'TO AMAZE THE PEOPLE WITH PLEASURE AND DELIGHT': AN ANALYSIS OF THE HORSEMANSHIP MANUALS OF WILLIAM CAVENDISH, FIRST DUKE OF NEWCASTLE (1593-1676).

By

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ABSTRACT

'To Amaze the People with Pleasure and Delight': an analysis of the horsemanship manuals of William Cavendish, the first Duke of Newcastle (1593-1676).

William Cavendish published two horsemanship manuals in 1658 and 1667, setting out his method for the noble art of the riding house.

This thesis argues that within the canon of Newcastle's writing, his horsemanship manuals are key texts, offering insights into his writing practice, personal philosophy and motivation. To understand the importance of the manuals in their cultural context, Newcastle's contribution to the development of riding as an art is considered, with particular reference to the way in which his attitude towards other authors influenced each manual. A detailed examination of the technical aspects of the manuals illustrates that to ignore the method in favour of the historical and political material is to overlook a vital element. Newcastle's understanding of the horse's mind is a key to his approach, therefore this study argues that his royalist ideologies are supported and paralleled through his treatment and expectation of his horses. The engraved plates that illustrate the first manual are analysed as multi-layered images, offering a notional journey through his estates.

The thesis will conclude with consideration of near-contemporary responses to Newcastle's work and argue that the manuals' importance to his own self-actualisation and emotional security is written as much into the practicalities of the method as the theatricalities of its presentation.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Once I am in the saddle I never willingly dismount,
for whether well or ill, I feel better in that position.
Michel de Montaigne[1]

Now they were strange to us
As fabulous steeds set on an ancient shield
Or illustrations in a book of knights.
Edwin Muir[2]

William Cavendish, first Duke of Newcastle (1593-1676), wrote that 'there is nothing of more Use than A Horse of Mannage; nor any thing of more State, Manliness, or Pleasure, than Riding; and as it is the Noblest, so it is the Healthfullest Exercise in the World'. Throughout his life, Newcastle put this belief into practice, devoting time, money and faith to his love of horses and the art of the riding house, or manège, through which the soldier's battle field skills took on new refinement. His many years of experience culminated in two horsemanship manuals, published in 1658 and 1667, wherein his life-long pleasure in horses, riding and the metonymy encompassed in noble display was set down to establish his ideal pattern for a worthy tradition.[3]

Newcastle's consummate skill with horses is an area wherein many of the tensions of his life were clarified and the manuals offer rich material for a deep insight into a complex man whose career encompassed many vagaries of self-expression. A century

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[1] *The Complete Essays*, trans. by M. A. Screech (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1997), p.322.
[2] 'The Horses', *Poetry 1900 to 1975*, ed. by George Macbeth (London: Longman, 1979), p.65.
[3] *A New Method, and Extraordinary Invention, to Dress Horses* (London: Thomas Milbourn, 1667), pp.13-14; *La Methode Nouvelle et Invention extraordinaire de dresser les Chevaux* (Antwerp: Jacques van Meurs, 1658). Further references to Newcastle's manuals will be included in the text using the date of publication, followed by the page number.

later, Françoise de la Guérinière, perhaps the most influential of the classical horsemanship authors, asserted that Newcastle was 'the greatest expert of his age' and that this view would be the 'unanimous sentiment of all connoisseurs'. Today however, connoisseurs of this subject are fewer and Newcastle's manuals are more likely to be seen as 'a magnificently illustrated document of human absurdity' or 'specific guidelines for trick-riding'.[4]

This thesis, therefore, will consider the horsemanship manuals as working documents of literary significance in the development of the horsemanship text, which also provide a unique insight into the philosophy that formed a paradigm for Newcastle's life. It will argue that the manuals include a biographical subtext found as much in the technicalities of the training as in the underlying thought and must be read in their entirety for a full understanding of their importance.

In this introductory chapter, recent scholarship on the broad area of culture and elite identity in which horsemanship was located between the mid-sixteenth to late seventeenth centuries will be reviewed. The chapter will then proceed with a consideration of the primary source material available and the problems involved due to the mutability of text in general in the early modern period, along with the particular confusions caused by later translations of Newcastle's manuals. A methodology for approaching the texts will be established, including an explanation of terms of reference appearing throughout the remainder of the thesis.

In order to contextualise the material, this chapter will provide an overview of

[4] François Robichon de la Guérinière, *School of Horsemanship*, trans. by Tracey Boucher (London: J. A. Allen, 1994), p.87; Lawence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1599-1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p.695; Gloria Italiano Anzilotti, *An English Prince: Newcastle's Machiavellian Political Guide to Charles II* (Pisa: Giardini Editore e Stampatori, 1988), p.54.

Newcastle's life and the changing circumstances under which he chose to publish his horsemanship manuals. This will also include reference to the role of horsemanship in the education of the young nobleman. Consideration of the importance of such skills in the culture of the European court, reviewing of the shared concerns in horsemanship and conduct books of the time and the ways in which these are reflected in visual arts will provide additional depth of perspective. The suitability of the skills of the riding house for a warhorse led to debate from the earliest development of horsemanship as an art. This continues among modern scholars and therefore the role of the riding house in the preparation for war will be considered using both primary and secondary sources. In conclusion, this chapter will offer an overview of the areas arising from all these interrelated considerations and the ways in which they will be further examined in the following chapters.

The position of horsemanship in early modern scholarship.

Both primary and secondary source material for the early modern period is plentiful. Survey texts of the life of the aristocracy provide essential contextual information for gaining a suitably broad perspective on the context in which Newcastle wrote his horsemanship manuals. A number of recent studies have been especially useful in my own work due to their focus on both the day-to-day life of the aristocracy and also their explorations of the development of thought and philosophy that informed accepted behaviour.[5] The seminal work of Stephen Greenblatt remains a key text as his concept of the need for self-fashioning in the renaissance consciousness can be applied to provide

[5] Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700* (London: Macmillan, 1994); Keith Wrightson, *English Society 1648-1688* (London: Collins, 1969); *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday,* ed. by Patricia Fumerton and Simon Hunts (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

essential illumination on the complexities of Newcastle's behaviour. This has been of great assistance in providing a balance to the tendency of some scholars to dismiss Newcastle's horsemanship writing as self-indulgent and somewhat ridiculous.[6] The growing interest in the working of the early modern mind is invaluable in the study of a complex man such as Newcastle, and this has been vital in offering a variety of perspectives from which to form a consideration.[7]

The area of culture in which the art of horsemanship defined gentility is a more specific field yet still one well-covered by modern scholarship. However, while the art of horsemanship was inextricably linked with the culture of nobility, elitism and the European courts from the early Renaissance into the mid-seventeenth century, its importance is only slowly becoming recognised in wider studies.[8] In this respect, the work of Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton provides a crucial consideration of the role of horses that is missing in other useful and comprehensive studies.[9] Studies of the horse in art are more widely available and the seminal work of Walter Liedtke has been

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[6] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1980); Stone, already cited; Anzilotti, already cited.

[7] Quentin Skinner, *Liberty before Liberalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); *The Theory of Criticism from Plato to the Present: A Reader*, ed. by Raman Selden (London: Longman, 1988); Lynne Layton and Barbara Ann Shapiro, eds., *Narcissism and the Text: Studies in Literature and the Psychology of the Self*, (New York/London: NewYork University Press, 1986); J.A Mazzeo and others, *Reason and the Imagination: Studies in the History of Ideas, 1600-1800* (New York: Columbia University Press; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1998).

[8] R. Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987); *Culture and Power in England 1585-1685* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999); Marcia Vale, *The Gentleman's Recreation: Accomplishments and Pastimes of the English Gentleman 1580-1630* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1977); John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad 1604-1667*, revd. edn., (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1989).

[9] Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West* (London: Reaktion Books, 2000).

particularly vital as a point of reference.[10]

Following the earlier work of Keith Thomas, the recent growth in scholarly interest in the relationship between humans and animals in the early modern period has been pertinent to my argument that the understanding of the horse's mind is a key consideration when approaching early horsemanship manuals.[11] However, a comprehensive study of the horse in this context is still lacking and there is a tendency to see the horse as incidental to the political and personal considerations of horsemanship authors.[12]

Dedicated focus upon the role of the horse through the study of documentary evidence is plentiful and provides vital contextual information, with the practical experimentation undertaken by Ann Hyland being especially relevant in light of a similar approach in aspects of my own work.[13] A number of survey studies and unpublished theses on the

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[10] Roy Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1986); *Van Dyck: Charles I on Horseback* (New York: Viking Press, 1972); Walter Liedtke, *The Royal Horse and Rider: Painting, Sculpture and Horsemanship 1500-1800* (New York: Abaris Books, 1989); Alice Davies, *16th and 17th Century Dutch and Flemish Paintings in the Springfield Museum of Fine Arts* (Massachusetts: Springfield Museum of Fine Arts, 1993); Laura Camins, *Glorious Horsemen: Equestrian Art in Europe 1500-1800* (Massachusetts: Springfield Museum of Fine Arts, 1991).

[11] Erica Fudge, ed., *Perceiving Animals* (Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002); *Renaissance Beasts: of animals, humans, and other wonderful creatures* (Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004); with Ruth Gilbert and Susan Wiseman, eds., *At the Borders of the Human: Beasts, Bodies and Natural Philosophy in the Early Modern Period* (New York: St. Martin's Press; London: Macmillan, 1999); Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1983).

[12] Karen Raber, '"Reasonable Creatures": William Cavendish and the Art of Dressage', in *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday*, already cited, pp.42-66; Elspeth Graham, 'Reading, Writing, and Riding Horses in Early Modern England', in *Renaissance Beasts*, already cited, p.126.

[13] Joan Thirsk, *Horses in Early Modern England: For Service, for Pleasure, for Power* (Reading: University of Reading, 1978); Peter Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Arthur McGregor, numerous studies, including 'The Royal Stables: A Seventeenth Century Perspective',

development of horsemanship as an art exist, though there is currently no published text dedicated to a comprehensive consideration of this vital aspect of early modern court culture across Europe.[14]

There is also a large body of work on horsemanship that lies on the borders between popular history and academic study and is therefore often a reference in secondary sources, but can be misleading in the use of unreferenced material and questionable exegesis due to a lack of historical precision. This has a contribution to make in the absence of any more detailed study, but has of necessity been treated with caution in this work.[15] The work of horsemanship experts such as Alois Podhajsky, former director of the Spanish Riding School of Vienna, and current practitioner Michael J. Stevens, however, combines precise working knowledge of the practical material with close attention to its historical development. [16] Academic interest in horses and horsemanship is an expanding area as illustrated by forthcoming publications, including a collection of essays edited by Karen Raber and Giles Worsley's comprehensive architectural study of

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The Antiquities Journal, 76 (1996), pp.181-200; Ann Hyland, *The Medieval War Horse* (1994); *The War-Horse 1250-1600* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998).

[14] Giles Worsley, 'A Courtly Art: The History of 'Haute École' in England', *The Court Historian*, 6.1 (2001), pp.29-47; Helen Watanabe O'Kelly, *Triumphall Shows: Tournaments at German-speaking Courts in their European Context 1560-1730* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1992), pp.65-84; Gabrielle MacDonald, 'Horsemanship as a courtly art in Elizabethan England: origins, theory, and practice' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, 1982).

[15] Arthur Dent, *The Horse Through Fifty Ages Of Civilisation* (London: Phaidon Press, 1974); *Horses in Shakespeare's England* (London: J. A. Allen, 1987); Sylvia Loch, *The Royal Horse and Rider* (London: J. A. Allen, 1986); M. M. Reese, *The Royal Office of Master of Horse* (London: Threshold Books, 1976); Dent and Reese in particular are frequent secondary sources for academic studies.

[16] Alois Podhajsky, *The Complete Training of the Horse and Rider* (London: Harrap, 1983); Michael J. Stevens, *A Classical Riding Notebook* (Addington: Kenilworth Press, 1994).

stables and riding-houses.[17]

The study of the first Duke of Newcastle is also a growing area, with his cultural patronage being of particular interest to a number of scholars whose work has been a valuable resource in this study. Contributors to *The Seventeenth Century Special Issue: The Cavendish Circle* consider the influence of Newcastle and his brother Charles through their broad range of interests, while Karen Raber considers the horsemanship manuals as political treatises.[18] Studies of Newcastle's architectural interests which have been of particular relevance include the work of Trevor Foulds, Adrian Woodhouse and Lucy Worsley while Margaret Sönmez's use of the horsemanship manuscripts to analyse spelling in the early modern period, has offered insights into his writing practice.[19] While a fully referenced biography of Newcastle is still lacking, Geoffrey Trease's *Portrait of a Cavalier* remains useful, as many of his sources, though referenced only in broad terms are easily traceable, for example in the Portland manuscripts. However, Katie Whitaker's excellent and fully referenced biography of Newcastle's second wife, Margaret

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[17] Karen Raber, *The Culture of the Horse* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming 2005); Giles Worsley, *The British Stable: An Architectural and Social History* (New Haven: Yale University, forthcoming 2004).

[18] *The Seventeenth Century Special Issue: The Cavendish Circle*, ed. by Timothy Raylor, 9.2 (1994); Raber, already cited.

[19] Trevor Foulds ''This Greate House, so Lately Begun, and all of Freestone': William Cavendish's Italianate *Palazzo* called Nottingham Castle', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 106 (2002), 81-102; Adrian Woodhouse, 'Reconstructing the Horseman of Nottingham Castle: The Equestrian Statue of the First Duke of Newcastle, c.1679', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 104 (2000), 73-81; Lucy Worsley, ''I Began to wish Myself a Horse': William Cavendish and the Furnishing of Bolsover Castle', *Collections Review* (2001), 1-7; ''An Habitation not so Magnificent as Useful': Life at Welbeck Abbey in the 17th. Century', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 108 (2004), 123-143; Lucy Worsley and Tom Addyman, 'Riding Houses and horses: William Cavendish's Architecture for the Art of Horsemanship', *Architectural History*, 45 (2002), 194-229; Margaret Sönmez, *English Spelling in the Seventeenth Century* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Durham, 1993).

Cavendish, offers valuable information on the life of her husband also.[20]

Forthcoming publications to contribute to scholarship on Newcastle's life and interests include Adrian Woodhouse's *Castles and Compasses: the true lives and works of John Smythson* and Lucy Worsley's *Cavalier: The Biography of a Seventeenth-Century Household*, while the collection of essays *Prince of the Northern Quarter*, edited by Lynn Hulse and James Knowles, will offer a comprehensive consideration of Newcastle's cultural patronage.

While existing modern scholarship will provide points of departure and discussion in many aspects of this thesis, I shall be asserting that comprehensive attempts to address the practicalities of horsemanship as an art together with its semiotic importance and vital centrality to men such as Newcastle are lacking. Therefore, in arguing that such a comprehensive approach is vital for a full consideration of the horsemanship manual, my approach is, in some respects, revisionist.

Early modern evidence for horsemanship.

There is a wealth of primary source material available on horsemanship and the large number of training manuals published between the mid-sixteenth and late seventeenth centuries testify to the popularity of the art across Europe.[21] Despite concerns expressed by authors from Sir Thomas Blundeville in 1560 to Newcastle a century later that horsemanship in England was a dying art besieged by philistine attitudes and poor practice, the publications continued, suggesting a core of devotees that endured all the

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[20] Trease, *Portrait of a Cavalier* (London: Macmillan, 1979); Whitaker, *Mad Madge: Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, Royalist, Writer and Romantic* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2003).

[21] R. S. Toole-Stott, *Circus and the Allied Arts: A World Bibliography* (Derby: Harper & Sons, 1960), pp.36-118.

vicissitudes of time and fashion. [22] The level of dedication involved in becoming a true master of the art perhaps impacted upon the level of commitment available, but the importance of the horsemanship manual to the serious rider is illuminated by Sir Philip Sidney's advice to his younger brother:

> At horsemanship, read Grison, Claudio, and a book that is called *La Gloria del cavallo* withal, that you may join the thorough contemplation of it with the exercise, and you shal profit more in a month than others in a year.[23]

To the devoted horseman, the text analysing the art was an invaluable means of adding an academic and theoretical level to a practical skill. Difficulties arise in modern study of the different manuals owing to the mutability of text at that time, when assimilating another author's work was neither unusual nor especially problematic. Newcastle's use of privileges to protect his work illustrates his awareness of this danger,[24] and also of the prestige linked to such action, as explained by Adrian Johns:

> The making of elaborate folio volumes demanded substantial investment, which without protection would only be ventured upon by the extremely foolhardy. But they further averred that gentlemen patentees, soaring above the commercial fray, could produce higher works of greater quality and fidelity than would be possible in an environment of ruthless competition between mercenary Stationers. They explicitly and consistently identified virtuous *people* with veracious *printing*.[25]

A large number of the early manuals are heavily derivative even though most claim originality, so that it becomes difficult to locate the author's own ideas, especially as

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[22] *A new booke, containing the Arte of Ryding and breaking greate Horses* (London: Willyam Seres, 1560), sig. Aiii-iv.
[23] Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1991), p.171.
[24] The privileges accorded to the 1658 manual were granted by the Estates General of the United Provinces; Philip IV of Spain 'en son conseil de Brabant', 'en son Conseil Privé'; and Louis XIV of France, followed by 'Transport des Dits Privileges' from Newcastle to the publisher (sig. f-f2^{v}). A letter dated 1657, in Newcastle's hand to an unnamed recipient, relating to his request for a 'previledge for my booke' from the 'States of Hollande' is transcribed and reproduced in the undated catalogue (late 1990s) of letters and manuscripts offered for sale by Richard Hatchwell, Malmesbury.
[25] *The Nature of the Book* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p.258.

there is a strong element of oral tradition in a practical skill of this nature wherein received ideas are inevitable. Newcastle's texts are very straightforward in this respect. He deliberately sets out to establish his manuals as distinct from others, both in their lavish production, the wealth of privileges, and his presentation of his work as original.

Although he too is part of a tradition of training, he deliberately identifies this absorbed tradition as a point of departure in asserting his determined individuality. Problems arise when his views are assimilated by subsequent authors without acknowledgment, and also due to translations of his work. This leads to considerable misunderstanding in secondary sources, necessitating some clarification before further analysis can be undertaken.

Newcastle's horsemanship manuals.

The first of Newcastle's horsemanship manuals, setting out his personal method of training, was published in French in 1658, though R. S. Toole-Stott suggests that some early copies lacking the engraved title, may have been in circulation in 1657.[26] This is a lavish folio edition with forty-two very fine engraved plates after Abraham van Diepenbeeck.[27] A more modest second manual in English followed in 1667. These texts have a history very similar to Newcastle's own in near misses with the fame and popularity that might have been enjoyed. The first manual was published with borrowed money in a short run, but a fire in the publishing house reduced the available numbers further.[28] The exact number of copies published and the method of distribution is the subject of varying opinion but copies were given as gifts to influential contacts and

[26] Toole-Stott, p.84.
[27] See Hans Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture 1585-1700* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1998), pp.74-6, 209, 232 for an overview of Diepenbeeck's work.
[28] Trease, pp.174-176; Toole-Stott, p.85.

friends of Newcastle, including John Evelyn.[29]

Within ten years of publication, Newcastle's friend Jacques de Solleysel was repeating extracts in his own work *Le Parfait Mareschal* because 'his [Newcastle's] book is Rare, and that People can but with difficulty procure it, as well as because of the excessive Rate it is sold at, and because of the small number of Coppies which were printed'.[30] This adds useful detail in providing evidence that the manual was not simply a gift edition but was offered for public sale. However, by 1733 François de la Guérinière said it had 'become so rare that one can scarcely find it'.[31] The second book was published by Thomas Milbourn in 1667 and was something of a poor relation to the first as it lacked the plates, which do much to illuminate the technical aspects of the text. Milbourn produced a poor French translation of the second book in 1671 and 1674, and a translation corrected by Solleysel but with inferior new plates was published by Gervaise Clousier in Paris in 1677. It was believed for some time that the original plates had been lost or destroyed but they were in the hands of Newcastle's granddaughter, the Countess of Oxford by 1737 when John Brindley issued a second edition of the original French text. Brindley went on to publish an English translation in folio in 1743, which included the plates, and surpassed the original in quality of production. He also produced a particularly fine Large Paper copy of the 1743 edition ruled throughout with red lines. It is this translation that

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[29] Toole-Stott, p.86; Whitaker, p.208; Letters thanking Newcastle for copies of his book may be found in *A Collections of Letter & Poems* [...] *to the Late Duke and Duchess of Newcastle* (London: Langley Curtis, 1678); John Evelyn's presentation copy with a personal inscription from Newcastle was Lot no. 1076 in the Evelyn Library Sale at Christie's, London, 15 March, 1978. I would like to thank Adrian Woodhouse for sharing this information with me.

[30] *Le Parfait Mareschal or Complete Farrier*, trans. by Sir William Hope (Edinburgh: George Mosman, 1696), p.206.

[31] La Guérinière, p.78.

made Newcastle's original manual widely accessible in this country, nearly a hundred years after it first appeared, and it was reprinted in 1748. Further editions in German and also Spanish were published before the end of the eighteenth century, and there were a number of adaptations and derivatives of the originals published, testifying to Newcastle's influence more than the success of the original manuals themselves.[32]

Whilst fascinating in general terms, the history of these texts and the distance in cultural perspective between Newcastle's valuation of the manège and that of the non-riding academic means that existing references to them are often confused as to title, provenance, intent and motivation and in many cases, the nature of horses. Establishing a reference text from which to work in this thesis highlights these problems at once. References to Newcastle's manuals in academic studies, horsemanship books and popular history reveal considerable confusion, which is frequently perpetuated within critical studies through the acceptance by one author of the provenance offered by another.

The very titles of the manuals become problematic in ways that affect critical interpretation, and serve as a brief illustration of issues arising. The title of the 1658 French manual is *La Methode Nouvelle et Invention extraordinaire de dresser les Chevaux les travailler selon la nature, et parfaire la nature par la subtilité de l'art; la quelle n'a jamais été treuvée que Par Le tres-noble, haut tres-puissant Prince Guillaume Marquis et Comte de Newcastle.* The English manual of 1667 is entitled *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 the Thrice Noble, High, and Puissant Prince William Cavendish, Duke, Marquis and Earl of Newcastle.* Aside from the alteration of 'La' to 'A' and the addition of Newcastle's new

[32] See Toole-Stott, pp.84-87, for a full bibliography of Newcastle's manuals.

honours in the second manual, both titles are the same. This does seem to suggest that the second is a translation of the first. However, this is not the case as the second book is, as Newcastle tells his Reader in a prefatory epistle,'neither a Translation of the first, nor an absolutely necessary Addition to it' (1667: sig. b2^{v}). Therefore, as stated earlier, Newcastle wrote two manuals, with the same title, one published in French and one in English. They cover the same basic method and techniques and have a considerable amount of material in common, often word-for-word.

However, the second manual has a long introduction discussing other horsemanship texts, a retrospective of Newcastle's time in Antwerp and much of the technical material shows progression in his ideas during the intervening years. The second manual also does not follow the sequential approach to training with the same strict focus as the first. They are two separate, but related, texts. Like any canny author, Newcastle neatly covers all possibilities for maximum readership. His own best advertising agent, he advises that the second book 'may be of use by it self, without the other, as the other hath been hitherto, and is still, without this; but both together will questionless do best'(1667: sig. b-b2^{v}).

In 1743 however, publisher John Brindley, having already issued a new edition of the French manual in 1737, 'was soon convinced, that I should farther oblige the Lovers of Horsemanship if I procured a Translation of the Book, and printed it with the same Advantages as the Original.' Brindley added 'several ornamental prints' and chose to present the book as the 'First Volume of A Complete System of Horsemanship'. However, the title page of Volume I calls this anthology of material *A General System of Horsemanship in all its Branches: containing a Faithful Translation Of that most noble and useful work of his Grace, William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle.* Brindley does not

however, include the title of the 'useful work' on this page, although he does include the original engraved plate with the French title on the page opposite, and refers to it as *The new Method of Dressing Horses* in his dedicatory epistle.[33] Despite this and the change from 'complete' to 'general', Brindley's intention is quite straightforward and Newcastle's work is included as part of this two volume overview of horsemanship. This has, however, led to great confusion in later readers, with regard to the title, plates and the second volume, which was a translation of a French veterinary text, Gaspard de Saunier's *La parfaite connoissance des Chevaux.*[34]

In the introduction to the facsimile edition of Brindley's 1743 translation, W. C. Steinkraus refers to 'the Duke of Newcastle's *A General System of Horsemanship*'.[35] As this facsimile edition is the most accessible for the modern scholar, it would seem likely that it is this misnaming of the Duke's work that has led to subsequent confusion. Aside from the simple error that the Duke did not write a text entitled *A General System of Horsemanship,* there is a misrepresentation of the Duke's character in the subtext, which is ironic. Comparing the suggestion of broad generality given by Brindley's title, with the emphatic claim for a 'Methode Nouvelle et Invention Extraordinaire', which aims to 'parfaire la nature' and 'n'a jamais été treuvée' by any but Newcastle, it becomes clear that the original title encompasses large elements of self presentation. The reader has a lively image of the author before the book is opened. This strong sense of character is a feature of Newcastle's work and his reaction to the renaming of his definitive work as *A General System of Horsemanship* is readily imagined. Study of his work is helped by the

[33] London: John Brindley, 1743, sig. a
[34] La Haye: Adrien Moetjens, 1734.
[35] London: J. A. Allen, 2000, unnumbered page.

close relationship between his flamboyant style and his uniquely eccentric nature, so that the genuinely original becomes a diagnostic feature, whilst any suggestion of generalisation leads to the suspicion of secondary material.

However, the misnaming of Newcastle's manual by Steinkraus appears to have affected some readings of the text and many references to it. Anthony Dent refers to 'Newcastle's classic treatise *A General System of Horsemanship* (1658)', which is a confusion of title, date, and language of publication. Dent also says of Newcastle that 'Indeed so great is his fame as the author of a treatise on the High School, the 'New Method', that it has cast into shadow his writing on horsemastership in general'. He goes on to cite 'Newcastle's *The Perfect Knowledge of Horses* with its engravings by R. Parr'. R. Parr is the engraver of the 'severall ornamental plates' Brindley added to each chapter of the 1743 translation of Newcastle's 1658 manual, and these plates are clearly not by the same hand as the forty-three engravings that belong with the 1658 text. Saunier's text, translated as *The Perfect Knowledge of Horses,* is not linked to Newcastle except in the physical proximity of Brindley's two volume publication. Accordingly, Dent draws the conclusion that Newcastle 'had a close acquaintance with some very ungentlemanly practices', as Saunier describes a practice known as 'bishoping' whereby the horse's age is falsified by rasping its teeth. Karen Raber also refers to the 1658 text as *A General System* and says that Brindley's 'later translation from the French includes the plates intended for, but not produced with the original', whereas Brindley himself says he includes 'All the original Copper-Plates, in Number forty-three' (1743: title page). As she cites Dent, it may be that Raber also believes the Parr engravings to have been intended for Newcastle's original French text manual. While the veterinary plates

could conceivably be seventeenth-century, the plates added to decorate each new chapter have riders in eighteenth century dress.[36]

In further consideration of the convolutions of these texts, Saunier's text was derived in part from Jacques de Solleysel's first edition of *Le Parfait Marechal* of 1664, which contains considerable reference to Newcastle's work. In *Le Parfait Marechal*, Solleysel does indicate when he is quoting Newcastle, but Sir William Hope translating Solleysel into English in 1696, did not keep this distinction when he adds 'a compendious and excellent Collection of Horsemanship, taken from the best and most modern Writers on that subject such as Mr. De La Brow, Pluvinel and the Great Duke of Newcastle'.[37] Subsequently Newcastle's words appear verbatim under Hope's name, as do those of the other authors he so admired, while his plates are a strange merging of features from Newcastle's and Pluvinel's manuals. Only familiarity with the original authors can distinguish their text from his additional material. Hope's assimilations come from Newcastle's 1667 manual, which Gloria Italiano Anzilotti refers to as Volume II of *A General System of Horsemanship* although Brindley did not include it, and describes Newcastle's manuals as a 'two-part series', which as Newcastle himself makes clear, they were not intended to be.[38]

The sequence of complexities thus cited should be sufficient indication of the multiplicity of confusion and uncertainty that has arisen around Newcastle's manuals. These examples are far from unusual in referring to Newcastle's texts in ways reflecting

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[36] *Horses in Shakespeare's England*, p.92; *The Horse through Fifty Ages Of Civilisation*, p.178; Raber, p.63

[37] Paris: Gervais Clousier, 1664; *A Supplement of Horsemanship to [...] The Parfait Mareschal*, by Sir William Hope, (already cited), title page.

[38] As a result of this, Newcastle's words, including those that I have used as the title of this study, become attributed to Sir William Hope: see Giles Worsley, p.30; MacDonald, pp.99-100; Anzilotti, p.54.

the confusions surrounding the various editions and reprints. Multiple texts, in various translations, with the intervention of scribes, translators and followers are a feature of horsemanship texts and many others during this period. Newcastle's are not therefore unusual in this respect, although the presentation of each manual confounds the matter further in a way that is quite unique. The French-language manual very carefully and with great detail defines Newcastle, though exiled in 1658, as an English lord, a 'tres-puissant prince', whose relationship with the rightful British monarch was established in that young man's childhood. The engravings locate him in the impressive estates that establish his lineage while the activity of the riding-house provides a cultural point of contact with the Continental elite. The second manual, published when he, like his monarch, was also 'restored' to his demesne, sets out to record the influence he had while exiled on the Continent and aims to reclaim his countrymen's lost enthusiasm for an art rooted in Europe but now, in Newcastle's opinion, given a British provenance by his own success there. Each is therefore notionally defined not by the time in which it was written, but by the high points of the previous era in Newcastle's life. Small wonder, perhaps, that with the detail of essentially the same title in different languages, they become confusing texts for later readers.

However, in an attempt to avoid further confusion, the method employed for this thesis relies on the two original manuals of 1658 and 1667. Where the material is common to both manuals, the 1667 text will be used and for further accessibility, all references from the French of 1658 will be footnoted with the corresponding translation from Brindley's 1743 edition.[39] The standard of translation in the Brindley edition is of good quality and

[39] Subsequent references to this edition will be made in the text, by the date followed by the page number.

the text is easily available via Allen's Classic Series facsimile edition of 2000. The dedications and verses in the 1658 text are not retained by Brindley, and are included here in full, for the first time, I believe, since 1658. Full translations are also included for accessibility.[40] References to the second manual are to the original 1667 edition and therefore straightforward.

Two undated handwritten manuscripts of notes on horsemanship are extant in the Portland Collection at Nottingham University and provide a vital primary source for considering not only the relationship between the two published manuals, but also an insight into Newcastle's writing practice. As much of the material is in Newcastle's own hand, they are a fascinating insight into the construction and processes behind the final texts, though they are not a straightforward draft of either manual.[41]

A methodology for understanding the manuals.

The methodology of this thesis starts from the premise that the manuals themselves and the art they analyse were an intrinsic part of Newcastle's life and work. It therefore argues that seeing them as primarily metaphorical or ignoring them in an overview of his other publications, including his collaborations with his second wife, Margaret Cavendish, can lead to serious disregard of the work. Such disregard fails to uncover the value of a key text on an area of expertise whose importance in European culture adds further layers of meaning to Newcastle's purpose. The political and semiotic importance of horsemanship is rooted in a practical skill requiring a high level of knowledge and sensitivity to perform with grace and therefore the actual method and its execution are as

[40] See Appendix 1.

[41] University of Nottingham, Department of Manuscripts and Special Collections, Portland Manuscripts: PvW 21 and PvW 22, subsequently referred to in the text, followed by the folio number.

important as the political and philosophical aspects more accessible to the non-rider. [42]

The importance of this duality cannot be overemphasised and in order to encompass all aspects of Newcastle's manuals, this thesis will adopt the perspective suggested as appropriate by Ann Hyland:

> To the historian many references may lack the full meaning that experience of horses can give. To the horseman who lacks an historian's appreciation, many of these same references do not even register as pertaining to the horse except in the broadest sense. Dual appreciation shows a more complete picture of how an equestrian system has come to operate in any age.[43]

Newcastle himself puts this argument more bluntly, declaring:

> Quant aux hommes de lettres, quoy qu'il é, ils n'étudient pas la Cavalerie, [...] C'est pourqouy on ne doit pas s'étonner, s'ils se trompent un peu en ce dont ils ne sont profession (1658: 'Avant-Propos'). [44]

This thesis will engage fully with the need for dual appreciation in approaching Newcastle's horsemanship manuals. Like Newcastle, 'I have Practised, and Studyed Horse-manship ever since I was ten years old' (1667: p.41) and that practical knowledge of horses and riding informs all aspects of the research undertaken and becomes a valuable resource in the exegesis of the manuals. Therefore the analysis includes technical explanation uncovered via practical experimentation as well as the academic consideration of the subtext and cultural background that makes the importance of this

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[42] See Stone, Anzilotti, Raber, already cited; also James Fitzmaurice's edition of Newcastle's *The Humorous Lovers* (Oxford: Seventeenth Century Press, 1997), p.6. During discussions at the conference "Fornicating with the Nine Muses': The Cultural Patronage of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, 1593-1676', the opinion that the manuals were entirely a 'conceit' and had no practical purpose, was put forward by a number of delegates.

[43] *Medieval War Horse*, p.xi.

[44] 'As for men of letters, 'tho they study, they don't study horsemanship [...] wherefore it is not surprising, if they be somewhat mistaken in what is not their profession' (1743: p.13).

depth of study apparent.[45] Using this approach, I will illustrate that without awareness of such dual appreciation no real understanding of Newcastle's manuals can be reached.

The early modern reader or audience would bring the received knowledge gained in the education of the elite to the riding house so that aspects of the work less widely appreciated today would have been assimilated instinctively. The modern scholar need not be a rider to understand these texts; they must however appreciate that a rider's knowledge uncovers layers of interpretation that may otherwise be overlooked. This thesis will argue that to view Newcastle's life and work without considering the importance of the manuals in practice is to effectively eliminate a defining feature of his character, as well as leading to a partial reading of the subtext in his work. As Newcastle says 'Cét art ne consiste pas sulement en l'étude, & contemplation de l'esprit, mais aussy en la pratique du corps'(1658: pp.270-271). [46]

The terminology of horsemanship.

Certain specific terminology is attached to the art of riding and needs some explanation at this point. There is potential for confusion due to changes in this terminology over time and the change in the nature of the exercises they describe. It has become common in secondary sources to use all such terms as though they relate to the early modern period. However, to do so does not acknowledge horsemanship as a developing art that in each era has specific terminology reflecting contemporary thinking.

Today the term 'classical dressage' is used to describe the sort of riding Newcastle enjoyed, with 'dressage' used alone referring to the modern derivative. This comes from

[45] Evidence of this practical research was given during my lecture-demonstration, using Spanish horses, in Newcastle's Riding-house at Bolsover Castle in 2002, as part of the 'Nine Muses' conference, cited above.

[46] 'This art does not consist only in study and mental contemplation, but in bodily practise likewise' (1743: p.132).

the original term 'dresser', as used by Newcastle, wherein 'to dress' the horse is to train it. 'High school dressage' is the classical form taken to the most demanding level of achievement in the 'airs-above-the ground', the highly-skilled leaps wherein all four hooves leave the ground at once. The Spanish Riding School of Vienna, which dates back to 1580, and the Cadre Noir at Saumur are the best known experts in these skills today. Newcastle speaks of all the advanced movements as 'airs', referring to those where all four hooves leave the ground as 'leaps' or 'high airs'. However, the term 'haute école' or 'high school' was not used by Newcastle or any of his peers, dating as it does from the 1850s.

The terms 'ménage' or 'manège' tend today to be used interchangeably to refer to the specially designed area in which the horse is ridden. Strictly speaking, one's 'manège', comes within one's 'ménage', as the latter term refers to the overall holding of the owner. Today the average rider with modest training ambitions may well have a manège. This may also be known as the 'school' and the term 'schooling' is more usual than 'training', which generally refers more to speed or endurance based sports, such a racing, or long distance riding. When Newcastle speaks of 'mannage' he refers to the art of horsemanship itself, while 'the mannage' refers to the schooling area. He also refers to the art simply as 'horsemanship' and the schooling area as the 'riding house' and to avoid confusion, this thesis will follow his lead with these terms, though using modern spelling conventions.

Giles Worsley's thorough investigation of the riding house between 1400 and 1914 illustrates that these often purpose-built covered arenas were the subject of considerable thought in terms of design and construction. Newcastle built riding houses on his

estates at Welbeck and Bolsover and converted an existing space for this use during his exile in Antwerp and the semiotic value of these buildings will emerge repeatedly in this study. The riding house was almost as much a concept as a place, serving as it did to locate noble display and achievement within a context recognisable to any European of refined discernment.[47]

Within the riding house, while many of the exercises have changed in execution, the terms used to describe them are retained. Also in the development of the art, new airs have been devised that were not used by early modern riders. It has become common to refer to early modern horses performing a 'levade', that is a stationary pose balanced on the hind legs at an angle of 45 degrees, particularly in the context of art. However, the levade is an air first used in the nineteenth century, differing significantly in method, execution and dynamic from the early modern pesade and curvet or courbette from which it evolved. Similarly the courbette itself is quite a different movement today.[48]

To understand the changes in these exercises from early modern to current practice illustrates the art as one that has developed and grown over the centuries. However, more importantly in the discussion of early modern texts, precise use of terminology means

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[47] 'The Design and Development of the Stable and Riding House in the British Isles from the 13th century to 1914' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Courtauld Institute, 1989); Lucy Worsley and Tom Addyman, 'Riding houses and horses', already cited, consider the architectural history of the riding house at Bolsover, which was the subject of the seminar 'The Riding House range: Bolsover Castle, Derbyshire: on the results of a recent programme of architectural and archaeological investigation, and historical research', 19 September, 2000.

[48] Liedtke, p.20; Alice Davies, pp.62-63; Podhajsky, p.269; I would also like to acknowledge the assistance, via email, of Patrice Franchet d'Espèrey and Brigitte Dupont, Assistante au Centre de Documentation de l'École Nationale d'Equitation, Cadre Noir, Saumur; Katharina Fuchshuber on behalf of Dr. Georg Kugler, Director of the Spanish Riding School of Vienna; Dr. Heather Haskell, Director of the Springfield Art Museums, and Professor Walter Liedtke in my research on this term.

that both the practice of the exercise and its semiotic value to the early modern observer can be understood. Some further discussion of these differences will follow later in this thesis, but in order to maintain clarity of focus on the early modern context of these exercises, I will employ only the terminology used by Newcastle and his contemporaries.

A final very important term used by Newcastle is 'Cavalier'. To the Civil War scholar this obviously has specific connotations so it is perhaps useful to clarify that to Newcastle, in the context of his manuals, the term means a skilled horseman. As a devoted royalist and Cavalier himself in every sense of the word, his personal connotations of a horseman are linked to his own class. Therefore while they do not preclude those of his class who turned against the monarch during the Civil War in terms of status, the implicit and explicit hierarchical relationship between monarch and people is paralleled in the rider on horseback. Ideologically, to Newcastle the 'homme de cheval' can only be a royalist.[49]

Horsemanship in Newcastle's life.

This art formed a touchstone for many other aspects of life for Newcastle and his horsemanship manuals were both published during times of great change. The foundation of his interest in horsemanship, however, was laid by his birth, background and upbringing. Newcastle was in many ways the epitome of Renaissance man. Born in 1593, he was skilled in courtly pursuits, such as fencing, horsemanship and amateur writing, well travelled, able in the administration of his estates, active in the politics of the court, creative yet practical, living his life with self-assurance and theatricality. His fascination with optics, friendships with philosophers such as Hobbes and Descartes, and his involvement with circles of literary and scientific acquaintance established him as a

[49] 1658 : 'Aux Cavaliers'; see Appendix I.

forward thinker over a forty year period. Timothy Raylor says that 'During the 1630s, he and his scholarly brother Charles turned Welbeck Abbey (their Nottinghamshire residence) into a courtly academy in the provinces' while 'in the 1640s and 1650s the European dimension of the circle became even more important', due to the long *inter regnum* exile, so that 'All the evidence points to the Cavendish family as a vital centre of intellectual and cultural activity'.[50] Newcastle's eclectic range of interests and enthusiasms led to both fame and ridicule and his life was lived with a combination of intense practicality and self-conscious display. He was a man of the new era of science and discovery that flourished in the seventeenth century while still being rooted in ideals of the Elizabethan era. He was politically astute but inclined to sweeping romantic gestures. A grandson of the famous Bess of Hardwick, whose four marriages had enabled her to amass huge wealth, he had inherited her interest in dynastic lineage and the building of great estates through his father and much of his focus was on improving family strength and ambitious building projects.[51]

While undoubtedly a significant figure in both the political and literary history of the seventeenth century, Newcastle's role is nevertheless hard to define. He held many noble offices, including Governor to the future Charles II and Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber. His steady progress through the higher echelons of society began when he was knighted alongside Prince Henry in 1610. He was elevated to Viscount Mansfield in 1619, made Lord Lieutenant of Nottinghamshire in 1626, Earl of Newcastle in 1628, Marquess in 1643 and finally rose to a dukedom in 1665, before his death at the

[50] *The Cavendish Circle*, p.141.
[51] Trease, *Portrait of a Cavalier*; Whitaker, pp. 64-72; Margaret Cavendish, *The Life of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle*, ed. by C. H. Firth (London: John C. Nimmo, 1886), subsequently referred to in the text as *Life*, followed by the page number.

venerable age of eighty-three. He lent money to the crown and financed his own troop of cavalry for the Scots War of 1639 and when the Civil War began in 1642, his strong reputation as a popular and trusted nobleman brought him the appointment as lord general in supreme command of the royalist army in the North. A strong personal instinct for civility and generosity meant that 'his army was never guilty of the violent pillage and looting practised under commanders like Prince Rupert', and he inspired his men on the field with his own courage and 'sometimes turned the course of a battle by his brave and prompt action'. His elevation from earl to marquess of Newcastle recognised his decisive action 'leading to a victory that gave him control of all Yorkshire' and his army remained strong until he was seriously outnumbered by parliamentarian forces, by as much as '30,000 enemies to his own 5,000 troops' at York in 1644.[52] Accounts of 'Newcastle's Lambs', his famous Whitecoats at Marston Moor focus always on their fierce courage, inspired by their devotion to their general and despite the decimation of his army, Newcastle was one of the last to leave the field when all was lost. [53]

Yet despite these impressive achievements, he is famous in many respects for degrees of failure. His long and expensive years of careful political planning yielded very little and never fulfilled his longing to be Master of the Horse, 'the third Great officer of the Court, after the Lord Stewart and the Lord Chamberlain', whose 'high rank reflected the key importance of [the Royal Stables] to the functioning of the court'.[54] His Governorship of the young Prince Charles, a post very dear to his heart, ended abruptly

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[52] Whitaker, pp.68-71.
[53] Peter Young, *Marston Moor 1644: The Campaign and the Battle* (Moreton-in-Marsh: Windrush Press, 1997); see in particular Chapter 13.
[54] McGregor, 'Royal Stables', pp.181-182; See also Reese, already cited, for a history of this important role.

after only three years, a casualty of the so-called 'Army Plot', leaving him with 'new debts of some forty thousand pounds incurred in the discharge of his duties'.[55] While having successfully handled many difficult situations in the North and repeatedly digging deep into his own pocket, his most famous contribution to the Civil War was defeat at the battle of Marston Moor in 1644, even though Prince Rupert's refusal to listen to his advice arguably precipitated the situation.[56] His debatable decision to leave his own country became famously attributed to his refusal 'to endure the laughter of the court', but was more likely because 'he was not prepared to betray the trust of his northern friends by recruiting more of them as soldiers' in a cause he believed already lost.[57]

While his importance as a patron of the arts and sciences is becoming increasingly recognised as illustrated above, this can be seen as undermined by his enthusiasm for publishing his own cheerfully amateur plays and poetry.[58] Even after the Restoration and his return home in 1660, his decision to retire to the country was in the face of the rejection of all his offers of his experience to Charles II and in the knowledge that 'many believe I am discontented' (*Life*: pp.68-69).

Contemporary descriptions of him refer often to his lavish hospitality and huge sphere of influence, balanced by his tendency to risk all in the hope of gaining the monarch's attention. This tension is best illustrated by Lucy Hutchinson, describing the nobility who stood with the King at the outbreak of the Civil War:

The greatest family was the Earle of Newcastle's, a lord so much once beloved in his

[55] Trease, pp.84-87.
[56] See *Life*, pp.74-81, inc. Clarendon State Papers, No. 1805, p.77, fn; Young, already cited; Trease, pp.132-139, for varying perceptions on the battle of Marston Moor.
[57] Trease, p.141; Whitaker, p.72.
[58] See Trease, p.221, Whitaker, p.430 for responses to his literary work.

> country that, when the first expedition was against the Scotts, the gentlemen of the country sett him forth two troopes, one all of gentlemen, the other of their men, who waited on him into the north at their own charge. He had indeed, through his greate estate, his liberall hospitality, and constant residence in his country, so endear'd them to him, that no man was a greater prince then he in all that northern quarter, till a foolish ambition of glorious slavery carried him to court, where he ran himselfe much in debt, to purchase neglects of the king and queene, and scornes of the proud courtiers.[59]

This impulse to enjoy 'glorious slavery' and the level of Newcastle's responsibility for the defeat at Marston Moor, along with his tense relationship with Prince Rupert, undoubtedly had a detrimental effect on his reputation at the time and subsequently, which seems to outweigh his many significant achievements. His decision to leave England after the battle sealed his fate in the eyes of many and as Geoffrey Trease says 'Newcastle is immortalised as the Cavalier who deserted the cause in a huff', though many others took the same course of action without censure.[60] As an ardent Royalist, he devoted much of his life to the service of his king, with few thanks and little recognition, aside from his dukedom. Although clearly a very significant honour as 'outside the royal family the title of duke was rare and held only by six others', achieving the position involved an arrangement whereby he released the king from the significant debt owed to him by the Crown.[61]

However, as a horseman he was an undoubted expert and a hugely significant figure in the development of the relationship between the English and the horse, which continues to the present day. He was also an acknowledged master in the eyes of many European horsemen, such as la Guérinière, whose names are also better known today.

A gentlemanly education and background informs the philosophy and content of the

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[59] *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, ed. by Harold Child (London: Kegan Paul Trench Trübner, 1904), pp.121-122.
[60] Trease, p.141.
[61] Foulds, p.86; Whitaker, p.265; Trease, p.193.

manuals, but this is grounded in the nature of the author. Newcastle was a man of great enthusiasm, exuding loyalty and a real willingness to stand by those views, ideas and people he believed in. This may be seen through his patronage of writers and philosophers, his great collections of music and musical instruments and his devotion to his family and his king.[62] His support of his second wife, Margaret Cavendish, in her writing career is especially notable, being so unusual for the time, but all the evidence suggests a great pride in her that blinds him to any faults so that his admiration for her is unconditional.[63] Enthusiastic mutual support was one of the keynotes of their marriage. It may be seen that while Newcastle may never have had the love he desired from his king, the devotion of his daughters, lifelong closeness with his brother, Charles, and his relationship with Margaret Cavendish suggest a man who had qualities perhaps not always recognised except by those closest to him. It is not entirely ironic that recognition of his value seems to have been given by his horses. Cavendish records 'I have observed, and do verily believe, that some of them had a particular love for My Lord; for they seemed to rejoice whensoever he came into the stables, by their trampling action, and the noise they made' (*Life*: p.101).

Horses are, like many animals, instinctive judges of character. Newcastle's dedication to them, appreciation of their beauty and reluctance to part with them even when in great financial difficulties may be seen as a demonstration of his character, equally important to any of his artistic or philosophical enthusiasms. Margaret Cavendish again bears witness to his sense of attachment to them, recalling that during his exile 'though he was

[62] Both Trease and Whitaker cover these aspects of Newcastle's life; see also *Seventeenth Century: The Cavendish Circle*, already cited, for more on his patronage.
[63] For example, see Newcastle's introductory verse to *Poems, and Fancies* (London: J. Martin & J. Allestrye, 1653).

then in distress for money, yet he would sooner have tried all other ways than parted with any of them; for I have heard him say, that good horses are so rare, as not to be valued for money, and that he who would buy him out of his pleasure (meaning his horses), must pay dear for it' (*Life*: pp.72, 71).

Horses played a central role in Newcastle's life from early childhood to old age and the gentlemanly art of horsemanship formed an exemplar for much of his lifestyle. Having been encouraged by his father to excel at the art, he wrote in 1658 'J'ay aimé, pratiqué, & étudié cét Arte de la Cavalerie, dés ma jeunesse' (1658: sig. Zzz).[64]

In her biography of him, Margaret Cavendish reports that his father was pleased when, unlike a friend who had put his money into land, Newcastle bought 'a singing-boy for 50 l, a horse for 50 l and a dog for 2 l' with a boyhood windfall. Interestingly, his father felt that the friend's interest in property before the age of twenty indicated covetousness, for while Newcastle grew up to have a great love for the fine properties that defined his family, his generosity suggests that he always avoided covetousness (*Life*: p.21).

Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, famously criticised Newcastle as a dilettante by damning him with faint praise:

> He 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. Besides that he was amorous in Poetry and Musick, to which he indulged the greatest part of his 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 [.....] He liked the Pomp and absolute Authority of a General well, and preserv'd the dignity of it to the full[.....] But the substantial part, and fatigue of a General, he did not in any degree understand, (being utterly unacquainted with War) nor could submit to; but referr'd all matters of that Nature to the discretion of his Lieutenant General *King* [.....] In all Actions of the Field he was still present, and never absent in any Battle; in all which he gave instances of an invincible courage and

[64] 'I have loved, practised and studied this art of Horse-manship from my youth upwards' (1743: p.133).

> fearlessness in danger; in which the exposing of himself notoriously did sometimes change the fortune of the day, when his Troops begun to give ground. Such Articles of Action were no sooner over, than he retired to his delightful Company, Musick, or his softer pleasures, to all which he was so indulgent, and to his ease, that he would not be interrupted upon what occasion soever; insomuch as he sometimes denied Admission to the Chiefest Officers of the Army, even to General *King* himself, for two days together; from whence many Inconveniencies fell out.[65]

This arch description has done much to damage Newcastle's reputation but balanced against Hutchinson's account highlights both strengths and weaknesses in Newcastle's character. The suggestion in both is of a learned attitude of seeking the pleasure and refinement of life to balance perhaps, the tensions of status and martial prowess with which it went hand in hand. This aristocratic engagement with the vital dramas of life but aloofness from mundane necessity indulged through a strictly amateur enjoyment of the arts is promoted in early conduct books.[66] However, this attitude did not extend to his horsemanship and he wrote angrily of those who approached the art in a dilettante style:

> they would be the Finest men in the world, for All things, though they will take Pains for Nothing; and because, forsooth, they cannot Ride by Inspiration, without taking pains, therefore it is worth Nothing [...] The next thing is, That they think it is a disgrace for a Gentleman to any thing Well. What! Be a *Rider*. Why not? Many Kings and Princes think themselves Graced with being good *Horsemen* (1667: p.7).

This devotion to the skill of horsemanship encompasses a rigorous self-discipline that goes far beyond aristocratic affectation. Newcastle's personal dedication and expertise surfaces repeatedly in anecdotal and historical evidence, most pointedly in the writing of Margaret Cavendish, and also that of many later and less partial commentators committed to the nobility of horsemanship, who claim him as a seminal master in the development

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[65] *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, ed. by W. D. Macray, 6 Volumes (Oxford: 1888), Vol. II, pp. 392-93.

[66] See Marcia Vale, for a detailed consideration of the content of conduct books.

of the art.[67] Douglas Grant sums up Newcastle's pattern of behaviour during the years of his exile neatly as 'the constant search for credit, and, once it was found, the immediate purchase of horses',[68] while Newcastle, in his second horsemanship manual, recalls that during his exile in Antwerp, between Autumn 1649 and Spring 1660, members of the continental aristocracy having seen him ride 'cried, Miraculo' (1667: sig. c).

Even allowing for self-promotion in this account, his reputation and the detail of his manuals indicates that he achieved a high level of skill. This could only be reached through dedicated hours of hard work over many years. The enjoyment of writing and music could be undertaken casually and according to mood, but to ride well, to devise a method and inspire an audience could not be approached in a dilettante fashion. Regardless of his failings, his love of 'softer pleasures' and his desire for 'glorious slavery', the horsemanship manuals prove that Newcastle was fully capable of long-term rigorous dedicated application.

A boyhood love of horses and fascination with the art of the riding house was not in itself unusual. To ride in a noble style upon a splendid horse was part of the gentlemanly education and aristocratic self-presentation that Newcastle believed necessary in maintaining the hierarchy vital to social order. As a youth, Newcastle trained in horsemanship with Monsieur St. Antoine, who himself had trained in the Italian academy of Giovanni Battista Pignatelli alongside Antoine de Pluvinel with whose own riding manuals Newcastle's have much in common. Regardless of Newcastle's emphatic and repeated claims that his method is totally original, he is undoubtedly part of a lineage. St.

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[67] Newcastle is widely credited as a seminal figure by modern horsemanship authors, as cited above. See also Jean and Lily Froissard, *The Horseman's International Book of Reference* (London: Stanley Paul, 1980).
[68] Grant, p.60.

Antoine had been sent to England by Henri IV of France to train the golden child, Prince Henry, in whose company Newcastle received his knighthood in 1610, at the age of 16. Horsemanship was a 'major preoccupation' of the Prince early on and his interest in riding as an art was 'reflected in the dedication of books: Gervase Markham's *Cavelrice: or the English Horseman* (1607) and Nicholas Morgan's *The Perfection of Horsemanship* (1609)' and also 'widely recognised in the long series of gifts of horses and horse caparisons'.[69]

Prince Henry's fascination may well have been highly influential on Newcastle's own perceptions of the art. Had Prince Henry lived, Newcastle's influence at court and indeed the course of his life could well have been very different, given this shared enthusiasm. Sir Balthazar Gerbier claimed that Prince Henry had planned to set up a riding academy in England along French lines 'that by example of the French...our Nobility and Gentry might learn their exercises in England in their youth'. Gerbier did set up an academy that lasted a few years in the middle of the century at his own house in Bethnal Green, but it would seem that without the patronage of the Prince, it failed.[70]

Roy Strong argues that Prince Henry's premature death at the age of eighteen ended a renaissance period for England[71] and it can be seen that a hankering for this style of life, based on *noblesse oblige* with the tradition and grace this entailed was strong throughout Newcastle's life. The importance of horsemanship as 'fit and proper for a person of quality' to develop a 'noble and heroick nature' was thus established very early in Newcastle's development (*Life*: pp.80,134).

With the arrival of St. Antoine, the art of manège aspired to new heights in England

[69] Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales,* p.41.
[70] Stoye, p.38.
[71] Roy Strong, p.3.

and Prince Henry erected the first ever purpose-built riding house between 1607 and 1609, later to be established as an academy for the training of young noblemen. Twelve years later, Newcastle built his own riding house at Welbeck, modelled on the Prince's building.[72] The purchase and breeding of the correct stamp of horse for the riding house was also a particular interest for Prince Henry and horses exceeded all other types of gifts given to the prince by foreign royalty and dignitaries. Roy Strong lists around twenty records from across Europe of presentations of horses and horses were purchased from Italy by future Master of the Horse, Robert Douglas. Strong also cites the Venetian ambassador as relating Prince Henry's love of Barbary horses so perhaps it is not surprising that Newcastle states, 'Quant aux Barbes, il faut que je confesse qu'ils sont mes favouris' (1658: p.16).[73]

Like Prince Henry, Newcastle was interested not only in the riding but in the conformation and the bloodlines of fine horses and the influence of the prince is likely to be have been significant in Newcastle's development. Thus the loss of a possible boyhood role model may have been highly important to his own sense of identity. Much of Newcastle's later life was spent in attempting to establish himself on both a secure and long-term basis at court – perhaps in the hope of regaining ground he always considered would have been his naturally had not Prince Henry died. Part of the real attachment to the art of the riding house displayed in the horsemanship manuals may well relate to the sadness of a lost time when the glorious celebration of all that would be dear to Newcastle throughout his life was thwarted while he was still a boy. While his later

[72] Mark Girouard, *Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), pp.251-3.
[73] Roy Strong, pp.65-66; 'With regard to Barbary horses, I freely confess they are my favourites' (1743: p.21).

career included much close contact with both Charles I and Charles II, to have grown to adulthood as a companion to Prince Henry would have established a very different relationship, had the early promise of the young prince not been curtailed by his premature death. His belief that he had been 'cut down by Lady Fortune' repeatedly and that 'the wisest way for man was to have as little faith as he could in this world and as much as he could for the next world' was thus perhaps established early on (*Life*: pp.253-254).

Alongside the learning of gentlemanly pursuits, Newcastle did receive an academic education, but he was not an enthusiastic scholar and left St. John's College, Cambridge without graduating, having spent his time 'taking more delight in sports than learning'. However, as Margaret Cavendish is careful to point out, 'although My Lord has not so much scholarship and learning as his brother Charles had, yet he hath an excellent natural wit and judgement'(*Life*: pp.133-134).

Of more enjoyment to him doubtless would have been the 'customary phase of foreign travel', which was a formative part of the upbringing of young noblemen. This would include 'Exercises at a riding academy, the trip to the Low Countries, the tour around France including Orleans, Bordeaux and Lyon' cultivating a refined experience of the world. The urbanity of cosmopolitan experience equipped the nobleman to cope with any situation at home or abroad. The first Earl of Clare, John Holles, was advised by his father that each of the European nations 'have their virtues, which are with study and due endeavour to be encompassed, and as in times past, eloquence and philosophy were only to be had in Athens [...] so in Italy riding, weapons and the mathematics, in France an assured, free and civil conversation [...]qualities at these times most respected in our own

court'. This widely-held belief in the value of Continental style and skills forms a significant background to the motivation behind both of Newcastle's manuals. [74]

Newcastle undertook the European tour in 1612, in the company of Sir Henry Wotton, who described him as 'so sweet an ornament of my journey, and a gentleman himself of so excellent nature and disposition'. Horses featured in this tour as gifts for the Duke Charles Emmanuel of Savoy from King James and Newcastle was given a horse as a gift by the Duke himself, who took such a liking to the young man that he wished to keep him in Savoy to give him experience of court life and war. The giving and receiving of horses as gifts reflected their prestige among the nobility as 'living, breathing luxury items' and remained a feature of Newcastle's generosity throughout his life. The elegant and skilful handling necessary to enhance their beauty was therefore a highly valued measure of a man's own grace.[75]

As one of the defining pursuits of a gentleman, horsemanship, like swordsmanship, had practical roots in battle, but in the riding house had become entirely a decorative skill. Along with music and dancing, with which horsemanship shared many terms, such as *capriole* and *corvetta*, it demonstrated a cultured taste and background. Even without his great love of the art, a man such as Newcastle would consider himself incomplete without some refinement in the skill. It was quite different to racing, a sport growing in popularity throughout Newcastle's life, and one in which he seems to have taken some part, but also the subject of a bitter little verse 'Of Runninge horses' written in the latter years, which consider that 'Theye that keepe horse for race are mutch to blame' for

[74] Stoye, pp.128; 23; *Letters of John Holles 1587-1637*, ed. by P. R. Seddon (Nottingham: Thoroton Society Record Series 31, 1975), p.53.
[75] *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, ed. by L. P. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), p.23; Trease, p.35; Jardine and Brotton, p.133; Reese, p.182, fig.133.

promoting an activity 'worthless of Honor', most likely at the expense of interest in the riding-house.[76] While hunting was also a popular activity among the nobility, Newcastle was not a great lover of the sport and Margaret Cavendish does not include hunting or racing among his interests (*Life*: p.208). Although the author of a notice with details of Newcastle's own race course and the rules thereof, his secretary, John Rolleston, wrote also that 'for other delights, as those of running horses, hawking, hunting, &c, his Grace used them merely for society's sake [...] to please others'. He adds however that Newcastle's 'knowledge in them excelled as well as the other' (*Life*: pp.208; lxvii).[77]

The Christian imperative 'which sanctioned hunting as falling within the biblical injunction that nature was to be controlled by man' could be transferred to the riding house in the submission of the fiery stallion to the rider's will.[78] The way in which that was obtained, either with violence or steady quiet insistence, marks the features of development in the art over the passage of time. It is also important to understand that the activities of the riding house in the early modern period were an art, not a sport like hunting or racing. While both the latter undoubtedly required skills of their own, they were very different from the subtleties of the riding house whose ultimate purpose was elevation of the rider through refinement, not bloodshed or competition.

Neither was horsemanship a science in itself. While the term 'science' is used occasionally by Newcastle, the use of 'art' is consistent and the science involved in the

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[76] University of Nottingham, Department of Manuscripts and Special Collections, Portland Manuscripts: PwV 25, fol.138.

[77] *Being Commanded by [...] to publish the following articles for his new course* (Oxford: 1662) in *Early English Books Online* <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:152308> [accessed 4 May 2004]; Epistle to the Duchess of Newcastle, in *Life*: p.lxvii.

[78] Edward Berry, *Shakespeare and the Hunt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p.22.

art is the technical precision and analytical understanding of the horse's anatomy that shapes the training. The scientific approach offers an underlying serious intent of precision to an art that could be seen as frivolous. Newcastle's stance reflects the definition by Hobbes that '*Science* is the knowledge of Consequences, and dependence of one fact upon another [...] Because when we see how a thing comes about, upon what causes, and by what manner; when the like causes come into our power, wee see how to make it produce the life effects'.[79]

Suitable skills for a gentleman were discussed in the seminal writings of the time, including those of Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Thomas Elyot. Sidney's *Defence of Poesy* opens with a description of his own education in horsemanship, during which he was taught that 'no earthly thing bred such wonder to a Prince as to be a good horseman'.[80] A gentleman's education was to be well-rounded so that academic and practical skills advanced together. In *The Boke Called the Governour*, Sir Thomas Elyot advises that:

> All thoughe I haue hitherto aduaunced the commendation of lernyng, specially in gentil men, yet it is to be considered that continuall studie without some maner of exercise, shortly exhausteth the spirites vitall, and hyndereth naturall decoction and digestion, wherby mannes body is the soner corrupted and brought in to diuers sickenessis, and finallye the life is therby made shorter: where contrayrye wise by exercise, whiche is a vehement motion (as Galene prince of phisitions defineth) the helthe of man is preserued, and his strength increased.[81]

This belief in the value of physical exercise as well as 'lernyng' was one Newcastle seems to have embraced. He refers often to the health and well-being gained from riding and his handwritten manuscript on horsemanship includes a list of the ages of notable

[79] *Leviathan*, ed. by Kenneth Minogue (London: Everyman, 1994), p.23.
[80] Ed. by Elizabeth Porges-Watson (London: Everyman, 1997), p.83.
[81] Thomas Elyot, (London/NewYork: J. M. Dent/E. P. Dutton, n.d.), Book XVI; Elyot's original 1531 text went though seven further editions in the sixteenth century.

horsemen as evidence of its value in maintaining health (PwV 21, fols.83v-84). Elyot's suggestions for such healthy activity include exercises for building physical strength and those which improved hand to eye co-ordination. Skill at arms should not be forgotten as 'Amonge these exercises it shall be conuenient to lerne to handle sondrye waipons, specially the sworde and the batayle axe, whiche be for a noble man moste conuenient'. However, when all else has been considered:

> the most honorable exercise, in myne opinion, and that besemeth the astate of euery noble persone, is to ryde suerly and clene on a great horse and a roughe, whiche undoubtedly nat onely importeth a maiestie and drede to inferiour persones, beholding him aboue the common course of other men, dauntyng a fierce and cruell beaste, but also is no litle socour, as well in pursuete of enemies and confoundyng them, as in escapyng imminent daunger, whan wisdome therto exhorteth. [82]

Riding develops physical well-being, a noble mien, personal confidence, an elitist demeanor and skill in war as well. Therefore, as an all-round method of enhancing personal attributes, it could hardly be bettered. As an active, intelligent but not academic man, fully aware of his own role as an aristocrat, Newcastle's personal interest in horses provided the motivation to turn this useful exercise into a source of life-long pleasure.

The importance of self-presentation had become a key feature in living in the context of the European courts so that 'the power to impose a shape upon oneself is as aspect of the more general power to control identity – that of others at least as often as one's own'. Display entered into many aspects of life, including collecting art and rarities which was 'part of a lifestyle that had developed in the city-states of Italy and then spread to the Low Countries, and parts of Germany before reaching England'.[83]

Horsemanship, horses and images of horses formed a central part of this theatricality

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[82] Elyot, Book XVII.
[83] Greenblatt, p.1; Smuts, *Court Culture*, p.187.

and display on horseback before a prince is a key feature of early horsemanship manuals. Horses 'created bridges, in some [...] specific and potentially instructive way, between geographical locations and peoples'. The presentation of the horse in art becomes therefore, a double pleasure and a double assertion of the status of the owner who can command and afford such beauty in flesh and on canvas. Newcastle's manuals, as records of art and works of art in themselves, fix the experience and status of ownership and expertise. Jardine and Brotton examine large tapestries as a readily portable 'aspect of the ostentatious occasions on which men and women of distinction visited one another' to be 'unpacked and displayed prominently at crucial moments of diplomatic negotiation and dynastic alliance-formation'.[84]

Newcastle had tapestries made of several of the plates from his 1658 manual, including those in which he appears himself, and also had several life-size portraits made of his horses.[85] His awareness of and engagement with European modes of self-expression illustrate the centrality of court culture in his life, as would be expected in a man of his status. The plates of himself on horseback in the 1658 manual relate closely to the images of the time discussed in Liedtke's work on the horse in art in the Baroque period so that he locates himself in the context of aristocratic display both publicly and privately. Strong similarities may be seen between the portraits of Newcastle in the 1658 plates and those of George Villiers and other key royal and noble figures, all of which illustrate qualities suitable for martial and political prowess.[86]

The horse also appears in emblem books reinforcing the qualities needed in a leader. Andrea Alciati's *Emblemata*, of 1581 includes an emblem 'On one who knows not to

[84] Jardine and Brotton, pp.132-133.
[85] Woodhouse, p.77.
[86] Liedtke, pp.109-329.

flatter', wherein the horse becomes the emblem of the rebellious state that responds only to the dictates of a fierce leader. Geoffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblems* of 1586, picks up this same image, dedicating it to Sir Philip Sidney. Whitney alters the emphasis so that the horse is no longer a metaphor for the state, but becomes analogous with it, reminding the rider that a horse will not suffer a fool gladly. As 'His corage fierce, dothe crave a better guide', a horse that consents to follow the leadership of his rider testifies to that man's 'judgement grave', as well as 'learning, witte, and ecke of conscience cleare'. This difference between the horse as metaphor and the horse as analogy will become an important consideration in relation to Newcastle's manuals as this study progresses.[87]

The iconography of horsemanship was interwoven both physically and psychologically throughout the culture of the early modern European court. To a man as steeped in the art as Newcastle, this provided a potential occupation for his long years away from home after the collapse of all that he believed in, heralded by personal defeat at Marston Moor.

During his exile from England, it is undoubted that Newcastle missed his home greatly and suffered both financial insecurity and frustration at being unable to do more to help his king. Cavendish relates that 'his onely and chief intention was to hinder His Majesties enemies' and that he would 'willingly sacrifice himself and all his posterity for the sake of His Majesty'. After Charles I's execution, Newcastle's devotion to his former pupil, Prince Charles, led him to 'wait on His Highness (which he did afterwards at several times, so long as His Highness continued there) expecting some opportunity to serve his

[87] Alciato, Emblem 35; Whitney, p.38, in *Alciato Project* <http://mun.ca/alciato/desc.html> [accessed 2 April 2004]; Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books* (New York, Octagon Books, 1978), pp.56-61.

king and country' (*Life*: pp.123, 94). However, initially he waited in vain as 'Hyde was firmly entrenched as the new monarch's advisor and was determined to keep Newcastle out of the inner circle.' While he was later appointed to the king's Privy Council, he fell out with the Scottish commissioners sent to negotiate Charles' restoration via his acceptance by the Scots as their rightful monarch. When Charles sailed for Scotland, Newcastle was not permitted to accompany him as the Scottish representatives 'refused to have so awkward an opponent in his party'.[88] Feeling, as he often did in his relations with the monarchy, undervalued and overlooked, Newcastle, in severe straits for money, returned to Antwerp where he had managed to find suitable and affordable accommodation for a long exile in the former house of Rubens. Although happy in his second marriage, the burdens of maintaining his household and his inability to help his monarch left him feeling isolated. His sense of abandonment led him to write to an unnamed recipient 'My acquaintances hide themselves from me, and my friends and kindred stand afar off'.[89]

He turned to his great love, horsemanship, to occupy and establish himself as an aristocrat holding his head high although 'banished his native country' (*Life*: p.84). As Douglas Grant says, 'the characteristic pattern of his exile' was 'the constant search for credit and, once it was found, the immediate purchase of horses'. This was not, however, evidence of indulgence in a 'frivolous pastime' but an important statement of his ability to maintain his standards in a recognisably noble manner, particularly in the Continental context of his exile.[90] His riding house attracted a great many distinguished

[88] Trease, pp.166-167; Whitaker, p.131.
[89] University of Nottingham, Department of Manuscripts and Special Collections, Portland Manuscripts: Pw1, fol. 537, 30 Oct. 1649.
[90] Grant, *The Phanseys of the Duke of Newcastle [...]* (London: Nonesuch Press, 1956), p.xiii; Worsley and Addyman, p.200.

visitors from the Continental nobility, and while he describes it as 'my own private riding-house'(1667: sig. B^{v}), it is likely that by some gentlemanly arrangement his financial situation was eased through the training of horses and riders.

Alongside the displays of his art given for the pleasure of his visitors and perhaps to promote a discreet source of income, he also recorded his expertise in the form of his first published instruction manual. This exercise may have served not only to immortalise his skill but also to justify his existence to himself at the time. He may not have been at the side of his king, but he was using his time effectively, promoting a skill that exemplified the very nature of the Cavalier, the skilled horseman, whose name originally meant a mounted knight or warrior. To a man as hungry for public and royal recognition as Newcastle, the power of an individual contribution to history was a necessity. Therefore, in writing his book, he set out to establish a new standard in an art that served as a beautiful parallel to all that noble birth entailed, declaring '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 Obedient to his Rider, as if having no Will but His, they had but One Body, and One Mind, like a Centaur? But above all, What sets Off a King more, than to be on a Beautiful Horse at the Head of his Army?' (1667: p.13).

The development of horsemanship as an art.

The art so beloved of Newcastle had begun to develop in Renaissance Italy, and in 1550 Frederigo Grisone published the first important horsemanship manual to be of interest primarily to the elite, rather than the military, horseman, although a great many of his readers would have been both. He also set the precedent for the riding manual itself

as a feature of the master's work, and a huge array of manuals followed. Many were derivative, or translations of Grisone's work 'improved' upon by others and so locating ownership of the material becomes difficult, especially as not all who were influential published their methods. Pignatelli trained under Cesare Fiaschi, then joined Grisone's academy in Naples to become the most celebrated instructor of his time but did not publish his own manual. His influence then, could only be interpreted through oral tradition, constantly filtered through the experience of those who followed him. [91]

This claim could also be made in some respects with regard to the manuals of Antoine de Pluvinel, the next seminal author. Pluvinel's manuals were published posthumously and were prepared by a student of his, Rene Menou, partly from rough notes, and fragments of writing. Large tracts of the material in Pluvinel's manuals had already appeared in Menou's own text of 1612, so it becomes difficult to separate the student from the master. Therefore, straightforward comparisons between texts based on locating originality are almost impossible. [92]

The handwritten manuscripts of Newcastle's notes are in his own hand as well as a scribal hand, but evidently no adaptation of his technique or editorial intervention aside from his own, took place between his notes and the final text. In this respect, his manuals are straightforward. However, his political and personal agenda complicate the motivation behind each manual, adding an additional and complex dimension of subtlety to his work. For Grisone and Pluvinel to set down their ideas for future riders was a way

[91] *Gli Ordini di cavalcare*, (Naples: 1550).

[92] *La Maneige Royal*, trans. by Hilda Nelson (London: J. A. Allen, 1989); see pp.v-vi for a consideration of the relationship between Pluvinel's texts and that of Menou, *La Pratique du Cavalier* (Paris, 1612). All subsequent references to Pluvinel's work will be to Nelson's translation. Toole-Stott, pp.80-81, 92-95 also considers the highly complicated history of these texts.

of recording the ephemeral, one of the functions of the published text. Newcastle's reasons for doing this are not simply to do with being a great horseman but also related to the situation of his life at the time when each manual was written.

One of the primary features of Grisone's work is the acceptance that extreme brutality should be used on the horse that resists or does not understand the task. This can detract from his overall method, which lays the groundwork for those who follow him. It is in the development of this and the move away from violence that the work of Pluvinel becomes the next significant text, taking horse training into a new area of refinement and precision. Pluvinel also works in the context of the riding house exclusively, whereas Grisone uses ploughed fields, ditches and other outdoor locations in the training. Newcastle's method adds further refinement and his claims of innovation are justified, although he also includes developments from earlier practices. This is inevitable as while methods may change and develop, the ways in which the rider influences his mount, namely by his weight and position on the horse's back, are bound by the anatomy of both. The way in which these fixed physical features are used, however, is where the development in both understanding and method is seen. This sense of progression in the horsemanship text can be traced further by considering the way in which Newcastle influenced later masters, such as la Guérinière. Newcastle stands alone as the first and only British author whose work was not derivative of early Continental texts and became acclaimed as a primary influence by later generations of horsemen. Nevertheless, rather than attempting to see him entirely in splendid isolation, as he saw himself, a more accurate perspective is gained by seeing his significance as part of a line of great horsemen, each with an individual contribution to make.

The riding house and the battle field.

The moral purpose of horsemanship was an issue in contention from the Renaissance onwards and Newcastle contributes to the debate in characteristically emphatic style in 1667 with a chapter entitled 'That it is a very Impertinent Error, and of Great prejudice, to think the Mannage Useless' (1667: p.5). This follows his 1658 observation, that those who misunderstand the value of these horses, simply reveal that 'ne sont bons eux mesmes à quoy que ce soit' (1658: 'Avant-Propos').[93] He comments resignedly also that 'There are great Disputes amongst Cavaliers about this Business' when it comes to choosing the best horse 'Either for the War, or for Single-Combat, or for Any Thing Else' (1667: p.77). With his usual wry insight, he comments 'how Difficult a thing it is to have a Good Horse in any Kind, for Any thing' and his conclusion that 'a Knowing Horseman is not so Happy for Horses, as a citizen of London, that knows Nothing' (1667: p.81) illustrates again his ironic acceptance that knowledge is not always a help, because divided opinion then complicates the matter. A tension is apparent as riding moves from the battle field to the riding house, largely it seems due to attempts, as made by Newcastle himself, to retain the links between the two. He does not however claim that the exercises were of use on the battle field, but that the riding house trained a horse to be sufficiently versatile to be of use there.

The movements of the riding house were originally based on the behaviour of stallions in the wild, either displaying to mares or fighting rival stallions. The aggressive kicking or striking nature of many of these movements serves well the male display involved in the art. Newcastle believed strongly that the horseman should 'do nothing

[93] 'are good for nothing themselves' (1743: p.14).

against Nature; for Art is but to set Nature in Order' (1667: p.271), giving a masculine imperative of control within the context of shaping nature to man's purpose. However, these natural skills were refined and defined until there was little left to truly resemble wild natural movement. In theory at least, the fighting movements could transfer usefully to the battle field but there seems to be a gradual move to separate the riding house horse and the war horse which may be traced through the manuals.

Grisone 'begins conventionally enough in presenting horsemanship as a military discipline' but 'the concepts of beauty and grace are added to military pragmatism'. Sir Thomas Blundeville distinguishes between the war horse and the horse of pleasure so that the latter should learn additional skills 'for ceremonial, non-combative events, for show, pleasure and prestige'.[94] In *La Maneige Royale*, Louis XIII's comment to Pluvinel that certain airs 'are not necessarily the best for war', suggests an anticipation that the training could lead to the battle field. Interestingly Pluvinel seems to avoid being drawn into this discussion, saying 'I will soon give my opinion to your Majesty' but eventually only adds that some modified exercises may be useful 'when one fights in a duel or in battle'. It may be that this token mention of the matter is a cautious recognition of it as a controversial subject.[95] Modern scholars continue to debate as to whether or not lovers of the riding house considered their purpose to be art alone or to include preparation for war. Also, regardless of intent the question remains as how effective such movements could be on the battle field. This is a pertinent issue in tracing the development of the art from the earliest manuals to those of Newcastle to address his prime motivation.

While Arthur Dent feels that 'the military side of it was really an elaborate

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[94] MacDonald, pp.117, 121.
[95] Pluvinel, pp.89-90.

pretence', Sylvia Loch believes that the 'Riding had to be practical. It was the invention of small, handy firearms which heralded the return to the battlefield of a light, handy horse.' She suggests that 'The whole training of the cavalry horse therefore had to be re-examined, and it became clear that a much more precise form of collected riding was necessary' and declares that while 'Some modern writers have dismissed the idea of the High School movements playing a serious role in the execution of attack and defence; they are wrong'. [96]

John Tincey, however, points out that 'When war came it was fought by an unruly mass of amateurs, guided by a few veterans who had learned the very different facts of real war in European armies', and that with regard to theories 'There remains some debate amongst historians of the English Civil War over whether military drill books published during the period had any impact on the way that the war was fought.' However, ideals and theories aside, primary source evidence suggests that the art of the riding-house in its advanced form had little place on the battle field in Newcastle's time. No mention at all of any of the school airs appears in *The young Horseman or The honest plain-dealing Cavalier*, written in 1644, by John Vernon, which is aimed very much at the ordinary mounted soldier.[97]

Vernon's schooling focuses on exercises that supple the horse to ensure speed and agility, which seem both practicable and capable of implementation:

> you must use him often to ride the Ring, and the figure eight, first in a greater compasse and afterwards in a lesser by degrees: first in his pace, then on his trot and so to his gallop. And lastly in full careere, you may teach him this by using your hand, legge and voice, for the using him unto your hand you must observe not to use your arms at all, but your rist only, this is excellent for facings, as if you would turn him to

[96] *Horses in Shakespeare's England,* p.93; Loch, p.37.
[97] *The Young Horse-man, or honest plain-dealing Cavalier,* ed. by John Tincey (London: Partizan Press, 1993), p.11.

> the left, a little motion of the left little finger and a touch of the left leg not using the spur doth it.[98]

This has much in common with Newcastle's basic training methods for teaching suppleness through circle work in order to increase the mobility of the horse, with his refined use of the hands on the reins to encourage lightness and a swift response. These techniques would be sufficient, as it seems very unlikely that in the terrible crush and chaos of battle there would be time to execute elaborate caprioles and curvets. While Loch feels these movements give the rider an advantage, the time they take to prepare would surely undermine that considerably. The capriole, which takes focused preparation, while a highly dramatic movement with the horse leaping forward at some height above the ground, hardly seems practicable 'as a means of escape'. Loch also feels that the curvet 'must have been a terrifying sight for the infantrymen below and would easily disperse a small group'. But any movement that raises the horse on its hind legs exposes its belly to weapons and makes it highly vulnerable to fatal attack. Also, in the early modern era, the curvet was more of an exaggerated prancing movement than the modern repeated leap forward on the hind legs described by Loch. Retrospective knowledge tends to lead, as in Loch's example, to the interpretation of any image of a horse upon its hind legs or leaping as performing a school air, even when the surrounding circumstances suggest such a movement would be inappropriate, if not impossible.[99]

Dent's view that 'The essential military style [...] did not need to be brought to that pitch of perfection demanded by the academic riding-master' offers more creditability. He adds that if the object of horsemanship 'had really been making more effective soldiers, then surely horsemanship at that level would have been taught in close

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[98] Ibid. p.43.

[99] Loch, p.37; Raber, p.44, and Graham, p.128, also describe the curvet in modern terms.

partnership with skill-at-arms; whereas the only weapon used in those equestrian exercises into which the tourney had degenerated [...] was the lance [...which] had ceased to be a decisive factor in mounted warfare' even in Elizabeth's day. [100]

J. R. Hale supports this point, arguing that 'Even before 1600, the riding masters were having to counter that their caracoles and standing jumps were irrelevant to war'. An additional key consideration in the suitability of the airs of the riding house for the battle field, must be the time and cost involved in producing the horse and rider combination capable of performing such moves. Hale points out that 'Few men, however noble, could in fact afford to master the art, let alone buy its instrument'.[101]

As Newcastle expounds at great length the cost and difficulty of obtaining and importing a good Spanish horse (1667: pp.52-53), it seems unlikely that this would be the horse many men would wish to risk in battle, in spite of, or perhaps because of its skill. Even allowing for Newcastle's claims of a short method of training, to produce one horse that could perform the most modest of airs would take many months, with two or three handlers involved in the training. Then the number of horses that had the skill and physique to perform the great leaps, the croupades and caprioles would be very limited and these would be highly expensive animals. Newcastle states that 'It is a Hard thing to find Fit Horses for the Mannage, either upon the Ground, or in Ayres' (1667: p.79) and stresses that 'every Horse is to Chuse his own Ayre, unto which Nature hath most Fitted him' (1667: p.271-271). Nicholas Morgan argues against teaching of the high airs at all, due to them 'tending altogether towards [the horse's] destruction' and being 'a matter rather of delight than good use'.[102]

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[100] Dent, p.93.
[101] *Renaissance War Studies* (London: Hambledon Press, 1983), p.235.

It could be envisaged that a highly self-aware general, such as Newcastle, might wish to inspire his army in the moments before the battle as a figurehead on his superbly trained horse, but unless that horse could then lead a charge at a flat gallop under fire, such puissance would be undermined. Clarendon's account of him quoted above suggests he was fully prepared to do just that, but that more than a few riders would possess such mounts seems very unlikely. It may also have been the case that as he would have a number of horses with him on the battle field to allow for casualties so perhaps these may have included school horses to inspire his men and war horses to lead a charge.

The question remains then, as to the nature of Newcastle's irritation at those who speak against the value of the riding house in battle training. Karen Raber's asserts that the aim of Newcastle's manuals is the perfection of 'battle maneuvers for horse and rider' which she considers to be specious as the rider can wear no armour 'since anything that would interfere with the rider's balance or delicate communication of leg to horse must be discarded.' She suggests therefore that he aims to justify his passion by claiming a practicality for it that it no longer possesses.[103] However, he does not ever discuss training horses to capriole across the battlefield and is fully aware that the high art of the riding-house has no place there. His advice on choosing a horse 'For the War, or for Single-Combat', does not specify a Spanish horse, which he is adamant is the best for the riding-house. He is interested more in size and attitude, claiming that 'the Midling or Less Horses is Best for All Things', which include not only war, but 'Hunting-Horses;

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[102] *The Horseman's Honour: Or the Beautie of Horsemanship* (London: John Marriott, 1620), p.207. Even today, the famous schools such as the Spanish Riding School of Vienna and the Cadre Noir at Saumur have only a few horses in their displays performing these movements, due to the intensely rigorous training involved and the immense strain they put upon the bodies of the horse.

[103] Raber, pp.43, 46.



Horse for Winter-Galloping on the High-Way many Miles; for the Coach, for the Cart' (1667: pp.77-78). It is unthinkable that this 'all-rounder' would be one of his expensive Spanish horses, and he is most likely thinking of a good versatile cross-bred, similar to today's hunter. Another clue that such a horse is not a manège horse, is that he suggests geldings rather than 'Ston'd Horses', that is stallions, as most suitable, as they tend to be more placid; a true manège horse would always be a stallion for its fire and presence.

Therefore, when choosing a horse for war or single-combat, he does not advocate the specific use of a refined Spanish horse, but something less valuable and more generally versatile in type. While he advocates his basic method for all horses, the training he suggests for a war horse does not include any advanced school airs, but rather that 'You should teach him to Leap Hedge, Ditch and Rail [...] also to swim' (1667: pp.311-312). However, when he is growing irritated about those who refer to his managed horses as 'danseur & badin', that is 'dancer and prauncer', he argues that they too are versatile without suggesting that the airs of the riding house are transferable to the battle field:

> [...] s'ils avoient quelquels duëls, ou s'ils alloient à la guerre, ils reconnoîtroient leur faute; car ces chevaux là vont aussy bien à la soldade & à passades comme par haut, & les longues journées leur sont bien tost perdre tous les airs qui ne sont proprement que pour le plaisir. Qui plus est, ils en sont beaucoup plus propres à galoper, trotter, tourner, ou autre chose de cette nature, qui est pour l'usage (1658: 'Avant-Propos'). [104]

His argument is that the manège horse is so well-trained that the rider may be sure of his obedience and reliability even in the face of danger and he claims that 'I will run him

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[104] 'If those gentlemen were to fight a duel or go to the wars, they would find their error; for these horses perform a journey, as well as they do the high airs; and the long marches occasionally make them soon forget those airs, which are calculated merely for pleasure; moreover, they are much fitter for galloping, trotting wheeling, or any thing else which is necessary' (1743: p.14).

on Fire, Water, or Sword, and he shall Obey me' (1667: p.6). This is the true value of the riding house horse in war: his excellent and solid training which makes him skilful and above all, responsive. His ability to perform a capriole may or may not be an added bonus if the theory may be put into practice, but his swift obedience and dexterity makes him invaluable. Newcastle's irritation therefore appears, as elsewhere, to be rooted in the common lack of understanding of the art, rather than the need for blind devotion to it.

J. R. Hale points out that 'The commonest form of preparation for war arose [...] from the nature of the physical pastimes of the class from which officers were drawn' and this would relate fully to the riding-house. Along with his horse, the officer-elect would learn physical fitness, suppleness and precision, which could be translated into the needs of battle, rather than simply transferred in their original form. Hale's point that the art of the manège was useful as part of the general education of the officer class for its discipline and overall skill, rather than for specific techniques, seems to be Newcastle's argument also. His annoyance then at the inability to see the intrinsic value of the work, alongside its beauty as an art form and political importance as a means of display becomes understandable. It also gives him the motivation to add his theories on this art, justifiable entirely in its own right, to those already well-known. [105]

Newcastle's manuals and the complex issues surrounding the riding house in general illustrate the determinedly practical, philosophical and personal concerns involved when he came to write. Therefore, having considered the broad background to the work, this thesis will go on to address significant areas which illuminate an understanding of the manuals as a whole. In Chapter 2 closer analysis will begin by considering the manuals

[105] Hale, p.234.

within a canon of writing. Newcastle was a prolific writer of letters, poetry, drama and fulsome advice so the horsemanship manuals are therefore a significant element of a large body of material through which rich insights into Newcastle's objectives, writing style and motivation can be gained. Cross-references between Newcastle's manuals and the writing of his second wife, Margaret Cavendish, also offer perspectives on the rationale behind the manuals and indications of the way in which the semiotics of horsemanship were woven into all aspects of their lives.

As Newcastle is so emphatic about the newness of this method, it is essential to address how 'new' they really were. There is a definite point of contact here with other texts, as, almost without exception, all horsemanship authors claim that their method is entirely new, original and perfect. To some extent then, the claim of newness is a literary feature of the horsemanship manual and it is notable that this has not changed! Therefore, from locating Newcastle's manuals in the context of his own canon of material in Chapter 2, Chapter 3 will progress to considering them in the context of other significant early-modern horsemanship texts, focusing on those to which Newcastle himself gives most attention and exploring the relationships between them.

As this thesis places great emphasis on the humane practicality of Newcastle's method, understanding the application of his life's work is crucial. In Chapter 4, I will explore the key features of Newcastle's method, with explanations of the relevant physiology of the horse. The intent here is to analyse not only Newcastle's work in detail, but also to demonstrate that it had and still has practical application. In this chapter, the plates will be considered purely as practical, yet vital illustrations of technique and their success and value in this area will be evaluated.

A key aspect of Newcastle's method is his understanding of the horse's mind. Chapter 5 will explore his view 'qu'il faut travailler sur la raison d'un cheval' (1658: 'Avant-Propos').[106] This will be compared with his attitude towards the relationship between God and Man, as well as that between a king and his people. Newcastle's beliefs will be considered with reference to other early modern authors and classical perceptions of horses.

Chapter 6 will view the plates in the context of equestrian portraiture of the time and also as a means by which Newcastle could effectively reclaim his sequestered estates during his time in exile, albeit in a notional sense. The symbolism of horse and rider has a long history and consideration will be given to the metaphoric importance of the images in the manuals. As a man with a great sense of self-presentation, Newcastle would have been unlikely to take a casual attitude to this opportunity to remake the image damaged by his defeat and flight from England. In this chapter, I will consider the political and personal messages in the plates in which precise technical images are located amid presentations of Newcastle as a member of the English aristocracy.

This thesis will conclude by considering, in the light of previous chapters, the extent to which Newcastle's work represents his attempts to reconcile his deep sense of the losses of the Civil War with the desire to address a future in which he would need to find a place wherein he belonged. With this in mind, the theatricality and political motivation behind the whole work will lead to consideration of the text as self-actualisation for a man whose life was thwarted in so many areas. Placed in the broader perspective of his life, the art of the riding-house predicates much of his behaviour and in addressing that fact, conclusions may be drawn about the importance of the texts, with reference to

[106] 'a horse's reason is to be wrought upon' (1743: p.13).

responses found in the writing of other authors. His acute awareness of the rhetoric of display and the metonymy embodied in horse and rider are written into every page of his manuals. The regal theatricality involved in obtaining not only willing submission but also controlled performance from a powerful animal of great beauty incorporates many layers of meaning. This thesis will conclude that by taking a comprehensive view of the manuals, it can be demonstrated that the art of horsemanship was a yardstick for aristocratic self-awareness that the young Newcastle clearly took to heart for the remainder of his long life and made manifest through his texts.

John Keats wrote that 'axioms in philosophy are not axioms until they are proved upon our pulses'[107] and my aim in this thesis is to locate the axioms in Newcastle's work that may prove themselves upon the pulse of the contemporary scholar. Rather than focusing on any one area of the text to the exclusion of others, I will consider the manuals as a whole wherein each aspect was vital to their author, in that word's truest sense of necessity to his perception of life.

[107] 'Letter to J. H. Reynolds', *Letters of John Keats* in *English History* <http://englishhistory.net/keats/letters/reynolds3May18.html > [accessed 4 July 2004]

Chapter 2

'Also he recreates himself with his pen': Newcastle as writer.

Language most shewes a man: speake, that I may see thee.
Ben Jonson[1]

Let me speak this once in my true person
Robert Browning[2]

Newcastle's horsemanship manuals are part of a considerable canon of writing both published and unpublished. This includes much written for the public, including his plays, introductory verses to Margaret Cavendish's work and public statements issued during the Civil War to account for his chosen courses of action. There is also a considerable amount of private correspondence and poetry, as well as his book of advice to the future Charles II.[3]

As a poet and a playwright Newcastle was an amateur, producing work of greatly variable quality, although with a vigour and enthusiasm which seem typical of him. His formal addresses conform well to the hyperbole and flattery which was the idiom of the time, while public material moves between authoritative and defensive in style. However his private letters and his horsemanship texts are fluent and confident, showing the hand

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[1] 'Timber, or, Discoveries', in *Ben Jonson: A Critical Edition of the Major Works*, ed. by Ian Donaldson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p.574.
[2] 'One Word More', in *Men and Women and other poems*, ed. by Colin Harper (London: Everyman, 1998), p.207.
[3] MS Clarendon 109; subsequent references will be from the transcription included in *A Catalogue of Letters [...] at Welbeck* Abbey, compiled by S. Arthur Strong (London: John Murray, 1903), Appendix 1. pp.173-236, abbreviated to *Letters*; Anzilotti, already cited, also includes an edited transcript, pp.83 – 184; see Geoffrey Trease and Katie Whitaker for useful overviews of Newcastle's writing interests. A large quantity of unpublished material remains extant, examples of which may be found in the Portland Collection, University of Nottingham, PwV23-26, and the British Library Additional MSS 70499.

of a skilful writer. It follows from the above, therefore, that in the areas where he is most comfortable and confident, his qualities as a writer are revealed, whereas in the areas to which he aspired or felt threatened, his writing illuminates his weaknesses.

Newcastle reveals enthusiasm and vigour in all his writing. A romantic spirit with a tendency to bawdy humour is shown in his poems and plays, deep family affection as well as political aspiration and frustration in his letters and a desire to justify his actions in his public declarations. In his horsemanship writing he similarly uncovers aspects of himself, and, even though his horsemanship manuals have attracted less attention than his other public writing, it is from these that the clearest insight into his motivation may be gained, because they encompass so many aspects of personal philosophy reflected elsewhere. They also involve detail and focus to controvert the image of him as a dilettante whose 'tincture of a romantic spirit' and liking for 'witty society [...] diverted many counsels, and lost many fair opportunities' during his time as lord general of Charles I's army in the north.[4] The horsemanship manuals are the only texts combining all the elements of his writing, being written for the public but with a deeply personal agenda, including a strong theatricality and the elevation of technique to art. Newcastle speaks most clearly through his horsemanship manuals, deliberately showing himself as he wishes to be seen through the language and presentation of his work.[5]

This chapter will explore the nature of this self-presentation in order to consider the

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[4] Sir Philip Warwick, *Memoires of the Reign of King Charles I* (London, 1702), p.257.
[5] Modern editions of Newcastle's writing, not already cited, include: *A Declaration Made by the Duke of Newcastle* (London: 1624; rpt. Leigh-on-Sea: Partizan Press, 1983); *Cavendish: Dramatic Works*, ed. by Lynn Hulse (Oxford: Malone Society Reprints, 1996), vol.158; *The Country Captain*, ed. by Anthony Johnson (Oxford: Malone Society Reprints, 1999), vol.162.

ways in which Newcastle presents and reveals himself to the reader in the horsemanship manuals. It will begin by considering his writing skills and techniques, exploring the ways in which he creates a readable, informative text, which subtly sets out to align the reader with his views. It will continue by analysing his use of elitist discourse and will consider the identity of the notional reader. The presentation of his relationship with Charles II will be considered as part of the locus he is aiming to establish. The handwritten manuscripts on horsemanship in the Portland Collection will be compared with the form, structure and content of the two published manuals, to uncover insights into Newcastle's writing practice, as well as his aspirations and purposes for his texts. His concerns and preoccupations will be explored through cross-references between the horsemanship manuals and the writing of Margaret Cavendish to argue that the riding house became a paradigm by which he measured all aspects of life. This will be further illustrated through consideration of additional private and published texts. The chapter will conclude by arguing that Newcastle as a writer re-creates Newcastle as a man in the horsemanship manuals, as a counter to the deprivations and humiliations experienced during and after the Civil War.

Newcastle's horsemanship manuals are successful as technical guides because of the clarity of the written style. He reveals a considerable talent for putting what is essentially practical into words both conversational and accessible, with a personal style that is recognisable from his many extant letters and other hand-written documents, as noted above. Therefore the manuals provide a strong impression of his own voice and detailed expertise.

Analysing his writing style in his book of advice to the future Charles II,

Anzilloti says:

> The overall impression is one of spontaneous real-life conversation where one's presence of mind, shared context and prosodic intonation and gestures contribute to the interactive process of communication.

This is equally true of the horsemanship manuals and is an undoubted feature of their strength. Anzilloti is considering a hand-written manuscript and the features she identifies are recognisable also in the horsemanship manuscripts:

> The original punctuation disregards full stops or question marks, ambling along easily in colloquial fashion, with pauses to catch one's breath, but always eager to continue, even when the next utterance is not strictly relevant to the preceding one.[6]

The horsemanship manuscripts include both a scribal and Newcastle's own hand, but the readable and entertaining style remains the same in the scribal hand, suggesting dictation rather than ghost-writing. These, with their many margin notes and additions in Newcastle's hand, suggest also his 'hands-on' approach to revision, therefore offering information also about his writing practice.

His confident, conversational register alongside expertise and strong opinions on his subject result in horsemanship texts that, while undoubtedly arrogant in parts, are full of a dynamic fluent enthusiasm. The 1667 manual devotes nine pages to establishing 'That it is a very Impertinent Error, and of great Prejudice, to think the Mannage Useless', at the end of which Newcastle declares: 'Thus it is Proved, That there is nothing of more Use than A Horse of Mannage'. His proof is usually that he thinks it is so and he supports his own opinion by declaring that others of his status share it, including the King, the Duke of York, the Duke of 'Mommorancy', the Prince of Conde and the King of Spain (1667: pp.5-14). Noble birth and sound judgement, for Newcastle, go hand-in-hand.

The content of the two manuals falls into discussion of opinion, philosophy and

[6] Anzilotti, p.79.

personal experience alongside the technical material of the training method. The conversational, opinionated style of the general discussion is very similar in both. Newcastle is critical of others and confident in himself so that he can declare easily 'There is but One Truth in any thing; and that my Method is True, cannot be better Demonstrated, than by Experience, which will clearly show, That Mine never misses its End, as All Others do' (1667: p.41).

His use of irony, humour and precise analysis combines with a strong sense of the reading audience, both in the self-presentation and the handling of the horsemanship aspects:

> But sayes One, Doth your Lordship think, that both your Books would Make me a Horseman? I Answer; That they are Written as plainly, and as clearly as Possibly can be [....] But whether my Books will Make you a Horse-man or no, though they do as much as Books can do, I cannot Tell; for you must have it all in your Head; and it may be you will not understand it. But put the Case you do, yet Wanting the Practice, you cannot ride Well; and yet no Fault at all in my Books, but in You (1667: p.43).

His method of teaching is also similar in both manuals, though some of his ideas have developed in the years between them, as would be expected. He uses repetition as a methodology for experiential understanding, 'Custom having a very great power over Man and Beast' (1667: p.151), and describes each exercise in the greatest of detail, suggesting considerable analysis of each movement before it could be set down, as will be discussed below. He is aware of the difficulty of describing these exercises both fully and concisely and explains that 'Vous devez pareillement sçavoir que cét art ne peut étre recueilly dans un proverbe, ou court aphorisme, ou redruit à un syllogisme'. He believes that this thorough approach is the only way to success and is confident in recommending

his own work, 'puis que je sçay bien, qu'il est tres-bon'(1658: p.271).[7]

The expertise displayed in the technical aspects of the manuals justifies this strong level of personal confidence. Newcastle approaches highly complicated exercises with great precision, so that when teaching the reader how to make a horse supple, he says:

> Pull the inward Cavezone's Reyn Cross his Neck, not too High, your Knuckles towards his Neck, and Help him, with the outside Legg, and Reyn contrary (1667: p.233).

The impact of this may well be lost on the non-rider who is likely to feel it incomprehensible. However, from a rider's perspective, and it is the rider for whom he writes, a movement of some subtlety is being described, with the position of the rider's hand allowing for 'fine-tuning' of the contact through the bit while riding a circle, and the use of the rider's shoulder and leg to direct the horse's body and encourage it to bend around the rider's inside leg. All Newcastle's exercises are described with such strict attention, detail and refinement, illustrating his ability as a writer in assaying the difficult task of transferring a very practical skill to paper instructions.

Newcastle's ability to translate complicated technical analysis into accessible information for his reader is illustrated in 'Of the Movement of a Horse in all his Natural Paces', which appears in both manuals (1658: pp.36-37; 1667: pp.145-155). This appears to relate very closely to an analysis of the horse's movement entitled 'Considerations touching the facility or Difficulty of the Motions of a horse on straight lines and Circular'. This short study, attributed until recently to Thomas Hobbes, but now considered to be by Robert Payne, is one of a number of documents either written or translated by Payne for Newcastle, analysing the science of motion. Payne's analysis,

[7] 'You ought to be well informed that the art of horsemanship cannot be collected together in a proverb, or a short aphorism [...] nor can there be one universal lesson, as many desire in this art'; 'because I certainly know that is very good' (1743: p.132).

thought to date from 1635-8, has close similarities in content with the analysis in Newcastle's manuals. However, the stylistic differences indicate Newcastle's awareness of audience and their need for practical understanding if the information is to have any value. Relationships between the two remain close enough though, to suggest that Newcastle used Payne's analysis as the basis for his own, altering the perspective for his own purposes and reworking it for accessibility. A close study of both texts also illustrates how Newcastle's handling of the technical aspects of the work arises from close careful attention to the horse in motion.[8]

Newcastle writes in conversational paragraphs throughout both manuals, with each section divided into lessons, then subdivided into chapters, each detailing one exercise, enlivening the complicated technical detail with commentary such as the advice to 'Mark, it, Remember it and Practice it if you can' (1667: p.262). However, he begins the practical riding chapters in both with an analysis of the movement of the horse's legs in various paces and airs, using a numbered list, as does Payne in his study. In both manuals and the handwritten manuscript, this material is essentially the same, allowing for the translation of the 1658 into French and a tendency to use less detail in the 1667 text. Newcastle's analysis does not correspond with Payne's in terms of the correlation between content and numbers, and overall, the focus of the analysis is slightly different. Whereas Payne is attempting to apply mathematical analysis to the nature of the horse's movement, Newcastle is attempting to explain to a rider how to shape that movement for the manège activities. However, both use this step-by-step approach to facilitate

[8] *Letters*, pp.237-240; Timothy Raylor, 'Thomas Hobbes and The Mathematical Demonstration of the Sword', *The Seventeenth Century*, 15.2 (2000), 175-198.

understanding and describe the horse as two halves whose natural posture may be defined as evenly balanced over a straight line. Therefore, every movement takes the horse away from that natural starting position and has a level of difficulty relative to the distance from that initial posture.

Payne states that 'The most naturall and easy posture of the body of a Horse, at rest, is in a straight line: for in that posture every Horse, standing still, and at liberty, naturally puts himself'.[9] Illustrating this point with a diagram of the standing horse's hoof prints, in the 1658 manual, Newcastle says:

> Nous considérons donc premierement la posture en laquelle le cheval est naturellement, et après comme l'art le doit façonner ; car l'art ne doit jamais étre contraire à la nature mais doit la suivre, et parfaire. Voicy donc la postúre en laquelle le cheval est naturellement; car ses jambes de devãt, et celles de derriere, sont d'une distance égale les unes des autres et sont parallèles, comme vous voyez par cette figure (1658: pp.43-44).[10]

Newcastle's style is less formal and more engaging for his readers, in contrast with the scientific lexis used by Payne. Having established his terms of reference, Payne goes on to discuss the level of difficulty required to move the horse on a circle, arguing that 'Seeing all such flexure of the body hath in it some difficulty; the greater the flexure, the greater must also be the difficulty; the body being thereby more constrained'.[11] Newcastle explains this in the context of a manège exercise, so that 'S'il va terre à terre, au large, quoy que par une ligne il soit prés du centre, néantmoins, à cause de la largeur du cercle, son ply ne sera pas si grand, et il en sera plus à son aise' (1658:

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[9] *Letters*, p.237.

[10] 'Let us therefore consider the natural posture in which a horse stands, and then what art can do to him; for art ought never to be contrary to nature, but to follow and perfect it. I have here given you the natural posture in which a horse stands, having his fore and hind legs equidistant and parallel to each other, as you see in the figure' (1743: p.33).

[11] Ibid.

p.43).[12]

The chief similarity is in the school of thought being followed, which would make Newcastle's theories of horse training appear to be at least partially developed via his fascination with natural philosophy. S. Arthur Strong, attributing this treatise to Hobbes, sees it as a 'well-meant' endeavour, but wonders 'what can have been the effect of such an irrelevant superfluity of reasoning upon the great horseman', with reference to Newcastle's insistence upon practical experiment, rather than theorising in the manège.[13]

However, as an attempt to deconstruct elements of movement so that practical application may be more easily addressed, there is a close relationship to Newcastle's philosophy as an author. Newcastle is not a theorist but a practitioner. However as a committed practitioner, his knowledge is based on experimentation which tests or develops theory and is then recorded for the benefit of those who follow him. That Newcastle then couches his own understanding of the principles into language that makes sense to the rider, illustrates that as a writer, he is aware of the difficulty of translating theory into practice. Thus he apologises if his method 'vous semble à veoir peu court & trop prolixe' but, if shorter, 'vous eust plus retenu dans les tenebres'. However, as a rider, he believes deeply that to truly assay the task, a knowledge of that theory is essential. To bridge the gap between theory and practice he aims at a writing style that enables understanding so that 'beaujour luisant à répendre sur vous la clarté de la sçience de la Cavalerie'.[14]

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[12] 'If he goes Terre-a-terre large, altho' he seems near the centre of by a strait line drawn, nevertheless, because of the largeness of the circle, his ply will not be so great, and by it he will be more at his ease' (1743: p.33).

[13] *Letters*, p.vii.

[14] 'seem not very concise, but too prolix [...] might if shorter have left you still in darkness [...] you have now a full sunshine to look on you with the splendour of the knowledge of horsemanship' (1743: p.32).

Timothy Raylor suggests that Newcastle requested Hobbes to write a similar study to be incorporated with his next ambitious project after the first horsemanship manual, namely an equally elaborate and comprehensive volume on swordsmanship. Sadly, the swordsmanship manual remained in manuscript and was never completed. However, it is interesting that Payne's essay on the horse 'occupies a position in regard to Newcastle's new method of horsemanship analogous to that of Hobbes' essay in regard to his method of swordsmanship'. As Raylor points out, Newcastle often employed technical expertise to support his own explorations and these two essays analysing the mathematics of horsemanship and swordsmanship, may be seen alongside the work of professional playwrights who were employed to assist in the completion of his plays. As a writer, he was willing to supplement his own knowledge by turning to experts with specific skills and the swordsmanship manuscript has a note in Newcastle's hand that suggests that Hobbes' essay was to have been included within the published text.[15]

Such a direct use has clearly not been attempted with the Payne essay. Payne's essay was written some years before the horsemanship manuals, although Newcastle may have been working on the idea for some time prior to the decision to publish, and seems to have informed Newcastle's ideas, or perhaps an agreement had arisen out of shared discussion. Payne's emphasis on the degree of difficulty involved for the horse also raises the possibility that Newcastle commissioned this analysis as an attempt to understand the horse's progress down to its most basic level, so that he could devise exercises to enable its progress. His insistence upon a balanced system of training, giving equal attention to the right and left side of the horse for equal muscle development would

[15] Raylor, p.175-178; while unpublished, Newcastle's swordsmanship manuscript is extant: BL Harleian Manuscripts MS 5219.

seem to support this possibility. However, both his own best qualities as a writer, and the engaged understanding of his reader require adaptation and redaction of the material. That he is fully able to undertake that adaptation himself illustrates natural writing ability.

Newcastle, while willing to work with experts where necessary, was fully confident in his own superiority where horsemanship is concerned. However, he does not patronise his reader through his detailed explanations and cleverly aligns them with him, through rhetorical questions and by inviting them to make fun with him at poor riders and ignorant 'gallants' who think themselves fine horsemen (1667: pp.5-14). His writing style throughout both manuals makes it clear that his method and opinions are not presented for discussion or consideration, but as what he believes wholeheartedly to be the best way, based on his long skill and experience. His task as a writer is to win the reader round to his way of thinking, because he considers it to be the best and most valid. The aspiring rider is always 'you' and this direct form of address draws the reader into alignment with Newcastle and opposition with 'them', who are the stupid, the uncommitted, the theorists, the unenlightened.

Newcastle is very much a man with a mission in these manuals. Disturbed by bad horsemanship and training because of the grave repercussions in terms of finance and safety, but also because it casts the riding house in a bad light, he is recruiting followers who will spread the word of its value. In terms of his awareness of himself and his class, the perceptions of the riding house were highly important. While Stephen Greenblatt's concept of self-fashioning focuses on the sixteenth, rather than seventeenth century, many of the features he identifies as 'governing conditions to most instances of self-fashioning' apply pertinently to Newcastle. As a committed royalist, keenly aware of

his own heritage, in a situation of exile and dislocation while the locus of his self-definition, the monarchy, is in disarray, it became necessary to his emotional survival to maintain as much of that self-definition as possible. The riding house paralleled 'the cultural system of meanings that creates specific individuals by governing the passage from abstract potential to concrete historical embodiment'. Therefore, the horsemanship manuals function as 'a manifestation of the concrete behavior' of their author, 'the expression of the codes by which behavior is shaped and as a reflection upon those codes'.[16]

The stylistic features of Newcastle's manuals all serve to support the agenda of raising the profile of the riding house by refining the perceptions of the rider so they become the evidence of its worth. Therefore, he has no hesitation in taking a direct aim at those who undermine the reputation of the art. This refusal to compromise becomes a feature of the writing also and Newcastle opens his first manual by launching at once into an opinionated attack on the stupidity with which many people handle horses:

> Plusieurs personnes rabbaissent l'entendement du cheval infinement au dessous de celuy de l'homme, qui neantmoins, par leurs actions, mônstrent qu'elles croyent, qu'il y a plus d'entendement dans un cheval, que dans un homme (1658: 'Avant-Propos').[17]

The use of extended rhetorical questions and statements reveals his indignation and makes it hard for the reader to disagree with him without feeling aligned with the stupid people he attacks. He uses this technique in both manuals, a bold manipulation that illustrates an astute knowledge of the insecurities that aspiring to a detailed art can trigger and makes plain that following in his horse's hoofprints will offer a direct path to

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[16] Greenblatt, p 8-9.

[17] 'The understanding of a Horse is infinitely degraded below that of a Man by several, who notwithstanding, by their actions, shew, that they believe the Horse to be the more intelligent of the two' (1743: sig. C).

success:

> But, What makes these Men speak against it? The first Reason is, Because they are Ignorant [...] But the Main Reason is this: They find they cannot Ride well (1667: p.6).

He also has the subtlety to credit the horseman who is on his level with the wit and understanding to treat the horse in the right way, unlike the 'stupid people' who abuse his intelligence, so that 'Ces choses sont si connuës aux Cavalerizzes, qu'il n'est pas necessaire d'en disputer' (1658: 'Avant-Propos').[18]

He also brings wit and humour to his writing that lightens the quite difficult technical detail from time to time, creating amusing images of himself to illustrate his points. When discussing whether or not a horse can reason, he argues that when a horse seen the signs of a forthcoming storm, although 'il n'ait pas ces mots, *nuée, obscure, éclair, tonerre*', as Newcastle himself would, nevertheless, 'nouse ne laisserons pas luy & moy de nous ensuir sous des arbes pour nous sauver de la pluïe'. He then moves easily back into more serious discussion of the horse's nature, musing that 'Quelques-uns aussy veulent dire, qu'ils n'one point d'entendement, à cause que les hommes les maîtrisent mais lors qu'un cheval maîtrise un homme, ce qui arrive asses souvent, l'homme n'at-il point d'entendement ? La force maîtrise les aussy bien que les bestes'. He is fully aware of the way in which humans treat animals and the irony involved that when the so-called reasoning half of the partnership does not get his way, 'nous appellons les chevaux, qui sont comme cela, *rétifs*, & les hommes *obstinés*, qu'il sont tout-un'. This use of wit and irony as well as philosophical argument helps to break up the text and he tends also to use small sayings of his own as a mnemonic. It is easy to

[18] 'these things are so well known to a complete horseman, that it is needless to say more on the subject' (1743: pp.11-12).

imagine Newcastle reminding a rider who is losing his patience with his horse that 'Il doit toûjours avoir en cét art un homme & une beste en passion, & non deux bestes' (1658: sig. f).[19] This use of easily visualised examples is a great strength of his writing style and enhances the sense of him engaging the reader in conversation. However, while this also appears to contradict his point that horsemanship cannot be reduced to a simple aphorism, when using mnemonics he is helping the rider with small details, rather than attempting to make the whole art 'si court que la devide d'une bague' (1658: p.271).[20] The humour of his personal insight also leads to good practical advice, as when he refers to breeds of horse, with particular detail being added in the second manual. The Spanish horse had long been the choice of the king and the gentleman, for its beauty, temperament and athletic ability and Newcastle's great love for the varying Spanish types informs much of his writing. However, when he talks of horse breeds, he shows a realistic approach, regardless of his own preferences:

> Now I must Tell you, That there are Good and Badd Horses of all Countries in the World; but there are more Badd than Good, as there are of Men [...] for a Rare horse in any Kind, is a Difficult business to find, I assure you (1667: p.79).

It is this very personal yet practical style of writing that brings the manuals alive from being heavy complicated technical treatise to almost a journal of experience. His observations on the Spanish horse cannot help but raise a smile. There is some wonder in

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[19] 'he knows not these words *dark, cloud, lightening, thunder* [...] both he and I notwithstanding take to our heels to shelter ourselves from the rain under the trees'; 'Some too are pleased to say, that horses are void of understanding, because men get the better of them: but when the horse gets the better of the man, which frequently happens, is the man then void of understanding? Force subdues men, as well as beasts'; 'We call the horses of that temper restive, and the men obstinate, 'tis all one'; 'In this act there should always be a man and a beast, and not two beasts' (1743: pp.12-13).

[20] 'into as little compass as the poesy of a ring' (1743: p.132).

him, it seems, when he declares 'You must know, that of all horses in the World, of what Nation soever they be, Spanish Horses are the Wisest; far the wisest and strangely Wise, beyond any Man's Imagination'. His fascination with this is balanced with the wry comment that 'I must Tell you, they are not the Easier Drest for that: Because they Observe too much with their Eyes, and their Memories are too Good and so Conclude with their Judgements too soon without the Man' (1667: p.49). He writes with the recognizable voice of real experience and is not afraid to reveal that he has struggled himself 'and have been very Long learning of this Art of Horse-manship' (1667: p.42).

One of the most quietly humorous sections of the second manual is the way in which Newcastle illustrates the difficulty of obtaining a good Spanish horse to found a stud. His practice of addressing his reader as 'you' makes this journey to buy a horse very personal and 'You see that a Spanish Horse is a Dear Ware'. Having purchased the horse for a considerable sum, it then becomes necessary to 'Reckon his journey from Andalozia to Bilbo, or St. Sebastien, which is the next Port for England'. This four hundred miles journey would be covered on foot at the rate of ten miles a day, for which the horse would require the company of 'your Groom, and your Farrier at least' to cover the possibility of 'Lameness, Sickness and Death' (1667: pp.52-55).

Following a long sea journey and another cross-country walk to the English estate, Newcastle assures the would-be Spanish horse owner, that 'if he comes Safe to you', and the word 'if' seems significant, 'he will be a very Dear Horse, I assure you.' He adds with resignation 'These are great truths of the Spanish Horse'. As Newcastle is fond of word play it is also likely here that there is an added touch of humour suggesting that this horse will be 'very Dear' to the heart because he has been 'very Dear' to the pocket. His

lengthy telling of this notional journey reinforces the difficulties his readers must expect but the immediacy of this style is also inspirational. When this great man of experience addresses his reader in so personable a way, the reader's own aspirations seem realisable. It is difficult and expensive, Newcastle explains, to have fine horses but it is worthwhile and not impossible, with the purse and the dedication required. While he is undoubtedly addressing the wealthy and privileged who have grooms and farriers at their disposal, he is not, however, only addressing those to whom these costs are no object at all. He had a history of both expansive spending and resulting debt but his perseverance through difficult financial times seems always to have been motivated by a belief in the real value of maintaining appearances and living up to his status. He encourages his readers to do the same, despite, not regardless of, the expense (1667: pp.52-55).[21]

This personable style is a strong feature of both manuals, carrying the reader along with the author's enthusiasm. The expansive titles of some of the individual chapters prefigure some very long and complex explanations to follow and it is immediately clear that this work is not for the faintheartedly. The first chapter of the first manual is entitled:

> Réponse à certaines questions, dont la premiere est, en combien de temps on peut dresser un cheval : La seconde, puis qu'un cheval va bien à la soldade pourquoi il n'ira bien terre à terre, à Courbettes, Demi-airs, Balotades, Groupades, & Caprioles?

The reader is likely to be a little breathless already and as Newcastle responds by saying 'Pour la premier question elle est tres- ridicule, & il est tres-difficile de dire en combien de temps un cheval peut étre dressé ; d'autant que cela depend de l'âge, de la force, des espirits, & de la disposition d'un cheval '(1658: sig. A),[22] there is a strong sense that in

[21] The movement of horses to maintain condition and health was clearly an ongoing concern to Newcastle, as PwV 25, fol. 151, contains two different plans for travelling a horse from Welbeck to London, so that it should arrive in good enough condition to perform in the riding house.

[22] 'Certain Questions answered, of which the first is, In what time a Horse may be

opening this book, a galloping horse is released which may well mow the reader down. A glance through the chapter headings alone reveals a confident opinionated author, knowing himself to be precise and skilled in the technical understanding of his subject without any pretensions to false modesty. However, he reveals the charm of a certain innocence from time to time that balances his sweeping manner, unconsciously it seems, but effectively. Having stated fulsomely that he is a consummate horseman whose manual contains a full sum of knowledge, he contradicts himself by adding his afterthoughts, with the comment that without them 'il est impossible, à qui que ce soit, de bien dresser un cheval, si ce n'est par hazard' (1658: sig. a). This need to add the last forgotten details adds to the impression of Newcastle as confident, arrogant, naïve and charming that is reinforced throughout both manuals.[23]

The writing style of the second manual has more focus on self-presentation in the context of his exile, as well as in the riding house and addresses directly issues which are implicit in the first manual with regard to Newcastle's status while in Antwerp. He takes eight pages of the second manual to describe 'the Honour I have receiv'd there', stating that it would 'fill a Volume' to relate them all. Again he reveals himself as cultured and urbane in his courteous references to Antwerp's inhabitants as 'deservedly Famous, for their extraordinary Civilities to Strangers' and his graceful appreciation of the honour and favour of the lords who came to see him ride or invited him to wait upon them. While his flattery of the king can seem self-abasing at times, as in the introduction

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dressed? The second, Why a Horse, that goes well upon a March, should not perform the Terre a terre, Curvets, Demiairs, Balotades, Croupades, and Caprioles?'; 'As to the first question, it is absurd, for it is very difficult to say in what time a horse may be dressed, because that depends upon his age, strength, spirit and disposition' (1743: p.15).

[23] 'it is impossible for any Man to dress a Horse well, unless by mere Chance' (1743: p.134).

to the second volume where he promises 'to consecrate, not Books only, but my self, and mine, and all that belongs to us to Your Majesties service', and his arrogance towards those he considers inferior in intellect is uncompromising, the image he creates of himself in his riding house, is one of ease and confidence. However, he also reveals the human concerns anyone might feel when called upon to perform to an audience, while recovering from illness, confiding that 'I would obey his Commands, though I thought I should hardly be able to Sit in the Saddle' then adding, 'And truly when he had done, I was so Dizzy, I could hardly sit in the Saddle' (1667: sig. A2-B^{v}).

The technique employed in these confessional asides to his reader is effective. He reveals a winning personality as he builds himself up continually before revealing just a little frailty. He writes as though to a confidante, so that tactlessness, personal revelation and even gossip can be safely indulged in, as he comments 'Monsieur Founteney, which was either his Nephew or his natural Son; for he gave him All when he Dyed, was also a very good Horseman'(1667: p.5). There is a combination of elements that draw the reader in. While the printed texts, like the manuscripts from which they are derived, give 'the overall impression of being very personal documents', and Newcastle 'in pursuit of the aristocratic virtue of magnificence' is never absent, the constant sense of him as 'easy and affable in his manners' is also very strong.[24]

There is no doubt however, despite this casual, confident and readable style that this is an elitist text aimed at a particular notional reader. As stated above, the opinions of the elite are offered as proof against the criticisms of those too boorish to understand what he is attempting. Newcastle promotes elite understanding as both the evidence and natural

[24] Margaret Sönmez, 'The Gentleman on Horseback', unpublished paper, 1994, p.2; Raylor, *Cavendish Circle*, p.141; Whitaker, p.67.

quality of nobility so that those who speak against it do so 'Because they are ignorant' (1667: p.6), and are therefore unworthy to enter the riding house and undeserving of its status. By implication then, his notional readers achieve a certain confirmation of refinement if they have the ability to understand his philosophy and methods.

Having accepted the invitation to enter his riding house implicit in the text, the reader finds himself at once in the exalted company of kings and aristocrats such as King Charles II, the Duke of York, the Prince of Conde and the King of Spain. References to other notable men are given without explanation, as the expectation is that the noble reader is already familiar with their names (1667: pp.8-9). Also the reader-identity is presumed to be male: the owner, breeder and rider of the manège horse. Indeed it seems unlikely that a female readership would have occurred to Newcastle. References to female riders are made to inspire male riders to aspire to higher standards when 'I have seen Women to Ride Astride as well as they' (1667: p.13). Also, while Newcastle is impressed by the Queen of Sweden as 'an Extraordinary Lady [...] in All things', he is quick to point out that she is no judge of horseflesh as 'for the Swedish Horses she had for the Saddle, there was no Great Matter in them'. Her coach-horses, however, bred by the Count of Oldenburg, were 'beyond any Coursers I ever saw' (1667: p.76). The implication is that true horsemanship is a male preserve.

As he is writing for the nobleman rider, he makes no attempt to render his text accessible to the non-rider, having no patience with those who lack knowledge but still believe they can achieve the results. While he explains the care and training of the horse as though to a beginner in ownership, his lexis presupposes that the notional reader is an experienced rider in the manège, which again presupposes some status and a

gentleman's education. Though he explains his perfect seat for the rider, he does so only to promote his particular ideas, as 'I suppose most Men know how to get up' (1667: p.203). He does not explain any of the esoteric terms he uses and only gives definitions of the high airs, which would not be taught routinely, due to their difficulty (1667: pp.271-278). Therefore by suggesting his reader aspire to them, Newcastle credits him with great potential. He impresses through a genteel hauteur that assumes a like-minded reader with a similar level of understanding who seeks further refining skills to those with which their own nobility has equipped them. He appeals also to their insecurities in times of great political upheaval across Europe, by stating his alarm at changing attitudes:

> [...] voire mesme les mecaniques, jusques aux Cuiseniers & Tailleurs (comme aussy tous citoyens) s'imaginent de monter à cheval aussy bien qu'aucun Cavalier; combien qu'ils croient qu'aucune autre profession, quoy que vile, ne sauroit être apprise en moins de huit ou neuf ans (1658: 'Aux Cavaliers').[25]

His rallying cry is for horsemen to stand together against the decay of noble arts as a means of reinforcing the hierarchical society in which he believes. Their very name, he suggests, following a precedent set by Grisone,[26] draws them together across the European languages to link them to noble tradition:

> Je ne seray pas long-temps à vous montrer comme ce mot Cavalliero en Italien est derivé de Cavallo, qui signifie un cheval; & Cavalliero une homme de cheval, ou Chevalier; tout de mesme que Equus en Latin signifie un cheval, d'ou est derivé le mot Eques, un homme de cheval, ou Chevalier (1658: 'Aux Cavaliers').

He finds it 'une injustice bien grande, & une chose tres-sausse', that 'chacun pense

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[25] Appendix 2 contains in full the addresses 'Au Roy de la Grande-Bretagne', 'Aux Cavaliers', and 'A Mes Tres-Chers Fils', along with the two poems which are positioned prior to the 'Conclusion au Lecteur' in the 1658 manual. Therefore translations will not be footnoted.

[26] Blundeville, sig. iv^{v}.

avoir sa provision de Cavalerie tout aussy tot qu'il scait mettre une jambe de chaque de son cheval'. Assuring them that 'Ce n'est pas monter une haquenée de Cambridge à Londres, ou de S. Germain à Paris, qui fait un bon homme de cheval', he reminds them that he is writing 'non pas aux ecoliers, mais aux Maitres' so that his notional reader is among both society's and culture's elite (1658: 'Aux Cavaliers').

Lest there should be any additional doubt that this is an elite art, in the first manual, having explained his way of setting up a fine stud, he regretfully, or perhaps with relief, points out that 'Je crains que la charge ne soit un peu trop grande pour un particulier' (1658: p.29).[27] In the second manual he devotes a page to the heavy costs involved in acquiring good horses across the Continent. The figures rise from 'Three Hundred or Four Hundred Pistols for a Horse' being 'a common Price and Rate at Madrid' to the assertion from the 'Marquess of Seralvo [...] that he hath known Horses at Seven Hundred, Eight Hundred and a Thousand Pistols' (1667: p.52).

In considering the style and form of the published manuals, the handwritten manuscripts extant in two bound volumes in the Portland Collection offer some useful insights into Newcastle's writing practice. Unfortunately undated, they are often held to be the first draft of the 1667 manual, due to the references to the first published manual (PwV 21, fols.60^{v}, 157^{v}, 164-165^{v},167^{v}). However, the relationship between them is more complicated and it seems possible that the manuscripts are either Newcastle's commonplace books on horsemanship covering a significant period of time, or gatherings from such notebooks, with the long-term aim of preparing for published volumes. They contain non-sequential material and repetition so that overall, these manuscripts seem to be notebooks of ideas and methods, rather than a dedicated attempt to draft one particular

[27] 'I am afraid the charge will be too great for a private person' (1743: p.26).

manual. They do not follow the exact layout of either, though are generally closer to the first manual in that respect, although much of the material additional to the method appears only in the second manual.

As the opening page of PwV 21, with the title neatly written in a scribal hand, is then surrounded by notes and sections 'to followe the laste thinge in this booke', it seems very much that it started as a 'best copy' but developed into a working notebook, perhaps due to the gathering of material from earlier notes (PwV 21, fol.3).[28] Some of the exercises included appear almost verbatim in both published manuals, for example the analysis of the horse's paces discussed above, while large sections do not appear in either. These include the list of riders whose age suggests the healthy benefits of the riding house include Newcastle himself, then aged 64 (PwV 21, fol.83^{v}). This page of the notebooks seems then to date to 1657. Also the reference in PwV21, folio 162^{v} to breeding horses in England 'when I was ther' and a reference to his financial straits in the present tense (PwV21, fol.158^{v}), dates at least these elements of the whole to the period of exile while PwV 22, folio 5, refers to 'Heere in England', suggesting the ongoing nature of his use of the manuscript books for recording his ideas and plans. One of the strongest suggestions that the manuscripts contain draft material for both manuals is in PwV 21, folios 8 and 87^{v}, both of which advise on the horseman's seat. The text of folio 8 is found in the first manual, while the text of folio 87^{v} is in the second.

Margaret Sönmez has undertaken a close analysis of the hand written manuscripts and

[28] PwV 22 is entirely in Newcastle's hand, identifiable though extant letters, including those in PwV 25, and repeats large sections of PwV 21, which is also partially in Newcastle's hand.

suggests that PwV 21 is circa 1658-1660, while PwV 22 is 1660-1667.[29] I would suggest that PwV 21 was begun earlier than 1658, as the first manual was published in 1657/8. The time involved in writing and publishing such a detailed and lavish text seems likely to have been considerable and a letter from Newcastle regarding its publication is dated 1656.[30] As so much of the material in both manuals is in PwV 21, it seems likely to predate the earliest arrangements for publication by a year at the very least.

The exact relationship between the handwritten manuscripts and the printed manuals would be an entire study in itself and is outside the remit of this thesis. However, PwV 21 and 22 have a relevant contribution to make in considering Newcastle's writing practice. As Margaret Sönmez points out 'The manuscripts are full of references to the compliments he has received from noble people', and in 1667 many of these are placed together in the address 'To the Reader', suggesting a process of revision and reforming of material.[31] There is also evidence of the editing out of controversial material, so that disparaging comments on French riding in the manuscripts (PwV 21, fol.160) are absent from the 1658 manual and considerably tempered by the time they reach the published text of 1667 (p.4), no doubt with an awareness of the continuing possibility of a French market. The list of horses' names in Italian, French and English in PwV 21, folios 44^{v}-47, is included in the second manual (1667: sig. Xxxx-Xxxx3^{v}). However, while the published text adds a list of Spanish names not in the manuscript, it does not

[29] 'English Spelling in the Seventeenth Century'; I would like to acknowledge the kind help of Dr. Sönmez in sharing her unpublished research with me, including her complete transcript of PwV 21 and 22, which has been of great assistance when working on the handwritten manuscripts.
[30] PRO SP 77/31, fol.441; printed in *Life*, p.357.
[31] 'Gentleman on Horseback', p.5.

retain any of the 'Englishe Names for Horses Proper for Huntinge and Runinge Horses'(PwV 21, fol.46). This is probably due to Newcastle's deliberate focus on the riding house and his belief that the King should only breed horses for the manège, rather than hunting or racing (PwV 22, fol.5), but the names themselves may add another insight. Edward Berry identifies a 'bantering, playfully aggressive and stereotypically masculine world' in his study of the hunt, which is suggested by the English names.[32] Therefore, while *Nobilisimo, Arogante* and *Le Paragon* are named for their qualities and immortalised in print, sadly the attributes of *Glass Ith Arse, Weesell heade* and *Sauseye Jack* are remembered only in the manuscript. The questionable qualities of the English horse perhaps lent themselves more to a homely sense of humour and everyday activities than to the rarified art of the riding house, but give a glimpse of the relaxed mood that can only have been possible in the stable-yard when Newcastle called for *Meggye with the Lanterne* or *Shrimpe*. Thus the manuscripts offer an insight not only into revision for publication, but also to the life of Newcastle's stables.

Editing for length is seen as the encounter with the Queen of Sweden, discussed above, is written in much fuller detail in the manuscript and unfortunately the rather charming comment that she had 'mee thinkes a greate Lovelines aboute her' is lost (PwV 21, fol.156). Also there is evidence of Newcastle's changing ideas, so that the martingale, a device for preventing the raising of the horse's head, while suggested as useful in the manuscripts (PwV 21, fol.77), has a note in Newcastle's hand in the margin which reads 'The martingale Is naughte', and by publication has become entirely 'unuseful' (1667: p.315). The manuscripts offer exciting insights and evidence that the process by which the manuals journeyed from initial idea to published texts was a

[32] *Shakespeare and the Hunt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p.117.

complicated and thoughtful one.

The final overall style of both published manuals is very similar. Newcastle's presentation of himself as writer and expert is consistent and emphatic, but reflects the different phases in his life at the time of writing. The first manual is divided into four books, broken down into chapters, while the second is in four parts, similarly broken down, although not designated as chapters. Each element of both manuals focuses on an aspect of training, and is then broken down into detailed descriptions of specific training exercises. The 1658 text opens with an engraved title page, followed by a somewhat overwhelming thirty-three subsequent pages of introductory plates, dedications and addresses and privileges. The 1667 manual has only a title page, a two page dedication to Charles II and an eight page address to the reader, giving a retrospective of the author's years in Antwerp. Both begin with an introduction establishing Newcastle as a perceptive and informed forward thinker, in relation to ridiculous people who do not understand horses in the first manual, and other trainers in the second. A section discussing breeds, breeding and raising young horses follows. The 1667 manual also includes a number of remedies for treating minor ailments in the horse, and the analysis of breeds is in far more detail. The second section in each considers paces and basic exercises while the third moves into the esoteric territory of the advanced horseman, the 'airs' above the ground. but while the first text has thirty-one exercises, the second has only seven, reflecting a general move towards streamlining the process. The fourth section addresses problems and vices that may cause difficulty in training and are similar in topic, although not in lay-out, with the second manual including in this section some topics added in the 'Additions' in the first. The term 'vice' when applied to horses means habits that reveal

resistance, confusion or flaws in temperament and Newcastle addresses each of these potential problems in both manuals. All the chapter headings are technical, for the initiated only and something of a foreign language to the non-horseman, but those of the second manual show less tendency towards detailed summarizing of their content, while more opinions and observation are inserted between the exercises. The first manual ends with two poems praising the author[33] and his book, followed by the 'Conclusion au Lecteur', summing up Newcastle's aims, expertise and philosophy, while the second manual ends abruptly after a discussion on bitting considerations, with no conclusion as such but followed by the list of 'Excellent names for horses of mannage', cited above. The reason for this is not clear. The list of names as an appendix of sorts gives a sense of conclusion, but it is uncharacteristic of Newcastle to miss the opportunity for the last word in a final note to his readers. This is one of a number of anomalies between the two manuals, about which only conjecture can be made. While the second manual equals, and perhaps surpasses, the first in being very readable, with humour, philosophy and personal anecdote woven in to the text, it suffers badly for want of the plates. These do much to illuminate the technical detail as well as being finely executed and therefore visually pleasing aspects of the first text.[34]

Other significant differences between the two manuals exist, primarily in that the overall construction of the second is less ordered. While it follows the same general pattern and training programme, it lacks the progressive precision of the first so that

[33] These poems are signed M.D.V., as are the verses in Plates 2, 3 and 4, but who Monsieur D. V. might be, and why he was chosen to write these verses, remains unclear. That they are by Newcastle himself seems very possible but the initials then become confusing. I appreciate the discussions, though inconclusive, on this matter with Trevor Foulds and Adrian Woodhouse.

[34] The absence of plates in the second manual will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

Newcastle deals with the 'helps', that is the signals given by the rider's body, as well as the artificial aids of the spur and switch, the handling of the reins all together before the riding section (1667: pp.145-208). Thus the rider or trainer has to refer back to them when working through the method, which is highly detailed and needs close attention. This appears to be a decision made in the writing process, as Newcastle says that now 'you Know all your Helpes; I will Shew you How to Dress your Horse Perfectly' (1667: p.208), but it is not conducive to the fluency of understanding. A less deliberate feature of the second manual seems to be a certain random quality in the organisation of the material. Therefore, the description 'of the Spanish mules' (1667: p.99, mis-numbered as 95), comes not in the lengthy discussion on various breeds, but after advice on backing a colt. Then the description of the correct saddle and bridle to use comes on page 112, even though the colt's saddle has already been discussed on page 97.

A possible explanation for these anomalies, is that by 1667, Newcastle's health was deteriorating. Katie Whitaker believes that 'he had begun to suffer the first symptoms of Parkinson's disease – a condition which degenerated rapidly between 1665 and 1667'.[35] He no longer rode daily, due to his wife's concerns 'that when he had overheated himself, he would be apt to take cold' (*Life*: pp.208-209) and was, by the standards of his day, an elderly man. It may be that the tendency to let his writing be distracted by stray thoughts and digressions, which is evident from the first manual, was less apparent to him as he grew older. That this took place in the writing process is obvious from the chapter in the third section, headed 'This should have been in the second part.' but such omissions are not always redressed (1667: p.320). Thus, while in the first manual, his afterthoughts are

[35] Whitaker, p.269.

all gathered together in the 'Additions', in the second they seem to appear as they occurred to him. However, the introduction, with its anecdotes concerning Newcastle's time in Antwerp has a personable vigour that reveals the writer admirably as still so sure of his method that 'if any man do not like it, it is a great Signe he understands it not' (1667: p.4), and does not suggest any fading of mental clarity.

From both manuals, the reader gains the sense of a strong character in its natural element, and aside from the technical expertise Newcastle shows, it is in this revelation of his own personality that the manuals are particularly successful. They have a biographical subtext, which though not always fully open to interpretation, reveals the extent to which the horsemanship manuals were interwoven with his life. Changing fortunes, personal philosophy, developing ideas and the vagaries of a long life are all written between the lines of the printed page.

This interweaving of life and the riding-house art through Newcastle's imposing personality and strong opinions, concerns and preoccupations may be traced in other areas of his writing and that of his second wife, Margaret Cavendish. Cross-references between their work suggest that horsemanship framed their lives on many levels. Alongside the straightforward understanding of horses Newcastle presents in the manuals, there is also the subtext wherein his life's philosophies are reflected. As seen above, his interest in science creates at least a partial locus for analysis, but also attitudes towards politics and personal identity emerge from his methods in the riding house, as well as numerous references indicating anxiety and irritation over attitudes towards the art that defined much of his life. The wounded pride and irritation that come into the manuals with regard to those who misunderstand the training of horses may also be found

in related texts.

In both manuals, Newcastle refers angrily to those who disparage the trained horse and in his play *The Witts Triumvate or The Philosopher*, gives this attitude to the character 'Caution'. Caution could well be attacking Newcastle himself when he ridicules the man who 'spends a thousand pounds a year in pampered jades like Bankes his horse for to do tricks.' Caution represents here those who have no comprehension of the value of horses and horsemanship, disliking horses as 'snorting jades' and despising anything that eats while its master is sleeping, thus spending his money for no return. The reference to Bankes shows that Caution does not understand the difference between a trick-horse and a school-horse. The famous counting-horse Morocco was well-known but in no way similar to Newcastle's highly skilled manège horses and he disparages teaching 'Tricks and Gambals like Banke's Horse' (1667: p.158). In response to Caution's declaration that, given a horse 'I'll knock him i'the head rather than keep him', Alegbra replies 'Sure, sir, horses are both of use and pleasure too, and riding the noblest exercise that is'.[36]

Alegbra appears to reflect very closely Newcastle's own stand, that 'In Hunting, Hawking, Bowling [...] and many such things, there is no Use at al but merely Pleasure: But in A Horse of Mannage, both Use and Pleasure' (1667: p.14). That this phrase in various forms is repeated more than once in both horsemanship texts, suggests an ongoing irritation in Newcastle that the manège is undervalued, which was already annoying him before he came to write his horsemanship manuals, but which through their

[36] BL Add 45865, fols.19-20[v]; 'Witt's Triumvirate or The Philosopher', ed. by C. A. Nelson in *Salzburg studies in English literature: Jacobean drama studies* (Salzburg: Institut fur Englische Sprach, 1975), lines 230-243.

publication could be fully addressed. There is also the strong impression in both manuals, as seen above, that Newcastle had received some stinging direct criticism of the worth of the manège and as his most staunch supporter, his wife Margaret Cavendish uses her own work to frame a response.

In *Poems, and Fancies* (1653), predating her husband's first horsemanship manual by five years, she includes detailed references to horsemanship in the incongruous setting of a poem describing 'A Battel between King Oberon and the Pygmees'. In a poem of 278 lines, Cavendish allows 53 to a defence of the value of trained horses in battle, and as in Newcastle's own references, there is here also the strong sense of responding to a specific detraction of him. She begins line 117 talking of grasshoppers, the 'fairy-horses' performing caprioles, the ultimate in achievement in the manège, then swiftly moves on to a defence of the skilled horsemanship in battle. Her elaborate defence of the criticism levelled against the use of 'horses of manage' is very spirited and takes her away from her fairies completely. 'Some think for War, it is an Aire unfit', she declares indignantly, and completes her explanation of the nature of the insult by adding 'Many doe think are only fit for pleasure', or, even worse no doubt, 'Unlesse by leaping high themselves can save'. She goes on to display her knowledge of Newcastle's art:

> Besides, all Airs in Warre are very fit,
> As Curvets, Dimivoltoes, and Perwieet:
> In going back, and forward, turning round,
> Sideways, both high and low upon the ground.

She adds that without these skills horses 'May march strait forth, or in one place may stay', which dangers she believes are overcome by training and courage in their rider.[37] As considered already in the Chapter 1, Newcastle does not advocate the use of high airs

[37] *Poems, and Fancies*, pp.182 –184.

in battle and Cavendish's choice of movements, aside from the caprioles, perhaps too particularly suited to the fairy grasshopper-horses to resist, focuses on those which gather energy and facilitate swift turns and wheels. Her enthusiasm and eagerness illustrate that both the terminology and the tensions surrounding riding as art were familiar to her, giving a vitally supportive insight into the importance of the art of manège in the everyday life of the Newcastle household.

While Cavendish had an interest in writing all her life, it was under Newcastle's influence that she began to write for publication and she creates strong images in her work of their daily discussions and time spent writing in one another's company. In her memoirs, she says:

> he recreates himself with his pen, writing what his wit dictates, but I pass my time rather with scribling than writing, with words than wit, not that I speak much, because I am addicted to contemplation, unless I am with My Lord, yet then I rather attentively listen to what he sayes, rather than impertinently speak yet when I am writing, sad and faind stories, or serious humours or melancholy passions, I am forced many times to express them with the tongue before I can write them with the pen (*Life:* p.306).

His inspirational mentoring of her work is stressed again in *Poems, and Fancies* where she describes herself as a willing acolyte, saying 'There oft I leane my Head, and list'ning harke,/To heare his words, and all his Fancies mark'.[38] It is not surprising perhaps then that her beloved husband and his horses should find their way into her own work, especially when she can thereby leap to his defence.

The cross-references between their writings in relation to horses imply not only an interested and supportive wife, but also a cross-pollination of ideas. Newcastle's list of names for 'Horses of Mannage' in the 1667 manual, as cited above, largely refer to temperament. Two that do not however are *Bell in Campo* and *Sans Pareil* but these have

[38] Ibid. p.214.

an additional interest. In Margaret Cavendish's first collection of plays, published in 1662, *Bell in Campo* is the title of one, while Lady Sanspareille is the heroine of another. Lady Victoria, the heroine of *Bell in Campo*, admires the horses chosen by the General of the Kingdom of Reformation, because 'such horses [...] are usefull in War [...] as have been made subject to the hand and heel, that have been taught to Trot on the Hanches, to change, to Gallop, to stop', all recognisably attributes Newcastle desires in his horses.[39]

The theatricality of the riding house may well have added to the shared interest in writing and strong mutual understanding apparent when they write to and for each other. Even while insisting that her brain is sufficient stage for her plays, Cavendish 'argues for the edifying function of acting for 'the noblest youths'' and her argument is 'couched within a masculine discourse'. As Sophie Tomlinson points out, Cavendish's use of masculine terminology in prefacing her texts is linked to her fear of the plays, personified as feminine, 'receiving the punitive treatment of a prostitute or public woman'. However, within the tension of her dilemma, she 'views theatrical performance as a mode of self-enhancement, of becoming one's best self, stressing the reciprocity between actor and part' advantages all strongly recognisable from Newcastle's perceived benefits of the riding-house.[40]

A more mundane cross-reference is found between Newcastle's 'home-remedies' for treating minor ailments in horses (1667: pp.123-143), and Cavendish's description of his discussions on Natural Philosophy with the Dutch scholar, Jean Pierre Van Helmont on

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[39] *Plays Written by the Thrice Noble, Illustrious and Excellent Princess, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle* (London: J. Martin, J. Allestrye & T. Dicas, 1662); Lady Sanspareille appears in 'Youth's Glory and Death's Banquet'.

[40] Sophie Tomlinson, 'Cavendish and the Fantasy of Female Performance' in *Women, Texts and Histories, 1575-1760'*, ed. by Clare Brant and Diane Purkiss (London/New York: Routledge, 1992), p.141.

the nature of 'radical moisture'. This somewhat esoteric discussion, during which Newcastle expresses his belief that 'the radical moisture is not the fat or tallow of an animal, but an oily or balsamous substance' leads to her asking 'My Lord's opinion concerning the radical heat: to which he replied that the radical heat lived in the radical moisture; and when one decayed the other decayed also; and then was produced either an unnatural heat, which caused an unnatural dryness; or an unnaturall moisture, which caused dropsies, and these an unnatural coldness'(*Life*: p.137). This appears to relate directly to his treatment of his horses, as he gives recipes for horses 'over-heated by violent exercise'. The aim of these is to 'Moisten him, because it Dries up all Superfluous Humours which Heat him' and their efficacy may be enhanced by adding 'Wheat-Brann' to his drinking-water to 'not only Cool him, and Moisten him, but also Loosen his Skin' (1667: p.135). Regardless of the difference in our understanding of physiology and 'humours' to that of the seventeenth-century, these recipes and Cavendish's account of her husband's discussion on the subject would suggest that Newcastle understood very well the link between over-heating and dehydration and the need to replenish the horse's body salts, and came to that understanding by careful consideration and discussion.

This seemingly small detail of equine husbandry also illustrates that Newcastle's writing practice was not compartmentalised. His interests in theatre, poetry, science and horsemanship all support and inform one another and appear to have been developed not only in their own contexts but via family discussion. Also, and significantly it shows that regardless of Margaret Cavendish's modest insistence that she simply scribbles while he is truly creative, his writing practice is closely interwoven with hers. When Cavendish writes in defence of the riding house, Newcastle allows himself to be represented through

her and her belief that 'Your Lordship is an extraordinary husband' would seem to be well-founded, especially in the context of the time when a woman writing for publication was still a controversial matter.[41] Newcastle, far from frowning upon her enterprise, writes poems of support to preface her work, declaring 'I saw you poems and then wish'd them mine' and in her later works, actually contributes to the main body of the text.[42]

A similar interweaving of writing practice is found in the *Life of the Duke* and the second horsemanship manual, both published in 1667. Several passages are so similar in both texts as to suggest that they were written in close relationship to one another. In the *Life of the Duke* (pp.114-120) and the second manual, (1667: sig. b-B^{v}), the accounts of the days when Newcastle was feted by the Continental nobility and Charles II rode in his riding-house share almost all the material. From the everyday to the fantastic, in small details and bold statements, links may be found between Newcastle, Cavendish, writing and the art of manège.

None though is as wistful as may be found in Cavendish's strange fantasy, *A Description of a New World, called the Blazing World,* first published in 1666.[43] In his poem to his wife on this elaborate work, published a year before his second horsemanship manual, Newcastle praises her ability to 'make a World of Nothing, but pure Wit', the creation of worlds in her head and on paper being undoubtedly a large feature of her writing. Newcastle and his riding house at Welbeck enjoy a touching cameo appearance in *The Blazing World,* wherein the Empress of the Blazing World is brought in spirit form by her friend and mentor, the Duchess of Newcastle, to watch the Duke train his horses.

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[41] *Philosophical and Physical Opinions* (London, 1655), 'To His Excellencie'.
[42] *Poems, and Fancies,* sig. A; *Nature's Pictures* (London: J. Martin & J. Allestrye, 1656), is the first of these collaborations, containing verses by Newcastle among Cavendish's material and songs by him for three of her stories.
[43] London: A. Maxwell, 1666.

Being a woman of great perception, the Empress 'was much pleased' with the art of manège and 'commended it as a noble pastime, and an exercise fit and proper for noble and heroic persons'. Indeed, the Empress is so impressed that she reports back to her husband, who at once 'built stables and riding-houses, and desired to have horses of manage, such as [...] the Duke of Newcastle had'.[44]

Note that upon a single report the Emperor of the Blazing World accepts Newcastle as a role model and desires to follow in his footsteps, unlike of course, those who by this time were managing a new court for King Charles II without his assistance. Small wonder perhaps, that Newcastle admires his wife's ability to create from wit alone, considering the enormous amount of rebuilding he had to do after the Restoration, both in terms of property and reputation. This bitter irony is reinforced when the Emperor of the Blazing World asks 'the form and structure of her lord and husband's stables and riding house'. The Duchess sorrowfully replies that 'they were but plain and ordinary' but 'had my lord wealth, I am sure he would not spare it, in rendering his buildings as noble as could be made'. Unencumbered by financial constraints, the Emperor shows the Duchess his own stables, 'which were most stately and magnificent', richly bedecked with 'several sorts of precious materials', with 'the walls lined with cornelian', an amber floor, mother-of-pearl mangers and crystal pillars, while the riding house 'was lined with sapphires, topazes and the like'. Even the floor 'was all of golden sand, so finely sifted, that it was extremely soft, and not in the least hurtful to the horses' feet'. This little detail within the sumptuous creation is one of numerous touches Cavendish includes which demonstrates

[44] *The Blazing World and other Writings*, ed. Kate Lilley (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1994), pp. 121, 194, 219.

her real understanding, as coarse sand is abrasive so would cause brittleness and splitting of the hoof. Contingencies for avoiding this would be something that might well have come up for discussion when Newcastle was maintaining his own riding houses. The practical details Newcastle considers so important find their way into Cavendish's fantasy in a manner both valuable to the study of their writing practice and touching as an insight into their marriage. When she relates to her husband the luxury of this other-world riding house he has inspired, and the 'fine horses of the Blazing World', she wishes 'you should not only have some of those horses, but such materials, as the Emperor has, to build your stables and riding-houses withal'. Characteristically, Newcastle replies 'that he was sorry there was no passage between those two worlds; but said he, I have always found an obstruction to my good fortune'.[45]

Considering modern scholarship on utopian writing by women, Kate Lilley reports that there is a consensus that 'Cavendish's *Blazing-World* is the only utopia-proper by a woman in the seventeenth century' and points out that Cavendish's marriage is 'a partnership which she continually figured as the generative utopian space of her own productivity'. Small wonder then, that for Cavendish Utopia must not only be a place where her own agendas as woman writer are addressed, but where a noble husband may have the fine horses he deserves and keep them in due magnificence.[46]

Further significant personal values and attitudes are reflected in the horsemanship writing and some most interesting comparisons may be made with the 'little book [...] concerning the government of his dominions' (*Life*: p.186), written for Charles II.[47] This

[45] Ibid. pp.219-221; *Blazing World*, 1994, p.xv.
[46] 'Seventeenth century Women's Utopian Writing' in *Women, Texts & Histories*, already cited, p.106.
[47] *Letters*, pp.173-236. Subsequent references will be made in the text.

builds upon the advice written when Newcastle was governor and Charles still a small boy, [48] and Newcastle states:

> Ther Is no oratorye In Itt, or anye thinge stolen out off Bookes, for I seldome or Ever reade anye, Butt these discourses are oute off my longe Experience, - to presente your Majestie with truthes which great monarkes seldom heares (*Letters*: p.173).

In the 1667 manual, Newcastle claims similarly that 'I have set down, as clearly as I could, without the Help of any other Logick, but what Nature hath taught me, all the Observations about Horses and Horsemanship'(sig. B^{v}). His own life-experience is always the basis of his expertise. In horsemanship, long years of studious application to the traditions of the art were disappointing and he found that 'All was Labour in Vain' until he began to work on his own method, 'For which I have Left all others'. As in his advice to the future king, he considers the method conceived and devised from his personal explorations rather than received ideas to be 'as True, as it is New' (1667: p.42). This conviction as to the unique truth of his ideas is reinforced repeatedly throughout the manuals and a similar need to be seen as an indispensable authority is echoed in the 'little book'.

The reception he desires from his readers, however differs greatly, as with regard to his monarch he declares:

> Iff your Majestie like Itt, I have my Endes with Unspeaklable Joye and Contentemente, Iff you like Itt nott sir, I humblye begg favor off your Majestie, to trogh Itt In to the fier, that Itt may becoumne a flaminge Sacredfise off my Dewtye to your Majestie (*Letters*: p.173).

Whereas, if his horse-riding readers do not like his book, he knows that 'je suis tres-content en moy mesme; puis que je sçay bien, qu'il est tres-bon, & meil leur qu'aucun

[48] Printed in *Life*, Appendix, p.326-330.

que vous ayés eu jusques icy' (1658: p.271).[49] Clearly his relationship to his reader is very different, but even in his humility before his former pupil, he does not claim the work will be unworthy without Charles' approval, but simply that it may become a 'Sacrefise off my Dewtye'. His personal belief in the value of his work exceeds even his need for its worthiness to be acknowledged by the king, illustrating that despite his many disappointments in attempting to find a long-term post close to the monarch, the core of independence remained, and perhaps enabled him to endure the trials of his life.

While Karen Raber sees Newcastle's approach to horses as a disguised philosophical treatise publicly proclaiming much that he wrote privately in the 'little book',[50] this seems unlikely as he advises Charles II publicly in the dedication of 1658 using parallels of horses to subjects:

> [...] un Roy, etant bon Cavalier, scaura beaucoup mieux comme il faudra gouverner ses peoples, quand il faudra les recompsenser, ou les chattier; quand il fandra leur tenir la main serree, ou quand la relacher; quand il faudra les aider doucement, ou en quel temps il sera convenable des les eperonner (1658: 'Au Roy').

He has no need for disguise or metaphor because it is to him perfectly appropriate to draw these direct parallels. To Newcastle, the horse and rider relationship fittingly illustrates that of king and subjects because of the way it works in practicality. The constant conviction in this transcends philosophy to become ineffable belief, which illuminates much of Newcastle's urgency and frustration with those that do not understand. He perceives an almost metaphysical undercurrent to the semiotic value.

This is further illustrated by his view that 'Seremoneye though Itt Is nothinge In Itt selfe yett Itt doth Everyethinge – For what Is a king more than a Subjecte butt for

[49] 'I shall be content in my own mind; because I know certainly that it is very good, and better than any thing you have had before' (1743: p.132).
[50] Raber, pp.58-59.

seremony'. He thus advises the king to 'Shew your selfe Gloriouslye to your People Like a God' (*Letters*: p.210), recalling the dedication 'Au Roy' in the 1658 manual which enthuses that 'un Prince n'est jamais accompagne de tant de majesté, mesmement sur son throne, comme ill est sur un beau cheval'. This phrase is prefigured in the letter written to Charles in his childhood, explaining to him that nothing 'preserves you Kings more than ceremony [...] the distance people are with you, great offices, [...] rich furniture for horses[...] for in all triumphs whatsoever or public showing of yourself, you cannot put upon you too much king' (*Life*: p.329). This echo of Shakespeare's *Henry V* is repeated with only slight variations in both manuals as well as the advice book.[51] In 1658, the dedication 'A Mes Tres-Chers Fils' reminds them that 'Les beaux chevaux ornes de riches caparassons, de riches selles [...] & de plumes ondoyantes, sont un pompe digne d'etonner les spectateurs avec contentement & plasir'. In 1667, he asks 'What Prince or Monarch looks more princely, or more Enthroned, than upon a Beautiful Horse, with Rich Footclothes, or Rich Sadles, and Waving Plumes, making his entry through Great Cities, to amaze the People with Pleasure and Delight' (1667: p.13).

In a mood of somewhat poignant nostalgia, he advises Charles to keep such spectacle alive 'which I assure your Majestie Is the moste Glorious sighte that Can bee seene & the moste manlieste'. Clearly the king should also reinforce this glorious and manly image in his private diversions so Newcastle advises 'your Majestie to Ride your Horses off Manege twice a weeke which will Incourage Noble men to doe the like' (*Letters*: p.223-224). However, it seems likely that Newcastle exposed his own weakness in this longing for the old days, when a young king would be more inclined to establish his own

[51] Ed. by T. W. Craik (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2002), Act IV, Sc. I, lines 235-6.

innovations. Charles does not seem to have paid much attention to his advice and it is a sad irony that the 'little book' simply reveals Newcastle to be, though shrewd and worldly, also an anachronism. This, equally poignantly, is in some respects true also of his horsemanship manuals, as the enthusiasm for the art in England was waning by the time he published them, and would never again reach the peak it had known in his childhood.

The close similarity between phrases in the manuals and the advice book, suggest that these ideas were circulating in Newcastle's thoughts continually during his exile and as handwritten manuscripts exist for both, it would not be impossible for there to be some cross-reference in the writing of them. The parallels between the riding house and the kingdom were, as stated above, unmistakeable and to a man as keenly aware of the semiotics of self-presentation as Newcastle, something of a gift.

A final example of stylistic cross-reference between the horsemanship manuals and other published writing by Newcastle may be found in his *Declaration* of 1642, in which he defends his decision to take his armies into Yorkshire and to include Roman Catholics in their number. The content and language of this pamphlet echoes the horsemanship manuals in many respects, not least in revealing Newcastle's acute concern over the image he presents to the outside world.[52] This concern was not unreasonable, especially in the context of Civil War, when maintaining one's position securely would have been vital for a great many reasons to him both as a royalist, a general and a man with land and family to consider. However, as in the 'little book', that the values and concerns of war and politics are found pre-figured or echoed in his philosophies for the art of the riding house, suggest they were not strategic contingencies, but reflections of his paradigm for

[52] *Declaration*, already cited.

life.

Newcastle's writing continually reveals him to be a man greatly concerned at being misunderstood for his actions, even though those actions were often taken with boldness and courage. His correspondence with the Royalist gentry of Yorkshire illustrates a courteous, firm and uncompromising attitude in a difficult time of shortages and caution, set against the need for speed and numbers in arms to fulfil his commission.[53] However, in his *Declaration*, he reveals his indignation and insecurity in a style familiar from the manuals. The use of the emphatic 'I', and the establishing of his authority given 'by His Majesties speciall Command and Commission'[54] is echoed repeatedly in the horsemanship texts. He tends to begin sentences with 'I have', 'I shall', 'I must' or 'I would' when he is expressing either courtesy, indignation, exasperation or defining his knowledge. When drawing attention to his affection and respect for Captain Mazin, Newcastle uses the emphatic 'I' seven times in a paragraph of around ten lines, as he claims Mazin as his own, having raised him from a small boy (1658: p.33). When irritated by over-use of the whip, he declares, 'Je dis donc, que je veus m'en servir, pourveu que ce soit à une necessité, autrement je voudrais la banir du Manege' (1658 : p.10).[55]

In his *Declaration*, similarly he states 'I have great and just occasion' and 'I am confident I have not miscarryed'. He fights his corner by sequential argument, showing the ordered mind that approaches his tasks by logical progression, in the same way that he sets out his training methods. He also presents himself as drawing the

[53] Ibid. pp.1-5.
[54] Ibid. p.3.
[55] 'I say then, I am for making use of it in cases of necessity only, otherwise I would have it banish'd out of the Manege' (1743: p.19).

confidences of noble men who have been 'to remonstrate unto me their suffering', and 'to desire my aid for the redressing of them'.[56] This prefigures his role in Antwerp, when 'many noble and great Persons' (1667: sig. b2^{v}) came to see his horses for his skill and guidance. While the situation is very different, he nevertheless presents himself as the focal point when experience, skill and advice are required, to counter an unstable current position. He shows the expectation of 'absolute obedience to all my just and lawfull Commandements',[57] exactly as he does from his horses, and offers in his own service to his king. Newcastle shows an implicit acceptance of hierarchy in all he writes, applying it as strictly to himself as to the people and animals he sees as subordinates.

His writing style is also familiar in his use of humour, irony and rhetoric. As discussed above with regard to the horsemanship texts, he lightens the *Declaration* by stating 'I shall retyre my selfe and forces out of your County with much more cheerfulnesse then I conducted them thither'.[58] Once his position of authority is acknowledged, he is more than willing to indulge in amiable humour and ease. He cleverly also uses irony to make his detractors appear foolish. Like those who 'because, forsooth, they cannot Ride by Inspiration, without taking Pains' declare it 'worth Nothing, and of no Use' (1667: p.7) to cover their own sense of inadequacy, he exposes those who protest against his use of 'Recusants', saying 'If there be no Barre in Law against it, then let us examine these pretended grand inconveniences, wherewith (as they alledge), it is attended'. As seen throughout the horsemanship manuals, he uses a series of rhetorical questions to align his readers to his own view for fear of being classed with these trouble makers.

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[56] *Declaration*, p.3-4
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid. p.5.

Ending with the question, 'Do our Neighbours of the United provinces reject the auxiliary Regiments under the pay of the French King, because many of them (if not most) are Papists, so long as they are secured of their fidelity to them?', he makes the opposition seem both ridiculous and disloyal, so that 'the point then will not be of their Religion, but whether there they may be trusted in point of fidelity and Allegiance'.[59]

That Newcastle felt the need to justify his actions any more than his horsemanship manuals makes him seem lacking in self-confidence, but his handling of his defence shows the combination of authority, skill and reasonable argument which suggests that less indignation on his part would have rendered it unnecessary. It also reveals the same polished writing style of easy discourse in the appropriate register for his audience as the manuals, suggesting, as stated above, a level of ability sometimes missing from his attempts at more literary styles, such as poetry.[60]

Through the style of his writing in the horsemanship manuals, Newcastle demonstrates highly individual and flexible skills as a writer, which uncover much of his personality, as well as pinpointing the paradigms of his life. His arrogance and self-confidence are in keeping with the hyperbolic register common at the time. His tendency to defensive indignation perhaps also suggests his insecurity, in that he needs to proclaim his own worth because he had been so shaken by the events that led to his exile and his doubts concerning his foothold in the society by which he defines himself in his self-perception. However, his skill with technical analysis, explanation and personable discourse establish that his texts are not simply attempts to root himself amid the shifting parameters of the time, but real and lasting steps forward in the development of the horsemanship text.

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[59] Ibid. p.6.
[60] See Grant, *Phanseys*, p. xii-xxvi, for analysis of his love poems to Margaret Cavendish.

His use of elitist discourse and the strong image of his notional reader establish his manuals as texts for the nobility, intending to reinforce the shifting grounds of hierarchy. The more homely cross-references between his work and that of Margaret Cavendish illustrate the way in which his love of horsemanship was part of everyday life. The repeated images and philosophies which appear in various aspects of his writing and recur throughout the horsemanship manuals, illustrate that they were re-creation: of his spirits, his ideas, his enthusiasms, in a form that could not only focus his own morale but that of his peers. The differences between the two manuals in form, structure and paratext reveal much about the way in which they sought to fulfil that possibility and these will be explored further in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

'Of the several Authors that have Written of Horsemanship': Newcastle's manuals in the European context.

Let us see (as we have purposed) what those excellent authors
that write of this Art have said thereof.
John Astley [1]

Yet, since by th'Authors happy care and paine
I understood how first to use the reyne.
Ed. R. [2]

Newcastle published his manuals during a time when horsemanship texts proliferated. From 1550 onwards, at least twenty different manuals that dealt specifically with riding as an art were circulating across Europe, in numerous editions and translations. These were apart from works on training soldiers' horses or those focussing on athletic and acrobatic feats. However, these early horsemanship manuals could be divided into two types: those that set out the work of a master, and those which followed, imitated or aimed at disseminating the work of a master. Of the great number of horsemanship manuals published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the majority of these came into the second category, being derivative works, tributes in essence to a great master or his followers. [3] Newcastle however states emphatically that 'my Book is stolen out of no Book, nor any mans Practice but my own' and is confident that 'it is the Best that hath been Writ yet' (1667: p.4). While the earliest manuals still include discussion of the use

[1] John Astley, *The Art of Riding* (London: Henrie Denham, 1584), p.9.
[2] Thomas de Grey, *The Compleat Horseman and Expert Farrier* (London: Thomas Harper, 1639), sig. $d2^{2v}$.
[3] See Toole-Stott, pp.20-71, for a detailed bibliography.

of the school horse in war and tournaments, gradually the precedence of art and beauty takes over. By 1658, Newcastle is stating emphatically that the art of the riding house is an end in itself, but the skills the horse learns there render it supple, tractable and obedient 'which are all useful for a Souldiers Horse' (1667: p.13).

A number of comprehensive survey studies on the horsemanship manual in the early modern period exist and it is not my intention to repeat that exercise.[4] This chapter will however begin by considering the classical background to the early modern interest in horsemanship and progress to examine the rise of the horsemanship manual. With specific reference to the two most influential manuals, those of Grisone and Pluvinel, the dissemination of their work through various editions and the derivative texts of other authors will be considered. This will lead to examination of Newcastle's own knowledge of the available texts through his analysis of 'the severall Authors that have Written of Horsemanship' (1667: p.1). I will then go on to explore the importance of the riding master and the significant manuals in reflecting and shaping court culture, with particular reference to the importance of Continental influence and the lack of any notable English masters before Newcastle himself. His response to those he sees as rivals will provide an insight into his agenda in setting out his own manuals and the way in which the structure, form and content of each one is shaped. To conclude, this chapter will examine the way in which the differences between the manuals reveal his purpose and the complex issues concerning him at different stages of his life.

[4] Watanabe-O'Kelly, pp.65-84; Giles Worsley, pp.29-47; Vale, pp.19-26.

The earliest horsemanship manual to survive was that of Xenophon, written between 440 and 360 B.C. and this classical provenance gave the flowering renaissance art the 'respectable authority of antiquity'.[5] It was Xenophon who noted that a horse, when ridden with skill, refinement and gentleness 'will bound along with proud gait and prancing legs, imitating exactly the airs that he puts on before other horses'. It is this behaviour of display by stallions that forms the basis of the art of the riding house, being so attractive to the culture of aesthetics and elaborate display that typified the Italian renaissance. It offered, as Xenophon had stated so long before, 'a magnificent sight, that looks alert, that is the observed of all observers', a phrase whose familiarity offers an insight into the role played by the man on horseback.[6]

Xenophon's text was first published in Florence in the mid-16th century, with the earliest known editions being in Latin and Greek, and they 'still form the basis of classical horsemanship to this day'.[7] Xenophon's works are notably not about training the horse for display in a riding house situation, but upon the battle field or in parades and celebrations, with the elements of display being part of the overall self-presentation of the rider:

> If you desire to handle a good war-horse so as to make his action the more magnificent and striking, you must refrain from pulling at his mouth with the bit as well as from spurring and whipping him. Most people think that this is the way to make him look fine; but they only produce an effect exactly contrary to what they desire.

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[5] Vale, p.22.
[6] *The Art of Horsemanship,* trans. by M. H. Morgan (London: J. A. Allen, 1993), pp.60, 56.
[7] Toole-Stott, p.118.

Most notable here is the emphasis on avoiding any violence in the handling of the horse, which Xenophon emphasises throughout his text will only 'scare them into disorder and danger'.[8] While his work was held in high esteem throughout the early-modern period as riding as an art developed, the next significant manual, *Gli Ordini di Cavalcare* by Federigo Grisone in 1550, did not adopt his gentling techniques. Indeed 'although he cites other classical examples, Grisone himself nowhere refers to Xenophon's *The Art of Horsemanship*'.[9]

Grisone was 'a well-to-do Neapolitan in the middle of the 16th century, celebrated throughout Italy for his horsemanship', whose manual was 'the first serious study to appear after Xenophon's celebrated treatise'.[10] Grisone's techniques were established in his riding school, founded in Naples in 1532, and although he was not the first to develop training in horsemanship as an art, the fame and success of his school made him the focus of a new generation of riders 'all across Christendom'.[11] By setting down his methods in print, he both established a point of reference for the new art of riding and also set a precedent for the great horsemasters who would follow to immortalise their contributions to the art for future generations. He also established the use of extreme force as necessary, and even perhaps laudable, so that handling the horse and controlling the human passions become combined in the act of riding, giving the exercise a semiotic

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[8] Xenophon, p.55.
[9] MacDonald, p.82.
[10] Toole-Stott, p.67.
[11] 'A History of Academic Equitation' in *International Book of Reference*, already cited, p.99.

value. Erica Fudge identifies the human need in this aspect of horse training:

> Exercising control over a 'lower animal' really did give evidence of control over the self. Such a construction of the training and riding of horses allows for, almost calls upon, some of the terrifically cruel training methods used in the period. [12]

In the context of renaissance humanism, this assertion of human qualities by the subjugation of the animal could be seen as evidence of reclamation of the original relationship intended by God wherein man was to have dominion over the animals, and shape nature to his own ends. This may explain Grisone's lack of reference to Xenophon, due to his more sympathetic approach. While a direct translation of Grisone's texts into English has never been made, some small extracts that illustrate the foundations of his ideas are translated in a number of secondary sources:

> Do not think that the horse, no matter how well made [...] can do things himself and go through his paces without help from a man and the proper discipline [...] If the horse, either from fear of work or obstinacy does not wish to approach the mounting block [...] you will hit him with a stick between the ears on the head (but be careful of the eyes) and on all parts of the body where it seems best to you, and also threatening him with a rude and terrible voice, so that, realising that you are as obstinate as he, he will become as easy to mount as a lamb. [13]

However, Gabrielle MacDonald points out that Grisone 'is more important for his departures from earlier methods than for some of the more desperate remedies still evident in his text.'[14] Andre Monteilhet supports this view, arguing that 'Grisone mentioned such practices as deterrents' and stresses also the need to caress and reward the horse. [15] These views illustrate the tendency in secondary sources to focus solely on

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[12] 'How a Man Differs from a Dog', in *History Today*, 53.6 (2003), p.45.
[13] Loch, p.43; see also MacDonald, pp.80-100 for translations from early Italian manuals.
[14] MacDonald, p.86.
[15] Monteilhet, p.99.

either the cruelty or the progress of the method. Yet it is evident from Grisone's comments above, that he considers 'proper discipline' to be part of the training process. It is not therefore possible to separate his methods into those that are and are not acceptable to modern sensibilities, while still taking a comprehensive view of his work. From a practical point of view, it is hard to see how violent discipline would result in a calm and beautifully trained horse, rather than a panic-stricken, craven or resentful animal, indeed the 'effect exactly contrary to what they desire' as suggested by Xenophon. Therefore, my own interest in tracing the development of method through the early manuals prior to Newcastle's texts, is primarily to do with their practical application. It will be seen that most early modern responses to harshness are similar to that of Xenophon, considering cruelty to be counter-productive, rather than a concern in itself.

Regardless of the strength and weaknesses of Grisone's manual, it was the first of its kind and extremely successful. The original Italian text was first printed in 1550 and later editions appeared in 1552, 1556, and 1610, with at least ten French translations between 1559 and1610, as well as Spanish and German editions in 1568, 1573 and 1623.

Sir Thomas Blundeville's English adaptation appeared in 1560, was revised and expanded in 1565 and had run to six editions by 1609. One of Grisone's pupils, Claudio Corte was brought into England by the Earl of Leicester, then Queen Elizabeth's Master of Horse, in 1565 and his manual *Il Cavallerizzo* of 1562, was translated into English by Thomas Bedingfield as *The Art of Riding* in 1584. John Astley's manual of 1584, also called *The Art of Riding*, contained tributes in the title to 'Xenophon and Gryson, verie expert and excellent Horsemen' and included 'the true use of the hand by the said

Grysons rules', although he argues against Grisone's level of violence.[16] Christopher Clifford's *The Schoole of Horsemanship* appeared in 1585, followed in 1593 by Gervase Markham's *A Discourse on Horsemanshippe,* which also both commends and criticizes Grisone's methods and recommends training 'to bee done with all the gentleness and quiet means that may be'.[17] New manuals of the seventeenth century were Michaell Baret's *Hipponomie or The Vineyard of Horsmanship* in 1618 and Nicholas Morgan's *The Perfection of Horsemanship,* which first appeared in 1609 and was reissued in 1620 as *The Horseman's Honour.* Both of these texts have a strong religious perspective which may be summed up by Morgan's argument that only 'the ignorant and pretended Rider proceedeth to violence'.[18]

From Blundeville onwards, all these English texts are derived in some way from Grisone's methods or are reflections of each other through strong links with the small group of noblemen who made up the gentleman pensioners. These were 'members of the royal household, numbering fifty in all whose duties at court were particularly concerned with the provision of horses on ceremonial and military occasions' and included Bedingfield and Astley.[19] As Giles Worsley says 'It becomes clear from these books that there was a circle of enthusiasts at work, dedicating books to each other as well as exchanging and training each other's horses'.[20]

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[16] Astley, title page.
[17] Markham, (London, 1593), sig. B2v-B3.
[18] *The Horseman's Honour, or the Beautie of Horsemanship* (London: John Marriott, 1620), p.168.
[19] Thirsk, p.14.
[20] Giles Worsley, *Haute École,* p.36.

Morgan gives horsemanship an imperative purpose as, due to man having 'lost all obedience, which by original creation was subject unto him [...] now the obedience of all creatures must be attained by Art, and this same preserved in vigour by use and practice'. This echoes the subtext of Grisone's method, even though a new era of humanism had brought changes of thought in the way that this should be practised. Morgan's work is full of guilt at man's failure and says 'I could not find the least jarre and disagreement in the primarie nature of Horses' and argues that man must reassert his authority through considerate treatment and so 'abandon the studye and practice of apish toies and violent helps',[21] while Markham writes that correcting misbehaviour with the spur must be 'with such gentle bitterness that the Horse may understand it for a help'.[22]

There is clearly a conflict in the minds of the horsemanship authors in late sixteenth to early seventeenth century England, as in many respects Grisone's ideas were outdated. Marcia Vale believes that 'Jacobean treatises on horsemanship reflect a reaction against Italy which was becoming increasingly hated as the home of the anti-Christ'.[23] Yet Grisone still served as a precedent, due maybe to the deeply held belief that the Italians had a natural authority in the art. However, while a number of manuals reflecting Grisone appeared into the 1620s, the most influential being that of Salamon de la Broue,[24]

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[21] *The Perfection of Horsemanship* (London: Edward White, 1609), pp.2, 53.
[22] *The Compleat Horseman*, ed. Dan Lucid (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1975), p.21.
[23] Vale, p.23.
[24] Salamon de la Broue's *La Cavalerice François* (Paris: 1602), is another text with a complicated publishing history. See Toole-Stott, pp.71-72.

'the First that ever Writ of Horse-manship, in the French Language' (1667: p.3) matters took a different turn with the advent of the methods of Antoine de Pluvinel.

Pluvinel was a pupil of Giovanni Battista Pignatelli who was himself a pupil of Cesare Fiaschi. One of the most successful of Grisone's pupils, Fiaschi's own manual *Trattato Dell' Imbrigliare, Maeggiar, et Ferraro Cavalli* was published in 1556 and while Pignatelli left no published work, his influence is reflected in Newcastle's manuals through consistent references to bits 'a la Pignatelle' (1658: p.268; 1667: p.347).[25] Pignatelli's three most famous pupils were Pluvinel, de la Broue and St. Antoine, who according to Newcastle, 'fill'd France with French Horse-men; which before were fill'd were Italians' (1667: p.3). Newcastle himself, as mentioned in Chapter 1, was trained by St. Antoine who came to England to teach Prince Henry. This rise of the French master began a shift from the perspective that horsemanship was an Italian art, at least on the Continent.

Pluvinel's posthumously published text of 1623 marks the beginning of a new era of horsemanship, which ironically returns to the gentler methods advocated by Xenophon. As Helen Watanabe O'Kelly observes, 'the courtly ambience' of Pluvinel's work is central to both text and method and completes the transition from the battlefield to the riding house so that 'Pluvinel treats these exercises purely as courtly diversions'.[26] That there was a backlash against this is clear from Newcastle's manuals, in his anger at those

[25] Watanabe-O'Kelly, p.76, cites an unpublished manuscript which was known in Italy between 1598 and 1627, but it is evident that Newcastle was not aware of Pignatelli as an author at all.
[26] Watanabe-O'Kelly, pp.78, 80.

who criticise the riding house art as 'nothing but Tricks, And Dancing' (1667: p.5). Hilda Nelson says that in the teachings of Pluvinel 'horsemanship is not merely an exercise that shapes an individual's physical prowess, but it also nurtures and reveals an individual's judgement, honour, courage, sense of *bienseance*, and, even, virtue'. Nelson believes that 'Pluvinel represents the Classical Humanism of the seventeenth century far more than the Humanism of his own age, the Renaissance'.[27] Thus, the assertion of Man's dominion comes not through the application of physical pain, but through a moral superiority that does not stoop to such unworthy degradations of the rider's own nature.

This is highly significant in analyzing the relationship between Newcastle's manuals and those of Pluvinel, and also the differences between Newcastle's own manuals of 1658 and 1667. It also illustrates the way in which the art of the riding house reflected and perhaps even shaped the culture of the court. In 1573, Claudio Corte wrote 'The professors of this art truly deserve higher praise than those who teach any other art in the world'.[28] Sir Philip Sidney more famously recalls the teachings of his own riding master John Pietro Pugliano, a pupil of Grisone, that horsemen 'were the Maisters of warre, and ornaments of peace; speedy goers, and strong abiders; triumphers both in Camps and Courts'. It seems likely from the steady stream of young men who followed him into the riding house and the success of manuals and authors in their own academies,

[27] Pluvinel, pp.ix, vii.
[28] *Il cavallerizzo* (Venice, 1573), sig. b2^{v}; trans. in Hale, p.234.

that not everyone saw the 'strong affection and weak argument' in Pugliano's philosophy.[29]

As young Englishmen left for training on the Continent, so did the Continental masters send their acolytes to England at the request of the nobility, anxious to add this refinement and artistry to their own repertoire of courtly accomplishments. Sidney himself brought Italian masters Romano and Prospero to England and Nicholas Morgan likens the Italian master Alexander's mastery of his horses to Alexander the Great and the famous Bucephalas that 'suffered none to ride/Upon his backe by flattery or by force,/But his dread lord, that half the world did guide'.[30] The horsemasters may not have had quite such influence as Alexander the Great, but they did move in royal circles. Alexander's arrival in England was at the command of Henry VIII and St. Antoine was 'sent over by Henry the Fourth of France, to teach Prince Henry' (1667: p.2). St. Antoine appears in Van Dyck's famous picture *Charles I riding through a triumphal Arch*, of 1633, while Pluvinel's relationship with young King Louis XIII is perhaps the most fully illustrated through both the dialogue and images in his manual. The text opens with the King saying 'let us find out from M. de Pluvinel what is the most perfect understanding of Horsemanship'.[31] The ensuing discussion and the plates which focus on Pluvinel himself as much as the King and the horses, show that he is held as an

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[29] *Defence of Poesie*, already cited, p.83.
[30] *The Perfection of Horsemanship*, pp.21-22.
[31] Pluvinel, p.15

authority and resource in this art, continually overseeing and guiding the riding house activities.

If skill in horsemanship showed nobility, grace and artistry, those who could train a rider in the perfection of these attributes would be highly sought after. In considering Newcastle's attitude to other horsemasters and their work, this high opinion of the horsemaster as knowledgeable creative artiste must be borne in mind. The context in which he developed his own manuals becomes highly significant in the reading of the texts when the cultural influence of the art was so great. Therefore, in taking an overview of his manuals it is necessary to consider the subtext of his approach and the semiotic value of his texts in establishing himself as among the elite of the art in the European context wherein the art had developed. This applies both to the years of his exile and after his return home.

It is evident from the texts published prior to Newcastle's that there was no significant English horsemaster, to compete with Grisone or Pluvinel. The men making their mark in the riding houses of England were all Italian, French or Spanish, brought into the country to disseminate the grace and beauty of a Continental skill.[32] While their pupils and followers might go on to instruct or write, the influence was still firmly rooted in the Continental tradition and there is no sense of an English style.

This was clearly of concern to some authors, particularly Nicholas Morgan and Gervase Markham. Morgan's title page declares that his book is 'not invented and

[32] Giles Worsley, *Haute École*, pp.31-35.

drawne from Forraigne Nations, but by long Experience and Knowledge of many yeares practice [...] for the generall good of the noble nation of Great Britaine'.[33] Gervase Markham's manual was issued and re-issued in a great many guises between 1593 and 1610, as part of an enormously prolific body of writing. While he repeatedly claims to be recording '*An Arte never heretofore written by an Author*', he titles his 1607 text *Cavalerice*, following the 1593-4 manual *Le Cavalerice François* of de la Broue to whom he refers frequently, and shows the direct influence of Grisone, in common with other authors. However, he is clearly aware of the lack of significant English influence, and seeking to rectify the matter. His text, dedicated to the young Prince Henry whose enthusiasm for horsemanship was raising the profile of the art significantly, includes also a dedication to the Earl of Worcester who was supervising instruction of the prince, and part of the title is *The English Horseman.* In his introduction he addresses the problem, saying 'Almost all English men, whether out of the inconstancies of their natures (which is ever most delighted with new fangled novelties) or out of the bashfulnesse of their modesties, are ever apt to give precidencie and priorities of place to stranger, strange creatures, and strange fashions', even though his own work to some extent proves his point.[34]

While Markham's books were hugely successful if reprints and number of editions are a measure, his overall influence does not seem to have been great. This may be due both

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[33] *The Horseman's Honour,* title page.
[34] See F. N. L. Poynter, *A Bibliography of Gervase Markham* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1962), pp.83-115; *Cavalerice or The English Horseman* (London: 1607), p.8.

to the derivative nature of his work and to the more 'popular' audience he seems to aim for, Prince Henry notwithstanding, as he includes elements of training such as 'how to teach them to do trickes like *Bankes*'. Elspeth Graham sees this as 'his flamboyant self-distancing from an aristocratic culture that still considered print vulgar'.[35] Even though he addresses his work to 'the Gentleman Readers'[36] who would have the time or resources for horsemanship as a diversion, no man of Newcastle's status would teach his valuable manège horses frivolous tricks. As mentioned in the previous chapter, when Newcastle mentions the famous trick-horse Morocco and his owner Bankes in his play *Witts Triumvate*, he does so to illustrate a lack of understanding of the riding house, perhaps in a deliberate undermining of Markham.[37]

The state of horsemanship in England seems to have been a concern to many enthusiasts over a long period of time. Blundeville states one of his reasons for his English version of Grisone's manual to have been due to 'what lacke we Englishmen have had, and specially have at this present' so that 'you shal see some that sit on their horses like wind shake redes'. He feels that many English horses are 'so evel broke, as when he is spurred to go forward, he wil go backward'. Therefore 'For redresse of which faultes both in man and beast this booke is chieflye set foorth' so that 'not only by reading, but also by exercise of ridinge, I doubt not but by your spedye profiting therein'.[38] Despite the enthusiastic response to his book and the proliferation of texts that

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[35] Graham, p.126.
[36] *Cavalerice*, title page.
[37] *Witts Triumvate or The Philosopher*, already cited.
[38] Blundeville, sig. A.iii.

followed, by 1639, Thomas de Grey author of *The Compleat Horseman* was expressing concern at 'the neglect of the Horse of the Menage, since the applying of our Breed only to Racing'. Interestingly, de Grey sees the interest in 'furnishing ourselves with Horses of speed to runne away from our enemy' to be undermining of the English spirit.[39] If it is recalled that the movements of the manège are based on the natural display of stallions to a mare or a rival, an additional subtext is apparent in the whole exercise as a display of power when seen by ambassadors and visitors from other countries. The potential of a subtle message in support of the prowess of the English manly spirit may be contained in the riding house, which is undermined on the racing track, horses for which 'are the most Easily found, and of the least Use', in Newcastle's view (1667: p.80). To those who loved the riding house, the lack of love for it appeared to reveal a lack of manly spirit that did not bode well for England. This will be considered further with particular reference to Newcastle's second manual.

However, to gain a perspective on Newcastle's work overall in the context of the early modern horsemanship manual, the first issue to address is his knowledge of other texts. While he enjoyed the company of learned men and discussion with philosophers, scientists and writers, amongst others, he was, according to Margaret Cavendish, not a great reader (*Life*: pp.193-194). This does not prove, however, that he would not apply himself to books on a subject as dear to his heart as horsemanship.

He would undoubtedly have been familiar with the methods of Grisone and Pluvinel

[39] London, 1639, sig. b2^{lv}.

due to his own horsemanship education. Grisone trained Pignatelli who trained Pluvinel and St. Antoine and St. Antoine trained Newcastle, although interestingly Newcastle does not mention this when he relates that 'Monsieur St. Antoine a French-man, was a very good Horse-man, and sent over by Henry the Fourth of France, to teach Prince Henry' (1667: p.5). Margaret Cavendish adds the detail that he was sent 'to the mewse to Mons. Antoine, who was then accounted the best master in that art' (*Life:* p.134). Newcastle's own knowledge is therefore related in a direct line to Grisone, entirely through his own practical training as a boy and regardless of his choice of reading matter.

However, he says in his second manual that he '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' (1667: p.41), suggesting a comprehensive approach to his art, both practical and theoretical. But in deciding exactly which texts of 'All that hath been Writ' Newcastle was familiar with, there are difficulties relating to the history of the texts available. Various editions of the Blundeville text were available and are fairly consistent when compared with those of Pluvinel. Blundeville's original translation appeared in 1560, and he admits to freely adapting the text because of the frustration he had in the enterprise, in 'having to follow so doubtful phrases, and manners of speaking, and so confused an order of writing'.[40] There were numerous editions of Pluvinel's work in circulation issued between 1623 and 1640 to which Newcastle could have had access. Not all were authorised and in his comprehensive chapter on equitation texts in *Circus*

[40] Blundeville, 'To Sir Robert Dudley'.

And Allied Arts, R.S. Toole-Stott highlights some of the problems this causes later analysis. Of the first edition in 1623, he says 'This is most difficult book to collate, the plate numbering [...] differing from copy to copy'. The number of plates in different copies varies from sixty-one to eighty-three, with some being duplicated or left out and variations in the date being added to the printed title. The second edition is dated 1624 but irregularities in pagination are still present and the 1626 edition has the same plates as the 1623 edition but is unauthorized. While the 1625 edition is considered to be the definitive version by Mennessier de la Lance because it was edited by Pluvinel's friend and confident Rene Menou, this in itself becomes a problem because identical passages are found in Menou's own work, so accurate authorship is hard to establish. Also, while this edition is said to be based on Pluvinel's own manuscript, it does not contain all the original plates, and has some additions, while the verses in honour of the author are missing. While it is difficult to be precise over the provenance of each text, Menou, as Pluvinel's acolyte, may be assumed to have perpetuated his ideas as Grisone's pupils did in their manuals.[41]

However, establishing a provenance of ideas becomes difficult when between the author's seminal work and the reader are interspersed so many obstacles of language, presentation, translation and adaptation. Newcastle was writing to his father in 'schoolroom French'[42] at the age of ten, and so his command of French as an adult may well have been sufficient for him to fully enjoy and appreciate Pluvinel and French

[41] Toole-Stott, pp.92-95.
[42] Trease, p.24

editions of Grisone. However, in 1671, it was his friend Jacques de Solleysel, who pointed out to him that the translation of his second manual into French was poorly done,[43] suggesting that Newcastle himself did not possess sufficient knowledge to recognize the flaws. Whether or not he read Italian fluently, and so could have read Grisone in the original is debatable. British Library Harleian MS 6796 contains two short works translated from Italian by Robert Payne, Newcastle's chaplain. As his brother Charles read Latin and French and his correspondence with mathematician John Pell suggests that he read Italian also, it is unlikely that these translations were for his benefit. Sir Charles Cavendish wrote to Pell in 1645 that Hobbes' English Optical Treatise was 'in english at my brother's request',[44] and Newcastle commissioned an English translation of Galileo's *Dialogo* from Joseph Webbe.[45] Overall, the available evidence suggests that Newcastle preferred his reading material to be in English regardless of his level of knowledge in French and Italian.[46]

Newcastle opens his second manual with a chapter entitled 'Of the severall Authors that have Written of Horsemanship, both Italians, French and English'. This is a comprehensive list: Grisone, Claudio Corte, Laurentius Russius,[47] Cesare Fiaschi,

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[43] Toole-Stott, p.87.
[44] BL MS Add. 4278, fol.223v
[45] BL MS Harl. 6320.
[46] I am grateful to Dr. Noel Malcolm, of All Soul's College, Oxford for sharing his research on this topic with me.
[47] Although Newcastle calls him 'Cussius' (1667: p.2), both his overall spelling of the name and description of the book make it probable that he means Laurentius Russius, whose work includes an alarming array of fierce bits (Froissard, p.166, is also of this opinion). I would like to thank the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, for allowing me access to this rare text in the private collection of the Spanish Riding School.

Pasquale Caracciolo, Piero Antonio Ferraro, Salamon de la Broue and Antoine de Pluvinel (1667: pp.1-5). He then goes on to 'anatomize' Grisone and Blundeville, mentioning in passing the writing of Markham and de la Gray (1667: pp.17-37), though no other English writers at all. He considers that Grisone 'Writ like a Horse-man, and a great Master in the Art' (1667: p.1), even though, as mentioned above, Blundeville, in translating the work from the Italian found it hard to read and follow, Grisone being 'a better doer, than a writer'.[48] Claudio Corte, Newcastle acknowledges as 'an Excellent Rider' but dismisses him as an author, saying 'I think, that, very much of his Book is stolen out of Grison' (1667: p.2). Corte's book, as mentioned above, was issued in 1573 and translated into English in 1584 by Thomas Bedingfield and is considered to be 'An early Italian classic' by Toole-Stott.[49] As he was a pupil of Grisone, it is perhaps unsurprising if Newcastle recognised the hand of the master in the work of the pupil, whether he read the work in the original or in translation. Laurentius Russius wrote his *Hippiatrica Sive Marescalia* in the mid-fifteenth century, but it was published in French in Paris as late as 1541. Newcastle dismisses him as 'none of the Best, With Horrible Bitts' (1667: p.2) and indeed he is part of the more primitive tradition that recommends extreme violence:

> the rider will carry an iron bar, three or four feet long and ending in three well-sharpened hooks and if the horse refuses to go forward, he will dig one of these hooks into the horse's quarters and draw him forward; alternatively an assistant may apply a heated iron bar under the horse's tail, while the rider drives the spurs in with all

[48] Blundeville, sig. i.
[49] Already cited, p.51.

available strength.[50]

Cesare Fiaschi was also a pupil of Grisone and his book was never translated into English, although it did appear in French. While Newcastle's comment that 'he meddles with Musick' (1667: p.2) seems derisive, later in the same manual he comments that 'There is not man, that hath not a Musical Head, that can be a good Horse-man, because all Horses go in a just and Musical time' (1667: p.297). However, Fiaschi's musical advice is dismissed and he skims likewise over all the other authors and books he mentions, with dismissive comments. There is a tension evident in his discussion between the familiarity with oral tradition in terms of riding practice and the writing style of different authors, especially when translations are involved. Newcastle repeatedly refers to riders and writers in the same sentence. This seems largely because most of the early manuals were Italian and the interest led to the importing of Italian riders. Therefore in terms of available resources for the Englishman, riders and writers had a comparable influence, which Newcastle recognizes. Also he comments that many of the best riders 'never Writ' (1667: p.3). Clearly, a writer's style could be excellent even while his method was derivative and a poor style might detract from the understanding of a valid method.

To be successful in Newcastle's opinion, the work needed to be well-written and innovative, with full evidence of riding ability, and he is continually disappointed in this respect. Even de la Broue whose work was potentially interesting as he was 'the first

[50] Translated in W. Sidney Felton, *Masters of Equitation* (London: J. A. Allen, 1962), p. 23.

French-man that ever Writ in that Art' (1667: p.3) fails to impress, and Newcastle was not alone in criticising him for deriving his methods from Grisone.[51] De la Broue's book receives more detailed attention from Newcastle than some, which suggests that he had devoted some depth of study to it, but he nevertheless has no high opinion, considering it 'very Tedious, many Words for little Matter'. He also comments that 'La Broue, to seem wiser than he was, and to make up a Book, divides a Circle into so many parts [...] that it confounds a horse more', which appears to link directly to his comment in the address to horsemen in the first manual that he will not 'produce an entire book on how to divide a circle into several sections' (1658: 'Aux Cavaliers'). Pluvinel, although 'no doubt but he was a Good Horse-man' receives very little attention, as his method is 'absolute Routine' and hath spoyl'd more Horses than ever any Thing did' (1667: p.5).

His analysis of English writers is limited, aside from detailed references to Blundeville. to the briefest derisory mention of Markham who is 'but Blundevile with other Names' and de la Gray', who is also 'but Blundevil, with some New Medicins that are but indifferent.' De Grey is distinguished only for the dubious honour that his ideas on breeding are 'the most Ridiculous thing that was ever known Writ'. He ends this dismissive address of the English contribution by saying 'And thus for our English Authors, of whom I have told you the Truth' (1667: pp.32-33).

Overall, Newcastle's attitude would suggest first hand familiarity with the texts, including translations. However, rather than a detailed study of each, this is identified more through his knowledge of particular features, such as the 'long discourses' (1667:

[51] Toole-Stott, p.72.

p.2) in Carraciolo's *Gloria del Cavallo*, which runs to over a thousand pages. He reveals a general tendency to locate derivative material and then dismiss the whole text. This is unsurprising and there is a great sense of frustration in his manner in this chapter at the lack of innovation, especially among the English writers.

Therefore his attitude toward other writers in general is largely to do with his assertion of his own method as entirely new, which is in itself a common feature of most of these early manuals, even when they are obviously derivative. As Elspeth Graham points out 'The incorporation of others' material and ideas often legitimated the knowledge offered; translation or imitation was not necessarily seen as a lesser form than original writing or invention, although the protocols of authorship, ownership, and publication were complex'.[52] However, Newcastle's claim is not in this tradition and it may be to make this point that he sets out to protect the first manual with privileges and deliberately isolates himself from other authors in both texts. This may also explain why he neglects to mention his training under St. Antoine.

In 'The First Part' of his second manual, the chapters of which are unnumbered, he explains 'How I found Out my Method in the Mannage; And that it is The only Way to Dress Horses'. He lays out his riding background, having 'Practised, and Studyed Horse-manship ever since I was Ten years old' and 'Rid with the Best Masters of all Nations'. Also he 'heard them Discourse at Large, and Tried their several Wayes' along with reading their books. He remained however dissatisfied and 'all that while I thought still,

[52] Graham, p.126.

All was Labour in Vain; and that there was something not Found out, which They and their Books Mist'. With renewed vigour and enthusiasm, he then applied himself to 'consider so Seriously, and Study so Earnestly' every aspect of the art until 'at last I Found this Method, which is as True, as it is New, and is the quintessence of Horse-manship: For which I have Left all Others' (1667: p.42).

The key to this innovation is his firm but non-aggressive insistence that 'the Horse follow my Wayes, and Obey me'. 'I seldom Beat them' he explains, 'but when I meet with great Resistance, and that Rarely'. His new understanding seems to be based largely on his calm assertion of his will upon them, which he describes as 'Force' and in response 'they Obey willingly, for the most part; and however, all Yeeld, and Render themselves at last' (1667: p.42). This reflects an understanding of a horse's acceptance of strong leadership that is part of its nature as a herd animal and commonly understood today. In his own time, however, it represented a point of departure from other writers, explaining his attitude to them. His claim is that despite all he has heard, watched and read, in the end his own practical experimentation took him out of their derivative context and into one of his own, as an explorer almost, tracking uncharted territory without guidance. Having thus made his discoveries without the resource of earlier knowledge, he feels justified in claiming total originality, regardless of his background, which links him firmly into the lineage of riders that goes back to Grisone. This casts a light upon the differences between his two manuals, the way in which he approaches both Pluvinel and Blundeville and why it is Blundeville, the translator, rather than Grisone, the author upon whom he focusses his attention.

As discussed in the previous chapter, while Newcastle's method remains very similar in his two manuals, with many of the exercises being repeated word-for-word, in all other respects they are very different from one another. Where the training is concerned, the second manual shows progression in Newcastle's ideas, which would be expected from of man who worked his horses daily and tried 'new Experiments about that Art' (1667: sig. b) as routine. To be constantly learning by experience and refining his methods does not make his system any the less complete. It makes it instead a living method, adaptable for different horses, whose character, physical attributes and past experience would make a rigid approach counter-productive. It is in the variations in his work that Newcastle reveals himself to be a true master of horses, and this is clear from the various exercises he has for achieving the same end. Aside then, from the method, which shows consistency in the context of development, it might reasonably be expected that the paratext and preamble to the method would be similar, referring to the changes and development over time, but otherwise to show a clear link between the two. This is not, in fact, the case and close attention to these differences gives an insight into Newcastle's hidden agenda in writing them.

When Newcastle published his first manual in 1658, he chose to do so in French. It was not written in French but 'Traduit de l'Anglois de l'Auteur en Francois par son Commendement' (1658: Title page). His possible motivations for this are many. Queen Henrietta Maria was French and the language was spoken widely at the English court, which was of course, at that time, in Continental exile. French was also the traditional language of chivalry and had connotations of gentility and refinement. It was not though,

the original language of horsemanship, which was Italian. However, French was the language of Pluvinel, who had become the acknowledged Continental horsemaster while Newcastle was still a boy, taking up the place long held by Grisone. After Pluvinel set up his academy in Paris, France had become the centre for the training of horse and rider. John Stoye explains that:

> Particularly under the Stuarts, anyone desiring the training of a courtier, in order to appear at home in the society of many of his equals who had already travelled, was advised to go to Paris or some other French towns where these academies flourished on the model of Pluvinel's. This motive is one explanation of the fact that travel by young men on the continent came to be accepted as an essential part of their education.[53]

It is entirely in keeping with Newcastle's character, that he would align himself with and yet still challenge the centre of excellence in his chosen field by publishing his work in French. By 1658 he was living in Antwerp, not knowing when, if ever, he might be able to return home to England, where his estates, his lineage and his experience fitted him for a role he understood among the nobility. But he had left England humiliated, found no significant role to play in the court-in-exile and now needed worthwhile occupation and perhaps some means of generating income. His horses and skill in their training offered him a context in which to locate and actualize himself, with the potential for some discreet gentlemanly financial arrangement were he to share that expertise with others. This could only be attempted on the grand scale suited to his status, so he settled in the former home of the artist Rubens, entertained the Continental nobility and set out to produce the most comprehensive and lavish horsemanship text yet to be written. However, if he wished to establish himself as the supreme European horsemaster, he had

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[53] Stoye, p.38.

to contend with Pluvinel's memory and manuals.

Pluvinel had died in 1620, and the editions of his manuals had started appearing in 1623. By the 1650s a similar situation existed in France to that in Italy and England, where Grisone's manual had been expanded upon, adapted and assimilated into other texts. Therefore, Newcastle does not devote much attention to the Grisone derivatives in his first manual of 1658, aside from his arch reference to de la Broue. Instead he focuses his attention on carefully, and largely respectfully, superseding Pluvinel. He refers to him indirectly, gracefully in passing, as a way of affirming his own views, for example mentioning that 'Le grande Maître en c'ét art, Monsieur de Pluvinel, en fait soit autant' (1658: p.268).[54] They shared much in terms of ideals and attitudes and Newcastle would most likely have become the next great horsemanship author without any manipulation of his readers, as he shows a natural progression in the art. However, though fully confident of his own superiority, he nevertheless takes no chances and while his first manual does not analyse the work of other masters, there are parallels to Pluvinel's manuals throughout.

His aim seems not so much to rival Pluvinel in this first manual, the only criticism being a caustic comment about fashion (1658: 'Aux cavaliers'), to which Pluvinel pays considerable attention,[55] but rather to tacitly acknowledge areas of his thought while aiming to transcend them. The layout of Newcastle's book is quite different from

[54] 'likewise that great master of his art, Monsieur De Pluvinel, said the same' (1743: p. 131).
[55] Pluvinel, pp.15-16, plate 2.

Pluvinel's, and they have a different focus overall, and yet there is a strong suggestion of unspoken reference to the earlier text that can hardly fail to go unnoticed by anyone who has seen both. Newcastle appears to be demonstrating a like mind to that of the previous great master, while discreetly emphasizing his own higher social status and independent ideas.

The engraved title-page of Newcastle's first manual is very similar to that of Pluvinel in design. Rearing horses, heraldic devices and architectural features focus attention on the author's credentials and bear little similarity to any significant earlier manual, while the quality of the plates in both texts marks a new level of detailed sophistication, reflecting courtly grace and style. Pluvinel's plates emphasise the ease and respect of the relationship he shares with his young protégée, King Louis XIII, at the age of 16.[56] The king leans forward to hear Pluvinel speak, his hand resting on the horsemaster's arm, or looks over his shoulder to ask Pluvinel's advice. Pluvinel stands alongside his chair to explain an exercise or leans over him in an air of confidence-sharing, to illuminate the young man's understanding. The delicately tender and protective attitude of these plates suggests a degree of trust that implicitly elevates Pluvinel's status.

By 1658, Newcastle no longer had the ear of a king in this way but establishes in the dedication that he was the 'premier Gouverneur de Votre Majeste' and that 'j'ai eu l'honneur de Vous mettre le premier a cheval dans le Mannage'. He states that 'je n'en puis souhaiter de plus sur-eminent' than to have served the future monarch during this

[56] Ibid. pp.17, 33, 34; examples of Pluvinel's plates may be found in Appendix 3.

most formative time of his life and establishes his own perspicacity in noting 'quelle abondance de fruits verteux Elle nouse apporteroit en son age plus meur' (1658: 'Au Roy'). The two plates depicting Charles II and Newcastle as victors in battle are exactly the same except that one has Charles' head and one has Newcastle's. When viewed in a comparative sense with those of Pluvinel alongside Louis XIII, it can only be read that while the French king absorbs Pluvinel's knowledge, the English monarch assimilates Newcastle's.

Having established his close relationship with the monarch, Newcastle then sets himself out as independent. His riding house plates are not full of courtiers, pupils and admirers, as Pluvinel's are and there are no other riders except Captain Mazin, Newcastle's Master of Horse and protégé, who fully understood this new method having been trained by Newcastle from boyhood (1658: p.33). Newcastle stands alone in skill, a foreigner on the Continent, developing the skills he has learned from a noble equestrian heritage by establishing his unique approach. The plates depict him as a man of high status, influential in the education of a monarch who, unlike Pluvinel, never carries his own hat.

In the Pluvinel text, Monsieur le Grand suggests that 'if it please Your Majesty one day to visit his stud farm, he will observe, as we have many times, how the foals, large and small, run joyfully after their mothers [...] take now and then a good demi-volte [...] and sometime go up in the air as though they are doing a courbette'.[57] It is, however,

[57] Pluvinel, p.32.

Newcastle's own mares and foals that are illustrated in Plate 12 of the 1658 manual, which could well have been drawn from Monsieur Le Grand's description. Newcastle does not need to look at the king's horses to 'confirm the opinion of Monsieur de Pluvinel that the various airs come naturally to horses and that nature gave each Horse his own particular air'.[58] He is master of his own fine estates, all of which are beautifully illustrated, and can observe his own stud to confirm that 'si donc le Cavalier suivoit la nature, il sauroit mieux les approprier à ce à quoi la nature les a eveés, de sorte qu'ils seroint des bon cevaux' (1658: p.6).[59] Therefore, he need not set out to rival Pluvinel, which would have lacked grace considering his location at the time, but rather to pick up his torch and offer innovations within a great tradition. Interestingly, Pluvinel appears on horseback infrequently in his plates and even then remains on the sidelines to guide the action. Newcastle, however, directs Captain Mazin then takes over the riding when the advanced stages of training are reached and demonstrates his own expertise. This may reflect Pluvinel's age at the time the plates depict: when Louis was sixteen, his horsemaster would have been fifty-six, and he may well have stopped riding in the manège by then due to the exertion. Newcastle's continued athleticism at the age of sixty-five, which he had reached by the time his first manual was published may have been intended to further reinforce the active nature of his ongoing contribution.

Pluvinel and Newcastle have much in common as horsemasters. They both understand that the rider's attitude influences the horse's confidence so he must have 'a pleasant

[58] Pluvinel, p.32.
[59] 'if the horseman studies nature, and the dispositions of his horses, he would know better how to appropriate them to the uses for which they were created' (1743: p.17).

expression'[60] or 'le visage gay et réjoüy'(1658: p.36). [61] They agree that the rider should never demand 'more from a horse than half of what he is capable',[62] and so should 'reduisés-le au petit pas, mélant le douceur avec les aides & châtiment' (1658: 'Avant-Propos').[63] They share an overall philosophy that requires that horse and rider be treated with respect and dignity, without ever compromising the natural hierarchy of human dominance.

Newcastle opens his first manual with an essay on the intelligence and reasoning capacity of the horse, which he clearly feels is under-rated. His irritation that 'il y en a, qui tout aussy tôt qu'ils sont desses un jeune cheval tout à fait ignorant du Manege, pensent qu'en le battant & éperonant ils en feront un cheval dressé dés le premier matin' (1658: 'Avant-Propos'),[64] shows his expectation of thoughtful riding. Pluvinel spends some time discussing the 'judicious horseman' and describes how by gentle handling he overcomes the recalcitrant horse Bonnitte so that 'It did not take long for him to understand what I wanted of him'.[65] He is more subtle than Newcastle in his criticism of others, but he is not addressing his peers as Newcastle is, so must needs be more circumspect. Referring to the rough handling considered necessary by others to tame a difficult horse, while Newcastle outspokenly declares that 'je desirerois donc qu'on ne

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[60] Pluvinel, p.26.
[61] 'a countenance pleasant and gay' (1743: p.30).
[62] Pluvinel, p. 24.
[63] 'reduce him by degrees, mixing gentleness with helps and corrections' (1743: p.14)
[64] 'there are some people, who, as soon as they have got upon a young horse, entirely undressed or untaught, fancy, that by beating and spurring thy will make him a dress'd horse in one morning only' (1743: sig. C).
[65] Pluvinel, pp. 21, 22.

crust pas le cheval plus capable que l'homme, qu'on appelle raisonnable' (1658: p.2),[66] Pluvinel more carefully states 'I was touched to the quick by this judgement'.[67] Newcastle feels that patience and knowledge (1658: 'Avant-Propos') are the essential qualities of a horseman; Pluvinel chooses grace and judiciousness ,[68] but their descriptions of these qualities in practice are very similar.

While Newcastle's manuals are focused on training the horse and Pluvinel's prime concern is the training of the rider, they are of like mind in the treatment of the young pupil. Newcastle devotes Chapter II of his first manual to criticising masters who intimidate and bully their students. He attacks roundly masters who verbally abuse, or even who 'ont leurs pochettes pleines de pierres à leur jetter' and treat their students 'd'une façon hautaine & insolente' (1658: p.8), [69] while Pluvinel 'condemns those riding-masters who shout at their young pupils and menace them'. Pluvinel believes that the young pupil must be allowed to make mistakes and learn from them,[70] while Newcastle says, 'Enseignés donc premierement à vôtre écolier ce qu'il doit faire, le luy repentant souvent avec beaucoup de patience, ou il n'apprendra jamais'(1658: p.9).[71] From these points of contact, Newcastle presents his own method, much of which is technically and philosophically very different to Pluvinel's. Therefore, his text not only keeps pace with

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[66] I wish people would not require more capacity of a horse than of a man, whom they stile rational'(1743: p.16).
[67] Pluvinel, p.22.
[68] Ibid.
[69] 'fill their pockets full of stones to throw [...] in a haughty and imperious manner' (1743: p.18).
[70] Pluvinel, p.xii.
[71] 'First of all teach your scholar what he should do, repeating it often to him in a mild manner, or he will never learn' (1743: p.19).

the changes in attitude and practice, but contributes further innovation. It serves to establish him as a contender, a man of great experience in the art of riding horses, whose aristocratic lineage and personal holdings were lavishly illustrated for the benefit of his Continental readers. He effectively takes his English heritage into exile with him through his manuals and lays out his credentials, as well as his expertise.

Once he returned home to England, matters were different and this is reflected in the second manual. Few new books were published in the first half of the seventeenth century and Gervase Markham's *Cavalerice or The English Horseman* was merely a reworking of his earlier work of 1593. Prior to that, the wealth of horsemanship manuals produced by the circle of the gentleman pensioners, mostly derivative of Grisone's methods, were by Newcastle's return over one hundred years out-of-date. It is interesting to note that one of the few nobleman still in England who openly retained a keen interest in the riding house through the *inter regnum*, was Newcastle's son-in-law, the 3rd. Earl of Bridgewater.[72] Small wonder then that Newcastle, believing so strongly in the value of the riding house, and seeing it flourishing on the Continent where he himself had been lauded as an innovator, should on his return to England be dismayed. Interest in this most noble of arts had disintegrated, leaving it largely out of fashion or where it survived, relying still upon the 'old Authors'. The weight of ironical, derisive inference in this term, which he uses throughout the 1667 manual, seems to grow with each repetition, so that the whole of English horsemanship seems bound, somewhat helplessly to the past.

[72] Worsley, p.43.

Not so, however, as Newcastle set out to revitalize the art single-handedly by publishing a second manual in English in 1667. This is a much more modest enterprise, with no privileges, plates or line drawings at all. It is also dedicated to Charles, now restored to his throne, but focuses only on Newcastle's devotion to his king, rather than any past relationship between them. It also, for those who can read the message, points out he feels a little overlooked in his 'solitary Country Life' (1667: sig. b).

This second text opens with an address 'To the Readers' and sets out to illustrate the great respect with which the Continental equestrian community has treated Newcastle during his exile. He ensures that his countrymen are made aware that he has been treated with respect while abroad and that he honoured this by publishing his first manual in French. However, he would not have them feel neglected, so stresses that 'I now for the more particular Satisfaction of my Country-men print this second Book, in English' (1667: sig. b). He had perhaps been criticized for publishing in French and sought in the second book to redress the balance and widen his audience. It is equally likely that he felt overlooked and out of favour, part of the old regime, now lost, and was seeking a way to re-establish his expertise in defining standards of gentlemanly aspiration. In this respect, there is a similarity between the manuals, as each was published at a time when his public profile had changed due to politics and circumstance. His opinion of himself as the great master who superseded the 'old authors' still favoured in England was well founded. He had returned home as the only Englishman to have made any impact upon an art long seen as Continental and provides evidence by describing in eight pages of great detail 'my only private Riding-House at Antwerp' and the 'Honour I have receiv'd there'. Apart

from the personal satisfaction he evidently gains from the acknowledgement of Don John of Austria, the Marquis of Seralvo, Marquis of Caracena and 'the Prince of Conde himself' amongst many others, he points out the 'Commendations that were given to Horses and to Horsemanship' which were, of course, 'very proper in this place.' (1667: sig. b2^{v} – p.1^{v}). If the Continent, that model of fashion and style, values horsemanship, he seems to ask, then why does the English nobleman either overlook it, or use antique methods? By mentioning so many noblemen from so many regions of the Continent, he demonstrates that the art is alive and flourishing there, then backs up his message by his reference to Charles II as a fine horseman. Here, however, he was on lost ground, as by this time, in 1667, Charles II had lost all interest in the riding house and it may be that in writing his manual, Newcastle simply reinforced himself as a relic of the past to the king.

He did not anticipate this when he wrote, of course, and addresses his second manual with a fierce vigour, by attacking this problem he sees in the English reliance on earlier writers. His lack of patience with Blundeville, and the other authors he dismisses are that he sees them as derivative, either of Grisone, or Grisone through Blundeville. He seems highly irritated by Blundeville whom he acknowledges as 'a fine Gentleman, Well Travelled, an Excellent Scholler, a Good Translator, and puts things into an Excellent Method', but 'Tyed himself too much to Old Authors' (1667: p.31). By the time Newcastle came to write, Grisone's original manual was over one hundred years old and his irritation that a century later horsemen were still relying on his text and those derived from it is unbounded. However, Blundeville himself was long dead, so Newcastle's annoyance, which may have been understandable towards a contemporary relying heavily

on the past, is initially bewildering.

However, when Blundeville introduced the English translation of Grisone, the original text was still very new, so his work would have surely been a revelation to his countrymen. The way in which subsequent texts focus around and develop from Grisone and his students is more by way of tribute than plagiarism, as it would seem that Blundeville had started something of a trend. Translations and original texts proliferated between 1560 and 1593 in England, as noted above, in the circle of the gentleman pensioners but by Newcastle's time, all these texts were made archaic in both method and philosophy by the influence of Pluvinel. However, until Newcastle, no English rider had made a serious attempt to bring the English manual up to date. While the provenance of ideas from 'old authors' underpins much of the philosophy of the early modern period, Newcastle was not alone in feeling irritated at a total reliance on them and echoes his friend Ben Jonson's belief that 'Nothing is more ridiculous then to make an Author a *Dictator*, as the schooles have done *Aristotle*'.[73] In ridiculing Blundeville, Newcastle goes to what he appears to see as the root of the problem.

Having opened his second manual with his observations on previous authors, none of whom has impressed him greatly, Newcastle devotes nine pages, rather than the four paragraphs in the first manual, to those who 'think the Mannage Useless'(1667: pp.5-14). This venting of general spleen on the state of riding and horsemanship manuals is leading up to an attack against the only rival author who receives any serious level of direct

[73] *The Theory of Criticism*, p. 99.

attention from him. While 'Old Grison' is mentioned in the overview of authors, 'his translator, Mr. Blundeville' is not mentioned at all at first but then has a sixteen page chapter devoted to a detailed analysis of his manual (1667: p.17).

While Newcastle uses the familiar contemporary term 'anatomized' to describe this analysis (1667: p.17), 'vivisected' would come closer to the nature of his attention. He is merciless with Blundeville, attacking him throughout as 'Foolish', 'mightily Deceived', 'Mistaken', 'very Ridiculous' and using 'Tormenting ignorant Follies' and methods which are a 'Horrible Folly' and 'Abominable' (1667: pp.17-23). Having ended his initial diatribe 'And thus much of Mr. Blundevils Riding', he launches with renewed vigour on the very next line, into an attack on Blundeville's advice on breeding, which is 'Unnatural', and 'Ridiculous' at the very least. He focuses almost entirely on destroying Blundeville's credibility, saying he 'did not Understand', that his bits 'are very Ridiculous' and his methods 'Abominable'. He is also fiercely disparaged as superstitious and full of 'Tales to Tell to Children, rather than to Men of Reason and Discretion; all Mountebank-ship and Fooleries'. The energy Newcastle expends in undermining Blundeville on these points is considerable. He has little patience for superstition, and it may be that he considers anything he views as folklore to be perpetuating an outdated approach to horsemanship, as bad as thinking 'Squirts, Fire, Whelps, Hedge-hoggs, Nailes, and I know not what' will encourage 'a Resty Horse' to be calm (1667: p.18).

His first great attack on Blundeville is followed by his declaration on 'How I found Out my Method in the Mannage And that it is the only Way to Dress Horses' as discussed above. He goes on to a far fuller discussion of horse breeds than in the first manual,

occasionally lapsing back to attacking Blundeville, then a very comprehensive discussion on saddling and presenting the horse to its best advantage, which leads into advice on shoeing, stable management and home-remedies for minor illnesses. The 'Second Part' (1667: p.145), which addresses riding the horse, does not begin till almost half way through, while in the first manual, Newcastle is discussing training within the first thirty pages. Also, while he addresses his subject equally fully as in the first manual, the number of exercises overall is considerably fewer and in less detail, with a great deal more in terms of observations and discussions. As discussed in the previous chapters, Newcastle's age and lifelong tendency towards distraction from his main point must be considered here, but his notional reader must be considered also.

In the great detail on breeding, remedies and presentation of the horse, he is offering the content favoured by Blundeville and other English authors and there is the sense that this has distracted him from his overall intent. Blundeville's second manual, as well as expanding his first to include 'all the precepts' of Claudio Corte,[74] also adds sections on diet and diseases. Thomas Bedingfield, Nicholas Morgan, Christopher Clifford, Markham and Thomas de Grey also have comprehensive sections on health and husbandry, while John Astley includes a 'short discourse of the [...] Trench, and the Martingale',[75] equipment Newcastle does not mention at all in the first manual but which he disparages in the second as 'to no Purpose at all' (1667: p.314). As discussed in the previous chapter,

[74] *The Fower Chiefyst Offices belongyng to Horsemanship* (London: Wyllyam Seres, 1565-66), sig.A3^{v}.
[75] Astley, title page.

Newcastle's manuscript contains notes on this form of bit and head restraint which he later decides are obsolete. If he intends to refer tacitly to Astley's text, it may be the case that initially he meant to offer his own methods for equipment still used in England, but upon reflection decided outdated methods should be dismissed.

Thus, as Newcastle's first manual echoes Pluvinel, in a way which comes close to a tribute, the second appears to attempt to be familiar to English riders, but at least partially to disparage the traditions they embrace. He goes so far as to mention plans he has for a subsequent book 'on Marshalry and Shooing' (1667: p.33), another area of interest addressed in great detail in English texts.

Therefore, a new perspective may be gained on the differences between his two manuals by seeing them both as products of his environment at the time of writing. The first book then was a necessary step, taken to establish himself as the next great Continental master after Pluvinel. If we consider that he may well have doubted ever being able to return home to England, achieving this status would likely have been very important to his sense of identity. He echoes Pluvinel's visual presentation and many of his philosophical approaches to the art. However, he points out his own superior aristocratic status and the ways in which he has progressed from Pluvinel's methods. He does not directly refer to Pluvinel or challenge him and is therefore respectful and tactful, befitting a foreigner. In attempting to locate himself in a role that would assure him the continued active involvement in the development of courtly style, he focuses single-mindedly on the Continental reading rider. Through the pre-lapsarian vision of his estates presented in the plates, he transports the heart of English nobility, its lands and lineage,

onto foreign soil, and establishes his own small colony in the former home of a great artist. His text, in French, homes in on the insecurities of his class across the Continent, linking them all together through the word 'Cavalier' and rallying them to assert the value of noble display.

On his return home, feeling himself perhaps equally displaced amid his ruined estates with scant regard from the king, he attempts to establish new roots for the art and himself in his second manual. Now, in a reverse strategy, he brings his Continental experience home to impress upon his countrymen the impact he has had upon an art always seen as belonging to foreigners. The second book highlights the success of Newcastle's time abroad in his riding house, representing the English horseman, winning respect and keeping the art vibrant. His frustration at the moribund reliance on authors now a hundred years old comes out angrily against the hapless Blundeville, as though he was a contemporary and he highlights superstition, ridiculous practices and cruelty to be risen above, while adding information on breeding and husbandry, subjects of especial interest to his countrymen. His own method, he stresses, is new; it is not a product of the past but of his own ongoing experience. It is no longer appropriate for the English rider to look across the channel and beyond or to let an art that defines all it is to be of noble birth fade away through the want of new blood.

Therefore, each manual represents not only specific moments in the development of Newcastle's method, but the contextual factors of time and place in the history of the horsemanship text. With his characteristic enthusiasm and passion, he aims in both to stir up the love of horsemanship, 'comme étant un exercise tres-noble' (1658: 'Avant-

Propos'), for 'Pleasure and State' (1667: p.13), assuring his readers that 'messieurs les railleurs' (1658: 'Avant-Propos')[76] are as nothing beside the high opinion of the 'many Noble great Persons, who did me the favour to see my Mannage' and included 'several worthy Gentlemen, of all Nations, High and Low-Dutch, Italians, English, French, Spaniards, Polacks, and Swedes' (1667: sig.b2^{v}-p.1^{v}). Undoubtedly this desire is borne of his own love and faith in the art, but there is a deeper need and urgency present also when both texts served to define times of great conflict and upheaval for him, perhaps offering an emotional stability for their author when all that he relied upon for personal identity was highly insecure.

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[76] 'as an exercise that is very noble'; 'sneering gentlemen' (1743: p.14).

Chapter 4

'The Epitome of Horsemanship': Newcastle's Method 'Anatomized'.

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 centaur, past those tales of Greece;
So seemed your horse and you both of a piece!
Ben Jonson[1]

The first cause of Absurd conclusions I ascribe to a want of Method.
Thomas Hobbes[2]

As discussed in Chapter 3, the subtext of Newcastle's manuals is highly complicated and political at a number of different levels. They have an underlying philosophy and a personal agenda which broaden the perspective in which they need to be considered. However, it would be a considerable underestimation of their worth to focus solely on them as a vehicle for Newcastle's political and personal ideals. Aside from all else that they are, the horsemanship manuals are about training horses.

While that may seem ridiculously obvious, modern criticism as mentioned in Chapter 1, has encouraged a tendency to see them as elaborate conceits, largely perhaps to do with the argument that horses are 'foreign to our own context'. While this view is debateable, it nevertheless demonstrates the need to 'recover something of that early fundamental material dependence upon the horse'.[3] In the case of the riding house, that fundamental dependence became less material than psychological but 'fitting every Horse according to his Nature, Disposition, and Strength'(1667: p.349), required long hours of skilful training and genuine understanding of the raw material through a practical method that eventually transcended the sweat and effort involved to offer grace and ease between man and horse. Therefore, regardless of all else

[1] *Critical Edition*, already cited, p.383.
[2] *Leviathan*, already cited, p.22.
[3] Raber, p.42.

Newcastle's two manuals set out a complete system of training, showing consistency, development and growth through experience. Clearly then, to fully understand the full significance and achievement of the manuals, it is necessary to look closely at the nature of horses and the details of the method.

This chapter will begin with an introduction to the nature of the horse in order to understand the needs of its training. Moving on to explore the locus of Newcastle's manuals as working documents, the key features of his method will be analysed, with reference to the traditions he follows and the innovations of his technique. To illustrate the practicality of the text and the high degree of technical accuracy, a series of exercises will be analysed in detail with reference to the engraved plates.

Newcastle's way of disciplining and rewarding the horse will be considered, followed by an overview of the changes in his ideas between 1658 and 1667, to illustrate the progressive nature of his working practice. The chapter will conclude by arguing that Newcastle presents a fully workable method that builds on the past but also vitally breaks new ground so that his manuals represent a significant step forward in the role of the horsemanship manual in shaping horse and rider.

To gain an understanding of Newcastle's purpose and method in his riding manuals, and the nature of his individual contribution, it is first essential to understand the raw material with which he was working. Despite the great changes in attitudes towards animals between the early modern period and the present day, the nature of the animal itself is unchanging. Even though long domesticated, the horse remains a natural prey animal whose instinctive reaction to danger is flight. It is also a herd animal, which readily accepts leadership and a hierarchical pattern of existence, finding safety and

comfort in accepting and knowing its correct place in relation to its social group.[4] This way of approaching life is not unlike Newcastle's own and it is not surprising that he felt such an affinity with the horse.

Much of the relationship between horses within a herd hinges around the acceptance of the herd hierarchy. The lead stallion or matriarchal mare will drive out any young horses, usually colts, which are troublesome, because this behaviour upsets the power balance and makes the herd vulnerable to predators. In a domesticated environment, the relationship between horse and rider is dependent upon a similar acceptance of the place of each in the 'herd' their interaction creates. Therefore, the horse will initially and periodically attempt to assert its own will over that of the rider or handler. In doing this, the horse is effectively checking its own safety so the rider should 'Be not discouraged if your Horse do Oppose you, for it shews Strength, Spirit and Stomach'(1667: p.199). If the rider/handler is not in control, then the horse can no longer rely upon that strong leadership and will become either dominant or anxious, depending upon its temperament. For the rider to maintain the dominant role is crucial if the horse is to be safe to ride and handle, and so the very ability to obtain a willing and relaxed response from the horse, requires confidence and surety in the rider. In the context of the early modern world, those characteristics spoke in great detail about the nature of the man in the highly competitive world of the court. The symbolism of the dominant stallion is implicit in the image of the man who has obtained the submission of his mount, and by implication the animal passions of human nature. While modern equine psychology has defined the nature of the relationship, those who have handled horses have always worked within its parameters and the way in

[4] Academic research into horse psychology is a growth area, with the work of the Equine Behaviour Forum at the University of Glasgow being particularly significant.

which the horse is trained into cooperation is loaded with information about the rider/handler to any knowledgeable observer.

Newcastle's method establishes him as the victor by skill and the horse's acceptance of his leadership, rather than the cruder methods advocated by earlier writers to obtain dominance. Also, to have trained the stallion to willing submission personally, rather than under instruction, suggests king-like leadership and puissance. Thus working upon the instinctive nature of the horse, the rider can gain personal confidence, physical grace and emotional sensitivity, all of which equip him well for the courtly dignity and authority Newcastle aimed for.

To ride the horse so that it can display its beauty is a highly skilled activity, as the rider must not hinder the freedom of movement of the horse if it is to retain its natural ability of fluidity, speed and grace. It is only by being in balance, physically and mentally, with the horse and its movements that the rider is able to refine them and ride in comfort without injury to the horse. The power in a horse comes from its haunches and the further back the centre of its balance, the more weight it will carry on its haunches. This frees the front legs to manoeuvre and move with lightness, which makes for an efficient use of the horse's energy, and 'is our main Business and Work' (1667: p.334). It is also essential for the advanced movements towards which Newcastle worked his horses. Much of the modern understanding of the movement of horses comes from the advent of photography, which has enabled close analysis of each stage of a step. That Newcastle had begun to uncover this depth of knowledge is evident from the technical accuracy of his descriptions and also that of the plates, which can only have resulted from many hours of detailed discussion with the artist.

While Walter Liedtke believes that Newcastle's text 'is less enlightened in its argument' than Pluvinel's and 'does not supersede Pluvinel as a visual source',[5] an alternative view is possible. While Pluvinel demonstrates a comprehensive personal understanding in his method, he does not explain how others may achieve the same result in such detail. Pluvinel's text is primarily an account of how he works and how riding a horse can make a man; Newcastle's text is about how 'you', the reader, can put his method into practice, and how training a horse can make a man. Pluvinel's text is as much, if not more, about the young rider as the horse, to address 'what one must do in order to become a perfect Horseman',[6] whereas Newcastle states in the dedicatory address to Cavaliers that he writes 'non pas aux ecoliers, mais aux Maitres' (1658: 'Aux Cavaliers'), that is 'not to students, but to Masters'. Newcastle's method is at times less readable for this very reason, as it is not aimed at just any reader, but only those who can prove their worthiness by understanding. It is, however, more use in the practical application, which establishes the text as seminal in the progressive history of horsemanship manuals. His illustrations are the first to show such a level of precision by breaking the exercises down into stages that precisely depict the detailed instructions of the text, while Pluvinel's focus on the courtliness and gentility of the overall picture the horse and rider present. Therefore, I would suggest that neither is more or less enlighted than the other as they have slightly different agenda and the differences in their method reflect the passage of time.

To appreciate the task all the early modern horsemanship manuals undertake in their several ways, it is necessary to understand the purpose underpinning their techniques. While the broad aim of training the horse may be understood, it requires a deeper understanding to gain an insight into how and why that aim is addressed. In

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[5] Liedtke, p.23.
[6] Pluvinel, p.15.

order to understand the way in which Newcastle follows or breaks away from earlier tradition, some detailed understanding of technique is vital. Also, perhaps because the material is usually densely written and complicated, there has been a tendency to ignore the technical aspects of the texts. M. M. Reese calls Newcastle 'an academic theorist, often mistaken, in breeding and the manège'. This sweeping view neatly removes the need to address the work in detail. However, closer attention reveals that Newcastle stresses repeatedly throughout his texts that all his methods are based on long and thorough practice and his methods are evidently not academic theory but suitable for implementation. Interestingly, while Reese completes his judgment by adding that Newcastle 'went abroad and ran a circus at Antwerp', no reference to either of Newcastle's manuals appears in his bibliography.[7] The danger in such a brief and dismissive view as secondary source material is that the misunderstandings are used to inform conclusions regarding the overall text as well as Newcastle's personal attitude and agenda.

Therefore, the following overview of key elements of Newcastle's method aims to consider the technical aspects of the work in some detail. The aim of this exercise is to redress a balance in the overall consideration of early modern horsemanship in general and Newcastle's work in particular, which will illuminate other aspects of the texts. Unlike his second wife, Newcastle does not suggest that 'all that are not quick in apprehending, or will not trouble themselves' should 'skip this part of my Book'.[8] He considers rather that his method should be 'learned by heart and punctually Practised' and if then 'you cannot Ride Well' there is 'no fault at all in my Books, but in You' (1667: pp.009, 43;).

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[7] Reese, p.180.
[8] *Poems, and Fancies*, sig. A6^{v}.

As Newcastle advises the use of both manuals together (1667: sig. b2^{v}; pp. 43, 93, 112), this approach will be taken in analysing his method. This will also extend to consideration of the plates from the first manual, as Newcastle refers the reader to them in the later text. He advises that 'There is in my French Book, Circles and the Prints of Horses Shooes, to shew how his Leggs should Go; there is also exact figures of all Postures, and of all Actions, both of Man and Horse, and more cannot be'(1667: p.43).

Newcastle divides his method into four progressive sections which follow a programme of education from the breeding of the appropriate horse, through its youth, backing and on through the various levels of training. This is the general pattern which is appropriate and used by most authors, from Xenophon onwards, though some start with a mature horse, or do not deal with the preparation prior to the arrival in the riding house for early training.[9] Like others, Newcastle offers advice on dealing with 'vices', which are resistances to training due to wilfulness or unease in the horse, rather than lack of understanding, and 'trouble-shooting' exercises, while the plates illustrate the most important exercises broken down into stages.

Having offered comprehensive advice on choosing and breeding suitable stock, as discussed in Chapter 3 of this study, Newcastle lays out his training method when starting with a young horse. He offers more comprehensive information on the breeding and preparation of the young horse prior to riding than earlier authors, indicating an understanding that the raw material is highly important and that correct preparation can make the first rides safer for all concerned. His method in preparing for riding is his first innovation as he completely rejects the idea that the early rides will involve taming wildness.

[9] Pluvinel, p.21; Blundeville, sig. Aviii^{v}.

While Pluvinel talks of the horse's 'extreme displeasure' and having 'occasion to be angry'[10] at the first attempts to ride him, Newcastle states that if his reader follow his early handling methods, 'il ne sera point extravagant, ny ne se couchera, & n'aura pas plûsieurs actions revesches, ordinaires aux jeune chevaux' (1658: p.30).[11] He advocates a gentle, unhurried handling when preparing for backing as while a horse may be subdued by force, Newcastle understands that anything subdued will very likely break its bounds at some point, and a horse put under great pressure will either panic or maybe settle into a resentful or cowed acceptance. The chances are that the rider would feel the backlash from this at some point in the future. Many of the methods advocated in the Grisone tradition seem unlikely to have been effective for this specific reason.

Blundeville says, 'Although you may begyn to handle your horse when he is full ii. yeares old and upward, yet it were better to tary until he be iii. yeares and a halfe old'. By this time a horse is well developed in its mind and body and is far more of a physical challenge to a handler than a weanling if it refuses to co-operate. While 'Grison would in no wise have a young horse to be ridden at the first with any bit, for feare of marring his mouth', if the horse will not respond to coaxing towards the mounting-block for the first ride, then the rider should 'rate him with a terrible voice and beate him yourselfe with a good sticke upon the heade betwixt the eares'. [12] This seems unlikely to persuade a horse to stand calmly for the rider to mount and Thomas Bedingfield's comment that the rider should 'beware in anie wise to strike the horse upon the head, and cheeflie betwixt his eares, for so he may easily be slain' suggests that perhaps some horses never reached the next step of the training. However,

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[10] Pluvinel, pp. 32, 39.
[11] 'he will not be wanton, apt to lie down, or be guilty of any extravagant actions common to young horses'(1743: p.27).
[12] Blundeville, sig. $A8^{v}$-Ax^{v}

Bedinginfield, translating Claudio Corte, goes on to recommend a servant 'with a wispe of fire' behind the horse if it will not walk forward. This uneasy balance between concern for the horse's safety and methods of coercion that are highly dangerous for all concerned arises repeatedly in these early manuals and calls into question their practicality.[13]

While Pluvinel's treatment is more refined than earlier texts, Newcastle's manual is the first to contain a complete method starting with the very young horse and shows an awareness that laying the groundwork reaps rewards later on. Using his method of casual early handling, the young weanling should live with a group of a similar age, growing accustomed to be led in and out from the pasture, handled in the stable and treated 'in all Kinds, like the Older Horses', so that riding becomes simply the next step. He also suggests that a routine of 'doing the same Thing every Summer, and every Winter' is important for habituation. He suggests that the fillies who will be kept for breeding are backed for riding, as well as the colts, 'For, being thus Gentle, [.....] if They or their Foles, be Sick, or Hurt, you may easily take them Up for the Farrier to use his Skill to Recover them' (1667: pp. 97-101). This common sense approach makes dealing with the horse safer for handler and horse alike, and changes the training process from an ordeal to a progression.

Once the riding has begun, this progressive method continues and Newcastle advocates steady steps over a period of days, rather than intensive training, so that 'le Cavalcador luy place le plus qu'il pourra la teste & peu à peu' (1658: p.31),[14] working slowly towards the desired carriage. While Pluvinel says that in the second lesson 'I begin by making the horse's head resolute and steady', he does not explain

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[13] *The Art of Riding [...] written at large in the Italian toong, by Maister Claudio Corte*, trans. by Thomas Bedingfield (London: Henrie Denham, 1584), pp. 96-97.
[14] 'the rider must take care to manage his head by degrees' (1743: p.27).

how this is to be done.[15] Newcastle devotes considerable detail to explaining how, by the use of a firm but sensitive hand and circling exercises, the position of the head will be achieved. He considers this highly important as 'si vous ne luy assurez la teste, vous n'en ferez jamais cheval parfait'(1658: p.33).[16] All his early training is to lay 'the Foundation of all things in the Mannage', so that the progression may be built on sound, steady and calm lessons (1667: p.209).

The use of exercises 'upon Large Circles', which are reduced as the horse becomes more supple, ensures that the hind legs must reach further under the horse's body. The horse will therefore develop strength and suppleness, moving towards the ideal of lightness and elegance by bearing more weight on the haunches and giving relative freedom to the forehand. With the light hand on the rein, in time the horse's head will lower as its back rounds. The rider should 'give him no other lesson than this, until he be very Supple on the Shoulders upon his Trot' again emphasising that one level of training must be secure, before the trainer moves on to the next (1667: pp.208-209).

His constant emphasis on the use of simple bits is due to his understanding that more severe bits do not put a horse upon his haunches, but on the forehand or behind the bit, meaning that he will tuck his head in to avoid contact at all. This illustrates an attention to the horse's anatomy that becomes a key feature of Newcastle's method and is significantly more sophisticated than that shown by earlier writers who 'shew themselves full of Ignorance, and Simple People, to imagine, That a piece of Iron in a Horse's Mouth can bring him Knowledge' (1667: p.343).

The use of a vast number of severe bits suggests that the importance of a full use of the hind legs and back to achieve good head carriage seems not to have been fully

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[15] Pluvinel, p.39

[16] 'should you not secure his head, it is impossible to make him a compleat horse' (1743: p.28).

understood, even though the use of circles in training was already established. Many of the early Italian manuals have many pages of bits, some of which are exceptionally severe in their action, and the sheer number of choices indicates that this was a problem area. Grisone's manual includes over fifty full page illustrations of bits.

Newcastle's argument is always that a good rider will not need to resort to such remedial methods, in agreement with Pluvinel who uses 'only about a dozen different mouthpieces which will take care of different kinds of horses'. He recognises that different shaped mouths may require different shaped bits and like Newcastle favours the bits '*a la pignatelle*' for their relative simplicity.[17] Newcastle goes into further detail on the purpose behind bitting and explains that it is not the bit that makes the horse, but 'the Art of appropriated Lessons' (1667: p.349). Like Pluvinel, Newcastle uses the term 'apuy' which means 'support', referring to the ideal known today as having the horse 'on the bit' or in 'self-carriage'. This means that there is a relationship between the bit and the rider's hand along the rein, without the horse leaning or pulling. This makes the horse's movement much softer and gives the appearance of effortlessness, but like dancing or swordsmanship, this very appearance represents a high level of intense and often arduous training. In working with an animal, the level of physical and mental pressure used must be carefully calculated, especially with a highly-strung and hot-blooded stallion that would be inclined to explode violently if over-pressured. Newcastle is fully aware of this and his use of repetition through various exercises working towards the same end, illustrates his awareness that a horse, like a child, has a short attention span. Therefore, short varied lessons yield results and the rider should always 'laissés-le toûjours en sa force'(1658:

[17] Pluvinel, p.149.

p.32), [18] thus not achieving his end by exhausting the horse, but allowing it to rest before it grows too tired to retain what it has learned. This is in direct contrast to earlier methods that rely on exhaustion in the horse to achieve compliance.[19]

As Newcastle is writing for masters not students, it may seem strange at first that he troubles himself with the rider's position. Any rider who needs this most basic of advice would surely be unable to cope with the advanced technical work that follows. He highlights, however, the premise, basic to riding and indeed to life, that the individual should first address his own posture and demeanour, before attempting to influence others. Even a master should attend to the basic skills with humility and Newcastle is advocating something new in his advice. Acutely aware that there is much bad riding, even amongst those who consider themselves to be horsemen, he ridicules poor practice mercilessly:

> This Cavalier Seats as far Back in the Sadle as he can, his Leggs stretcht as far Forward before the Shoudlers of the horse, with his Toes out, that he Spur him in the Shoulders; and Stoops in the Back, which they call a Comely Seat; not Knowing How to hold the Bridle in his Hand, nor Ghess at any Helps at all (1667: p.9).

Thus, he provides basic advice, as well as advanced technique, both for the reputation of his art, his belief in the posture he uses and also so that the rider will not attempt to make up for his own ineptitude by imposing strange saddles and bits upon his horse to force it to conform, and will remember to address his own contribution to the working partnership (1667: p.9).

The rider's seat is of paramount importance, as it influences every move the horse makes and the parody quoted above contains the exasperation of the expert who sees his expertise imperfectly copied. Thus Newcastle's initial concern is that the rider's position should not hinder the horse's movement. The alignment of the body 'his

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[18] 'leave him at last as vigorous as you found him' (1743: p.28).
[19] Blundeville, sig. Cvii-Di^{v}.

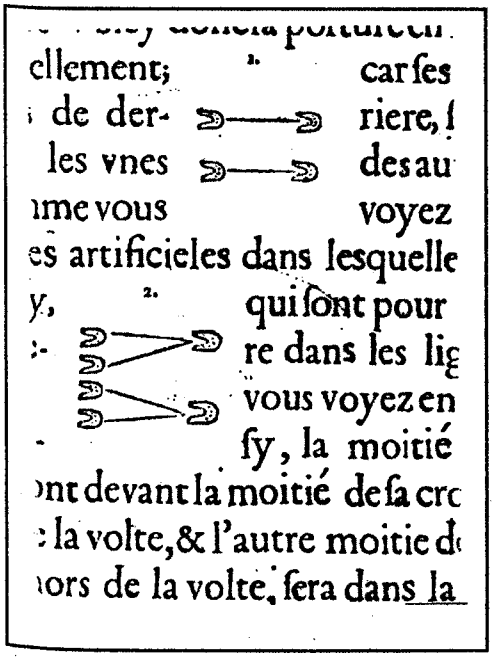
Leggs being straight Down, as if he were on Foot, his Knees and Thighes turned inwards to the Saddle', enables a secure position which is essential 'for a Horse-man hath nothing but those two with the Counterpoize of his Body to keep him on Horse-back' (1667: pp.203-206). Corte's advice, through Bedingfield, is a little different and recommends that 'from the knees down let you legs be loose and at free liberty'.[20] As he then goes on to warn against the rider's legs tipping him too far forward or backward, it would seem that this method had its difficulties. Newcastle is essentially aiming for an independent seat, where the rider does not grip the horse with the lower leg, or hang onto the reins to stay in place. The rider, by his posture must aim to unite the horse and himself harmoniously, with common, rather than individual centres of gravity as if 'they had but one Body, and one Mind, like a Centaur' (1667: p.13). He relies upon a secure, deep, long legged position so that the horse may move freely under the rider whose lower leg is able to support, control and encourage the horse's movement.

His emphatic belief that the rider's legs should be 'not too far from the Horse's Sides, nor too near, that is, not to Touch them' is to prevent the horse being bumped and touched by mistake, as the aim is to teach it that every touch of the legs is an instruction (1667: p.204). This means that the rider's balance keeps him upon the horse by moving with the animal, rather than clinging to the reins or gripping tightly with the legs, in contrast with Pluvinel who advises that the rider's knees 'be squeezed with all one's strength'. Pluvinel's advice seems to be for a more formal position, where it is 'impossible for the horse to inconvenience [the rider] nor make him lose his good posture'. This may reflect the formality of an earlier style or that Pluvinel is more interested in the young rider than the young horse, who is perhaps

[20] Bedingfield, p.34.

not yet secure in his position. He does stress that if 'he is trying to school the horse', he may need to use different aids and change his position.[21] Newcastle's advice that the rider should be 'Free and with all the Liberty in the world as [...] in Dancing *A la negligence*' (1667: p.205) is very apt, as it illustrates both the harmonious interaction of horse and rider and the understanding that form and freedom go well hand in hand. While Gloria Italiano Anzilotti sees this as evidence of over-attention to detail,[22] it reveals rather an understanding that a confident, relaxed rider inspires similar qualities in his horse. As a herd animal, the horse is attuned to every movement and mood of its leader, again due to the need of the herd to obey the slightest indication of danger and the need to flee. Therefore, the rider whose expression suggests confidence will transmit this through the relaxed ease of the riding position and so transmit calm leadership to the horse, which will be calm and responsive as a result.

As a final preparation for training, both manuals include very similar versions of the lengthy and somewhat bewildering discussion of 'all the Natural Paces, and Actions of a Horses Leggs' (1667: p.145), perhaps inspired by the work of Robert Payne, as discussed in Chapter 2 above. In the first manual, for the purposes of illuminating a very complex discussion, Newcastle uses diagrams of hoof prints to show the positioning of the horse's feet. The second of these seems to suggest that the horse has six legs (1658: p.44; see left). However, the first



[21] Pluvinel, pp.26-27.
[22] Anzilotti, p.55.

diagram illustrates a natural stance, followed by the movement of the horse's forelegs to one side then the other of a notional circle, called a 'volte', which is the smallest circle a horse can travel with its feet making two parallel tracks. Thus one foreleg moves inside the volte and is not illustrated and what the diagram is actually illustrating is this movement to both left and right.

While this is not easy to understand, it illustrates the level of horsemanship to which Newcastle is aspiring. Pluvinel uses the marks of hooves in the working circle to show direction of movement in his plates. Newcastle, however, is working more on floor patterns to show precise positioning, as well as general direction. This method enables the rider to communicate with the horse directly through its acute sensitivity to touch and it is this awareness of the capacity for subtle response in the horse that makes him an innovator.

This innovation also extends to training the rider to a subtle understanding. A rider who can feel where each hoof is on the ground at any given moment can achieve a much greater level of precision in influencing the horse's movement. To begin to feel, the rider must understand notionally what is happening beneath him and this discussion on 'Natural Paces', while undoubtedly difficult to follow, is attempting to translate feeling into text in a very new way. Again, the locus of these manuals as highly practical is reinforced. While Newcastle uses humour to enliven the technical detail in his image of the would-be acolyte, manual-in-hand upon his horse, he is reminding his reader that his manual can be used exactly as written, in a fully practical way. Therefore, 'Now that you are on Horse-back, Know how to sit, and Know all your Helpes; I will shew you How to Dres your Horse Perfectly' (1667: p. 208).

Before the rider can start to follow Newcastle's exercises, he must first understand the workings of his cavesson, the great technical innovation of Newcastle's method. Surprisingly, in neither manual is this equipment given the hyperbolic attention one might except from a man so quick to praise his own new techniques. Although the cavesson features consistently throughout the method, its initial introduction is casual. It is nevertheless emphasised as a vital piece of equipment which 'is to Stay, to Raise and to make the Horse Leight; to Teach him to Turn, to Stop, to Firm his Neck, to Assure and Adjust his Head, and his Croup, without Offending his Mouth' (1667: p.156).

The use of a cavesson noseband with reins tied to a pillar had a long history by the seventeenth century and Newcastle refined and developed this method. In using the rope tied to a fixed point or points, the horse learned by experience that it could not leap beyond the length of the rope, but without any damage to its mouth, the sensitivity of which is easily compromised. In time it would refine its movements to avoid working against the rope so the desired precision would be reached. Then the bit would be introduced and the horse moved on to the next level of training as illustrated above. It would then, in theory, respond similarly by not pulling against the rider's hands but accepting the check of the bit. Newcastle takes this idea and puts the reins of the cavesson into the rider's hands, passing them through rings on the noseband, rather than fixed points, and then rings near the rider's knees, creating a pulley system. The horse cannot tear the reins from the rider's hands, because its strength is diffused through the rings by the rider's knees. Thus the rider's control of the reins is much more sensitive and refined than tying them to a pillar, which Newcastle does not introduce until much later in the training, when the horse has already learned that it needs to accept pressure.

The rider is thus in the position to give and take on the reins, beginning with slight lateral and vertical flexion which may be increased as the horse understands and grows more flexible. Hans Handler feels that Newcastle's reins would produce 'contorted necks and frantic paces', especially in the hands of inexperienced riders.[23] But Newcastle is not writing for the inexperienced, as he makes clear in his address 'Aux Cavaliers'. He also claims that 'je puis luy commander d'avantage avec deux doigts en cettre sorte qu'on ne fera des deux mains en l'autre' (1658: p.47).[24] Therefore any danger of over bending or anxiety on the horse's part could easily be remedied and because a light touch was sufficient, the overall refinement is greater.

E. Schmit-Jensen says, 'Newcastle has often been criticized for this extreme flexion of the horse's head and neck, but it is obvious that he knew how to employ it advantageously'. He adds 'it is clear that he also succeeded in suppling the horse's back', noting that 'once the horse's back functions properly, everything else in training becomes comparatively easy'.[25] Newcastle advises the rider not to have the rein too long or short 'car l'un ou l'autre perd les forces du Cavalier' (1658: p.48).[26] If the rein were too long, the neck would not flex sufficiently to work the horse's muscles, but if too short, then the horse would be inclined to 'jacknife' at the neck, whereby control of the hindquarters is lost. For if a horse is not bent in an even curve throughout its body, but rather 'hinges' at the shoulder between neck and trunk, its movement changes from forward to an unbalanced lateral direction where it 'escapes' in the direction of its convexity.

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[23] *The Spanish Riding School: Four Centuries of Classic Horsemanship*, trans. by Russel Stockman (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1972), pp.70, 194.
[24] 'I have greater command over him with two fingers in this method than with both hands by the common method' (1743: p.35).
[25] Introduction to Allen facsimile of *General System,* 1743, p.2.
[26] 'the power of the rider is diminished'(1743: p.35).

While Anzilotti credits Newcastle with the 'invention of the draw-rein, an instrument of torture', this in entirely incorrect.[27] The action of the draw-rein works to pull the horse's head down with equal pressure on each side through the bit-rings. While it is no doubt accurate to describe it as an instrument of torture, it was neither invented by Newcastle, nor new in his time, having been used by Grisone. [28] Newcastle calls it the 'Perpendicular-Line' and having explained that it 'works extreamly upon the Curb [...] to pull his Head Down', he says emphatically, 'This I never use' but that he 'thought fit to Tell you what it is, and the Effects of it' to illustrate the difference from his own technique (1667: p.175). Draw-reins operate in a completely different way to Newcastle's cavesson reins, which work each side of the horse individually without pressure on the bit at all, thus demonstrating the understanding that any equipment using equal pressure through the bit on both sides of the horse's mouth simply offers something to lean against, as well as damaging its sensitivity.

Newcastle has effectively taken the principal of the draw-rein, which is essentially a pulley, and used it laterally, rather than vertically, from the cavesson rather than the bit, and only ever in one hand, rather than forcing the head down with two. The impact upon the horse is completely different as any equipment such as a draw-rein ultimately does not train the horse at all: it forces it into the required position and sets up resistance, thereby undermining training. Also it encourages the horse to 'go horribly upon the shoulders, though their Heads be Down', rather than engaging the hind-quarters, which as Newcastle is so fond of saying, 'is the End of all our Labour, and the Quintessence of our Art' (1667: pp.265-266).

In using the cavesson in the exercises that follow, Newcastle flexes the horse's

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[27] Anzilotti, p.54.
[28] MacDonald, p.129.

neck so that its head is turned toward the shoulder, changing sides regularly so that muscle is developed equally. His cavesson teaches the horse to flex laterally with mobility between the jaw and neck, rather than the jack-knife flexion between the shoulder and the lower-neck. The purpose of this is to create a finished, that is fully trained, animal which is supple through its neck and shoulder and ultimately through its back. This is very difficult for the horse due to the construction of its spine, which is a fairly rigid structure due to the necessity of support for the heavy contents of the body. If the spine were more flexible, it would not be possible to ride the horse but training works towards the maximum flexibility possible. Most of the spinal movement is in the neck and tail areas and the apparent bending of a horse upon a circle is due to the mobility between the cervical vertebrae, the movement of the rib cage and the freedom of movement available to the front legs, which can adduct and abduct in relation to the body. This is best observed by watching a horse attempt to reach around to scratch its own back, a very awkward movement which illustrates just how little flexibility there is between the shoulders and the croup. Indeed while there is a very small amount of lateral movement between the thoracic and lumbar vertebrae, there is none in the sacral area, and this is one of the reasons that horses engage in 'mutual grooming', where each scratches the other's back. There is no other author prior to Newcastle who uses a method such as this, and it suggests a close understanding of the way the horse's spine works, perhaps arising from the work with Payne, as mentioned above and discussed in detail in Chapter 2.[29]

Clearly the technical aspects of the manuals are hard to follow to the non-rider, but a level of understanding is important if their locus as practical working documents is to be grasped. The training plates (numbers 14-29; 36-37) in the first manual follow

[29] See Peter C. Goody, *Horse Anatomy: A Pictorial Approach to Equine Structure* (London: J. A. Allen, 1983), for a detailed but accessible analysis of the horse's body.

the text, illustrating in accurate technical detail the points that Newcastle makes. They demonstrate the practical application of the method in a way that is helpful to the lay-person, as well as the rider. The plates begin with the perfect seat of the rider (Plate 14), and then illustrate key points in the progressive training method. Marginal notes in the text in the first manual direct the reader to the correct plates and some of the plates have a page reference.[30] By following the training method in the text with reference to the plates, both their technical accuracy and the way in which Newcastle uses them to clarify the detail in the written instruction can be demonstrated.

The first stage of basic training, once the young horse is at ease with a rider and moving forward willingly is 'to Supple his Shoulders [...] for that is the Foundation of all things in the Mannage' (1667: p.209). These lessons develop confidence, flexibility and self-carriage and lay the groundwork for the next stage. Newcastle starts by explaining how to use the cavesson to facilitate the most benefit from the exercises then details a series of lessons with great precision. In Plates 15 and 16, it may be seen that the horse has a bit in its mouth, but is being ridden from Newcastle's design of cavesson. Captain Mazin, Newcastle's equerry, holds the reins of the cavesson with 'les ongles de la main droite en haut, & le petit doight vers l'épaule' (1658: p.48), using the subtlest flexing of the rider's hands to influence the horse's movements.[31] This is particularly clear in the Plate 15 exercise, 'Trot a Droite'. Although the back of Mazin's hand is towards the reader, it can be seen to be turning slightly upwards. Turning the hand so that the finger nails are upwards brings the rein under a different tension than if the hand is straight, but without the rider shortening

[30] See Appendix II.

[31] 'with the nails of your hand directed upwards to the left shoulder' (1743: p.41); In the 1667 manual, pp.176-177 the position of the hands is dealt with in great detail in the explanation of 'helps', but then not addressed in the individual exercises. This loses some of the clarity of the earlier text but reflects the overall style of the second text.

its length. He is encouraging a rounding of the horse through pressure on the cavesson via the rein, rather than forcing it with brute strength. This is also seen in Plate 15, where the horse's shape is rounded and driving forward from the large muscles of the haunches, with the different paces illustrated to show the progression of the exercise. The slight rotation of the hand adds more subtlety of movement than a direct lift would and also enables the rider to move the reins without needing to lift the arm from the elbow, simply rotating it at the wrist which 'Works the same Effect' (1667: p.166). The purpose of this movement is to flex the horse laterally at the neck, to encourage suppleness throughout the body, and to prevent the horse from falling onto its forehand and effectively pulling itself forward, rather than carrying its weight on its haunches. This difference has a considerable effect on the ability of the horse to move elegantly and efficiently. All the exercises in Plate 15 illustrate using this principle at the walk, the trot and the *galop,* showing that the rein remains a very similar length throughout, while the horse is balanced and Mazin's arm remains in position.[32]

The rider's legs are positioned to help the horse curve through the body. Therefore, once the horse's neck is correctly positioned, Newcastle instructs that the rider 'doit aider son cheval doucement de la jambe droite, ce qui mettra la crouppe dehors, & en mesme temps travaillera les épaules, mais nõ plus que la moitié de la crouppe ; car l'autre moitié est perduë, puis que le Cavalier n'en at aucun sentiment'

[32] The term 'canter', referring to the three-beat pace that is the natural progression from the trot was not used in the riding house at all in the early modern period. This pace was known as the *galop* (also spelt *gallop*). In the manège, the sprint speed of the true gallop would be inappropriate in terms both of available space and the aim of graceful dance-like movement, while the two-beat trot and four beat walk do not offer the moments of suspension and dynamism which the *galop*, or canter, exploits.

(1658: p.48).[33] His belief that at any one time the exercises can work both the horse's shoulders, but only one side of the croup is a little confusing. By the very nature of the horse's physique, every movement affects the whole body to some extent. Newcastle seems to be focussing here on the tendency of the hindquarters to drift outwards so that the outside rear hind can work with less effort. If the rider were to attempt to keep the hindquarters in position with the outside leg, this would influence the rider's body alignment, which is crucial in maintaining the desired position. As the rider's outside leg is bringing the outside shoulder in, and the horse's inside foreleg passes in front of and crosses the outside foreleg due to the direction of travel, then both shoulders will work efficiently. His instruction that the rider should 'bring in your outward Shoulder moderately' (1667: p.177) when the horse is working the circle, reinforces the importance of the body as an aid, as the turn inward would influence the rider's weight and pelvis position, which would influence the horse's response. This capitalises on the horse's instinct to seek leadership. When the horse is sufficiently educated and the rider suitably competent, a close unity is achieved. Therefore, a change in the rider's position will induce the horse to maintain the unit in balance and adjust its position accordingly. This is linked to its physical and psychological comfort.

A development of this use of the cavesson and the circles is the movement known as a 'shoulder-in', whereby the horse's shoulders move off the parallel track with its hind quarters so that it makes either two or three tracks, rather than one, depending on the degree of the angle. This is another of Newcastle's innovations, a movement not used in this manner before his time, but one taken up and refined further by the 18th.

[33] 'he should touch his horse gently with the right leg, which will force his croup outwards, and work his shoulders at the same time, but only half of his croupe, the other being lost the rider having no feeling of it'(1743: p.35).

century French master, François Robichon de la Guérinière, to whom it is often attributed. The significance of the shoulder-in is largely to do with the development in expressive lateral movement it encourages in the action of the legs, especially the hind pair, due to the greater movement they must assay. Michael J. Stevens considers that 'this exercise is one of the most useful available to the trainer. It supples the shoulders, encourages engagement and strengthens the hocks [...] as the horse is made to curve his body round in front of the inside hind leg so that this hind leg does more than its usual amount of work and is the prime limb for propelling the horse along'.[34]

Newcastle devotes considerable detail to discussing the position of the horse's feet and, in the first manual, uses diagrams of concentric circles to illustrate the tracks made by the hooves. He is working for precision here and this reveals a great deal about a man often criticised for being a dilettante.[35] In the riding house he was clearly focussed on the finest detail and shows great concern that the rider should not achieve an appearance of correctness while failing to actually achieve the true suppleness desired. This is shown especially well in walk and trot exercises in Plate 15, where it may be seen that the horse's raised hind foot will step down just inside the track of its forefoot on the same side.

The rider's weight and focus assist the horse to maintain the correct position, as explained above and may also be seen in Plate 15. In the exercises where the horse is travelling to the right, that is, on the right hand, Mazin's body is turned slightly into the circle, most clearly in 'Au pas a Gauche' and 'Trot a Droite'. In the exercises on the left hand, this is evident from the visibility of his left elbow. This means that the rider's seat bones and body alignment follow the direction intended and the horse will

[34] Stevens, p.62.
[35] See Clarendon, Warwick, Hutchinson already cited.

naturally follow because all its instincts are to carry weight upon its back in the most balanced position, for the sake of its own freedom of movement. It will also follow the rider's body language and tend thus to focus its own attention, either physically or visually depending on the exercise, in the direction of the rider's gaze. While Mazin appears to be looking straight ahead in 'Au pas a Droite', the horse is not as close to the pillar he is using for reference, as in 'Au pas a Gauche', where he looks into the circle. Therefore, it appears that in 'Au pas a Droite', he is moving the horse into position by directing his focus that way.

Plate 15 follows the principles of suppling through the walk, trot and *galop*, with hoof prints on the ground illustrating the path the horse will take in completing the exercise. The pillar in the walk exercises is to enable the horse to keep its position and the horse is worked on both hands, that is to the right and left, to aid even muscle development, 'for, without Suppling a Horses Shoulders extreamly, he can never do anything' (1667: p. 209). In the first manual, he repeats the instructions for each exercise on both hands, while in the second he simply instructs the rider that 'For the Left-Hand [...] do in everythyng, as I told you before for the Right-Hand' (1667: 284-285). This is part of his movement away from the step-by-step approach he takes in the first manual, and while not always helpful, in this instance it is an effective way of streamlining the text.

Plate 16 moves the horse to the next level, as it works off the circle, though still using the cavesson reins. The images in this plate are particularly helpful in showing the progression through one exercise at the trot and *galop*, as explained in detail in both manuals (1658: pp.48-58; 1667: pp.208-213). This illustrates one of Newcastle's main methods of progression, namely to bring the horse to a place where it naturally wishes to move to the next stage. When trotting, the horse will reach the point where

he is 'so Leight, as he offers to gallop of himself' (1667: p.209), that is moves to the next natural gait. He is then ready to move on to performing the exercises at the *galop* without any additional pressure being put upon him.

If the images in Plate 16 are viewed from the centre to the outside of the plate in both phases of the exercise, it may be seen very clearly that Captain Mazin is preparing the horse to turn and go in the opposite direction. His weight is further back in the images to the outsides of the plate and he prepares to turn his body, thus shifting his weight to encourage the horse to take more of its own weight on the haunches and pivot, allowing the forehand freedom to change direction. It may also be seen that the hand holding the flexed position of the head has moved higher and closer to his body by a few inches. The hand to the outside of the turn is on the reins attached to the bit, and will use them to support the horse's neck and shoulder through the turn. These first training plates establish that the images are not simply an approximation of the movement, part illustration, part decoration, but a highly technical and accurate depiction of the exact nature of the horse and rider relationship to accomplish a complicated exercise.

Newcastle does not illustrate his method of stopping the horse, as it is straightforward to follow in the text. He again uses attention to detail to ensure that the horse is inevitably going to work on lightness and bring its haunches underneath its body. This is highly important as 'to make him Capable of all Justness and Firmness in all sort of ayres, and Mannages; Depends absolutely on the perfection on the Stop': Obtaining a firm halt may be done by teaching the horse to go backwards and will help 'to put him on his Hanches; to Accommodate, and Adjust his Hinder-Feet' as when being asked to stop, the horse must drop its hind quarters a little, applying its natural brakes, in a similar way as it would to go backwards. The rider

should 'put your Body Back to put him upon the Hanches', to assist in this, and remember with a young horse to 'Stop him but seldom; and when you do, Stay him rather by Little and Little' until he is stronger and more balanced. Without due care in this 'you will give them such a Crick and Taint in their Back, as they will never Recover it' (1667: pp.210, 220, 238).

After working the shoulders and establishing a secure balanced halt, attention moves to the horse's croup or hind-quarters, with the exercises illustrated in Plate 17. It is more difficult for a horse to supple its hindquarters, due in part to the huge muscle bulk, which would inevitably be increased by the work on the haunches that Newcastle advocates. The muscles in a horse's hindquarters are the source of its forward motion, therefore to abduct and adduct them takes effort. Newcastle's lessons to supple the croup all work on the crossing of the feet, which he explains in detail, particularly in the first manual:

> Le cheval va icy en passager ou *Incavallare*, qui est croiser une jambe sur l'autre : mais parce que le cheval est sur l'action du trot, en laquelle ses jambes se remuënt en croix, il met, ou croise le bras de dehors par dessus celuy de dedans, & au mesme temps il avance la jambe de dedans ; le mouvement suivant, il avance le bras de dedans, & croise la jambe de dehors par dessus celle de dedans. Ensorte qu'en cette action, en lacquelle il remuë ses jambes en croix, il est impossible qu'il croise le bras & la jambe de dehors en mesme temps, par dessus le bras & la jambe de dedans, mais il les croise l'une par dessus l'autre chaque second mouvement (1658: p.62).[36]

While it may be difficult to read this section without envisaging the horse in a complicated knot of its own legs, with the same close attention Newcastle himself

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[36] 'A horse in this action passages, which is, to lap one leg over another; but because he is on the action of the trot, in which he moves his legs crossways, he places or crosses the outward fore-leg over the inward and at the same time he advances the inward hind-leg; the next step he advances the inward fore-leg, and crosses the outward hind-leg over the inward, so that it is impossible for him in this action to cross both his near-legs at the same instant over his off-ones; but he crosses them one over the other every second movement'(1743: p.41); *Incavallare* is accepted Italian terminology in the riding-house from Grisone's time, meaning 'to lap one thing over another'; see also 1667: p.222; Blundeville sig. F7^{v}; MacDonald, p.232.

must have paid to his horse's legs at work, what he is explaining becomes clear. To reduce this to its simplest explanation, he is saying that a horse moves its legs on the basis of opposed diagonals. The reason for his somewhat bewildering use of detail is so that the rider understands the positioning of the legs in order to achieve the required end. If the horse is worked incorrectly, the muscle development will not be suitable for the more advanced manoeuvres to come.

Plate 17 illustrates that the lessons for working the horse's croupe encourage the horse to move the hind legs laterally, as well as forward and back, enhancing his athletic ability. The capacity to cross the hind legs when travelling directly sideways or on a circle, makes a great difference to the range of movement of the horse, but takes a considerable amount of practice. Newcastle is aiming to enable the horse to free up this motion, through a range of specific exercises. These start by using the wall as a barrier to prevent forward movement, with the horse working at a right angle to and along it, its neck flexed in the direction it is travelling. This uses the horse's natural instinct to protect itself from injury against the wall as a psychological barrier, and is less restrictive than if the barrier were physically provided by the bit, via the rider's hand.

Plate 17 illustrates this to the right hand side of the page. The horse is required to cross its legs directly to the side, whereas in the next stage, on the left hand side of Plate 17, the exercises around the pillar, the legs are moving on a circle also. The circle is much more difficult, hence the more straightforward use of the wall until the horse understands its task. Newcastle focuses on making the desired movement easy and any other difficult, so that the horse's natural inclination enables success.

The images in Plate 17 again show in Captain Mazin's position how the weight and body alignment of the rider assist the horse by turning in the direction the horse is

moving. In the 'Au pas a sa Longeur a Droite', the crossing of the left hind foot in front of the right hind may be seen very clearly. The floor patterns show that the horse is turning in a small circle in its own length, that is around a fixed notional centre. The pillar is used in much the same way as the wall, so that each time the horse encounters the pillar, to avoid it, it will correct its position, supported by the rider's aids. The rider must use the 'Inward Reyn, and Outward Legg' (1667: p.222), effectively balancing the horse between the rein and the leg. It may be helpful to consider that a horse is sensitive enough to feel a fly land on its skin. This sensitivity can be dulled by rough handling but the subtlety with which Newcastle works suggests that he is both fully aware of the delicacy of a horse's responses and fully focused on retaining this quality to enable the final polished work on a fully trained horse to be so refined that the audience cannot see the cues given by the rider. He advises that the rider should 'not help every time, but (in Musical time), according to the time of the horse' (1667: p.291). This advocacy of intermittent stimuli, the 'helps' or in modern terms 'aids', in time with the rhythm of the horse's pace, will be more effective than the constant pressure used by Pluvinel, as cited above. Eventually the horse's brain will sublimate and ignore continual pressure and he will become unresponsive to hand or spur, 'for then he will not Care for them no more than a Stone or a Block' (1667: p.185).

The next progression is the terra a terra, literally 'ground-to-ground', a rocking-horse motion, where the horse moves forward and sideways slightly, illustrated in Plate 18. Newcastle frequently uses the term synonymously with the *petit gallop* (1667: pp.228, 230, 231), which is helpful in defining the movement as similar to a highly collected canter, indicating the perfect balance of the horse and rider partnership. Newcastle is aware that this is a complicated exercise and in the first

manual refers back to previous line diagrams 'de peur de vous énnuyer de plusieures repetitions'.[37] In both, he allows for small steps of progress, illustrating his points with analogies to illuminate the points he is making. When discussing the physique necessary in 'Leaping Horses', he illustrates that muscular strength and ability do not necessarily go together by saying:

> Take one of the Guard, the Strongest Fellow that is, and I will bring a Little Fellow that shall Out Leap him many a Foot: yet that Strong Fellow would crush that Little Fellow to Death with his Armes: So 'tis not Strength but Disposition fits Horses for Leaping (1667: p.277).

He moves on through the fourth and fifth division of lessons very swiftly in comparison with the earlier exercises, as the horse is much more advanced in its training and he is now moving towards riding off the long-shanked bit, which operates on the basis of leverage on the horse's poll and jaw. The plates illustrate this important progression, which is reinforced by the detail that Newcastle himself now rides, it being appropriate for the master to take over the instruction of the most advanced airs.

In light hands, use of the shanked bit is a refined and precise method while in untrained hands, however, it is capable of putting the horse's head in a vice-like restriction. This is why the detail of the loose reins in Newcastle's plates, as well as those of Pluvinel, illustrates the understanding that the weight of the rein on the branches of the bit should be sufficient contact. Ann Hyland, whose authoritative work on the history of the horse in war involves considerable practical exploration, says that when using a Tudor period bit that although 'used harshly the thin chain would have been painful,' her Arab stallion 'went extremely well in this bit, but he was on a loose rein, as were the horses shown in Newcastle's work.' The bit Hyland

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[37] 'lest I should offend you by many repetitions' (1743: p.56).

used in this experiment was very similar to the bit shown in the centre in Plate 39.[38]

All the earlier lessons are moving towards the step whereby the cavesson is removed and the horse is worked off the bit alone, having achieved sufficient flexibility and strength to hold its posture without the assistance of the training-aid. Newcastle is careful to add exercises by which 'vous connoîtrez asseurement si vous l'avez bien travaillé sur les premieres leçons, ou non' (1658: p. 96).[39] This is crucial if the horse is not to be moved on too fast and perhaps over-challenged, and to ensure that the precision of each exercise is accurate to prevent injury or, perhaps worse to the early modern rider, loss of face in performance (1658: p.97).

Plate 20 illustrates the horse working off the bit and Newcastle takes over for the advanced stages of the training. The rotation of the wrist is especially clear in 'De pas a Main Gauche de la Longeur' as Newcastle's fingers are visible; similarly in the 'Terre à terre a Main Gauche'. Also note that in both terra a terra images, Newcastle uses his body position to direct the horse, looking over his shoulder, thus putting weight on the seat bone in the direction of movement. Also the backward movement of his weight in doing this acts as a brake without him touching the horse's mouth, so that it is effectively rocked back on its haunches, not pulled back interfering with its self-carriage. He also uses the rhythm of the movement 'car le petit gallop divertit le cheval, & les cadences de terre à terre le sont obeïr à la main & aux talons, & lors qu'on le remet au petit galop, il obeït à la main aux talons : aynsy on le rendrea cheval

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[38] Hyland, *The Warhorse 1250-1600*, p. 8-9; the bit used on my own horses in experimenting with Newcastle's exercises works on the same principle, which is far more subtle in a light hand than a bit without the long shanks, due to weight and leverage ratios. In this context, it should suffice to note that bitting is a complex and technical subject with considerable implications for the horse's comfort and the training process. For an accessible further explanation, aimed at riders, see Greg Darnell, *A Bit of Information* (Colorado: Western Horseman Inc., no date).

[39] 'you will be able to judge absolutely whether he has been worked right upon his first lessons, or not'(1743: p.57).

parfaitment obeïssant à la main & aux talons' (1658: p. 96).[40] This is natural and relaxing to the horse so its desire to work at that pace will enable it to quickly learn the 'helps' which signal the pace at which it is comfortable. He goes into greater detail on this point in the first manual and in the second says 'And thus Working with the Bitt, Produces many Excellent things, for Terra a Terra, as I have particularly set down afore' (1667: p.171). As at this point in the second manual, he has dealt only briefly with the terra a terra, I would suggest that this is an instance where he refers his reader back to the earlier text. The precision with which the plates illustrate the detail of the terra a terra, where the gestures of the rider's head, position of his body and depiction of his fingers are all accurate, goes far beyond any earlier manual in illuminating the method.

The final lessons in this advanced groundwork are all to 'finir un cheval parfaitement dans le Manege' (1658: p.112)[41] and 'to put them upon the Hanches, which is the Master-Piece of our Art' (1667: p.269). This indicates that the basic training is perfected and the horse is fully able to undertake displays in the riding house, including the 'demy-airs', which are the intermediate moves in which two legs remain upon the ground, as opposed to the airs-above-the ground in which all four feet leave it. The terra a terra is a key feature of these exercises, as it approaches the airs-above-the-ground in its motion without demanding too much of the horse. As this first challenging and complicated stage of the training draws to a close Newcastle is at pains to point out that 'il faut plus de papier à écrire ces leçons, & plus de temps à les lire qu'à les practiquer' (1658: p. 116).[42]

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[40] 'for the gentle gallop pleases the horse, and the times of the Terre-terre make him obey the hand and heel; and thus he is made perfectly obedient to both' (1743: p.57).
[41] 'to perfectly finish a Horse for the Manege'(1743: p.65).
[42] 'it requires more paper to write these lessons, and more time to read them, than to put them into practice'(1743: p.67).

Karen Raber feels that Newcastle's 'scientific method which probes and manipulates every muscle of horse and rider, surely works on the body at the most mechanical level' and undermines his opposition to 'the Cartesian notion that animals are merely machines'.[43] However, his athletic training is not at all in conflict with his view that horses are thinking, feeling creatures; his knowledge of the horse's anatomy enables him to train in a very specific way, allowing for the animal's intelligence and ability to recognise subtle signals of weight and pressure from 'the Hand and the Heel, which makes them all Perfect [...] and never Fails me' (1667: p.004).

With Newcastle's method, he assures his reader that once a horse is sufficiently mature, 'having both Understanding and Strength' so that he will 'learn much Sooner and Better', then 'I can [...] Make him a Ready-Horse in three Months'(1667: p.202). The horse must be of 'si bien dispose', reiterating the point made earlier that not all horses are suited for this intense training, which illustrates that his approach is not mechanical, but based on each horse's strengths and abilities. Moreover, the horse must be in good hands. If those hands are as capable as his own, or Captain Mazin's, then his reader is unlikely to fail with any horse at all. Newcastle reinforces this by reminding his reader in the first manual that he uses this method with continual success himself and that he has seen Captain Mazin succeed with a variety of horses:

> [...] soi foibles, soit forts, mediocres, de toutes humeurs, de toute nature, & de disposition differente, chevaux Hongres, Cavalles, des grands & gros chevaux, chevaux de taille mediocre, petits chevaux, & bidets, chevaux de tous pays, comme chevaux d'Espaigne, Pologne, Barbes, Turcs,Neapolitains, Roussins, Danois, & de touts sortes & diverses especes de chevaux de Flandres; pour les chevaux mélez (1658: p.117).

He adds, with unconscious irony, that Mazin failed only with those that fell sick,

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[43] Raber, p.58.

went lame, or died in his hands.[44] This strange mixed-bag of horses, including mares and ponies, perhaps for feisty ladies and boys to learn on, all benefited, he claims, from his new method, though he does not mention how Captain Mazin coped with what seems a heavy demand for his skills. He does, however, cover every possible type of horse that may be brought for training during a time when his finances were constrained, so there may be the discreet hope of business arising from his assurances.

In moving on to the 'airs', which are highly advanced moves not suitable for all horses, Newcastle explains in similar great detail, stressing that the rider must 'in all Ayres follow the Strength, Spirit and Disposition of the Horse and do nothing against Nature; for Art is but to set Nature in Order, and nothing else' (1667: p.271). Choosing the air for which the chosen horse has a ready aptitude is emphasised many times and this illustrates why, in performance, a number of horses are used in turn, each displaying special skills 'unto which Nature hath most Fitted him' (1667: p. 272):

> I Rid first a Spanish-Horse, call'd Le Superbe, of Light-Bay [...] he went in Corvets forwards, backwards, sideways, on both Hands; The second Horse I Rid, was another Spanish Horse, call'd Le Gentry [.....] No Horse ever went Terra a Terra like him, so just and so easie [...] The third and last Horse I Rid then, was a Barbe, that went a Metz-Ayre, very High, both Forward, and upon his Voltoes (1667: sig. c^{v}-c).

In this advanced training, he goes back to working the horse in hand, this time around the pillar. The use of the single, rather than double pillars is another significant change between Newcastle's methods and those of Pluvinel. He ends his

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[44] 'proper disposition'; 'the weak, the strong, those of moderate strength, of all humours and natures, and of all different dispositions; Hungarian horses, mares, great large horses, middle-sized ones, little ones, poneys, horses of all countries, Spaniards, Polanders, Barbs, Turks, Neopolitans, Danes, all sorts of Flanders horses and horses of mix'd breeds' (1743: p.67).

final section of lessons in the 1658 manual with 'Discourse sur les deux piliers (1658: p.235), which effectively undermines this key method of Pluvinel's training, though without any mention of his rival's name. His argument is that two pillars are restricting and make the horse so dependent upon their support that he cannot manage without them, 'comme je l'ay veu en plusieurs chevaux'. Experience and observation are always Newcastle's support for his arguments and he believes that one pillar allows the novice horse support without restriction and 'donne toute la liberté possible à la crouppe', thus encouraging freedom of expression in the horse's athleticism (1658: p.235).[45]

This is illustrated in Plate 24, where the horse is worked in hand to prepare for the curvet. Blundeville describes this movement as 'a continual prauncynge and dauncynge uppe and downe stil in one place, and sometime sydelynge to and fro, wherin the horse maketh as though he would fain runne'.[46] It has changed greatly over the years and today is a series of leaps forward on the hind legs. It is also 'that motion which the Italians call Corvette or Pesate',[47] so that the terms are sometimes used interchangeably in the early modern manuals. This can also cause difficulties in analysis, as images of the curvet and pesade in practice resemble a modern levade, a movement developed in the nineteenth century, which has no dynamic element, being a pose of perfect balance on the hind legs at 45 degrees to the ground. Newcastle says 'if you raise him high, and he does not advance it is a Pesade and not a Curvet', thus distinguishing between the two, whereas Bedingfield uses the terms synonymously. For Newcastle, however, the pesade is still a dynamic movement, unlike a levade, as he uses it every few steps upon a circle:

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[45] 'A Discourse concerning the two Pillars'; 'as I have seen in many horses'; 'gives all liberty to the croup'(1743: p.117).
[46] Blundeville, Book II, sig. M2.
[47] Bedingfield, p.46.

> Raise him as high as you can, and Hold him there Gently [...], and Walk him away again, and Raise him again, and do this all along the Volto, and this is a right Pesate (1667: p.018).

This is because he believes that making a horse work in place without forward motion of any sort must be used with caution because it can make the horse restive and impatient, due to the dynamic gathering of energy in the movement. As he explains 'the Ayre of Corvets gives a Horse Patience with Discreet Riding' but 'I have seldom seen that Discreet Riding' and so he advises 'Horses must have a great deal of time, with the Custom of often Repetitions [...] before they will be Settled, and Firm'd, to go certainly in Corvets' (1667: p. 272).[48]

In Plates 23 and 24, training for this movement begins in hand, with the horse being prompted by taps from the *poinson*, a short stick with an iron point at the end of it. This is to simulate the aids the horse will receive once the rider is in place, without additional weight in these early stages, so the handler should 'le piquer doucement de son petit poinçon à l'endroit des éperons' (1658: p.133).[49] A second handler taps the horse on either side of the shoulders with a switch to shift its weight backwards and raise the forehand. Newcastle explains that the single pillar is useful here because without the restriction of the second pillar, once he understands the movement, the horse 'go upon his Voltoes perfectly [...] which I never saw but this Way' (1667: p.280). Note that the groom holding the rope tied to the pillar has it looped around twice. This means that should the horse panic, the rope can be released quickly, but if

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[48] As discussed in Chapter 1, it has become common to apply modern terminology to early modern exercises, which can be misleading. The pesade as described by both authors cited is a dynamic preparation for forward movement, rather than a pose, and while offering the same suggestion of perfect balance and control as the levade, also implies a gathering of energy. Therefore, I would suggest that the semiotic value of the image of a rider on a horse performing a pesade, is as much about his own dynamism as about his ability to control the horse's energy.

[49] 'prick him gently in the spurring place'(1743: p.71).

the horse simply puts up some resistance, the rope cannot be pulled through the groom's hands. This is yet another illustration both of the subtlety of Newcastle's method, where safety is an issue, and the accuracy of the plates, which offer good working practice, not an idealised or unrealistic expectation.

Plates 25 and 26 illustrate the progression through the advanced training exercises. Newcastle advises that 'you must put your Body a little Forward' (1667: p.207) when working in airs where the horse raises the forehand, so that the addition of a man's weight on his haunches does not restrict its freedom of movement. The plates and the text of both manuals continue to work in this detailed, precise way and once the foundation of the curvet is established, the high airs, although exceptionally difficult to perform well, are built one after the other with relatively little additional information. This is possibly because the horse will have reached a high degree of suppleness, flexibility and responsiveness before beginning this phase of its training. However, it is also likely that Newcastle chooses to withhold the instruction for the ultimate skills to maintain his uniqueness, 'for, to make them go in Perfection in all Ayres as I can, were too much and too great a Miracle', rather than revealing his most important secrets (1667: p.48).

The less exalted rider's position may require some moderation in the high airs, so that he does not inadvertently 'rather make the horse fling himself forward than make a regular leap'. To ride a horse performing the high airs requires great skill also, for safety and grace so that 'when you Raise him, instantly put your Brest out, which makes your Shoulders go a little back (though insensibly) to the Beholders' (1667: p. 295). Newcastle cautions that 'il ne faut pas faire comme quelques-uns, qui mettent leur teste en arriere toutes les fois que le cheval suate, presque jusques sur la crouppe, comme s'ils avoient les reins rompus, ou qu'ils eussent beaucoup de peine à se tenir

dans la selle' (1658 : p.169), thus appearing ungainly and ridiculous.[50] The rider should never forget that this is a performance art and that the ultimate aim is to be able to appear before an audience in complete harmony with a beautiful and compliant horse whose skill attests to the rider's own grace and dedication.

In both manuals, Newcastle includes a section on 'all the FAULTS & ERRORS THE HORSE Can commit; with the Vices, and Horse's Sins in the MANNAGE', including 'How to Cure him' (1667: p. 299). Vices in this sense are errors or disobediences that reduce the effectiveness of the method and these are troubleshooting exercises, offering remedial work. Therefore, they revisit some earlier stages of the training, such as suppling the shoulders and anticipate some ways in which the horse may evade the training and develop bad habits. They offer a number of exercises for each 'vice', to allow for the many different ways in which the horse may evade the training, and also for riders who 'en voiant, imitent & penser monter à ma mode' (1658: p.202).[51] Newcastle is aware that riders, like their horses, may try to take the easy way out in training, so explains why following his method without fully understanding or taking the time needed for precision will not work. His indignation comes through strongly at 'many presumptuous Fellows, as Ignorant as they are Presumptuous that Laughing, say, They will make any horse a Leaping-Horse' (1667: p.317) or attempt to 'faire choses impossibles & contre nature'.[52] Although it is clear throughout his training that Newcastle is strict with his horses, and tolerates no rebellion, he believes 'more Horses are Spoil'd by ill Riding, and are made Vitious, than by Nature' (1667: p.308).

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[50] 'some that I have seen, who put their heads almost back to the croupe every time the horse leaps, as if their reins were broke, or as if they had difficulty to keep in the saddle' (1743: p.90).

[51] 'by seeing imitate, and imagine they ride as I do' (1743: p.103).

[52] 'perform impossibilities, and things contrary to nature' (1743: p.104).

Faced with a 'resty' horse, Newcastle advises that 'Il faut un peu le forcer, mais pas long-temps ; ca on le rendroit pire'. As his method throughout advocates, the rider must assert himself, but not attempt to intimidate the horse which can only result in panic and injury to both:

> Je n'ay point encore vue que la force, & la passion aient gagné quoy que ce soit sur un cheval ; car le chavel aiant moins d'entendement quele cavalier, sa passion en est plus forte , tellement qu'il l'emporte toûjours sur le Cavalier, ce qui fait qu'aucune violence n'a d'effet sur luy (1658: p.205).[53]

He advocates brisk use of the spurs, with a cool head rather than temper, for all resistances 'for this Remedy never fails' (1667: p.307). The rider must 'leave not Spurring of him [...] until he Obey you: [...] and if he Obey you in the least Kind, Cherish him, and make Much of him' (1667: p.185). Pluvinel does not devote any particular attention to vices but does recommend a similar method to Newcastle in explaining that 'the horse will know that if he does not move he will be pricked, and that if he moves he will pricked neither by the *valet* nor by the little stick'. This 'serves as the rowel of a spur'[54] in the same way as Newcastle's *poinson*, and relies upon the same principle that the horse is taught to move away from pressure without being terrified or tormented.

This is in sharp contrast to methods by earlier authors, the most infamous being Grisone's 'shrewed catte teyed at the one end of a long pole' to be thrust 'betwixt his thyes so as she may scratch him' and the 'shirle crye of a hedgehog beinge strayt teyed by the foote under the Horse's tayle'. According to Blundeville this method was efficacious in making a horse belonging to the King of Naples that refused to go forward have a sudden change of heart and unsurprisingly 'he had as much a do

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[53] 'I have never yet seen that force and passion have prevailed the least upon the horse: for the horse having less understanding than his rider, his passion is so much the stronger, which makes him always get the better of the horseman, and shews that violent methods will not do'(1743: p.105).

[54] Pluvinel, p.69.

afterwards to kepe him from the contraye vice of running away'.[55] The seemingly unconscious irony in these violent methods is that obviously they do not move the horse from an attitude of resistance to one of compliance. Remove the suffering hedgehog and once the horse has calmed down, the likelihood is it will be just as 'restie' again, although it will probably refuse to go near the place where it encountered the hedgehog. The more thoughtful methods of Pluvinel and Newcastle show an understanding that a horse does not learn when it is panicking, so their ways of dealing with vices are forceful reinforcements of their basic training, rather than extravagant gestures of domination. While unconcerned if he should draw blood from the horse when it is being rebellious, Newcastle also advocates swift rewards for compliance 'that he may see you have Mercy as well as Justice, and that you can Reward, as well as Punish'(1667: pp.184-185).

Newcastle's work in the riding house spanned youth to old-age, when he would watch his equerries work, even when he had become too frail to ride himself. It is therefore unsurprising that his methods should change and progress over the years. The two manuals of 1658 and 1667 offer a useful illustration of the changes in ideas that happened over one decade. He does not ever explain or indeed refer to his changes in ideas from one manual to the next, except to refer readers of the second to the illustrations or further detail in the first and his belief that using 'both together' is the best way to proceed.

Most of the changes come in the early stages of the horses' life and training, suggesting they were making such swift progress that he found he could refine his techniques further. While in the first book, he suggests weaning between Michaelmas (September 29) and Christmas, by the second he is more specific in suggesting

[55] Blundeville, sig. E.ii^{v}.

Martelmas (November 11). The earlier text suggests that for exercise the young horse may be walked in-hand 'au Soleil & à l'air dan quelque cour, ou quleque lieu palisse, assin qu'il s'ébatteent & recréent leurs éspris'(1658: p.27).[56] By the second, Newcastle has refined his methods so that on 'a Fair Day, let them then go Out in some Inclosed Yard, to Play and Rejoyce themselves' (1667: p. 94). This most likely reflects upon, with the passage of time, the discovery that even in a loose-box, the young horses grow restless during in-wintering. They are, therefore, less likely to be troublesome to handle, or to hurt themselves through exuberance, if they are allowed out to play together when the weather is fine. The reason for 'this Housing every Winter' is to keep the horse with a fine coat and an appearance suitable for the manège. Living out all winter, the horse would grow a long coat and Newcastle does not approve of this, asking 'Is there any Thing in the World Looks so like a Bear, and so Ill-favouredly, as a Colt in Winter upon a Common, and stands as if he had neither Life nor Spirit?'(1667: p.95). In-wintering, however, requires attention to boredom and high spirits, 'good and fresh Litter for them, good Sweet Hay, and Wheat-bran, and good Oats' (1667: p.94) and the two manuals show how his ideas for best practice change with his own experience.

When it comes to riding the young colts, the first book recommends a quilted saddle at first, or one made of chaff or straw (1658: p.26), but by the second 'such a Saddle as you ordinarily ride Horses of Mannage in' (1667: p.94) is considered suitable. It may be that by changing his methods of keeping his horses to allow more freedom they are more tractable, or that he has realised that he can save time by using an ordinary saddle straight away, as a horse which has been well-handled is unlikely to discern much difference between that and a 'pre-saddle' of straw.

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[56] 'In fine weather walk them in the sunshine about your court, that it may comfort and cherish their spirits' (1743: p.25).

Both the detailed way in which Newcastle progresses through his method and the remarkable precision of the plates in the first manual mark his work as innovative. To produce such a level of attention to the finer points of each exercise argues strongly for a long and careful working process in the preparation for publication, involving the artist, writer, horse and rider in detailed experimentation. The exercises are similar in both manuals and some are exactly word for word the same, though the layout is quite different.

In the second Newcastle focuses more attention on explaining the operation of the bridle, which may suggest that he had been asked questions that lead him to feel more detail was needed. He also reorders the second, so that the 'helps' are understood before the rider starts the training. Both of these revisions suggest that Newcastle assumes his readers have some familiarity with his method, and that he attempts to make it more accessible, though the success of this is arguable. However, without the greater tendency to digression, as discussed in the Chapter 2, it may be that the through line of the second manual would be equally clear, but it is also possible that the creative process involved in preparing text and plates to complement one another added to the clarity of the first text.

There are fewer exercises in the second manual overall, and more advice and opinion in some respects with less detail in others, but the basic techniques are essentially the same, showing progression and development when they differ, rather than any radical change of direction. This suggests that Newcastle worked in a focused and personal way, little influenced by other ideas he must have experienced during his exile, due to the Continental interest in the art and during encounters throughout his life with other enthusiasts.

Therefore, his overall method is entirely practical. His advice on breeding and choosing a horse, his early handling recommendations and his gradual introduction of riding address the need for a sound, safe and manageable horse at every step. His advanced training introduces his innovative cavesson as a refinement of earlier techniques. He understands that the horse learns by repetition but that different horses may need different exercises and that while strong leadership is important, so is gentleness and a humane approach. The plates enable his reader to see the text in practice and understand the need for precision and excellence, as they are both technical and inspirational. Even though they are lacking in the second manual, he refers his reader back to them, seeing them as crucial. Practicality is all, and provides the evidence that 'my Method is True', which 'cannot better be Demonstrated, than by Experience, which will clearly show, That Mine never misses its End' (1667: p.41). He invites the reader to put him to the test, for he believes there is 'no other Philosophy but trying' (1667: p.28).

Newcastle illustrates repeatedly throughout the manuals that he intends them to be used, not simply read. They are a means to an end, by which the rider may aspire to art and refinement. Therefore, it is not possible to understand his ultimate purpose without addressing the practicality of his method and exploring the detailed precision of his technique. Having done so, his way of working offers a broad insight into his character that enables a perspective on him that extends far beyond the confines of the riding house.

Chapter 5

'Après l'homme le cheval est le plus noble animal': Newcastle and the horse's mind.

Why maister of whome should you bee afraide,
I am able to justifye as much as you say.
Morocco to his master, Bankes[1]

For it is a false assertion that the sense of man is the measure of things.
Francis Bacon[2]

Newcastle introduces his first manual with a lengthy discussion on the horse's intelligence and powers of understanding. As points of reference, he considers the work of contemporary philosophers Hobbes and Descartes and discourses on perceptions of what understanding is:

> Quelques-uns aussy veulent dire, qu'ils n'one point d'entendement, à cause que les hommes les maîtrisent mais lors qu'un cheval maîtrise un homme, ce qui arrive asses souvent, l'homme n'at-il point d'entendement ? (1658: 'Avant-Propos')[3]

In the second manual of 1667, he reports that visitors to his riding house were so impressed that they declared 'my Horses were such, that they wanted nothing of Reasonable Creatures, but Speaking' (1667: sig. b2). Not only the texts of both manuals but also the letters of dedication and the engraved plates of 1658 reveal a carefully considered and consistent stance on the horse's nature.

This chapter will explore Newcastle's understanding of the horse's mind, the ways in which he relates that to his paradigms for life and the extent to which he reflects or conflicts with early modern thinking on horses. Beginning with an exploration of

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[1] John Dando and Harrie Runt, *Maroccus Extacticus or Bankes Bay Horse in a Trance* (Cuthbert Burby, 1595), in *Early English Books Online* <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_val_fmt=&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:9715>[accessed 15 July 2004].

[2] *Novum Organum* XLI, in *The Theory of Criticism*, p.103.

[3] 'Some are pleased to say, that horses are void of understanding, because men get the better of them: but when the horse gets the better of the man, which frequently happens, is the man then void of understanding?' (1743: p.12)

Newcastle's understanding of the hierarchical relationship between man and the horse as echoing that between God and man, the chapter will then move on to the implications this brings in the training of a creature that may 'penser à ce qu'il doit faire' (1658: 'Avant-Propos').[4] This will lead to an exploration of similarities between Newcastle's advice on horses and that of handling courtiers in both the 1658 dedication and his book of private advice to the future Charles II.[5] The chapter will then go on to consider exactly what Newcastle means when he says 'I work upon the Understanding of a Horse, more than the Labour of his Body' (1667: p.219). His perception of the horse as capable of reasoned thought will be considered, with reference to other horsemanship manuals. Newcastle's frequent analogy that training a horse is comparable to training a boy is closely linked to his understanding of the mind of both and the anthropomorphism of such a stance will be explored. This leads to a consideration of images of horses in the engraved plates and Newcastle's identification with the classical perception of horses and the extent to which this becomes part of his argument. The chapter will conclude by exploring Newcastle's consistent stance that practical experience is the key to his views, and consider the way in which the empirical logic of Newcastle's *modus vivendi* is largely overlooked in modern academic analysis and to what extent this leads to consistent misreading of his manuals.

In the introductory discussion with which Newcastle opens his first manual of 1658, he declares that:

> Nous n'avons que deux choses pour dresser un cheval parfaitement, qui sont, l'esperance de la récompense, & la crainte du châtiment, lesquelles gouvernent le monde. Et nous ne sçavons pas que Dieu ait autre chose pour éguillonner son peuple a la vertu, que la liberalité de ses salaires infiniz, & l'horreur des peines

[4] 'think upon what he ought to do' (1743: p.12).
[5] Already cited.

preparées à leur forfaits (1658: 'Avant-Propos').[6]

This analogy sets out his philosophy both for the training of the horse and the behaviour of the man towards it and forms the central motif for all that follows. As an ardent Royalist, believing passionately in the hierarchical model of leadership typified in the monarchy, Newcastle's relationship with his horses supported and underpinned all he believed in. As he states repeatedly, it is his practical experience that qualifies him to make these observations for the benefit of others. Also, it must always be remembered that he assumes a riding readership, who will not only share his love of the riding house but also understand that 'Il n'y a rien de semblage par pais, ou aux recontres publiques, soit pour l'usage, soit pour l'honneour' (1658: 'Mes Tres-Chers Fils').

Locating the nature of both usefulness and honour had changed from the earlier manuals. The art of the riding house elevated each rider to authority over a creature with the physical ability to kill him by virtue of superior strength. Attempting to subdue that strength by sheer force was, in Newcastle's view, inviting not only danger and violence as a response, but also reducing the man to the level of an animal. He asks his reader to remember that 'Il doit toûjours avoir en cét art un homme & une beste en passion, & non deux bestes'(1658: 'Avant-Propos'). To work with the horse and gain its co-operation by means of strong but moderated authority reinforces the image of the rider as an artist, whose skill and perception make it the natural leader.

Newcastle argues that through interaction with the horse, man can experience a relationship that gives him the responsibilities and power that echo God's relationship

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[6] 'There are but two things that can make an accomplish'd horse, *viz.*the hope of reward, or the fear of punishment, which all the world are influenc'd by; and as far as we know, God has no other means of exciting his people to virtue, but by the largeness of his infinite rewards, and the terror of the pains that are prepar'd for their crimes'(1743: p.12).

with mankind. To Newcastle, winning the horse's trust goes essentially with a firm discipline, but does not imply indulgence, as he always insists that 'Fear doth Much; Love, Little' so the horse 'must Fear me, and out of that Fear, Love me, and so Obey me.' This fear does not express itself in abject cowering as a result of beatings, but in respectful submission to leadership, 'For it is Fear makes every Body Obey, both Man and Beast'. This is akin to the fear man feels for God, so is linked with respect, the acceptance of authority and the expectation of swift but just punishment, 'And thus they will Chuse the Reward and Shun the Punishment'(1667: p.196).

While he does not explicitly discuss the reclamation of a relationship lost with the Fall, this is implicit in his interest in establishing an appropriate relationship between man and the horse which counters the violent means proposed by others. He builds upon an anxiety that Keith Thomas argues was central to the consciousness of the seventeenth century:

> For Bacon, the purpose of science was to restore to man that dominion over the creation which he had partly lost at the Fall [...] To scientists reared in this tradition, the whole purpose of studying the natural world was 'that, Nature being known, it may be master'd, managed, and used in the services of human life'.

Thomas goes on to cite horse riding as a unique demonstration of this philosophy in practice, symbolising 'the human triumph; it was reason mastering the animal passions'. However Thomas' assessment of the riding as proposed in the equestrian manuals as 'in spirit [...] like a sideshow at Bartholomew Fair'[7] displaying tamed wildness, is highly debateable, underestimating as it does the grace and refinement aimed for. Similarly Erica Fudge argues that Nicholas Morgan accepts severe methods as appropriate and displays 'in the image of the use of whip and chain, a vicious human desire to regain stability of self-knowledge'.[8] Morgan does indeed

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[7] Thomas, pp. 27, 29.
[8] 'How a Man differs from a Dog', p.8.

state emphatically that 'the obedience of all creatures must be attained by Art, and this same preserved in vigour by use and practise' due to mankind's loss of the original relationship God laid out between him and animals. However, his manual is heavily burdened with guilt at this and he says 'Arte and practise were needles, if man his disobedience had not deprived him of all obedience, that by creation was subject to him'. Rather than advocating violent training of the horse, Morgan argues passionately against it. Thus it is not appropriate to 'punish him for ignorance' or to use 'violent and horrible correction'.[9]

While Newcastle is not driven by guilt or religious imperatives as Morgan is, neither is he driven by a desire to dominate that denies the horse any co-operative interaction with man. Thus, infuriated by Blundeville's methods, he declares, 'He would have Us to Strike a Horse with a Cudgel or Rod, between the Ears, and upon the Head; which is Abominable, though he thinks it a Rare Secret.' (1667: pp.22-23). While Blundeville's advice always starts with a quiet approach, coaxing and 'continually cherishing him with your hand', if the horse does not understand or co-operate then beating him violently until he submits is the next step. To Newcastle, it is not the beating that offends so much as the pointlessness of it, because more thoughtful ways yield better results. Underestimation of the horse's intelligence reveals the limitations of man's own, so he can also reveal his own weaknesses in a way that shows him unworthy of standing for God in this way.

To some extent Blundeville's expectation of the horse's understanding demands a reasoning power far more human than any argument put forward by Newcastle. With a horse that attempts to lie down crossing water, a 'naturall desposition incident to that horse which is foled under the signe of Leo', he advocates four 'footmen with

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[9] *The Horseman's Honour*, pp.40, 175.

cogels' so that:

> when the horse beginneth to lie down they may be readye to leape upon him and with the help of the rider to force him to ducke his heade downe under the water, so as the water may enter into his eares. Not suffering him to lift up his head again a good while together but make him by main force to kepe it stil under: continuallye beating him all the while with their cogels berating him with loude and terrible voices. That done, let him onelye life up his head to take take breath & aire. During which time cease not also to beat him still upon the heade [...]

This should continue for some time, though Blundeville suggests not too long 'otherwise it were disorder', and then be repeated upon subsequent days until 'you shall see it will make him forget his lyinge downe and to pass through quietly', though adding a cord tied to the horses testicles which 'the rider may straine and let go according as he see occasion', may be efficacious. Aside from the shock to modern sensibilities of this advice, its practicality is severely doubtful and injury inevitable to rider, horse and cudgel-bearers. However, what is most significant here, is that Blundeville believes that the horse will learn from 'the greefe' of the drowning along 'with the other corrections' that it should 'leave this vice'.[10] Thus he expects the horse to use deductive reasoning to conclude that the instinct to lie down causes the drowning.

As discussed in the previous chapter, regarding use of screaming hedgehogs and 'shrewd cats', the horse is capable only of understanding that a traumatic experience occurred in a particular place. It cannot link that experience with its own behaviour and is more likely to refuse to ever go near water when under saddle at all. Thus Newcastle's use of the spurs is designed to make the horse go forward and once that forward motion is achieved the pattern of the rebellious behaviour is broken. The horse is capable of learning that the spur will be applied until it moves forward in a

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[10] Blundeville, III, sig. D.i.^{v}; the desire to roll in water and mud is instinctive to many horses, regardless of their birth-sign, and is to do with scent and the maintenance of their skin in a healthy condition.

simple understanding of stimulus and response that is effective because its instinct, as a flight animal, is to move away from pressure and overcomes all other instincts. Newcastle's method reveals an evident understanding of this that simplifies the training method and makes it safer for all concerned. His specific mention of use of the spurs on 'a Horse that Falls down upon the Ground, or in the Water' suggests a deliberate counter to Blundeville's method (1667: p.307).

Thus Newcastle's irritation at methods that will make the horse 'Ten times Worse' (1667: p.19) seems rooted both in the desire to 'dresser un cheval parfaitement' but also in frustration at the way in which man reveals his own shortcomings by beating and spurring a horse that is 'tout à fait ignorant du Manège' (1658: 'Avant-Propos').[11] In her consideration of the activities of the bear-garden, Fudge argues that 'The violence involved in taming wild nature – in expressing human superiority – destroys the difference between the species'.[12] Clearly then to reduce the cultured and refined pleasures of the riding house to the brutality of the bear-garden, as common in the early manuals, is unacceptable to Newcastle. While the riding house 'derives from a tradition associating control of the unruly, wild, irrational beast by the human hand with the control, and consequent social and political dominance of the upper classes over the mass of mankind',[13] it had evolved since the early days of that tradition. Starting with the more humane methods of Pluvinel who aims to gentle the man despite the 'stubborness'[14] of the horse, there is a further progression in Newcastle's crediting of the horse with the intelligence to recognise and acknowledge man's mastery.

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[11] 'make an accomplish'd horse'; 'entirely undressed or untaught' (1743: pp.12, 11).
[12] Fudge, *Perceiving Animals*, p.19.
[13] Raber, p.46.
[14] Pluvinel, p.43.

Through insight into the horse's mind, not as that of an equal, but certainly as that of a thinking creature, man himself shows independence and courage. In a right relationship with his horse, man is ennobled because he has god-like authority and status over a creature whose own worthiness of spirit and intelligence becomes a reflection of the rider's skill. Man does not rebel against God if he trusts God's judgement and wisdom, and if he rebels through needless arrogance, that judgement and wisdom will assert itself righteously. When man shows similar judgement and wisdom, he too will be served without rebellion. If a young or ignorant horse, or one with a passionate spirit does rebel, 'un bon Cavalier ne doit jamais se mettre en cholere contre son cheval, mais le châtier san le fâcher comme un espece de Divinité au dessus de luy.' Like God, the horseman must mete out justice tempered with dispassion. Then the horse will 'prendra tout en bonne part, & ne se fâchera jamais' (1658: 'Avant-Propos').[15] Newcastle states that it is fear in man that refuses to allow intelligence to horses, and that an inconsistent or poor rider 'shall Spoil your horse, let him do what he will; because he wants Art' (1667: p.199). This is an astute statement, showing an underlying insightfulness in Newcastle into man's need for intellectual as well as physical domination.

Once this relationship is established, the rider must be free with praise and sparing with punishment, without ever losing that respect. It is important always that the horse should know when it has done wrong and when it has redeemed itself by compliance so 'when they do Well, I Cherish and Reward them'(1667: p.198). While he has little good to say of previous authors in general, on this subject he agrees with them:

> Pluvinel, and most of the Great Masters in Horse-manship, Praise always Gentleness, and Flatteries, and making much of the Horses, either by Clapping, Stroking them, or speaking Flatteringly unto them, or giving them some Reward to

[15] 'put himself in a passion with his horse, but chastise him with a kind of divinity superior to him [...] take all in good part , and never be offended' (1743: pp.13-14).

> Eat: And Pluvinel sayes, One ought to be a Prodigal in Caressing, and making much of them, and a Niggard in Corrections, and careful not to offend them; and that there is not other way to Dress Horses but this (1667: p.197).

The idea that a horse appreciates 'cherishing' was not new and while Karen Raber acknowledges this, she is concerned that Newcastle's ideas on cherishing are sentimental and go 'far beyond the context and meaning it has in other writers' works – more than a mere use of voice or touch, it is a mental attitude of friendship or even love'.[16] However, a closer look at other writers suggests that Newcastle is very little different in this respect, and less emotional than either Thomas Bedingfield or Nicholas Morgan. Bedingfield suggests that the rider should aim to 'make him be in love with you'.[17] Morgan is by far the most indulgent in his advice, due to this feeling that through the Fall man is responsible for any disobedience in the horse. He claims that it is wrong 'to punish him for ignorance' and that given kindness and consideration the horse 'with a sweet smile inherent in nature and expressed in countenance' will 'seem[eth] naturally to fawne on you to gaine your love'.[18] Pluvinel believes that 'horses can obey and understand us only through the diligence of caresses [...] But when they behave badly one must chastise them vigorously'.[19]

Morgan aside, no author suggests that love precludes firm chastisement, and it is one of the anomalies of the Grisone method that his followers believe that discipline that is little more than gratuitous violence can go alongside an easy relationship with a horse that loves its master and its work. The difference between Newcastle and the earlier texts, is therefore not the 'cherishing' but more in the refinement of the method, so that 'a bold stroke' comes after a patient attempt because he realises that a

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[16] Raber, p.55.
[17] Bedingfield, p.95.
[18] Morgan, *Perfection of Horsemanship*, pp.63, 69.
[19] Pluvinel, p.43.

confrontational approach 'Astonishes the Weak Horse [...] makes a Furious horse Madd; makes a Resty Horse more Resty [...] and Displeases all sorts of Horses'. The alternative however is not 'to Sit Weak [...] but to Sit Easie', in the understanding that 'The Horse must know you are his Master' (1667: pp.207-208).

This hierarchical relationship is at the heart of Newcastle's method. It is born both of his experience of the horse as a herd animal that accepts strong leadership, and also his upbringing and belief in the royalist model of love and respect for the divinely appointed ruler, and the responsibility towards those below one's own status.[20] Newcastle's political stance 'asserts a model of political authority in which the Crown, the nobility and the gentry co-operate in an organic hierarchy, symbiotically linked together to mutual advantage'.[21] Horsemanship both parallels and contributes to this philosophy in action. By understanding the potential for training in the horse, man reinforces his own role, laid out by God, as having dominion over the animals, but as a benign master, working with the essential nature of the creature and using force only as a last resort in the face of rebellion as it is 'so dangerous a thing to have a Jade' (1667: p.308).

This view should not be seen as in any way suggesting an indulgent approach to the horse, but rather one which sees that 'l'entendement le plus foible est toûjours le plus passionné' so that the horseman degrades himself if he 'pique son cheval en le mâtinant'.[22] Like God, the man can reserve punishment for those times when the horse tests his authority and then must 'avanturer d'entreprendre trop sur luy pour le reduire'. But also, extending God-like forgiveness, when the horse submits, 'il faut

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[20] See Smuts, *Court Culture*, pp. 230-238, for a study of the changing ideas on kingship as divinely appointed.
[21] Heal and Holmes, p.190.
[22] 'the weakest understanding is always the most passionate'; 'spurs his horse rudely' (1743: p.13).

incontinent se descendre & le caresser'. He recognises that faced with a horse that is very resistant, the rider must take time and 'reduisés-le au petit pas, mélant le douceur avec les aides & châtiment (1658: 'Avant-Propos').[23] Here, as God trains his people to acceptance of his loving wisdom, so the rider trains the horse to accept him as a wise authority, not a violent aggressor.

Karen Raber considers that 'Cavendish's more "humane" approach in fact *humanizes* the horse much more than mere anthropomorphization might' and compares this with Van Dyck's portrait of Charles I on Horseback, to suggest that 'in this respect the portrait balances human dominance over the beast with a parallelism – even equity – between horse and rider.'[24] However, this view does not encompass the understanding of the horse's nature, which the practical experience of both Newcastle and his horsemen readers would have made implicit. Even the more primitive tradition followed by Blundeville advises the rider to 'conceyve with yourself, that you and he have as it were but one body. And that you both have but one sence and one will.' The horse-rider relationship is most effective when the horse acknowledges the rider as taking the role of herd leader and rebellious behaviour is the animal's instinctive way of testing that leadership, so the rider must sit 'boldlye, and without feare'.[25] Once the horse accepts that the rider will provide a relaxed but confident lead, the horse's body language then reflects that of the rider. Therefore, a calm and focused rider will result in a horse with similar qualities, which clearly reflects back the self-possession of its rider and thus becomes evidence of it. It is this calm obedience which is reflected in the image of Charles I upon his

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[23] 'venture a bold stroke to reduce him'; 'you must alight that moment and cherish him'; 'Reduce him by degrees, mixing gentleness with helps and corrections' (1743: p.14).

[24] Raber, pp. 56, 53; See Roy Strong, *Van Dyck: Charles I on Horseback*, for close analysis of this portrait.

[25] Blundeville, sig. B.iii – iiiv.

horse, so that the centred ease of the monarch is echoed in the carriage of his mount. As Newcastle says 'The Seat is so Much [...] as it is the only thing that makes a horse go perfectly; and the Manner of Sitting is beyond all other Helps' (1667: p. 206). To illustrate this further he adds that, 'The Bodies Helps are to be Gentle Helps [...] Gentle Helps being Best: For they Fit all Horses, and Please all Horses' (1667: pp.207-208).

From this perspective, the quiet authority Newcastle suggests, which is illustrated perfectly in the posture of the horse ridden by Charles I in Van Dyck's portrait, becomes clearly readable to a thinking rider of any time. It is not at all an equal relationship, but it is a co-operative one, precisely because the rider's leadership has been asserted. The image lends itself well to the God/man, king/people parallel precisely because it is natural rather than coerced and like God's people and the king's subjects, the horse is easier in itself when handled and ridden by a strong but fair rider.

The horse is the appropriate vehicle for the demonstration of this relationship in Newcastle's eyes, due to its natural intelligence. His acknowledgment of the horse as a creature having 'Imagination, Memory and Judgement' (1667: p.219), has considerable implications for the methods of training. Newcastle suggests that training becomes elevated to a much more subtle and artistic process than that of using force to overcome a powerful animal. In this respect he is following Antoine de Pluvinel, whose refinement of method reflects rough handling of the horse as unnecessary and demeaning to man. Pluvinel, however, does not discuss the nature of the horse's understanding, as Newcastle does. He writes more as though the memory and learning ability of the horse are widely accepted, saying that in training 'one tries to recapture something of the horse's memory' and teach him so that 'he will

understand'.[26] As Hilda Nelson says, 'Part of Pluvinel's method is for the horseman to determine what it is that is preventing a horse from obeying', so that in understanding the horse and treating it with sensitivity, the young rider develops prudence and 'judiciousness'. As part of this personal growth 'man became more aware of his own dignity and grandeur' and began to consider 'other creatures as having emotions, being capable of pain and pleasure and, "even if devoid of a soul", at least having the ability to learn and remember'.[27] Newcastle takes a similar approach so that the refined and thoughtful horseman's riding reflects his nobility but as 'le fameux Philosophe Monsieur de Cartes'(1658: 'Avant-Propos'),[28] declares that animals do not think, he feels the need to first counter this argument.

While Pluvinel does credit the horse with understanding and memory, he also states that a similar system of reward and punishment as Newcastle advocates is necessary 'so that we can make ourselves understood by these stubborn beasts', which seems less sympathetic towards them generally.[29] Newcastle allows that some horses are 'vitious' or try 'Jadish tricks' but also states that 'the worst natured Jade in the world [...] is much easier Drest [...] than a Horse that has been Spoil'd by ill Riding' (1667: p.311). He argues repeatedly that the reason and understanding of a horse is comparable to that of a man in that it can be seen to learn, to remember, and to understand. He also points out that 'Si on gardoit un home, dés sa naissance, dans un cachot jusques à l'âge de vint-ans, & qu'apres on le mît dehors, on verroit qu'il auroit moins de raison que plusieures bestes qu'on a dressées & elevées'.[30] This is a

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[26] Pluvinel, pp.32, 33, 34.
[27] Ibid. xiii.
[28] 'the famous philosopher DES CARTES' (1743: p.12).
[29] Pluvinel, p.43.
[30] 'If a man was locked up from his birth in a dungeon till the age of twenty, and afterwards let out, we should see that he would be less rational than a great many beasts that are bred and disciplin'd' (1743: p.13).

particularly important comment in the light of the great interest at the time in the cases of wild children while the wildman 'figured in a number of ways – as ape, demon, savage. Irish native, New World native – to represent a border figure which made concrete the fear of descent into the animal'.[31]

During the years of exile, through interaction with Descartes, Hobbes, Sir Kenelm Digby and Pierre Gassendi, among other intellectuals, Newcastle and his brother, Sir Charles Cavendish 'continued the cultured life they had fostered at Welbeck before the war'.[32] For Newcastle to interpret the intellectual issues of the day through his experience in the riding house is entirely in character. Focusing on speech, the key point of conflict in arguing against the reason of animals because, according to Descartes 'speech is the only certain sign that thought is hidden in the body',[33] Newcastle suggests that, 'ce qui est cause que les hommes parlent, & non les bestes, ne provident d'autre chose que de ce que les bestes n'ont pas cette gloire & cette vanité qu'ont les hommes'. He also points out that 'nous voions que la raretés choses produit fort peu de langage en plusieurs Indiens' (1658: 'Avant-Propos'),[34] suggesting that he compares Descartes and Hobbes in his analysis of the horse's mind.[35] Associating the need for speech with our acquisitive nature, he argues that:

> D'abondant, les bestes ne se divertissent point en bracelets, en bâgues émaillées, ni en infinies bagatelles de cette espece, mais elles suivent simplement la nature, sans avoir si grand nombre de phantômes & de poupées en l'espirit que les hommes, dequoy ils ne se soucient pas (1658: 'Avant-Propos').[36]

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[31] Fudge, *Perceiving Animals*, pp. 55, 58.
[32] Whitaker, p. 95.
[33] *Meditations and Other Metaphysical Writings* ed. Desmond Clarke (London: Penguin Books, 2003) p.174.
[34] 'the reason why men speak, and not the beasts, is owing to nothing else, but that the beasts have not so much vain-glory as men'; 'we see that the rarity of things among many *Indians* occasions their using language very little' (1743: p.12).
[35] *Leviathan*, p.408

There is a strong irony here, as Newcastle's own life was very full of such trappings of human nature, with his horses, as an expensive luxury, being among them, and his humour at man's expense does not preclude laughing at himself. However, the idea that 'reason' and language go together relates to the suggestion that the horse does not think at all, whereas Newcastle's experience teaches him otherwise, 'Let the Learned say what they Please' (1667: p.219).

It is clearly an irony to him that all men do not see what to the horseman is obvious and he recognises also, with his keen ability to cut through sophistry, that this is because 'tant ils ont peur de leur monarchie rationale'(1658: p.13).[37] He echoes Hobbes' opinion that 'this is incident to none but those that converse in questions incomprehensible, as the Scholemen'.[38] Through experience, not theory, Newcastle knows that a horse learns well by repetition and carefully increasing difficulty when guided by a confident hand, so that his methods based on routine and gradual progression are well-designed for the level of understanding of which the horse is capable.

The similarities between his advice on horses and that on the handling of courtiers in both the 1658 dedication and his 'little book' of private advice to the future Charles II suggest that he is also fully aware of the workings of human nature. As a committed royalist in every way, Newcastle's assertion that 'Monarchy is the Govermente in Cheef off the whole Bodye Poletick, In all Itts partes, & Capaseties by one Person only' is in no way surprising. That this should filter into his treatment of horses to

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[36] 'therefore the beasts do not amuse themselves with bracelets, enamel'd rings, and innumerable baubles of that kind, but follow nature simply, without having, like men, their heads crouded with a multitude of thoughts and business, of which horses are not solicitous'(1743: p.12).

[37] 'so jealous are the schoolmen of their rational empire' (1743: p.13).

[38] *Leviathan*, p.44.

whom the lead stallion in the wild or rider in captivity fulfils a similar role, explains one of the keys to his success with them. With horses, as with all subjects 'familiaretye breedes Contemte', so the method Newcastle advises Charles to adopt with his militia, nobles and common people is the same as that he uses on his horses:

> I Shoulde wishes your Majestie to Governe by both Love and feare mixte together as ocation serves – having the power which Is forse and never to use Itt butt uppon nesesetye. [39]

With the horse he believes that, 'Love is not so sure a Hold, for there I Depend upon his Will; but when he Fears me, he depends upon Mine' (1667: p.196). He echoes this in advising Charles against allowing undue familiarity, even amongst those closest to him, declaring 'iff theye doe nott mende putt them oute'.[40] This is particularly interesting in this context as a young horse being presumptuous towards the lead stallion risks being driven out of the herd to fend for itself. Newcastle clearly understands that surviving without the favour of the king is equally difficult for the courtier. He also understands the nature of challenge implicit in over-familiarity towards the monarch, which, allowed to pass, can only suggest weakness. His rules for fair and effective government are along the same lines and his precedent for this approach is consistent throughout the advice book and the horsemanship texts.

The 'little book' declares, in words close to those found in both manuals:

> thatt kinge that can nott punishe, & rewarde In juste time can nott Governe, for ther Is no more to Governe this worlde butt by Rewarde & punishmente, - & Itt muste bee don In the verye nick off time or Else Itt Is to no purpose, - Wee knowe no more [than]that God Almightye hath butt Rewarde & Punishmente both for this worlde & the nexte. [41]

The reference to 'the verye nick of time' is especially interesting, for he advises as discussed in the previous chapter, that as soon as the horse obeys, the rider should

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[39] *Letters*, pp.182, 201, 203.
[40] Ibid. p.211.
[41] Ibid. p.221; 1658: sig. f; 1667: p.198.

dismount and 'cherish him', while with pleasing courtiers the king must 'Cale them to you & cherishe them for they deserve itt'. However, this should not be seen as humanising the horse but rather an astute understanding of the nature of hierarchy, which is equally applicable to horse and human: neither rider nor king can be 'well Setled In your Sadle' unless the relationship with the human or equine subject be clearly defined. [42]

In the dedication to the 1658 manual, Newcastle lays out these parallels clearly:

> Qui plus est, un Roy, etant bon Cavalier, scaura beaucoup mieux comme il faudra gouverner ses peuples, quand il faudra les recompenser, ou les chatier ; quand il faudra leur tenir la main serree, ou quand il faudra la relacher ; qaund il faudra les aider doucement, ou en quel temps il sera convenable de les eperonner. Il ne faut jamais les monter jusques a leur faire perde l'haleine, ou bien ils deviendront retifs, & rebelles, ou (comme l'on dit) ils prendront la bride aux dents, & s'emporteront; mais il faut plutost les traiter doucemet, & ne prendre que la moitie de leurs forces, affin qu'ils puissent etre gaillards, & faire toutes choses de leur bon gre, & avec vigeur (1658: 'Au Roy').

This illustrates that Newcastle does not simply see the horse/courtier parallel as a metaphor, but believes that the herd-nature of humans parallels that of horses to such an extent that the riding house becomes a suitable training ground for the future monarch. Karen Raber believes that the manuals are unsuccessful because 'the relationship Cavendish advocates between horse and rider introduces elements that work against the class hierarchy meant to sustain both the position of the absolute monarch and, by extension, the identity and position of the aristocrat who have traditionally been defined by their service to him'. She adds that 'such a relationship is no longer fully, fixedly, or naturally hierarchical'.[43] However, this is not so as Newcastle's plainly stated philosophy that 'The Horse must know you are his

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[42] *Letters,* p.213, 211.
[43] Raber, p.55,

Master, that is, He must Fear you' (1667: p.200) is diametrically opposite to Raber's interpretation. The essence of his New Method is to 'Make the Horse follow my Wayes'. As man against God and the people against the king, the horse may rebel against that hierarchy, as 'nor doth the Horse love Subjection, nor any other Creature' (1667: p.200). However, while 'They will strive all the Wayes possibly they can, to be Free, and not Subjected [...]when they see it will not be' and that they can live at ease by accepting, 'all Yeeld and Render themselves at last'. This ultimate submission 'willingly, for the most past' (1667: p.43) is crucial and a moment of lasting change in the process of training.

The recognition of the right to leadership by virtue of strength and presence, natural to the horse, is no metaphor to Newcastle, but a parallel that reinforces all he believes in. Raber finds Newcastle's argument unconvincing because she feels he 'invests the horse with a nascent subjectivity, an individualized and self-motivated identity which mirrors cultural and political transformations of human subjectivity across class-lines in seventeenth-century England'.[44] However, an alternative interpretation is that Newcastle recognises that the horse's need for strong leadership and its instinct for survival parallels the need of the courtier and subject for the role model of benign authority represented by the king.

Much of this approach to training and understanding the mind of both the horse and the courtier uncovers Newcastle's personal needs in life. It is perhaps one of the strengths of his work that he offers treatment of the horse that runs true to his whole philosophy for a hierarchical society. While God, the monarch and the horsemaster need to inspire love and fear, by implication those emotions become desirable in the subject, human or equine. An unpublished poem 'On the best of kings' in Newcastle's

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[44] Ibid. p.61.

hand in the Portland Collection declares 'Wee all doe love thee, yett we feare they rodd,/Nott love for feare, butt feare for love, like Godd'. This suggests a need for the benign domination of God or the monarch which reflects exactly the natural instinct of a horse for strong leadership in order to be at ease in relation not only to its herd, but also to its personal space. Therefore, that Newcastle himself took on that leadership role when riding his horses, placed him in the precise position to them that he desired for himself. His poem to Charles continues, 'Live for thy owne sake, live for ours, for thyne,/Oh live, for God's sake, universe, and myne'.[45] There is something close to desperation in this impassioned plea for Charles' life that precisely parallels the fear a horse would experience when separated from the herd through which it gains its safety and comfort.

Newcastle's understanding of the mind of the horse seems to derive from recognition, though it seems unlikely that he would have perceived this himself. But evidence of his behaviour towards his monarch, his family, his servants and his horses all suggests a consistent approach of respect within the understanding of hierarchy, so that there is no gratuitous violence or self-elevation through the domination of others. He seems to have been fully aware of the quality that leads to what is termed in modern psychology 'passive leadership', which is not, in fact, passive at all but denotes a supreme confidence in the ability and right to lead, which inspires others to accept and follow. This method works extremely well with horses and humans and indicates leadership ability, which perhaps was compromised by Newcastle's desire for 'glorious slavery' in his relationship with the monarch. If Newcastle's belief that the horse 'puisse sçavoir, & par mesme moyen, penser à ce qu'il doit faire' (1658:

[45] PwV25, fol. 1.

Avant-Propos')[46] is neither metaphor nor a self-indulgent anthropomorphism, it may then be questioned as to how he arrives at his view. While he is not the first to consider the horse's mind as active and intelligent, his close analysis of the way that mind works is a step forward in the development of the horsemanship manual. While Pluvinel observes 'anger, despair and cowardice', all very human emotions, in his horses, and seeks to overcome them by 'coolness of mind',[47] Newcastle's training is based on the belief that his Spanish horses are 'strangely wise' (1667: p.49). Pluvinel knows that a frightened horse is a dangerous horse and rather than frighten it further with violence, he aims to calm and reassure it by a more gentle approach. Some horses in the plates accompanying his manuals are blinkered, and the text explains that he sometimes even rides them thus blindfolded because 'horses learn better when they cannot see and are [...] less inclined to be distracted'.[48] Like the hood on a falcon, the blinkers would serve to keep the horse quiet, but do suggest a highly excitable and unpredictable creature, not yet able to stand or work quietly without the denial of a sense. There are no blinkered horses in Newcastle's manuals at all and his advice on rendering them calm and tractable begins when they are weanlings, as discussed in the previous chapter, with a system of casual handling whereby they should be moved in and out from grazing to stable and treated 'like the Older Horses'(1667: p.94). This ensures regular contact with human handlers without any pressure upon them, so that by the time they are old enough to begin training 'they will Lead, and be as quiet as any Horse' (1667: p.97). As a thinking creature, the young horse learns that man will not harm him, which eases the training process to avoid what Pluvinel describes as 'the extravagancies of an unreasonable animal'.

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[46] 'may know, and even think upon what he ought to do' (1743: p.12).
[47] Pluvinel, p.ix.
[48] Ibid. p.102.

There is a suggestion that while Pluvinel's approach is quiet and gentle, the early rides on a young horse may well resemble a rodeo. In time, this wildness will be overcome as the horse realises the man is persistent, but this approach involves considerable 'perils' to both horse and rider. [49]

As Pluvinel moves on from the belief that the horse's natural fear of man can be beaten into a submissive state, so Newcastle then progresses to understanding that the natural fear itself can be overcome by allowing the horse's mind time to assimilate what it is experiencing. When Newcastle describes the Barb as being 'of a good Disposition, excellent Apprehension, Judgement and Memory' (1667: p.53) he has learned through experience that a horse is not generally aggressive, learns quickly and can work with some degree of independence and retains what it has learned. While Raber feels his views 'inadvertently endow his horses with will, agency and character', [50] it is unclear why she believes this to be inadvertent. Newcastle's experience of his horses convinces him that they have will, agency and character, and his progression from earlier authors is that he understands how to work with this, rather than seeing that will as something to be broken.

To illustrate his methods of training, Newcastle frequently draws an analogy with the teaching of a school-boy, which may be interpreted simply as anthropomorphism. However, he uses analogies throughout his method as seen in the previous chapter, and to him the parallels are self-evident. 'What Judgment' he asks 'can one give of a Little Boy, what Kind of Man he will Prove?' Similarly, attempting to judge a horse by 'Marks, Colours and Elements' is worthless and as a child's skills will be learned as he grows, with a horse 'Ride him, and Try him [...] is the Best Philosophy to know him by' (1667: p.104). Attempting to force learning by 'the diversity of Bitts' can be

[49] Pluvinel, p.ix.
[50] Raber, p.43.

effective 'no more than a Book in a Boyes Hand, can at first, make him Read' (1667: p.343). Thus, 'Horses learn nothing but by Custom, and Habit, with often Repetitions to Fortify their Memories'(1667: p.218). He draws the analogy to the learning boy repeatedly in both texts, primarily in relation to unrealistic demands on the young horse. In the opening paragraph of the first manual, he says, 'Je voudrois bien demander à de tels stupides & lourdaus, si en battant un garçon, on l'appendroit à lire sans luy môntrer ses lettres auparavant ?' (1658: 'Avant-Propos').[51] The likening of the horse to the boy illuminates Newcastle's perception of the horse's reasoning ability as being like that of a young mind, full of natural potential but requiring training.

Karen Raber suggests that Plate 12 in the 1658 manual shows 'what Cavendish expects his scholars to be doing while on holiday: while many prance or relax, some of the horses, like schoolboys conning their lessons, are practising their *haute école* on their time off'.[52] This, however, is a misreading of the plate. Plate 12 is entitled 'Les poulins', that is 'the foals', and it is also evident from the short tails of all the horses in this plate that they are youngsters. These are not manège horses 'practising', but young stock demonstrating the natural propensity for agility the rider will educate into the art of the riding house, and also that the airs are based on the natural behaviour of displaying stallions.[53] As discussed in Chapter 3, this point is made in Pluvinel's manual also, when the young king is advised to watch the foals in his stud farms playing in the fields. Although Plate 12 is in many respects a fantasy, as while the airs do relate to mating rituals, no horse in the wild ever performs them with such

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[51] 'I would fain ask such stupid people, whether, by beating a boy, they could teach him to read, without first showing him his alphabet?' (1743: p.11).
[52] Raber, p.56.
[53] This is well documented behaviour. See Lucy Rees *The Horse's Mind* (London: Stanley Paul, 1984), p.115.

stylised precision, the point that Newcastle will 'Perfect Nature by the Subtilty of Art' (1658/1667: title page) is being made. This aim of shaping what is natural is behind the analogy with the schoolboy and the necessity of patience and humanity in the learning process is apt because unnecessary force and violence are counter-productive.

Newcastle also uses analogies that Raber feels suggest 'a parallel between human and equine contributions to the state'[54] in arguing that:

> Lors qu'ils s'agit de faire une Republique, affin que les homes puissant vivre ensemble, ceux qui font des plumes à metre sur la teste de ces moqueurs-là, sont aussy utiles dans la Republique pour les maintneir & leurs familles, & servent autant aux autres hommes pour vivre les uns par l'aide des autres, comme sont ceux qui vendent le bœuf & le mouton ; car tout tend à vivre, ;es uns par l'aide des autres, sans se faire tort ni offense.

That this is not his intent becomes clear if the paragraph is read in full. His analogy is to illustrate that as there are different types of men who may all contribute to society, so there are different types of horses with different styles and purposes in the riding of them:

> Quant au cheval dressé, quils appellant *danseur & badin*, s'ils avoient quelques duëls, ou s'ils alloient à la guerre, ils reconnoîtroient leur faute ; car ces chevaux là vont aussy bien à la soldade & à passades comme par haut, & les longues journées leur font bien tost perdre tous les airs qui ne sont proprement que pour le plaisir. Qui plus est, ils en sont beaucoup plus propres à galoper, trotter, tourner, ou autre chose de cette nature, qui est pour l'usage (1658: 'Avant-Propos').[55]

He illustrates a practical situation in which men and horses play their part

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[54] Raber, p.59.

[55] 'When a commonwealth is to be form'd, that men may live together in society, those who make feathers to put into their masters hats, are as useful in the republick, for the maintenance of themselves and families, and for the good of the community, as those who sell beef and mutton; for the tendency of the whole is to live by aiding one another, without wronging or offending any body'; 'As for a managed horse, which they call dancer and prauncer; if those gentlemen were to fight a duel, or go to the wars, they would find their error; for these horses perform a journey, as well as they do high airs; and the long marches occasionally make them soon forget those airs, which are calculated merely for pleasure; moreover, they are much fitter for galloping, trotting, wheeling, or anything else which is necessary'(1743: p.14).

according to their talents and expands on this point further in his opening chapter. His lengthy exposition of talents which some possess and some do not, may be summed up in the sentence, 'Je voudrais bien sçavoir si tous ceux font profession des letters sont parfaits en toute sorte de sciences?' So, where horses are concerned:

> [...] si le cheval est proper à aller à la soldade, mettés l'y: ou si son naturel le porte à aller à Courbettes, il faut l'y metre: tout de mesme à demi-air, Passades, terre à terre, Groupades, Balotades & Caprioles : s'il n'est propre à aucume de ces choses, mettés-le à courir la bague : s'il n'y est propre, mettés le à aller par la ville (1658: p.6).

Not all men can be preachers, or musicians or artists and not all horses can be skilled in every possible use for them.[56]

However, he is emphatically not advocating an equality of service to the state, even between men. There is no suggestion that the service of the man who makes feathers to put in his master's hat is equal to that of his master, merely that is also useful in the smooth running of society. The feather-maker will be able to earn his keep, maintain his family and bring money into the community. Furthermore, the horse does not serve the state, the horse serves man and that man has responsibility for ensuring that his own and the horse's service is fitting for their skills (1658: p.5). Therefore, the hierarchical nature of the human/animal relationship is expressly illustrated further, as the resource of the horse's usefulness is in the hands of the man.

Newcastle's observations and years training horses taught him that they learn much as a child does and his nature was not to despise that but to work with it as a resource. His approach suggests an observant, relaxed and liberal nature, as evidenced

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[56] 'I'd fain know, whether all those, who makes learning their profession, be themselves perfect in every science'; 'If the horse is fit to go a Travelling pace, let him do it; if he is naturally inclined to make Curvets, he must be put to it; and so of the Demi-Airs, Passadoes, Terra-a-terre, Croupades, Balotades, and Capriols, If he be not fit for any of these, put him to run the ring: if he be not cut out for that, use him as a drudge to go of errands'(1743: p.16-17).

in other aspects of his life and in keeping with his upbringing when 'his father being a wise man, and seeing that his son had a good natural wit, and was of a very good disposition, suffered him to follow his own genius' (*Life*: p.193).

It was perhaps as much his character as his philosophies that suited him for innovations in the understanding and training of horses. Studies of his life and interactions with other people support this view. Katie Whitaker says 'he was in fact a hugely likeable man who took delight in pleasing other people – easy and affable in his manners, rarely standing on the ceremony his high social position allowed him.'[57] Lucy Worsley's study of life at Welbeck Abbey under Newcastle reveals 'a uniquely fluid and quarrelsome character at odds with those of more conventional households', wherein his second wife and daughters wrote with 'a freedom in behaviour and self-expression that was unusual for their century'.[58] This ability to allow self-expression to those in his demesne may well reveal a great deal about his attitude to his horses and his desire to understand them as thinking creatures. For, regardless of an instinct to liberality, his belief that 'Familiarity breeds Contempt [...] and does no Good' indicates that any threat to his leadership would be swiftly quelled like the rebellious horse, that must 'Acknowledge me to be his Master, by Obeying me' (1667: pp.196-197). A serious challenge to his autocratic role would be unlikely to occur and within the relaxed relationship evident between him and his second wife, she writes that 'I rather attentively listen to what he says, than impertinently speak' (*Life*: p.306) and that she learned only of decision to move their household when he had 'already given order for wagons to transport our goods' (*Life*: p.131).

Similarly, when writing playfully to his children, he signs himself 'Your loving and in this your obediente father'.[59] His love was assured, his obedience however, was an

[57] Whitaker, p.67
[58] 'Habitation', p.123.

indulgence and within that context, his daughters especially relied upon him and looked to him for leadership, as 'an intellectual liberator' who had encouraged their writing, 'giving them a control of words and thoughts that would enable them to be themselves'.[60]

His encouragement of his daughters and his second wife as writers and his unconventional household in general, suggests that while he may have felt insecure at court, within the extended family encompassed by his estates, he felt at ease. Without any insecurity in his personal identity, he was at ease to write in an introductory verse to Margaret Cavendish's first publication *Poems, & Fancies* (1653), 'I saw your poems and then wish'd them mine' (sig. A1), and approach his horses so as that they will 'be Pleasant, lively [...] and take Pleasure in you, and in the Mannage', while aiming nevertheless that they should 'follow my Wayes and Obey me (1667: pp.39, 42). His treatment of his horses then becomes an aspect of his patriarchy, which extends to everything living under his command. This is not to suggest that he treated his horses like children, but rather that as 'Household governance depended on a delicate balance between subordination and cooperation, authoritarian coercion and unforced consent',[61] within his personal domain, as willing and obedient subjects, they received the benefits of his relaxed rule. Nick Rowe's description of him as a patron illustrates a similar idea so that 'his indulgent temperament appears to have offered encouragement while opening up possibilities of expression and allowing some degree of licence, rather than narrowly dictating terms of approach.'[62] Keith Wrightson stresses, however, that in all aspects of paternalism of this sort 'Such

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[59] PwV25, fol. 21.
[60] Whitaker, p.86
[61] Smuts, *Culture and Power*, p.28.
[62] *The Cavendish Circle*, p.94.

relationship stemmed from the existence of *permanent* inequalities and were based on the recognition of the power of one party and the dependence of the other. Moreover they were conducted on terms largely, though not wholly, defined and determined by the relative superior'.[63] That this attitude should extend to every living creature in its perceived place reinforces it at every level, so that the ability of the horse to recognise its place in the hierarchy becomes not only a measure of its own reasoning capacity, but also evidence of its master's patriarchal power.

The engraved plates in the 1658 manual are rich with classical imagery and offer an insight into Newcastle's attitude towards his horses, which heightens and stylises many of the points he makes in the text. In the classical tradition, the horse is far beyond the unthinking machine suggested by Descartes, or the brute perceived by early humanists to be overcome by force. Artists were fully aware of the imposing picture made by a man, especially a king, on horseback and Newcastle asks his reader frequently, 'What can be more Comely or Pleasing, than to see Horses go in all several Ayres?' or, 'As for Pleasure and State, What Prince looks more Princely or more Enthroned than Upon a Beautiful Horse [...]?' (1667: p.13).[64] Far more effective surely, to be so gloriously mounted upon a creature of intelligence than an unreasoning brute, especially as classical concepts recalled that 'Plutarch described the horse's intelligence and devotion' while 'the Greeks attributed to the horse certain spiritual qualities' and 'Homer conceived him in the mould of the winged Pegasus, in a wild state and with superior creative powers'.[65] By recalling these concepts, the presentation of his horses in the plates becomes part of the overall philosophy Newcastle puts forward. He therefore reclaims the classical imagery of the horse as a

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[63] Wrightson, p.65.
[64] Liedtke, *The Royal Horse and Rider,* offers the most comprehensive recent study of this subject.
[65] Camins, p.10.

noble partner, rather than the early Renaissance emblem of bridling the passions and subduing the animal by violent force as practised by Grisone and his followers. The second plate establishes the hierarchy quite clearly in the legend 'Apres l'homme le Cheval le plus noble animal', and goes on in the Plates 3 and 4, which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6. The horses bow to Newcastle as their master: they are intelligent enough to acknowledge him and so learn the lessons he sets out to teach them. Through his skill with them, in Plate 4 he mounts Pegasus for his apotheosis to the classical heaven where he is awaited by the gods. Pegasus is rich in imagery as the 'concept of the winged horse [...] suggests both physical exhilaration and [...] the reach of intellectual aspiration'.[66] Karen Raber feels that this image 'must be read for its ambiguity: the transcendence Cavendish attains can 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....are already being transformed, dislocated, detached from their former place in the "real" world of political power'.[67]

An alternative reading is possible: Plates 3 and 4 set Newcastle on a stage where his authority and excellence are recognised by horses, who are indeed reasoning and intelligent, but over whom man maintains the divine superiority he advocates, during a time when he was both dislocated and detached from any significant political power, from his home and all he had aspired to prior to the Civil War. He did not need to argue for the English aristocracy in his efforts to establish himself as a great horsemaster to his Continental audience. He did need to assert himself as having a powerful and effective contribution to make to the shaping of the gentleman, despite his own personal dislocation.

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[66] MacDonald, p.11.
[67] Raber, p.63.

Newcastle's views on the horse's mind are consistently supported by reference to his practical experience and while he regards horsemanship as a 'science' in the sense that it is a skill requiring expertise and intellectual application, it is primarily an art for its aesthetic qualities. It is not, however, an academic subject that can be fully appreciated without practical experience, a point Newcastle makes with some astuteness when he declares that, 'Je crois, que ce qui fait que ceux qui font profession des letters font si peu d'estime des bestes, ne provident d'autre chose, que de la petite connoissance qu'ils en on, & pensans sçavoir toutes choses'. To ignore this necessary empirical knowledge and read his texts wholly as thinly disguised political philosophy is to misread them. However,'s'ils les étudioient, comme font les Cavaliers, ils en parleroient autrement'.[68] The 'reasonable creatures' quote (1667: sig. b2) may be used to argue anthropomorphism, but that argument ultimately fails if the use of human analogies is seen as a way of facilitating understanding in the notional reader. The manuals were written for the riders of an audience of educated nobility so that even where they relate to political ideals, they were aimed at readers, including Charles II, who would understand from their own practical experience and received ideas the points Newcastle was making. Both were aimed at gentlemen recovering their composure after the disturbances of war and in 1658 and 1667 in an insecure and maybe troubling position, in the time of exile and the great changes of the Restoration. Therefore, the relationship Newcastle puts forward as appropriate between man and horse, is not 'at odds with his conscious purpose in authoring the treatises',[69] but in fact, quite the opposite.

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[68] 'What makes scholasticks degrade horses so much, proceeds (I believe) from nothing else, but the small knowledge they have of them, and from a persuasion that they themselves know everything'; 'if they studied them as horsemen do, they would talk otherwise' (1743: p.13).

[69] Raber, p.43.

The engagement with the horse's mind, not as something beastly to be subdued, but as a subject to be managed, offered the opportunity to transcend the violence of the battlefield while still asserting the qualities of the refined soldier. Newcastle writes from practice, his readers could apply that or reject it also from practice: clearly it is often easier and more appealing to latent human aggression to dominate a creature though force. As Keith Thomas says, 'it is impossible to disentangle what the people of the past thought about plants and animals from what they thought about themselves', which ultimately means that 'man's attitude towards the horse mirrored his attitude towards his fellow men'.[70]

Therefore Newcastle's contribution to the discussion on animals in the early modern period is grounded in his personal experience of the horse as a creature that learns and remembers. The way in which he uses that experience is based on his Royalist understanding of hierarchy and his personal nature, which is well-documented as being 'very acceptable to men of all conditions'.[71] This did not stop him from taking decisive action when necessary[72] and he is quite clear that a recalcitrant horse would be dealt with swiftly.

When approaching his manuals from a modern critical perspective, to ignore that his approach is based on experience, which current research on horse behaviour confirms to be valid, is to become blind to much of the power behind them. The horse and the riding house are not metaphors for life to Newcastle; they are parallels to it and illustrate the validity of all he believes in so that the horse's willing response serves to reinforce the superiority of the rider. For him then, there is nothing more affirming of his own status than 'to see so Excellent a Creature, with so much Spirit, and Strength,

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[70] Thomas, p.16.
[71] Clarendon, vol. III, p.382.
[72] Trease, p.90.

to be so Obedient to his Rider, as if having no Will but His' (1667: p.13).

Chapter 6

'A strange conceit of a Great Master': Newcastle's plates as virtual reality.

> And beside the skyll in horses and in whatsoever belongeth to a horseman, let him set all his dylygence to wade in everye thing a little farther then other menne, so that he may bee knowen almong al menne for one that is excellente.
>
> Count Baldassare Castiglione[1]

> We've got to get ourselves back to the Garden.
>
> Neil Young[2]

The first of Newcastle's horsemanship manuals is distinguished by the forty-two double-folio sized copperplate engravings printed from original designs by Abraham van Diepenbeeck.[3] The high quality and detail lavished upon these illustrations ensured that they are still regarded as one of 'most celebrated' sets of illustrations in Diepenbeeck's prolific output of drawings and designs.[4] The overall production of the book made it an exceptional publication, illustrating the status of the author, although he was at the time, in straitened circumstances financially. To fulfil the project Newcastle had to accept the help of court agents, Sir Henry Cartwright and William Loving and wrote in 1656 that 'I am so tormented about my book of horsemanship as you cannot believe, with a hundred several trades I think, and the printing will cost above £1300'.[5] This date suggests the long-term nature of the project, as the book did not appear until 1657/8, and Newcastle's agitation over its progress suggests also his close involvement with overseeing the process of its production.

The high standard of publication was enhanced by the beautiful plates, which were

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[1] *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. by Thomas Hoby, ed. by Virginia Cox (London: J. M. Dent, 1994), p. 48.
[2] 'Woodstock', in Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young, *Deja-vu*, Time Warner, 1970.
[3] As stated above, all 42 Plates may be found in Appendix II.
[4] Vlieghe, pp.74-75.
[5] Printed in *Life*, p.357.

produced from Diepenbeecke's drawings by a team of eight engravers, an unusually large number, with two or three being more usual.[6] The suggestion of urgency this implies is supported by Toole-Stott's comprehensive survey of extant copies of the text. All the manuals he examined 'have the numeral 'I' added in MS. to the date of the printed title which (before the addition) was 1657. The engraved title is always 1658'. He suggests that 'the complete work with the engraved title was not published until 1658, but [...] copies with the printed title were ready and in circulation in 1657. Possibly, the work was held up for the completion of the engraved title (which is an inserted leaf)'.[7] Katie Whitaker adds to the impression of the great enterprise involved in preparing the text as a just acknowledgement of all that Newcastle's status demanded:

> Unlike his plays, which appeared anonymously, William intended to publish this more aristocratic work under his own name. Wanting a title page at once impressive and socially correct, he consulted the most senior English herald, Sir Edward Walker, the Garter King-of-Arms, still with Charles II's court in exile.

No doubt he was particularly pleased to have confirmed that 'there were precedents that entitled William as a marquess and a knight of the Garter, to take the courtesy title of prince'.[8]

The great roll-call of his titles actualises the belief put into words by Margaret Cavendish that 'tis a part of Honour to aspire towards a Fame'.[9] It also follows the

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[6] I would like to thank Adrian Woodhouse for sharing his insights and research on the production of the plates and his expertise on the Cavendish estate architecture and heraldry with me. His forthcoming work *Castles and Compasses: the true lives and works of John Smythson* will include a comprehensive analysis of the buildings shown in the plates of the 1658 horsemanship manual; See Johns, p.434-492, on the art and practice of the engraver.

[7] Toole-Stott, p.84.

[8] Whitaker, p.208.

[9] *Poems, and Fancies*, sig. A4.

philosophy laid out by Hobbes that 'Scutchions, and Coats of Armes hereditary, where they have any eminent Priviledges, are Honourable' and give evidence for a man that the 'Value of him by the Common-wealth, is understood, by offices of Command, Judicature, publike employment; or by Names and Titles, introduced for distinction of such value'.[10] Newcastle's belief in 'the argument that God had created the social order and appointed each individual his place within it' meant that he was honour-bound to assert his status, because the 'alternative to settled authority was [...]envisaged in essentially Hobbesian terms as a condition in which unbounded liberty meant limitless destruction'.[11]

In the overall presentation of Newcastle through his manuals, the plates have a significant role, and serve a variety of purposes in the varying contexts of the semiotic and technical agendas of the text. However, if they are viewed as a 'conceit' in themselves, the various layers of meaning they encompass become part of a whole.

It is the contention of this thesis that the overall purpose of the first manual is to establish Newcastle on the Continent as a serious contender for the role of supreme horsemaster, seeking to supersede Pluvinel. This chapter will argue that the plates are designed to establish his credentials visually to the Continental reader. Exiled and far from home, he was not in the position to entertain his Continental admirers in his own houses, which so strongly bore the marks of his hand. The locus of the riding house offered a point of contact from which he could present a full picture of himself in the context of his birth through the detailed plates. His use of horsemanship as a means to this end lends weight to the argument that 'representations of power and a vivid shared aesthetic combined in fine breeds of horses' so that 'their circulation and

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[10] *Leviathan*, pp.52, 48.
[11] Smuts, *Culture and Power*, p.28.

appreciation were integral parts of imperial bids for recognition'.[12]

This chapter will explore the ways that Newcastle uses the plates in his text as a virtual tour of his estates, inviting his readers to effectively accept his hospitality. It will consider the style and iconography of the plates by working progressively through them in the context of the first manual, with reference also to technical accuracy and realism alongside the idealised presentation of Newcastle and his estates.

The manual begins with the impressive title plate, which has close visual similarities in the composition to the title-plate in Pluvinel's manual of 1623. This could not help but create a resonance between them for any reader who has seen the earlier text. However, Newcastle's lineage is clearly superior and expounded in full detail, including all his titles relating to pre-war offices. The positioning of the two rearing horses, the heraldic devices and the attending cherubs all direct the eye to the impressive claim that this is the text of a both new and extraordinary method for horse training, hitherto undiscovered, and authored by the thrice noble and very puissant 'Prince Guillaume Marquis et Comte de Newcastle'. Having been introduced, as it were, in this title page to the author, his impressive lineage and bold claims, the reader then becomes Newcastle's guest through the plates that follow throughout the manual. The opportunity to reveal his cultured taste, architectural innovation and significant land holdings, denied him in his exile, becomes possible through this device. As the 'particular aesthetics of country houses were obviously influenced by Court style, international contacts and neighbouring example, but often displayed a distinctive individualism stamping them as the product of a specific gentry mind', this

[12] Jardine and Brotton, p.151.

opportunity would fulfil a necessity for Newcastle.[13]

The invitation to accept Newcastle's hospitality is in the preamble of plates 1-5, which establish his identity as English Lord and Royalist General. These are positioned between the engraved title page and the dedications, so that the first impression made upon the reader is visual. The initial impact of the plates was crucial as 'the ways in which sense of visitor was related in celebration to sense of place, the sense of place in turn connecting with the identity and welcoming gesture of the host [...] are exercises in the rituals of gracious giving, but they also convey the wishes of favourable recognition in return, in the competitive game of court patronage'.[14] Newcastle's ability to offer all the courtly welcome of his true home while located as a foreigner in Antwerp, make his attempt to establish himself as a horseman of European expertise and importance more assured and confident.

Trevor Foulds points out that after the Restoration Newcastle believed that 'his social position, titles and extensive lands reinforced by his experiences on the continent while in exile [...] supplied a continental dimension that legitimately put him on the same level of continental dynasts such as the families of Conde and Bourbon'.[15] During his time on the Continent, he makes a similar claim for dynastic superiority though the plates of his first horsemanship manual for the benefit of those whose recognition he would use to re-establish himself on his return home.

Plate 1 has the strong image of Newcastle as General, ordering the battle, which rages in the field below. With the legend 'LA BATAILLE GAIGNEE' [*sic*], that is

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[13] Heal and Holmes, p.299.
[14] Cedric Brown, 'Courtesies of Place and Arts of Diplomacy in Ben Jonson's Last Two Entertainments for Royalty', *Cavendish Circle*, p.147.
[15] Foulds, 'This Greate House', p.86.

'The Battle Won', beneath the feet of Newcastle's horse, the features of the scene are consistent with the genre of scenes of battle and the plate overall is very reminiscent of several contemporary portraits of significant generals and royalty. The impact of Newcastle in the foreground overseeing command of his troops, who are much smaller as they ride into the distance, is standard iconography for emphasizing the puissance and status of the depicted leader. Similarly his abilities are reinforced by the detail of his army surging forward to mow down the injured and dying from the opposing side. Newcastle's cavalry appears to have no casualties. The winged fames sound the clarion call of triumph and crown Newcastle with the victor's laurel wreath while the sky opens to shine down heaven's approval on him. The Garter motto *honi soit qui mal pense*, 'shame on him who thinks badly', is borne up by cherubs, and his black pageboy, a sign of his status, carries his helmet, which signifies him as a conqueror of nations. Newcastle carries all the arms appropriate to his role, and his horse is performing a beautiful pesade, indicating the rider's skill. Recalling his days of victory and ignoring the painful irony encompassed in such images of a man who left his country after a disastrous defeat, Plate 1 presents Newcastle in his glory: a leader of men, acknowledged and approved of by heaven. The invitation has been issued for the reader to enter his estate and demesne.[16]

Plate 2 reinforces this image with Newcastle as a living statue, upon a pedestal, which bears a verse eulogising both Newcastle and the spirit of horse, which is made 'made by this Lord so true and so equable' that 'all Horses are subject to his law' and

[16] See Liedtke, pp.219-269, for a survey of paintings featuring a general or king on horseback, many of which depict the rider overseeing a field of battle; the image in this plate was also used in a tapestry and perhaps a portrait of Newcastle later seen at Welbeck Abbey. See Woodhouse, p.77; Lucy Worsley, 'I began to Wish', p.2-3.

'obey him as they would their King'. [17] Newcastle's status as a king to all horses, whose noble nature is refined by his skill, leaves the reader/guest in no doubt that they are to be in the company of brilliance. To reinforce the point, the couplet at the base of the pedestal reads 'If he mounted a fiery Devil, that Devil would in all airs go truly'. Again presented as the general honoured by heaven, Newcastle is in armour and girt with a sword, but does not have the holstered pistol he wore in the first plate, suggesting that after conflict comes ceremony, with the spoils of war scattered about the plinth, symbolic of the razing of his enemies. The landscape behind him is, as are those that follow, more Flemish than English in appearance, including the silhouettes of birds, which were a feature of Flemish landscapes at the time. This may simply reflect the imagination of the artist, whose personal frame of reference would not be English, or be part of the fantasy locating Newcastle in the context of his Continental audience. In his study of Newcastle's last great building project, Nottingham Castle, Trevor Foulds points out that Diepenbeecke's involvement introduces 'a Flemish filter' to the design and this is true also of the horsemanship plates. The production of the drawings for the plates is subject to some discussion, but letters are extant referring to visits made to Newcastle's estates by an unnamed artist, thought by some scholars to have been Diepenbeecke.[18]

Following through the conceit of a guide to the notional visitor, here then is the statue that greets the newcomer at the entrance or gateway to Newcastle's home. These images predate and perhaps set a precedent for the life-size equestrian statue, now sadly ruined, which Newcastle commissioned to stand over the first-floor

[17] See Appendix I for full translations of the verses in the plates.
[18] Vlighe, pp.74-75; 174-178; Foulds, ibid., p.86; Girouard, 'Early Drawings of Bolsover Castle' in *Architectural History*, 1957, p.512; Lucy Worsley, ibid., pp.2-3.

entrance of Nottingham Castle. In this statue, which Adrian Woodhouse points out is 'the first non-royal major equestrian statue in this country', Newcastle is dressed very similarly to Plate 1 of the 1658 manual in 'breastplate and leg armour with a lace stock at the neck and an elaborate sash [...] holding the reins [...] in his left (inner) hand and what appears to be a military commander's baton in his right'. Woodhouse sees this statue as 'the summation of a life associated always with equine symbolism and display' and suggests that Newcastle was influenced by 'the Giambologna and Pietro Tacca bronze equestrian state of Henri IV' in Paris during his exile.[19]

Plate 2 perhaps lays the foundation stone for the later statue in associating Newcastle with a tradition that was, in 1658, still distinctly royal. It also contains a powerful message for its original readership. Presenting not only an image of Newcastle, but an image of a statue of Newcastle, Plate 2 encompasses a range of symbolism. A statue 'is at once a 'real representation' and a figure for the transposed power and glory of a dynastic or imperial personage', its three dimensional solidity carrying a stronger semiotic message than a portrait.[20] That it would often be positioned in the open air broadens the viewing perspective and accessibility and makes it also a tribute reserved only for those whose name and rank demand such public recognition. To present himself as a statue contains, therefore, a complicated psychology, whereby not only are Newcastle's expertise and *gloire* fixed in print but also by implication, fitting to be immortalised in stone.

Plates 3 and 4 suggest both in their style, content and position in the overall series of the engravings, a short masque or entertainment, such as those Newcastle

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[19] Woodhouse, pp.73-74, 76, 78.
[20] Jardine and Brotton, p.139.

commissioned Ben Jonson to write to welcome Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria. The *King's Entertainment at Welbeck* (1633), and *Love's Welcome at Bolsover* (1634), were highly significant events and 'must be seen as a part of his bid to gain major royal favour', so recollecting them through the plates adds an important retrospective of his career. A noble guest at Newcastle's table would find such an entertainment to be the most apt and generous welcome, indicating the host's wealth, theatrical tastes and honour to his guests and also emphasising that his skills have the authority of classical lineage.[21]

Newcastle, who took part in court masques,[22] appears in this entertainment as Lord of Horses, worshipped by nineteen muscular stallions kneeling in acknowledgement of his skill, which is proclaimed in the verse. In the midst of this highly theatrical image, there is a small detail of simple realism, which reinforces the claims of Newcastle's expertise. The horse to the right of centre has its tail bound up ready to perform a capriole, the epitome of the art of the riding house, so as to avoid tearing the hair as it kicks out behind at the zenith of its great leap and which 'makes him appear to go higher too' (1667: p.115). Including this horse reinforces to the reader/guest that Newcastle can achieve the highest level of training and illustrates an attention to accurate detail that is consistent throughout the plates. Alongside the artistic concerns in their presentation, they are the manifestation of a precise knowledge of horses, and every plate supports that point. Newcastle rides in a small chariot very reminiscent of those used in festivals, horseballets and masques,[23]

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[21] Brown, pp.147-152.
[22] *Court Masques*, ed. David Lindley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p.278
[23] See Watanabe O'Kelly, already cited, for detailed illustration on designs for court masques and horse-ballets.

dressed in classical costume, with the addition of the long horsemaster's switch, and showing a bare leg and arm. While this is keeping with his costume, it also displays a strong and muscular physique and as one of Newcastle's comments in the texts is how strong and fit this art makes the rider, maybe this is an apt opportunity for him to be shown as such (1667: pp.131-14). He was in his sixties by the time this manual appeared, but this image and those throughout serve to immortalise him in eternal early middle age, at the peak of his health and strength, with years of experience behind him and a confident future ahead as indicated by the wonderful estate on view.

The centaurs drawing his chariot carry spoils of war and are in keeping with the overall elevation of Newcastle above horses and men, through their classical links with both wisdom and boorishness. This would support Anzilotti's belief that Newcastle was well-acquainted with Machiavelli's *The Prince*. Machiavelli says 'a prince must know how to use wisely the natures of the beast and the man'. Thus, he claims, 'This policy was taught to princes allegorically by the ancient writers, who described how Achilles and many other ancient princes were given to Chiron the Centaur to be raised and taught under his discipline. This can only mean that, having a half-beast and half-man as a teacher, a prince must know how to employ the nature of the one and the other'.[24] Rather than being educated by a centaur, Newcastle harnesses them, thus elevating himself still further. It reminds his readers once more that the first governor of Charles II has an implicit and profound knowledge of beasts and men. The combination of elements in this plate make this scene reminiscent of a Roman Triumph, an image well-established in the conventions of the masque and

[24] Anzilotti, pp.59-75; *The Prince*, ed. by Peter Bondanella, trans. Peter Bondanella and Mark Musa (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), p.58.

horse-ballet as appropriate for the celebrations of the nobility.

This entertainment ends with a triumphal display in Plate 4, as Newcastle achieves heavenly ascension performing a capriole on a winged horse. The accompanying verse provides a commentary explaining that 'He flies so high that he touches the sky with his head/ And by his marvels he delights the gods to ecstasy.' This image recalls Ben Jonson's appreciation of Newcastle's riding abilities in 'An Epigram to William, Earl of Newcastle'. Jonson declares that 'You showed like Perseus upon Pegasus', although in the classical tradition Pegasus is tamed by Bellepheron. However this 'misattribution is traditional', as may be seen also in Theodor vanThulden's 'Perseus and Andromeda'.[25]

In the context of Plate 3, Newcastle upon Pegasus is dressed not in classical costume, but in contemporary clothes. It seems likely, therefore, that he is aligning himself less with the classical heroes than the association of Pegasus with poets and artists, due to his creation of the Helliconian spring for the Muses on Mount Olympus.[26] For this apotheosis, he chooses not the role of an ancient hero, but to play the part of himself, suggesting that he will be invited to join the assembled gods on his own merit. He is watched over by Jupiter, Juno, Mercury, Diana, Apollo, Hercules and other deities, with the cornucopia representing peace and abundance, and images of war and the arts. All areas of Newcastle's expertise are represented, and the eleven horses witness his aspiration to heavenly status. The number eleven is generally taken iconographically to represent the twelve disciples, minus Judas Iscariot, an uneasy

[25] *Major Works*, pp. 383, 700; Vlieghe, p.74.
[26] *Larousse Encyclopedia of Mythology*, ed. Felix Guirard, trans. by Richard Aldington (London: Hamlyn, 1983), pp.182-4.

reference in this context. There is a great deal of mixed iconography here and it seems unlikely that Newcastle is associating himself with Christ. However, the subtext of these images would be well known, especially to the Continental reader, steeped in classical and Christian imagery and it is hard to interpret them without accepting that such recognition would be made. If the winged horse is taken to make up the number to twelve, the New Testament iconography remains and this image is open to a variety of interpretations.[27] In his poems to Margaret Cavendish during their courtship, Newcastle links the sacred and profane in a manner Douglas Grant describes as 'distressing' and it may that his tendency to solipsism blinds him to the potential offence such link might provoke.[28] The more prosaic practicalities of artistic composition might mean that eleven horses balance the plate visually in the eye of the artist, but when the images are so rich in potential meaning, this is not an especially satisfying conclusion. Clearly Newcastle is aiming to impress, not to offend, and in this virtual world he has created through the plates, his ascension is a climactic moment in the entertainment of his guests. Newcastle's winged steed is performing a capriole, but does not have a dressed tail, perhaps having transcended such earthly concerns in this exalted moment of transilience between heaven and earth.

The entertainment is rounded off with acknowledgment of the king and Newcastle's political affiliation as his devoted supporter. To portray Charles II as King of Great Britain, as the legend proclaims, deliberately ignores the current state of the English monarchy, befitting both Newcastle's personal affiliations and the acknowledgement of Charles as lawful king by the Continental nobility. The

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[27] I am grateful to Professor Paul Spenser-Longhurst for his assistance in interpretation of the classical iconography in the plates.
[28] *The Phanseys of the Duke of Newcastle*, p.xxiii.

Commonwealth appears as a hydra, being pursued by Mars, under the command of Charles II in the role of Jupiter. Mercury with his caduceus appears to offer this attack upon the evil monster for Charles' consideration. Cherubs and angels offer Charles the symbols of monarchy over England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, while Cupid acts as page, carrying his helm. He is equipped for battle and London lies below in the distance, although the trees and flocks of birds are consistent with the Flemish style overall.

The most striking feature of this plate, however, as mentioned in Chapter 3, is that from the neck down, even to the white sock of the horse's near-side hind hoof and the folds of the rider's cloak, this is exactly the same figure as that in Plate 1. The only difference between them is that Plate 1 has Newcastle's head and Plate 5 has that of Charles II. It is hard to see this as saying anything other than that Newcastle and the true king are as one. Newcastle's loyalty and closeness to the king are unequivocally established, with Charles cast in the mould of his former governor, a bold suggestion unlikely to please many of Newcastle's peers. The verse praising Charles's virtues suggests also that Charles should aspire to follow Newcastle's apotheosis, so that 'your own mount be the winged Pegasus'. This reference to Charles riding Pegasus, coming hard upon the image of Newcastle doing so, suggests that he is still offering a role model to his monarch, so that Charles' subjects may 'submit to your unique power' as the horses do to Newcastle's own particular skills. His address to Charles, which follows these opening plates, refers to the influence Newcastle had over his boyhood and the natural genius he nurtured as the future king's governor, when he

recognised 'quelle abondance de fruits vertueux' were present in the child's nature. Respectful affection supports visual imagery in aligning the author of this text with his lawful king not only as loyal subject but as active mentor.

However there is a great and poignant irony in these plates. Newcastle, far from being seen at this time as a victorious general, was to his own side, the man who lost the battle of Marston Moor and left the country in disarray, if not disgrace. The days of glorious entertainments in his own estates were over and the pattern already established with Charles whereby Margaret Cavendish would later observe that 'his gracious master did not love him so well as he [Newcastle] loved him' (*Life*: p.245). However, to his credit, Newcastle never wavered in his devotion and the plates, taking this notional guest around his estate, state clearly from the outset that he is the king's man.

These first five plates are followed by the thirteen-page dedication to Charles, 'Au Roy de Grande Bretagne', and an address to Newcastle's sons, Charles and Henry Cavendish. The host is not only the king's man, but a family man also, continuing an aristocratic dynasty who will recognise the worth of horsemanship in supporting the ideals and honours of their lineage, 'parce qu'il n'y a rien plus proper a un Gentil-homme que d'etre bon Homme de cheval' (1658: 'A Mes Tres-Chers Fils').

The entertainment over and loyalties established, the virtual guest is then invited to view Newcastle's stud horses, against the backdrop of the estate at Welbeck Abbey. These plates support the commentary on breeds of horses in the manuals (1658: pp.14-16; 1667: pp.49-76) but also, in displaying Newcastle's own horses on his

estates, recall a mentor of Newcastle's own, Sir Henry Wotton, who believed that a nobleman's home 'is a kind of private princedom'.[29] The opportunity of the manuals allows Newcastle to make 'effective statements about power and honour through his aesthetic choices'.[30] Thus the plates become a studbook also, displaying the stallions Newcastle chooses to introduce Spanish blood to English stock, and to which perhaps, other gentlemen may wish to bring their mares. They establish Newcastle as having the fine eye for horses he claims and the resources to obtain them, while illustrating his text on choosing fine stallions. Thus these plates, as those that precede them, can be read on a number of different levels. While the fantasy has now given way to realism in the presentation of Newcastle's estates and horses, the presentation of his status and expertise remains, rooted in the practicalities of breeding good stock and managing fine property. He locates himself among the elite who can recognize and afford fine horses from several countries and in doing so demonstrates that 'representations of power and a vivid shared aesthetic combined in fine breeds of horses' so that 'their circulation and appreciation were integral parts of imperial bids for recognition'.[31]

Plate 6 is a Barb named 'Paragon'. This breed, although long known in Europe, was originally of North African descent. Newcastle believes that 'there never came out of Barbery, The best Horses that Country affords', because merchants and 'horse-coursers' only 'Buy those Horses that are Cheapest for their Advantage' (1667: p.57)

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[29] *The Elements of Architecture: collected by Henry Wotton, Knight, from the best authors and examples* (London, 1624), p.82; see Chapter 1 for Wotton's role in Newcastle's youth.
[30] Heal and Holmes, p.299.
[31] Jardine and Brotten, p.151.

and he discusses at some length the difficulty and high cost of obtaining a Barb. This makes it the more desirable and the more prestigious a horse to have in his stud. The Barb is handled in Plate 6 by the same black page who waited upon Newcastle in Plate 1. As well as the Barb, this young man handles the Turkish horse in Plate 8, for he, like the horses, has exotic associations, reinforcing that Newcastle can reach beyond European Christendom to encompass and acquire. Jardine and Brotton cite the growing interest in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in using horses and representations of horses to lay 'vigorous claim to prestige on the part of European wielders of wealth and power' in the awareness that they could not match 'the ostentatious displays of real horse-power arranged for visiting dignitaries by the Ottoman Sultan'.[32] By Newcastle's time this tradition of displaying power and magnificence through the ownership of fine horses was well-established and the inclusion of non-European breeds and their handler implies the owner's buying power, his refinement in recognising good stock and his ability to take the foreign exotic and locate it within his own context, against the backdrop of Welbeck Abbey. To have a black servant was still unusual in Europe in 1658, and so adds an additional dimension of unusual acquisitive power.[33]

The impressive yet homely appearance of the house reinforces the welcome for the notional guest. Smoke from the chimney shows that Welbeck is active, staffed and hospitable and the fine façade of the house is well-displayed as a backdrop to the horse, who stands in front of a wall, far enough into the foreground so that its body does not spoil the view of the house. The overall impression is one of refinement and

[32] Ibid.
[33] Whitaker, p.227.

grandeur, while the legend in a cartouche ensures no reader can mistake whose house it is.

Plate 7 shows 'Le Superbe', a Spanish horse, which is of a more rounded overall carriage than the Barb. Newcastle commends the Spanish horse as 'the noblest horse in the World' and 'Fittest for a King', due to their combination of 'great spirit [...] Best Action' and 'Lovingest and Gentlest' nature (1667: p.50). These would be considered an accurate summary of attributes today, further illustrating the accuracy of the text and the prepotency of the breed which was one of the reasons for its popularity in breeding for the riding house. The best of the Spanish bloodlines he considers to be from 'Andalousia', especially that of the king of Spain at Cordova' (1667: p.21). The smoking chimneys and standard flying in the view of the house behind indicate again that the family is in residence. Once more there is the idea of a notional situation, as at this time Newcastle was in exile and his houses either abandoned, fallen into disrepair or being managed by a few remaining staff and family members.[34]

It may be that the plates served also to remind the author that his heart still had its home, and to assure those who viewed them that he fully intended to return to regain his estates, at that time 'confused, entangled and almost ruined' (*Life*: p.90). Newcastle's great love for his homeland is best illustrated by Margaret Cavendish's anecdote that on his eventual return to England when 'he was able to discern the smoak of London, which he had not seen in a long time, he merrily was pleased to desire one that was near him, to jogg him out of his dream, for surely, said he, I have been sixteen years asleep, and am not thoroughly awake yet' (*Life*: p.87). Newcastle's

[34] Trease, pp.153-177.

sense of awakening to his real life illustrates that 'the growing sophistication and diversity of gentry culture might actually deepen attachment to the land. The country house, the gardens and parks around it and agricultural estate all provided opportunities to display new interests and accomplishments, including those acquired in London or on a grand tour'.[35]

Plates 8 and 9 add another element to the idea of the 'tour', as there is something of a commentary, with the design and dimensions of the stables and riding house detailed above the buildings in the engravings. Again, the manuals provide an opportunity for Newcastle to share his expertise on the most practical level, while impressing his reader/guest. Newcastle's stables were so impressive, that Jonson declared 'I began to wish myself a horse',[36] and were architecturally significant in the development of the riding house and stable in this country.[37] These plates aim at disseminating Newcastle's innovative designs to his Continental audience and become another aspect of the colonisation he attempts through the manuals. Plate 8 simply describes the stately dimensions of the riding house, but Plate 9 adds much more detail. With a granary, stone vaulted stables, pillars, feeders and paved floor 'a l'Italienne' and most impressively, the running water and ventilation system for up to eighty horses, these stables could not fail to be impressive to any reader interested in the good management of expensive horses or imaginative practicality in architecture.

The horse in Plate 8 is a 'Turke', led again by the black page, as discussed above.

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[35] Heal and Holmes, p.93.
[36] Already cited.
[37] Designs for Newcastle's riding houses and stables are extant and discussed in detail by Giles Worsley, Lucy Worsley and Tom Addyman and Adrian Woodhouse, already cited.

In both manuals, Newcastle claims little knowledge of Turkish horses as 'I have seen very Few of them' because 'the Grand Signor is very Strict, in not Suffering any of his Horses to Go out of his Territory' (1667: pp.69, 71). However, one appears to be part of his own stud. As it is quite unlike Newcastle to consider himself inexpert on any subject on which he has even some small experience, it may be the case that not all the horses illustrated here existed outside the notional estate contained within the manual. Although the horse in the plate is named, Newcastle does not include any Turkish names in his list of suggestions of 'Excellent Names' and considers that those he had seen 'appeared not so Fit for the manage, as for to Run a Course', due to their action (1667: pp.353, 70). This horse, like the Barb, is not as rounded in outline as the Spanish stallion, illustrating the different attributes of the various breeds that could be used to enhance English bloodlines.

Although Newcastle says that Neapolitan horses, a Spanish cross-breed, are 'ill-shaped' (1667: p.21), the horse shown in Plate 9, is particularly attractive and well proportioned. He has the rounded musculature of the Spanish, with the long top-line (poll to withers) of the Barb and a splendid mane, falling to his shoulder. His sloping muzzle is characteristic of certain Spanish types and the deep-set eye suggests intelligence. Newcastle's criticism of the Neopolitan horse is due to too much cross-breeding having caused the breed to become 'Decayed', 'Bastarded, and Spoyled', a point seemingly supported by the Marquis of Caracena who assured Newcastle that though war had had an impact on the breed, 'they began now to Repair it, and that he Hoped within Fourteen Years it may be Established as formerly it hath been' (1667:

pp.68-69). Although Neopolitan 'coursers' were originally battle horses, this term was an old-fashioned one by the end of the sixteenth century and 'they were increasingly relegated to ceremonial occasions'.[38]

This horse bears the brand which displays Newcastle's lineage as part of an ongoing agenda of elevating his status as explained by Adrian Woodhouse:

> Newcastle quartered the Ogle and even older Northumbrian Bertram arms with Cavendish; blithely used the Bertram baronial title although he was not entitled to do so; had the Ogle barony bumped up to an earldom with his dukedom in 1665 and used the Ogle sun-in-glory badge ubiquitously.

This enabled him to claim 'baronial descent almost back to the Conquest', even though 'his Cavendish and Hardwicke forebears had only risen up the social scale in the 16th century as royal bureaucrats', ensuring that 'he was hugely proud of his mother's Ogle ancestry'. As Woodhouse points out, the association with 'traditions of chivalry [...] inextricably linked with horses and knightly service on horseback' through this noble descent served perfectly his image of himself and his horses, as presented in all aspects of his life, including the horsemanship manuals.[39]

The young man in Plate 9 is the second of the four attendants, angels and gods aside, who appear in the plates, along with Newcastle himself and Captain Mazin. This is unlike the Pluvinel manuals which are crowded with students and admirers of the author, including the young king. Newcastle in the context of his estates is not a riding master but a horsemaster, a subtle difference and even when he taught the young Charles II, he did so not as the master of an Academy, but as his personal governor. Plate 9 also gives an impressive view of the riding house and stables at Welbeck, along with full gloss of the interior, as discussed above.

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[38] Edwards, p.40.
[39] Woodhouse, p.76; fn. 8.

The final stallion, in Plate 10 is 'Rubecan un Rousin', who appears once more in a Flemish landscape. 'Rousin' is a very old French term for a war horse and as this animal is a shorter more heavily boned horse, while still displaying the active high-stepping quality and very muscular body favoured by Newcastle, this suggests a cross-breed capable of weight-bearing but also strong and nimble, as would be necessary if he were to be used on the battle field.

The reader/guest having viewed the stallions, is taken in plates 11 and 12, to view Newcastle's stock at large. As well as a fine stallion, whose active gait illustrates his disposition, there are mares and many well-fleshed foals, whose large numbers and rounded shape suggest abundance and fertility. The leafy trees and flowers and grazing for the horses also give the impression that under Newcastle's hand, the land is well managed and fertile. Art and realism support and inform one another in all these images, as the accepted symbolism is portrayed through notional observation of actuality. The stallion in plate 11 is branded again, and one of the mares has her tail tied up, suggesting she has only recently foaled, as the tail would be tied out of the way to prevent it becoming soiled during the birth. This adds another small element of good management and realism to the idyllic images of this equine paradise. The foals are rather shaggy, which is entirely consistent both with the downy first coat of all foals, and with the tendency of the Spanish horse to be born looking unrefined but develop into graceful animals as they mature. Another feature combining symbolism and realism is the veins showing on the horses, which in artistic terms can represent vitality and health, but would also be an accurate representation of a finely-bred, fine coated horse of this type. The man and dog in this and the following plate are recommended to watch over the horses 'Day and Night; not only to tell you when they are Served, but that no other horse comes to the Mares, or other Mares put to the

Horse watch them day and night' (1667: p.92). This indicates that the less than efficient landowner or unscrupulous breeder might threaten the purity of the bloodlines or take advantage of fine stock.

Plate 12, the final one in this initial tour of land and property, shows thirty-six young weanlings at play in open pasture. Again there is a great sense of growth and vitality, with summer foliage, in keeping with Newcastle's advice to time foaling for May. Some of the foals play-fight, which is common behaviour among young horses as they prepare for the dominance trials which come as they reach maturity. Others however, are executing highly complicated caprioles and curvets. The reasons for this may be twofold, as discussed in Chapter 5. The airs above the ground are based on the movements stallions use when displaying to mares. However, in training they are refined and stylised so no horse would be seen performing these movements in perfect school form in the field, as Newcastle's foals are doing. These images of the foal suggest that the movements are natural, but also seem to imply that his horses are born skilful through some form of osmosis through their fathers whom Newcastle has trained, so that they are imbued with the skills they will refine in their adulthood. It also illustrates the practice of breeding for desired attributes, common at the time and ever since. This may be seen also in some of the life-size portraits of horses at Welbeck Abbey, where the stallions are running free and yet performing airs above the ground. A similar message seems likely: the movements are based on nature and that Newcastle's training impresses itself upon nature and is assimilated by nature. An additional interesting feature of this plate is that, as discussed in Chapter 3, it echoes precisely, in visual terms, the description of the youngstock in King Louis XIII's stud playing given in Pluvinel's manual. In viewing his estates, Newcastle's guests see for themselves the similarity of his youngstock with that of the French king.

The notional guest has now been welcomed, introduced and entertained by the host and shown his stud horses and innovative stable and riding house design, while given a running textual commentary. A tour of the pastures has been given to illustrate the natural management skills of the master and the time for riding approaches, when Newcastle will show his skill as a trainer and then ride himself for the pleasure of his guest.

Plate 13 begins the explanation of training methods by a display of tack and including Newcastle's own design of cavesson, explained by the legend. From the point of view of a guest who is a rider and keeper of horses, this is a very logical progression: from the horses, to their management and gear and then on the riding, with training followed by display. This order introduces first the philosophy of the host and then the demonstration of his skill in both training and performance.

The choice of tack would be of prime interest to other riders. Once the horse has the bit in its mouth or the saddle on its back, any hidden tortures, such as a raw edge on the bit, or rigid spurs would be easily hidden. As Newcastle comments in such detail on bitting and its problems (1658: pp.263-269; 1667: pp.343-350), clearly he would wish his guest to understand the mechanics of the items he chooses for his own horses. Also the comparative simplicity of his bits, compared to those of some earlier masters, such as Grisone, illustrate that in using art to perfect nature, he is skilful enough to rely on judgement and refinement, rather than brute force. His illustrates the forward progression of the art of the riding house in the shaping of the true gentleman.

Plate 14 shows Newcastle himself, demonstrating 'la vraye assiette', the true seat for a horseman, as described in both manuals (1658: p.35; 1667: p.203). This shows the general, seen previously surrounded by the spoils of war, now at leisure

demonstrating the skill and beauty of his art, which is clearly suitable for 'Persons of the greatest quality' (1667: sig. c). The illustration of his method to the guest begins with a vision of perfection: the master in the saddle.

Plates 15- 29 are effectively a training session, for a horse at a fairly advanced stage of development, a very suitable entertainment for a house-guest with an interest in the art. The technical accuracy of the plates, as discussed in detail in Chapter 4, ensures that they serve very well to illustrate the method expounded in the text. However, in the conceit of the plates as a re-creation of the personal space Newcastle demands as the due of his lineage and status, they reinforce his position and create a stage upon which he can perform.

In plates 15-19, Captain Mazin warms-up the horse for its training session and undertakes the initial exercises, with Newcastle directing the training from the ground, reinforcing his role as expert. The outlines of circles and hoof prints on the ground serve in the same way as choreographic floor-patterns, to show the pattern the horse will make on the ground when performing correctly. The horse in these plates is wearing Newcastle's cavesson, with the rein through the noseband ring. This shows that a preparation is being made and as is seen throughout, there is a combination of realism and metaphor here. Newcastle's method involves careful progressive training but it is also innovative and encompasses science and philosophy as well as art. In the plates, these messages are reinforced by the calm confidence and authoritative stance of the master, who is typified by his own method as a man of grace and reason, as well as personal presence.

The school in which the lesson takes place is suggested by the pillar (plates 15, 17-28), and this is Newcastle's own device, breaking away from the customary two

pillars used by Pluvinel. The sections of classically styled wall (plates 17, 18, 22) recall the beautiful riding house whose dimensions are given in plate 9, but remain focused on the details of the training. The school is not shown in full detail, perhaps because these training plates move out of the realism of plates 6-12 and 14 to allow for showing different aspects of one exercise in the same plate. Also, both Welbeck and Bolsover have riding houses, so both may be represented through this device.

In plates 15- 29, the exercises are shown on both hands, that is, in both directions, a key feature of training for balanced muscle development. For the basic exercises, needing only the rider and the master teaching the lesson, Newcastle stands in the center, while the horse works different steps of the same circle around him, illustrating the use of his innovative cavesson, the positioning of the horse for the correct effect and the way the pillar is used. Aside from the practicality of this, so that whole exercises may be illustrated, it also gives a sense of dynamism to the image so that Newcastle appears to be the center of a scene of great activity and learning. This is emphasized by the changes in the scene as the training progresses.

Newcastle wears a cloak bearing the Star of the Garter and carries a sword while directing the lesson with the switch in plate 17. In plate 18, he has removed the cloak and sits in a throne-like seat, in front of which he stands in plate 19, attended by Mr. Proctor, who carries his cloak. John Proctor was Newcastle's personal servant for fifty years and the engraving perhaps flatters him by making him appear to be a young man, when he had already served Newcastle for around twenty years by 1658. Like his master, the plates immortalise him in his prime. His 'skullcap and plain dark suit marked him out as a lesser servitor among the flamboyant silks and laces and cavalier hats worn by gentlemen-servants' and it is clear that he is not involved in the

equestrian activities. He serves in his accustomed role for his master, 'attending on him through the day, carrying his cloak',[40] again testifying to Newcastle's status and, it would seem, preparing for plates 20-29 when Newcastle either rides or takes an active part in the training for the advanced airs-above-the ground.

It may be noted that when Newcastle is directing the exercises, he either watches actively or points the whip to refine Captain Mazin's execution. The picture reinforces that Newcastle is in charge and the expert in the situation. In plates 20 and 21, when Newcastle rides, Mazin stands in the center, watching respectfully. His posture is one of waiting and observation, his switch held in his right hand and tucked back through his left elbow. There is no possibility of thinking he is taking a similar active teaching role.[41] Newcastle takes over as training moves into its advanced stages and while Mazin would be fully capable of completing the procedure, with visitors present it would be appropriate for Newcastle to demonstrate his own expertise at this point, rather than any other. It should be noted that the horse now works off the shanked bit, not the cavesson, demonstrating that these are advanced exercises and in plate 21 he moves from two hands on the reins, to the finished one-handed style of perfection. From the conceit of the virtual tour, to see the host ride, rather than just explain while an acolyte rides would be a highlight. This may be compared with the anecdote Newcastle tells of being persuaded to ride even though he had been ill, when the Marquis of Caracena said, 'It would be a great Satisfaction to him, to see me on Horseback, though the Horse should but Walk' (1667: p. sig. b2). While to hear a great rider or horsemaster speak would be very worthwhile, to see him

[40] Whitaker, p. 88.
[41] The current display at Bolsover Castle which explains Mazine's role as teaching Newcastle and his friends to ride is incorrect.

ride would be an experience indeed. Newcastle's undoubted ability and willingness to put his views into practice illustrate his genuine skill.

In plate 22, he rides the horse one-handed in the shanked bit at the *galop* to a turn over the haunches, demonstrating first the training attitude of a flexed neck and then the finished performance with the perfect 'apuy', that is self-carriage and balance, of the horse. All these images reinforce the text with their accuracy, but repeat consistently the strong confident position of the author in his riding house.

In plates 23-29, the display moves into the area of real excitement for the reader/guest as Newcastle demonstrates the execution of the airs above the ground, for which all else is but preparation. All the exercises shown in the fourteen training plates are chosen for their difficulty. No-one without skill and authority could begin to train a horse to perform these challenging movements and clearly then, they reinforce the message of the plates as a whole in the 1658 manual, that Newcastle is the current master on the Continent as well as in England.

Plates 29-35 move outside to a display of the finished work by Newcastle himself. Having shown Welbeck Abbey in the stud plates and a general riding house interior in the training plates, the final display provides a suitable vehicle for showing the beauties of Bolsover Castle in the background. This progression from practical to theatricality fits in with the uses made of Newcastle's properties as 'in contrast to Bolsover Castle, Welbeck had the character of an everyday serviceable habitation, rather than a pleasure house'.[42]

[42] Lucy Worsley, 'Habitation', p.140.

The relationship between the display areas and the castle are not accurate, neither, of course, are the Flemish features, but Bolsover itself is recognisable and accurate within the context of artistic licence. For example, in plate 31, the fountain is further over than in reality, but in its accurate position would be blocked by Newcastle on the horse, so an understandable manipulation of the details has been allowed.

These plates offer Newcastle, the exile, the opportunity to show his true location and social position, with the beautiful castle, built largely to his own design, or at least with his input. This series of plates offers not only seven examples of Newcastle and his horse executing highly advanced and difficult moves, but also seven perspectives of Bolsover Castle, illustrating its impressive position, aspects of the 'Little Castle' containing the reception and living accommodation, and the impressive gallery and riding house. While the legends on each plate are in the third person, describing 'Monsieur le Marquis' and his properties, in plate 30 there is a slight slip in this distancing in the note below the depiction of 'Ma Maison de Bolsover', and this use of the possessive first person indicates perhaps more clearly what these plates represent to the author of the text they accompany.

Plates 36 and 37 seem to be out of context slightly, as they return to the riding house, but the text also returns to matters Newcastle says he has forgotten to include earlier (1658: pp.a-19). In the conversational style of the text and the conceit of the tour, a return to the riding house to answer questions arising from the display offers a greater suggestion of continuity.

In plates 38, 40 and 41 the display is over and the guests accompany Newcastle out hunting. However, as discussed in Chapter 1, he is not a great lover of the hunt and displays his horse in airs while the chase is going on in the background, illustrating that, as noted by Edward Berry, 'Descriptions of hunting in parks suggest that, unlike

par force hunting, this sport was not considered an end in itself [.....] but an adjunct to courtly pageantry.'[43]

The legend establishes that plate 38 illustrates 'Le Parc de Welbeck', which is evidently an estate of some size, while the attractive long avenue between the trees giving a fine vista suggests that, as with the horses, nature is perfected by the artistry of the landowner. Considerable activity is taking place with Newcastle presiding at the front of the scene on his curvetting horse. One other horse in the scene is clearly a riding house horse, as its tail is tied up for airs-above-the-ground. This indicates the versatility Newcastle is always keen to emphasise (1667: p.6). Among the trees are hunters pursuing deer on horseback and on foot with dogs and long spears. Marksmen hunt with bow and arrow and firearms and the fecundity of the land is suggested by the many birds, including waterfowl, who supplement the five separate herds of deer as hunting quarry. This scene also serves as a typical illustration of hunting in parks, as described by Berry:

> Bow and stable hunting and coursing, both more appropriate to parks or chases than forests, were very popular in the period. In the most common form of such a hunt, deer were driven before stationary hunters armed with cross-bows, who were positioned in ambushes or specially constructed stands. Greyhounds which hunted by sight rather than scent, were often used in such hunts.[44]

The trees would not be out of place in a Flemish landscape and the rugged background is not especially evocative of England, though could perhaps suggest the countryside of 'la Province de Nottingham', but more importantly, is easily recognisable as a flourishing environment to the Continental reader enjoying the tour.

Plate 39 appears at first to be another slight diversion from the hunting plates it lies

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[43] Berry, p. 18.
[44] Ibid.

between, as it is a page of bits. However, it illustrates the point Newcastle is making in the text about the versatility of his method outside the riding house (1658: pp.263-268) and the correct bits for all activities. It serves in this respect almost as a 'close-up' of what is happening in the scene, so that the detail of tack that would be apparent to the interested guest in an actual visit to Newcastle's estates, is not denied to the reader.

Plate 40 removes the party to 'Le Chateau d'Ogle', Newcastle's Northumbrian estate, a similar scene of fertility and ordered nature, in a more agricultural environment, with cattle and ploughed fields between the hunters and the moated house. Ducks again present themselves for the benefit of the wildfowlers who hunt with spaniels, suitably soft-mouthed dogs, rather than hounds, and a hawk, on foot and horseback. A female rider is among this group, but Newcastle again is alone in the foreground, executing a pesade. He and the other male riders carry riding-switches though the lady does not, indicating not only the male prerogative of the riding house, but also that the riders in this plate are observing rather than joining the hunt.

Plate 41 is another very active hunt scene in front of 'Le Chateau de Bothel dans la province de Northumberland'. Newcastle performs a ballotade in front of a wilder environment than either the neat deer park or the farmland seen so far but within the pale fence surrounding his mansion, nature is more ordered. While the hunters pursue the deer with hounds through the trees, inside the fence, a couple walk hand-in-hand on the drive leading to the house and ducks are settled on the moat, where a boat is moored and a man rows towards them. The smoking chimneys remind the guest that all these properties are thriving and active with occupants. Within the confines of the house and immediate lands, the peaceful mood contrasts with the hunt, but Newcastle, on the outside, still illustrates refinement and control on his manège horse. There is a

suggestion that even in the wilderness, his hand is literally and figuratively on the reins.

Plate 42 ends the visit with a fantasy in which Newcastle, Margaret Cavendish, and all his sons, daughters and their spouses are gathered together to watch Charles and Henry Cavendish ride. In a similar way to plate 4, this echoes a religious iconography, perhaps unconsciously. Newcastle and Margaret Cavendish hold the positions of Christ and the Virgin in 'Coronation of the Virgin' art, with their family members as the court surrounding them. This is a dynastic gathering and also echoes the Holbein Tudor dynastic portrait, which was destroyed in 1698.[45]

Charles Cavendish's horse is on the left, which is correct in the left- to right importance which in art recognises the natural movement of the human eye, as he is the elder of the two, while the spaniel-type dog running away is of the sort favoured by the Stuart kings. A peacock, symbol of constancy, is perched on a balustrade, and the smoking chimneys of a house can be glimpsed over the roof of the colonnaded seating area. The scene is one of aristocratic familial accord, as the observers chat and gesture towards the expertise displayed in the riding. The reader is also reminded of Newcastle as part of a dynasty, passing not only his blood, but skills which reinforce all that it is to be a gentleman to the next generation.

There is a poignancy in the idealisation of family and aristocratic environment Newcastle presents to round off this virtual tour of his estates. The people in this plate were never altogether in life and at the time the manual was published were scattered by his exile. Also, by the time Newcastle and Margaret Cavendish could return home, Newcastle's elder son was dead and relations with his second son were strained. The

[45] Again, I am indebted to Professor Paul Spencer-Longhurst for his insights into this plate.

idyllic charm of this scene creates not only virtual reality, but a parallel time. Before the civil war, Newcastle's first wife was still alive, and after he left England, his estates were sequestered. In 1658, his favourite house, Bolsover, was a 'castle ruin'd by war'[46] and he had no way of knowing if he would ever see his home or children again, yet in his faith and optimism, he presents an idyll of restoration and reunion.

A great subtlety underlies this guided tour for the guest who can only visit the estate of the great grandee and horsemaster through art. The virtual tour is able to visit properties that an actual visitor would need several days to view, and the Continental reader can be easily offered an effective guide-book, which prefigures those that became available in the eighteenth century for great houses. In the peaceful world of the plates, war and exile do not exist, all is fertile and flourishing and a man's grace and nobility may be demonstrated with due grandeur.

In the context of art and court culture, Newcastle uses imagery familiar to his own kind to underline his message. In his discussion of Van Dyck's *Charles I on Horseback* , Roy Strong says, 'We are inheritors of a set pattern of associations' that can mis-inform us in our interpretation of art, looking as we can only do with retrospective knowledge. Strong points out that 'Hellenistic rulers were the first to depict kings on horseback as embodiments of majesty' and also that 'Under the Roman Empire the equestrian portrait became a privilege reserved for the Emperor alone'. The resonance of the famous Marcus Aurelius stature and the 'public assertion of dynastic authority'[47] of the early Renaissance are all to be found in the subtext of Newcastle's plates and would have spoken immediately to the contemporary reader of his 1658 manual.

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[46] *Poems, and Fancies*, p.89.
[47] Already cited, p.49.

Newcastle cleverly uses the plates to enhance the presentation of his beautiful manual through their quality. Through their content he identifies himself closely with the man he believes to be his king and invites his readers to visit the lands they need never know are in need of long expensive recovery work and further asserts his lineage and status. With detailed technical accuracy he illustrates his expertise with his horses, and through the attention to small detail, such as his relationships with Captain Mazin and John Proctor, he positions himself in the social scale. Unlike Pluvinel, he always has a servant in attendance and does not work in an Academy, surrounded by students and courtiers, but rides and trains in his own inherited estates, drawing his peers to admire him through the manual itself. The second manual with its accounts of those peers and their lavish praise of his work in the small colony he established in 'my own private Riding-House at Antwerp', to some extent brings to fruition the intent of the first, but it lacks the beauty of the plates themselves.

Anzilotti believes that the absence of plates in the 1667 manual reflect 'the author's post-exile disillusionment with grandeur of appearances',[48] but this seems unlikely as Newcastle was at that time undertaking the complete renovation of Nottingham Castle, acquired since his return from exile and planned for the utmost grandeur in all aspects of its presentation, including a life-size statue of himself on horseback.[49] The absence of the plates in the 1667 manual could be simply to do with unavailability: they may have been temporarily lost or misplaced in the upheaval of the relocation of Newcastle's household from Antwerp to England. The creation of new plates, of

[48] Anzilotti, p.54.
[49] See Foulds and Woodhouse, already cited.

indifferent quality, for the new translation of the 1667 manual into French in 1674 would support that possibility.[50]

An alternative possibility is that financial considerations meant that including the plates was not possible. The horsemanship manuscript that can be firmly given a post-restoration date, states clearly the intent that 'Heer mingled In the mos proper places I woulde have figures putt' (PwV 22, fol.7), suggesting that the absence of any plates was a change in his plans. Katie Whitaker notes that 'Even seven years after the Restoration, the Newcastles' finances remained in a desperate state. Despite having sold lands worth £56,000 to pay off debts [...] his payments often did little more than keep up with the interest that was continually accruing'. Yet he was spending liberally on rebuilding his estates and 'New mortgages were being taken out on various Welbeck properties'.[51]

The precipitous path between financial ruin and aristocratic liberality was one Newcastle trod all his life so that had he the plates to hand and the desire to use them, it seems likely that he would have found the financial means do so somehow. A final consideration is that the plates depict Newcastle and his estates in their pre-war splendour, including an image of his son Charles, presented in a time of idyllic achievement and accomplishment, immortalised forever through Diepenbeecke's detailed illustrations. But that illusion could not be maintained in the face of his return to England. By 1667, Newcastle was an old man at seventy-four, his estates were still being rebuilt after the deprivations of the Civil War and Charles had died of a stroke in 1659.[52] While his plans for the future of his estates were very grand, the 1658 plates show a world irrevocably changed. It may be that some combination of all three

[50] Toole-Stott, p.87; Appendix III includes a plate from these new illustrations, from a German/French edition of 1700.
[51] Whitaker, p.326
[52] Trease, p.178

possibilities led to the absence of the engravings from his second manual and it not possible to draw an emphatic conclusion. But their absence is notable and gives a sparse quality to the second manual that is uncharacteristic of the author.

As with much of the subtext to the manuals, the longing for all that is lost makes Newcastle's enthusiasm somewhat desperate and lonely in his attempt to hold on to those places and activities in which he has such faith. In the life of the manuals, the plates are a key to the motivation behind the1658 text and perhaps the lack of them is the key to that of 1667. As Malcolm Smuts says, 'paintings and rituals can be analysed as non-verbal systems of communication analogous to language'[53] and from this point of view, both the inclusion and later absence of the plates in the manuals is eloquent. The insights they provide both to Newcastle's activities and beliefs are invaluable in the attempt to understand his mindset as well as providing very beautiful records of an idyll that had gone forever by the time they came into being.

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[53] *Culture and Power*, p.6.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

Soldier, scholar, horseman, he,
And all he did done perfectly
W. B. Yeats[1]

A man, the vicissitudes of whose life were like the changes of an April sky.
Edward Jenkins[2]

Newcastle's horsemanship manuals are not readily classifiable. Primarily, they are books about training horses and are key texts in the history of the relationship between man and an animal that has helped shape human development. This alone makes them worthy of close attention and a major contention of this thesis has been that in this respect they have been underestimated.

Yet they also offer an insight into the influence of court culture upon the individual and the way in which political and personal motivation may be approached though a life's passion. Newcastle's manuals reveal a degree of importance for horsemanship in court culture that warrants closer consideration than has generally been given in studies of the early modern period, which often 'slide over the image of the horse as literally 'insignificant'', resulting in an incomplete understanding.[3] The first manual is significant in the history of the printed book due to the detailed presentation of Newcastle's estates and the technical accuracy in the depiction of horses. The differences in form and content between the two manuals and the extant manuscript offer insights into the psychology of an intelligent and complex man. Each layer of information offers rich ground for textual analysis, to such an extent that the

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[1] 'In Memory of Major Sir Robert Gregory', *The Poems: W.B. Yeats*, ed. by Daniel Albright (London: Everyman, 2001), p.181.
[2] *The Cavalier and his Lady: Selections from the Works of the First Duke and Duchess of Newcastle* (London: Macmillan, 1872), p.4.
[3] Jardine and Brotton, p.171.

danger lies always in focusing on one aspect at the expense of the others. Secondary sources used in the course of this research have, broadly speaking, taken such an approach and drawn interesting conclusions. However, in the belief that each aspect of the texts 'may be of use by itself, without the other, as the other hath been hitherto, and still is' but 'together will questionless do best' (1667: sig. b1), this thesis has aimed for a comprehensive consideration. It is hoped that this approach will offer insights to enable further study through the specific academic skills of fields aside from my own.

This final chapter will begin by considering the way in which Newcastle contends with changing times through the publication of his manuals and the impact of his work through near contemporary references. This will offer an insight into the legacy of Newcastle's new method by considering the different responses to its innovations, general approach and to the author himself. It will then progress to considering the previous chapters in the light of the initial argument that only by taking a comprehensive approach can any real understanding be gained. In the context of the whole, I will conclude that the horsemanship manuals reflect Newcastle's character, political and personal concerns and practice as an author in ways which offered him self-actualisation in his lifetime and have resulted in a continuing influence on the art to which he devoted so much of his energy.

I have illustrated in this study that Newcastle's horsemanship manuals are both anachronism and innovation. They appear in many respects to be a means of working through a grieving process for a lost way of life, while attempting to offer a model for the future. They rely on values Newcastle assimilated in an Elizabethan boyhood and developed though his belief in the essential validity of those values as the basis for

political and cultural restoration. Anne Barton comments that 'Political and socio-economic dislocations force people to filter, select, and reconstruct a past' which despite its vagaries at the time becomes a way of 'affirming the essential continuity of the self'. She adds that such nostalgia 'is bound up, too, with what psychologists call "the life review": the impulse, in late middle age, to evaluate and re-possess the world of one's youth'.[4] Newcastle's nostalgia for the good old days of his boyhood is particularly evident in his 'little book' of advice to Charles II, but the horsemanship manuals follow the pattern Barton suggests in a way which is both for the public domain and, as she says, 'also intensely private'.[5] Therefore, as I have shown, despite their specialist content, the manuals as a whole need consideration as evidence of Newcastle's coping strategy both during his exile and at the Restoration. They illustrate the balance between traditionalist and forward thinker in the way he roots himself in the security of established skills and beliefs, but then reshapes and develops models for the future.

This leads inevitably to the question of the impact of the work, both on the art of horsemanship and for Newcastle himself. His concerns for the art of riding are evident through both manuals and, as I have illustrated in Chapter 3, he was not alone in worrying that it was a dying art. After the Restoration, whatever interest Charles II may have had was dead, which can only have harmed the popularity of the art. By the time the second book appeared and the new normal was being established, Newcastle was almost more socially adrift than during his exile. Having anticipated an active role in the Restoration court, he:

> went to his gracious Sovereign, and begged leave that he might retire to the country, to reduce and settle, if possible, his confused, entangled and almost ruined

[4] Anne Barton, 'Harking back to Elizabeth: Ben Jonson and Caroline Nostalgia', *ELH*, 48.4 (1981), p.724.
[5] Ibid.

> estate. "Sir," said he to his Majesty, "I am not ignorant, that many believe I am discontented; and 'tis probable they'll say, I retire through discontent: but I take God to witness, that I am in no kind or ways displeased; for I am so joyed at your Majesty's happy restoration, that I cannot be sad or troubled for any concern o my own particular; but whatsoever your Majesty is pleased to command me, were it to sacrifice my life, I shall most obediently perform it; for I have no other will, but your Majesty's pleasure" (*Life*: p.131).

Even allowing for Margaret Cavendish's romanticising of her husband's life, this touching withdrawal speech rings true in essence from the evidence of the 'little book', and the dedications to Charles in the two horsemanship manuals. Absence from the court reduced Newcastle's opportunity to actively raise the profile of the art but his second manual, as has been shown in Chapter 3, set out to counter that problem and his continued practice of the art at Welbeck continued to fulfil the model he laid out in both manuals so that his riding house 'remained one of the principal sights of the Midlands'.[6] Accounts that his horses 'exercise their gifts in his magnificent Riding-House' and were 'more extraordinary than are to be seen in Europe' suggest an ongoing and developing post-Restoration reputation, while the more homely account of daily life at Welbeck relates that 'the horses were a Rideing and we present as usually',[7] even after Newcastle himself had ceased to ride, due to his wife's concern that 'after he had overheated himself, he would be apt to take cold' (*Life*: pp.208-209). He also actively continued aiming his work at the Continent with further editions and translations of his manuals as discussed in previous chapters.

Whether any of this fulfilled Newcastle's emotional need for a secure locus is impossible to say but the small collection of unpublished epigrams in the Portland Collection suggests an ongoing frustration.[8] While some of the large number of songs,

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[6] Whitaker, p. 341.
[7] PRO SP 29/246/145; Pw1 315, fol.5; observed rehearsal serves a practical purpose in preparing for performance and is still current at the Spanish Riding School of Vienna.
[8] PwV25.

verses and letters in this collection are dated, others are not, so it is difficult to draw conclusions as to the time of writing, but some show evidence of revision, suggesting, as was seen in the horsemanship manuals, ongoing editing over a period of time. The handwriting in these verses is not the almost illegible scrawl which Katie Whitaker takes as an indication of Parkinson's disease in others in this collection, but lacks the firm hand of the mischievous poem to Newcastle's first wife which must pre-date the Civil War complaining of the 'Costlye lists' but promising he will return home to 'run with you at Tilt'.[9]

There is a sadness in these fragments as records of a man whose life went out of fashion, at least in terms of the court presence he desired. The epigram 'On Runninge Horses' that considers racing a 'Vayne' waste of 'ritches' causing injury and death so that 'Horse lies in stable, jockeye in the feilde', is full of regret that a pastime 'Worthless of Honor' should now be so popular, which suggests a post-Restoration date. The bitterness that realises 'Eatch seemes a loyall Harte, with Cristall Breste;/ Butt Heese thought wisest that can ['doth' deleted] jugle Beste' seems weary with fruitless trying and the poem 'Of Courte Hopes' realises 'Courte hopes do['th' deleted] make men ['me' deleted] waytye neer yet att Large'.[10] The revisions in Newcastle's hand that change this from a personal to a general observation are revealing in removing his own experiences from the focus of the complaint, but these unhappy verses by contrast show the hope and the fear evident in the horsemanship manuals, when Newcastle attempted through his writing to keep his profile high and relevant, both for his faith in himself it seems, as well as for the security of his future.

However, there is evidence in near-contemporary sources that Newcastle's manuals

[9] Whitaker, p.269; PwV25, fol. 17.
[10] PwV 25, fols. 19, 38, 144.

undoubtedly had an impact, and perhaps served to prevent a complete decline of the art in this country, while making an impression upon the Continent. Whether he was aware of that is difficult to say, as these published references to his manuals did not appear until after his death.[11] Perhaps the greatest contemporary compliment, and the strongest evidence of Newcastle's importance in his own time, is the tribute to his work in the writing of Jacques de Solleysel.

The friendship between Newcastle and Solleysel seems to have lacked any of the rivalry that might be expected between two masters aiming to establish themselves in the same art. Solleysel's offer to translate Newcastle's second manual into good French, following the poor edition of 1671, is in itself a generous gesture, in importing further material by the English author into French riding houses.[12] However, in Solleysel's own manual, which is on the choice and care of horses rather than training, he includes a long consideration of Newcastle's work, which is not the hyperbolic praise common at the time, but an objective appreciation and critical appraisal of work he considers to be of great importance.[13]

Solleysel was a horsemaster to Louis XIV in the Royal Academy of Riding at Paris and his own manuals were highly influential in France and translated into English in 1696, by Sir William Hope.[14] Solleysel writes modestly that even though

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[11] While effusive letters of praise for the horsemanship manuals may be found in *A Collection of Letters and Poems [...]to the late Duke and Duchess of Newcastle*, already cited, these are not helpful in gauging a genuine response, due to their nature as courtesy responses to gifts of his book made by Newcastle.

[12] London: Thomas Milbourn, 1671; Traduction nouvelle [...] par Monsieur de Solleysel (Paris: Gervaise Clousier, 1677).

[13] Jacques de Solleysel, *La Parfait Mareschal*; Solleysel's manual went through various editions and revisions between 1664-1782 (see Toole-Stott, pp.190-110). Hope's title page says that he used 'the latest Paris edition' for his translation, which seems likely to have been that issued by Gervaise Clousier in 1694.

[14] Already cited. All subsequent references to Solleysel's work are to this translation, which also includes Hope's own analysis. References to Hope with therefore be indicated by his name, but still refer to this publication.

he has taught riding and been complimented on his skill, he does not presume to write his own training manual, but instead 'if any person relish the little I have said, and that his curiosity excite him to know more, Let him read the works of Monsieur de la Broue and those of the great Duke of Newcastle'.[15]

This recommendation of an English author, while omitting any mention of Pluvinel is intriguing, especially as Solleysel adds that old methods of horsemanship are 'much improved of late, as you will see by what I faithfully relate, from the Writings of the Duke of Newcastle upon this matter'. His high opinion of Newcastle does not preclude differing with him occasionally or adding his own ideas as well and this text is a most fascinating and unusual one in this approach, as well as becoming therefore, of much greater value in considering Newcastle's impact. There can be little greater assurance of Newcastle's contribution on the Continent than that a high status French rider should recommend his work and include it in his own manual, carefully ensuring that his own comments are distinguished by a figure in the margin, so he should not be thought to be writing 'a Treatise taken Verbatim from another author, without so much as either mentioning the Author's name or the Title of the Book from whence he Coppied it'.[16] Sadly this tribute did not appear until after Newcastle's death, as it would surely have been a great pleasure to him. However, it testifies to his influence among his contemporaries and when Sir William Hope translated Solleysel into English some twenty years later, he added his own testimony, referring to 'the Prince of horseman, the Unparalleled and Famous Duke of Newcastle (whose Memory for his extraordinary skills in this Art will be for ever an Honour to his Nation)'[17]. His text

[15] Solleysel, p.79.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Hope, sig.**2-***v.

follows immediately from his translation of Solleysel but has its own title page, which proclaims Newcastle to be among 'the Best and most Modern Authors' on Horsemanship. Hope's 'most Compendious and Excellent Treatise of Riding' is a gathering of information from 'the very best of writers upon this Subject', such as 'La Brow, Pluvinel and the Great Duke of Newcastle; But chiefly out of this last', along with his own comments. Unlike Solleysel, Hope assimilates the work of his heroes without reservation, making no attempt to distinguish which author's material he is using. Most of his material is an illustration of the point made by Solleysel about wholesale unreferenced use, which is ironic, as it is Hope who translates this comment. Even his title page claims that by his treatise 'all kinds of Horses may be wrought according to Nature and Perfected by the Subtility of Art', a direct use of the legend from Newcastle's title page. This assimilation continues on the first page of text, so that his opening paragraph is easily recognisable to any reader familiar with Newcastle's manual:

> The Art of Riding is so Noble and Gentile an Exercise, that it would require a whole Book merely to deduce and express the Excellency; For as to Pleasure and State, what Prince or Monarch looks more Great or more Enthron'd than upon a beautiful Horse, with rich Furniture, and waving Plumes, making his Entry through great Cities, to amaze the People with Pleasure and Delight. [18]

This plagiarism is clearly as much by way of tribute as Solleysel's carefully referenced text and both are highly unusual and especially interesting in the close proximity of Hope's translation. Gerard Langbaine pays tribute to Newcastle's influence in both his 1685 text *The Hunte: A Discourse of Horsemanship* and later in 1691, in his *Account of the English Dramatick Poets*. In 1685, Langbaine writing about the hunting horse, nevertheless notes that 'his readiness to obey the hand and

[18] Hope, sig. **2-***v.

heels, equals him to the Mannag'd Horse'. Newcastle is referred to as an authority, both in his assertion of the riding-house as a demanding sport, and across other areas of breeding and preparation of the horse where Langbaine repeatedly adds 'as the Duke of Newcastle says' when requiring affirmation of his own ideas. Langbaine is somewhere between Solleysel and Hope as he does reference his sources but in a fairly casual way, so that their words are mingled with his own. He refers also to Markham and de Grey but Newcastle is, in his opinion, the real expert.[19]

In his later text, after praising Newcastle as 'our English Mecaenas' [*sic*] for his writing in general, he focuses on the horsemanship manuals. Freely borrowing from the 1667 manual to illustrate Newcastle's importance on the Continent, he declares that the first book was 'the most Magnificent, and withal the Best Book of Horsemanship, that was ever extant'. The author's skill 'in that Noble Art of Dressing Horses in the Manage, is well known not only to our Countrymen but to all Nations of Europe'. Most interesting in Langbaine's rhetorical and enthusiastic praise is his reference to Solleysel 'one of the best Writers that I have met with amongst the French' and his tribute to Newcastle when he 'borrowed the Art of Breeding from the Duke's Book, as he owns in his *Avis au Lecteur*; and stiles him *Un des plus accomplish Cavaliers de nôtres temps'*. With some pride he adds:

> But having nam'd this Foreigner's borrowing from his Grace, I should justly deserve to be branded with Ingratitude, should I not own, That 'tis to the Work of this Great man, that I am indebted for several Notions borrow'd from his Grace, in a little essay of Horsemanship, printed [....] 1685. Nay, further, I think it no small glory that I am the onely Author that I know of who has quoted him in English.

This is a useful historical detail, assuming that Langbaine is correct, so that

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[19] Langbaine, *The Hunte* (Oxford: Nicholas Cox, 1685), sig. A2; p.4; pp.9, 52; *An Account of the English Dramatic Poets* (London: 1691; rpt. Augustan Reprint Society, University of California, 1971).

Solleysel appears to be the first author to quote Newcastle, with Langbaine ten years later and Sir William Hope ten years later still. Langbaine continues to wax lyrical about Newcastle's importance, also adding what seems likely to be the first bibliographical references to his texts:

> He has written two Books of Horsemanship; the first in French, called *La Methode nouvelle de Dresser les Chevaux, avec Figures,* Fol. *Ant.* 1658. The other in *English,* stiled *A New Method and Extraordinary Invention to dress horses [....],* Fol. *Lond.* 1667.

Langbaine is aware that he is fulsome in his praise and adds, 'I beg my Reader's Pardon, if I have dwelt upon this Subject, to the tryal of his Patience; but I have [....] such Respect for the Memory of the best of Horseman, that I cannot refrain from trespassing yet further', and so ends with Jonson's epigram to Newcastle upon horseback.[20] These rather charming and effusive few pages offer some useful evidence for the reception of Newcastle's books and the continuing interest in the art, indicating that Newcastle's manuals did have immediate impact and that the riding-house did not lose all its followers to the race-track. The anonymous poem *The Horsemanship of England,* while 'Most particularly relating to the Breeding and Training of the Running-Horse', nevertheless opens its dedication to the ill-fated Duke of Monmouth by declaring that 'To observe you guiding the manag'd Horse, and how becoming your seat is there, would out-do all Complement to express'.[21] While the dedication goes on to assure Monmouth of his skill on the race course also, the mention of the 'manag'd Horse' suggests that not all of the royal circle had abandoned the art, so that, as in Langbaine's text, it remains a point of reference for other styles of riding.

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[20] Langbaine, *English Dramatick Poets*, pp.386, 388, 389.

[21] London: Thomas Parkhurst, 1682, sig. A, in *Early English Books Online* < http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_val_fmt=&rft_id=xri:eebo: image:154211>[accessed 31 August 2004].

While the rush of new manuals between the mid-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had slowed, texts were still being printed and Newcastle had evidently joined Grisone and Pluvinel as a seminal author. Also translations and editions of Newcastle's manuals continued after his death, so that new editions were appearing across the Continent into the middle of the next century, from Louis Imbotti de Beaumont, whose derivative text was 'almost word for word the same as the Duke of Newcastle's *Le Methode Nouvelle*' in 1682, to Claude Bourgelat's simplified version, *Le Nouveau Newcastle* in 1744.[22] The next author who can be considered seminal in the development of horsemanship, Francois de la Guérinière considered that Newcastle's work was unique with his book being one of only two early manuals he considers useful, the second being that of Salamon de la Broue. Like Solleysel, he quotes Newcastle directly, deferring to his ideas as 'it would be foolhardy not to follow such opinion'.[23]

These responses to Newcastle's manuals demonstrate not only that his work was innovative to his immediate readers but also of sound and lasting influence to later generations. He was in his own time, and remains, the only English author to ever make a serious and lasting contribution to the development of an art that has survived to the present day.[24] From the perspective of value to modern scholarship, this locates him as unique in many ways. Therefore, to conclude this thesis, a review of the preceding chapters will provide an insight into the particular uniqueness of Newcastle's contribution to the horsemanship text.

In introducing this study, I considered the role of horsemanship in the education of

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[22] Toole-Stott, already cited.
[23] Le Guérinière, p.87.
[24] The most recent English language edition of his work is the Allen facsimile of 2000, already cited, while a second facsimile edition of the German/French text of 1700 is forthcoming from the German publisher George Orl in 2005.

the nobleman and the culture of the court, establishing its great semiotic importance and the tensions involved in the transition from the battle field to the riding house. As a noble author, Newcastle's high status and patronage of arts and sciences placed him in the public eye as that most desirable of renaissance figures, the glass of fashion and mould of form. His struggles with bad luck and unfulfilled ambition are not apparent through beautiful and impressive texts and therefore his confident voice and opinionated stance impress upon his reader that the uniqueness of his contribution is linked to noble birth, reinforcing his royalist philosophies. However, as Douglas Bush argues that 'Renaissance heroes, like classical heroes, are eminent in worldly position as well as character. High birth implies high advantage and imposes high obligations; moral success or failure is so much more impressive and far-reaching in its effects',[25] it may be that Newcastle's stormy history added to the impact of his heroic self-presentation for those readers that knew of his past.

He is also unique in that his horsemanship manuals are only part of a large canon of work, in a great many genres and styles. Chapter 2 argued the significance of this in terms of his writing practice and personal agenda. Through the horsemanship manuals, Newcastle created a private court through which he could locate himself in the public domain, so that writing offered a literal 're-creation' of himself. In this respect, I have illustrated his similarities with his second wife, Margaret Cavendish and that as writers their influence upon one another seems to have been strong. It is impossible to say if Newcastle's creation of riding-house worlds influenced Margaret Cavendish, or whether her ability to create fantasy worlds for herself influenced him. Certainly he was training horses in riding houses before she was born. However, they

[25] 'The Isolation of the Renaissance Hero' in *Reason and the Imagination*, already cited, p.60.

were in Antwerp together in the early years of their marriage and when she returned to London in the 1650s to petition for funds from his sequestered estates, and created a notional space for herself through her writing, he was defining his own space in Rubens' studio. Cavendish writes in *Sociable Letters* (1664) of how she enjoyed the recollections of performances she saw in Antwerp within her own mind, where 'to please me, my Fancy set up a Stage in my Brain'.[26] As Sophie Tomlinson says, 'Cavendish's writing is acutely conscious of 'Fancy's' power to substitute the scene of the mind for the theatre of the world'.[27] John Berger considers that a man's 'social presence' is 'dependent upon the promise of power which he embodies'. That power may be 'moral, physical, temperamental, economic, social, sexual', but 'its object is always exterior to the man'.[28] Close links in the writing practice of this husband and wife partnership have become evident through this research and I have demonstrated that the meeting between her satisfaction with her imagination and his restless need for such social presence may have enabled them both to manifest 'fancy' into reality in ways that assisted the psychological survival of their exile.

Along with all the multi-layered purposes of the horsemanship texts, I argued in Chapter 3 that Newcastle's attempt to locate himself as still belonging to England and his family estates, yet claiming a synonymous influence on European horsemanship, is written into the subtext. In the first manual, by locating himself visually through the plates amid his own estates, by implication he also restores Charles to his throne. In the plates, the ravages of the Civil War are either unacknowledged or repaired so that all's right with the English countryside and its government once more. The fecundity

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[26] *Sociable Letters* (London: William Wilson, 1664), p.408.
[27] Clare Brant & Diane Purkiss, eds., *Women, Texts & Histories: 1575-1760* (London: Routledge, 1992), p.135.
[28] *Ways of Seeing* (London: BBC/Penguin Books, 1977), p.45.

of the landscape, amid which gentlemanly pursuits can be followed, offers evidence that life is rich and secure, which it can only be with the rightful monarch on the throne. Thus this serves to illustrate that the writing of the first manual becomes not only nostalgic, but prophetic. His writing style serves to persuade, assert and educate and its great value is in the strong sense that he can be 'heard', so the contrast between his style and that of other authors becomes another aspect of his individuality. The tone of voice in his texts is not the polite refined deference of Pluvinel to his monarch. Newcastle's sweeping assured style is the voice of a confident man, at ease in the company of the highest nobility and it was shown that he approaches his reader with a mission to rally his Continental peers in times of unease. However, it was illustrated that his defensiveness and arrogance reveal his own unease and insecurity, especially in the second manual, where his fury erupts against Blundeville and those who are more interested in 'wearing Fine Cloaths and Feathers' (1667: p.9) than aspiring to true nobility in the riding house. Therefore, Chapter 3 demonstrated through considering his attitude to other authors that, as a man of practice rather than theory, there is a strong sense that the manuals do not simply fulfil an idea of himself as the focus of European horsemanship, but set out a blueprint for how that will be achieved.

I also argued that his reference to 'my own private Riding-House at Antwerp' (1667: sig. B^{v}) suggests a form of colonisation that served him especially well during his exile, creating a notional court suitable for the 'tres-puissant Prince' his title-pages assert him to be. Chapter 3 further demonstrated that by locating himself in the context of earlier writers, Newcastle claimed the solidity and security of a sense of place that was important to him throughout his life. A personal place, a 'room of his own' in whatever situation he found himself to establish a *ménage* that went far

beyond the simple needs of the *manège*, and that he could be recognised as occupying, was quintessential to him. Therefore comparisons with the work of other authors and the ways in which he related his two manuals to earlier texts were useful in showing that he used the context both of his English lineage and Continental exile to make each manual work as a retrospective that contextualised him. While his horsemanship manuals may seem small stuff after war and political upheaval, this study has shown that the first texts rooted Newcastle in a world that seemed lost and reminded his readers of the importance of nobility and appearance for the aristocracy, while the second established his exile as a time of great influence and impact upon his Continental peers.

Stephen Greenblatt says that Renaissance figures 'understand that in our culture to abandon self-fashioning is to abandon the craving for freedom, and to let go of one's stubborn hold upon selfhood, even selfhood conceived as fiction, is to die'.[29] I have demonstrated that Newcastle typifies this awareness in his self-conscious and deeply held belief that he must make a place for himself, regardless of the circumstances. Therefore, my contention is that the prime function of the manuals for their author was to create a personal location, fixed in print, which the winds of change could not influence. In this too, he is unique. No other significant horsemanship author in the early modern period, writes during a time of enforced exile or in circumstances where his personal emotional survival is so evidently linked to his method of horse-training.

In Chapter 4, I demonstrated through detailed analysis that the manuals themselves have practical application. This was useful in reinforcing their purpose not only as beautiful and philosophical reminders of an elite way of life, but as genuine 'hands-

[29] Greenblatt, p.257.

on' ways of living that life through skill, hard work and dedication. The ways in which the two manuals differ were shown to illustrate the progressive nature of his method as an organic process of change and development. By exploring his relationship to the methods of earlier masters, I illustrated his deep understanding of the horse's herd nature and need for quiet but calm leadership. This revealed that viewing his method as a means to understanding his whole philosophy is essential, and that it offers insight into his character that challenges views of him as a dilettante.

His reiteration of the values in which he believes, such as noble display and the loving fear for the superior illustrates the way in which writing the riding house enables him to write himself, so that in using the method he reinforces his life. The great sense of indignation that comes through in both manuals against those who say 'that all things in the Mannage is nothing but Tricks, and Dancing, and Gamballs, and of no use' (1667: p.5), reveals perhaps a secret fear in himself that the value of beauty for its own sake is lost or become worthless. His long list of noblemen who support his views sounds anxious and while he states 'I leave every one to his own Wayes, and his own Delights, desiring they will do the like by Me', the very act of writing and publishing reveals a need to persuade. When he declares 'But if it Chances they will not be Gracious, and Just to me [.....] I shall Sleep never the Worse', it is hard to believe him (1667: p.14). It seems likely that Newcastle frequently lost sleep over the future of horsemanship and though he assures his readers that 'the King takes it for no Disgrace to be an Excellent Horseman', knew full well that the days of the king's enthusiasm for the art were over (1667: p.7). This unease is fixed in print alongside his great faith and the details of his method serve as an insight into his need for surety and a knowledge of his secure location.

Despite, however, Newcastle's personal responses and hidden hopes in his

manuals, in the context of horsemanship he had much to offer, as Chapter 4 further illustrated. His method builds on the past development of the art more than he is willing to admit, but nevertheless takes it forwards in great leaps. In comparison with other significant authors, while many claim originality, only he and Pluvinel do not rework passages and ideas from previous authors. They both show the influence of Grisone's tradition, in the progressive method and use of circles and suppling exercises, as was explained. However, Grisone's tradition was born from the strange alignment of the battle field and the dance floor, as dance terminology found its way into the development of riding from a purely military or functional activity. Where Pluvinel and Newcastle become truly original is in the attention to the impact of the training on the moral development of the rider and a more subtle understanding of the horse. From Grisone onwards, all these texts reflect current thinking on human/animal relations and gentlemanly behaviour so that they offer sociological insights. Pluvinel and Newcastle however are the only truly significant seventeenth-century texts, rather than reworkings or assimilations of sixteenth century ideas, and Chapter 4 showed that this is reflected in their greater refinement and thoughtfulness. Newcastle's personal innovations were explained as evidence of a far greater attention to detail and focused endeavour than his reputation as a dilettante allows him and of the way in which he progresses from Pluvinel. His unique understanding of the horse's movement, his technical accuracy and the tireless consideration of each aspect of the training make his method fully workable and locate it securely as a seminal text.

Chapter 5 progressed from the practicality of the method by setting out to uncover Newcastle's meaning when he claims the horse to be a reasoning creature, with specific reference to the opinion of secondary sources that this is anthropomorphic and undermines his royalist stance. I illustrated that his views on the reasoning

capacity of the horse are all based on practical experience of their ability to learn and respond to strong leadership. I also illustrated that the essential acceptance of authority in this instinct illuminates the great understanding and empathy Newcastle had for his horses. Implicit in the relationship between horse and rider, is the pleasure of service to a rightful leader, an act of willing submission that Newcastle himself fully understood. The service of the horse does not degrade but ennobles it, as his service to the monarchy ennobled him, and if little service was required then he would accept that. There was a freedom in this through the perspective offered by Hobbes, that again casts light upon Newcastle's method as well as his own life. Quentin Skinner's analysis of Hobbes' theory of freedom under law perfectly describes Newcastle's expectation of his horses as their natural leader and also of himself in his own natural relationship to his monarch:

> We can now see the sense in which you remain free according to Hobbes when you act in obedience to law. When the law coerces you into obeying by activating your fears about the consequences of disobedience, it does not do so by inducing you to act against your will, thereby causing you to act less freely. It always does so by inducing you to deliberate in such a way that you give up your will to disobey, and thereafter act freely in the light of the will you have acquired.[30]

In modern parlance, Chapter 5 argued that Newcastle 'walked the talk', even when that was painful to him, and from the perspective of modern psychology, illustrated that his own need for a place in the hierarchy of the human herd uncovers the instinct behind his horse training. This understanding was significant in proving that to argue anthropomorphism in Newcastle's approach can only fail once a comprehensive view is achieved. I have demonstrated that once a broad understanding of all aspects of the philosophy encompassed in the manuals is gained, then elements of

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[30] Quentin Skinner, *Liberty before Liberalism* (Cambridge University Press: 1998), p.8.

Newcastle's work that appear to 'be at odds with his conscious purpose in authoring the treatises' or credit horses 'with many semi-human attributes', can be seen in a context that offers a different interpretation: that horsemanship offers a parallel to his belief in 'a model of political authority in which the Crown, the nobility and the gentry co-operate in an organic hierarchy symbiotically linked together to mutual advantage'.[31] Thus his understanding of the horse's mind, based on his practical experience, far from humanising it to an equal status, makes it rather a worthy subject, whose acceptance of human authority reinforces the hierarchical nature of the relationship far more than unthinking cowed submission ever could. Again, he is unique both in demonstrating a far more subtle understanding of the horse's mind than previous authors, but also using that as a means of manifesting his philosophy, rather than proving it by force.

Having considered the plates as an overall presentation of his life before his years of exile in Chapter 3 and for their technical contribution to the method in practice in Chapter 4, in Chapter 6 the plates were considered as a conceit in themselves. It was demonstrated that by close attention to their content and layout, they may be seen as a 'virtual tour', the graceful and enjoyable invitation to become Newcastle's guest. They effectively offer the visit he would have offered his peers had he been able to, but as the physical restraints of distance and cost are not relevant, it was seen that they actually improve upon the experience. Therefore, the virtual guest can enjoy aspects of the entertainments once put on for Charles I and hunt in the parks of all Newcastle's estates, admire his architectural developments and meet members of his family who were never all together in life.

As a man who was acutely aware of the role of host, patron and aristocrat, the

[31] Raber, p.43; Thomas, p.101; Heal & Holmes, p.192.

plates in the first manual were shown to permanently recall the idealised performance of his life. The presentation of his estates, which transports the reader to the peaceful affluence of an England undisturbed by war, places him in his rightful role of aristocrat and grandee, part of a long lineage of nobility, whose architectural developments no less than his riding innovations provide markers in history for which he will be remembered. The combination of precise accuracy in the plates, both in the detailing of the dimensions of his stables and riding houses and in the technical illustrations of his method, and the fantasy of his family altogether and estates in their full beauty, were significant in understanding his ability to envisage the ideal within the context of his reality. No earlier or subsequent manual attempts such an enterprise and in the successful combination of art, technique and propaganda, Newcastle's plates are significant in ways that travel far beyond the presentation of a courtly art.

Therefore, this study has shown that a comprehensive approach to Newcastle's manuals reveals horsemanship as a paradigm for life as theatre that he fully exploited and celebrated, both philosophically and practically. As a man who achieved a lifestyle notable in its grandeur yet never quite reaching the heights of court influence he desired, it has been demonstrated that the theatricality of the riding house suited his temperament and offered a means of influencing his peers. The involvement with the practicalities, aesthetics and philosophy of Newcastle's style has uncovered much of the whole man, as seen through consideration of their relationship to other areas of his writing. The overall achievement of the manuals is that they create harmony in a time of chaos; they provide their author with a platform from which he can rally the likeminded, instruct the eager mind and forge ahead in the development of an influential art. His use of the work of earlier authors has been seen to have built upon the precedent of the horsemanship manual as guide to an elite art to achieve his aims.

Having done so, Newcastle speaks clearly through his horsemanship manuals and his voice is passionate. His sweeping enthusiasm for all that he believes in creates a place where it can thrive beyond the time of its creation so that the manuals become a triumph both of exile and of restoration. Yet they remain poignant also, full of the fear of loss and the awareness that the belief of one man may be insufficient to repair the ravages of time and fashion. However, rather than giving their author pause, this doubt inspires him rather to attempt to save the art of the riding house, as well as reminding those who had forgotten his true worth that he still had much to offer. This has been demonstrated through consideration of the style, form and content of his manuals, as well as the practical value of his method. His 'New Method', which focussed on reducing the time-consuming nature of horse training while still yielding successful results, offers both to revitalise the art and identify him as the man who saved gentlemanly behaviour. The extent to which this was successful is hard to assess but the writing of Jacques de Solleysel, Gerard Langbaine and Sir William Hope at least suggests a lasting impact, while the tribute of François de le Guérinière is evidence of long-term importance.

Newcastle's last great building project was at Nottingham Castle, which he managed to buy only two years before his death at the age of eighty-three. Although he did not survive to see the project completed, his plans were ambitious and show no lessening over time of his belief in noble display. Today, at Nottingham Castle, the remains of the statue of Newcastle upon horseback stand, like Oxymandias, a 'colossal wreck', as mute evidence of the way in which time resists human attempts at immortality though works. However, they are also a reminder of him as a character of great charisma and resilience, and in opening the horsemanship manuals that character is released, as vigorous, arrogant and confident now as when he set pen to paper to

seek a less visible but more lasting means of immortality.

Any rider today who works a horse from a lunging cavesson would recognise the illustration in Plate 13, because they are using equipment Newcastle designed. Anyone who rides a horse in a 'shoulder-in' uses an exercise that has hardly changed since he created it. In locating his texts in their early modern context, his relationship to the horsemasters of his own time can be analysed and by opening any comprehensive modern manual his legacy can be located. Even developments in horse handling in the last fifteen years, based on the horse's need for leadership, seem less innovative once Newcastle's manuals become familiar and through a modern understanding, his work still has relevance beyond that of its value to early modern scholarship.[32]

The aim of this research has been to identify the value of the manuals by a full understanding of the importance that a contribution to horsemanship meant in the early modern period, alongside a practical assessment of the method and consideration of the way in which the art became a manifestation of Newcastle's personal philosophy. With reference to existing secondary sources, I have drawn on scholarship that focuses on specific areas of the texts and then attempted to integrate those areas into a comprehensive study of all that the manuals embody.

If the destination of scholarship is knowledge, then research becomes a long journey, the danger of which is always to become removed from the original material under consideration. Each return to the manuals themselves, however, offers anew the contact with the vital spirit of a humane man whose wit and knowledge can be found

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[32] Monty Roberts, *The Man who listens to Horses* (London: Arrow, 1997), Pat Parelli, *Natural Horse-Man-Ship* (Colorado: Western Horseman, 1993) and Chris Irwin, *Horses don't Lie* (London: Souvenir Press, 2001) are just three of a considerable body of American trainers, making their mark on British riders today much as the Italian trainers did in Newcastle's youth and using methods he would consider his own.

untouched by time or opinion and whose essential enjoyment of his art perhaps offers the ultimate interpretation:

> I beseech my Readers, to take in good part, That I have set down, as clearly as I could, without the Help of any other Logick, but what Nature hath taught me, all the Observations about Horses and Horsemanship; which I have made, by a long, and chargeable, though I must needs say, very pleasant, and satisfactory, Experience (1667: sig. B^{v}).

APPENDIX I

Prefatory material and verses with translations:

La Methode Nouvelle et Invention Extraordinairre, 1658.

Au Roy de la Grande-Bretagne 272

Translation - To the King of Great Britain 274

A Mes Tres-Chers Fils 277

Translation - To My Dearly Beloved Sons 279

Aux Cavaliers 282

Translation - To Cavaliers 284

Si à cét Art des Roys tu pense parvenenir, 287

Translation - If you seek to attain the art of kings, 287

Par ces reigles, le cheval est obëissant, 288

Translation - By these rules the horse is obedient 288

(Translations made with the assistance of Alison Layman, M.I.T.I)

Verse from Plate 1 289

Verse from Plate 2 289

Verse from Plate 3 290

Verse from Plate 4 290

(Translations made with the assistance of Simon Burrows M. A.)

Au Roy de la Grande-Bretagne (1658 : sig.[1]- d[1v]),

Elle,

Plus grande-honneur je n'ay jamais eu, & je n'en puis souhaiter de plus sur-eminent, que celuy d'avoir été le premier Gouverneur de Votre Majesté, lors qu'Elle toit Prince de Galles, & âgée de huit ans seulement. Je remarquay alors par les tendrons d'un naturel Royal, quelle abondance de fruits vertueux Elle nouse apporter oit en son age plus meur. Je considéray Sa douceur naturelle, pour être autant au dessus du commun, comme l'avantage de Sa naissance l'élevé pardessus le reste des homes, comme si Dieu & la nature l'eussent destine a présider sur le bon naturel mesme, qui est la base & le fondement de toute bonté.

Mais le temps où nous sommes me fait croire, que la nature a départi tant de douceur, & de bonté à Votre Majesté, qu'elle n'en a point laisse à la plus grand-part de Vos sujets. De sorte que Votre Majesté pourroit recevoir du désavantage des libéralités de la Nature envers Elle, si elle ne luy avoit donne un jugement tres-serain & tres-net, pour rectifier leurs défauts par Sa justice. Et comme Elle est le Député de Dieuenterre & sonvray Oint, Elle peut imiter la Divinité, qui châtie sans être fâchée ; ainsy Elle preservera Sa douceur, & montrera a Ses sujets que Sa miséricorde surpasse Sa justice.

Je vis aussy aux jeunes ans de Votre Majesté les trois parties d'une boneame (& il ni en a que trois) l'espirit, le jugement, & la mémoire, ou bien les facultés, par lequelles nous comparons les choses ensemble, nous en souvenons. Vous les avies alors pour Votre age au plus haut degré, & avec L'admiration de tout le monde. Je m'asseure que Votre Majesté, a cause de ces troubles mal-heureux, est apresent parvenue a la Maitrisede Sa charge Royale, qui est deconnoitre l'espirit, & le naturel des hommes, qui sont, pour la plus part tromeurs, d'autant qu'il y en a plus des meschans, que des bons ; & comme dit l'Escriture Sainte PLUSIEURS SONT APPELLES ET PEU ELUS.

Il ne faut pas, SIRE, que j'oublie, que j'ay eu l'honneur de Vous mettre le premier a cheval dans le Manège, ou Votre Majesté a tellement proufite, qu'a l'age de neuf a dix ans ; Elle n'avoit pas seulement la plus belle, & la plus ferme assiette que j'aye jamais veue, mais aussy la plus grande addresse, & jugement : outre qu'Elle avoit des aides les plus délicates pour faire aller un cheval parfaitement, fust a la Soldade,

Passades, Terre a terre, ou par Haut. Votre Majesté monta deux chevaux dispos DESPERATO, & BALOT, quoy que tres-rebours, avec tant de bonne-grace, d'aise & de justesse, que les meilleurs Cavaliers quietoient auprès d'Elle, & la regardeoient avec admiration, en etoient tous étonnes.

Quelques-uns, qui etoient la, & qui avoient appris aux Académies étrangères, eussent été, sinon tout a fait, au moins presques jettes par terre par les mesmes chevaux. Le Roy Votre Père, de glorieuse Mémoire, disoit, qu'il n'avoit jamais veu aucun de Votre age qui Vous approchât de bien loin a monter a cheval (Sa Majesté etoittre-capable d'en juger) il disoit qu'il cherchoit quelque faute, mais qu'il n'en pouvoit treuver. Par tous ces titres, SIRE, ce liure de la Cavaleries est Votre : & je n'aurois pas présume de le dédier a Votre Majesté, si je n'avois sceu, qu'il apporte au monde des nouvelle dans le vray Art de dresser les chevaux, lesquelles jusques icy n'ont point été connues. Puis donc que Votre Majesté est Maître en cet Art, aimez les chevaux : car un Prince n'est jamais accompagne de tant de majesté, mesmement sur son throne, comme il est sur un beau cheval. C'est la créature, entre toutes les autres, a qui l'homme a le plus d'obligation, tant pour l'usage, que pour le plaisir, & tant pour son honneur, que pour sa vie ; comment donc peut-on faire trop grande estime d'un bon cheval ?

Combien de Roys & grands Princes y a-t-il, qui ontevite le reproche d'être pris prisonniers, & ont sauve leur vie & leur honneur tout ensemble par la bonté & excellence de leurs chevaux ? dequoy plusieures histoires nous font foy. Qui plus est, un Roy, étant bon Cavalier, scaura beaucoup mieux comme il faudra gouverner ses peuples, quand il faudra les récompenser, ou les châtier ; quand il faudra leur tenir la main serrée, ou quand il faudra la relâcher ; quand il faudra les aider doucement, ou en quel temps il sera convenable de les éperonner. Il ne faut jamais les monter jusques a leur faire perde l'haleine, ou bien ils deviendront rétifs, & rebelles, ou (comme l'on dit) ils prendront la bride aux dents, & s'emporteront ; mais il faut plutost les traiter doucement, & ne prendre que la moitie de leurs forces, affin qu'ils puissent être gaillards, & faire toutes choses de leur bon gré, & avec vigeur.

Il ne faut pas que d'autres les montent trop souvent, ni les harassent : mais il faut les garder pour la selle de Votre Majesté seulement, c'est a dire, en ses affaires particulières, & celles du public. Or on se doit toujours modérer dans les passions, parce que la multitude capricieuse est une beste a plusieures testes, de sorte qu'il faut qu'elle ait plusieures brides, mais non pas plusieures éperons ; car plusieures testes

doivent avoir plusieures brides, mias la République, n'ayant qu'un corps, elle ne doit avoir qu'une paire d'éperons, & qui doivent être ceux de Votre Majesté, contre lesquels ils ne se rebelleront jamais, mais obéiront toujours, & les prendront pour une Aide, plutost que pour un Châtiment. Ils se rebellerot contre les éperons de ses sujets, & combie qu'ils les montent sans éperons, comme des poulains, neantmoins ils les jetteront par terre, & peut-être leur feront prendre quelque tour de Rosse, en sorte que Votre Majesté pourroit être en danger a la prochaine-fois qu'Elle monteroit dessus. Mais Votre majesté est excellent Homme de cheval, comme je desirerois qu'Elle fut, & je m'asseure, qu'Elle est telle ; ce qui la rendra glorieuse & les sujets heureux. Voicy l'augure, & le souhait, de celuy qui est, jusques au dernier soupir.

SIRE,

DE VOTRE MAJESTE

Les tres-humble, & tres-fidel serviteur, & sujet

Guillaume de Newcastle.

.....

To the King of Great Britain,

Sire,

I have never had a greater honour, and I could not wish for a greater distinction, than that of having been the first Governor to Your Majesty, when you were Prince of Wales and just eight years old. I know then from seeing the most tender years of a Royal being, the abundance of the qualities and virtues you would bring to us as you matured. I consider Your natural grace, which is so much above that of the common man, as coming from the advantage of Your birth and elevating You above the rest of men, as if God and nature had destined you to preside over natural qualities themselves, this being the base and foundation of all bounty.

But the times in which we find ourselves make me believe that nature has bestowed upon Your Majesty much gentleness and bounty that is not granted to the vast majority of Your subjects. To the extent that Your Majesty could have been granted the gifts of nature to a fault, had she not also bestowed upon You supreme serenity and clarity in judgement to overcome the faults of these [gifts] by Your justice. As Your Majesty is the deputy of God on earth and the Anointed Sovereign, Your

Majesty may imitate the Divine, which chastises without anger; thus Your Majesty will preserve your gentleness and will show Your subjects that Your mercy surpasses Your justice.

I also saw, during Your Majesty's young years, the three parts of a good soul (and there are only three) spirit, judgement and memory, or indeed the faculties, by which we compare all things together, and remember them. You showed these to the highest degree for your age and with the admiration of the whole world. I am assured that Your Majesty faced with these unfortunate troubles, has at present succeeded in mastering his royal burden, which is to recognise the nature and spirit of men, who are for the most part deceivers, especially since there are more wicked people than good ones; and as the holy scripture says, *many are called and few are chosen.*

Sire, I must not forget that it was I who had the honour of first putting You on a horse in the manège where Your Majesty derived so much benefit, between the ages of nine and ten; Your Majesty not only had the most beautiful and firm seat that I have ever seen, but also the greatest skill and judgement: apart from the fact that your majesty had the most delicate aids to make a horse go perfectly, whether this be Soldade, Passades, Terre a Terre, or Par Haut. Your Majesty mounted two alert horses, Desperato and Balot, although very difficult to handle, with such grace, ease and justice, that the best cavaliers were reassured by Your Majesty and looked on with admiration, and were all completely amazed.

Some of them who were there and who had learned in foreign Academies, were if not completely, at least almost, thrown to the ground by these horses. The King, Your Father, of blessed memory, said that he had never seen anyone of Your age who came anywhere near to approaching You in riding a horse, (His Majesty being quite capable of judging that); He said that he looked for some fault but could not find any. Because of all these things, sir, this book on Horsemanship is Yours: and I would not have presumed to dedicate it to Your Majesty if I did not know that it brings to the world something new in the true art of dressing horses, which has not been known at all until now. And also since Your Majesty is a master in this art, you love horses: because a prince is never accompanied by so much majesty, even when on his throne, as he is when mounted on a beautiful horse. This is the creature among all others to whom man owes the greatest debt, as much for use as for pleasure, and as much for his honour as for his life; how, then, is it possible to place a good horse in too great esteem ?

How many Kings and great Princes are there who have avoided the shame of being taken prisoner and who have saved their life and honour, all because of the goodness and excellence of their horses? There are so many histories which give us proof of that. And what is more, a king being a good Cavalier will know so much better how he will govern his people, when he should recompense them or chastise them; when he should keep them under a tight rein or when he should give them more freedom; when he should aid them gently or when it would be appropriate to spur them on. They should never be ridden to the extent that they are made to lose their breath or that they become stubborn and rebellious, or (as it were) they take the bit between their teeth and bolt; but rather they should be treated gently and only ridden to half of their strength, so that they may be good-humoured, and do everything willingly and vigorously.

Others should not be allowed to ride them too often nor to harass them: but they should be kept for Your Majesty's saddle alone, that is to say in his private affairs and those of the public. One should always be moderate in passions because the capricious multitude is a many-headed beast, to the extent that it has several bridles but not several spurs; because many heads should have many bridles, but the Republic, having but one body, should have only one pair of spurs and those should be those of Your Majesty, against which they will never rebel, but will always obey and will regard them as an Aid rather than a Chastisement. They will rebel against the spurs of Your Majesty's subjects, and to the extent that they ride them without spurs, like foals, nevertheless they will throw them to the ground and will perhaps act badly with them, to the extent that Your Majesty may be in danger when you mount again yourself. But Your Majesty is an excellent horseman as I desired that You should be and I am assured that You are; which makes Your Majesty glorious and Your subjects happy. Here is the omen and the wish of he who is, to his dying breath, Sir,

Your very humble and faithful servant, and subject
William Newcastle

A Mes Tres-Chers Fils

Le Seigneur Charles, Vicomte de Mansfield,

et le Seigneur Henry Cavendish (1658 : sig. d^2- e),

Mes Tres-Chers Fils,

Je vous prie pour l'amour de vous mesmes d'étudier ce livre, & de le mettre en pratique ; parce qu'il n'y a rien plus propre a un Gentil-homme que d'être bon Homme de cheval : & il n'y a aucune créature de qui'l homme reçoive tant d'avantage que du cheval, soit pour l'usage, ou la plaisir. Prem ierement, l'homme ne paroist jamais tant homme comme sur un beau cheval. Peuton pour le plaisir recevoir plus de contentement qu'à voir manier un cheval parfait en toutes sortes de beaux airs ? En outre, quel exercice y a't'il plus noble, plus sain, & de qui la Cour fasse & de tournois, ou aux nopces des grands Roys & Princes toute la variété de bien manier un cheval a toute sorte d'airs ; soit a courir la bague pour le pris, ou la lance, ou la lice, & venir par après a l'épée ; il ne sauroit y avoir une pompe plus glorieuse, ni plus digne d'un homme ; ni aucun spectacle public qui délecte d'avantage le genre humain.

Soit pour servir sa Majesté a cheval, lors qu'Elle fait ses entrées dans ses grandes villes. Les beaux chevaux ornes de riches caparassons, de riches selles & housses, & de plumes ondoyantes, sont une pompe digned'etonner les spectateurs avec contentement & plaisir. Il n'y a rien de semblage par pais, ou aux recontres publiques, soit pour l'usage, soit pour l'honneour. Devez vous combatre un Duel a cheval ? votre honneur & votre vie tout ensemble dépendent d'un bon cheval & d'un bon Cavalier, parce que le meilleur cheval du monde n'étant pas bien conduit, l'homme est perdu, & le meilleur Cavalier du monde sur un méchant cheval, est aussy en péril. De sorte que vous ne deves pas seulement avoir des bons chevaux, mais aussy être bons hommes de cheval ; car l'un ou l'autre défaillent, l'homme se perd. Le plus

vaillant home qui soit sur la terre n'étant pas home de cheval, & ayant un méchant cheval, doit infailliblement périr contre un bon-homme de cheval & sur un bon cheval ; parce qu'il ne sert que d'enclume a éprouver dessus l'épée de celui-ci, ou comme d'une cotte de mailles a recevoir ses estocades. Le courage d'un tel homme ne luy sert de rien en une rencontre de cette nature, a cause qu'il ne sauroit s'en servir. De ces deux maux, un bon-homme de cheval sur un cheval médiocre vaut mieux qu'un mechant-homme de cheval sur un bon cheval ; car un bon-homme de chavel paroit raisonnablement bie sur un cheval médiocre, au lieu qu'un mechat-homme de cheval ne sauroit rien faire sur un cheval dresse, quoy que bien dresse, parce que le mondre mouvement luy commande, & l'ignorance du Cavalier luy donne tant de contre-temps & des faux-mouvemens, qu'ille rend pire qu'un qui est plus-mal dresse. C'est pourquoy tant plus un cheval est bien dresse, tant plus est-il nécessaire de le monter avec art & connoissance ; parce qu'il est sensible a tout mouvement. Quoy que je confesse qu'un bon cheval fasse beaucoup, toute fois un bon-homme de cheval, sur un bon cheval, a de l'avantage asses. Et je souhaitte que vous soyes tels, tant pour les duels a cheval, que pour la guerre. Combien avons nous d'example des Roys, Princes, & autres braves Cavaliers, qui ont sauve leur vie, & remporte l'honneur de plusieures batailles par leurs actes merveilleux, & le tout par le seul courage ; bonté & excellence de leurs chevaux ? Si donc un cheval vous apporte la santé, la préservation & l'honneur tout ensembles en temps de paix, de guerre, & de duels particuliers, ne l'aimes pas seulement, mais aiez-en des bons & toutes façons pour l'amour de vous mesmes. Et puis que le meilleur cheval du monde ne sert de rien, si on ne le scait pas bien monter, pratiques en l'Art, d'ou vous recevres le plaisir & le proufit aussy ; & d'avantage, l'honneur de Cavaliers. Ainsy Dieu, en ses miséricordes, vous veuille benir tous deux. Je suis,

Mes chers fils

Votre affectionne Père, Guillaume de Newcastle

.....

To My Dearly Beloved Sons,

Lord Charles, Viscount Mansfield, and Lord Henry Cavendish.

My dearly beloved sons,

I am asking you from my love for yourselves to study this book and to put it into practice; because there is nothing more right in a gentleman than to be a good Horseman: and there is no other creature of greater benefit to man than the horse, whether for use or for pleasure. Firstly no man ever seems such a man than when he is mounted on a beautiful horse. Is there any greater source of pleasure and contentment than to see a perfect horse handled and made to perform all kinds of beautiful paces? Besides, what exercise is there which is more noble, more healthy, than that which the Court undertakes in the form of tournaments or at the weddings of great Kings and Princes, that is the good and varied handling of horses in all kinds of paces; whether running the ring for the prize, or with the lance, or in the lists, and coming later to the sword; he will not be able to achieve a more glorious spectacle, nor one which brings greater dignity to a man; nor any public spectacle which will be of greater delight to humankind.

And indeed to serve His Majesty on horseback, when He enters into major cities. Beautiful horses adorned with rich caparisons, with rich saddles and trappings, and waving feathers, are a dignified spectacle to amaze spectators with delight and pleasure. There is nothing to rival it in peacetime or at public meetings, either from a point of view of usefulness or honour. Should you fight a duel on horseback? Your honour and your life depend completely on a good horse and a good Cavalier, because

even given the best horse in the world, if he is not well ridden the man is lost, and given the best Cavalier in the world, if he rides a bad horse, he is also in danger. And so you should not only have good horses, but should also be good horsemen; because if the one or the other is deficient, the man will be lost. The most valiant man on earth, if he is not a good horseman or if he has a poor horse, must inevitably perish when faced with a good horseman mounted on a good horse; because he only serves as an anvil to be tested by the sword of the latter, or as a coat of mail to receive his death blows. The courage of such a man will be of no use whatsoever to him in such an encounter, which means it will be of no use to him. Of these two evils, a good horseman on a poor horse will fare better than a poor horseman on a good horse; because a good horseman will appear reasonably adept on a mediocre horse, whereas a poor horseman will not be able to do a thing on a well-trained horse, however well-trained, because the slightest movement will command the horse, and the ignorance of the Horseman will give it so many misunderstandings and false signals that it will be rendered worse than a horse which is not so well-trained. This is why the better trained a horse is, the more it requires riding with art and knowledge; because it is sensitive to all movement. And so I own that a good horse may achieve a lot, but a good horseman on a good horse has a substantial advantage. And it is my wish that you should be such, whether for duels on horseback or for war.

How many examples do we have of Kings, Princes and other brave Cavaliers, who have saved their lives and achieved honour in numerous battles by their marvellous acts, and all this by the courage, goodness and excellence of their horses alone? If, then, a horse brings you good health, preservation and honour in times of peace, war and individual duels, do not merely love it, but do so in earnest and in all possible ways out of love for yourselves. And since the best horse in the world is worth

nothing if you do not know how to ride it well, practise the Art, from which you will derive both pleasure and benefit; and the honour of Cavaliers besides.

Thus God, in His mercy, will bless you both.

I am,

My dear sons,

Your affectionate Father,

William Newcastle

Aux Cavaliers (1658 : sig. e^{1v}- e^{3v}),

Je ne seray pas long-temps à vous môntrer comme ce mot Cavalliero en Italien est derivé de Cavallo, qui signifie un cheval; & Cavalliero un homme de cheval, ou Chevalier; tout de mesme que Equus en Latin signifie un cheval, d'ou est derivé le mot Eques, un homme de cheval, ou Chevalier. Mais je vous asseure, qu'il n'y a aucune creature de qui l'homme reçoive plus d'avantages que de cheval, soit pour le plaisir, ou l'usage, la seureté, l'honneur & le proufit tout ensemble. Aimes-le donc & le traites bien pour l'amour de vous mesmes, & soiés expert en l'art que professent les Gentils-hommes, qui est d'etre Cavaliers; parce qu'autrement un cheval vous est de petit usage, & ceux, qui par leur ignorance meprisent un cheval & la Cavalerie, pourront en étre plûtost tués. Je souhaiterois à telles personnes, pour leur châtiment, qu'elles fussent condamnées d'aller á pied toute leur vie. Mais les vrais Cavaliers ont plus de jugement & de generosite.

Il faut, Nobles Cavalerizzes, que je me plaigne un peu à pressent du mal-heur du cét Art, ou excellente Profession, de ce que châcun pense avoir sa provision de Cavalerie tout aussy tôt qu'il sçait mettre une jambe de châque coté de son cheval: voire mesme les mecaniques, jusques aux Cuiseniers & Tailleurs (comme aussy tous citoyens) s'imaginent de monter à cheval aussy bien qu'aucun Cavalier; combien qu'ils croient qu'aucune autre profession, quoy que vile, ne sauroit être apprise en moins de huit ou neuf ans. Et la plus-part prennent a disgrace, s'ils nesont tenus aussy bons hommes de cheval qu'aucun autre, qui certes est une injustice bien grande, & une chose tres-fausse. Car il n'y aucun Art dans le monde si difficile a apprendre, comme a être parfait homme de cheval. Ce n'est pas monter une haquenée de Cambridge à Londres, ou de S. Germain à Paris, qui fait un bon homme de cheval. Un tres-brave Gentil-homme, que etoit & soldat & écolier, disoit, qu'on prist deux

garçons qui eussent l'espirit également bon, qu'on en mist l'un aux écoles, & l'autre a apprendre a monter a cheval, & que celuy-la seroit bon Philosophe, auparavant que celuy-cy fust médiocre homme de cheval; ce qui est véritable. C'est pourquoy voicy des nouvelles que je vous apporte dans l'Art parfait de dresses les chevaux. Lisez-les donc, c'est à dire, entendez-les, & les mettes en pratique, & le proufit vous en demeurera. Je ne veux pas vous ennuyer par longs discours comment les Pages doivent boutonner leur pourpoins, ou attacher leurs aiguillettes; ou quand c'est qu'ils doiver doivent dire leurs priers (ce que je laisse à leurs Directeurs spirituels) ou comment ils doivent lire la Philosophie morale, laquelle leçon je reserve à leurs Pedagogues. Je n'ay pas aussy dessein de vous troubler de châque boucle, sangle, clou, ou frange, ny comment il faut épouster une selle. Je vous present non plus la figure d'un chandelier de trios sols, ny je vous dis pas ou c'est que le Maitre Palfrenier doit monter à cheval ny combine de chapeaux, gans, ou paires de bottes il doit avoir; parce que j'écris de la façon la plus courte qu'il m'est possible (non pas aux écoliers, mais aux Maîtres) l'Art de bien dresser les chevaux, lequel n'a jamais étée connu. Ce qui m'oblige à ne faire pas un livre de plusieures repetitions de choses qui paroissent comme secrets, mais en esset ne le sont pas, puis quelles sont connues à châque Cavalerizze. Je ne veux non plus faire un livre entire pour diviser un cercle en plusieures parties; parce qu'un cercle peut etre diuise entant de parties (ce que Arithmetique, ou Geometrie pevvent faire, ou quelque methode ennuïeuse de la mesme nature) qu'un cheval ne sauroit vivre asses pour etre dresse. Je ne veux pas d'ailleurs être si court, comme quelques-uns, qui, par la routine de leurs piliers, se hâtent tant de dresser un poulain & le rendre cheval parfait, qu'ils le continuënt de las sorte poulain toute sa vie, sans le mener jamais hors du lieu où on a de coútume de la monter. Je ne veux non plus faire comme en quelque pais, où on se sert si long-temps

de cavesson fait à la vieille mode, que le cheval ne peut pas aller avec la bride; ou comme quelques autres font, en d'autres pais, qui se seruent (servent?) si long-temps de la bride, que le cheval ne veut aller, ni avec le cavesson, ni avec le bride. Mais cette Methode enseigne l'un & l'autre parfaitement, & leur apprend a obéir a la main, & au talon, avec tant de perfection, qu'ils vont par tout aussy bien comme en leur lieu ordinaire du Manege; ce que vous verres par de vérité de mes leçons suivantes. Ainsy je demeure,

Messieurs,

Votre tres-humble et tres affectionate serviteur,

Guillame de Newcastle

.....

To Cavaliers,

I will not take long to show you how this word Cavalliero in Italian is derived from Cavallo, which means a horse; & Cavalliero a horseman, or Chevalier [in French]; similarly, that Equus in Latin signifies a horse, from which is derived the Eques, a horseman, or Chevalier. But I assure you, there is no creature from which man receives greater advantage than the horse, either for pleasure, or usefulness, safety, honour and benefit all together. Therefore love them and treat them well, for love of yourselves, and be expert in the art practised by Gentlemen, that is [the art of] being Cavaliers; because otherwise a horse is of little use to you, and those who, by their ignorance, misunderstand horses and *Cavalerie*, may even be killed by this. I would wish to chastise such persons by condemning them to have to walk on foot all their lives. But true Cavaliers have better judgement and greater generosity.

Noble Cavalerizzes, I feel obliged to complain a little at present about the poor state of this Art, or excellent Profession, where anyone thinks that they are

sufficiently versed in *Cavalerie* as soon as they can place a leg on each side of the horse: see how even the mechanics, up to Chefs and Tailors (as, indeed all citizens) imagine that they can ride a horse as well as any Cavalier; while they believe that no other profession, however lowly, may be learned in less than eight or nine years. And the majority consider it a disgrace if they are not considered horsemen as good as any other, which is indeed a great injustice, and a shock. Because there is no Art in the world which is as difficult to learn as how to become a perfect horseman. There is more to being a good horseman than riding a palfrey from Cambridge to London, or from St Germain to Paris.

An outstanding Gentleman, who was both a soldier and a scholar, said that if one took two boys with equally good spirit, and put one in school and taught the other how to ride, that the former would be a good Philosopher before the other became a mediocre horseman; which is true. This is why I am bringing you these new ideas in the perfect Art of dressing horses. Read them, that is to say, understand them, and put them into practice, and the benefit will remain with you. I do not want to bore you with long discourses on how pages should button their *pourpoints*, or attach their spurs; or when they should say their prayers (I leave this to their spiritual guides) or how they should read moral Philosophy, which lesson I leave to their Teachers. Nor do I have any designs on troubling you with every buckle, strap, stud or fringe, nor how a saddle should be polished. Nor shall I present you with a diagram of a three-tier candelabra, nor will I tell you if Master Palfrenier wishes to ride a horse, what combination of hats, gloves or pairs of boots he should have; because I am writing in as brief a manner as possible (not to students, but to Masters) about the Art of properly schooling horses, which has never been recognised. Which obliges me not to

produce a book containing numerous repetitions of things which appear to be secrets, but in fact are not, since they are known to every Cavalerizze.

Nor do I want to produce an entire book on how to divide a circle into several sections; because a circle may be divided into so many parts (which Arithmetic or Geometry may do, or some other tedious method of similar nature) that a horse would not live long enough to be schooled in them. Nor do I want to be too brief, like some who, by the routine of their grinding, are in such a hurry to school a foal and make him into a perfect horse, that they continue to make of him a foal all his life, without ever taking him away from that place where he is used to being ridden. Nor do I wish to behave as in some countries, where one continues for such a long time with *cavesson* in the old style, that the horse is no longer able to respond to the bridle; or like some others do, in other countries, who use the bridle for such a long time that the horse refuses to go, neither with the *cavesson* nor with the bridle.

But this Method trains in the one and the other perfectly, and teaches them obedience to the hand, and the heel, with such perfection that they will go anywhere just as well as in their usual place in the Manège; you will see this to be true from my lessons which follow. And so I remain,

Sirs,

Your very humble and affectionate servant,

William Newcastle

(1658 : sig. Zzz^{v})

Si à cét Art des Roys tu pense parvenir,
Pratiquiz ces leçons assin de t'en garnir;
Tout vice de cheval est icy curable,
Par la methode de ce livre admirable,
Qui le Manege tellenebt subtilise,
Que les dessein de Routine place n'a prise :
A tous Airs ; au Pas, Trot, Galop, à la Course,
La raison toûjours vous conduît, & vous pousse;
Tellement que le cheval est obeïsant
A la main, & talon, par ce livre sçavant.

M.D.V.

If you seek to attain the Art of Kings,
Practise these lessons in order to equip yourself;
All the vices of the horse are curable here,
By the methods in this admirable book,
Which refines so much the given practice of the Manège
Where the Routine practices have no place.
In all Airs, Walk, Trot, *Galop*, and the Race-track[1]
Reason always drives you and pushes you;
So much so that your horse is obedient
To the hand and the heel, by knowing this book.

[1] Newcastle does not discuss the riding-house as preparation for racing, so this translation is not satisfactory, but the alternatives of 'tilting' or 'hunting' are no better.

Par ces reigles, le cheval est obeïssant,
Ou bien vous étes peu sçavant, ou ignorant,
Si justement en vôtre cause vous jugés ;
Et la quinte-essence de cét Art ne negligez.
Tu ne la sçavras dés la premiere veuë,
Par la seule pratique elle te sera connuë.
Mà peine, & mon labeur te mettent en repos;
Tu n'as qu'à joüir de mes travaux & propos.
Dés le premier, tu ne dois pas étre Maître,
La nature si injuste ne peuy étre :
En cét Art jamais elle ne te flatera,
Ni le cheval si tôt ses vices delairra.
Si tu y treuve par trop de difficulté
Cherche un autre métier qui te soit plus aisé.

M. D. V.

By these rules, the horse is obedient,
But if you know little or are ignorant,
If you just judge by your own actions,
And neglect the quintessence of this art,
You won't realise it at first
By practice alone it will make you able.
My endeavour and my labour will bring you ease,
You have but to put into practice my works and proposals,
From the start don't expect to be a Master,
This cannot be because nature is so unjust,
In this art it will never flatter you,
Nor the horse will able to hold back its vices so soon.
If you lag behind because it's too difficult
Look for another skill which will be easier for you.[2]

[2] The transition from first to third person does not help in deciding the identity of the author, but is an interesting feature of the verses, while the general tone and manner makes Newcastle himself a very likely candidate.

Translations of Verses in Plates 2, 3, 4 & 5,

Plate 2

After man the Horse the most noble animal,
Is made by this Lord so true and so equable,
By this Method that all the world admires
That one easily believes that he is subject to His Empire.
His beautiful seat, his secret helps;
All with studied ease, so beautifully done
Are to us a valid and powerful argument
That to his heels and Bridle he [the horse] is obedient,
And that all Horses are subject to his law;
Then that they obey him as they would their KING.

If he mounted a powerful Devil, this devil would go in true Airs.

Mr. D. V.[3]

Plate 3

Newcastle, the power of your genius
Which makes you triumph over other horseman;
Who to the furious encounter for the love of glory,
In combat carries off the victory.
Inside your circles, you do nothing but conjure,
When you mount, you Philosophise;
And then you tame the fiery and the wise
And altogether they pay you homage.

M. D. V.

[3] Plates 2 & 4 have Mr. D. V., rather than the initials only.

Plate 4

He mounts with the hand the spurs, and whips
The Horse Pegasus, who flies in a Capriole;
He flies so high that he touches the sky with his Head
And by his marvels he delights the Gods to ecstasy.
The mortal Horses who down there on the ground
In Courbettes, demi-airs and terre à terre go
With humility, submission and servility,
Adore him like God and the author of their skill.

Mr. D. V.

Plate 5

May Pallas be your guide and Cupid your page,
Mars the captain who guides your courage;
May your own mount be the winged Pegasus,
And Mercury serve you always at your side.
May Fortune to your single/unique power submit,
She who sits over us.[4]

[4] There are no initials on this verse, although the positioning might suggest that they were lost in setting out the plate.

APPENDIX II

Engraved Plates after Abraham van Diepenbeeck:

La Methode Nouvelle et Invention Extraordinairre, 1658

Title Plate	291- i
Plates	1- 42



LA METHODE NOUVELLE
& Invention extraordinaire de dresser les Chevaux les travailler selon la nature, et parfaire la nature par la subtilité de l'art; la quelle n'a jamais été treuvée que

Par

Le tres-noble, haut et tres-puissant

PRINCE GUILLAUME MARQUIS ET COMTE DE NEWCASTLE,
Vicomte de Mansfield, Baron de Bolsover et Ogle, Seigneur de Cavendish, Bothel et Hepwel; Pair D'Angleterre, Qui eut la charge et l'honneur d'estre Gouverneur du Serenissime Prince de Galles en sa jeunesse et maintenant ROY DE LA GRANDE BRETAGNE; *Et d'avantage qui est Lieutenant pour* LE ROY *de la Comté de Nottingham et la Forest de Sherwood; Capitaine general en toutes provinces outre la Riviere de Trent et autres endroits du Roiaume d'Angleterre, Gentil-homme de la Chambre du Lit du* ROY; *Conseiller d'Etat et Privé; Et Chevalier de L'ordre tres-noble de la Iartiere etc.*

Traduit de l'Anglois de l'Auteur en François par son Commandement

A ANVERS
Chez


LA BATAILLE CAIGNEE

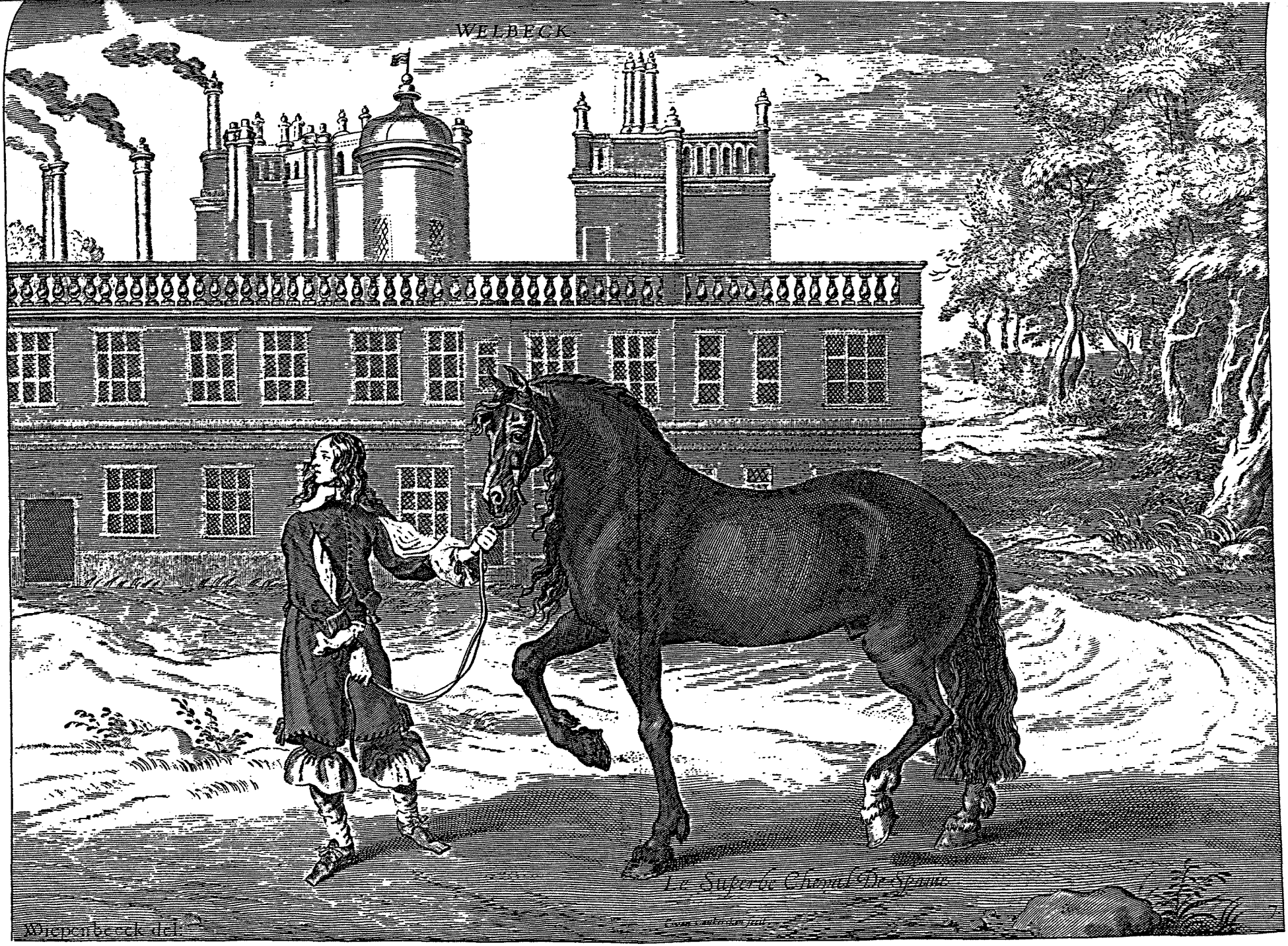

Apres l'homme le Cheval le plus noble animal,
Est rendu par ce Seigneur si juste et si égal,
Par cette Methode, que tout le monde admire,
Qu'on voit aisement qu'il est sujet de Son Empire.
Son assiette si-belle, ses aydes si secrettes;
Tout à la negligence, encore si bien-faittes,
Nous sont un argument, assés valide et puissant,
Qu'il est à ses talons et Bride obeissant,
Et que tous les Chevaux sont assujettis à sa loy;
Puis qu'ils luy obeissent comme à leur propre Roy.
S'il montoit un Diable tres-robuste,
Ce Diable iroit en tous Airs fort Iuste.
W. D. V.


NEWCASTLE. ceſt la force de ton genie.
Qui te fait triompher de la Cavalerie;
Qui au choc furieux pour l'amour de la gloire
Dedans les combats emporte la victoire.
Dedans tes cercles tu te fais que conjurer,
Quand tu montes tes chevaux, que Philosopher;
Puis que tu domte e fougueux. et le sage,
Et que tous enſemble ſe te font hommage.
A.D.V.


Il monte avec la main les éperons, et aussi
Le Cheval de pegase qui volle en Capriole:
Il monte si haut qu'il touche de sa teste les Cieux
Et par ses merveilles ravie en extases les Dieux.
Les Chevaux corruptibles qui là bas sur terre sont
En Courbettes, deux-airs, terre à terre s'ont
Avec humilité soumission et bassesse.
L'adorer comme Dieu et auteur de leur adresse.
C. D. V.


CHARLES LE SECOND
ROY DE LA GRANDE
BRETAGNE
Que Pallas soit vôtre guide, Cupidon vôtre Page,
Mars le Capitaine qui conduise vôtre courage,
Que vôtre propre monture soit le Pegase ailé,
Et Mercure, comme laquais, toûjours à vôtre côté
Que la Fortune soit en vôtre seul pouvoir soûmise,
Elle, qui sur nos tê tes és jusques icij assise.


La Maison de WELBECK appartenant
à Monseigneur le Marquis
de NEWCASTLE, le quel est
dans la Province de
NOTTINGHAM.
Paragon un Barbe
6.


WELBECK
Le Superbe Cheval De Spagne
Wijeperbeeck del


WELBECK.
Le Manege couert vouté de bois large de 40 pieds, longe de 120 pieds.
La boutique du Mareckall.
Mackomilia un Turke.

WELBECK.

L'Ecurie voutée de pierre, les pilliers de pierre, la mangeoire de pierre, à l'Italienne, et une fontaine qui coule le long de la mangeoire, et se rend dans une voute au dessous ou coule un petit ruisseau. Contre la teste de Chaque Cheval il y a une petite cheminée pour l'haleine du Cheval, laquelle s'ouure ou se ferme, selon la chaleur, ou froideur; Elle est fauée de pierre de taille.

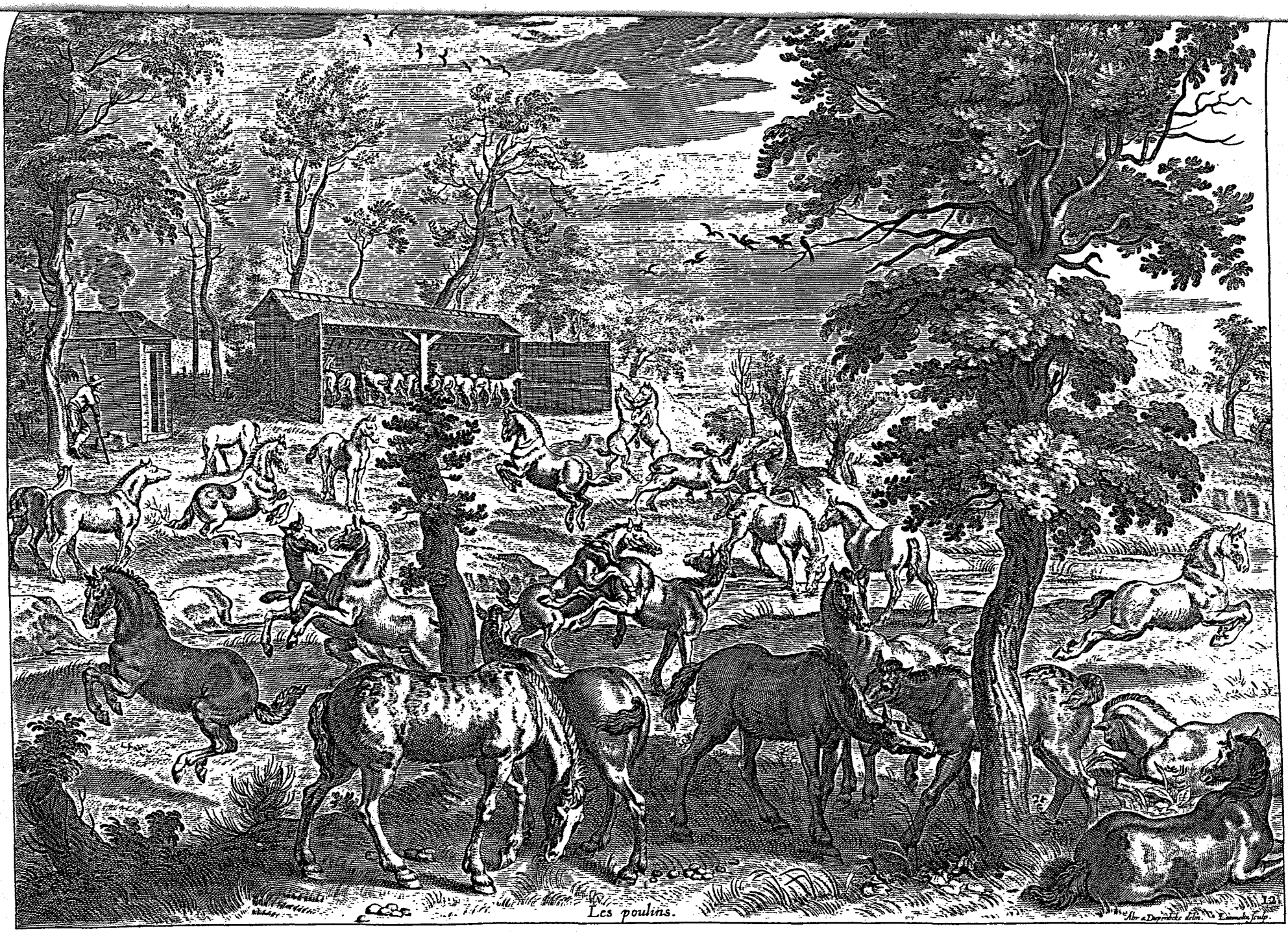
Le Grenier de l'Ecurie.

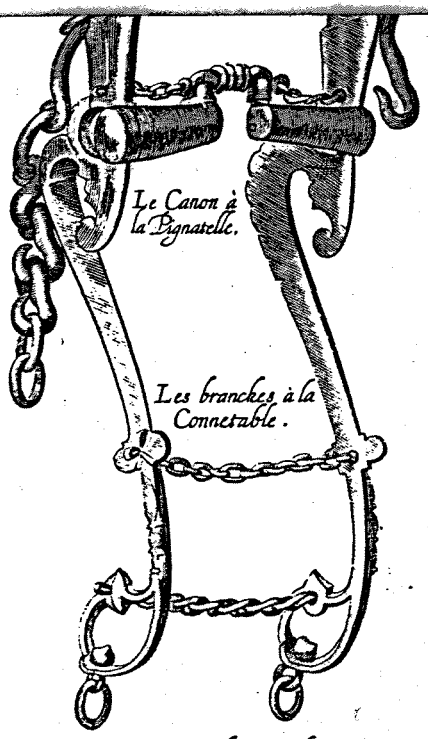
Il y a d'autres quatre-vint Ecuries pour Chevaux.

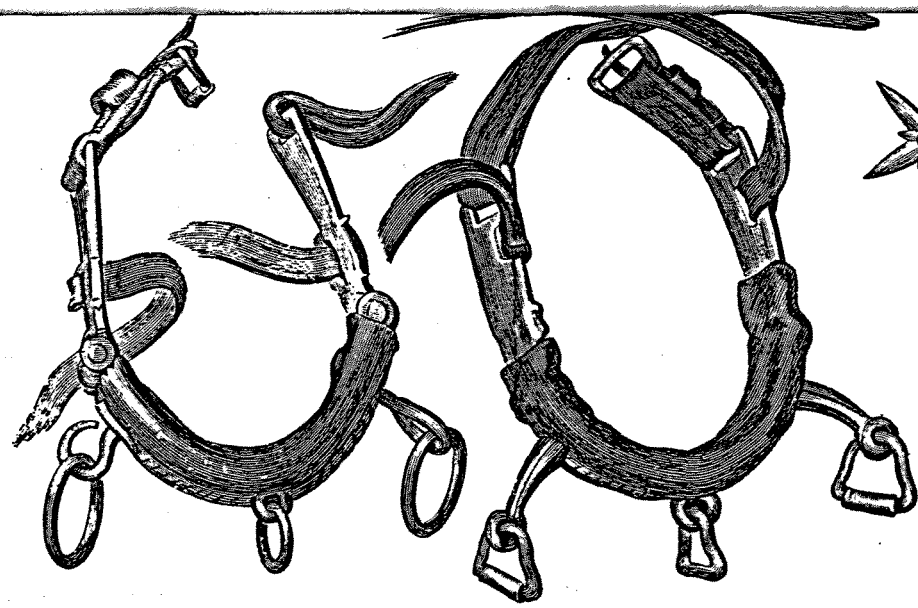
Nobilissimo Coursier Napolitain.


Rubecan un Rouſin.


Ides Haras

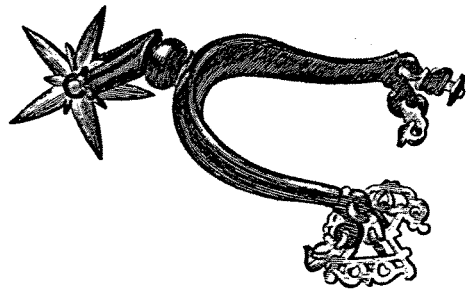

Les poulins.
12



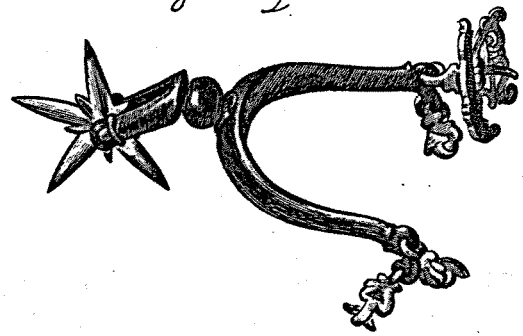


Le Caveſon ordinaire.

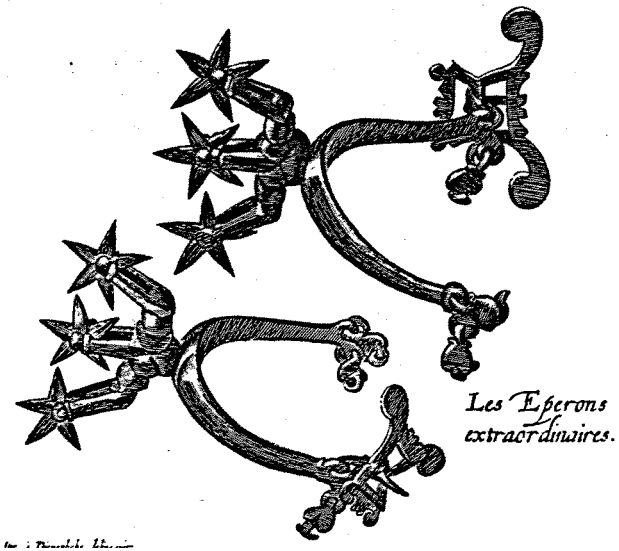
Le Caveſon extraordinaire pour donner le plis à un cheval qui à le coû roide.



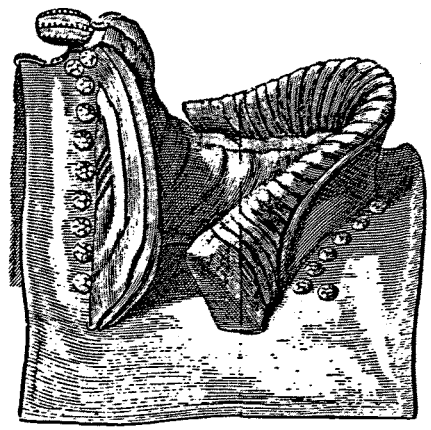
La meilleure ſorte d'Eperons.



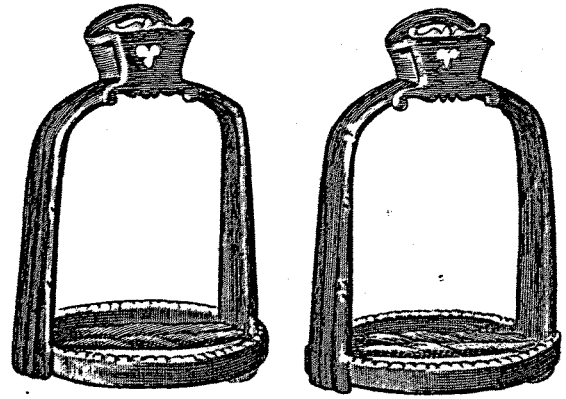
Ces éperons extraordinaires doivent être fort piquants, Contre la vieille opinion; Car il vaut mieux faire ſeigner les côtés d'un Cheval que de les faire enfler avec des éperons mouſlés, qui pourroient luÿ donner le farein. Qui plus eſt, rien n'a tant de pouvoir ſur un Cheval retif, que de luÿ faire ſentir un peu ſes côtés; Il faut donc des éperons aigus mais ces éperons ne ſont que pour des occaſions extraordinaires. Vos éperons ordinairs doivent pourtant être piquants, affin que les côtés de vôtre Cheval en cuiſent; Car le Cheval, de quelque bais que ce ſoit, qui ne peut ſouffrir tes éperons, ne vaut à rien. La chambriere eſt trop lourde, et le nerf eſt encore piré; mais il ſentira une bonne kouſſine, et le ſang en viendra .



Les Eperons extraordinaires.



Voicÿ la plus excellente ſelle qui puiſſe être.

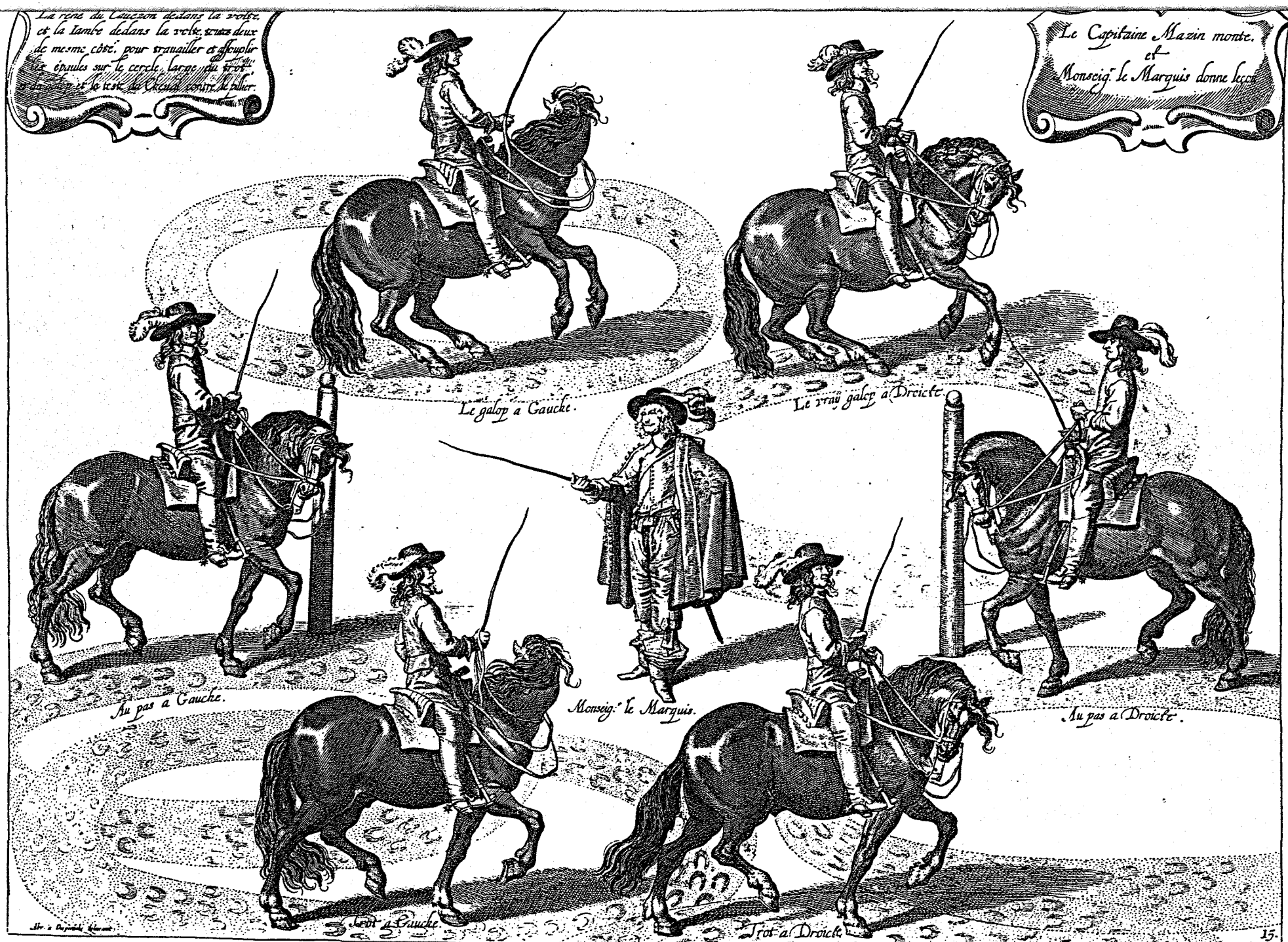


La meilleure ſorte d'Etrics.

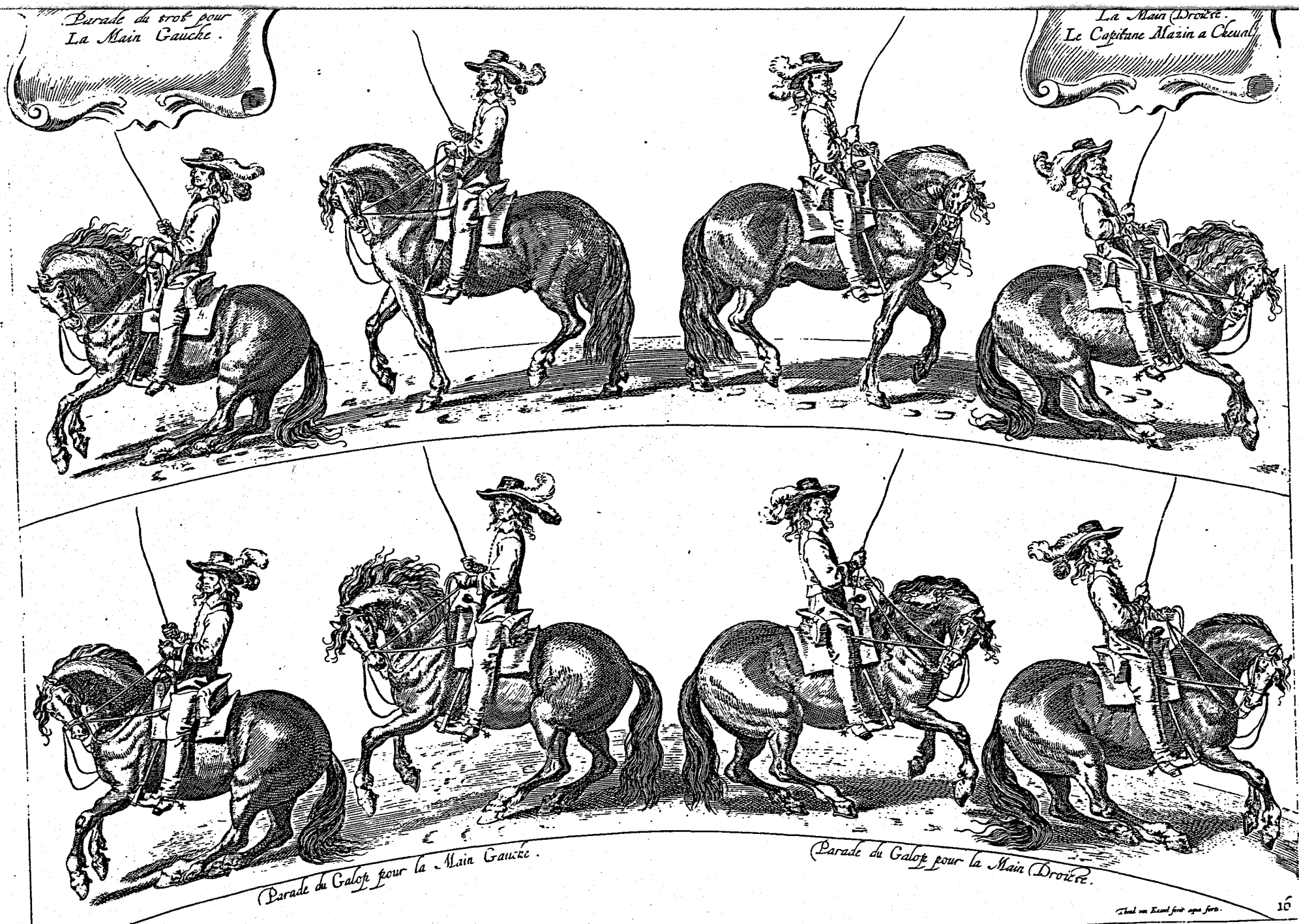

Monseigneur le Marquis
est dans à cheval, pour
montrer la vraie assiette
du Cavallier.
Le cheval étant sur son
plan naturel, pour faire
voir la plus parfaitte
posture du Cavallier.
M. Houstet
14

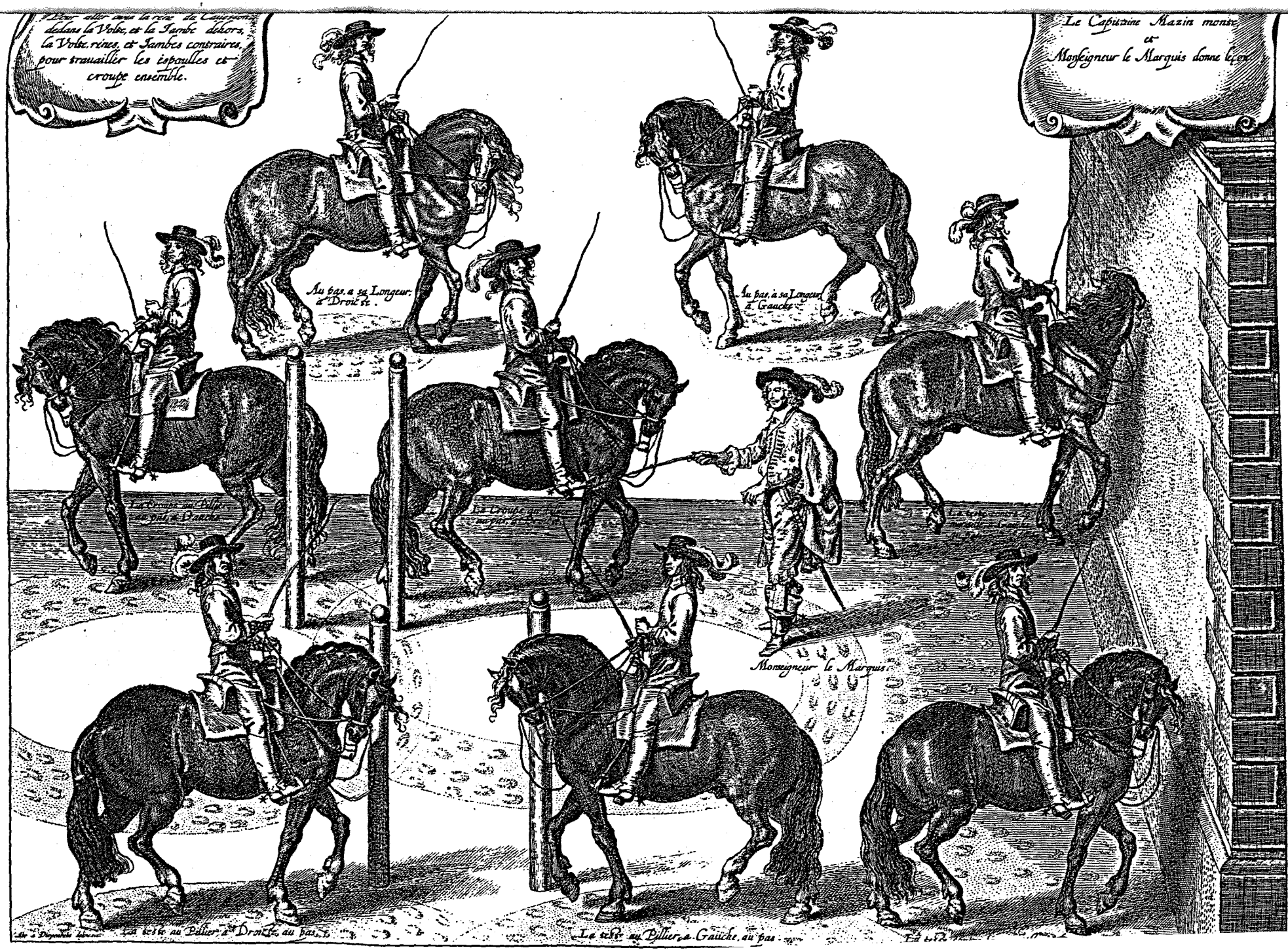
La reine du Cauczon dedans la rotte,
et la Iambe dedans la rotte, tous deux
de mesme côté, pour trauailler et assouplir
les espaules sur le cercle, large au trot
ou au galop, et le test du Cheual contre le pilier.

Le Capitaine Mazin monte.
et
Monseig.r le Marquis donne leçon

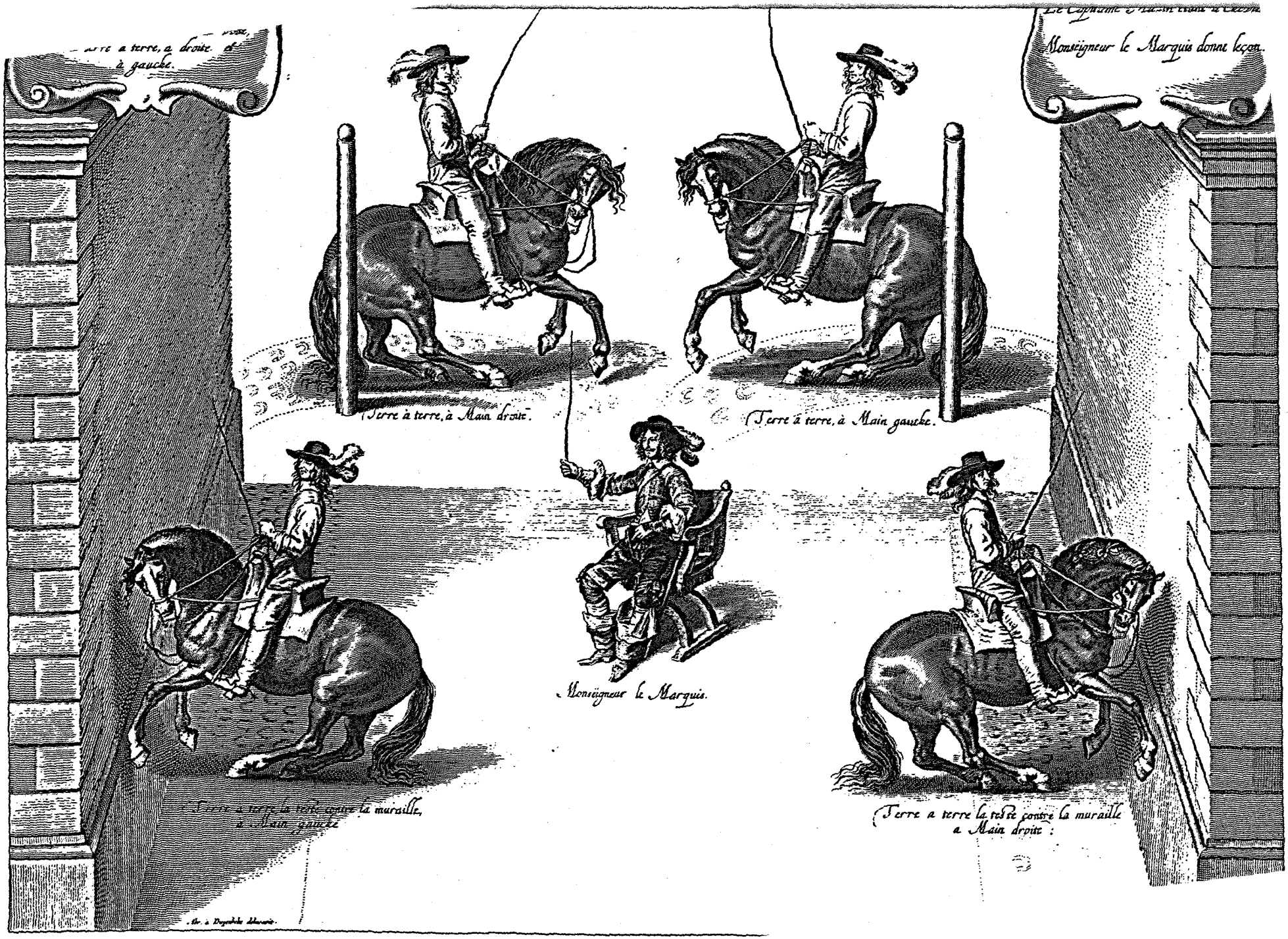


15.


Parade du trot pour
La Main Gauche.
La Main Droicte.
Le Capitaine Mazin a Cheual
Parade du Galop pour la Main Gauche.
Parade du Galop pour la Main Droicte.
Thad. van Kessel fecit cum fora.


Pour aller dans la Volte de Cauchemar dedans la Volte, et la Jambe dehors, la Volte, reines, et Jambes contraires, pour travailler les espaulles et croupe ensemble.
Le Capitaine Mazin monte et Monseigneur le Marquis donne le cor
Au pas, a sa Longeur a Droit &c.
Au pas, a sa Longeur a Gauche
La Croupe au Pillier au pas a Gauche
La Croupe au Pillier au pas a Droit
Monseigneur le Marquis
La teste au Pillier a Droitte, au pas.
La teste au Pillier a Gauche, au pas.

Monseigneur le Marquis donne leçon.



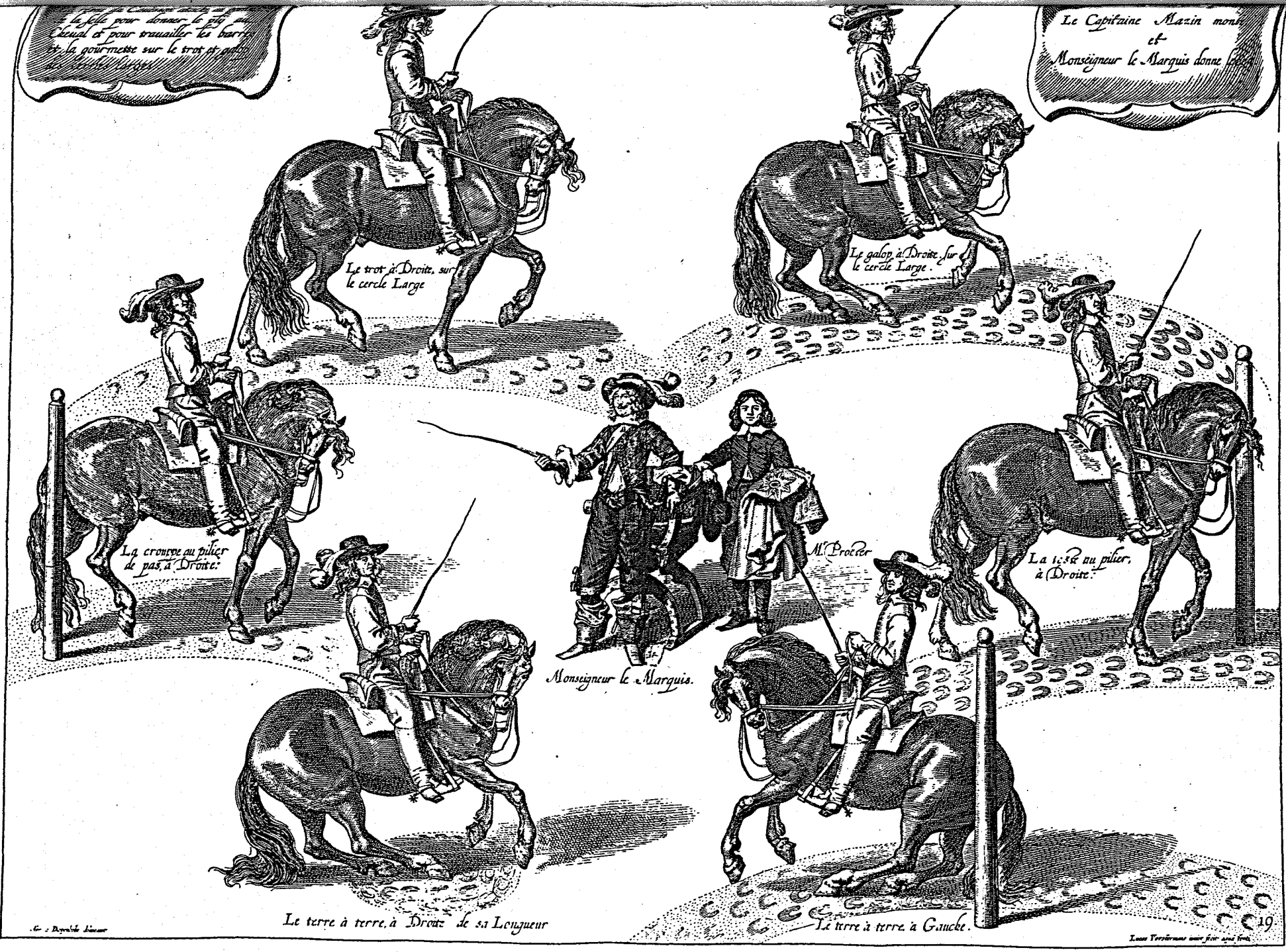
Terre à terre, à Main droite.

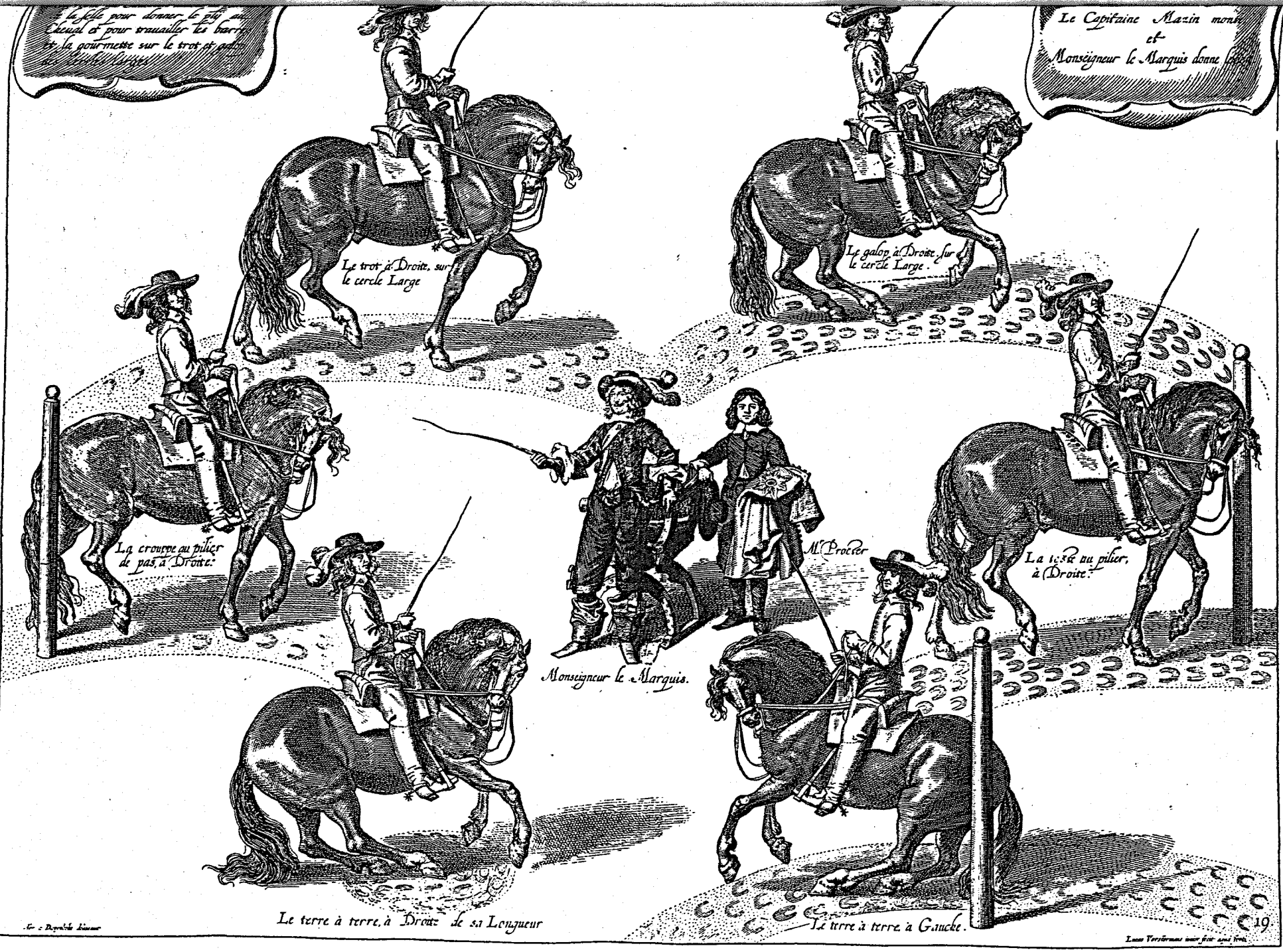
Terre à terre, à Main gauche.

Monseigneur le Marquis.

Terre a terre la teste contre la muraille, a Main gauche

Terre a terre la teste contre la muraille a Main droite.


Le Capitaine Mazin monte
et
Monseigneur le Marquis donne
Le trot à Droite, sur le cercle Large
Le galop à Droite sur le cercle Large.
La croupe au pilier de pas, à Droite:
La teste au pilier, à Droite:
M.r Procter
Monseigneur le Marquis.
Le terre à terre, à Droitz de sa Longueur
Le terre à terre à Gaucke.
19


la selle pour donner le plis au
Cheual et pour trauailler les hanc
et la gourmette sur le trot et galop
Le Capitaine Mazin monte
et
Monseigneur le Marquis donne la
Le trot à Droite, sur
le cercle Large
Le galop à Droite, sur
le cercle Large.
La croupe au pilier
de pas, à Droite.
M.r Procter
La teste au pilier,
à Droite.
Monseigneur le Marquis.
Le terre à terre, à Droite de sa Longueur
Le terre à terre à Gaucke.

Les Rênes de la Bride soparées dans deux mains, pour faire sentir la Bride, tenant à main Droite qu'à Gauche.

Monseigneur le Marquis étant à cheval, & Le Capitaine Mazin à pied.



De pas, à Main droite de sa longueur.



De pas a Main Gauche, de sa longueur.



De pas la croupe au Pilier, à Main droite.



Le Capitaine Mazin.



De pas la teste au Pilier, à droite.



Terre à terre, à Main droite de sa longueur.



Terre à terre, à Main gauche.

Mr. a Dispublis delineavit

Lucas vorsterman senior fecit aqua fortis.

Les rênes dans la main droite au passage, que sur les croupes terre à terre sans la tête au pilier que la croupe au pilier.

Monseigneur le Marquis etant à Cheval et Le Capitaine Mazin à pied.



Terre à terre à droite.



Terre à terre à gauche.



La croupe au pilier à Droite.



Le Capitaine Mazin.



La teste au pilier à Droite.

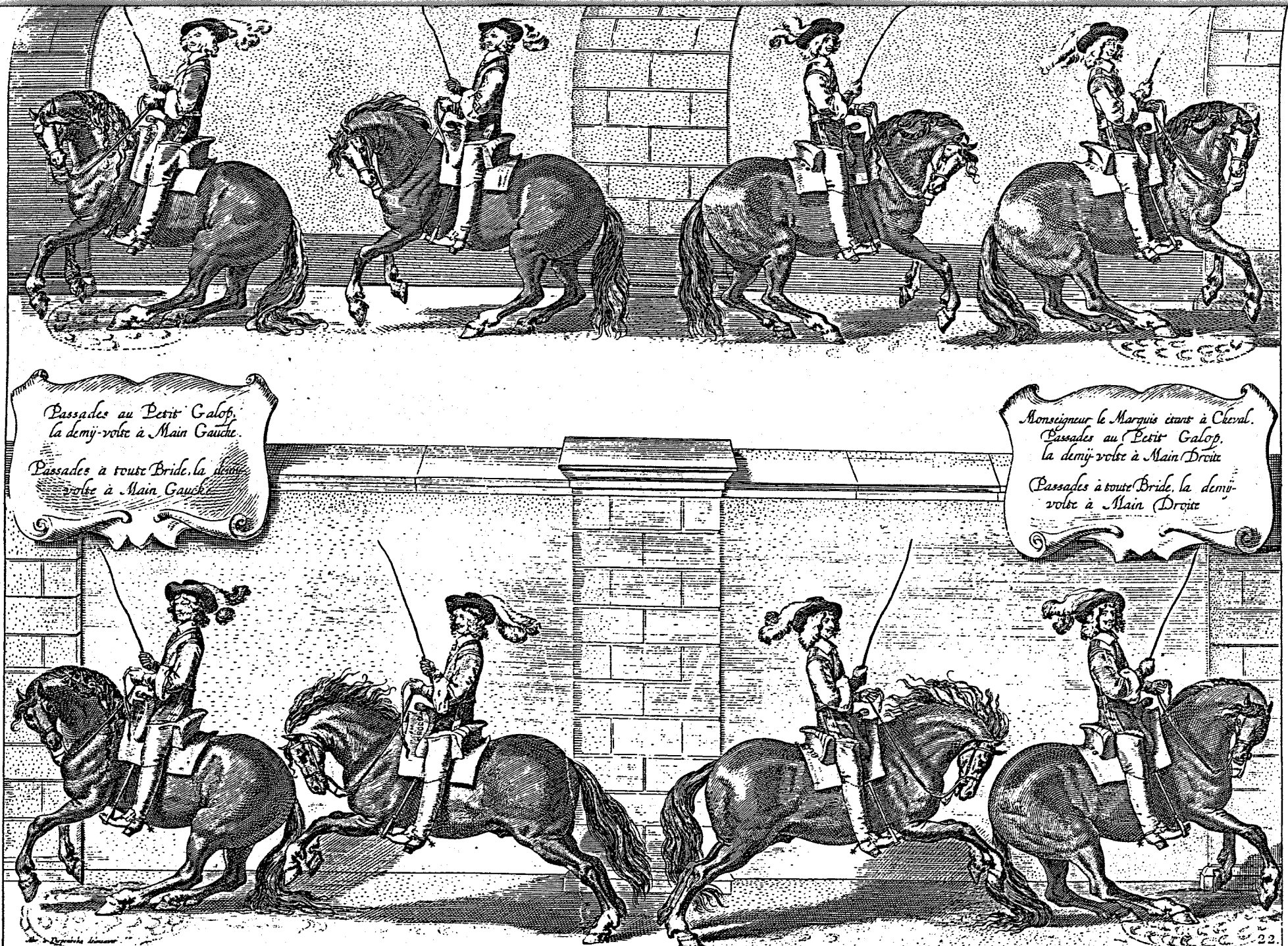
Terre à terre à Droite de sa Longueur.



Terre à terre à Gauche de sa Longueur.

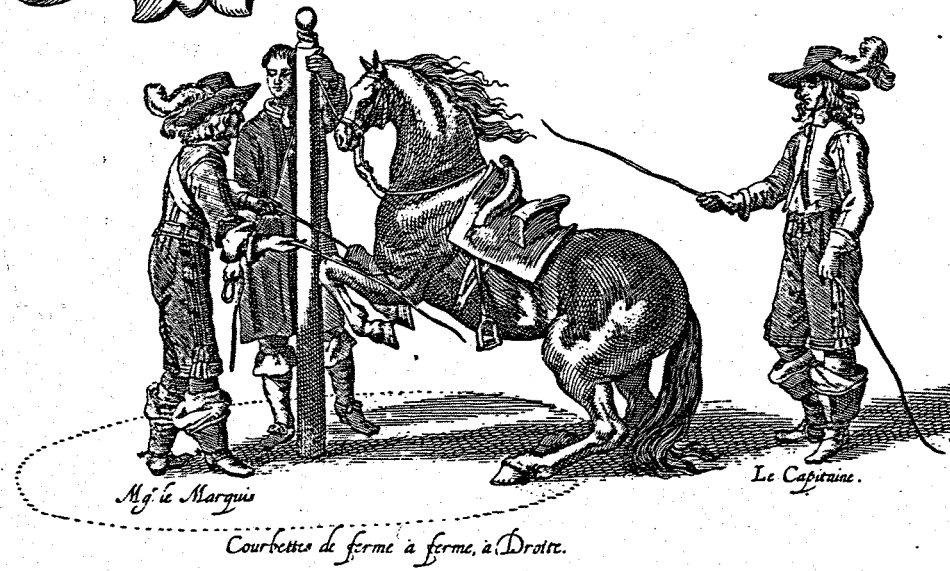
C. Bramhabe dilin.

Lucas Vorsterman senior fecit cum privil.


Passades au Petit Galop,
la demij-volte à Main Gauche.
Passades à toute Bride, la demij-volte à Main Gauche
Monseigneur le Marquis etant à Cheval.
Passades au Petit Galop,
la demij-volte à Main Droite
Passades à toute Bride, la demij-volte à Main Droite

La Nouvelle invention pour les airs à Courbettes, de ferme à ferme, sur les volttes à Droite, et en arriere, et de côté à Droite.

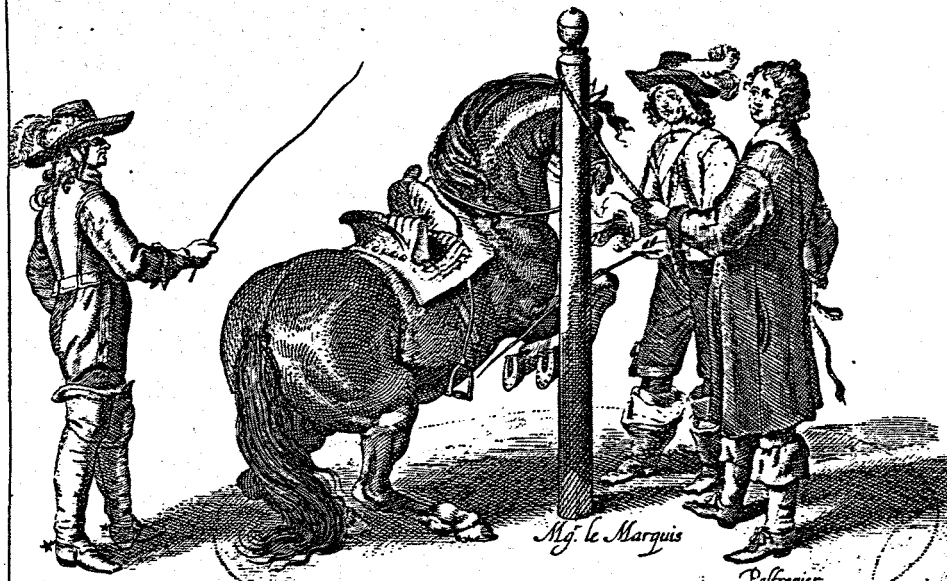
Le Cheual seul sans personne dessus. Monseigneur le Marquis trauaille, estant a pied, et le Capitaine Masin luy ayde.



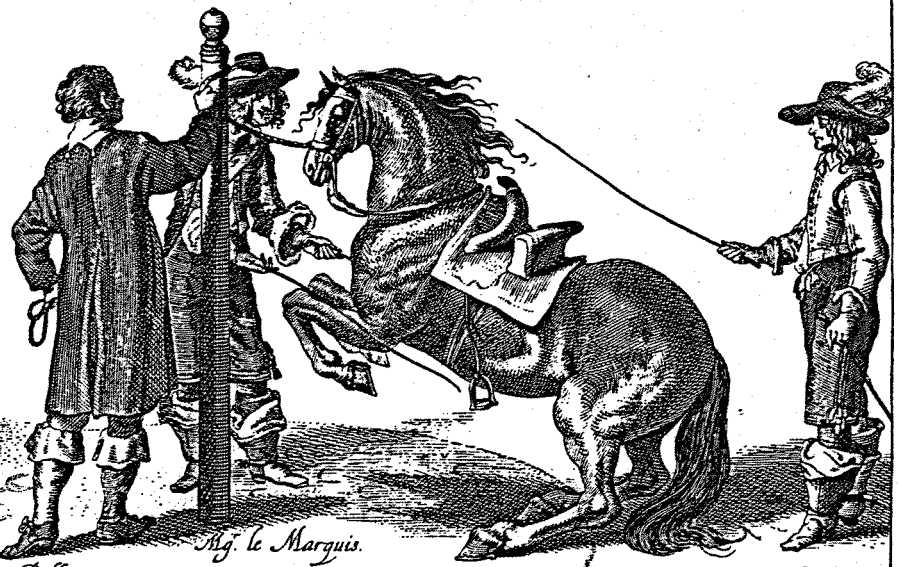
Courbettes de ferme à ferme, à Droite.



Courbettes sur les volttes, à Droite.



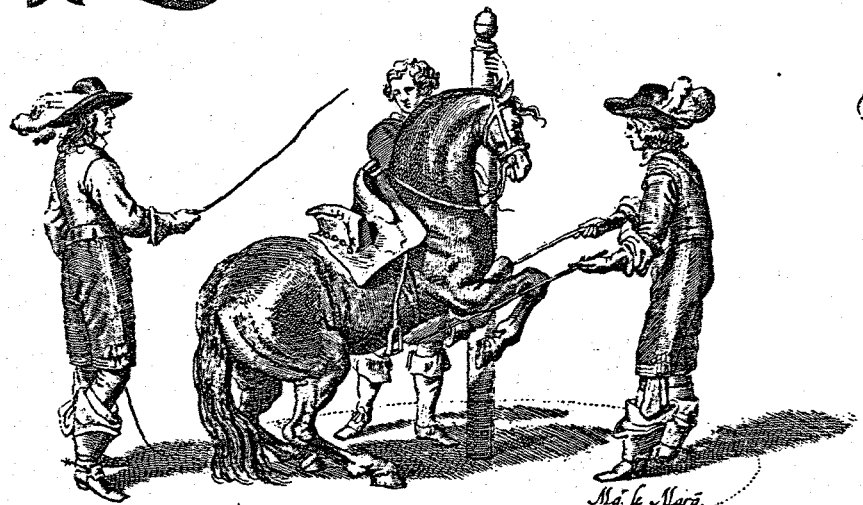
Courbettes en arriere, sur les volttes, à Droite.



Courbettes de côté, à Droite.

La nouvelle invention pour les airs, à Courbettes de ferme à ferme, sur les volttes à Gauche et en arriere et de côté à Gauche.

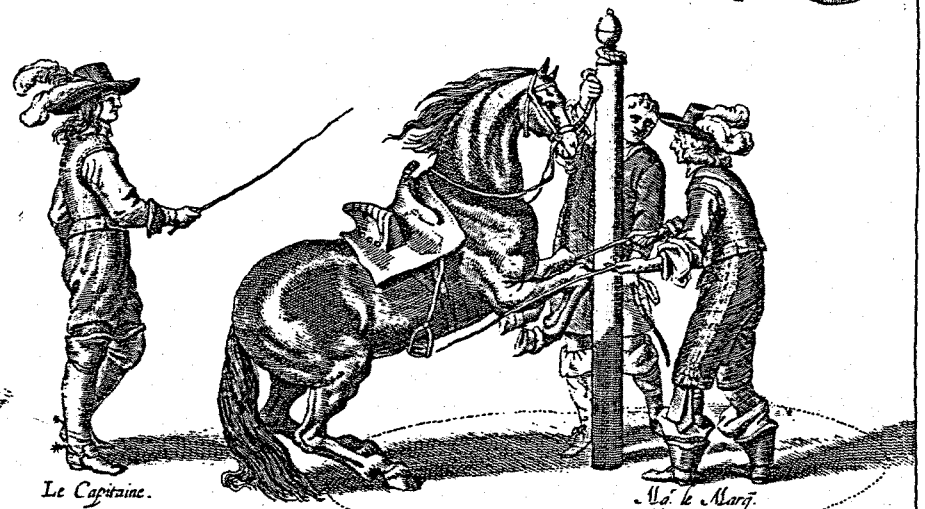
estant à pied, par le Capitaine Mazin luy aide.



Le Capitaine

Mg. le Marq.

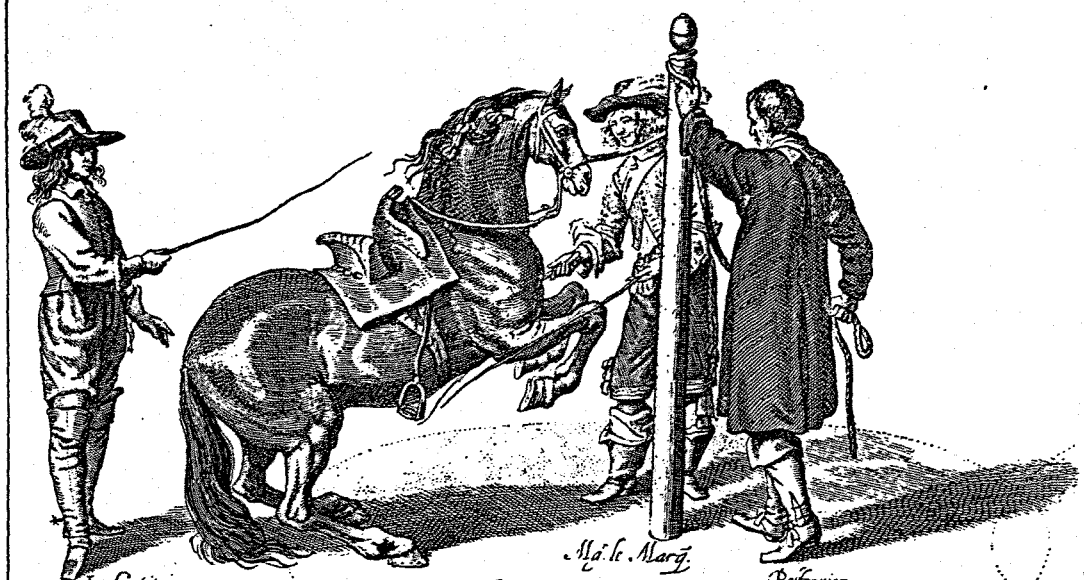
Courbettes sur les volttes à Gauche.



Le Capitaine.

Mg. le Marq.

Courbettes de ferme à ferme, à Gauche.



Le Capitaine.

Mg. le Marq.

Palfrenier.

Courbettes de côté à Gauche.



Palfrenier

Mg. le Marq.

Courbettes en arriere, sur les volttes à Gauche.

Le Capitaine.

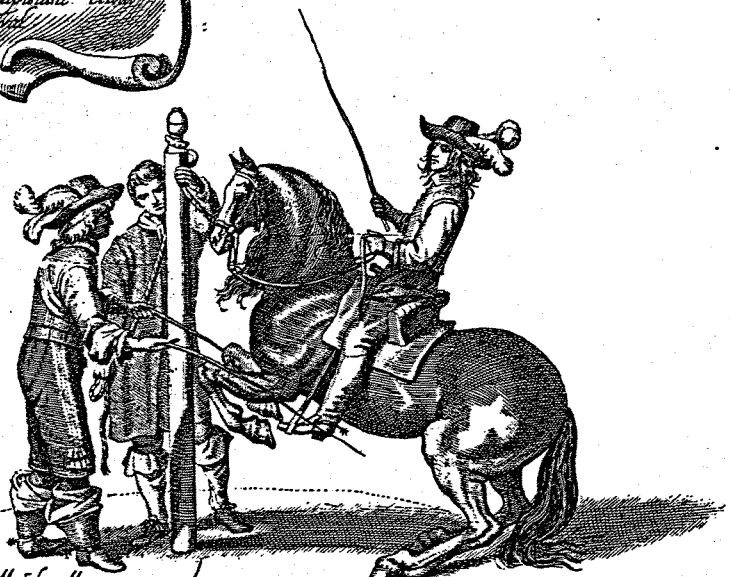
Abr. à Diepenbeke delineavit.

24.

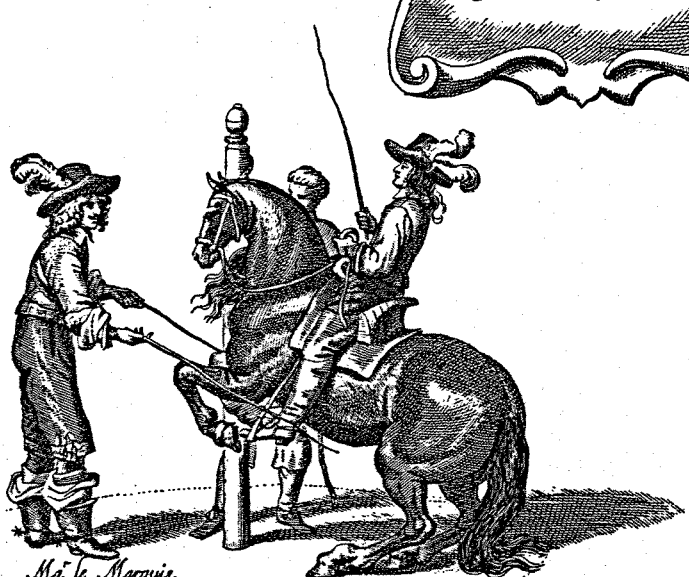
Lucas Vorsterman junior fecit aqua fort.

Courbettes de ferme à ferme, sur les Voltes à Droite. et en arriere, ils sont à Droite, le Capitaine étant à Cheval

Le Capitaine étant à Cheval Monsigneur le Marquis donne la Carriere



Mgr. le Marquis. Courbettes de ferme à ferme à Droite.



Mgr. le Marquis. Courbettes sur les Voltes à Droite.



Mgr. le Marquis. Palfrenier. Courbettes en arriere sur les Voltes, à Droite.

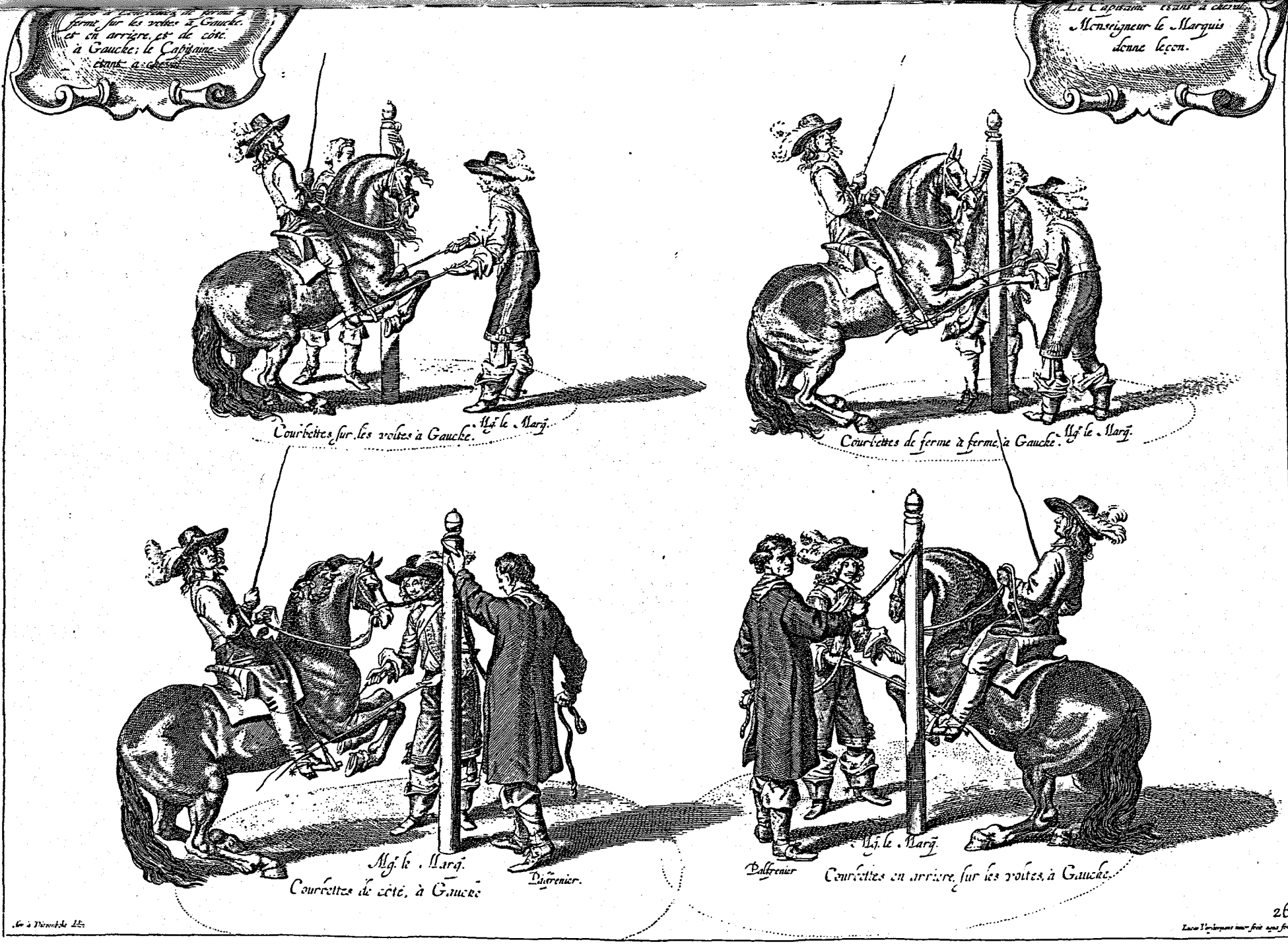


Palfrenier. Mgr. le Marquis. Courbettes du Côté à Droite.

25.

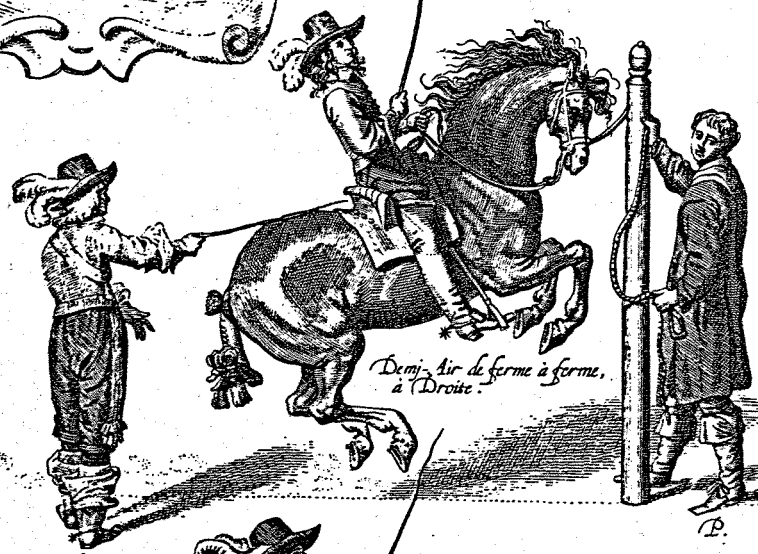
Alr. à Dupuis del. et sculp.

Les arrêts ne sont point faits pour ceux qui font


Le Capitaine estant à cheval
Monseigneur le Marquis
donne leçon.
Courbettes sur les voltes à Gaucke. Mgr le Marq.
Courbettes de ferme à ferme à Gaucke. Mgr le Marq.
Mgr le Marq.
Courbettes de coté, à Gaucke
Dalfrenier.
Mgr le Marq.
Dalfrenier
Courbettes en arriere, sur les voltes à Gaucke.

Airs relevez, demy-Air Groupades, balotrades, et capriolles de ferme à ferme, sur les voltes, à Droite.

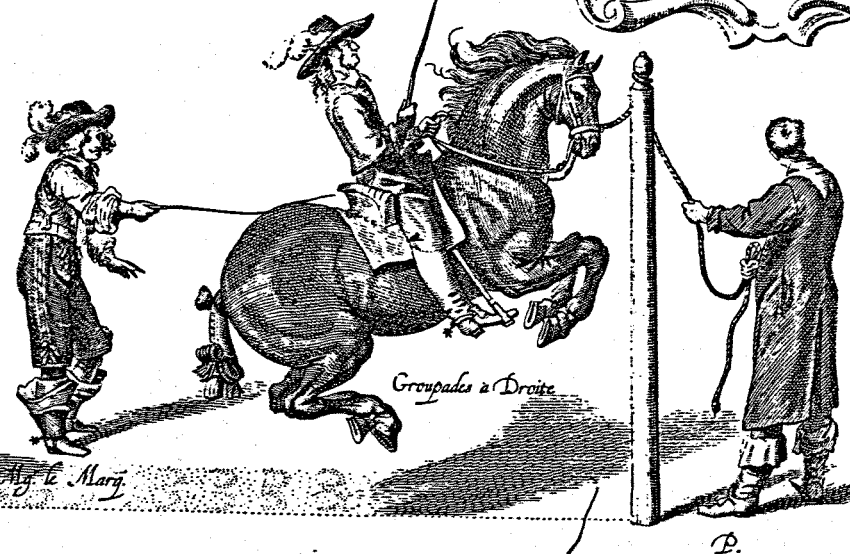
Le Capitaine étant à Cheval, Monseigneur le Marquis donne le Gant



Demy-Air de ferme à ferme, à Droite.

Mgr le Marq.

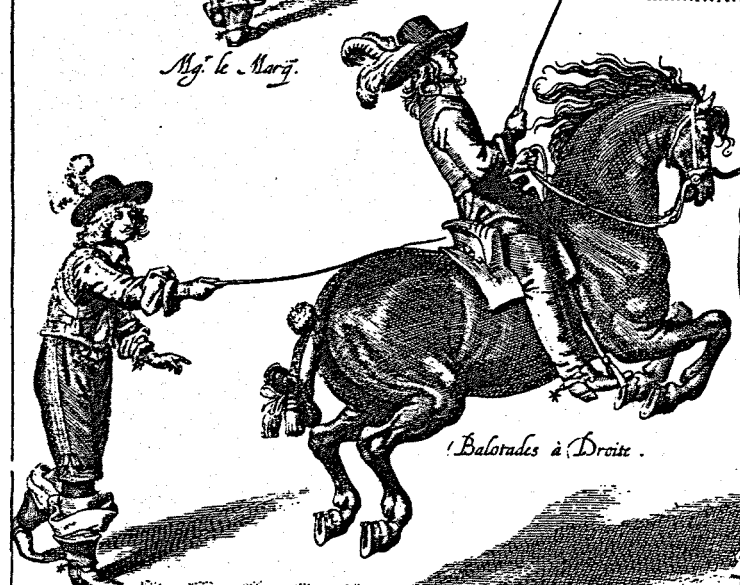
P.



Groupades à Droite.

Mgr le Marq.

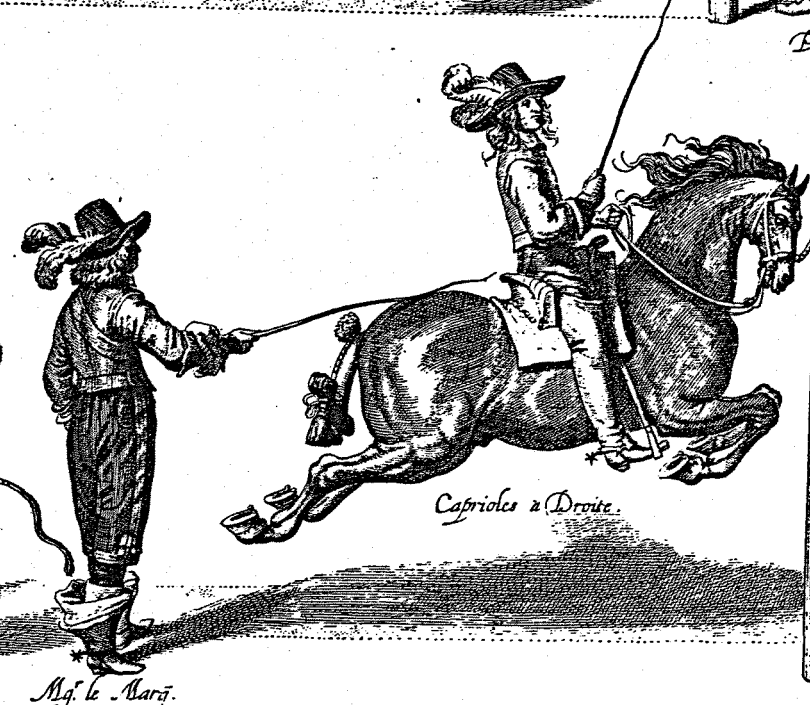
P.



Balotrades à Droite.

Mgr le Marq.

P.



Capriolles à Droite.

Mgr le Marq.

P.

La Nouvelle invention pour les airs relevez, Demj-airs Groupades Balotades et Capricles de ferme à ferme par le Cheval à Gauche.

Groupades à Gauche.

P.

Mgr. le Marquis

Le Capitaine estant à Cheval Monseigneur le Marquis donne leçon.

Demj-air de ferme à ferme à Gauche.

P.

Mgr. le Marquis.

Capricles à Gaucke.

P.

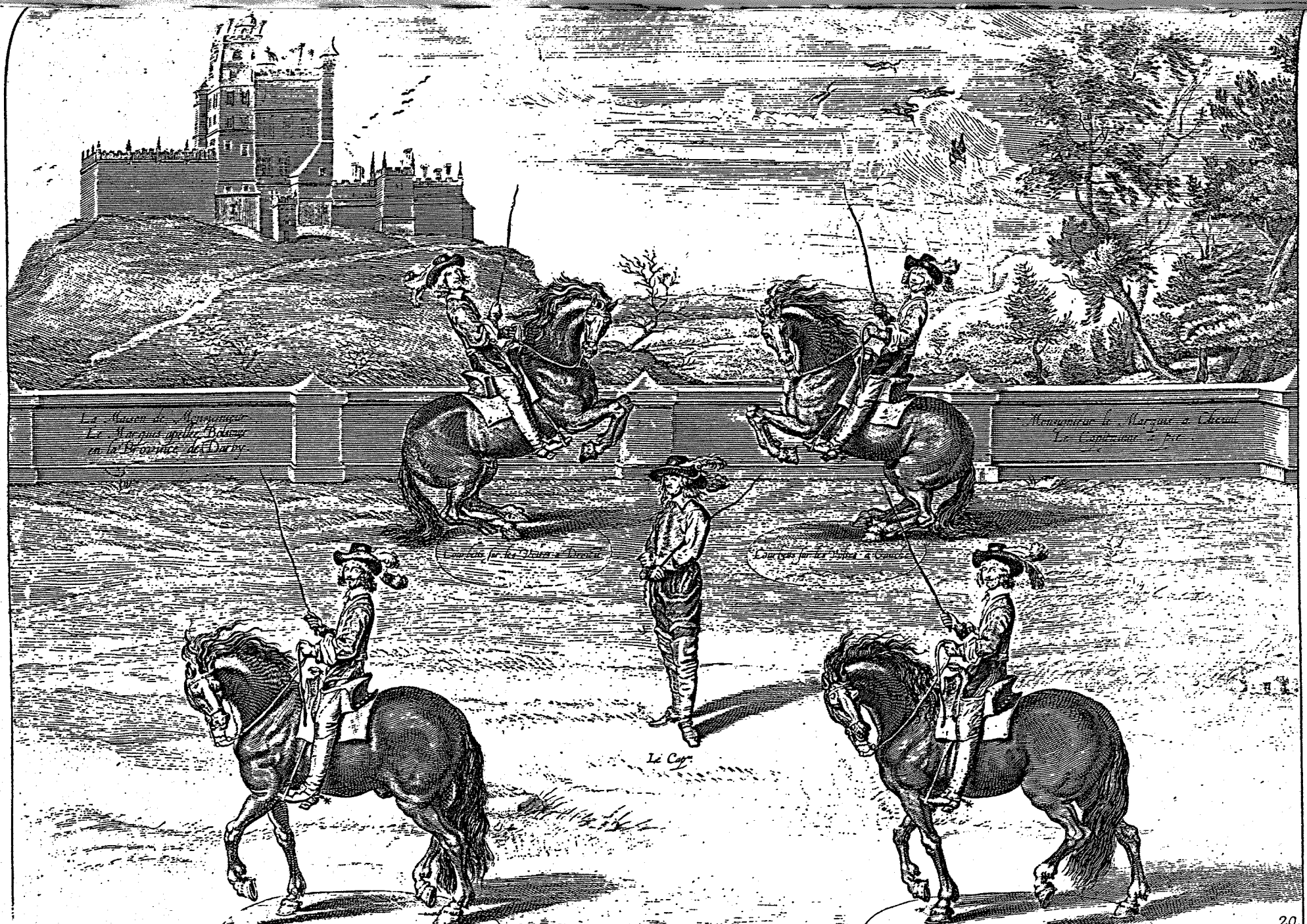
Mgr. le Marquis

Balotades à Gaucke.

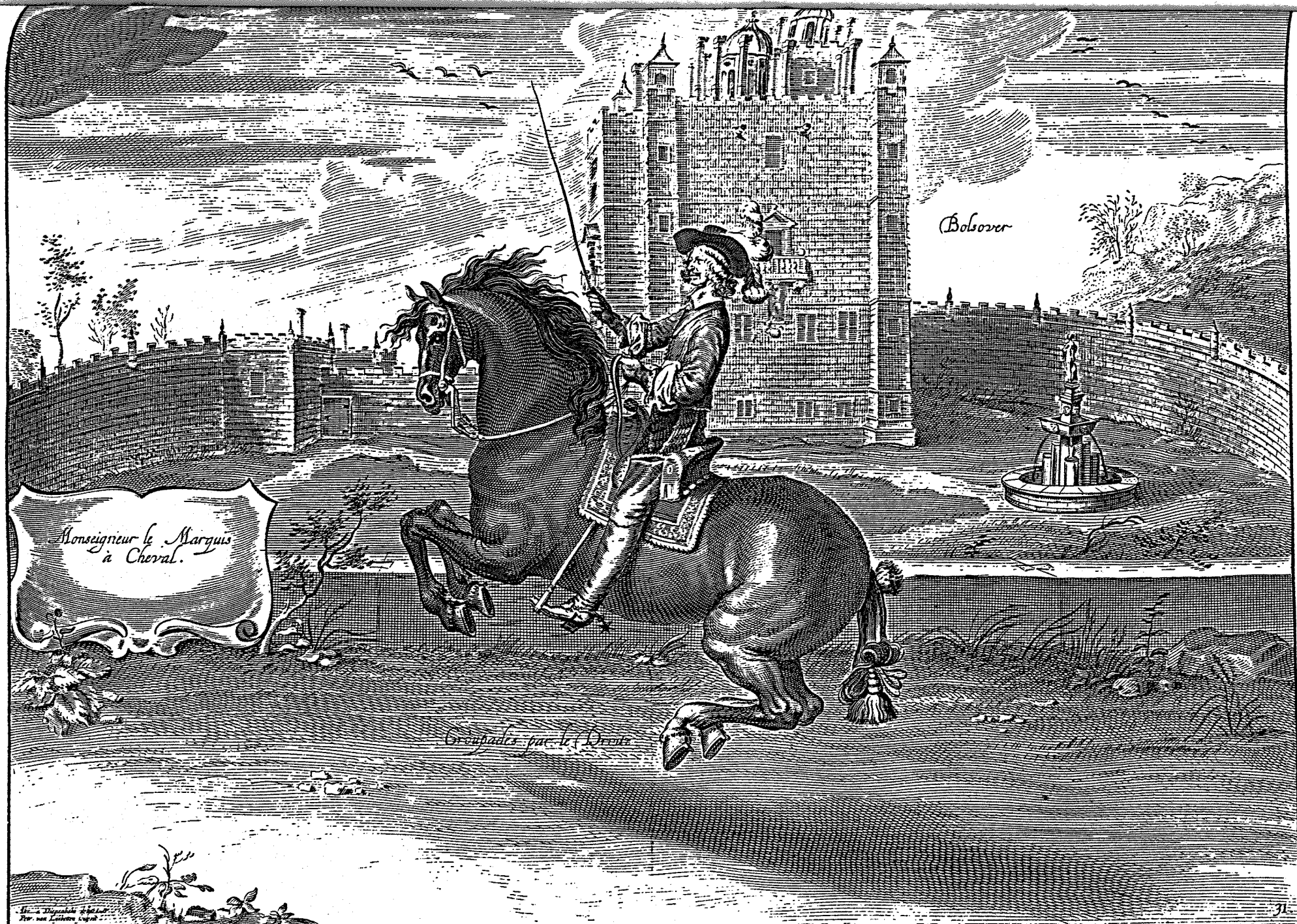
Mgr. le Marquis.

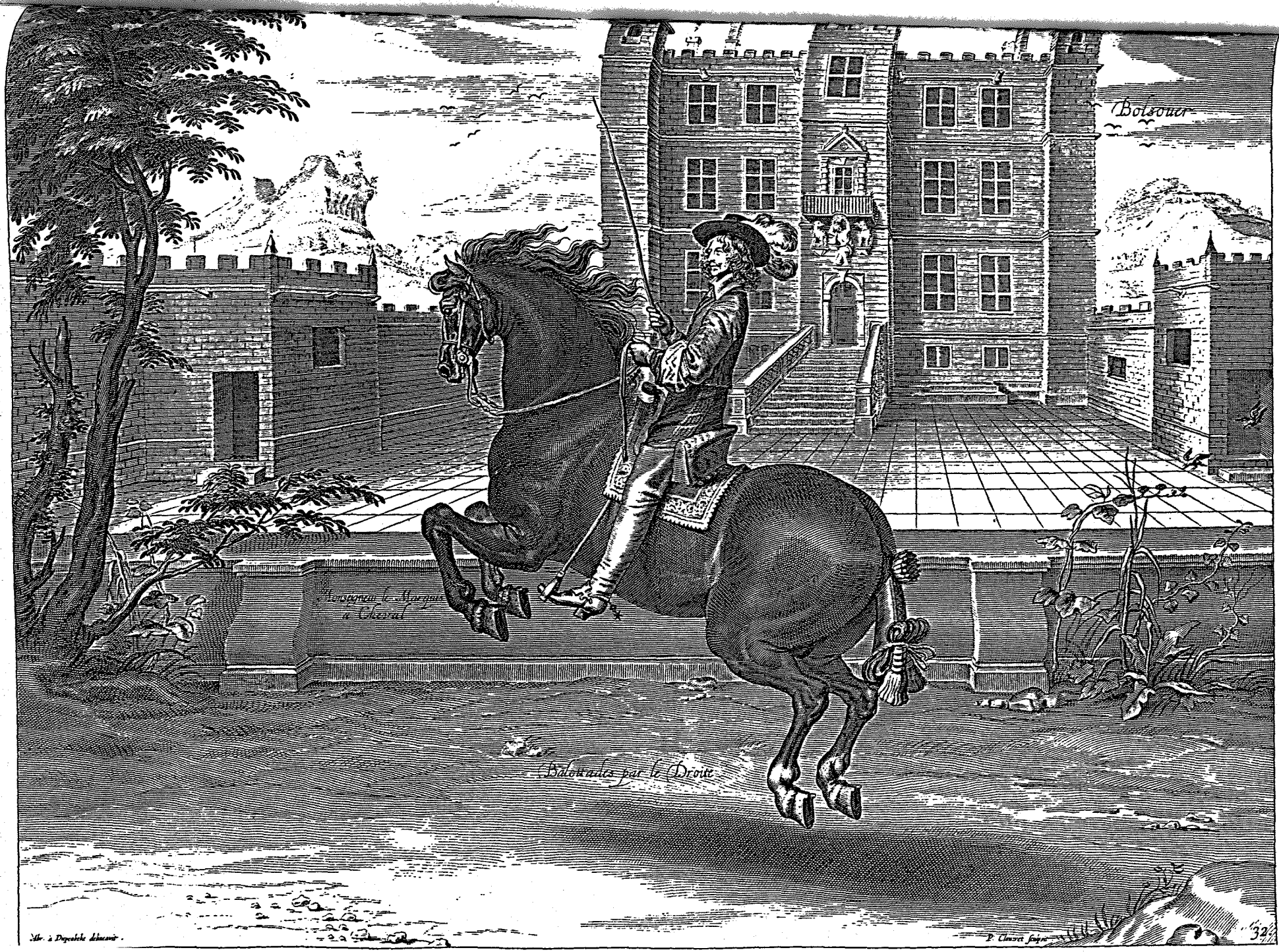
Abr. à Diepenbeke delineavit.

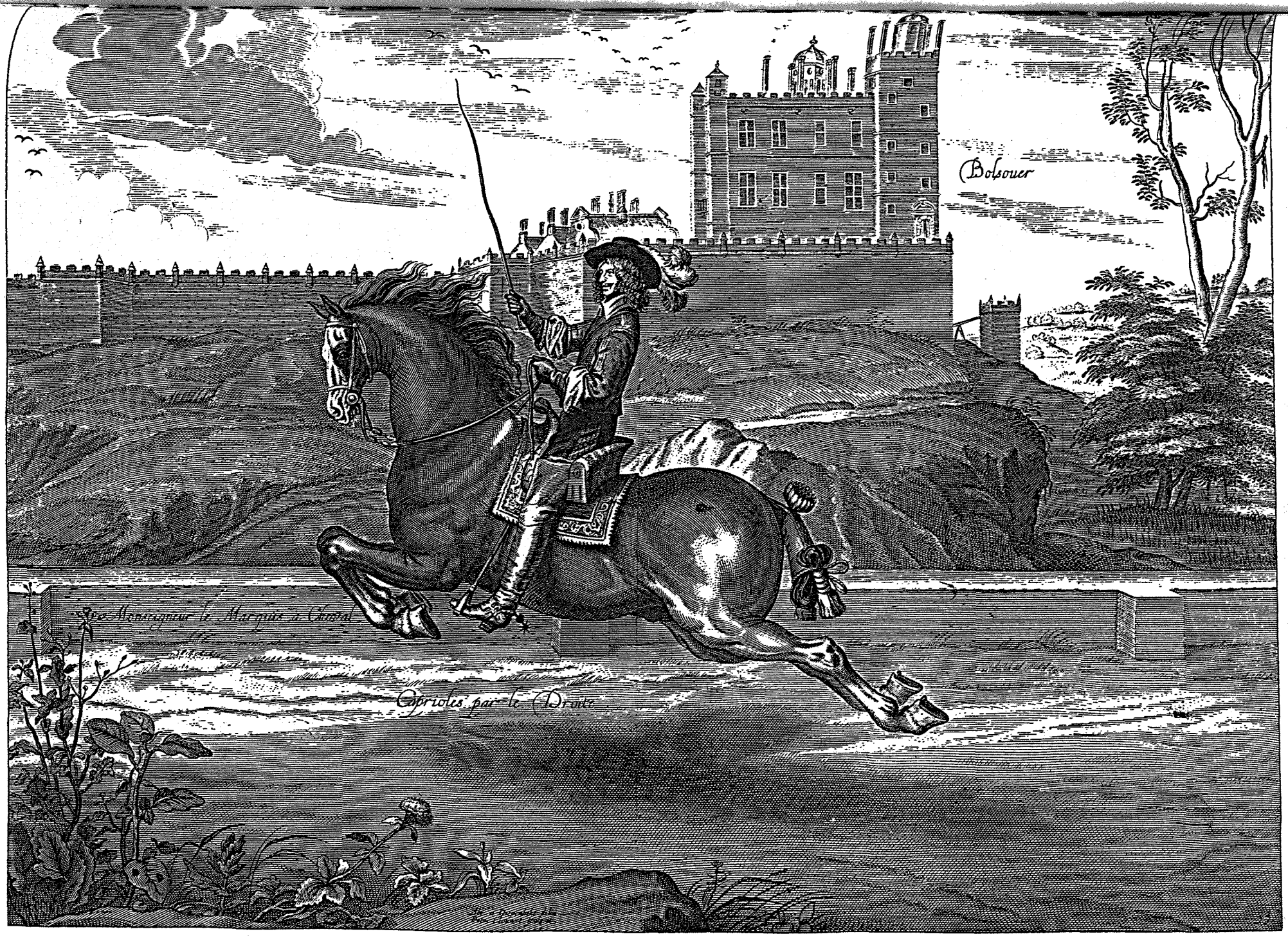
Theod. van Kessel fecit aqua fort.

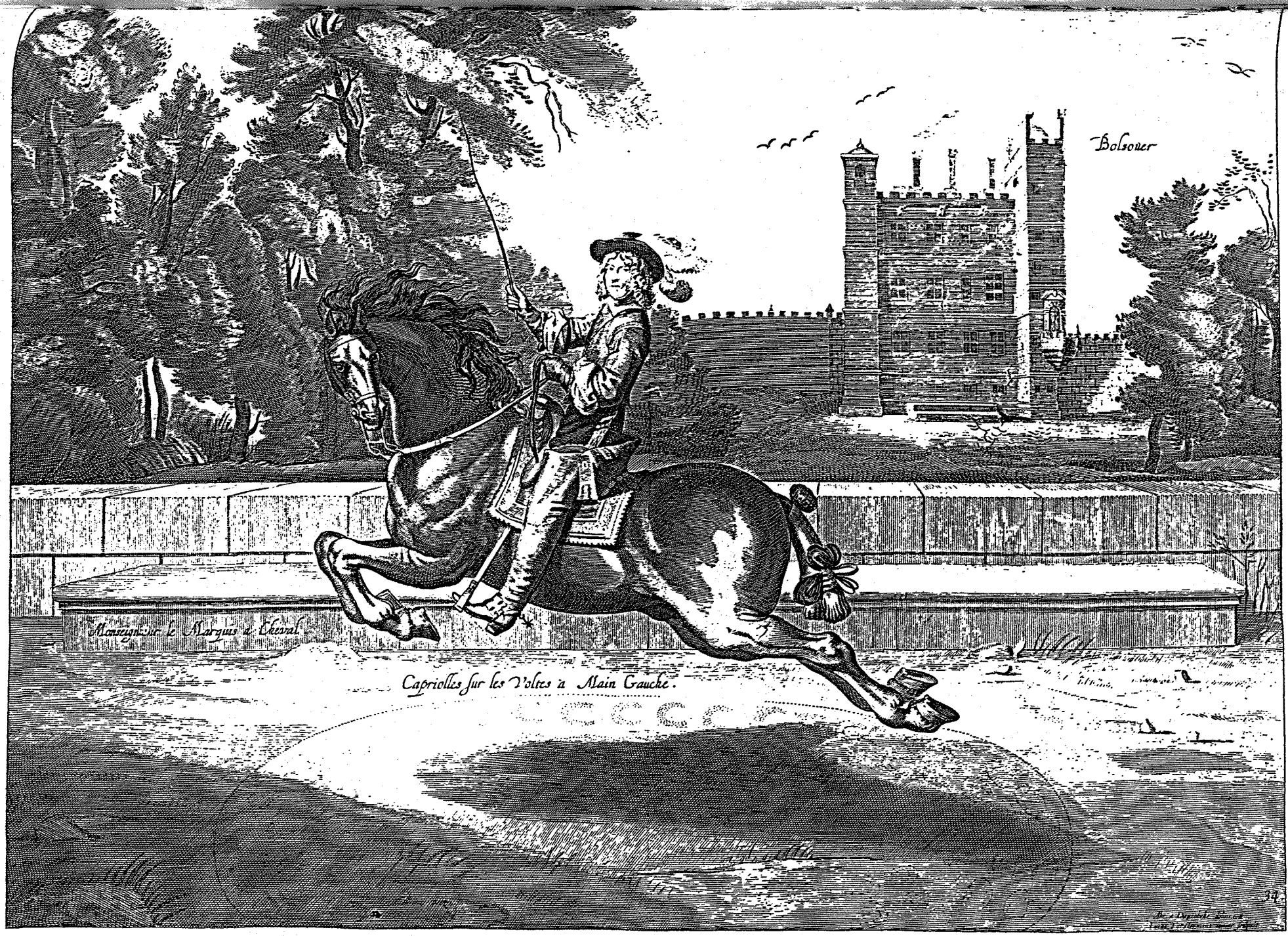

Le Maistre de Montpensier
Le Marquis apellé Bolsire
en la Province de Darne
Courbets sur les Jambes a Droicte
Le Cap.
Courbets sur les Jambes a Gauche
Le vraij pasaige sur les Voltes a Gauche.
Le vraij pasaige sur les Voltes a Gauche.


Monseigneur le Marquis
à
Cheval.
Ma Maison de Bolgouer
Dominé nutrisque le Droit

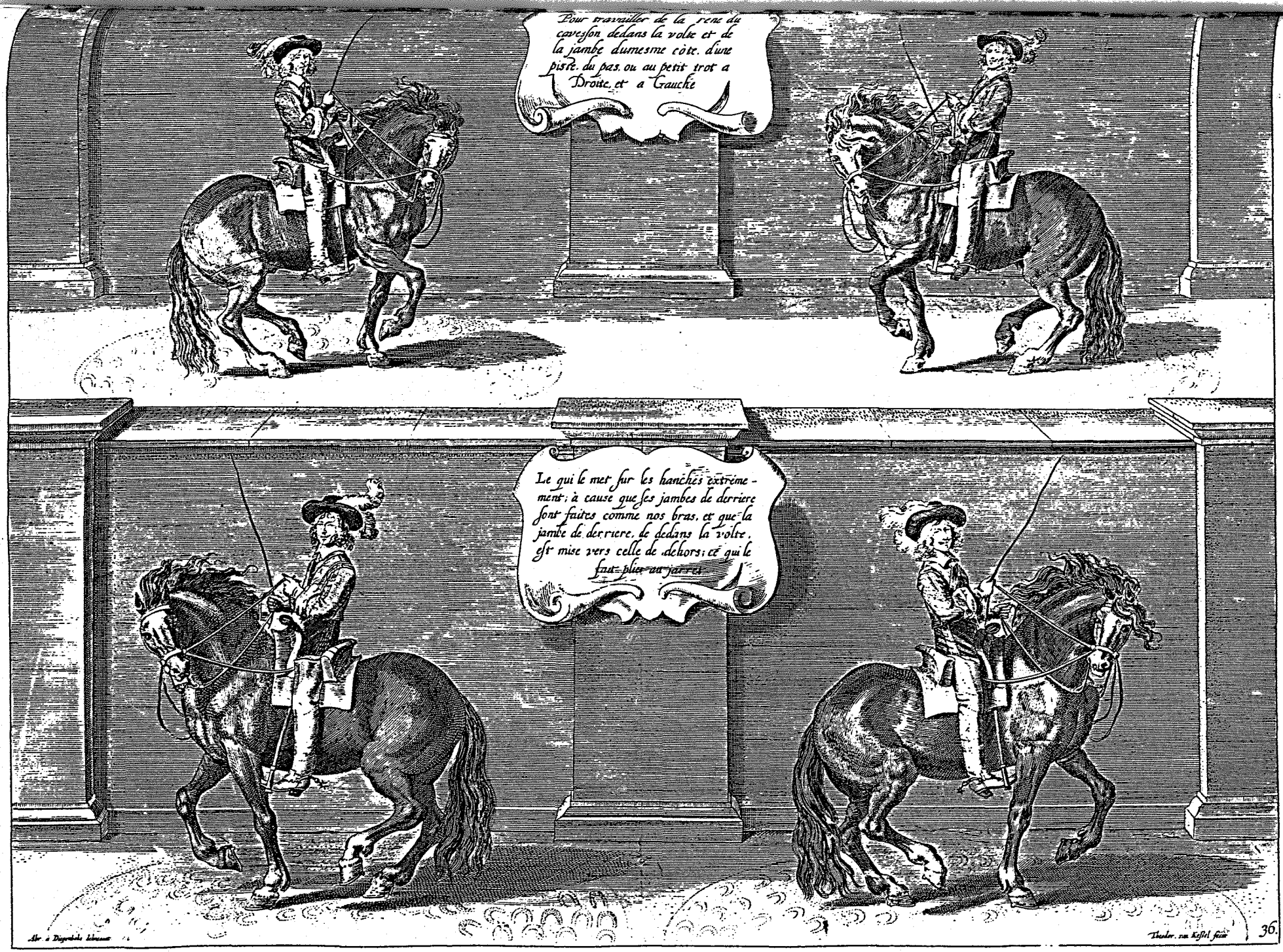

Bolsover
Monseigneur le Marquis à Cheval.
Croupades par le Devant

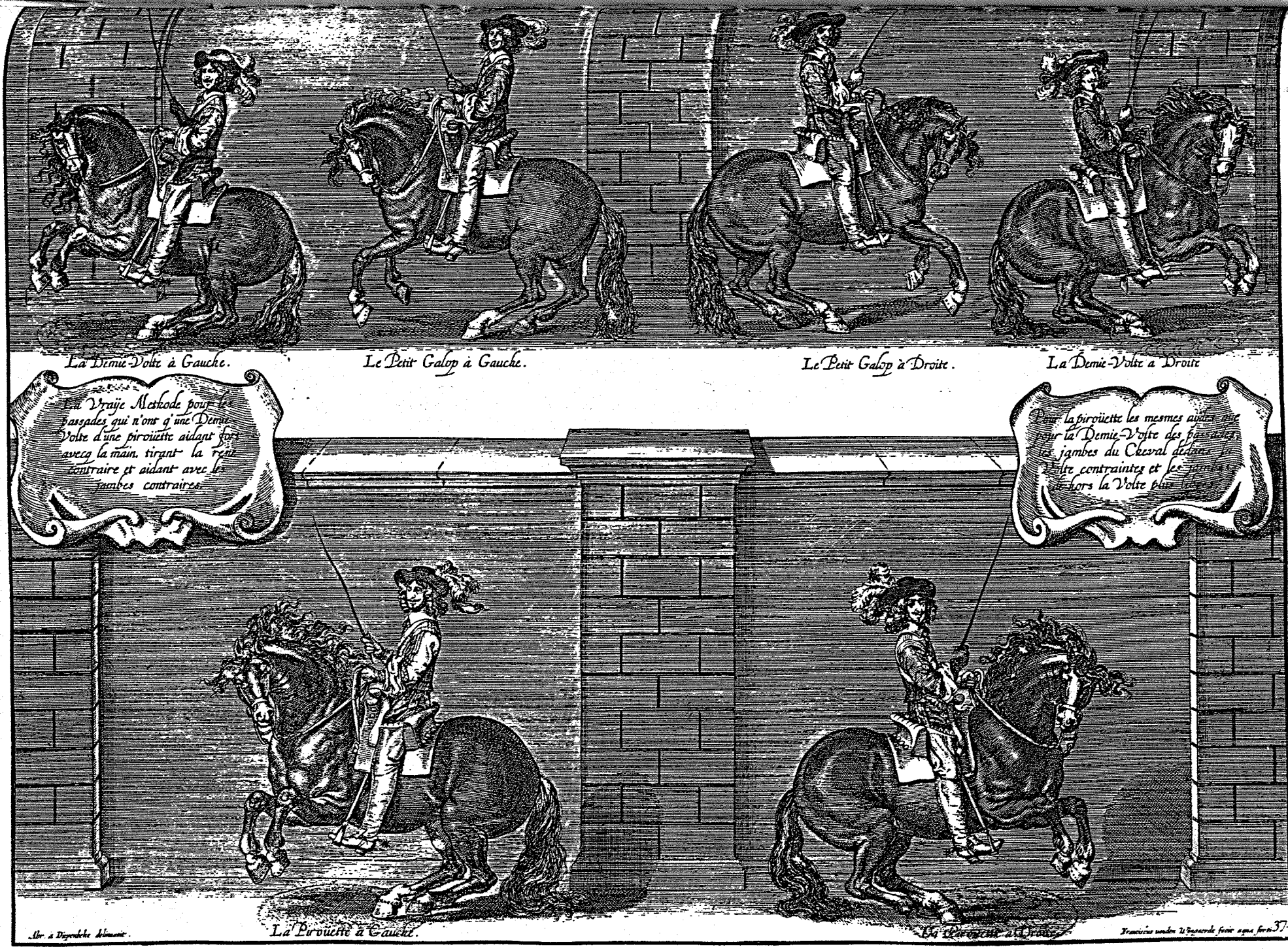

Bolsouer
Bolsouer
Monsieur le Marquis
a Cheval
Bolsouer
Bolsouer
Bolsouer


Bolsouer
Capriolles par le Droict

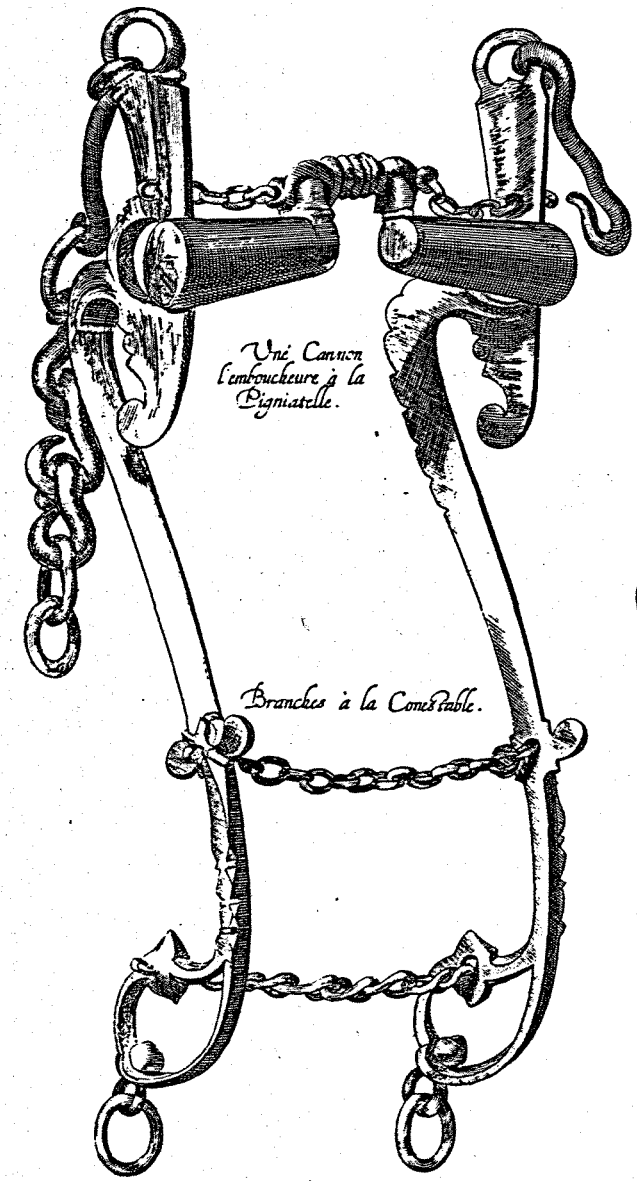

Bolsover
Monseigneur le Marquis a Cheval.
Capriolles sur les Voltes a Main Gauche.

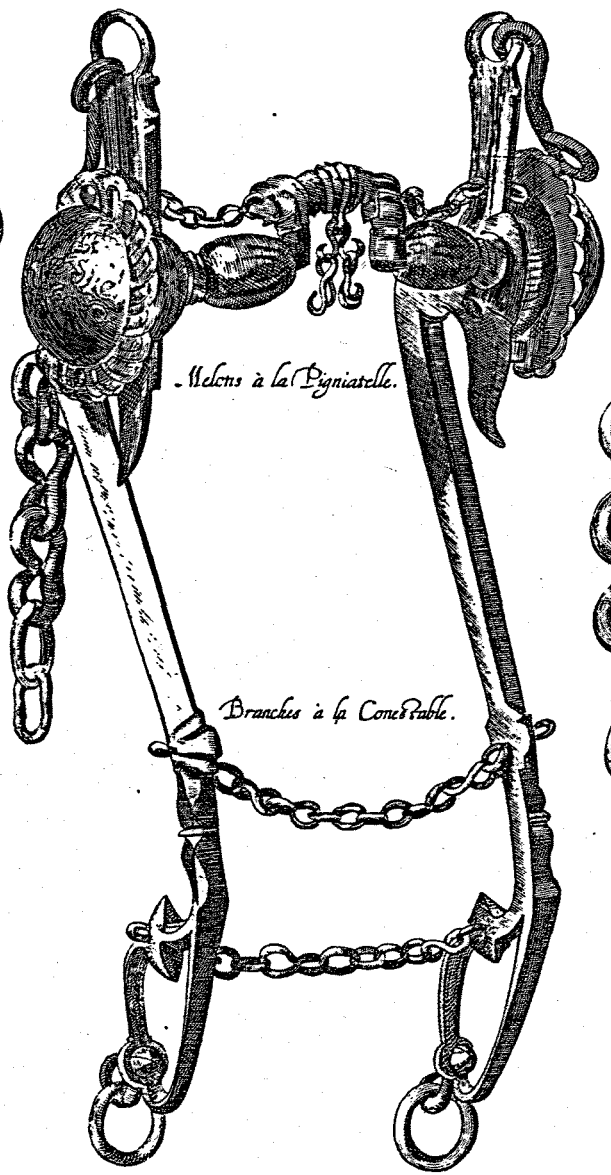

La gallerie
Monseigneur Le Marquis à cheual

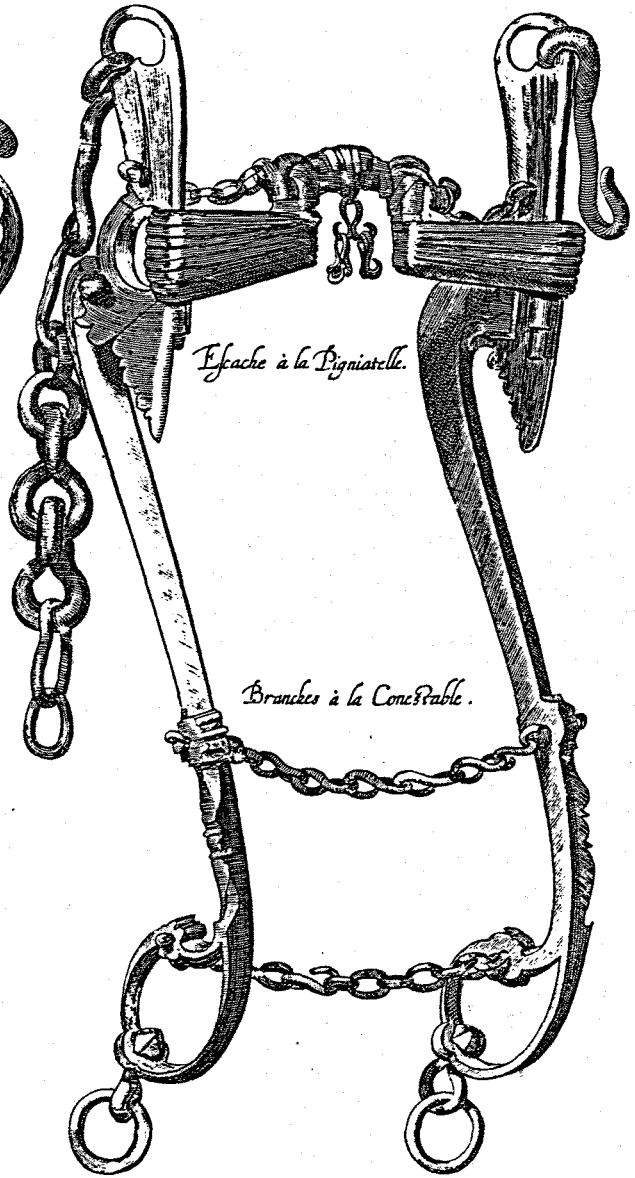

Pour travailler de la rene du
caveſon dedans la volte et de
la jambe dumesme côte. dune
piſte. du pas. ou au petit trot a
Droite et a Gauche
Le qui le met ſur les hanches extreme-
ment; à cause que ſes jambes de derriere
ſont faites comme nos bras, et que la
jambe de derriere, de dedans la volte,
eſt mise vers celle de dehors; ce qui le
faut plier au jarret
Abr. à Diepenbeke delineauit
Theodor. van Kessel fecit
36.


La Demie-Volte à Gauche.
Le Petit Galop à Gauche.
Le Petit Galop à Droite.
La Demie-Volte a Droite
La Vraije Methode pour les passades qui n'ont q'une Demie Volte d'une pirouëtte aidant fort avecq la main, tirant la rene contraire et aidant avec les jambes contraires.
Pour la pirouëtte les mesmes aides que pour la Demie-Volte des pirouëttes les jambes du Cheval dedans la Volte contraintes et les jambes dehors la Volte plus
La Pirouëtte à Gauche.
La Pirouëtte à Droite.
Abr. a Diepenbeke delineavit.
Franciscus vanden Wyngaerde fecit aqua forti.
37


Le Parc de Welbeck appartenant a
Monseigneur le Marquis de
Newcastle
Le Parc d'Adams le Province de Nottingham







Abr. à Diepenbeke delineavit.

Theod. van Kessel jicit aqua forti.


qui fut à Monseigneur le Baron d'Ogle, le quel fut fait
Baron par Edouard quatrieme Roi d'Angleterre)
Grand-pere de Monseigneur le Marquis. Le quel
Chateau est dans la province de Northumberland, et
appartient apresent à Monseigneur le Marquis.


Le Chateau De Bothel
dans la province de Northumberland
qui fut a Mons.r le Baron d'Ogle
et qui appartient a Monseigneur
le Marquis



Le Seigneur Charles vicomte de Mansfield l'Ené

Les deux Seigneurs qui sont à Cheval, et les trois Dames qui les regardent sont tous enfans de Monseigneur le Marquis; et les deux autres Dames sont femmes de ces deux Seigneurs, et les trois hommes sont maris de ces trois Dames filles de Monseigneur de Marquis.

Et le Seigneur Henry Cavendysshe le Cadet.

APPENDIX III

Additional Plates :

Antoine de Pluvinel, *La Maneige Royale*, 1626

Title Plate 293

Fig. 1 294

Fig. 7 295

Example of new plates produced for translations of Newcastle's 1667 manual :

Des Weltberühmten Hertzog Wilhelms von Newcastle Neu-eröffnete Reit-Bahn (1700)[5] 296

[5] This plate evidently relates to the original Plate 2, though it is marked 'N3' in the bottom right hand corner. It is one of only two plates from this edition that I have seen, the other being Plate 11, which, as this one, seems to be an approximation of the original.

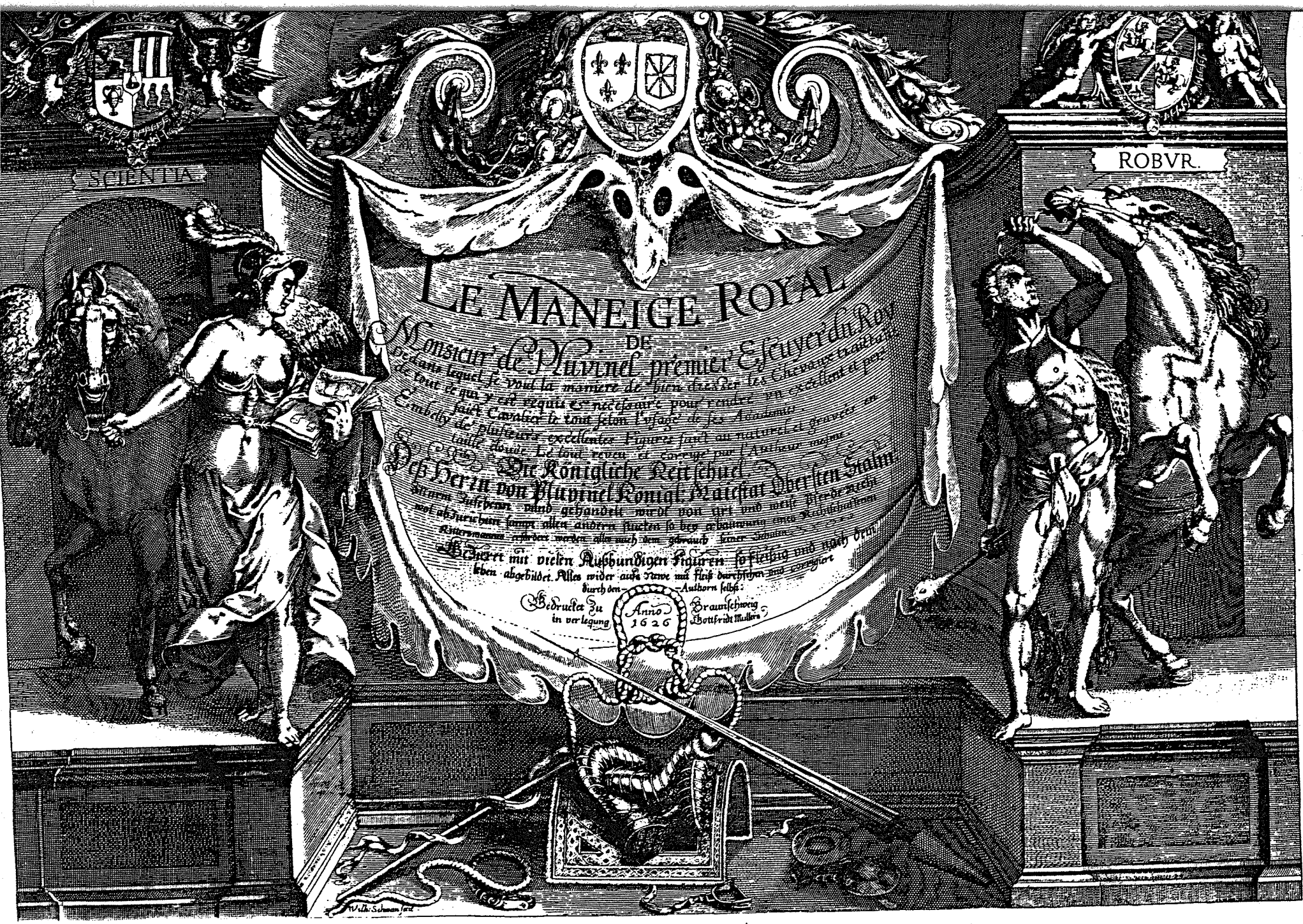

SCIENTIA
ROBVR.
LE MANEIGE ROYAL
DE
Monsieur de Pluvinel premier Escuyer du Roy
Die Königliche Reitschuel
Des Herrn von Pluvinel Königl. Maiestat Obersten Stalm
Gedruckt zu
in verlegung
Anno
1626
Braunschweig
Gottfridt Müllers
Wilh. Schmaus fec.



Figure I A. 1 partie



Figure 7.8.G.H. 1 partie.

Ich Tod hab gewalt
Dann Keyserlich Majestät
Ist mir gefangen

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