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Richard Ten Broeck (1810-1892) was the first American to bring Thoroughbred horses across the Atlantic to compete against their British counterparts. Ten Broeck was a former riverboat gambler who became the majority owner of the most important American race course, the Metairie track in New Orleans. After falling out with his partners at Metairie, in summer 1856 he brought three of America's best horses to Newmarket, Lecomte, Pryor, and Prioress, to fulfil a long-cherished dream of American turfmen. He was befriended by Admiral Henry J. Rous and invited into British social circles. His horses performed poorly at first, and both Lecompte and Pryor died unexpectedly in autumn 1857. Ten Broeck's fortunes sharply reversed when Prioress captured the prestigious Cesarewitch in October, and, with backing from wealthy American turfmen, new importations of American horses during 1859-60 produced victories in many English races. The horse Starke became the star of his stable, winning several important stakes races during 1859 and taking the Goodwood Cup in 1861. Ten Broeck continued to race horses successfully in England until returning to the United States in 1867. He came back to England in 1878 as part of the second "American invasion" of horsemen, instigated by Milton H. Sanford and Pierre Lorillard, and became advisor to James R. Keene in 1880. Purchasing horses in England, Ten Broeck raced unsuccessfully until 1887, having dissipated a fortune in profligate living. Although his importations to Britain removed several important bloodlines from America, this was balanced by Thoroughbreds exported from Britain, notably Eclipse, Phaeton, Barbarity, and Australian.

Keywords

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During the autumn of 1857, Richard Ten Broeck (1810-1892) was possibly the best-known American turfman on either side of the Atlantic Ocean. In his late forties at the time, he had already built quite a reputation for himself in racing circles of the nation. Ten years earlier, Ten Broeck acquired the Metairie track at New Orleans and, making a substantial investment, in a short time transformed the track into America's

[1] Morehead State University, Kentucky, USA, godell@roadrunner.com. This article is revised and expanded from the account published in O'Dell, *Reinventing the American Thoroughbred: The Arabian Adventures of Alexander Keene Richards* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 2025).

most important racing venue. During 1854-55, American sportsmen were riveted by the series of match-ups between two extraordinary race horses, Ten Broeck's Lexington and Thomas Jefferson Wells's Lecomte, with Lexington proving the superior horse. So, it created quite a sensation when, in 1856, Ten Broeck, the "dictator of racing in New Orleans," sold his controlling interest in Metairie and announced that he planned to cross the Atlantic to pit American Thoroughbreds against their English counterparts. Such an adventure had long been contemplated by American turfmen, but none before Ten Broeck had the audacity to actually make the attempt. Now, in October 1857, his mare Prioress astonished British spectators by winning the Cesarewitch Handicap. Ten Broeck had managed to accomplish something that few had thought possible, to beard the British lion in its own den and come away victorious. For the first time ever, an American horse had captured one of Britain's prestigious races, and America celebrated.[2]

Fig. 5 Richard Ten Broeck, riverboat gambler, racetrack entrepreneur and Thoroughbred breeder. "Mr. Richard Ten Broeck," Baileys Magazine of Sports and Pastimes 8 (April, 1864), following p. 54

Richard Ten Broeck was a born gambler, a man who never shied from taking a risk but possessed the confidence and skill to usually succeed. He was originally a northerner, scion of a respectable Dutch family from Albany, New York, who as a

[2] John Hervey, *Racing in America, 1665-1865*, vol. 2 (New York: The Jockey Club, 1944), (quotation, 239).

young man turned professional sportsman and gambler after being dismissed from West Point, spending the early part of his adult life on riverboats cruising the Mississippi. He was described as "a man of medium height, with a slimly elegant figure always fastidiously garbed but without a trace of flash or swagger. In deportment he was cool, quiet, self-contained and bore himself like what in reality he was – a man of high breeding." He developed an interest in horse racing, and rose rapidly to prominence, during the winter of 1847-1848 taking over the management of both the Bingaman track in New Orleans and the Bascombe track in Mobile. At about the same time Ten Broeck acquired an interest in the Metairie operation.[3]

Established in 1838, Metairie was the oldest and most fashionable track in the city, and under the management of Richard Ten Broeck, would become the leading track in the nation. In 1851, Ten Broeck formed the Metairie Association, a joint stock company, and purchased the old track. He set about to turn Metairie into a first-class operation, making extensive improvements to the course and greatly increasing the size of the purses offered, which attracted many horsemen from the upper south who brought their horses to compete at Metairie. As a result, in short order New Orleans dominated the American racing scene, a situation that prevailed until the Civil War. As John Hervey observed, "The most important racing took place almost invariably at Metairie, [just as] the most important breeding had come to focus in the Bluegrass [Kentucky]."[4]

The shareholders of the Metairie Association included some of the leading Thoroughbred breeders of the south. By the spring of 1855, relations between Ten Broeck and most of the other members of the Association had deteriorated into bitter hostility. The leader of the opposition was Thomas J. Wells (1803-1863), whose Dentley Plantation in Rapides Parish, near Alexandria, Louisiana, was the largest Thoroughbred operation in the Deep South. The antagonism between Ten Broeck and Wells appears to have been a product of both personality conflicts and a deep-seated resentment on the part of Wells. Ten Broeck's rise to prominence on the New Orleans racing scene was an intolerable development for Wells, who had long been considered the premier magnate of the Louisiana turf. The loss of this leadership position was a considerable blow to his aristocratic pride, especially since, in his view, Richard Ten Broeck was "a mere adventurer, a northern interloper, and professional sporting man." By 1855, the group of influential horsemen who formed the Metairie Association to control racing in New Orleans had split into two hostile factions, the majority allied with Wells against Ten Broeck; only Adam Bingaman remained on friendly terms. The bitter conflict between the two men was reflected and magnified by the competition on the Metairie track between two extraordinary horses: Wells's Lecomte and Ten Broeck's Lexington. These two horses were half-brothers, both

[3] Richard Ten Broeck, "Some Personal Reminiscences, Incidents and Anecdotes," *Spirit of the Times* 120 (December 27, 1890), 872-75; Hervey, *Racing in America, 1665-1865*, vol. 2, 190-93 (quotation, 191).
[4] Dizikes, *Sportsmen and Gamesmen* (Columbia: Univ. of Missouri Press, 2002), 144-45; Dale E. Somers, *The Rise of Sports in New Orleans 1850-1900* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1972), 26-27; Hervey, *Racing in America*, vol. 2, 189, 193, 238-39, (quotation, 238).

sired by the champion horse Boston, who won 40 out of 45 starts in his career and, at stud, produced many outstanding progeny in addition to Lecomte and Lexington.[5]

The Wells family, originally from New England, had been settled in central Louisiana for several generations, and accumulated great wealth and social prestige. Thomas J. Wells, one of three brothers, owned Dentley Plantation, located in the gently rolling hill country south of Alexandria. The primary business at Dentley was the training of Thoroughbred race horses, most of which Wells purchased in Tennessee and Kentucky. Wells had attended Transylvania University in Lexington, Kentucky, and had many connections among the horse breeders in that state. Most of his brood mares were boarded on Kentucky farms belonging to his friends and associates and bred there, the foals sent down to Dentley after they had been weaned. On his Louisiana plantation, Wells constructed a mile-long oval track, used both for training his stock and as the scene of annual race meetings.[6]

Thomas Jefferson Wells

Fig. 2. Thomas Jefferson Wells, leading Louisiana turfman and bitter enemy of Ten Broeck. Courtesy of the Alexandria Historical and Genealogical Library and Museum, Alexandria, Louisiana

[5] Hervey, *Racing in America*, vol. 2, 216-24, 292 (quotation); Henry W. Herbert, *Frank Forester's Horse and Horsemanship of the United States and the British Provinces of North America*, 2 vols. (New York: Stringer & Townsend, 1857), 276-83.

[6] Hervey, *Racing in America*, vol. 2, 198; George M. Stafford, *The Wells Family of Louisiana and Allied Families* (Alexandria: Standard Printing, 1941), 91-92; Sue L. Eakin and Patsy K. Barber, *Rapides Parish: An Illustrated History* (Northridge CA: Windsor Publications, 1987), 22, 30-31. Hervey incorrectly identifies Wellswood Plantation, owned by Monfort Well, as the site of Thomas J. Well's equine operations. The outline of the former race track is today marked by an oval of scattered crepe myrtle trees at Dentley.

The mare Reel was one of Wells' prized possessions, a Glencoe filly whose racing career was never marked by defeat until she was lamed in her last race. Wells purchased Reel, a rich chestnut mare, from her breeder, James Jackson of Alabama, and after a string of victories sent her to Kentucky about 1845 to serve as a brood mare. She was bred to Boston in 1849 and produced an outstanding colt during the following year which Wells named Lecomte, to honour his friend and fellow Louisiana turfman, Auguste Lecomte. The colt was brought back to Louisiana to be trained at Dentley Plantation.[7]

Richard Ten Broeck was in Lexington, Kentucky, on May 27, 1853, attending a racing event called the Citizens' Stakes. Among the entries was a bay colt named Darley, owned by Dr. Elisha Warfield. The colt was named to honour the great English Thoroughbred progenitor, the Darley Arabian, whom he somewhat resembled although not descended through that line. Ten Broeck was apparently in Lexington looking to purchase a suitable horse to run in the forthcoming Great Post Stake at Metairie next April, and was so impressed by the appearance of Darley that with great difficulty, he persuaded the doctor to sell him the colt for $2,500 (£511), on the condition that the two-year-old would be advertised as representing Kentucky. Darley was a posthumous son of Boston, out of Warfield's mare Alice Carneal; Boston died in January, 1850, and Darley was foaled less than two months later, on March 17. Ten Broeck renamed the colt Lexington, because "I desired him to be a distinctly American horse." The purchase was made by a coalition of Ten Broeck with three prominent Bluegrass horsemen, Abe Buford, Willa Viley, and Junius R. Ward. Lexington was subsequently shipped south to Natchez to be trained on the farm of Adam Bingaman.[8]

The Great Post Stake Race, of four-mile heats, was held at Metairie on April 1, 1854 under blue skies on a muddy track and witnessed by a crowd estimated to be in excess of twenty thousand persons. Horses from four states were entered, three of which were sired by Boston. Thomas J. Wells's Lecomte represented Louisiana, and Ten Broeck's Lexington for Kentucky. Lexington won the first two heats easily, giving him the stakes victory. Although defeated, Lecomte had shown up well in the contest, and a rematch was scheduled to take place at Metairie on the next Saturday, the eighth of April. Willa Viley, one of Ten Broeck's Kentucky partners, was opposed to this, wanting to retire Lexington for the season; the two men argued violently and, in the end, Ten Broeck bought out the interests of his partners to obtain sole ownership and control of Lexington. The result of the altercation was, of course,

[7] Hervey, *Racing in America*, vol. 2, 200-202; Sanders D. Bruce, *American Stud Book*, vol. 2 (New York: S. D. Bruce, 1873), 240; Stafford, *Wells Family of Louisiana*, 92.

[8] Hervey, *Racing in America*, vol. 2, 273-84; *Spirit of the Times* 23 (June 4, 1853), 186; *Spirit of the Times* 23 (June 11, 1853), 198; Kim Wickens, Lexington: *The Extraordinary Life and Turbulent Times of America's Legendary Racehorse* (New York: Ballentine Books, 2023), 30-31, 52-60; Ten Broeck, "Some Personal Reminiscences," 872 (quotation). Financial adjustments in this paper are made using the following online calculators: (1) British pounds to U.S. dollars historical exchange rate, "Measuring Worth," https://www.measuringworth.com/datasets/exchangepound/result.php; (2) historical inflation rates for US dollar, "Inflation Calculator," U.S. Official Inflation Data, Alioth Finance, https://www.officialdata.org; (3) historical inflation rate for British pound, "Inflation Calculator," Bank of England, https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator.

another prominent horseman shifted to align with Thomas J. Wells against Ten Broeck.[9]

The day was fair and the track dry on April 8, and an entirely different course of events took place. In the first four-mile heat, Lecomte took the lead immediately, with Lexington trailing closely in a desperate struggle to close the gap. In the final mile, Lecomte pulled away to win easily by six lengths. The scene was reversed in the second heat, Lexington taking the lead for the first two miles, until, in the third mile, Lecomte caught and passed Lexington. "The contest was so close between the two nags," reported the *Daily Delta*, "that the excitement among the spectators was immense, and amounted to a frenzy." The two horses battled around the course until at last Lecomte sped ahead to claim victory by four lengths. The *Delta* proclaimed, "Lecomte, the Red River Horse, now stands the champion of the world, and who is able to tear the laurels from his noble brow?"[10]

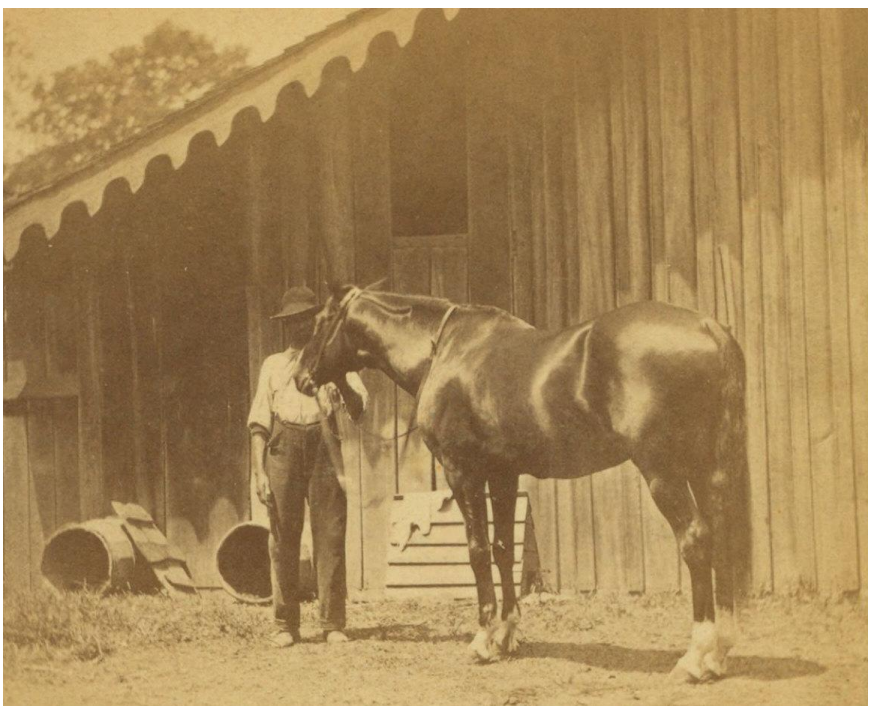

Fig. 3. Lexington (1850–1875) became the most successful sire in North America during the second half of the nineteenth century when he was the leading sire 16 times. This is the only known photograph of Lexington. "Horse named Lexington." Robert N. Dennis collection of stereoscopic views, New York Public Library, catalog ID B11707480, 1860-1879. Public domain.

[9] "The Great State Post Stake: Kentucky Victorious!" *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), April 2, 1854, 1; Hervey, *Racing in America*, vol. 2, 286-89.

[10] "Jockey Club Races: Metairie Course," *Daily Delta* (New Orleans), April 9, 1854, 5 (quotations); Hervey, *Racing in America*, vol. 2, 289-90.

Each horse having claimed a victory, Ten Broeck immediately issued a challenge to Wells for a final and decisive match. Wells initially refused, but after months of negotiations, the race, in which Lexington and Lecomte were to be the only entries, was scheduled to be held at Metairie on April 14, 1855. People poured into the city to witness the contest between the two celebrity horses. Lexington, his right eye showing signs of the disease that would soon rob him of his vision, would be ridden by Gilbert W. Patrick, known as "Gilpatrick," and was slightly favoured in the wagering. At the start, "a spectacle never seen before was witnessed. The two contenders immediately began an attempt to run each other down at topmost speed – something unprecedented in a four-mile heat." Lexington took the lead from the first and sailed to victory, leaving Lecomte further and further behind to finish in a state near to collapse. Wells withdrew his horse from further participation, leaving the field to Ten Broeck and Lexington. This was the final race of Lexington's career, his only defeat being to Lecomte during the preceding spring.[11]

The hostility between Ten Broeck and Wells and the other Association members after the great race only intensified, so that Ten Broeck's position as leader of the Metairie Association became increasingly untenable. On April 14, 1856, one year to the day after the final Lexington – Lecomte match, Ten Broeck sold his interest in the Metairie track to the other members. The Association was subsequently reorganized with General Wells at the head. Inexplicably, at about the same time, Wells sold Lecomte to Ten Broeck, along with another outstanding foal out of Reel, the filly Prioress. Shortly afterward, Ten Broeck departed the southland forever, taking most of his stable to race in England.[12]

Richard Ten Broeck boarded the steamship *Asia* at New York on July 9, 1856, bound for Liverpool, England, intending to do something that had been often discussed but never attempted: to pit a string of American Thoroughbred horses against their English counterparts. Three days after his departure, another ship would leave New York with three of the fastest horses in America aboard, Lecomte, Pryor, and Prioress, which Ten Broeck and other American horsemen believed would deliver a sharp rebuke to British sportsmen who held an unshakable confidence in the superiority of British stock. Turfmen of the island nation scoffed at the idea that American-bred horses could compete successfully against English Thoroughbreds.[13]

Learning of Ten Broeck's intended challenge, one such writer observed, "I do not recollect a really good [American] horse visiting these shores. I think, that the American animals will not be wanting in lasting qualities, but that they will fail in the matter of pace." A gentleman who styled himself in correspondence, One Who Loves the English Horse, wrote "Our stock is still superior to all the world, and I have no fear of being beaten by any other blood that can be produced from any country. I also believe our system of breeding and rearing to be better than any other

[11] "The Great Four-Mile Race: Lexington the Winner!" *Daily Picayune*, April 15, 1855, 1; Hervey, *Racing in America*, vol. 2, 291-99, (second quotation, 298). Lexington, who was progressively going blind, was permanently retired to stud after his race with Lecomte, and in the summer of 1856 was sold to Robert A. Alexander of Woodford County, Kentucky.

[12] Hervey, *Racing in America*, vol. 2, 239-40, 300; "The Turf," *New York Herald*, June 20, 1856.

[13] "American Race Horses Going to Europe," *New York Herald*, July 10, 1856, 1

country; that our trainers are better, our jockeys are better, and our grooms are better." Another Briton offered this curt dismissal: "Brother Jonathan may beat us in trotting, but in racing – NEVER."[14]

Fig. 4. Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, was a French naturalist, mathematician, and cosmologist, whose works influenced two generations of naturalists. Painted by François-Hubert Drouais, 1753.

These English turfmen had some justification for their bias, because the Thoroughbred horse was developed in England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but the view of American horses as inevitably inferior to those of England had its roots in European vanity and a biased natural history of the New World. The presumed inferiority of American horses, in fact of all mammalian life in North America, derived initially from the highly influential work of Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon (1707-1788), whose monumental *Histoire Naturelle, Générale*

[14] Midas [pseud.], "From a Sporting Correspondent," *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, September 5, 1856, 8 (first quotation); One Who Loves the English Horse [pseud.], "The 'American' Horses and Four-Mile Heats," *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, February 22, 1857, 9; *The Field: The Country Gentleman's Newspaper* (London), August 2, 1856, 9 (third quotation).

et Particulière was published in 36 volumes from 1749 to 1788. Subsequently translated into many different languages, Buffon's *Natural History* was released in English editions from 1775 to 1815. The most comprehensive encyclopaedia of life on Earth ever written, his work was read by nearly every educated person on both sides of the Atlantic. Although Buffon never visited the New World, he asserted that all life here was degenerate, from the animals to the native peoples. Based on reports by French travellers, he assumed the North American climate was less favourable than that of Europe and that degeneration of native life forms could thus be attributed to this environment. Imported livestock would also be adversely affected, such that domestic animals which "by the gentle influences of another climate, have received their full form and their entire extension," when brought to America "shrink, shrink under this miserly sky and in this empty earth." Buffon's concept of New World degeneration was extremely popular in Europe, but, as might be expected, sparked outrage in America.[15]

Thomas Jefferson was among those incensed by Buffon's allegations of American inferiority. No mean naturalist himself, Jefferson set about to set the record straight. In 1787, he published an overview of his home state, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, and devoted a considerable portion of the text to refutation of Buffon's claims of American degeneracy. The idea of American degeneration would persist in European perceptions through the antebellum period, finally fading in the mid-1850s. By this time, transatlantic travel had become commonplace, and many European visitors wrote detailed accounts of the great diversity of American wildlife and of the nobility of the native peoples. The study of natural history had also advanced considerably since the time of Buffon, and it had become clear that there was no evidence of American degeneration.[16]

The notion of racehorse degeneration in the New World nonetheless persisted in Britain. During the nineteenth century, the most widely read and authoritative book on equines was *The Horse*, authored by English veterinary surgeon and animal welfare writer William Youatt. First released in 1831, this popular book was revised and expanded by other authors after Youatt's death in 1847. In the first edition, published in London, Youatt wrote, "improved and perfected by the influence of the climate…and British skill, made the thorough-bred horse what he is." An 1853 revision, also published in London, asserted that the Thoroughbred could only achieve and maintain its superior form in the English climate, stating "When an English horse leaves his native country, he is observed to degenerate, and his progeny remarkably so."[17]

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[15] Georges Louis Leclerc Buffon, *Histories Naturelle, Générale et Particulière,* Vol. 9 (Paris: L'Imprimerie Royale, 1761), 103 (quotation, translated).

[16] Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (London: John Stockdale, 1787), 64-112; Lee A. Dugatkin, *Mr. Jefferson and the Giant Moose: Natural History in Early America* (Chicago: Chicago Univ. Press, 2009), 20-24, 55-80, 89-100, 129.

[17] William Youatt, *The Horse: With a Treatise on Draught* (London: Baldwin & Cradock, 1831), 44 (first quotation); Youatt, *The Horse: Its History, Management, and Treatment* (London: George Routledge, 1853), 50 (second quotation).

An American edition of Youatt's book published in New York in 1843 contained a lengthy introductory essay by John Stuart Skinner, founder of the *American Turf Register* in 1829, that thoroughly debunked the idea of Thoroughbred deterioration in America; at least as far as American readers were concerned. Skinner concluded, given that American breeders had, over the last century, imported some of the finest English bloodstock, "on this continent the Horse ought to reach and retain powers at least equal to any he has ever attained in England." Ten Broeck, with the enthusiastic support of other American breeders and turfmen and some of the finest American-bred horses, intended to settle the question once and for all.[18]

There was significant expense and risk attached to transporting horses across the Atlantic, since Thoroughbreds seldom travelled well and would have to acclimatize on their arrival. In 1856, Richard Ten Broeck would become the first American horseman to hazard bringing a racing stable to England, although his horses did not compete until the following year. This was not his first racing venture outside of the United States, having raced a string of horses in Havana, Cuba in 1843 and five years later in Canada, "winning every race." Over the next decade, as Ten Broeck managed elite courses in Mobile and New Orleans, the notion of challenging English horses with his own continually grew on him until he was at last "filled with an ambition to beard the English lion in his den."[19]

This long-standing ambition probably solidified after April 1856 when he was forced to withdraw from association with the Metairie course of New Orleans. Ten Broeck's own pockets were not quite deep enough to finance a venture to England, but he found willing sponsors in turfman Alexander Keene Richards (1827-1881) of Georgetown, Kentucky, and millionaire Francis Morris (1810-1886) of Westchester County, New York, president of the Central American Transit Line and the American Telegraph Company. Morris was interested in becoming involved in the racing industry, and in 1860 would establish a Thoroughbred breeding operation on his land at Throggs Neck on the East River that became one of the largest in the North. Morris's farm was initially stocked with English horses shipped back to America by Richard Ten Broeck. Morris came to England with his son, John, in July 1857 to learn about racing and to keep track of his investment.[20]

Ten Broeck's champion Lexington, by this time nearly blind, unfortunately had to be left behind in Kentucky, standing stud at Harper's farm near Midway in Woodford County. Ten Broeck, however, owned other outstanding race horses. After Lexington, his three best running horses were Lecomte, Pryor, and Prioress, and these were the horses he took with him in autumn 1856 to England in what was known in the sporting press as the "American invasion." Prioress, sired by imported Sovereign out of Wells's mare Reel and foaled in 1853, was thus a half-sister to Lecomte. She made a spectacular debut as a two-year-old at the Metairie track in

[18] Skinner, "The Horse, in England and America," introduction to William Youatt, *The Horse* (New York: Leavitt & Allen, 1843), 31-33, (quotation, 32).
[19] Dizikes, *Sportsmen and Gamesmen*, 149-151; Ten Broecke, "Personal Reminiscences," 872 (quotation).
[20] Hervey, *Racing in America*, vol. 2, 263; Thomas B. Merry, "Ten Broeck's Great Coup," *Thoroughbred Record* 88 (November 30, 1918), 254; Walter S. Vosburgh, "The Passing of Jerome Park," *Outing* 38 (August 1901), 518-591; *Spirit of the Times* 111 (April 3, 1886), 298; *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, July 31, 1857, 7.

1855, then racing under the name "Poison." Pryor, foaled in 1852 out of Gipsey by Glencoe and bred by Adam Bingaman, made his first appearance at Metairie on April 5, 1855, just a few days before the final match between Lexington and Lecomte. Pitted against Lecomte a year later, March 15, 1856, at the Pharsalia course in Natchez, the little-known Pryor won an upset victory. Lecomte, now six years old, was purchased from Wells a few weeks later; Ten Broeck paid $10,000 (£2,037) for Lecomte and $2,500 (£509) for Pryor. These sales astonished the racing world, since Wells and Ten Broeck were bitter enemies, but Wells, temporarily depressed by Lexington's victory over his prized Lecomte, had decided to retire from active participation in horse racing.[21]

On July 12, 1856, a few days after Ten Broeck's departure on the *Asia*, the three horses embarked from the port of New York aboard the steamship *Edinburgh* for Glasgow, accompanied by his trainer David P. Palmer and a full complement of grooms and stable boys. After a voyage of twelve days, the ship arrived at the Clyde, but was unable to proceed up the river to Glasgow for three days because of low water. Arriving in good health after their crossing, the horses were kept at Glasgow for about a month, provided with exercise and light feed. From Glasgow, they were shipped by railroad to Newmarket, the most important racing centre in England. Newmarket featured two race courses and the largest cluster of Thoroughbred training yards in the country. The horses remained at Newmarket for nearly a year, given walking exercise and light galloping through the winter. During this time, Richard Ten Broeck made social contacts and increased his familiarity with the nuances of the English turf.[22]

Thoroughbred racing in England was different in several details from American practise, although similar enough so that visitors from one country would easily be able to understand racing in the other. The most important differences were in the shape and nature of the track. The configuration of American courses was a derivative of the frontier mentality. During settlement of the new land, tracks were often literally carved out of the wilderness, and so the ideal form for a race track became a flat oval representing a victory over nature. In contrast, the landscape in England was "tame," the product of centuries of civilization. English courses were laid out to follow the existing contours of the landscape and so varied widely from place to place, rather than conforming to a standard pattern. On English courses, horses ran on grass. Although in America racing continued to be referred to as the sport of the "turf," American horses ran on "skinned" or dirt tracks, rather than grass. In a self-serving rationalization, American sportsmen came to believe that horses were able to run faster on dirt than on grass, at least in good weather.[23]

[21] "American Horses for England," *American Veterinary Journal* 1 (September 1856), 367; Herbert, *Horse and Horsemanship*, 312, 322, 345-352; Hervey, *Racing in America*, vol. 2, 300; "Metairie Races," *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), April 6, 1855, 2; "Pryor and Lecomte: Pryor the Victor," *Daily Picayune*, March 18, 1856, 2.

[22] "Death of Lecomte and Pryor," *Spirit of the Times* 27 (December 5, 1857), 510; Thomas H. Bird, *Admiral Rous and the English Turf 1795-1877* (London: Putnam, 1939), 200; "The American Horses in England," *Spirit of the Times* 27 (April 25, 1857), 126; "The English Turf and American Horses," *Spirit of the Times* 27 (May 2, 1857), 138.

[23] Dizikes, *Sportsmen and Gamesmen*, 123-129.

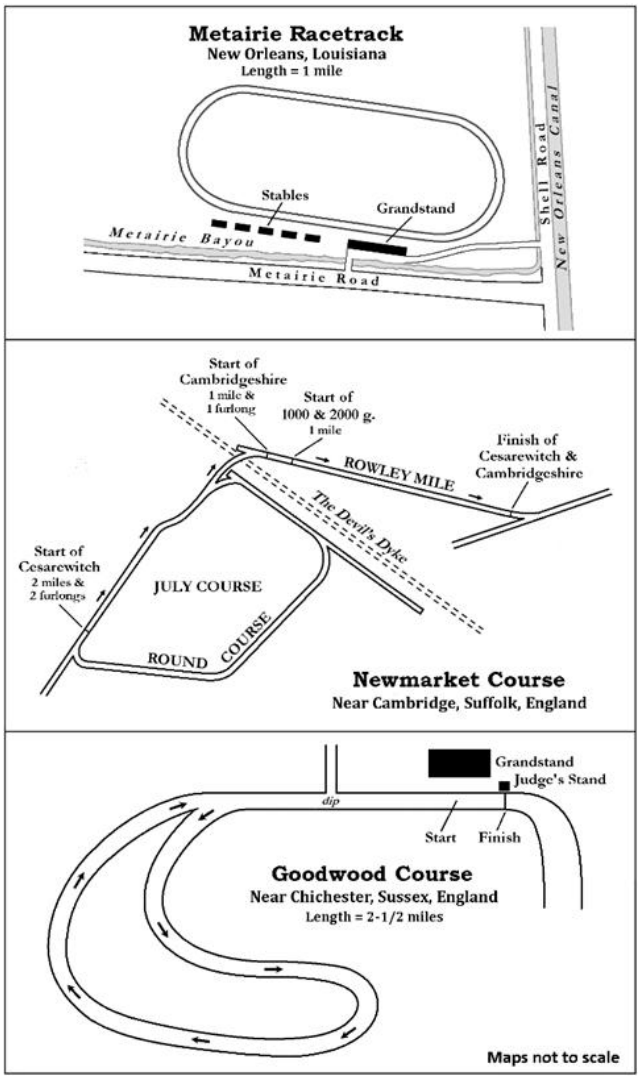

Fig. 5. Typical American tracks such as Metairie were standard one-mile ovals with a dirt surface. English race courses were of various lengths and configurations with a grass surface. Maps by Gary O'Dell, adapted from originals. Metairie: "Map of the City of New Orleans," New Orleans Industrial and Cotton Exposition (New Orleans: Southern Lithographic, 1885). Goodwood: *Porter's Spirit of the Times*, 2 (August 15, 1857), 377. Newmarket: Henry G. C. L. Harewood and P. E. Ricketts. *Flat Racing* (London: Seeley Service, 1948), 415.

To most English sportsmen, horses racing around an oval track such as those in America was just a bore. Ten Broeck once invited Admiral Henry J. Rous, a leading figure of the English turf, to come see his horse Satellite run for the Chester Cup. The Chester race course, tucked into a bend of the River Dee, was the oldest and

smallest course of significance in England, just over a mile in length and roughly circular in shape with few straight stretches. The Admiral declined the invitation, saying, "I would rather see horses run round a tub." Because English courses were laid out to wind around natural and man-made features, rising and falling with the topography, the result was that much of the race action was not visible to spectators. This reflected another important difference in racing between the two nations. Horse racing in America had always been a spectator sport, supported by the oval shape of courses which allowed large crowds of onlookers from all social classes an unrestricted view of the race from beginning to end. By contrast, English racing was essentially a sport for the elite classes.[24]

The English regarded horse racing as a competition among horses, rather than a race against the clock. Courses varied widely in length and configuration, and conditions differed from day to day even at the same course, so what matter, then, how long it took to complete the race? Handicappers in England were concerned primarily with the amount of saddle weight carried by a horse, the idea being to adjust these weights by individual horse to give each, in theory, an equal chance of winning. Each horse was assigned a weight according to its past performance, age, and gender, the better horses required to carry more weight. Americans, on the other hand, became increasingly obsessed with time as the standard for measuring performance, and handicappers on this side of the Atlantic made this a major factor in their calculations. Ten Broeck noted, "In comparison with its importance in America, I was surprised to find how little attention was paid to time in handicapping."[25]

To be successful in England, Ten Broeck had to win races, a great many races, but above all, his driving ambition (and of his supporters in the United States) was to score victories in one or more of the five great "classics" of English Thoroughbred racing. Each of these classics, held once each year and restricted to three-year-olds, is a "flat" race, run over a course without jumps. The "Two Thousand Guineas" and the "One Thousand Guineas" stakes are run at Newmarket in Suffolk (about 75 miles north of London) in late April or early May. The "Epsom Oaks" and the "Epsom Derby" run at Epsom Downs in Surrey, about twelve miles south of the capital. The Oaks is held in early June, and the Derby, today held on the first Saturday in June, was in the mid-nineteenth century run in late May. The last of the classics, the "St. Leger Stakes," was held in September at the Doncaster course in south Yorkshire. The One Thousand Guineas and the Oaks are restricted to fillies, but the others are open to both fillies and colts. Each of these races were relatively short, by American standards of the day. The St. Leger, at a mile and six furlongs (just under two miles) was the longest, and the two "Guineas" races the shortest, each exactly a mile. The Two Thousand Guineas, the Epsom Derby (the most prestigious of all Thoroughbred races), and the St. Leger together constitute the English "Triple

[24] Dizikes, *Sportsmen and Gamesmen*, 123-129; Ten Broecke, "Personal Reminiscences," 873 (quotation).
[25] Dizikes, *Sportsmen and Gamesmen*, 123-129; William and Robert Chambers, *Chamber's Encyclopaedia: A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge* (London: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1890), 799; Ten Broeck, "Personal Reminiscences," 873 (quotation). See also Henry J. Rous, *On the Laws and Practice of Horse Racing* (London: Bailey Brothers, 1850), passim.

Crown," first inaugurated in 1853 when West Australian swept all three of these races.

Ten Broeck came to England armed with a letter of introduction to Lord Fitzwilliam, who received him hospitably and introduced him to leading figures of the English turf, who were fascinated by this brash American gambler. "Except that he was a Southerner," the Earl of Suffolk later recalled, "nobody knew anything about him or his antecedents, though there were plenty of wonderous tales in circulation. He had been a hell-keeper, a slave-dealer, a 'sportsman' which in the American language is not a complimentary term, etc., etc. Everybody was sure for many years, at least, that he was the sharpest of the sharp on the turf; at the card table also." Ten Broeck, nicknamed "Tenny" by his new English friends, received many invitations to parties and receptions on the estates of the aristocracy. His first real taste of life among the English nobility was during the Bath races in May 1857, where a large party of horsemen were entertained at Badminton, the estate of the Duke of Beaufort, race steward and Master of the Horse to Queen Victoria. Admiral Rous, without question the most important man in the world of English racing, was among the first to welcome him to Newmarket, and the two soon became intimate friends. Rous proposed Ten Broeck for membership in the exclusive "Coffee-Room" at the track, and advised him on matters of the English turf and in the management of his racing stable. Ten Broeck later recalled, "The Admiral and I often attended the races together, canvassing in company the horses expected to run."[26]

If the English gentry were predisposed to amicably receive Richard Ten Broeck, there were Americans then in the country who bore him nothing but malice. These were friends of Thomas Jefferson Wells, whose animosity for his former partner at the Metairie track was carried across the Atlantic. "Having failed to ruin him at home, they determined to accomplish it abroad. Atrocious stories were set afoot…and a studied propaganda carried on against him," wrote equine historian John Hervey. While much of this smear campaign consisted of innuendos concerning Ten Broeck's character, more serious charges were made that he had misrepresented the ages of his horses in order to obtain their eligibility for certain events. In face of these charges, Ten Broeck maintained his composure, while his friends rallied to his support; in the end, his steadfast aplomb "silenced his enemies" and earned him "the respect and friendship of the leaders of the British turf."[27]

Robert A. Alexander, the foremost Thoroughbred breeder in Kentucky, visited England in the autumn of 1856 to acquire English Thoroughbreds for Woodburn, his Woodford County stud. He was no part of T. J. Wells' conspiracy, and cordially conducted some business with Richard Ten Broeck. Alexander provided a much-

[26] Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire [Henry Charles Howard], "Ascot Reminiscences," *Badminton Magazine of Sports and Pastimes* 1 (September 1895), 177-178 (first quotation, 177); Ten Broeck, "Personal Reminiscences," 872-873, (second quotation, 873); "Mr. Richard Ten Broeck," *Baileys Magazine of Sports and Pastimes* 8 (April, 1964), 55-56.

[27] Salvatore [pseud. for John Hervey], "Barbarity and the Two Umpires: Lexington's Half-Brother and the Irishman," *Thoroughbred Record* 121 (March 30, 1935), 212 (quotations). See William J. Minor, "Age of the Race-Horse Pryor," *Spirit of the Times* 27 (April 4, 1857), 91, and various issues of *Spirit of the Times* during the period for examples of the attacks on Ten Broeck.

needed injection of cash by purchasing the famous Lexington, then standing at Harper's not far from Alexander's place, for the sum of $15,000 (£3,055). Ten Broeck noted that the horse was in good condition, except for his eyes, and reserved the right to breed three mares to Lexington each year free of charge. Since Lexington survived for nearly twenty more years, finally to succumb at Woodburn in 1875, Alexander received good value for his investment.[28]

Fig. 6. Admiral Henry J. Rous, shown here in 1877 at age 82, was one of the most respected turfmen in England and befriended Ten Broeck when the latter first came to England. James Rice, *History of the British Turf*, Vol. 2 (London: Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1879), frontispiece.

While spending the winter of 1856-1857 at Newmarket, Pryor and Prioress were in fine health and acclimatizing well, but Lecomte was in poor condition and, having an injured ankle, was unable to participate in anything more than the lightest exercise. He also suffered from several attacks of colic, both in New York before departure and while in Glasgow. Lecomte's colics were but a portent of worse to come. On the first of April, 1857, Ten Broeck took his stable to new training quarters at

[28] Hervey, *Racing in America*, vol. 2. 325; Sanders D. Bruce, *Horse-Breeder's Guide and Hand-Book* (New York: Turf, Field and Farm, 1883), 198, 200; Note from Richard Ten Broeck concerning the sale of Lexington (1857, Alexander family papers, Kentucky Historical Society, accession number MSS93_Box15_F5_12.

Stockbridge. The region was then enduring a severe drought, and both Lecomte and Pryor received leg injuries from training on hard ground. Pryor also developed a respiratory infection which continued, off and on, for several months, sometimes improving for a while and then worsening again. Ten Broeck's horses were entered in several races during the summer, his jockeys highly visible in his "Stars and Stripes" racing colours, blue caps with white stars and red and white striped jackets, but in most cases both Lecomte and Prior had to be scratched and even Prioress did not fare well in the matches. American turf enthusiasts, who had been eagerly expecting the cream of American-bred horses to soundly trounce their English competition, were sorely disappointed, and interest in Ten Broeck's enterprise began to decline in the States.[29]

On June 13, 1857, the steamship *Washington* departed New York bearing reinforcements for Ten Broeck's assault on the English racing establishment, arriving at Liverpool ten days later. Aboard were three horses and two Glencoe yearlings, placed in the care of jockey Charles E. Littlefield and the noted trainer, William Brown. After leaving Ten Broeck's employ late in 1857, Littlefield came back home to Canada and rode to victory in the first running of the Queen's Plate in 1860 and again in 1862. After retiring from the saddle, he became one of the leading American trainers, managing horses for prominent turfmen Milton H. Sanford and James Ben Ali Haggin, returning to England in 1875 when Sanford brought over a stable of horses. Littleton was inducted into the Canadian Racing Hall of Fame in 2000. William Brown (1825-1881) was reported to have conditioned Lecomte early in his racing career, and this was probably the reason why Ten Broeck wanted him as his trainer in England.[30]

Only one of the horses was identified by name, Babylon, a three-year-old chestnut colt out of a Trustee mare sired by Belshazzar. Entered at the Warwick races in early September, Babylon made a respectable third place finish against some tough competition. The *Spirit of the Times* for August 15, 1857, notes that "Mr. Brown" – certainly a reference to the arrival of Ten Broeck's new trainer - had recently brought two "very fine yearlings" to England, the colt Woodburn and the filly Bonita. These would be the Glencoe yearlings shipped out in early June. Woodburn and Bonita would not race until the summer of 1858, when each ran last in stakes races in July and August, respectively, at the Goodwood course.[31]

Although David Palmer had brought Ten Broeck's first shipment of American Thoroughbreds across the Atlantic and served as his first trainer, he did not long remain in this position. Ten Broeck tended to change his trainers with nearly the same frequency as he discarded his worn suits. William Brown, a protégé of John B.

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[29] "The American Horses in England," *American Turf Register* (1857), 58-59

[30] *New York Herald*, June 14, 1857, 4; *Liverpool Mercury*, June 24, 1857, 8; "More Blood Exported to England," *Porter's Spirit of the Times*, 2 (June 20, 1857), 253; John H. Davis, *The American Turf* (New York: John Polhemus, 1907), 107; "Arrival of American Horses," *The Field* (London), November 20, 1875, 30; Canadian Racing Hall of Fame: https://www.canadianhorseracinghalloffame.com

[31] "Sporting Intelligence," *The Sun* (London), September 4, 1857, 1; "Foreign Sporting Intelligence," *Spirit of the Times* 27 (August 15, 1857), 319 (quotations); "Goodwood Races," *Morning Herald* (London), July 28, 1858, 6; "Goodwood Races," *Wiltshire Independent*, August 5, 1858, 2.

"Ben" Pryor, replaced Palmer and began training Ten Broeck's horses at Newmarket. Brown was described as "reserved in his habits," and was seen constantly to be smoking a pipe, "which was never suffered to go out." Brown remained in England for several years after leaving Ten Broeck's employ, departing on December 10, 1864 and subsequently employed by Francis Morris until 1875, and afterward with Pierre Lorillard.[32]

Fig. 7. William Brown, a well-respected American trainer who conditioned horses for Ten Broeck in England from summer 1857 to the spring of 1858. "The Late Wm. Brown and Parole," *Turf, Field and Farm* 72 (March 28, 1903), 295.

In the spring of 1858, Brown was replaced by Andrew J. Minor, who trained race horses for Judge John S. Hunter before the war at Hunter's plantation near Selma, Alabama. Since Hunter often raced at Metairie, Ten Broeck would have been well acquainted with his trainer. Dismissed by Ten Broeck in 1860, Minor returned to the United States, where, by coincidence, he trained horses for an entirely different John Hunter. At his new employer's establishment, Annieswood Stud, in Westchester County, New York, not far from Francis Morris's place, Minor conditioned the

[32] "Our Horses in England," *Spirit of the Times* 27 (June 13, 1857), 210; "Mr. Richard Ten Broeck," *Baily's Magazine of Sports and Pastimes* 8 (May 1864), 56 (first and second quotations); *Spirit of the Times* 111 (April 3, 1886), 298; Merry, "Ten Broeck's Great Coup"; Anon., "Richard Ten Broeck"; "The Late Wm. Brown and Parole," *Turf, Field and Farm* 72 (March 28, 1903), 295-296.

famous race horse Kentucky, bred by John M. Clay and sired by Lexington out of Magnolia, a Glencoe mare.[33]

As Minor's replacement, Ten Broeck brought over Ben Pryor (1812-1891), who, while employed by Adam Bingaman at Natchez, had trained Lexington for Ten Broeck in 1853 in preparation for his match against Well's Lecomte. Ten Broecke wanted the very best man available to ready his horse Umpire for a forthcoming race in the English Derby at Epsom Downs in May 1860. "I have never seen the equal of Pryor," he later recalled. "He was the superior of any man in handling horses that I have ever known. He could always be depended on to bring his horses to the post fit to run for a man's life, attentive, careful, shrewd, a complete master of his business. I can hardly imagine his peer." Although Umpire failed to place in this most prestigious of Thoroughbred races, Pryor continued to train for Ten Broeck until 1863. Afterward, Ten Broeck presumably used English trainers, as he was more and more adapting to the English style of training.[34]

American training methods were considered rather harsh by English standards. One English observer recalled that the "American style," as practised by A. J. Minor, was "very long, slow work," with a great deal of sweating. Another remarked that American training was similar to that employed by the contemporary English trainer John Scott, known at the time as the "Emperor of Trainers" and the "Wizard of the North." Scott's methods were "gradual and thorough," consisting of "long, slow gallops, at short intervals, sweats, under two suits of heavy clothing…periodically, after one of these sweats, the pupil would be 'tapped' of what was then considered to be superfluous vital fluid. A vein in the region of the throat would be opened, and a pint or more of blood 'let' into a tin pannikin held by an attendant." Minor's system was considered more drastic than Scott's. Although the Americans did not practise blood-letting, Ten Broeck's trainers would often "sweat" a horse immediately before bringing them to the post, or "harden their muscles" by first taking them on a good run. Minor, it was reported, possessed an open mind, and in time both he and Ten Broeck embraced less rigorous methods in the English manner.[35]

Disaster struck in the autumn of 1857. Lecomte was again afflicted with colic, and died on October 7. The once-champion horse made his debut on the English turf at the Warwick races on a muddy track in early September, 1857, and "pulled up very lame" to be defeated by Fisherman. At the conclusion of the race, Ten Broeck announced his intention to send him back to America to stud, his racing career over,

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[33] "Former American Horses in England," *Sporting Times* (London), November 23, 1901, 5; Hiram Woodruff, *Trotting Horses of America* (New York: J.B. Ford & Company, 1877), 88; "The Turf of 1854," *New York Times* (May 1, 1854), 1; *American Turf Register* (1854), 3, 4, 12, 13, 25, 28, 30; Joel C. DuBose, *Notable Men of Alabama* (Atlanta: Southern Historical Society, 1904), 384; Anna M.G. Fry, *Memories of Old Cahaba* (Nashville: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1908), 67; Henry Custance, *Riding Recollections and Turf Stories* (London: Edward Arnold, 1894), 14-15.

[34] "A Chat," Breeder and Sportsman 13 (December 13, 1888), 386 (quotation); John Hervey, "Barbarity and the Two Umpires," *Thoroughbred Record* 121 (March 30, 1935), 212; Hervey, *Racing in America*, vol. 2, 284; "The American Horses in England, 1860," *American Turf Register* (1860), 76; Davis, *American Turf*, 132; Custance, Riding Recollections," 15.

[35] Custance, "Riding Recollections." 14 (first quotation); Edward Spencer, "The Old Style and the New," *Fores's Sporting Notes and Sketches* 20 (1093), 162-163, (second and third quotations, 162).

but this was not to be. Lecomte's death was followed on the 22nd by that of Pryor. This horse, who sprang to the attention of American turfman after defeating Lecomte at Natchez in April 1856, "had just recovered from a lung fever" when observed in August 1857, but whose condition worsened into pneumonia. This was a calamity for Ten Broeck, now having lost two of the fast American horses he had brought over with only Prioress and Babylon and the as-yet untested Woodburn and Bonita left to represent his native country. He and the American turfmen following his exploits had possessed high hopes for Pryor, as much as for Lecomte, "the horse before whom all English horses were to go down."[36]

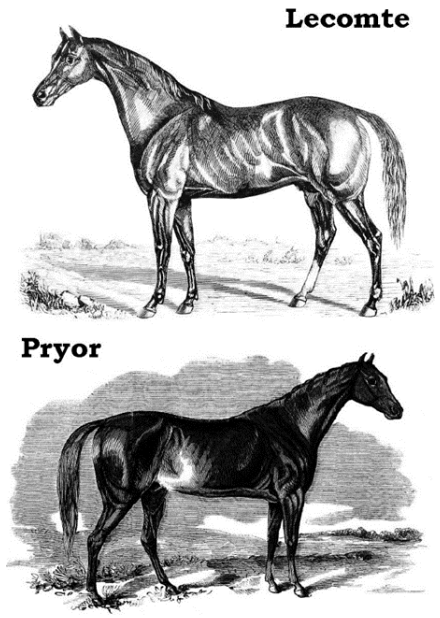

Fig. 8. Two of America's fastest horses, Lecomte (top) and Pryor (bottom) both succumbed to illness in September 1857 before they could compete in any significant race. Lecomte: *Famous Horses of America* (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1877), 12. Pryor: *Porter's Spirit of the Times* 2 (July 25, 1857), 321.

During that autumn of 1857, Ten Broeck became so depressed by these losses and the poor performance of his horses that, nearly broke, he was about to give up and return to the United States. The turning point came but a few days after Lecomte's death, when he took Prioress to race at Newmarket in the Cesarewitch Handicap on October 13. As Ten Broeck later recalled, "After calculating, I found

[36] "Death of Lecomte," *Bell's Life*, October 11, 1857, 4; "The American Horses at Warwick," *Belfast Mercury*, September 7, 1857, 3 (first quotation); "Natchez Races: Pharsalia Course," *Daily Picayune*, March 17, 1856, 1; "Goodwood Cup Race," *New York Herald*, August 20, 1857, 4 (second quotation); "Death of Pryor," *Belfast Mercury*, October 26, 1857, 2; 1857, "Something Short," *The Sun* (London), October 10, 1857, 5 (third quotation).

that I had but £10 remaining after settling all my bills. Going to the course on horseback without the least intention of betting, I rode to the ring before the start for the Cesarewitch, and, from curiosity, inquired how much Prioress? An amateur bookmaker, Major Brabazon, said: "I will bet you 100 to 1, Mr. Ten Broeck." I answered, "1000 to 10. Done." Immediately several bookmakers said, "I will bet you the same, Mr. Ten Broeck." Having no more money, I rode off in disgust." Before the race, as a storm appeared likely, Ten Broeck put lard on his mare's feet to help keep dirt from sticking, and wrapped her up in blankets to protect her from the weather.[37]

Ten Broeck's usual jockey was Charles Littlefield, but he had specifically engaged Gilpatrick to ride Prioress for the Goodwood Cup that summer, Patrick taking ship from America on June 20. Francis Morris and his son were so confident of Prioress's ability and Gilpatrick's skill that they came over in late July specifically to witness the running of this race. Two horses would represent the United States for the Goodwood Cup on July 30, Prioress with Gilpatrick in the saddle, his "genuine Yankee beard" appearing to British spectators strange for a jockey, and Pryor ridden by Littlefield. Ten Broeck was so displeased with Patrick's performance in the running of the Goodwood, in which Patrick finished in fifth place, that he immediately discharged him from his employ and sent him back home. The American horses in the race, Pryor and Prioress, nevertheless made a good impression on the British press. One commentator noted that although they were "defeated, they were not disgraced," and another observed that "the Americans ran much better than was expected of them." A few months later, Littlefield's last race was a resounding loss at Warwick mounted on Lecomte, after which he went back to North America. A new jockey, William Tankerley, was brought over from the United States to ride for Ten Broeck.[38]

Now, during the Cesarewitch, Tankerley, unfamiliar with the course, allowed Prioress to become blocked by the front rank and the race ended in a dead heat between three horses including Prioress. Horses in England did not then run multiple heats, as was the practise in America, but in the case of a tie, custom dictated either a run-off or a division of the prize money. Since a three-way split would provide little reward, a run-off was called. Before the deciding race there was a terrible downpour, during which Prioress was carefully blanketed and rubbed down, while the English horses stood shivering in the rain. Annoyed by Tankerley's poor handling of Prioress during the initial race, Ten Broeck obtained permission to replace him with the English jockey George Fordham. Fordham rode the mare to victory by a length and a half in the run-off to take the prestigious Cesarewitch. The London *Daily News* reported that "a loud and prolonged cheer greeted the triumph of the American

[37] Ten Brock, "Some Personal Reminiscences," 873 (quotations).

[38] "More Blood Stock Exported to England," 253; *Leeds Intelligencer*, July 25, 1857, 3; "French and American Horses for the Goodwood Cup," *Weekly Star and Bell's News* (London), August 8, 1857, 3; "The American Horses," *Belfast Mercury*, August 3, 1857, 3 (first and third quotations); "Sporting Intelligence," *Morning Post* (London), July 31, 1857, 6 (second quotation); "Warwick Races," *Morning Post* (London), September 4, 1857, 6; "Career of the Late Charles Littlefield," *Thoroughbred Record* 82 (July 17, 1915), 30; "Charles Littlefield was Noted Figure on the Turf," *Times Union* (Brooklyn), July 9, 1915, 8.

colours, and Mr. Ten Broeck was warmly congratulated." This was the first English race ever won by an American horse, and Ten Broeck thereafter kept Fordham as his principal jockey. Many years later, shortly before his death, Ten Broeck wrote, "The basis of all my racing triumphs in England was the gameness of my American horses, the ability of my American trainer, Pryor, and the superiority of my English jockey, Fordham."[39]

Fig. 9. George Fordham, the celebrated English jockey whom Ten Broeck considered superior to all others and who rode Prioress to victory for him in the Cesarewitch. *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* 28 (October 22, 1887), 145.

Americans of all walks of life were jubilant when the news of Prioress's victory reached across the Atlantic. *Porter's Spirit of the Times* proclaimed on October 31, "Victory! Victory! Victory! The legitimate triumph of 'Young America' over 'Old England,' the defeat of the flower of English racing stock by the American mare Prioress, a feat which obliterates the memory of previous disasters." The *San Francisco*

[39] Ten Brock, "Some Personal Reminiscences," 873; Merry, "Ten Broeck's Great Coup"; Bird, *Admiral Rous*, 200; *American Turf Register* (1857), 29; "Sporting," *Daily News* (London), October 14, 1857, 6; Ten Broeck, "Reminiscences," 873.

Chronicle, in an 1889 retrospective on Ten Broeck, recalled, "New York went wild and Ten Broeck and Prioress were idols of the hour."[40]

After the loss of Lecomte and Pryor, Ten Broeck needed some good American-bred replacements. With his new American wife, the former Patty D. Anderson of Louisville whom he had met in England and married on June 20, 1857, he left Southampton a month after the Cesarewitch on the steamship *Vanderbilt*, arriving at New York on the 26th after a twelve-day passage. The couple were at Louisville on December 23, probably having earlier paused in the Bluegrass region around Lexington to consult with some of the local breeders about horses he might take to England, and then continued on to visit many of the other breeders and racing venues of the south, taking ship again for England in April 1858.[41]

Ten Broeck purchased a handful of horses during his time back in the United States. The most seasoned horse was four-year-old Charleston by Sovereign out of Millwood, considered an outstanding horse at mile heats. He also chose four two-year-old colts, these being Rubicon by Lexington out of Bay Leaf; Satellite by Albion out of a Leviathan mare; and two untried colts by Revenue. Only Satellite proved to be of any great worth on English race courses. Charleston was a great disappointment, racing only once without placing for the Goodwood Cup on July 29, 1858, and afterward sold to a French stud for $3,000 (£617). Rubicon was raced several times, usually under Lord Fitzwilliam's name, but was able to garner only some minor victories.[42]

Satellite was bred by Bailie Peyton in Tennessee and sold to Keene Richards of Georgetown, Kentucky, a close personal friend of Ten Broeck, who named him Sherritt after his farm manager. In the opinion of Richards' trainer Ansel, Sherritt was "as good as Brown Dick," and he should know, for Ansel had trained both horses and Thornton Goldsby's Brown Dick, with numerous victories on the track, was indisputably top-class. John M. Clay (youngest son of Kentucky statesman Henry Clay), whose horse Daniel Boone was beaten by Sherritt at Lexington in May 1858, later claimed that "[Sherritt] could stop and take a bite of grass, and then beat them." Sherritt was shipped out from New York to Liverpool on September 10, 1859, and renamed Satellite. His first appearance was at the Liverpool races in early November where he failed to place, his entry considered more of a training exercise than a real competition. Modestly successful, during 1860 Satellite captured the Stamford Plate and plates at Ascot, Brighton and Newmarket, and ran second for the Goodwood Stakes.[43]

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[40] "The Great Race for the Cesarewitch: Prioress the Winner," *Porter's Spirit of the Times*, 3 (October 31, 1857, 140 (first quotation); "Fallen King: The Career of Turfman Ten Broeck," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 19, 1889, 6 (second quotation).

[41] "Married," *Berkshire Chronicle*, June 20, 1857, 8; *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, November 27, 1857, 4; "Mr. TenBroeck Arrives Home," *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans) November 28, 1857, 1; *Evening Picayune* (New Orleans), December 12, 1857, 4; "Local Matters," *Louisville Daily Courier*, December 23, 1857, 2; "Ten Broeck's Stables," *Kansas City Journal*, November 10, 1888, 8.

[42] "Ten Broeck to Croker," *Herald* (Los Angeles), February 24, 1895, 22.

[43] "Stock on the Farm of A. Keene Richards," *Wilkes Spirit of the Times* 2 (July 28, 1860), 327 (quotations); "Sporting Intelligence," *New York Herald*, September 12, 1859, 1; "Turf Talk," *Nottinghamshire Guardian*, October 5, 1859, 8; "Liverpool Autumn Meeting," *Bell's Life in London*, November 13, 1859, 4;

During the following year, he remained in England and had a half dozen American horses sent over to him, among them a Lexington colt called Optimist, and a five-year old chestnut horse called Starke. Ten Broeck purchased several top-rate English Thoroughbreds in 1858, the most notable being Eclipse, Barbarity, and Phaeton. By 1863, however, his racing stable would be made up almost entirely of English horses.[44]

Fig. 10. Alexander Keene Richards, pictured here in London, 1853, sent many outstanding horses to Ten Broeck in England. Richards and his friend, Robert A. Alexander, were among the most significant Thoroughbred breeders in Kentucky during the nineteenth century. Private collection.

American backers also shipped some promising stock across the Atlantic to replenish his stable. Many later accounts of the "American invasion" credit Francis Morris as the man responsible for providing Ten Broeck with additional American-bred horses. Thomas B. Merry, for example, without question an authority on the history of the American turf, wrote in 1918 that "In the year following the memorable Cesarewitch, Mr. Morris sent over a half-dozen horses, among them being Babylon

"American Invasion of England: Richard Ten Broeck's Long Endeavor to Prove Superiority of American Racers," *Daily Racing Form* 26 (March 23, 1920), 2.

[44] "American Invasion: Ten Broeck's Long Endeavor," 2; "Ten Broeck to Croker," 22.

by Imp. Belshazzar; Woodburn by Imp. Glencoe; Satellite by Imp. Albion, and Sunnyside [sic; Summerside], Olive Branch and Optimist by Lexington. He also sent over Starke." Merry is inaccurate in some particulars; for example, Babylon and Woodburn are documented as having been sent to England in 1857, prior to the American victory at Cesarewitch. Morris may have shipped the horses Merry named, but he did not provide them. A look at the *American Stud Book* and other contemporary documents indicates that most of the horses shipped to Ten Broeck in England were in fact formerly owned by Keene Richards or other Kentucky turfmen. While Morris was certainly one of Ten Broeck's most important backers, it was Richards and not Morris who played the most critical role in supplying him with outstanding American horses. Richards and Morris may have worked in concert, with Richards selecting and purchasing horses and sending them on to Morris in New York, who then sent them on to Ten Broeck.[45]

William Brown came to England in late June of 1857 with a number of horses including Babylon, the yearling colt Woodburn and the filly Bonita; the two latter Kentucky-bred. Woodburn was bred and owned by Robert A. Alexander, and Bonita was bred by Abe Buford; the establishments of both men located in Woodford County and both close friends of Keene Richards. Since he owned her dam, Sarah Washington, Bonita was already Ten Broeck's property. Babylon was from the Deep South, his sire Belshazzar leased by William J. Minor of Mississippi from his importer, Thomas Flintoff of Nashville, Tennessee. Francis Morris of New York was not yet an established breeder and unlikely to have much contact with a Mississippi turfman, but Richards owned a cotton plantation in northeast Louisiana and often raced at southern tracks, so was well known to horsemen of the region and far more likely to have acquired Babylon for Ten Broeck.[46]

There can be no question of provenance for Optimist and Summerside; both were bred and owned by Keene Richards prior to being shipped to England. The colt Optimist and the filly Summerside were the produce of two unnamed Glencoe mares Richards purchased from Ten Broeck and bred to Alexander's Lexington. The first mare foaled Optimist in 1857 and an unnamed bay colt in 1858; the second mare, known as "Sister to Pryor #2," foaled the colt Reformer in 1859 and Summerside in 1860. All four were the offspring of Lexington, and all were sent to Ten Broeck in England, where, in 1866, Optimist was purchased by James Weatherby, publisher of the English *Stud Book*. The shipment of the four foals may have been part of the purchase agreement for the two mares (plus another Glencoe mare obtained at the same time) made between Richards and Ten Broeck. The filly Olive Branch, sired by Lexington and foaled in 1859, like her half-sister Bonita also belonged to Ten Broeck in the first place.[47]

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[45] Merry, "Ten Broeck's Great Coup," 254 (quotation); "Ten Broeck's Stables," 8; "The Cup Day," *Morning Chronicle* (London), July 30, 1858, 6.

[46] "Foreign Sporting Intelligence," *Spirit of the Times* 27 (August 15, 1857), 319 (quotations); *American Stud Book* vol. 2, 290; *American Turf Register* (1857), 58-59; Thomas B. Merry, *The American Thoroughbred*, (Los Angeles: Commercial Printing House, 1905), 101-102.

[47] "An English Turfman on Ten Broeck's Tactics," *Wilkes' Spirit of the Times* 1 (September 10, 1859), 11; *American Stud Boo*k, vol. 1, 479-480, 482; Mackay-Smith, *Race Horses of America*, 258.

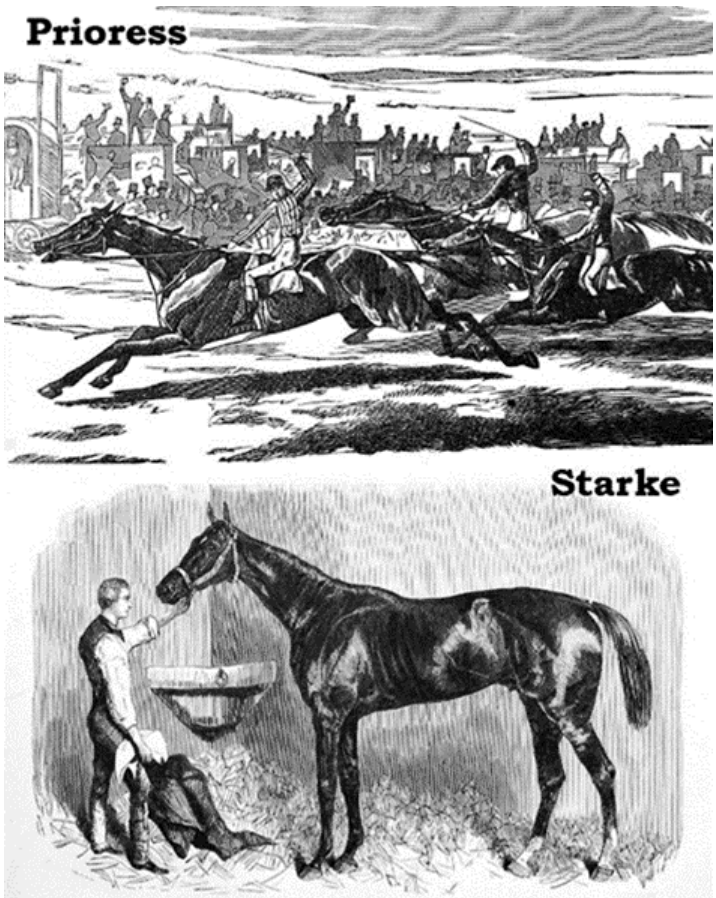

Fig. 11. Top: Prioress gallops to victory in the prestigious Cesarewitch of 1857, the first major win scored by Ten Broeck's American horses. *Porter's Spirit of the Times* 3 (November 14, 1857, 161. Bottom: Stark, Ten Broeck's most successful American horse in England. *Famous Horses of America*, 18.

According to Sanders Bruce, Richards purchased a three-year-old colt named Starke from Thomas J. Wells and shipped him to Ten Broeck in England. Starke was a half-brother to Lecomte and Prioress, sired by Wagner out of the matchless Reel. In two races at a meet held by Wells on his own track at Dentley Plantation near Alexandria, the colt defeated all challengers. Starke appeared at Metairie in the first week of January 1859, by which time Richards had already departed the United States for England on a trip to purchase English Thoroughbreds for his own stud. Wells would have been more willing to close a deal with his close friend Richards or his agent than with an unknown Yankee like Francis Morris.[48]

[48] Bruce, "Death of Col. A. Keene Richards"; *American Stud Book*, vol. 2, 240; *American Turf Register* (1858), 12-14; *American Turf Register* (1859), 3.

Starke arrived in England during February 1859, so he must have been shipped from New Orleans almost immediately following the January races at Metairie. The first appearance of Starke in an English race was at Newmarket in April 1859, in which he did not place. The same shipment which brought Starke across the Atlantic may also have included Ten Broeck's chestnut colt Umpire, foaled in 1857 out of Alice Carneal, the dam of Lexington whom Ten Broeck leased from Elisha Warfield the previous year. Umpire was sired by Lecomte during the stallion's brief stay in Kentucky and lodged with Keene Richards prior to being sent to England, and his first appearance on the English turf was with Starke at Newmarket in April 1858, where he also performed poorly.[49]

Prioress's win in the Cesarewitch was but the first of a series of victories that marked a dramatic reversal in the fortunes of the American horses in England. With a renewed stable comprised of outstanding race horses, Ten Broeck was thereafter able to score a series of wins in stakes and matches over many of the classic English courses. Many of his horses, including Satellite, won races, but the real American-bred stars of his stable proved to be Prioress, Umpire, and above all, Starke. Although never again a victor in a major contest such as the Cesarewitch, Prioress consistently secured wins in minor stakes races until, lamed in the spring meet at Newmarket in 1861, she was sold as a brood mare to Sir Lydston Johnson for $3,000 (£629). Umpire, who had never raced in the United States, won thirteen stakes events and three matches in England, and was sold in 1864 to the Earl of Coventry and retired to a very successful stud career at the age of seven.[50]

In Starke, however, Richard Ten Broeck was able to realize his ambitions on the English turf. His performance during the spring meetings of 1859 was nothing remarkable, but during the summer of that year, Starke demonstrated that American horses were a challenge to be taken seriously by gathering in three of the most prestigious trophies of the English turf. At the Goodwood Course in West Sussex on July 27, in a two-and one-half-mile race against a field of seventeen, Starke captured the Goodwood Stakes, and during the same meeting two days later, the Bentinck Memorial. On the September 7, at Warwick, Starke took home the Warwick Cup. His crowning achievement came on August 2, 1861, when, with Fordham in the saddle, he battled with the favourite, an English Thoroughbred called The Wizard, down the home stretch to take the Goodwood Cup by a head; Ten Broeck's Optimist finished in third place. Ten Broeck later recalled, "Thus did I finally accomplish the object for which I had left America." Two months later, Starke was sold to a Prussian aristocrat for $7,000 (£1,429), and retired to stud in that country.[51]

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[49] *American Turf Register* (1859), 56-57; *American Stud Book*, vol. 1, 163; "American Horses in England," *Daily Picayune*, September 10, 1859, 1; Hervey, *Racing in America*, vol. 2, 277-278.

[50] Ten Broeck, "Personal Reminiscences," 873-875; Hervey, "Barbarity and the Two Umpires," 211-213; *Famous Horses of America*, (Philadelphia: Porter and Coates, 1877), 15; "Mr. Richard Ten Broeck," 57.

[51] "Our Note Book: Goodwood," *Sporting Times* (London), August 3, 1907, 7; Ten Broeck, "Personal Reminiscences," 873-875, (quotation, 873); "Starke the Winner of the Goodwood Cup," *New York Times* (August 17, 1861), 3; *Famous Horses of America*, 19.

Ten Broecke was unable to capture the ultimate prize, the English Derby, and never really expected to succeed in this, but entered Umpire in the Derby at long odds in 1860 and bet heavily. Thirty horses sprang away from the starting post, and the London *Sun* described the action as the horses came up the straight to the finish line: "Hats go into the air, handkerchiefs are waved with cries and cheers and clapping of hands as they thunder up and past. It's Wizard! - it's Thormanby! - it's Umpire! shout the crowd, as they overwhelm the police and follow madly after them. No one knows anything till pigeons are seen flying in all directions, and there is great cheering at the chair as a black and white number goes up at the post. It is Thormanby after all." Umpire performed well, finishing in sixth place, but out of the money. Had Umpire been victorious, at four-to-one odds Ten Broeck would have claimed an enormous fortune. The purse for the race was £6,050, and Thormanby's owner, James Merry, was said to have won more than £70,000 through betting alone, giving him a total prize equivalent to more than £8.2 million today.[52]

After the end of the racing season of 1867, Richard and Patty Ten Broeck left England and returned to the United States. The "American invasion" had not quite shaped up to the vision held by many American horsemen as a spectacular rout of the English competition, but Richard Ten Broeck left England a wealthy man. During his ten years abroad, he had earned nearly $200,000 (£35,000) in stakes and trophies alone, and had probably gained considerably more through side bets on the races. Ten Broeck was a gambler, first and foremost. Unlike many other turfmen, he had no fixed assets to provide him with an income, only his horses and his wits. One observer estimated that, in 1872, Ten Broeck was worth more than a million dollars (£183,823).[53]

Despite all the public enthusiasm attending his great "American invasion," the riverboat gambler and dapper racing entrepreneur did a great disservice to the Thoroughbred interests of the United States by his removal of some of the best race horses ever bred in this country, who never returned and thus made little or no contribution to American bloodlines. In the long term, however, this may well be balanced by some of the first-class English Thoroughbreds he shipped to America, including Phaeton, Barbarity, Eclipse, and the colt – Australian – he selected for Keene Richards. Eclipse and Australian, in particular, represent two of the most significant contributors to bloodlines of modern American Thoroughbreds[54]

Eclipse, a handsome horse foaled in 1855, was considered one of the fastest colts in England and, after a modestly successful career running under the colours of Henry Padwick, was purchased by Ten Broeck in 1858 for his racing stable. Eclipse competed only once or twice more before being shipped, along with Barbarity, for the United States on August 18, 1859. Arriving at New York, Eclipse began a stud career, first at the Fashion course on Long Island and then sent to Kentucky in 1861, where he was under the management of Barak G. Thomas of Lexington. He was generally known as "Ten Broeck's Eclipse" to distinguish him from the famous

[52] "The Derby Day," *The Sun* (London), May 24, 1860, 4.
[53] Ten Broeck, "Personal Reminiscences," 873-875; Merry, "Ten Broeck's Great Coup"; "Marriages," *London Times*, (June 23, 1857),1.
[54] Hervey, *Racing in America*, vol. 2, 252.

Eclipse of England in the previous century and from the equally renown American Eclipse. Ten Broeck's Eclipse returned to the East coast in 1864, and in 1866 was turned over, along with the mare Barbarity, to Francis Morris of Throggs Neck as partial repayment for his financial support of Ten Broeck's English venture.[55]

These two horses were the foundation of Morris's stud farm, which subsequently became one of the major Thoroughbred establishments of the North. Eclipse remained at the Morris stud until his death in 1878. Barbarity was quite successful as a brood mare for Morris; her offspring included five full sisters sired by Eclipse known as the "Barbarous Battalion": Ruthless, Relentless, Regardless, Remorseless, and Merciless, all good racers. The first Belmont Stakes, held in 1867 at the recently opened Jerome Park Racetrack in Westchester County, was won by Ruthless. Morris's son, John A. Morris, who accompanied Ten Broeck to England and learned a great deal about racing, subsequently made quite a name for himself in the Thoroughbred industry. John established the huge Morris Ranch in Texas, one of the largest Thoroughbred establishments in the nation, and in 1889, Morris built the lavish Morris Park Racecourse in Westchester County, New York, which quickly became the region's most popular racing venue.[56]

On January 17, 1868, Ten Broeck purchased a substantial farm of more than 500 acres on the outskirts of Louisville, Kentucky, then known as "Lynnford." He renamed the property "Hurstbourne" to honour one of his friends in England, the Duke of Portland, whose estate carried that name. In retirement, Ten Broeck lived there quietly and in relative obscurity as a breeder, without participating in American racing. Although never greatly successful as a Thoroughbred establishment under Ten Broeck's management, Hurstbourne Stud became widely known because of one horse – Phaeton. Foaled in 1865, Phaeton was an English Thoroughbred sired by King Tom, a half-brother of Stockwell, out of Merry Sunshine, and thus thought to have great potential, but was badly beaten in the only two races in which he was entered. His owner, Sir Frederick Johnstone, was so disgusted by the colt's performance that he made a gift of him to Admiral Henry Rous in April 1868, who immediately consigned him to Tattersall's to be sold for whatever he might bring. At the June sale, Phaeton was noticed by Ten Broeck, who was attracted by the colt's bloodline and thought he might be worth sending to stud in Kentucky, and so paid the trifling sum of £20 for him. In Kentucky, however, the breeders "would have none of him. He was too coarse, they said; others declared he looked like a plough-horse rather than a Thoroughbred." Discouraged by this response, Ten Broeck allowed anyone who possessed a good brood mare to be serviced by Phaeton without

[55] Hervey, *Racing in America*, vol. 2, 265-268.

[56] Hervey, "Barbarity and the Two Umpires," 211; *Spirit of the Times* 111 (April 3, 1886), 298.; "Death of John A. Morris," *New York Times* (May 27, 1895), 1; Paul Cervin, "The Valley of the Pedernales," *Turf and Sport Digest* 11 (September 1934), 26-28; Nicholas Di Brino, *History of the Morris Park Racecourse and the Morris Family* (Bronx, NY: Bronx Historical Society, 1977), 2-3; Walter S. Vosburgh, *Racing in America, 1866-1921* (New York: The Jockey Club, 1922), 13.

charging a stud fee. He was sent to Lexington to stand for a few seasons, but was so scorned that he died of neglect in his stall in the spring of 1874, aged nine years.[57]

During the very next year, however, two of Phaeton's colts, both foaled in 1872, startled the racing world by their performances, and became known as among the greatest horses of the century. The colt Ten Broeck, out of the well-known Fanny Holton, was bred by John Harper at Nantura stock farm near Midway, Kentucky. This was a very fast horse, particularly at distance, and beginning in 1875 Ten Broeck set numerous track records for one, two, three and four miles, before retiring to stud at Harper's in 1878, siring 13 stakes winners. King Alfonso out of Capitola was bred and owned by Warren Viley of Stonewall Stock Farm, also located near Midway in Woodford County. King Alfonso had a short but brilliant racing career, his victories (all in 1875) including the St. Leger Handicap, Galt House Stakes, and Tobacco Stakes, all in Louisville; he was injured in 1876 and retired to stud at Alexander J. Alexander's Woodburn Farm. He was a very successful sire whose offspring included no less than sixteen stakes winners, not including Foxhall, who raced exclusively in Europe. As one writer observed, had Phaeton survived, "he would have been a fortune to his owner."[58]

Beset by personal problems, Richard Ten Broeck was unable to indulge in a quiet life as a Bluegrass country squire for very long. His beloved wife Patty died on March 27, 1873, no more than forty-five years old, and was laid to rest at Cave Hill Cemetery in Louisville. Patty was the heir to a large estate, valued at approximately $100,000 (£18,020), from her grandfather, John L. Martin. She may have become ill, and with an intimation of her own mortality, wrote out her will on January 2, 1872, leaving all her estate including the Martin inheritance to her husband, although this was not officially recorded. As the suit for partition of the Martin estate had not yet been settled, after Patty's death, her sister and niece filed suit against Richard, claiming that Patty's will was not valid. The court concluded that there was no evidence of fraud in the case and found in favour of Ten Broeck.[59]

[57] "Hurstbourne," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), September 8, 1884, 6; Robert Rollins, *A History of the Hurstbourne Country Club* (Louisville: Power Creative, 2000), 15-16; Sanders D. Bruce, *American Stud Book* (New York: Sanders D. Bruce, 1882), 367; "Turf Notes," *Sporting Gazette* (London), April 29, 1868, 6; "Circular Notes," *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* (London), April 22, 1882, 5; *The Sun* (London), July 4, `868, 3; Philip Poindexter, "The Futurity of '99," *The Criterion* 21 (September 2, 1899), 9 (quotation); Lee Herr, "Thoroughbred Horses," *History of Fayette County, Kentucky*, William H. Perrin, ed., 165.

[58] Bruce, *American Stud Book*, 71, 114; Herr, "Thoroughbred Horses," 165; *Famous Horses of America*, 51; Sanders D. Bruce, *Horse-Breeder's Guide and Hand Book* (New York: Turf, Field and Farm, 1883), 88-90; Cliff D. Hogan, *Index to Stakes Winners 1865-1967*, Vol. 2 (Solvang, CA: Flag is Up Farms, 1968), 608, 682.

[59] "The Martin Estate," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), September 19, 1874, 3; "Duncan vs. Field," *Daily Louisville Commercial*, September 19, 1874, 4.

Fig. 12. The horse Ten Broeck, painted in 1880 by the noted American equestrian artist Henry Stull.

The loss of his wife and the disruption of the past few years seems to have upended Ten Broeck's desire to continue the Hurstbourne operation. Late in 1874 he began to sell off the Thoroughbred breeding stock he had brought back from England. Several were purchased by Dan Swigert of Stockwood Farm in Woodford County. Ten Broeck's intentions were made clear by advertisements placed in the Louisville papers in early May 1875, giving notice that as he was "about to discontinue the breeding of horses" he was offering for sale at auction eight horses "superior for harness or saddle," all sired by Phaeton out of trotting mares. The sale was held at Grey Hall Farm in northern Jefferson County on May 11.[60]

During the spring of 1877, he created quite a sensation when, on April 28, he exchanged wedding vows with Mary C. Newcomb, the young widow of the enormously wealthy Horatio D. Newcomb, Louisville resident and president of the Louisville and Nashville railroad. Newcomb's first wife had been Cornelia Reed of New York, who came from a family with a history of mental illness. On the night of December 21, 1852, Cornelia took her four children to the attic of their home, and threw them out one by one to the pavement below. Two of her children survived, thanks to a mattress that had been rushed outside and set beneath the window. Cornelia was subsequently committed to an asylum in Massachusetts, and Horatio

[60] "Important Purchase of Fine Stock," *Tri-Weekly Kentucky Yeoman* (Frankfort), December 29, 1874, 3; "Horses for Sale" (advertisement), *Courier-Journal*, May 10, 11, 1875, 4; "The Sale of Trotting Stock," *Daily Louisville Commercial*, May 11, 1875, 4.

was granted a divorce on the grounds of insanity in 1871 by a special act of the Kentucky legislature.[61]

Two months later, on June 14, Newcomb married Mary Cornelia Smith of Louisville. He was sixty-eight years old at the time and Mary was twenty-five. No Episcopal minister in Kentucky would marry them, and so Newcomb imported one from Toronto, Canada, to perform the ceremony. Newcomb died during the summer of 1874, leaving an estate estimated at two million dollars (£369,000), having two remaining sons by his first wife and two small children by Mary. Victor, one of the sons who survived the fall from the window, brought suit against Mary to declare his mother, still institutionalized, Horatio's lawful widow rather than Mary. The sensational details of this case captured the public imagination and were reported nationwide. In April, 1876, the judge of the Louisville chancery court ruled in favour of Victor Newcomb, declaring the second marriage to be null and void. Almost exactly one year later, Mary Smith married Richard Ten Broeck, thirty-five years her senior, and the cloud of scandal which had long hovered over her now enveloped the Kentucky turfman as well.[62]

Ten Broeck had now had enough of Kentucky, and began to make preparations to leave the United States and take up permanent residence in England. Very likely his new wife had a part to play in this decision, wishing to escape the wagging tongues and judgmental glances of her neighbours, and finding the prospect of social life in London very appealing indeed. Richard sold off all of his household goods, including the trophies he had won in England: "The racing plate, mostly won at Goodwood, excited a considerable amount of competition, and was sold for much more than it was worth." This accomplished, on June 1, 1878, he conveyed Hurstbourne Stud to George Anderson of Louisville and soon afterward Richard and Mary took ship to England, taking temporary lodgings at Crawley's York Hotel in London on the first day of November, 1878.[63]

Although he brought no horses with him this time, Ten Broeck arrived in England just in time to participate, in a minor way, in the second American "invasion" of the English racing scene. His return to England may have been in part inspired by Milton H. Sanford, who in the autumn of 1875 visited Louisville. Sanford had just announced his intention to take a stable of American horses across the Atlantic to compete in England, the first to do so since Ten Broeck twenty years earlier. Sanford owned two breeding farms, both named Preakness Stud. His original establishment was in New Jersey, but in 1881 he purchased a farm of 544 acres near Lexington, Kentucky, and moved his breeding operations there. Sanford shipped out a string of eight horses in the care of Charles Littlefield on October 28, 1875. The most significant of his horses were Preakness, sired by Lexington, and Mate, sired by

[61] "Distressing Affair," *The Sun* (Baltimore), December 28, 1852, 1; "The Newcomb Divorce," *Public Ledger* (Memphis), May 4, 1871, 1.

[62] "From Louisville," *Cincinnati Semi-Weekly Gazette*, June 16, 1871, 4; "Death of H. D. Newcomb," *Courier-Journal*, August 19, 1874, 2; "The Newcomb Estate," *Courier-Journal*, March 3, 1875, 4; "Newcomb Case," *Courier-Journal*, April 8, 1876, 3;

[63] Rollins, "History of Hurstbourne," 15; "The Turf," *Glasgow Herald*, December 9, 1878, 6 (quotation); "Crawley's York Hotel," *Morning Post* (London), November 1, 1878, 3.

Australian; each was six years old and both had successful racing careers in America before being sent abroad. Although Preakness, in particular, was expected to do well against English horses, his performance proved disappointing. Sanford was never able to win any of the important stakes and finally gave up the effort in 1881. Soon after Sanford began racing in England, however, two enormously wealthy American turfmen, Pierre Lorillard and James R. Keene, came to the island kingdom with American Thoroughbreds to pit against their English cousins, and they would be far more successful than either Ten Broeck or Sanford had been.[64]

In the spring of 1879, Richard Ten Broeck plunged enthusiastically back into the world of the English turf, first visiting the Newmarket races as a spectator. He attended the Tattersall's sale on April 30, where he purchased two American-bred horses, Jolly Sir John and Saratoga, property of the Duke of Hamilton. These were part of a lot of horses purchased as yearlings by the duke's agent during Milton Sanford's sale at Jerome Park in New York the previous year. The former horse was held in rather low esteem, one observer commenting that he was "only a middling sort, with rather doubtful looking hocks, but he moved well around the sale ring," but he was sired by Glenelg, and this was an important bloodline. As a yearling, Glenelg was exported to the United States in 1866 and purchased by August Belmont. As a horse that had a successful racing career and later became an influential sire, Glenelg blood should be an asset. Ten Broeck acquired Jolly Sir John for 40 guineas, a relative pittance. Saratoga, on the other hand, was much admired by onlookers; "a big, powerful, level-made, and very good-looking colt all over, was cheap to Mr. Ten Broeck at 170 gs."[65]

In May, Ten Broeck entered the Epsom races with Jolly Sir John and Saratoga, ridden by the celebrated English jockey, Thomas Glover. As one of England's leading jockeys, Glover was profiled by *Sporting Life* in 1874, who described him as a "thorough master of his profession." During the 1878 racing season, Glover chalked up more wins than any other jockey in England, and so was an excellent choice by Ten Broeck. Neither horse, however, managed to place in their respective races.[66]

In the autumn of that year, Pierre Lorillard came to England with some of his best Thoroughbreds. Eight horses from his stable, including his prized five-year-old Parole, shipped out for Liverpool aboard the steamship *England* on October 19, and were at Newmarket by November 2, shortly after Ten Broeck's arrival. Five of the eight had been sired by Saxon, an English Thoroughbred imported by Lorillard who, in America, won the 1874 Belmont Stakes; two, including Parole, by Leamington, another English horse who, after being imported to America sired many winning

[64] Herr, "Thoroughbred Horses," 169; "American Turfmen in England," *Courier-Journal*, September 5, 1875, 1; "English Sporting Notes," *New York Herald*, November 24, 1875, 11; "Sanford's Enterprise," *Courier-Journal*, November 2, 1975, 1; "Important Arrival of American Race Horses," *Bell's Life in London*, November 13, 1875, 10; Elisha W. Kelly, "Our Horses and Jockeys Abroad," *Munsey's Magazine* 24 (December, 1900), 358.

[65] "Country Notes and News," *Sporting Gazette*, April 19, 1879, 7; "Newmarket First Spring Meeting," *Morning Post* (London), May 1, 1879, 6; "Blood Stock Sales at Newmarket," *The Sportsman* (London), May 2, 1879, 3;

[66] "Jockeys of the Period: Thomas Glover," *Sporting Life*, December 19, 1874, 2 (quotation); "Epsom," *London Evening Standard*, May 27, 1879, 5; "Epsom Notes," *London Evening Standard*, May 30, 1879, 2

horses, including Aristides, victor in the first Kentucky Derby; and one by the famous Lexington. Willam Brown, who had trained for Ten Broeck in England, would be in charge of the stable. Lorillard's horses would have the winter season to acclimatize before participating in any racing events.[67]

James R. Keene, who was new to the racing scene in America, would not bring Thoroughbreds to England until March 1880, when a string of fourteen horses, most Kentucky-bred, arrived safely at Newmarket. The stars of the lot were four-year-old Spendthrift, by Australian, undefeated as a two-year-old who in his next year (1879) won the Belmont Stakes and Jersey Derby, and Lord Murphy, who claimed the 1879 Kentucky Derby. The shipment also included a two-year-old identified only as a "bay colt by King Alfonso out of Jamaica" who would prove to be the true superstar of the stable and was given the name of Foxhall, after Keene's thirteen-year-old son. Charles W. Bathgate, an experienced New York turfman, would manage Keene's horses in England, and he and Richard Ten Broeck served as advisors for the neophyte Keene. Bathgate, upon arriving in England, sought out Ten Broeck as a fellow countryman with experience of English racing matters and was said to be heavily influenced by Ten Broeck's opinions. Ten Broeck persuaded Keene to change his trainer, moving Keene's horses to his own stable. William Day, the former trainer, recalled "Mr. Keene could, of course, only know of me what he was told, and this he would most likely get from his intimate friend, Mr. Ten Broeck." [68]

Both Lorillard and Keene had preregistered entries for some of the most prestigious English races before shipping out, and both met with spectacular success in England, astonishing the British public in a way that not even Ten Broeck had managed twenty years earlier with his victories at the Cesarewitch and Goodwood. In the first appearance of Lorillard's horses in an English race, on April 16, 1879, Parole defeated the great English Thoroughbred Isonomy for the Newmarket Handicap, an upset victory. Days later, Parole won two more important races. Encouraged by his success, Lorillard brought over a new batch of horses in the autumn of 1879, including Iroquois, a two-year-old sired by the famous Leamington. Lorillard had a passion for Leamington horses, and purchased as many as he could obtain. Iroquois was able to do something no American horse had ever achieved, by winning the Epson Derby in June, 1881, and then in September, capturing the St. Leger Stakes. In so doing, Iroquois won two of the great three-year-old stakes, and if he had taken the Two Thousand Guineas race instead of finishing second, he would have had the glory of the English Triple Crown. Pierre Lorillard would continue to race in England until his death in 1901.[69]

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[67] "Horses and Horsemen," *The Times* (Philadelphia), October 20, 1878, 3; "National Sports," *Illustrated London News* 73 (November 9, 1878), 442

[68] "American Horses," *Sporting Gazette*, March 27, 1880, 18; "Tragedy of Foxhall," *Sporting Times* (London), December 12, 1925, 8; "Death of Charles W. Bathgate," *New York Times*, May 18, 1891, 5; John Corlett, "Notes and Recollections," *Sporting Times* (London), January 11, 1913, 11; William Day, *Turf Celebrities I Have Known* (London: F. V. White, 1891), 226-258 (quotation, 240).

[69] Samuel C, Hildreth and James R. Crowell, "Down the Stretch," *Saturday Evening Post* 197 (June 20, 1925), 149; "Sporting Intelligence: Newmarket Notes," *The Standard* (London), April 17, 1879, 5; "Mr. Lorillard's New Importations," *The Sportsman*, September 10, 1879, 4; "Sporting Summary," *The Sportsman*, September 12, 1879, 2; "Sporting Intelligence," *Morning Post* (London), April 17, 1879, 3;

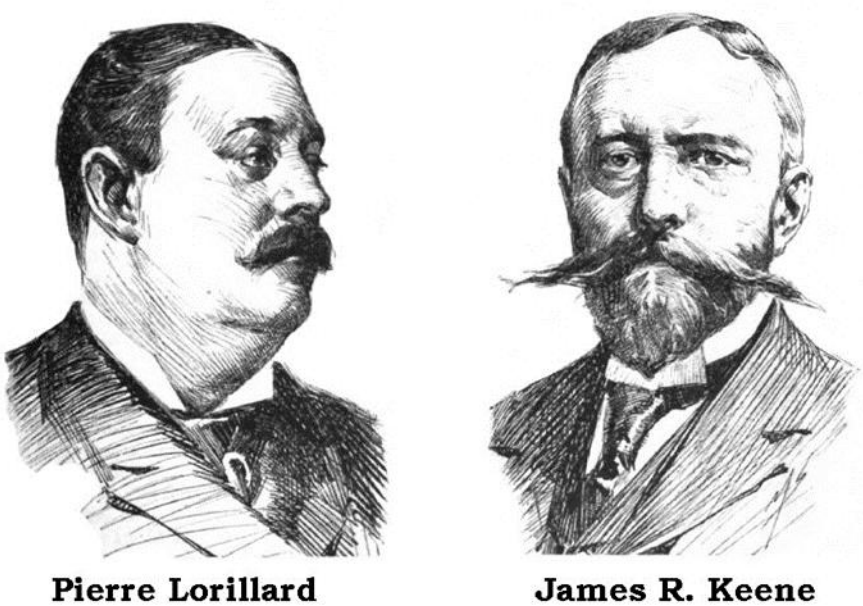

Fig. 13. During the second "American invasion" late in the nineteenth century, the wealthy American horsemen, Pierre Lorillard and James R. Keene, scored a series of remarkable victories proving the merit of American stock. Elisha Warfield Kelly, "Our Horses and Jockeys Abroad," *Munsey's Magazine* 24 (December 1900), 359.

As a two-year-old, Keene's Foxhall won the Bedford Stakes at Newmarket in 1880, and in the following season became the first American horse to win the Grand Prix du Paris. In an incredible performance at Newmarket during three weeks of October of the same year, he captured the Grand Duke Michal Stakes, the Select Stakes, and the prestigious Cesarewitch Stakes and Cambridgeshire Handicap. In the following year, Foxhall won the Ascot Gold Cup, a race long considered a supreme test of stamina, and on the very next day took the Alexandra Plate. Financial reverses on Wall Street in 1884 were so disastrous for Keene that he was forced to sell his Thoroughbreds, but he eventually recovered and returned to active and successful participation in the British racing scene during the 1890s.[70]

During the ten years of Ten Broeck's second foray on the British turf, he purchased numerous horses, raced them, and subsequently disposed of them. In addition to Glover, Fordham sometimes wore his colours, when his commitments to other owners permitted. Ten Broek's horses won some small victories, but never again an important race. His time in England was far overshadowed by Lorillard and

"Epsom Races," *Morning Post* (London), June 2, 1881, 2; "Doncaster Races," *Morning Post* (London), September 15, 1881, 2.

[70] "A Famous Turfman Passes Away," *Thoroughbred Record* 77 (January 11, 1913) 14; Jeffrey Hawley, "Wizard of Wall Street, Giant of the Turf," *Backstretch* 25 (October, 1986), 8-10.

Keene, whose racing stables dispelled any remaining doubt that American Thoroughbreds could compete on equal terms with their British counterparts.

His second campaign in England having failed to garner any significant victories, Ten Broeck, now in his late seventies, called it quits in the summer of 1887 and came back to the United States, his departure from England and arrival home scarcely noticed by the press. As one English writer observed, on the occasion of Ten Broeck's death in 1892, "the volcano was extinct and he returned home to die." He had come to England in 1878 as a wealthy man; despite being stripped of her widow's inheritance, Mary had managed to come away from her voided marriage with a substantial sum of money and their combined assets then amounted to more than $3,000,000 (£613,500). In England, that great fortune had been dissipated by the purchase of worthless horses, ill-considered betting, and extravagant living. He was no longer the shrewd gambler who, twenty years earlier, had made more money betting on other people's horses than on his own; he had lost his edge. On his first visit, from initially being uncertain how to place a bet with an English bookmaker, soon "instead of the Ring teaching him, he was able to teach the Ring." Years later, an American writer concluded that, from the day Ten Broeck married the widow Newcomb "he began to lose all that shrewdness that was his distinguishing trait."[71]

Upon first arriving in England in 1856, Ten Broeck had been readily accepted into the highest social circles, and Edward ("Bertie"), the Prince of Wales and future king, was among his closest friends. Now with that acquaintance renewed, and Mary introduced to the Prince, the Ten Broecks entered into a long period of profligate socializing among the royal set, attending and hosting lavish parties and entertainments. The years of high living not only drained their finances, but afflicted Richard with a severe case of gout, a painful condition that can be brought on by an intemperate diet. Recalling this time, Richard attributed his decision to return to the United States to gout, and that may have been a contributing factor, but the simple truth was that by 1887 they no longer had the means to pursue an ostentatious lifestyle. From the millions they had upon arrival, at their departure Richard and Mary had less than $200,000 (£41,237) remaining.[72]

The Ten Broecks arrived in New York by October, 1887, and travelled on to California, living for a time at U.S. Senator Leland Stanford's Palo Alto Stock Farm while a house was being built on a five-acre farm at San Mateo twenty miles south of San Francisco that Richard, now nearly eighty years old, purchased for his retirement. This was not a happy time for the couple; Richard was growing increasingly cantankerous and they bickered constantly. A year after their return to America, by mid-October 1888 Richard's behaviour had become so eccentric that he required an attendant and his sanity was being called into question. In October of the following year, Mary Ten Broeck petitioned the Superior Court of California to declare her husband insane. In court on November 14 where a decision would be made by jury,

[71] "The Turf," *Glasgow Herald*, August 22, 1982, 9 (first quotation); "Death of Ten Broeck," *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 2, 1892, 3; "Nasturtium," *Morning Leader* (London), January 10, 1902, 4 (second quotation); "Ten Broeck to Croker," 22 (third quotation).

[72] "Ten Broeck to Croker," 22; "Death of Ten Broeck," 3; "Reminiscences of a Busy Life," *San Francisco Call*, November 2, 1890, 16.

she testified that Richard thought she was trying to poison him, and that she had hired agents to kidnap him so that she could take his property and leave him to starve, that to protect himself against imaginary attacks he kept a small arsenal of knives and pistols in his room, and had threatened to kill her. A parade of witnesses weighed in on the situation, some swearing as to his insanity, others believing his reason to be unimpaired. Richard also testified lucidly on his own behalf. The Court ordered a commission to be appointed to examine the old turfman.[73]

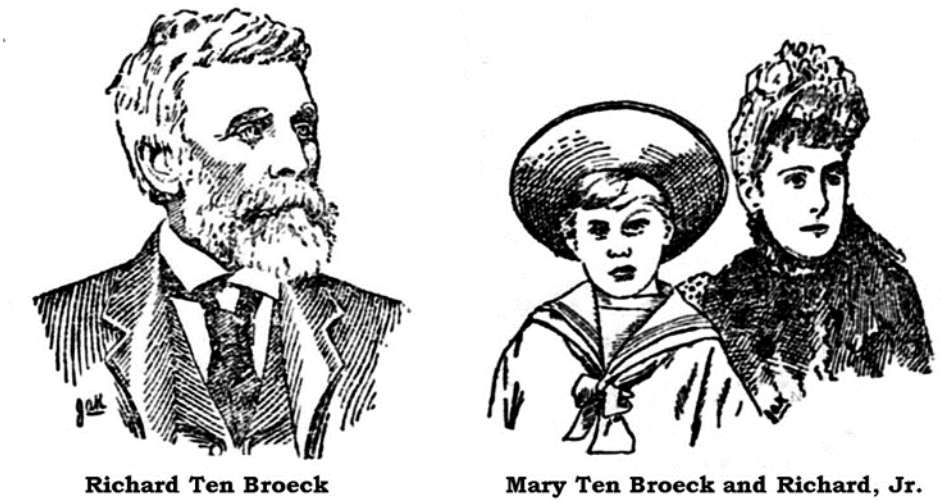

Fig. 14. Richard Ten Broeck at the age of eighty years and his second wife, Mary Ten Broeck, and their son Richard. Depictions by *San Francisco Call* artist, issue of November 2, 1890, p. 16.

A reporter for the *San Francisco Chronicle* approached Richard during one of his occasional visits to the city to lunch at the Palace Hotel restaurant: "He may be seen sitting alone at one of the tables, a white-haired, erect old man, with finely chiseled features and a pair of keen gray eyes, quick and brilliant, that take one in at a glance. When one meets him on the street one turns to give him a second look. He is dressed like a Southern aristocrat before the war." Interviewed, Richard acknowledged infirmity of body but insisted his mental acuity was clear, that his wife knew perfectly well that he was sane and her apparent grief over his condition was feigned. His interviewer reported that Richard spoke "for an hour or more on notable turf events and personages without a shadow of hesitancy and with the vein of a clever story-teller."[74]

[73] *Daily Globe* (St. Paul), October 24, 1887, 8; "Reminiscences of a Busy Life," 16; *Times-Democrat* (New Orleans), October 18, 1888, 4; "Tenbroeck's Mind," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 15, 6.
[74] "A Fallen King: The Career of Turfman Ten Broeck," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 19, 1889, 6 (first quotation); "Richard Ten Broeck," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 20, 1889, 8 (second quotation).

The two-man Commission of Lunacy made their report to the Court on November 21; in their opinion, Ten Broeck's behaviour did not signify a condition of insanity warranting commitment to an insane asylum. One of the examiners, Dr. Baldwin, later went on record that he thought Richard to be perfectly sane. The jury brought their verdict back on December 6 after less than an hour's deliberation, finding in favour of Richard Ten Broeck. Mary initially took up residence in San Francisco and then relocated to Louisville, Richard living in a cabin while the new house at San Mateo was being completed. He subsequently petitioned the Superior Court for a divorce on the grounds of abandonment, which was denied.[75]

Once the best-known man in America, who wined and dined with dukes and princes, Richard Ten Broeck spent the last years of his life alone, his fortune gone, reduced to living off of the sales of mementoes, nearly blind and increasingly reclusive and erratic. He died peacefully in his own bed in his new house on August 1, 1892. His remains were shipped to Louisville, where he was laid to rest in Cave Hill Cemetery on August 9 beside his former wife, Patty.[76]

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[75] "Tenbroeck's Case," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 22, 1889, 6; "Ten Broeck's Case," *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 5, 1889, 6; "Ten Broeck Wins Again," *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 7, 1889, 6; "The Tenbroeck Troubles," *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 30, 1889, 8; "Suing for Divorce," *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 9, 1891, 3; "Suit for Divorce," *San Francisco Call*, December 9, 1891, 8; "Ten Broeck Denied a Divorce," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 29, 1892, 3.

[76] "Death of Ten Broeck," *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 2, 1892, 3; "Tales of the Turf," *Herald* (Los Angeles), July 24, 1892, 9; Merry, "Ten Broeck's Great Coup," 254; "Back to His Old Home," *Courier-Journal*, August 10, 1982, 8.

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