucker (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1995), 181.

¹⁵¹ Derrida, *The Beast and the Sovereign*, 40-41. For details on the sovereign as the simultaneous wild animal that is superior to and Godly creator of the law see Menely, 'Sovereign Violence,' 567-569.

¹⁵² Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 261. See Skinner, *Hobbes and Republican Liberty*, for further information on Hobbes' letter to Cavendish.

is only when a body's natural movements are restricted from an outside force acting contrary to the subject's will that an agent is not at liberty, but this restriction for Hobbes and Cavendish did not include the apparently and physically restrictive act of riding itself. Instead, as 'Feare and Liberty are consistent', when a rider creates 'Feare' in his mount through his virtuously- and skillfully-won superiority at kinesthetic communication, when a mount respects his rider, he is then obeying the aids of his sovereign through his free will. Contradictorily, he is obeying because he feels 'Feare'; as Hobbes allegorically explains: 'when a man throweth his goods into the Sea for *feare* the ship should sink, he doth it neverthesse very willingly, and may refuse to doe it if he will: It is therefore the action, of one that was *free*'.¹⁵³

As Quentin Skinner has summarized, 'An external impediment must intervene in such a way that we are either physically stopped from acting or physically forced to act' for man to lose his liberty.

But neither fear nor any other passion of the soul can possibly count as such an impediment. Rather, a man who acts out of fear performs his action as he does because his will has been 'formed' or 'compelled'. But to compel someone's will is only to cause them to have a will or desire to act other than the will or desire for the sake of which they would otherwise have acted. When such a person acts, it will still be because they possess the will or desire to act in precisely the way in which they duly act. Even if the cause of their having this will is fear, the action they perform out of fear will remain a free action.¹⁵⁴

Within this embodied discourse, the complete domination of the sovereign's will over that of the horse – where the horse adopts the rider's mind and the rider the horse's body as one being – resulted in the horse willingly obeying as a subject at liberty would do. Thus, horsemanship for Cavendish and monarchy for Hobbes and Charles I were acts of absolute sovereignty that allowed for the complete freedom, prosperity and liberty of the horse or subject through his own free will.¹⁵⁵ Cavendish's insistence that 'Fear' was the only beneficial method of governance illustrates the absolute necessity of ensuring the unconditional respect of both man and animal for his honourable reputation and for the stability and prosperity of the kingdom, and it was only gained through reasoned, harmonious and intelligent (inventive) interactions with the horse.

¹⁵³ Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 262-263.

¹⁵⁴ Skinner, *Visions of Politics, Volume III*, 223.

¹⁵⁵ Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics Volume II: Renaissance Virtues* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 315. Hobbes was expressly against the supporters of republican or democratic liberty insofar as they claimed that 'the Subjects in a Popular Common-wealth enjoy Liberty; but that in a Monarchy they are all Slaves', or where a republican government is 'extolled by the glorious name of Liberty, and Monarchy disgraced by the name of Tyranny'. For Hobbes, these writers were a chief reason for 'Rebellion in particular against Monarchy'. Skinner, *Hobbes and Republican Liberty*, 139-142, 155.

Cavendish provides an example of this dynamic when discussing the process of curing a restive horse.¹⁵⁶ A restive horse, like an ‘obstinate’ man (‘’tis all one’ for Cavendish), would frequently perform any movement other than the one required (obeying laws and recognizing the sovereign power of the rider) – and according to Cavendish, if the horse was more inclined to move to one direction over the one requested, the rider was (contradictorily) to ‘immediately second his inclination.’ Instead of insisting on the desired direction the rider was instructed to give in, temporarily, to the horse and take his lead in order to avoid tyranny by obstructing his will. ‘In a word, follow his inclinations in every thing, and change as often as he.’ Once this was done and the horse ‘perceives there can be no opposition, but that you always will the same thing as he’, the horse then ‘will be amazed, he will breathe short, snuff up his nose, and won’t know what to do next, as it happen’d with the horse that I cured this way.’¹⁵⁷ The horse was in ‘that miserable condition of Warre, which is necessarily consequent ... to the naturall Passions of men, when there is no visible Power to keep them in awe, and tye them by feare of punishment to the performance of their Covenants’.¹⁵⁸ Once the horse was seeking relief from his personal misguided rule, was seeking meaningful and useful direction (seeking to unite his will to his rider’s through a covenant), coming to understand his rights to liberty and their boundaries, the rider (now in a position of power as a sovereign over the horse) was free to continue his instructions, and his reliance on the delicate balance between cherishing (inviting love) and punishment (inspiring fear). The horse was now free to work in conjunction with his rider to create the embodiment of normative honour and manly reputation as Centaur, and as clearly described by Westwood and illustrated by Rubens.

However, if the resty horse ‘does not yield,’ warned Cavendish, ‘you had better stay till next morning, than spoil him [allow him to master you]. Reduce him by degrees, mixing gentleness with helps and corrections.’¹⁵⁹ Horses for Cavendish possessed more tenacity, innate stubbornness and ‘malice’ than riders, because ‘the horse having less understanding than his rider, his passion is so much the stronger’. Even though a horse was capable of reason he did not reason as man did, and as a result was ruled more by nature and instinct; thus, the horse was unable to self-govern innate passions like a human, making it difficult to create covenants. As such, covenanting with a nonhuman took time, effort and extensive communication in entraining, and it was a process with periodic setbacks. Thus, if a horse ‘takes it into his head to rebell’ a

¹⁵⁶ Cavendish, *A General System*, 13-14.

¹⁵⁷ Cavendish, *A General System*, 105.

¹⁵⁸ Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 223.

¹⁵⁹ Cavendish, *A General System*, 13-14.

horseman was not to respond in kind; he was not to spur his horse 'rudely' (although he was to try the spur first) as his horse 'will answer in the same manner' and an unnecessary and ultimately fruitless 'duel' would result.¹⁶⁰ While Cavendish was not adverse to dueling between humans if loss of honour was at stake – in 1639 he did challenge the Earl of Holland over a perceived insult to the Prince of Wales' colours and advocated it as a useful way of gaining honour in his *Truth of the Sorde*¹⁶¹ – when dueling with a horse man was simply not equipped to win the battle; he would be dishonoured in the process.

It is the nonhuman's strength of instinct, his alternative rationality, that 'makes him always get the better of the horseman, and shews that violent methods will not do.' Cavendish argued that 'For when the horseman thinks himself victorious' after a bout 'he is deceiv'd, for we find that it is the horse' who won. 'Because, when the horseman has spurred the beast so much, that he has made him all over blood and sweat, and put himself into a great heat and out of breath, still so long as he torments the horse, the horse will resist.' The horse will do anything and everything in his power, driven by his un-managed passions, to resist the training or covenanting process; to resist obedience. 'He will run against a wall, lie down, bite, kick, and commit a thousand such like disorders. But as soon as the rider ceases to beat and spur him, the horse will leave off his tricks: and then the rider thinks himself conqueror, but is mistaken, since he himself gave up the cause by ceasing to beat and spur.' As a result, 'The horse ... finding he has the better, is altogether master of the field.'¹⁶² It is the 'cunning', 'subtilty' and 'vicious' resistance of the horse that the rider has given into, and as a result the human has lost to the animal and has handed the metaphorical (and sometimes very real) reins over to it. He has been conquered by the horse, and in the process has allowed his own passions to run away with him. In this situation there would be 'two beasts' instead of one, and ultimately no covenant and no resulting state.¹⁶³ As a result, a rider, for Cavendish, must display the patriarchal virtues of 'patience' and superior 'knowledge' in his governance.¹⁶⁴ Only if the horseman did so, and persuaded rather than forced the horse to covenant, could the authority of the horseman and

¹⁶⁰ Cavendish advocated the use of the spur as the primary means of curing a restive horse; however, the use of the spur was not to be taken to extremes, and once a horseman deemed its use would not work he was to move to other methods. It was through his experience, through his understanding of his horse, that this decision would be made and a duel averted. Cavendish, *A New Method*, 184-186.

¹⁶¹ Lucy Worsley and Tom Addyman, 'Riding Houses and Horses,' 218; BL, Cavendish, *The Truth of the Sorde*, f. 2^v-4^v.

¹⁶² Cavendish, *A General System*, 105.

¹⁶³ Cavendish, *A General System*, 101.

¹⁶⁴ Cavendish, *A General System*, 14.

prosperity of the commonwealth be preserved; only then could a civil war be avoided and Cavendish's ideal of an Elizabethan-esque government come to predominate.¹⁶⁵

According to Thomas Slaughter, 'Both Hobbes and Newcastle emphasized that the basis of regal authority was power, that the important consideration was not who the sovereign was but whether or not he could maintain order among his subjects and retain his throne.'¹⁶⁶ Only true horsemen, those Vines who were able rationally to govern themselves and their mounts (through labour and perseverance under the guidance of a Master as Cavendish had done), were able to maintain the social, rational, species and honour hierarchy. This was well known by early modern monarchs – men for whom right reining of all mounts was theoretically the most important – such as James I. James wrote to his son Henry (Cavendish's fellow horseman) that 'It becometh a Prince better than any other man to be a fair and good horseman'.¹⁶⁷ To maintain their honourable reputations and social positions (along with their political power as sovereigns) Vineyard members were required to gain mastery over their independently thinking and rational mounts. As Cavendish argued: 'The horse being, after man, the most noble of all animals (for he is as much superior to all other creatures as man is to him, and therefore holds a sort of middle place between man and the rest of the creation) he is wise and subtile'. As a result, it was because of this middle ground, this superior-beast status, that 'man ought carefully to preserve his empire over him, knowing how nearly that wisdom and subtilty approaches his own.'¹⁶⁸ Only true horsemen were able to maintain mastery over an 'animal' that was able to upset the natural human-animal hierarchy through its human-like rationality (its agency). Only such men in turn would be considered, according to Cavendish, capable of high Vineyard standing and ultimately of beneficially honourable governance. Instead of resorting to unreasoned, wrathful and dishonourable methods in riding, a sovereign, fulfilling the other half of Derrida's sovereign as a beast-God, was to 'chastise him [horse or man] like a kind of divinity superior to him', a sovereign capable of carrying out the artificial, patriarchal, God-like, action of creation; of creating the artificial being called Leviathan or Centaur.¹⁶⁹ A horseman was to be a benevolent

¹⁶⁵ Thomas Slaughter argues: 'At a time when virtually everyone felt insecure, there were many men who noted similarities to a Hobbesian type state of nature and who longed for return to the England of Queen Elizabeth. Although times had changed dramatically and the recrudescence of Cavalier spirit never restored the halcyon days of the Elizabethans, some men [including Cavendish] lived who still remembered nostalgically the years of the Virgin Queen.' Thomas P. Slaughter, 'Introduction', in *Ideology and Politics on the Eve of Restoration: Newcastle's Advice to Charles II* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1984), xii.

¹⁶⁶ Slaughter, 'Introduction', xviii.

¹⁶⁷ James I as quoted in Edwards, *Horse and Man*, 27.

¹⁶⁸ Cavendish, *A General System*, 122.

¹⁶⁹ Derrida, *The Beast and the Sovereign*, 26-27; Keith Tribe, *Land, Labour and Economic Discourse* (London, Henley and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), 38.

but masterful rider who enacted his God-given governance, and become semi-divine himself ('for the Holly writt sayes, wee have Calld you Godds'), with his horse as all ideal governors (monarchs and sovereigns) for Hobbes and Cavendish were to do.¹⁷⁰

Cavendish's ideal of monarchical horseman-as-God was most clearly illustrated in plate four of his *A General System* (Figure 7). Karen Raber finds this image ambiguous in that it could 'be read either as a statement about the significance of his method for reasserting aristocratic class values, or it can be read as a sign that those class values, as Cavendish imagines them, are already being transformed, dislocated, detached from their former place in the "real" world of political power' that was on its way to embracing republicanism.¹⁷¹ However, taken in context with his political horsemanship, this image is far from ambiguous; instead, it can be read as the pictorialization of Cavendish's theorization and monarchical advice, and above all as his personal embodiment and self-propagandized image of a horseman-as-absolute sovereign. In the image Cavendish is represented as '*Perseus upon Pegasus*', as someone who has become knowledgeable in horsemanship and human governance, and as a representative and representing sovereign or demigod above all equine, and man, kind.¹⁷² He is depicted on horseback with the nonhuman animal 'flying' in a *capriole*, and is shown to be a divine being who has managed the submission and humility of his own passions and social inferiors as only manly and properly elite horseman were able to do.¹⁷³ Above him are clouds on which the pantheon of Greek Gods are artfully arranged, and who are 'brought to ecstasy' because of their viewing of his 'delightful wonders'. Because of his exceptional reining, his 'Fear' inducing combination of punishment and love, Cavendish has not only impressed the Gods and received honours in return, but has himself crossed over into the realm of the divine; Cavendish has become greater than Bellerophon (the tamer of Pegasus who was thrown when he attempted to fly), and has managed to touch 'the seat of the Heavens'.¹⁷⁴ Cavendish himself was 'the most absolute and only Master' of horsemanship; he was a Master, and all previous authors on the subject along with current noble horsemen were his 'Pupils'. Indeed, the Vice-Chancellor and Senate members of the University of Cambridge found 'both Kings and Princes resorting to your [Cavendish's] Palace,

¹⁷⁰ Cavendish, *Newcastle's Advice to Charles II*, 45; Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment*, 352-353.

¹⁷¹ Raber, "Reasonable Creatures," 63.

¹⁷² Jonson, 'An Epigram to William Earl of Newcastle,' 331.

¹⁷³ 'For most gymnastic exercises are carried out with sweat and drudgery, but nearly all equestrian exercises are pleasant work. For if it is true that any man would like to fly, no action of man bears a closer resemblance to flying.' Xenophon's *The Cavalry Commander*, as quoted in Gabrielle Ann MacDonald, *Horsemanship as a Courtly Art in Elizabethan England: Origins, Theory, and Practice* (Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Toronto, 1983), 13.

¹⁷⁴ For more information on Bellerophon and the myth of Pegasus see MacDonald, *Horsemanship as a Courtly Art*, 13-14.

condescending to sit at your Feet,' like the horses at Cavendish's feet are shown to be doing, 'and intreating you as their Oracle to declare unto them, first where and of what Race to chuse a Horse for the Mannage, and then how to Feed, and Order, and Mount, and to Work, and Raise, and Stay, and Ride in all Voltoes, and Corvetts, Forward, Backward, Side-ways, on both hands, just as the Rider directs.' Cavendish, for them, was the only one fit to teach; he was 'the only Governour, and Dictator, and Umpire, and such a Master of Horse, as can (when you please) infuse sense, and reason not only into Men, but also into Brutes.'¹⁷⁵ Cavendish had become, through his political horsemanship, a figure worthy and able of supporting the commonwealth and improving its governors through the spectacle (ceremony) of his own horse-man and Centauric greatness, and the application of his divine knowledge.

The symbolism in the image further supports this reading. As Elaine Walker argues, there are eleven horses bowing down to Cavendish, which possibly represents the eleven disciples minus Judas, a common iconographic element in early modern art; and if we count Pegasus as the twelfth, then Cavendish may be subtly shown as a Christ or God figure over human and animal life. While Cavendish was in no way trying to offend his readers, and this image can seem to negotiate a fine line between shameless self-promotion and heresy, Cavendish was visualizing himself as Hobbesian God, as 'a secular God' secure in his governance.¹⁷⁶ By being represented as a God-like figure Cavendish is shown to embody all of the qualities necessary for Hobbes' sovereign person, the one who could covenant at will, and who represented the most influential men in society.¹⁷⁷ What is certain about the print is that Cavendish is depicted as a man who, through his skill in discursive horsemanship with rational horses, has become more than a noble of the realm, more than human, more than his peers; he has become his ideal manly governor and virtuous gentleman who is worthy of being honoured by his subordinates. He has left the earth through his divine horsemanship and become a God himself who is worshiped as an honourable Vine and right reigner (reiner) by his mounts (the body politic and other members of

¹⁷⁵ The Vice-Chancellor and the whole Senate of the University of Cambridge, 'Letter to the Most Eminent Prince, March 13, 1667,' in *A COLLECTION OF LETTERS AND POEMS: Written by several Persons of Honour and Learning, Upon divers Important Subjects, to the Late Duke and Dutchess OF NEW CASTLE*, ed. Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle (London: Printed for Langly Curtis in Goat-Yard on Ludgate-Hill, 1678), 51-52.

¹⁷⁶ Walker, *To Amaze the People*, 123-124; Tribe, *Land, Labour and Economic Discourse*, 96.

¹⁷⁷ A natural person has many definitions for Hobbes: the person is capable of representing him/herself, and is capable of covenanting to be represented by others or 'being one's own man'. A natural person did not consist of 'Children, Fooles, and Mad-men' as they can not act independently of others and cannot take responsibility for what others do as their representatives; and not wives or servants in a family as by law the father was the paternal head and representative of his family – he is the 'one Person Representative' – while all others would be incapable of creating their own covenants or acting independently. Skinner, *Visions of Politics, Volume III*. Hobbes as quoted in the same volume, 191-192.

the Vineyard) who are arranged in homage around him and ‘Worship him as God and author of the their skill.’¹⁷⁸



[Figure 7: Abraham van Diepenbeke, ‘Plate 4,’ in *A General System of Horsemanship*, [1743], by William Cavendish (2000).]

For Cavendish, only those who had resigned themselves to ‘study horsemanship’, those who intimately had communicated with horses, and who had gained the skill and experience

¹⁷⁸ Il monte avec la main, les éperons, et
gaule
Le Cheval de pegase qui volle en Capriole;
Il monte si haut qu’il touche de sa teste les Cieux
Et par ses merveilles ravit en extases les Dieux.
Les Chevéaux corruptibles qui la bas sur terre sont
En Courbettes, demi-airs, terre à terre vont
Avec Humilité soumission et bassesse,
L’adorer comme Dieu et auteur de leur adresse.

He rides with the hand, spurs, and switch
The horse Pegasus who flies in Capriole;
He rides so high that he touches the seat of the Heavens
By his delightful wonders the Gods are brought to ecstasy.
The corruptible horses are on Earth
Are in Courbettes, demi-airs, terre à terre
Go with Humility submission and baseness,
Worship him as God and author of the their skill.

Cavendish, *A General System*, Plate 4. His advice to Charles II remarkably resembles the iconography in this image: ‘therefore your Majestie will bee pleased to keepe itt [ceremony] upp strickly, in your owne, person, & Courte, to bee a presedent to the reste of your Nobles, & not to make your selfe to Cheape, by to much Familiarety, which as the proverb sayes, breedes Contempte But when you appeare, to shew your Selfe Gloryously, to your People; Like a God, ... & when the people sees you thus, they will Downe of their knees, which is worshipp, & pray for you with trembling Feare, & Love’. Cavendish, *Newcastle’s Advice to Charles II*, 45.

needed for correct decisions on the duties of their social inferiors, could preserve the kingdom from further rebellion and social unrest while preserving their social position as honourable governors. Cavendish discussed this requirement most clearly in his *A General System*, where he argued that it was through an inability to understand the akin rationality of man and horse, the often superior nature of horses and the necessity of a horseman to learn horsemanship as a sure method of self-bridling that gentlemen were unable to practice virtuous political governance. 'The learned will hardly be brought to allow any degree of understanding to horses; they only allow them a certain *instinct*, which no one can understand; so jealous are the schoolmen of their rational empire', he complained. The 'scholasticks' of the kingdom 'degrade horses so much', which was the result of 'nothing else, but the small knowledge they have of them, and from a persuasion that they themselves know every thing. They fancy they talk pertinently about them, whereas they know no more than they learn by riding a hackney-horse from the University of LONDON, and back again. If they studied them as horsemen do, they would talk otherwise'. These 'men of letters, tho' they study, they don't study horsemanship,' and as a result instead turn their studies 'to better account, by procuring themselves to rule over the rest of mankind, till such time as they are subdued by the sword'.¹⁷⁹

By rewarding, or striving to 'Cherish' and 'in rich' those who 'Deserve Itt', and by ensuring those who 'offend' against the monarch through encroachments into the monarch's prerogative to govern are 'punisht, severly', not only would the power of the monarch be upheld but the kingdom itself would prosper. In contrast, however, if just and timely punishment or reward was not carried out, warned Cavendish, the resulting 'medeling' in state affairs by those who were not capable either by training or social status to do so would 'much disorder the Comon wealth, for their perticuler Gayne'.¹⁸⁰ Unlike the increasingly vocal, parliamentary proponents of mixed government, for Cavendish and for Hobbes sovereignty was indivisible. There must only be one legislator, one governor in war and peace; a 'government' which has power shared between the commons, lords and king 'is not government, but division of the Common-wealth into three Factions.' Thus, for Hobbes and Cavendish, republicanism, mixed government or '*a Kingdome divided in it self cannot stand.*'¹⁸¹ As for horsemanship, the physical embodiment and enactment of a body politic, if a ruler (horseman) failed to maintain his sovereignty over his social inferiors (horse) through balanced reward and punishment his power

¹⁷⁹ Cavendish, *A General System*, 13.

¹⁸⁰ Cavendish, *Newcastle's Advice to Charles II*, 56.

¹⁸¹ Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 236; Skinner, *Hobbes and Republican Liberty*, 105-106.

to rule would be completely lost and society thrown into chaos.¹⁸² Without checks and rewards in place, or too much reward instead of mediated punishment, the monarch's social inferiors (and Cavendish's) would be allowed to run riot; they would gain power over their legitimate governors causing civil unrest, or at worst another (dreaded by Cavendish) civil war. Those who are not horsemen, those who do not 'study', 'understand', communicate or govern correctly would, Cavendish feared, violently rebel against the absolute monarch (again). Because the scholars, the non-horsemen who had not experienced nonhuman animal communication and come to recognize their rationality, had not proven themselves capable governors, had not learned political horsemanship, or who in fact were not suited themselves for more than scholarly pursuits (such as human-animal governance) on the chain of being, would 'breed' 'confution, & the king, & the Comonwealth' would be 'ill served'.¹⁸³ A 'scholar and a horse are very troublesome to one another', Cavendish concluded, since it was because of the mediating influence of the horse, of its role in spectacular governance, that a scholar's inability to rule was betrayed.

v. DISCONTENT

It was the *haute école* – that distinctly aristocratic, political and historically militaristic, pastime – which remained the only avenue to obedient perfection. As Cavendish rhetorically asked:

As for Pleasure and State, What Prince or Monarch looks more Princely, or more Enthroned, than Upon a Beautiful Horse, with Rich Foot-clothes, or Rich Sadles, and Waving Plumes, making his Entry through Great Cities, to Amaze the People with Pleasure and Delight?

Or, What more Glorious or Manly, than, at great Marriages of Princes, to Run at the Ring, or Tilt, or Course at the Field? What can be more Comely or Pleasing, than to see Horses go in all their several Ayres? and to see so Excellent a Creature, with so much Spirit, and Strength, to be so Obedient to his Rider, as if having no Will but His, they had but one Body, and one Mind, like a Centaur?¹⁸⁴

While Cavendish's love of chivalrous tilts, jousts and Hobbesian political theory was not continued into the eighteenth century, rulers continued to cherish horses, Vineyard members continued to strive for Centaur status, and the *manège* continued to be practiced by military men in manly spectacles of power. For Vines within the Vineyard, for sovereigns within the body politic, 'true' horsemanship as Centaurs visibly distinguished the social and political élite from those who were not capable or worthy of their honours. It distinguished the men from the boys,

¹⁸² Skinner, *Hobbes and Republican Liberty*, 73-75.

¹⁸³ Cavendish, *Newcastle's Advice to Charles II*, 57.

¹⁸⁴ Cavendish, *A New Method*, 13; verbatim in Hope, 'Supplement of Riding,' 1.

and separated the wheat from the chaff. Certainly, ‘for the dignity and order of the Common wealth there ought to be degrees of Honour [and horsemanship], Lest the Common people and the nobility, private men and magistrates ... a King and a Captain should be all of one Accompt.’¹⁸⁵ A gentleman was continually required to ‘frame’ himself to others in such a way that displayed his honour. Horsemanship, as it consisted of ‘vertuous exercises’ of the mind and body, resulted in individual glory, in the increase of honour, and in benefits for the entire kingdom of England.¹⁸⁶ As a result, ‘the noblest act of vertue’¹⁸⁷ in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England was not conducting oneself with virtuous restraint in public, of providing hospitality to others, or being well spoken, but the development and practice of horsemanship. To own or breed ‘great horses,’ and to be able to train and ride the same with tempered managing of the passions and physical skill, was a ‘chiefe’ avenue of not only social advancement and distinction, but of virtuous honour. As Nicholas Morgan argued:

what scrutiny can finde a Beaste more behouefull to the greatnesse of persons of Estate, and necessary to men of inferior condition then the Horse, which besides (his serviceable obedience) is beautified with a chiefe Excellency of comely shape and courageous boldenesse. ... Hence it is, that Antiquity, named them *Jumenta*, as the chiefe Adivméta or helpes of humane nature, that by the very name, the noblenesse, necessary use and profite of them might be knowen, and the division betwixt the Noble and Worthy, Base and Unworthy, manifested in fit difference.¹⁸⁸

Honour, for the seventeenth-century man, was one of ‘*The principall markes whereat every mans endeuour in this life aimeth,*’ for himself and the body politic, and horsemanship was a central avenue for its development, maintenance, and propagation – at least for some.¹⁸⁹ There was resistance, alternate equestrian traditions and divergent masculinities circulating and developing during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

While Cavendish’s publications cover a period that witnessed the English Civil Wars, the Cromwellian Interregnum and the Glorious Revolution – for a total of 85 years – they show little alteration in their honour, political and manhood discourses. They remained texts which were to be read in conjunction with one another, and which were two halves of one entire treatise.

¹⁸⁵ Ashley as quoted in Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, 33.

¹⁸⁶ Blundeville, *The fower chiefyst offices belongyng to Horsemanshippe*, Dedication. Henry Peacham mirrored this view in his brief discussion around horsemanship. For him, riding ‘enabled’ a person ‘to command, and [give] service to your Country.’ He also asked ‘what, saith Tullis, can bee more glorious, then to bee able to preserve and succour our contry, when she hath neede of our helpe?’ Someone who gained horsemanship in preparation for fulfilling his duty to the kingdom ‘was held deare and beloved of all men.’ Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, 177.

¹⁸⁷ Markham, *Cauelarice*, Dedication to Book II.

¹⁸⁸ Morgan, *The Perfection of Horsemanship*, Dedication.

¹⁸⁹ William Segar, *Honor Military, and Ciuil, contained in foure Bookes*. (London: By Robert Barker, printer to the Queenes most Excellent Maiestie, Anno Dom., 1602), Dedication.

However, this continuity is not indicative of a wider cultural trend in horsemanship embodiments. While at the *haute école*'s first introduction into England in the late sixteenth century there were discussions around its role in producing useful horses for war, these controversies tended to move to the background in the horsemanship manuals as the *haute école* became more established and lauded as an élite activity. An example of this early resistance to the activity can be found in Thomas Bedingfield's 1584 *The Art of Riding*. He argued that 'The Gentlemen of this land have studied to make horses more for pleasure than service', and 'The principall use of horses is, to travell by the waie, & serve in the war'. For him, even though he understood the ceremonious and spectacular necessity of such activities for horsemen, 'whatsoever your horse learneth more [in the *haute école*], is rather for pompe or pleasure than honor or yse'.¹⁹⁰ However, while Cavendish was quick to point out that honourable men such as the King, the Duke of York, the Duke of Montmorancy, the Prince of Conde and the deceased King of Spain, were 'Good *Horsemen*' of the *haute école* who considered the long practice and now arguably impractical (due to the demotion of the horse in warfare to a secondary role) art 'an Honour, and no Disgrace', as the continual references to the *haute école* as a threatened activity that is in decline, and Cavendish's and Hope's defensive expressions towards their obsessive practice of the art in the late seventeenth century, illustrates such discourses of distrust and disbelief in the *haute école* as a profitable way of spending one's time continued to brew within the various horsemanship Vineyards.¹⁹¹

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the discontent with *manèged* horsemanship continued to grow alongside other forms of horsemanship and human-animal being. This trend tends to pick up steam after the 1660s, a change taken by Giles Worsley to mean that the enacted practice of *haute école* itself underwent a distinct decline in popularity after the outbreak of the Civil Wars until the accession of George III mainly as a result of the absence of royal patronage.¹⁹² According to Worsley, as we have seen, *haute école* horsemanship was practiced by an élite group that frequently was attached to the courtly circle of a reigning monarch, and when the monarch was disinclined, or unable as during the wars, to practice the art its popularity suffered. As Worsley points out, there is no indication that the *haute école* was promoted under Cromwell (although he was a keen horse breeder and stock improver¹⁹³), and it

¹⁹⁰ Thomas Bedingfield as quoted in Edwards, *Horse and Man*, 82.

¹⁹¹ Cavendish, *A New Method*, 6-10.

¹⁹² Giles Worsley, 'A Courtly Art: The History of Haute Ecole in England,' *Court Historian* 6 (2001): 29.

¹⁹³ Peter Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 42.

was only with George III in 1760 that it again became popular among the social élite. For Worsley, somewhat over-arguing his case, *haute école* horsemanship as practiced in the *manège* followed the pre-war enthusiasts (of which Cavendish was arguably the best known throughout Europe) into exile on the continent and stayed there. He does acknowledge, however, the few attempts to establish riding Academies within England during this decline. For example, Sir Balthazar Gerbier had an Academy in Bethnal Green from 1649-50, and Henry Foubert (expelled from France after the closure of the French Protestant Academies in 1679) founded an Academy which ran from 1684 until 1743 when it was taken over by his nephew Solomon Durrell. Under Durrell the Academy became a riding school, and was finally closed in 1778. These later attempts at establishing academies, however, do not point to any large-scale interest in the *haute école* according to Worsley; instead, they emphasize a tenuous survival within a climate of ‘marked decline in interest’ in the activity, which as a result witnessed only one ‘non-military riding house’ built between 1660 and 1740. For Worsley, who does not follow alternative enactments of horsemanship and the continuing militarism of the *manège* within England, horsemanship retreated to the European academies and only re-emerged alongside mid-eighteenth century royal patronage with a veritable proliferation of riding houses built in England (fourteen private *manèges* built between 1750-1780).¹⁹⁴

However, what we see, I argue, instead of a strong decline in interest or a full-blown retreat to the continent, is a continuing and strengthening divergence between men of the élitely militaristic *haute école* practiced by horsemen such as Cavendish, and advocates of other emerging riding disciplines and discourses of the *manège*. Indeed, the very re-publication of Cavendish’s and William Hope’s work illustrates a continual and wider interest in these practices than has been previously noticed. Further supporting the notion of a changing but continual existence of the *manège* and *haute école* throughout the Restoration and Glorious Revolution periods are the horsemanship manuals themselves. During this time (Worsley’s decline phase) there was a veritable proliferation of publications which covered the subject solely or in addition to other *manège*, sporting or farrier subjects. These included: Joseph Blagrave’s *The epitome of the whole art of husbandry* (1669, 1670, 1675, 1685), Thomas de Grey’s *The compleat horseman and expert ferrier* (1670 reprint of the 1639 edition), E.R.’s *The Experienced farrier* (1678, 1681, 1691, 1720), Richard Blome’s *Gentlemans Recreation in Two Parts* (1686), A.S.’s *A Gentleman’s compleat jockey* (1696), Jacques de Solleysel’s, William Hope’s translation, *The Compleat Horseman* (1696, 1702, 1706, 1711, 1717, 1729), Robert Howlett’s *The School of*

¹⁹⁴ Worsley, ‘A Courtly Art,’ 42-45. Worsley, *The British Stable*, 71, 69.

Recreation (1701), Georges Guillet de Saint-Georges' English translated (*Arts de l'homme d'eepee*) *The gentleman's dictionary* (1705), Josephus Sympson's *Twenty five actions of the manage horse* (1729), and Claude Bourgelat's English translated (*Nouveau Newcastle, au nouveau traité de cavalerie*) *A new system of horsemanship* (1754) to name a few. While these publications do differ substantially in content and targeted audience, they all are either dedicated in full or contain a section on the *haute école* – the practice Worsley argues quite suddenly disappeared from English horsemanship practices between the 1660s and 1760s.

The continued following of the *haute école* is further illustrated in Josephus Sympson's *Twenty five actions of the manage horse* of 1725. For him there were 'already many Treatises on all the Parts of Horsemanship, sufficient to form the compleatest Rider' in existence. He was only publishing the work, dedicated to the Duke of Montagu and illustrated with plates visualizing the movements of the *haute école* by John Vanderbanck, to improve the current state of horse portraiture – for him not accurate according to the terms of *manège* or the *haute école* in either 'shape' or 'action'.¹⁹⁵ He did not publish to instruct in the art of horsemanship as there were many other manuals circulating among riders to make such work superfluous. Manuals dedicated to *haute école* horsemanship were widely available, were continuing to be produced, and were purchased not only by the pre-war enthusiasts, as Worsley asserts, but also by new generations of horsemen. It is to these men that I now turn.

¹⁹⁵ Josephus Sympson, *Twenty Five Actions of the Manage Horse, Engrav'd by Josephus Sympson, From Original Drawings of Mr. John Vanderbanck: To which are added, Two of the English Hunter; With the Figure of a Fine Horse measured from the Life, shewing all the Proportions: As also A Draught of the true Shape of the Branch; with short Remarks on some Parts of Horsemanship* (London: Printed for and Sold by J. Sympson at the Dove in Russel-Court in Drury-Lane, and Andrew Johnston Engraver in Peter's-Court in St. Martin's-Lane, 1729), 1.

III

RIDING HOUSES AND NEW HORSE(WO)MANSHIP

LIVERY STABLE and RIDING-HOUSE.

TO be LETT, a good LIVERY STABLE, containing upwards of 40 stalls, with 100m to build more, with a large riding-house and good yard, and a very good dwelling-house, situated in Worship-street, Moor-fields. Enquire at No. 71. Corchill.

— *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*¹

Did she pat me, I was ready to die with pleasure; did she speak to me, I thought her voice more harmonious than the music of the groves.

— Dick the Little Pony²

.....

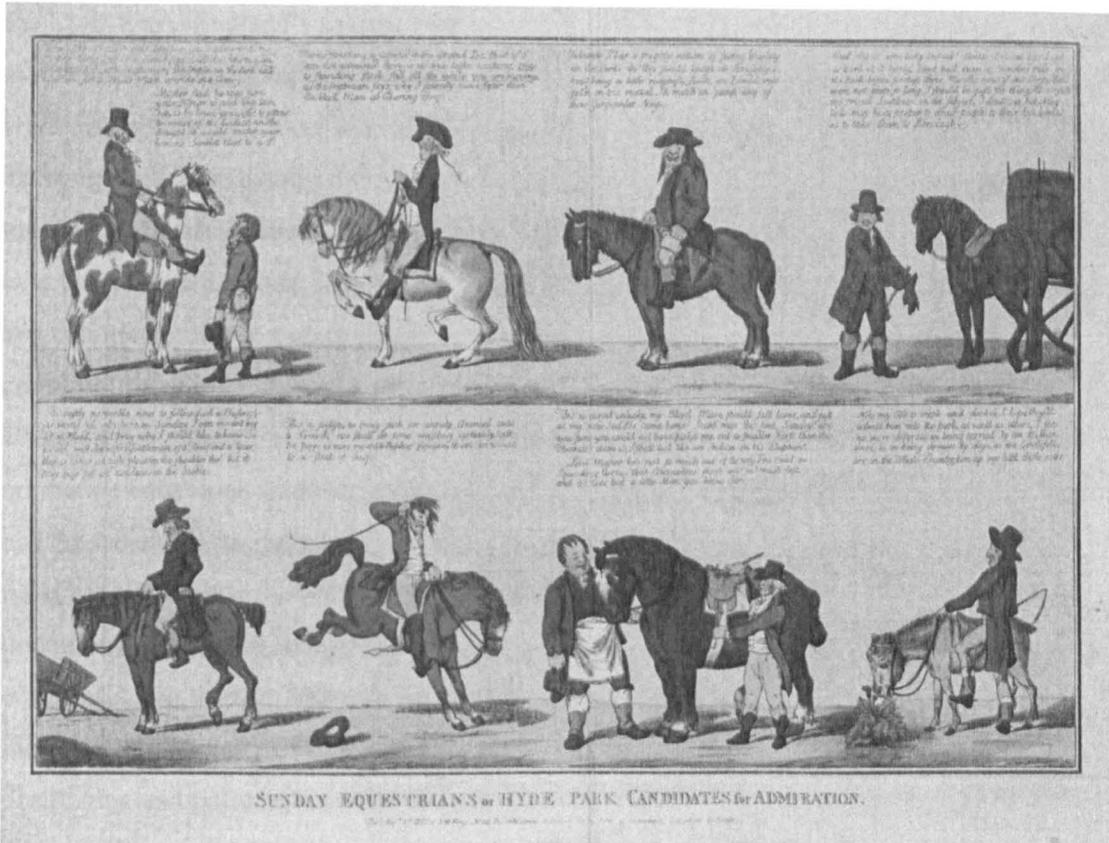
In 1800 a dashing man of fortune was set to ride out for an afternoon of entertainment and socializing in Hyde Park, but his plan was complicated by the necessity of being seen on a proper horse – the selection of which was not as easy as he had presumed. ‘Why Ostler ... your Master [could] have Mounted me on any thing but the dam’d pye ball! he knows I’m a Constant Sunday customer, the People in the Park will take me for a Mad Man astride on a Cow’, he complained. The stable lad, in his master’s defence, told the dashing businessman that his master said ‘he was sure your Honor would like him best as he knew you wish’d to attract the notice of the Ladies. And he thought it would match your honor’s Scarlet Coat to a T.’ This gentleman, adopting a rather colourful form of self-expression, spectacularized himself as the object of the admiring gaze of the women taking the air in Hyde Park. Graphically illustrated in Isaac Cruikshank’s satire, *Sunday Equestrians or Hyde Park Candidates for Admiration*, the trials and tribulations of choosing a proper horse for a day out in the Park, and the necessity of distinguishing oneself from the multitude of riders there, provide a glimpse of the many changes the English equestrian scene underwent during the eighteenth century (Figures 8 and 9). This horseman – and many others illustrated in this satire – differed remarkably in class, equestrian ability, economic standing, visuality and performances of gender from the world of Cavendish’s cavalier *manège*.

These differences were driven by the many and wide-ranging political, social and economic changes experienced by Englishmen in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Paul Langford and Julian Hoppitt have shown how, during the tumultuous time after

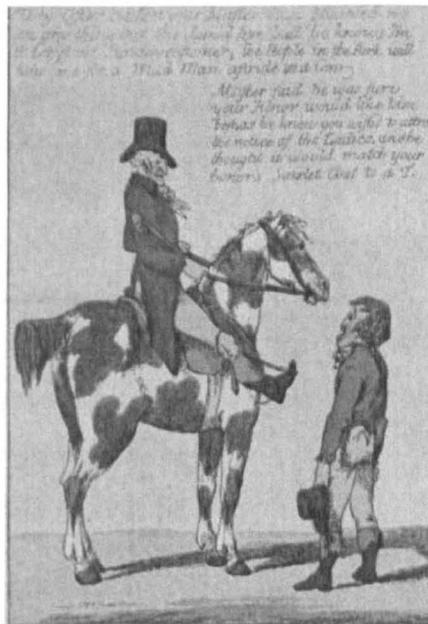
¹ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, Issue 15 153 (London: Saturday, September 6, 1777).

² Anonymous, *Memoirs of Dick the Little Pony. Supposed to be written by himself and published for the instruction and amusement of good boys and girls* (London: Printed for J. Walker, No. 44, Paternoster-Row; and sold by E. Newbery, Corner of St. Paul’s Church-Yard, 1800), 94.

Performing Horse-Men



[Figure 8: Isaac Cruikshank, *Sunday Equestrians or Hyde Park Candidates for Admiration* (1797). Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University]



[Figure 9: *Sunday Equestrians or Hyde Park Candidates for Admiration* – Detail.]

the Civil Wars, England's society was increasingly tied to business enterprise, commerce and mercantilism. According to Langford, 'most' social commentators from the eighteenth century were aware 'that they lived in a commercial age, an era in which the processes of production and exchange had dramatically increased the wealth, improved the living standards, and transformed the mores of western societies.' English people were wealthier and more socially mobile than ever before, and it was as a result of the rapidly expanding international character of British trade and commerce; it was a competitive, mercantilist era that encouraged the production and consumption of both old and new forms of goods and exotic products from around the world. The global eighteenth century was an era that witnessed new forms of social interaction and normative behaviour, and which became increasingly concerned about the effects its own success had on society. With the relative decline in royal patronage and the court as the site of social trends, it predominantly fell to the gentry and *nouveau riches* to provide the means and impetus for cultural change and definitions of proper taste; changes and definitions that were often solidified through homosocial interaction in public gathering places such as the increasingly popular coffee house. It was here that men of diverse backgrounds, social positioning and political leanings came to discuss affairs and socialize, and it is where men discussed normative and divergent forms of display and social behaviour. However, the period was also the time of politeness and social refinement; socializing with the fairer sex was equally as central to the development of a properly commercial and masculine man.³

The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries saw the development of a horsemanship community that embraced men who placed more emphasis on emergent codes of manners than on the older ones of the Cavendish-esque Vineyard. These men of both the elite and middling sorts, in keeping with wider trends in masculine behaviour, turned their backs, to some degree, on the militarism, honour and self-bridling important prior to the Civil Wars, and instead visualized themselves on horseback as polite, commercial, and liberal in their governing and political views. As Donna Landry, argues, 'As Britons transformed themselves into the "polite and commercial people" suited to administering an empire, a new language of free forward movement and equine initiative developed' along side a 'new language of horsemanship'. The new language of horsemanship was one of liberty and 'silken thread'

³ Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727-1783* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 1-7; Julian Hoppitt, *A Land of Liberty? England 1689-1727* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 313-316; Roy Porter, *The Creation of the Modern World: The Untold Story of the British Enlightenment* (New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company, 2000), 26-47; Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800* (Harlow, England: Pearson Education Limited, 2001); Markman Ellis, *The Coffee-House: A Cultural History* (London: Phoenix, 2004).

communication instead of strict bridling of both man and horse in the Hobbesian sense.⁴ These men looked to horsemanship methodologies and forms of visualization that were decidedly anti-spectacle, simplified and barely grounded in the *manège*. Their Vineyard was one where only the rudiments of horsemanship were practiced; where inclusion into its confines was opened to anyone (men and women) who rode on an English or common saddle; and where politeness, conversation and commercial endeavour was mandatory. However, even here the older forms of masculinity, and the associated militaristic discourses, did not disappear completely; it was the increasing craze for sporting riding that took over the *haute école* discourses and visualities of military might and warrior proficiency as beneficial to the nation.

The early eighteenth-century Vineyard incorporated men from the newly wealthy who approached riding as a mechanistic practice learned for ease and safety on horseback rather than for conspicuous personal display. These men, I argue, were embracing a new masculine aesthetic, as analysed by David Kuchta, that emphasised the display of the lack of display in men's fashion while transferring this new simplicity in performance to their horsemanship. For these men, their physical riding and their philosophical approach to the activity did not decrease in importance for the formulation of their masculine selves, but they did come to reflect a masculinity that was a far cry from that espoused by Cavendish. There remained pockets of men of the old school, however, who continued to practice horsemanship in the luxurious, *haute école* style while emphasising, paradoxically, the necessity of a spectacular personal display that showcased their new sartorial restraint. While Kuchta argues it was the eschewing of visible displays of luxury that distinguished the élite from the frequently ostentatious middling sorts, in the early eighteenth-century riding academy it was the embracing of traditionally spectacular and luxurious forms of horsemanship that distinguished the truly élite gentleman from the new, socially elevated man. This continuance of older forms of display also incorporated polite conversation and interaction with women as a necessary component for the development of a proper gentleman. Taking its impetus from the Civil Wars and the political climate during the Restoration, Glorious Revolution and early eighteenth century, the Vineyard, its members, and accepted horsemanship were drastically altered in geography, epistemologies, status and visibility. Following wider social changes in urbanization, the horsemanship of the early eighteenth century was a predominantly urban phenomenon, and one, as we will see, that developed into a mixed-gender space where the performances of masculinity and femininity

⁴ Donna Landry, *Noble Brutes: How Eastern Horses Transformed English Culture* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 3, 40,

were practiced as liberating and freedom-inducing actions that also upheld and enhanced normative genders and gender boundaries.⁵ The late seventeenth century and early eighteenth was a time where luxury became the era's concern, liberty its cry, social mobility its talent and the riding house – for men and women – its home for gendered display.

i. A NEW MASCULINE AESTHETIC

The eschewing of older traditions of visuality and visibility was a trend that, ironically enough, began while Cavendish (one of the most vocal proponents of spectacle and ceremony of the self) was still a member of Charles II's court. It began in conjunction with a monarch-mandated simplification of personal display, and almost a renunciation of spectacle and ceremony for personal profit. Driven by the Restoration court's unstable political position and a desire to distance itself from the perceived decadence, luxury and effeminacy of Charles I, in 1666, according to Samuel Pepys, Charles II, influenced by Ottoman fashion, introduced the three-piece suit.⁶ As David Kuchta argues, this sartorial decision by Charles 'inaugurated a new and essentially modern era of masculine aesthetics, one that reversed a long-held association between elaborate display and high social status.' It instead fell to 'debauched upstarts' from the middling sort and effeminate fops at court to continue displays of luxury and personal splendour. 'Noble simplicity was, in essence, the absence of display, the absence of pomp and ceremony.' That being said, the sartorial changes of Charles' court were short lived. There was a relapse from the 1670s to 1680 due in part, according to Kuchta, to the increasing stability of the Restoration court in politics and its renewed ties to France. It was not until the ousting of James II and William's and Mary's Glorious Revolution that the simplicity of display again became the dominant form of visualizing political masculinity. Kuchta has traced these changes in the sartorial regime over the eighteenth century, and argues that the gradual adoption of simple and humble clothing in place of conspicuously luxurious wardrobes by both the élite and middling sorts was not an example of the 'embourgeoisement' of the aristocracy; the usual argument for changes to élite modes of self expression. Instead, Kuchta argues for a 'common language' of

⁵ For details on the general urbanization of the eighteenth century see John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1997), 3. For information on the height of the equestrian and equine urbanization trend in the nineteenth century, and the many health, breeding and city planning ramifications of this change, see Clay McShane and Joel A. Tarr, *The Horse in the City: Living Machines in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).

⁶ David Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550-1850* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2002), 1-2; Hoppitt, *Land of Liberty?* 223-224. For information on the Ottoman origin of the three-piece suit see Charlotte Jirousek, 'Ottoman Influences in Western Dress,' in *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, eds. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (Istanbul: Eren, 2004), 241-42.

masculinity between the classes. 'Just as middle-class men had appropriated an originally aristocratic critique of luxury and effeminacy in order to help define middle-class masculine identity,' Kuchta summarizes, 'aristocratic men used that middle-class critique of aristocratic luxury and effeminacy to redefine their own class and gender identity.'⁷

The renunciation of sartorial splendour and spectacular personal display saw parallel developments in the practice of horsemanship, but with some significant differences to Kuchta's argument. In 1639 Thomas de Grey argued a man

shall be known to be exquisite in Horsemanship, whereby to cause his Horse to shew himselfe in his Pace, Menage, and all other his postures like as well becomes a right good Horse, perfectly mouthed, delicately borne, obedient to the hand, and to answer the Switch and Spur, will not (I say) that Gentleman be highly commended, and have more eyes upon him as he passeth along than are commonly cast upon a Comet or the Sun eclipsed: yes undoubtedly. For if we due but note when a handsome Horse passeth along, we may observe the people not onely gaze upon him as he commeth towards and against them, but to turn themselves and looke after him so long time as he continueth within their view and sight: Mans love of the Horse is generally so great.⁸

If he was on a good horse and could handle him with skill a man could draw the gaze of spectators to him quickly and without much effort. It was this effect, and the boost in reputation that Cavendish sought through it, that men of the eighteenth century also looked to cultivate even in a time of a masculine aesthetic which dictated the exhibition of a lack of spectacle. Thomas de Grey's notion of manly display on horseback was held throughout the century, but there was a parallel middle-class critique of élite visuality in the Cavendish mode, and a corresponding attempt at the adoption of a simplified, less spectacular and seemingly frivolous riding style by both the élite and the middling sort. As the list of manuals from the last Chapter indicates, the *manège* and *haute école* specifically were gradually becoming a part of new trends in horsemanship: racing, hunting and riding for utility. Even after the re-publication of Cavendish's *A General System* in 1743, and the re-introduction of his theories into the Vineyard, the branching and classification of horsemanship continued to grow. This diversification of Vineyards eventually resulted in the creation of two distinct but interconnected schools of horsemanship practice: one that was interested in mechanistic riding for pleasure, industry and the visualization of these virtues, and the other that continued to look upon it as an art form to be learned for the conspicuous self display of skill, nobility and gentlemanly greatness in the Cavendish vein. The horsemen of the élite Cavendish Vineyard continued to practice older

⁷ Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit*, 4, 64, 79, 86-89, 97, 171-172.

⁸ Thomas de Grey, *The compleat horseman and expert ferrier* (London: Thomas Harper, 1639), The Epistle Dedicatory II.

traditions of display while engaging with new developments of masculine and horsemanship practice, and horsemen of the new Vineyards looked to simplified horsemanship while arguing, against common practice, that some education in spectacular riding was still useful.

While Kuchta argues for a complete sharing of discourses between classes, and the gradual melding of display into one homogenous form – the three-piece suit – horsemen were aware of, and adopted aspects from, each other’s horsemanship visualities, but remained remarkably tied to ‘traditional’ and classed equestrian hierarchies. According to Charles Thompson in his 1762 *Rules for Bad Horsemen*, as an example, the *manège* is ‘looked on as of use to military people only; or to those, in whom a shewy appearance is made proper and becoming, by their rank in life.’ In addition, it was thought ‘that all managed horses are taught motions for parade only; and that their paces are spoiled for the road and hunting. Hence riding in the manage is called *riding the great horse*; and the common opinion is, that nothing of this art can be applied to general use.’⁹ Young men were no longer becoming, or even wanting to become, Impes in the *manège* Vineyard; for them the *manège* was suitable only for those men who were interested in the parade before a military assembly, and those who wanted to make a ‘shewy appearance’ as was natural for them because of their social rank or title. For Thompson, and J.L. Jackson and Charles Hughes following, to ride a great horse, a horse of the military and *manèged* Vineyard, was an activity only for those of the élite while for men of the ‘middling sort’ riding the *manèged* great horse was thought not to be of any ‘general’ or practical use.¹⁰

Men who persisted in doing so, as more traditional critiques of the élite often pointed out, were indulging a visuality and activity that was essentially for their own gain, not for that of the nation.¹¹ As such, in this discourse a civically useless man was an effeminate man, and a useless man was the ‘very Thing ... of Perfume and Compliment’, as one anonymous pamphleteer described Cavendish.¹² During his own lifetime and increasingly afterwards Cavendish was not always considered the hallmark of ideal masculinity and embodied inter-species honour regardless of how well he rode as a horseman. Cavendish was instead frequently discussed in the language of the effeminate, the useless and the civically irresponsible. For example, Alexander

⁹ Charles Thompson, *Rules for bad horsemen. Addressed to the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c.* (London: Printed for J. Robson, Bookseller to her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales, in New Bond-street, 1762), 3-4.

¹⁰ J.L. Jackson, *The art of riding; or, horsemanship made easy: exemplified by rules drawn from nature and experience.* By J.L. Jackson, Esq. (London: printed for A. Cooke, 1765), 3; and Charles Hughes’ *The Complete Horseman* (London: printed for F. Newbery, the Corner of St. Paul’s Church-Yard, Ludgate-Street, and sold at Hughes’s Riding-School, 1777), 7-8.

¹¹ Porter, *The Creation of the Modern World*, 40.

¹² As quoted in Rubenshuis and Rubenianum, *Royalist Refugees: William and Margaret Cavendish in the Rubens House, 1648-1660* (Antwerp: BAI, Schoten, 2006), 13.

Pope, in his *The First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace, Imitated*, tied Cavendish's perceived effeminacy to wider political and social trends. For Pope (voicing an alternative sentiment to the popular position that argued consumption and luxury only led to self-love rather than a love of the state) while the pursuit of personal pleasure was in theory beneficial to the nation, such pursuits still needed to be regulated and managed so the self-love associated with them did not come to predominate.¹³ Pope wrote:

In Days of Ease, when now the weary Sword
Was sheath'd, and *Luxury* with *Charles* restor'd;
In every Taste of foreign Courts improv'd,
"All, by the King's Example, liv'd and lov'd."
Then Peers grew proud in Horsemanship t'excell,
New-market's Glory rose, as Britain's fell;
The Soldier breath'd the Gallantries of France,
And ev'ry flow'ry Courtier writ Romance.
Then Marble soften'd into life grew warm,
And yielding Metal flow'd to human form:
Lely on animated Canvas stole
The sleepy Eye, that spok the melting soul.
No wonder then, when all was Love and Sport,
The willing Muses were debauch'd at Court;
On each enervate string they taught the Note
To pant, or tremble thro' an Eunuch's throat.

For Pope, staunchly anti-establishment and a firm supporter of the Stuart dynasty under James II, horsemanship was yet another example of unmanly weakness and corruption associated with Charles II's court and William I's Hanoverian accession.¹⁴ Working from a perspective on personal economies later adopted by Adam Smith, Pope argued luxury, if pursued in a regulated manner, 'produced social harmony'; for him, "'private vices' would beget 'public benefits'" but only if they were not allowed to become extravagant.¹⁵ In Charles II's court, men were free to pursue luxury for their improvement, expand their horizons with knowledge of foreign customs and ideas, and live a life of peace and prosperity, but these pursuits did not last. Men, in their love of luxury and self-glory, became ungoverned and began to pursue unmediated prosperity at the cost of everything masculine. The courtiers and soldiers there spent their time in horsemanship, in striving 't'excell' in the spectacular art, at the cost of Britain's glory and strength. These horsemen, exemplified by the prime example of the whole, or 'The Duke of

¹³ Porter, *The Creation of the Modern World*, 175.

¹⁴ Stephen T. Leonard and Joan C. Tronto, 'The Genders of Citizenship,' *The American Political Science Review* 101 no. 1 (February, 2007): 34; Howard Erksine-Hill, 'Pope and the Poetry of Opposition,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Alexander Pope*, ed. Pat Rogers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 134.

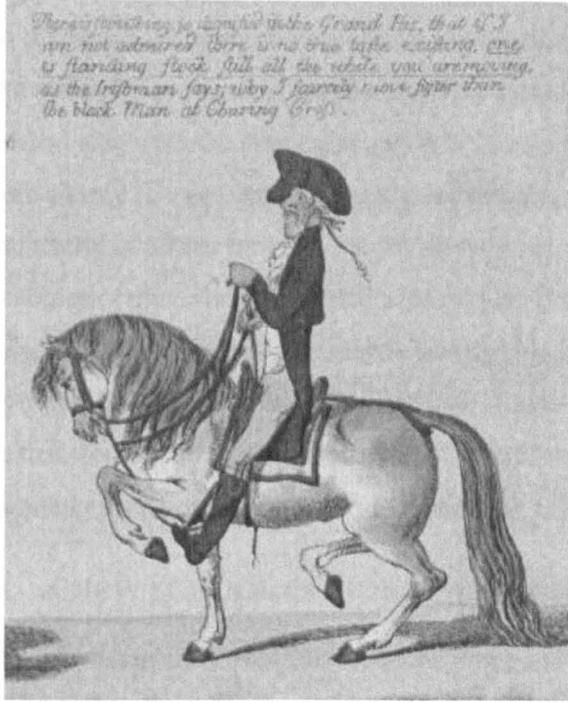
¹⁵ Porter, *The Creation of the Modern World*, 175.

Newcastle' and his 'Book of Horsemanship' (as Pope clarified in an accompanying footnote to his poem), were not the honourable and courageous men described in Chapter II. They were not the ideal governors of the commonwealth. Instead, they were 'soften'd', 'yielding', 'melting', and 'enervate' players in a society where 'all was Love and Sport', and came from a time when eunuchs on the Opera stage were celebrities at the cost of everything noble and manly.¹⁶ Charles' court provided the setting for men to visualize themselves as spectacle, as Cavendish had done, for social advancement as horsemen. However, horsemanship, *manèged* horsemanship, for Pope, was associated with unmitigated pursuits of pleasure and personal gain, and with a loss of manliness to effeminate luxury. Here, the *manège* was no longer the ideal the embodiment and visuality of honourable manhood but a symptom of unregulated consumption and self-love. By the time Pope was writing in the early eighteenth century, the court culture of Charles II – and its associated popular activities of which horsemanship was arguably one of the most ostentatious and luxurious – was outdated and firmly effeminate.

We see this aversion to luxury and conspicuous display in the illustrative *Sunday Equestrians or Hyde Park Candidates for Admiration* introduced earlier (Figure 8). This time it is the figure second from the left on the top row, the dashing military man *en piaffe*, that is our focus (Figure 10). This visual satire has taken up the discourse directed towards men who sought to spectacularize themselves in the Cavendish-esque manner. This man, shown as exaggeratedly elegant and refined, is on a horse which is obedient, light and highly trained in the *manège* and *haute école* manner. Although, it is this clinging to the past traditions, further emphasised by the *manège* horse type with the long tail, that has prompted the artist to point out the superficiality, the uselessness of the horseman's civic and equestrian abilities. The horse, rather than being ridden by a Master is placed in the ideally collected frame suited to the *manège* through the presence of a tie down running from the chin strap of the bridle to the girth. It is not a gentle *appui* or discursive contact from the rider's hands that is keeping the horse performing, but his training by previous Masters of horsemanship; between this training and his tack, the horse simply cannot do anything otherwise. The rider – displaying a seat that would have horrified Cavendish – is seemingly content with the situation, and is proud of the image he displays. He says: 'There is something so dignified in the Grad Pas, that if I am not admired there is no true taste existing. *one is standing stock still all the while you are moving* as the Irishman says, why I scarcely move faster than the black Man at Charing Cross.' Like the equestrian statue of King

¹⁶ Alexander Pope, 'The First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace, Imitated,' in *The Poems of Alexander Pope: A One Volume Edition of the Twickenham Pope*, ed. John Butt (London: Routledge, 1966), 640-641.

Charles I (the black man at Charing Cross, also *en piaffe*),¹⁷ this rider is ‘standing stock still’ even though he is moving as an ideal *piaffe* was to be performed.



[Figure 10: *Sunday Equestrians or Hyde Park Candidates for Admiration* – Detail.]

However, even though his personal image was positive, such equestrians were problematic for this artist. This rider is as stationary as the inexperienced, ignorant and foolish Paddy Bull was during his crossing from Ireland to England (*one is standing stock still all the while you are moving* was a line from the popular song ‘Paddy Bull’s Expedition’, which was reprinted in the many song collections sold at the end of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth

¹⁷ The statue was a part of a popular seventeenth- and eighteenth-century rhyme:

‘As I was going by Charing Cross,
I saw a black man upon a black horse;
They told me it was King Charles the First—
Oh dear, my heart was ready to burst!’

James Orchard Halliwell, *Popular Rhymes and Nursery Tales: a sequel to the Nursery Rhymes of England* (London: John Russell Smith, 4, Old Compton Street, Soho Square, 1849), 10. The statue of Charles I was also the focus of anti George III rhetoric that argued the Hanoverian succession had made the English commonwealth – Charles’s *manéged* horse, his ‘battle beast’, which was calm and well governed in ‘a double rein’ under Charles – ‘mad’ with fury over with his absenteeism, corruption and interest in foreign wars – symbolized by the mocking and ungoverned white horse of Hanover. Anonymous, *An Hue and Cry After M----Y---h’s White-Horse, Who this day stray’d out of the Mews Stables, and is now gone over the Water, after whom there is a great Enquiry and strict Search made, he being loaded with a great Quantity of Plate. O yes, if any Person can bring this Horse back, he shall have a great Reward* (London: Printed for T. Querit, in the Strand, 1747), 2.

century).¹⁸ For this artist the *manège* and its élitely militaristic practitioners were, like statues, stuck in the non-Parliamentary and absolutist past of Charles I, and were unable to move forward into the new republican era. For those commentators who adopted more ‘traditional snobberies’, or a distrust of luxury and display, and for those such as Pope who considered commerce to be civilizing, horsemen of the *manège* were useless to their country, were still unpatriotically continental (Grand Pas), associated with the stereotypically rebellious and unintelligent Irish, a drag on the nation and were simply focused on image and public appearance rather than the cultivation of practical and useful qualities beneficial to the community.¹⁹ With all of that being said, more traditional ideologies of élite visuality where assumptions that only ‘military people’, or those ‘whom a shewy appearance is made proper and becoming, by their rank in life’, could or should practice the *manège* was maintained even here. This figure is the most shewy of the group represented, although one that, for this artist, emphasized his Centauric and civic uselessness rather than his ability to actively participate for the nation’s benefit.

ii. A NEW SCHOOL OF HORSEMANSHIP

Following a similar timeline to that of the three-piece suit, the perceptible decline of the *haute école* noticed by Worsley was indicative of an increasing simplicity of the *manège* and a redefinition of what it meant to be a horseman. For example, Gervase Markham in his 1610 manual, *Markham’s Maister-Peece*, argues ‘a compleat *Horseman*’ was a man that ‘shows, / That *Rides, Keeps, Cures*, and all perfections knows’, all aspects of horse care and interaction (Figure 11).²⁰ This behaviour of a horseman, followed by Cavendish and other seventeenth-century men, gave way in the Civil Wars to a rider who was increasingly interested only in the rudiments of riding and not at all in other areas of nonhuman animal care, interaction or even training. One of these Civil War tracts was John Vernon’s 1644 *The Young Horse-man, or, The*

¹⁸ ‘Paddy Bull’s Expedition,’ in *Apollo’s lyre; being a selection of the most approved songs, including those sung at Vauxhall, Theatres Royal, &c. to which are added, the favourite new songs sung at the Theatre Royal, Windsor, in the year 1793.* ... (London: printed by J. Fowler . And sold by W. Thompson, at Mr. Turlis, watch-maker, Windsor, [1795?]), 54-55.

¹⁹ Nicholas Canny, ‘Irish Resistance to Empire? 1641, 1690 and 1789,’ in *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689-1815*, ed. Lawrence Stone (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 288-321.

²⁰ Gervase Markham, *Markhams maister-peece* (London: Printed by Nicholas Okes, and are to be sold by VWilliam VVelby, dwelling at the signe of the white Swan in S. Pauls Church-yard, 1610), Preface. For further information on Markham see F.N.L. Poynter, *Bibliography of Gervase Markham, 1568?-1637* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1962); for his manuals, especially his *Master Piece* and *Cavelarice*, see Elspeth Graham, ‘Reading, Writing, and Riding Horses in Early Modern England: James Shirley’s *Hyde Park* (1632) and Gervase Markham’s *Cavelarice* (1607),’ in *Renaissance Beasts: Of Animals, Humans, and Other Wonderful Creatures*, ed. Erica Fudge (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004): 116-137; and for details on the interesting publishing career of Markham see Richard Nash, ‘Joy and Pity: Reading Animal Bodies in Late Eighteenth-Century Culture,’ *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 52 no. 1 (2011): 49-51.

honest plain-dealing Cavalier; a manual of horsemanship that differed greatly to many manuals before it. Vernon's manual exhibited a new aversion for everything spectacular or ceremonial in riding in exchange for plain simplicity and practicality in horsemanship. It was a manual published so 'every ordinary Souldier might easily purchase with his money or weare in his pocket, to be his continuall advisor, and prove no hinderance unto him in the expedyating of his service.'²¹ Like John Cruso's *Military Instructions for the Cavallrie*, also of 1644, and David Leslie's *General Lesley's Direction and Order for the exercising of Horse and Foot* of 1642, Vernon's manual was the beginning of a gradual shift away from the spectacle and self-visualization so central to Cavendish's construction of the masculine self, and towards a new practice and visual aesthetic of horsemanship that was simplified and which made the management of a horse 'easy to an indifferent rider.'²² While there were exceptions to this, which I will discuss in a moment, there was a growing trend in the publication of horsemanship manuals to provide only the information necessary for the beginner rider who sought merely his safety and a modicum of gentility while mounted.

This new trend in Vineyard horsemanship and visuality can primarily be traced through a string of manuals published in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. These, by Charles Thompson, J.L. Jackson, Charles Hughes and Philip Astley, look to each other – frequently verbatim – as well as back to the sporting, racing and husbandry manuals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (such as John Astley's *The Art of Riding* of 1584 and Joseph Blagrave's 1669 *The Epitome of the Art of Husbandry*) rather than the longer tradition of the *manège* manuals favoured by Cavendish.²³ Charles Thompson's *Rules for Bad Horsemen* of 1762 was the first of these. A practitioner of the *manège*, to some extent, Thompson, following the *manège*-in-decline discourse of his equestrian predecessors, was writing to correct the lack of

²¹ John Vernon, *The Young Horse-man, or, The honest plain-dealing Cavalier* (London: Printed by Andrew Cox, 1644), To the courteous Reader, and Desirous Practitioner, of Martiall Discipline.

²² John Cruso, *Militarie Instructions for the Cavallrie: or Rules and Directions for the Service of the Horse, Collected out of Divers Forrain Authors Ancient and Modern, and Rectified and Supplied, According to the Present Practise of the Low-Country Warres* (Cambridge: Printed by the printers to the Universitie of Cambridge, 1644); David Leslie, Baron Newark, *General Lesley's Direction and Order for the exercising of Horse and Foot: being a most exact, compendeous, and necessary direction for ... the militia...* (London: 1642). Kevin Ornellas has also pointed out the shift towards simplicity and practicality in these manuals in his *Troping the Horse in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Ph.D. Dissertation: Queen's University, Belfast, 2002), 266-267. Thompson, *Rules for bad horsemen*, 5-6.

²³ Joseph Blagrave's *The epitome of the art of husbandry comprising all necessary directions for the improvement of it ... : to which is annexed by way of appendix, a new method of planting fruit trees, and improving of an orchard : with directions for taking, ordering, teaching, and caring of singing birds, and other useful additions / by J.B. gent.* (London: Printed for Ben. Billingsley and Obadiah Blagrave, 1669). Blagrave in turn looks to John Astley's *The art of riding set foorth in a breefe treatise, with a due interpretation of certeine places alledged out of Xenophon, and Gryson, verie expert and excellent horssemen...* (London: By Henrie Denham, 1584).

'just taste' in horsemanship and to re-introduce it as a worthy art to be learned by the nation's youth who were preoccupied by their love of hunting and racing to the detriment of their equestrian abilities. 'If a young fellow can ride a fox-chace, or a horse-race, he immediately considers himself, and is considered by others, as a good horseman', Thompson complained. 'If he has a horse which he cannot manage, he will tell you, he designs to tame him by hunting: that is, if he can but get him to go forward, he will tire him. But what end does this answer?' he asks, 'by a week's rest the horse becomes as ungovernable as ever; and surely, if a man cannot manage his horse in full spirits, he cannot well be said to manage him at all.'²⁴ With the decline in *manège* participation (pointed out by Worsley), as well as increasing involvement by those who did not have access to or inclination for proper horsemanship instruction, there was a corresponding decrease in horsemanship ability; and it was this decline Thompson was hoping to correct by re-introducing the *manège* as a necessary part of a man's education.



[Figure 11: Gervase Markham, *Markham's Master-Piece* (1695), Title Page.]

²⁴ Thompson, *Rules for bad horsemen*, 2-3. These sentiments were also echoed by Jackson, *The art of riding*, 2-3.

However, he presented a form of horsemanship to the new generation of horsemen, like Vernon, Cruso and Leslie before him, that differed substantially in content, goals and practice from that of Cavendish. For Thompson, and J.L. Jackson in his *The Art of Riding; or, horsemanship made easy* of 1765, while horsemanship remained an ‘art’ it was an art that did not necessitate the development of a close, reciprocal and inter-species relationship, or even knowledge beyond the basic necessary for the general operating of the horse. It was an art that had become mechanized; an art that became a defining characteristic of the new horseman’s Vineyard. As Jackson, following Thompson, argued:

The riding-school, or what is called *riding the great horse*, is an art, taught by professed masters. But this is generally considered only as of use to the military gentlemen; or to persons of rank, who value themselves on appearing on horseback with grace and dignity. Managed horses that are taught their motions only for parade, are not fit for the road or hunting. And therefore this part of horsemanship is quite useless to the generality. We shall therefore say no more of this part of the art here, but confine ourselves to such rules as concern the general use and practice.²⁵

Jackson, here equating riding in a riding house with *manège* riding and parade riding by military personnel and men who wished, like Cavendish, to display their spectacular selves, argued *manège* horsemanship in the older style was useless to the new, modern, horseman interested in hunting and travel. No longer was a general practitioner of horsemanship to strive for perfection, to perform his horsemanship as high art as Cavendish had done. Instead, it was ‘indifferent’ riders, those who simply wanted minimal hassle and difficulty in riding, who looked to the new breed of manuals and instructors to ‘be taught all that is necessary to ride with safety, ease, and pleasure, and to make their horses perform cheerfully.’²⁶ Appearing during the age of turnpikes and increasing traffic congestion on the roads, congestion that mandated a new focus on personal safety on the road, these manuals were written and advertised as something relatively new in the lineage of works on horsemanship.²⁷ For Thompson, ‘Books in which the art of riding has been fully and completely taught’ have been the norm in England, but these manuals ‘have not been calculated for so *inferior* a part of a horseman’s education. What is said here, is not therefore designed for those who ride *well*, but for those only, who are liable to difficulties and accidents for want of *common* cautions’.²⁸

This is not to say, however, that participation in a riding house was not theoretically beneficial to the sporting and pleasure sort. According to Jackson, riding in a riding house

²⁵ Jackson, *The Art of Riding*, 3.

²⁶ Thompson, *Rules for bad horsemen*, 5-6.

²⁷ Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People*, 391.

²⁸ Thompson, *Rules for bad horsemen*, 7-8.

would be practicable, if the masters would teach the art of riding on the *hunting* or *common saddle*; or, if a person unacquainted with the rules prescribed there, would initiate himself in the riding-house, and make himself master of some general principles, which he might occasionally apply to another manner of riding. In the mean time, our present business is, to give such rules, whereby an unskilful horseman may be instructed to ride with more safety and ease than, otherwise, he can.²⁹

Riding in the ‘traditional’, *manège* riding house, would theoretically be beneficial if the conventions and goals of the hunt field and business traveller were taken into consideration, or if the riders entered there to gain only the rudimentary skills common to all Vineyards early in a gentleman’s education. It was only the more precise, the increasingly difficult and specialized actions that should be avoided as ostentatious luxury and spectacle, not the basic introductions to riding and horse-human relationships all men required. But, as the men of the new Vineyard were not willing to do so, and neither were the men of the *manège*, Jackson, and the other authors who shared his riding discourse, provided the instruction.

This instruction differed significantly from that provided by Cavendish, who presumed his readers were already in possession of a solid equestrian education prior to their reading of his manual. Now, the authors invariably spent a large amount of time – and pagination – discussing the basics, such as the ins and outs of how to stop a horse, or how to direct it where a rider wished. The greatest effort, though, was spent instructing the reader simply how to get on. Philip Astley’s first manual, *The Modern Riding-Master* of 1775, was the most detailed on the subject, dedicating well over half of his work and eleven illustrations out of the total twelve to the topic (Figure 12).³⁰ *Figures 2* through *10* are dedicated to the step-by-step process of mounting, with *Figure 11* showing the newly seated novice having his first lesson in horsemanship – on the lunge. He was not in control of his mount – the instructor in the centre of the ring was the man who directed the speed and direction of the horse with the aid of another man driving the horse forward – he was simply learning how to sit there as all raw beginners did. Astley was concerned with the rudimentary elements of riding and of providing the minimal abilities of kinesthetic communication that allowed for positive public visibility of rank – or one that was desired. There was no discussion of human-horse mastery, and the men of Astley’s first manual were not visualized as being the source of the nonhuman’s rationality, training or submission to patriarchal authority. While his later manuals and his own riding performances speak to alternative visualities and masculine virtues – and they will be discussed at length in the next

²⁹ Jackson, *The Art of Riding*, 3.

³⁰ Philip Astley, *The Modern Riding-Master* (Philadelphia: Aitken, 1776).

chapter – his first manual was very much in keeping with the time where easy, inexpensive and not overly time- or effort-consuming horsemanship was ideal for the new, simplified, horsemanship of the Vineyard.

Figure 2.

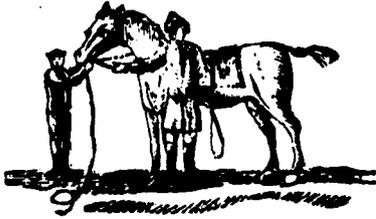


Figure 3.

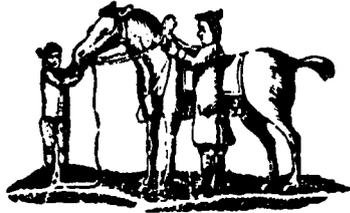


Figure 4.



Figure 5.



Figure 6.



Figure 7.

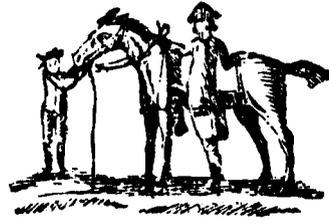


Figure 9.

Figure 8.

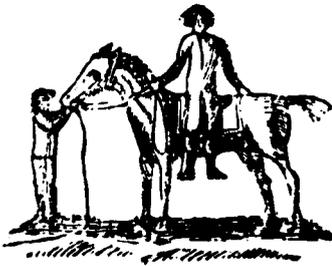


Figure 10.

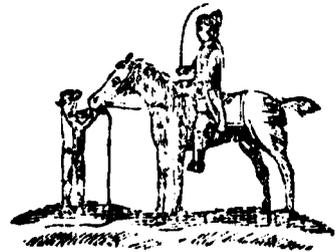
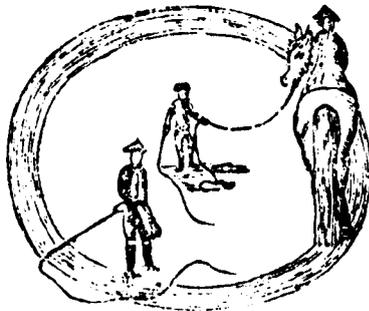


Figure 11.



[Figure 12: Philip Astley, 'Figures 2-11,' *The Modern Riding-Master* (1776), 23-28.]

This simplified horsemanship and masculine aesthetic make the black man of Charing Cross an obvious individual of outdated, ostentatious and frivolous spectacle. Likewise for *The*

Lucky Mistake, Or the Buck and Blood Flourishing Macaroni ——— playing a Solo on the Jelly Glassez of 1773, by William Austen (Figure 13). Here we have the Cavendish-esque and *haute école* figure of the horseman *en levade*, one of the traditional poses favoured by royalty and the élite for equestrian portraiture, shown as having just ridden over a man, with a now broken wooden leg, and his jelly wares. The horseman is depicted as a macaroni, in all of his flamboyant, old-school masculine aesthetic and big-wig glory, and is shown brandishing a lash whip with which he either has hit his horse with – to effect a showy appearance – or the merchant as he passed. This image, from an illustrator who was a supporter of individually private virtue enacted by commercial activities, effectively ties the extravagantly uncontrolled love of luxury and consumption, effeminacy and un-patriotically Italian interests to the élite horseman returned from his Grand Tour. Macaronis, known by their unusually large wigs, ostentatious clothing choices, effete behaviour and their affected Italian fashions, were considered foppish and were associated with vanity, cowardice, self-absorption, irrationality and physically-weak femininity.³¹ As James Boswell complained of Samuel Johnson, who was increasingly reluctant to complete their tour of the Scottish highlands: ‘I said, “Why sir, you seemed to me to despond yesterday. You are a delicate Londoner; you are a maccaroni; you cannot ride.”’³² Macaronis were individuals who bent the gender boundaries to the breaking point, and were frequently viewed to be of ambiguous and unclear sex. They were ‘of the double Gender’ and incapable of following normative masculine and civic pursuits so necessary to horsemen; however, macaronis, even with their missing physical and rational masculinity, were not often figures of social or civic unrest. Macaronis remained benignly comic and devoid of true civic impact for much of the eighteenth century.³³ As Langford argues, ‘Display was the most consistent and most disapproved element in the recreations of an age of ... extravagance’, and it was the macaroni – here as a *haute école* horseman, who embraced it.³⁴ The flourishing individual has, with his expensive, glitzy and useless symbol of unnecessary consumption (his horse), trodden upon the properly industrious, independent and English figure of the portly merchant and nationally-everyman war hero.

³¹ Martin Myrone, *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinities in British Art, 1750-1810* (New Haven and London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2005), 112-113; Amelia Rauser, ‘Hair, Authenticity, and the Self-Made Macaroni,’ *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38 no. 1 (2004): 102.

³² James Boswell as quoted in Dorothy M. George, *Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social Change in Graphic Satire* (London: The Penguin Press, 1967), 59.

³³ Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 60-64.

³⁴ Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People*, 576.

has been caricatured, like his big-haired rider, as something ridiculous, unnecessarily luxurious and equally as hairy. Even though the horse's physical manliness is not in doubt, and has been exaggerated through his posing and impossibly large neck (stallions possess larger necks than geldings or mares), his and his rider's usefulness, and hence their masculinity, are questionable. Like his macaroni rider (who was at heart artificial according to Amelia Rauser), this horse, because of his breeding, conformation and training, can physically do nothing but prance, preen and make a shewy appearance; he can only perform the artificial – created by art – movements of the *manège*; he cannot perform with any aptitude the duties required by the new generation of horses – that ideal and quintessentially English breed, the Thoroughbred.³⁷

The history of the Thoroughbred is a complex one, with a substantial amount of scholarship from diverse disciplines (genetics, history, sociology, anthropology and literary studies), and it will not be discussed in detail here.³⁸ For my purposes, it is enough to say that this new breed of horse was of a different body type from those cherished by horsemen of the past generation. The Thoroughbred was of a rangier, sloping-shouldered and racing physiology, and was designed for covering ground at speed rather than for collection and carrying movements of the *manège* – the speciality of the short-coupled, upright and carrying conformation common to the macaroni horse and his predecessors. Sawrey Gilpin's sketches of the *Managed Horse* and *Hunter* of 1786 illustrate the two body types, while again labelling each as suitable for its own unique form of horsemanship and masculine display; only the *manèged* horse was suited to a man of the military, while the hunter type was of use to the sportsman in the field (Figures 14 and 15).³⁹ This new conformation, and the Thoroughbred's celebrated sensitivity, independence and bravery, 'demanded' a new style of riding and horse-human interaction than what was practiced previously. The riders, now in the lighter, closer-fitting common saddle, like the one favoured by Astley in his illustrations, rather than the deep *manège* saddle, were beginning to participate in what Landry has called 'the making of the English hunting seat.'⁴⁰

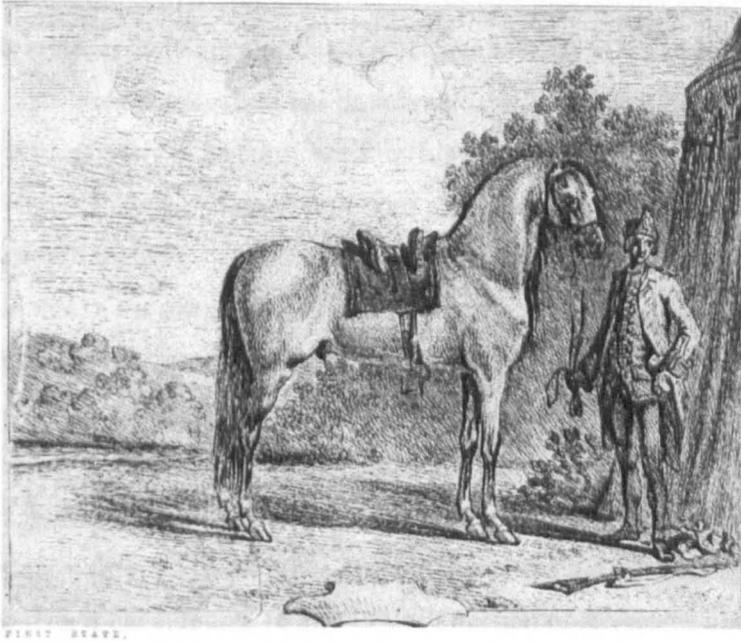
³⁷ Richard Nash, "Honest English Breed": The Thoroughbred as Cultural Metaphor,' in *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World*, eds. Karen Raber and Treva J. Tucker (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 245-272; Rauser, 'Hair, Authenticity, and the Self-Made Macaroni,' 105.

³⁸ Nash, "Honest English Breed" and Donna Landry, 'The Bloody Shouldered Arabian and Early Modern English Culture,' *Criticism* 46 no. 1 (Winter 2004): 41-69.

³⁹ See R.H. Smythe, *Horse Structure and Movement* (London: J.A. Allen, 1993), or Susan E. Harris, *Horse Gaits, Balance and Movement: The Natural Mechanics of Movement Common to all Breeds* (New York, Toronto and Oxford: Howell Book House and Maxwell Macmillan, 1994), for a complete introduction to the relationship between skeletal formation and horse movement and use.

⁴⁰ Landry, *Noble Brutes*, 43.

Performing Horse-Men



[Figure 14: Sawrey Gilpin, *Set of Eight Horses - The Managed Horse* (1786). © Trustees of the British Museum.]



[Figure 15: Sawrey Gilpin, *Set of Eight Horses - The Hunter* (1786). © Trustees of the British Museum.]

This change is readily noticeable in the manuals of horsemanship published at the time, but not more so than in that transitory text of Sympson's: the *Twenty Five Actions of the Manage Horse* of 1725. Even though this manual was expressly about the older, Cavendish-esque horsemanship tradition, much of the text is dedicated to discussing the hunting horse and the practice of hunting itself. For Sympson, it seems, the Thoroughbred and sporting riding are

suitably unique novelties to warrant the extensive discussion, and contentious enough within *manège* Vineyards to necessitate the glorification of their benefits to his readers. He writes of the seat, for example, that ‘the *Hunting-Seat* has its Advantages; I mean for Ease, both to the Horse and Rider, which is principally to be considered in Hunting.’ This seat ‘is like the *Seat* of the *Asiatick* Nations, who are much on Horseback, with *short Stirrups* and light *Saddles*.’ Also, unlike popular Vineyard thought, ‘Neither is this *Seat* so easily obtain’d; and tho’ it may not appear Graceful, as that of the *Manage*, it is found very necessary in our fine Hunting Counties, upon a long Chase, viz. to sit light, and humour the Horse’s Motions, by inclining the Body; and save his Wind by pulling the *Reins*, more or less, according to the Ground he runs over, which will greatly help him to last the Day; whereas one that is ignorant of this Method, will soon blow his Horse, and put an End to his Sport.’⁴¹ Accompanied by two images – shocking in their complete differentiation from all of the other *manège* illustrations – showing the hunter upon full stretch and leaping over a bar (Figures 16 and 17), this section of Sympsom’s not only shows the Eastern (Asiatick) traditions of what was to become the quintessentially English hunting seat, but also the changing embodiments and discourses of political horsemanship.

In Jackson’s argument, while he declined to treat of the *manège* in any detail because of its apparent uselessness for most men, he recorded that some horsemen ‘are of a different opinion, and imagine, that what is taught a horse in the manage, will not spoil his paces; and that by his discipline there, he is accustomed to have *no will of his own*, thereby he becomes more manageable and easy to an indifferent rider.’⁴² If we recall, this was in essence the ideal state of horse-man interaction for Cavendish and other horsemen of the seventeenth century where the horse tied his will to his rider’s creating a human-animal Centaur. What Jackson is pointing to in mentioning the continued Cavendish ideal was competing notions of liberty developing in the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth; one which was ‘negative’ or Hobbesian in origin, and the other which was ‘positive’ in conception.⁴³ As we have seen, in Hobbes’ theory, as Cavendish enacted, a person/state/horse continued to possess will and liberty if he was able to live in the ‘absence of Opposition’.⁴⁴ Even though a horse was constrained by riding

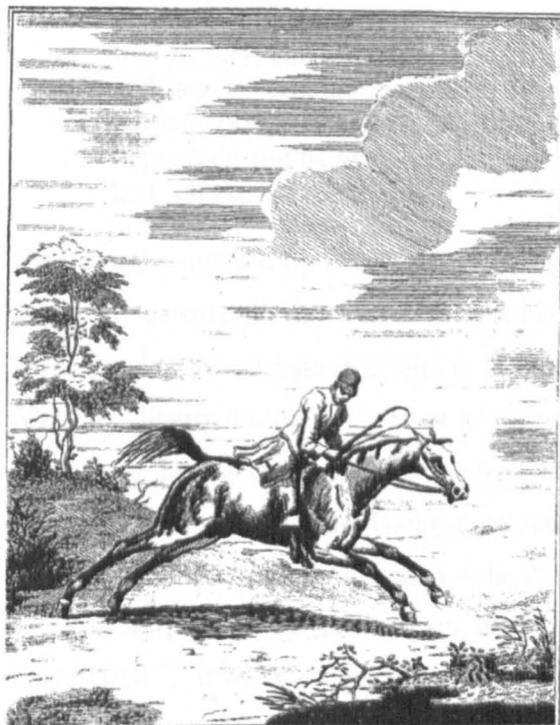
⁴¹ Josephus Sympsom, *Twenty Five Actions of the Manage Horse, Engrav’d by Josephus Sympsom, From Original Drawings of Mr. John Vanderbanck: To which are added, Two of the English Hunter; With the Figure of a Fine Horse measured from the Life, shewing all the Proportions: As also A Draught of the true Shape of the Branch; with short Remarks on some Parts of Horsemanship* (London: Printed for and Sold by J. Sympsom at the Dove in Russel-Court in Drury-Lane, and Andrew Johnston Engraver in Peter’s-Court in St. Martin’s-Lane, 1729), 4.

⁴² Jackson, *The Art of Riding*, 3.

⁴³ Rosanna Cox, ‘John Milton’s Politics, Republicanism and Terms of Liberty,’ *Literature Compass* 4 no. 6 (2007): 1568.

⁴⁴ Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* [1651] (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1968), 261.

technologies, laws/aids of the sovereign and completely subject to the ruling will, he willingly obeyed through fear and love as a subject in a state of covenant – not motivations equated with tyranny or slavery in Hobbesian political theory.



A Hunter upon full Stretch

[Figure 16: John Vanderbanck, 'A Hunter Upon Full Stretch,' in *Twenty Five Actions of the Manage Horse* by Josephus Sympson (1729), 26]



The Standing-Leap at the Barr.

[Figure 17: John Vanderbanck, 'The Standing Leap at the Barr,' in *Twenty Five Actions of the Manage Horse* by Josephus Sympson (1729), 27.]

However, for the new horsemen of the eighteenth century, Hobbesian thought was more tyrannical than liberating. Similar to what Rosanna Cox finds for Milton's views on liberty, where 'to be free ... is essentially to be independent, not to be subject to, or dependent upon the arbitrary will of anyone else', not just subject to physical impediments as Hobbes contends, eighteenth-century liberty discourse emphasised a freedom from external impediment to the will of an individual.⁴⁵ As John Locke summarized: 'So that the *Idea of Liberty*, is the *Idea* of a Power in any Agent to do or forbear any particular Action, according to the determination or thought of the mind, whereby either of them is preferr'd to the other;' however, 'where either of them is not in the Power of the Agent to be produced by him according to his *Volition*, there he is

⁴⁵ Cox, 'John Milton's Politics,' 1569.

not at *Liberty*, that Agent is under *Necessity*.⁴⁶ An agent must be free to act as he chose without the apparent heavy-handedness of government interfering in the independent lives of its subjects.

Liberty now connoted a freedom to live life as a man chose:

Freedom from absolutism (the constitutional monarchy); freedom from arbitrary arrest, trial by jury, equality before the law, the freedom of the home from arbitrary entrance and search, some limited liberty of thought, of speech and of conscience, the vicarious participation in liberty (or in its semblance) afforded by the right of parliamentary opposition and by elections and election tumults ... as well as freedom to travel, trade, and sell one's own labour.⁴⁷

The discourse and discussions of liberty were centre stage for the majority of the century, and were hotly debated for much of it. Adopted and altered by civic humanists (discussed in Chapter V), and tied to the unshakeable faith in the ancient English constitution – especially under Walpole – liberty discourse (in all of its forms) was the motivating and attention-grabbing ideology of the eighteenth century. As Roy Porter summarized: ‘The early Enlightenment liberty platform ... had many planks: Lockean natural liberty was dovetailed into civic humanist political anatomy and other traditions besides – the Anglo-Saxon self-government ideal and its corresponding “Norman yoke” theory, and the ubiquitous celebration of Common Law and the constitution’.⁴⁸ It was the Stuart courts which had started the destruction of English liberties, but it was the Hanoverian succession that would right the wrongs. This Whig discourse – Tory and Jacobite ideology being its opposite as we saw with Pope – would later be altered to include a deep distrust over the initially egalitarian and liberty-bestowing Hanoverian regime.

These early discussions on liberty picked up steam in the 1760s and 1770s. The 1760s was a decade of political instability that saw increasing distrust over George III's ministers – especially John Stuart, Earl of Bute, and others in the third, unofficial political party – or the ‘King's Friends’ as they became known.⁴⁹ Bute, after stepping down as Prime Minister in 1764 continued to enjoy the ear of the King, and was thought to wield an alarming amount of power in English politics. There was increased opposition to their attempts at controlling the empire through standing garrisons in far-flung corners of the world, high taxation to pay for them and to pay for the astronomically expensive Seven Years War – Bute's brainchild – over the 1760s.

⁴⁶ John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, [1700], ed. Peter H. Nidditch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 237-238.

⁴⁷ E.P. Thompson as quoted in Porter, *The Creation of the Modern World*, 184.

⁴⁸ Porter, *The Creation of the Modern World*, 191. Porter provides an excellent introduction to the complex and varied approaches to the notion of liberty in the eighteenth century, but for an especially detailed account of the politics of the period see J.G.A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Wyke, Shrewsbury: The Sportsman's Press, 1991).

⁴⁹ Kathleen Wilson, *The Senses of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 213.

Such resistance to government interference was particularly marked in the American colonies where increasing discontent to the continued taxation of colonial trade goods and networks as a means of raising British capital came to play a defining role in the causes and outcome of the American War of Independence in 1775.⁵⁰ Through the influence of the Friends, as Kathleen Wilson argues, the government was, it was feared, gaining more and more influence in the daily affairs of the English people; they were, it was thought by opposition radicals such as John Wilkes, following a practice of despotism that cut out the voice of the people, and that harkened back to the courts of Charles I and James II.⁵¹

This influence, or liberty discourse – especially as espoused by Wilkes and his followers – sought to uphold the people’s traditionally English constitutional rights. Against everything foreign, apparently corrupt and effeminate in court culture, Wilkes ‘and his supporters’ virulent journalism ... upheld an amalgam of patriotic qualities that linked the preservation of empire, liberty and the constitution with the hegemony of English customs and culture in the polity.’⁵² One of the most ‘English’ of these customs was, of course, horsemanship in the ‘traditional’ manner; or, as Cavendish recorded, in the manner of making ‘a horse trample with a snaffle and martingal the old English way’.⁵³ Cavendish, a staunch royalist, rode in a curb bit – a continental bit – and practiced the *manège*, but the ‘old English way’ of riding was with the snaffle, or ancient Celtic bit. The old English method of riding, or a form of it, was practiced in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries prior to the introduction of continental practices of the *manège*, but it was not seemingly practiced (although the history of snaffle usage has yet to be examined, and is thus relatively unknown) among the social élite when riding their great horses for much of the seventeenth century. As such, it was not recorded in any detail by the authors of the seventeenth-century horsemanship manuals, but its usage may have been passed down through the generations by oral history and apprenticeship in much the same manner as Strickland Freeman recorded for his time under the tutelage of Sir Sidney Meadows and as horsemanship knowledge is frequently taught today within equestrian communities.⁵⁴ Riding in a snaffle, used for non-

⁵⁰ Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People*, 352-360.

⁵¹ Wilson, *The Senses of the People*, 215.

⁵² Wilson, *The Senses of the People*, 214.

⁵³ William Cavendish, *A General System of Horsemanship in all it's Branches* (London: Printed for J. Brindley, Bookseller to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in NewBond-street, 1743). Facsimile reproduction. Introduced by William C. Steinkraus and technical commentary by E. Schmit-Jensen (North Pomfret, Vermont: J.A. Allen, 2000), 82.

⁵⁴ Strickland Freeman, *The Art of Horsemanship Altered and Abbreviated, According to the Principles of the Late Sir Sidney Meadows* (London: Printed for the Author by W. Bulmer and Co. Cleveland-Row, St. James’s; and sold by James Carpenter, Bookseller to their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, Old Bond-Street; and G. and W. Nicol, Pall-Mall, 1806), xii-xiii.

military riding in the sixteenth century according to Anthony Dent, training young horses and prohibited by royal statute in favour of the curb by Charles I in 1627 (Appendix II), was not the normative method of riding trained, or dressed, horses for men of the Vineyard for much of the seventeenth century.⁵⁵ Instead, snaffles were for unfinished horses, and were possibly the bit of choice for horsemen from outside of the Vineyard; it was not until the fall of the Stuart dynasty and the introduction of new horsemanship practices that snaffle bits, on their own and later as a part of a double bridle (curb and small snaffle, or bridoon, together) became the dominant method of riding in England.⁵⁶ Horsemen, influenced by the revived discourse of English liberties under the traditional constitution, looked to their past, to the non-*manège* Vineyard and its snaffle-using practices, for their equestrian education and for normative horsemanship; they looked to a glorious past free from continental influence, and free from heavy-handed government bridling, while embracing free, forward movement in their riding.⁵⁷

Reflecting these political changes, beginning in the late seventeenth century and gaining popularity throughout the eighteenth, horsemen practiced, in its ideal form, a ‘silken thread’ control over their mounts – as illustrated by Sympson’s two hunters – where a light, sensitive and non-interfering hand was the method of governance. In these images, the men have lifted themselves out of the saddle and inclined their bodies to allow quick shifts of balance and weight as needed to help their horses over rough ground and over obstacles, while allowing their horse’s heads and necks to stretch forward and down. It was this allowance for a more ‘natural’, less contrived and artificially created outline and way of going that allowed the horse to perform his duty as quickly, efficiently and as happily as possible. Instead of the Cavendish method where the rider dictated in conversation every nuance of the Centauric relationship as the will of the dual-natured creature, for riders of the hunting seat their duty was to help the horse perform his. As Landry has summarized:

What was at stake in English self-representations on horseback, beginning in the later seventeenth century when the importation of Eastern bloodstock burgeoned, was an image of liberty, of free forward movement of horse and rider with a minimum of restraint. This was an image with undoubted political significance. Liberty became a political watchword. Racing fast across country became its embodiment, its most euphoric, adrenaline-fuelled bodily reenactment. Taking a ride on the wild side became

⁵⁵ Anthony Dent argues that snaffle usage was common for men when riding ambling or racking palfreys or other horses in training ‘except [for] the highly specialised one of training the Great Horse.’ Dent, *Horses in Shakespeare’s England* (London: J.A. Allen, 1987), 13-14, 90, 93, 97; Freeman, *The Art of Horsemanship*, iv-v.

⁵⁶ Freeman, *The Art of Horsemanship*, 12-15.

⁵⁷ Landry, *Noble Brutes*, 68. See Freeman, *The Art of Horsemanship*, for his account of snaffle use in the eighteenth century, v-x.

synonymous with being English, with enjoying the liberties of the free-born Englishman or Briton.⁵⁸

Horses of the new horsemanship were at liberty and their riders worked to ensure it through a new form of riding in a truly republican partnership. Horses of the new horsemanship were encouraged to move and think independently of their riders while following their barely-there, non-interfering, ruling laws and technologies.⁵⁹ As we saw with Cavendish, horses were expected to join their will with that of their sovereign, which was also the ideal for the new Vineyard. However, in this Vineyard the horses were expected and encouraged to express their will to a much greater degree than under Cavendish. For Jackson, horses were to have a will of their own, and should be able to express it for the benefit of both man and animal. Such independence of thought and action was especially marked in the writings of Robert Smith Surtees. Writing in the middle of the nineteenth century, Surtees satirized the country sporting fraternity and their social, political and visual quirks while also depicting the various relationships between horse and man frequently experienced on the hunting field. One of the most frequent of these human-nonhuman interactions emphasized the necessity of allowing a horse to ‘take care’ of the rider, especially when negotiating difficult terrain at speed or when leaping challenging obstacles – where the micro-managing of the *manège* is simply not possible and many decisions must be left up to the horse in order for the safety of both parties. In Surtees’s *Ask Mamma, or The Richest Commoner in England*, for example, Mr. Billy Pringle, of cockney descent and hopeless horsemanship ability, must rely on his mount, a seasoned hunter, to see him safely through the chase. The horse was cried up to be “‘A very nice oss ... a perfect ‘unter—nothin’ to do but sit still, and give ‘im ‘is ‘ead’.” The horse, Billy was assured, would “‘take far better care’” of Billy than he could “‘of ‘im’,” which was certainly the case. Billy was unable to direct the horse where to go leaving the horse at liberty to make his own decisions – which he does on the numerous occasions ‘after waiting in vain for an intimation from his rider’ on what to do; the horse was able to be a full agent in the story of Billy’s first day hunting, but it was a liberty and freedom taken to extremes.⁶⁰ Horsemen were to have silken-thread control, to practice riding and government styles of minimal intervention, but not to allow the horse complete mastery. The horse was still not to master the man, as Billy’s did him, in a reversal of proper governing hierarchies.

⁵⁸ Landry, *Noble Brutes*, 66.

⁵⁹ Cox, ‘John Milton’s Politics,’ 1569.

⁶⁰ R.S. Surtees, *Ask Mamma, or The Richest Commoner in England* [1858] (London: The Folio Society, 1954), 83 and 91.

iv. SPORTING MASCULINITY

Taking its impetus from the politico-social interest in liberty, horsemen increasingly looked to sporting riding as a further aspect of ensuring the survival and revival of traditionally English pastimes, cultures and morals. Cavendish, however, was a predictable naysayer of the sport. For him, 'In Hunting, Hawking, Bowling, Shooting, Cocking, Cardes and Dice, and many such things, there is no Use at all, but meerly Pleasure: But in A Horse of Mannage, both Use and Pleasure.'⁶¹ Even with this perspective many men of the seventeenth century considered riding to hounds, either after hare, stag or fox, to be traditionally a part of a masculine upbringing; they practiced it as just another facet of the *manège* and *haute école*. Although, in the late seventeenth century, while sporting riding became somewhat divorced from horsemanship as a separate pastime, riding the great horse still influenced the practice of riding in the process. Yet in the 'long' eighteenth century, to hunt now required specialist knowledge and riding form somewhat separate from the *manège*. In his *Gentleman's Recreation* of 1686, for example, Blome argued that hunting had been practiced throughout history by 'all Degrees and Qualities of Men, even by Kings and Princes,' like *manèged* horsemanship was touted to be.⁶² As the men of the new Vineyard often practiced the rudimentary elements of the *manège*, the men of the *manège* also frequently rode for sport. Indeed, men of the *manège* frequently participated in learning to leap at the bar, spent many hours happily on the chase and took great pride in their abilities to do so. A later example of this comes from the 1830 *Reminiscences* of Henry Angelo who recalls a rather amusing outing where his prowess on horseback was tested to its utmost by a mischievous friend. 'I fear that, like many another vain boaster in his cups, I had been bragging of my feats of horsemanship, in my father's *manège*, recounting my wondrous leaps over the bar, and my prowess in shooting flying, at the head of the grand Turk', Henry lamented. However, his friend,

Parson Bate, delighting in a frolic, and determined to try my mettle, kept me to my engagement, and mounted me on a horse, such another as that *harum scarum* beast upon which Smollett placed his hero, Commodore Trunnion.

I pleaded headache, and invented all the ingenious excuses, of which fear is so prolific, to be off my engagement; but in vain. The parson swore I was hoaxing him; the view halloo was given; and away I was carried, through bog and fen, over hedge and ditch, scratched by bramble and briar, and worse bumped than a city apprentice at the Epping hunt. I contrived to hold on, as the sailors say; and many an ox-fence, and many a five-barred gate, were between me, my horse, and the earth. The woods hurried by with the swiftness of the wind, and the dreaded scene before, ere I could say Jack Robinson, became the scene behind. The beast, as if conscious of my dismay, rushed at

⁶¹ Cavendish, *A New Method*, 14.

⁶² Richard Blome, *Gentlemen's Recreation in Two Parts* (London: Printed by S. Roycroft for Richard Blome, 1686), Part Two, 67.

the most break-neck leaps; and the dare-devil parson, close at his crupper, helped him over with a loud crack of his whip, crying, "Go it, my Nimrod! pelt away, Harry, my boy!"⁶³

While Henry was able to finish the day unharmed, he was not left a favourite of the pastime – unlike Parson Bate – even though he had spent many hours in his father's *manège* practicing his leaps over the bar and perfecting the security of his elegant seat. He even 'vowed never to follow the hounds again, and sacredly kept my word.' This dislike of the chase was not due to any seeming inability successfully to participate; on the contrary, Harry performed his feats of horsemanship spectacularly, and 'Bate for ever after used to say, that "the elder Angelo was a capital horseman—but that Harry, his son, rode like a Centaur!"' His dislike was, it seems, the result of the breakneck speed at which the chase was carried out, his inability to direct or control (communicate with) his mount and the potential loss of masculinity that these lapses in horsemanship ability could entail.⁶⁴ Henry, regardless of his practicing of the new hunting seat and of crossing over into the new Vineyard, was still at heart an élite man of the old-school, *manège*, not entirely comfortable with alternate forms of equestrian sovereignty.

This is not to say the zeal of Parson Bate was misplaced, or even overtly caricaturized.⁶⁵ Many eighteenth-century sporting discourses self-consciously, overtly and often excessively asserted that hunting, especially the increasingly popular fox hunting, was a surrogate and usefully manly practice of warfare and was necessary for the participants as citizens – the same discourse attached to Cavendish's horsemanship earlier, but now couched in the overwhelming influence of liberty, nationalism and commercial Englishness. One example of this trend comes from Robert Howlett's 1701 *School of Recreation*. He argued that 'Hunting being a Recreation that challenges the sublime Epithets of Royal, Artificial, Manly, and Warlike, for its Stateliness, Cunning, and Indurance, claims above all other Sports the Precedency'; while Peter Beckford argued in 1781 that 'fox-hunting is a kind of warfare; its uncertainties, its fatigues, its difficulties, and its dangers, rendering it interesting above all other diversions.'⁶⁶ However, it was

⁶³ Henry Angelo, *Reminiscences of Henry Angelo, with Memoirs of his Late Father and Friends, Including Numerous Original Anecdotes and Curious Traits of the Most celebrated Characters That Have Flourished During the Last Eighty Years*. Vols. I and II (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, 1830), vol. I, 161-162.

⁶⁴ Angelo, *Reminiscences*, 162.

⁶⁵ For information on hunting caricature see Stephen Deuchar, *Sporting Art in Eighteenth-Century England: A Social and Political History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1988).

⁶⁶ Robert Howlett, *The School of Recreation: or, a guide to the most ingenious exercises of hunting, riding, racing, fireworks, military discipline, the science of defence, hawking, tennis, bowling, ringing, singing, cock-fighting, fowling, angling* (London: printed for H. Rhodes, at the Star, the corner of Bride-Lane, Fleet-Street, 1701), 3. The manual was later reprinted anonymously as the *Healthful Amusements, and Ingenious Exercises: or the*

the widely popular 1734 poem, *The Chase*, by William Somerville which was the most militaristic in tone. Somerville associated the hound pack with the 'battalion', and the huntsman with both the 'captain' and 'general' who was to keep his 'troops,' or the hounds and hunters, in proper military formation with their arms at the ready. He wrote:

And Airs soft-warbling; my hoarse-sounding Horn
 Invites thee to the Chace, the Sport of Kings;
 Images of War, without its Guilt. The Muse
 Aloft on Wing shall soar, conduct with Care
 Thy foaming Courser o'er the steepy Rock,
 Or on the River Bank receive thee safe,
 Light-bounding o'er the Wave, from Shore to Shore.
 Be thou our great Protector, gracious Youth!
 And if, in future Times, some envious Prince,
 Careless of Right and guileful, shou'd invade
 Thy *Britain's* Commerce, or shou'd strive in vain
 To wrest the Balance from thy equal Hand;
 Thy Hunter-Train, in cheerful Green array'd,
 (A Band undaunted, and inur'd to Toils,)
 Shall compass thee around, dye at thy Feet,
 Or hew thy Passage thro' th' embattled Foe,
 And clear thy Way to Fame; inspir'd by thee,
 The nobler Chace of Glory shall pursue
 Thro' Fire, and Smoke, and Blood, and Fields of Death.⁶⁷

Hunting, the sport that mimics warfare in all of its physical toils, ability to produce fame, honour and glory, and companionship with fellow warriors, was for the benefit and protection of the commonweal, her commercial endeavours around the globe, and for the continual profit of balanced justice. By rising early, enduring cold, hunger and fatigue, and becoming strong in both mind and body, a sportsman was the 'great Protector' of English liberty, and hero on actual or metaphorical 'Fields of Death.' It was through hunting that masculine and business-saving skills, such as reason, competition and strength, were taught.⁶⁸ Without such physical and male instruction, or with solely alternative education, such as that of scholarly work – echoing Cavendish's ideas on the subject – young men would be 'inflamed' with 'roving Ambition, love

Nobleman's Pocket Companion in Sports and Recreations in 1770, but without the sections on 'military discipline' and 'science of defence'. It was also heavily paraphrased by the 1753 *Country Gentleman's Companion* by a Country Gentleman. Peter Beckford, *Thoughts on hunting in a series of familiar letters to a friend* (London: sold by D. Bremner, successor to Mr. Elmsly, 1798), 340.

⁶⁷ William Somerville, *The Chase. A Poem. The Third Edition* (London: Printed for G. Hawkings, and sold by T. Cooper at the Globe in Pater-Noster-Row, 1735), Book I, 2-3. *The Chase* was immensely popular during the eighteenth century, undergoing many reprints between 1735 and 1800.

⁶⁸ Arthur Stringer, Esq., *The Experienced Huntsman, containing observations on the nature and qualities of the different species of game* (Dublin : printed for L. Flin, 1780), 292. It was originally published in 1714, and Stringer was listed among the numerous patrons of the 1709-1710 *Encyclopedy* edition.

of War, and Seeds of Anger.’⁶⁹ Instead, skills to benefit society, like good business practices and management of money, (middling ideas increasingly joined with traditionally élite notions of loyalty, benevolence, and courage in battle),⁷⁰ were advocated in the manuals to promote a strong and peaceful country with a prosperous commercial economy.

With the escalating importance of commerce and industry, and with the rising numbers of the increasingly rich commercial class, the realm of the noble hunt was also influenced by large numbers of wealthy men who were beginning to self identify, and be identified, as gentlemen in their own right. As Stephen Leonard and Joan Tronto argue, ‘chief among the various effects of the growth of commerce was the erosion of systems of ascribed status, and the concomitant rise of new opportunities for social mobility.’⁷¹ This social mobility, in turn, according to Langford, was accompanied by an all-consuming quest after ‘Gentility’ – ‘the most prized possession of all in a society obsessed with the pursuit of property and wealth.’⁷² More men (increasingly of the middling sort) sought to increase their social standing, and sought inclusion into the new Vineyard. One of the seemingly most popular methods of attaining this veneer of gentility was, as we have seen, through horsemanship and through sporting riding. For example, the *Encyclopedy*, as Richard Blome’s 1686 *Gentlemans Recreation* was referred to by other eighteenth-century authors of sporting manuals, was dedicated to Charles II and James II, and was written for ‘all the Nobility and Gentry of Our Kingdoms’. The work also contained a list of contributors to the manual which included Charles Seymour, Duke of Somerset; Henry Herbert, Earle of Pembroke; and Arthur Stringer (author of the 1780 *The Experienced Huntsman, containing observations on the nature and qualities of the different species of game*). The expanded second, 1709-10, edition begins to show this levelling trend in hunt participants, and its list of subscribers included one Duke and one Lord, but with the majority of subscriptions coming from men of esquire or untitled status.⁷³ Peter Beckford hinted at this development in fox hunting when he discussed his view of the reasons for sporting in a man’s life. He felt ‘Hunting is the soul of a country life: it gives health to the body, and contentment to the mind; and is one of the few pleasures that we can enjoy in society, without prejudice either to ourselves or our

⁶⁹ Cox, *The gentleman's recreation*, ii.

⁷⁰ Shawn Lisa Maurer. *Proposing Men: Dialectics of Gender and Class in the Eighteenth-Century English Periodical* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 77.

⁷¹ Leonard and Tronto, ‘The Genders of Citizenship,’ 34.

⁷² Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People*, 464.

⁷³ Stringer, *The Experienced Huntsman*. Blome, “*Gentlemans Recreation in Two Parts*; Richard Blome, *Gentlemans Recreation in Three Parts* (London: Printed for R. Bonwicke [etc.], 1709-1710), List of Subscribers.

friends.⁷⁴ According to him, English sportsmen of élite status were free to interact with whom they wished without fear of ‘prejudice’ from peers for associating with those of inferior social station, and those of the middling sorts could comfortably interact with their social superiors without acquiring appellations of masquerade, falsehood, dishonesty or ambition. Somerville’s book four of *The Chace*, for example, contains a section which ridicules and details the unhealthy and false atmosphere of high society where all apparent favouritism from the ‘Prince’ is only short lived and ultimately a lie. At court, then, those not of landed status, social climbers, are left without friends and with a ruined reputation. In contrast, for Somerville, the hunt field is a multi-species and trans-class arena where all men can interact as equals. On the hunt field men’s ‘social Cups / Smile, as we smile; open, and unreserv’d, / We speak our inmost Souls; good Humour, Mirth, / Soft Complaisance, and Wit from Malice free.’⁷⁵

As Stephen Deuchar argues, this freedom of interaction was not without its critics. Mirroring wider discussions about social mobility, especially regarding the increasing popularity of socially mixed-spaces such as coffee houses, where the increased interaction between social groups was encouraged by some while for others it was worrying and a cause for concern.⁷⁶ It was feared that if there was a lessening or loss of differentiation between people from upper and lower society – on or off the hunt field – the élite’s social and political position of power would be jeopardized along with that of the nation itself.⁷⁷ As such, having men of diverse social backgrounds and artificially constructed gentility participating alongside élite men on the hunt field (or on the race course for that matter) created a situation where the visual markers of rank – clothing, deportment in the saddle and riding ability – could be blurred or erased.⁷⁸ However, following the discourse of display and the eschewing of rigorous ceremony in personal interaction discussed by Kuchta, by the beginning of the nineteenth century such occurrences had become an object of pride for English sportsmen like John Hawkes, author of *The Meynellian Science* of 1808. He recorded that ‘The Field is a most agreeable coffee-house, and there is more

⁷⁴ Peter Beckford, *Thoughts on Hunting: in a series of letters to a friend*, [1781] (New York: J.A. Allen, 2000), 5.

⁷⁵ Somerville, *The Chace*, 97-99.

⁷⁶ Markham Ellis, *Coffee-house: A Cultural History* (London: Phoenix, 2004); Bryant Lillywhite, *London Coffee Houses: A Reference Book of Coffee Houses in the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1963); Lawrence Klein, ‘Coffeehouse Civility, 1660-1714: An Aspect of Post-Courtly Culture,’ *Huntington Library Quarterly* 59 no. 1 (1996): 30-51; Steve Pincus, ‘“Coffee Politicians Does Create”: Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture,’ *Journal of Modern History* 67 no. 4 (1995): 807-834.

⁷⁷ Deuchar, *Sporting Art in Eighteenth-Century England*, 100.

⁷⁸ Wahrman, *Making of the Modern Self*, 157-165.

real society to be met with there than in any other situation of life. It links all classes together from the Peer to the Peasant. ... and may it flourish to the end of time.⁷⁹

The developing sociability and coffee-house mentality of the hunt field can also be seen in the mid-eighteenth century riding houses and Vineyards. The gentleman who wrote *An Elegy in a Riding House* was happy to be there because of fortuitous luck in his commercial endeavours rather than to an income from land – as was the traditional means of generating an independent income for many élite:

All, all, my friend, to *Fortune*'s, smiles I owe
 From her large bounty all these pleasures flow.
 To her, bright goddess! Shall my vows be paid;
 And frequent offerings on her altars laid:
 She gave me wealth; and bade the sprightly steed;
 Know me, his lord, and in my pastures feed;
 Bade me, all-gracious! in these walls preside,
 And happy, free, and vacant live and ride.⁸⁰

The new London riding houses, and the associated innovations in horsemanship and sporting riding, owed their diversification to the new wealth and drive for gentility common in the eighteenth century. There were new men riding, and new men advertising themselves as instructors or Masters of horsemanship – as was especially the case for one Mr. Carter.

Providing instruction for horses and equestrians in his riding house on 'Charles-street, Berkley-square', Mr. Carter advertised that he had studied for three years at 'the Great Manège at Versailles, then in its highest zenith', and had along with 'near twenty year's experience, with constant study and indefatigable labour' in the art of the *manège*. Although he was trained in the continental, or in the more Cavendish-esque tradition, Carter embodied the new commercial horseman. One of the most prolific advertisers of his time, Carter was willing not only to train horses and riders at his riding house – for a cost, lists for which were detailed in London newspapers – but was also willing to ride 'horses standing any where in town, or short distance from it'; these were all actions carried out by horsemen of the older horse-master generation when hosting at riding houses other than their own, but certainly not actions advertised for sale to anyone who could pay.⁸¹ Carter's model of publicity and willingness to work with anyone, anyone's horse and in any location (within reason) for a fee was typical of the new breed of

⁷⁹ John Hawkes as quoted in Thomas S. Henricks, 'The Democratization of Sport in Eighteenth-Century England,' *Journal of Popular Culture* 18 (1984): 5.

⁸⁰ Anonymous, *An Elegy in a Riding House. In Imitation of Virgil's First Pastoral* (London: Printed for J. Robson and Co. New Bond Street, 1776), 7.

⁸¹ *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, Issue 1883 (London: Friday, October 30, 1778).

riding house that sprang up in London during the mid-eighteenth century (the most notorious model of which, Astley's School or Astley's Amphitheatre as it was usually titled, will be discussed in the next chapter) and was indicative of the growing inclusion of the middling sorts and lower gentry into the once securely élite confines of the Cavendish-esque Vineyard. At Carter's, a pupil did not need to possess the requisite social position, the virtues or Vineyard connections to attend (as with Cavendish's riding house); he simply had to be rich enough to afford it.

However, Carter's advertisements do betray a level of public discomfort about his capacity and expertise as riding instructor. Apart from ensuring his impeccable equestrian lineage and upbringing within the horsemanship community were apparent in his advertisements (he was 'brought up from his infancy in the profession by his father', Captain Carter, who was Equerry to the Duke of Cumberland), he also argued that 'Ladies and Gentlemen may be satisfied, that notwithstanding the very moderate terms, the accommodations at his house, and improvement of his scholars are equal to any others'.⁸² Because his terms were affordable to a wider audience (it was thought, or he was concerned that it was the case) his services were substandard to those on offer to the country's élite who still practiced in the more 'traditional' or European style Academies springing up across the city. Carter may have been worried for another reason; these 'traditional' Academies – about which I will say more later – along with most coffee houses and clubs, were for the instruction of men only, while Carter's riding house catered to both men and women of all ages. He even actively sought out female clientele, and published the first manual of horsemanship dedicated solely to women in 1783.⁸³

v. PONIES AND PETTICOATS

Michèle Cohen argues 'eighteenth-century social spaces ... were spaces for the mixed company of the sexes, since their conversation was one of the conditions for the refinement and self-improvement at the heart of politeness'.⁸⁴ Finding a home in the coffee houses, tea rooms and, to some extent, clubs, mixed company also arrived in the new riding houses which provided sites for interactions between the sexes, and were environments where the gender categories were

⁸² *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, Issue 1883.

⁸³ An earlier manual for men, Hughes' *The Complete Horseman*, included a brief section on 'Directions for Ladies to Ride Gracefully.' Amanda Gilroy, 'The Habit and the Horse, or, the Suburbanisation of Female Equitation,' in *Green and Pleasant Land: English Culture and the Romantic Countryside*, ed. Amanda Gilroy (Leuven: Peeters, Bondgenotenlaan, 2004), 47-48.

⁸⁴ Michèle Cohen, 'Manliness, Effeminacy and the French: Gender and the Construction of National Character in Eighteenth-Century England,' in *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*, eds. Michèle Cohen and Tim Hitchcock (London and New York: Addison Wesley Longman Ltd., 1999), 46-47.

explored. Women participated in horsemanship activities and voiced their opinions of their experiences in diaries and prose for much of the early-modern period, but their participation within the equestrian community was usually bound to sporting pastimes rather than to the 'traditional' confines of the *manège* riding house.⁸⁵ Cavendish pointed out this gendering of horsemanship in his 1667 *A New Method* when he disparagingly remarked that he had 'seen many Wenches Ride Astride, and Gallop, and Run their Horses, that could, I think, hardly Ride a Horse Well in the Mannage.'⁸⁶ Indeed, it was not until the mid eighteenth century that women became increasingly visible within the English equestrian community as active participants within the commercial London riding houses.⁸⁷ While even general numbers of participants are unknown, this increased visibility and public voice do suggest that more women were participating in nonhuman animal relationships than ever before, and that such interaction was gaining legitimacy within the phallogentric confines of the Vineyard at a time when their presence on the hunt field was increasingly viewed as problematic.⁸⁸

Women were frequently described and visualized in period print and visual culture as being closer to nonhuman animals in their passions, thoughts and rational capabilities than men, and were popularly believed to rely more on instinct, imagination and emotions than rational man when understanding or viewing the world.⁸⁹ It was this affinity with brute creation that shaped how women were visualized on horseback as equestrians. The visual performativity of riding and horse-woman interaction works not only to uphold but also to decentre, destabilize, social convention and hegemonic or normative discourses of gender, status and identity within eighteenth-century English society. However, very few women were able to use the act of riding and interspecies communication to challenge established gender hierarchies and categorization; instead, social convention, horsemanship instruction and the presence of a nonhuman animal closely regulated the practices, expectations and visualities of female equestrians both in and outside of the riding house. Here, women negotiated gender hierarchies (and in some cases sought to escape them); and, unlike the human-animal relationship between men and their mounts, women negotiated a complex system of relations between the categories 'human' and

⁸⁵ Donna Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside: Hunting, Walking and Ecology in English Literature, 1671-1831* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 145-167.

⁸⁶ William Cavendish, *A new method, and extraordinary invention, to dress horses, and work them according to nature: as also, to perfect nature by the subtilty of art, which was never found out, but by William Cavendish* (London: Tho. Milbourn, 1667), 47.

⁸⁷ Gilroy, 'The Habit and the Horse,' 46.

⁸⁸ Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, 146.

⁸⁹ Diana Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain, 1750-1850* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2007), 18; Londa Scheibinger, *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), 55-56.

‘animal’ that at once subordinated them to the patriarchal control and care of both beast and man, while allowing them to maintain a semblance of power over brute creation.

Take, for example, the popular manual of horsemanship by Master of the Horse to George III, Richard Berenger.⁹⁰ Published with the aid and advice of his close friend David Garrick, Berenger’s *History and Art of Horsemanship* of 1771 had a subscription list that included the King; and Whigs William Pitt – the elder (former Prime Minister and First Earl of Chatham), George Lyttelton (First Baron Lyttelton and Equerry to Frederick, Prince of Wales) and George Grenville (former Prime Minister). These men functioned within a politically charged Vineyard of horsemanship that also included women who purchased and enjoyed Berenger’s manual.⁹¹ Hester Pitt, Baroness Chatham, (she was Berenger’s cousin, a skilled politician and a keen horsewoman) was reported as adding ‘her best thanks for’ Berenger’s ‘obliging Comm’cation of this valuable Institute of manly Accomplishment’, while the bluestocking leader, Elizabeth Montagu, waxed chivalrous in her glowing – yet tongue-in-cheek – praise for the manual.⁹² According to Montagu, one of Berenger’s riding companions,⁹³ the ‘learned & Courteous Baron Lyttelton (frequent visitor to her salon and another friend of Berenger’s), skill’d in love of chivalry, much commends thy book, & as I trust thy Courtesy will on some milk white Palfrey put in side saddle for use of Damsel Errant, I do insist on being a Subscriber’. However, she was worried that ‘as y^e gentle name of Elizabeth might disgrace thy perilous adventure in litterature,’ she instructed Berenger to ‘put down S^r Guyen the red cross Knight ... under which name I will pay the Squire thy bookseller on demand.’ Like ‘Don Quixote’, Montagu (jokingly claiming the title of the female Quixote and in so doing reaffirming her own status as a skilled horsewoman secure in her femininity⁹⁴) was going to ‘ride & seek the second volume’ ‘at y^e hour of Dawn’ because of the manual’s expected usefulness and its

⁹⁰ See M. M. Reese, *The Royal Office of Master of the Horse* (London: Threshold Books Ltd., 1976), for further information about Berenger and the office of Grand Equerry or Master of the Horse.

⁹¹ See Berenger’s correspondence for further details on his relationship with Garrick (including horsemanship advice given to Garrick, and Garrick’s requests for advice on his theatre performances): London, British Library, Additional MS 59438 – particularly fols. 84^r-89^v, 92^r-93^v, 96^r-99^v, 102^r-103^v, and 125^r-126^v. For information on the subscriptions for the manual see: George Grenville to Berenger, from Wotton, 28 May, 1769, BL, Add MS 59438, fol. 117^r-117^v; and Lord Chatham to Berenger upon the receipt of his book, from Pallmall, 4 May, 1771, BL, Add MS 59438, fol. 120^r-121^v.

⁹² BL, Add MS 59438, fol. 120^r-121^v.

⁹³ Mrs. West, ‘To Mrs. Montagu, from Mrs. West, wife of Gilbert West, Wickham, March 5, 1751,’ in *The Letters of Elizabeth Montagu. With Some of the Letters of her Correspondents. Part the Second, Containing her Letters from the Age of Twenty-Three to Forty, Ending with the Coronation of George the Third* (London: Published by Mathew Montag. Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, Strand; By W. Bulmer and Co. Cleveland-Row, St. James’s, 1813), vol. III, 154.

⁹⁴ Charlotte Lennox, *The Female Quixote; or, The Adventures of Arabella*, [1783] (London: Oxford University Press, 1970); Gilroy, ‘The Habit and the Horse,’ 46.

potential to make Berenger more famous than ‘the renowned Amadis de Gaule[,] Palmerin of England, & all les preux Chevaliers of antient times.’⁹⁵ Elizabeth Montagu purposefully sought out Berenger’s expensive publication for her own use, and presumably as a sure method of improving her own equestrian abilities. She was consuming not only the products of the male horsemanship community, but was engaging with the literary heroes and chivalrous traditions (which will be discussed in Chapter IV) popular at the time and inherent to its discourse, history and mythology.⁹⁶ Even though she complained of not spending enough time riding ‘that excellent animal the horse; though two hours a day spent on his back gives one more spirits, cheerfulness, and fortitude than twice the time passed with a moral philosopher or stoic’, it seems she did manage to enjoy ‘constant riding on horseback’ on a seemingly regular basis.⁹⁷

Twelve years after Montagu wrote to Berenger, Mr. Carter’s manual for women was published and his riding house was opened for business. Frequently given lessons in a closed house – where ‘No gentlemen are admitted while the ladies are riding but their friends’ – the women were instructed in the necessities of mounting, how to sit and hold the hands at all paces, of the tack required for riding side saddle, how to arrange the petticoats while stationary and at speed, and how to dismount.⁹⁸ Women increasingly participated in riding for exercise and entertainment, but at no point were they instructed in any of the more advanced *manège* movements.⁹⁹ At no point were there allusions to the visuality or embodied co-becoming of the nonhuman other. For women, according to Carter, there was no Centaur status, no absolute perfection in human-animal communication and becoming. Instead, riding for a woman was about visual beauty and ease – both quintessentially feminine attributes – and were made possible not necessarily by her expertise in the saddle, as it was for men, but by her horse.

⁹⁵ BL, Add MS 59438, fol. 123^r-124^v. Elizabeth Montagu was making reference to four Arthurian tales: Spencer’s *Prince Arthur: an Allegorical Romance* (S^t Guyen the red cross Knight), the anonymous fourteenth-century *Amadis de Gaule* and its spin-offs of Miguel de Cervantes’ *Don Quixote* and Francisco de Moraes’ *Palmerin of England*. See Helen Moore, ‘Introduction’, in *Amadis de Gaule*, ed. by Helen Moore, and trans. by Anthony Munday (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2004), ix-xxiii, for further information on the text and the larger literary tradition from which it sprang.

⁹⁶ Michèle Cohen, ‘“Manners” Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry, and the Construction of Masculinity, 1750-1830’, *Journal of British Studies* 44 (April, 2005), 312-329.

⁹⁷ Elizabeth Montagu, ‘To Mrs. Donnellan, Tunbridge Wells, 26 September, 1749,’ *The Letters of Elizabeth Montagu*, 93; Montagu, ‘*The Letters of Elizabeth Montagu*, ‘To Mrs. Donnellan, 1749,’ 95.

⁹⁸ Mr. Carter, *Instructions for Ladies in Riding, by Mr. Carter, son of Captain Carter, Equerry to his late Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, As given at his Riding House, in Chapel Street, Near South Audley Chapel, Grosvenor Square* (London: n.p., 1783), Preface, iv-v, viii.

⁹⁹ On the use of riding for exercise, and the refutation of the ‘languid’ and ‘pathologic’ femininity spoken out against by Mary Wollstonecraft as unnatural see Donna Landry, ‘Learning to Ride in Mansfield Park,’ in *The Postcolonial Jane Austen*, eds. You-me Park and Rajeswari Sunder Rajan (London and New York: 2000), 60-61; Gilroy, ‘The Habit and the Horse,’ 46-47.

While safety, elegance and ease of travel were also important objectives when purchasing a mount for a man (and were increasingly so in the new Vineyard), with women these were, at the heart of it, the only objectives. A 'horse intended for a lady's use, should be the most perfect of his kind, every point essential to her safety, ease, and elegant appearance, depends on it', emphatically argued Mr. Carter. The horse should have 'spirit', 'wind', 'beauty' and 'swiftness', but above all he should have 'docility' and 'steadiness'. For the safety and ease of the rider, the horse must be 'steady to mount', instant in his obeying of commands and 'not jarring' to his rider. He must be a joy to interact with, but he must also be trained and by nature careful of his rider, he must protect not only her appearance but her physical self.¹⁰⁰ These nonhuman animals, always to be expensive bred horses for Carter (of mixed Arab, Persian, Barb and Spanish pedigrees¹⁰¹), were generally trained by him prior to being mounted by a lady, and if not by him they were trained by another horseman. Through this training not only was a lady's horse prepared for her role in the human-animal relationship (and the horse was usually a mare or gelding rather than a stallion), but she also came symbolically to embody the patriarchal power of the male trainer. In Carter's manual a lady's horse comes to belong epistemologically to the trainer, even though the horse may belong materially to the woman rider, through the act of training itself. Women were not instructed, according to Carter, in training their own horses during any stage of their education; that is not to say that all women abided by Carter's attempt at gender control, and they will be discussed in a moment, but the behavioural and epistemological boundaries encompassing women's lived realities on horseback were a part of a feminine ideal upheld within popular culture.

The ideal role of the patriarchal man and the suitably delicate feminine equestrian is illustrated in the intricate *Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Coltman*, painted by the couple's friend Joseph Wright in 1770-72 (Figure 18). In this image, the newly married pair is about to depart on a ride, and seem to be in the midst of discussing their route for the day. Mrs. Coltman, in fashionable equestrian garb, is already mounted on her mare, while Mr. Coltman is nonchalantly leaning

¹⁰⁰ Carter, *Instructions for Ladies in Riding*, 21-23. This selection criteria for a lady's horse had not altered to a great degree by the nineteenth century and was echoed by John Allen in his *Principles of Modern Riding, for Ladies; in which All late Improvements are applied to Practice on the Promenade and the Road* (London: Printed for Thomas Tegg, No. 73, Cheapside; R. Griffin and Co. Glasgow; and J. Cumming, Dublin, 1825), 3.

¹⁰¹ Carter, *Instructions for Ladies in Riding*, 21. Carter's conception of a blood horse clearly shows the influence of Eastern horses types essential to the formation of the English Thoroughbred breed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Landry, *Noble Brutes*.

against his wife's leg while waiting for his charger to be brought to him.¹⁰² Positioned at the centre of the canvas, Mr. Coltman is immediately shown to be in a position of power over not only his wife, but also her horse, the dog, the groom leading his horse and the wider estate. The slight contraposto positioning of his body, along with the possessive and domineering lean on his wife and her mare, was a typical pose for unmounted equestrian portraits of the time, such as Reynolds' portrait of *John Manners, Marquis of Granby*, from 1763-1765 (Figure 19). And, like John Manners, Thomas Coltman is illustrated not only as master over the human subjects but over the equine as well. In Reynolds' painting there is no need for Manners to be shown mounted in order to convey his Centauric status; it is instead shown in his easy and relaxed mastery of his human and nonhuman servants/partners. Even when seemingly doing nothing, he is still in complete and perfect control.

In Wright's painting, this easy control is also evident in the product of Mr. Coltman's training: Mrs. Coltman's mare. The mare is the key in this image to reading the gendered and power relations of the human and nonhuman animal actors depicted. It is the mare that not only embodies the patriarchal training authority of the husband, but ensures the visual femininity of her rider and the contradictory and troubling-to-species-boundaries role of the horse when mounted by a woman. The mare is painted by Wright in an uncharacteristic pose for most mounted equestrian portraiture of the period; it is unusual for riding horses to be represented, as she is, with her right hind leg resting and with her head lowered.¹⁰³ This positioning connotes relaxation and unconcern in a somewhat chaotic environment where she is faced with a potentially dangerous dog and a fellow horse approaching from the back; both of which are distractions many horses would pay attention to. This almost exaggerated relaxation and unconcern speak directly to the disciplinary skill of her trainer (also to her temperament, aligned with Carter's ideal). A horse that was excitable – as Mr. Coltman's apparently was (prancing and making the groom's job of leading him to his master difficult) – was potentially dangerous to his rider, required intense self-control and self-bridling on the rider's part and extensive training for the horse. The excitable horse was entirely unsuitable for a lady. The mare, in contrast, is unflappable and at ease with her mastery over the dog, whom she is driving away from the young

¹⁰² For further information on the trend for militarized and masculinized riding dress for women see: Patricia Crown, 'Sporting With Clothes: John Collet's Satirical Prints in the 1770s', *Eighteenth Century Life* 26 (Winter 2002), 95-135; and Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*, 58-69.

¹⁰³ Walter A. Liedtke, *The Royal Horse and Rider: Painting, Sculpture, and Horsemanship, 1500-1800* (New York: Abaris Books, 1989).

Riding Houses and New Horse(Wo)manship

couple (she is giving clear warnings to the dog through her pinned-back ears and direct eye contact).



[Figure 18: Joseph Wright, *Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Coltman* (1770-72). National Gallery, London.]



[Figure 19: James Watson after Joshua Reynolds, *John Manners, Marquis of Granby* (1767-1790). © Trustees of the British Museum.]

The mare here does a double duty of embodying the protection, and patriarchal dominance, of Mr. Coltman and Mrs. Coltman's own determination to remain faithful, chaste, devoted and true to her husband. In this image the horse for a female equestrian, as was traditionally the case with male riders throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, made visible the internal, hidden, masked, true, character of the rider, and this substitution of the nonhuman for the human self was a standard literary and visual trope throughout the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁴ Dick the Little Poney, in his *Memoirs* of 1800, for example, clearly illustrates through his somatic visibility the innate character of his mistresses. The first of which, a 'charming', 'beautiful', 'delicate' practitioner of Carter's ideal horsemanship, was the object of Dick's undying 'delight' and the cause of his 'Happy, happy days!' She rode with skill, with ease, with

¹⁰⁴ Landry, *Noble Brutes*, 127-163.

sensitivity and was rewarded for her efforts.¹⁰⁵ Her personality and her loveliness – so similar to the later Fanny Price in Jane Austen’s *Mansfield Park* – manifested itself in a pony eager to please, prompt in obeying orders, desirous of her safety and ultimately happy to be her faithful servant.¹⁰⁶ The second mistress, a direct antithesis to the first, was an old maid who ‘affected candour and good-will; but the maliciousness of her heart glared through the flimsy veil.’ Her true maliciousness, like the true beauty and innocence of his previous mistress, was not hidden to Dick, and it fell to him both to make her true serpentine nature visible to the wider world and to punish her for her subjective self. Dick ‘was quite disgusted with the manners of this [the woman’s] place, where the affectation of good will could not conceal the rankling enmity of the heart’, and since his ‘present mistress, in particular, was the object of ... [his] aversion’, he ‘eagerly watched for an opportunity to emancipate’ himself from her. Such an opportunity soon presented itself, and while out on a ride with a ‘young gentleman on a gay steed’ Dick took off. After desperately clinging to his back for ‘a mile or two’ the lady eventually ‘became quite exhausted’ and ‘threw herself off on a dunghill ... and there lay soft and snug, covered with dirt, till her companion lifted her up.’ Dick was praised for this exploit by people in the neighbourhood who revelled in the just punishment of such a deceitful, gossiping, malicious transgressor of middle-class manners, ideals of industry and normative femininity.¹⁰⁷

This woman was exhibiting the stereotyped faults of femininity fallen away from its ‘traditional’ role of mother and industrious provider of a family in exchange for cold (reptilian), unfeeling, hardness more in line with rational men than sentimental women. While becoming animal with a horse as Centaur was idealized in the equestrian community, for animalized women such as the old maid, connotations of animality served as insult and slander. She was a vain, unfeminine creature who had been exposed through the very means she was attempting to use to further her status and net a husband.¹⁰⁸ She, like many other women, was shown as wanting ‘to join the ranks of the horsey set through new modes of aspirational recreational riding’, but instead of her actions being ‘validated’ in print and in society (as was usually the norm), her

¹⁰⁵ For a discussion of ideal hands and seat in riding see Gilroy, ‘The Habit and the Horse,’ 53-54; and Donna Landry, ‘Learning to Ride at Mansfield Park,’ 65-66.

¹⁰⁶ Anonymous, *Memoirs of Dick the Little Poney. Supposed to be written by himself and published for the instruction and amusement of good boys and girls* (London: Printed for J. Walker, No. 44, Paternoster-Row; and sold by E. Newbery, Corner of St. Paul’s Church-Yard. 1800), 89-96. For information on the role of animals in children’s literature, and in the instruction of sentiment and natural history see: Jane Spencer, ‘Creating Animal Experience in Late Eighteenth-Century Narrative,’ *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33 no. 4 (2010): 469-486.

¹⁰⁷ Anonymous, *Memoirs of Dick the Little Poney*, 110-123; Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, 157.

¹⁰⁸ Anonymous, *Memoirs of Dick the Little Poney*, 110-123.

lack of innate femininity – and the gender transgressions it entailed – were exposed, found wanting and judged by the truth-telling nonhuman animal.¹⁰⁹

That being said, horsemanship did not automatically equate a transgression or encroachment on ideal gender boundaries or ideal feminine behaviour, as Dick's first mistress made clear, but there was always a risk of unwanted gender visibility and interpretation for female equestrians.¹¹⁰ While Montagu was riding out to purchase Berenger's manual, and was engaging whole-heartedly with the practice of horsemanship, her concern over attaching her name to the subscriber's list, being too 'gentle' and potentially the cause of some 'disgrace' to Berenger's reputation, also highlights the continued possibility for negative stigma directed towards women as equestrians for much of the century. Horsemanship remained 'manly' even when women rode, and women riders always ran the risk of falling away from their own female gender, or of appearing to be unnatural figures of masculinity to the detriment of their reputations and the patriarchal status of other members of the equestrian community.

This fall from femininity frequently was discussed and visualized in popular print culture in sexualized language and imagery. Women on horseback were regularly discussed and visualized as morally suspect, and riding a horse often carried with it sexualized connotations.¹¹¹ Falling from a horse, the usual means of illustrating a woman's simultaneous fall from morality, secure social status and chaste reputation, instantly reaffirmed normative gender categories and behaviours. Falls also had the ability to reassure social commentators worried that women who were actively pushing against their positioning, not only in relation to irrational brute being but also to masculine domination, that order had been re-established. If a woman tried to ride beyond her gender category (one method available to her for showing a superior intellect and rationality to that of her mount as a masculinized – rationalized and humanized – woman and of adopting male horsemanship methodologies and skills) she did enjoy 'admiration and 'praise' from spectators if she performed her horsemanship well; however, by doing so she rode a fine line between admirable delicacy and skill and the potential for loss of femininity, destruction of her reputation and suspicion of her morality.¹¹² If she at any point fell from her mount or encountered other problems in control, her credit, reputation and morality were immediately suspect. Carter, for example, tells the story of one of these female equestrians who forsook the

¹⁰⁹ Gilroy, 'The Habit and the Horse,' 46.

¹¹⁰ Richard Steel and Joseph Addison, "'The Spectator, No. 104. Friday, June 29, 1711,' in *The Spectator; With Notes, and General Index. Complete in Two Volumes. From the London Stereotype Edition* (New York: Printed by Samuel Marks, 63 Vesey-Street, 1826), Vol. I, 136-137.

¹¹¹ Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, 157 and 163.

¹¹² Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, 161-162.

assistance of a helper when dismounting. As a result of this breach in female decorum and reliance on other horsemen, the lady was ‘unfortunate as to dislocate her ancle and break her leg’. The injured party, according to Carter, ‘desired this [incident] to be made public as a caution to others.’ Having ridden ‘upwards of thirty years without meeting with the least accident’ (most likely riding according to Carter’s instructions) it was only when this woman dared to dismount independent of assistance that she suffered bodily injury and, although Carter does not explicitly mention it, injury to her reputation as a genteel horsewoman.¹¹³

John Collett’s *A Soft Tumble After a Hard Ride of 1775-1785* is another expressive example of riding and falling, visualizing the connotations of suspect female sexuality Carter was too polite to mention (Figure 20). In this image it is the man’s lash whip that is suggestively raised towards the woman sprawled invitingly after tumbling from her horse during a sporting accident. She had cut ‘a ridiculous figure’ in her riding habit and ‘had the misfortune to be thrown on her back’ much like a ‘French Equestrian heroine’ who captured the attention of the *Morning Post* on 28 April, 1778, for riding each morning in Hyde Park.¹¹⁴ Riding, or an inability to ride in this case, has exposed both of these women’s baser, animalistic instincts. Both women had failed to bridle not only their nonhuman mounts, but themselves. As Amanda Gilroy argues, it was mental and physical skill in control that not only elevated some women over others of lower social status – thought unable to practice self-bridling – but also made visible their own internal worth.¹¹⁵ Both women failed in their bridling and were suggestively thrown on their backs as a result, one to be ridiculed in the national newspaper and the other to be associated with the hounds frolicking around her.

Like the spaniel that has attracted the ire of Mrs. Coltman’s mare, the dogs from Collett’s satire were visual representations and allusions to unchecked, base, animalistic desires and passions (one is even set to run up the fallen lady’s titillatingly flowing skirts). However, unlike Collett’s image where the sportsman’s mare was also sprawled in a mirror image to his future rosy-cheeked conquest, in Wright’s painting Mrs. Coltman’s mare (emblemizing Mrs. Coltman’s internal strength and innate femininity, and Mr. Coltman’s patriarchy) has protected her from both the ‘real’ canine rambunctiousness and from its metaphoric connotations. Unlike

¹¹³ Carter, *Instructions for Ladies in Riding*, 26, 11.

¹¹⁴ The *Morning Post* as quoted in Betty Rizzo, ‘Equivocations of Gender and Rank: Eighteenth-Century Sporting Women,’ *Eighteenth-Century Life* 26 (2002), 87.

¹¹⁵ Gilroy, ‘The Habit and the Horse,’ 54. Gilroy also shows how in the nineteenth century equestrian pursuits helped produce ‘domestic women and suburban culture.’ 55. See Jennifer Mason, ‘Animal Bodies: Corporeality, Class, and Subject Formation in *The Wide, Wide World*’, *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 54 (March 2000): 503-533, for a further discussion on the subject.

Performing Horse-Men

women who attempted to contravene normative femininity codes and equestrian rules to their physical, moral, status and gendered cost, Mrs. Coltman has adhered to properly normative and minimally subversive horsemanship practices, along with the accepted femininity and reliance on patriarchal systems. Even though she is an equestrian, she has maintained her femininity; has maintained the delicacy, softness and submissiveness of body advocated by Carter; has not attempted to adopt male riding methodologies; has not pushed to distance herself from her alliance to nonhuman animals and their perceived shared limited rationality, intellect and reliance on instinct. She has remained a woman strong in her mastery of her mount and her gender, but secure in the protection offered by that same mount and by her husband.



[Figure 20: John Collet, *A Soft Tumble after a Hard Ride* (1775-1785). © Trustees of the British Museum.]

Women were taught to interact with their mounts (themselves purposefully selected guardians of feminine delicacy) in a way that allowed for their control over brute being, while emphasising the presence and continued power of the male trainer as patriarchal guardian of her

physical and moral self. Similarly to the side-saddle that ‘was a social machine for producing gender and for managing anxieties about masculinity and femininity during the very period in which modern gender difference was being formulated and then formalized,’¹¹⁶ the horse also functioned as a highly mediated and man-made intermediary of social management that made visible the femininity – or its deviations and absences – of the rider, while allowing for the continued presence of masculine guardianship and control.

It was the uniqueness of feminine riding technologies, and the very visibility of women equestrians, that helped to solidify gender categorizations and normative behaviour for some men as well. Men who rode with women while practicing the horsemanship of the ‘traditional’ Vineyard simply did not look like them while mounted. They were taught alternative communication techniques with the nonhuman, and they performed a much wider range of activities. As a result of these categorical elements that firmed gender categories rather than provided many opportunities to transgress them – an exception to this will be discussed in Chapter IV – the manuals of horsemanship present masculinities that are not concerned with the effeminizing influence of women in direct contrast to discourses of politeness and social conversation.¹¹⁷ However, as I will argue, men of the newer Vineyard ran the risk of being labelled effeminate or feminine because of their riding abilities – or their lack – and it was now partially through the presence of women in the riding houses and riding Academies that the masculinity of the riders was established.

vi. ANGELO’S ACADEMY, SOHO SQUARE

As I have argued, in the eighteenth century horsemanship display of the self as a practice of pomp and ceremony, so favoured by Cavendish, was considered a luxury suitable only for the élite and men of the military.¹¹⁸ This was unlike what Kutcha argues was the case with the masculine sartorial renunciation which became a general necessity for men seeking normative masculinity regardless of class or occupation. While élite gentlemen eschewed fancy dress in exchange of more subdued, less overtly spectacular clothing (unlike social climbers and men of questionable masculinity who intentionally sought out the older style of aesthetic display in an attempt to gain social status), the men of the Cavendish-esque Vineyard, élite horsemen, continued to perform the ceremonially spectacular *haute école* alongside the new masculine aesthetic in a somewhat contradictory mix of old- and new-school masculine visibility. For

¹¹⁶ Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, 165-166.

¹¹⁷ Cohen, ‘Manliness, Effeminacy and the French,’ 46-47.

¹¹⁸ Angelo, *Reminiscences*, Vol. I, 161-162.

example, *A New System of Horsemanship: From the French of Monsieur [Claude] Bourgelat*, translated and published by Berenger in 1754, provided English readers with the teachings of their ‘illustrious Countryman, *William Cavendish*, Duke of *Newcastle*,’ who ‘has the highest Claim to our Praise and Acknowledgments’, without the ‘Imperfections’ of his work. For Berenger in the translator’s preface to the manual, ‘It would be needless to describe his [Cavendish’s] Excellencies; his Character, as a Horseman, [as they are] ... universally known, and universally admir’d. The Truth and Soundness of his Principles, and the Extensiveness of his Knowledge, have opened to us an easier, a shorter, and more certain Way to Perfection in the *Art*, than was known before.’ Indeed, ‘His Precepts have accordingly been adopted by all succeeding Professors, and his Writings consider’d as the Oracle of Horsemanship,’ even though ‘The *ornamental* Part [of horsemanship] ... is not so requisite to be known: It can only be called an Accomplishment, and placed among the superflous but refin’d Pleasures of Life.’¹¹⁹ Now there really was no practical use to the *haute école*; however, that did not mean that it was a practice that should be neglected by horsemen, especially elite horsemen of the Vineyard whose positioning in it continued to be dictated by their proficiency in the art.

Henry Angelo, for example, records how he enjoyed an afternoon riding ‘*en cavalier*’ with his friend the Chevalier D’Eon and his guest ‘Omai, the Otaheitan’ (he arrived in London on 1 July, 1774, from Tahiti aboard the *Adventure* after Cook’s second voyage to the South Pacific), up the Oxford road in London.¹²⁰ Henry, who also enjoyed (as we saw earlier) practicing leaping the bar in the common saddle as preparation for hunting, in this instance intentionally adopted the visual persona and riding habits of the seventeenth-century cavaliers; the riding habits of William Cavendish. Henry, D’Eon and Omai in doing so intentionally placed themselves on public display as spectacle; they had ‘cocked hats, long-tailed horses, and *demi-queue* saddles’ of the old style, and accoutred thus went on to ‘prance up’ the road ‘to the delight of a number of lookers on.’ This particular outing did not end well for Omai, the South Sea islander and inexperienced horseman of the group, whose horse ‘made a full stop’ at the Pantheon and could not be persuaded ‘to move an inch forward. The horse’s capers afforded much amusement to the people, although in action he was stationary the whole time, whilst we

¹¹⁹ Claude Bourgelat, *A New System of Horsemanship: From the French of Monsieur Bourgelat*. By Richard Berenger, Esq. (London: Printed by Henry Woodfall, For Paul Vaillant in the Strand, facing Southampton-Street, 1754), iii-iv.

¹²⁰ For information on Omai’s visit to London, and the many responses to his presence in society, see: Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones, ‘Mai/Omai in London and the South Pacific: Performativity, Cultural Entanglement, and Indigenous Appropriation’, in *Material Identities*, ed. Joanna Sofaer (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2007), 13-30; and Wahrman, *Making of the Modern Self*, 122-126.

were hailed with shouts of laughter, D'Eon the whole time calling out to us in French.' Henry found the situation equally as funny as the spectators, and the telling of the tale 'contributed very much to the amusement of my mother; not so of my father, who was angry with me for not telling him which rein to use'; but 'poor Omai', in contrast, was 'trembling from head to foot' by the end of the ride.¹²¹

Henry's rather amusing anecdote (it would have made for a perfect caricature if the artists had known about it) is loaded with Orientalist imagery – the inept, fearful, innocent and inelegantly other, Omai – but it also provides a unique insight into gentlemanly visuality and public performances of the self during the late eighteenth century.¹²² These three gentlemen were seemingly not ridiculed for attempting to display themselves *en cavalier*, as one would expect in light of the new horsemanship aesthetic, but for the failure of that display. They were parading in the Cavendish mode (not walking or trotting but *en passage*), and were visualizing the associated masculine traits of self-command, ceremony, honour and militarism that traditionally accompanied such riding. However, even though Omai was apparently doing fine on one of Angelo's impeccably trained horses, and was described by Frances Burney as having an 'appearance & behaviour *politely easy, & thoroughly well bred*' when in society, the decision of a nonhuman to refuse the inexperienced and incorrect communication from Omai managed to make all three men, two of whom were accomplished horsemen, into public figures of derision.¹²³ They became, Omai most of all for his lack of *manège* schooling and Oriental otherness, figures similar to the *Buck and Blood Flourishing Macaroni* and black man at Charing Cross. Their intentional and, according to the new horsemanship Vineyard, useless performance of the *manège* as a parade designed to draw in the approving gaze of an audience was betrayed, yet again, by the truth-telling abilities of the horse; their performance was betrayed in all of its artifice, uselessness (one has the sense that the three had a somewhat difficult time getting the reluctant horse back to the stable), foreignness and effeminacy.

With all of that being said, however, it does not seem Henry (there is no record of D'Eon's or Omai's response) suffered socially because of their outing; Henry's horsemanship training, and presumably continued mastery over his own mount as an elegantly refined

¹²¹ Angelo, *Reminiscences*, vol. II, 55-56.

¹²² The paradoxical language used to discuss Omai shares many similarities to Edward Said's formulation of Orientalist discourse, hegemonic power relations and imagery of the 'other'. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003).

¹²³ Frances Burney, 'To Samuel Crisp, 1 December, 1774,' in *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney: Volume II, 1774-1777*, ed. Lars E. Troide (Montreal, Kingston and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 63.

gentleman even when dealing with someone else's difficulty in managing, seems to have protected him from any negative effects of the public's laughter. For him, it is more than likely the admiring gazes experienced prior to the horse's decision more than outweighed any subsequent bruises to his reputation. For him, and for other horsemen of the old school, ornamental horsemanship of the Cavendish model should be sought out, practiced and perfected, and the sure way of doing so was through the rapidly expanding collection of Academies springing up around London during the first half of the century.

Like the Royal Academy for Teaching Exercises in Edinburgh (founded in 1763 and patronized by the gentry, upper aristocracy and the King), these Academies served to instil in the élite pupils 'the principles of usefull knowledge and at the same time exercised [them] in all these liberal accomplishments which qualify a man to appear in the distinguished spheres of Life.'¹²⁴ They served as institutions where the élite came to learn normative masculinity (politeness, sentiment, honour and military capability) from Masters of horsemanship proven in their abilities and social connections; and it was these horsemen who had successfully avoided 'base effeminacy' through their interspecies and civic discourse, who would provide an ideal worthy of emulation. Berenger discussed the proliferation of these Academies and riding houses in his *History and Art of Horsemanship*:

Such long has been the state of horsemanship in this kingdom; but since the accession of his present Majesty, the prospect has brightened, and better times begin to dawn. Since this happy event, the *Art* has raised itself a little, and given some signs of recovery; public riding-houses have been opened, which are largely encouraged, and frequented by the youth of the nation: many are *called*, and it is to be hoped, *many* will be *chose[n]*.—Several private *Maneges* have likewise been erected by the *Princes* of the blood, some of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*; and, to crown all, his Majesty has erected one for his immediate use, where, in his own person, he cultivates, protects, and honours the *Art*, in so distinguished a manner, that under the influence of his illustrious example, we may expect to see the golden age of horsemanship revive, and that men will not much longer "complain of the want of excellent horses, nor the horses *groan* for want of worthy riders."¹²⁵

The governors of the nation, it was hoped, would follow the illustrious examples set by the equestrian-minded 'Princes of the blood, the Nobility and Gentry; and his Majesty' who all dedicated vast amounts of time and wealth to the art; and who provided for the benefit of the socially worthy 'Maneges' for their use. These individuals, especially George III who 'cultivates,

¹²⁴ Allan Ramsay, portrait painter, as quoted in W. Forbes Gray, 'An Eighteenth-Century Riding School,' *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* 20 (1935): 112.

¹²⁵ Berenger was quoting from Nicholas Morgan of Colrane's 1609 *The Perfection of Horsemanship*. Richard Berenger, *The history and art of horsemanship. In two volumes* (London: Printed for T. Davies, in Russel-Street, Covent-Garden; and T. Cadell, in the Strand, 1771), 'Vol. 1,' 214.

protects, and honours the Art, in so distinguished a manner' were for Berenger 'illustrious examples'; the following of which would cause a revival of the 'golden age of horsemanship' where those who lived the mixing of the Centaur would cultivate civic feeling, ensure the safety and prosperity of the commonweal, create politely refined men who possessed friendly sentiments towards their fellow man, and above all, again entice the élite to the noble and manly art of horsemanship. However, in a time of increased egalitarianism in society, the riding Academies – those of the old school practitioners anyway – were still sights of social and epistemological stratification where group self-regulation within its own ranks resulted in a continual shuffling of position.¹²⁶ Academies were the physical spaces for the Vineyard, and like Cavendish's, Berenger's required young Impes to go through a process of group-sanctioned inclusion into the Vine's ranks. Academies opened by true horsemen should be encouraged, and frequented by the 'youth of the nation', but as 'many are called' to the practice because of the Vines' bewitching abilities to discourse, to appear as one with the noble beast, only a select few would be 'chosen' as suitable members of the élite group.

The most famous Academy along these élite lines was founded and managed by Henry's father, Angiolo Domenico Maria Tremamondo (1717-1802), or Domenico Angelo as he was popularly known in England. Brother to Anthony Angelo Malevolti Tremamondo, master of horsemanship at the Royal Academy in Edinburgh, Angelo was among the top horsemen of his day, having studied under 'the celebrated master of equitation, Talligori, the most scientific horseman in Europe' and having been a pupil (along with the Chevalier D'Eon) of François Robichon de la Guérinière (the avid admirer of Cavendish). Better known today as the preeminent fencing master of his time, Angelo was master of horse for Henry Herbert, tenth Earl of Pembroke, at his Wilton estates and London town house; and was the master of his own Academy at Carlisle House, Soho Square, where horsemanship of the *haute école* and *manège* was taught. According to Henry, whose *Reminiscences* provide scholars with most of the information concerning the Angelo family, Angelo 'had been educated with care, and at vast expence [sic], his father' had provided 'masters to teach him those accomplishments which were common to the forming a well-bred gentleman of the last age; hence, it was a general observation, in speaking of the elder Angelo, that he was quite the gentleman of the old school.' He was a man who was an expert, as Cavendish was, on the military arts, he regularly taught the

¹²⁶ See David Solkin, *Painting for Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1993), 27-45, for details on the social ranking of homosocial environments in the eighteenth century.

royal princes and the boys of Eton to fence, hosted a famously hospitable table, and he, most importantly, was a horseman in the truest sense.¹²⁷

These men, and the men under Angelo's care, were instructed in two methods of riding: the 'style of riding the "great horse," as practised according to the system of the continent', or of the 'old school', and that of the new horsemanship Vineyard.¹²⁸ This mixed instruction reflects not only a generational gap (it was Henry, not his father that practiced leaping at the bar), but also a clear hierarchy of equestrian proficiency and horsemanship artistry. Like Mr. Carter, who ensured his pupils and readers knew about his Versailles equestrian instruction in the *haute école* while proceeding to teach in the common and side saddle, Angelo's continental equestrian heritage was requisite for his reputation as a Master of horsemanship and as an able instructor of his pupils in both the *haute école* and over the leaping bar. Angelo practiced a horsemanship system that came from non-English schools, and mirroring what Blundeville did for Grisone in the sixteenth century, (re)popularized a form of equestrian expression and personal display that had struggled through the Stuart Restoration and early Hanoverian reigns of the first two Georges. He imported the teachings of his own Italian instructor, but married these practices with the English masters of the *haute école* – such as Cavendish. Another one of Henry's anecdotes provides a good example of this: having been invited to show his horse, Monarch, to George III, Angelo first rode him as per continental tradition and then in the Anglicized Cavendish tradition. 'The king was pleased to express his satisfaction; talked of the manner of riding in the tournament, and of the style of riding the "great horse," as represented in the splendid folio work, by the Duke of Newcastle, published in the time of Charles the First. My father, who was ardent in the pursuit of knowledge, had studied these things with the most sedulous attention, ... could exhibit every style' including that of Cavendish and proceeded to do so for the King's enjoyment. Displaying the quality of himself as an élite member of society and of the Vineyard along with the superior stature of his nonhuman partner, Angelo presented the horsemanship of his Academy; the horsemanship that had the King declare Angelo to be 'the most elegant horseman of his day'.¹²⁹ As John Kay's portrait of Angelo shows (Figure 21), for Angelo, to be elegant, to be manly, and to be accomplished, was to look to seventeenth-century horsemanship traditions, 'the superflous but refin'd Pleasures of Life', instead of the most popular eighteenth-century models practiced by Thompson, Jackson, Hughes, Astley and Carter. It was looking to

¹²⁷ Angelo, *Reminiscences*, vol. I, 35, 2.

¹²⁸ Landry, *Noble Brutes*, 45-49.

¹²⁹ Angelo, *Reminiscences*, vol. I, 35-36.

the tall-booted, long-tailed, *appui*-loving and *levade*-practicing horsemanship of the seventeenth-century sovereigns.



[Figure 21: John Kay, *Angelo Tremamondo, Riding Master* (1788). Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.]

It was these accomplishments that Angelo passed on to the next generation of Vines. What Berenger hoped would be the outcome of building all of the new Academies, that ‘we may expect to see the golden age of horsemanship revive’, Angelo brought to fruition (well, almost. Later authors of horsemanship manuals, discussed in Chapter V, continued to bemoan the anaemic state of the art in England, and attempted, as I will argue, to bolster its following through their work). ‘In the arts of riding and fencing,’ according to Henry, Angelo ‘was long at the head of his profession, and, by his skill in both, brought them into general adoption, as necessary branches of education’.¹³⁰ Angelo and his Academy upheld the older forms of gentlemanly behaviour and visuality in the face of their increasingly unstable masculinity (as we

¹³⁰ Angelo, *Reminiscences*, vol. II, 64.

will see in a moment); it was through his Academy and personal influence as a horseman that Angelo ensured the popularization of equestrian pursuits – at least according to his flattering son – while ensuring that the Impes gained the social graces necessary for their position in life. As Henry summarized:

At the time my father resided in Carlisle-street, young men of fashion boarded there, where riding, fencing, and dancing, were included in the terms, one hundred guineas per annum; an adequate sum then, (fifty years ago). In addition to these necessary accomplishments to give the exterior of the gentleman, he was ever attentive to their manners. Numerous advantages they must have derived, being in company often with some of the first characters of the day, whom his table was always open to. Those boarders who at first were, "*les ours mal léché,*" unlicked cubs, returned home, both in *manière* and deportment far different to the present race of dandyism, where bows, &c. &c., are exploded, their *address* keeping pace with their *dress*.¹³¹

For Henry, both elements of a gentleman's education, his sartorial simplicity and spectacular horsemanship, were ensured by multi-species relationships and heterosocial interaction, a point I will discuss in a moment, in the confines of the Academy. These Impes, through the influence of Angelo and his Academy, ironically enough, were taught through the spectacular format of horsemanship and the visible display of inter-species interaction and physical ability, to conform to the sartorial regime that dictated a more austere masculine aesthetic. Through luxurious horsemanship and personal display caricatured in the *Buck and Blood* and *Sunday Equestrians* but enacted by Cavendish, the pupils learned gentlemanly deportment that insulated them from accusations of effeminacy, foppishness or dandyism so worrying for the health of the nation.

vii. RIDING HOUSE SOCIABILITY

Angelo's Academy was home to the best London society had to offer: the Sheridan and Garrick families, the Duke of Cumberland, the Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester, Johann Sebastian Bach, Carl Abel, George Stubbs, George III, Benjamin West, John Wilkes, the Chevalier D'Eon, the Marquess of Granby, Joshua Reynolds, Thomas Rowlandson, Francis Grose, Gainsborough, and James Barry, were just some names of his pupils and friends on a very long list of acquaintances that Angelo hosted at his Academy. As his son, Henry, recorded: 'His house [Angelo's] was the common rendezvous of all the ingenious, his compeers, of every country, and every profession; and, at his well-appointed table, I became acquainted with many great, good, and eminent men, whose memory I cannot cease to think of but with reverential fondness and

¹³¹ Angelo, *Reminiscences*, vol. II, 62-63.

respect.¹³² The gathering place of musicians, artists, politicians, royalty and actors, the Angelo Academy not only educated the sons of the élite, it also provided a space where the members could come and socialize much like the London tea rooms, clubs and coffee houses – themselves favourite haunts of Henry as he grew up.¹³³

This was especially evident at Angelo's as the pupils and family friends were frequently guests at the supper table as well as in the *manège*. Henry records many evenings spent in conversation and eating Mrs. Elizabeth (Johnson)Angelo's famously delicious macaroni with some of the most notable men in London society. Angelo had 'a constant chamber for the evening *conversazione* with his numerous friends' including 'the celebrated patriot, John Wilkes, and the scarcely less well-known personage, Chevalier D'Eon'. 'These, with the elder Sheridan, frequently sat for hours over the bottle, in lengthened arguments upon the politics of the day.'¹³⁴ Angelo's Academy was the home of the same stereotypes that created the macaroni craze in the 1770s, where, according to the October 1772 edition of *The Macaroni and Theatrical Magazine*, 'Macaroni is, in the Italian language, a word made use of to express a compound dish made of vermicelli like many foreign fashions, it was imported by our *Connoscenti* in eating, In time, the subscribers to those dinners [such as those at the Angelo table] became to be distinguished by the title of MACARONIES.'¹³⁵ However, in the Academy, unlike popular culture outside of it, macaroni eating, embracing everything continental and espousing conspicuous display, was an ideal to be taught and practiced as a means of developing authentic masculinity and an ideal social reputation.¹³⁶ The men at Angelo's were the same ones caricatured in *The Lucky Mistake*; they were the ones who sported continental tastes, continental consumption and continental horsemanship; and it was at the Angelo Academy that horsemanship as manly, courageous, honourable and usefully polite was practiced in a mixed arena where the lines were blurred between domestic and public instruction spaces. Such mixing allowed the Academy to become an ideal location in which gentlemen came to ensure their development of not only strong, athletic, sensitive, controlled, and refined bodies, but also politeness or ease of conversation and manners necessary for urban gentlemen.

¹³² Angelo, *Reminiscences*, vol. I, 6-7.

¹³³ Angelo, *Reminiscences*, vol. I and vol. II.

¹³⁴ Angelo, *Reminiscences*, vol. I, 55, 60, 189.

¹³⁵ As quoted in Rauser, 'Hair, Authenticity, and the Self-Made Macaroni,' 114-115.

¹³⁶ Rauser argues that it was not until the 1770s that the meaning of macaroni changed from demarcating extravagant clothing, wigs and the display of refinement gained on the Grand Tour to applying to anyone who exceeded the boundaries of fashion regardless of social rank. Rauser, 'Hair, Authenticity, and the Self-Made Macaroni,' 101.

Like these mixed social spaces, the grand London riding houses were sites for the gathering and socializing of men and women from the social élite.¹³⁷ While the women at Angelo's did not ride, they were an integral component of masculine competition and personal display as it was their gaze (disproving or appreciative) that was sought after by the men of the *manège*. Placed in the viewing gallery, the ladies could listen and watch the lessons while training their knowledgeable equestrian eye to see the variances in riding ability on display by the pupils and to judge their (physical and moral) abilities. One man who took full advantage of the feminine gaze was Captain Riddle; one of Angelo's 'best riders' and an officer in the cavalry, who was 'an elegant young man, of affable disposition.' According to Henry, 'Whenever the gallery ... was crowded, he was always ready to exhibit his equestrian manoeuvres', and at least on one occasion he had 'promised' Angelo 'that he would bring some ladies to the riding'.¹³⁸ This was not to introduce them to riding itself – nowhere in his *Reminiscences* does Henry mention ladies participating in the *manège*, further distancing Angelo's academy from other riding houses – but the introduction into the Academy as sounding boards against which the men would try out their performances of masculine riding. Like to the scarlet-coated dandy of Hyde Park that I introduced at the beginning of this chapter, Riddle was intentionally making a spectacle of himself before the perceptive gaze of women, but unlike the Hyde Park Mad Man astride a Cow he apparently possessed the horsemanship abilities to make such displays admirable rather than comedic. The Hyde Park equestrian rode every Sunday, rented a horse to do so, and sat like a sack (if his caricature is anything to go by); Riddle, however, was an accomplished horseman who performed his polite, refined, and manly horsemanship before those who could judge it.

As Michèle Cohen argues, eighteenth-century social spaces, such as coffee houses, great houses, theatres, gardens, squares and tea rooms were 'spaces for the mixed company of the sexes, since their conversation was one of the conditions for the refinement and self-improvement at the heart of politeness.' These spaces allowed for the feminine conversation so necessary for civil men; conversation was thought to soften and refine men's natural tendency to roughness, ungraciousness and brutality in language and behaviour, and to produce refined and polite men suitable for public life as a result.¹³⁹ Time spent socializing with women, according to Philip Carter, would lead men to 'further temper their conversation to avoid performances which,

¹³⁷ Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 198-204; Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, 36.

¹³⁸ Angelo, *Reminiscences*, vol. II, 358-359.

¹³⁹ Cohen, 'Manliness, Effeminacy and the French', 46-47.

though perhaps acceptable in male-only company, would offend in mixed and, hence, polite society.' It was also hoped that socializing in female company would result in the men adopting some of the polite and more sensitive attributes of the fairer sex.¹⁴⁰ However, as an excess of refinement and politeness was feared to result in luxury, uselessness, effeminacy and foppishness – our Hyde Park candidate – it was also understood that homosocial conversation and participation in more 'traditionally' masculine pursuits were necessary in conjunction with female company.¹⁴¹

Other riding houses, however, kept more to the Cavendish model of excluding women entirely – like the majority of London's homosocial clubs and associations.¹⁴² For example, Sir Sidney Meadows (Figure 22), another eminent – if unorthodox for his high hand positioning – horseman of his time, was a one-time riding master at the Academy in Geneva, Switzerland, was equal to Angelo in equestrian ability and was consultant for the Royal Academy in Edinburgh.¹⁴³ His own riding house in London (Figure 23) was a desirable establishment in which to practice this necessary gentlemanly sociability, and while Meadows' riding house was a similar Vineyard space to Angelo's Academy, he did not, unlike Angelo (a professional instructor), it seems, charge tuition. For him, the inclusion of his pupils into his horsemanship court and the instruction of them there was strictly by invitation only, in the manner of Cavendish before him. Henry records his experiences under the guidance of the great horseman as a child: While still 'under my father's tuition' Henry received an offer for instruction from Meadows, and although he was already receiving instruction from a man that modeled by royal command for the figure of 'King William' in Benjamin West's 'Battle of the Boyne' because "few painters place the figure properly upon the horse, and Angelo is the finest horse-man in the world", Meadows' invitation 'was too great an honour not to be accepted.' The opportunity to be invited to join 'the first amateur of equitation ... [of] the last century' was too advantageous for Henry's social position and Vineyard status to forego. At Meadows' riding house Henry could join the nobility that gathered there every morning to hear the Master speak, and he could engage in the enlightening conversation common among the riders. Meadows', according to Henry,

¹⁴⁰ Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800* (Harlow, England: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), 68-69.

¹⁴¹ Cohen, 'Manliness, Effeminacy and the French', 50, 52.

¹⁴² Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, 198-204.

¹⁴³ Edward Topham, *The Life of the Late John Elwes, Esquire; Member in Three Successive Parliaments for Berkshire. First Published in the Paper of The World. Inscribed to Sir Paul Jodrell, By Edward Topham, Esquire, Late Captain in the Second Troop of Horse Guards, and Magistrate for the Counties of Essex and York. The Seventh Edition* (London: Printed by John Jarvis; For James Ridgway, York-Street, St. James's-Square, 1790), 3; Gray, *An Eighteenth-Century Riding School*, 117.

Usually ... was visited by plenty of the nobility at his riding-house, where he constantly, every morning, took his exercise; nor, whilst riding, did it prevent his affability and lively conversation, which was much listened to, and as much admired as the command and management he had over his horses: if not an elegant rider, his knowledge may have been superior to others. His house was at the corner of Bolton-street, Piccadilly.¹⁴⁴

Henry's riding house experiences, under his father and Meadows, were designed to produce a perfect gentleman; riding houses produced men who were refined and polite in conversation, graceful and composed in body, and manly in athleticism and militaristic knowledge. They followed the maxims of the 'manly ... ancient nobility and gentry' who were 'rough, bold, and handy to pursue the sports in the field, or wield the spear and battle axe against the enemies of their country' while able to correspond with women and their mounts as polite and honourable gentlemen.¹⁴⁵

Such instruction, much like Angelo's macaroni eating, was not without its critics. As we saw in the previous chapter, horsemanship was considered as a sure and necessary step in the creation and propagation of manly honour; however, in the eighteenth century not all authors who discussed honour believed it to be held by horsemen or potentially created through horsemanship. For example, the Whig Joseph Addison in *The Spectator* (the Saturday, June 23, 1711 edition) found honour in itself a virtuous and beneficial quality in gentlemen, but for him honour through horsemanship was a 'false kind of courage' which 'has given occasion to the very refuse of mankind, who have neither virtue nor common sense, to set up for men of honour.' Such antiquated and chivalrous honour, for him, was associated with duels, those 'mischievous notions' of the old monarchists or new Tories, which lead to 'shame and infamy' and to 'ignominy and dishonour.'¹⁴⁶ This honour was for Addison and other opponents of false honour, who were usually of the credit or of 'dependent or "client" status', based on 'fear of shame' rather than 'love of glory' in contravention of 'traditional' honour. As a result, actions that arose from fear were in essence cowardly, unmanly and not proof of bravery.¹⁴⁷ According to Addison, the virtues of courage and honesty remained central to a notion of honour, but only when they followed God's and England's laws and if they were from true courage; honour from horsemanship – that militaristic pastime – did create courage, but it was a courage that was

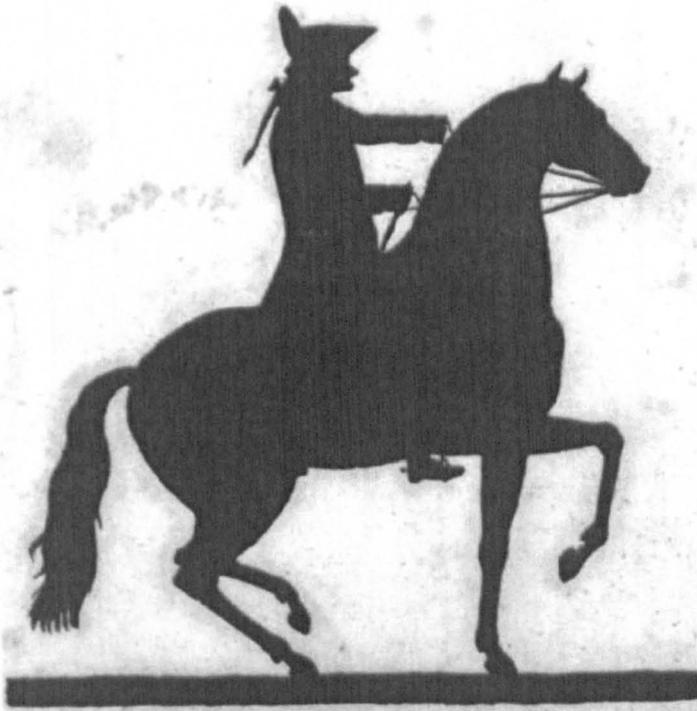
¹⁴⁴ Angelo, *Reminiscences*, vol. I, 35-36, vol. II, 140-141.

¹⁴⁵ *Town and Country Magazine*, March 1771, as quoted in Cohen, 'Manliness, Effeminacy and the French', 61.

¹⁴⁶ Joseph Addison, 'The Spectator, No. 99. Saturday, June 23, 1711,' in *The Spectator; With Notes, and General Index. Complete in Two Volumes. From the London Stereotype Edition* (New York: Printed by Samuel Marks, 63 Vesey-Street, 1826), vol. I, 131.

¹⁴⁷ Donna Andrew, 'The Code of Honour and Its Critics: The Opposition to Dueling in England, 1700-1850,' *Social History* 5 no. 3 (October 1980): 417.

foolish and violent in form. Honour from horsemanship was now one of the 'greatest depravations of humane nature, by giving wrong ambitions and false ideas of what is good and laudable; and should therefore be exploded by all Governments, and driven out as the bane and plague of human society.'¹⁴⁸



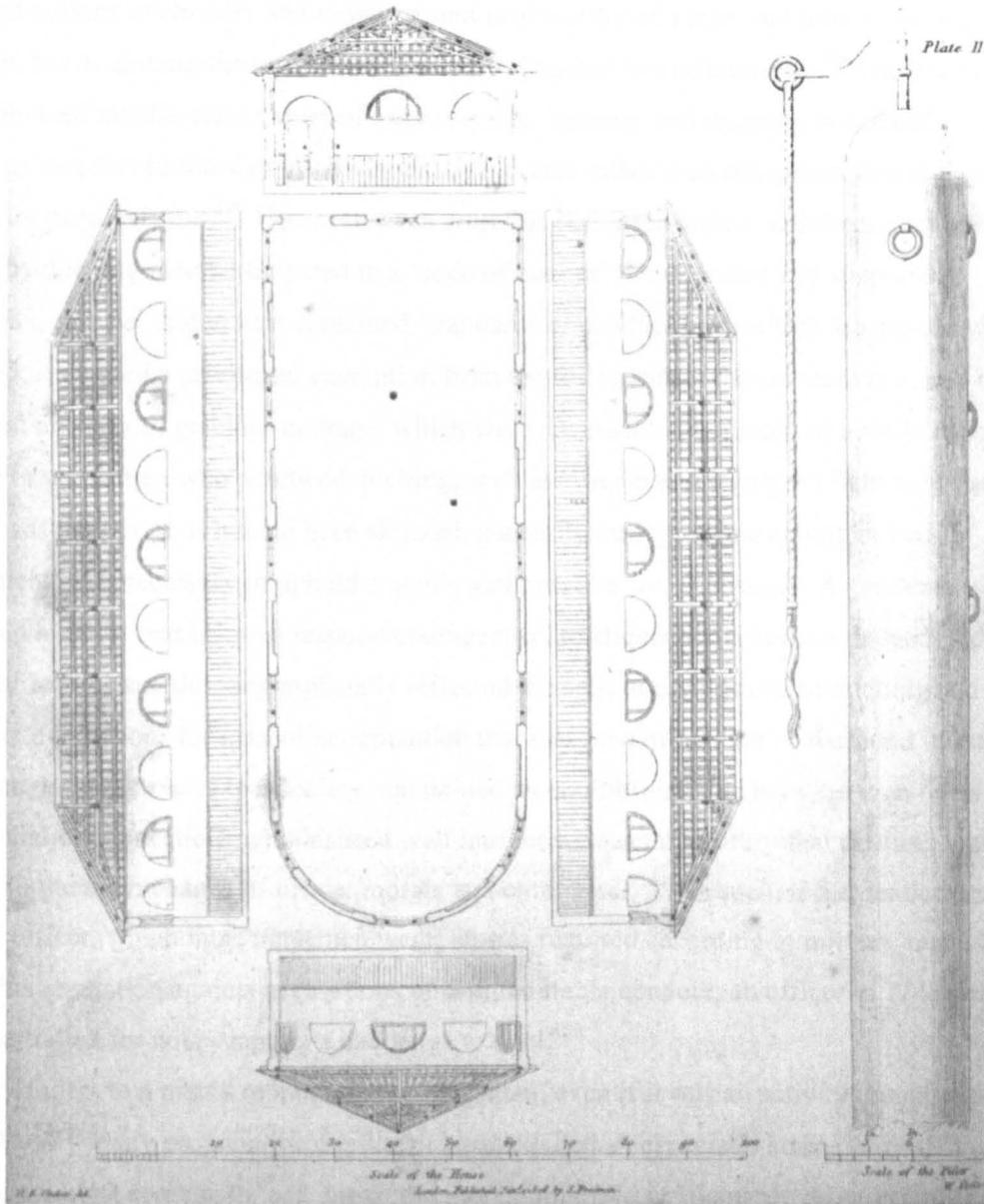
Sir T. F. ad. vivum. 4/12/22. London Published Jan^r 1806. by S.Freeman. W. Skelton sculp.

S^r Sidney Medows K.M. Aged 90.

[Figure 22: Thomas Frankland, 'S^r. Sidney Medows K.M. Aged 90,' in *The Art of Horsemanship Altered and Abbreviated, According to the Principles of the Late Sir Sidney Medows*, by Strickland Freeman (1806), Plate I.]

¹⁴⁸ Addison, 'The Spectator, No. 99', 19-22.

Performing Horse-Men



[Figure 23: H.B. Chalon, 'Scale of the House and Scale of the Pillar,' in *The Art of Horsemanship Altered and Abbreviated, According to the Principles of the Late Sir Sidney Medows*, by Strickland Freeman (1806), Plate II]

According to Donna Andrew in her work on the history of honour codes, in conjunction with the longer resistance towards duelling, there developed in the 1770s a large-scale attack on honour itself. Men were now expected to abide by state laws rather than the code of honour regardless of social status. It was now argued that by acting as the code dictated rather than as the law did, a man was actually allowed to be 'sovereign' over other men of honour, which in turn elevated the man over the law and the State. Honour now was 'a custom, which is founded in Gothic ignorance and barbarism – originated, principally, in the ridiculous, and now justly

exploded notions of chivalry and romance, and is unworthy of a man, not only as he is a christian, but as making the most distant claim to elegance and refinement.’¹⁴⁹ For Andrew, men who embraced middle-class values of improvement, industry and frugality now came to see society as best served through improvement of the state rather than self-promotion and grandiose actions for personal gain.¹⁵⁰ However, even with this concerted attack, as John Sainsbury has shown, by duelling men participated in a ‘code of honour’ that ‘defined and supported aristocratic culture’ that in turn contained ‘standards of conduct from which the masses were excluded; it implied a privileged exemption from the full rigour of the criminal law; and it mandated displays of gracious courage, which were the essential hallmark of a virile ruling caste.’ For gentlemen who practiced duelling, such as Angelo and Henry, to fight when one’s honour was perceived as having been slighted, generally through name calling or bodily debasement, was necessary to uphold a man’s authoritative social position. A gentleman continued to insist that he must respond courageously to slights to his honour. Indeed, Addison’s dislike of honour and duelling especially reflected the split in perceptions of duelling and the importance of honour for masculine reputation that saw men of civilian background insisting it was through English laws that society maintained its equilibrium, and between men of military background or connections who insisted well into the nineteenth century that duelling was ‘crucial to the maintenance of officer morale and enterprise.’¹⁵¹ As such, if the gentleman was a military officer, which most horsemen were, he was required according to military regulation to protect his reputation against accusations of dishonourable conduct; an officer in 1748 could be court-martialled for not accepting a challenge to duel.¹⁵²

Slanders to a man’s reputation as a horseman, even if it was an activity thought barbaric and useless by many proponents of polite culture, elicited an especially strong pro-duelling response amongst some men, and one of the more publicized gentlemanly disagreements over a nonhuman was between John Wilkes, a common sight at Angelo’s, and William, Earl Talbot, on 5 October, 1762. A year prior to the duel Talbot had performed disastrously on horseback before George III at his coronation celebration; he attempted to exit the parade ground without turning

¹⁴⁹ John Bennett, *A Discourse Against the Fatal Practice of Duelling* [1783], as quoted in Andrew, ‘The Code of Honour and Its Critics,’ 423.

¹⁵⁰ Andrew, ‘The Code of Honour and Its Critics,’ 430.

¹⁵¹ Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People*, 588-589.

¹⁵² Robert Shoemaker, ‘Male Honour and the Decline of Public Violence in Eighteenth-Century London,’ *Social History* 26 no. 2 (May 2001): 196.

his horse's hindquarters to the king, but his horse had other ideas.¹⁵³ Wilkes brought up Talbot's *fauxpaux* in *North Briton* number twelve as an indication of the current trend for handing out royal pensions to, often corrupt, Lords whose benefit to the nation was dubious. For Wilkes,

A politeness equal to that of lord TALBOT'S—*horse* ought not to pass unnoticed. At the coronation he paid a new, and, for a *horse*, singular respect to his sovereign. I appeal to applauding multitudes, who were so charmed, as to forget every rule of decency, and to *clap* even in the *Royal* presence, whether *his*, or his *lord's* dexterity on that day did not surpass any courtier's. Caligula's *horse*, had not half the merit. We remember how nobly *he* was provided for. Lord TALBOT'S horse, like the great Planet in *Milton*, *danc'd about in various rounds his wand'ring course*. At different times, he was *progressive, retrograde, or standing still*. The *progressive* motion I should rather incline to think the merit of the *horse*, the *retrograde* motion, the merit of the *Lord*. Some of the regulations of the courtiers themselves for that day had long been settled by former lord stewards. It was reserved for lord *Talbot* to settle an *etiquette* for their *horses*.

For Wilkes, Talbot's political and equestrian ineptitude, his inability to generate a relationship with his mount based on clear interspecies communication, was quixotic, inept like Caligula who made his horse a senator, and was enough to make him a 'Tit' to be ridiculed.¹⁵⁴ As John Sainsbury has found, Talbot considered himself 'publicly affronted' at Wilkes's not so gentle reminder of his public humiliation, and demanded that Wilkes 'either avow or deny his authorship of the offending piece.' Wilkes refused to do so, but made it clear that he was 'ready to give [Talbot] any other satisfaction.' The two did duel, horse pistols being the weapons of choice, but with no winner emerging – both missed their mark.¹⁵⁵

While Wilkes became the father figure of liberty in the 1760s and 1770s, he continued to cling to the mixed traditions of old and new horsemanship and honour as practiced at Angelo's. Angelo's Academy, and Angelo himself, were famous for instruction in fencing, and a style of fencing suited to the gentlemanly *salle* and the battle field.¹⁵⁶ It was fencing designed to bring discipline (mental and physical), athleticism, courage and grace to the pupils alongside lethal prowess with the sword; and it was fencing that prepared gentlemen for the defence of their honour if it was slighted. While Wilkes and Talbot opted for pistols, their potentially lethal tiff over riding abilities does indicate a continual and close connection between old-school virtues of honour, horsemanship, politeness and the necessity of maintaining a strong social reputation in

¹⁵³ John Sainsbury, *John Wilkes: The Lives of a Libertine* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2006), 71-72.

¹⁵⁴ John Wilkes, 'North Briton, no. 12, Saturday, 12 August, 1762,' *North Briton*, vol. 1 (London: Printed for J. Williams, near the Mitre Tavern, Fleetstreet, 1763), 108-109. Centaur, 'Dissertation on the Virtues and Abilities of *Caligula's* Horse,' *Annual Register*, 13. (December 1770): 192-194; Anonymous, 'From COMMON SENSE, Feb. 6. Caligula's horse: a good Minister,' *Gentleman's Magazine* 12 (February 1742): 78-80.

¹⁵⁵ Sainsbury, *John Wilkes*, 72-73; Wilkes's letters, as quoted in the same study, 72.

¹⁵⁶ Angelo, *Reminiscences*, vol. II, 475-476.

the face of slander. The élite continued to hold faith in behaviour and virtues stemming from chivalrous manhood and violently courageous actions such as single combat while supporting the usual virtues of honesty, temperance and hospitality.

viii. ANGELO AND THE ARMY

Even though Angelo's Academy was essentially reserved for the social élite and was a site of the continuance of spectacle and ceremony in horsemanship, Angelo did take an active interest in the truly practical side of horsemanship. He, along with Henry Herbert, the Duke of Pembroke, took a lively interest in the reformation of the English cavalry. Apparently suffering from incorrect training methods to the detriment of the troops, horses and the army in general, the cavalry inspired Angelo 'to introduce a new and superior method of riding'. As Henry recorded, 'This was a favourite object with him, even to a late period of life—one, indeed, which was recommended by some of the first military characters of the age, to the attention of the Government, which, though admitting its utility, never could be persuaded to adopt it.' Such setbacks did not deter Angelo, however, and he sought out a couple of men who could be instructed in his superior methods as examples of how beneficial his teachings would be if adopted by the government. 'This, I may be permitted to remark, is the more extraordinary, as my father had made several experiments, by selecting certain men from two or more cavalry regiments, whom he instructed gratuitously, and whose superior skill in the management of the horse, consequently, was sufficiently manifest to procure them applause, from every master of equitation in the kingdom.' Taken from 'the well-known crack regiment, Elliot's light horse', which was 'in vogue' at the time and which was under the command of Herbert as lieutenant-colonel, these were not socially élite men.¹⁵⁷ They were not titled, wealthy or brought up to horsemanship since childhood, and in general were not the men who usually frequented Angelo's Academy.

Henry considered these experiments extraordinary and was worried over the inclusion of lower-class men into the Academy, but they resulted in the creation of one of the most famous and controversial horseman of the eighteenth century: Philip Astley (1742-1814), who we met earlier with his unusual interest in instructions for mounting a horse. The son of a veneer cutter, Astley is today considered the father of the modern circus, and can be credited with bringing the

¹⁵⁷ Angelo, *Reminiscences*, vol. I, 99.

manège and *haute école* (along with other forms of horsemanship) to the masses.¹⁵⁸ As manager, owner and performer at his Amphitheatre (also titled over its history as Astley's Riding School, The Royal Grove, The Olympic Pavilion and Amphitheatre of the Arts) he was a quintessential social climber from an environment that allowed for 'unparalleled social mobility'. Self-styled a 'Professeur d'Equitation', Astley frequently displayed the arms of the French monarchy on his tunic – he was given the right by royal ordinance in 1782 – and enjoyed the patronage and friendship of some of the greatest nobles and well-connected celebrities in England (Angelo, Henry Herbert and Meadows).¹⁵⁹ Eventually becoming his regiment's 'rough rider, teacher, and breaker' after Angelo's instruction, Astley absorbed the teachings of the *manège* and *haute école* while making a few riding experiments of his own.¹⁶⁰

Initially, at the beginning of his career, Astley's horsemanship and allegiances were closer to the discourses found in the new-school horsemanship manuals. In his first manual of horsemanship, Astley did not aim to teach the wondrous, the curious, to his audience; instead, as we have seen, his work was expressly practical in its simplicity. However, he did cross over, as his career progressed, into the *manège* Vineyard, or attempted to at any rate. Much of his career was spent in the middle ground between the 'common' Vineyard and that of the *manège* practicing 'His Method between the Jockey & Manage' that was 'particular to himself' alone.¹⁶¹ It was not until his much later 1801 publication, *Astley's System of Equestrian Education* that Astley (now established and internationally famous) provided horsemen with a manual that closely resembled those by horseman of the seventeenth century or those of the *manège* Vineyard who followed.¹⁶² As we will see in the next Chapter, channelling his newly adopted

¹⁵⁸ The term 'circus' was coined by Charles Dibden, founder of the 'Royal Circus, Equestrian and Philharmonic Academy,' and it 'caught on instantly as the main generic term for both this type of venue and the entertainment as a whole' according to Marius Kwint. However, Astley's was distinct from the Royal Circus in that it was either a School – its first incarnation – or an Amphitheatre (the most popular name for the establishment even after multiple name changes) rather than a circus, until the nineteenth century. Marius Kwint, *Astley's Amphitheatre and the Early Circus in England, 1768-1830* (Ph.D. Dissertation: Magdalen College, University of Oxford, 1994), 40. For an account of international sources on circuses from the seventeenth to the twentieth century see Raymond Toole Stott, *Circus and Allied Arts: A World Bibliography, 4 Volumes* (Derby: Harpur, 1958-71).

¹⁵⁹ Kwint, *Astley's Amphitheatre*, 107.

¹⁶⁰ Jacob Decastro, *The Memoirs of J. Decastro, Comedian...* (London: Published by Sherwood, Jones, & Co., Paternoster-Row, 1824), 28; Kwint, *Astley's Amphitheatre*, 15. For information on Astley's friendship with Sir Sidney Meadows and his connections to various military officers and the nobility see his *Astley's System of Equestrian Education, Exhibiting the Beauties and Defects of the Horse; with serious and important advice, on its general excellence, preserving it in Health, Grooming, &c. With Plates* (London: Sold by C. Creed, No. 2, Westminster-Bridge-Road, Lambeth, and the principal Booksellers in England, Scotland, and Ireland. June, 1801), 28-29.

¹⁶¹ British Library, 'Astley's Cuttings from Newspapers,' 1768-1833, Scrapbook, 3 volumes, Th.Cts.35-37, vol. I, item 11 (17 May, 1768).

¹⁶² Astley, *The Modern Riding-Master*; Astley, *Astley's System of Equestrian Education*. This manual ran to eight editions within a year of its first publication, and according to Kwint 'In Europe it became nearly as influential

rise in class and reflecting his new assurance as a self-titled 'Riding-Master', it was the horse of the *manège* and the *haute école* that was the focus.

However, Astley was not content to perform old-school horsemanship; possibly distancing himself from discourses of effeminacy attached to the *manège*, or not confident in his abilities to practice adequately the older style of horsemanship, he never advertised himself as a pupil of Angelo – unlike other horsemen, as we have seen, who ensured their horsemanship instruction was well known to their clients and among their social peers. Instead, it was to a more common, vulgar, form of riding, that allowed for the exhibition of the dangerous, courageous self so necessary to his performance of masculinity, that Astley turned. He looked to the English tradition of trick riding and vaulting, along with a very Cavendish-esque emphasis on the honourably chivalrous military arts, for inspiration.¹⁶³

an ambassador for the 'rational' English school of riding' as Cavendish's 1658 *General System*. Kwint, *Astley's Amphitheatre*, 58.

¹⁶³ [Astley], Handbill, c. August, 1782, *Circus and Allied Arts*.

IV

ASTLEY'S AMPHITHEATRE !!!

he stands unrivalled, — “a creature by himself.”

— Poster, James Cooke's Royal Arena¹

.....

‘Mr. Astley, sometime after the establishment of the Union between this country and Ireland’, decided to sell the patent to his Dublin Amphitheatre to a Mr. H. Johnston. While Johnston was able to take advantage of Astley's previous success in the Amphitheatre in establishing his own business, and even though his theatre was ‘patronised by the principal nobility and gentry in the island,’ he did not employ the services of ‘an equestrian company’. This unfortunate oversight resulted in Johnston's ‘scheme, which promised such brilliant success at the onset, [to be] in the end ... rendered abortive, and, at last, broke all to pieces.’² As Johnston learned too late to help his own failed enterprise, it was the presence of equestrian performers that drew the crowds to the Amphitheatre, and when they were removed from the entertainment program, as was the case in Dublin, the popularity of the entire show suffered. Horses and horsemanship, performances of human-horse relationships, were the ground upon which the Amphitheatre was built, and without them, without their corporeal solidity, their subjectivity, their smell, without their spectacular feats of manly horsemanship or performances by the animal actors, the Amphitheatre (and its offspring, the modern circus) could not exist.

Undeniably, the horse became the preferred motif for most English and European circuses during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and was an image that frequently accompanied classical, military or chivalric representations in circus ephemera.³ The centrality of the horse was especially visible in one of the Amphitheatre's most ambitious and ultimately iconic advertisements: the *Poster for the Siege of Troy or The Giant Horse of Sinon* of 1833, was dominated by the romanticized image of a massive, prancing horse (Figure 24). Intended as a representation of the wooden horse that disgorged troops during the Amphitheatre's re-enactment

¹ British Library, ‘A collection of programmes, cuttings from newspapers relating to performances in various circuses from 1772-1885.’ Scrapbook. 2 vols. Th.Cts.49-50. vol. 2, f.28 (Thursday, 16 February, 1843).

² Jacob Decastro, *The Memoirs of J. Decastro, Comedian. In the course of them will be given Anecdotes of various eminently distinguished characters.... accompanied by an analysis of the life of The Late Philip Astley, Esq., founder of the Royal Amphitheatre, Westminster-Bridge; with many of his managerial peculiarities.....* Edited by R. Humphrey (London: Published by Sherwood, Jones, & Col, Paternoster-Row, 1824), 81-82.

³ Marius Kwint, *Astley's Amphitheatre and the Early Circus in England, 1768-1830* (Ph.D. Dissertation: Magdalen College, University of Oxford, 1994), 201.

of Homer's epic (first performed in 1795), it was illustrated in a manner that emphasized a stately, fiery and natural state more common to a breathing, animate animal than a mechanistic troop carrier.⁴ The horse was shown to be brave, courageous and completely dominant over the miniscule Greek warrior clinging to its leg, but also like a colossus that towered over the entire circus program. The Amphitheatre functioned as a kind of shrine to the horse and the equestrian, and it was the almost sacred positioning and visualization of the nonhuman animal that drew people to the Amphitheatre night after night. Even for Charles Dickens in the nineteenth century it was 'the vague smell of horses' that was 'suggestive of coming wonders', and in the Amphitheatre it was the horse that both figuratively and literally took over the stage.⁵

The history of Philip Astley and of his Amphitheatre is generally well known (a full timeline is available in Appendix III), and has become the focus of multiple biographies, a children's book and a few scholarly texts.⁶ Marius Kwint's *Astley's Amphitheatre and the Early Circus in England, 1768-1830* is the most recent of these scholarly examinations of the Astleyan phenomenon, and it provides an invaluable general history and introduction to some of the major themes found in the Amphitheatre repertoire of theatrical performances. However, Kwint only touches on Amphitheatre constructions of gender, subjectivity and human-animal relationships so central to their visualization. Instead, he calls on other researchers to delve into the role of the nonhuman animal in the Amphitheatre; he writes: 'The horse as mystery, symbol and sacred animal is certainly important, and points to broad avenues of further study.'⁷ As a result, this chapter takes up Kwint's call for further research and examines the early Amphitheatre's reliance on and relationships with its nonhuman animal actors, the reception of their often troubling performances and how Philip, Patty and John Astley negotiated hegemonic and normative gender roles through their public presence.

⁴ British Library, 'Astley's Cuttings from Newspapers', 1768-1833, Scrapbook, 3 volumes, Th.Cts.35-37, vol. 2, item 115B (14 July, 1795).

⁵ Charles Dickens, *The Works of Charles Dickens: The Old Curiosity Shop Vol. 1 of 2* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1873), 127. For further information on Dickens and his view of the circus see Helen Stoddart, *Rings of Desire: Circus History and Representation* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 115-146. For general information about horses in Dickens' works see David Parker, 'Mr Pickwick and the Horses,' *The Dickensian* 85 no. 2 (1989): 82-98.

⁶ Paul Bemrose, *Circus Genius: A Tribute to Philip Astley* (Newcastle-under-Lyme: Newcastle-under-Lyme Borough Council, 1992); Miranda Goodby, *Sawdust and Spangles: Philip Astley and the English Circus* (Newcastle-under-Lyme: Newcastle-under-Lyme Borough Council, 1992); George Speaight, 'Some Comic Circus Entrées,' *Theatre Notebook* 32 (1978): 24-27; Nell Stroud, *Philip Astley: The Inventor of the Circus* (London: Short Books, 2003); Joan Selby-Lowndes, *The First Circus: The Story of Philip Astley* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1957); Arthur Saxon, *Enter Foot and Horse: a History of Hippodrama in England and France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968).

⁷ Kwint, *Astley's Amphitheatre*, 311.

Astley's
Monday,
1833
LIVE ACTING FOR THE WEEK.

SIEGE
TROY
OR THE
GIANT
Horse
OF SINON.

THE GREAT AND FAMOUS...
EXHIBITION...
CONVENT OF ARTS...
STRUGGLE OF THE...
THE...
Chariot
RACING!
15 Highly Trained
SYMPHIES
OF THE...
STUD OF
Wild Zebras
AND...
Fairy Ponies!
TROJAN
Circus!
Water Arena.
DYING
Gladiators!
LIVING
AND...
DIORAMA!
PROCESSION
And Entree
Giant Horse
THE...
REAL
Zebras
BURNED...
P...
CHARIOT OF OXEN!
Palaces and the Horse
WARRIOR
THE SIEGE!



Scenes
IN THE
CIRCLE
Light...
Cupid
SOOT-BAG!
Fox Hunter!
Ducrow
MISS WOOLFORD
Fisherman
Naples,
Market Girl
PORTION!
GREAT
German
RODER!
Lodoiska
TOBESST
Astropol
Castle of Lorinski
THE LAST SCENE
BLAZING
Turret!
Floriska's
STEED

[Figure 24: Poster for the Siege of Troy or The Giant Horse of Sinon, Astley's Circus (1833). © V&A Theatre Museum.]

The world of Astley's Amphitheatre, and other illegitimate theatre establishments of the early circus (such as Astley's primary rival the Royal Circus under Charles Hughes), during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was one of dependence upon the existence, utility, obedience, beauty, performance and symbolism of the horse; but it was also a world that depended on the masquerade and acting of the horse as universal truth-teller. In the Amphitheatre, possibly more than in the 'traditional' or normative horsemanship practices discussed previously, I argue, it was the visuality and subject performance of the nonhuman animal (frequently without a rider) that was the driving force behind the gendered, political and social discourses common to the Amphitheatre ring. Only in the early circus were there nonhuman agents working (at the behest of their human-animal trainers) to create and normalize performances of gender and identity seemingly independent from human control. This independence, their theatrical rationality and humanness, made them more than horses outside of the ring. It was their presence that allowed Philip, Patty and John Astley (the founding family and managers of Astley's Amphitheatre) to create an environment within the ring – that in turn influenced popular culture and thought outside of it – which allowed for the creation and performance of the horseman as commodified public figure and as an integral component of the emerging cult of celebrity.⁸

Within Astley's Amphitheatre, however, the horse was a vehicle for the creation of masculinities and femininities that were very different from those performed outside of its confines. In the Amphitheatre, and through the presence of nonhuman actors, the humans of the Amphitheatre created super-masculine men, masculinized femininity and 'superhumans', to use Kwint's term, that flew in the face of normative constructions.⁹ As Peta Tait argues, 'The artistic forms of the circus are conditioned by the presentation of daring and dangerous feats by the trained physical body, and the skilful execution of seemingly impossible physical actions sets the gendered body of the circus performer apart from social norms.'¹⁰ Indeed, as Michael Mangan has found, the stage itself 'operates both as a separate space subject to its own laws, and also as an extension of the everyday. It is a place where the 'performances' of everyday life are

⁸ Felicity Nussbaum, *Rival Queens: Actresses, Performance, and the Eighteenth-Century British Theatre* (Philadelphia and Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 18-19.

⁹ Kwint argues the Astleyan performers gained superhuman status through their acrobatics rather than their human-animal relationships, *Astley's Amphitheatre*, 246.

¹⁰ Peta Tait, 'Danger Delights: Texts of Gender and Race in Aerial Performance', *New Theatre Quarterly* 12 no. 45 (February 1996): 44. Kwint also notices the emphasis on danger and sensation in the Amphitheatre, *Astley's Amphitheatre*, 249-250.

themselves re-performed, and in the process changed.’¹¹ As such, the Amphitheatre stage was a space that allowed for the dual presence of the performed self and the self as (frequently idealized) performance. It was the perceived dangerous, supernatural, wondrous and skilled performances of the human-plus-nonhuman body that allowed the men and women of the Amphitheatre to visualize genders, classes and skills that, much like eighteenth-century theatres in general, had the ‘ability to create parallel worlds, move spectators, teach virtue, ... forment vice and corrode the bonds that hold society together’.¹² Within the Amphitheatre men became supermen with enacted masculinities that exaggerated the presence of a militaristic and chivalrous self (in the case of Philip) and a sexualized figure of inhuman grace (for John). Similarly, women played with their super-human status and their perceived affinity with brute being to situate themselves as wondrous, as amazing and as commodities for public consumption (in Patty’s case). ‘The traditional circus has always presented performing bodies in dangerous and skilful display’, according to Tait, and it is this display, as we will see, that ultimately depended upon the rational abilities of the performing horse.¹³

i. ASTLEY AND HIS AMPHITHEATRE

While the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw an explosion of circuses throughout England, Ireland, France, Russia and America, all of these establishments could trace their creation, in one way or another, to Astley’s Amphitheatre (Figures 25 and 26).¹⁴ Situated to catch revellers on their way to and from the more established pleasure haunts like Vauxhall Gardens, and situated to take advantage of the lax theatre law enforcement on the south side of the river, the Amphitheatre operated outside of the theatre patents for much of its history.¹⁵ Like other illegitimate theatres of the late eighteenth century, such as the Royal Circus, Sadler’s Wells – a frequent source of new talent – and the Surrey Theatre, Astley’s Amphitheatre, as Jane Moody shows, helped to bring about a ‘theatrical revolution’ in the nineteenth century that challenged the ‘cultural dominance of legitimate drama’ while becoming a ‘pioneer... of the modern cultural metropolis.’ They were sites of spectacle, physical danger and illusionary realism of a type not

¹¹ Michael Mangan, *Staging Masculinities: History, Gender, Performance* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 22.

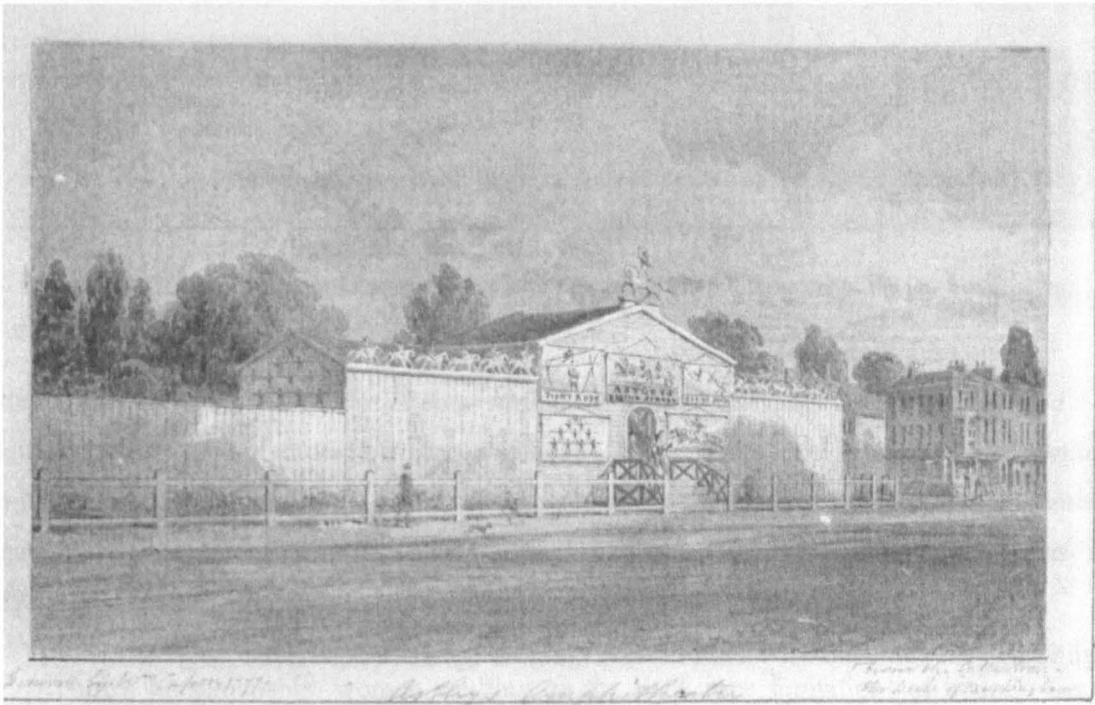
¹² John O’Brien, ‘Introduction: Theatre and Theatricality’, *The Eighteenth Century* 43 (Fall 2002): 191; Nussbaum, *Rival Queens*.

¹³ Tait, ‘Danger Delights’, 43.

¹⁴ Kwint, *Astley’s Amphitheatre*, 129-130, 137-140. For information on one of the earliest American circuses, Ricketts, and an indication of how similar the equestrian acts performed there were with Astley’s and the Royal Circus’s, see James S. Moy, ‘Entertainments at John B. Ricketts’s Circus, 1793-1800,’ *Educational Theatre Journal* 30 no. 2 (May, 1978): 186-202.

¹⁵ Kwint, *Astley’s Amphitheatre*, 129-130, 137-140.

seen before on the theatre stage.¹⁶ They were also, and Astley's arguably the most of all, sites where the performance and instruction of horsemanship (in all of its forms) coexisted with comedy, tragedy and melodrama to create an environment where genres were newly defined, legitimacy was sought after, species boundaries were playfully explored and where gender was made into theatrical spectacle. These defining elements of illegitimate theatre, and of the Amphitheatre itself, are what made Astley's into an established feature of the London entertainment scene, a driving force behind London's popular culture, and a favourite subject for satire and celebration by *Punch* and Dickens until its eventual closure in 1893.¹⁷

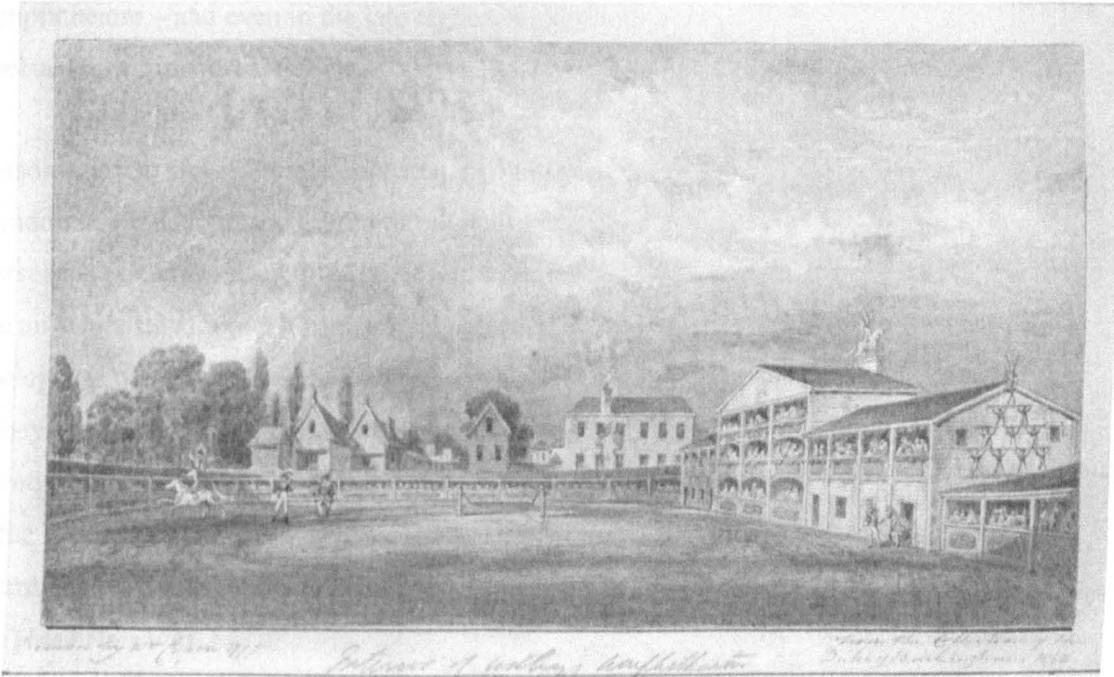


[Figure 25: William Capon, *Astley's Amphitheatre* (1777). © Trustees of the British Museum]

¹⁶ Jane Moody, *Illegitimate Theatre in London, 1770-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 10, 242-244. In 1785 Astley invited five disgruntled performers to join his troop after they had quit Sadler's Wells over the inclusion of the Learned Pig in the stage program, which was followed by a tense newspaper campaign from both theatres over the legality of their new employment at Astley's. BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, items 691, 692 and 693 (all 2 August, 1785).

¹⁷ Kwint, *Astley's Amphitheatre*, 17-19, 22-23, 4.

Astley's Amphitheatre !!!



[Figure 26: William Capon, *Interior of Astley's Amphitheatre* (1777). © Trustees of the British Museum]

Illegitimate theatres were also known for the sheer variety of entertainment on offer. Astley's Amphitheatre, which was often advertised as leading the vanguard for the new and unique, continually incorporated novelty acts, theatre, other traditional circus acts and clowning into its program, which was itself continually altered to cater to audience demand – sometimes as frequently as once a week. A typical show, lasting up to five hours, was simply described as ‘a hodge-podge’ by one reviewer,

for here you have rope-dancing, singing, pantomime, wire-dancing, the warbling of birds, horsemanship, women vaulting on the slack rope, imitations of hounds, organs, and dying wild boars, stage-dancing, buffoonery, mimicry, and agility of all kinds; in short, the eye and the ear are amused by an incessant variety, and we wonder how, in the name of Fortune, Astley contrives to procure such an assemblage of strange things.¹⁸

At Astley's an audience could expect to see everything from the Learned Pig – the most famous animal on the London stage for a time – humans with ‘unnatural’ physicalities or deformities such as the Monstrous Crows and their goitres who played a few nights at Astley's while on their tour of many entertainment venues in the capital, athletic trick riding and vaulting (Figure 27) – the primary claim to fame for Astley and the only acts he performed in the first year of his

¹⁸ BL, ‘Astley Cuttings,’ vol. 1, item 936 (20 April, 1787).

Amphitheatre – and even in the late eighteenth and into the nineteenth century grand equestrian spectacles or hippodramas.¹⁹

Astley was not the first rider to perform feats of trick riding, but was at least the fifth person to do so since Thomas Johnston, or ‘the Tartar’, first performed his ‘dexterity in riding’ in London in 1758. Johnston toured throughout England, and performed the same feats of daring on horseback (standing upon three horses, jumping from one mount to the other, throwing items in the air while standing on horseback, etc.) that Astley would ten years later.²⁰ Also, by the time Astley was performing before Henry Herbert, the Earl of Pembroke, Domenico Angelo and non-Vineyard spectators, the minor act of trick riding was practiced with ‘great success’ by three ‘famous men’ of the time: ‘namely, Price, Johnson, and Old Sampson, who had been exhibiting at the Three Hats, Islington, and other places round and quite contiguous to the heart of the Metropolis.’²¹ Johnson, the Tartar, first performed his ‘dexterity in riding’ in London in 1758 at the Three Hats with Mr. and Mrs. Sampson, who later moved to the Globe Inn, Whitechapel, while Thomas Price, performed trick riding at the nearby D’Aubigny’s pub starting in 1767.²² According to Jacob Decastro, a comedian of the Amphitheatre for a time, Astley heard about their feats of vaulting while still in the army under General George Elliot (Lord Heathfield), where he immediately endeavoured to ‘become a rival to them all’ upon his discharge on June 21, 1766. Once he arrived back in London he sought them out and ‘studiously endeavoured to glean from them all their superior methods of teaching and breaking, and was not long before he was able to commence his career as a public equestrian, and rival of theirs.’²³ Trick riding or vaulting was a performance that was more apt to generate income and fame than the *manège*, according to Decastro’s recollection of Astley’s motivations for choosing the practice.

¹⁹ The Learned Pig and the Monstrous Crows will be discussed in the next chapter. For a detailed discussion of the hippodramas at Astley’s in England, the Royal Circus and at Astley’s in France see Kwint, *Astley’s Amphitheatre*, 63-70; Arthur H. Saxon, *Enter Foot and Horse: a History of Hippodrama in England and France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968); and Saxon’s *The Life and Art of Andrew Ducrow and the Romantic Age of the English Circus* (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon, 1978). Saxon has found that the Astleyan hippodrama included performances of Shakespeare, melodramas, Christmas and Easter pantomimes and Opera all on horseback, and the genre was popular enough to be welcomed at Covent Garden and Drury Lane theatres where Astley’s troop, among others, were invited to perform. Arthur Saxon, ‘Circus as Theatre: Astley’s and Its Actors in the Age of Romanticism,’ *Educational Theatre Journal* 27 no. 3 (October 1975): 302.

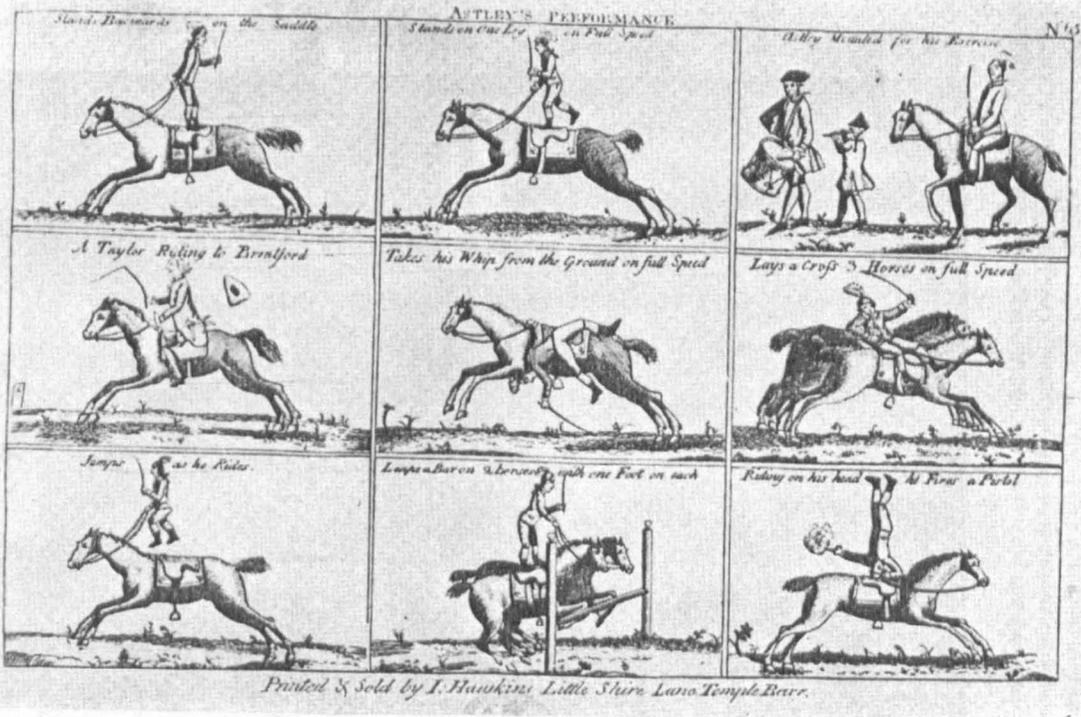
²⁰ Kwint, *Astley’s Amphitheatre*, 13-16; Maurice Wilson Disher, *Fairs, Circuses and Music Halls* (London: William Collins of London, 1942), 24.

²¹ Decastro, *Memoirs*, 29.

²² Kwint, *Astley’s Amphitheatre*, 13-16.

²³ Decastro, *Memoirs*, 30.

Astley's Amphitheatre !!!



[Figure 27: Anonymous, 'Astley's Performance' (n.d.), in *Circus and Allied Arts: A World Bibliography, 4 Volumes*, by Raymond Toole Stott (1958-71), vol. 3.]

When Astley left the employ of the Sampsons in 1768 he did so to establish his own equestrian entertainment house across Westminster Bridge in Lambeth (Figure 28), and while he again was not the first person to think of doing so he was the first rider of any sort to take the usual cordoned off area suitable for riding lessons or training before an audience and fence it so that non-admission paying spectators could not see the performance. He was the first one to run his enterprise of horsemanship performances as a commercial business, and he certainly was successful in doing so; Astley had erected nineteen Amphitheatres in Britain and Europe by the time of his death in 1814.²⁴ Like Mr. Carter and the many other enterprising horsemen of the eighteenth century, Astley was a businessman, but unlike any of his contemporaries, he combined the horsemanship methodologies and practices along with the masculinities of different classes and equestrian traditions to create something entirely new.

²⁴ Disher, *Fairs, Circuses and Music Halls*, 28; Jane Moody, *Illegitimate Theatre in London, 1770-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 150.



[Figure 28: CARY's *New and Accurate Plan of LONDON and WESTMINSTER the Borough of Southwark and parts Adjacent: viz. Kensington, Chelsea, Islington, Hackney, Walworth, Newington &c with an Alphabetical List of upwards of 500 of the most principal Streets with references to their situation.* (1795). © David Hale/MAPCO 2006-2010. <http://archivemaps.com/mapco/cary1795/cary.htm> (accessed 14/11/10).]

However, these performances that were so new were undeniably a part of an illegitimate theatre. As Kwint argues, the life of Astley and history of his Amphitheatre were focused on the continued legitimation and social advancement of the performers, owners and performances throughout the eighteenth century. In a time of widespread distrust over the morality and negative influence theatres in general had on a society increasingly able to spend its leisure time in frivolous enjoyment, the evolution of Astley's, as Kwint has rightly argued, was that of a continuous search after grandeur and fame – developments frequently reflected in the Amphitheatre architecture – as a comparison between the early and later Astleyan Amphitheatres indicates (Figures 25, 26 and 29).²⁵ According to Decastro, 'it was ever his [Astley's] aim from our thorough knowledge of him to make himself conspicuous and known wherever he went, which, in a few years rendered him very popular'.²⁶ Astley worked to distance himself and the Amphitheatre from its humble origins in pub yards – along with all of the other common entertainments, such as bear baiting, which occurred in similar establishments – through advertised and enacted nationalistic rhetoric that emphasised service to the state and to the people.²⁷ Consistently bolstering 'traditional' Englishness, and repeatedly housed in increasingly grand buildings suited to Astley's growing fame and status among London theatre owners,²⁸ the Amphitheatre and its rivals enacted the grand military exploits and imperial endeavours of the British monarchy to an adoring audience composed of all genders, ages and socio-economic and political backgrounds. As one spectator commented:

To enter Sadler's Wells, or Astley's Amphitheatre, or the Royal Circus, especially on what are called holidays, is to enter into the temple of English Pastime; and he who repairs thither, go when he may, should make up his mind to be for one night an Englishman. Full of the old good-humour of his forefathers, he must laugh with those who laugh, chuckle at many a rough joke, pleasantly overhear the observations made around him, and put up with occasional elbowings, together with some few treads to his toes.²⁹

Frequented primarily by more common 'John Bull' types, Astley's Amphitheatre was priced so that more than two-thirds of the available seating was affordable to people of tradesman, artisan, military, professional or other middling occupations; it was only the

²⁵ Roy Porter, *The Creation of the Modern World: The Untold Story of the British Enlightenment* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2000), 268; Kwint, *Astley's Amphitheatre*, 153.

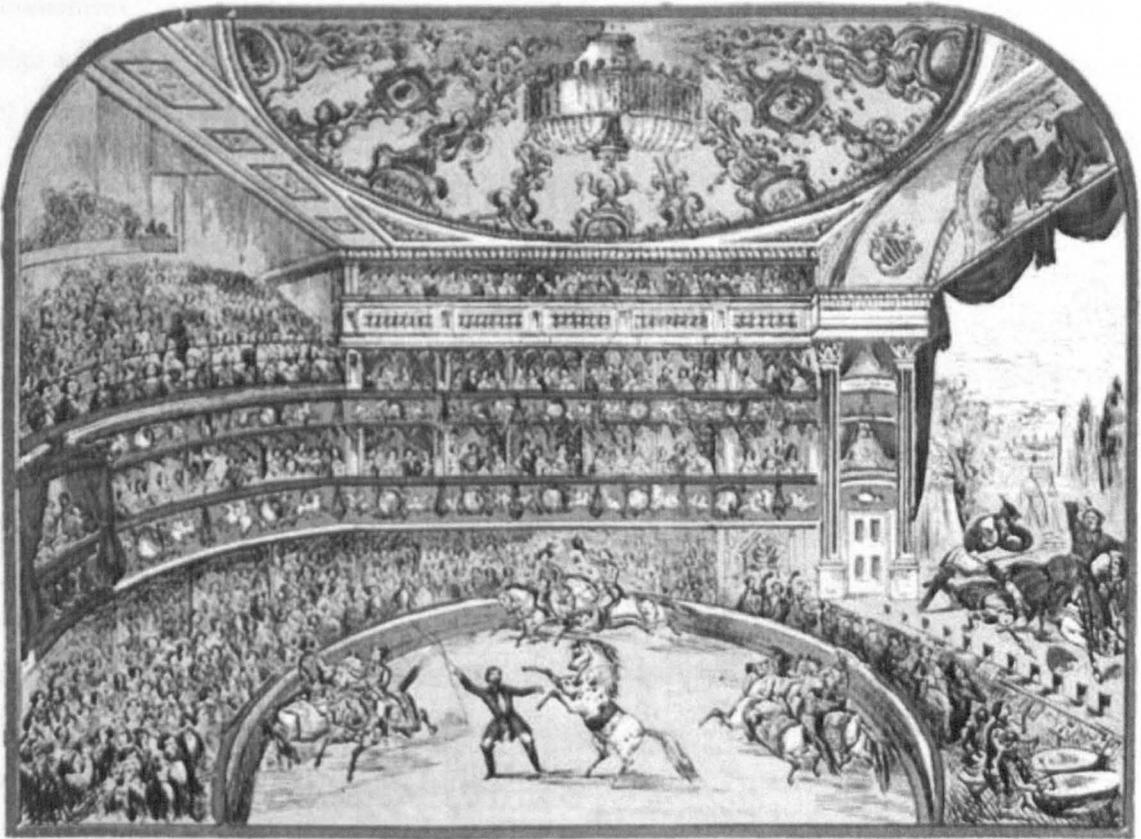
²⁶ Decastro, *Memoirs*, 30.

²⁷ Kwint, *Astley's Amphitheatre*, 153.

²⁸ The Amphitheatre burned down three times during the eighteenth century with an almost complete loss of staging and design records, and was subsequently rebuilt, and renamed, after each episode on a grander scale than the previous establishment. See Kwint for further details on the fires.

²⁹ 'Thespis,' *National Register*, (9 April, 1809), as quoted in Kwint, *Astley's Amphitheatre*, 161.

remaining third that was accessible to people of more élite or genteel rank.³⁰ While Astley and his son John did exhibit by special request before audiences composed solely of the gentry (here the acts consisted only of horsemanship), and the Amphitheatre was frequented by the landed élite as well as the royal family (in both England and France), the premises ‘was primarily and most consistently the province of the artisan and yeoman classes.’³¹



[Figure 29: Thomas Rowlandson and Augustus Pugin, ‘Astley’s Amphitheatre,’ in *The Microcosm of London*, by Rudolph Ackermann (1808-11). © V&A Theatre Museum.]

Astley straddled the classes in much the same way that he straddled the different equestrian traditions.³² Regardless of his search for the *manège* Astley continued to include men and women of diverse social backgrounds in the Amphitheatre, and he continued to address them in his publications. His 1804 *Astley’s Projects, in his Management of the Horse; Rendering it Calm on the Road, in Harness, &c.*, for example, was intended for ‘all Farriers, Horse-dealers, Grooms, Coachmen, Huntsmen, Hostlers, Postboys, and every description of Persons intrusted

³⁰ BL, ‘Astley’s Cuttings,’ vol. 2, item 123B (February 24, 1795); Kwint, *Astley’s Amphitheatre*, 78.

³¹ Kwint, *Astley’s Amphitheatre*, 79.

³² Kwint, *Astley’s Amphitheatre*, 74.

with the care of *Horses*' in the vein of Gervase Markham's publications before him.³³ However, this did not mean he cut out the élite and true horsemen from his targeted publications. Similarly to his performances of the *manège* and *haute école*, some of Astley's publications were expressly intended for those who, like 'George Prince of Wales, and Field Marshal Frederick Duke of York', were practitioners of field sports, participants in the military and performers of the tournament.³⁴ Astley's horsemanship – published or performed – was a strange mixture of the high and low, of the common and the élite, that resulted in an environment where unique forms of masculinity, femininity and human and animal could develop.

ii. DEVILISH INHUMANS

The performances of nonhuman animals with their human animal partners had a long history prior to Astley's institutionalizing them in the Amphitheatre. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, to introduce the most widely known example, Joseph Bankes had a bay horse (Figure 30). Named Morocco, he was a famous learned horse taught to count, fetch a handkerchief and pick pre-determined people out of an audience. He was also a worrying and perplexing figure in the many early-modern discussions of rationality, as Erica Fudge has argued in her *Brutal Reasoning*. According to her, Morocco was internationally known in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and inspired references in diaries, poetry, plays and almanacs.³⁵ The voice of truth in a short tract of socio-political commentary, the 1595 *Maroccus Extaticus. Or, Bankes Bay Horse in a Trance*, Morocco was 'a horse of wondrous qualitie, / For he can fight, and pisse, and daunce, and lie. / And finde your purse, and tell what coyne ye have. / But Bankes, who taught your horse to smel a knave?'³⁶ Morocco, as Fudge argues, was wondrous for the exhibition of seemingly abstract reasoning (counting for example), a human ability generally thought impossible for irrational animals.³⁷ He was an anomaly that resisted the usual categorization and understanding applied to the behaviour and cognitive abilities of

³³ Philip Astley, *Astley's Projects, in his Management of the Horse; Rendering it Calm on the Road, in Harness, &c. Such Acquirements may prevent Dreadful Accidents. Being an Abridgement of his Popular and Most Valuable Book of Equestrian Education. To which is Prefixed, Many Excellent Remedies for the Diseases in Horses, &c.* (London: Printed by T. Burton, Little Queen-Street, Lincoln's-Inn Fields. Sold by S. Creed, Agent and Publisher, No. 2, near the Amphitheatre of Arts, Westminster-Bridge Road, Lambeth; and the Principal Booksellers in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 1804). Advertisement.

³⁴ Astley, *Astley's System of Equestrian Education*, Dedication.

³⁵ Erica Fudge, *Brutal Reasoning: Animals, Rationality, and Humanity in Early Modern England* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2006), 124.

³⁶ Thomas Bastard as quoted in Eva Griffith, 'Inside and Outside: Animal Activity and the Red Bull Playhouse, St. John Street,' in *A Culture of Animals, Volume 4: Animals in the Age of Enlightenment*, ed. Mathew Senior (New York: Berg, 2007), 111.

³⁷ Fudge, *Brutal Reasoning*, 128.

nonhuman animals, even superior ones such as horses, and as a result caused many people to look for a supernatural, a magical, explanation for the seemingly impossible. Many spectators considered Bankes' performance with Morocco to be 'vnnaturall, strange, and past reason', dubbing Morocco 'a deuill' and Bankes 'a coniurer'; and as one audience member recorded in 1591, 'many people judgid that [his performances] were impossible to be don except he [Bankes] had a famyliar or don by the arte of magicke.'³⁸ It was only through contracts with the devil, with witchcraft and magic, that Morocco could 'smel a knave' or 'dance and lie'. Such opinions were so widespread and the performance of a seemingly rational animal so problematic that both man and animal were thought to have been imprisoned in Paris in 1601 for magic use and devilry (only released when Bankes showed the Paris authorities how the seeming supernatural feats were done); and it was rumoured that some critics may even have gone so far as to burn them both at the stake for witchcraft in Rome at the Pope's command during the 1630s.³⁹



[Figure 30: 'Untitled,' in *Maroccus Extaticus. Or, Bankes Bay Horse in a Trance*, by John Dando and Harrie Runt (1595), 7 of 26.]

³⁸ Gervase Markham, *Cavelarice, or The English horseman contayning all the arte of horse-manship, as much as is necessary for any man to vnderstand, whether he be horse-breeder, horse-ryder, horse-hunter, horse-runner, horse-ambler, horse-farrier, horse-keeper, coachman, smith, or sadler* (London: Printed [by Edward Allde and W. Jaggard] for Edward White, and are to be solde at his shop neare the little north doore of Saint Paules Church at the signe of the Gun, 1607), Book Eight, 26; John Dando and Harrie Runt, *Maroccus Extaticus. Or, Bankes Bay Horse in a Trance* ([London ?]: Printed for Cuthbert Burby, 1595), 17 of 26; a Salop woman who saw Bankes as quoted in Fudge, *Brutal Reasoning*, 128.

³⁹ Griffith, 'Inside and Outside,' 111.

While most scholars are suspicious of the truth of this event, and Kevin Ornellas outright refutes it, for some of Bankes' contemporaries the rumoured manner of the pair's death was entirely valid because of their audacious performances.⁴⁰ It was recorded as early as 1610 by Ben Jonson that 'Old Banks the juggler, our Pythagoras, / Grave tutor to the learned horse. Both which, / Being, beyond sea, burned for one witch'.⁴¹ For Jonson, man and horse were thought of and put to death as one being, as one witch, rather than separate human and nonhuman animals. Erica Fudge interprets Jonson's reference to Pythagoras in this passage as a comic representation of the transmigration of souls from 'man to beast, and out of beast ... man.'⁴² However, if we place Jonson's reference to Pythagoras and Pythagoras' views on the exchange of rational and animal souls beside Jonson's earlier description of Cavendish as a dual-natured Centaur, Bankes and Morocco emerge not as comic figures who play at being devilish but as ideally Centauric in their own right. They emerge, then, as one being composed of both animal and human souls, and as one being clearly capable of reason, intelligence and almost supernatural clairvoyance of sight – they can see the knave regardless of how well he is hidden behind a veneer of civility.⁴³ Unlike the Cavendish-esque Centaur, Bankes and Morocco are discussed as inhuman, supernatural and beastly. Their abilities, along with the rumoured method of their death, makes clear for Fudge 'a fascination ... with the mere potential of animal intelligence',⁴⁴ but also, I argue, a deep anxiety about its presence, about the power of the man who could make such cognition possible and, most importantly, a similar disjunction between Vineyard and non-Vineyard understanding (or scholastic knowledge as Cavendish put it) of horse-human relationships and animal cognition that we saw in Chapter II.

While those who did not enjoy knowledge in horsemanship tended to view Bankes and Morocco as magical, unnatural or devilish, for horsemen of the sixteenth century the magic of Bankes was easily understood and copied as equestrian skill. Gervase Markham in his 1607 *Cavelarice* followed in Bankes' footsteps and provided his readers with precise instructions on how to train their horses to perform like Morocco. For him, 'ALthough *La Broue* do much discommend and dispraise the teaching of a horse to do these vnnecessary and vnnaturall actions

⁴⁰ Kevin de Omellas, *Troping the Horse in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Ph.D. Dissertation: Queen's University, Belfast, 2002), 134.

⁴¹ Ben Jonson, 'On the Famous Voyage,' in *The Works of Ben Jonson* (London: Elibron Classics, Adamant Media Corporation, 2005), 261; Fudge, *Brutal Reasoning*, 127.

⁴² Ovid's *Metamorphosis* as quoted in Fudge, *Brutal Reasoning*, 127.

⁴³ For information on the ongoing and frequently contentious discussions on animal souls see: Rod Preece, *Brute Souls, Happy Beasts and Evolution: The Historical Status of Animals* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2005); Londa Scheibinger, *Gender in the Making of Modern Science* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993).

⁴⁴ Fudge, *Brutal Reasoning*, 140.

which more properly do be long to Dogges, Apes, Munkies, and Baboones,' since 'Mens natures are so apt to delight in nouelties,' and 'because these vnprofitable toyes shew in a Horse an extraordinary capacity, an obseruant feare, and an obedyent loue, all which are to be esteemed worthy qualities', he provided the information.⁴⁵ Taught on the principles of horsemanship used in more 'traditional' training, teaching a horse tricks was not overtly difficult for Markham and was considered useful for a horseman to know in order to garner 'admiration' from spectators; however, the abilities of Bankes and Morocco, along with other trained trick horses, were not universally applauded as Markham's refutation of La Broue's views indicates. Cavendish followed La Broue and typically thought that it was only 'the Ignorant' that 'Admire' horses 'like Bankes's Horse', and that such people who 'Teach Horses Tricks, and Gambals' 'shall never Teach a Horse to Go Well in the Mannage.'⁴⁶ Even with that said, Cavendish was not under the impression that Morocco and Bankes performed anything other than what all horsemen could exhibit. For these horsemen, arguably among the most famous and influential of their age, Bankes and Morocco were not that unusual; any horseman with the inclination and understanding of training methodologies could instruct their horses to perform acts of rationality, understanding and the seemingly magical.

The popularity for teaching horses tricks so problematic for the unknowledgeable in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was embraced in the mid to late eighteenth century by Philip Astley and his troop of learned horses.⁴⁷ As a result, and perhaps unsurprisingly, in the late eighteenth century the controversy over animal cognition, rationality and human supernatural ability in trick performance again makes an appearance. Indeed, the eighteenth century was the period of increasing understanding of animal cognitive abilities and of the growing animal rights movement, and 'by the eighteenth century,' many 'intellectuals' influenced by Lockean philosophy were 'claiming that animals had some degree of sentient feelings and cognitive abilities (how much exactly remained a contentious point), although at a level obviously inferior to human beings'⁴⁸ Even with this being said, most philosophers remained followers, to some extent, as Jacques Derrida and Aaron Garrett have shown, of Cartesian thought and sceptical of

⁴⁵ Markham, *Cauelarice*. Book Eight, 27-28.

⁴⁶ William Cavendish, *A new method, and extraordinary invention, to dress horses, and work them according to nature* (London: Tho. Milbourn, 1667), 157.

⁴⁷ 'Hughes and his Little Devils' performed similar feats of horsemanship and equine trickery as Astley, and were also described in the same magical and devilish language as a result. BL, *Collectanea*, vol. IV, f.45 (*Morning Post*, 14 July, 1787).

⁴⁸ Jean-Luc Guichet, 'Animality and Anthropology in Jean-Jacques Rousseau,' trans. Richard Byrne *A Cultural History of Animals in the Age of Enlightenment*, ed. Matthew Senior (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2007), 148-149; Nathaniel Wolloch, 'Rousseau and the Love of Animals,' *Philosophy and Literature* 32 no. 2 (October 2008): 293.

animal rationality in any form – their ability to respond rather than react to external stimuli.⁴⁹ Such views were widely acknowledged – as in Cavendish's time – by those of non-Vineyard status, and by many in Astley's audience who maintained, unlike Astley who 'considered' the horse 'a reasonable animal' that can 'reflect' on its handling, that animals were unable to perform the feats that they witnessed on stage; the common human assumption remained that they simply were not equipped to do so, however much equine rationality might be a talking point among those who wished to justify improvements to animal welfare.⁵⁰

As such, the human-animal relationships negotiated in the Amphitheatre were described as mutual, if hierarchical, partnerships, and were predicated on the horse's 'EXTRAORDINARY SAGACITY' in much the same way as early animal rights theorists conceptualized the ideal human-animal relationship.⁵¹ Astley, I argue, followed Francis Hutcheson's proto-animal rights arguments of the early century (the movement for which did not take off in England until the last decade of the century) in which both human and animal were 'capable of forming evolving, providentially-governed, *moral communities*' based on a sense of 'benevolence' towards others in his own Amphitheatre performances. In Hutcheson's theorization 'we have affinities to animals, and animals to us' as moral beings in a reciprocal partnership. As Aaron Garrett shows, in this argument both man and horse share passions, and both seek happiness in their lives,⁵² and for Astley, I argue, together both man and horse sought to improve their reputation, morals and to enact their social duties – the source of happiness – for the betterment of the other and for the benefit of the nation:

In tournaments and Equestrian Exercises, his fire and his courage are irresistible. Amid his boldest exertions, he is equally collected and tractable; not obeying his own impetuosity, all his efforts and his actions are guided solely by his rider. Indeed, such is the greatness of his obedience, that he appears to consult nothing but how he shall best please, and, if possible, anticipate what his master wishes and requires. Every impression he receives, has a responsive and implicit obedience; he darts forward,

⁴⁹ Aaron Garrett, 'Francis Hutcheson and the Origin of Animal Rights,' *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 45 no. 2 (April 2007): 244. Jacques Derrida also points this out, but goes a step further by arguing that no philosopher from Descartes onward has been free of his mechanizing theories. Derrida, *The Animal That (Therefore) I Am*, 32.

⁵⁰ Philip Astley, *Astley's Projects, in his Management of the Horse; Rendering it Calm on the Road, in Harness, &c. Such Acquirements may prevent Dreadful Accidents. Being an Abridgement of his Popular and Most Valuable Book of Equestrian Education. To which is Prefixed, Many Excellent Remedies for the Diseases in Horses, &c.* (London: Printed by T. Burton, Little Queen-Street, Lincoln's-Inn Fields. Sold by S. Creed, Agent and Publisher, No. 2, near the Amphitheatre of Arts, Westminster-Bridge Road, Lambeth; and the Principal Booksellers in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 1804), xiv, 11.

⁵¹ Astley, *Astley's System of Equestrian Education*, 13.

⁵² Garrett, 'Francis Hutcheson,' 258-259, 251.

checks his ardour, and stops at command; the pleasures attendant upon his own existence he renounces, or rather centers them in the pleasure and satisfaction of man.⁵³

Astley's horses had 'implicit obedience' to their human master, and sought to perform their 'duty' to him at every opportunity.⁵⁴ As such, horses sought nothing more from life than to make their masters happy by allowing themselves to be guided by human will; like Cavendish's covenants where horses willed their obedience and their subjugation. However, for Astley there was no accompanying discourse or experience of Centauric one will and one body, or of Hobbesian political theory. Horses for Astley were unique beings possessing the 'courage of the lion, the fleetness of the deer, the strength of the ox, and the docility of the spaniel', while also functioning as 'both our slave and our guardian'.

By his aid, men become more acquainted with each other; he not only bears us through foreign climes, but likewise labours in the culture of our soil; draws our burthens [sic] and ourselves; carries us for our amusement and our exercise; and both in the sports of the field and the turf, exerts himself with an emulation, that evinces how eagerly he is ambitious to please and gratify the desires of his master.

Indeed, horses give 'profit to the poor, and pleasure to the rich; in our health he forwards our concerns, and in our sickness lends his willing assistance for our recovery.'⁵⁵ They were there for human usage, benefit, profit, socialization, health, safety and happiness, and being both slave and guardian, for Astley, made horses happy. Man could not fail but be happy with such a partner, but the status of slave – along with its connotations of a lack of will similar to liberty discourses discussed in the previous chapter – was worrying for some critics. As Ingrid Tague argues, 'Animal slavery was seen as essential to human survival, but the language of slavery also created unease in a period when Britons increasingly saw "liberty" as one of the hallmarks of their national character.' Much like the horses of the *manège*, who were thought to suffer under despotic rule rather than liberating forward movement of the new Vineyard, slavery of man and animal was also frequently described in the language of tyranny and oppression.

In this discourse, because man and animal shared feelings and sentiment, all riding, regardless of notions of liberty enacted in riding style, had the potential to be tyrannous because of nonhuman obedience, sometimes forced, to the will of their masters; however, where abolitionists and some animal rights advocates saw a paradox between the freedom of animals as fellow feelers to man and their status as slaves under man's tyranny, many natural historians 'saw such slavery as essential to human survival'. Thus, like the dog, horses were essential to the

⁵³ Astley, *Astley's System of Equestrian Education*, 10-11.

⁵⁴ Astley, *Astley's System of Equestrian Education*, 20.

⁵⁵ Astley, *Astley's System of Equestrian Education*, 9-10.

happiness, protection and livelihood of humans, as Mrs. Coltman's mare was for her mistress and many horses of the new-school Vineyard were for their masters.⁵⁶ By shewing 'how brutes by humans were design'd / To be in full subjection to mankind,' apparent tyranny for some, Astley's performances visualized who among the Amphitheatre performers was the most skilled, who was most able to master and instruct the nonhuman animals and who was able to make his business enterprise – legitimate or not – prosper.⁵⁷

However, even with the growing support for the many doctrines, of which the proto-animal rights movement was but one, that ascribed sentience, feeling and rational thought to animals, there still was not room for nonhumans who could perform the seemingly impossible or the inherently human without creating discomfort or worry over their status as brute kind. Astley's horses could reason, like Cavendish's before him, but unlike Cavendish's nonhumans they were sagacious animals capable of becoming worryingly human. They could tell time, sit at a table, serve tea and read people's minds; they did more than reason the solution to a problem using analogous methods to humans, and instead for many seemingly crossed the line between what was normative human and animal cognitive capability. As a result, and sharing many similarities with Bankes, Astley was reputedly accused of working with and even embodying the Devil by those not versed in horsemanship knowledge. As one journalist complained: 'What a wicked age this is, and likely to continue so! for no less than two thousand persons nightly walk and ride to the Devil – at Astley's.'⁵⁸ Similarly, as the *Extract of a letter from the Brussels Gazette, March 6* related:

Astley and his troop are the general topic of conversation here in all the polite circles and assemblies; and true it is, there never was his equal seen in Brussels; all those who have been here before him in his line, are in comparison to him, what a puppet shew is to a good play. The surprising feats performed by his troop, and especially by his inimitable son, appear to some, to be the *ne plus ultra* of the art of horsemanship and equestrian exercises, while other people, of weaker minds, imagine them to be supernatural, and that they are really assisted by a little magic.⁵⁹

It was only 'other people, of weaker minds,' those who made up the bulk of Astley's audience, who 'imagine' Astley's feats of horsemanship to be magical. As such, the visuality of the nonhuman equine animal at Astley's often resulted in a 'delighted astonishment which is tainted by the suspicion that spectacularly visible accomplishment could readily be associated with

⁵⁶ Ingrid H. Tague, 'Companions, Servants, or Slaves? Considering Animals in Eighteenth-Century Britain,' *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture* 39 (2010): 113-114, 116, 118, 123.

⁵⁷ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, item 35 (manuscript note for newspaper puff: 11 June, 1768, for publication on Saturday, 20 June).

⁵⁸ As quoted in Stoddart, *Rings of Desire*, 66.

⁵⁹ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. I, item 927 (23 March, 1787).

devilry in disguise' for an audience made up of the 'common' sort susceptible to wonder, disbelief and superstition.⁶⁰ Astley understood the methods of Bankes, like other horsemen, like others of similar insider or Vineyard knowledge who could see Astley's practice of skilful training in the art of horsemanship and equestrian exercises, and used them to produce seemingly unnatural, rational, intelligent humans and human-like animals.⁶¹

As such, the nonhuman animals of the Amphitheatre were also not the same as those horses outside of it regardless of the similarities in discourse used to portray them; the language of the Amphitheatre described horses who were more-than, elevated above other animals. The nonhuman horse, and other nonhuman animals of the Amphitheatre, became rational, feeling human-animals capable of 'perfection' and 'obedience' to their master in a manner that was analogous to Cavendish's formulation of ideal horse behaviour; however, here this perfection and obedience were elevated to the level of myth in a popular and commercial register. Through masquerade, the masking of the animal in taking on the human-animal other, the nonhuman performers of the Amphitheatre adopted human abilities, thoughts, behaviour and characters that in turn elevated them over others in natural brute creation. They were able to perform 'wonders' and were 'surprising' in their 'magical capacity'; they became monstrous, rational to the point that their trainer was accused of devilry.⁶²

For Helen Stoddart, accusations of devilry levelled against Astley contained 'tongue-in-cheek humour', as had been the case with Bankes, and resulted in 'no serious moral implication' for him or his Amphitheatre. While there certainly was a comedic element in the accusations (and in the advertising that used them to advantage), there was also an undercurrent of insecurity and doubt; Astley was eager to avoid any negative press that would provide fodder for those outspoken against the Amphitheatre and other illegitimate theatres, especially during the times of uncertain legality when his Amphitheatre was under constant threat of closure under the Theatre Licensing Acts. The many accusations of devilry even resulted in the issuing of a warrant and subsequent arrest for Astley, who was then sent to Bridewell for trial on the charge of 'dealing with the Devil' along with his 'Servants, Horse and Foot' in 1765.⁶³ Accusations of demonic involvement, of inhumanity or of the supernatural – for man or beast – did have tangible consequences for Astley's reputation, life and business success. As a result, Astley took great

⁶⁰ Stoddart, *Rings of Desire*, 66-67.

⁶¹ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, item 927 (23 March, 1787).

⁶² BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 3, items 743 (15 November, 1819), 875 (March 1823), and 1354 (14 April, 1833).

⁶³ Philip Astley, *Natural Magic: or, Physical Amusements Revealed, ...* (London: Printed for the Author, and sold by all the Booksellers in England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1785), 9.

pains to maintain the surprising and spectacular nature of his equestrian work while making it clear that it was through training and practice that the animals performed the seemingly impossible. He endeavoured not only to implement his methods in the Amphitheatre ring, but also to show the uninitiated common sort (he gave lectures after his horses had performed and even invited interested parties to his riding house for personal instruction in the training of their own horses) what he or his horses did was not supernatural, simply the result of a lifetime of work and knowledge that only seemed superhuman.⁶⁴ As he argued in one puff: 'It is remarked by a correspondent, that most places of public amusement are obliged to have several Devils to their aid, while Astley refuses all such diabolical assistance, and is playing the Devil by relying upon Terrestrial Excellence.'⁶⁵ It was through his 'Terrestrial Excellence' working with horses and ability to spectacularize this ability as a showman (playing the Devil) that he was able to appear more than human, supernatural, superhuman, to those not versed in Vineyard knowledge.

In addition to these gestures of reassurance, Astley also, on the surface, sought to uphold the impression that firm species boundaries were in place during his often worrying and highly anthropomorphic horse-man performances. He worked to alleviate the fear of the non-initiated that not only was he fully human, but that his animals were just that - animals. Even though in some Amphitheatre acts horses seemingly performed feats of conjuring, counting or other anthropomorphic activities on their own, actions that appeared to blur and somewhat suppress species boundaries,⁶⁶ their wondrous actions were intentionally and consistently advertised as fabulous for a *nonhuman* animal. As a savvy businessman, Astley used the defamations to his advantage in order to create curiosity, excitement and advertising while making it clear that he had gained complete control over the nonhuman animal within the horse-human working relationship as a being above animals on the species hierarchy should.⁶⁷ In 1772, for example, 'the little conjuring Horse' (taken from an earlier performance by Mr. Zucker and his 'Little Learn'd Horse') was the first act in the Amphitheatre that led to charges of devilry.⁶⁸ While acknowledging the horse's 'Abilities' were 'really curious' and which 'far surpass human Conception', Astley was anxious to ensure his readers/audience that it was a 'most amazing

⁶⁴ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, item 54 (1772); Astley, *Natural Magic*, 9.

⁶⁵ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, item 918 (1786).

⁶⁶ Kwint, *Astley's Amphitheatre*, 328-331.

⁶⁷ Stoddart also briefly points out Astley's business acumen and ability to turn the accusations to his monetary advantage through advertisement, *Rings of Desire*, 66-67.

⁶⁸ Mr. Zucker performed with his horse – remarkably similar feats of devilry – at 'Exeter change'. BL, *Collectanea*, vol. II, f.69 (4 December, 1759). Astley's act was also called 'Astley's little learned Horse' or 'the little Military Horse', and introduced to the Amphitheatre bill in the first year of Astley's performances.

Animal' that seemingly performed the impossible.⁶⁹ The 'learned MILITARY LITTLE HORSE' was advertised as able to perform the 'most extraordinary and uncommon exhibitions':

This little animal will prove his abilities to be far superior to any horse in the kingdom; he readily answers various questions, tells gold from silver, and its value, ladies from gentlemen, &c. Mr. Astley borrows a handkerchief, which the horse carries in his mouth, and tells the person it was borrowed from; he strikes with his foot the hour of the day, day of the month; he pleases and deceives the eye with different deceptions—He falls lame, shams a pain in his head, imitates sickness, and, on being told he is to fight for the Spaniards, he lays down as if dead; but on the contrary, being told he is to go to Germany, with his master and Elliot's dragoons, he rises and fires a pistol, as if he understood word for word.⁷⁰

Trained to imitate the behaviour and thinking of other species, the Little Military Horse was able to lie and deceive the audience, manage the mechanics of a pistol, and was able to understand not only human speech but his position as a patriotically English animal; the horse, as well as the many other equine performers that played the sagacious nonhuman, were ambiguous, transgressive and threatening figures for human-animal categorization.

The attempted boundary solidification so necessary to the maintaining of Astley as a figure of wonder and curiosity, rather than devilry and uncertainty, was not unique to the Amphitheatre environment, but was a part of a larger, scientifically driven, social movement towards hardened categorization. According to Dror Wahrman, there was a general weakening of the doctrine of humans being unique, in opposition to other animals, during the last quarter of the eighteenth century; it was a weakening that was caused, paradoxically, by advances in the knowledge of animals that showed their previously-unrecognised similarity to humanity – especially in the case of apes. It was precisely this similitude that resulted in a drawing away, a solidifying of boundaries, and a reaffirmation of human/animal division on the great chain of being; a division based partially on verbal speech, the possession of a rational soul, as we have seen, and superior rational morality.⁷¹ Boundary transgression of the type experienced and embodied by Cavendish was frequently considered impossible by the time Astley was performing a century later. In 1774, for example, Oliver Goldsmith argued that 'in the ascent from brutes to man, the line is strongly drawn, well marked, and unpassable'; and William Bingley remarked in 1809 that 'the barrier which separates men from brutes is fixed and

⁶⁹ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, items 54, 70 and 80 (all 1772).

⁷⁰ British Library, Philip Astley, 'Miscellanea Collection,' Scrapbook, 1879.c.13.(25)., f.25.

⁷¹ Dror Wahrman, *Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 127-145.

immutable'.⁷² Within this intellectual climate it was frequently no longer feasible or acceptable for society to entertain ideas of human-animal cross-border migration; Mary Toft could no longer give birth to rabbits, the ideal of the Centaur was no longer a possibility, and learned horses, while they 'Admiring circles ever justly draw, / And raise e'vn brutes beyond the brutal law',⁷³ remained animal.

All of these ideas and visualities are clearly illustrated on the handbill for the granting of Royal Letters Patent for 'Mr. ASTLEY's new Method of training Horses for Road, Field, his Majesty's Service, &c' in 1782 (Figure 31).⁷⁴ Arranged in a circle, like the imagery from Cavendish's own *New Method*, the horses in the handbill are illustrated as bowing down (in some cases lying or sitting down) to the superior mastery of their handlers – men and women both. However, even though on the surface it appears that the members of the 'DETACHMENT' of riders are the ones working with and asserting their superiority over the horses, the positioning of Astley in the centre of the ring – as Cavendish was – points to a different interpretation. Instead of all members of the troop being true horseman and horsewomen in their own right, they and their horses are acting out the will and skill of the masterful Astley. Standing with his hat doffed at the end of a performance, he not only commands the appreciation of the audience for his feats, but he also commands the understanding that he was the one who was their trainer. As this handbill makes clear, it was Astley who held the patent for their training. It was Astley alone who could train 'Dancing on Horseback equal to the first Stage Dancers in *Europe*' while demonstrating 'Wonderful Sagacity, in various Horses, taught to fetch and carry like a Dog, kneel down, sit up, and otherwise remarkable docile and obedient'.⁷⁵ The human-animal actors of the Amphitheatre were visualized through their relationships on stage and in this print as being more intelligent, rational and brave than the humans and animals removed from the ring. The 'brute creation, under the management of an Astley, seems to have the gift of reason, and humanity seems to be the out-work'.⁷⁶ It was Astley who was a master of the manly exercises whether he was present during the performances or not, and it was Astley who – because of his superior status and knowledge as a 'Riding-Master' – was (according to his own propaganda) a

⁷² Oliver Goldsmith, *An History of the Earth, and Animated Nature*, 8 vols., 1774, and William Bingley, *Memoirs of British Quadrupeds*, 1809, as quoted in Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*, 138, 141.

⁷³ BL, *Collectanea*, vol. IV, f.30 (*Evening Herald*, 20 February, 1788).

⁷⁴ [Philip Astley], Handbill, c. August, 1782, *Circus and Allied Arts: A World Bibliography, 4 Volumes*, Raymond Toole Stott, (Derby: 1958-71), vol. 3. For further information on Astley's patent, and its role in Amphitheatre advertising, see: BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, items 386 (20 August, 1782), 399 (29 August, 1782) and 412 (1 April, 1782).

⁷⁵ [Astley], Handbill, c. August, 1782, *Circus and Allied Arts*.

⁷⁶ BL, *Collectanea*, v. IV, f.32 (12 May, 1789).

By His Majesty's Royal Letters Patent;
GRANTED TO
PHILIP ASTLEY, Riding-Master,



This Day, precisely at Four o'Clock
In a commodious Place

A DETACHMENT from the
Royal Riding-School, *Westminster-Bridge, London,*

Will exhibit a Variety of

MANLY EXERCISES,

With the Horse, from the Horse, and on the Horse,

PARTICULARLY

Dancing on Horseback equal to the first Stage Dancers in *Europe*.
Wonderful Sagacity, in various Horses, taught to fetch and carry like
a Dog, kneel down, sit up, and otherwise remarkable docile and obedient;
all of which have been instructed by Mr. ASTLEY's new Method
of training Horses for Road, Field, his Majesty's Service, &c. and for
which Invention his Majesty has been pleased to grant to Mr. ASTLEY,
Riding-Master, his Royal Letters Patent.

The EQUESTRIAN EXERCISES,

Will be divided into Four Parts, in Relief to which a Variety of

T U M B L I N G

The Taylor riding to Brentford, the Exhibition of the Clown, a Meta-
morphosis on two Horses, called, the *Frolick in the Sack*, a Peasant Dance,
a Hornpipe, Flag Dance, &c. all on full speed, never seen in this County.

First Seats Two Shillings, Second Seats One Shilling.

N. B. Our stay will be put two or three Days.

[Figure 31: Philip Astley, Handbill (n.d.), in *Circus and Allied Arts: A World Bibliography, 4 Volumes*, by Raymond Toole Stott, (1958-71), vol. 3.]

member of the Vineyard with Henry Herbert and Philip Sydney. The nonhuman actors performed the wills of their trainer as slaves and protectors, and through their training gained humanity for themselves and came to embody the reputation and masculinity of their human-animal masters, as we will see. As Cavendish's mounts made visible his superior governing abilities (over himself and his horses) and by extension his honourable manliness, the nonhuman actors of the Amphitheatre made visible on stage, embodied even, the skill, knowledge, military prowess and mastery of their masculine masters who in turn made visible their proper gendering through this performance. Through their seemingly supernatural, magical and devilish feats of more-than-human and more-than-animal, the horses and men of the Amphitheatre together performed 'MANLY EXERCISES, With the Horse, from the Horse, and on the Horse'.

iii. 'SINGULAR AND MANLY ACTIVITY ON HORSEBACK'

Along with the horses of the Amphitheatre and their visualized symbolisms that were central to Astley's construction of the self as a public figure of entertainment, Astley's Amphitheatre marketed and established itself on the embodied reputations of its principal performers/managers. From his earliest performances in pub yards, Astley determinedly and vociferously advertised the merits of his performances based on his own history and reputation as a firmly patriotic man of the army, including re-enacting his past experiences under General Elliot, and once he had become more established within London society, as a horseman of the *manège*.⁷⁷ As Felicity Nussbaum has shown in the case of English actresses, so also Astley's figure in the Amphitheatre contained both the imagined body of his adopted public character and his own personal or private body as a discharged member of Elliot's dragoons. As Nussbaum argues:

the theatre challenged the boundary between public and private, between the virtual and the real, as ordinarily clandestine domestic affairs and political intrigue spilled over into the larger public culture. The "interiority effect," the theatricalized intimacy that produced a simulacrum of complexity and depth, evolved into a commodity that actresses [and actors] transacted with audiences and traded upon.⁷⁸

In the Amphitheatre, it was not the intriguing domesticity or even captivating politics of Astley that fascinated audiences, but the adopted, projected, private persona of Astley as a former

⁷⁷ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, item 13 (manuscript note for newspaper puff: 20 May, 1768, for publication on 31 June).

⁷⁸ Nussbaum, *Rival Queens*, 45; Nussbaum, 'Actresses and the Economics of Celebrity, 1700-1800,' *Theatre and Celebrity in Britain, 1660-2000*, eds. Mary Luckhurst and Jane Moody (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 150.

member of the army and veteran of the Seven Years War that was made public. Like the eighteenth-century actress, Astley also played with an ‘interiority effect’ that allowed him to become one of the most famous illegitimate theatre owners in London and an internationally renowned horseman. He was, as Dibdin recalled and Astley vociferously visualized:

a perfect exemplar of Industry, perseverance, and enterprise; was originally a Bedsteadmaker, enlisted in the celebrated General Elliot’s own Light Horse; to whom he endeared himself by his discipline and bravery; he served in the German War; saved the life of one of the imperial Princes, whose horse was shot under him, by bringing him off, on his own Horse, when surrounded by a score frenchmen [sic], through whom he cut his way with the most heroic resolution. He also took a Stand of Colours; and at the siege of Valenciennes, (after his discharge) where he served as a Volunteer under the late Duke of York, he recovered from the French a piece of Ordnance and four Horses which they had taken; they were presented to him by his Royal Highness as a recompense for his gallantry. He put the Horses up to auction; expending their produce for the comfort of a company of his old comrades (Elliot’s) who were in the English Army, and whom he had joined. The Cannon he brought over to England and exhibited to the audience in the circle of his amphitheatre at Westminster Bridge.⁷⁹

Astley was a national hero, and it was this intentional publicization of the self that allowed Astley and other actors of the Amphitheatre to embrace characters and acts potentially harmful to their performed masculinities or those which were dangerous for their perceived devilry and species transgression. The human-animal actor of the Amphitheatre (like the nonhuman animal partners) was an intentionally ambiguous character; a character capable of extreme metamorphosis during the course of the evenings performances and even within one act.

Take, as an example, one of the Amphitheatre’s longest running horse performances, ‘The Taylor riding to Brentford; or, the Unaccountable Sagacity of the Taylor’s Horse’ – later expanded as ‘The Tailor’s Disaster’ and ‘The Hunted Tailor’).⁸⁰ This act, first introduced to the stage by Astley in July 1768, was later the subject of William Cowper’s popular 1785 poem *The Entertaining and Facetious History of John Gilpin* (itself subsequently adapted to the circus stage), which described the equestrian adventures of ‘a Linen-drapeer bold’ from London.⁸¹ Both accounts of the Taylor burlesqued the story of a Wilkesite clothier, and Astley’s renditions

⁷⁹ Dibdin, *Memoirs*, 26.

⁸⁰ BL, ‘Astley’s Cuttings,’ vol. 1, item 138 (1777); BL, ‘Astley’s Cuttings,’ vol. 3, items 165 (11 May, 1808) and 170 (16 May, 1808).

⁸¹ William Cowper, *The Entertaining and Facetious History of John Gilpin*, (As humourously delivered by Mr. Henderson, with repeated Applause, at the Free-Masons Tavern,) shewing how he went farther than he intended, and came home safe at last (London: n.p., 1785). In 1786 this poem was performed as a dance at the Royal Circus, and was the subject of the anonymous *Mrs. Gilpin’s Return, Being the Sequel to Jonny Gilpin of Cheapside* (London: Printed for Edward Wallis, No. 42, Skinner Street, Snow Hill, By T. Davis, 102, Minories, n.d.). BL, ‘Astley’s Cuttings,’ vol. 1, item 801 (11 May, 1786).

became firm audience favourites for the next eighty years.⁸² The performance of the Taylor in the ring took on a few different forms over the eighteenth century, including having the part of the tailor played by a monkey in order to illustrate to its fullest extent the tailor as a 'bad horseman', but it seems to have begun as an illustration of a horse's ability to see and understand true masculinity and virtue.⁸³ In a newspaper report on Astley's it was recorded that the act involved a horse, 'called Formidable Jack,' who had 'been trained so as to withstand every horseman dressed in the garb of a tailor (those gentlemen being equally singular in their dress and bad horsemanship) is nevertheless gentle and governable to every other horseman.' If a man dressed in the garb of a tailor approached the animal, Jack 'kicks, rears up, and by every means he can, fights the tailor, runs at him, tears his coat, lays hold of his whip with his teeth, and effectually masters his adversary, the tailor.'⁸⁴ In this act, and in the many subsequent incarnations of it, the tailor is portrayed and understood not only to be comic but also to be foppish, useless and emasculated. It was through the acting abilities of Jack as a nonhuman animal that the humanity and the masculinity of the human-animal co-actor were established. Similarly to what Michael Baret argued for mounted horse-man relationships, as we saw in Chapter II, within the Amphitheatre it was the physical actions (adopted persona) of the horse that made the internal qualities (masculinity or its lack) of the human-animal doubly clear to the viewing audience. It was only once the rider had revealed himself as a true horseman that Jack would submit to his rule; it was only the normatively masculine who were by nature elevated above nonhuman animal being with the tailor (and other effeminate men) naturally below.

A horseman outside of the Amphitheatre was required to possess certain skills, abilities, knowledge, internal qualities and self control in order to gain and keep mastery over his nonhuman partner, and it was no different for Astley. It was the horse that made the true interiority and self of the horseman visible, but in the Amphitheatre there was room to embellish this self for personal gain. The super-nonhuman horses of the Amphitheatre, as the Little Learned Horse showed, were also thought to be able to act, in the sense of perform theatrically,

⁸² George Speaight, 'Some Comic Circus Entrées,' *Theatre Notebook* 32 (1978): 24-27; Kwint, *Astley's Amphitheatre*, 19.

⁸³ BL, *Collectanea*, vol. IV, f.21 (*Gazetteer*, 27 December, 1768). Francis Grose defined a tailor as: 'TAYLOR, nine taylors make a man, an ancient and common saying originating from the effeminacy of their employment; or as some have it from nine taylors having been robbed by one man; according to others from the speech of a woollen-draper, meaning that the custom of nine taylors would make or enrich one man.' Francis Grose, *Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (London: printed for S. Hooper, 1785), TER. By the middle of the nineteenth century the designation of 'tailor' could stand on its own as shorthand for poor horsemanship and questionable masculinity: R.S. Surtees. *Ask Mamma: or The Richest Commoner in England* (London: The Folio Society, 1954), 260.

⁸⁴ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, item 525 (8 December, 1783).

or feign – unlike equines in previous horse-man relationships. In studies of nonhuman animal performance (in this instance the physical enactment of becoming other, or the conscious effecting of more-than being), the animal is frequently ascribed a lack of understanding, a naturalness, an inability to act in the human sense while before a viewing audience.⁸⁵ Building from current socio-biological theories of animal training and ‘natural’ behaviour, animals are often thought to be unable to ‘sustain fictive bodies and effect a consciously ironic meta-braiding of a not-self with a not-not-self’.⁸⁶ They are unable to adopt other personas, to change their physical actions, in order to create a visible identity different from their ‘natural’ state. In short, there is no culture in the natural animal; they make ‘lousy actors’ for most scholars who have questioned the performing nonhuman.⁸⁷ David Williams also points out the inability of most scholars to recognize the performativity of animals on stage, and suggests that instead of entertaining the idea of their possible understanding and enacting of performance or acting from an othered, alien position with its own intelligence and ways of speaking, scholars should adopt yet another definition of performance. For Williams, building on performance-theorist Jerzy Grotowski’s characterization of a human actor’s ‘psycho-physical organicity’, an animal in its very beingness is ‘already doing.’ Here it is the physical presence and doingness of the animal’s body, and the human’s interaction with it, that call up something else, something more, in both human animals and nonhuman animals. When interacting with a horse, when learning the language of equine feeling, it is the human’s animal interiority that is touched and called up, while the animal comes to understand and respond to the human. However, while this definition and approach to performance do allow for recognizing the becoming of the other and hearing the other speak, this model still relies, I would argue, on a Cartesian formulation of horse intelligence and being that have been reduced to the level of response only. There is no active participation of the animal in situational interpretation and physical modification or movement according to its conclusions while on stage. For both Williams and Grotowski the animal thinks ‘with its body, short-circuiting the gap between internal impulse and external action; being is already doing.’ There is no conscious becoming other, performing the other or something more than the self.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ See *Performance Research*’s special issue on animals for examples of this meta-conceptualization of nonhuman performers. *Performance Research* 5 no. 2 (Summer 2000).

⁸⁶ David Williams, ‘The Right Horse, The Animal Eye – Bartabas and Théâtre Zingaro,’ *Performance Research* 5 no. 2 (Summer 2000): 35.

⁸⁷ Laurie Anderson as quoted in Williams, ‘The Right Horse, The Animal Eye,’ 35.

⁸⁸ Williams, ‘The Right Horse, The Animal Eye,’ 35-36.

Astley's Amphitheatre !!!

However, within the fantasy realm of the Amphitheatre, as Kwint has pointed out, the nonhuman animals were asked to adopt a fictitious other persona, along with its inherent behaviour, and to make this becoming of the other visible to spectators – some of which, as we have seen, were uncomfortable with the level of humanness, or acting, on display.⁸⁹ While asked to do so by their trainers, the nonhuman actors of the Amphitheatre did perform complex acts that demanded affective responses from the audience. The spotted pony, Prince, for example, performed ‘the part of a page to his master’, and who ‘delivers from him an epistle to the lady of his love: this done, he waits with all the air of one who is accustomed to good living, rings the bell, and when it is not answered, rings it again, with the impatient look of a testy old gentleman, whom it is not safe to disobey.’⁹⁰ Horses, such as the Little Military Horse and Formidable Jack, did act, and were advertised, viewed and reviewed, as top-billed performers in their own right.⁹¹ They were spectacularized and discussed as actors who visualized an adopted other self with alternate behaviours and expectations, along with an adopted or enhanced capability for humanness. The nonhuman actor in the Amphitheatre was monstrous in form, but had the ability to exhibit ‘much more tenderness and segacity[sic] than many, very many, monsters in human shape.’⁹² The equine actors of the Amphitheatre, while enacting the monstrous, the surprisingly rational, to audience dismay, had the ability to make people question the definitions of ‘human’ and ‘animal’ because, like Bankes, of the intelligence and rationality performed, while creating new identities and genders for their masters.

The ‘Taylor Riding to Brentford’ was performed by Astley and his son John throughout their careers, but rarely did this comedic visualization of the inept and effete result in an analogous public perception of the human actors as similarly emasculated or disempowered – with one notable exception which will be discussed in the next Chapter. Astley’s performances with his horses, I argue, instead of taking the ‘traditional’ and élite elements of rule and visibility, such as ‘national power’ and ‘beauty and skill’ on horseback, and making them into something to be consumed as ‘frivolous spectacle’, as something comedic and transient, as Benedict attests, allowed for the popularization of horsemanship skill while maintaining its almost mythic status as something special, as something to be admired and wondered at.⁹³ The almost super-human abilities of the trainer in maintaining domination and control over the nonhuman animal actor

⁸⁹ Kwint, *Astley's Amphitheatre*, 231.

⁹⁰ British Library. ‘A collection of programmes, cuttings from newspapers relating to performances in various circuses from 1772-1885.’ Scrapbook. vol. 2, item 37.

⁹¹ BL, ‘Astley's Cuttings,’ vol. 3, item 1522 (16 December, 1855).

⁹² BL, *Collectanea*, vol. IV, f.45 (*Morning Post*, 14 July, 1787).

⁹³ Benedict, *Curiosity*, 209-210.

(along with its training) were never occluded by the comedic aspects of the piece or by the affected horsemanship and gender ineptitude. Even with such extremes of masculinity played by one actor, even though he donned the guise of the effeminate, incompetent, comedic and ridiculous in his visual performances, at no time did he lose (or allow the audience to lose) sight of his idealized 'true' or 'private' patriotic self. It was the publicized private Sergeant that triumphed over the horse and the tailor's frenchified and effeminate uselessness, just as it was his 'true' body that triumphed in the eyes of the spectators and in the media. Astley allowed for and intentionally introduced into the Amphitheatre ring the irrefutable presence of the 'I', the self, in the performance that allowed the visualization and embodiment of the tailor without infringing on the audience's public, personal image of ideal/elevated masculinity. It was the acting humanness of his nonhumans, mixed with the ever present animal sentience (truth telling), that was used by Astley as a vehicle for the visualization of both ideal (himself as super-human Sergeant of the wars) and degenerate forms of identity and gender; an identity and gender performed in acts such as 'The Taylor Riding to Brentford', and which had more in common with a Cavendish-esque unending search for honour than the mid-eighteenth century's emphasis on refined social politeness.

Astley did not portray himself in the form of the polite man, the holder of hegemonic masculinity for much of the eighteenth century and central to the men of Angelo's Academy, but instead as a chivalrous gentleman secure in his authority and duty. Michèle Cohen argues that this gradually emergent form of masculine behaviour and self display was a response to the inherent danger of effeminacy for polite, or refined, gentlemen, and that chivalrous masculinity was designed to maintain masculine physicality and courage while allowing the softening influence of care for those weaker than oneself to remain.⁹⁴ Similarly, Martin Myrone argues that the visibility of a militaristic past was frequently considered a sure means of offsetting the fears of developing luxury and effeminacy among a middle-class public that was worryingly pursuing conspicuous consumption to the detriment of social mores.⁹⁵ In direct contrast to the seemingly growing popularity of refinement, luxury and ostentatious self-display, the Amphitheatre and circuses in general were consciously chivalrous spaces where nostalgic, although necessary for Astley, references to and enactments of the age of chivalry were advertised, promoted and

⁹⁴ Michèle Cohen, "'Manners' Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry, and the Construction of Masculinity, 1750-1830,' *Journal of British Studies* 44 no. 2 (April, 2005): 312-329.

⁹⁵ Martin Myrone, *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinities in British Art, 1750-1810* (New Haven and London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2005), 112-113.

performed. Similarly for the Royal Circus, as Charles Dibdin recorded in his memoirs, 'Horsemanship was at that time much admired', and as a result

I conceived that if I could divest it of its blackguardism, it might be made an object of public consequence. I proposed, therefore, that it should embrace all the dexterity and reputation of ancient chivalry ... and that a classical and elegant turn should be given to exercises of this description....⁹⁶

Dibdin was following a plan of equestrian performance and masculine display already firmly established and proven profitable in the Amphitheatre. Like Astley, he worked to legitimize circus horsemanship, trick riding and vaulting, to distance the performances and performers from the blackguardism long associated with the London fairs and itinerant performers, and to present his establishment as beneficial to society.⁹⁷ As the commodification of the self was a means for actresses in the London theatres to assert their rights as women and to alter their social station, the 'interiority effect' also allowed horsemen of the Amphitheatre – especially Astley and his son John – to establish and increase their reputations and status.⁹⁸ For Astley, and even for Dibdin, it was the spectacularization of chivalry that would make his goals a reality. Like the Royal Circus, Astley's had always been associated with representations of 'traditionally' English pastimes and behaviours, of which chivalry was the most popular; 'Astley's has always been remarkable for its spirited and life-like representations of old English scenery an[sic] manners—subjects which have an unfailling charm for the supporters of this house'.⁹⁹ Cohen has also shown that the increasing popularity of chivalry in mid to late eighteenth-century culture was nationalistic in tone; hence, placing at a distance, and moving away from, the influence of foreign manners and Frenchified dandyism. 'The chivalric system was a way of producing men, not Frenchified and effeminate fops', according to Cohen; however, the chivalry on display at Astleys was unabashedly French in tone, and generally continental in flavour.¹⁰⁰ In usual English magpie fashion, Astley took an amalgamation of 'traditional' British pursuits, such as vaulting and riding in the common saddle, and joined them with the foreign *manège*, annual tours to the continent, a

⁹⁶ Dibdin, *Professional Life*, as quoted in Kwint, 156.

⁹⁷ For a long history of the knavery and blackguardism associated with Bartholomew and Southwark fairs, itinerant performers and with Astleyan performances – along with detailed descriptions of the many performances that triggered such negative associations – see Henry Morley, *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair* (London: Chapman and Hall, 193, Piccadilly, 1859).

⁹⁸ Nussbaum, *Rival Queens*, 45-46.

⁹⁹ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 3, item 1345 (1843).

¹⁰⁰ Cohen, 'Manners Make the Man,' 323.

permanent Amphitheatre in Paris and popular French activities such as dancing (as we will see in a moment) to produce acts that were described as solely and completely British.¹⁰¹

Astley's chivalry, in addition to having a decided foreign component, was also unabashedly militaristic in tone – in keeping with his own military background. The chivalrous acts recalled and promoted a masculinity in which courage, physical strength and honour on the field of battle that were the focus for the 'useful' entertainment.¹⁰² In the 1788 duet 'sung by Messers, JOHANNOT and DE CASTRO, in the Characters of the FOP, and SHANEEN O'SHEE, a Serjeant of the First Regiment of Guards, in the SIEGE of VALENCIENNES,' the visualization of the idealized Astleyan self and its antithesis was especially pronounced. Sung to the tune of 'O dear, what can the matter be!' the song constructed the fop as just that, as a man (loosely viewed as such) who was more concerned with self preservation and the time of his next meal than being a good soldier. He was an effeminate coward, while the 'Serjeant' – metaphorically connected to Sergeant Astley himself – exhibited signs of stoicism, bravery, honour and nationalistic pride. 'O dear! what will become of us!' began the fop,

Irish Serjeant—D—n me, how the Frenchmen will run from us!
 Fop—Dear! dear! they'll kill ev'ry one of us!
 Serj—Let them come on if they dare.
 Fop—They'l take us for certain, and kill us and eat us Instead of soup-meagre;
 Serj—But first they must beat us.

 Fop—Dear, dear, where are we straying, Sir?
 Serj—To the siege without murmur repair.
 Fop—To the siege I dare never repair; I wish I was home, and in Tavistock-street again.
 Serj—By my soul it's a pitty you ever should meet again.
 Fop—I fear the Monsieurs, sir, will never retreat again.
 Serj—We'll make them, my dear, in a panic retreat again.
 Fop—O that I had something, dear sir, but to eat again.
 Serj—By the Lord, how we'll lather away.
 Fop—O Lord, let us both run away.

In this act, 'In the delineation of these characters, the contrast is happily preserved, by exhibiting one as the essence of cowardice, and the other a cool, undaunted soldier, whose courage is not to be shaken by danger, when the interest of his country is at stake, and needs his assistance to defend it.'¹⁰³ Protecting his country, being brave in the face of certain death, and displaying self

¹⁰¹ For a general history and introduction to the 'Europhilia', xenophobia and the frequently all-pervasive English nationalism at Astley's see Kwint, *Astley's Amphitheatre*, 281-308.

¹⁰² British Library, 'Philip Astley's Miscellanea Collection,' (1879), c.13.(25), f.25; Kwint, *Astley's Amphitheatre*, 154.

¹⁰³ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, item 1077 (1788).

confidence and certainty in harrowing situations were all elements of the Amphitheatre's desired and propagated form of male behaviour and honour.

For the Amphitheatre and Astley's form of masculine behaviour, it was 'self-promotion' and spectacular displays for personal gain in the form of honour and reputation that were employed as a medium for social, personal and state improvement. As John Sainsbury argues, it was through duelling that men from lower ranks had the opportunity for social advancement – a widely used method in the nineteenth century deployed by 'dandelions on the field of honour' whose participation in duelling increased its popularity even as it was suffering under ever heavier opposition.¹⁰⁴ As Astley himself argued (much like Cavendish and Angelo before him) in his *Remarks on the Profession and Duty of a Soldier* of 1794, it was 'honor' that 'should be' the 'first and principal task' for a soldier 'to attain'. A soldier should never 'lose sight of' his 'grand instructor, *Honor*; as that soldier who neglects discipline, may not only prove the means of seeking his own destruction by such an error, but in all probability prove the source of misfortune to his brave and valiant comrades,' especially during the Napoleonic wars 'when his services is mostly wanted for the defence of his country.' Like Sergeant O'Siice, for Astley it was through defence of one's country and bravery in the face of danger, along with having 'a competent knowledge of the *management* of his *horse, arms, &c.* in every instance,' that allowed for honour and an honourable reputation as a masculine man.¹⁰⁵ While Michèle Cohen argues that 'despite the stress on the martial training and heroic deeds that were part of the chivalric code, chivalry did not present models of heroic martial masculinity for late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century military action'.¹⁰⁶ At Astley's Amphitheatre, however, it was Astley himself that provided the model. To be a chivalrous, honourable, man, Astley constructed his public persona in a way that not only highlighted his military education and the chivalrous behaviour it engendered, but (as we have seen) his very real military action in war. For Astley, chivalrous masculinity was honour on the field of war. Indeed, it was 'defiance of danger' and fair fighting on the battlefield in defence of his country that gained a man honour, a sentiment pointed out by Cohen as usual among eighteenth-century chivalry discourse,¹⁰⁷ and which was sung by Decastro at the Amphitheatre as part of its popular re-enactment of 'The Siege of Valeniennes'. Decastro

¹⁰⁴ Sainsbury, *John Wilkes*, 70-71.

¹⁰⁵ Philip Astley, *Remarks on the Profession and Duty of a Soldier; with other observations relative to the army, at this time in actual service on the continent* (London: Printed for the Author. n.p., 1794), 11-12.

¹⁰⁶ Cohen, 'Manners Make the Man,' 321.

¹⁰⁷ Cohen, 'Manners Make the Man,' 320.

Performing Horse-Men

had received the details of the siege from Astley who was present at the battle with his regiment, and he delivered the song as a substitute Astley dressed as a member of the 15th Light Dragoons:

When sent the intrenchments to cover,
Each danger we boldly despise;
And oft is our task to discover
Where the force of the enemy lies:
Still forward we dash,
While bombs and balls clash,
And the foe on all sides giving way;
Still, still we pursue,
And cut our way through,
And true British valour display.

...

Our high-mettled horses we spur on to battle,
Who snort in defiance of powder or ball;
And though hissing bullets on each side may rattle,
We fearless push on while the enemy fall:
E'er mindful of duty,
And fair-taken boot,
The right of a soldier, and true spoil of war:
For Britons e'er fight,
Not for plunder but right,
For honor's their standard at home or afar.

The audience was not allowed to forget the presence of Astley in this piece, nor his views towards masculine honour and service to the state. A sub-heading to the song stipulated that the 'writer of this spirited air lays particular stress on the excellence of the discipline of a Light Dragoon, by portraying in the act of cutting his way through every impediment, in defiance of danger, rather than suffer himself to be taken prisoner by the enemy'.¹⁰⁸ Honour lay in courage in the face of an enemy; and honour was the true marker of a Briton 'at home or afar.' It was skilled self display and honour on the battle field or in single combat that was all-important to Cavendish, and it was honour that the later famed horseman of the Amphitheatre, Andrew Ducrow, was remembered for in C.A. Somerset's epitaph; it was honour that made the men in the Amphitheatre; and it was honour for which Astley, self styled as 'the celebrated young English Warrior,' was praised.¹⁰⁹ He 'set an example of a nature so spirited, so noble, and so

¹⁰⁸ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 2, item 81B (1793).

¹⁰⁹ Victoria & Albert Theatre Museum Archive, 'Astley's Files', Box 1 of 18, unfoliated, (C.A. Somerset, *Epitaph on Andrew Ducrow, Esq.; written at the express Request of the Deceased...*, 22 September, 1842); BL, *Collectanea*, vol. IV, fol. 22 (*General Advertiser*, 15 April 1773).

loyal, in every sense of the word, as does credit to his feelings as a man, and his honour as a soldier' both on and off the Amphitheatre stage.¹¹⁰

However, first and foremost, honour and chivalry required being on the back of a horse; such masculinity could only be enacted with the partnership of a 'high-mettled' mount who, like his master and as in seventeenth-century Centauric or eighteenth-century sporting partnerships, would courageously 'snort in defiance of powder or ball'. Astley argued that not only must animals be slaves to man for their labour, but they must be so to cement the status and Vineyard position of their master for their master's survival on the battlefield. A horse, as Astley argued in his 1801 *Astley's System of Equestrian Education* (an odd combination of military treatise, Pluvinel-esque question and answer session and Amphitheatre advertisement) 'participates with man the toils of the campaign, and the glory of conquest; penetrating and undaunted as his master, he views dangers, and braves them.' An ideal(ized) horse is 'Accustomed to the din of arms, he loves it with enthusiasm, seeks it with ardour, and seems to vie with his master in his animated efforts to meet the foe with intrepidity, and to conquer every thing that opposes itself to his courage.'¹¹¹ For Astley, horses gained happiness, the emotion we saw earlier to be necessary for the Astleyan human-animal relationship as well as proto-animal rights authors, through the fulfillment of their master's will; in this case through glory or victory on the battlefield, or 'in *single combat*, &c. in the field of honour, and in the *service* of his *country*'. It was his ability to do so as slave and protector both that generated love from his master and saw their chivalrous honour ensured.¹¹² The nonhuman animal, for Astley, was noble, courageous, brave, pleasing and strong – the embodiment of Astley's ideal masculinity in equine form.

On June 16, 1780, for example, the *Morning Herald* published an 'Ode on the Gibraltar Charger', the horse that once belonged to General Elliot but was gifted by him to John Astley. The Charger while fighting with Elliot, according to the author – most likely Astley or his house author – was 'Anxious the foe to dare' with 'Defiance in his eye-ball glares;

His neighings fill war-wounded airs:
 His spreading chest for conquest glows,
 With which he meets attacking foes—
 In triumph o'er them treads:
 He welcomes Death, mankind to save,
 And no reward but Love he'll crave:
 His nostrils burn with warlike fire;
 'Till vict'ry's gain'd he'll never tire—

¹¹⁰ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 2, item 85B (9 November, 1793).

¹¹¹ Astley, *Astley's System of Equestrian Education*, 9-12.

¹¹² Astley, *Astley's System of Equestrian Education*, 21.

Performing Horse-Men

His heart no danger dreads.

....

While ranks of wounded spread the plain;
While War piles round him heaps of slain;
While cannons roar, and bombs descend;
While clashing arms the Welkin rend—

Undaunted all he views;
His Master's will is all he care,
Whose death or conquest he will share;
When swords or lances pierce his breast,
He rushes on the hostile guest—

Proud thus his life to lose.¹¹³

Using the language of Somerville's *The Chace* and sharing many similarities to the military discourse found within sporting riding – as we saw in the previous Chapter – Astley's horse was eager to lose his life in the defense of his master and of mankind at large if only he could be made happy with a little loving attention; he was 'proud' to die alongside his human in a mutual partnership of civic duty.¹¹⁴ However, while this eagerness to please a master or to die for him was there in seed form by nature, according to the Amphitheatre's own propaganda, for it to come to full fruition, for the horse to truly know his duty, it had to be taught through gentle, patient and knowledgeable methods – those, as Figure 30 shows, only truly known to Astley. Only Astley held the patent to a new form of horsemanship designed to train/enslave horses to withstand fire, drums, firearms and the clash of battle. Only Astley was in a position to fix the current situation where 'one of the most useful and necessary points appertaining to the art of war, seems still at sea, floating on the surface of absurdity, and driven by the tide of prejudice from the shore of amendment!!'¹¹⁵ Horses, 'created' for man's 'use' in battle and the search for 'glory', fame and honour, were in turn memorialized and glorified for remaining 'undaunted', 'proud', and 'fearless' in the face of 'death or conquest' with his chivalrous master. For Astley, horses were not simply a means of promoting entertainment before paying audiences; instead, their 'Element is War alone', and it was on the battle field, sharing danger and gaining glory with and for his master, that a horse-man should be in order to be a man.¹¹⁶ A noble horse, like a noble, honourable and masculine man (embodied by Astley and performed on the Amphitheatre

¹¹³ BL, *Collectanea*, vol. IV, f.31 ('An ODE On the GIBRALTAR CHARGER, Now in the possession of Mr. Astley, to whom LORD HEATHFIELD, (late GENERAL ELLIOT,) has lately made him a present,' *Morning Herald*, (16 June, 1780).

¹¹⁴ William Somerville, "The Chace." 1734, *A Poem. The Third Edition* (London: Printed for G. Hawkins, and sold by T. Cooper at the Globe in Pater-Noster-Row, 1735), 21, 36 and 56.

¹¹⁵ Astley, *Astley's System of Equestrian Education*, 5-6.

¹¹⁶ 'An ODE On the GIBRALTAR CHARGER.

stage) welcomed death and worked with his partner (human or animal) to gain glory while fulfilling his manly duty to his master and country.

iv. VAULTING

Astley's form of masculinity, his chivalrous and martial honour, was often performed through a form of horsemanship somewhat removed from more 'traditional' forms; it was to the traditions of the London fairs that Astley looked for much of his equestrian inspiration. Vaulting, along with the tradition for learned horses, was an established component of the fairs long before Astley adopted them. William Davenant (a contemporary and fellow Cavalier of Cavendish) in his 1673 poem 'The Long Vacation in London', for example, described the common sights of the metropolis, including tumblers, dancers, actors, puppeteers, vaulters and nonhuman animals. Here, many of the performance conventions attached to the Amphitheatre, including another horseman who adopted the name and possibly the tricks of Bankes, were firmly associated with itinerant wandering troops performing at local fairs such as Bartholomew and Southwark well before Astley made them a part of the Amphitheatre institution. Davenant saw a 'vaulter good, and dancing lass, / On rope, and man that cries "Hey, pass," / And tumbler young that needs but stoop, / Lay head to heel to creep through hoops'. A 'white oate-eater that does dwell; / In stable small, at sign of Bell' joined the motley crew, who 'lift up hoofs to show the prancks, / Taught by magitian, stiled Banks'.¹¹⁷ Here, in a record of seventeenth-century fairs was Astley's Amphitheatre in all of its glory. Not only were Astley's famous feats of animal training of humble provenance, but so were the tumblers, tightrope walkers and (most interestingly) vaulters central to the Amphitheatre's nightly program of entertainment.¹¹⁸ It was trick riding or vaulting – the two terms and practices were frequently conflated with each other while sharing many discourses and visualities – that was the main headlining act for much of the Amphitheatre's life, and it was vaulting that visualized a masculinity analogous to but also independent from that of the *manège*.

With this lowly history to work with, Astley (in yet one more instance of legitimating what was not) was careful to include an origin for his trick riding that was eminently respectable.

¹¹⁷ William Davenant, 'The Long Vacation in London,' *The works of the English poets, from Chaucer to Cowper, Vol. VI of XXI*, eds. Samuel Johnson and Alexander Chalmers (London: Printed for J. Johnson; J. Nicholas and Son; R. Baldwin; F. and C. Rivington; W. Otridge and Son; ... and Sotheby; R. Faulder and Son; G. Nicol and Son; T. Payne; O. Robinson; ..., 1810), 434. For a history of Southwark and Bartholomew see Janette Dillon, 'Clerkenwell and Smithfield as a Neglected Home of London Theater,' *Huntington Library Quarterly* 71 no. 1 (March 2008): 115-135, and Morley, *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair*.

¹¹⁸ Sybil Rosenfeld, *The Theatre of the London Fairs in the 18th Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960).

In this instance Astley looked well beyond the horsemanship greats of the previous century to the horsemen and historians of the classical world. As Homer in his *Iliad*, translated by Pope and quoted by Astley in his *Astley's System of Equestrian Education*, records: 'when a Horseman from the wat'ry mead, / (Skill'd in the manage of the bounding steed) / Drives Four fair Coursers practic'd to obey, / To some great city thro' the public way' he is 'Safe in his art, as side by side they run'. As the horses race through the town the horseman 'shifts his seat, and vaults from one to one; / And now to this, and now to that he flies, / Admiring numbers follow with their eyes!'¹¹⁹ This was Astley's version of vaulting history; a history that allowed him to tie the sometimes dubious practice of trick riding to a noble past; a past ideologically removed from a history of fair grounds, pub yards and his own humble origins.¹²⁰ By connecting the common practice of vaulting with a classical history, Astley was also reaffirming a socio-political form of normative masculinity, physical beauty and public spectacle before audiences of 'admiring' spectators responsible for recognizing the vaulter's ideal performances of gender and of substantiating his reputation as a member of his chosen Vineyard.

While Berenger provides a brief history of vaulting in which he argues the activity was present in the classical world and widely performed in Turkey, the longer story of vaulting, its introduction into England and the dissemination of the associated discourses and practices among various social groups, is unknown.¹²¹ As a result, it is possible that the vaulting performed at the Amphitheatre, other circuses and at English fair grounds shared the history and vaulting traditions introduced to England from Italy, taken up by gentlemen in the sixteenth century, and practiced at Oxford University during the seventeenth century.¹²² Direct reference to the University tradition has not been found among surviving circus or Amphitheatre ephemera; however, the discourse and visuality of masculinity, along with the actual activities performed there, share many similarities with Amphitheatre performances, despite the difference in historical period, and are worth examining in detail.

¹¹⁹ Astley, *Astley's System of Equestrian Education*, 8. Berenger also makes this connection between vaulting and the classical world, *The History and Art of Horsemanship*, vol. I, 30, 48.

¹²⁰ This history was not severed from the Amphitheatre entirely, however. Comedic songs tied Astley's, and the performances such as by the Learned Pig, to the fairs while celebrating their riotous and libertine environment. [Philip Astley], *Bartholomew Fair; or, the Humors of Smithfield. As sung by Mr. JOHANNOT, at Astley's Theatre, with universal Applause* (London: Printed and sold at No. 41, Long-lane, [1800?]).

¹²¹ Berenger, *The History and Art of Horsemanship*, vol. I, 124.

¹²² Will[iam] Stokes, *The Vaulting-Master: or, the art of vaulting. Reduced to Method, comprized under certain Rules, Illustrated by Examples...* ([London ?]: Printed for Richard Davis, in Oxon, 1652). For a brief introduction to Stokes's manual, and to the wider circus environment, see Thomas Frost, *Circus Life and Circus Celebrities* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1881). Anthony Dent also makes the connection between Shakespearean vaulting traditions, as later described by Stokes, and the circus tradition. Dent, *Horses in Shakespeare's England* (London: J.A. Allen, 1987), 90.

In 1652 William Stokes wrote the first English text on vaulting in an attempt to educate the kingdom's elite studying at the University in the art of this ancient practice, and to convince a seemingly sceptical readership on its manly usefulness. In his fully illustrated *The Vaulting-Master*, he related that vaulting was subject to detractors who made their 'dislike [of] the thing it selfe, nay the verie name of Vaulting,' known, and considered it 'an unnecessarie and dangerous exercise, a device to breake ones neck, or limbs, or the like'. There were also some sceptics who 'are content to allow the thing, but will by no meanes have it an Art'; instead, they considered it 'the child of an accidentall and undigested experience, receiving the degrees of its excellencie, from blind custome only and difference of bodies'.¹²³ In either case, vaulting over a horse (in this case a wooden one) was not an activity, nor an art, fit to spend one's time learning.

For Stokes, however, vaulting was a method of ensuring that man maintained his masculine physicality and strength. It also, surprisingly, was a sure way of symbolically and essentially combining the human with the nonhuman animal. Here the human ideally adopted, embraced and nurtured the animal within himself without the actual presence of a real animal; this was done instead through interaction with its constructed representation in the form of the wooden vaulting horse used by the performers in their quest to leave behind 'the lazie and unmanly life'. In vaulting, the performer of the seventeenth century embodied a discourse of normative masculinity found in Astley's promotion of the self (strength, courage, physical agility and military preparedness) along with a beneficial animality that, as we have seen, would be replaced in Astley's discourse by super-human status. Vaulters, for Stokes, were 'rendred ... equall to the most active of the beasts' by the art of vaulting. As man was the mould from which all nonhuman life was created it made sense that he also contained all of the elements of the animal kingdom within his own corporeal being. Men should come to understand, Stokes argued, 'how in his thighs the Horse, in his heart the Lion, in his hands the Ape, in his back the Elephant are (as it were) stored up, all making one, by so much more mightie than they all, by how much he [man] is but one'. Within man there existed elements of animal life, but within his frame these potentially subversively irrational elements were distilled and tamed through physical training and practice on the vaulting horse. In the Amphitheatre, where species boundaries were upheld in the face of their apparent disregard, man remained human throughout the human-animal acts while it was the horse that adopted the qualities of other animals through beneficial training and mastery of his patriarchal trainer. It was the horse, not the human, that was part spaniel, part animal other, more than. For Stokes, in contrast – and reflecting earlier notions of humanness

¹²³ Stokes, *The Vaulting-Master*, Preface.

alongside Astleyan manliness – a man must come to understand ‘that Nature is not wanting to man, but man to himselfe, and that it is not lack of abilitie, but lack of use, that has shrunk mens [sic] sinews, and enfeebled them, even to the contempt of beasts.’¹²⁴ Without the strenuous and admittedly dangerous practice of vaulting, according to Stokes, men of the kingdom had become enfeebled, effeminate and unfortunately practiced at ‘sins’ harmful to society at large, such as whoreing and idleness.

For one contributor to Stokes’ volume, physical weakness and the lack of bodily control were ‘strangely monstrous’ to see, and any man who allowed this state of weak and soft life to continue by turning his back on the masculine animality with which Nature had kindly provided him was in turn emasculated and dehumanized to a level below that of beasts. A man was made monstrous to a viewer by *not* embracing his animality, by *not* working with what Nature had intended, by *not* becoming partially nonhuman. As such,

Here’s that will soone restore what e’re hath bin
Impair’d by *ease*, or what more eating *sin*,
Here’s that will set your nerves in tune againe,
And find for each forgotten string a straine :
Winde up your sickly muscles, and refine
Th’embased spirits to temper *Masculine*.¹²⁵

Here, it was vaulting on horseback that created an animalized human being in the form of martial masculinity, as shown in Figures 32 to 35. In *The First Figure* the militarism, and intended practical application of the art on the battlefield, are illustrated in the form of an armoured knight about to mount his horse, unassisted, from the ground. It was gaining physical strength, bodily self control and the ability to mount a horse without the aid of a mounting block or helping hand, that made the performers objects of female desire and made them men able to outdo other men.¹²⁶ According to Richard Godfrey, a contributor to Stokes’ manual, with vaulting

False capers, and soft cringes, that betray
Who’s a French Courtier, are quite laid away:
Our Gallants are growne sound, th’ have learn’d a sport
For men of backs, and may be lik’d at Court.
He that can mount the wooden Palfrey best,
And sit him as Knights Errant doe their beasts;
Descend so quick, that you would sweare he flies,

¹²⁴ Stokes, *The Vaulting-Master*, Preface.

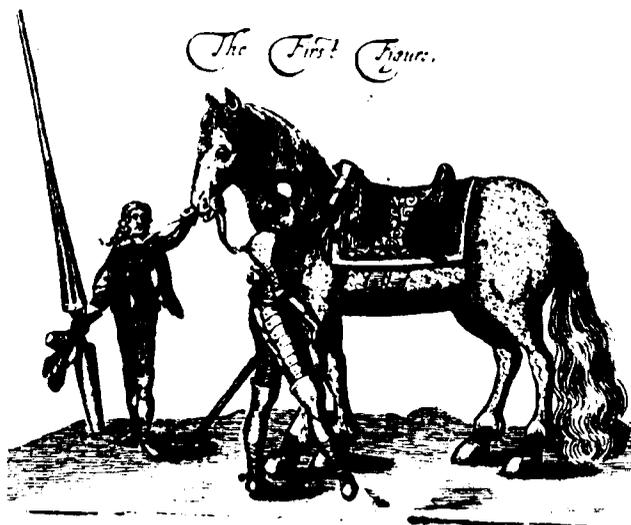
¹²⁵ N.H., ‘To the Reader: On this new and excellent Book, called the *Vaulting-Master*,’ Stokes, *The Vaulting-Master*.

¹²⁶ Stephen Skinner, ‘Upon a Book written by Mr. STOKES of the Art of Vaulting,’ Stokes, *The Vaulting-Master*. Skinner matriculated from Christ Church, Oxford on 6 December 1639, and went on to become an honorary fellow of the English College of Physicians in 1664. Bertha Porter and Michael Bevan, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.chain.kent.ac.uk/view/article/25685> (Accessed: 07/02/2011).

Astley's Amphitheatre !!!

And were himselfe the *Pegasus*; can rise
... You'l think a reall spirit were i' th' play:
Can stretch his sinews so, to jump with ease
... He, he's the Man! He shall applauded be
'Bove the gay sutes, and Tinsell-Poetrie:
Mark how the Ladies drink to Him alone!
He mans them out; He's talk'd on too at home.¹²⁷

Speaking to the commonly perceived effeminacy of the luxurious and debauched Stuart court, as registered in Pope's complaint from the last Chapter, the vaulting man, for the contributors to Stokes' manual, 'mans them out'; he eschews effeminacy found in those of a more delicate, French constitution within the English court; he practices mounting the wooden horse and develops an athletic, acrobatic physique in the process thought so desirable to the ladies; he is agile, graceful, skilful, beautiful, sexual, and like a Cavendish-esque Pegasus, seems to defy the mortal pull of gravity as a nonhuman animal.¹²⁸ The vaulting man becomes the ideal male figure in the eyes of both men and women of the judging court; he represents and embodies the idolatrised, super-masculine man that was to become the stock-in-trade for Astley's Amphitheatre.



[Figure 32: 'The First Figure', in *The Vaulting-Master: or, the art of vaulting. Reduced to Method, comprized under certain Rules, Illustrated by Examples...*, by Will[iam] Stokes, (1652).]



[Figure 33: 'Ouer The head of the Horse', in *The Vaulting-Master*.]

¹²⁷ Richard Godfrey, 'To Mr. STOKES: Vpon his new and admirable Booke of the Art of Vaulting,' Stokes, *The Vaulting-Master*.

¹²⁸ For details on the practice and construction of airiness and lightness in the performers and architecture at Astley's see Kwint, *Astley's Amphitheatre*, 268-272.

Performing Horse-Men



[Figure 34: 'y Pomado at the hind bow of y Saddle,' in *The Vaulting-Master*.]



[Figure 35: 'The Pomado at the hind legg,' in *The Vaulting-Master*.]

Astley's performances of vaulting also incorporated these tropes of masculinity and bodily display, although the related discourse and newspaper advertising made no reference to any sexuality or physical desire felt on the part of any viewing audience. The 'celebrated young English Warrior' was brave, acrobatic, magical, dangerous, but not beautiful, graceful, sexual.¹²⁹ Instead, he was as curious, marvellous and monstrous in his riding as he was in his animal training. After watching Astley ride at Henry Herbert's riding house where Astley was brought to demonstrate his abilities, Henry Angelo noticed that Astley's vaulting

so astonished the common people in the neighbourhood of Wilton that they thought Corporal Astley was the devil in disguise. They might naturally feel surprised at seeing a man ride full speed standing upon his horse, and then leap off, and mount again without slackening his pace; but they stared with astonishment when one day his horse cantered round a circle, with Astley upon his back, standing upon his head, with his heels in the air.¹³⁰

For Henry Angelo, a horseman who understood Astley's seeming supernatural abilities, the act of Astley standing on his head while on horseback was somewhat surprising – enough for him to comment on it – but not threatening and certainly not the act of a 'devil in disguise.' It instead fell to the 'common people', the John Bull types who embraced the Amphitheatre, made up the bulk of its clientele, and who were not versed in Vineyard knowledge, to be astonished at his devilry. While for Astley physically to perform these feats of skill he must have developed a strong and athletic body – he did leap on and off a galloping horse, for example, on a regular

¹²⁹ BL, *Collectanea*, vol. IV, f.22 (*General Advertiser*, 15 April, 1773).

¹³⁰ Angelo, *Reminiscences*, vol. 1, 100.

basis – this visuality was not a part of the associated descriptive propaganda.¹³¹ Instead, as I have argued, it was his courage, his bravery in the face of dangerous feats, his worrying status as transgressor of human-animal categorization and his continued loyalty to the nation as a military man while maintaining his complete mastery over brute creation, that became his claim to fame.

v. ENTER TEEN IDOL

It fell instead to his son to become associated with the bodily display and desirability of both the classical and University discourses of English vaulting as a result not only of his trick riding but also of his own unique form of horsemanship. It was the new generation of performer, and a new generation of masculinity that embraced a display of the self based on politeness, athleticism and classical beauty. As one puff recorded:

The horsemanship, (enlivened by the drollery of a most active clown) consists of numerous surprising feats of strength, dexterity, and agility; the most conspicuous are Mr. Astley, sen, and two English ladies. Elegance of figure, joined to such uncommon display of horsemanship, gains Mr. Astley, jun. most uncommon applause, and he improves amazingly. The horses also justly deserve due notice for their sagacity in this entertainment; it is impossible to conceive the manner in which they have been trained, and which proves the super-excellency of Mr. Astley, sen. in reducing that animal to docility....¹³²

It was John who possessed an 'elegance of figure' that resulted in 'uncommon applause' from the audience, rather than Astley senior, even though they both performed similar feats of horsemanship for much of their careers, as Figure 36 shows. Indeed, as one commentator remarked: 'Astleys, father and son; the former, from a thorough knowledge of reducing the horse, has proved himself very eminent in his profession; the latter, by his astonishing agility on horses, is spoken of even by his competitors, as the wonder of the age.'¹³³ Like Morocco, who was described as the 'four-legged wonder of the world' for his rational performances, John became the marvel and idol of the eighteenth-century world through his ability to defy audience expectation and species definitions.¹³⁴

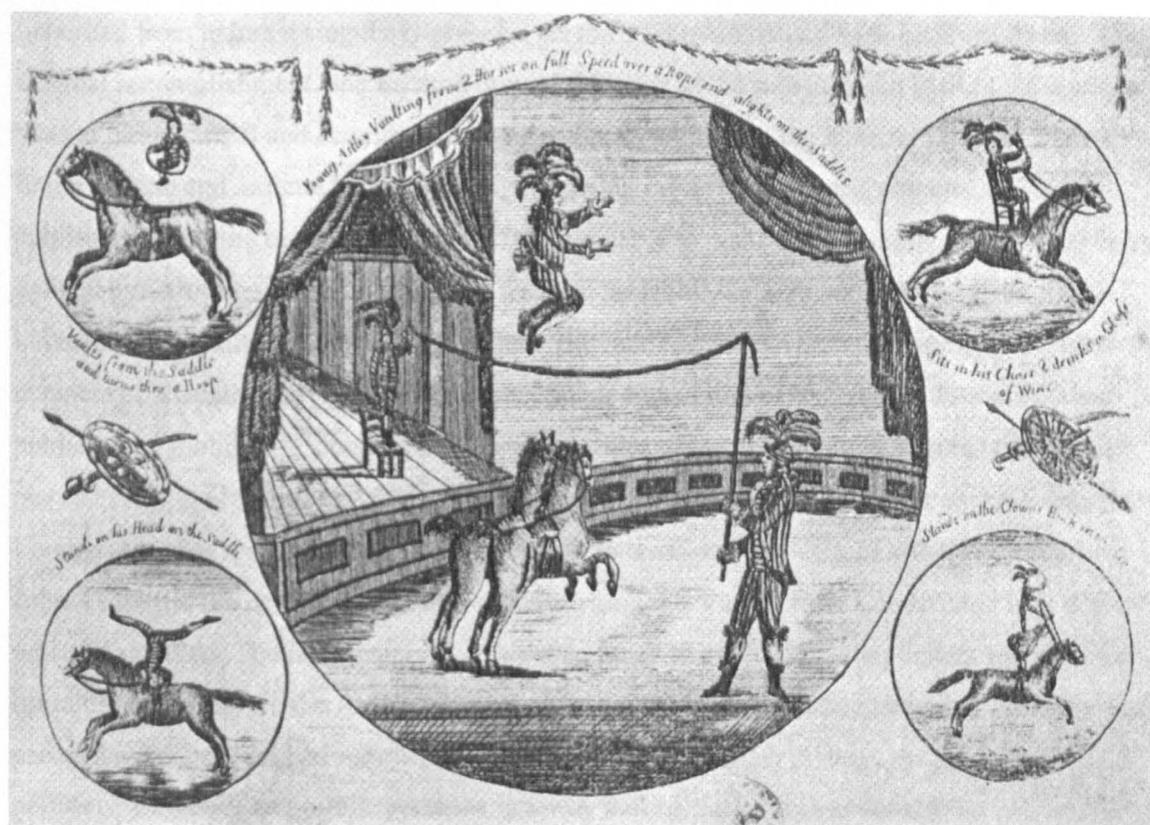
¹³¹ Berenger comments that in the classical world vaulting 'must have been studied and cultivated with care and attention, since no small share of dexterity and habit is necessary to enable a man to vault alternately upon the backs of four horses running at full speed.' *The History and Art of Horsemanship*, vol. 1, 31.

¹³² BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, item 525 (8 December, 1783).

¹³³ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, item 473 (n.d.).

¹³⁴ *Don Zara Del Fogo: A Mock-Romance* (1656), as quoted in Fudge, *Brutal Reasoning*, 127-128.

Performing Horse-Men



[Figure 36: 'Young Astley' (n.d.), in *Circus and Allied Arts: A World Bibliography, 4 Volumes*, by Raymond Toole Stott (1958-71), vol. 3.]

Taking full advantage of the new media apparatuses made available to the Amphitheatre by advances in print culture, social changes to aristocratic power, the increase of leisure and the general secularization of society, John became one of the Amphitheatre's most popular celebrities.¹³⁵ As Joseph Roach argues, in the 'expansion of celebrity to a wider aperture of visibility' during the eighteenth century, the stage produced totemic signs, by which the intimate persons of its stars became as familiar to the public as the heraldic trappings of monarchy once were and continued to be.' John and other theatre performers in the late eighteenth century were increasingly becoming visible beside more 'traditional' categories of influential and 'public' men, such as aristocrats and monarchs.¹³⁶ Like Domenico Angelo, who, it was thought,

¹³⁵ Felicity Nussbaum, 'Actresses and the Economics of Celebrity, 1700-1800,' in *Theatre and Celebrity in Britain, 1660-2000*, eds. Mary Luckhurst and Jane Moody (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 148. Mary Luckhurst and Jane Moody, eds. 'Introduction,' *Theatre and Celebrity in Britain, 1660-2000* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 3. For an economic and Marxist view on the increasing leisure time and classes during the late eighteenth century see Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, c. 1780-1880* (London: Croom Helm, 1980), 15-57.

¹³⁶ Joseph Roach, 'Public Intimacy: The Prior History of 'It',' 24-25; Chris Rojek, *Celebrity* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 13-17.

'inherited from nature a singularly graceful person', John 'cultivated with assiduity every external accomplishment, and became proverbially one of the most elegant men of the age'. It 'was to these natural and acquired advantages that' both men of the Vineyard 'owed ... [their] future fortune and ... fame.'¹³⁷ Indeed, by following the advice of many conduct manuals published during the eighteenth century, John was able to make visible a movement of the body defined by 'Attitudes and Motions easy, free and graceful' that allowed him to 'distinguish' himself as 'the polite gentleman' rather than 'the rude rustic'.¹³⁸ Having apparently received 'the manners of a Gentleman' from birth that his father lacked thanks to Astley's determined and public social mobility,¹³⁹ John embodied the qualities of the new celebrity figures taking their places beside the 'traditional' ones of the landed élite. Even though his father enjoyed fame in London, and was responsible for establishing an international network of Amphitheatres, only in John's case did the newspapers report on his performances away from London and wax euphoric when he returned. The newspapers even went so far as to publish pleading letters to the editor (possibly puffs) before the Amphitheatre's program had been announced begging John to perform again once he had returned from France.¹⁴⁰ The younger Astley was gaining in notoriety, influence and public presence in a way that his father was never able to.

First performing in the Amphitheatre ring at age four, John spent his entire life either on stage with his father or behind the scenes as manager of Astley's Amphitheatre.¹⁴¹ He grew up before the adoring eyes of the public and, considered 'a Prodigy of Nature' for his 'Elegance, Safety, and Ease' on horseback, John frequently was described as a uniquely talented product of his father's paternal and patriarchal attention to his equestrian education. Thought by 'a by-stander' (who apparently did not approve of Angelo's abilities as a horseman) to be 'a better horseman than his Father' and 'No wonder ... for he had a much better master', John's early riding and horsemanship abilities were a testament to Astley's abilities as riding instructor and father; and he only starts to emerge from under this paternal and patriarchal mastery (and fame) as his own man during his early teens.¹⁴² It is only at age fourteen that John begins to 'go through a great variety of manly exercises, &c. on the common saddle on a good gallop',¹⁴³ all the while

¹³⁷ Angelo, *Reminiscences*, vol. 1, 2-3.

¹³⁸ John Brewer, *The English Satirical Print 1600-1832: The Common People and Politics 1750-1790s* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey Ltd., 1986), 22.

¹³⁹ Kwint, *Astley's Amphitheatre*, 108.

¹⁴⁰ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, items 747 (1785), 750 (20 October, 1785), 751 (22 October, 1785).

¹⁴¹ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, item 234 (31 December, 1781).

¹⁴² BL, *Collectanea*' vol. IV, f.29 (*Morning Post*, 17 August 1786); BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, items 332 (17 December, 1781) and 84 (1772); BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, item 426 (1782).

¹⁴³ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, item 359 (2 March, 1782).

emerging as the Amphitheatre's headline act, and even then he remained a firm product of his father's abilities as an actor-manager to form his image as a celebrity.¹⁴⁴ It was a celebrity that was the result of John's musical excellence in dance and which had John dubbed both the 'English Rose' (in England) and the 'French Rose' (in France), appellations of greatness intended to connect John to the virtuoso abilities of the Parisian dancing master Vesteries, the rose of dancers.¹⁴⁵ John was famed both for dancing on horses – a notion I will discuss in a moment – and for dancing with them as partners in the strange mixture of the traditionally élite horsemanship and the vulgar tricks unique to the Amphitheatre.

Dancing with horses was a practice begun by Astley and taken over by John. Here, side by side, father and son performed a minuet on horseback in which the horses were thought to dance 'with surprising grace' with 'each keeping time to the music, in a manner truly extraordinary'. The training of the horses through sound, music or voice (an idea Astley took from his experiences interacting with London cart and wagon drivers), resulted in 'full houses, unbounded applause, every time the horses appeared'.¹⁴⁶ The horses, trained to move according to the beats of the music, seemed to 'dance' as well as human performers on the theatre stage with such a 'graceful appearance' it was joked in the newspapers that Astley was 'engaged for the next season as Ballet-master to the Opera-house.'¹⁴⁷ Astley's minuets were 'executed with a precision and exactness of time that truly astonish', and made the performer's control, grace and ease on horseback visible.¹⁴⁸ The horses took on and made visible through their actions of the *manège* their taught similarity to human-animals while providing an ideal avenue for the spectacularization of not only Astley's superior training and governance abilities, but also (as this was an act performed by father and son) the ideal relationship between them. The performed nonhuman animal and human animal relationship allowed in turn the illustration of not only ideal masculinity but also normative familial relationships. As one correspondent noted, 'Among the great variety of amusements which is exhibited at Mr. Astley's Ambigu-Comic, there is none ... more truly pleasing than the Equestrian Minuet, between him and young Astley.' For this commentator the minuet by the two horses was 'a sight that not only entertains the attention from its excellence, but it also interests the feelings of nature, from its uniting the father and son in,---

¹⁴⁴ Mary Luckhurst and Jane Moody argued that the figure of the actor-manager was 'a major force in shaping the production of theatrical celebrity.' 'Introduction,' *Theatre and Celebrity in Britain*, 3.

¹⁴⁵ Kwint, *Astley's Amphitheatre*, 41; BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, item 390 (10 August, 1782), and vol. 2, item 23A (1791).

¹⁴⁶ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 2, item 23A (1791).

¹⁴⁷ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 2, item 123B (24 February, 1795) and vol. 1, item 871 (1786). Astley, *Astley's System of Equestrian Education*, 13.

¹⁴⁸ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, item 525 (8 December, 1783).

thus exhibiting their conjoined efforts to please, and their devoirs to thank the audience, of whose liberal patronage they are so much the deserved favorites.' Favourites whereby the 'manliness and dignity of the one, with the youth and grace of the other, display a picture of relative performance, which certainly has no equal in any of our boasted diversions.'¹⁴⁹ The minuet by father and son showed the audience an image of a natural, ideal, proper father-son relationship built on the enforcement of patriarchal power and respect for an elder's superior experience and knowledge.

The minuets on horseback continued as a part of the Amphitheatre repertoire after the retirement of Astley from the stage, and were expanded to include country dances performed by the larger Astleyan troop of equestrians. These dances (like the minuet) were expressly connected to the tradition of French *haute école* and *manège*d horsemanship in the form of Cavendish and his earlier European influences, and were unabashedly élite in provenance. Astley's minuet placed before a mixed audience a form of entertainment similar to the grand equestrian carousels that were so popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth century courts of France and Italy, and which were a regular component of the Royal Academy for Teaching Exercises in Edinburgh.¹⁵⁰ This Academy, open to a fee-paying élite clientele and led by the equestrian perfection of Angelo's brother, hosted each season a carousel – or a choreographed ballet to music – performed by its pupils. These carousels were by-invitation-only performances of élite culture, by élite horsemen riding in the grand old-school style before other élites, while at Astley's they were performed by men of somewhat dubious horsemanship ability – as the next chapter will argue – usually before a general audience.

However, Astley's minuets were also understood to be grounded in a firm sense of musicality for both man and animal. As Astley recorded:

In the first place, my Horses were educated to PIAFE loftily, with grace, elegance, and agility (Haydon's minuet regulated the action of the PIAFE during the salute) as also the TERRE-À-TERRE, which brought us to opposite corners. The action of the DEMI-VOLTES, to approach each other for the purpose of giving our hands (foreshortened our Horses to great animation by a corresponding APPUI and aid of the leg) in the action of the PIAFE, we came nearer each other, head and croup, continuing the PIAFE on our centre, an intire [sic] round; prior to which we gave our hands, and then let them gracefully descend to

¹⁴⁹ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, item 560 (19 June, 1784).

¹⁵⁰ W. Forbes Gray, 'An Eighteenth-Century Riding School,' *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* 20 (1935): 125. For details of these carousels, especially those hosted by Antoine de Pluvinel at the French court, see: Kate van Orden, 'From *Gens d'Armes* to *Gentilshommes*: Dressage, Civility, and the *Ballet à Cheval*,' in *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World*, eds. Karen Raber and Treva Tucker (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005): 197-222. For information on the long history of musicality in horsemanship see Elisabeth LeGuin, 'Man and Horse in Harmony', in *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World*, eds. Karen Raber and Treva J. Tucker (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 175-196.

their original position. Both Horses, at this instant, being put in the action of the TERRE-À-TERRE, head to head, maintaining the exact figure of the minuet; My son, having but little ground to go, immediately passaged in his station: myself, being at the opposite corner, at a much greater distance, obtained such ground, by the action of TERRE-À-TERRE, at one and the same time. After a CADENCE with a stop, we each made a PIAFE back to the same ground my son to the left and myself to the right, and continuing the PIAFE concluded the minuet with the music; after which, each of us pressed his Horse's side with sharp horizontal spurs, animated him to the highest action of the PIAFE in quick time, to a sprightly air, which concluded the performance: our Horses retrograding out of the Amphitheatre by two opposite doors, croup foremost, amidst the highest applause of the spectators.¹⁵¹

For Astley, dancing on horseback was the prime method of visualizing horses and men who were practiced in 'pure CADENCE' or true 'grace and elegance', which 'yields the highest satisfaction to an observer endowed with taste and discernment.' Cadence for Astley was defined as the harmonious movement between man and horse, 'similar to such measure regulated in dancing, &c. Musical expression, or sound,' which 'certainly appertains to the tuition of the Horse, and which I consider as an index to direct his most willing obedience'; most importantly, cadence 'is the very essence of regulating not only the Horse's natural paces, but also his artificial airs: in short, every thing where perfection and skill is necessary.' It was 'the *Ne plus Ultra* of Equestrian execution' that required both the human's musicality and the horse's expressive movement of it.¹⁵² The introduction of music to the display of the height of horsemanship, to the performance of cadence, would have enhanced the rhythm, visible control and ability of both horse and man to visualize their musical talents – their reciprocal relationship and almost supernatural abilities – while making clear any missteps or irregular movements much like the musical freestyle (or kur) performances of today's dressage competitors. It was through music, in this instance, that the spectacularization of noble horsemanship, of traditionally elite forms of masculinity, was introduced to the audience; an audience, for Astley, that was assumed to possess 'taste and discernment' in theatrical performance and in horsemanship knowledge. As we have seen, the Amphitheatre audience was diverse indeed, and as a result would have possessed a wide array of Vineyard knowledge as well as its complete lack. However, any mistimed step or deviation from the movements of the other horses and men performing the dance would have been visible regardless of the audience's insight because of the music itself; even the most non-horsy person would be able to judge the success or failure of the dances with

¹⁵¹ Astley, *Astley's System of Equestrian Education*, 75-76.

¹⁵² Astley, *Astley's System of Equestrian Education*, 3.

horses. As a result, for Astley and John, there was status and personal credit to be won through the courting of vulgar applause.

We should, however, remember the English chauvinism of this period, and that Astley and John risked being slandered for dancing in the first place – regardless of how well it was performed. Even though the Amphitheatre frequently promoted English patriotism, these dances, such as the 1807 *L'Ecole de Mars* performed at Astley's new secondary Amphitheatre, the Olympic Pavilion, which included 'the popular Cotillion & Country Dance' (Figure 37), were often expressly and overtly not English as dancing in general was frequently thought to be. As John Bryce Jordan has shown, much English dance – in this case mounted or not – was French in origin, and was later adopted into existing English traditions. However, while the grace and elegance of appearance inherent in male dancers was considered necessary for the completion of a proper gentleman, for Angelo, dancing without horses frequently led to accusations of softened and overly refined manhood.¹⁵³ Within the Amphitheatre, the mounted minuets usually escaped such accusations and were generally considered (in the Amphitheatre press anyway) graceful, polite and fantastic for their visualization of equestrian skill. However, the advertising campaigns of rival establishments were quick to take advantage of dance's lurking associations and discourses of effeminacy and unstable gender.

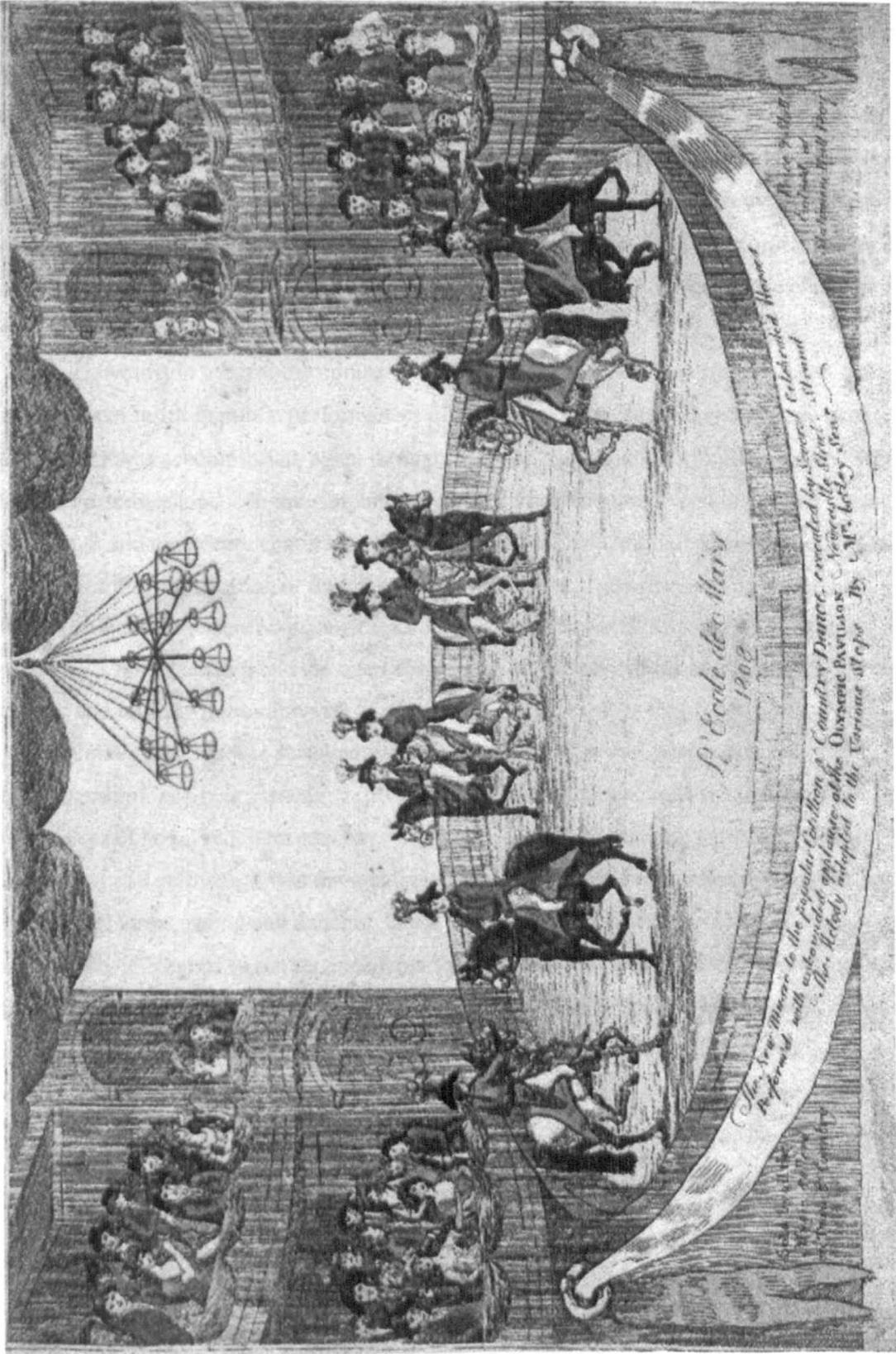
Appearing under the column, 'SMALL TALK, OR, CHAT ON THE TURF' (a column used by both the Amphitheatre and the Royal Circus to advertise their acts, usually at the expense of the other's reputation) the Royal Circus took direct aim at the potential emasculating effects of dancing with horses:

Lord Gallop. Pray does Mr. Hughes dance a minuet on horse-back?

Groom. Oh no, my Lord, he is too fond of manly exercise to dance a minute on horse-back like a *he, she, girl*.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ Angelo, *Reminiscences*, vol. II, 322-323; John Bryce Jordan, "'Is He No Man?'" Toward an Appreciation of Male Effeminacy in English Dance History,' *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture* 30 (2001): 201-222.

¹⁵⁴ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, item 866 (10 August, 1786); BL, *Collectanea*, vol. IV, f.43, (*Universal Register*, 8 August, 1786).



[Figure 37: L'Ecole de Mars (1807). © Trustees of the British Museum.]

From the perspective of a rival equestrian entertainment venue, and from Charles Hughes, a man who was firmly of the anti-*haute école* Vineyard as we saw in the previous Chapter, Astley's minuets were performed by 'he, she, girls' rather than proper men 'fond of manly exercise' such as performed nightly at the Circus (whose acts of horsemanship were almost identical to the Amphitheatre).¹⁵⁵ In their attempt to discredit their rival's equestrian feats of horsemanship, the Royal Circus fell back on the tried and true discourse of dance's and the *manège*'s effeminacy that we saw used to effect in the last Chapter. Because John and Astley performed a dance which incorporated French style and French horsemanship traditions, they were over-refined, not British, and hence of unstable and mixed gender.

However, in general the minuet and other dances on horseback such as the *L'Ecole de Mars* did not result in public performances of unstable gender, and this remarkable avoidance of effeminacy was accomplished, again through the overt visualization of militarism and élitely skilled horsemanship.¹⁵⁶ In the Amphitheatre – like the unmounted version popular during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – the dance was adopted, Anglicized, and presented as a vehicle for the visualization of the school for military arts.¹⁵⁷ Performed by men in the typical long-stirruped and cadenced *manège* seat, dances like *L'Ecole de Mars* were, in essence, displays of Astley's horsemanship and the overt connection of it to chivalrous battle, nostalgic court culture and military masculinity set to music.¹⁵⁸

John's dancing was sufficiently skilled in the *manège* and *haute école* (in graceful horsemanship), and hence manly, to offset most lingering connections with effeminacy (regardless of how French he may have appeared). Instead of creating an image of over-refinement and softness, it was the melding of two recognized and previously separate and musical art forms, riding and dancing, that allowed for the performance of another type of masculinity analogous to but separate from the all-pervasive militarism and honour embodied by the senior Astley. While he did perform the same acts of trick riding, clowning and *manèged* horsemanship as his father (and he was discussed in the same gendered discourse when doing

¹⁵⁵ George Palliser Tuttle, *The History of the Royal Circus, Equestrian and Philharmonic Academy, 1782-1816, St. George's Fields, Surry, England* (Ph.D. Dissertation: Tufts University, 1972).

¹⁵⁶ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, item 525 (8 December, 1783).

¹⁵⁷ For details of the dance itself, its close connections with the equally popular quadrille and on its Anglicization see Thomas Wilson, *The Quadrille and Cotillion Panorama. Second Edition, with the addition of nine designs, To illustrate the Performance of the Figures* (London: Published by R. & E Williamson, Engravers, 14 Moore Place, Lambeth, where may be had, and at the Music Shops, The Quadrille Fan, containing the Diagrams of this Work, March 30, 1822); Elizabeth Aldrich, *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1991), 15-16.

¹⁵⁸ 'The Melody' was 'adapted to the Various Steps by Mr Astley Senr.' *L'Ecole de Mars* (London: 1807).

so), it was John's dancing *on* horseback that introduced another form of performative masculinity.¹⁵⁹

Dancing minuets, comic pieces and playing the hornpipes or violin while standing on horseback, 'superanuated' the trick riding that was the stock in trade for the Amphitheatre. John's dancing on horseback is thought to fall 'somewhere between three main points on the current map of recognised cultural activities' ('the definitive sport of equestrianism; vulgar entertainment; and the art of the theatre') for Kwint.¹⁶⁰ However, I would argue, John's dancing took from a few different traditions of horsemanship, as we have seen, incorporated entertainments popular among most classes, and was in itself already considered theatre. All of these interests and influences taken together, then, resulted in a new, innovative method of horsemanship and equestrian display; an entertainment taken from both 'vulgar' and courtly dance traditions, which were performed before an audience of mixed classes, and which joined to traditions from both London's popular legitimate and illegitimate theatres with those of the European (and nostalgically English) courts which made John one of the most famous riders of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As such, for John, it was skill and illusionist bravery on the battle field (never put into practice in actual battle but adopted through a militaristic familial environment) mixed with music, grace, agility and physical beauty that were manly.

As one puff, masquerading in the guise of an anonymous letter from France, related, when John performed, 'the opera dancers, the grand dancer of the King, the dancers of the comedies, and other places in Paris, are all deserted: the scene is changed, and the English Dancer on Horseback, (or Paris Rose) is followed by the King, Queen, and all the Court of France.'¹⁶¹ All of high and low society followed John's athletic feats, and commended him for his abilities. John possessed and 'exhibited in one of the finest attitudes of the body we ever remember to have seen' for one newspaper correspondent, and as the Amphitheatre functioned upon the reputations of its members, to elevate John to that of an ideal specimen of masculinity was not only to draw in the admiring gaze of men but also that of women.¹⁶² John's performances on horseback made him a part of the sexualized cult of celebrity and effectively

¹⁵⁹ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, item 460 (3 April, 1783), 466 (25 April, 1783), and 1102 (25 June, 1789).

¹⁶⁰ Kwint, *Astley's Amphitheatre*, 38-39.

¹⁶¹ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, item 390 (19 June, 1785).

¹⁶² BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, item 487 (25 January, 1783).

drew in the eager hordes impatient to see his performances.¹⁶³ 'Young Astley seems to attract the Ladies,' noted one newspaper article, 'and his manly abilities of lofty vaulting and other manœuvres on the Horses are much admired by the Gentlemen.'¹⁶⁴ His sexuality and affective power 'attracted' the women while his mastery of the nonhuman in horsemanship and vaulting manfully displayed resulted in the 'admiration' and awe of the men.

Significantly, it was his impact on female audience members that garnered the most attention and commentary in the press. On June 19, 1785, for example, there appeared in a London newspaper a puff '*addressed to MR. ASTLEY by a LADY, on seeing his performances.*'¹⁶⁵ The (fictitious) lady wrote:

You've something ev'ry sense to charm,
And ev'ry breast with transport warm.
In fair assemblage you excell;
For ev'ry part is rang'd so well
As your amusements are display'd,
Like paintings that from light and shade
Receive the charm which forms their grace,
The same in all your acts we trace.
Your exquisite display of art
Must to each sense new joys impart.
While you some wond'rous skill display
In admiration lost we stray,
When next some sportive scene appears
That with delight our bosom cheers.
Thus ev'ry passion's charm'd by you,
In all we hear, in all we view.
You at command make brutes obey,
Walk, work, or dance, with movement gay.
Your horses far excel report,
Whose minuet might grace a Court;
Their hornpipe quick to music true,
They seem as if each step they knew;
But all the art and skill's with you.

Like his father, John was also able to command horses at his will in an admirable display of nature tamed and improved, but he was also able to charm and command the emotions, affective responses, of his audience. His 'spirit rules the whole' Amphitheatre, and he was a commander of both human and animal life as a pseudo-deity to the 'delight' and 'charm' of the spectators.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ The newspapers repeatedly made reference to Astley's popularity with the English ladies. For example: BL, 'Astley's Cuttings', vol. 1, items 837, 838 (both 17 June, 1786), 843 (20 June, 1786); and with the French: item 390 (10 August, 1782).

¹⁶⁴ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, item 469 (n.d.).

¹⁶⁵ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, item 673 (19 June, 1785).

¹⁶⁶ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, item 673 (n.d.).

However, these affective responses from his female audience members were somewhat scandalous in their own right, and indicative of the visual interaction between spectacle and spectator common to the Amphitheatre stage. John not only provided enjoyable entertainment for the audience, but also seems to have spent so much time admiring the audience in turn that his preoccupation created a danger of him not completing his performances. As one newspaper jokingly argued: John ‘should be cautioned against admiring the ladies too much, lest he should be thrown off the saddle!’¹⁶⁷ His returned gaze caused distraction and inattention in his performance, and his performance in turn caused hearts to flutter and salacious thoughts to run rampant. John’s performance of ‘leaping over the garter’, for example, made some women state that ‘he seems an angel flying into the seats of Paradise’ ‘when he is *above the garter*’. Here, conflated with an alluded physical titillation caused by his visible male sexuality (‘for he looks and performs it [leaping over the garter] so well’), the metaphorical allegory of angelic beauty and skill on horseback moved beyond associations with classical purity to ribaldry and rakish masculinity.¹⁶⁸ This was also the case for one rather remarkable puff of 1786:

A young Lady, whose wit and beauty has lately made her the toast at the West end of the town, having been heard several times to say, “*That young Astley was a Thief!*” her brother, an Officer in the Guards, feeling it seriously, and thinking that his Sister’s delicacy prevented her from bringing *our Equestrian Hero* to justice, privately obtained a warrant against him, and under pretence of giving his Sister an airing in the family coach, actually took her to the Magistrate’s house, where the supposed *culprit* was attending. The Lady no sooner perceived *Young Astley*, than she fainted away, and upon recovering, exclaimed “*Oh, there’s the Thief!*” Patience, young Lady, (cried his worship)—“You shall have justice done you—but, pray, *what* has the rogue stolen from you?” A general silence now prevailed, and every one seemed anxious to hear the charge. “Come, Madam, (said the Justice again) *what* has he done?” “Sir, (cried the Lady, just bursting into tears) *he has stole my heart!*” “Oh, I am sorry for that (replied the Magistrate) but if I was to sit here, to hear such complaints against him as these, I should have nothing else to do—he is an old offender—and the best thing I can do, is to recommend it to the parties to settle the matter amongst themselves.”¹⁶⁹

John, in this record, had a long history of stealing women’s hearts, and however unintentional his affect on women seems, John does remain a hero throughout the accusations of thievery. While, as Margaret Hunt has found, displays of ‘heterosexuality became a defining feature ... of English manhood’ over the century, and such displays were, as Charles Conaway argues, especially necessary for men of the theatre, given emerging male types of ambiguously gendered antitheses to hegemonic masculinity, such as the molly, it was crucial for many men to distance themselves

¹⁶⁷ BL, ‘Astley’s Cuttings,’ vol. 1, item 843 (20 June, 1786).

¹⁶⁸ BL, ‘Astley’s Cuttings,’ vol. 1, item 837 (17 June, 1786).

¹⁶⁹ BL, *Collectanea*, vol. IV, f.27 (*Morning Post*, 18 June, 1786).

from these emerging effeminacies – frequently the first step in unwanted associations with same-sex desire – and unclear masculinities. While David Garrick looked to parts that theatricized solid ‘masculine virtue’, for the men of the Amphitheatre the most effective means of ensuring their ideal masculinity was through the visuality of militaristic and chivalrous virtues and visible displays of horsemanship.¹⁷⁰

These abilities on horseback, so powerful for the viewing public and central to John’s identity, are also evident in one of the few illustrations of John in existence. In a late eighteenth century etching of him performing a dance on horseback, it is precisely grace, elegance and sexuality that are the primary focus even in the depiction of him at such a young age (sixteen or seventeen years old) (Figure 38). Situated in a classical, columned environment, John is dancing ‘On the Gibraltar charger’, presented to him by General Elliot, as we saw earlier. Even though John did not serve with Elliot in the wars, unlike his father, in the Amphitheatre space he was visualized as worthy of the honour that such a gift entailed, and of the classic militaristic masculinity necessary to be worthy of the horse’s heroic past. It was John who was worthy of receiving the gift of one of the most celebrated veterans of the battle for Gibraltar, the horse who was ‘Fearless as noble in his soul,’ and whose ‘Element is War alone’. The charger was ‘The Hero’s aid and pride’ in times of war and peace; he was John’s – the Equestrian Hero’s – close helper and submissive partner on the Amphitheatre stage. Even though there is no surviving evidence regarding what this act was about, it is possible that John was performing, embodying, the role of General Elliot himself. Dressed in what possibly could be the theatrical version of a military coat – complete with service medals – John channelled the life, heroism, status and bravery of the great man while simultaneously remaining a classical hero in his own right; John was a champion of the Amphitheatre and of horsemanship, decorated for his skill and secure in his own masculinity. Acrobatically balanced on the back of the luxuriously dressed horse, John himself embodied the sublimely untouchable, exotic, noble and beautiful celebrity figure firmly elevated over all of human and nonhuman animal creation.¹⁷¹ He possessed the subjective core of strength, courage, skill and physicality of the chivalrously military man and master of nature, but joined those attributes to a bodily attractiveness unique to him alone. He was a fantasy figure, larger than life, and was thus admired by both men and women as an unattainable ideal of

¹⁷⁰ Margaret R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), 115; Charles Conaway, ‘“Thou’rt the man”: David Garrick, William Shakespeare, and the Masculinization of the Eighteenth-Century Stage,’ *Restoration and Eighteenth Century Theatre Research* 19 no. 1 (Summer 2004): 35.

¹⁷¹ For information on the sublime and classical hero in eighteenth-century portraiture see Myrone, *Bodybuilding, Part One*.

masculine beauty.¹⁷² Either labelled *sprezzatura*, magnetism, radiance, attraction, aura, charm, presence or charisma at various times in history (as Joseph Roach has shown ‘abnormally interesting people’ to have been called), John Astley had ‘It’.¹⁷³



[Figure 38: William Hincks, *Young Astley. The Equestrian Hero* (1783-1797). © Trustees of the British Museum.]

¹⁷² BL, ‘Astley’s Cuttings,’ vol. 1, item 550 (26 May, 1784).

¹⁷³ Joseph Roach, *It* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 7, 128.

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For Astley and John it was also thought that performances of the *manège*, 'comic and serious Dancing on full speed', playing the violin while mounted – 'without holding the Bridle-Reins (on a good Gallop)' – and displays with flags did more than entertain. Instead, 'If the Management of the Horses through all its various, useful, and extensive Parts, can boast of publick utility, Master ASTLEY stands unrivalled.'¹⁷⁴ John, even though he was known for his elegance, sexuality and celebrity, was still his father's son. He still knew how to ride and train a horse for the military; he knew how to instruct others in the art; and he was able to subjugate the nonhuman animal to his absolute will. That being said, not all Amphitheatre reviewers considered the performances therein to be useful or beneficial to Britain. Accusations of uselessness, similar to the ones that plagued Cavendish and other practitioners of the *manège* or *haute école*, form an undercurrent to the rhetoric of masculinity and horsemanship on the Amphitheatre stage, and to the horsemanship taught there either in person or via Astley's 1801 manual. His 'VARIOUS SURPRISING new ATTITUDES of DANCING on a Single Horse' were, as the Amphitheatre puff writer complained, 'thought by every horseman in *England, Germany, and France* impracticable.' There was no public utility to be found in a man who took the effeminizing practice of dance and transferred it to the back of a nonhuman animal; there was no morality, no benefit, in such acts. However, it still was these abilities that for the Astleys remained central not only to the Amphitheatre ideas of 'publick utility', but also to masculinity. Astley and John could 'at command make brutes obey, / Walk, work, or dance, with movement gay', and both had a 'spirit' that 'rules the whole, / For 'tis the animating soul / Which wakes the mind to new delight / Your theatre affords each night.'¹⁷⁵

vi. PATTY AND THE BEES

The ability to make animals obey was not only the domain of the Astley men, however. As I argued in the previous chapter, social convention dictated that women ride, and that they do so in a manner that redoubled gender categorization and even enhanced their innate femininity. The epistemologies of the riding house and the ontologies of being on horseback reflected social anxiety over women as possible agents in the visualization of their mastery over their own animalized selves, over nonhuman animals as rational beings, and of alternatively 'masculine' femininities. However, while such hierarchical domination of both brute kind and gender hierarchies resulted in the solidification of the equestrians' femininity for Mrs. Coltman and

¹⁷⁴ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings', vol. 1, item 222 (24 October, 1781).

¹⁷⁵ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings', vol. 1, item 673 (19 June, 1785).

those under the tutelage of Mr. Carter, when alternative horsemanship practices to those discussed previously were practiced the masculine and animal protection afforded to women riders was not enough to offset appellations of an unstable sex and animalized monstrosity. This is especially the case with the fantastic horses of the Amphitheatre. As we have seen, through masquerade, the masking of the animal in taking on the human other through acting, the nonhuman performers of the Amphitheatre adopted human abilities, thoughts, behaviour and characters that in turn elevated them over others in natural brute creation. It was this elevation that in turn required a special human – man or woman – to work with them; it required a human who possessed skill, rationality and courage far superior to that of equestrians outside of the Amphitheatre. Because of the rationality and anthropomorphic qualities displayed by the Amphitheatre nonhumans, neither the men nor the women were ever safe figures of social normalcy. While the equine performers of the Amphitheatre, much like Mrs. Coltman's mare, were understood to be the product of Philip Astley's training, their performances and his abilities as horseman were not conducive to comfortable viewing by the audience. It was this status that negated, for the most part, any reassuring patriarchal overtones to women acting on horseback: if the nonhuman's trainer was the embodiment of 'devilry in disguise', how could a woman working with the same horse and performing similar feats of equestrianism be viewed as performing normative femininity?¹⁷⁶

For one woman of the Amphitheatre, Patty Astley, it was this super-human status along with an ownership and acceptance of the negative connotations associated with divergent equestrian practices that was central to her livelihood and projected public self. Performing alongside Philip and John from the beginning, and advertised as performing feats of 'MANLY HORSEMANSHIP' alongside other women at Astley's, she was a staple and much admired aspect of the Amphitheatre's repertoire of the strange and wondrous.¹⁷⁷ Astley's Amphitheatre, like other theatres in London, was an environment that rewarded women for expressing alternative femininities to the social norm.¹⁷⁸ Based on skill on horseback and performance ability rather than gender, women riders within the Amphitheatre, or even children, regularly received higher wages than men – approximately two-thirds more than their male performers for the majority of women in the circus, for example;¹⁷⁹ and women frequently performed as female warriors

¹⁷⁶ Stoddart, *Rings of Desire*. 66.

¹⁷⁷ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, item 667 (23 May, 1785).

¹⁷⁸ Felicity Nussbaum, 'Actresses and the Economics of Celebrity, 1700-1800', in *Theatre and Celebrity in Britain, 1660-2000*, eds. Mary Luckhurst and Jane Moody (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 155.

¹⁷⁹ Kwint, 'Astley's Amphitheatre', 114.

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complete with arms and armaments. One Amphitheatre handbill, for example, illustrates the various feats of spectacular horsemanship the Astleys were expected to show their audiences, and Patty was as shocking as her husband and son (standing on his head or lying on the horse's back at age five respectively).¹⁸⁰ Like Astley, Patty and other female equestrians in the early circus (such as Mrs. Hughes, Mrs. Griffin and Mrs. Sampson) frequently rode 'standing upright on the Saddle ... [at] full Speed', and on two, three and four horses at a time.¹⁸¹ Unlike breeches roles in the theatres, however, Patty and other women of the circus performed in full skirts – a somewhat awkward costume for trick riding – in a show of 'a necessary but highly exaggerated mask of feminine actions and costume'. These 'spectacular accoutrements' were paired, like aerial acts of the nineteenth century, as Helen Stoddart and Peta Tait argue, with 'acts involving uncommon physical strength and danger in which the gestures and tricks' performed 'do not allow for the separate codification of male and female performers.' Gender boundaries upheld outside of the Amphitheatre were here transcended, and the body of the performers had the ability to 'disrupt... social belief in an innate and fixed identity defined by sexual difference.'¹⁸² The women of the Amphitheatre performed the masculine while ensuring the visual presence of the feminine in a dual-natured act of gender; Patty could thus be viewed not only standing on the back of two horses in full skirts, as image twelve (top right) from an Astelyan handbill illustrates, but also wielding a cavalry sabre while doing so to her social and financial benefit (Figure 39).¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ [Philip Astley]. *By Particular Desire, a few Evenings longer...* Handbill (London: n.pub., Tuesday, 28 July, 1772).

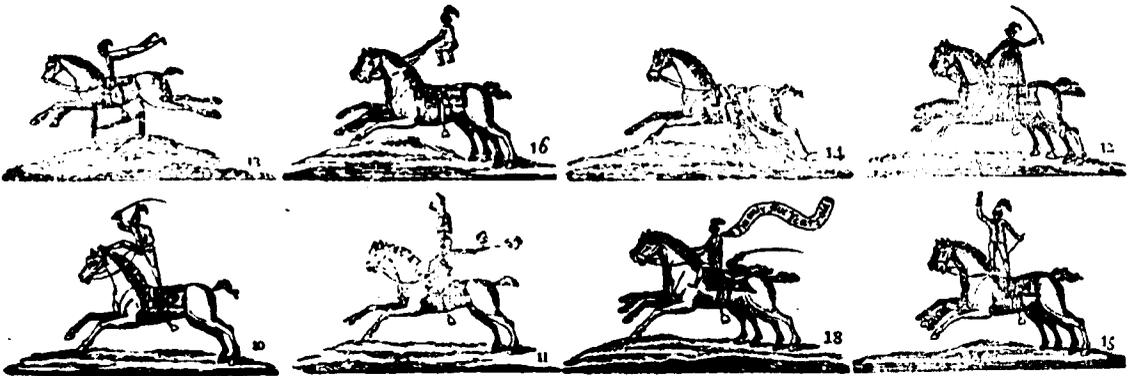
¹⁸¹ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, items 89 (1772), 119 (1776), and 179 (6 April, 1780).

¹⁸² Stoddart, *Rings of Desire*, 174-175; Tait, 'Danger Delights,' 43.

¹⁸³ [Philip Astley]. *By Particular Desire, a few Evenings longer...* For examples of Patty's fame and international renown see BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, items 46 and 48.

Performing Horse-Men

By PARTICULAR DESIRE, a few Evenings longer.
ASTLEY's Activity of HORSEMANSHIP, and the celebrated Mr. WILDMAN's
EXHIBITION of BEE'S, on Ho seback.
 Mr. WILDMAN, between the Acts of Horse-ship, will ride with a Swarm of BEE'S on his Arm, then on his Head, which will imitate a Bob-Wi;



ASTLEY's Riding-School, Weltminter-bridge.

TUESDAY, the 28th of JULY, 1772

Mr. ASTLEY had the Honour, last Night, to exhibit to upwards of Two Thousand of the Nobility, Gentry and Others, at whose earnest Request (with many more that could not possibly be admitted for Want of Room) he was prevailed upon to continue his Performance a few Evenings longer, as he found it impossible to satisfy the generous Public in so short a Time.

Mr. and Mrs. **A S T L E Y,**

Who had the Honour of exhibiting before their MAJESTIES of England and France, &c. &c. &c.

With Master Astley, only five Years old, a young Lady nine Years old, &c. &c. &c.

Will exhibit all their amazing FEATS, never yet attempted by any One in the World. Also the surprizing 'Little Animal, the Military Horse, whose Abilities far surpass Human Conception. They ride in the above, and go o her different Attitudes, with Elegance and Ease, and give general Satisfaction to every Beholder.

The Whole to conclude with the French Piece, &c. &c.

•• Doors to be opened at half past FIVE, to begin at half past SIX o'Clock precisely. — Admittance on the Occasion as usual.

[Figure 39: Philip Astley, Handbill (1772). *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*.
<http://gdc.gale.com/products/eighteenth-century-collections-online/>]

While some women, such as Mary Wollstonecraft, resisted the continuing and popular affinity of women with nonhuman animals in order to assert their kinship with men,¹⁸⁴ Patty embraced and even exaggerated her own animality in yet another attempt at pushing against and transgressing gender boundaries. This was especially prominent in one of Patty's early horsemanship acts where she performed 'with a Swarm of Bees on her Arm, in the Imitation of a Lady's Muff' or commanded 'Three Hives of Bees to march across a Table.'¹⁸⁵ Praised as 'the first Female that ever had Courage to exhibit the Bees', Patty had initially performed alongside and then taken over the pre-existing horsemanship and apiarism act of Thomas Wildman, 'the king of bees', and even came to sell his pamphlet on bee keeping alongside her husband at the Amphitheatre.¹⁸⁶ Bees were the most controversial of all the insects studied by entomologists and

¹⁸⁴ Sharon Ruston, 'Natural Rights and Natural History in Anna Barbauld and Mary Wollstonecraft,' in *Literature and Science*, ed. Sharon Ruston (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd., 2008), 68; Jane Spencer, 'The link which unites man with brutes': *Enlightenment Feminism, Women and Animals* (unpublished keynote paper for the Women's Studies Group Workshop, London: 24 April, 2010).

¹⁸⁵ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, items 64 (25 April, 1772) and 116 (1776).

¹⁸⁶ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, item 65 (1772); Deirdre Coleman, 'Entertaining Entomology: Insects and Insect Performers in the Eighteenth Century,' *Eighteenth-Century Life* 30 (Summer 2006), 120. Thomas

discussed by the general public during the eighteenth century. Often considered mysterious, oriental, exotic and potentially subversive for much of the century, bees enjoyed a social structure that was organized in an opposite manner to that of patriarchal England. With a Queen at the head of the hive (instead of a more socially comfortable King) who controlled all aspects of the hives' functioning, from food gathering and security to reproduction, the normative gender order was called into question. It was this last aspect, the sexual politics of bees, that especially worried and fascinated scientists; it was the 'flagrantly disruptive, discomfiting female sexuality' exhibited within the hive, that was most controversial and which had the most potential to comment on human-animal patriarchal social structures and on English social hierarchy. According to Deirdre Coleman, 'It is possible that, in usurping the queen's powers and presenting himself as "king," Wildman was seeking to recapture some vestige of the hive's unseated patriarch and thereby counter the "inversion of nature" so scandalously conspicuous in the hive's gender arrangements.'¹⁸⁷

While this does seem to be the case with Wildman's act, and subsequent bee acts by his male followers, patriarchal authority cannot be imposed by a woman, and this model becomes awkward when Patty's affinity with nonhuman kind is taken into consideration. Working from and intentionally using, I argue, the image and discourse of woman as more animal than man, Patty's performances with the bees, while on horseback, allowed her paradoxically to embody their Queen as human-animal and to subvert established gender norms and definitions of women so central to Carter's and Mrs. Coltman's horsemanship; not only was she performing a previously male act on a horse, but she was also courageous enough to become the hive's external human-animal mistress while doing so. In this act, Patty performed a femininity that was courageous, monarchical and decidedly of matriarchal bent – she embraced, troublingly so, the 'inversion of nature' so problematic to eighteenth-century entomologists. In her act, the nonhuman animals of all genders were controlled and dominated by an even more powerful human-animal Queen in a display of absolute and exotic power.

This control, this transgression of categorized boundaries, Patty's masculine militarism and courageous femininity, did not go unnoticed by critics who complained about the indecency, offence, and general degeneration that such actions would invariably cause for society. 'The notorious Mrs. Sampson and Mrs. Astley's equestrian feats,' for one commentator, 'are ... instances ... of the indecent public exhibitions, which the refinement of modern manners has not

Wildman, *A Complete Guide for the Management of Bees, Throughout the Year* (Dublin: Printed for Philip Astley; Also, sold by Mrs. Astley, so well known for her great Command over the Bees, 1774).

¹⁸⁷ Coleman, 'Entertaining Entomology', 115-120, 123.

yet civilized us from.’ As such, these ‘equivocations of gender... offending against all decency of appearances, and propriety of manners and character, ought never to be licensed, by a Master of the Revels, in any polite state, or moral commonwealth.’¹⁸⁸ Similarly, Joseph Addison – keeping with his anti-equestrian tendencies – claimed that a ‘hermaphrodite’ is ‘a greater monster than the centaur’, that it would be best for all involved if effort was made ‘to keep up the partition between the two sexes, and to take notice of the smallest encroachments which the one makes upon the other’.¹⁸⁹ Patty was a hermaphrodite, troublingly male and female in one performing body. She equivocated her gender to the cost of social morals and polite society; and as Betty Rizzo has argued, such gender-bending not only had the potential to cause havoc with respectable social behaviour and properly bounded gender categories, it also had connotations of the physical strength and moral courage inherent among working women in a worrying dissolution of the class hierarchy common to the Amphitheatre as a whole.¹⁹⁰ By interacting with skill and rationality, like horsemen, Patty and the other women of the Amphitheatre visualized alternative gender constructs and classed femininities that, for Addison, made them monstrous. However, it was precisely her deviation from normative femininity, like Astley’s deviation from normative masculinity, that was central to Patty as an equestrian performer from a lower class and to the success of the Amphitheatre itself. In addition to possessing ‘Both bodies in a single body mix, / A single body with a double sex’,¹⁹¹ Patty continued to gain fame for her ‘surprising’, ‘amazing’ and ‘extraordinary’ gender-bending performances with a nonhuman animal in a space that celebrated the strange, wondrous and socially alternative.¹⁹²

vii. ‘AMPHITHEATRICALS’

The equestrian acts of Patty, Philip and John Astley worked to create forms and visualities of gender outside of the hegemonic models popular during the eighteenth century; gender models firmly grounded in idealized traditions of England’s glorious and chivalrous past where knights, soldiers, broadswords and Queens were the norm. In the Amphitheatre human animals and nonhuman animals performed side by side, represented one another and worked together in multiple ways to entertain the audience and to create fantasy spaces remembered for generations.

¹⁸⁸ Richard Griffith as quoted in Rizzo, ‘Equivocations of Gender and Rank’, 78.

¹⁸⁹ Joseph Addison, ‘Spectator 453. 9 April, 1712’, *The Works of Joseph Addison, Complete in Three Volumes. Embracing The Whole of the “Spectator.” &c.* (New York: Published by Harper & Brothers, No. 82 Cliff-Street, 1837), vol. II, 170.

¹⁹⁰ Rizzo, ‘Equivocations of Gender and Rank,’ 76 and 91; Stoddart, *Rings of Desire*, 50.

¹⁹¹ Addison, ‘Spectator 453,’ 170.

¹⁹² BL, ‘Astley’s Cuttings’, vol. 1, items 39 (16 June, 1771), 48 (1 July, 1772) and 76 (1772).

Astley's Amphitheatre !!!

Charles Dickens affectionately recalled his time at Astley's in his *Sketches by Boz* and remembered the spell that the amphitheatre and its horsemen were able to cast over him. For him, the men at Astley's were different from other actors; when viewing them lounging outside of the stage entrance between shows as a child he, along with his siblings, 'could not believe that the beings of light and elegance, in milk-white tunics, salmon-coloured legs, and blue scarfs, who flitted on sleek cream-coloured horses before our eyes at night, with all the aid o lights, music and artificial flowers, could be the pale, dissipated-looking creatures we beheld by day.' He could understand and imagine the actors of other stages being these rather rough-around-the-edges and down-on-their-luck working men, but for him 'these other men [at Astley's] are mysterious beings, never seen out of the ring, never beheld but in the costume of gods and sylphs.' Indeed,

who ever knew a rider at Astley's, or saw him but on horseback? Can our friend in the military uniform, ever appear in threadbare attire, or descend to the comparatively unwadded costume of everyday life? Impossible! We cannot – we will not – believe it.¹⁹³

For Dickens, the spell that Astley and his troop cast over the audience, their spectacularization of characters and selves that were superhuman, more than the normal person, made it distasteful, uncomfortable, impossible even to picture them as anything else. The actors of the Amphitheatre remained mysterious, unknowable, animalized supermen for Dickens, and to imagine them as anything else would be a betrayal of their abilities and of his childhood memory. However, the Amphitheatre was still a hodge-podge of acts where the performance of frequently worrying gender constructions was conducted alongside the promotion of gender normativity, where the increasing popularity of vulgar and lowly spectacle threatened to displace enlightening legitimate drama, and where a controversial tradition of nonhuman animal actors working alongside human performers was perpetuated. It was these worrying elements of the Amphitheatre and its human-animal actors that opened the Amphitheatre, and other illegitimate theatres, to criticism and ridicule by those distressed at the apparent corruption that the vulgar acts caused for traditional English pastimes and arts.¹⁹⁴

Samuel Collings' visual satire *The Downfall of TASTE & GENIUS or The WORLD as it goes of 1784*, for example, shows Astley's motley troop of circus performers, which included the Learned Pig, General Jackoo (the monkey mounted on a large dog), various clowns – a harlequin and a Mother Shipton – dogs and other animals in masqueraded human dress, the Frenchman,

¹⁹³ Charles Dickens, 'Sketches by Boz,' *The Dent Uniform Edition of Dickens' Journalism: Sketches by Boz and Other Early Papers, 1833-39*, ed. Michael Slater (London: J. M. Dent, 1994), 111.

¹⁹⁴ Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People*, 609.

Vincent Lunardi, with his air balloon (a popular act at the Amphitheatre), Astley (or ‘Philip the Big’¹⁹⁵) on foot and John in characteristic pose in his role of equestrian performer (Figure 40). The motley group of species-crossing animals are shown chasing and knocking down taste and genius in the feminized form of the arts and Truth while trampling underfoot examples of truly tasteful and virtuously English artistic works – those of Pope and Shakespeare. Painting, Music and Sculpture – the fine arts – are the first to be trodden upon by the leading Frenchified, nonhuman and animalized mob. All three arts have dropped their respective tools of the trade, and look up pleadingly to the charging beastly masses. Truth herself has fallen victim to Faction and Discord (in the guise of a hooded woman holding a snake aloft on the far left) who has stolen and cracked Truth’s mirror, rendering her power useless. As for Nature, Collings has illustrated her in the form of a fertility idol, and as incapable of escaping the ravages of human vanity and immorality. These social vices are represented as a grotesque jester who is busy transforming Nature into the guise of a vain, effeminate and frivolous woman by dressing her freshly frizzled hair with the finishing touches of powder. Behind the chaotic scene of desecration are Fame (holding two broken trumpets), Wisdom (holding a broken spear, beheaded and with her owl perched on the remaining stump), Justice (with a broken sword and scales), and Virtue (crippled and begging for charity) in the form of classical sculptures on battered stone columns.¹⁹⁶

Astley’s brand of performance, much like illegitimate theatre in general, is shown here to be destructive, dangerous and sacrilegious to the ‘traditional’ visual, performance and textual arts, and the associated ideal virtues.¹⁹⁷ The attractiveness of such popular entertainment has led to the devastation, violation and general neglect of beneficial masculine pastimes and morals important to men of taste, such as nobly virtuous fame (figured as crumbling and disused temples in the distance) instead of fame for lowly physical skill, comedy and pantomime. It has led, regardless of the time and effort spent emphasizing the full support of English patriotism and monarchy, to the invasion of the itinerant, illegitimate theatre where everything foreign and French thrived; an invasion that tramples the great English authors and playwrights of Britain’s glorious theatre culture and heroic past. According to Samuel Collings, the employment of non-

¹⁹⁵ As quoted in Kwint, *Astley’s Amphitheatre*, 106.

¹⁹⁶ M. Dorothy George, ‘Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires in the British Museum’, VI (London: The British Museum, 1938)

¹⁹⁷ See Moody, *Illegitimate Theatre*, for details on the social and political controversies that illegitimate theatre created in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England, and for information on how the performances at theatres such as Astley’s came to undermine the moral, theatrical and political authority of established authors, genres and acting styles.

British performers, the establishment and annual pilgrimage to Astley's Paris Amphitheatre, and the inclusion of *manèged* horsemanship and minuets, has created the overriding of the glorious British heroes of literature.

Critics also discussed the horsemanship performances and skill of Astley and sometimes found them wanting. These reviews highlight the various responses of spectators based on their horsemanship experience and ability to see knowledgeably. As one's status within a Vineyard was determined by those who could accurately see and understand the opaque correspondence between nonhuman and human animal, here a person's level of enjoyment and perception of the Amphitheatre's usefulness to society were seemingly dictated by the possession of horsemanship knowledge. One commentator on the development and patenting of Astley's unique form of training horses to withstand the shock of drums, fire and other battlefield noise, for example, was particularly scathing in his views. According to him, Astley's methods and methodologies (not to mention success) in horsemanship were nothing more than 'exhibitions of folly and manœuvring ribaldry' at 'the *Astleyan* stables near Westminster Bridge.' For this commentator, 'Mr. Astley's *equestrian patent* is, in one point of view, well enough adapted, *i.e.* to himself; he would therefore do well to confine his industry to the exclusive practice it entitles him to ———Instead of *Ladies* and *Gen'men*, in the theatre, the words *mares* and *horses*, in a stable, would grace the mouth of this Knight of the *Pad* much better.'¹⁹⁸ Astley's patented horsemanship was only useful to Astley, the author of the ridiculous and irrational frivolity of the Amphitheatre masquerading as beneficial displays of horsemanship, for this author, and as Astley not only practiced but also taught and spectacularized it, he embodied animality rather than refined gentility. He and his performers/patrons were not ladies and gentlemen but veritable horses themselves; they were nonhuman animals practicing and enjoying a degenerative, unnatural and irrational form of horsemanship unsuited to the Vineyard. Instead of enjoying status as a Master of horsemanship, for this commentator, Astley was derogatorily described as 'Knight of the *Pad*', or master of the lady's horse of choice (a position Mr. Carter may also have found himself occupying), and by extension, a woman himself. His patented horsemanship, in essence, was effeminate and unsuited to the commentator's view of the Vineyard of Horsemanship. Such views of Amphitheatre horsemanship (and by extension of Astley) were not unique to the horsemanship community; Astley's Amphitheatre was not, for everyone, the temple of innovative horsemanship that Astley, John and Patty made it out to be, and the most entertaining and

¹⁹⁸ BL, 'Astley's Cuttings,' vol. 1, item 399 (29 August, 1782).

Astley's Amphitheatre !!!

powerful attack against it came from an equestrian contemporary of Astley: Henry William Bunbury.

HENRY WILLIAM BUNBURY AND THE MOCK-MANUALS OF HORSEMANSHIP

Certain comic effects can be achieved by a brand-new rider, especially a man who dresses like a fashion model and rides like a tailor.

— C.J.J. Mullen¹

But he in the whirl of dust lay mighty and mightily fallen,
forgetful of his horsemanship.

— Homer²

.....

‘THIS ludicrous work ... is, in many instances, executed with very great humour, and irresistibly provokes our laughter’, gushed the reviewers for *The European magazine, and London Review* of October 1787. Similarly, *The British Critic* of 1809 found that ‘The singular, and truly original humour of the writing, and the unrivalled burlesque of the plates, have always made these books prime favourites’, while the reviewer for *The New Annual Register* of 1792 simply stated ‘that those who can read and view it, with unmoved muscles, do not belong to that company with which we wish to associate.’³ Henry William Bunbury’s (1750-1811) visual and textual satires of eighteenth-century horsemen were run-away successes. Bunbury, dubbed the ‘Second Hogarth’ and ‘the Raphael of Caricaturists’, became a famous figure and household name during the late eighteenth century with the publication of his *An Academy for Grown Horsemen* in 1787, and *The Annals of Horsemanship* in 1791.⁴ A renowned horseman throughout his life (he became Equerry to the Duke of York the same year the *Academy* was published), Bunbury possessed the artistic ability and horsemanship adroitness necessary for the production of his many illustrations

¹ As quoted in Thomas Meagher, *The Giant Book of Horse Wisdom* (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, Inc., 2007), 190.

² Homer, *The Original Iliad: Text and Translation*, ed. Robinson Smith (London: Grafton & Co., 1938), 155.

³ *The European magazine, and London Review*, vol. 12, (October 1787), 286; *The British Critic: a new review*, v. 32, (1809), 649; *The New annual register, or General repository of history, politics, and literature* (1792), 274. See Karen Marie Roche’s *Picturing an Englishman: The Art of Sir Henry William Bunbury, 1770-1787* (PhD Dissertation: University of Exeter, April, 2008), for further information on Bunbury’s literary and artistic success, and on the increasing popularity for the practice of caricature among the social élite during the eighteenth century.

⁴ Horace Walpole as quoted in John C. Riely, ‘Horace Walpole and the Second Hogarth’, *Eighteenth Century Studies* 9 (1975): 28-44; Adriaan van der Willigen, *Aanteekeningen op een togtje door een gedeelte van Engeland, in het jaar 1823 (Notes Made During a Trip Through a Part of England in the Year 1823)*, in Peter de Voogd, ‘De Raphaël der Carricatuurteekenaars’ Henry William Bunbury 1750-1811 ‘The Raphael of Caricaturists’: *Exhibition Catalogue* (Enschede, The Netherlands: Rijksmuseum Twenthe, 1996), 47.

and stories of horsemen in various states of mounted ineptitude.⁵ The second son of fifth Baronet, Reverend Sir William Bunbury, Henry Bunbury was educated at the élite institutions of Westminster and Cambridge; undertook a Grand Tour to France, Florence and Rome to improve his artistic abilities; was friends with notables such as Joshua Reynolds, David Garrick, Oliver Goldsmith, Horace Walpole and Samuel Johnson; was a repeat exhibitor at the Royal Academy; was illustrator for the 1773 edition of Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*; became Lieutenant of the West Sussex Militia (although never seeing actual battle) and he eventually retired with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. He was a well-known personality within London's theatre, literary and élite social circles, and his visual satires were admired and collected by people such as Horace Walpole and George III. While his satires have been described as 'social comments' and essentially non-political, both by his great-grandson in his family biography and by recent scholars who have examined his work, as we will see his satire was based on a highly significant and essentially political subject – that of the horse and his man.⁶

The late eighteenth century, as Linda Colley has shown, saw an increased attack on the British élite from below – especially during the French Revolution when similar anti-élite sentiment spread throughout Europe. There was a definite trend towards seeing the British upper classes, especially the highest echelons (of which there were only approximately 400 intermarrying families by the 1830s), as parasitic and subversive of the nation's interest rather than as the embodiments of patriotic civic virtue. One anonymous author wrote: 'Our nobility placed on an eminence among the people, instead of supporting the dignity of their station, are become a shame and disgrace to it.' Furthermore, for one anonymous critic, 'Our young noblemen are jockies, whoremasters, and spendthrifts, while those advanced in years are repairing the waste of their youth, by a shameful plunder of the public.'⁷ Jockeyship, by the second half of the eighteenth century, was synonymous with the appellations of 'rogue' or 'jock', and was a vulgar term meaning 'to coit with a woman'. Accusations of jockeyship by the time Bunbury was writing also effectively equated the governing élite (those whoremasters) with

⁵ David Garrick, 'The Old Painter's Soliloquy upon seeing Mr. Bunbury's Drawings', in *The correspondence of Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart., speaker of the House of Commons: With a memoir of his life*, ed. Sir Henry Bunbury (London: Edward Moxon, Dover Street, 1838), 377.

⁶ Riely, 'Horace Walpole and the Second Hogarth'; Roche, *Picturing an Englishman*; Sir Charles J.F. Bunbury, ed. *Memoir and Literary Remains of Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Edward Bunbury, Bart.* (London: Spottiswoode & Co., Printers, New-Street Square, E.C. and 30 Parliament Street, S.W., 1868).

⁷ As quoted in Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 153-155, 164. Dror Wahrman supports Colley in this argument, and traces further developments at the end of the century that re-define the differences between the élite and other social classes from those based on aristocracy (government) to those based on wealth. Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 151-153.

grooms rising above their station.⁸ Thus, like the jockey, the élite were accused of being untrustworthy, performing actions they were not suited to, and as a result, of becoming irresponsible servants of the commonweal who would rather, like Cavendish, spend their time and effort in personal pleasures (to their and the nation's shame and disgrace) instead of doing their duty to the public.

Coupled with these general attacks on the uselessness of the élite was a similar discourse to what we saw in Chapter III. The discourse against luxury as corrupting for the middling sort was also leveled against their social superiors where it was argued the luxury, effeminacy and degeneracy of lifestyle resulted in a weak, impotent and useless ruling élite. James Graham commented in 1780 that 'the labouring poor, who, in some sense, are forced to be temperate and active, are seldom without numerous and healthy issue, whilst the rich—those persons I mean whose time is spent in frivolous pursuits, in the gratification of every appetite, and in racking about, turning day into night, and night into day, have generally a scantily puny offspring, and often none at all.'⁹ Likewise, for Thomas Newenham in 1803: 'The greatest enemies to population are the artificial wants, the accumulation of property, and the luxury and vices which are the constant attendants of opulence, and which prevent a regular and early union between the sexes.'¹⁰ As a healthy population was widely thought to be a hallmark of a thriving and powerful nation with a strong commercial economy and clear division of labour;¹¹ those who did not or could not participate in its increase because of their own (perceived) degenerate lifestyle and luxurious indulgences were not assisting in their nation's wealth, were not upholding the social contract, and were not fulfilling their civic duties. Unlike the discourse of commerce that maintained private benefit resulted in public profit, as enacted by horsemen in the early eighteenth-century Vineyards, the discourse of civic humanism – the backlash against such notions of profit – maintained it was only through the performance of public duty to the state that the state benefitted.¹² As such, the lovers of luxury –which the élite were thought to be – were, in effect, accused of turning their backs on the social virtues of civic humanism in order to sponge off society in a shameful plunder of the public while indulging '*Self-affections* which lead to the Good of THE PRIVATE' rather than cultivating '*the natural Affections*, which lead to the Good of

⁸ Stephen Deuchar, *Sporting Art in Eighteenth-Century England: A Social and Political History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1988), 101-102.

⁹ James Graham as quoted in Robin Ganev, 'Milkmaids, Ploughmen, and Sex in Eighteenth-Century Britain,' *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 1 (January 2007): 48.

¹⁰ Thomas Newenham as quoted in Ganev, 'Milkmaids, Ploughmen, and Sex,' 48-49.

¹¹ Ganev, 'Milkmaids, Ploughmen, and Sex', 47.

¹² Roy Porter, *The Creation of the Modern World: The Untold Story of the British Enlightenment* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2000), 188-198.

Henry William Bunbury

THE PUBLICK'.¹³ They were perceived as living the charges of effeminate love of luxury – the feared and believed underlying cause, by the end of the eighteenth century, for 'poor health, a weak nation, and a shrunken population.'¹⁴

A final aspect of the attack on the gentry, and perhaps for Bunbury the most worrying, was the continual infringement of the newly-wealthy and self-made man into élite circles. As we saw in Chapter III and IV, more people of lower class were practicing horsemanship, were attempting to teach it, and were, for Bunbury, completely reprehensible and monstrous as a result. These new instructors, such as Philip Astley and Mr. Carter, were not Masters in the conventional sense of those who had personally perfected the art of horsemanship, but were individuals who professed the title of master without epistemologically earning it. They may have been proficient in riding to a degree, and were able to 'break' horses for diverse uses, but they were not true horsemen. These new horsemen were willing to dispense what knowledge they had to older beginners, and to men and women from the middling classes if they could pay the instruction fee. As a result, according to Bunbury, they had commodified the sacrosanct hall of the hereditary élite while highjacking and corrupting their teachings and values for their own ends.

This infiltration of the lower orders into ruling society by men such as Astley, the frequent political attacks against them, and the élite's prolonged associations with effeminacy, resulted in a closing of ranks and an increased social homogeneity among Bunbury's peers in the later half of the century. However, the élite were still left with the problem of, as Linda Colley has posed it: 'How, crudely, could the distinctive wealth, status and power of the new British ruling class be packaged and presented so as to seem beneficent rather than burdensome, a national asset rather than an alien growth?'¹⁵ For Bunbury, and for other horsemen, it was a retreat to the traditionally aristocratic and militaristic practice of the *manège* in the Cavendish and Sidney Meadows model, while lampooning the equestrian efforts of men from other Vineyards, that would, as it were, kill two birds with one stone. As Erienne-Jules Marey pointed out in 1899, 'Did we not see that during the past century the equerries made it their ideal to assemble their horses for the purpose of inducing them to execute movements that were

¹³ Anthony Shaftesbury as quoted in John Barrell, *The Political Theory of Painting from Reynolds to Hazlitt: 'The Body of the Public'* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), 5. Kathleen Wilson has also identified the development of such civic-humanism inspired attacks on the élite in the later half of the century. Kathleen Wilson, 'Empire of Virtue: The Imperial Project and Hanoverian Culture c. 1720-1785,' in *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689 to 1815*, ed. Lawrence Stone (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 146.

¹⁴ Felicity Nussbaum, *The Limits of the Human: Fictions of Anomaly, Race, and Gender in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 110.

¹⁵ Colley, *Britons*, 164.

considered elegant? They even went so far as to ridicule the rider who seemed to demand nothing more of his horse than the quickest possible arrival at his destination.’¹⁶ Bunbury was the preeminent satirist of the eighteenth century who ridiculed the men of Chapters III and IV who learned horsemanship as a mechanical pastime rather than an art. Instead of looking to simplify their personal display, as many élite men did in order to distance themselves from the conspicuous consumption of the middling sort, Bunbury looked to ostentatious display – the *manège* and *haute école* of past decades. The *manège* was thought of as not only allowing gentlemen to become versed in military duty and learn the patriotic and civic skills which would allow them successfully to defend the nation; it would also instil in the gentlemen proper masculine virtues central to civic humanism and the sensitively genteel and polite man of the General Wolfe model.¹⁷ They would become socially refined men who embodied both the old-school model of public, properly aristocratic, civic virtue and a modern sensitivity to social benevolence and fellow feeling.

Bunbury (practicing during the ‘golden age of graphic satire’, and mirroring the rhetoric of civic virtue voiced by members of the Royal Academy) echoed the work of other eighteenth-century horsemen by employing the potential didacticism of visual and textual satire to (re)assert, (re)normalize and reintroduce the *manège* (the historic *Art* of Horsemanship) as the chief means of instilling socially refined discourse and Centauric gramatical exactness in the élite along with proper governing values.¹⁸ He, like civic humanist John Brown, was working to generate ‘the *Capacity, Valour, and Union, of those who lead the People*’ through his visual and textual satire.¹⁹ By visualizing inept horsemen, Bunbury was engaging with popular socio-political discourses on the role and deportment of the élite in society, on civic humanism and on ideal masculinity. By perpetuating the discourse of horsemanship found in the writings of William Cavendish, Henry Herbert and Richard Berenger, he was attempting to draw other élite to the *manège* like these horsemen before him in order to solidify a Vineyard of horsemen defined by shared languages; and one that would promote the masculine virtues of the sensitive military (army) man while continuing to solidify the weakened ranks of the élite against the

¹⁶ As quoted in Andreas Mayer, ‘The Physiological Circus: Knowing, Representing, and Training Horses in Motion in Nineteenth-Century France,’ *Representations* 111 no. 1 (Summer 2010): 88.

¹⁷ Philip Carter has identified a merging of these previously distinct discourses of masculinity in his study of eighteenth-century politeness, and tied the resulting redefinition of male refinement to sometime in mid-century. Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800* (Harlow, England: Pearson Education Limited, 2001).

¹⁸ Vic Gatrell, *City of Laughter: Sex and Satire in Eighteenth-Century London* (London: Atlantic Books, 2006), 9. Gatrell has found there to have been more than 20,000 comic and satirical prints published in London between 1770-1830.

¹⁹ John Brown as quoted in Barrell, *The Political Theory of Painting*, 8.

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seemingly increased *embourgeoisement* of society. Bunbury did so by sketching antitheses to his image of the properly masculine and socially-elevated horseman, and through the practice of pathognomy and physiognomy he forcefully drove home the idea that anyone not socially or naturally worthy of practicing the *manège*, who followed the teachings of the emerging common or Amphitheatre horsemanship, or anyone who attempted to mask his essential unsuitability for the art, would be betrayed in his efforts through the visible spectacle of horsemanship itself. Furthermore, by illustrating the vulgar, the monstrous and the satanic jumped-up riding ‘master’ or general practitioner alongside ideal horsemanship, Bunbury was further arguing that horsemanship through the *manège* (if performed discursively and with sensitive feeling by those deserving of the activity – not, incidently, men such as Astley) would promote a passion for the commonweal and instil the necessary virtues in those in power. The ‘Manners and Principles of those who *lead*, [are] not of those who *are led*; of those who *govern*, [are] not those who *are governed*; for those who *make* Laws or *execute* them, will ever determine the Strength or Weakness, and therefore the Continuance or Dissolution, of a State’.²⁰ Horsemen were for Bunbury – as with most horsemen previous to him – the ones who were to lead, govern and make laws for the betterment of the nation, and anyone not of their hereditary, ‘self-selective and self-authenticating’ ranks who attempted to appropriate its practice for themselves would be without civic ability and interest, and would, like his satirized monstrous ‘masters’ of horsemanship, ultimately endanger the nation and its inhabitants.

i. THE CIVIC HUMANISM OF EQUESTRIAN SATIRE

John Barrell has argued that in a time of perceived dissolution of the civic polis in exchange for a society fragmented along the lines of rampant individualism and the division of labour, and which also saw the radical readjustment of men’s approach to and perception of the public and liberty, the rhetoric of civic humanism was alive and well among artists of the eighteenth century. He has traced the efforts of the artists from the Royal Academy to solidify or re-normalize its discourse within society by attempting to create through their art a ‘republic of taste’ composed of civically minded men. It was argued, originally by Joshua Reynolds in his *Discourses*, that through the rhetorical power of painting, a spectator could be instructed in the civic virtues and come to adopt them himself while becoming a member of a larger civic polis.²¹

²⁰ John Brown as quoted in Barrell, *The Political Theory of Painting*, 8.

²¹ Barrell, *The Political Theory of Painting*, 1. For further information on these social and labour changes see Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad & Dangerous People? England 1783-1846* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 110-174.

Bunbury, as a close friend of Reynolds (he was godfather to Bunbury's second son, Henry Edward) and a repeat exhibitor at the Academy, was also working to re-coalesce a republic of taste made up of élite horsemen who exhibited 'public spirit'.²² He was working to do 'good to all,' and to reaffirm, with a properly masculine feeling, a sense of public spirit firmly rooted in 'traditional' notions of civic humanism.²³ In doing so, Bunbury was following the writings of the early eighteenth-century civic texts which argued it was only the élite who could be truly civic both in feeling (or intention) and in actual practice, and thus, could be citizens of the republic of taste and the political republic.²⁴ Truly public men would have fulfilled the three basic requirements of civic humanism in its most 'traditional' form, as expressed by authors such as Shaftesbury and James Thomson, rather than those of the *nouveau rich*; they would have an 'independent life; Integrity in office; and, o'er all Supreme, a passion for the commonweal.'²⁵ The first qualification, an independent life, required men who enjoyed landed property or other independent incomes that removed all necessity of 'mechanical' employment or speculative endeavours, allowing them enough leisure time to devote themselves to public office or the bearing of arms – activities indispensable to a liberal man's second qualification of 'integrity in office'. The third, and certainly the most necessary, qualification for civic humanism was that of a true devotion to the nation and its inhabitants. Without this belief the primary goal of civic humanism, the protection and prosperity of the state, could not be achieved by those both best suited by birth to achieve it while possessing the means to do so.²⁶

The potential of painting – typically epic or history painting destined for public display – to generate notions of a republic of like-minded civic men – was not, for Reynolds or James Thomson in John Barrell's account, a capacity possessed by visual satire (comic-painting). Reynolds was somewhat ambiguous about the genre's function, suggesting that it was either a

²² Henry William Bunbury, *An academy for grown horsemen, containing the completest instructions for walking, trotting, cantering, galloping, stumbling, and tumbling. Illustrated with copper plates, and adorned with a portrait of the author. By Geoffrey Gambado, Esq; riding master, master of the horse, and grand equerry to the doge of Venice* (London, printed for W. Dickinson, No. 158, New Bond Street; S. Hooper, No. 212, Facing Bloomsbury Square, High Holborn; and Mess. Robinsons, Pater Noster Row, 1787), vi.

²³ Richard Cobbold, *Geoffrey Gambado: or, A simple remedy for hypochondriacism and melancholy splenic humours. By a Humorist Physician* (London: Printed, for the author, by Dean & Son, Ludgate Hill, 1864), 5. For Cobbold, 'good to all' meant providing entertainment 'to cure some over-sensitive minds of morbid and melancholy feelings, which ought not, unreasonably and unseasonably, to overwhelm them, and destroy their energies'.

²⁴ John Barrell, "'The Dangerous Goddess': Masculinity, Prestige, and the Aesthetic in Early Eighteenth-Century Britain,' *Cultural Critique* 12 (Spring 1989): 102.

²⁵ James Thomson, 'Liberty,' in *The Works of Cowper and Thomson: Including Many Letters and Poems Never Before Published in This Country. With a New and Interesting Memoir of the Life of Thomson* (Philadelphia: J. Grigg, 1832), 102.

²⁶ Barrell, *The Political Theory of Painting*, 4, 7.

private medium and hence not suitable for instruction in public virtue or that it was exempt from the requirement to provide it. Barrell does not question Reynolds' position here, and argues, drawing on Thomson's theory of the non-public nature of 'rapid Pictures' or comic images, that comic-painting was an essentially private medium where its connoisseurs would enjoy it in a parlour or other 'private' part of a home. There the comic images, for Thomson, could be taken out and enjoyed at pleasure; they were ephemeral, temporary, transitory in interest and effect. They were images to be consumed rapidly in an environment where men were 'not required to act responsibly' as public men. Comic images were, like Rowlandson's caricatures of landscape, the poor and mounted rural sportsmen, unable and unintended to engage with the public man in his civic capacity. Comic-paintings, for Barrell, 'ask no questions, and make no statements, that have to be engaged in a public, in a political space.'²⁷ I would argue, however, for practicing caricaturists such as Captain Francis Grose and Bunbury visual satire could and should work, like acknowledged publicly heroic (history) painting, to create virtuously civic feelings and desires within the audience.²⁸ Visual satire in the eighteenth century did ask questions, make statements and must be engaged within a political and public discourse. Visual satire could, through truth telling, create emulative desires in an audience of men of taste; desires to follow not the satirized subject, but its opposite in virtuous behaviour.²⁹ As the Roman caricaturist Annibale Carracci reflected:

Is it not the caricaturist's task exactly the same as the classical artist's? Both see the lasting truth beneath the surface of mere outward appearance. Both try to help nature accomplish its plan. The one may strive to visualise the perfect form and to realise it in his work, the other to grasp the perfect deformity, and thus reveal the very essence of a personality. A good caricature, like every work of art, is more true to life than reality itself.³⁰

It is through this projection of reality, this truth, that visual and textual satire could improve civic morals and 'help nature accomplish its plan' by influencing an élite public depleted in virtue; and for Bunbury, whose satires were 'remarkable for their truthful force', feelings of civic duty.³¹ Both methods of generating comic commentary could, and should for Grose, instruct the spectators in public and private manly virtues. 'IN order to do justice to the art in question,'

²⁷ John Barrell, *The Birth of Pandora and the Division of Knowledge* (London: Macmillan Press, 1992), 1-24. Thompson as quoted in this work, 15.

²⁸ Barrell, *The Political Theory of Painting*, 118-119.

²⁹ Vic Gatrell has also identified and worked with the truth-telling aspect of caricature in his own work on eighteenth-century visual satire in London. Gatrell, *City of Laughter*.

³⁰ Annibale Carracci as quoted in Amelia Faye Rauser, *Caricature Unmasked: Irony, Authenticity, and Individualism in Eighteenth-Century English Prints* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2008), 17.

³¹ Cobbold, *Geoffrey Gambado*, 4.

Grose reasoned in his 1788 *Rules for drawing caricatures*, 'it should be considered, that it is one of the elements of satirical painting, which, like poetry of the same denomination, may be most efficaciously employed in the cause of virtue and decorum, by holding up to public notice many offenders against both, who are amenable to any other tribunal; and who, though they contemptuously defy all serious reproof, tremble at the thoughts of seeing their vices of follies attacked by the keen shafts of ridicule.'³²

Visual satire could indeed have a forceful impact on those targeted by the artist's pencil. According to Vic Gatrell, caricatures operated within a 'shame-culture where public demolition of reputation was the most feared of social sanctions.' This was a real fear for the Prince of Wales who was mercilessly satirized by the caricaturist George Cruikshank, among others. Cruikshank's attacks on the Prince were his 'one fear', according to the Duke of Wellington, and they even made him flee public view for the years 1812-1820. Eventually, after trying to have the caricaturists prosecuted for seditious libel, he resorted to bribing them for their silence.³³ Even though Bunbury did not often comment on specific individuals or on contemporary political events, as did Cruikshank, Rowlandson and Gillray; his written and figurative work still had the ability to generate a worry regarding the preservation of public reputation and honour among the British social élite. Frances Burney expressed such fear in her diary: she wrote for June, 1781, that in the evening while at Streatham, 'Dr. Johnson' (renowned for his unusual height) '*forced* me to sit on a very small sofa with him, which was hardly large enough for himself; and which would have made a subject for a print by Harry Bunbury that would have diverted all London; *ergo*, it rejoiceth me that he was not present.'³⁴ Upon meeting Bunbury for the first time on Tuesday, August 14, 1787, she was cognizant of his 'natural and sensible' conversation, but was surprised by its lack of 'any humour, or keenness of expression or manner,' qualities she evidently had come to expect of a man with his formidable reputation as a man who would caricature anyone regardless of social position. 'So now we may all be caricatured at his leisure!' she complained; 'A man with such a turn, and with talents so inimitable in displaying it, was a rather dangerous character to be brought within a Court!' Later, on Sunday, August 23, after meeting with Colonel Gwynne, General Bufe and Bunbury at Windsor, she noted: 'All the household has agreed to fear him, except Mrs. Schwellenberg [Queen Charlotte's former nurse],

³² Francis Grose, *Rules for drawing caricatures: with an essay on comic painting* (London: printed by A. Grant, for S. Hooper, 1788), 4.

³³ Gatrell, *City of Laughter*, 220-221.

³⁴ Fanny [Frances] Burney, *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay, Author of "Evelina," "Cecilia," &c. Edited by her niece.... A New Edition. In Seven Volumes. Vol. II. 1786-87* (London: Published for H. Colburn, by, his successors, Hurst and Blackett, Great Marlborough Street, 1854), 30.

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who is happy he cannot caricature her because, she says, she has no *Hump*'.³⁵ In Burney's opinion Bunbury continued to be troubling and untrustworthy – although he did manage to entertain her on a couple of occasions, and she was on good terms with his wife, Catherine Horneck – but his sociability and 'mildness and urbanity' in discourse never did 'lead ... [her] to forget the strokes of his pencil and power of his caricature'.³⁶ Bunbury was considered a formidable individual within élite literary, political and military circles, and was famed (and feared) for his powers of social defamation.

However, his fame was not restricted to the drawing rooms of the London literary set, and his satire impressed a wider reading and viewing public. Bunbury's name, along with that of his pseudonym, Geoffrey Gambado, became synonymous with socially and politically inept men on horseback within months of the *Academy's* publication on September 1, 1787.³⁷ The newspaper *World* (1787) reported in the February 14, 1788 issue that 'Towards half past two, various Members [of Parliament] were amusing themselves very pleasantly in the [Hyde] Park, practising the Rules of Riding laid down by *Geofry* [sic] *Gambado*—or BUNBURY for him.' Also, the February 23, 1798, edition of the *Morning Post and Gazetteer* sneeringly related that 'Heavy complaints have been made of the many *dreadful* accidents which have befallen several members of the Glasgow Troop of Cavalry, from a *want* of knowledge in the equestrian art, we recommend to their *serious perusal*, the excellent Hints to bad Horsemen of GEOFFREY GAMBADO, Esq.' The images and writings of Geoffrey Gambado (Bunbury) became over the course of the late eighteenth century not only useful for describing the gambols of Hyde Park equestrians, but they were also used to insult and to improve those whose horsemanship and governing abilities were not up to acceptable standards. As Tobias Smollett commented in his glowing review of Bunbury's *Annals*: 'Geoffrey illustrates horsemanship, by praising the absurdities to be avoided; the facetious painter points the ridicule so strongly, that every picture becomes a forcible lesson';³⁸ every picture was a powerfully visual lesson of the importance for the élite of Bunbury's normative, civically-virtuous and horsemanship-focused masculinity, and the impossibility of obtaining any level of perfection in the art for anyone not of that rank.

³⁵ Fanny [Frances] Burney, *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay, Author of "Evelina," "Cecilia," &c. Edited by her niece.... A New Edition. In Seven Volumes. Vol. III. 1786-87* (London: Published for H. Colburn, by, his successors, Hurst and Blackett, Great Marlborough Street, 1854), 341, 352; Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727-1783* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 581.

³⁶ Burney, *Diary and Letters*, 352.

³⁷ *World* (1787) (London: Thursday, February 14, 1788), Issue 352; *Morning Post and Gazetteer* (London: Friday, February 23, 1798), Issue 9088.

³⁸ Tobias Smollett, *The Critical Review, or, Annals of literature*, 64 (London: Published by W. Simpkin and R. Marshall, 1787), 348.

The *Academy*, and the *Annals* afterwards, were intended specifically for an audience consisting of true judges and true lovers of horsemanship; or men of the public who because of their élite, traditional – or Vineyard – and properly masculine upbringing were able to understand and appreciate the civic lessons within the images and texts. They were able, because of their social positions and personal financial status, to pursue *manèged* horsemanship for the nation's benefit from a young age and to become accepted Vines within the Vineyard. While, for James Barry, 'A picture does not offer more knowledge to some than to others, and so does not offer to some power over others', for Bunbury a picture did offer more knowledge and power to some than to others.³⁹ Men in their 'private' environs of a study or parlour consumed Bunbury's mock-manuals, but even here their public and political force still functioned; they continued to form men of taste and civic feeling just as history-paintings 'on permanent exhibition' were believed to do.⁴⁰

Many of his images, like other visual satires of the time, were also made available to the general public – as James Gillray's *Very Slippy-Weather* of 1808 (Figure 41), and the 1821 *Honi. Soit. Qui. Mal. Y. Pense*,⁴¹ printed by George Humphrey, illustrated (Figure 42) – and would have been viewed by men and women of all ages, social, occupational and financial statuses (as these two satires show by the crowds before Humphrey's print shop).⁴² However, while for Bunbury all men 'have the ability to recognise general ideas, and so the general classes into which men are grouped', mirroring James Barry, only some men would have the ability to grasp the true message, the true knowledge – and hence power – contained in a visual satire.⁴³ Only some men would be able to see the detail and be able to extrapolate the abstract, the political, from it as liberal and civic men. As Reynolds summarized:

A hundred thousand near-sighted men, that see only what is just before them, make no equivalent to one man whose view extends to the whole horizon around him, though we may safely acknowledge at the same time that like the real near-sighted men they see and comprehend as distinctly what is within the focus of their sight as accurately (I will allow sometimes more accurately) than others. Though a man may see his way in the

³⁹ Barrell, *The Political Theory of Painting*, 215.

⁴⁰ Barrell, *The Birth of Pandora*, 15.

⁴¹ Interestingly, caricature number 13 in the window of Humphrey's shop (read from the top down and left to right) is *The Como-cal Hobby*, also of 1821, which clearly has Bunbury's *Courier Francois*, 1774, as its antecedent. Here Bartolomo Bergami, the servant and alleged lover of Queen Caroline, is shown astride a goat with the Queen's head, and dressed as a courier while brandishing a large postillion's whip in the same manner as Bunbury's earlier French subject.

⁴² This is similar to visual satire in general; although it was intended for the élite and middle class, primarily, all sectors of society, including the labouring poor, were exposed to it. H.T. Dickinson, *The English Satirical Print 1600-1832: Caricatures and the Constitution 1760-1832* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986), 15.

⁴³ James Barry as quoted in Barrell, *The Political Theory of Painting*, 215.

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management of his own affairs, within his own little circle, with the greatest acuteness and sagacity, such habits give him no pretensions to set up for a politician.⁴⁴

A man of taste, a liberal man freed from mechanical occupation, would not only be able to understand the coding in liberal art, he would also grasp the role of the public and private in generating civic feeling. As for visual satire, so also for print satire and for horsemanship itself, and its discourses; as Gambado confidently stated: 'I doubt not, but every true judge of the noble art [horsemanship], will acknowledge the excellence of my instructions, and every true lover of it applaud my public spirit, in circulating them abroad for the benefit of mankind at large.'⁴⁵ A vulgar reader/viewer would understand their comic contribution to those interested in a diverting laugh (Bunbury's prints are full of slapstick and scatological humour that did not require specialized knowledge to decode) while being able to distinguish the properly élite elements of the art, although without understanding the subtleties of the many horsemanship-specific puns and jokes (and the many literary references) contained in Geoffrey's instructions. It was only those of 'just taste', or those Vines who possessed practical and theoretical experience in the art of horsemanship – those who could be perfect practitioners of the art rather than mere mechanics (the new horsemen of the early century discussed in Chapter III) – who could (through artistic horsemanship, or riding beyond the common practicalities of mounting, steering or traveling from one point to another) avoid the appellations of bad horseman, unskilful rider or man without taste.⁴⁶ It was only those whose independent life, integrity in office, or those true judges and true lovers of the noble art of horsemanship, who would be in a position to see, understand and enact a passion for the commonweal for the benefit of mankind at large. Only true horsemen born, bred and properly instructed in the art – not merely aspiring or upwardly mobile riders like Astley – could compose a proper Vineyard of tasteful horsemen and come to preserve the civic sanctity and security of the nation.

⁴⁴ Reynolds as quoted in Barrell, *The Birth of Pandora*, 52-53.

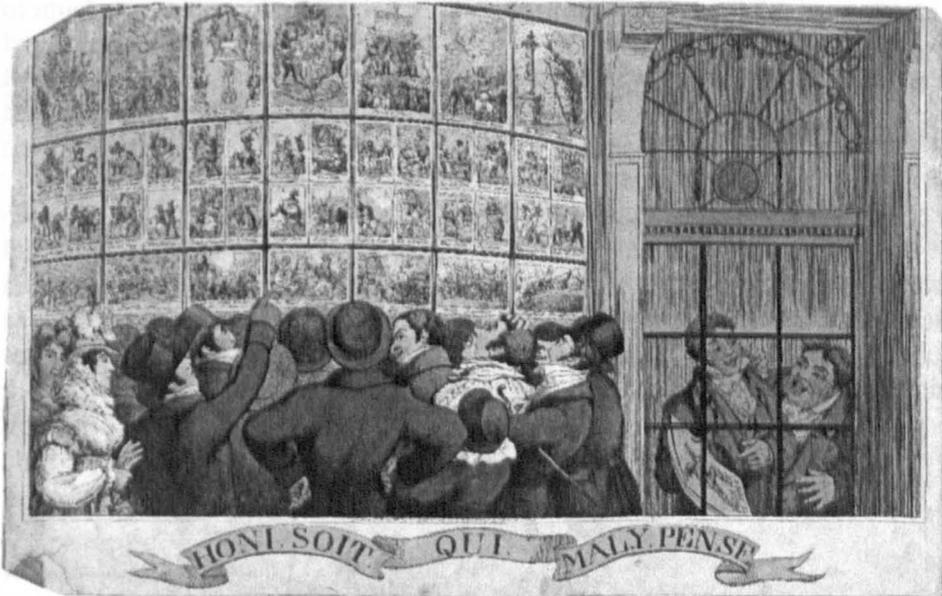
⁴⁵ Bunbury, *Academy*, vi.

⁴⁶ 'There is in this country an almost universal fondness for horses, and the exercise of riding; yet but few, in comparison, are tolerable horsemen. The complaints, we hear, of horses being ungovernable, or performing ill, generally arise from the unskilfulness of their riders. The case is, we want a *just taste* in riding. No man learns it as an *art*. 'Thompson and Jackson, as authors for the common rider, were, oddly enough, still pushing for the *art* of horsemanship, but for the bastardized form, and were the most forthcoming on this subject. The more 'traditional' authors like Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, Richard Berenger and William Cavendish all seem to take the distinction between common, or mechanic, and artistic horseman for granted; for them, learning to sit nicely, or only for travel, was not proper riding. This rhetoric is very similar to what Barrell has found in the writings of Reynolds, who makes the distinction between 'mechanic' practitioners of painting – those who are interested in natural depictions – and properly civic artists who paint ideal images from which an audience, or 'republic of taste', can extrapolate general messages of civic duty and virtue from the specifics contained within a painting. Thompson, *Rules for Bad Horsemen*, 1-2. Barrell, *The Political Theory of Painting*.

Performing Horse-Men



[Figure 41: James Gillray, *Very Slippy-Weather* (London: Hanna Humphrey, 1808). © Trustees of the British Museum.]



[Figure 42: *Honi. Soit. Qui. Mal. Y. Pense* (London: Published by George Humphrey, 1821). © Trustees of the British Museum.]

By illustrating the deformity and madness of those who attempt horsemanship, when they are either intrinsically or epistemologically unable to perform, to public notice, Bunbury ('well known in the county of Suffolk for his public and private virtues, as well as for his superior talents' at satire⁴⁷) was himself attempting to embody eighteenth-century civic virtue and the new social obsession for improvement – especially agricultural, which in turn led to personal, social and civil improvement – that had captivated the nation; and he did so by looking to the popular and influential *The Annals of Agriculture* as inspiration for his own *Annals of Horsemanship*.⁴⁸ This serial publication, begun in 1784, covered topics ranging from politics, weather and methods of agricultural improvement to voyages of exploration and important European events; and saw contributions from eminent statesmen like Lord Townshend and Joseph Banks, intellectuals such as Jeremy Bentham and Thomas Malthus, and even from George III (writing under the pseudonym of Ralph Robinson). *The Annals of Agriculture* was a publication that mirrored the public improvement discourse of civic humanism, and was fundamental to the success of national enhancement; it was the 'real prosperity and happiness of the human race' along with the 'improvement of the people in regard to their health, industry, and morals' that was the ultimate goal.⁴⁹ It was a work that was actively trying to improve the nation and its people for the benefit of all; however, for Gambado, and the 'Editor' of Bunbury's *Annals*, it was inferior to the teachings of Geoffrey Gambado, Esq.:

A paltry publication has lately made its appearance, on the same construction as this. It is a periodical thing, entitled *The Annals of Agriculture*, and will, I dare say, be of much use in the chandlers shops. This too, like Geoffrey's edifying collection of letters, treats on propagation, cultivation, preservation, the good of the nation, &c. &c. But when we once consider for a moment the different objects the authors claim our attention in behalf of --- Should even a potatoe enter the lists with a poney, my blood rises --- my choler is excited.

Talk of propagation! Would the blockheads have us hesitate between a horse chesnut, and a chesnut horse! Common sense forbids it (particularly as it is to be the fashionable colour in harness this time five years); and as for preservation --- Which should humanity first extend her arm to save? A cabbage or a cockney --- A captain or a cauliflower? For these reasons I lament seeing, monthly, the names of several respectable friends of mine, affixed to a work of such subordinate consideration. Had they spent as much time in riding upon turnips, as they have in writing upon them, they might ere now have belonged to the first hunts in the country, and most fashionable clubs in town. But I fear the silk purse and the sows ear are but too applicable to most of them.

⁴⁷ Cobbold, *Geoffrey Gambado*, Preface.

⁴⁸ Porter, *The Creation of the Modern World*, 306-311

⁴⁹ Richard Drayton, *Nature's Government: Science, Imperial Britain, and the 'Improvement' of the World* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 88, 100; Sir John Sinclair as quoted in this work, 104.

.... And whilst the frantic farmers that furnish their stuff for the Annals of Agriculture, shall be puzzling their brains to preserve a ragged flock of sheep from the rot, the fair sex shall be more nobly employed in the preservation of beauty, and what is more puzzling, though we daily see it attempted --- the preservation of even The Human Face Divine, itself.

Emboldened by these considerations, that the Annals of Horsemanship will speedily drive the Annals of Agriculture out of the house of every man and woman of taste and feeling, I do not hesitate to foresee.⁵⁰

This complicated passage, riddled with *double entendres* and multiple meanings, is written in Gambado-esque oppositional and canting language; it conveys Bunbury's reasons for writing, and his hopes of his mock-manuals being of use in the improvement of the nation by generating a culture of civically-beneficial feeling among the governing élite or men of taste. For Bunbury, a work dedicated to civic perfection like *The Annals of Agriculture* (and his own *Annals of Horsemanship*), could be highly influential (not a paltry publication), and the participating authors (those blockheads) were fulfilling the goals set out in civic humanist discourses. Those frantic and improving farmers were the saviours of the nation, while, as we saw earlier, the men and women of non-civic 'taste and feeling' occupied with modish consumption, to whom the feminizing sow's ear and silken purse applied, were the lovers of luxury, vanity, useless pastimes and the corrupters of social virtue (trying to improve the unimprovable Human Face Divine) to the destruction of masculine civic duty. For Bunbury, both potatoes and ponies should be supported for their life-giving and commonweal improving potential, and, indeed, humanity should extend its arm to save the cabbage over the commercial, luxury-loving, gouty and consumption-oriented cockney. The properly civic, militaristic, heroic and publicly virtuous captain should be preserved over cauliflowers – defined by Grose in his *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (one of Bunbury's primary sources for inspiration) as: 'a large white wig, such as is commonly worn by the dignified clergy, and was formerly by physicians. Also the private parts of a woman'.⁵¹ These cauliflower-esque and effeminate clergy, quack physicians or immoral women did not and could not subscribe to the civic teachings of the *Annals of Agriculture*; only the genteel agricultural improvers and heroic men of the military – along with other civically virtuous men – and those who could understand Bunbury's civic coding as Vineyard-sanctioned Vines in his *Annals of Horsemanship* (and procured a copy to sit alongside *Agriculture* on their shelves) could cultivate civic feeling in the public while convincing those with the means to do so to improve the nation. However, those who took

⁵⁰ Bunbury, *Annals*, iv-vi.

⁵¹ Francis Grose, *Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, CAU. Henry Angelo records that he played a formative role in seeing the completion of this work, *Reminiscences*, vol. I, 171.

Gambado's teachings at their face value were unable to distinguish between a horse chestnut and a chestnut horse, and were unable to see the civic teachings contained in the satirical text and images. They would be the lovers of modest and luxurious display (riding in coaches drawn by a pair of fashionable chestnuts), and they would become whoreing (riding upon turnips) figures of irrationality, cowardice and monstrosity open to attack from Bunbury's keen shafts of ridicule.

ii. GEOFFREY GAMBADO, ESQ.

To understand how Bunbury formulated his coding of exclusive horsemanship and normatively-civic masculinity the 'author' of both the *Academy* and *Annals* needs to be introduced. As an antithesis to the civically-minded and rational horseman of feeling, Jeffery Gambado⁵² (who preferred to go by the more modish Geoffrey) was a household name well into the nineteenth century.⁵³ Gambado, the son of a Devonshire tailor, we are told, had the (mis)fortune to be recruited by the Doge of Venice as his 'Riding Master, Master of the Horse, and Grand Equerry'. While on the way to this fictitious post (Venice, being a city on water had little use for horses and no post of 'Grand Equerry' – as Gambado's friends tried to tell him) his ship sank in rough weather, and Gambado, having unsuccessfully attempted to deploy his largest (and luxuriously new) saddle as a floatation device during the sinking, lost his life to lamentations of 'Alas ! POOR GEF !' This was unlike his writings which were preserved by the surviving sailors, those 'modest creatures', who used the manuscript pages for 'the same use our first parents did the fig leaves'.⁵⁴ The 'Editor' of both publications, as the story goes, salvaged the now fragmentary

⁵² Gambado or Spatterdasher (OED): A kind of large boot or gaiter, attached to a saddle, to protect the rider's legs and feet from the wet or cold. The term, interchangeable here with 'Gambade', was also applied by 1820 to a bound or spring (of a horse). Gambade also can be defined, in the sixteenth century, according to Anthony Dent, as a stand in for the movements of the *haute école*, while by 1821 it was understood as a prank, freak, or frolic. I would argue that both definitions of 'Gambade' may also have been in use in Bunbury's time, or developed out of his writings. His support of the *manège* and *haute école*, his mock-manuals, their frolicing and mocking nature and the use of 'Gambado' all point to a combination of these two definitions of the word. Dent, *Horses in Shakespeare's England* (London: J.A. Allen, 1987), 65.

⁵³ Gambado became the subject of Richard Cobbold's *Geoffrey Gambado: or, A simple remedy for hypochondriacism and melancholy splenetic humours. By a Humorist Physician*, 1864. Cobbold provided his readers with a brief introduction on the character of Bunbury; he then proceeded to relate fictitious events inspired by the plates from the *Annals*, and to create a history of Gambado – here described as a physician rather than a tailor. Gambado's *Annals* and *Academy* were also inspirations for R.S. Surtees' hunting comedies such as *Handley Cross* (1854) – where his work served as the preeminent example of perfected horsemanship, *Jorrocks's Jaunts & Jollities* (1843), and *Mr. Sponge's Sporting Tour* (1852), among others.

⁵⁴ *The Gentleman's and London magazine: or monthly chronologer, 1741-1794* (London: Published by J. Exshaw., 1788), 478; Bunbury, *Academy*, xvi.

manuscript, and out of ‘patriotic hopes of being useful to my country’ had Gambado’s system of horsemanship published.⁵⁵

The character of Gambado was illustrated in *An Academy*, and is clearly shown to be a horseman – of a sort (Figure 43). Roy Porter and G.S. Rousseau examined this expressive image in their comprehensive and highly entertaining research into the history of gout. *Geoffrey Gambado, Esq.* with his flannel-wrapped and gout-afflicted foot, for them, was an image depicting the ‘evils of excess’, the result of luxurious sedentarism and it was a signifier of the uselessness of equestrianism as a cure for ‘the jolly disease.’ However, the association of Gambado with riding for exercise and the hoped-for cure of gout (one possible cure among many during the eighteenth century), or riding for any reason, was entirely misplaced; he was not, as we will see, considered a member of any ‘fraternal tribe’ of riders, and riding was never ‘his pre-eminent remedy for prevention’ of the disease.⁵⁶ Instead, Gambado, that immoral, lazy, and vice ridden drunkard, was first and foremost intended as a literary and visual embodiment of false horsemen and failed masculinity.⁵⁷

It should come as no surprise, then, that Gambado was not only the son of a tailor, but was a member of the breed himself. In his formulation of Gambado, Bunbury worked from well-established tropes associated with the occupation that showed the inherent incompatibility of ‘a taylor on a managed horse’ while looking to the one tailor we have met so far: Astley’s rendition of the Taylor Riding to Brentford.⁵⁸ Gambado was, I argue, the literary embodiment of Astley – in and out of character – and of other equestrians who shared Astley’s methodological approach to horsemanship; he was the embodiment, so to speak, of everything that was thought foolish, effeminate, useless, French and common about the Amphitheatre and the form of horsemanship practiced there. Gambado was the literary version of the Wilksite Taylor commonly seen at the Amphitheatre’s popular act where it was thought:

⁵⁵ Bunbury, *Academy*, Dedication. The work was dedicated to ‘Lord Viscount TOWNSHEND, GENERAL of His MAJESTY’S FORCES, And COLONEL of the QUEEN’S REGIMENT of DRAGOON GUARDS’, and fellow visual satirist.

⁵⁶ Roy Porter and G.S. Rousseau, *Gout: The Patrician Malady* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 277, 228. Bunbury seems to be utilizing the new arguments about the origin and treatment of gout; the old view of the disease being hereditary, honourable and purely a genteel disease was contested in a brouhaha which argued it was not hereditary, and was the result of vice, luxury, leisure and intemperance. See Porter and Rousseau for further information on this controversy and the various symbolisms associated with the ailment.

⁵⁷ According to W. Buchan in his *Domestic Medicine, or a Treatise on the Prevention and Cure of Diseases by Regimen and Simple Medicines* of 1769 ‘There is no disease which shews the imperfection of medicine, or sets the advantages of temperance and exercises in a stronger light than this. Few who pay a proper regard to these are troubled with the gout. This points out the true force from whence that malady originally sprung, viz. *excess* and *idleness*. It likewise shews us that the only safe and efficacious method of care, or rather of prevention, must depend, not upon medicine, but on *temperance* and *activity*,’ neither qualities readily connected to Gambado. Roy Porter and G.S. Rousseau, *Gout: The Patrician Malady*, 103.

⁵⁸ Grose, *Rules for drawing caricatures*, 22.

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Nothing can be more whimsical than to see Mr. Shears fall upon Mr. Goose, Mr. Goose upon Mr. Thimble, Mr. Thimble upon Mr. Needle, Mr. Needle upon Mr. Yard, Mr. Yard upon Mr. Shop-board, Mr. Shop-board upon Mr. Cabbage, Mr. Cabbage upon Mr. Measure, and Mr. Measure upon Mr. Button; until these nine *fag-ends* of man-hood form an Egyptian Pyramid to the eternal disgrace of a Taylor's horsemanship.⁵⁹



[Figure 43: Henry William Bunbury, 'Geoffrey Gambado, Esq.' *An Academy of Grown Horsemen*, (London: 1787).
Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.]

Gambado was actively passing (attempting to anyway) as a 'master' of horsemanship, and was incorrectly instructing others in the art. As the Editor to the *Academy* (the very occasional voice of reason in the mock-manuals) relates: 'That such an author', a tailor professing to be a horseman, 'should be no rider may appear marvellous at first, but, on reflection, we must acknowledge that we daily find people speaking and writing on what they know nothing at all

⁵⁹ British Library, 'Astley's Cuttings from Newspapers', 1768-1833, Scrapbook, 3 volumes, Th.Cts.35-37, vol. 1, item 662 (May 1785).

about.' The Editor continues: 'Herein Geoffrey exceeds all I ever heard of: for such a book of knowledge as his Academy for Grown Horsemen, never yet made an appearance in the world.'⁶⁰ Not only was Gambado truly not a horseman by any stretch of the imagination, he was also an individual who was providing erroneous information on the practicalities of horsemanship and on the proper virtuous behaviour of its practitioners that ultimately, as we will see, was satirized as undeniably harmful not only to the individual but also to the public and the nation, contravening everything that civic humanists held dear.

Even though on the surface Gambado is performing an act of public benevolence by writing his manuals of horsemanship, is in fact following the sentiments of the new, commercial discourses of the new-school horsemen and of Scottish Enlightenment philosophers such as Adam Smith and James Steuart. He was writing principally for his own benefit, where the 'public good' could be 'animated' with 'a spirit of avarice' instead of ungovernable public spirit that, for Steuart and in contrast to Bunbury, 'would spoil all.'⁶¹ Bunbury, mirroring common fears voiced by 'the old elite but also by writers and professionals' as Nicholas Hudson has shown, was uneasy about the new social mobility the commercial revolution brought to England.⁶² Bunbury, like Samuel Johnson, was worried 'A merchant's desire, is not of glory, but of gain; not of publick wealth, but of private emolument.'⁶³ He, like the unknown author of *An Elegy in a Riding House*, was pointing to the harmful degeneration of élite morals that insisted on hospitality, generosity and fair dealings in the face of men who only sought personal wealth, and in turn altered the economic norm and definition of citizenship independence. From one based on income from land to one determined by cut-throat mercantilism and the courting of lady Fortune, this new form of citizenship and civic humanism was tied to men who sought gold, altered British economics so the landed élite could no longer afford to keep their prized horses in the riding house or to practice the *manège*, and who took the élite's positions in the riding house away from them. They did not practice the *manège*, however, favouring an 'amble up and down in *Rotten Row*', a ride on 'a *stiff-neck'd* horse' and 'a *snaffle* to a *bitt*' instead.⁶⁴

The 'Letter the Fifth' from the *Annals* speaks directly to this issue, and provides clear evidence of Bunbury's views regarding the instruction of those not worthy or capable of

⁶⁰ Bunbury, *Academy*, vi.

⁶¹ James Steuart and Adam Smith as quoted in Barrell, *The Political Theory of Painting*, 49.

⁶² Nicholas Hudson, 'It-Narratives: Fictional Point of View and Constructing the Middle Class,' in *The Secret Life of Things: Animals, Objects, and It-Narratives in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Mark Blackwell (Cranbury, N.J.: Rosemont Publishing & Printing Corp., 2007): 293.

⁶³ Samuel Johnson as quoted in Hudson, 'It-Narratives,' 293.

⁶⁴ Anonymous, *An Elegy in a Riding House. In Imitation of Virgil's First Pastoral* (London: Printed for J. Robson and Co. New Bond Street, 1776), 8-9, 11.

horsemanship and his contempt for the ‘masters’ who would teach them. A young man, in the letter, proposes to the author a manual of horsemanship designed for ‘the lower classes of life’ and produced it, mirroring the language of gentlemanly authors, for ‘the benefit’ of others who lack equestrian skill.⁶⁵ However, the contents of this manual would differ considerably from that of other works; Bunbury has exaggerated the commonness and vulgarity of subjects covered in order to make his point exceedingly clear. The idea that ‘London Riders, or Bagsters’ could be ‘gentlemen’ or ‘genteel’; that men should ride in front of a ‘lady’ ‘à la gormagon’ instead of on their own steeds; or that advice of any sort directed at less than polite or genteel members of the public has any place in a manual of horsemanship was too ridiculous to contemplate let alone put into practice.⁶⁶ The instruction of the common merchant (London Riders or Bagsters), the effeminate and monstrous (à la gormagon), or the civically backward and unfeeling (criminal) was not worth pursuing. Horsemanship instruction could and should not be provided to such individuals, and those who did were, according to Bunbury, utterly contemptible. The author of this letter was ‘James la Croupe’; a name associated with Frenchified effeminacy and notions of republicanism, but more tellingly the word ‘croup’ is the term applied to the equine hindquarters – its ‘arse’, to use the vulgar term – a word synonomous with stupidity, ignorance and foolishness.

Instead of a love for the nation, the core of ‘traditional’ civic humanism, what we see in the new commercial rider who was taking over the riding houses from the élite, according to *An Elegy in a Riding House* and the character Gambado, was the notion, based on a positive view of commerce and luxury, that ‘every man is to act for his own interest in what regards the public; and, politically speaking, every one ought to do so’.⁶⁷ Gambado was adamant he was writing for his ‘fellow creatures; that they are to profit by it, and not myself’, but it was through his personal financial gain (a continual preoccupation) that they would profit. It ‘is the combination of every private interest which forms the public good’, for Gambado and Steuart, and for Smith ‘publick happiness’ results from a society whose members act ‘merely from a view to their own interest’

⁶⁵ Henry William Bunbury, *Annals of Horsemanship: containing accounts of accidental experiments and experimental accidents, both successful and unsuccessful: communicated by various correspondents to Geoffrey Gambado, Esq. Author of The Academy for Grown Horsemen, together with most instructive remarks thereon, and answers thereto, by that accomplished genius* (London: Printed for W. Dickinson, No. 24, Old Bond Street; S. Hooper, No. 212, High Holborn; and J. Archer, and R. White, Dame Street, Dublin, 1791), 22.

⁶⁶ ‘Bagster’: A commercial traveler. OED; ‘GORMAGON, a monster with six eyes, three mouths, four arms, eight legs, five on one side and three on the other, three arses, two tarses and a **** upon its back; a man on horseback with a woman behind him.’ Francis Grose, *Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (London: printed for S. Hooper, 1785), L2.

⁶⁷ James Steuart as quoted in Barrell, *The Political Theory of Painting*, 49.

in ‘turning a penny wherever a penny was to be got’;⁶⁸ a sentiment expressed by Gambado in the extreme – he even requested one of his letter-writing clients to send more money because, he was ‘sorry to add, my Maid tells me, that two shillings out of your five were very bad ones.’⁶⁹

However, for Bunbury this emphasis on personal gain creates selfishness that leads to effeminate and commonweal-destroying luxury that in turn ultimately negates any feeling for the public good.⁷⁰ Gambado’s love of money, commerce and luxury could clearly show his cockney origins and presumptuous priorities to Bunbury’s discerning audience. Gambado for Bunbury, as a character of artifice and social climbing, illuminates through his ugliness, vulgarity and monstrosity not the benefits of this new commercial humanism but how the élite were to adopt civic humanism in its oldest and most ‘traditional’ form; they were to perform their civic duty out of a love for the commonweal and not a love for personal gain to avoid the label of Gambado, negative associations with their social inferiors and the criticism of their peers. They were to avoid the fate of individuals like the tailor Mr. Harrison who was accused of lacking ‘valour’, ‘courage’, ‘wit’ and ‘consequence’, and as a result who was ‘cast off, and despised, like an old garment’ for his focus on foppish dress, cloth and consumable luxury; and for his inability to display martial, civic and sensitively polite masculine virtues for the betterment of himself, his family and society.⁷¹

This discussion of Gambado, and his civic humanist leanings, was a wider comment on the increasing commercialization of eighteenth-century England, but it was also a direct comment on the new-school of horsemanship and its practitioners. As we saw in Chapter III, the majority of equestrians were also leery of the impact wealth and luxury had – especially the corrupting influence of unmitigated luxury and consumption as displayed by macaronis – but were not necessarily against commerce as such. Many men of the new Vineyard adopted discourses of commercial and personal liberty alongside more refined and subdued personal display; Astley had a similar ideology, but with more theatrical sparkle. With these developments in mind, then, we can understand Gambado as the embodiment of Astley and the other horsemen of his epistemological lineage introduced in Chapter III, by dint of his inept performances of his

⁶⁸ Bunbury, *Academy*, viii; Adam Smith as quoted in Barrell, *The Political Theory of Painting*, 49.

⁶⁹ Bunbury, *Annals*, 21.

⁷⁰ See Barrell, *The Political Theory of Painting*, for further information on John Brown and the complexities of commercial civic humanist thought.

⁷¹ Mr. Harrison, ‘The Taylor’s Soliloquy,’ in *The comick magazine; or, Complete library...* (London: printed for Harrison and Co. no. 18, Paternoster Row, 1797), 26-28.

cockney and money-loving self.⁷² While the strong connections and continual references to the Amphitheatre in Bunbury's work can be read as a result of the social fashion for Amphitheatre performances of the ridiculous, the character of Gambado, the advice he administers and the connections Bunbury drew between him and popular politics at the time speak more to a profound level of discomfort over the Amphitheatre's representations of class, equestrian expertise, and masculine virtue. Astley was trained by Angelo, was patronised by Herbert, and became a successful business man; however, for Bunbury men such as Astley – ladder-climbing and of lower class – were of dubious civic virtue, believability and horsemanship proficiency (regardless of what they stated in their own propaganda) – a sentiment echoed by numerous witnesses to Astley's spectacles.

Charles Dibdin, for an example, recorded 'Astley had not either Ability, Company, Performances, or Popularity sufficient to compete with ... such formidable oppositions' that other equestrian performances could offer, and Surtees noticed that audiences usually witnessed the Amphitheatre ponies misbehaving rather than following the instructions of their riders.⁷³ *The Quintuple Alliance*, from the June 1783 edition of the *Rambler's Magazine*, is especially illustrative of Astley's questionable status as a horseman and as a properly civic man (Figure 44). Shown standing on his head and firing a pistol from horseback while saying 'I and my Horse levy Contributions upon Asses', Astley shares the caricature with other 'mountebanks, quacks, and persons of small repute' of the eighteenth century: Dr. Graham, known for his Celestial Bed, holds a cylinder (suggestively) which is labelled 'Divine Balsam for the Ladies'; Jack Ketch, hangman, stands behind him holding a rope while saying 'I am Doctor Katch & this is a sovereign remedy for a sore throat'; Gustavus Katterfelto stands on the far right saying 'Begar Me make de fine Puffs & de English swallow dem' while pointing to his familiar black cat ('old Scratch') who sat on his shoulder to be consulted about matters magical and medical.⁷⁴ Astley,

⁷² One Amphitheatre reviewer remarked: 'The Horse Exercise surpassed all former performances of that kind; nor did ever an audience laugh more heartily at the expence of the Taylor on his journey to Brentford: the attitudes of the wonderful animal which created this laughter, called to our mind the excellent remarks of Mr. Bunbury, in his late publication on this subject.' BL, 'Astley's Cuttings', vol. 2, item 43A (15 June 1792).

⁷³ Charles Dibdin (the Younger), *Memoirs of Charles Dibdin The Younger*, ed. George Speaight (London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1956), 31; Robert Smith Surtees, *Jorrocks's Jaunts and Jollities: The Hunting, Shooting, Racing, Driving, Sailing, Eating, Eccentric and Extravagant Exploits of That Renowned Sporting Citizen, Mr. John Jorrocks of St. Botolph Lane and Great Coram Street [1843]* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1961), 71.

⁷⁴ Dorothy George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires in the British Museum*, V (London: The British Museum, 1935). See Fiona Haslam, *From Hogarth to Rowlandson: Medicine in Art in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996), 195-202 and 202-214 for information on Dr. Graham and Gustavus Katterfelto; and Barbara Benedict, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 210-214 on Katterfelto. The British Library's Daniel Lysons, *Collectanea: or, a Collection of Advertisements and Paragraphs from the Newspapers Relating to Various Subjects*. Printed at Strawberry-Hill By Thomas Kirgate, for the Collector, Daniel Lysons, 4 Volumes, C.103.k11 [Microfilm

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associated visualities, to a specific horsemanship Vineyard; the Vineyard of the mechanical, commercial traveler exemplified by Thompson's manual, *Rules for Bad Horsemen* – there is a copy of this manual in the tailor's coat alongside his measuring tape – and the Vineyard Astley was at once embracing while also working to distance himself from (Figure 45). Here it was the horse that mastered the man and destroyed his visible masculinity in the process of reforming and staging as a civic duty socially normative models of hegemonic and militaristic masculinity. To make matters worse, Collett then represented this useless rider as an Amphitheatre rider. On the wall behind him is a poster which reads: 'various feats of horsemanship performed this evening by the famous [sic] Sampson.' This poster symbolically and spatially equates the tailor to the trick riding of Astley's first employers – Mr. and Mrs. Sampson – and to their and Astley's innovations in horsemanship, themselves grounded in fairgrounds notorious for associations of vagrancy and blackguardism. For Collett, Amphitheatre horsemanship as practiced by Astley and other equestrian performers was associated with a specific horsemanship tradition, as we saw, which was for Collett emasculating, effeminate and useless (regardless of what Amphitheatre puffs stated to the contrary).



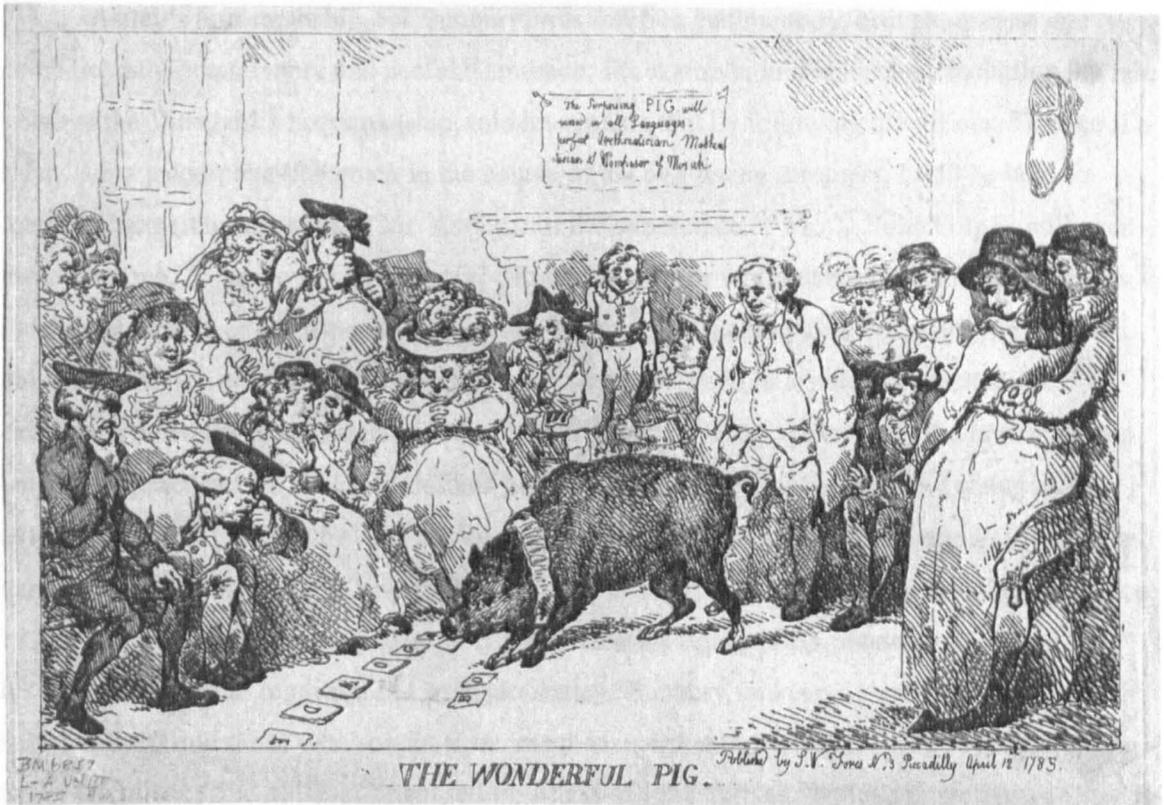
[Figure 45: John Collett, *A TAYLOR riding to BRENTFORD* (London: Printed for R. Sayer N^o. 53, Fleet Street & Jn^o. Smith N^o. 35, Cheapside, 1768). Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.]

Collett, as if his slander was not enough already, also animalized Astley through reference to the donkey – ass – in the foreground. By offering the tailor a piece of cabbage, the vegetable of the moment for the donkey as well, the drover was in effect questioning both the tailor’s masculinity and his status as a human.⁷⁵ He became brute, other, inhuman because of his inability to ride or to participate in society as a masculine citizen. Bunbury, in a similar vein to *The Quintuple Alliance* and *A Taylor Riding to Brentford*, also animalized his subject by humorously, if half apologetically, equating Astley with the famous Learned Pig. The Pig, much like Astley’s Little Military Horse, performed counting tricks, told the time, apparently read Lady’s minds, and was a phenomenon in the Amphitheatre and circus community, as illustrated in Figure 46. The Pig enthralled spectators, and was so popular as to drive human performers into revolt when they were asked to share the stage with it.⁷⁶ ‘As pigs now can play at cards as well as horses,’ postulates the ‘Editor’ of *An Academy*, ‘I think it is but fair to suppose them capable of dancing a minuet with equal activity and grace: whatever Mr. Astley may alledge to the contrary.’⁷⁷ Highly coded, like much of Bunbury’s writing, this reference to the nonhuman actors of the Amphitheatre not only ties the rational abilities of pig and horse together – contravening horses’ superior rationality and positioning on the chain of being argued for by most horsemen and insulting the super-nonhuman status of the Amphitheatre animals – but like other critics pokes fun at the culpability of popular audiences. It was only because people came to see the trained animal acts, were in awe of them, that such dubious shows continued, and it was only because of charlatans such as Astley that the audiences were duped in the first place. Astley was beastly in his abilities of training, and he was a devil in disguise for performing them at all. In this instance, regardless of what his propaganda machine stated to the contrary, Astley and his horsemanship performances in the Amphitheatre were no better than a pig attempting to dance a minuet as well as a true horse-man was able to – ridiculous thought!

⁷⁵ Francis Grose tied ‘Cabbage’ to the stereotypical dishonesty of tailors, and defined the term as: ‘CABBAGE, cloth, stuff, or silk purloined by taylors from their employers, which they deposit in a place called *hell*, or their *eye*: from the first, when taxed with their knavery, they equivocally swear, that if they have taken any, they wish they may find it in *hell*; or alluding to the second protest, that what they have over and above is not more than they could put in their *eye*.’ Grose, *Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, CAB.

⁷⁶ For details of the Pig at Astley’s and in London see: BL, ‘A collection of plates, cuttings from newspapers, etc. relating to Sadler’s Wells Theatre, from about 1740 to about 1866,’ Th.Cts.49, unfoliated; BL, *Collectanea*, fols. 86-90, 92, 103-105. For details on the problems arising from the actors who shared a stage with the Pig see: BL, ‘Astley’s Cuttings,’ vol. 1, item 692 (2 August, 1785). For further information in general on the Learned Pig and his human animal contemporaries see Ricky Jay, *Learned Pigs & Fireproof Women* (London: Robert Hale Limited, 1986).

⁷⁷ Bunbury, *Academy*, 20-21.



[Figure 46: Thomas Rowlandson, *The Wonderful Pig* (London: Published by S.W. Fores, No. 3 Piccadilly, April 12 1785). Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.]

Bunbury, like Charles Dibden the Younger was to do in his *Memoirs*, looked to the nonhuman figure of the pig to make visible the masked, common origins of Astley, his lack of schooling and illiteracy, and his generally uncouth nature. According to Dibdin, Astley possessed a 'disposition' that 'strongly combined brutality and fooling', and as a result he 'might have been called a humane Hog.'⁷⁸ Astley was not genteel in behaviour or speech due to his humble and cockney upbringing, according to Dibdin, and was more animal than human as a result – a sentiment echoed by Bunbury. However, the Editor of the *Annals* (Bunbury) does acknowledge the 'The author is very hard upon pigs' in a somewhat abashed apology for the harshness of his critique. Bunbury apparently has not meant his attacks against Astley or his Amphitheatre to be taken personally; they were a bit of fun, and Astley himself does not seem to have taken offence.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Dibdin, *Memoirs*, 26.

⁷⁹ Astley, *Astley's System of Equestrian Education, Exhibiting the Beauties and Defects of the Horse; with serious and important advice, on its general excellence, preserving it in Health, Grooming, &c. With Plates. "To prevent Accident is better than to Cure."* Price 10s. 6d. (London: Sold by C. Creed, No. 2, Westminster-Bridge-Road, Lambeth, and the principal Booksellers in England, Scotland, and Ireland. June, 1801), Preface.

Astley's horsemanship, for Bunbury, was inferior, rudimentary, brutish, useless and comedic, rather than manly and useful. Gambado, for example, in this instance including the rare voice of the Vineyard's horsemanship, told his readers that by following his officious advice if a rider 'is not a complete horseman in the course of ten or a dozen summers, I will be bold to foretell, that neither the skill of Mr. Astley, nor the experience of Mr. ... John Gilpin, will ever make him one.'⁸⁰ As we saw previously, Gilpin was a tailor written about by Cowper, and was innately incapable of teaching anyone to ride. Neither the teaching excellence nor the mounted abilities of Astley or Gilpin would be enough to reduce a pupil to a state of horsemanship excellence whereby he would be welcome to join the Vineyard's ranks. Only the horsemanship taught and practiced by Vineyard-defined horsemen secure in their independent status and equestrian ability (such as Cavendish, Berenger and Meadows), not the trick riding, vaulting or dancing taught at Astley's, was useful for an Impe to adopt in his quest for community inclusion.

Bunbury, unlike Astley, expressly politicized his figure of Gambado as the Tailor.⁸¹ In his textual and visual rendition of Gambado/Astley, Bunbury, in keeping with his distrust of social upstarts and those who sought to encroach on aristocratic privilege, was directly alluding to the effeminacy and socio-political seditiousness of John Wilkes. Wilkes, as we saw in Chapter III, was the leader, in effect, of radical Whigism and the associated views of liberty and government. He espoused the independence of men from the direct control and interference of government, and the independence of the individual in matters of personal conduct and self display.⁸² A famous rake and beau about town, Wilkes enjoyed a rather contradictory public image; on one hand he was praised as the father of liberty and fashionable dress, and on the other as dangerous, treasonous, subversive and a veritable devil in disguise – all elements of Gambado and his horsemen, as we will see.⁸³ Mercilessly lampooned by Hogarth – a firm supporter of the court, Bute and Tory views of government like Bunbury later – Wilkes' less-than-attractive features were ripe for caricature. In Hogarth's famous and much-copied image (Figure 47), Wilkes' squinting features and gap-tooth, leering smile (he had possessed a severe squint from birth, and according to Henry Angelo, was also missing most of his teeth) are caricatured in a

⁸⁰ Bunbury, *Academy*, x.

⁸¹ Marius Kwint, *Astley's Amphitheatre and the Early Circus in England, 1768-1830* (Ph.D. Dissertation: Magdalen College, University of Oxford, 1994), 20.

⁸² Kathleen Wilson, *The Senses of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 213-214.

⁸³ Shearer West, 'Wilkes's Squint: Synecdochic Physiognomy and Political Identity in Eighteenth-Century Print Culture,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33 no. 1 (1999): 71; Anna Clark, 'The Chevalier d'Eon and Wilkes: Masculinity and Politics in the Eighteenth Century,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32 no. 1 (1998): 19.

way that points not only to his libertinism but also to his devilry and apparent monstrosity.⁸⁴ With his devil horns, or wig, and wildly rolling eyes, Wilkes was a man not to be trusted in government or in polite society – a sentiment echoed by Henry Angelo who pointed out Wilkes' aptness for 'trespassing upon decorum' unless reined in – and was visually not the ideal of polite masculinity and civil conversation.⁸⁵ Similarly for Gambado; with his wild hair, rolling eyes ('a likeness that tinctures of the prejudice of friendship' as 'Jeffery was not so slim, nor was his eye so poignant') and symbols of liberty (the sporting prints on the wall and his crutch to offset the pain of his consumption-caused gout) Gambado was illustrated in *Geoffrey Gambado, Esq.* as a false champion of commerce, liberty and the English hunting seat.⁸⁶ Gambado was one of Wilkes' supporters who took the ride to Brentford in order to vote, and he was the embodiment of everything that was false, dishonest, treasonous, ungoverned, dangerous and animal about the men of commerce and social liberty under Wilkes, who, for Bunbury, considered the gaining of luxury, wealth, status and political independence a worthwhile endeavour.

In Bunbury's formulation, to be considered a gentleman suitable for membership in the community of taste, a man had to be élite, independent, a supporter of the King and against popular Wilkesite liberty. He also, however, had to display appropriate masculine behaviour – not libertinism or a love of wealth – but hegemonic masculinity, or politeness, refinement and gentility in deportment and speech. These were some of the social graces learned by Angelo's pupils and sought after by Henry Angelo in Philip Sidney's riding house, but such behaviour was only part of the story. For a horseman truly to be a masculine man who could fulfill his civic duty to the nation he was also required to 'speak' the 'languages' of horsemanship with perfection and grace. As Felicity Nussbaum and Erica Fudge have both argued: throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to be human was to possess verbal speech, the primary distinguishing characteristic of humanness that all animals lacked.⁸⁷ The use of intelligible speech also could, for Nussbaum, distinguish the civilized from the barbarous and racialized Other; an Other that, even if possessed of verbal discursive skills, would not be intelligible to the

⁸⁴ West, 'Wilkes's Squint,' 72; Henry Angelo, *Reminiscences of Henry Angelo, with Memoirs of his Late Father and Friends, Including Numerous Original Anecdotes and Curious Traits of the Most celebrated Characters That Have Flourished During the Last Eighty Years*. Vols. I and II (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, 1830), vol. I, 55. For further information on Hogarth's depiction of Wilkes see Arthur H. Cash, *John Wilkes: The Scandalous Father of Civil Liberty* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 124-126.

⁸⁵ Angelo, *Reminiscences*, vol. I, 60.

⁸⁶ Bunbury, *Annals*, xviii-xix.

⁸⁷ Nussbaum, *The Limits of the Human*, 43; Erica Fudge, *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English Culture* (New York and Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 56.

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‘civilized’ Briton because of its very barbarity and beastliness.⁸⁸ For the nation’s governing élite, however, it was not enough to be considered human; to be able to speak, to maintain visible, aural and social boundaries between themselves and the governed – especially the middling sorts – further communication abilities were obligatory.



[Figure 47: William Hogarth, *John Wilkes, Esq.* (London: May 16, 1765). © Trustees of the British Museum.]

iii. THE LANGUAGE OF THE VINEYARD

As we have seen, men were required to display attitudes and motions of grace and ease in order to distinguish themselves from ‘the rude rustic’, but for Vines within Bunbury’s Vineyard further

⁸⁸ James Burnet, Lord Monboddo, *Of the Origin and Progress of Language*, 1774, as quoted in Nussbaum, *The Limits of the Human*, 43.

discourse was required in polite company. The demonstration of proper horsemanship language, the jargon of the practice, was one of the distinguishing characteristics of a horseman and one an individual could not do without. Astley, as Charles Dibdin complained, regularly had trouble with the use of correct horsemanship language, but not more so than in his widespread use of his favourite word – cadence. As we saw in the previous chapter, cadence, for Astley, was central to his and John’s notion of grace and horsemanship ability. Without it neither man nor horse could dance, and neither man nor horse could embrace militaristic and chivalrous masculinity. However, the word was designed to be, in the Vineyard at least, used only in equestrian situations, as Dibdin’s scorn indicates. Astley, in contrast, applied the word to everything in life, equestrian and otherwise:

“You don’t act in cadence, Sir” one day said he [Astley] to a performer, who was I believe practising a scene in a pantomime,—“Cadence, Sir, everything should be done in cadence; my horses perform in cadence, as well as singers sing, Cadence is the *stamener* of everything, Sir, Cadence, Sir”—taking a piece of Chalk which lay by him, and writing upon the Chimney piece of the practising room—speaking while he wrote—“C.A. Ca—D.U.N.C.E.—dunce—Cadence—Sir, remember that another time.”⁸⁹

Astley ‘had got hold of the word *Cadence*’ and proceeded to apply it to each and every situation; the term lost its equestrian specificity and meaning when used by Astley who was apparently ignorant of its proper usage. Astley, because of his non-equestrian upbringing, cockney origins and incomplete horsemanship education, was betrayed in his non-Vine status through the incorrect use of language. Likewise, Gambado frequently used terms unsuitable for his professed horsemanship proficiency and knowledge; however, while Astley was unsure how to use a term, Gambado was ignorant of even the most basic of horsemanship words. His lack of knowledge of equestrian language was especially pronounced with the word ‘Wohey’; upon hearing the word Gambado is at a loss as to its meaning, and complains: ‘I have searched Chambers and Johnson for this Wohey! but cannot find him. I do not recollect such a word in all Shakespeare, and he dealt at large in the language. Neither is it to be met with in Master Bailey’s delicate Collection of Provincialisms. What is Wohey?’⁹⁰ ‘Wohey’, or ‘whoa’ today, was a word that indeed could not be found in Shakespeare’s plays, Samuel Johnson’s immensely popular *Dictionary*, Ephraim Chambers’ *Cyclopædia*, or in Nathan Bailey’s many dictionaries and English grammar guides; it was a term of command, meaning to halt or slow a horse, passed down by horsemen through oral

⁸⁹ Dibdin, *Memoirs*, 26.

⁹⁰ Bunbury, *Academy*, 8.

tradition and was not, at this point it seems, a part of the popular lexicon.⁹¹ Likewise for the term ‘restive’: if we recall, a restive horse was one disinclined to move off when asked and one considered extremely difficult to retrain. Gambado, again, did not understand the word’s use and substituted for it the incorrect word ‘rusty’ in an attempt to make sense of it. ‘A strange epithet this, and I wonder who coined it’, he mused; ‘tell me of a rusty horse, and I shall know what it means, for I know what rusty locks are and rusty weathercocks.’⁹² These were terms learned through practical exposure to horses and horsemen, through homosocial education, and were some of the many terms that identified, affirmed, and helped to create evidence of belonging to the élite Vineyard of Horsemen.

A man’s unsuitedness to the Vineyard and its language was also frequently signaled through the association of the sea and seafaring – occupations and language which were the exact opposite, like tailors, of adept equestrianism. Gambado often employed seafaring language (not to mention that his death was at sea while on his way to the water-locked city of Venice) instead of parlance that was properly masculine and an essential aspect of horsemanship. For example, he used ‘tackle’ to describe tacking up a horse, ‘steerage’ for directing the horse where to go, and ‘broadside’ as an action employed by a Frenchman to stop a runaway horse.⁹³

Tobias Smollett’s hilariously funny *The Adventures of Perigrine Pickle* (1751) provides an earlier example of this emphasis on incorrect and inappropriate language in the character of the stereotypically inept Commodore Hawser Trunnion.⁹⁴ Commodore Trunnion, like Captain Mirvan from Frances Burney’s later *Evelina*,⁹⁵ was known for his social ineptitude, inability to converse in polite company, and was, unsurprisingly, completely useless on horseback. While on his way to the church to be married, for example, he managed to drift slightly off course and was spied, with his entourage, inexplicably weaving between the hedgerows while making little forward progress. Upon being asked by a messenger to hurry his pace, as the appointed matrimonial hour had already come and gone, Commodore Trunnion fumed:

“Hark ye, brother, don’t you see we make all possible speed? go back and tell those who sent you, that the wind has shifted since we weighed anchor, and that we are obliged to make very short trips in tacking, by reason of the narrowness of the channel; and that as we lie within six points of the wind, they must make some allowance for variation and

⁹¹ The OED is no exception to this. It only traces the equestrian usage of the term ‘Whoa’ (to slow or halt a horse) back to 1849, and does not provide a definition for ‘Wohey’.

⁹² Bunbury, *Academy*, 24.

⁹³ Bunbury, *Academy*, ix, 21, 29.

⁹⁴ Tobias Smollett, *The Adventures of PERIGRINE PICKLE in which are included Memoirs of a Lady of Quality* [1751] (London: Oxford University Press, 1964.)

⁹⁵ Frances Burney, *Evelina, or the History of a Young Lady’s Entrance into the World* [1778] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Henry William Bunbury

leeway.” “Lord, Sir! (said the valet) what occasion have you to go zig zag in that manner? Do but clap spurs to your horses, and ride straight forward, and I’ll engage you shall be at the church porch in less than a quarter of an hour.” “What! right in the wind’s eye? (answered the commander) ahey! brother, where did you learn your navigation? Hawser Trunnion is not to be taught at this time of day how to lie his course, or keep his own reckoning. And as for you, brother, you know best the trim of your own frigate.”

Trunnion never did reach the church that day since just as they had ‘almost weathered the parson’s house that stood to windward of the church’ both Trunnion’s and his lieutenant’s horses took off with them after hearing the musical notes of a hunting pack. The horses, much like Henry Angelo’s ‘*harum scarum* beast’ introduced earlier, were seasoned hunters who took off at full speed, and regardless of the hedges and ditches in their way and heedless of all efforts to ‘anchor’ them, joined the merry chase. The lieutenant managed to abandon ship before too long, but Trunnion, wishing to preserve his gouty foot (like Gambado) chose to stay aboard. After all was said and done – a ‘long chase that lasted several hours, and extended to a dozen miles at least’ – Trunnion ended up ‘the Lord knows whither’ at the death of the stag and far away from where he set out to go. The story of Commodore Trunnion, that ‘apparition’ according to the watching sportsmen, is clearly and completely embedded in the language of the sea; it is this language, so utterly out of place for navigating across country on horseback, coupled with his unlearned somatic detachment from his horse, which makes him such a strong comic figure. It is his action and speech that effectively negate any positive association with horses, horsemanship or acceptance by Vines within the Vineyard needed to be a horseman.⁹⁶

Bunbury’s fellow caricaturist Piercy Roberts, along with Thomas Rowlandson, frequently satirized sailors on horseback, and clearly illustrated the inevitable hopelessness of sailors when associated with horses and equestrian pursuits in his 1807 *PROOF POSITIVE or no DECEIVING a SAILOR* (Figure 48). Here we have the untrustworthy dealer (more on this later), physiognomically visualized and monstrously racialized (a common construct in the

⁹⁶ Smollett, *The Adventures of PEREGRINE PICKLE*, 37-41. Trunnion’s escapades on horseback were adopted to the Amphitheatre stage in 1818: ‘Will be presented, 16th Time, an entirely New Broad Farcical Operatic Equestrian Burletta, which has been long in preparation, with entirely New Music, consisting of Songs, Duets, Gleees and Chorusses, New Scenery, Machinery, extensive Platforms for the Equestrian Evolutions, Dresses & Decorations, called. PEREGRINE PICKLE! OR, Hawser Trunnion ON HORSEBACK. The Music entirely New, composed by Mr. T. HUGHES.—The Scenery by Messrs. SKEAP, WILKINS an[d] Assistants.—The Machinery by Mr. NALL.—The Dresses by Messrs. HOWARD & CARTY. The Burletta taken from the Popular Novel of that Name. It is to be hoped, that in the arrangement of the above Equestrian Burletta for Stage Representation, that the slight innovations [sic] on the original Story, will meet with pardon; particularly when the most striking Incidents of the First Volume are brought together in regular succession, displaying the Tricks of Peregrine—The Eccentricities of Hawser Trunnion—Courtship of Mrs. Grizzle—The Wedding Day—Disasters at the Church—The Chase—Trunnion and Jack Hatchway’s Misfortunes, with many other ludicrous Situations, in which Dogs, Horses, and Fox, will form principal features, and wind up the general interest of the Piece.’ BL, ‘Astley’s Cuttings,’ vol. 3, Th.Cts.37., item 707 (1818).

Enlightenment⁹⁷) taking advantage of the ignorant ‘master’ and his attempted return of defective goods. The sailor, in trying to articulate his case, says to the dealer: ‘you tell me you Lubber: do you think I don’t know better than that I tell you I examined the works, and my Vessel was not half so much bent in the bows and the Cabin lights were clearer – but what Grapples the whole is this. My Vessel leaked towards the Midships – and this d’ye see leaks abaft.’ The language is stereotypically that of Trunnion, and the visual equine symbolism is that of the feminine. The horse, scatalogically represented, is a mare. A mare, as we saw with the earlier discussion of Mrs. Coltman’s mare, was the preferred mount for a woman, not for a man, and as a result, to be caught riding one often was a sure method of symbolically equating the ignorance and ineptitude of the rider with a loss of manhood. Although riding a mare by this point in the eighteenth century was not considered, in principle, to be emasculating, and Berenger did comment that ‘In other respects there is no reason to think them inferior to horses, and, *cæteris paribus*, always superior, as being perfect in nature, to *Geldings*’; satirists continued to consider mares as instantaneously symbolic of the rider’s qualities of manliness (or lack thereof).⁹⁸ Like humans, horses were socially gendered, and it was their gender which could actively influence the perceived gender of the rider.

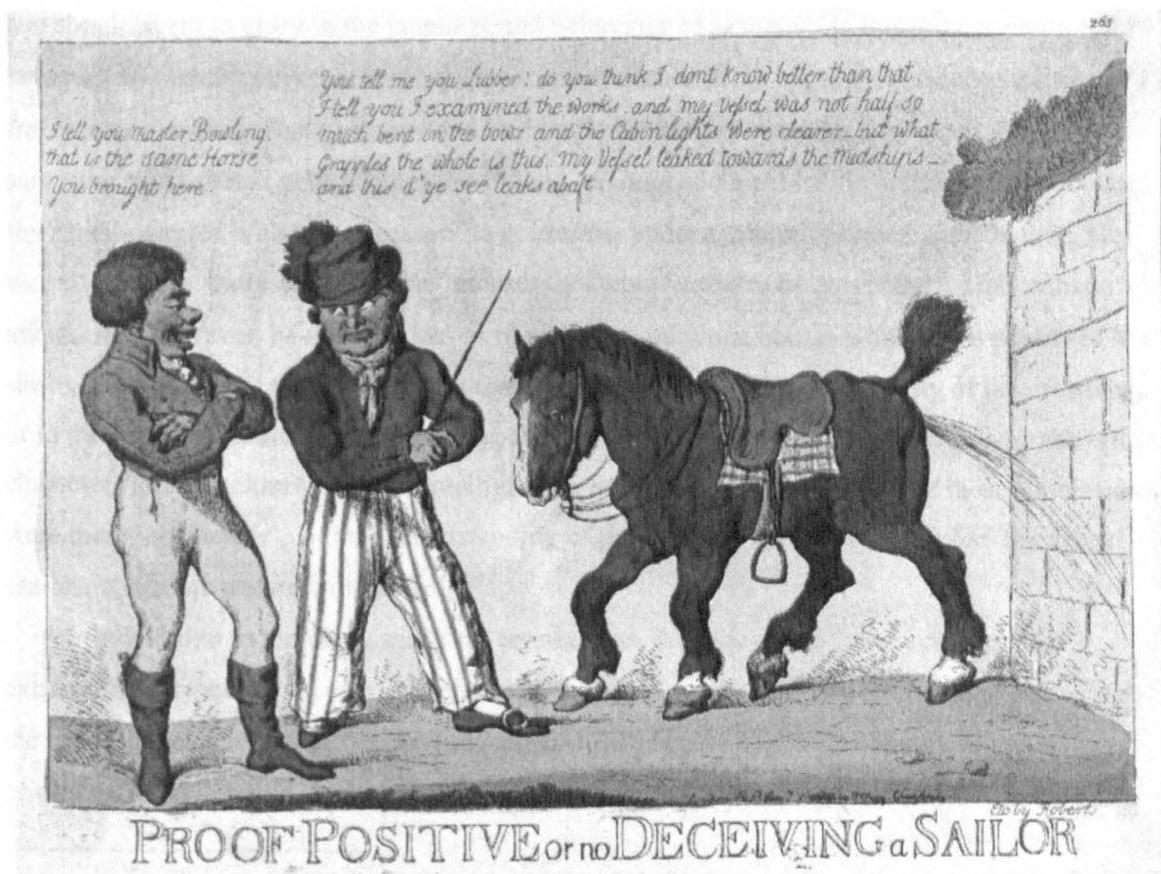
Roberts further satirized this symbolically emasculated ‘horse-marine’, so incomprehensible in his human and animal communication, through subtle indicators only understandable to horsemen.⁹⁹ The physiognomic markings of the horse drove home for Roberts, as if it was not clear enough, the completely reprehensible nature of the dealer who sold the animal and the sailor who naively purchased it. Here we see an animal with a half white, or bald, face; white feet and socked (hosed) legs; and most importantly, and most easily missed, a blue or walleye. An animal with ‘A bald face, wall eyes, and white legs (if your horse is not a grey one) is to be preferr’d’ for Gambado ‘as, in the night, although you may ride against what you please, yourself; no one will ride against you.’ However, for horsemen of the Vineyard these physical

⁹⁷ Nussbaum, *The Limits of the Human*, 42.

⁹⁸ Richard Berenger, *The history and art of horsemanship. In two volumes* (London: Printed for T. Davies, in Russel-Street, Covent-Garden; and T. Cadell, in the Strand, 1771), vol. I, 169. Bunbury used this idea in his *Annals* to illustrate further the emasculation that occurred for individuals not versed in the languages of horsemanship. In *How to make the Mare to Go* we have Peter Puffin racing home after a ‘great national discovery’ that made his old mare ‘go above three miles an hour’, a speed similar to Tobias Higgins’ recent acquisition (discussed later), that Puffin was unable to increase; that is until he had the help of an old lobster on the way home from market. This lobster, the marine kind and not a British redcoat, painfully pinched the mare’s side, causing her to ‘set off’ at such a pace that ‘the devil could not stop her till she got home’, and a pace which caused both his hat and wig – like Gilpin’s – to separate from his head. With this story, related ‘ever in haste’ and with ‘a great quickness of pulse’ to Gambado, Puffin – the ungoverned and unrestrained man ruled by his emotions – hoped his discovery would be of use to the ‘Public’ or for ‘the light dragoons’. Bunbury, *Annals*, 53-55.

⁹⁹ Surtees, *Jorrock’s Jaunts and Jollities*, 184.

characteristics (also expressed in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century humoural theory) signified a horse – and by extension a rider – that was vicious, unreasonable and extremely dangerous. As Thomas de Gray related: ‘All good Horsemen doe attest, that the Horse with much white upon his face, raw nosed, sheath, yard, tuell, & hooves white, skin white, and legs hosed, & wal-eyed; is generally weake, faint, of a cowardly condition, tender, and washy of flesh, subject to rebellion, restisenes [sic], to starting, stumbling, evill-sighted, subject to tire, dangerous to his Keeper, for biting and striking; and in a word, of a most base, and evill condition.’¹⁰⁰



[Figure 48: Percy Roberts, *PROOF POSITIVE or no DECEIVING a SAILOR* (London: 1807). © Trustees of the British Museum.]

What Roberts was working from, and what Bunbury used to brilliant effect (while connecting it to yet another Amphitheatre reference), was one side of a dual and contradictory image applied to sailors during the eighteenth century. On one hand they were, according to John

¹⁰⁰ Bunbury, *Academy*, 6; Thomas de Gray, *The compleat horseman and expert ferrier: In two bookes. ...* (London: Thomas Harper, and are to be sold by Nicholas Vavasour, at his shop in the inner Temple neere the church doore, 1639), 23.

Brewer and Kathleen Wilson, ‘a source of national pride both as the life-line of the nation’s commerce, the carrier of its imperial wealth, and as the chief bulwark of the nation’s defence’ (an ideal that was the subject of the perennial favourite for Astley’s Amphitheatre, and that was staged on horseback as *The Blunt Tar; or, True Love Rewarded* in 1791 and as *Jack Junk* in the nineteenth century).¹⁰¹ However, on the other hand sailors were, as Jonathan Lamb found, frequently considered to be less than human, uncivilized and savage.¹⁰² Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Philibert Commerson both questioned whether they had souls, and Henry Fielding wondered why seamen would ‘think themselves entirely discharged from the common bands of humanity, and should seem to glory in the language and behaviour of savages’.¹⁰³ It is their reputation for savagery and inhumanity that Bunbury took inspiration from. In his story of finding Gambado’s fragmentary writings Bunbury mirrored Fielding’s derogatory remarks: the Editor, on seeing the surviving ‘ultramarine beings’ after the sinking of Gambado’s ship was forced to communicate ‘by signs’ coupled with ‘much reason’ to gain some understanding of how Gambado died. He was also able to understand how the ‘monstrous Craws’ came to be decorated with Gambado’s manuscript; however, he was at a loss as to why such inhuman beings would have preserved the sheets. He questioned whether their motives were ‘owing to an innate modesty of the creatures, or to their natural admiration for learning, and a wish to preserve sheets, although adorned with characters totally unknown, and unintelligible to them’. For the ‘Editor’, all of these conclusions were mere ‘conjecture’, and the understanding of the sailors was a job best left for ‘the deeper searchers into the wonders of nature’.¹⁰⁴

In addition to the many seafaring connections, the monstrous Craws, or ‘the most extraordinary bipeds that perhaps ever visited this country’, were also performers at Astley’s at the time Bunbury published his *An Academy* in 1787 (Figure 49).¹⁰⁵ Eventually found to originate from a town in the Italian Alps known for iodine deficiency (the Craws suffered from

¹⁰¹ John Brewer, *The English Satirical Print 1600-1832: The Common People and Politics 1750-1790s* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey Ltd., 1986), 41; Lawrence Stone argues there was a strong anxiety towards the army and standing armies specifically throughout the eighteenth century, and Kathleen Wilson remarks that instead of the navy that was consistently the primary instrument of ‘mercantile imperialism’ and national power. Lawrence Stone, ‘Introduction’ in Lawrence Stone, ed., *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689 to 1815* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 6; Wilson, ‘Empire of Virtue’, 132; BL, ‘Astley’s Cuttings,’ vol. 2, item 53C (June 29, 1791); see *M^r DUCROW AS JACK JUNK*, (St. Minories, London: Published by M & M. Skelt, M. Swan, n.d.) V&A, ‘Astley’s File. 1770-1779 and Early Years – general. Box 1 of 18,’ and *M^r DUCROW in the VICISSITUDE of a TAR* (St. Minories, London: Published by M & M. Skelt, M. Swan, n.d.) V&A, ‘Astley’s File. 1780-1821. Box 2 of 18.’ for illustrations of the equestrian act.

¹⁰² Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas, 1680-1840* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 114.

¹⁰³ As quoted in Lamb, *Preserving the Self*, 114.

¹⁰⁴ Bunbury, *Academy*, xi-xvii.

¹⁰⁵ Bunbury, *Academy*, xi-xvii.

goitres), the three Crows were originally billed in the London newspapers as being ‘two Females and a Male, of a very small stature, and most extraordinary shape and form, with large Crows under their throat, full of moving balls, or glands, which play all ways as directed, and stimulated by either their eating, speaking, or laughing. Their speech, country, and language are unknown to all.’¹⁰⁶ All three performed at the Royal Circus with Charles Hughes as trick riders, were exhibited as wonders of Nature (led around on horseback by Astley at his newly named Royal Grove while carrying illuminating candles so the audience could better see their goitres) at Astley’s Amphitheatre, were used as examples of gluttony and ungoverned appetites by social commentators such as James Gillray, and performed imitations of nonhuman beings (including animals) before adoring audiences.¹⁰⁷ The Monstrous Crows were wildly popular figures of spectacle and curiosity; were considered to be ‘extraordinary and curious savage beings, of our nature,’ by the *Morning Herald* on January 16, 1787; ‘the most astonishing prodigies of our nature ever beheld by all the known world’ by the *Morning Post* on April 16; and equated not only with ‘Wild Born Human Beings’ but, for the female Crow, with the nonhuman animal ‘OURANG OUTANG’ for her animalistic mimicry abilities.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ BL, *Collectanea*, vol. 1, f.90 (n.d.).

¹⁰⁷ For Astley’s engagement of the Crows see: Kwint, *Astley’s Amphitheatre*, 321-323. BL, *Collectanea*, vol. 1, f.93v (*Morning Post*, August 18, 1787); for the Crows’ riding as trick riders at the Royal Circus see: BL, *Collectanea*, vol. 1, f.93 (October 11, 1787), and f.94 (*Morning Herald*, October 15, 1787). James Gillray, *Monstrous Crows, at a New Coalition Feast* (London: Published 29 May, 1787 by SW Fores).

¹⁰⁸ BL, *Collectanea*, vol. 1, f.90 (*Morning Herald*, January 16, 1787); f.91 (*Morning Post*, April 16, 1787); f.93 (*Morning Herald*, September 21, 1787); f.96 (*Morning Post*, November 6, 1787). According to the November 6 *Morning Post*, The ‘MONSTROUS FEMALE CRAW’ performed ‘imitations’ of ‘The Learned Pig. / The Singing Duck. / Katterselto’s Cat. / The Drumming Hare. / General Jackoo. / The Dancing Dogs. / The Snorting Chillaby. / And her own *natural* howl.’ The review continued, and argued that ‘*her’s alone* was that which *baffled description*, and brought an absolute *identity* to the *animal it gave*; and high as the *public respect* has been in this subject, it did not equal the real. OURANG OUTANG.’

PRICE REDUCED.



To the Nobility, Gentry, and the Curious for inspecting most Extraordinary Human Beings, of the wild Species born.

Just Arrived from Abroad,
And to be Seen at Mr. Becket's, *Trunk Maker*, No. 31,
HAY-MARKET,
From Ten o'Clock in the Morning, till Nine in the Evening,

Three Wonderful Phœnomena,
Wild Born, of the Human Species :

THESE are Two Females and a Male, of a very SMALL STATURE, being little less or more than *Four Feet High;*

Each with a Monstrous C R A W

under the Throat, containing within, some Three, some Four, some Five BALLS or GLANDS, more or less big than an Egg each of them, and which play upwards and downwards, and all ways in their *Craws*, according as incited and forced, either by their Speaking, or Laughing. These Three

Most wonderful wild born Human Beings,

whose Country, Language, and Native Customs are yet unknown to all Mankind, it is supposed started in some Canoes from their Native Place (believed to be some still unknown remote Land of South America) and being after Wrecked, were picked up by a Spanish Vessel, which in a violent Storm, was also lost off Trieste, in Italy, when these Three People, and another of the same kind, since Dead, were providentially saved from perishing; though, it is imagined, there were more on board of their Species.—At that period they were of a dark Olive Complexion, but which has astonishingly, by degrees, changed to the colour of that of Europeans.

These Three *truly-surprising* Beings, have attracted to themselves the most minute Attention, and great Admiration of all the Princes, celebrated Anatomists, and Naturalists, to whom they have been presented in Europe, for their Rare, and yet Unknown Species; and not less indeed, for their most apparent and surprising Happiness, and Content among themselves; most endearing Tractableness and respectful demeanour towards all Strangers, as well for their unparallel'd and natural, cheerful, lively, and merry Disposition, Singing and Dancing (in their most extraordinary Way,) at the will and pleasure of the Company

Admittance, One Shilling Each:--

[Figure 49: Handbill (London: 1787). © Trustees of the British Museum.]

Sailors and the Amphitheatre's monstrous Craws, as they were mixed together to form a new, combined breed of Craw by Bunbury, were portrayed as wondrous and freakish beings – less than human, almost animal, savage, and unreasoned brutes – akin to the judgment of the

unknown, 1782 critic discussed in the last Chapter who labelled Astley and his troop mares and horses in their own right. The Editor, who was quite taken aback by their incomprehensible nature, much like the Craws' surprised audiences, cannot communicate with them vocally or through writing because of their impenetrable language and illiteracy. Forced to attempt discourse by signs, the 'Editor' never does fully understand the ultramarine beings which possess less reasoning abilities than reasoned beasts, and leaves their study to the natural scientists.¹⁰⁹ Signing, being unable understandably and verbally to discourse, was representative of 'entities who were humanoid but not fully *human* ('savages', 'barbarians')' and was often racialized through association with 'nonwhite races' during the century. As Lord Monboddoo remarked: 'in the woods of Angola, and other parts of Africa ... races of wild men, without use of speech, are still to be found';¹¹⁰ they could not speak, they were required to sign their intentions, and were 'monsters' who existed 'precisely on the boundary of what is humanoid to define the limits of the human.'¹¹¹ To be able to speak defined a (civilized) human, but to define a horseman a gentleman needed to be intelligible to fellow horsemen of the Vineyard. Gambado's and Bunbury's other characters' association with the sea, wild-born humans, sailors and the Admiralty, would have been proof positive of the absolute necessity of not only avoiding muteness in horsemanship's languages but of perfecting them as a means to obtain the virtues of civic humanism. The 'want of Propriety, and Grammatical Exactness, is thought very misbecoming one of that rank, and usually draws on one guilty of such faults the censure of having had a lower breeding, and worse company, than suits with his quality.'¹¹² And the want of such exactness in horsemanship could associate the 'master' with cowardice, savagery, bestiality, devilishness and monstrosity while emasculating the target of the satirist's wit. '*Not to know the terms or principles*' of horsemanship, wrote Thomas de Gray, was '*to be ignorant of the Art itself*', and as we have seen it was to prohibit the civic virtues and feelings so indispensable to Bunbury's form of élite masculinity.¹¹³ Indeed, to be human-animal was to be able to speak, to

¹⁰⁹ According to the *Morning Post* of April 16, 1787, this is precisely what scientists did. [T]here was a geographical Sapiens last week', according to the author, who 'went to see them [craws], that baptized them by the name of Antipoleans; people inhabiting, as he expressed, that part of the terraqueous globe lying directly opposite and against that which is inhabited by ourselves. Whether his assertion is founded on truth or not, is a question to be dissolved; though certain it is, that they are generally contested the most astonishing prodigies of our nature ever beheld by all the known world.' BL, *Collectanea*, vol. 1, f.91v.

¹¹⁰ Charles Mills and James Burnet, Lord Mondobbo, as quoted in Nussbaum, *The Limits of the Human*, 43.

¹¹¹ Nussbaum, *The Limits of the Human*, 44.

¹¹² John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* [1700], ed. Peter H. Niddich (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 160; Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1996), 28.

¹¹³ Grey, *The Complete Horseman*, 27.

be a gentleman was to speak with politeness, and to be a masculine horseman of the Vineyard was to 'speak' the languages of horsemanship with perfection and grace.

iv. INTERSPECIES EMBODIED DIALECTIC

In Chapter II, Cavendish and his notion of a Centaur was introduced. There I argued that for a man to be considered a member of the Vineyard, and to have earned the appellation horseman, he was required to visualize himself as a dual-species being that shared one body and one will. Such visualization was conspicuous by its absence within the new horsemanship practices developing in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and was replaced by the horse as a more independent being which was both slave to its master's wants and protector of his body and reputation; there was no notion of superior governance leading to a fluency in language, a meeting of worlds, to the extent of the creation of one mind in one body. However, this absence does not speak to a disappearance of the Centauric ideal from horsemanship discourse or practice. Instead, it illustrates the many differences in Vineyards and horsemanship emerging during the eighteenth century. The horse-man as Centaur was alive and well among the heirs of Cavendish's Vineyard such as Richard Berenger, Sidney Meadows and Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. These men, and Bunbury by his roundabout reference to their greatness, believed horsemanship, to be horse-men at all, was by necessity to be Centaur:

for the getting upon the back of an horse, to be conveyed from one place to another, without knowing what the animal is enabled by nature, art, and practice to perform, is not *Riding*: the knowledge and utility of which consists in being able to discern, and dextrous to employ the means by which the horse may be brought to execute what the rider requires of him, with propriety, readiness, and safety; and this knowledge in the man, and obedience in the horse, like soul and body, should be so intimately connected, as to form *One Perfect Whole*; this union being so indispensably necessary, that were it not, there is no meaning between the man and horse, they talk different languages, and all is confusion.—While many and fatal mischiefs may ensue; the man may be wedged in the timber which he strives to rend, and fall the victim of his own ignorance and rashness.¹¹⁴

According to Berenger, the horsemen of the new Vineyard were incapable of intelligent communication with their mounts because they did not understand nor execute the potential of their nonhuman partners; they did not learn, nor have the desire to, the necessary language of horsemanship that allowed for the creation of two into one. For Berenger and the other horsemen of the Cavendish-esque Vineyard such as Bunbury, somatic communication, intelligible somatic

¹¹⁴ Berenger, *The History and Art of Horsemanship*, vol. I, 201.

communication, with an animal was *the* distinguishing visible feature that defined the civic governor from the effeminate non-citizen.

Berenger's Centaur was the result of learning a common language – without which all is confusion, he was quick to caution – a conception shared by many other horsemen of the eighteenth century: the horse-man interspecies relationship was termed 'correspondence' (Adams), 'discourse' (A.S.) and 'appui' (a continuous 'Reciprocal Sentiment or Feeling, betwixt the Rider's hand, and the Horse's mouth' – Herbert and Adams from Solleysel/Hope).¹¹⁵ This tendency towards anthropomorphization when discussing equestrian relationships seems to fly in the face of the perceived shift in the malleability between categories of human and animal discussed in Chapter III. As such, while similar alterations in thought to those identified by Dror Wahrman (and expressed by Goldsmith and Bingley) can be found, the widespread solidification of the categories human and animal was not as complete as scholars have argued, as Astley liked to perform, or as eighteenth-century non-horsemen liked to believe.

The language of equestrian relationships was one that gave a voice, an opinion and agency to the nonhuman through alternative definitions of what constituted speech. As we have seen, in the Cartesian tradition animals are by nature devoid of speech of any kind because they could not reason, understand or respond as humans would. However, in the language of horsemanship, nonhumans were able to, as Cavendish pointed out in contravention of Hobbes's theories, reason and communicate but in a way that differed from humans. Horses communicated through their corporeal selves, through their bodies, while humans – as it was thought in the eighteenth century – communicate primarily by oral speech. It was the learning of each other's foreign language for these horsemen, learning 'the proper mode of communicating' between man and horse for Sidney's pupil Strickland Freeman, that created the reciprocal and dual-natured relationship so necessary for Cavendish and other Masters of horsemanship.¹¹⁶ This conception

¹¹⁵ John Adams, *An Analysis of Horsemanship; Teaching the Whole Art of Riding in the Manege, Military, Hunting, Racing, and Travelling System. Together with the Method of Breaking Horses, For Every Purpose to Which Those Noble Animals are Adapted. In Three Volumes* (London: Albion Press Printed. Published by James Cunder, Ivy-Lane; sold by C. Chapple, Pall-Mall, 1805), Book I, xviii; A.S., *The Gentleman's Compleat Jockey: with the Perfect Horseman, and Experience'd Farrier* (London: Printed for Henry Neime, at the Leg and Star, over-against the Royal Exchange in Cernhil, 1696), 31; Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, *A Method of Breaking Horses and teaching Soldiers to Ride, Designed for the Use of the Army* (London: Printed by J. Hughs, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, 1762), 61; William Hope, 'Supplement of Riding; Collected from the best Authors,' *The Compleat Horseman Discovering the Surest Marks of the Beauty, Goodness, Faults and Imperfections of Horses*, by Jacques de Solleysel (London: Printed for M. Gillyflower, in Westminster-Hall; R. Bently, in Covent-Garden; H. Bonwick, in St. Paul's Church-Yark; J. Tonson, W. Freema, T. Goodwin, M. Wotton, in Fleet-street; J. Walthoe, in the Temple; S. Manship, and R. Parker, in Cornhill, 1696), Author's Epistle to the Reader.

¹¹⁶ Strickland Freeman, *The Art of Horsemanship Altered and Abbreviated, According to the Principles of the Late Sir Sidney Medows* (London: Printed for the Author by W. Bulmer and Co. Cleveland-Row, St. James's;

of a dual-species education in language, so similar to what Ann Game, Lynda Birke and Keri Brant understand the process of horse-human communication to be today – as I argued in the Introduction – mandated that eighteenth-century horse-men learn to communicate in order to experience and make visible the Centaur. As such, for Berenger and Bunbury,

The Centaur is the symbol of horsemanship, and explains its meaning as soon as it is beheld: for there is such an intelligence and harmony between the rider and the horse, that they may, almost in a literal sense, be said to be but one creature; the horse understanding the *Aids* of his rider as if he was a part of himself, and the rider equally consulting the genius, powers, and temper of the horse, justifies the allegory; and may almost be said, in the expressive words of Shakespear [Hamlet] “incorpsed and deminatured with the brave beast.”¹¹⁷

When both man and horse are ‘entrained’, in the language of Ann Game, both horse and man have learned to feel, understand and promote a harmony of speech between them; one looks to the other for information and opinion in order to become something more than a purely human or purely animal self.

This understanding of what and how a true horseman was created is similar to Cavendish’s in many respects; however, eighteenth-century horsemen did not follow Hobbesian theory. The Centaur was not the embodiment of the body politic, nor of a horseman’s ability to generate covenants with his horse. Instead, building off the associated importance of interaction and discourse with women as essential in the formation of polite men and the popularity of liberty in the new Vineyard, the late eighteenth-century Centaur was the visual indication of a gentleman’s and horse’s ability to discourse with sensitivity and reason. John Adams provides a clearer picture of this importance: for him,

it is ever to be understood, that the man and the horse are to be of a piece; i. e. when the horse is at liberty and disunited, then the rider in like manner, sits at his ease, and may be said to be disunited; and as he begins to collect and unite, his horse, so he collects and unites himself. Thus, when the rider is pressing a horse to the union, and drawing from him the most elegant attitude and lofty action, the rider’s attitude must likewise be to the extreme of elegance, and his exertions in the same proportion to that of the horse.¹¹⁸

A rider was to modify his actions, effort and concentration to maintain a clear dialogue between himself and his mount in the various situations in which the pair would find themselves; what one does, so must the other to maintain communication and understanding.

and sold by James Carpenter, Bookseller to their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, Old Bond-Street; and G. and W. Nicol, Pall-Mall, 1806), ii.

¹¹⁷ Berenger, *The History and Art of Horsemanship*, vol. I, 36-37.

¹¹⁸ Adams, *An Analysis of Horsemanship*, 16.

Horsemanship as a somatic language was performed through the bodily actions of man and horse, and they were actions that required extensive instruction before they could be considered effective or understandable. A man could sit on a horse and possibly get it to do what he wanted through trial, error and force, but to communicate truly, to ‘correspond’, both man and horse had to learn a sensitivity of feeling governed by reasoned self-control.¹¹⁹ Scholars such as Philip Carter and James Kim have studied the eighteenth-century culture of feeling and sentiment for men, and have traced the impacts, acceptances and contestations of these aspects of masculine ideals, specifically in relation to bodily expressions of emotion – sighing, tears, trembling, etc. found in many sentimental texts of the time.¹²⁰ However, for them feeling has remained a part of the human emotions (sentiment) rather than a closely related intersubjective somatic sense (sensibility), and has remained associated with many sentimentally polite virtues such as gentility, grace, social morality and refinement; it has remained a late eighteenth-century phenomenon, and while sensitivity in feeling does increase in importance during that time, as we have seen, feeling for horsemen had a much longer history.¹²¹ Horsemanship, at least in its ideal form portrayed by the manual authors, was a language of sensitive refinement for both man and animal; as Herbert argued: “’TIS necessary that the greatest attention, and the same gentleness, that is used in teaching the horses, be observed likewise in teaching the men, especially at the beginning. Every method and art must be practised to create and preserve, both in man and horse, all possible feeling and sensibility, contrary to the usage of most riding masters [like Gambado], who seem industriously to labour at abolishing these principles both in one and the other.”¹²² Later, John Adams also wrote, voicing the traditional idea that it was primarily through the rider’s hands and horse’s mouth that sensitive correspondence occurred, that the horse will have ‘perfect obedience to the rider, the Hand directing him with the greatest ease, so that the horse seems to work by the will of the rider, rather than the compulsion of the Hand.’¹²³ It is feeling and sensitivity, then, which are necessary in both horse and man for obedience, communication

¹¹⁹ Adams, *An Analysis of Horsemanship*, 41.

¹²⁰ Henry Mackenzie’s *The Man of Feeling*, and Lawrence Sterne’s *A Sentimental Journey*, being among the most popular in the eighteenth century and for scholars today. James Kim, “‘good cursed, bouncing losses’: Masculinity, Sentimental Irony, and Exuberance in *Tristram Shandy*,” *The Eighteenth Century* 1 (1997): 3-93; G.J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

¹²¹ Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, 89, 94.

¹²² Herbert, *A Method of Breaking Horses*, 3.

¹²³ Adams, *An Analysis of Horsemanship*, 39-40.

and ultimately Centaur-like perfection; perfection grounded in governed sensibility that would further 'guarantee and preserve... refined sociability' for the nation's benefit.¹²⁴

However, such reasoned feeling, like horsemanship itself, was not perfectible for everyone (as Bunbury so graphically illustrates). While horsemen of taste were to be men 'of judgment, temper, sagacity, and courage' and were to work to perfect the art of horsemanship through 'reason' which 'is, indeed, the inherent property of every man' the physical tools which allowed for this improvement were not universally bestowed.¹²⁵ According to Berenger an individual proficient in horsemanship must first and foremost have a 'goodness and quickness of feeling; and ... [a] delicacy which nature alone can give, and which she does not always bestow.' For him, voicing the new scientific breakthroughs in human anatomy so essential to the development of sensibility and its Lockean emphasis on the primacy of external stimuli in forming internal ideas and behaviour, everyone was given an equal share of nerves, but not everyone's functioned in the same way.¹²⁶ Only some people had nerves which conducted 'subtle and quick' feeling necessary for horsemen; even if highly functional and sensitive, these nerves would not allow perfection if they were not trained or improved. Herbert argued that sensitivity and feeling, as determined by delicacy in the use of the hands and legs, may be given by the teacher to a certain degree; but 'tis nature alone that can bestow that great sensibility, without which neither one nor the other can be formed to any great perfection.'¹²⁷ This 'sensibility' or sensitivity in somatic feeling could for Hugh Blair 'produce gentleness in behaviour', and for John Logan sensibility was the 'refinement which polishes the mind' and provides 'that gentleness of manners which sweetens the intercourse of human society.'¹²⁸ Some men could be socially and civically beneficial horsemen but only if they possessed innate abilities, élitely sensitive abilities, and were properly guided and nourished by a master of horsemanship.

For Herbert (recording in print the ideology of horsemanship so central to Astley's own improperly enacted riding and honour), proper

[i]nstructions both to man and horse in riding are of the greatest importance and consequence; as the success of actions in a great measure depend upon them. Squadrons are frequently broken and defeated through the ignorance of the riders or horses; but most commonly of both together. Many and various are the disasters, that arise from the horses not being properly [or gently] prepared and supplied, and from the men not being

¹²⁴ Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, 30-31.

¹²⁵ J.L. Jackson, *The art of riding; or, horsemanship made easy: exemplified by rules drawn from nature and experience*. By J.L. Jackson, Esq. (London: printed for A. Cooke, 1765), 1.

¹²⁶ Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, 104-106. Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, 30; Wahman, *Making of the Modern Self*, 185-189; Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility*, 1-36.

¹²⁷ Berenger, *The History and Art of Horsemanship*, vol. II, 8, 22.

¹²⁸ Hugh Blair and John Logan as quoted in Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, 93.

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taught firm seats; independent of their hands and the mouths of their horses. Were the men rightly instructed how to keep the mouths of their horses fresh and obedient [destroyed by lack of feeling], and thereby maintain a cadence pace, (be it ever so fast, or ever so slow,) ranks would of course be always dressed, and unshaken, and consequently always powerful. The stoutest and by nature the best of cavalry is often broken, and thereby rendered inferior far to much weaker and less respectable bodies than themselves, for want of being properly informed in the above-mentioned, and such-like particulars. This is a matter worthy of a serious inspection consideration and amendment, the neglect of which has upon many occasions been very fatal.¹²⁹

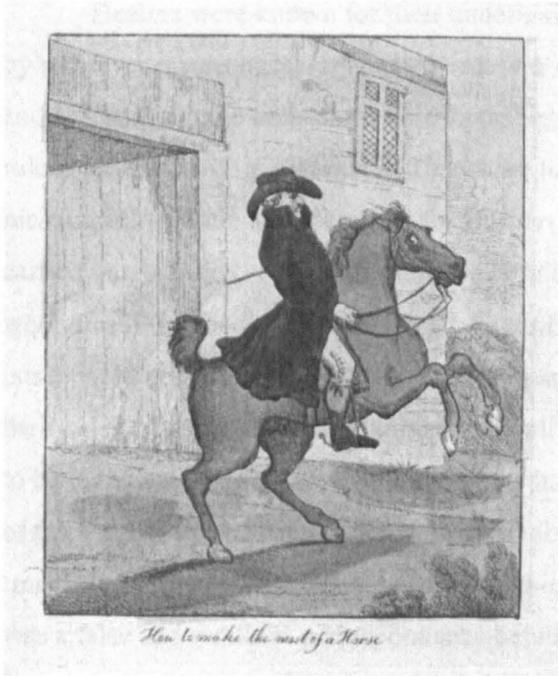
If properly sensitive, gentle and patient training of man and horse in the language of horsemanship was not carried out under a Master the results would be fatal to the cavalry, to the rider and his horse, but most importantly, to the commonweal which relies on the military for its security and prosperity. To be a man of innate ability for feeling, to be a discursive horseman, was to be an élite practitioner of civic humanism.

v. RIDING 'MASTERS'

Bunbury illustrates the need for correspondence and the requirement of natural talent most clearly in his discussion of different riders being able to produce different ways of going in a single horse (Figures 50 and 51). In Letter the Fourth from *The Annals of Horsemanship*, Tobias Higgins wrote to Gambado requesting advice about a horse he had recently purchased. When trying out the animal he had the horse dealer, who 'knew how to make the most of' his mounts, ride him first, under whom 'a very fine figure the gelding cut'. However, once the horse had been brought home and Tobias had tried him out for himself he found the horse he had purchased was vastly different from the one he thought he was buying. According to him the horse 'goes in a different manner with me, for instead of his capering like a Trooper, he hangs down his head and tail, and neither whip nor spur can get him out of a snail's gallop.'¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Herbert, *A Method of Breaking Horses*, 35-36. His sentiments were anticipated by Clifford Christopher: 'for by rash, bedlem, and brainsicke hastinesse, not onelie horses are disordered and marred, but mightie armies also haue beene thereby ouerthrown, and utterly confounded.' Christopher Clifford, *The schoole of Horsemanship* (London: [By T. East] for Thomas Cadman, and are to be solde at his shop in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the Bible, 1585), 17 of 105.

¹³⁰ Bunbury, *Annals*, 19-20.



[Figure 50: Henry William Bunbury, 'How to make the most of a Horse,' *The Annals of Horsemanship*, (London: 1791). Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.]



[Figure 51: Henry William Bunbury, 'How to make the least of a Horse,' *The Annals of Horsemanship*. (London: 1791). Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.]

Both of these figures were in need of natural ability, proper equestrian knowledge and, specifically for Tobias, the experience and practice to improve the other two qualities; these figures represent the completely ignorant cit and the professed 'master' of horsemanship, and graphically illustrate Bunbury's views towards both types of rider. The dealer, the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century equivalent to today's stereotypically dishonest used-car salesman, is shown with an ideal seat and position on the horse for the most part, and the horse is indeed 'capering like a Trooper'; however, his actions are all part of his recognisably dishonest social interactions with his clients, and by extension his inability to be a polite, sensitive or civic member of society.¹³¹

¹³¹ There are clear connections between this image and earlier military-charger portraits such as Angelo's portrait, William Marshal's 1647 portrait of *His Excellencie Sr. Thomas Fairfax K. Generall of the forces raised by the Parliament*, and the many images of William Cavendish *en levade*. These features include the visualizing of the horse at the moment of the charge, and the rider's seat. However, the horse's facial features differ considerably from those in idealized antecedents. Here the horse's ears are pinned back and the eyes are rolling in 'despair' and 'rage' unlike the earlier images, of which *Angelo Tremamondo, Riding Master* is but one example of many stock compositions which illustrate the horse's ears eagerly pricked forward and the eyes courageously focused and glaring at the enemy in an attitude of strength. See Lavater for further information on the facial expressions of horses and the corresponding temperaments and emotions. Walter Liedtke, *The Royal Horse and Rider: Painting, Sculpture, and Horsemanship 1500-1800* (New York: Abaris Books, 1989).

Dealers were known for their underhanded methods of making a horse fiery and spirited by whatever means necessary; whether it was in the stable or on a horse's back, they repeatedly, and according to the authors on horsemanship, without any qualms broke one of the cardinal rules of horsemanship – gentle and sensitive hands.¹³² As it was through the hands that meaningful – gentle and measured for Herbert – correspondence, language, speech or appui, was carried out, any discord in their function would negate even the possibility of a dialogue that would result in obedient perfection.¹³³ According to Charles Thompson, dealers, and the unschooled hobby-rider, are 'always pulling at their horses; that they have the spur constantly in their sides, and are at the same time continually checking the rein'. While our dealer is not shown to be in the act of doing so, and is shown to sit quite nicely, the physical language (pathognomy) of the horse states otherwise. Such unreasonable actions on the dealer's part were intended to 'make them [horses] bound, and champ the bit, while their rage has the appearance of spirit'; it was a false and wrathful correspondence between man and horse, and one associated with emasculating characteristics harmful to the individual and to the wider commercial civil society, such as dishonesty, violence, corruption and the loss of reason. A mouth open in 'fury', 'transport', 'derision' and 'contempt' for the rider's methods and inability to discourse or govern, as we see here, was 'one of the most horrible and shocking sights, in fine the most unpleasant and unbecoming action, that a Horse can possibly perform under a man.'¹³⁴ The dealer's methods were only useful for producing fantasy, false and violent behaviour in a horse, rather than true spectacles of interspecies communication. The dealer, through his violence, heavy-handedness and inability to self-govern, along with his inability to avoid offence in conversation due to a lack of sensibility to the other's feeling (a requirement of genteel conversation described in

¹³² The untrustworthiness of dealers had a long tradition. Thomas Dekker in 1608 complained: 'for the most part [The dealer was]... in quality a coozener, by profession a knave, by his cunning a Varlet, in fayres a Hagling Chapman, in the City a cogging dissembler, and in Smithfield a common forsworne Villaine.' Thomas Dekker as quoted in P.R. Edwards, 'The Horse Trade in Tudor and Stuart England,' in F.M.L. Thompson, ed., *Horses in European Economic History: A Preliminary Canter* (Reading: British Agriculture History Society, 1983), 114. Similar sentiment can be found in William Burdon's *Capt. Burdon's Gentleman's Pocket-Farrier ... To which is added, The Smithfield-Jockey: or the Various and Artful Devices, Tricks, and Strategems Of Horse-Jockeys and Ostlers ...* (London: Printed for J. Torbuck, in Clare-Court, Drury Lane; and J. Rowland in Exeter-Exchange in the Strand, 1742); and Henry Bracken's *Ten Minutes Advice To Every Gentleman Going to Purchase a Horse Out of a Dealer, Jockey, or Groom's Stable* (London: Printed for the author, and sold by John Bell, Bookseller in the Strand; and C. Etherrington, in York, 1775). Throughout the work Bracken continually cautions his reader to be careful of the various deceptions by which the dealer may try to increase the value of the horse, which included, among other tricks, false facial markings, bishoping or artificial aging of the teeth, and creatively raised tails (to give a lively appearance). Instructing young horsepeople against most of these methods is no longer considered necessary, with bishoping being the one exception; learning how to distinguish between a natural mouth and one that has been tampered with continues to be an element in horsemanship education today.

¹³³ Herbert, *A Method of Breaking Horses*.

¹³⁴ Solleysel, *The Compleat Horseman*, 15.

eighteenth-century conduct literature), has created contempt not only from the spectators but also from the horse, which would appear to possess more reason than his rider.¹³⁵ Like Cavendish before him, for Herbert – building off much older ideas of training that abhorred violence – a rider who used violent and false methods of communication was a ‘madman’ devoid of reason who, ‘by false and violent motions and corrections, drives the horse, through despair, into every bad and vicious trick, that rage can suggest.’¹³⁶

Madmen were for much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries considered beastly and sub-human, in the sense that: ‘If possession of reason be the proud attribute of humanity, its diseases must be ranked among our greatest afflictions, since they sink us from our pre-eminence to a level with animal creatures.’¹³⁷ While for some theorists by the end of the eighteenth century madmen retained their humanity in the face of unreason, the belief in irrationality being equated with beastliness continued to hold sway over popular imagination. Madmen such as the dealer were, as John Aikin argued in 1771, ‘unhappy objects afflicted with this disorder is in a peculiar manner distressful, since besides their own sufferings, they are rendered a nuisance and a terror to others; and are not only themselves lost to society, but take up the time and attention of others.’¹³⁸ They were contemptible, unreasonable, and unable to feel for others and their efforts while taking up the valuable labour and time of those whose duty was better employed elsewhere. Bunbury’s dealer was, finally and most damningly, devoid of all manliness. By describing his mount, a gelding, as cutting a fine figure, Bunbury, again employing the vulgar definition of the term, was effectively castrating his rider. In the sixteenth century geldings were the mounts of choice for women, but in the eighteenth they had a less flattering reputation.¹³⁹ Berenger, who considered a mare better than a gelding at any time, also thought a gelding, while

¹³⁵ Gentlemanly conversation was to avoid offending an audience and was to be effected through self-government: ‘A man must be Master of himself, his Words, his Gestures and Passions, that nothing must escape him, to give others a just occasion to complain of his Demeanour.’ *The Polite Companion*, 1760, as quoted in Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, 64-65.

¹³⁶ Herbert, *A Method of Breaking Horses*, 25-26. A.S. argued that men who resorted to violence were without ‘Discretion’, Joseph Blagrave thought they were ‘mad men’, Christopher Clifford argued they were ‘presumptuous beast[s]’ and Markham considered them ‘fools’ who perform acts of ‘Ignorance’ and ‘folly.’ A.S., *The Gentleman’s Complete Jockey* (London: Printed for Henry Neime, at the Leg and Star, over-against the Royal Exchange in Cernhil, 1696), 38; Joseph Blagrave, *The Epitome of the Art of Husbandry* (London: Printed for Ben. Billingsley and Obadiah Blagrave, 1669), 284; Christopher Clifford, *The Schoole of Horsemanship* (London: [By T. East] for Thomas Cadman, and are to be solde at his shop in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the Bible, 1585), 22 of 105; Gervase Markham, *Cavelarice, or the English Horseman* (London: Printed [by Edward Allde and W. Jaggard] for Edward White, and are to be solde at his shop neare the little north doore of Saint Paules Church at the signe of the Gun, 1607), 99-100.

¹³⁷ Joseph Mason Cox, *Practical Observations on Insanity*, 1804, as quoted in Andrew Scull, *The Most Solitary of Afflictions: Madness and Society in Britain 1700-1900* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 92.

¹³⁸ John Aikin, *Thoughts on Hospitals*, 1771, as quoted in Scull, *The Most Solitary of Afflictions*, 39.

¹³⁹ Dent, *Horses in Shakespeare’s England*, 23-24.

useful for many riders who would be unable or uninspired to work with a stallion, was deprived 'of a considerable part of his strength, spirit, and courage'. 'Castration ... robs him, in fact, of his very *Soul*, and leaves him a mutilated, dastardly, and unnatural creature'.¹⁴⁰ For Francis Grose, 'gelding' was synonymous with 'eunuch', and it was the eunuch that was the 'most monstrous manifestation' of 'enfeebled masculinity – enervated, luxurious, and sodomite' – and hence was particularly threatening to imperial and militaristic Britain.¹⁴¹ By making his monstrous dealer an eunuch Bunbury was cutting away not only the horse's and his rider's manhood, he was also manufacturing his dealer as a manmade and soulless monster who provided a clear, and possibly uncomfortable, gesture towards his readers regarding the necessity of gentle, reasoned, tasteful and true horsemanship for élite governance, political success and intact manliness.

In contrast to the dealer's dubious success at directing the horse's actions, Tobias cannot manage to bring it to do anything beyond moving 'at a snail's gallop'. He was a character possibly inspired by Cavendish's 1667 publication or William Hope's 1696 reworking of it: 'I conclude,' wrote Cavendish, 'That a *Knowing Horse-man* is not so Happy for Horses, as a *Citizen of London*, that knows Nothing, more Than to Buy a Horse in *Smithfield*, for Eight Pound Ten Shillings, or there-about, to Carry him to *Nottingham*, or to *Salisbury*; and let him have never so many Faults, his Ignorance finds none: Wherein he is very Happy.'¹⁴² Tobias, from the London slum of Shoreditch, does indeed appear to be 'very Happy'; a happiness that usually would be all out of proportion to the difficulty he is experiencing with a presumably inexpensive horse purchased for travel from a dealer in 'Moorfields'. His ignorance of horses has resulted in an inability to discourse, although with a very different outcome to that of the equally illiterate dealer.

Even though he is depicted here in the act of using his switch and kicking with his heels (following the advice of Gambado no doubt), generally indicators of rage and disrespect towards the horse, the lack of concern on the horse's face – note the dropped and passive head, the forward pointing ears, and relaxed mouth – indicates Tobias' complete equestrian and civic ineffectuality. The horse does not respect the rider and has taken control of the relationship in a reversal of the desired horse-rider partnership; this reversal, in turn, placed Tobias under the care and protection of his mount in a manner similar to that advocated for the new horsemen of the Vineyard and for eighteenth-century female equestrians. His horse was docile, steady and safe, but with his inability to master such a mount – a mount even women should be able to ride after

¹⁴⁰ Berenger, *The History and Art of Horsemanship*, vol. I, 138.

¹⁴¹ Grose, *Classical Dictionary*, GIL; Nussbaum, *The Limits of the Human*, 34.

¹⁴² Cavendish, *A New Method*, 81.

a few lessons with instructors such as Mr. Carter – Tobias is illustrated as a ‘coward’ who has effected his demotion on the chain of being through his inability to discourse to a status below that of beasts. Like the dealer, Tobias has also been gelded, and has become an unnatural figure of emasculated femininity and civic uselessness as a result. He has allowed his ‘animal to have his own way,’ which ‘not only confirms him in his bad habits, but creates new ones in him.’¹⁴³ Individuals such as Tobias, like tailors, lacked valour, courage, wit and consequence; they displayed cowardice, which, as Philip Carter has argued, was a characteristic closely associated with feminine timorousness on one hand and the lack of compassion and affection for their fellow man on the other. As Hugh Blair argued: ‘Manliness and sensibility are so far from being incompatible, that the truly brave are, for the most part, generous and humane; while the soft and effeminate are hardly capable of any vigorous exertion of affection.’¹⁴⁴

Thus, neither the dealer nor Tobias possessed the virtues of the sensitively civic man, and as such they were without affection or regard for social and civic order. Properly masculine and sensitive civic virtue, as was idealized by the late eighteenth century, was a combination of the older militaristic virtues such as aggression, strength, and courage (lacking in Tobias); and reasoned governance, gentleness and sensitive feeling that ultimately created the means and the desire to benefit the nation (lacking in the dealer) Neither was a General Wolfe-like figure who embodied and ‘valorized the national character’ which was ‘courageous, aggressive, conquering, [and] manly’.¹⁴⁵ Neither Tobias nor the dealer exhibited the complimentary and necessary socially private and public qualities that would ensure that they would be ‘polite, affable, gentle, free, and unreserved in Conversation’ with an ‘extensive Spirit of Benevolence’. They could never be ‘truly brave, truly noble, friendly and candid, gentle and beneficent, great and glorious!’; and as a result, they ‘will very much hurt, if not endanger the total loss of the most excellent qualities in his noble beast’ along with society.¹⁴⁶

The inept horseman’s resulting inability to enact, to feel, civic or social affection and thus duty further endangered the public, and is clearly illustrated in the last two letters found in Bunbury’s *Annals*. Letter the Seventeenth, ‘truly comic’ according to *The Monthly Review* of 1793, was written as a mock-trial testimony with a liberal dash of common gossip thrown in for

¹⁴³ Herbert, *A Method of Breaking Horses*, 25-26.

¹⁴⁴ Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, 101, Hugu Blair as quoted on 108.

¹⁴⁵ Wilson, ‘Empire of Virtue,’ 150.

¹⁴⁶ John Pringle, *The Life of General James Wolfe* (1760) as quoted in Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, 111. Jackson, *The Art of Riding*, 2.

good measure.¹⁴⁷ It details the appearance of a ‘phænomenon’ that was for a long time the talk of Highgate Hill, where the events of the sixth, ‘precisely at the hour of eight, A.M.’, are related to Gambado from one Mr. Gorget, Barber self-styled Surgeon. He relates that on this cold and icy morning various residents of the area (Mary Jenkins, servant at the Fox and Crown public house; Mamselle Bellefesse, teacher at the local boarding school; the Blind-Beggar; the chimney sweep; and Alice Turner, Saloup Woman¹⁴⁸) saw ‘A man, drest much after the manner of the English, but of a fierce and terrifying aspect ... mounted on something like a horse’ although an animal Mary could not identify, having never seen such a creature before. The phenomenon had ‘the head, neck, and fore-legs of’ a horse, ‘saving that the legs were stretch’d out and void of motion;’ it ‘was furnish’d with a pair of wings, and his hind parts descended from his head obliquely to the ground’; it also ‘had a forked tail, but that hind-legs he had none.’ The rider ‘sat very stiff and upright, and continued his shouts’ for the duration, which ‘much resembled the war-hoops of the Indians’. The fantastic creature was further described by Mamselle de B. as ‘Il me “sembloit avoir le visage de Cupidon avec les ailes de Psyche (Which I learn means—He seem’d to have the face of Cupid and Psyche’s wings)’ This figure, during its loud and disturbing, although whirlwind, tour of Highgate Hill created much ‘controversy’ and even ‘knock’d down and went over Alice Turner’. While there was a rumour this figure was that of a ‘sea-horse’ from ‘Lapland or theraways’ (which was entirely possible as the event took place on the road leading from the Lords of the Admiralty, and as they are ‘exhibiting two in the front of their House of Office at Whitehall’, there must, according to Mr. Gorget, be ‘horses of this kind in nature’), some thought it must have been Mr. James Jumps and many concluded that it was instead a figure of a ‘Conjurer or Cupid, Psyche or the Devil himself’ (Figure 52).¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ Ralph Griffiths and G.E. Griffiths, *The Monthly Review, Or, Literary Journal: January to April inclusive*. v. 10 (London: Published by s.n., 1793), 178.

¹⁴⁸ The OED defines ‘Saloup’ as: A Turkish hot drink consisting of an infusion of powdered salep (orchid root) or (later) of sassafras, with milk and sugar, sold in the streets of London in the night and early morning. A Saloup Woman would have been a merchant selling the drink to passersby.

¹⁴⁹ Bunbury, *Annals*, 73-79.



How to travel upon two Legs in a Frost OSTENDUNT TERRIS HUNC TANTUM FATA NEQUE ULTRA ESSE FINENT.
Engraved by W. B. Bunbury, 1791.

[Figure 52: Henry William Bunbury, "How to travel upon two Legs in a Frost OSTENDUNT TERRIS HUNC TANTUM FATA NEQUE ULTRA ESSE FINENT." *The Annals of Horsemanship* (London: 1791).]

As it turns out, this 'Phænomenon of Highgate Hill' was indeed Mr. James Jumps, Tailor. After having heard of the commotion his performance had caused for the people of the area he wrote to Gambado in order to explain what had gone on:

I HAVE an extraordinary story to tell you, that happened to me t'other day as I was a bringing two pair of stays to Miss Philpot's, at Kentishtown. I lives, Sir, at Finchley; and a-top of Highgate Hill my horse makes a kind of slip with his hind feet, do you see, for it was for all the world like a bit of ice the whole road. I'd nothing for't but to hold fast round his neck, and to squeeze me elbows in to keep the stays safe; and, egod, off we set, and never stopt till I got to the bottom. He never moved a leg didn't my horse, but slided promiscuously, as I may say, till he oversate somebody on the road; I was too flurrisome to see who; and the first body I see'd it was a poor man axing [sic] charity in

Henry William Bunbury

a hat. My horse must have had a rare bit of bone in his back, and I sit him as stiff as buckram.¹⁵⁰

The figure of James Jumps functions, just like the other tailor figures of Gambado and Astley, as Bunbury's antithetical horseman, the opposite in every way to his ideal masculinity. This *pièce de résistance* was an illustration that embodied all elements of truly atrocious horsemanship: effeminacy, emasculation, cowardice, inaction, artifice and affected social superiority, incomprehension, deadness of feeling, and missing civic virtue.

James Jumps, as his name indicates, is a figure of Gambado-esque artifice and social climbing (jumped up). His effeminate and foppish profession as a tailor, not to mention his zealous protection of his wares during such a harrowing experience, categorically excluded those like him from masculine horsemanship. His lack of equestrian skill and ability to communicate with his mount (note his clinging to his horse's neck instead of using his body to help the horse to balance, or in other words, productively riding him) not only caused the situation and prevented him from aiding his horse out of it, its lack also created a figure of deformity and monstrosity associated with the devil and with uncivilized Indian savagery. He has ceased to be a 'bad horseman' and has instead become, at least in the eyes of the unskilled (or ears as in the case of the blind beggar), inhuman, satanic, and fantastically and dangerously foreign. This imagery and similar language, can be found in Cavendish's *A New Method*: for him 'an Ill Horse-man ... never thinks how to make his Horse go Well; for he Knows not how to Do it, But Holds by the Main, and the Pomel, and his Head at the Horses Head, ready to Beat out his Teeth, and his Leggs holding by the Flank'. For William Hope after, this individual appeared, remarkably like Mr. Jumps here, 'so Deformed on Horse Back, as if he were a Strange African Monster'. The sight of this figure, with the horse being 'so Disordered' from the man's position and inability to be understood and understand (feel), 'that to see him Sit in that Manner, is the most Nauseous Sight that can be, and the most Displeasing to the Beholders.'¹⁵¹ While Astley was accused of devilry for his abilities to train his nonhuman animals to behave in a human way and for his vaulting abilities, in this instance brutishness, vulgarity, savagery and deformity associated with the Other were intimately connected to individuals – such as Astley himself –

¹⁵⁰ Bunbury, *Annals*, 80-81.

¹⁵¹ Cavendish, *A New Method*, 16; Hope, 'A Supplement of Horsemanship,' 5. William Cavendish also connected such individuals with 'Jackanapes' who spent their time in Paris Garden – the notorious home of gambling, theaters, and bull or bear baiting rings – watching the mastiff baiting. For him a 'Jackanapes' was someone who was 'no Excellent Horse-man.' Cavendish, *A New Method*, 16. For more information on Paris Garden in the borough of Southwark, see H.E. Malden ed., "The borough of Southwark: Introduction," 125-35, in *A History of the County of Surry Vol. 4* (1912) British History Online, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=43041>

who were incapable of Vineyard horsemanship.¹⁵² Bunbury could see Astley's training with the eyes of a Vine, like Markham and Cavendish previously, and concluded that it was his unschooled and hybrid riding, not his training, that was monstrous; riders like Astley and Jumps were foreign in interest (French and Italian), monstrous in appearance, savage in behaviour (Indian) and imminently dangerous not only to the British nationalistic agenda, especially in the last decade of the century with the imminent threat of French invasion, but to society in general.¹⁵³

Furthermore, seafaring connections with the monstrous, devilish and dangerous were also present in James Jumps. As the denizens of Highgate Hill hypothesized, Jumps' promiscuously-sliding horse resembled the sea horse outside the Admiralty's Office, or one from Lapland, rather than a recognisable creature (Figure 53). As Felicity Nussbaum has found, Laplanders were generally considered 'diminutive and degenerate people';¹⁵⁴ and for Goldsmith in *An History of the Earth*, 'their persons are thus naturally deformed, at least to our imaginations, their minds are equally incapable of strong exertions.' 'The climate' of Lapland, for him, 'seems to relax their mental powers still more than those of the body; they are, therefore, in general, found to be stupid, indolent, and mischievous.'¹⁵⁵ Similarly to what we saw with the savage, less than human, and signing sailors, Jumps was further thought to be incapable, like the Laplander and in typically effeminate tailor style, of beneficial civic virtue. This can be seen if we look to his horse, which has not moved a muscle during his slide down the hill, or to Jumps himself who has also not lifted a finger to halt or remedy the situation (sitting stiff as buckram). As the pathognomy of the horse informs the viewing of the man and visa versa, their inactivity/inability to prevent injuring a person, a woman, mutually reveals non-existent communication, and Jumps' improper education or even mental (in)capacity (too flurrisome at the time, stupid, indolent, and mischievous) to avoid contravening all expectations of 'traditional' civic humanism. Like Tobias, James Jumps was too cowardly, effeminate and ineffectual (he has flung himself around the neck of his horse to preserve his own skin) to halt his course before harm was done.

¹⁵² Nussbaum. *The Limits of the Human*.

¹⁵³ Hilton. *A Mad, Bad, & Dangerous People?* 57-65.

¹⁵⁴ Nussbaum. *The Limits of the Human*, 44.

¹⁵⁵ Oliver Goldsmith as quoted in Nussbaum. *The Limits of the Human*, 44-45.



[Figure 53: *Seahorse, The Admiralty*. © The Author.]

This predisposition to harm was further illustrated by Bunbury's fellow caricaturist Thomas Rowlandson (Figure 54). Rowlandson, a friend of Henry Angelo, had redone Bunbury's prints from both his mock-manuals for the 1798 edition of the *Academy* and *Annals* (printed together in one volume), and his reworkings often preserved the original image while embellishing the background with other Bunbury-esque figures.¹⁵⁶ His illustration for *Letters the Seventeenth and Eighteenth* was no exception to this. While maintaining the general figure of Mr. Jumps sliding down the hill he added one other figure to the visual satire, and although most of his reworkings involved the addition of horsemen practicing their gambades, this image deviated from that trend. In it, instead of illustrating others who had fallen victim to the icy roads, or even the spectators who had witnessed the phenomenon, as one might expect, he chose to depict a figure being 'oversate' by Jumps. If we recall, the person who suffered this fate was Alice Turner, the Saloup Woman, but instead of showing her being tumbled head over heels, Rowlandson, in direct contrast to Bunbury's story, drew in her place the blind beggar 'axing charity in a hat'.

¹⁵⁶ Angelo, *Reminiscences*, vol. I, 233.



[Figure 54: Thomas Rowlandson, 'How to Travel Upon Two Legs in a Frost', *The Annals of Horsemanship* (London: Printed for Vernor, Hood, and Sharpe; Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme; J. Walker; J. Harris; and W. Baynes; At the Union Printing-Office, St. John's Square, by W. Wilson, 1808.)]

The depiction of the blind beggar was a telling decision by Rowlandson. As Paul Youngquist has argued, physical deformity in the shape of war wounds (individuals who suffered as such were often shown similarly to the blind beggar) was not a sign of personality or physical monstrosity, unlike bodily unconformity possessed since birth, but was to be admired, lauded, as a badge of courage and national duty fulfilled.¹⁵⁷ In other words, '[d]eformities of war are of a different sort than deformities of birth, however. They incarnate martial ideals that readily reinforce a national norm of embodiment'; a similar militaristic national norm to the one Bunbury was likewise attempting to (re)normalize.¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, the act of 'axing charity' was one that appealed to the rider's sense of polite generosity towards strangers and civic duty.¹⁵⁹ Indeed, '*that common Benevolence and Charity* which every Christian is oblig'd to shew towards

¹⁵⁷ Paul Youngquist, *Monstrosities: Bodies and British Romanticism* (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 165. Dorothy M. George, *Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social Change in Graphic Satire* (London: The Penguin Press, 1967), 41.

¹⁵⁸ Youngquist, *Monstrosities*, 177. See Dennis Todd's *Imagining Monsters: Miscreations of the Self in Eighteenth-Century England* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), for further information on the deformed and monstrous body during the eighteenth century.

¹⁵⁹ Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, 75.

all Men' was one of the 'heroick Virtues' necessary for a healthy nation.¹⁶⁰ It was also a virtue Bunbury himself was praised for. As the *Gentleman's Magazine's* 1811 obituary for Bunbury related: 'All who had the slightest acquaintance with him will bear witness to the extraordinary tenderness of his disposition, to his kind and active friendship, to his universal benevolence.'¹⁶¹ Bunbury's 'universal benevolence' was a heroic virtue all élite gentlemen, specifically horsemen as public men of taste, should strive to achieve.

In contrast to the élite who claimed to practice benevolence, charity, and other heroic virtues we have James Jumps as the figure of the new and modern independent man of fashion and disregard for his fellow man. Here we have an illustration of jumped up artifice, Frenchified effeminacy and linguistic and kinaesthetic incomprehension literally overriding English patriotism and militaristic masculinity in a contravention of all that the civically virtuous held dear. According to Bunbury, then, and to a similar extent for Rowlandson, eighteenth-century men were required to practice all aspects of patriotic Britishness to preserve the nation in light of threatened French invasion and revolution. Horsemanship, as the epitome of masculinity and military duty – Berenger defined a *manèged* horse as simply one who underwent military training – was the quintessentially indispensable activity for the preservation and unity of Britain and the British people.¹⁶² However, when its teachings were neglected, as we see here, everyone would suffer, especially the most vulnerable and those most in need of protection, such as women, the disabled and the poor, the social fabric would be torn and British freedom (along with the associated social norms and stratification) would fall. A very disturbing picture indeed.

vi. MASTERS OF HORSEMANSHIP

In contrast to all of the above examples of inept, civically useless and ultimately dangerous 'masters' of new-school horsemanship, Bunbury's ideal horseman was to be the embodiment of élite, discursive and interspecies masculinity. Bunbury did not often visualize his conceptualization of a Centaur (where nature, knowledge and practice were perfectly present), and he only did so in two images, neither of which was physically connected with his *Annals* or *Academy*. The first image which illustrates a masculine horse-man can be found in a large narrative detailing the outrageous social and equestrian spectacles common to eighteenth-century

¹⁶⁰ Shaftesbury as quoted in Barrell, *The Political Theory of Painting*, 6.

¹⁶¹ *Gentleman's Magazine* (1811) as quoted in Riely, 'The Second Hogarth', 42.

¹⁶² Berenger, *The History and Art of Horsemanship*, vol. I, 168.

Hyde Park (Figure 55).¹⁶³ This early comic strip incorporates many of the stock equestrian characters found in his written work while introducing new, ideal subjects such as the woman elegantly cantering in Mr. Carter-like ease (back-left in the centre panel) and the mounted figure (top left in the last panel). This individual is in military uniform and is the only gentleman present who has not undergone caricaturization. As Karen Marie Roche has argued, this figure was included to ‘symbolize martial and equestrian perfection’ and is ‘Bunbury’s representation of the ideal equestrian’ in direct contrast to the other riders around him (Figure 56).¹⁶⁴ This figure is indeed a symbol of perfection, and is displaying admirably refined communication abilities while embodying the ‘traditional’ ideal of masculine courage, strength and military valour. He is the ideal of ‘manly ... ancient nobility and gentry ... rough, bold, and handy to pursue the sports in the field, or wield the spear and battle ax [sic] against the enemies of their country’, but he is also a master of feeling and graceful refinement in civic-equestrian dialogue.¹⁶⁵

He is physically a part of the crowd, but depicted as morally and epistemologically superior to it. While everyone else is shown committing various acts of equestrian folly (poor hands, losing control, leaning back, about to be tossed, etc.) he is the only horseman who is elegant, relaxed, and uncontested on horseback; he is the only one who has cultivated the proper seat and graceful position that would maximize the clarity of his discourse. As Herbert argued, mirroring Cavendish: ‘A firm and well balanced position of the body on horseback is ... of the utmost consequence; as it affects the horse in every motion, and is the best of helps: whereas on the contrary the want of it is the greatest detriment to him, and an impediment in all his actions.’¹⁶⁶ This military figure possesses a firm and well-balanced position, but most importantly has also developed a ‘gentle’ and discursive ‘appui’ with his mount. The reins are taught, but as there is no visible discomfort shown in the horse (note his mouth is closed and his ears are forward – not the state of the dealer’s horse introduced earlier); the rider’s hands must move with the action of the horse to avoid discomfort (readily apparent in many of the other riders) and to maintain masterful communication. Indeed, as Thompson summarized:

¹⁶³ For example: ‘The SUNDAY EQUESTRIANS sported their *Bits of Blood* [the title of an image from the *Annals*] in a most capital style; though our veneration for truth compels us to acknowledge that we now and then observed a *twisted Stirrup Leather, Spurs wrong put on, “cum multis aliis,”* recorded by the renowned GAMBADO.’ *Oracle and Daily Advertiser*, Issue 22 254 (London: Monday, April 7, 1800).

¹⁶⁴ Roche, *Picturing an Englishman*, 202-203.

¹⁶⁵ *Town and Country Magazine* of March, 1771, as quoted in Michèle Cohen, ‘Manliness, Effeminacy and the French: Gender and the Construction of National Character in Eighteenth-Century England,’ in *English Masculinities 1660-1800*, eds. Michèle Cohen and Tim Hitchcock (London and New York: Addison Wesley Longman Ltd., 1999), 61.

¹⁶⁶ Herbert, *A Method of Breaking Horses*, 19.



[Figure 55: Henry William Bunbury, *Hyde Park 1, 2, 3* (1781). Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.]



[Figure 56: Henry William Bunbury, *Hyde Park*, 3 – Detail.]

‘One may, at a distance, distinguish a genteel horseman, from an awkward one; the first sits still, and appears of a piece with his horse; the latter seems flying off at all points.’¹⁶⁷ Unlike the fashionable cit under attack by a pack of dogs – used in a similar manner by Bunbury, as John Collet did in *A Soft Tumble after a Hard Ride*, (Figure 20), to make visible the questionable morals of the commercial fashionista – the mounted gentleman situated in wonderful contrast is a citizen of the old school who has become ‘Well-fashion’d’ by displaying ‘inward civility’ through the physiognomy of his horse.¹⁶⁸ His ‘gentleness’, ‘forbearanc’, ‘experience’, and ‘sagacity’ are all exhibited in the intersubjective discourse.¹⁶⁹ As it was deemed impossible to train a horse to any degree of finesse by non-virtuous or ungentle methods, a horse that had been treated in such a manner (as we have seen) was soon reduced to a state of broken spirit, abject

¹⁶⁷ Thompson, *Rules for Bad Horsemen*, 21.

¹⁶⁸ Locke as quoted in Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, 54.

¹⁶⁹ Herbert repeatedly uses the terms ‘gentle’ or ‘gentleness’ to describe proper interspecies discourse, and for Berenger ‘The characteristic of a horseman is, to work with design, and to execute with method and order. He should have more forbearance, more experience, and more sagacity, than most people are possessed of.’ Berenger, *The history and art of horsemanship*, vol. II, 65.

rage or contempt for its rider; the common argument that late eighteenth-century definitions of identity as an internal and hidden notion, or the idea 'that outer conduct might be separated from inner feeling', was not a possibility for a man whose horse immediately made visible his internal qualities.¹⁷⁰ The officer, a member of the knowledgeable élite, is visualized as a man who sits his horse as if born to riding and sensitive discourse while his horse calmly surveys the scenery completely ignoring the chaos around it in an admirable show of superior training dutifully performed.

The officer, then, was certainly not an 'Everyman' figure. He was not there 'to offer those within the picture, as well as the viewers outside it whose foibles he portrays, an unthreatening and attainable ideal', as Roche argues; instead, this figure is that of an ideal attainable by only a select portion of the population – the élite military and sensitive gentlemen who participated in the *manège*.¹⁷¹ This figure possesses the requisite nerved body for sensitive feeling and has received proper instruction by Masters of the art to cultivate it correctly. According to the *Academy*, 'Every Man his own Horseman, an ingenious professor in Dublin assured me [Gambado], it was a bull';¹⁷² for a rider to provide his own instruction without the aid of a Master, or to go to one who was commercializing the simplified and new horsemanship for a popular audience, was a completely contradictory concept, or an Irish bull.¹⁷³ Only those individuals who could gain instruction from a Master of horsemanship such as Sidney Meadows or Domenico Angelo, and who had done so at a young age as part of their élite education, could self-identify and be identified as horsemen. Those who believed in the benefit of an academy for grown horsemen, like Mr. Carter's, and those such as Samuel Fillagree and Philip Astley who began riding once they were adults, were figures of comedy, derision and ludicrousness.

Fillagree wrote to Gambado for advice on how best to keep a horse and how to go about the basics of riding (mounting, steering, etc.), questions Gambado was unsurprisingly unable to answer. Fillagree sheepishly wrote: a horse was an 'animal [to which] I confess I am rather an alien, although I have happily attained (yesterday it was) my thirty-fifth year.'¹⁷⁴ He had spent the majority of his youth and early adulthood in the counting house rather than employed in a proper education that would instil in him the heroic and civic virtues of strength, valour and

¹⁷⁰ Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, 57; Wahrman, *Making of the Modern Self*.

¹⁷¹ Roche, *Picturing an Englishman*, 202-203.

¹⁷² Bunbury, *Academy*, vi-vii.

¹⁷³ Bull: A self-contradictory proposition; in modern usage, an expression containing a manifest contradiction in terms or involving a ludicrous inconsistency unperceived by the speaker. Now often with epithet *Irish*. OED.

¹⁷⁴ Bunbury, *Annals*, 5.

horsemanship. He had not participated in the late eighteenth-century's developing 'cult of heroism',¹⁷⁵ the same cult and its classical discourse that John Astley took advantage of in his self-performances of celebrity and equestrian extravaganzas. The all-pervasive militarization of the period gave the élite 'a job and, more important, a purpose, an opportunity to carry out what they had been trained to do since childhood: ride horses, fire guns, exercise their undoubted physical courage and tell other people what to do.' However, horsemanship was for Bunbury the most necessary and the least followed aspect of patriotic militarism that allowed the élite to be visibly beneficial to the nation and its people.¹⁷⁶ Without it, and without it being taught to children at an early age, Astleys, Fillagrees, Gambados, Gilpins, and other dangerously inept 'masters' would predominate, and social upheaval with the widespread transgressing of the division of labour would result.

Bunbury's ideal horseman, a figure of sensitively militaristic masculinity, is likewise supported by his large 1780 illustration of *A Riding-House*, the only other image, along with *Hyde Park*, that depicts an ideal horseman (Figure 57). Here, symbolically representing the Vineyard of the nation's civically virtuous rulers, Bunbury has illustrated the interior of one of the many eighteenth-century Carter-esque riding houses, and has caricatured the frequent and multiple mistakes the pupils or the affected social climbers would have made during any one lesson. He has also commented on the unsuitability of the *nouveau riche* cits to enter the historically élite equestrian or civically virtuous governing spatial environment. The cowardly cit in this image is literally being run out of the circle of riders by the worst offender against the social stratification and genteel morals, and the most effete individual of the bunch. This figure on the bucking horse has dropped his stick (symbolically emasculating him) and is clothed in an ostentatiously foppish shirt with frills, and a coat with a ridiculously large collar. Also, if we look at his horse's physiognomy, never mind its blatant pathognomy, we see an animal with a white, or bald, face; a blue or walleye; white feet, socked (hosed) hind legs; and a gray coat – all qualities that were visual indicators of the horse's and human's character and inability to be governing Centaurs – as we saw with Piercy Roberts' *PROOF POSITIVE OR no DECEIVING a SAILOR*.

¹⁷⁵ Colley, *Britons*, 167-170.

¹⁷⁶ Colley, *Britons*, 178.



[Figure 57: Henry William Bunbury, *A Riding-House*, 1780. © Trustees of the British Museum

In contrast to the ungentle characters enjoying their gambades around the *manège*, Bunbury has illustrated his ideal civic horseman, a Centaur. The horse sports the *manège* tail – long and full like Cavendish’s, Angelo’s and Sidney’s horses and like the horse favoured by the *Lucky Mistake*’s macaroni – which Gambado, in keeping with his social climbing tendencies, considered beneficial for a ‘master’. Long tails were ‘to be had for love or money’ as a means of social mobility, but were also immediate indicators – if the equestrian ability displayed did not keep pace with pretensions – of indicating effeminacy, macaronism, and foppishness; a rider’s right to the status of horseman was pure ‘wind’ if the tail did not keep pace with the seat.¹⁷⁷ The Master in *A Riding-House*, however, was a Master and was worthy of the long tail like the élite horsemen before him. Like the officer from *Hyde Park* he is a part of the action, yet spatially and kinesthetically separate from it; he has become the reasonable governor of his own body, and has learned to deploy his own natural talents in meaningful communication with his mount while refusing to enter into the circle of jumped-up riders. Even motionless this horseman exudes mastery of horsemanship language. He is sitting in the advocated position required for intelligible discourse (straight and elegantly tall with his heels stretching down and legs positioned under the body), and most tellingly for Bunbury, who generally depicted horses in motion, this rider’s mount is standing still. That in itself does not seem like a great feat of horsemanship; however, for a horse to stand still, to stand square and upright at attention waiting for the next command from the rider, and not to fuss when others around it are excited, enraged or doing their utmost to throw their riders, did require obedience to the rider’s mastery in the sense of forming one perfect whole. As Strickland Freeman argued: ‘the greatest art of horsemanship consists in being able to bring forth the utmost powers of the horse, without its being vexed by it; in which case it will stand quite still the moment it is called upon to do so.’¹⁷⁸ He could not simply rely on the innate sedateness of his horse’s training or temperament, like Mrs. Coltman’s mare; even when visibly doing nothing, the invisible somatic communication of the horse-man continued.

The ignoring of chaotic events around it (no shying, tension or excitement) was one of the chief problems faced by inept riders on improperly trained horses. The horsemanship manuals, beginning in the early seventeenth century, continually complained about these

¹⁷⁷ Bunbury, *Academy*, 10. Mr. Gillyflower, one of Gambado’s correspondents, desired his horse’s tail to grow, but was unable to ride him without embarrassment because ‘of the awkward infirmity he had; ... for the horse was got by Phlegon, and Phlegon was one of the Sun’s horses he drove in his chariot; and that Phlegon and the other three were all got by the winds; so that no Wood in the kingdom would be able to get his windy tricks out of him.’ Bunbury, *Annals*, 34-35.

¹⁷⁸ Freeman, *The Art of Horsemanship*, 142.

individuals, and the new manuals of the eighteenth century spent vast amounts of pagination on the subject of how to train or stop a horse from shying at others around it or at various objects found at the side of the road. Bunbury lampooned the proliferation of these riders, their improperly trained mounts and the advice literature meant to remedy the situation in his *Academy*. He wrote: ‘On the road, what dangers do we incur from the weakness of our horses! The pitiful spider-legged things of this age fly into a ditch with you, at the sight of a pocket handkerchief, or the blowing of your nose’.¹⁷⁹ Those who did suffer their horses to act in this way, unlike either of Bunbury’s ideals, were ‘common’, ‘bad horsem[e]n’, ‘unskilful’ and unable to communicate with their mounts.¹⁸⁰ According to Jackson – one of those ridiculed masters – ‘most of the errors and mistakes in horsemanship, proceed from a misunderstanding between the horse and his rider.’ For him, and other horsemanship authors, a ‘horse that has been taught the true and just rules of his duty, is easily guided by the hand that observes those rules. But when a person rides him, who is ignorant of his temper and natural disposition, and at the same time is a stranger to the proper methods of directing his motions; no wonder he finds himself in an uneasy situation, and his horse disobedient and refractory.’¹⁸¹ It is this ignorance and inability to discourse in horsemanship language that are missing in Bunbury’s ideal horsemen of masculine and governing feeling, but which are there in spades in his other satires – especially *Gambado*.

What is also odd about the horseman in the *Riding-House* is its non-traditional positioning within the image frame. Curiously, Bunbury has not chosen to illustrate his horseman in a way that would overtly connect him with traditional élite and royal equestrian portraiture: he is not *en lavade*, *en piaffe* or *en passage*. Instead, Bunbury has chosen to sketch his Centaur with his back to the viewer and devoid of all motion. Roche argued that this deliberate positioning, similarly found in unmounted figures from his other large visual satires of *Hyde Park* and *Richmond Hill*, was a nod to Hogarth’s 1753 *Analysis of Beauty*, *Plate II*, (Figures 58 and 59) to ‘heighten the overall comic effect’ of the *Riding-House*. Also, that such positioning, having a tradition of similar (also unmounted) figures in older landscape and country-house painting, was an indicator of ownership over the scene; as a result, for her Bunbury was the owner whereby

¹⁷⁹ Bunbury, *Academy*, 4.

¹⁸⁰ Charles Thompson, *Rules for bad horsemen. Addressed to the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c.* (London: Printed for J. Robson, Bookseller to her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales, in New Bond-street, 1762); Jackson, *The Art of Riding*; and Charles Hughes, *The compleat horseman; or, the art of riding made easy: illustrated by rules drawn from nature, and confirmed by experience; with directions to the ladies to sit gracefully, and ride with Safety. Adorned with various engravings, finely executed. By Charles Hughes, Professor of Horsemanship, at his Riding-School, near Black-Friars Bridge* (London: printed for F. Newbery, the Corner of St. Paul’s Church-Yard, Ludgate-Street, and sold at Hughes’s Riding-School, 1772).

¹⁸¹ Jackson, *The Art of Riding*, iii-iv.

‘[t]he act of viewing involves the making of choices and Bunbury acknowledges his own dichotomous nature in being both detached from and involved in the life that he composes.’¹⁸² Bunbury would probably have been familiar with Hogarth’s satires and his publication on human beauty, and seems to utilize his figures of ‘infinite variety’ to help ‘fix ... *the fluctuating ideas of taste*’ in the Vineyard, like Hogarth was attempting to do in his earlier treatise.¹⁸³ It was also likely that this Centaur’s deliberate positioning was further done to tie visually his ideally discursive horseman to the élite as civically propertied and enabled rulers of the commonweal (those usually depicted as the owners in the country-house paintings). That being said, Bunbury’s Centaur positioning, I would argue, was integrated above all to connect, symbolically and ideologically, his governing ideal to the much longer practice of Cavendish-esque horsemanship – a form, as we have seen, that was itself firmly grounded in a seventeenth-century horsemanship discourse – while subtly calling for a return to the properly élite, manly, civic, militaristic and perfect *manège* and *haute école* of the seventeenth-century riding house, and the élite riding houses of the eighteenth-century, old-school Masters.



[Figure 58: William Hogarth, *Analysis of Beauty*, Plate II, (London, 1753). © Trustees of the British Museum.]

¹⁸² Roche, *Picturing an Englishman*, 31, 213.

¹⁸³ William Hogarth, *The analysis of beauty. Written with a view of fixing the fluctuating ideas of taste.* By William Hogarth (London: printed by J. Reeves for the author, and sold by him at his house in Leicester-Fields, 1753), xvi, title.



[Figure 59: Hogarth, *Analysis of Beauty*, Plate II – Detail.]

Bunbury took this Centaur directly from Charles Parrocel's illustration of a Riding Academy for William Cavendish's 1743 *A General System of Horsemanship*, figured on the far right and discussed earlier (Figure 60). Evidently familiar with Cavendish's work, and a supporter of the horsemanship practices illustrated in the manual, Parrocel was an artist who for Gambado depicted horses that, along with Philip Wouvermans (1619-1668), 'never existed; and that when we do meet with a horse, that in the least resembles their designs, he is bad and dangerous in the extreme.'¹⁸⁴ Through Gambado's oppositional language, Bunbury was arguing that these continental (French and Dutch) and much earlier artists depicted horses, and by extension, riders that were worthy of emulation for the Vineyard's benefit; they would be of 'service and use' to the nation rather than 'bad and dangerous in the extreme.'¹⁸⁵ In the *Riding Academy* we see horsemen correctly practicing their art under the tutelage of a qualified Master, and practicing the art in its most elevated form – that of the *haute école*. By illustrating his Master as the one with his back to the viewer, Bunbury was making a direct symbolic and ideological connection to this image specifically (the positioning of a horseman in such a manner cannot be found elsewhere) and by extension to the *manège* as it should be practiced. Bunbury was associating his long-tailed horseman with the academies of the Angelo brothers and Sir Sidney Meadows who followed Cavendish's principles while instructing their pupils in gentlemanly virtues in the *manège* without neglecting instruction in leaping at the bar in the

¹⁸⁴ As one reviewer argued: 'He [Wouvermans] painted horses, particularly those of the *manège* or the chace, with such perfection, that he may even be cited as a model, and with a degree of excellence which we in vain look for in those painters who attempted to imitate him.' *The Historic Gallery or Portraits and Paintings; and Biographical Review* (London: Printed for Vernor, Hood, and Sharpe, 31, Poultry, 1811), 16. Bunbury, *Academy*, 2.

¹⁸⁵ Herbert, *A Method of Breaking Horses*, 6.

common saddle.¹⁸⁶ Bunbury was, ironically enough, arguing for the same alteration to English horsemanship practice as the very men he was caricaturing, but he was also insisting that such instruction could only come from a true – Vineyard-sanctioned and socially virtuous – Master of horsemanship. This distinction is similar to the one made by Berenger passing judgement upon Astley's trick riding. Where Astley's

extraordinary feats of agility; which, though wonderful and unusual, are not equal to what the *Rope-dancers* constantly exhibit in their public shews, and which can by no means be allowed to pass for horsemanship; which depends upon the exactness, readiness, and fidelity with which the horse obeys the directions of his rider, who is required to give them according to the known rules of the *Art*, and the capacity of the horse to execute them. While these feats, are only a display of the activity and suppleness of the man, without any attention to the horse, beyond the ordinary method of riding.¹⁸⁷

A man was required, in Berenger's and Bunbury's minds, not only to start his equestrian education at an early age, he was also required to practice it as Cavendish did – as an art to be perfected.



[Figure 60: Parrocel, *A Riding Academy* – Detail]

As an art, then, horsemanship was composed of proper linguistic abilities – both in and out of the riding house, as I have argued – and proper kinesthetic language as practiced and

¹⁸⁶ Angelo, *Reminiscences*; Freeman, *The Art of Horsemanship*.

¹⁸⁷ Berenger, *The History and Art of Horsemanship*, vol. I, 124-125.

advocated by Cavendish. Dialectical conversation with the horse while in company with other horsemen (in an academy, as we saw with Angelo's establishment and Cavendish's riding house) was a chief way to 'temper Mankind' – which Joseph Addison at the beginning of the century believed properly polite and female conversation could achieve – 'and sooth them into Tenderness and Compassion'. Through the training of a horse not only would the potential effeminacy of feminine conversation be alleviated, but also the necessity of sensitivity of feeling, rationality and gentleness would generate tenderness and compassion (qualities missing in James Jumps) in a horseman, and in the process horsemanship would achieve the goal of genteel conversation. It would 'polish' and 'refine' 'out those Manners which are most natural to' men such as selfishness and pride.¹⁸⁸ Indeed, without properly refining horsemanship language there would be 'no meaning between the man and horse, they talk different languages, and all is confusion.' This gentleman would, as Berenger made clear, 'fall the victim of his own ignorance and rashness.'¹⁸⁹ The man would not only endanger his own safety through his inability to control a flighty and large animal, but he would also be unpolished, uncivilized, unrefined, effeminate, selfish and unable to value the public over the private. He would fall victim to his own ignorance and rashness, and would be wedged in the timber of civic humanism that horsemanship rendered possible.

It was through the academies that properly masculine and properly elite horsemen could be produced who would be a part of a public of civic feeling, and who would have the means and method of preserving the safety and prosperity of the nation. 'This art has so long been neglected to conclude that a fatality had constantly attended it in this country; favoured as it is with every advantage for breeding, nourishing, and procuring the finest horses of all sorts,' complained Berenger, again voicing the long-standing discourse of the *manège*-in-decline. The nation is also furnished, he continued, 'with a nobility and gentry, whose love of exercise, activity, courage, personal endowments, and commanding fortunes, would qualify them to take the lead, and *witch the World with noble Horsemanship*; yet, with all these high privileges, they have suffered it to languish, and almost perish in their hands: for a length of time it has been able to boast but a very few persons who have stood forth as its avowed friends and protectors.'¹⁹⁰ It is within the academy, for Berenger in 1771 and Bunbury nine years later, that

¹⁸⁸ Joseph Addison as quoted in Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, 68. Hume argued that while all men were 'proud and selfish ... a polite man learns to behave with deference towards his companions'. Hume as quoted in Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, 74.

¹⁸⁹ Berenger, *The History and Art of Horsemanship*, vol. I, 201.

¹⁹⁰ Berenger, *The History and Art of Horsemanship*, vol. I, 212-213.

the élite would learn true horsemanship and become the promoters and protectors of the art in their own right.

vi. THE HORSEMAN'S RIPOSTE

'WE should certainly have paid our respects to the pleasant and ingenious Master Gambado, long ere this, had not some *experimental accidents*, similar to those which he so well describes, *unhorsed* us, and dislocated our intentions', wrote Ralph and G.E. Griffiths in *The Monthly Review* of 1793. 'Arts have been truly said to have made a more surprizing progress in this country during the last twenty or thirty years, than at any other period of our civilization', they continued; 'Not only the art of riding without the trouble of going to the *manage*, has been greatly improved among fox-hunters, and jockies, but even the arts of falling, of laming a horse, and of breaking a neck, are here reduced to a science!' Indeed, 'The present period has been frequently called the age of *invention*; and what production can better illustrate the fact, than the work before us? and what a colloquial philologer is our author! and what a master of the *technica* of the turf, the field, and the road!'¹⁹¹ Ralph and G.E. Griffiths, in their sarcastic praise for Gambado's questionably-beneficial equestrian knowledge, neatly summarized the state of horsemanship and the *manège* in late eighteenth-century England. Every 'technica of the turf, the field, and the road', satirized by Bunbury, considered themselves 'masters' of commercially civic virtue; they were usurpers of élite horsemanship who did more harm than good to the nation and its inhabitants. They were monstrous, satanic, illiterate, unreasoned, and completely incomprehensible individuals who, unlike the élite who were attacked for being a drain on the public, were themselves 'jockies, whoremasters, and spendthrifts' more interested in personal profit and fame, 'that universal passion', than providing for the nation. Bunbury, through his satires of horsemen, took anti-élite rhetoric and turned its attacks back on its originators; for him it was the plundering, social climbing, 'gauche', 'common', and private 'master' from the increasingly wealthy and influential middling sorts whose individually private interests and absorptions only benefited themselves, the private, while they negate any benefit to and actively harm the polis. Bunbury wanted to have the categories of horsemanship, expressed by the very 'masters' he so despised, remain sacrosanct against common cooption. Riding the great horse was to remain the exclusive right of the military and governing élite regardless of the virulent anti-élite rhetoric and satire that argued otherwise.

¹⁹¹ Ralph and G.E. Griffiths, *The Monthly Review*, 175-176.

Henry William Bunbury

Bunbury took all of the anti-élite attacks discussed in Chapter III – all a part of the antagonistic sentiment towards the élite's 'social treason' that emerged in the later eighteenth century – and reposted them back onto their developers.¹⁹² For Bunbury, as we have seen, it was the 'masters' of horsemanship, the jumped-up and affected Astleys, Thompsons, Jacksons, Hughes and Mr. Carters, who were unpatriotic, cowardly, effeminate fops and macaronis; they were the ones who were more focused on private interests than on civically-beneficial love of the nation; they were the ones who, because of their inability to discourse sensitively in the languages of horsemanship, destroyed the public and patriotic feelings so essential to a secure and flourishing nation properly ruled by true governors and virtuously masculine horsemen. For Bunbury, *they* were the irrational and luxurious Gambados, Astleys, sailors and arses who rode down British nationalism in the guise of the blind beggar axing charity in a hat.

¹⁹² Nussbaum, *The Limits of the Human*, 199.

VI

'TIS ALL ONE

I'll turn
To jogtrot, pony bell, say my first lesson:

*Up the hill,
Hurry me not;
Down the hill,
Worry me not;
On the level,
Spare me not;
In the stable,
Forget me not.*

*Forget me not.*¹

— Austin Clarke

.....

From March 1 to 6, 2011, Sadler's Wells hosted *The Centaur & The Animal* by French horse-performer, Bartabas, and Japanese Butoh dancer, Ko Murobushi. Telling a disturbing, uplifting, confusing and at times spine-tingling tale of interiority, self discovery and human-animal becoming, in this spectacular the audience 'witnesses the fascinating resurgence of the era of transformation that changes the order of things.' When this happens, for 'one moment, the Centaur takes on the role of the dancer, a dancer reborn that straightens up from a spring of sand. And each and every one finally notices and recognises each other. All that is left between them is a shadow-less road, and an ongoing enigma.' In 'every man' indeed 'looms an animal', but when man 'rediscovers his backbone's population, his crowded nerves, the fauna on his shoulders, the cohort in his blood, the menagerie in the pit of his stomach', as Ko Murobushi does in his role as the animal self, the path to the Centaur can be found.² Very much channeling, intentionally or not, the mutual-organicity and co-becoming theories of Donna Haraway and other human-animal studies theorists, *The Centaur & The Animal* brought to the large English and European stages the performing man as more than human – as ideally animalized other (Figure 61).

¹ Austin Clarke, 'Forget Me Not (1962),' in *Selected Poems*, ed. Thomas Kinsella (Mountrath, Portlaoise, Ireland: The Dolmen Press, 1976), 43. For a critical examination of this poem see Donald Davie, *Under Briggflatts: A History of Poetry in Great Britain, 1960-1988* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 29-37.

² André Velter, 'Introduction,' in *Bartabas & Ko Murobushi: The Centaur & The Animal – Sadler's Wells Performance Program*, (Sadler's Wells, London: Cantate Programme Publications, 2011).



[Figure 61: 'Bartabas - Ko Murobushi The Centaur and the Animal. UK Premiere Photograph,' (Oct. 20, 2010). © Nabil Boutros. *Ballet News*. <http://balletnews.co.uk/2010/10/26/horses-take-to-the-stage-at-sadler%E2%80%99s-wells/> (accessed April 4, 2011).]

The trans-species being of the Centaur, as a lived, embodied reality, was a novel, magical and sometimes difficult concept for a primarily urban audience, more accustomed to viewing ballet, musicals and more 'traditional' theatre genres and conceptualizations, to grasp; a difficulty that possibly speaks to the ongoing ontological distance most people in Britain (and elsewhere in many urbanized cultures around the world) have with live equine interactions. Judith Mackrell of *The Guardian*, for example, found 'the concept' 'fascinating' and 'the rhythmic grace and command of the animal' to be 'mysterious and majestic'. However, for her the Centaur remained a notion, interesting but unattainable and improbable to achieve in real life, while the performed relationship between the human and nonhuman animals remained

unintelligible if entertaining.³ The review of Laura Thompson of *The Telegraph*, in contrast, was open to the notion of the performance being more than theatre; of it being the visuality of an internal and sought after state of communication between man and animal. After a challenging start that consists of Ko Murobushi dancing to a recording of Lautréamont's *Chants de Maldoror*, the performance really begins:

Then a curtain lifts to reveal floating reeds of shimmering black - like strands of liquorice - and a sleek dark horse slides on to the stage. Instant, mesmerizing dignity. Mounted by his trainer Bartabas, who wears a shadowy winged cloak, the horse weaves through the liquorice in a way that reminded me of a racehorse stalking a tree-lined parade ring. All the quiescent power and mystery of the animal is there. The audience becomes hushed, awestruck.

And this, I gradually realized, is the point of *The Centaur and The Animal*. To put it reductively, Murobushi represents man in all his wretched dissatisfaction, while the four horses are symbols of 'otherness': mythic, free of destructive self-consciousness. They also demonstrate the relationship between man and horse. I was nervous about the idea of animals 'performing', but it is clear that they are completely in charge.⁴

It was the alien and familiar presence and tangible performances, acting, of the nonhuman animals (Horizonte, Soutine, Pollock and Le Tintoret) that made the show so memorable, and it was their presence while in communication with Bartabas that elicited a strong emotional reaction from the audience. When Thompson was there it was overwhelmed silence, and when I attended a performance the disgruntled mutters at the slowness and opacity of Murobushi's excellent butoh dancing gave way to gasps of astonishment and hushed pointing when Horizonte was first spotted ghosting along the stage. Instant mesmerization indeed. The horse on stage as a figure of mystery seemed to inspire an almost instinctual, unconscious response from the audience which saw the horse as a being of majesty, power, grace, purity and freedom; it is the horse, his respectful relationship with his trainer and their seeming oneness as Centaur, that created the magic.

The inherent and sought-after posthumanism of the self, as shown in *The Centaur & The Animal*, is again the ideal state of inter-species communication between nonhuman and human animal. Similarly, for Ann Game, whose theories I discussed in the Introduction, and which have shaped much of my argument, the interaction between human and horse over time changes both – they learn each other's languages, ways of being, and come to understand themselves as

³ Judith Mackrell, 'The Centaur and the Animal – review,' *The Guardian* (Wednesday 2 March, 2011), <http://www.guardian.co.uk/stage/2011/mar/02/centaur-and-the-animal-review-bartabas> (accessed 04/04/2011).

⁴ Laura Thompson, 'Bartabas – Ko Murobushi, Sadler's Wells, review,' *The Telegraph* (Wednesday, 2 March, 2011), <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/theatre/dance/8357634/Bartabas-Ko-Murobushi-Sadlers-Wells-review.html> (accessed 04/04/2011).

partially other; they live 'the mixing of the centaur' and by doing so become partially animal and partially human.⁵ As suggested by Game, we inhabit something of a trans-gendered state of being today, where both men and women can experience the Centaur, but during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as I have been arguing, making visible prowess in an interspecies relationship was a masculine pastime. As this thesis has shown, horses were a special, unique and extraordinary animal on the chain of being; they were the partners of choice for many men, and it was through their presence that men looked to become and to be observed as something other, something powerful, awe inspiring and mythical. For men of this period – when the horse was central to agriculture, the economy and for transportation – creating a partnership with a nonhuman was essential to their understanding of the world, and for the understanding of their place in it. Horses influenced political discourse, social standing, nationalism, scientific understanding of rationality, personal identity and performances of gender while frequently transgressing the boundaries between what was considered human and what was understood as animal.

Throughout this thesis I have examined how these relationships between human and animal had often profound impacts on the status, wealth and gender of some men and women of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, this thesis has only been a cursory exploration into the diverse, influential and frequently contradictory world of the period's interspecies relationships. For William Cavendish, animalization, or taking on the animal other as something greater, was the symbol and embodiment of the self-bridling necessary for his status as horse-man. It was also central to him as a Hobbesian political animal. By becoming Centaur, not only was he a valued and honourable member of the horsemanship Vineyard, he was also a man who worked with his rational creatures to form a living commonwealth. He was a sovereign who, through his governance of nonhuman kind, through both fear and love, upheld the human-animal hierarchy, and displayed his own spectacular governing abilities.

For other horsemen of the eighteenth century, such as Henry William Bunbury, Richard Berenger and Henry Herbert, Centauric status was coupled to communication between human and animal, and was only available through prolonged and concerted effort in riding houses or Academies where 'old-school' horsemanship in the Cavendish tradition continued to be taught alongside proper social deportment. These men looked to the discourse of civic humanism and a masculinity of sensitivity, politeness and militaristic honour for their citizenship in their Vineyard of Horsemanship and in wider English society. Their dual-natured being, however,

⁵ Ann Game, 'Riding: Embodying the Centaur,' *Body & Society* 1 (2001): 3.

was also influenced by newer, liberty-reflecting practices of riding with free, forward movement. Reflecting socio-political changes in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, horsemen of the new-school Vineyard shortened their stirrups, loosened their reins, rode cross country and adopted a discourse of reciprocal care and influence. Practicing in the newly social equestrian riding house, more men and women than ever were able to ride, but chose, for the most part, to discount the horsemanship tradition of Cavendish and his followers; they were polite, refined, and social followers of liberty, but they were not Centaur. Following both traditions, yet creating something entirely new, Philip and John Astley used the medium of the theatre, the new circus, to perform both new and old traditions of horsemanship alongside vaulting and trick riding. Chivalrous, honourable and devilishly nonhuman, both man and animal in the Amphitheatre were celebrity, masculine and wonderfully other.

Taken together, the horses and horsemen of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries developed relationships that mirrored and were alternative to wider changes to normative codes and discourses of gender, class and understanding of what was human and animal. It was through the mediating presence of nonhumans, as I have argued, that the very humanity (or monstrous inhumanity), masculinity (or its lack) and status of horsemen was created and established. Horses were the means by which men traveled, conducted business, hunted and spent their leisure time, but they were also the means through which men formed communities of like-minded and jointly skilled riders: communities that dictated their member's status, reputation and gender; communities that remained self-selective and self-authenticating throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Then and now, horses were remarkable creatures of mystery, (uncommon) intelligence, use, beauty and partnership. If a part of an ideal human-animal relationship – as Bartabas and Horizonte were – they could create awe, surprise and wonder both in the eighteenth century and, if the audience of *The Centaur & the Animal* is any indication, today. The horse has come back to the London stage, but horses remain, in general, vastly removed from the everyday lives of most people. They are otherness, as Laura Thompson pointed out, in a way that they were not in a pre-motorized society. While most individuals were not members of the select Vineyards of Horsemanship, they would have been able to see horses on the roads, in the fields, in the cities and in the theatres, which is not the case today. As a result, there is still a remarkably large amount of research left to do before scholars can begin to grasp how central interactions with nonhumans were in a society that for much of the period relied almost exclusively on the power, majesty and domesticity of the horse. As Elaine Walker has succinctly summarized:

The horse is written so intrinsically into human history that attempting to identify key aspects of its role becomes an exercise in leaving out rather than including. But it seems that in one way or another we are unwilling, or even unable, to do without it and when we approach it in that knowledge, we begin to fully realize the potential of our long shared history.⁶

Even with posthumanism's current and growing interest in human-animal relationships that prioritize species such as horses and dogs over other creaturely life (a trend of 'mammalian hegemony' which Robert Markley finds problematic as it negates any interest in the reciprocity of other, less visible, companion-species such as microbes), there is still much that we do not know about the co-becoming role that horses have played in the history of human kind – or of humans in the history of horse kind for that matter.⁷ Large questions relating to horses' economic impact (F.M.L. Thompson's work on the subject was only a *Preliminary Canter* after all) and the role of pedigreed breeding in ideologies and practices of class and race hierarchicisation, the horse's role in international diplomacy, agricultural innovation, industrialization and oral or non-textual culture still need to be investigated. How has equine culture (if we can understand it as such), the animal's way of being in a herd, and its social history, impacted upon horse-human interaction and human-human interaction over time? What impact have the kinesthetic languages and epistemologies of horsemanship in turn had upon social relationships, and the political and lived realities of both human and animal beings? These are just some of the questions that remain to be answered if horses, nonhumans, are brought into previously humanistic history. We have only scratched the surface of this long collective history of companion species, and are only coming to recognize how central nonhumans were and are for our shared worlds.

⁶ Elaine Walker, *Horse* (London: Reaktion Books, 2008), 193.

⁷ Lucinda Cole, Donna Landry, Bruce Boeher, Richard Nash, Erica Fudge, Robert Markley, and Cary Wolfe, 'Speciesism, Identity Politics, and Ecocriticism: A Conversation with Humanists and Posthumanists,' *The Eighteenth Century* 52 no. 1 (2011): 97.

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APPENDIX I

ACTIONS OF THE *MANÈGE* AND *HAUTE ÉCOLE*

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The following definitions for *haute école* movements are taken in the first instance from John Brindley's 'A Dictionary Explaining the Technical Terms That Belong to the Studs, Stable, Manage, and Farriery; Or Whatever else relates to Horses', copied in William Hope's 'Supplement of Riding' from 1696, and added to the 1743 publication of William Cavendish's *A General System*. These definitions are supplemented by Strickland Freeman's *The Art of Horsemanship* of 1806 and by my own equestrian experiences.

AMBLING; a motion in a horse that is much desired, very useful, but not easily to be obtained the right way, notwithstanding the vain confidence of the various professors of it, who, though they so confidently assert the success, yet differ in their methods to affect it.

- [Today it is a two-beat gait where the horse moves with parallel leg movements: the near (left) fore and hind, and off (right) fore and hind moving in pairs.]

BALOTADES are the leaps of a horse between two pillars, or upon a straight line, made with justness of time, with the aids of the hand, and the calves of the legs; and that in such manner, that when his fore-feet are in the air, he shews nothing but the shoes of his hinder feet without jerking out.

CAPRIOLES differ from croupades in this, that in a croupade the horse does not show his shoes; and from a balotade in this, that in a balotade he does not jerk out.

CURVET, (*in the Manage*) an air, when the horse's legs are more raised than in the *démivolts*, being a kind of leap up, and a little forward, wherein the horse raises both his forefeet at once, equally advanced, (when he is going straight forward, and not in a circle) and as his fore-legs, as he did his fore; that is, equally advanced, and not one before the other: so that all his four legs are in the air at once.

GALLOP, is a motion of a horse that runs at full speed.

GALLOPADE; the fine gallopade, the short gallop, the listening gallop, the gallop of the school: 'Tis a hand gallop, or gallop upon the hand, in which a horse galloping upon one or two treads, is well united, well *raccourci*, knit together, well coupled, and well set under him [collected and in self-carriage].

- [Today a hand gallop means to begin in a collected canter, similar to what the *gallopade* was, but then to lengthen the stride and increase the pace while maintaining the collection.]

GATE, is the going, or pace of a horse.

GROUPADE [**CROUPADE**] a lofty kind of manage, and higher than the ordinary curvets.

LEAPING-HORSE, one that works in the high manage, a horse that makes his leaps in order, with obedience, between two pillars, upon a straight line, in voltes, caprioles, balotades, or croupades.

MES-AIR, is a manage half *terra a terra*, and half corvet.

PACES *of a Horse*; the natural paces of a horse's legs are three, viz. a *walk*, a *trot*, and a *gallop*; to which may be added an *amble*, because some horses have it naturally; and such horses are generally the swiftest *amblers* of any.

PASSAGE; to passage a *horse*, is to make him go upon a walk or trot upon two pistles or treads, between the two heels, and side-ways, so that his hips make a track parallel to that made by his shoulders.

- [Today this is most similar to a shoulder-in, or other two-track exercises. Also, to *passage* today means to have a horse trot with elevated steps and minimal forward movement]
- Freeman follows the more modern definition and states that 'in the *passage*, it is meant to advance in a straight line, in the proud action of a *piaffe*.' [page 128]

PESATE, or *Pesade*, or *Posade*, is when a *horse* in lifting or raising his fore-quarters, keeps his hind-legs upon the ground without stirring, so that he marks no time with his haunches till his fore-legs reach the ground.

- [Today it is most similar to a *levade*.]

PIAFFEUR, is a proud stately horse, who being full of mettle, or fire, restless and forward, with a great deal of motion, and an excessive eagerness to go forwards, makes this motion. The more that you endeavour to keep him in, he bends his leg the more up to his belly: He snorts, traverses, if he can, and by his fiery action shews his restiveness.

- Freeman describes the '*piaffe*' as an action by a horse where he 'is in the action of a trot *de ferme à ferme*; that is to say, in the same place.' [page 129]

PYROET; some are of one tread or pistle, and some of two.

Those of one tread are otherwise called, *Pirouettes de la tete a la queue*.

Pyroets de la tete a la queue, are entire and narrow turns made by the horse upon one tread, and almost in one time, in such a manner, that his head is placed where his tail was, without putting out his haunches.

RACKING, a certain pace of a horse, or a motion in going, in which he trots nor gallops, but is between both.

SAULTS, the leaping or prancing of horses, a kind of curvetting.

TERRA A TERRA, or *terre a terre* is a series of low leaps, which a horse makes forwards, bearing side-ways, and working upon two treads.

TRAMEL, a machine for teaching a horse to amble.

WALK, is the slowest, and least raised of a horse's goings.

APPENDIX II

By the King.

A Proclamation prohibiting the vse of Snaffles, and commanding the vse of Bittes for Riding.

THE Kings most Excellent MAIESTY, taking into His Princely thoughts, the present state of these times, and how necessary it is, that all his louing Subjects should be prouided, for their owne defence, and the defence of the Realme, vpon all occasions, and sudden euent; And finding by experience, that such horses, as are to be imployed for Seruice, are more apt and fit to be managed by such as that ride them being vsed to the Bittes, then to the Snaffles: his Maiestie therefore, by the Aduice of the Lords, and others of His Priuie Counsell, hath thought fit, and both hereby straitly charge and command, that no person or persons whatsoever, of what degree or condition soeuer, *other then* such only as His Maiestie, in respect of their attendance vpon His Royall Person, in times of dispose, or *otherwise*, shall licence thereunto, shall from henceforth in riding, vse any Snaffles, but Bittes onely, vpon paine of His Maiesties *high displeasure*, and vponn such further Paines, Penalties, and Imprisonments, as by the Lawes and Statutes of this Realme of England, or by His Maiesties Prerogatiue Royall, can or may bee inlicted vpon the offenders, for their contempt of His Maiesties Royall Commandement in that behalfe.

Giuen at His Maiesties Court at White-Hall, the twentieth day of Nouember in the third yeere of His Hignesse Reigne of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland.

God saue the King.

Imprinted at London by Bonham Norton and Iohn Bill, Printers to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie. M.DC. XXVII.

APPENDIX III

TIMELINE FOR ASTLEY'S AMPHITHEATRE

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- 1742, 8 January – Philip Astley born.
- 1766, 21 June – Astley honourably discharged as Sergeant Major from the 15th Light Dragoons under General George Elliot.
- 1767 – John Philip Conway Astley born, and the Astleys are employed by Mr. and Mrs. Sampson.
- 1768, 4 April – Philip Astley first advertises his trick riding at Halfpenny Hatch, Lambeth Marsh.
- 1768, 20 May – Astley re-enacts the military manoeuvres learned under General Elliot.
- 1768, 11 June – First reference to Patty Astley performing trick riding.
- 1769 – Astleys move to permanent Westminster-bridge location, and Astley publishes *The Complete Swordsman on Horseback* – a work that has not been subsequently found.
- 1770 – First trip to Paris to perform at the fairs.
- 1771 – ‘Taylor Riding to Brentford’ introduced, and Mr. and Mrs. Charles Hughes recruited.
- 1772 – Charles Hughes leaves Astley’s and establishes the rival British Horse Academy, Blackfriar’s Bridge (later moved to the Obelisk in St. George’s Circus, Lambeth and renamed the Royal Circus and Equestrian Philharmonic Academy). The Little Learned Military Horse, Mr. Wildman’s and Patty’s Bees, and John Astley first perform.
- 1773 – Theatre regulatory authorities close the Amphitheatre, and in the meantime Astley publishes the pamphlet *Proposal for a New Inexpugnable Mode of Charging*.
- 1775 – Amphitheatre reopens and renamed Astley’s Riding School. Astley publishes his *Modern Riding Master*
- 1776 – Astley advertises horse training and boarding, and riding lessons available for the standardised price of 2s. 6d. instead of by private appointment.
- 1779 – Astley’s re-titled Astley’s New Amphitheatre Riding School.
- 1780 – Astley introduces his ‘Floating bath’ in the Thames.
- 1781 – John introduces dancing on horseback; and the first burletta, ‘Britain in Arms; Or, Who’s Afraid in Jersey,’ performed on 1 February.

- 1782 – Astley arrested under Theatre Licensing Act, and on 13 November a newspaper reports Astley has been accused of poisoning Hughes's horses – an accusation Astley vehemently denies. In the same year Astley is granted the Great Seal of England or a fourteen-year, Royal Letters Patent for his horsemanship training, and embarks on a performance tour of Brussels, Belgrade and the Viennese court.
- 1783 – Astley and Hughes imprisoned by the theatre licensing authorities.
- 1784 – Astley establishes his annual rowing race ('Prize Wherry') on the Thames.
- 1785, 4 April – General Jackoo, the performing monkey, first appears at Astley's, and *Natural Magic: or, Physical Amusements Revealed* published.
- 1786 – Astley is granted a temporary arena at Versailles by the French royal family on 8 December, renovates his London Amphitheatre and renames it the Royal Grove.
- 1787 – Astley builds the Cirque du Palais Royale (it was commandeered between 1791 and 1802 by the circus family of Franconi).
- 1788 – Astley establishes The Equestrian Theatre Royal in Dublin, and petitions the House of Lords for the sanctioning of London's illegitimate theatres along with the Royal Circus, Sadler's Wells and the Royalty Theatre, Whitechapel.
- 1789 – Astley presented with French royal coat of arms.
- 1792 – John Bill Ricketts, apprentice of Charles Hughes when he was in Philadelphia, begins the American circuses. John becomes manager of the Royal Saloon.
- 1793 – Charles Hughes is commissioned to purchase blood stock for the imperial stables by Empress Catherine of Russia. He went on to establish imperial Amphitheatres in St Petersburg and Moscow under Catherine's direction. Astley re-enlists in his old regiment under the Duke of York leaving management of the Amphitheatre to his son.
- 1794 – Fire breaks out at Astley's for the first time on 18 August, and Astley is released from the army to take over management. *Remarks on the Profession and Duty of a Soldier*; and *Descriptions and Historical Account of the Places now in the Theatre of War in the Low Countries* published.
- 1795, Easter Monday – The New Amphitheatre of Arts and Sciences opens under the patronage of the Duke of York, and the 'Siege of Troy; Or Famous Trojan Horse' performed.
- 1797 – Charles Dibdin, the Younger, becomes the Amphitheatre's house author.
- 1799 – John buys a half share of the Amphitheatre, and resumes full management while Astley retires from his London business. Charles Dibdin leaves Astley's employ.
- 1801 – *Astley's System of Equestrian Education, Exhibiting the Beauties and Defects of the Horse* published and translated into French and German by Rev. Dr. Render. The first hippodrama, 'Fair Rosamund; Or, Woodstock Bower', performed.

- 1802 – Astley returns to Paris.
- 1803 – Astley interred in France as a prisoner of war, after which he quickly escapes and makes his way back to England. Fire breaks out at Astley's for the second time on 1 September.
- 1804, Easter Monday – Astley's reopened. Shares in the business are sold to other equestrian circus performers: Robert Handy and William Davis. *Astley's Projects, in his Management of the Horse; Rendering it Calm on the Road, in Harness, &c. Such Acquirements may prevent Dreadful Accidents. Being an Abridgement of his Popular and Most Valuable Book of Equestrian Education. To which is Prefixed, Many Excellent Remedies for the Diseases in Horses, &c.* published.
- 1805 – *Astley's New Pocket Map of Europe and Map of Germany* published.
- 1806 – Astley opens his second London Amphitheatre, The Olympic Pavilion, in Wych Street, the Stand.
- 1810 – The hippodrama, 'The Blood Red Knight,' performed.
- 1813 – Astley sells The Olympic Pavilion for £2,000 – a loss of approximately £10,000 – to the Royal Circus.
- 1814, 20 October – Philip Astley dies in Paris, and his Paris property is sold with the profits going to his son.
- 1815 – Thomas Dibdin's popular 'The High Mettled Racer; or, Harlequin on Horseback' performed.
- 1817-18 – Gas lighting introduced to the Amphitheatre.
- 1818 – The hippodrama, 'Peregrine Pickle! Or, Hawser Trunnion on Horseback,' first performed.
- 1821, 19 October – John Astley dies in the same bed that his father died.
- 1822 – W. Davis briefly takes over management and renames Astley's Davis' Royal Amphitheatre.
- 1824 – J.H. Amherst's popular 'Battle of Waterloo' performed.
- 1825 – Andrew Ducrow (a long-time performer of the Amphitheatre, acting as 'The Infant Wonder' or the 'Little Devil') becomes new manager.
- 1827 – Ducrow's 'The Courier of St Petersburg' first performed.
- 1831, 4 April – From Lord Byron's poem, Henry M. Milner's 'Mazeppa, and the Wild Horse; or, the Child of the Desert' first performed.

1841 – Fire breaks out at Astley’s for the third time.

1842, 27 January – Ducrow dies, Amphitheatre rebuilt and William Batty becomes new manager.

1843 – Theatres Act passed making circuses legitimate theatre establishments.

1853 – William Cooke’s circus troop takes over the Amphitheatre lease.

1860 – Amphitheatre becomes a theatre only.

1871 – Lord George Sanger re-introduces hippodrama and other circus acts to the Amphitheatre stage.

1893 – Amphitheatre closed.