

## Cultural Transfer, Circulation and Diffusion Between Britain and Europe 1700 – 1878: a case study of thoroughbred horse-racing and Breeding

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In 1988 Michel Espagne and Michael Werner coined the term ‘cultural transfer’ to help understand the complex blend of foreign influences shaping countries’ relationships and diffusion processes.<sup>1</sup> It helped shift research attention towards host as well as originating cultures, and quickly became a topic attracting historians, sociologists, anthropologists and political scientists, encouraging an increasing interest in cultural diffusion of knowledge and human movements and interactions. Their approaches adopted a variety of perspectives, which could variously include contagion, expansion and relocation; the spread of new ideas in terms of human capital: the innovation itself, communication channels, time, and social systems; the cultural dynamics of importation, diffusion and appropriation in a context of wider status and power relationships; or emulation, opposition and separation. Many such studies explored the ways in which individual, societal, cultural, economic and technological factors influenced the speed and character of diffusion.<sup>2</sup>

In recent years ‘cultural transfer’ has also generated increased interest in the complexities of the global diffusion of sport before, during and after the period when ‘modern’ sport took off in the late nineteenth century. Research initially largely focused on the individual and team games codified and organized in Britain and the United States, analysed at various degrees of theoretical and empirical sophistication.<sup>3</sup> British scholars often explored the ways in which British sports spread along military, administrative, missionary, educational and mercantile routes across the British Empire and America, encouraged by colonial propagandists, proselytisers and publicists.<sup>4</sup>

There has been rather less interest in the ways in which British sports spread into Europe and the complexities of reception there. British scholars' largely Anglo-centric work has tended to focus on Great Britain and Ireland, sometimes upon a single British sport, with a few forays into French sport.<sup>5</sup> It is only recently that there have been British attempts to broaden the field of sports history by connecting with the wider world of European studies, and exploring the challenges entailed.<sup>6</sup> A 2014 survey of international sports history work suggested that it was only in the past decade or so that professional historians in north-western mainland Europe began to study sport in more depth, and 'modern' sport has been the main area of research interest, although a 2017 CESH Congress at Strasbourg also explored cultural transfers and cultural mediators in sport.<sup>7</sup> Histories of cultural transfer within Europe entail linguistic skills, since much relevant material is not available in translation. Previous interpretations of transfer which over-emphasised the influence in Europe of the 'British sport' model have come under challenge. One recent study of twenty-two significant sports across Europe argued that only six or seven can be considered as having uniquely British origins, and that there were also powerful German, Soviet and Scandinavian clusters of sport development.<sup>8</sup> The historic political, economic and cultural rivalries, tensions and competing ideologies between powerful European nations had impacts on national sports cultures, encouraging some resistance to 'foreign' sports alongside a keenness to see their own sports played elsewhere. But in the European context, cultural transfers of sport were unlikely to follow the 'fatal impact', 'absolute rejection' or 'cultural continuity' of anthropological studies of religion.<sup>9</sup> The story is more complicated. The diffusion of British sport cannot be seen simply in terms of centre-periphery relationships, nor can it be seen as one-way flow. As Tomlinson and Young point out the global processes

of reception and appropriation of British sports were not straightforward, with individuals and nations 'borrowing selectively, appropriating and remodelling [them] according to their own cultural needs, aspirations and ideologies'.<sup>10</sup>

This essay takes as its focus just one British sport, thoroughbred horse-racing and its multiple forms of cultural transfer across Europe, over the eighteenth and much of the nineteenth century, ending at a point when top European-bred horses could compete successfully with the best British thoroughbred. Horse racing had an important symbolic role in the accelerating culture of modernity and the complex inter-cultural, political and economic currents which had major impacts on the growth, development and diffusion of European sports. Yet equine-linked studies such as this are still rare.<sup>11</sup>

This study explores the transnational flows of ideas about racing, horses, staff, and racing's literary structures across Europe, drawing upon Arjun Appadurai's concepts of 'cultural flows': the ideas and ideologies associated with horse racing and breeding (the ideoscapes); the movements of the mediators across cultural spaces and borders carrying these ideas (the ethnoscares); and the variety of media produced across Europe that shaped people's understandings (mediascares).<sup>12</sup> Such flows were not unidirectional, but non-isomorphic cultural streams.

In the rest of Europe the elite tended to race-ride their own horses themselves, racing horses of different sizes and breeds.

In Britain, from the eighteenth century onwards, racing had focused on the thoroughbred horse. Its origins were complex, and it was a mongrel breed, a British cultural invention. Tudor and early Stuart monarchs had already taken the lead by importing foreign horses, cross-breeding with native stock and setting higher standards.<sup>13</sup> After the Reformation, horse-racing became increasingly popular, re-establishing itself as the sport of Charles II and his

court. From the 1600s onwards well-bred 'Oriental' stallions from the Barbary Coast, Turkey and Arabia were imported by British owners and inter-bred with Galloway mares from England which themselves had diverse origins, including blood from Spain and France, in self-conscious attempts to improve the breed.<sup>14</sup> Though the imported stallions could rarely race well, some of their resulting offspring were found to be top racing performers. More than two hundred 'Oriental' horses, almost all stallions, were imported into the British Isles between 1650 and 1750, through war, purchase, as diplomatic royal and other gifts or illegally by theft.<sup>15</sup> Stallions such as the Darley Arabian, the Byerley Turk and the Godolphin Arabian became key foundation sires for British racehorses, examples of hybrid vigour, created by selective breeding, crossing and inbreeding, organised by largely gentry and aristocratic owners themselves, or with the advice of their stud-grooms. They were variously described as 'throughbred', 'thoroughbred', 'pure bred' or 'blood' horses. The most successful of these horses combined endurance, speed and temperance, and with their ability confirmed through matches, races and successful betting, they occupied the highest of British equine standings, symbols of power and authority, conferring status on horse *and* owner. Pierre Bourdieu's stress on sport's powerful cultural role as an expression of taste and elite distinction is relevant here.<sup>16</sup> By the late eighteenth century, the thoroughbred's eastern origins were increasingly underplayed to claim a supposed purity of British breeding, and such horses became emblematic of national identity, the British Empire and political governance.<sup>17</sup> The titled and squirearchy amongst Britain's elite owned many of these horses. By 1800 there were probably still fewer than 3000 thoroughbreds in total across Britain, but their ownership had spread quite widely, stretching down to lower-status groups such as innkeepers, horse dealers and tenant farmers, even though a covering by a

leading stallion was very costly. The exotic and seldom-seen thoroughbred racehorse, completely unlike other horses, could generate awe, admiration and reverence in ways which could be deeply formative in ways we now find hard to appreciate. They were viewed variously material objects, symbolic animals, and abstract information, demonstrating owners' wealth, status, and privilege.

Their racing was encouraged by its association with wagering. During the late seventeenth and eighteenth century, gaming and wagering, whether on cards, dice, or events such as racing, were popular in many European countries, and governments in countries from Russia to France and Britain passed laws unavailingly to limit gambling and its debts and stop the wealthy and titled from squandering their estates.<sup>18</sup> In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries horses were everywhere, playing a central role in European society, deeply engrained in everyday life, from military use and transport to racing. Even before then, in Britain, aristocrats' archetypical sports were largely equine-based.<sup>19</sup> Horse racing there became a key focus of wagers: owners making high-stakes matches with other owners, sweepstakes, betting on races more generally, and occasional handicap races. As Collins has stressed, gambling symbolized "inexhaustible wealth, masculine excess and endless leisure time".<sup>20</sup> From the 1660s the wagering of Charles II and his court at Newmarket boosted the sport, and from the early 1700s onwards annual race meetings at many towns attracted further wagering opportunities and growing cross-class interest. Racing shifted from being largely an all-male preserve to become 'an integral part of the fashionable social scene'.<sup>21</sup> And betting was a key factor in its spread. Newmarket in 1761 a German visitor noted that 'everyone bets here, down to the smallest boys who wager their pennies just as the lords their two to three hundred guineas or more'.<sup>22</sup> Alongside this,

came a growing understanding by racing insiders of the ways in which probability theory could allow more rational betting tactics, and for some wagering became more business-orientated.<sup>23</sup>

In Britain, unlike Europe, horse racing had become for many a commercialized sport, with racing information widely available in the press. In 1798 there were details of important races reported at seventy-two English locations, five Scottish and three Welsh.<sup>24</sup> In Ireland there were twenty-five places with race-meetings in 1791.<sup>25</sup> At the same time there was a growing internal trading of thoroughbred horses. Through the eighteenth century, with Britain's Parliament dominating over constitutional monarchs, many amongst the largely Whig elite competed at Newmarket and elsewhere, not racing themselves but employing trainers and professional jockeys. By 1768 there were twenty-separate training stables scattered round Newmarket alone and many more elsewhere.<sup>26</sup>

### **Diffusion and resistance 1770s – 1820s**

Throughout this period the English model of breeding continued to be in the hands of private breeders, breeding from their mares to compete successfully on the racecourse. This was a public-centred equine system that allowed ownership of and access to the race-horse on a very wide basis.

Mainland Europe had a somewhat different equine culture. During the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, right across Europe, it had been the *manege*, the skills of riding, equestrian elegance and the art of horsemanship, that was emphasized by the aristocracy and gentry, the more so as the heavier 'driving' horses became into vogue for the new forms of vehicular transport emerging at that time. They schooled their lighter horses in the leaps, turns and circles first developed for the army elites, the cavalrymen, to use in the battlefield. Such riding had been popularized even in Britain where William

Cavendish developed a system of dressage.<sup>27</sup> The so-called 'riding classes' just wanted horses bred to look good, to ride and go into battle with. Horses' purity was not held in high regard. In the rich horse-producing areas climate and soil were viewed as more important than the skills of the breeder. Most states were concerned with having a good supply of cavalry remounts, sometimes importing them from Russia, Holland, Spain, Holstein or elsewhere. To encourage home-based supply, systems of state studs began to be introduced. Government-approved stallions were sent to depots within regions of particular need, allowing people to have mares from a wide variety of backgrounds covered extremely cheaply. France created its state *haras* following a decree of 29 December 1668, which officially inaugurated the establishment of state-appointed studs across the French kingdom: and Prussia followed in 1786.

Such moves towards centralized power gave a cultural boost to those ideologies about riding and horse-breeding emphasized by the riding masters and officials running the studs. Their backgrounds were largely in horse riding, indeed most were ex-cavalrymen, and, crucially, they exerted significant power over the direction of European horse-breeding. They saw their riding expertise as key to horse judgement, and foregrounded preconceived ideas of horses' conformity and appearance. They admired the best-shaped thoroughbreds, but they largely viewed British-style racing, which stressed betting, the 'mere' speed of the horse and its working-class jockey, as simply entertainment. British racehorses failed to attract the support of the riding classes throughout much of the eighteenth century.<sup>28</sup>

Prior to the French Revolution there was some very limited take-up of English-style racing on the European mainland, usually with locally-bred horses. There were races in Paris 'in imitation of those of the English'.<sup>29</sup> There

were clear channels of collaboration between British and European elites, with visits of both a private and public nature frequently made. Expatriate Englishmen helped to organise races at Toulouse and Paris in the 1760s. When in England, French politicians and members of the elite sometimes visited Newmarket or other fashionable meetings to watch the races.<sup>30</sup> Honore III, Prince of Monaco, visiting in 1768, took horses back to set up his expensive stud.<sup>31</sup> Yorkshire magnate and politician Lord Rockingham sent jockeys and stable men over to France in 1775. The Duc de Chartres and Comte d'Artois, for example, used English stable lads, jockeys and horses, mainly from Yorkshire.<sup>32</sup> The Comte had opened an *Ecurie Anglaise* in 1774. A few other French aristocrats also imported and raced English horses, on English lines, during a brief period of anglomania amongst some leading French nobles, although hunting horses were more widely purchased.<sup>33</sup> The occasional races, held at Sablons or Fontainebleau, sometimes attended by wealthy English, were matches for large wagers put up by French owners, but there was also some betting by princes, noblemen and gentlemen.<sup>34</sup>

Rockingham's archives show he corresponded regularly with aristocratic French racing men, although one told him that 'we seldom get the horses of thorough blood'.<sup>35</sup> The King of France and the Dauphin purchased bloodstock, as did buyers from Russia and Austria.<sup>36</sup> In Russia, the War Ministry provided prizes and a hippodrome at St Petersburg for races over obstacles by cavalrymen in the 1760s. Count Orlov brought an Arab horse in 1775, bred horses, and in 1785 began bringing in English-bred horses.. He encouraged trotting and obstacle races in Moscow, built a racecourse on his estate, and staged private races there, wagering and matching, using Russian riders, until his death in 1808.<sup>37</sup> The Yorkshire breeder and dealer Thomas Kirby regularly



sent thoroughbred horses to Russia via Hull and Cronstadt from 1791 right through to c.1840, including horses for the Emperors Alexander and Nicholas.<sup>38</sup>

The events of the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars put an end to such activities in Western Europe. The British nobility no longer visited European mainland equestrian centres, making the basics of traditional horsemanship even less fashionable with them. The Duc d'Orleans fled France and went racing at Newmarket from 1789.<sup>39</sup> The French studs were viewed as political emblems of the ancient regime and were shut down by the General Assembly in 1790.<sup>40</sup> France's continental wars needed cavalry horses and Napoleon soon began to establish stallion depots, often utilizing former convents and abbeys. Studs were soon revived, though the Anglophobic decrees of 1805 and 1806 banned importations of English thoroughbreds and encouraged the importation of Arabians from Egypt as more desirable stud horses. Unlike races in Britain where initiatives were left to private individuals and prize money was provided by subscriptions raised locally round each racecourse or by the race horse owners' entry fees and subscriptions, Napoleon's French state provided money prizes for races associated with the *haras* studs and stallion depots, centrally controlled by the Secretary of State for the Interior. Patriotism and national pride ensured that the exclusively French-born horses were ridden by French riders.<sup>41</sup>

After 1815 there was little change. French state studs were still run by the centralized Administration des Haras, though an 1820 decree standardized the age, size and weight of horse for particular races, and larger stud farms were developed round Paris. The French private breeders scattered across the country usually concentrated on Arab horses, half-breds (*demi-sang*) and hunters. From 1816 up to the early 1820s there were also annual races on the Champ de Mars sponsored by members of the French aristocracy, that allowed

English horses to compete.<sup>42</sup> There were a few local races such as those at Limoges in the 1820s might be controlled by the military and run by the prefect rather than the clerk of the course as in England, but horse racing was not widely popular as in England.<sup>43</sup> Only a minority of the revived French nobility had any passion for English thoroughbreds.

Across Europe there was still an emphasis amongst many of those promoting thoroughbred breeding on improving horse stock for the cavalry as well as for racing. Between 1815 and the 1830s the majority of state stud officials in Europe still viewed English racing rather negatively, but their knowledge of the thoroughbred's origins resulted in a strong emphasis on middle-eastern bloodstock. The Arab horse, unlike the English one, was still emphatically a 'riding' horse, and during this time state studs from France, Germany and Russia all sent out high-cost expeditions to attempt to purchase them.

### **Diffusion, adoption, adaption, c. 1820-c1855**

Many European equestrian visitors to British racing felt that the emphases on betting and commercial interests had hijacked racing and was unattractive. The stud director of the central Prussian stud, visiting in 1826 contemptuously dismissed British racing as 'the biggest betting game in the world' Carl Friedrich Wilhelm von Burgsdorf, *Versuch Eines Beweises, Dass die Pferderennen in England so wie sie Jetzt Bestehen, Kein Wesentliches Beförderungs-Mittel der Bessern Edlen Pferdezeit in Deutschland Werden Können* (Königsberg: Bornträger, 1827), 5. A contemporary Prussian riding master likewise felt that horses were judged only on how much they had won in wagers. Freiherr von den Brincken, *Bemerkungen über das Englische Pferd: dessen verschiedene Racen, und die Pferdezeit im Allgemeinen* (Weimar, 1827), 49

The racecourse was seen as a contaminating feature and so some wanted to import purebred Arabians to improve the quality of existing stock

Europeanisation of elite contacts: British in Europe.

Napoleon's defeat in 1815 opened up the European borders, and from the 1830s onwards communication networks increased thanks to the expansion of railways and sea transport

In some countries English prestige was heightened, encouraging a wave of Anglophilia and a copying of English manners and customs. Many of the European aristocracy visited England, and attended race meetings. The Hungarian estate owner István Széchenyi, for example, visited Newmarket in 1815. His compatriot Miklós Wesselényi followed in 1822. They established studs on the English model, emulating stable design, diet and training methods, and brought over English thoroughbreds. In Germany, in areas such as Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Silesia and East Prussia a number of key breeders such as Count Hahn-Basedow, Baron Biel-Zierow, Count Plessen-Ivenack, Baron de Maltzham, Count Renard-Gross-Strehlitz, and Count Lehndorff-Steinort, all with experience of British racing, began importing mare and stallion thoroughbreds, and drawing on English expertise.

Baron G Biel, *Einiges über edle Pferde von Baron G. Biel auf Weitendorf in Mecklenburg* (Dresden: Hilschersche Buchhandlung, 1830) p.v. Says in summer of 1826 he and brother visited Epsom and Ascot, watched the Derby race and this inspired his interest in thoroughbred horses.

Horst Grundel, *175 Jahre Galopprennensport in Bad Doberan; 175 Jahre Vollblutzucht in Deutschland* (Bremen: Temmen 1997) shows that Wilhelm von Biel (1789- 1876) a military officer, with an estate at Zierow. Seen as the 'vor allem als Rennstallbesitzer bekannt'. Why – he was an Anglophile. His first marriage was to Sophie Thompson of Waverley Abbey in 1826. She died in childbirth and in 1833 he married Mary Blake from Danebury. P.20. His correspondence shows that he believed that 'die englische Pferdezucht die beste am Welt ist'

P28 another earlier trading family was die Grafen Plesseb auf Ivenack p28 who visited England and imported thoroughbreds. In 1816 the graf von Plessen personally bought 50 Stück grösstenteils Vollblutstuten (fillies/mares. In 1826 at Ivenack there were eleven stallions there p.29

P32 Friedrich Wilhelm Graf Hahn (1804-?) keen on racing and bought horses via tattersalls – took advice of Nimrod Appleby and built training track and accommodation for trainer and stable hands

Biel was an advocate of the British system. Both of Baron Biel's wives were English, and he was well-known in Britain as bringing in good quality stock and 'inculcating a yearning' for its thoroughbreds, and was widely viewed in Europe as a leading figure in Germany.<sup>44</sup> The English Thoroughbred had bloodlines meticulously recorded in the studbook, readily available and transparent so the English breed was to be preferred

Towards the end of that decade also emerged other racetracks like Wroclaw, Königsberg, Hoppegarten or BerlinLichterfelde 1829, where Lichterfelde was started on the Rittergut,

after a year earlier an association for horse breeding and horse training

had been founded.

The English horse dealer Richard Tattersall sold stock in Europe from his London base, and visited Biel in 1828. <sup>45</sup>In France the Duke de Guiche, who had lived in Britain, was keen to introduce English style horse racing in the 1820s, seeing it as a way to improve the breed of French horses, and increased numbers of titled and wealthy around Paris began to show an interest. In Sweden there were races on the moor near Gothenburg in 1814 <sup>46</sup>

### **European emulation: organisations and texts**

In several parts of Europe organisations began to be formed and systems introduced, usually based on English models, in terms of texts and language use. Alongside private enterprise as in England, the state and local authorities often showed more involvement. In Belgium, Brussels' racing was organized by the Burgomaster, and the Senat de Belgium focused on breeding improvements, but largely on the breeding of cavalry mounts, with its haras managed by the Minister for War. In France national breeding continued to be under governmental control, taken over by the Ministre de l'Agriculture et Commerce. In 1848 there were two state stud farms and 24 stallion depots, much focused on cavalry mounts along with thoroughbreds. By the 1840s the state introduced prizes for some races, at a range of levels including the 'grand prix royal', for which only pure-bred horses born and raised in France could enter. It also appointed judges. In 1850 the French state gave about 250,000 francs towards racing and 2,100,000 francs towards its horse breeding: 1000

stallions of which c. 300 were thoroughbreds, along with perhaps fifty brood thoroughbred brood mares.<sup>47</sup>

Russia established more modern 'imperial' and 'army' studs in 1819 and between 1843 and 1845 several leading private studs were purchased to improve imperial breeding standards, drawing heavily more heavily on English and Arab blood.<sup>48</sup> In Sweden a Patriotic Association of Horse Culture was formed in 1831, chaired by Count Magnus Brahe, the influential statesman, courtier and soldier, and there were races in Stockholm and Skåne using locally-bred horses. German states often introduced state studs too. In Lower Saxony by the mid-nineteenth century Hannover's state equeries imported over a hundred thoroughbred or part-thoroughbred stallions for its stud.

Stud books. In France in 1833 Emperor Louis Philippe established a 'Le Stud Book français', a registration system for all 'chevaux de race pure ne ou importes en France' and each haras and depot provided certification. By 1848 four volumes had appeared.

The Racing Calendar one driving force was the institutionalised form of racing that emerged in Britain in the 18th century spread to other parts of Europe, with its system of record-keeping based on the racing calendar and the *General Stud Book* (the ultimate authority on bloodlines, which preceded Burke's Peerage by 35 years).

Jockey Clubs in paris. in 1833 a Jockey Club and a Société d'Encouragement pour l'Amélioration des Races de Chevaux en France were both established, and the Societe soon became known as the French Jockey Club.

Brussels had a Société d'Encouragement pour l'amélioration des races de chevaux et le developpement des Courses en Belgique in February 1834.<sup>49</sup> In Italy a Società di Corse was formed in 1835 in Turin with the support of King Carlo Alberto, Subsequently in Tuscany the "Society of San Rossore" was established.

Austrian JC in 1867

Growing British awareness of European racing in British press and vice versa.

*Journal des haras, chasses, et courses de chevaux, des progrès des ...*, Volume 8 1843

### **Horse imports**

By 1835 15 thoroughbred stallions and 14 thoroughbred mares were recorded in Sweden

### **European emulation race meetings.**

In Hungary the state initially resisted but according to Rob Gray, it became ‘a very English pursuit’, though with more emphasis on steeplechasing.<sup>50</sup>

*Calendrier Officiel de Courses de Chevaux* was published in Paris annually from 1834 imitating the British Jockey Club by including the constitution, by-laws, and list of members of the Société d'Encouragement pour l'amélioration des races de chevaux en France. It listed twenty-three courses in 1833 and 28 by in 1838. In 1840 it included the *Code de Courses*, the rules of racing. In 1840s the Society took responsibility for organizing races in Paris, Versailles and Chantilly and the Administration du Haras managed Paris's autumn races and subvented others. In France, though the high status courses attracted interest, racing in the provinces was regarded as ‘quite in its infancy’ by the British even in the 1850s. Bells life 28 August 1851 Horst Grundel, *175 Jahre Galopprennensport in Bad Doberan; 175 Jahre Vollblutzucht in Deutschland* (Bremen: Temmen 1997) Details of the Bad Doberan races from beginning in 1822 p36-7

Harald Siemen, *Faszination Galopp: 150 Jahre Hamburger Renn-Club e. V. 1852-2002*. Hamburg HRC 2002 Hamburg very influenced by British sport in 19C but initiative for founding the private Hamburger Renn-Club was entirely German. The first race day was Sonntag 8 August 1852, and other meetings often on Sundays. Programme laid out in similar fashion to printers in uk. Jockeys used Englischer sattel Half bred horses as well as thoroughbreds. P13 by late 1859s British trainers engaged Price from Newmarket, Richard MacCaw. First north-german Derby race in Hamburg for 3yo won by investment, trained by Rueben Bateman, best known trainer in north Germany, with string then of 39 horses Since the mid 19th century pure thoroughbreds have been racing at Iffezheim near Baden-Baden at the doorstep of the Black Forest. The track was built on the initiative of French casino tenant Edouard Bénazet who wanted to create further attractions for his illustrious guests. The first race was held on September, 5th, in 1858. There were three racing days in the first with the Grosse Preis von Baden being the highlight – like it is today. The internationally most famous racecourse is located in Iffezheim at the gates of the

spa town of Baden-Baden. In 1858, the horse race was started by the casino tenant Jacques Bénazet and his son Edouard .

The enterprising French wanted to offer the summer guests of the seaside resort next to the casino and the theater even more attractions. So they searched for a suitable terrain for a racetrack and found it in the nearby Rhine plain.

In Russia, there were races in Lebedyan in the 1820s organised by a group of young landowners and guard officers to test their horses against each to improve the breed. Emperor Nicholas I approved the formation of a Race Society there in 1826, linked to the annual horse fair, but unlike England most races were for trotters and hunters, Races began in a few other towns soon after. In 1831, the *Horse Racing Hunting Society* was created in Moscow, followed some time later by the Moscow Running Society which raced horses on a specially built hippodrome, before small crowds mainly of aristocrats and the wealthy elite. By 1845 there were circa twelve hippodromes in Russia with many prizes given by the Emperor or local elite. In Russia, where trotting and hunters' races were more popular than pure-bred races, racing was organised by racing societies, usually at ellipsoidal hippodromes. The first chartered Race Society was linked to the horse fair at Lebedyan, and approved in 1826 by Emperor Nicholas I. similar organizations were created in Chisinau, Kherson, Yekaterinoslav and Simferopol in 1829, and in Moscow in 1831 and 1834.

Not all approved. Anglo-phobic resistance the horsemen influencing government and running state studs were often strongly opposed to the The English racing model which was driven by commercialism and the market, based on horses' performance on the racecourse, with farmers, racehorse trainers, horse dealers and private breeders all keeping mares to breed and paying fees for their coverings by successful racing stallions. Good racing results reduced risks of breeding. By contrast some Europeans were concerned that acceptance of horseracing based on the English model would open it up to a wider public outside the gentlemanly world of central, court, and provincial studs. Carl Friedrich Wilhelm von Burgsdorf, a Pussian stud director, visiting England in 1826, was of several appalled by the crowds, the gambling, the low class of many owner-breeders, and the emphasis on speed rather than aesthetic visual appearance. He argued that horse races in England should not become an essential vehicle of promoting better noble horse breeding in Germany.<sup>51</sup> Writers like Burgsdorf believed that the British approach meant that the

skills of riding correctly were neglected. Up to the 1830s Some German stud masters continued to attempt to import good rural Arabian horses rather than English thoroughbreds. Horse breeding knowledge should be restricted to the elite. As the German cultural historian Christiane Eisenberg has pointed out, German cultural attitudes to racing were initially rather different. Though the horse was high status the elite were less wealthy than in England, with a more militaristic, belligerent and 'heroic' horse sport culture, riding more often themselves, and with less interest in betting.<sup>52</sup>

In France in the 1840s the king, and aristocracy gave support to racing more generally, but the ministry of Commerce and Agriculture was somewhat ambiguous in its view. It provided prize money for ten racecourses in 1842, but in 1843 it closed one of the royal studs and sold off some stallions Morning Post 25 April 1842, The Times 18 Oct 1842 york Herald 30 December 1843

Rivalry with England and the threat an English model of horseracing posed to interpretations of the quality of horseflesh also determined the direction of equine politics. One result of this tension was the Prussian rejection of English Thoroughbreds in favour of Arab horses within the state studs; another was the privileging of steeple-chase racing over flat racing

While horseracing culture often percolated downwards from the top of the European social pyramid, it also moved back up and gained impact from the English professional trainers, jockeys and stud grooms who shared their expertise, experience and knowledge with owners and local stable staff. As interest in English-style racing and thoroughbred breeding grew, European owners often imported young English jockeys, trainers and stud grooms. Like the later professional footballers they moved across national boundaries in search of new opportunities and financial rewards. Some were members of existing training/jockey family dynasties, most commonly drawn from the Newmarket area, which European owners were most likely to have visited or contacted. Others came predominantly from Yorkshire stables. By 1834 listed jockeys at French races at Champ de Mars and the Seine were almost entirely



English. Many of these travelling professionals settled in Europe. Space permits only a few of many examples.

Thomas "Genius" Carter (1805-1879), after an apprenticeship to leading Newmarket trainer Robson, trained successfully for the Duke of Grafton. Lord Seymour invited to France in 1831. First trained in the Bois de Bologne and then Seymour persuaded him to move from the Bois to Chantilly in 1835, with 17 horses and a staff speaking entirely English. He later trained for Baron N de Rothschild there and later at Le Morlay before returning to Chantilly. The keenness of members of the Societe on English racing was a commercial opportunity which attracted over to settle at Chantilly jockeys and trainers from leading English jockey/trainer dynasties from Newmarket and Yorkshire. They soon brought over friends and members of their extended family and there was much intermarriage, as in England. By 1842 there were with twelve English training stables there and twenty by 1845.<sup>53</sup> Owners elsewhere likewise imported expertise. Antony Rothchild built stables at La Morlaye near Chantilly in 1841 and Carter trained there for members of the hugely wealthy Jewish banking family through the 1840s and 1850s. From the 1830s onwards English jockeys and trainers found work with other owners not just in France but right across Europe. Tom Jennings (1823-1900) joined Carter as an apprentice jockey in 1836 and later went to Italy, riding and training for Prince Eugene de Savoie, introducing racing in Piedmont, sometimes travelling back to England to buy horses, walking them back across Europe. In Germany, Baron Biel had Webb, from a Newmarket training family, who was training thirty-five horses for him by 1828 and continued there until at least the 1840s.<sup>54</sup> By the 1840s most leading German figures employed English trainers and riders.<sup>55</sup> Richard Parkinson left Newmarket in 1835 to ride and then train for the Duke of Augustenborg. He had created a racecourse on his estate in southern

Denmark, and imported c. seventeen English stallions and mares for his stud farm.<sup>56</sup> English jockeys and trainers were already working in Hungary in the 1820s and 1830s, largely for private owners. By 1842 all professional jockeys racing at Pest were English and Hungarian jockeys only slowly broke their domination, since like other Austro-Hungarian youths, they were subject to conscription, and lost opportunities to develop racing skills.<sup>57</sup> Many of the English moved regularly, to new owners or stables, to maximize employment and earnings. Henry Neale, whose grandfather and father were both leading trainers in Yorkshire. He had a good education, before working in two well-known Yorkshire training stables and at Newmarket; married into the famous Dawson family of trainers, rode and trained in Russia for the Emperor from 1840 to 1842; returned to ride and train in Yorkshire and Newmarket stables; and from c. 1846 lived in Saint Germaine-en-Laye, working for Messrs Lupin and Fould.<sup>58</sup>

### Part three 1860s

Media

Terms

- European emulation race meetings. In 1860s Hungary Jockey Club steeplechases in which one finds aristocratic owners riding their own or their friends' horses. The Swedish Racing Society was formed and organized competitions in Stockholm (1868), Gothenburg (1868) and Helsingborg (14/7 1867). In Helsingborg, about 20,000 spectators came

Horse imports

- European emulation: organisations and texts

In 1867, the Swedish Racing Society had 300 members, by 1869 457.

- Impact – Anglo-phobic resistance
- Impact - English jockeys, trainers and stable hands getting work overseas.

alongside the formalization of its documentation. In 1791 James Weatherby published an *Introduction to a General Stud Book*, which collected pedigree data from earlier sources for those horses racing thus far, focused on the pedigrees and stud breeding records of 387 mares. This was followed in 1793 by his first *General Stud Book*, updated and revised in 1803 and 1808, which listed the pedigrees of all recognised British thoroughbreds, including mares with their offspring. It enshrined modernist ideas of breeding progress, protected the thoroughbred breeding market,

## Conclusion

Following the main ideas of the concept of cultural transfer, which will be presented in more detail in Chapter 1, this study analyses the process of transfer, thus it gives attention to the ways of distribution. It addresses the central figures in these processes and how foreign culture was received by the Austrian aristocracy. By and large the meagre reception given to English racing and breeding on much of continental Europe in the late eighteenth and over the first half of the nineteenth century is what is most notable. aristocracy can be considered as the »cultural elite« enormous impact on the official cultural landscape in the period under study and became important promoters of, and agents in cultural transfer processes.

French reception of English culture was a reaction to german attempts at cultural hegemony

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<sup>1</sup> Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, *Transfers. Intercultural Relations in the Franco-German Space ( xviii - xix th centuries)*, (Paris: Editions Research on Civilizations, 1988).

<sup>2</sup> Torsten Hagerstrand, *Innovation Diffusion as a Spatial Process* trans. Allan Pred Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1969; Holt, *Sport and Society in Modern France*; Everett Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovation 5<sup>th</sup> Edition* New York: Free Press 2003; Dominic Malcolm, 'The Emergence, Codification and Diffusion of Sport: Theoretical and Conceptual Issues', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 40, 1, 2005 pp. 115-118.

<sup>3</sup> Dominic Malcolm, 'It's Not Cricket: Colonial Legacies and Contemporary Inequalities', *Journal of Historical Sociology* 14,3,2002 pp.253-275; Thomas Zeiler, 'A Night at Delmonico's: The Spalding Baseball Tour and the Imagination of Empire', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 23,1, 2006 pp. 28-45; Daniel Boyce and Patrick Murphy, 'Baseball in England: A Case of Prolonged Cultural Resistance', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 21, 1, 2008; John Amis, 'The Spread of Soccer to North America: A Case Study of Nova Scotia, Canada', *European Physical Education Review* 2,2, 1996 pp. 143-157; Matthew Taylor, 'The Global Ring: Boxing, Mobility and transnational Networks in the Anglophone World 1890-1914', *Journal of Global History* 8, 2 2013 pp.231-255; Matt Taylor and Pierre Lanfranchi, 'Mobility, Migration and History; Football and Early transnational Networks' in *Football and Migration Perspectives, Places, Players*, Eds Richard Elliott and John Harris (Abingdon: Routledge 2014)pp.1-20; Dean Allen, 'Tours of Imperialism': Cricket and Cultural Transfer in South Africa, 1880–1910; *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 33,15,2016 pp.1717-29.

<sup>44</sup> See for example the ways in which the influential ideology of athleticism was disseminated by Victorian educators across the Empire: J. A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism* (Harmonsworth: Viking 1986).

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Richard Holt, *Sport and Society in Modern France* (London: Macmillan 1981); Philip Dine, *Sport and Identity in France: Practices, Locations, Representations* Phietlerlen: Peter Lang 2011.

<sup>6</sup> Alan Tomlinson and Christopher Young eds, 'Towards a New History of European Sport', special issue of *European Review* 19, 4, 2011.

<sup>7</sup> Richard Holt, 'Historians and the History of Sport', *Sport in History*, 34, 1 2014 pp. 1-33.

<sup>8</sup> Christopher Young and Alan Tomlinson Towards a New History of European Sport', *European Review*, 19, 4, 2011, pp. 487-507.

<sup>9</sup> E.g. John Barker, 'Secondary Conversion and Anthropology of Christianity in Melanesia', *Archives Societes Social tydes Religions*, 157, 2012, 67-87.

<sup>10</sup> Alan Tomlinson and Christopher young , 'Sport in Modern European History: Trajectories, Constellations and Conjunctures', *Journal of Historical Sociology of Sport* 24,4, 2011 p.416

<sup>11</sup> Katherine Mooney, "'I Got the Horse Right Here": New Directions in Horse-racing Scholarship' Register of the Kentucky Historical Society 115, 4, 2017 pp.645-660; Peter Edwards, Karl Enenkel, and Elspeth Graham eds., *The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and the Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World* (London, 2012).

<sup>12</sup> Arjun Appadurai, 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy', *Theory, Culture, Society* 7 1990 pp. 295-310.

<sup>13</sup> Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England*.

<sup>14</sup> Nash, Richard, "'Beware a Bastard Breed": Notes Toward a Revisionist History of the Thoroughbred Racehorse', Edwards et al., *The Horse as Cultural Icon*, pp. 191-216.

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- <sup>18</sup> See Mike Huggins, 'Sports and Games in the Age of Enlightenment',
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- <sup>20</sup> Tony Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2003), 3.
- <sup>21</sup> Peter Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), 116
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- <sup>33</sup> Natacha Coquery, *L'Hôtel aristocratique : Le Marché du luxe à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Sorbonne, 1998), 118
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