

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

ProQuest Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

UMI[®]

NOTE TO USERS

This reproduction is the best copy available.

UMI[®]

MIDDLE TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY

THE AMERICAN UPPER CLASS AND
THE AMERICAN HORSE INDUSTRY FROM 1865 TO 1929

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE
GRADUATE FACULTY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

BY

JENNIFER "PERKY" BEISEL

MURFREESBORO, TENNESSEE

AUGUST 2005

UMI Number: 3194581

Copyright 2005 by
Beisel, Jennifer (Perky)

All rights reserved.

UMI[®]

UMI Microform 3194581

Copyright 2006 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

© 2005 by Jennifer M. "Perky" Beisel
All Rights Reserved

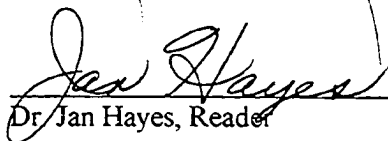
THE AMERICAN UPPER CLASS AND
THE AMERICAN HORSE INDUSTRY FROM 1865 TO 1929

APPROVED:

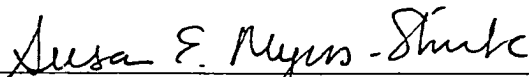
Graduate Committee:



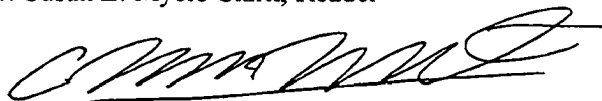
Dr. Rebecca Conard, Major Professor



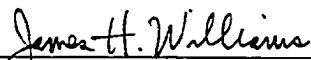
Dr. Jan Hayes, Reader



Dr. Susan E. Myers-Shirk, Reader



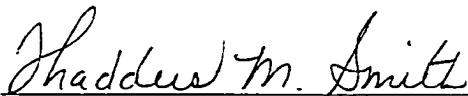
Dr. Carroll Van West, Reader



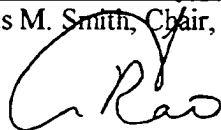
Dr. James H. Williams, Reader



Dr. Bob Womack, Reader



Dr. Thaddeus M. Smith, Chair, Department of History



Dr. Abdul S. Rao, Dean of the Graduate School

For *Ευτυχία*, *N. F. P.*, and *E. M. B.*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation is the union of two interests, horses and history. Through the research and writing process I have learned much more about the history of horses, horses in history, and how, for some families and individuals, horses became an integral part of their personal histories. It has also given me the opportunity to explore the larger themes of professionalization, corporatization, and class development during a fascinating period in American history. The committee's persistent and insightful questions opened numerous avenues of consideration, all of which have been stimulating even if not addressed within this dissertation. Dr. Rebecca Conard's attentive readings markedly improved the quality of the project.

A special thank you to the all of the individuals who freely shared their knowledge and the site staff who opened collections and sites to make researching this dissertation a wonderful adventure: Dr. Jerry Brookshire for directing my attention to the British economic and social historians; Archivist Julie E. Edwards and the volunteers at Shelburne Farms Archives; Curator Rebecca Howard, Harness Racing Museum and Hall of Fame; Communications Director Mary Pierson, United States Pony Clubs, Inc.; The Goodmans, Longview Farm; David Gale, New Longview; Director Patricia Spurill Bright, United States Cavalry Association; United States Equestrian Team headquarters; WildeFields Farm; Museum Director Stephen Patrick and Russ Davies at Belair Mansion and Stables; Mark Danley, Ph.D.; Scott Tillema; Phyllis Rogers at Keeneland Library; Librarian Robert

Weber of the National Sporting Library; and Jeff Sellers, Kevin Cason, and Don Detweiler at the Rutherford County Archives. Dr. Lisa Pruitt and Betty Rowland of the Albert Gore Sr. Research Center at Middle Tennessee State University provided unlimited computer access and free rein to delve into the Margaret Lindsley Warden Collection. Miss Warden's equestrian collection is the foundation and nucleus of this dissertation.

I would like to acknowledge my fellow graduate students at Middle Tennessee State University who kept encouraging me despite learning more about horses and stables than they ever wanted to know: Tammy Allison, Van Zbinden, Heather Bailey, Nancy Morgan, Beth Moser O'Hara, Jennifer Allen, and Holly Barnett. Nancy Morgan kindly granted permission to use her photograph of the Roosevelt Stable. Special thanks are due to numerous supporters from the horse world including, but not limited to, David and Darlene Bottorff of Genesis Arabians; Gigi Winslett; Horse and Hound Pony Club; and everyone at Settlers Acre Stable. Stacy Y. Schmidt burned up the phone lines, gave up vacation days to help, drew illustrations, and, most importantly, is a wonderful friend. David, Paige, and Cooper Beisel are great reasons to go to horse shows; Nell Foster Passano gave boundless support and kept asking how much longer. Carlie and Jim Beisel read drafts, gave unmeasureable encouragement, provided the chance to grow up with horses and hounds.

ABSTRACT

THE AMERICAN UPPER CLASS AND THE AMERICAN HORSE INDUSTRY FROM 1865 TO 1929

JENNIFER “PERKY” BEISEL

This dissertation examines how particular individuals, between 1865 and 1929, used their wealth, leisure time, and participation in recreational activities as a distinctly new method to establish their social identity within a new American national upper class while creating the conceptual and physical framework for the American horse industry. During that process, participants in this multifaceted recreational, leisure, and competitive activity utilized emerging corporate and industrial business practices to create a nationally based professionalized sporting industry and to establish equestrian-oriented country house and rural estate properties. Participants adapted scientific agriculture and model farming principles and hired architects and landscape designers to create new cultural landscapes from the vernacular equestrian horse management tradition resulting in the development of stable complexes that included twenty-six specific elements gathered together and defined here for the first time for historians, preservationists, and curators.

The first chapter examines the pre-1865 European and American upper classes and their characteristics adopted by the newly, wealthy elite to create a new identity. The second chapter summarizes the development of eight horse sport and recreational

activities (foxhunting, flat racing, steeplechasing, polo, harness racing, coaching, military programs, and horse shows) while highlighting the interconnected network of leading horsemen. The third chapter country house and rural estate predecessors and these two similar, yet distinct property types that included both functional and leisure activities. Chapter four introduces horse management and stable design through the description of stable complexes' twenty-six elements. These architecturally significant stable complexes were both functional, production areas and the basis of prestige and social advancement. The fifth chapter examines the background, development, and activities of two competitive stables, Shelburne Farms and Longview Farm. The sixth chapter surveys the interpretation at extant sites and how sporting landscapes or stable complexes could be better utilized to educate the public not only about the social and physical development of the horse industry itself, but also the culture and experiences of its participants. The epilogue extends the narrative of the eight horse sports after 1929 when they became the model for subsequent groups.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables	x
List of Illustrations	xi
Chapter	
1. THE SWELLEST SET	1
2. KEEPING SCORE: AMERICAN EQUESTRIAN SPORTS AND BREED ORGANIZATIONS	36
3. HOME IS WHERE THE HORSE IS	144
4. THE STABLE COMPLEX	217
5. THE WEBBS OF SHELBURNE AND THE LONGS OF LONGVIEW: TWO FAMILIES, THEIR HORSES, AND THEIR RURAL ESTATE STABLES	374
6. INTERPRETING THE HISTORY OF HORSE SPORTS IN CONTEXT	514
Epilogue	549
Appendixes	560
1. The distribution of horse sport industry personnel as reported by occupation in the 1880 United States Federal Census	561
2. Recognized North American Foxhunts 1865-1929	562
3. Prominent Racetracks in the United States between 1865 and 1929 ...	566
4. Selected Stables in the United States between 1865 and 1929	571
Bibliography	579

TABLES

Table	Page
1. 1892 Rancho del Paso and 1925 Nursery Stud Sales	25
2. Foreign Classic Races Run Between 1865 and 1929	48
3. Selected Entries From the Shelburne Farms 1891 Ledger	394

ILLUSTRATIONS

Note: The author created all of the illustrations without a specified source, creator, or collection item number.

Figure	Page
1.1 Lillian Russell and Jesse Lewisohm at Saratoga, 1906. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 6173	33
1.2 Marshall Field III, Mrs. William K. Vanderbilt, and Samuel D. Riddle. 1925. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 3802.....	34
1.3 Conservatory (1880), Lyndhurst, Tarrytown, New York	35
2.1 Foxhunting, Mission Valley Foxhunt, Kansas, 1997.....	100
2.2 August Belmont Sr., c. 1844-c. 1860. Daguerreotype from the studio of Matthew Brady. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs, LC-USZ62-109850	101
2.3 Samuel C. Hildreth, Mack Garner, and August Belmont Jr. at Belmont Park, 30 May 1916. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 4206.....	102
2.4 August Belmont Jr., Mr. and Mrs. Perry Belmont. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 3764....	102
2.5 Charles Reed, owner of Fairview Stud, Gallatin, Tennessee, c. 1865 and c. 1901 (MLW0778) and (MLW0779).....	103
2.6 <i>St. Blaise</i> , Thoroughbred Stallion. Drury Photograph (MLW2486).....	104
2.7 Man O'War and groom William Harbut, 1926. P. W. Moser Photograph (MLW2364)	105
2.8 Three August Belmont Jr. Stallions (MLW2439), (MLW2307), and (MLW2260)	106

2.9	Crescent City Jockey Club, 1904. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 4583	107
2.10	Belmont Park Spectator Areas, 1905 and 1906. C. Cook Photographs. Courtesy of the Kenneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 222 and 6401	108
2.11	The Turf and Field Club at Belmont Park. C. Cook Photographs. Courtesy of the Kenneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 6388 and 6423	109
2.12	Jockey and Rider Data from the 1880 U.S. Federal Census.....	110
2.13	William Collins Whitney's leading two-year olds (MLW2390) and (MLW2174)	111
2.14	Payne Whitney and John E. Madden. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 14099.....	112
2.15	<i>Equipoise</i> , C. V. Whitney's 1930 Pimlico Winner, 11 March 1924. L. S. Sutcliffe Photograph (MLW2257).....	112
2.16	<i>Battleship</i> after Belmont Cub Steeplechase, 1930. Courtesy of the Kenneland Library Association, BM7991	113
2.17	Polo playing women Mrs. Thomas Hitchcock and Phoebe Cary. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Kenneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 7995	114
2.18	Myopia Hunt Club, Hamilton, Massachusetts. Perky Beisel Postcard Collection.....	115
2.19	Tommy Hitchcock Jr. at Sands Point, Long Island, 1930. AccuNet/AP Multimedia Archive Online Database (photo database, Item APA6844089).....	116
2.20	Marshall Field III's Caumsett Manor stable, Long Island, New York. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS,NY,52-LOHA,V,1-B-2.....	117
2.21	1911 international polo match at Meadow Brook. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Kenneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 17282..	118
2.22	1913 international polo match at Meadow Brook. C. Cook Photograph.	

	Courtesy of the Kenneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 17291..	119
2.23	1913 international polo match at Meadow Brook, English horses. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Kenneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 17290	120
2.24	Harry Payne Whitney and Foxhall P. Keene, 1906. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Kenneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 4288....	121
2.25	Foxhall Parker Keene (1913) and Harry Payne Whitney (1908) mounted on polo ponies. C. Cook Photographs. Courtesy of the Kenneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 4601 and 7971	122
2.26	Foxhall Parker Keene, James Robert Keene, James Rowe, and DeCoursey Forbes at Coney Island Jockey Club. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 3096.....	123
2.27	Castleton Stud Stakes Winner <i>Sysonby</i> (MLW2508)	123
2.28	<i>Palo Alto</i> , Standardbred stallion. Schreiber Painting, 1890 (MLW1829) ...	124
2.29	The Historic Track at Goshen, 1838, Goshen, New York	125
2.30	Good Time Stable (1913), Goshen, New York.....	126
2.31	Big Barn (1897), Walnut Hall, Lexington, Kentucky (MLW1699)	127
2.32	Floral Hall, 1882, at The Red Mile, Lexington, Kentucky	128
2.33	Belle Meade carriages and Miss Margaret L. Warden, 1968. W. E. Lawson Photograph (MLW1158)	129
2.34	Howard Willetts and Alfred Gwynne Vanderbilt coaching, 1904. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Kenneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 4586	129
2.35	The <i>All Sport</i> Scrapbook, 1910. E. Devourillox Photographs. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU.....	130
2.36	Cavalry stable at Fort Riley, Kansas. Perky Beisel Postcard Collection....	131
2.37	Camp Lewis Remount Station, Tacoma, Washington, 31 October 1917. M. D. Boland & Parrish Photograph. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, DLC/PP-1917:45578.....	132

2.38	Camp Kea[. . .] Remount Station, December 1917. San Diego Photo Service Photograph. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, PAN US MILITARY - Army no. 183	132
2.39	Front Royal Remount Station, Virginia (MLW2604).....	133
2.40	Fort Robinson Remount Station, Nebraska (MLW2603).....	133
2.41	<i>Lou Lady</i> and children, December 1935 (MLW2612).....	134
2.42	<i>Miss America</i> and foal at Fort Robinson, Nebraska, 1936 (MLW0869).....	134
2.43	U. S. Army Polo Team, 1922 (MLW2605)	135
2.44	U. S. Army Show Horse Team, 1927. Haas Photograph (MLW2606)	135
2.45	<i>1876 Tennessee Central Fair Association Brochure</i> , Community Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU.....	136
2.46	<i>Job</i> , grand champion Percheron stallion, Chicago International Livestock Show, 1920 (MLW0907).....	137
2.47	<i>George Henry</i> 11460, grand champion Belgian stallion, Chicago International Livestock Show, 1921 (MLW0439).....	137
2.48	* <i>Field Marshall</i> , Hackney Stallion. Haas Photograph (MLW0722).....	138
2.49	* <i>Marlboro</i> by <i>Polomius</i> , Hackney stallion (MLW0735)	138
2.50	<i>Poetry of Motion</i> 3825, American Saddlebred gelding (MLW1099).....	139
2.51	<i>Montgomery Chief</i> 1361, American Saddlebred stallion (MLW1080) and (MLW1078)	140
2.52	<i>Eleanor</i> and <i>Fair Ace King</i> , American Saddlebred stallion, c. 1920. Margaret Lindsley Warden Photograph (MLW1005)	141
2.53	<i>Fair Ace King</i> 4059, American Saddlebred stallion (MLW1006).....	142
2.54	Reginald Vanderbilt and car at the Chicago Horse Show, 1902. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Kenneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 14096	143
3.1	Lyndhurst (1865), Tarrytown, New York, Residence	196

3.2	Lyndhurst (1865), Tarrytown, New York, Stables and Carriage House, 1967. Jack Boucher Photograph. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS,NY,60-TARY,1D-5.....	197
3.3	Mr. and Mrs. P.A.B. Widener Jr. and Joseph E. Widener. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Kenneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 2498.	198
3.4	P.A.B. Widener Sr. Residence (1887), Philadelphia. Pennsylvania. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey. HABS,PA,51-PHILA,352,1.	199
3.5	Lynnwood Hall (1898), Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Courtesy of the Frances Loeb Library, Graduate School of Design. Harvard University. ...	199
3.6	Belair Mansion (c. 1745), Bowie, Maryland.	200
3.7	Carters Grove (c.1750), Williamsburg, Virginia	200
3.8	Hermitage Stud, 52-stall training stable (c. 1890), Nashville, Tennessee (MLW1685).....	201
3.9	James Ben Ali Haggin Barn (1902), First Floor Plan [Elmendorf Stud]. Tim Winters Drawing, 1984. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS,KY,34-LEX,11A-3.....	202
3.10	James Ben Ali Haggin Barn (1902), Elevations [Elmendorf Stud]. Tim Winters Drawing, 1984. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey. HABS,KY,34-LEX,11A-5.....	203
3.11	James Ben Ali Haggin Barn (1902), Typical Horse Stall Plan [Elmendorf Stud]. Tim Winters Drawing, 1984. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS,KY,34-LEX,11A-6.	204
3.12	Floor Plan, Will Rogers Ranch Stables (1929). Stephen Bunyard Drawing, 1988. Kurt Klimt Inking, 1988. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS,CAL,19-PAPA,1-C1	205
3.13	Duke's Park Stables (1900), Somerville, New Jersey. Perky Beisel Postcard Collection.	206

3.14	Stable at Georgian Court, George Gould Estate, c. 1900. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company.....	207
3.15	Hamilton Farm Stable (1917), Gladstone, New Jersey.....	208
3.16	Hamilton Farm Stable (1917), Gladstone, New Jersey.....	209
3.17	Garrett Racing Stable, Baltimore, Maryland. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS,MD,4-BALT,50-A-1 and A-3.....	210
3.18	William Woodward Sr. C. Cook photograph. Courtesy of the Kenneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 4518.....	211
3.19	Belair advertisement in <i>Rider and Driver</i> , 29 November 1924, page 77	212
3.20	Belair Stable (1907), Bowie, Maryland	213
3.21	Earl Sande and William Woodward Sr., 1930. C. Cook photograph. Courtesy of the Kenneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 4525....	214
3.22	Calumet Stud Farm, Lexington, Kentucky. Perky Beisel Postcard Collection.....	214
3.23	Windsor T. White Stable (1926), Chagrin Falls, Ohio.	215
3.24	Green Hills (1902), Elmendorf Stud, Lexington, Kentucky (MLW1671) ..	216
4.1	Barns (March 1996).....	277
4.2	Woodlawn Carriage Barn and Stable (1886). William MacIntire Drawing, 1982. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS,DE,29-C1 and -C2.....	278
4.3	Abandoned livery stable, Omaha, Nebraska. John Vachon Photograph. 1938. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection, LC-USF3301-001294-M5DLC	279
4.4	Mule stable, Maple Hill mine, Pennsylvania. Sheldon Dick Photograph, c. 1938. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection, LC_USF34-040414-D	279
4.5	Stable blocks at The Red Mile and Saratoga racecourse	280

4.6	Aisle tie ring on fancy support post, Roosevelt Stable (1886)	281
4.7	Entrance boards, aisle floor, pipe stand, <i>Peter the Great</i> Standardbred stallion (MLW1839)	282
4.8	Main entrance, skylight and arena, Hamilton Farm Stable (1917).....	282
4.9	Box stall in stable block, brick entrance, walkway, <i>St. Simon</i> , Thoroughbred stallion. Frank Griggs Photograph (MLW2492).....	283
4.10	Cross-aisle, floor, ceiling at Hamilton Farm Stable (1917).....	284
4.11	Aisle with box stalls and harness/tack room, stable, Roosevelt Stable (1886).....	284
4.12	Stabling area with shavings bin, Historic Track at Goshen	285
4.13	Manure pile, The Red Mile.....	285
4.14	Manure area in historic stabling area, Saratoga racecourse	286
4.15	Manure loading area, Windsor T. White Stable (1926).....	286
4.16	Site Plan, Elmendorf Stud, James B. A. Haggin Barn (1909). Tim Winters Drawing, 1984. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS,KY,34-LEX,11A-12.....	287
4.17	Pasture with straw, <i>Orvieto</i> . Frank Griggs Photograph (MLW2407).....	288
4.18	Carriage room, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm. David J. Kaminsky Photograph, 1978. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS,MO,48-LESUM,1/14-23	289
4.19	The Meadows/Leacote Stable and Carriage House (1896), floor plan. Randy Abramson Drawing, 1974. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS,NY,14-RHINB.V,5A-1	290
4.20	Second-story carriage storage area, Breeding Barn (1891), Shelburne	291
4.21	Clock in decorative setting, Hamilton Farm Stable (1917)	292

4.22	Second-story grooms' quarters, Hamilton Farm Stable (1917).....	293
4.23	Second-story grooms' quarters, Hamilton Farm Stable (1917).....	294
4.24	Second-story grooms' quarters, Windsor T. White Stable (1926).....	295
4.25	Employee housing, Windsor T. White Stable (1926).....	296
4.26	Manager's apartment, Belair Stable (1907).....	297
4.27	Grooms' quarters in stabling areas, Saratoga racecourse	298
4.28	Employee housing and pasture fencing, Hanover Shoe Farm	299
4.29	Stallion manager's Sears house, Man O' War Farm (c. 1925).....	299
4.30	Main drive, Spendthrift Farm	300
4.31	Directional sign, Spendthrift Farm	300
4.32	Secondary entrances, Hamilton Farm (1917) and former Spindletop	301
4.33	Cemetery (c. 1886), Milky Way Farm (MLW1695).....	302
4.34	Cemetery and older stable, Spendthrift Farm	303
4.35	<i>Majestic Prince</i> memorial marker, Spendthrift Farm.....	303
4.36	Cemetery and memorial area, Historic Track Goshen.....	304
4.37	<i>Man O'War</i> lying in state (1947), Faraway Farm. Retrieved 18 August 2004, AccuNet/AP Multimedia Archive online database (Item APA4550919).....	304
4.38	Exterior row box stalls encircled by covered exercise track, Saratoga.....	305
4.39	Tracks, covered exercise and outdoor training, 505 Farm.....	305
4.40	Exterior entrance to indoor arena, Windsor T. White Stable (1926).....	306
4.41	Entrance to outdoor arena, Hamilton Farm Stable (1917).....	306
4.42	Round pen, 505 Farm.....	307
4.43	Indoor exercise walker, 505 Farm	307

4.44	Probable indoor exercise walker, <i>Tetratema</i> . Frank Griggs Photograph (MLW2510).....	308
4.45	Cross-country jumps at the Kentucky Horse Park.....	309
4.46	Cross-country jumps at the Kentucky Horse Park.....	310
4.47	People walk through in fence line. Fasig-Tipton.....	311
4.48	Oak board fencing, Hanover Shoe Farm.....	311
4.49	Board fencing with protected corner, Brownland Farm.....	312
4.50	Oak board fencing with central drive, Settlers Acre.....	312
4.51	Four fencing types. Stacy Schmidt Drawing, October 2004.....	313
4.52	Trimmed hedges, gravel paths, mowed grass, <i>Mintagon</i> and <i>Pommern</i> . Frank Griggs Photographs (MLW2384) and (MLW2419).....	314
4.53	Second-story grain storage bin, Windsor T. White Stable (1926).....	315
4.54	Feed room, Windsor T. White Stable (1926).....	316
4.55	Grain bin, Belair Stable (1907).....	317
4.56	Feed room, Hamilton Farm Stable (1917).....	318
4.57	Aisle with grain chute and blanket rack, Roosevelt Stable (1886).....	319
4.58	Storage area for stall cleaning equipment, Hamilton Farm Stable (1917)...	319
4.59	Harness and tack room, Roosevelt Stable (1886).....	320
4.60	English hay ricks, <i>Swynford</i> . Frank Griggs Photograph (MLW2507).....	321
4.61	Exterior hay doors, Roosevelt Stable (1886), Historic Track Goshen, Hamilton Farm Stable (1917).....	322
4.62	Hay loft trap door, Windsor T. White Stable (1926).....	323
4.63	Above stall hay storage, 505 Farm (c. 1920).....	324
4.64	Hay loft access, Hamilton Farm Stable (1917) and Man O'War Farm stallion barn (c. 1925).....	325

4.65	Grandstand, seating and backside, Historic Track at Goshen (c. 1950s).....	326
4.66	The Red Mile	327
4.67	Grandstands (c. 1910) at Churchill Downs, Louisville, Kentucky. Perky Beisel Postcard Collection	328
4.68	Paddock (saddling) area at Oaklawn, Hot Springs, Arkansas	329
4.69	Outside along track at Oaklawn, Hot Springs, Arkansas.....	330
4.70	Office (c. 1890), Hermitage Stud (MLW1686)	331
4.71	Boarding Fees, Margaret L. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU	332
4.72	Ribbons in stairwell display case, Hamilton Farm Stable (1917).....	333
4.73	Trophy room, skylight, light well, Hamilton Farm Stable (1917).....	333
4.74	Paddocks and pasture, Windsor T. White Stable (1926)	334
4.75	Pasture at Walnut Hall. M. Post Negative, July 1940. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection, LC-USF34-055809-DLC	334
4.76	Holding paddocks in pasture, Walnut Hall Stud Farm	335
4.77	Creep feeder in pasture, Walnut Hall Stud Farm.....	335
4.78	Carter Paint Company advertisement (c. 1910) showing pasture and paddock fencing on Thomas W. Lawson's Dreamwold Farm. Perky Beisel Postcard Collection	336
4.79	Pasture run-in shed, Settlers Acre	336
4.80	Stall door painted with stable colors, Belair Stable (1907)	337
4.81	Stallion barn, <i>1928 Himyar Stud Yearlings Sale Catalog</i> , L. S. Sutcliffe Photograph, Warden Collection, MTSU.....	338
4.82	Breezeway with coordinated paint and trim, Man O'War Farm	338
4.83	Coordinated paint and trim on two stables, Walnut Hall Stud Farm	339

4.84	Main stable in yellow and green colors, Hanover Shoe Farm	340
4.85	Polo stable interior at Marshall Field III's Caumsett Manor. Samuel H. Gottscho Photograph, 12 October 1933. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Gottscho-Schleisner Collection, LC-G612-20793	341
4.86	Governor Christopher Gore Coach House and Stable (c. 1806), Waltham, Massachusetts. Jack E. Boucher Photograph, May 1962. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS.MASS,9-WALTH,7-5	342
4.87	Adams Carriage House and Stable (1873). Cervin Robinson Photograph, 1962. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS, MASS,11-QUI,5B-2.....	343
4.88	Standing stalls, state stable, Buckingham Palace (1837). Perky Beisel Postcard Collection	344
4.89	Standing stalls, Royal Canadian Mounted Police Stable	344
4.90	Box stall front, Hamilton Farm Stable (1917)	345
4.91	Box stall with interior and exterior doors, 505 Farm (c. 1920)	345
4.92	Box stall interior, Hamilton Farm Stable (1917)	346
4.93	Hay manger in box stall, Spendthrift Farm (c. 1950)	347
4.94	Hay chute and rack, Belle Meade Carriage House and Stable (c. 1890).....	348
4.95	Hay chute and groom's storage area, Good Time Stable (1913).....	349
4.96	Brass hardware on box stall door, Spendthrift Farm (c. 1937).....	350
4.97	Decorative box stall door hinge, Roosevelt Stable (1886)	350
4.98	Stall front with blankets, towels, and trunks, <i>Peter Manning</i> . P. W. Moser Photograph (MLW1833)	351
4.99	Stall front blanket rack, Windsor T. White Stable (1926)	351
4.100	Stall door latching mechanism, Windsor T. White Stable (1926)	352

4.101	Stallion barn (c. 1830), Fairview (MLW1683).....	353
4.102	Cross-aisle entrance and doors, stallion barn, Man O' War Farm (c. 1925)	353
4.103	Breeding shed at Spendthrift Farm (c. 1950).....	354
4.104	Breeding room at Maine Chance Farm (c.1944)	354
4.105	Cabinets, tack room, Windsor T. White Stable (1926).....	355
4.106	The Whitney "Carry All." C. Cook Photograph, 1913. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association. Keeneland-Cook 17293	356
4.107	Van transportation. <i>Rider and Driver</i> , 5 April 1924, page 23	357
4.108	Loading ramps, Saratoga racetrack. Windsor T. White Stable (1926).....	358
4.109	Interior wash rack, Windsor T. White Stable (1926).....	359
4.110	Concrete stable, McKinney Stud, Cuba, New York (1917). Perky Beisel Postcard Collection	360
4.111	Electrical transformer room, Windsor T. White Stable (1926)	360
4.112	Light switch panel in trophy room, Hamilton Farm Stable (1917).....	361
4.113	Wrought iron exterior lamp, Hamilton Farm Stable (1917) and Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm.....	362
4.114	Telephone, Belair Stable (1907)	363
4.115	J. W. Fiske company grate for aisle drain, Good Time Stable (1913).....	364
4.116	Aisle drainage system, Hamilton Farm Stable (1917).....	365
4.117	Down spout, Hamilton Farm Stable (1917)and Show Horse Barn (1914) Longview Farm.....	365
4.118	Exterior view of water tower with back entrance to main aisle, Windsor T. White Stable (1926)	366
4.119	Part of indoor arena's watering system, Windsor T. White Stable (1926)..	367
4.120	Aisle cast iron water troughs, Hamilton Farm Stable (1917), Windsor T. White Stable (1926), Roosevelt Stable (1886), Lyndhurst Stable (1886) ...	368

4.121	Stone lined pasture pond, Walnut Hall. Marion Post Wolcott Negative, July 1940. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection, LC-USF 34-055808D.	369
4.122	Yearlings at pasture water trough, L. S. Sutcliffe Photograph, 1928 <i>Himyar Stud Yearlings Sale Catalog</i> , Warden Collection, MTSU.....	369
4.123	Central courtyard water trough and well, Belair Stable (1907).....	370
4.124	Crossroads watering fountain (c. 1890s), Goshen, New York	370
4.125	Interior wash rack, Hamilton Farm Stable (1917).....	371
4.126	Weathervanes. Stacy Schmidt Drawings, October 2004	372
4.127	Hunting Valley, Ohio sign based on the Windsor T. White Stable weathervane. Stacy Schmidt Drawing, October 2004.	373
5.1	Main house (1895), Shelburne Farms.....	430
5.2	Scenic views at Shelburne Farms. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company Photograph Collection, LC-D4-16082 DLC.	431
5.3	The Farm Barn (1890), Shelburne Farms	432
5.4	The Farm Barn (1890), Shelburne Farms	432
5.5	The Shelburne Farms Palace Horse Car (1901). Courtesy of the Shelburne Farms Archives (James Watson Webb Jr. Collection #158)	433
5.6.	W. Seward Webb and J. Watson Webb coaching. Courtesy of the Shelburne Farms Archives (T. E. Marr Collection #4317).....	433
5.7	The Breeding Barn (1891). Courtesy of the Shelburne Farms Archives (James Watson Webb Jr. Collection #102).....	434
5.8	Breeding Barn arena (1891). Courtesy of the Shelburne Farms Archives (James Watson Webb Jr. Collection).....	435
5.9	Breeding Barn (1891), Shelburne Farms. Perky Beisel Postcard Collection.....	436
5.10	Breeding Barn (1891). Courtesy of the Shelburne Farms Archives (James	

	Watson Webb Jr. Collection #3176).....	436
5.11	Breeding Barn (1891) main entrance, Shelburne Farms.....	437
5.12	Harness room, Breeding Barn (1891). Courtesy of the Shelburne Farms Archives (T. E. Marr Photograph Collection #3179)	438
5.13	Grain bins, Breeding Barn (1891), Shelburne Farms	439
5.14	Second-story tack room and living quarters in Breeding Barn (1891).....	440
5.15	Shelburne Farm employees. Courtesy of the Shelburne Farms Archives (James Watson Webb Jr. Collection #179).....	441
5.16	Breeding Barn employees (c. 1892). Courtesy of the Shelburne Farms Archives (James Watson Webb Jr. Collection #718)	442
5.17	Broodmare Barn (1891), Shelburne Farms.....	443
5.18	Broodmare Barn (1891). Courtesy of the Shelburne Farms Archives (James Watson Webb Jr. Collection #111).....	443
5.19	Paddock, c. 1895 from Broodmare Barn to Breeding Barn. Courtesy of the Shelburne Farms Archives (Nitrate Negative Collection #489-9).....	444
5.20	Foundation of the Coach Barn, c. 1901. Courtesy of the Shelburne Farms Archives (T. E. Marr Photograph Collection #4314)	445
5.21	View from the Coach Barn (1901) to the main house, Shelburne Farms	445
5.22	Courtyard of the Coach Barn (1901), Shelburne Farms	446
5.23	Box stall in the Coach Barn (1901), Shelburne Farms	447
5.24	Tie stall in the Coach Barn (1901), Shelburne Farms.....	448
5.25	Standing stalls in the Coach Barn (1901). Courtesy of the Shelburne Farms Archives (T. E. Marr Collection #6612).....	448
5.26	Back side of the Coach Barn (1901), Shelburne Farms.....	449
5.27	Carriage room, Coach Barn (1901), Shelburne Farms	449
5.28	Second-story carriage lift, Coach Barn (1901), Shelburne Farms	450

5.29	Carriage wash area in Coach Barn (1901), Shelburne Farms.....	451
5.30	Carriage wash area in Coach Barn (1901), Shelburne Farms.....	452
5.31	Cart and storage area in Coach Barn (1901), Shelburne Farms.....	453
5.32	Second-story living quarters in the Coach Barn (1901), Shelburne Farms .	454
5.33	Second-story grain bin in loft of the Coach Barn (1901), Shelburne Farms.....	455
5.34	Breeding Barn (1891) arena (c. 1915). Courtesy of the Shelburne Farms Archives (James Watson Webb Jr. Collection #106)	456
5.35	Shelburne Fox Hounds at Southern Acres, J. Watson and Electra H. Webb mounted. Courtesy of the Shelburne Farms Archives (James Watson Webb Jr. Collection #861).....	457
5.36	J. Watson Webb on polo pony. Courtesy of the Shelburne Farms Archives (Shelburne Farms Collection #1991.01.b).....	458
5.37	General location map of Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri.....	459
5.38	Map of Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. Darl Rastorfer Drawing, 1978. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS,MO,48-LESUM,1-1222.....	460
5.39	Corinthian Hall (1910), Kansas City, Missouri. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS,MO-1863-2.....	461
5.40	Stable and carriage house, Corinthian Hall (1910), Kansas City, Missouri. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS,MO-1863-10	461
5.41	Longview Gatehouse (1914) and Gatehouse Residence, Longview Farm..	462
5.42	Longview Chapel (1914), Longview Farm.....	462
5.43	Entrance arches (1912) along Longview Road, Lee's Summit, Missouri....	463
5.44	Longview Mansion (1912) from sunken garden.....	464
5.45	Longview Mansion (1912) front portico.....	464

5.46	Longview Pergola (1912)	465
5.47	Pergola at the head of the lake, Longview Farm	466
5.48	Pasture fencing for Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm	467
5.49	Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm.....	468
5.50	Water tower (1912) and dairy complex (1912), Longview Farm.....	468
5.51	Longview Farm General Rules. Provided by Dean and Nancy Goodman .	469
5.52	Longview Hotel (c. 1916) in workhorse complex, Longview Farm. Provided by Dean and Nancy Goodman.....	470
5.53	Employee house (c. 1916), Longview Farm. Provided by Dean and Nancy Goodman	471
5.54	Elevations, General Manager's House, Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. Jeffrey M. Laufer Drawing, 1978. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS,MO,48-LESUM,1-1222-42	472
5.55	First Floor, General Manager's House, Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. Kimberly I. Merkel Drawing, 1978. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS,MO,48-LESUM,1-1222-42	473
5.56	Second Floor, General Manager's House, Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. Kimberly I. Merkel Drawing, 1978. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS,MO,48-LESUM,1-1222-42	474
5.57	Gate Lodge #2, Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. Kimberly I. Merkel Drawing, 1978. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS,MO,48-LESUM,1-1222-42	475
5.58	<i>Golden Flash</i> , five-gaited American Saddlebred stallion, 1st prize at the Chicago International Livestock Show, owned by Loula Long Combs, Longview Stable (MLW1030).....	476
5.59	Longview Farm advertisement in <i>Rider and Driver</i> 5 April 1924, page 27	477

5.60	Longview Farm monthly advertisement in <i>Rider and Driver</i> 1 November 1924, page 3	478
5.61	Northern side of the Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm.....	479
5.62	Southwest corner of the Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm.....	479
5.63	Dave Smith showing <i>Ovation</i> in Denver, Colorado in 1925. <i>Rider and Driver</i> , 21 February 1925, page 12	480
5.64	Transverse Section looking West, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS,MO-1222-14.....	481
5.65	East End, First Floor, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS,MO-1222-14.	482
5.66	West End, First Floor, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS,MO-1222-14	483
5.67	Light fixture in tack room, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm	484
5.68	Light fixture in arena, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm.....	484
5.69	Ladder and mechanical room for Show Horse Barn (1914) clock, Longview Farm.....	485
5.70	Weathervane and clock on top of the Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm	486
5.71	Tack room, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm	487
5.72	Tack hooks, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm	488
5.73	Wires in tack room, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm	489
5.74	Grain room, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm	490
5.75	Grain room, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm	491
5.76	Second story grain bins, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm	492

5.77	Handle on aisle door, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm.....	493
5.78	Cross-aisle door, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm.....	494
5.79	Cross-aisle door, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm.....	495
5.80	Box stall front, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm.....	496
5.81	Box stall front, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm.....	496
5.82	Hay loft, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm.....	497
5.83	Hay chutes, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm.....	498
5.84	Hay trolley, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm.....	499
5.85	Salt holder in box stall, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm.....	500
5.86	Wash rack, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm.....	501
5.87	Drain for wash rack, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm.....	502
5.88	Paddock gate, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm	503
5.89	Pasture water trough, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm.....	504
5.90	Fireplugs, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm.....	505
5.91	<i>Revelation</i> , American Saddlebred stallion owned by Loula Long Combs, Longview Stable (MLW0741).....	506
5.92	Grave of <i>Revelation</i> in front of the Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm	507
5.93	<i>Carnation</i> in <i>Rider and Driver</i> , 29 November 1924, page 6. Haas Photograph	508
5.94	Clubhouse (c. 1916) at Longview Farm. Provided by Dean and Nancy Goodman.....	509
5.95	Clubhouse, grandstand, and track (c. 1916) at Longview Farm. Provided by Dean and Nancy Goodman	510
5.96	Clubhouse fireplace and brick at Longview Farm	511

5.97	Power plant at Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm.....	512
5.98	New housing on former Longview Farm fields.....	513
6.1	Coach house and garage (1897), Vanderbilt Mansion, Hyde Park.....	530
6.2	Aisle with section panels on stall fronts, Belair Stable (1907).....	531
6.3	Stall area with straw bales, stuffed grain sacks, feed scoops and buckets in the Belair Stable (1907).....	532
6.4	Exhibit in stall hay chute cubby hole, Good Time Stable (1913).....	533
6.5	Good Time Stable (1913) with sealed hay loft doors.....	534
6.6	Entrance to historic Good Time Stable (1913).....	535
6.7	Standing stall in Lyndhurst carriage house stable (1865) used in café.....	536
6.8	Exterior of the Roosevelt Coach House-Stable (1886). Photograph by Nancy A. Morgan, September 2004.....	537
6.9	Carriage house and stable (c. 1890), Belle Meade.....	537
6.10	Belair Stud racing silks exhibit in the library of Belair Stable.....	538
6.11	Kitchen in stable manager's quarters, Belair Stable (1907).....	539
6.12	Two exhibits with tools of two track personnel in the Kentucky Derby Museum, Churchill Downs, Louisville, Kentucky.....	540
6.13	Tack box exhibit, Harness Horse Museum and Hall of Fame.....	541
6.14	Harness room showing clean, oiled, and symmetrically hung harness in the Belair Stable (1907).....	541
6.15	Exhibit in harness room of the 1865 carriage house and stable, Lyndhurst, Tarrytown, New York.....	542
6.16	Sleighs in the carriage storage area of Breeding Barn (1891), Shelburne...	543
6.17	Tack and blanket storage room in the Breeding Barn (1891), Shelburne....	544
6.18	Two tack trunks in the tack and blanket storage room of the Breeding Barn (1891), Shelburne.....	545

6.19	Miscellaneous, randomly hung, dry tack in the tack and storage room of the Breeding Barn (1891), Shelburne	545
6.20	Harness and tack improperly hung in harness and tack room of Roosevelt Stable (1886).....	546
6.21	Historic carriages in the Carriage House and Stable (c. 1890), Belle Meade Plantation, Nashville, Tennessee	547
6.22	Dairy cows, Shelburne Farms	548
6.23	Visitors with chickens at the Farm Barn (1890), Shelburne Farms.....	548

CHAPTER ONE

THE SWELLEST SET

Between 1865 and 1929 financially successful Americans across the nation used their wealth, leisure time, and participation in recreational activities as a distinctly new method to establish their social identity. During that process, many participants utilized corporate administration practices in the private leisure sphere, established unique social interactions with members of their own class, adapted scientific agriculture and model farming principles, and hired architects and landscape designers to create new cultural landscapes from the vernacular equestrian tradition.¹

Historians have traditionally delineated the years between 1865 and 1929 into five distinct periods: Reconstruction, the Gilded Age, Progressive Era, World War I, and the Jazz Age. The Gilded Age was a turbulent era marked by excessive social inequality, corporate and political corruption, and drastic economic swings. The Progressive Era and World War I were punctuated with attempts to regulate a myriad of social, economic, and political upheavals that resulted in an optimistic glow during the Jazz Age. During these sixty-four years, numerous political, economic, technological, and cultural changes occurred at all social levels. The least studied changes are those that occurred within the

¹ Country house, rural estate, competitive stable, and horse sport facilities (e.g., racetracks or horse show grounds) developed through the use of twenty-six distinct elements, described in chapter 4, that were vital signposts to social advancement while laying the physical foundation of the American horse industry.

ranks of the newly wealthy and the old social upper class that combined to form a new upper class with the wealthy, social elite or Society at its peak.²

The usual trinity of upper, middle, and lower classes is a complex hierarchy, as historians have demonstrated when studying the middle and lower classes. Open admiration in American society for successful navigation within the business, political, and cultural worlds between 1865 and 1929 supported the creation of a new national American upper class comprised of both the older, regionally based social upper class and the newly wealthy businessmen, politicians, entertainers, and others.³ The newly wealthy built city homes, established country seats, patronized the arts, and participated in expensive forms of recreation and leisure in an attempt to join, or even surpass, wealthy members of the older social upper class who participated in the same activities. Noted for their activities and expenditures, the uppermost members of each group combined to form the wealthy, social elite.

This dissertation abandons traditional temporal and social references to Gilded Age and Progressive Era elites and instead concentrates on new characteristics of the multi-layered upper class that emerged after the Civil War. For some members of the newly wealthy, acceptance into Society resulted from active participation in horse sports,

² Society is being used specifically with a capital S to designate this pinnacle of American society. The usage is found in both European and American social histories. The horses names are italicized in order to avoid confusion between persons named in the text and registered names of horses.

³ Many of the newly wealthy came from the arts and entertainment fields, such as the singer/actress Lillian Russell (Figure 1.1), but others came from the professions, such as the architects Stanford White and Richard Morris Hunt who both lived and worked among members of the upper class. More common were the Society members whose wealth came from business and industry such as Marshall Field III and the Vanderbilt clan (see Figure 1.2).

one leisure activity that openly celebrated the “virtues of wealth” and panache while disregarding, or not concerning itself with, the accusations of conspicuous consumption or frivolous pursuits.⁴

Consistent participation in specific recreational and leisure activities thus became one new hallmark of the wealthy, social elite. The most expensive and thus most elite activities were art collecting, horticulture, yachting, and horse sports. This dissertation will focus on a select group of the older upper class and the newly wealthy who participated in horse sports and will outline connections within the larger upper class and within society as a whole. These individuals and families went far beyond the ownership of a few pleasure riding horses or fancy carriage horses to impress others at the train station or at Delmonicos and instead dedicated large portions of their wealth and time to success within the horse world.

Successful participation in horse sports often, but not always, coincided with acceptance into the upper echelon of Society. The result was the development of the modern horse industry’s physical and cultural foundations.⁵ Dedicated participation in horse sports, and all that it entailed, became one method to distinguish members of the

⁴ This dissertation attempts the type of research that, as expressed by F. L. M. Thompson, “reconstruct[s] the context within which contemporary actors operated, a setting fashioned from knowledge of the information available to them, of their perceptions and aspirations, and of the customs and traditions of their world.” F. L. M. Thompson, “Introduction,” in *Landowners, Capitalists and Entrepreneurs: Essays for Sir John Habakkuk*, ed. F. L. M. Thompson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 3. See also Frederic Cople Jaher, “The Gilded Elite: American Multimillionaires, 1865 to the Present,” in *Wealth and the Wealthy in the Modern World*, ed. W. D. Rubinstein (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1980), 193.

⁵ Andrew Holman, “‘Cultivation’ and the Middle-Class Self in Nineteenth-Century America,” *Canadian Review of American Studies* 23, no. 2 (1993): 185.

wealthy, social elite from the rest of the upper class between 1865 and 1929. Their identity evolved from a uniquely American interpretation of nineteenth-century European aristocratic lifestyles and, to a lesser degree, the emulation of the Southern and Northeastern regional pre-Civil War American upper classes.

European Upper Class Antecedents

American businessmen and their families had numerous opportunities between 1865 and 1929 to experience aspects of the British aristocratic lifestyle. Whether the contact came from living near British aristocrats in the United States, traveling in Great Britain, or marrying into an aristocratic family, the American newly wealthy supplemented their readings in popular literature by direct contact. The British aristocracy's adoption of "advanced farming" techniques in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries led to its "accommodation of agrarian and industrial capitalism" in the mid-nineteenth century and provided a reverse template for successful American businessmen designing their country houses and estates in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.⁶

A map of nineteenth-century Europe resembles a patchwork quilt designed by a person who randomly selected pieces of various sizes and decorative patterns. The cultural landscape, though colorful and varied, was united by a preponderance of castles, palaces, villas, and estates linked to aristocratic families, some with a centuries-old lineage, others much newer. As American families began to accumulate the profits from an increasingly industrialized nation, they began to send their sons and daughters to Europe to experience the quintessential coming-of-age ritual, the Grand Tour. Although it

⁶ Michael L. Bush, *The English Aristocracy: A Comparative Synthesis* (Manchester: University Press, 1984), 10, 13.

is likely that relatively few Americans possessed the highest quality letters of introduction to gain acceptance into the most discriminating drawing rooms, most tourists were able to experience aristocratic activities by visiting museums, buying art and haute couture, joining literary discussions, and attending equine sporting events patronized by the European aristocracy. The Grand Tour, usually defined as a European adventure by most Americans, was primarily focused upon Great Britain and its aristocracy. Social acceptance of American visitors stemmed from “the integration of Atlantic society and the emergence of a cosmopolitan set among the leisured wealthy, itself a product of the technology of transatlantic luxury liners which made it possible for well-connected American families to ‘do a season’ in London and the English country houses.”⁷

The British aristocracy included four levels of aristocracy in two major parts, the nobility and gentry. The aristocracy, or “hereditary ruling group” has three key elements—status, wealth, and power—and until the early-nineteenth century the social, intellectual, and wealthy elite were also the political elite in both Great Britain and the United States. The British royal family (Highness), the highest, wealthiest, and smallest level, was distinct from the aristocratic class of the approximately thousand hereditary peerage members (Lords). The third group of aristocrats was the more numerous and lesser nobles of the baronetcy (Sirs). The fourth level, and second part, and largest group was the gentry (Misters).⁸ Between 1865 and 1929 the most powerful member of the

⁷ Thompson, “Introduction,” in *Landowners, Capitalists and Entrepreneurs*, 19. See also David R. Contosa, *A Philadelphia Family: The Houstons and Woodwards of Chestnut Hill* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 19; and James Fox, *Five Sisters: The Langhorne of Virginia* (New York: Touchstone, 2001).

⁸ Jonathan Powis, *Aristocracy* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984), 1, 3, 7. Michael L. Bush, *The English Aristocracy: A Comparative Synthesis* (Manchester: University

royal household was Queen Victoria who reigned from 1837 to 1901. Her son, Edward VII, ascended the throne at age sixty after spending much of his adult life patronizing turf racing and steeplechasing. After his coronation he remained a staunch supporter of the Thoroughbred industry until his death in 1910.⁹ The family's public carriage horses, stabled in the Royal Mews, located in London, were used for official state occasions. The hunters, racers, and other personal horses of the royal family were stabled at various royal properties and in private training stables. King George V (1910-1936) was involved in horse sports more as the head of state rather than as the result of a personal passion.¹⁰ The interests of the royal family, including horse sports, served as an example of elite activities to aristocrats and commoners alike, including foreigners.

Press, 1984), 3-4, describes the aristocracy as the "traditional political elite," a "social group that contained both peers and gentry." See also Simon Winchester, *Their Noble Lordships: Class and Power in Modern Britain* (New York: Random House, 1982), xi; Samuel M. Kipp III, "Old Notables and Newcomers: The Economic and Political Elite of Greensboro, North Carolina, 1880-1920," *The Journal of Southern History* 43, no. 3 (August 1977): 373; Edward Pessen, "Wealth in America Before 1865," in *Wealth and The Wealthy in the Modern World*, ed. W. D. Rubinstein (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 171.

⁹ George Plumptre, *The Fast Set: The World of Edwardian Racing* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1985), 13-14. According to Plumptre British racing's immense popularity in the early-nineteenth century was closely linked to Edward's growing participation. At the same time racing became "safer, more enjoyable and more accessible."

¹⁰Mike Huggins, *Flat Racing and British Society 1790-1914: A Social and Economic History* (Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2000), 235. King Edward VIII's short reign (1936) was focused on his female companions, but he did attend the noteworthy equestrian events in Britain and abroad both before and after his reign. King George VI (1936-1952) and his family, especially his eldest daughter, now Queen Elizabeth II (1952-), supported horse sports. The royal family continues to actively participate in horse sports including racing, eventing, polo, and, until the February 2005 ban, foxhunting.

The nobility, in Great Britain and elsewhere in Europe, included peers, whose hereditary titles had been passed down from preceding generations, and the life baronetcy whose aristocratic standing was for life only. During the late-nineteenth century most aristocratic titles were of the first type, and it was only after World War II that the life title became the majority. Wealthy Americans marrying into British families aimed for the former, the higher the better. There were several different factors that influenced this shift from hereditary to life, but the most important were money and land. Historically, being aristocratic meant controlling significant amounts of wealth, but wealth alone did not equal aristocratic status.¹¹ Aristocracy meant being in the upper level and participating in honorable economics, that is, land-based enterprises; land ownership ensured “prestige, authority, duties, a right to command, and capital assets.”¹² However, many nineteenth-century aristocratic families often lived beyond their means and were frequently required to borrow large sums of money to supplement their income, an action that actually stimulated rather than depressed the British economy.

Until the early-nineteenth century most aristocratic families lived part of the year on their estates and received the majority of their income from the land in the form of crops, livestock, and rents. In the 1820s and 1830s, as Great Britain began to industrialize, the nation became more focused on subsurface resources, especially coal,

¹¹Powis, *Aristocracy*, 23.

¹²Ibid., 24. Bush, *The English Aristocracy*, 4, lists the following characteristics of the pre-twentieth-century English aristocracy: own a landed estate with tenants; equate the estate with local social position; have wealth, “political license,” popular deference, judicial privileges; earn no direct commercial wealth; fulfill duty to serve the monarch, rule the people, and dispense charity and hospitality; and, finally, the role is an inherited right not dependent upon action. See also H. John Habakkuk, *Marriage, Debt, and the Estates System: English Landownership, 1650-1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

and quickly became the world's industrial leader. Families formerly in financial straits were suddenly well off. By the 1860s the next generation of aristocrats, seeing little incentive to keep the large, expansive tracts of land and enormous mansions, began, on a small scale, to sell land to local farmers, mining ventures, railroads, or newly wealthy British industrialists. Between 1874 and 1890 successive years of bad weather, few agricultural improvements, and farm labor migration to the cities combined with cheap agricultural imports from the United States and Russia to create an extended agricultural depression. The gentry in particular suffered from decreased land prices and lowered rents.¹³ For a brief period from 1890 to World War I, the countryside and country houses and estates experienced a renaissance during a quarter century of renewed prosperity. However, after the war, dramatically lowered land values led to a widespread movement to relieve the families of financial burdens. A glut of historic estates were placed on the real estate market.¹⁴ However, despite the reduced fortunes of aristocrats, their social status held steady and provided economic opportunities.

¹³Bush, *The English Aristocracy*, 154-155. See also Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978); Mark Girouard, *The Victorian Country House* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1979); Clive Aslet, *The Last Country Houses* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982); David Cannadine, *Aspects of Aristocracy: Grandeur and Decline in Modern Britain* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994); David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (New York: Vintage Books, 1999); David Cannadine, *The Pleasures of the Past* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991); David Cannadine, *Rise and Fall of Class in Britain* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); Peter Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997); J. V. Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England 1660-1914* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1986); and Dominic Lieven, *The Aristocracy in Europe, 1815-1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).

¹⁴Powis, *Aristocracy*, 95. Between 1860 and 1929 the role of wealth in relation to social standing also altered as "fortunes were to be made more rapidly, in greater numbers, and in a wider range of activities, than ever before; and perhaps most important, not all

Selling family holdings, mineral rights, or right-of-ways to lessen debts were not the only options to raise capital. In the mid-nineteenth century the British aristocracy increasingly began to marry wealthy heirs of British or foreign businessmen. American families encouraged their daughters, who had dowries up into the hundreds of thousands or millions of dollars, to marry indebted aristocratic sons in exchange for the opportunity to increase social prestige at home and to become part of the British aristocracy.

Marriage with wealthy commoners (and foreigners) became increasingly popular between 1865 and 1929, reflecting changing attitudes within and toward the aristocracy.¹⁵

In 1874 New Yorker Jenny Jerome, the wealthiest heiress in the United States, married Lord Randolph Churchill, the 8th Duke of Marlborough and owner of Blenheim Palace.¹⁶ The marriage provided one model for the later flood of “dollar princesses” who those who applied their wealth to a political career [previously equated with an aristocratic lifestyle] hoped to turn gentleman in the process.” Furthermore, Powis asserts, “Great wealth had always provided a route towards the power and distinction of aristocratic leadership. But now there were signs that the role of wealth was changing. Some rich men ignored or rejected hereditary distinction as they made their way in the political world . . .”

¹⁵Thompson, “Introduction,” in *Landowners, Capitalists and Entrepreneurs*, 19, writes that “marriages with American heiresses were simply an extension of the long tradition of aristocratic marriages with moneyed heiresses, usually the daughters of bankers and financiers,” and that marriages to non-wealthy American women were “extensions of the equally well-established aristocratic tradition of marriages with the daughters of well-to-do landed, service, and professional families.”

¹⁶Roger Ellis, *Who's Who in Victorian Britain* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2001), 354. Some might argue that the most important result of Jenny Jerome and Lord Randolph Churchill's marriage was the birth of their second son, Winston Spencer Churchill. Ruth Brandon, *The Dollar Princesses: Sagas of Upward Nobility, 1870-1914* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1980), 37-39. British men in need of funds occasionally traveled to the United States to search for a wife at the seemingly endless balls, dinners, and outings arranged by members of the upper class in each city. Bucky King, *The History of Big Horn Polo* (Sheridan, WY: 1987), 3. Jenny's sister, Clara Jerome, married an Englishman Moreton Frewen who, with his brother Richard, built

invaded Britain after the American Civil War. According to Ruth Brandon, the 1915 volume of *Titled Americans* listed “454 American women who had married into the European aristocracy” in the following rank order: the most in England, followed by France, Italy, Germany, Poland, Spain, Russia, Sicily, Japan, Bulgaria, and many more.¹⁷ One of the most publicized of these marriages was that of Consuelo Vanderbilt and the 9th Duke of Marlborough. Consuelo Vanderbilt, granddaughter of the Commodore, Cornelius Vanderbilt, was blessed with beauty and wealth but unfortunately had little in common with her husband. The marriage lasted long enough to produce two sons and for the Duke to spend her \$1,500,000 dowry restoring the family seat.¹⁸ Other forms of American wealth also flowed to the estate when, in 1897 according to the editor of the popular magazine *Outing*, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, the Duchess of Marlborough’s mother, bought the “well-known hunter, Longshot” for the Duke.¹⁹ Mary Goelet, the only “Frewen’s Castle,” a cattle ranch outside Buffalo, Wyoming. See also Elisabeth Kehoe, *Titled Americans: Three American Sisters and the British Aristocratic World into Which They Married* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2004).

¹⁷Brandon, *The Dollar Princesses*, 1.

¹⁸David Cannadine, “Aristocratic Indebtedness in the Nineteenth Century: The Case Re-opened,” *Economic History Review* 30, no. 4 (November 1977): 631, table 3, found that the estate raised between £400,000-£500,000 from the 1877 sale of family paintings, books, etc., and used some of the money, £20,000, to pay off a debt dating to 1816. However, David Spring in a reply article “Aristocratic Indebtedness in the Nineteenth Century: A Comment,” *Economic History Review* 33, no. 4 (November 1980): 567, note 2, writes “the main Marlborough estate was cleared of debt by 1876, and according to the historian of the Churchill family, ‘most of the money’ from the art sales went into estate improvement.” See also David Spring, “English Landed Society in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” *Economic History Review* New Series 17, no. 1 (1964): 146-153; and David Spring, “English Landownership in the Nineteenth Century: A Critical Note,” *The Economic History Review* New Series 9, no. 3 (1957): 472-484.

¹⁹Alfred Stoddart, “Equestrian: High-Stepping Hackneys,” *Outing: An Illustrated Monthly Magazine for Recreation* 29, Vol. 6 (March 1897): 620. Available from APS

daughter of Ogden Goelet--owner of Ochre Court in Newport, numerous yachts, and, with his brother, about forty-five acres in downtown Manhattan--picked the 8th Duke of Roxburghe to be her husband. Miss Goelet brought a three-million-dollar dowry to the 1903 wedding.²⁰ These marriages fully exposed the desire of certain American newly wealthy upper class members to integrate themselves into the British aristocracy.

The gentry, the fourth level of the British upper class, most clearly represented the ideals of the American elite. As the vast majority of the upper class, the gentry provided local leadership and a majority of the members of the House of Commons. In the countryside, local members of the gentry were included on local nobles' guest lists and fully participated in horse sports and other social events. Despite the American invasion, the gentry was the usual source of new members in the aristocracy by marriage or, less often, through knighthood. Gentry families, or wealthy businessmen hoping to join the gentry, used their wealth, which often had been accumulated in a single generation during the nineteenth century, to increase the family's prestige, rank, and honor by "large-scale aristocratic expenditure. If lavish display was so constantly indulged in, it was in large part a matter of meeting the community's expectations of how great families should

Online Database 434085942.

²⁰Jerry E. Patterson, *The First Four Hundred: Mrs. Astor's New York in the Gilded Age* (New York: Rizzoli, 2000), 143. See also Jerry E. Patterson, *Fifth Avenue: The Best Address* (New York: Rizzoli, 1998); Jerry E. Patterson, Anthony T. Mazzola, and Frank Zachary, eds., *The Best Families: The Town & Country Social Directory, 1846-1996* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1996); Harold Perkin, *The Origins of the Modern English Society 1780-1880*, *History and Archaeology* 65 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969); Joseph F. Rishel, *Founding Families of Pittsburgh: The Evolution of a Regional Elite, 1760 - 1910* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990); and W. D. Rubenstein, *Men of Property: The Very Wealthy in the Modern World* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981).

live.”²¹ In this manner the gentry and wealthy businessmen could demonstrate their preparedness to join the higher ranks.

Though most of the social mingling between Americans and the British aristocracy occurred in Great Britain, some British aristocrats moved to the United States and Canada, taking advantage of the pound’s strength in relation to the dollar, and attempted to become gentlemen farmers or ranchers. As the professionalization movement of the late-nineteenth century swept the British religious, military, and government establishments, fewer second and third sons found promising avenues for employment. Most of these sons dropped out of the peerage or baronetcy to become members of the gentry because the family did not have the funds to fully subsidize the gentleman in his attempt to “follow more rigorously the aristocratic way of life.”²² Most estates and their assets were reserved for the eldest son through the process of primogenitor. Aristocratic families began to search for new, inexpensive ways to provide for the extra sons’ livelihoods. After the American Civil War, British-owned western land holdings in the United States increased dramatically as the British agricultural depression deepened and American ventures grew in popularity.²³ Parents sent their sons, occasionally called

²¹Powis, *Aristocracy*, 4.

²²Bush, *The English Aristocracy*, 7.

²³Larry A. McFarlane, “British Remittance Men in Frontier America,” *Journal of the West* 40, no. 1 (Winter 2001): 42. McFarlane ranks Le Mars, Iowa; Runnymede, Kansas; and Rugby, Tennessee as the “best-known British settlement colonies in the U.S. where many remittance men settled as apprentice farm students or ‘pupils.’” See also Cordia Sloan Duke and Joe B. Frantz, *6,000 Miles of Fence: Life on the XIT Ranch of Texas* (Austin: University of Texas, 1961); W. Turrentine Jackson, *When Grass Was King: British Interests in the Range Cattle Industry* (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 1956); Lee Olson, *Marmalade & Whiskey: British Remittance Men in the West* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 1993); Clark C. Spence, *British Investments and the*

“remittance men” for the allowance provided by the family, as apprentices to learn the skills of western living while creating an outpost of British culture in the American West.²⁴ Oftentimes these families hoped the sons would remain in the United States or elsewhere and not return home to further strain the family’s limited financial resources. At the same time, their American neighbors and visitors were exposed to the British sporting traditions, which influenced American upper class characteristics and activities.²⁵

On 5 February 1892 the *Norwich News* reported that Mr. Ropu of Dublin, Ireland, had arrived in the English colony of Runnymede, Kansas, as “a pupil of Mr. Turnly’s for instructions in farming and will stay at the ranch for the next six months. He is very much pleased with the country and will no doubt locate here permanently.”²⁶ Perhaps Mr. Ropu returned to Ireland, but maybe he stayed in Kansas. Some men found the frontier life

American Mining Frontier (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1958); F. L. M. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963); and Lawrence Milton Woods, *British Gentlemen in the Wild West: The Era of the Intensely English Cowboy* (New York: The Free Press, 1989).

²⁴Marjory Harper, “Aristocratic Adventurers: British Gentlemen Emigrants on the North American Frontier, ca. 1880-1920,” *Journal of the West* 36, no. 3 (April 1997): 41.

²⁵Curtis Harnack, *Gentlemen on the Prairie* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1985), 5. See also Nyle H. Miller, ed., “An English Runnymede in Kansas,” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (1975): 26, 31. The newspaper of the neighboring town of Harper called the hurdle race in the 1888 Fourth of July celebration the “most interesting spectacle of the day.” The Runnymede residents were described as “fine riders.” The 1889 celebration published in the *Harper Sentinel* on July 11 described the hurdle race as “four hurdles, 4 ½ feet high, [that] were placed across the track at about equal distances apart.” The race was “quite exciting.” See also Nyle H. Miller, ed., “An English Runnymede in Kansas-Concluded,” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 41, no. 2 (1975): 208-209. In January and February of 1891 the *Harper Sentinel* reported that Runnymede residents participated in polo practices every Friday, had a great match against the Eagle (town) team, and the Runnymede hunt had a very long run after a coyote.

²⁶As quoted in Miller, “An English Runnymede in Kansas-Continued,” 217.

different and more difficult than expected and often were not well equipped to deal with the new cultural and natural environment. Their attempts often resulted in failed business ventures, ridicule, scorn, or unsuccessful settlements.²⁷ However, some British aristocratic immigrants, like John S. Sinclair, were successful. Sinclair, who became the Earl of Caithness after an elder brother's death, owned and worked a farm in North Dakota raising wheat, draft horses, and dairy cattle.²⁸

During the 1870s and 1880s many British gentlemen emigrated to become ranchers. Post-Civil War railroad expansion and the rapidly growing eastern industrial cities provided the basis for a booming beef market. In 1882, the recently created 1st Earl of Tweedmouth sent his two youngest sons, Cousts and Archie, to North Dakota and Texas to establish cattle ranches. Despite continued assistance from their father, and later their sister Lady Aberdeen, who purchased fruit farms for Cousts in British Columbia and Oregon, neither brother ever made a profit. Archie's losses required the 2nd Earl of Tweedmouth to sell much of the family property to meet the debt.²⁹ Other British aristocrats joined in the western ranching business with more success, especially those individuals who combined better business and agricultural training with substantial British financial support in the form of a British-based syndicate. During the early 1880s some investors, like those who owned shares in the Scottish Prairie Cattle Company that ran

²⁷Harper, "Aristocratic Adventurers," 42.

²⁸McFarlane, "British Remittance Men in Frontier America," 43.

²⁹Harper, "Aristocratic Adventurers," 44, 46-48.

about 150,000 head in Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas, more than doubled their investment when the region had an unusually mild winter in 1881-1882.³⁰

The second type of British aristocratic immigrant in the 1870s and 1880s enrolled for agricultural training in “settlement colonies” directed by proven farmers. Noble and gentry parents alike willingly paid the fees in response to “promotions offering adventure, quick fortunes, rehabilitation of wayward youths, and the promise of building landed estates.”³¹ By 1868 aristocratic and gentry families had joined together to establish a colony in Decorah, Iowa, and were eagerly accepting new arrivals who would purchase farms that were “supposed to be a mine of everlasting joy accompanied by fabulous returns.”³² Other British immigrants, including retired military professionals, settled in LeMars, Iowa; Runnymede, Kansas (1888-1892); and Fairmont, Minnesota. Located within the agricultural heartland of the United States, the small towns of LeMars, Runnymede, and Fairmont became destinations for British aristocracy touring the United States.³³ The Close brothers, part of the British gentry, established colonies in

³⁰Christine Whitacre and R. Lauri Simmons, “Historic Farms and Ranches of Weld County,” National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, October 1990, E-17.

³¹Larry A. McFarlane, “British Immigrants to the American West: An Introduction” *Journal of the West* 40, no. 1 (Winter 2001): 6. The Canadian West was another popular destination until 1914.

³²H. Harcourt Horn, *An English Colony in Iowa* (Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1931), 24.

³³Eventually these farms, based upon the traditional British servant and tenant labor system, proved to be uneconomical in the American agricultural market. By the early twentieth century most English landowners had sold their properties and returned home, although some adjusted to local farming and labor practices and became U. S. citizens.

northwestern Iowa and southwestern Minnesota, especially in the vicinity of LeMars, Iowa, and either owned or controlled almost four hundred thousand acres of farmland and grazing pastures.³⁴ Since the Closes were part of the gentry and brother William had been a star rower, they attracted an unusually high proportion of the nobility including “the son of Lord Alfred Paget, Almeric Paget, who later married the sister of Harry Payne Whitney.”³⁵

While in the colonies, British visitors enjoyed a taste of home by riding in the hunt field, watching a polo match or a Thoroughbred race, hunting game on the prairie, or attending the local Church of England. Yet it did not always take an entire colony to maintain British recreational activities. In Big Horn, Wyoming, three British aristocrats, all younger sons, Oliver Henry Wallop, William Moncreiffe, and Malcolm Moncreiffe, established large ranches to buy and breed horses, especially horses destined for the British military or polo fields. Wallop immigrated to the United States in 1884, first settling in Montana with “two English-bred stallions” and then moving to Big Horn, Wyoming, in 1890 where he “raised and trained tandem horse teams and shipped them east on the railroad from Sheridan.”³⁶ Shortly after Wallop moved to Big Horn the Scotsman William Moncreiffe purchased a ranch in 1892 where he could lead “the life of a gentleman farmer and horse breeder.” When William Moncreiffe joined Theodore Roosevelt’s Rough

³⁴James P. Reed, “The Role of an English Land Company in the Settlement of Northwestern Iowa and Southwestern Minnesota: A Study in Historical Geography,” (M. A. thesis, University of Nebraska at Omaha, 1974), 42-67.

³⁵Harnack, *Gentlemen on the Prairie*, 5.

³⁶Michael A. Admundson, “The Mink and Manure Crowd: The History of an Elite Subculture in Wyoming” (M. A. thesis, University of Wyoming, 1990), 47-48.

Riders in 1898, his younger brother Malcolm, who had been elsewhere in Wyoming, moved in to manage the ranch and stayed after William's return. Later the three British men joined with another Englishman to form "the firm of Moncreiffe Brothers, Wallop and Walsh [which] sold over 20,000 horses to the British government for cavalry and artillery use in the South African Boer War."³⁷

Over the next twenty years the firm and its owners prospered in the horse breeding, buying, and selling business; diversified into cattle, sheep, banking, and politics; supported the local economy; and while vacationing in Santa Barbara, California, met and encouraged members of the American wealthy, social elite to establish working ranches, dude ranches, polo teams, and vacation homes in the Big Horn area of Goose Valley. World War I proved to be another financial bonanza with contracts similar to those of the Boer War. In 1925 William Moncreiffe sold his ranch and retired to France, and Oliver Wallop had to "renounce his naturalized American citizenship" in order to become the Earl of Portsmouth.³⁸ Malcolm Moncreiffe, however, remained in the area playing, breeding, and selling polo horses at his Polo Ranch until his death in 1948.³⁹

³⁷Ibid., 49-51. According to Admundson's footnote number 103, "Robert H. Walsh was born in England around 1865 and come to America in the 1870s. After living a short time in Iowa, he moved to Miles City, Montana in the 1880s. He moved to the Sheridan area in 1884 and worked various jobs before landing a job as foreman on Oliver Henry Wallop's Otter Creek Ranch."

³⁸Ibid., 67.

³⁹Ibid., 87, 93, 95. The 1922 American partnership of Goelet Gallatin and Milt McCoy, both wealthy, eastern polo players, began breeding polo horses and then shipping them to the east coast for potential buyers. The Circle V ranch used stallions available from the recently established Remount Service, retired eastern polo ponies, and imported British stallions and broodmares.

Antebellum American Upper Class

On the one hand, newly wealthy Americans may have adopted many European aristocratic characteristics; on the other hand, in order to rise into the wealthy, social elite of the upper class in the United States, the newly wealthy also needed to surpass the surviving leaders of the American antebellum upper class, which had its roots firmly planted in regional agrarian and, to a lesser degree, mercantile traditions. Much like the British upper class, the American upper class had broadened to include capitalists with few historic ties to agriculture. During the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, farmers, for the first time in American history, became a minority. Cities began to attract the younger generation at the same time that farms became less financially or socially rewarding.⁴⁰ This new urban concentration of native-born Americans, fueled by increased immigration from Europe, encouraged a distinct departure from the previous reverence, even if it had been partially mythical, for the rural middle and upper classes. By the beginning of the twentieth century southern and northeastern farming as a primary income source had lost much of its appeal (and colossal profits) among the upper class, and many smaller farm owners were no longer automatically part of the social and political elite. Fewer antebellum Southern plantation owners and Hudson River Valley mercantilists were at the zenith of the upper class than before the Civil War.⁴¹

⁴⁰Roman Albert Rome, "Property and the Social Status of the Family Farmer in Gilded Age America" (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1984), v-vi.

⁴¹The upper class, from 1865 to 1929, as a group, was not as closely linked to political activism, as its antebellum predecessors. For most newly wealthy a successful business provided the means to distinguish themselves within the upper class through expenditures, rather than supporting political control and social distinction over the lower classes. The postbellum wealthy, social elite's separation of political and social dominance is a key difference between them and the European aristocracy and the antebellum

Some former antebellum Southern plantation owners regained their political leadership by the turn of the century and dominated localized booming Southern economies that supported the rapid growth of Southern cities.⁴² Yet, many other surviving plantation owners lost much of their capital, and thus their ability to fully participate in expensive leisure activities, in the post-Civil War labor shortages, investment losses, and national economic panics that jolted the changing Southern social and economic systems.⁴³ Newly wealthy Southern urban businessmen joined the ranks of the upper class but did not immediately replace the plantation owner as the traditional Southern social and political leader.

In the New England and mid-Atlantic states, just as in the South, large landowners had comprised the majority of the early upper class and political elite. The Hudson River Valley, extending almost directly northward from New York City, was a prime agricultural area and the ancestral home of many leading families. About 1700 the Crown issued manorial patents of approximately 375,000 acres each in the Hudson Valley, with signeurial privileges, to four influential families. At the non-manorial level the Crown issued fourteen patents of at least fifty thousand acres “providing their owners with wealth

American upper class. However, that is not to say that between 1865 and 1929 the upper class and the wealthy, social elite in particular, eschewed all ties to the political process, but rather that the seemingly former innate duty of the wealthy, social elite to serve to the people had been severely strained.

⁴²Lynette B. Wrenn, “Commission Government in the Gilded Age: The Memphis Plan,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (1988): 218.

⁴³Eugene M. Lerner, “Southern Output and Agricultural Income, 1860-1880,” *Agricultural History* 33, no. 3 (1959): 117.

and a style of living that differed hardly at all from the lifestyle of the manorial grantees.”⁴⁴

Throughout the colonial and early American period, New York City played an important economic and social role, but it was equaled, if not surpassed, by other eastern cities such as Boston, Baltimore, or Charleston. New York’s antebellum upper class families, such as the Lorillards, Astors, Goelets, Roosevelts, Fishes, Van Rensselaers, or Stuyvesants, prided themselves upon their connection to the early Dutch period, when the city was New Amsterdam, and were slow to admit new members into their social circle.⁴⁵

After the Civil War, New York City’s rapidly expanding economy and population quickly established it as the defacto capital of American industry and the upper class. On 2 February 1892 the *New York Tribune* published a list of four hundred individuals throughout the nation, the “400,” a majority of whom were based in New York City, with the highest social credentials. New York society was the “pinnacle” of the “American rich [who] could afford anything: titled sons-in-law, Paris couture, prizewinning paintings from Paris Salons, the occasional European castle and castles in the American landscape, three-hundred-foot-long yachts, and their portraits painted by John Singer Sargent.”⁴⁶

The New Upper Class: Late-19th and early-20th Century Business World Successes

Post-Civil War industrialization altered United States culture and society through the creation of large amounts of disposable income for industry owners, a large percentage of the new upper class. Between 1865 and 1929 businesses diversified and multiplied

⁴⁴Pessen, “Wealth in America Before 1865,” 169.

⁴⁵Patterson, *First Four Hundred*, 86, writes it is this very group of “old, genealogically secure, and rich families of Dutch descent” who preferred the title “Old New York” that author Washington Irving christened the “Knickerbockers” in 1809.

⁴⁶Ibid., 7-8.

rapidly, creating a new group of individuals able to afford the opportunity to express their eliteness through the emulation of the antebellum upper class and their Victorian upper class counterparts. In fact, colonial and early American millionaires were a rare phenomenon, but between 1870 and 1900 they became an established “type, the shadow of which covers the face of the land.”⁴⁷ The three largest sources of new wealth were natural resources (e.g., oil, coal, silver, iron), transportation (e.g., streetcars, steamboats, railroads, automobiles), and financial services (e.g., investments, banks, building and loan associations).⁴⁸

Often referred to as “Robber Barons,” most of these business owners made their fortunes after the Civil War, though some predated the war, such as Cornelius Vanderbilt and John Jacob Astor who established companies and investments that continued to thrive under family control in the post-war years. In the case of Vanderbilt and Astor, each man’s son was able to more than double the family fortune, especially William Backhouse Astor who owned most of the land occupied by New York’s infamous tenant housing.⁴⁹ In addition, there were many new industries, such as food processing. Numerous firms

⁴⁷Herbert Croly, “Rich Men and Their Homes,” *The Architectural Record* 12, no. 1 (May 1902): 27.

⁴⁸Barry Eichengreen, “Currency and Credit in the Gilded Age,” *Research in Economic History*, Supplement 3 (1984): 90. According to Eichengreen between 1865 and 1915 banks multiplied “five time faster than [the] populations” and financial assets “increased by twentyfold.” See also John A. Garraty, *The New Commonwealth 1877-1890* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968).

⁴⁹Patterson, *First Four Hundred*, 55. See also Jerry E. Patterson, *The Vanderbilts* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1989); Kate Simon, *Fifth Avenue: A Very Social History* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978); John F. Stover, “Vanderbilt, William Kissam,” *American National Biography Online*, February 2000, <http://www.anb.org/articles/10/10-01682.html> (accessed 3/13/05).

competed for supremacy as advertising and brand recognition led to a rapid increase in American consumerism, which began in the 1880s and provided significant wealth for some new upper class families.⁵⁰ In the South towns evolved into regional economic centers as lumber, tobacco, cotton, and steel companies built new plants in small places such as Greensboro, North Carolina.⁵¹ As the industries grew, company owners became increasingly reliant upon salaried executives to manage far flung branches or complex business procedures.

Regardless of their business type or location, industry owners and executive officers joined a newly formed national class of economic elite, or newly wealthy, within the upper class. The economic elite benefited from the convergence of a rapidly industrializing nation with expanding transportation networks, evolving class distinctions, and growing urban populations. With this new wealth the economic elite could then join Society, or the wealthy, social elite by demonstrating their qualifications through a variety of public and private leisure activities.⁵² Once part of the upper class, the newly wealthy adopted antebellum American and contemporary European patterns of marrying within the upper class, creating a series of interrelated families whose members tended to participate

⁵⁰Nancy F. Koehn, "Henry Heize and Brand Creation in the Late Nineteenth Century: Making Markets for Processed Foods," *Business history Review* 73, no. 3 (1999): 350-351. See also David Blanke, *Sowing the American Dream: How Consumer Culture Took Root in the Rural Midwest* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2000) for an examination of consumerism beyond the urban centers.

⁵¹Kipp, "Old Notables and Newcomers," 379. See also Don H. Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South: Atlanta, Nashville, Charleston, Mobile, 1860-1910* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990).

⁵²This dissertation includes owners and executives from a wide range of industries including, but not limited to oil, railroads, manufacturing, tobacco, banking, mining, timber, rubber, explosives, food products, airplanes, and automobiles.

in the same recreational and leisure activities. These new social and cultural connections also were advantages for American business owners and executives seeking new, overseas markets during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era.⁵³

American Recreational and Leisure Options

Between 1865 and 1929 rising wages and shortened working days combined with a renewed emphasis on the family, especially children, to create a nation of pleasure seekers. Even working-class families participated in the leisure economy. A survey conducted by the Massachusetts Bureau of the Statistics of Labor in 1902 found that 152 prosperous blue-collar families were able to devote up to one-sixth of their income on non-necessities including leisure options.⁵⁴ In 1929 President Hoover commissioned a

⁵³William Appleman Williams, *The Roots of the Modern American Empire* (New York: Random House, 1969), xx. See also Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982); Walter Licht, *Industrializing America: The Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995); Alfred D. Chandler Jr., *The Railroads: The Nation's First Big Business* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1965); Gerald Berk, *Alternative Tracks: The Constitution of American Industrial Order, 1865-1917* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994); Martin J. Sklar, *The Corporate Reconstruction of American Capitalism 1890-1916, The Market, The Law, and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Olivier Zunz, *Making America Corporate, 1870-1920* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992); Samuel P. Hays, *The Response to Industrialism 1885-1914* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957); Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955); Matthew Josephson, *The Robber Barons: The Great American Capitalists 1861-1901* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1962); Charles W. Calhoun, ed., *The Gilded Age: Essays on the Origins of Modern America* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1996); Sean Dennis Cashman, *America in the Gilded Age: From the Death of Lincoln to the Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*, 3rd ed. (New York: New York University Press, 1993); Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967); and Vincent P. DeSantis, *The Shaping of Modern America: 1877-1920*, 2nd ed. (Arlington Heights, IL: Forum Press, Inc., 1989).

⁵⁴John F. McClymer, "The 'American Standard' of Living: Family Expectations and Strategies for Getting and Spending in the Gilded Age" *Hayes Historical Journal* 9, no. 3 (1990): 23, 26. McClymer found that the average Gilded Age blue-collar families in

study to review leisure and recreation in the United States. The committee's report, published in 1932, found that since the Civil War Americans had increased leisure time and recreational activity options. Table 1 shows that some members of the new upper class, like their lower and middle class counterparts, devoted significant portions of their time and money to leisure, specifically horse sports. The brief comparison shows the money spent by the twenty top bidders at two sales, thirty-two years apart. The number of horses purchased and the total money spent illustrates a sample of the costs associated with participation in horse sports.⁵⁵ The terms "leisure" and "recreation" encompassed a large variety of available activities including baseball, football, reading, visiting parks, camping, rowing, and photography. For the wealthy, social elite bent on further social advancement between 1865 and 1929, there were four areas of leisure or recreational activity that demanded conspicuous consumption for ultimate social success: resort or vacation homes and camps, the arts, horticulture, and sports, specifically four investment-intensive activities: yachting, flying, racing (automobile), and horse sports.

the survey spent about eighty-four percent of their income on necessities: food (49.8 percent), shelter (21.5 percent), and clothing (12.4 percent). The vital difference between spending levels in each category depended not upon the father's occupation, but the size of the family.

⁵⁵H. Wood in the 1892 sale was representing W. O. B. McDonough, Menlo Stock Farm, Menlo Park, California.

Table 1. Rancho del Paso 1892 Yearling Sale and Nursery Stud 1925 Dispersal Sale

Purchaser - 1892	# of horses	total \$ paid	Purchaser - 1892	# of horses	total \$ paid
Wood, H	11	\$18,300	Wilson & Tichenor	6	\$2,050
Smith, C.	10	\$10,800	Straus, N.	2	\$1,950
Rollins, W. C.	8	\$7,500	Morris, J. A. & A. H.	1	\$1,800
Reed, S. G.	11	\$6,825	Frost, J.	4	\$1,550
Kerr, C.	10	\$5,975	Ramsdell, I. E. H.	2	\$1,500
Edmonds, H.	1	\$4,150	Hewitt, H.	3	\$1,400
Rose, L. J.	1	\$3,000	Walcott & Campbell	2	\$1,400
Meehan, F.	2	\$2,550	Burridge Bros.	3	\$1,350
Gardner, E. S.	1	\$2,500	Donovan, P. S.	1	\$1,300
Hammerslev, W. L.	4	\$2,475	Barrick, W. M.	2	\$1,250

Purchaser - 1925	# of horses	total \$ paid	Purchaser - 1925	# of horses	total \$ paid
Berryman, C. H.	20	\$228,800	Hendrie, G. M.	3	\$11,000
Joyner, A. J.	6	\$112,000	Taylor, J. Swigert	2	\$10,700
Widener, Joseph E.	1	\$100,000	Cochran, G. A.	1	\$10,000
Coussell, E. E.	2	\$80,000	Riddle, Mrs. Samuel D.	1	\$10,000
Caldwell, Rogers	3	\$25,900	Gerry, R. L.	1	\$7,000
McLean, E.B.	1	\$25,000	Way, Dr. Cassius	1	\$5,500
Salmon, W. J.	3	\$24,700	Long, Breckinridge	1	\$4,600
Brady, James Cox	3	\$24,000	Hitt, William	1	\$4,100
Cochran, G. A.	2	\$14,200	Belmont, Cpt. Raymond	1	\$4,000
Field, Marshall III	2	\$14,000	Gearv, Thomas C.	1	\$3,500

Source: "Rancho Del Paso Yearlings," *Turf, Field and Farm* (18 June 1892) and *May 15, 1925, Nursery Stud Dispersal Sale*, Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU.

Resort and Vacation Homes. Newport, Rhode Island, a colonial shipping port, became synonymous with the Gilded Age's opulent conspicuous consumption. In the early nineteenth century families rented seaside and mountain cottages and homes to escape urban heat and disease. Oftentimes these early travelers went to the seashore or the mountains for a few weeks of relaxation each year.⁵⁶ By the 1890s multimillion-dollar

⁵⁶Kathleen LaFrank, Zachary N. Studenroth, and Barbara Van Liew, "Stony Brook Harbor Estates Thematic Resources," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, July 1992, E-1. The authors state that the Smithtown/Stony Brook Harbor area on Long Island started becoming a tourist area in the

mansions lined Newport's streets as Society leaders attempted to surpass neighbors, friends, and family. In midsummer the New York Yacht Club sailed en masse to Newport, arriving in time for the final weeks of parties.⁵⁷ Before Newport's transcendence, other resort towns, often at natural springs, such as Saratoga Springs, New York, and Hot Springs, Virginia, had been *the* primary summer destinations. Saratoga Springs also allowed gambling and had a long tradition of Thoroughbred horse racing, so it continued to be an important fixture in the summer racing calendar.⁵⁸ Even more importantly, serious breeders around the nation made sure to have their young horses ready for the annual fall sale in Saratoga Springs.

In addition to building homes in popular resort towns and staying in luxurious hotels near the natural springs, the upper class also bought thousands of acres in various mountain ranges and built large "camps." In the late nineteenth century most of these private preserves were used almost exclusively for seasonal hunting trips. By 1895 Dr. William S. Webb and his wife, Lila Vanderbilt Webb, owned a lodge called Ne-ha-sa-ne. The family's lodge was in their two hundred thousand acres of Adirondack Mountain forest managed by Gifford Pinchot and stocked with imported elk, moose, grouse, and

1830s, but it was not until after the Civil War that the area attracted vacation home builders on a large scale. See also Hermann Hagedorn, *The Roosevelt Family of Sagamore Hill* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954); Joseph E. Garland, *Boston's Gold Coast: The North Shore 1890-1929* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1981); and David McCullough, *Mornings on Horseback* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981).

⁵⁷Patterson, *First Four Hundred*, 141.

⁵⁸Catherine Donzel, Alexis Gregory, and Marc Walter, *Grand American Hotels* (New York: The Vendome Press, 1989), 20, 22.

partridges.⁵⁹ The August Belmont Jrs. used their private railroad car, the *Mineola*, named for his former winning boat and “staffed by our jewel of a French chef and a Negro porter,” to go moose hunting in Canada, salmon fishing at Restigouche, or quail hunting in Garnet, South Carolina, where the family owned vacation homes.⁶⁰

Florida became a popular vacation alternative to Europe in the late 1880s as investors, led by Henry Morrison Flagler, Henry Bradley Plant, and Bertha Palmer, poured funds southward along the state’s two coastlines and their respective railroad lines and newly established resort towns.⁶¹ By the 1920s horse sports enthusiasts, especially polo players, began taking advantage of the good weather and easy railroad connections to establish winter competitions in the Palm Beach area.

Artwork and Museums. According to contemporary architect Herbert Croly, the new millionaire of the early twentieth century was less concerned with his own background or “his sense of his own newness” than with seeking to “emancipate his children and his fellow-countrymen from the reproach of being raw.” From this followed the wealthy elite’s intense interest in the arts, particularly sculpture and paintings.⁶² New York City was the headquarters of the museum movement which was growing all around the country as the newly wealthy in other cities also began to invest in art. Museums, both

⁵⁹Patterson, *First Four Hundred*, 134-135. See also Paul Schneider, *The Adirondacks: A History of America’s First Wilderness* (New York: Owl Books, 1998).

⁶⁰Eleanor Robson Belmont, *The Fabric of Memory* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1957; Reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1980), 89.

⁶¹Hampton Dunn, “Florida: Jewel of the Gilded Age,” *Gulf Coast Historical Review* 10, no. 1 (Fall 1994): 27. See also Donzel, *Grand American Hotels*, 23-26.

⁶²Croly, “Rich Men and Their Houses,” 29.

large and small, both natural and art, became, for some, a means to glorify and instruct “order and rationality.” For others, museums were “treasure houses which would both display and legitimate the vast fortunes of their founders.”⁶³

Conservatories, Horticulture, and Landscaping. Cut flowers, ferns, and other plants filled the rural, country, and city homes of the upper class throughout the year. Most homes had at least some gardens or paths, but some families became intensive horticulturists investing in large conservatories, greenhouses, and landscaping. Landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, though not part of the “400” himself, counted among his clientele some of the most wealthy members of that exclusive section of the upper class. In the case of the W. D. Sloane House, Olmsted worked with landscape architect and “400” member Beatrix Cadwalader Jones to design a landscape plan that required so “many gardeners that they organized their own sports teams who played matches with the employees of neighboring estates.”⁶⁴

The Lyndhurst estate in Tarrytown, New York, is best known for its Gothic Revival house (built 1838, renovated 1864–1865) designed and redesigned by Alexander Jackson Davis. When the second owner, George Merritt, a New York merchant, commissioned the house alterations in 1865, he also built a new stable complex and an extensive greenhouse complex to complement a new landscaping program under the

⁶³Steven Conn, *Museums and American Intellectual Life, 1876–1926* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 9–10. William R. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters, The Reluctant Collectors* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999) is a history of a wealthy, elite family’s excellent art collection that quickly became open to the public. See Anders Greenspan, *Creating Colonial Williamsburg* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002) for a history of the era’s most ambitious museum.

⁶⁴Patterson, *First Four Hundred*, 219.

direction of Ferdinand Mangold. Mangold had trained at the Karlsruhe Botanical Gardens and worked in King Leopold's castle grounds before emigrating to the United States. The designer of Merritt's greenhouse is still unknown, but the structure was the largest of its kind in the United States: 380 feet long and 37 feet wide with two 60 feet long wings at each end. Half of the greenhouse was glazed, the other half and basement level had service areas and "bowling alleys, billiard room, gymnasium and a reception room."⁶⁵

After Merritt's death, Jay Gould, a New York financier, bought the estate. The Merritt greenhouse burned in December 1880 shortly after Gould assumed ownership, destroying both the building and approximately "\$40,000 worth of the rarest and most prized plant material."⁶⁶ Gould immediately hired the Irvington, New York, company, Lord & Burnham, to rebuild the greenhouse with the assistance of the New York architectural firm Pugin and Walter to ensure that the structure had the appropriate Gothic details (Figure 1.3).⁶⁷ Like George Merritt, Jay Gould spent tens of thousands of dollars each year on the landscaping, gardens, and hothouse plants. Cut flowers, orchids, and tropical plants decorated Lyndhurst, the Goulds' city home, and their other properties. Although Jay Gould's sons eventually moved away to other, new estates where they spent lavishly on their horses and other recreational activities, their sister Helen Gould Shepard remained at the estate and, after Jay Gould's death, continued to embellish the grounds by

⁶⁵LANDSCAPES and David Schuyler, "Lyndhurst Historic Landscape Tour" brochure (n.p.: National Trust for Historic Preservation, n.d.), obtained during a July, 2003 visit.

⁶⁶Billie Sherrill Britz, "Lyndhurst Greenhouse: Emblem of a Grand Society," *Historic Preservation* (1973): 15-16. See also The National Trust for Historic Preservation, "Lyndhurst Historic Landscape Tour" brochure, obtained in July 2003 visit.

⁶⁷Britz, "Lyndhurst Greenhouse," 19.

“adding a rose garden, flower borders of perennials and annuals, flowering shrub groups, foundation plantings, and the wisteria and climbing ivy that covered portions of the mansion and other buildings.” Helen Shepard also relied upon the expertise of Mangold, who remained as estate manager until his death in 1905. Helen’s sister Anna, Duchess de Talleyrand-Periord, continued to improve the landscaping until her own death in 1961 when the estate became the property of the National Trust for Historic Preservation.⁶⁸

Sporting Events - Yachting, Auto Racing, Airplanes, Horses. Membership in the right clubs, especially of the sporting type, was a signal of social acceptance. Yachting and horse sports were the two most popular and expensive sporting options between 1865 and 1929. Each sport easily became a lifelong passion for many people, some of whom were equally enamored of both sports. After 1900, auto racing and flying began to gain upper class devotees. William Kissam Vanderbilt introduced motor racing to Long Island in 1900; his younger cousin Cornelius Vanderbilt Whitney, a noted Thoroughbred breeder, was a cofounder of Pan American airline in the 1920s. Bicycling, tennis, and golf were other popular sports wholeheartedly embraced by the upper class. Though participants in each of these more popular activities had tailored outfits and custom-made equipment, the sports’ expenses, even combined, could not compare to horse sports or its expensive equivalent, yachting.⁶⁹

Yachting at its highest level was most likely more expensive than the largest and most varied stables owned by any one individual. Avid yachters, like those who participated at the top of horse sports, formed their own social subset within the upper

⁶⁸LANDSCAPES and Schuyler, “Lyndhurst Historic Landscape Tour.”

⁶⁹Patterson, *First Four Hundred*, 137-139.

class. Relatively few individuals competed at the highest level in both sports. The most important yachting organization was the New York Yacht Club, begun in 1844, whose membership was by invitation only. As in foxhunting, wealth did not always equal membership. In 1883 new yacht owner Jay Gould was not asked to join the New York Yacht Club, so he became a member of the newly formed American Yacht Club. Jay Gould's son George, however, did become a member of the New York Yacht Club. Because of the boats' high cost, New York Yacht Club members occasionally formed syndicates to build boats. In 1851 the syndicate owning *The America* defeated the English Royal Yacht Squadron's entry, inspiring the annual The America's Cup race. After 1881 steam-powered yachts made the sport much more popular and expensive.⁷⁰

Most upper class families participated in a little of each sport throughout the year. De Lancey Astor Kane, an excellent four-in-hand driver, and his wife Eleonore née Iselin, both members of the "400," were avid yachters and often took their children sailing. De Lancey Kane's two brothers, S. Nicholson, New York Yacht Club commodore, and Woodbury, were also avid yachters. Woodbury Kane's brief life, 1861-1905, exemplified the all-around upper class sportsman. He was "the most athletic of the Kane boys, a yachtsman, a football player at Harvard, a tennis and cricket player, an expert horseman who was a cross-country rider, and an outstanding polo player."⁷¹ C. Oliver Iselin, Eleonore Kane's brother, and his wife sailed together, and in 1899 the couple qualified for his fourth defense of *The America's Cup*.

⁷⁰Ibid.. 140-141.

⁷¹Ibid., 218-219.

The American upper class that developed between 1865 and 1929 from a fusion of pre-Civil War American class stratification, the popularity of European nobility and gentry, open respect of business acumen, and conspicuous levels of leisure time and wealth, contained several subgroups or subcultures that often stemmed from one or more of these four characteristics. Of specific concern to this dissertation are the upper class individuals and families, the horsey set, whose intense interest in horse sports supported social prestige while establishing the foundation of the modern American horse industry. The American upper class became a nationalized social class open to newly wealthy individuals whose position within the upper strata was defined by the manner in which they spent, and in this group of individuals the spending was manifested in the construction of country house, rural estate, and competitive stables, rather than acquired their money.



Figure 1.1 Jesse Lewisohm and Lillian Russell walking from the Saratoga Clubhouse. 1906. C. Cook photograph. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 6173.

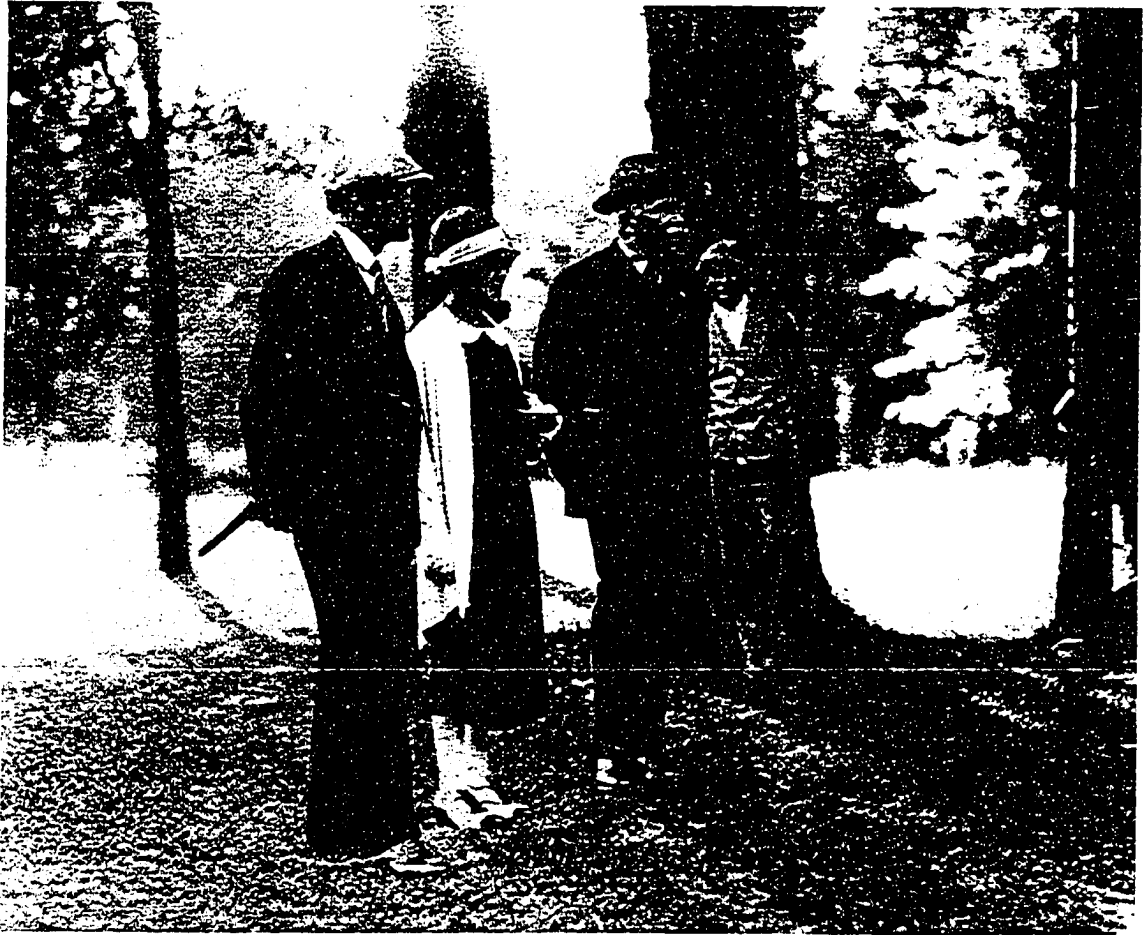


Figure 1.2 Marshall Field III, Mrs. William K. Vanderbilt, Samuel D. Riddle. 1925. C. Cook photograph. Courtesy of Keeneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 3802.

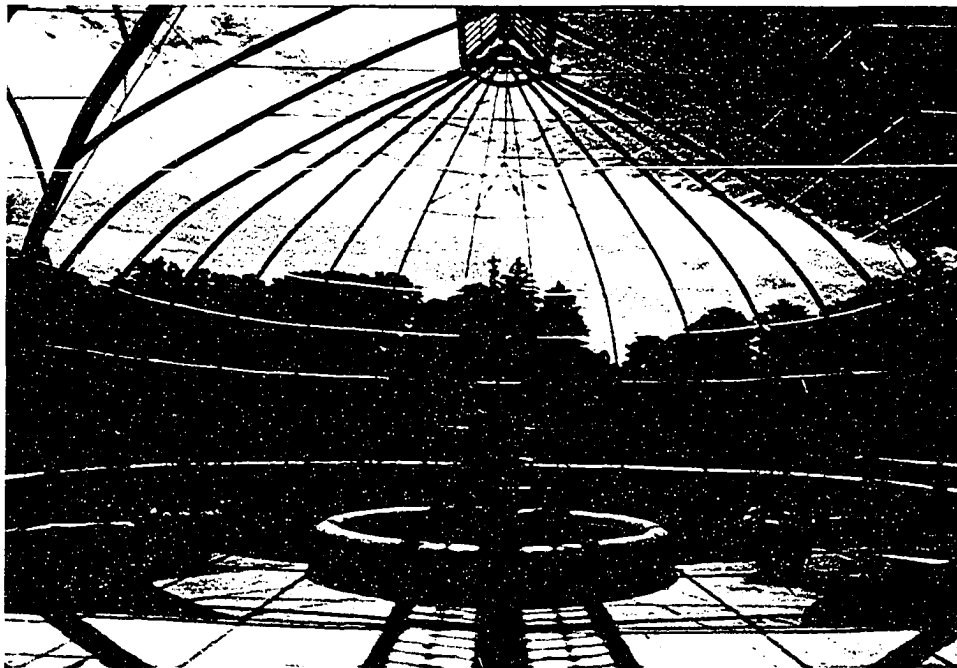


Figure 1.3 The Conservatory at Lyndhurst (1880), Tarrytown, New York. July 2003.

CHAPTER TWO
KEEPING SCORE: AMERICAN EQUESTRIAN SPORTS
AND BREED ORGANIZATIONS

American culture changed radically between 1865 and 1929, and in the process it became both more diverse and more unified. Recreational and leisure activities were one part of an increasingly complex society as the nation expanded geographically while becoming more interconnected socially. American families began to participate in a wider variety of local recreational and leisure activities such as reading clubs, photography, visiting local historic sites, museums, or zoos, and, of course, sports. Sporting options multiplied and participation numbers increased rapidly between 1865 and 1929. For the vast majority of Americans in small towns, rural areas, or urban immigrant neighborhoods the most popular sports were boxing, baseball, and horse racing.¹ Team sports had experienced a renaissance during the Civil War, in both armies, which supported the subsequent rise of organized sports that in turn spawned a new business type: the sports industry. In the 1880s the *National Police Gazette* became a leader among the dozens of popular journals of “sport, theater, romance, and scandal” covering not only lower-class team sports but also expensive horse sports with a wide lower-class spectator fan base.²

¹ Thomas M. Croak, “The Professionalization of Prizefighting: Pittsburgh at the Turn of the Century,” *The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 62, no. 4 (1979): 335-336. See also Tom Melville, “An Aspiration to Cosmopolitanism, Cricket in Nineteenth-Century St. Louis,” *Gateway Heritage* 19, no. 1 (Summer 1998): 19.

² Elliot J. Gorn and Warren Goldstein, *A Brief History of American Sports* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), 99, 109-115.

Cultural historians Elliott Gorn and Warren Goldstein rightly emphasize that for the wealthy elite “playing sports could become a mark of privilege and a source of distinction for those who sought recognition as part of a social elite.”³ However, Gorn and Goldstein also stress that the elite’s use of country clubs, amateurism, and extravagant displays of wealth were ways to harden the social boundaries between themselves and the lower classes. While that was certainly true, the horse industry as a whole, financed by wealthy, social elite participation during the 1865 to 1929 era, also included cross-class and inter-racial relationships, participation by women in a commensurate quality and status, and growing corporatization and professionalization. Horse sports evolved from a group of localized activities and competitions to a single, national modern horse industry through formal organizations that, according to Melvin Adelman, used six discrete functions: standardized rules, sanctioned competitions, defined participant and spectator roles, disseminated public information, and kept statistics and records.⁴

The American horse industry, in all of its various forms between 1865 and 1929, revolved around a core group of individuals who had the interest, time, and money to spend on their equine breed and sport interests. Breed and sport organizations in the United States increased significantly in both size and number during this period, a growth that mirrored a contemporary expansion of professions and professional associations in the broader American society and a nationwide rise in participation in organized leisure and

³ Ibid.. 135.

⁴ Melvin L. Adelman, “The First Modern Sport in America,” *Journal of Sport History* 8, no. 1 (1981): 6.

recreational activities.⁵ The wealthy, social elite's intense involvement created a burgeoning national American horse industry that superseded antebellum local and regional equine activities.

The wealthy, social elite led and supported associations and clubs that established and operated hunt clubs, racetracks, and show grounds, all of which depended on professional huntsmen, kennelmen, breeders, trainers, jockeys, riders, grooms, hostlers, track personnel, and importers. The location of sport horse personnel in the 1880 United States federal census (Appendix 1) parallels the historic documentation that shows a growing and nationalizing industry with its capital in New York. Pennsylvania, California, Kentucky, and some Midwestern states also became vital pillars of the sport horse industry. Though most employees probably moved between employers making their way around the country throughout their careers, some had long-term relationships with one employer.

Between the Civil War and the Great Depression the national sport horse industry included eight key areas of competition and breeding standardization: foxhunting, flat

⁵ See Donna R. Braden, *Leisure and Entertainment in America* (Dearborn, MI: Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village, 1988); Newtown C. Brainard, "Hartford Horse Dealers," *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin* 28, no. 2 (1963): 45-46; Thomas M. Camfield, "The Professionalization of American Psychology, 1870-1917," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 9, no. 1 (1973): 66-75; Clive Cohen, "The Early History of Chemical Engineering: A Reassessment," *British Journal for the History of Science* 29, no. 2 (1996): 171-194; Kathryn Grover, ed., *Hard at Play, Leisure in America, 1840-1940* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1992); Samuel Haber, *The Quest for Authority and Honor in the American Professions, 1750-1900* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991); Gerard W. Gawalt, ed., *The New High Priests: Lawyers in Post-Civil War America*, Contributions in Legal Studies, Number 29 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984); and Wayne O. Kester, *The History of the American Association of Equine Practitioners 1954-1979* (Golden, CO: American Association of Equine Practitioners, 1980).

racing, steeplechasing, polo, harness racing, coaching, military, and horse shows. This chapter will focus particular attention on the wealthy, social elite whose active involvement in national horse sport and breed organizations coincided with their acceptance into Society. Prominent American businessmen from 1865 to 1929 usually viewed within the historiography of the time period in opposition to one another, were in fact often socially connected through their commitment to participation in the national horse industry.⁶ Both individual and family involvement in horse sports best exemplify the dedication and vast resources expended on horse sports between 1865 and 1929. Members of the swellest set not only participated but also excelled in several horse sports while remaining active participants in traditional upper-class social activities.

For those with the money to support their inclinations, the whole year could be filled with a rotation of horse sports. The winter months brought indoor shows and gallops across the hunt field. The spring and fall months best suited coaching and pleasure rides in the city and on rural estates, and visits to the steeplechase courses and the racetracks. The hotter summer months included outdoor shows near resorts and in the suburban neighborhoods, while polo and golf tournaments vied for the best maintained grass awards at the country clubs. If one got too bored with the faces in the United States, there were similar schedules in Canada, South America, and Europe.

⁶ Josephson's *The Robber Barons* laid the foundation for this interpretation of the "freewheeling capitalists" (v). Subsequent works have become more evenhanded in their approach; however, there is still an emphasis on business and political prowess and a relegation of social relations to trophy wives and offspring, who have become the focus of scholarly and popular works. Successful participation in horse breeding and sport activities required substantial investment in property and infrastructure resulting in the development of estates and competitive stables or breeding farms.

Foxhunting

Since the American colonial period, foxhunting has been a popular horse sport, especially as a type of upper-class recreation. Robert Brooke, an English immigrant to Maryland, imported the first private pack in 1650, and from there foxhunting slowly expanded. The first organized pack began in Virginia in 1747.⁷ Since colonial land ownership rights were different from those in Great Britain, there were different types of packs and hunting styles, but foxhunting remained a predominately upper-class activity. After the Civil War there was a flood of new hunts, many of which have celebrated their centennials (see Appendix 2).

In order to ensure the best sport, foxhunts require thousands of acres of woods, pastures, cropland, cleared trails, and defined fence lines. Some estates were large enough to support a private pack, such as Shelburne Hounds, and obtained permission from neighbors to cross their land as necessary. Most hunts, however, relied on the cooperation of area landowners, estate owners and small farmers, to build the hunt country. Because of the enormous costs associated with foxhunting (kennels, kennelman, huntsman, trail maintenance, farmer compensation for scared cows or trampled crops, etc.) foxhunters often formed member-supported or subscription packs.⁸ As the social aspects of foxhunting (hunt breakfasts and hunt balls) became more popular, and more accessible to non-riders, members often constructed clubhouses that later became country

⁷ See Alexander Mackay-Smith, *Foxhunting in North America: A Comprehensive Guide to Foxhunting in the United States and Canada* (Millwood, VA: American Foxhound Club, 1985); and Alexander Mackay-Smith, *The American Foxhound, 1747-1967* (Millwood, VA: American Foxhound Club, 1968).

⁸ See "Fox Hound Kennels. The Warwickshire Fox Hounds-Visit to the Kennels," *Forest and Stream* 2, no. 2 (28 May 1874): 247. Available from APS Online Database.

clubs. Prospective hunt members were under strict consideration until they showed “an entire absence of self-conceit” and “thoroughly good riding, under the varying and difficult conditions of cross-country work.”⁹ Figure 2.1 shows some late twentieth-century foxhunters ready to hunt with Mission Valley Hunt in Kansas.

At the beginning of the period, the New York metropolitan area, and Long Island in particular, was the nation’s hunting capital, providing sport to country and city residents. Foxhunting on Long Island began in 1770 but soon disappeared until Frank Gray Griswold established the Queen County Hounds on Long Island in 1876. After Griswold imported the hounds, trained the horses, and educated the field (the members) on the proper etiquette, foxhunting became a leading upper-class sporting activity. The Long Island hunts quickly multiplied as members galloped across the island five days a week.¹⁰ Some of the leading foxhunters were women such as Catherine Lorillard Kernochan who lived “near Hempstead, Long Island, in the heart of what was then the sporting country, where she was known as a daring rider to hounds.” Kernochan was a member of the Meadow Brook Hounds, established in 1882 and the most “popular hunt with the Four Hundred.”¹¹ Mrs. Kernochan and her fellow hunters opened the 1897-1898 season on the afternoon of October 2 with a “capital run” of twelve miles despite the hounds being “rather fresh at the start” and “not settling down to an even pace.” The

⁹ George E. Waring Jr., “The Thoroughbred Horse. On the Turf and Across Country,” *Scribners Monthly* 15, no. 2 (December 1887): 167. Available online from Cornell University. See also Kenneth S. Greenberg, *Honor and Slavery* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

¹⁰Merri McIntyre Ferrell, “Fox Hunting on Long Island,” *Nassau County Historical Society Journal* 56 (2001): 3-9.

¹¹Patterson, *First Four Hundred*, 130-132.

second day's hunt was much better with an eight-mile run that demanded the best from hounds, horses, and riders.¹² The Dutchess Hunt Club of Hyde Park, New York, was, on 11 October 1891, the first hunt to have the whippers-in wear the pinks of the "full English style" to the pleasure of the carriage toppers (spectators who are not riding in the field) who included several Roosevelt family members and the vice president, Levi P. Morton, and his wife.¹³ Back on Long Island, in 1900 R. Lawrence Smith became the master of a new pack, Smithtown Hunt. Over the next thirty years the Smithtown Hunt switched between live and drag hunts, lost a member and some new English hounds on the *Titanic*, and had the first female M.F.H. in the United States, Mrs. Lida Fleitmann Bloodgood from 1928-1932.¹⁴ Elsewhere in New York, especially in the northwest, women were active hunters.

¹²"Answers to Correspondents," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine for Recreation* 29, no. 5 (February 1897): 520. Available from APS Online Database. See also A. H. Godfrey, "Equestrianism: Outdoor Shows of the Season of 1897," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine for Recreation* 31, no. 2 (November 1897): 201. Available from APS Online Database 434243092.

¹³Lawrence Timpson, "Equestrian Sports," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine for Recreation* 17, no. 4 (January 1891): 79. Available from APS Online Database 433812262.

¹⁴Ferrell, "Fox Hunting on Long Island," 6. See also Lida Fleitmann Bloodgood, *Hoofs in the Distance* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1953); David William Errington Brock, *Introduction to Fox Hunting* (London: Seeley, Service & Co., n.d.); Patrick Chalmers, *The History of Hunting* (London: Seeley, Service & Co., 1951); Lionel Edwards, *My Hunting Sketchbook* (London: Eyre and Spottis Wood Ltd., 1928); David Gray, "Fox Hunting in America," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine for Recreation* 45, no. 3 (December 1904): 257-267. Available from APS Online Database; David Gray, "The Outlook for Fox Hunting in America; Wire Fencing and Wire Jumping," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine for Recreation* 37, no. 3 (December 1900): 326-239. Available from APS Online Database; Frank Gray Griswold, *Horses and Hounds* (New York: Duttons, 1926); M. Horace Hayes, *Riding and Hunting* (London: Hurst and Blackett, Ltd., 1910); A. Henry Higginson, *Letters from an Old Sportsman to a Young One* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1929); Mason

The Genesee Valley, settled by the Wadsworth family in the mid-eighteenth century, remains the base of the formerly private family pack that hunted across the extended family's sixty thousand acres.¹⁵ By the late 1890s the Genesee Valley Hunt had gained a national reputation under the leadership of W. Austin Wadsworth. Good land, great hunting, and exclusiveness combined to make the pack one of the most socially elite. This did not mean that the hunt could be considered unimaginative. On 2 November 1895 the Genesee Valley Hunt held a moonlight steeplechase for gentlemen riding proven hunt horses. The correct attire for the occasion was "a long white night-shirt and a white cap."¹⁶ The hunt members included New York financiers, farmers, and members of the gentry, some of whom had imported hunters from Northern Ireland. Some of the boldest

Houghland, *Gone Away* (Berryville, VA: Blue Ridge Press, 1934); William Willard Howard, "Midwinter Fox Hunts." "Fox Hunting in America," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine for Recreation* 11, no. 2 (November 1887): 178-179. Available from APS Online Database; Stewart McLean, *The Elkridge Club: A Fragmentary Record of Events 1878-2002* (Baltimore: The Elkridge Club, 2003); Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, "Cross Country Riding in America," *Century Magazine* (1886); Henry Worcester Smith, *A Sporting Family of the Old South* (Albany, NY: J. B. Lyon Co., 1936); Henry Worcester Smith, *Life and Sport in Aiken* (New York: Derrydale Press, 1935); and George F. Underhill, *A Century of English Fox-Hunting* (London: R. A. Everett & Co., 1900).

¹⁵ Roger W. Moss, *The American Country House* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1990), 22, 26-27.

¹⁶ Alfred Stoddart, "Equestrianism: The New York Horse Show," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine for Recreation* 27, no. 4 (January 1896): 76. Available from APS Online Database 434163632. See also Judith H. Lanius and Sharon C. Park, "Martha Wadsworth's Mansion: The Gilded Age Comes to DuPont Circle," *Washington History* 7, no. 1 (1995): 24-45; Wayne Mahood, *General Wadsworth: The Life and Times of Brevet Major General James S. Wadsworth* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2003); W. Austin Wadsworth, *The Hunting Diaries of W. Austin Wadsworth, M.F.H., Genesee Valley Hunt, 1876-1909* (Genesco, NY: Genesee Valley Hunt, 1984) and William P. Wadsworth, M.F.H., *Riding to Hounds in America* (Berryville, VA: The Chronicle of the Horse, 1967).

members were over a dozen women who hunted with “a zest only equaled by their fathers, brothers, husbands and sweethearts; gaining in that king of sports the self possession and courage which they must gain on the field, it lends them additional charms in other stations of life.”¹⁷ William A. Wadsworth, a second-generation fox hunter, later wrote a guide to foxhunting etiquette that is still the standard text in the United States.

Foxhunting also flourished outside of the greater New York City area, especially near the urban centers of Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore. Wealthy urban businessmen relied on employees to allow them the freedom to hunt several days a week in the outlying rural areas. In the city the new white-collar business executives ran the day-to-day operations while at the suburban or rural stable the professional groomsman prepared the horses for the day’s hunt and then hacked a replacement mount to a rendezvous in mid-hunt. During the summer, foxhunters often gathered at local horse shows, “lending to the scene a delightful tinge of real country life, stand[ing] off by themselves to talk horse as only hunting men can, when they dip into the mysteries of a breast-high scent with hounds streaming away.”¹⁸ Hunt clubs often sponsored elite horse shows for their own and other hunt club members, one’s membership having been obtained by the sponsorship of a current member.¹⁹

¹⁷ D. A. Willey, “Fox Hunting in the Genesee Valley,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 17, no. 1 (October 1890): 45–46. Available from APS Online Database.

¹⁸ A. H. Godfrey, “Round the Summer Horse-Shows,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 31, no. 2 (November 1897): 112. Available from APS Online Database 434243332.

¹⁹ A. H. Godfrey, “Equestrianism,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 32, no. 4 (July 1898): 426. Available from APS Online Database 434084762.

In 1906 a group of hunt representatives met in New York City to found a national governing body, the Masters of Foxhounds Association. Henry G. Vaughan, a Bostonian lawyer, was the Master of Norfolk Hunt and, after the establishment of the Masters of Foxhounds Association, its secretary and then president.²⁰ The Masters of Foxhounds Association records hunt colors and button designs, arbitrates territory disputes between neighboring hunts, and sponsors hound shows in order to support American foxhunting. A person elected to the Masters of Foxhounds Association may add the abbreviation M.F.H. to his or her name. It is an honor that, in the horse world, occasionally supersedes titles of educational or professional expertise. During the 1920s Virginia became the capital of American foxhunting and has continued to reign supreme in foxhunting circles. The shift to the South had begun in the 1890s as Washington, D.C., became a social center as well as the nation's capital. One of the leading Washington foxhunting couples, and members of the Dunblane Hunt Club, was Samuel S. Howland and his wife, Fredericka nee Belmont (a prominent flat racing family), who had a country estate in Genesee, New York.²¹

²⁰ J. Stanley Reeve, *Red Coats in Chester County* (New York: Derrydale Press, 1940), 287-288.

²¹ Patterson, *First Four Hundred*, 170. See also Alfred Stoddart, "Equestrian Sports," *Outing*, 19, no. 4 (January 1892): 73. Timpson, "Equestrian Sports," *Outing*, 17, no. 4 (January 1891): 79. See also Lawrence Timpson, "Hunting," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 18, no. 1 (April 1891): A20. Available from APS Online Database 4333813632; "Hunting," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 18, no. 3 (June 1891): 64. Available from APS Online Database 433814352; Yo-oicks, "Fox Hunting," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 15, no. 5 (February 1890): 393. Available from APS Online Database 433808822.

Thoroughbred (Flat) Racing

In America, English colonists had firmly established horse racing by the mid-seventeenth century. By the mid-eighteenth century colonists were regularly importing stallions, broodmares, and racing stock; attending annual meets; and participating in local jockey clubs throughout the colonies.²² Benjamin Ogle of Annapolis, governor of Maryland from 1798 to 1801, began breeding race horses on his country estate Belair in the early 1770s.²³ Flat racing before the Civil War “peaked during the 1830s when the sport enjoyed a period of unprecent[ed] growth and prosperity.”²⁴ Part of

²² John Hervey, *Racing in America 1665-1865 Vol. 01* (New York: The Jockey Club, 1944): 45. See also T. H. Breen, “Horses and Gentlemen: The Cultural Significance of Gambling among the Gentry of Virginia,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 34, no. 2 (April 1977): 239-257; Randy J. Sparks, “Gentleman’s Sport: Horse Racing in Antebellum Charleston,” *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 93, no. 1 (January 1992): 15-30; Katherine Brash Jeter, “A Racing Heritage,” *Louisiana History* 30, no. 1 (1989): 5-22; Glen Mikkelsen, “The Sport of Kings in Victorian Canada,” *Beaver* 76, no. 4 (1996): 18-21; and National Turf Writers Association, ed., *Horses in the National Museum of Racing Hall of Fame* (Saratoga Springs, NY: National Museum of Racing, n.d.).

²³ Shirley Viasak Baitz, *A Chronicle of Belair* (Bowie, MD: Bowie Heritage Committee, 1984): 45, 50. See also Francis Trevelyan, “The Status of the American Turf,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 19, no. 6 (March 1892): 470. Available from APS Online Database; Hervey, *Racing in America 1665-1865 Vol. 01*, 174-176, 198-209; Elizabeth Amis Cameron Blanchard and Manly Wade Wellman, *The Life and Times of Sir Archie: The Story of America’s Greatest Thoroughbred, 1805-1833* (New York: Van Rees Press, 1958); “Ridley,” SPC005, Special Collection, Rutherford County (Tennessee) Archives; Fairfax Harrison, *The Background of the American Stud Book* (Richmond, VA: Old Dominion Press, 1933), *The Belair Stud* (Richmond, VA: Old Dominion Press, 1929), *Early American Turf Stock, 1730-1830, Vol. 1* (Richmond, VA: Old Dominion Press, 1934), *Early American Turf Stock, Vol. 2* (Richmond, VA: Old Dominion Press, 1935), *The Equine F. F. V.s* (Richmond, VA: Old Dominion Press, 1928), *The John’s Island Stud: 1750-1788* (Richmond, VA: Old Dominion Press, 1931), and *The Roanoke Stud, 1795-1833* (Richmond, VA: Old Dominion Press, 1930).

²⁴ Adelman, “The First Modern Sport in America,” 7.

the sport's growing popularity resulted from the reversal of early laws inhibiting racing. For instance, in 1821 New York state abolished an 1802 anti-racing law. The revival of New York racing resulted in a series of North-South races that brought together the best two horses from each region.²⁵ In 1857 American Thoroughbred owners scored their first major victory on English soil when Richard Ten Broeck's *Prioress* won the Cesarwitch Stakes.²⁶ However, the Civil War and its aftermath delayed a large-scale American invasion of the English turf. Further confirmation of the correctness of American breeding was a long time coming until Pierre Lorillard won the English Derby with *Iroquois* in 1881 and then won six more prestigious English races in 1882.²⁷ Success in the English and French races were often used as the ultimate barometer of an American owner's or breeder's position within racing. In addition to sending American horses to race abroad,

²⁵ Nancy L. Struna, "The North-South Races: American Thoroughbred Racing in Transition, 1823-1850," *Journal of Sport History* 8, no. 2 (Summer, 1981): 28-57.

²⁶ Sporting Tramp, "Editor's Open Window," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 13, no. 4 (January 1889): 361. Available from APS Online Database 433803152.

²⁷ *American Racing Manual 1940*, 500. See also Mrs. William Randolph Hearst Jr., *The Horses of San Simeon* (San Simeon, CA: San Simeon Press, 1985); John L. Hervey et al, *Racing and Breeding in America and the Colonies* (London: Loudon & Counties Press, 1931); Samuel C. Hildreth and James R. Corwell, *The Spell of the Turf* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1926); J. P. Hore, *History of New Market and Annals of the Turf, Vol. 1* (New Market: J. P. Hore, 1885); Henry H. Saylor, ed., *Thoroughbred Types 1900-1925* (New York: Private, 1926); Frank Siltzer, *Newmarket: Its Sport & Its Personalities* (London: Cassell & Co., 1923); Robert Smith Surtees, *Jorrocks's Jaunts and Jollities* (New York: G. Routledge and Sons, 1893); Thomas Henry Tauton, *Famous Horses* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston & Co., 1887); Thomas Henry Tauton, *Portraits of Celebrated Racehorses, Vol. 01* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston & Co., 1887); Thormanby, *Famous Racing Men and Tales of the Turf* (London: James Hogg, 1882); Treacy & Walker, *American Thoroughbred Stallion Register Vol. 01* (Lexington, KY: Treacy & Walker, 1921); Charles E. Trevathan, *The American Thoroughbred* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1905); and Walter S. Vosburgh, *Racing in America 1866-1921* (New York: The Jockey Club, 1922).

American race promoters adopted the name and/or requirements of an older foreign classic race to give instant élan to a new race, i.e., Kentucky Derby. Table 2 shows the English and French classic races' name, location, date established, and type.

Table 2. Foreign Classic Races Run Between 1865 and 1929

Race	Date Estbl.	Location	Type
St. Leger Stakes	1776	Doncaster	1 m, 6 furlongs, 132 yds, 3 yr old colts
Epsom Oaks	1779	Epsom Downs	1 mile 881 yards, 3 yr. old fillies
Epsom Derby	1780	Epsom Downs	1 mile 881 yards, 3 year olds
Two Thousand Guineas	1809	Newmarket	1 mile, 3 year olds
One Thousand Guineas	1814	Newmarket	1 miles, 3 year old fillies
Manchester Cup	1834	Manchester	1 1/2 miles, 3 year old and up
Prix du Jockey Club (French Derby)	1836	Chantilly, FR	1 1/2 miles, 3 year olds
Grand National Steeplechase	1839	Aintree	4 miles 856 yards, 4 yr. old and up
Prix de Diane (French Oaks)	1843	Chantilly, FR	1 3/16 m, 3 year old fillies
Great Metropolitan Stakes	1846	Epsom Downs	2 1/4 miles, 3 year old and up
Grand Prix de Paris	1863	Longchamps, FR	1 7/8 m, 3 year olds, all nationalities
Sandown Eclipse Stakes	1886	Sandown Park	1 1/4 miles, 3 year old and up
Prix du Conseil Municipal	1893	Longchamps, FR	1 1/2 miles 110 yards, 3 year old & up
Jockey Club Stakes	1894	Newmarket	1 3/4 miles, 3 year old and up
Coronation Cup	1898	Epsom Downs	1 1/2 miles, 3 year old and up
Prix du President de la Republique	1903	St. Cloud, FR	1 1/2 miles 110 yards, 3 year old & up

Source: *American Racing Manual 1933*, 375-413.

After the Civil War Northern Thoroughbred owners revitalized the Northern sport, which had been depressed since the 1840s, and partially rebuilt the Southern racing tradition that had slacked only with the beginning of the Civil War.²⁸ Most of the robust antebellum Southern tracks and breeding farms, however, failed to duplicate their former successes, especially those located outside Kentucky, Maryland, and Louisiana.²⁹ Despite the success

²⁸ Adelman, "The First Modern Sport in America," 7-10. See also Trevelyan, "Status of the American Turf," 469.

²⁹ Edward L. Bowen, ed., *The Jockey Club's Illustrated History of Thoroughbred Racing in America* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1994), 47-48. See also

of Kentucky breeders, Churchill Downs, the Maryland Jockey Club and Pimlico, several New Orleans racetracks, the vibrant Californian circuit, and other western tracks, the American racing capital was New York, and New York City in particular.

One of the leading New York Thoroughbred supporters was the Lorillard family, whose tobacco business had been making them millions since 1826. George L. Lorillard built Westbrook Farm, an estate on Long Island, where he produced five Preakness winners before his retirement from racing in 1883.³⁰ George's brother, Pierre Lorillard III, built the 1875 1,244-acre Rancocas Stud in Jobstown, New Jersey, to breed and train racehorses.³¹ In 1891 Pierre Lorillard began his most important contribution to racing when he established the Board of Control that "sought to replace local rules with uniform rules of racing, and created licensing procedures for jockeys and trainers."³² In three years, the Board of Control would become the Jockey Club; and during the 1890s, according to Bowen, it began to control more than three hundred active tracks in the United States.³³

Just as breeders and owners began to rejuvenate Thoroughbred racing after the Civil War, in the late 1880s and early 1890s, several states began to pass new anti-betting

Trevelyan, "Status of the American Turf," 475; and *American Racing Manual 1927*, vii.

³⁰ Joseph B. Kelly, "At the Track: Thoroughbred Racing in Maryland 1870-1973," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 89, no. 1 (1994): 67; John Garland, "The Legacy and Fall of Westbrook Farms," M.A. thesis (Hofstra University, 1994), 13-15; Liisa and Donald Sclar, *Beaux-Arts Estates: A Guide to the Architecture of Long Island*, (New York: The Viking Press, 1980), 198.

³¹ Trevelyan, "Status of the American Turf," 478.

³² Bowen, *Jockey Club's Illustrated History of Thoroughbred Racing*, 95-96.

³³ *American Racing Manual 1927*, 1.

laws.³⁴ This second wave of restrictive legislation in the first decade of the twentieth century was particularly difficult for breeders, owners, and tracks.³⁵ The bad press, uncertain laws, and the house arrest of A. J. Cassatt for betting on his own horse occurred almost simultaneously and started a mass panic: “nobody of any social or commercial standing could afford to be connected with the racing industry.”³⁶ English racing had dealt with similar problems; in the 1870s, under the direction of its Jockey Club, according to historian George Plumptre, it finished a “general cleaning up of the sport, on and off the course.”³⁷ In the United States the different jockey clubs had only recently begun the process that would eventually result in the formation of the (American) Jockey Club in 1894. Under the leadership of its second president, August Belmont Jr., from 1895 until his death in 1924, the organization “established its Rules of Racing . . . participated in

³⁴ Glenn Moore, “Pittsburg Phil for a Day: Racetrack Gambling in the United States at the Turn of the Century,” *International Journal of Sport History* 9, no. 1 (1992): 111-118. See also Paul Spitzer, “The First Death of Horse Racing,” *Columbia* 9, no. 2 (1995): 14-20; Guy Weadick, “A Great Canadian Mare,” *Alberta History* 36, no. 4 (1933): 26; and Douglas A. Brown, “Thoroughbred Horse-Racing Receives an Imperialist Nod: The Parliamentary Debate on Legalizing Gambling in Canada, 1910,” *International Journal of the History of Sport* 11, no. 2 (Aug., 1994): 252-269.

³⁵ Sporting Tramp, “Equestrian Sports: The Right Direction for Turf Reform,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 22, no. 1 (April 1893): A13-A14. Available from APS Online Database 433820012.

³⁶ Francis Trevelyan, “American Racing,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation*, 42, no. 1 (April 1903): 4. Available from APS Online Database 434096982.

³⁷ George Plumptre, *The Fast Set: The World of Edwardian Racing* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1985), 18, 21-22. See also Mike Huggins, “Lord Bentinck, the Jockey Club and Racing Morality in Mid-Nineteenth Century England: The ‘Running Rein’ Derby Revisited,” *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 13, no. 3 (1996): 432-444; and Mike Huggins, “‘Mingled Pleasure and Speculation’: The Survival of the Enclosed Racecourses on Teeside, 1855-1902,” *British Journal of Sports History* 3, no. 2 (1986): 158-172.

setting racing dates . . . established a fund to care for disabled trainers and jockeys . . . began publishing the *Racing Calendar* as the official record . . . and [in 1896] to supervise the registration of Thoroughbreds . . . took over the *American Stud Book*.³⁸ Despite the internal reforms promoted by the Jockey Club, the industry faced several decades of external pressures.³⁹ As reform efforts increased, many tracks became “outlaw” tracks, operating without official recognition by the Jockey Club.⁴⁰ These racing reforms were part of the larger Progressive movement sweeping the nation, and August Belmont Jr. was unable to fully shield the New York racing industry.

In 1837 the Rothschilds, a European-based banking family, had sent one of its best employees, August Belmont Sr., to the United States to open a branch bank in New York City.⁴¹ August Belmont Sr. (1813-1890) not only opened the Rothschild’s bank but later established his own powerful financial company (Figure 2.2). In the 1850s Belmont served as the American representative to The Hague. Three of August Belmont Sr.’s sons

³⁸ Bowen, *The Jockey Club’s Illustrated History*, 18, 47. See also The Jockey Club, *The American Stud Book* (New York: The Jockey Club, 2003), 4-5; Trevelyan, “The Status of the American Turf,” 477; and Sporting Tramp, “Equestrian Sports,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 21, no. 5 (February 1893): 107. Available from APS Online Database 433819692.

³⁹ Kelly, “At the Track: Thoroughbred Racing in Maryland 1870-1973,” 70. See also Caspar Whitney, “The Sportsman’s View-Point,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine for Recreation* 36, no. 2 (May 1900): 208. Available from APS Online Database 435248052.

⁴⁰ Edward L. Bowen, *Dynasties: Great Thoroughbred Stallions* (Lexington, KY: The Blood-Horse, Inc., 2000), 17.

⁴¹ Eric Homberger, *Mrs. Astor’s New York: Money and Social Power in a Gilded Age* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 142, 176.

became actively involved in horse sports and leading members of the wealthy, social elite: Perry, August Jr., and Oliver H. P. (Figures 2.3 and 2.4).

A dedicated horseman, August Belmont Sr. supported Thoroughbred racing and breeding in New York at his Babylon, Long Island, Nursery Farm, and was one of the first New Yorkers to establish a breeding stable in the Lexington, Kentucky area. The New York Nursery Farm of one thousand three hundred acres included, in addition to the racing stable, Belmont Lake, stocked with trout, farm buildings, wooded areas with deer and quail, and six hundred acres in crops.⁴² Belmont hired some of the best trainers and stud grooms in the country and began to breed consistent producers. The high point of the Nursery Stud dispersal sale in October 1891, following Belmont's death in 1890, was when the gambler Charles Reed, owner of Fairview Stud in Gallatin, Tennessee, bid one hundred thousand dollars for the stallion **St. Blaise* (Figures 2.5 and 2.6). The total price of the four stallions, seventy-six mares and foals, and twenty-four yearlings was \$512,000.⁴³

August Belmont Sr. held numerous elected positions in sporting associations including "president of the American Kennel Club, chairman of the American Jockey Club, vice-commodore of the New York Yacht Club, and president of the Meadow Brook Club."⁴⁴ In his dedication to *Tales of the Turf and "Rank Outsiders"* (1891), Richard L. Cary Jr. wrote of Belmont that he was "the typical racing man of America, the

⁴²Eleanor Robson Belmont. *The Fabric of Memory* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1957. Reprint. New York: Arno Press, 1980), 117-120.

⁴³ Trevelyan, "Status of the American Turf," 470, 475.

⁴⁴ Patterson, *First Four Hundred*, 149.

accomplished patron of the Turf of the New World, to whose noble example and enthusiastic patronage its present status and prosperity are mainly due.”⁴⁵ As chairman of the American Jockey Club, August Belmont Sr. helped guide American racing into a more professional and organized national sport with reserved competition dates, rule books, and annual awards.

August Belmont Jr. (1854-1924) continued his father’s work, especially in racing. He served as vice president of the National Civil Federation; worked on the passage of the New York State’s 1909 Workmen’s Compensation bill; served as chairman of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad Company, the American Jockey Club, and the Democratic National Committee; served as president of the Westchester Racing Association that ran Belmont Park and the American Kennel Club; bred fox terriers; introduced spiked track shoes to the United States; launched the Cape Cod Canal; and served as vice commodore of the New York Yacht Club. In her memoir, Eleanor Robson Belmont, an opera singer who ended her successful career in 1910 to marry Belmont, wrote that she had naively thought she was leaving public life for private life but instead found herself in “a world of horses, polo, social events, new friends, civic interests and farming, with which I had never dreamed I would be involved and much of which I found fascinating.”⁴⁶ After a two-month honeymoon sailing around the world, the couple returned to New York and his three sons (from his first marriage): August III, Raymond, and Morgan Belmont. By the 1910s the family owned a house on Fifth Avenue; a house

⁴⁵Richard Cary Jr. *Tales of the Turf and “Rank Outsiders,”* (Chicago: Francis J. Schulte, 1891), ii.

⁴⁶Belmont, *Fabric of Memory*, 78, 94, 99, 100.

in Hempstead, Long Island, for polo; the main stable of three thousand acres, Nursery Farm in Babylon, Long Island; the Lexington stud farm, also called Nursery Farm; “a cottage, The Surcingle, in Saratoga for the races that had its own private training track; a quail shooting place at Garnet, South Carolina; [and] a Newport ‘cottage’ called By-the-Sea.”⁴⁷

After his father’s death in 1890, August Belmont Jr. bought several of his father’s horses at the estate auction and reopened Nursery Stud. When the United States sent the American Expeditionary Force to Europe for World War I in 1917, Belmont joined it as a major. Before leaving, he sold off most of his race horses, including, *Man O’War*, bought by Samuel D. Riddle (originally from Pennsylvania and Maryland who later owned Faraway Farm in Lexington, Kentucky) for five thousand dollars at the Saratoga auction (Figure 2.7).⁴⁸ After World War I, Belmont rebuilt Nursery Stud using the breeding stock he had not sold before the war. At the time of his death in 1924, Belmont owned several excellent stallions including **Rock Sand* (for whom Belmont had paid \$125,000 in 1906), *Hastings*, and his son *Fair Play*, the sire of *Man O’War*, who Joseph E. Widener bought for one hundred thousand dollars (Figure 2.8). Nursery Stud also included a noteworthy selection of brood mares, young horses, and racing stock that were mainly purchased by one of two buyers at the auction after his death: Joseph E. Widener and the Log Cabin partnership of W. Averell Harriman and George Herbert Walker.⁴⁹ However, several other breeders took the opportunity to improve their own stables (see table 1 in chapter

⁴⁷ Moss, *American Country House*, 84.

⁴⁸ Belmont, *Fabric of Memory*, 91, 94.

⁴⁹ Bowen, *Dynasties: Great Thoroughbred Stallions*, 29-33.

1). Auction managers had arranged special trains to run from New York, Louisville, and elsewhere for potential buyers and the curious.⁵⁰

With the support of the American Jockey Club and individuals such as August Belmont Jr., racetracks owned and operated by jockey clubs or private individuals multiplied both in New York and around the country (see Appendix 3). Each track, such as the popular Crescent City Jockey Club in New Orleans, competed to attract the highest caliber of horses and greatest number of spectators (Figure 2.9). One of the first large New York tracks sponsored by the elite was Jerome Park in the Bronx, built by Leonard Jerome and the American Jockey Club. In 1865 (or 1866) Leonard Jerome (father of “dollar princess” Jenny Jerome), William R. Travers, and August Belmont Sr. established the American Jockey Club, securing late nineteenth-century New York City as the nation’s racing capital.⁵¹ After Jerome Park closed, August Belmont Jr., on behalf of the New York Jockey Club, oversaw the construction of Belmont Park on Staten Island.

Belmont Park opened in 1901 using the front gates from Jerome Park, hung on the posts from Washington Track, Charleston, South Carolina, to provide a magnificent entrance to the nation’s longest track and second home of the Belmont Stakes.⁵² The

⁵⁰ *Nursery Stud Sale Catalog, May 15, 1925*. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU.

⁵¹ Belmont, *Fabric of Memory*, 91. See also Robert A. M. Stern, Thomas Mellins, and David Fishman, *New York 1880: Architecture and Urbanism in the Gilded Age* (New York: The Monacelli Press, Inc., 1999), 218, 966-967; Patterson, *First Four Hundred*, 120; William d’Alton Mann, *Fads and Fancies of Representative Americans at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Town Topics Publishing Company, 1905. Reprint. New York: Arno Press Inc., 1975), 55; Bowen, *Jockey Club’s Illustrated History*, 47; and Bowen, *Dynasties, Great Thoroughbred Stallions*, 25.

⁵² Sparks, “Gentleman’s Sport: Horse Racing in Antebellum Charleston,” 30.

original Belmont Park plant of 1901 to 1929, when it burned, was a massive complex of several tracks, stabling, grandstands, clubhouses, and landscaped grounds (Figures 2.10 and 2.11). The main grandstand and surrounding lawn accommodated about fifty thousand spectators. The grandstand roof was occasionally used by horse owners to escape the crowds and noise while watching horses race.⁵³ Club members enjoyed the hospitality of the chef and his waiters at the Turf and Field Club (the former Marse Mansion).

In the South, the Maryland Jockey Club's Pimlico Racetrack in Baltimore, Maryland, the home of the Preakness race, continued its antebellum racing tradition. Pimlico became the hub of racing stables in the area, some newly built and others, like Belair, revitalized colonial estates. One such new stable began when two retired businessmen decided to turn their business skills to the horse industry. In 1928 two New York advertising specialists, William Leavit Brann and Robert S. Castle, who created Montgomery Ward's mail order catalog, joined forces to establish Branncastle Stable at Branncastle Farm in Frederick County, Maryland.⁵⁴

American racetracks fostered a tight network of horse owners, trainers, and jockeys. Young apprentice jockeys, whose careers were regulated by the Jockey Club, rode for licensed trainers until they earned their licenses. A jockey's salary was dependent on a combination of wins, style, and self-promotion. In the era from 1865 to 1929 jockeys, both blacks and whites (often of Irish descent), were usually from agricultural or laboring backgrounds (Figure 2.12). Most jockeys began their careers as apprentices and

⁵³Belmont, *Fabric of Memory*, 93.

⁵⁴Bowen, *Dynasties: Great Thoroughbred Stallions*, 53-54.

later raced at tracks all over the country.⁵⁵ Employment as a groom or exercise rider was another option for a young boy waiting to race or an older jockey unable to make the weight requirements.

American trainers, though usually more prosperous as a whole than jockeys, were no less diverse and often had similar backgrounds. In fact, many jockeys, after they could no longer meet the weight requirements, became trainers. Though each small city with a track had at least one local trainer, and probably two or three, there is no in-depth study of American trainers between 1865 and 1929 except for a few biographies of prominent individuals such as James “Sunny” Fitzsimmons and James Rowe Sr.⁵⁶

Some African American trainers and jockeys were very successful in flat racing, especially in the period between 1865 and 1900, before overt racism and Jim Crow laws began to push them out of upper-level positions in the industry. One of the most well known and wealthiest black trainers was Ed Brown, who with his partner, Eugene Leigh, bought *Ben Brush* for twelve hundred dollars from the breeders Woodford & Clay. They

⁵⁵ Carol Case, “Paddock Rites: Integrative Ritual in the Racing Community,” *Sociological Inquiry* 58, no. 3 (1988): 279-290. See also Edward Hotaling, *The Great Black Jockeys: The Lives and Times of the Men Who Dominated America’s First National Sport* (Rocklin, CA: Forum, Prima Publishing, 1999); Edward Hotaling, *Wink: The Incredible Life and Epic Journey of Jimmy Winkfield* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005); Tod Sloan, *Tod Sloan* (London: Grant Richards, Ltd., 1915); Peter C. Smith and Karl B. Raitz, “Negro Hamlets and Agricultural Estates in Kentucky’s Inner Bluegrass,” *The Geographical Review* 64, no. 2 (April 1974): 217-234; David K. Wiggins, “Isaac Murphy: Black Hero in Nineteenth Century American Sport, 1861-1896,” *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education* 10, no. 1 (1979): 15-32; Arthur Yates and Bruce Blunt, *Arthur Yates: Trainer and Gentleman Rider* (London: Grant Richards Ltd., 1924); and Caspar Whitney, “The Sportsman’s View-Point,” *Outing. An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 41, 5 (February 1903): 642. Available from APS Online Database 435370252.

⁵⁶ *American Racing Manual 1930*, 521-522.

quickly found themselves with the nation's fastest three year-old. The partnership later dissolved after Leigh had financial difficulties and moved abroad to work as a trainer, but Brown continued to successfully train Thoroughbreds and later became a Hall of Fame trainer.⁵⁷

The wealthiest American owners did not limit themselves to American-based trainers and jockeys but also sent horses to England to race under the direction of English trainers. Thoroughbred owner and New York Jockey Club co-founder William Collins Whitney was a top financier and lawyer specializing in corporate negotiations. After graduating from Harvard Law School, Whitney became involved in New York City politics, rose as an influential member of the Democratic Party, and served as the Secretary of the Navy in President Cleveland's administration.⁵⁸ As he became more successful on the track, Whitney's presence interested "a great variety of very rich men, of varying social status," who by 1903 were "engaged enthusiastically in a recreation that would not have attracted them otherwise." It was "quite the vogue for such persons to have their colors represented, and the natural consequence [was] that there [was] an enormous influx of money into racing circles."⁵⁹ Whitney began sending horses to

⁵⁷Bowen. *Dynasties: Great Thoroughbred Stallions*, 25. Elizabeth M. Simpson, *The Enchanted Bluegrass* (Lexington, KY: Transylvania Press), 149.

⁵⁸Frederic Cople Jaher, "The Gilded Elite: American Multimillionaires, 1865 to the Present," in *Wealth and The Wealthy in the Modern World*, ed. W. D. Rubinstein (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 206. Sclar, *Beaux-Arts Estates*, 109. See also W. C. Whitney, *The Whitney Stud* (New York: n.p., 1902); and Mark D. Hirsch, *William C. Whitney: Modern Warwick*, (n.p.: Archon Books, 1969).

⁵⁹Trevelyan, "American Racing," 8. Francis Trevelyan, "On English Tracks, *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation*, 42, no. 2 (May 1903): 159. Available from APS Online Database 434097202.

England in the late 1880s and maintained a strong presence on the British turf until 1901, when he closed his English stable in order to better support American racing.

After his return to racing full time in the United States, William C. Whitney became the principal backer of the 1902 renovation and renaissance of the Saratoga racecourse. The racecourse underwent major physical changes, and the last vestiges of gambling influences were erased. Despite the occasional losses, Whitney's consolidated racing stable of the two-year-old colts *Yankee* and **Nasturtium* (bought for fifty thousand dollars) and the fillies *Blue Girl* (bought for thirty-five thousand dollars), *Artful*, and *Endurance-by-Right* were all well positioned to become national leaders (Figure 2.13).⁶⁰ The Whitney horses were bred in Lexington, Kentucky and raced out of his Wheatley Hills, Long Island estate's eight-hundred feet long, forty-feet wide Swiss stable. The stable, next to a one-mile track, had eighty-three, twenty-by-twenty-five-foot box stalls, and living quarters for one hundred men on the second story including a "dining room, gym, dormitory, and library."⁶¹ In addition to his Long Island estate, Whitney also owned ninety thousand acres in the Adirondacks, ten thousand acres in Massachusetts's Berkshire Hills, a Newport villa, the LaBelle racing stable in Lexington, a house in Aiken, South Carolina, used when foxhunting or playing polo, and homes in London and New York City.⁶²

⁶⁰Whitney, "The Month's Review," 239.

⁶¹Robert B. Mackay, Anthony K. Baker, and Carol A. Traynor, eds., *Long Island Country Houses and Their Architects, 1860-1940* (New York: Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities and W. W. Norton, 1997), 28. Sclar, *Beaux-Arts Estates*, 109. Mann, *Fads and Fancies*, 127.

⁶²Patterson, *First Four Hundred*, 136.

William C. Whitney's first wife was Flora Payne, sister to Standard Oil treasurer Oliver Payne; and two of their children, Payne Whitney and Harry Payne Whitney, were active leaders in flat racing.⁶³ Payne Whitney maintained his own racing stable, but he was also the family philanthropist, donating between fifty million and one hundred million dollars to charity (Figure 2.14).⁶⁴ When Payne Whitney decided to build an estate on Long Island near his father's property, he purchased five family farms to consolidate enough land to build his five hundred-acre country house, Greentree.⁶⁵ After Payne Whitney died, his widow, Helen Hay Whitney, continued to run the couple's Lexington, Kentucky, stable, Greentree Farm. Helen Whitney made the top twenty breeders list several times during the late 1920s and won the Kentucky Derby in 1931 and 1942.⁶⁶

Harry Payne Whitney, William Collins Whitney's second son, married the sculptor Gertrude Vanderbilt, a great-granddaughter of Commodore Vanderbilt, and purchased the Whitney Stable after his father's death in 1904. Before William C. Whitney's death, Harry Payne Whitney had raced horses under his own name and with partner Herman B. Duryea.⁶⁷ Under Harry Payne Whitney's management, the Whitney Stables "reached the

⁶³Ron Chernow, *Titan: The Life of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.* (New York: Vintage Books, 1999), 290-291.

⁶⁴Jaher, "The Gilded Elite: American Multimillionaires" 208, 258.

⁶⁵Mackay et al, eds., *Long Island Country Houses and Their Architects, 1860-1940*, 28. See also Monica Randall, *The Mansions of Long Island's Gold Coast* (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1979), 143.

⁶⁶*The American Racing Manual 1928*, 494. Janice R. Juett and Richard S. DeCamp, "Fairlawn (Greentree)," National Register of Historic Places Inventory--Nomination Form, September 1975, 8-1-8-2.

⁶⁷Trevelyan, "On English Tracks," 161-162.

peak of their activity between 1924 and 1933, when more than two hundred horses, including *Equipoise* and *Top Flight*, were bred and the stables placed first in more than 270 races.”⁶⁸ Harry Payne Whitney’s racehorses included six Preakness homebred winners, a Pimlico record until 1963.⁶⁹ At the 1913 James R. Keene dispersal sale, Whitney bought the Keene-bred 1904 stallion *Peter Pan* by *Commando* for thirty-eight thousand dollars. The horse became an important part of the stable’s later success.⁷⁰

Outside the racing circuit, Harry Payne Whitney was a top polo player and competed at the indoor horse shows in the Corinthian classes, jumping classes reserved for hunt members.⁷¹ At the summer outdoor shows, he drove his carriage horses, though sometimes unsuccessfully like at Mineola on Long Island in May 1898.⁷² Whitney shared his interest in horse shows with his wife. At Long Branch in July 1898, his wife Gertrude V. Whitney won a pairs driving class while some of her Vanderbilt nieces and nephews made their first foray into the show ring.⁷³ Their son, Cornelius Vanderbilt Whitney was, at first, little interested in horse shows or flat racing. However, after C. V. inherited his

⁶⁸ Sclar, *Beaux-Arts Estates*, 109-111.

⁶⁹ Kelly, “At the Track: Thoroughbred Racing in Maryland 1870-1973,” 73.

⁷⁰ Bowen, *Dynasties: Great Thoroughbred Stallions*, 17.

⁷¹ A. H. Godfrey, “The National Horse-Show, New York,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 31, no. 3 (December 1897): 297. Available from APS Online Database 434083832.

⁷² A. H. Godfrey, “Equestrianism: Horse Shows-Brooklyn,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 32, no. 3 (June 1898): 318. Available from APS Online Database 434277082.

⁷³ A. H. Godfrey, “Equestrianism: Outdoor Horse Shows,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 33, no. 3 (December 1898): 312. Available from APS Online Database 434323752.

father's top colt *Equipoise* just before the horse's victory in the 1930 Pimlico Futurity, beating his aunt Helen Hay Whitney's *Twenty-Grand*, he became very involved in the racing industry (Figure 2.15). At the same time C. V. Whitney remained involved in many outside projects such as founding Pan American airlines with his cousin Jock Whitney and financing Hollywood blockbusters such as *Gone with the Wind*.⁷⁴

The American Thoroughbred racing industry continued to grow throughout the 1910s and 1920s. *Man O'War*'s great races in 1919 revived public interest in the sport, and it remained high throughout the next two decades. In 1930 there were about thirty first-class tracks in the United States serving some of the eight thousand North American racehorses in training. Gambling at most tracks was illegal, but Maryland and Kentucky tracks used the pari-mutuel system to ensure a cut of the profits.⁷⁵ Between 1865 and 1929, Thoroughbred flat racing became a thoroughly modernized sport through the establishment of the Jockey Club and other key organizations, standardized rules for all races, a set schedule of high-stakes races, a licensing system for industry participants, special attention given to spectators at the tracks, the dissemination of regular results and updates in national and city newspapers, and annual rankings celebrated in industry and popular publications.

⁷⁴Bowen, *Dynasties: Great Thoroughbred Stallions*, 17. 63.

⁷⁵Lupton Allemong Wilkinson, "The Sport of Kings," *North American Review* 230, no. 3 (September 1930): 334-335. Available from APS Online Database 204555741. The pari-mutuel system allows patrons to bet against one another, with the racetrack serving as a broker, rather than the older system of individual bookmakers.

Steeplechasing

Compared to its more famous relations, foxhunting and flat racing, steeplechasing was a new member of the sporting scene. The first steeplechase occurred in England in 1792. English racetracks quickly adopted the sport and built courses that simulated the obstacles found when racing across the English countryside: walls, ditches, hedges, and fences. Racehorse owners discovered that some of their horses were particularly good at running and jumping, and they soon established the world's most famous steeplechase: the 1839 Grand National at Aintree. Foxhunters often became involved in steeplechasing when they realized a particular hunt horse could gallop faster or jump higher than the rest of the field. In the U. S., the impetus for establishing steeplechasing as a organized part of the horse industry came from the same quarters: a combination of foxhunters and racehorse owners.

In the early 1880s American steeplechasing was, according to *Outing's* editor, a disreputable "cross-country branch of racing" that suffered from crooked gamblers and a public audience that "enjoyed the excitement and liked to see the accidents and falls." In response to such criticisms and the sport's chaotic state, interested Rockaway and Meadow Brook Hunt Club members formed steeplechase associations to "raise the level of steeple-chasing."⁷⁶ Each hunt club began to supply the race purses and maintain its own steeplechase courses. The Rockaway Steeplechase Association course at Cedarhurst, Long Island, opened in mid-May 1885 with a grandstand for twelve hundred spectators and two

⁷⁶Charles S. Pelham-Clinton, "Plain Talk About Steeple-Chasing," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 13, no. 4 (January 1889): 361. Available from APS Online Database 433803142. See also John Pinfold, "Where the Champion Horses Run: The Origins of Aintree Racecourse and the Grand National," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 15, no. 2 (1998): 137-151.

tracks encircling an inner polo field. The opening ceremonies began the week before when “lovers of steeplechasing and owners of noted racers shot down by rail from town” to inspect the course and watch an exhibition by F. Gray Griswold, M.F.H., and his hounds.⁷⁷

On 15 February 1895, after a decade of occasionally coordinated efforts by various race tracks, country clubs, and foxhunts, a group of dedicated steeplechase owners and riders formed the Hunt Race and Steeplechase Association. The initial members, August Belmont Jr., H. DeCoursy Forbes, Samuel S. Howland, James O. Green, Frederick Gebhard, A. J. Cassatt, Foxhall P. Keene, John G. Follansbee, and Frederick H. Prince, directed the organization to “keep records; govern, promote and hold races; advance steeplechasing throughout the United States; and license individuals and race meetings.”⁷⁸ At the local level most of the association’s meets continued to be organized by country clubs or foxhunts. Because of this connection to the rapidly growing country club movement, steeplechase meets quickly became fixtures on local social calendars. For

⁷⁷“The New Steeplechase Track,” *National Police Gazette* 46, no. 400 (May 16, 1885): 4. Available from APS Online Database 217621731.

⁷⁸ National Steeplechase Association, “The NSA,” <http://www.nsa.org> (accessed 6 June 2004). See also Lady Apsley, *Bridleways through History* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1936); Hugh Bradley, *Such was Saratoga* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1940); Henry Cunstance, *Riding Recollections and Turf Stories* (London: Edward & Arnold, 1894); Lord Willoughby de Broke, *Steeplechasing* (London: Seeley Service & Co., 1954); Elizabeth Eliot, *Portrait of a Sport-Steeplechasing in U.S.* (Woodstock, VT: The Countryman Press, 1957); Clive Graham and Bill Curling, *The Grand National: An Illustrated History of the Greatest Steeplechase in the World* (New York: Winchester Press, 1972); Frank Gray Griswold, *Race Horses and Racing* (n.p.: The Plimpton Press, 1925); Harry S. Page, *Between the Flags: The Recollections of a Gentleman Rider* (New York: Derrydale Press, 1929); Captain E. Pennell-Elmhirst, *The Best of the Fun 1891-1897* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1903); Lieutenant Colonel John E. Rossell Jr., *History of the Maryland Hunt Cup 1895-1954* (Baltimore: The Sporting Press, 1954); Fox Russell, *In Scarlet and Silk: Hunting and Steeplechasing* (London: Bellairs & Co., 1896); and “Steeple-Chasing,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 12, no. 2 (May 1888): 174. Available from APS Online Database 433801582.

example, on 22 May 1897 “all of the Philadelphia horsy set turned out in force to witness the sport” at the Rose Tree Hunt Club spring meet. A week later the Boston crowd had a similar opportunity at the Brookline Country Club, whose two-day meeting drew twenty-five hundred visitors the first day and five thousand the second despite heavy rain.⁷⁹

American owners invested deeply in breeding and training potential steeplechase champions. As steeplechasing grew in popularity, three races in particular led the lists for quality and difficulty: the Maryland Hunt Cup, begun in 1894; the American Grand National in Far Hills, New Jersey, begun in 1899; and the National Hunt Cup, in Radnor, Pennsylvania, begun in 1909. These three races became an established presence on the social calendars of the wealthy elite. One of the most influential steeplechase owners of the period was Marion du Pont Scott, who grew up riding horses on her father’s estates. Scott became a serious force, as an owner, in the steeplechasing world during the 1920s, and in 1930 she sent her horse *Battleship*, by *Man O’War* out of *Accra*, to England to win the Grand National Steeplechase.⁸⁰ *Battleship* had been well prepared in the United States, having won the prestigious Widener Cup at Belmont earlier in the year (Figure 2.16). For the next several decades Scott continued to breed, train, and race steeplechase horses from her stable at Montpelier. Elsewhere in the country, steeplechasing continued to gain support from the widening base of foxhunters and flat racers.

⁷⁹ Alfred Stoddart. “Equestrianism: The Philadelphia Horse Show,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 30, no. 4 (July 1897): 410–411. Available from APS Online Database 434213652.

⁸⁰ Bowen, *Dynasties, Great Thoroughbred Stallions*, 34.

Polo

James Gordon Bennett Jr., owner of the *New York Herald*, began playing polo while traveling in England and in 1876, after his return, convinced several men and women of the “400” to join him at Jerome Park in New York City. Polo quickly spread outside the city and overtook foxhunting as an integral part of the growing country club movement. It took several decades for golf to fully replace horse sports as the uniting club activity of those early fox hunting and polo clubs. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the number of country clubs rapidly increased, and nineteen of them became founding members of the Polo Association.⁸¹

⁸¹ Alfred Stoddart, “Equestrianism,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine for Recreation*, 27, no. 5 (February 1896): 83-84. Available from APS Online Database 434080572. The nineteen clubs were Rockaway, Meadow Brook, Country Club of Westchester, Morris County, Myopia, Harvard, Brookline, Westchester, Philadelphia, Hingham, Dedham, St. Louis, Monmouth County, Buffalo, Chicago, Devon, Vesper, Point Judith, and Genesee Valley. See also Baltimore Country Club, *One Hundred Years* (n.p.: Baltimore Country club, 1998); Paul Brown, *Polo* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1949); T. F. Dale, “English Polo of To-Day,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 38, no. 5 (August 1901): 501-507. Available from APS Online Database 434093342; T. B. Drybrough, *Polo* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1906); Robert Dunn, “The Country Club: A National Expression, Where Woman is Really Free,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 47, no. 2 (November 1905): 160-174. Available from APS Online Database 434100782; William Cameron Forbes, *As to Polo* (n.p.: Dedham Country & Polo Club, 1911); A. H. Godfrey, “Equestrianism: Polo,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 33, no. 1 (October 1898): 160-174. Available from APS Online Database 434308202; A. H. Godfrey, “Polo,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 34, no. 3 (June 1899): 325-326. Available from APS Online Database 434363842; A. H. Godfrey, “Polo in Play,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 30, no. 3 (June 1897): 478-487. Available from APS Online Database 434217442; Richard Moss, “Sport and Social Status: Golf and the Making of the Country Club in the United States, 1882-1920,” *International Journal of the History of Sport* 10, no. 1 (1993): 93-100; Polo Association, *Polo Association Yearbook 1923* (New York: Polo Association, 1923); Lawrence Timpson, “American Polo,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 18, no. 4 (July 1891): 330-334. Available from APS Online Database 434142202; Lawrence Timpson, “American Polo: Part II,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 18, no. 5 (August 1891): 410-414. Available from APS

Despite polo's growing popularity during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it was not until the 1905 foundation of the Polo Association, chaired by Bostonian Henry L. Herbert, that players organized themselves to coordinate player handicaps or ratings, schedule regular tournaments, and field national teams to represent the United States.⁸² Prior to 1905, American players competed internationally by invitation as individuals, or as a team whenever enough high-goal (or upper handicap rating) players' social or business calendars found them all in Europe at the same time during the polo season.

In January 1896 *Polo Magazine* issued a challenge to New York to send a team that year to Hurlingham, the English polo capital, since Buenos Aires had recently announced its commitment to send a team.⁸³ Foxhall Keene, Raoul Duval, and H. K. Vingut, all members of Meadow Brook Country Club and part of the club's polo team, were in England during the winter of 1896-1897. Like Keene, Duval shipped several of his best hunters and top polo ponies to England to ride during the winter. Led by Keene, the men received the nod from the Polo Association to represent the United States in any international matches.⁸⁴

Online Database 434142842; Charles Quincy Turner, "Polo, Ancient and Modern: A Game That Brings out the Best There is in Man and Horse," *Country Life in America* 2, no. 4 (August 1902): 132-135.

⁸²M. Christina Geis, *Georgian Court: An Estate of the Gilded Age* (East Brunswick, NJ: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1982), 67.

⁸³ Stoddart, "Equestrianism: The New York Horse Show," 76. See also Caspar Whitney, "The Sportman's [sic] View-Point," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine for Recreation* 37, no. 2 (November 1900): 223. Available from APS Online Database.

⁸⁴ A. H. Godfrey, "Equestrianism: American Polo in England," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 29, no. 5 (February 1897): 517. Available

The top American polo players, including Foxhall Keene, were all members of the upper class and lived primarily in the New York area, thus the reason for *Polo Magazine's* long series of pointed editorials about club loyalties and memberships. In order to play on a sanctioned polo team, the players had to be members of one or more country clubs, where membership was through sponsorship. Occasionally an entire family would field a team, such as the Belmonts, or "Battery B," which included father August Jr. and sons August III, Raymond, and Morgan, all four of whom were enthusiastic if not highly skilled. The teams also included high-goal women players such as Elenora Sears, Catherine Kernochan, Phoebe Cary, Helen Hitchcock, and Emily Stevenson (Figure 2.17). The strongest polo teams were often from Myopia in Hamilton, Massachusetts, possibly the oldest club in the country (Figure 2.18); Rockaway, occasionally home to Foxhall Keene and John E. Cowdin; Meadow Brook, which included Tommy Hitchcock Jr., Benjamin Nicoll, and Harry Payne Whitney among its players; and Westchester, the alma mater of J. M. Waterbury Jr., Lawrence Waterbury, and John E. Cowdin, all top polo players for years.⁸⁵ Tommy Hitchcock Jr., the best American ten-goaler by the late 1920s, learned to play polo under the supervision of his mother and father, both of whom were high-goal players (Figure 2.19). In order to ride throughout the year, the Hitchcock family moved between Long Island and Aiken, South Carolina, where they were one of the first Society families to open the area to horse sports. As the Polo Association

from APS Online Database 434082272. See also Caspar Whitney, "The Sportman's View-Point," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 36, no. 5 (August 1900): 560. Available from APS Online Database 435260442.

⁸⁵Caspar Whitney, "The Sportsman's View-Point," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 39, no. 2 (November 1901): 237. Available from APS Online Database 435291312. Patterson, *First Four Hundred*, 15, 170, 210, 217, 231.

struggled to regulate polo players' movements, the late-nineteenth century development of Florida, Aiken, and other southern venues quickly made the sport a year-round event and increased the likelihood of players joining multiple clubs.

Long Island was home to many polo clubs and stables, including the classically inspired polo and racing stables at Marshall Field III's estate, Caumsett, a key part of his three hundred million dollars in assets in 1930 (Figure 2.20).⁸⁶ The most prominent rivalry from the late 1890s until the early 1910s was between Meadow Brook and Rockaway, clubs that usually played against one another in the national championship tournament. Meadow Brook, under the leadership of Harry Payne Whitney, constructed several polo fields, including the international field with a large grandstand, stabling, and paddocks. August Belmont Jr. personally oversaw the selection and mixing of the turf seeds.⁸⁷ Whitney also maintained a large stable of polo ponies in addition to his racing stable, which proved to be the foundation of Meadow Brook's success during a very competitive 1898 tournament of four matches, three of which Meadow Brook won decisively.⁸⁸ In 1906 architect John Russell Pope designed a Colonial Revival clubhouse for the Meadow Brook Polo Club at Jericho, Long Island.⁸⁹ Rockaway had "picturesque grounds" with a slightly short main field at Westchester Country Club.

⁸⁶ Jaher, "The Gilded Elite: American Multimillionaires," 211. See also Randall, *The Mansions of Long Island's Gold Coast*, 149-152.

⁸⁷ Belmont, *Fabric of Memory*, 103.

⁸⁸ A. H. Godfrey, "Outing's Monthly Review of Amateur Sports and Pastimes: Polo," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 32, no. 5 (August 1898): 516-517. Available from APS Online Database 434280852.

⁸⁹ Sclar, *Beaux-Arts Estates*, 28.

The continued close competition between these two polo clubs and others developed a pool of highly qualified players and horses to play together at Meadow Brook against the visiting British teams in the 1911, 1913, and 1914 international matches. According to Eleanor Belmont, the British teams often “arrived early in our midst to accustom their ponies to our climate and themselves to Meadow Brook fields and the American style of play.”⁹⁰ Charles C. Cook captured the full pageantry and athleticism of the three tournaments when he photographed the teams and spectators before and during the matches (Figures 2.21-2.23). The Meadow Brook Club’s polo committee had organized the construction of new grandstands specifically for the 1911 match.

Foxhall Keene, along with Harry Payne Whitney, was an important member of the top American teams between 1886 to 1918 (Figures 2.24 and 2.25). Foxhall Parker Keene was one of the few Americans with imported English polo ponies in the early years. Foxhall’s father, James R. Keene, had made his millions in the western United States from numerous ventures (Figure 2.26). After he settled in New York City, James Keene became a member of the American Jockey Club. From the mid-1880s to 1912, James R. Keene and his son, Foxhall, owned Castleton Farm in Lexington where they bred “113 stakes winners including *Spendthrift*, *Kingston*, *Sysonby*, *Celt*, *Sweep*, and *Pennant*,” and a sister racing stable in England (Figure 2.27).⁹¹ The first Castleton Stud manager was James R. Keene’s brother-in-law, Foxhall Daingerfield, and then Keene’s niece, Elizabeth

⁹⁰Belmont, *Fabric of Memory*, 104. See also Walter S. Vosburgh, Charles D. Lanier, Frank J. Bryan, and James C. Cooley, *Thoroughbred Types 1900 - 1925* (New York: Privately Printed, 1926), 246; Whitney, “The Sportsman’s View-Point,” *Outing* 36, no. 5 (August 1900): 558-559.

⁹¹ Bowen, *Dynasties, Great Thoroughbred Stallions*, 13, 25. See also Dan M. Bowmar III, *Giants of the Turf* (Lexington, KY: The Blood-Horse, 1960).

Daingerfield, who earned national recognition as an able manager and decisive breeder, and began a sister racing stable in England.⁹² With racing stables, political connections, and a New York address the family had been quickly welcomed into Society.

Even before Foxhall Keene inherited millions of dollars, he had become a professional amateur sportsman.⁹³ Foxhall had begun riding horses at an early age and quickly proved that he could ride any horse higher, faster, and longer than any other amateur sportsman in the United States, and most likely Europe also. When he was not playing polo as a ten-goaler, winning steeplechases, foxhunting on Long Island as M.F.H. of Meadow Brook or spending the winter in his hunting box with the Quorn Hunt in England, Foxhall boxed, rowed, golfed, and much more. In 1906 Keene hired George A. Freeman to design the stable and a carriage house at his Long Island country house, Rosemary. Francis G. Hasselman designed the house itself, in a plantation or early Colonial Revival style, and Charles W. Leavitt was the landscape architect.⁹⁴

Harness Racing

Informal trotting or light-harness races began as soon as two men met on a good road with fast horses to pit against one another. Later enthusiasts staged competitions at

⁹² Treveylan, "On English Tracks," 163. See also Timpson, "Equestrian Sports," *Outing*, 17, no. 4 (January 1891): 79.

⁹³ Foxhall Keene, *Full Tilt: The Sporting Memoirs of Foxhall Keene* (New York: Derrydale Press, 1938), 45. Foxhall Keene's full-time occupation was sports. He bought and sold horses, trained and competed, and helped other riders, but he was independently wealthy so it was not his livelihood. Usually professional amateurs are a professional's family member who does not receive compensation for riding or competing, but the professional is able to earn money, often by selling a horse, from the amateur's reputation and skill.

⁹⁴ Monica Randall, *The Mansions of Long Island's Gold Coast* (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1979), 97-98, 102. Sclar, *Beaux-Arts Estates*, 113, 118-121.

harness racing tracks or “driving parks” used for Standardbred racing.⁹⁵ The horses, either pacers or trotters, depending on their gait, pulled a two-wheeled cart called a sulky around an oval track. The New York Trotting Club, established in 1824, was one of the sport’s earliest supporters and encouraged coverage in sporting journals such as the *Spirit of the Times*.⁹⁶ Driving clubs quickly sprang up across the country as a way to organize roadster competitions. The clubs promoted amateur owner-drivers who “appreciate[d] fully the pleasure to be gotten out of friendly brushes with their friends.” The members were wealthy men such as *New York Ledger* owner Robert Bonner and Cornelius Vanderbilt who “could not be brought together in any other way” except for their enjoyment of the sport and their desire to own the fastest trotter.⁹⁷ Just as in other horse sports, the amateur supporters of harness racing between 1865 and 1929 continually struggled to maintain control over emerging professionals and what they negatively referred to as the

⁹⁵Charles A. Bobbitt, “The North Memphis Driving Park, 1901-1905: The Passing of an Era,” *West Tennessee Historical Society Papers* 26 (1972): 40. See also Nathan A. Cole, “Early Road Driving and Its Patrons,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 36, 3 (June 1900): 277-278. Available from APS Online Database 434089732; and Ed Geers, *Ed Geers Experience with the Trotters & Pacers* (Buffalo, NY: The Matthews-Northrup Co., 1901).

⁹⁶Adelman, “The First Modern Sport in America,” 9-10. See also A. H. Godfrey, “Equestrianism: Austrian Trotting Prizes,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine for Recreation* 29, no. 5 (February 1897): 518. Available from APS Online Database 434082272.

⁹⁷Alfred Stoddart, “Equestrian: High-Stepping Hackneys,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine for Recreation* 29, no. 6 (March 1897): 620. Available from APS Online Database 434085942. See also Cole, “Early Road Driving and Its Patrons,” 282; Adelman, “The First Modern Sport in America,” 20-21; Patterson, *First Four Hundred*, 118-119. William L. Joyce, “Bonner, Robert,” <http://www.anb.org/articles/16/16-00145.html>; *American National Biography Online* Feb. 2000 (accessed 2/12/04).

“undesirable” element.⁹⁸ At the same time, other factors, such as the impression that trotters were more democratic and useful, less costly, raced more, and had longer careers than Thoroughbreds contributed to harness racing’s rise in popularity as a spectator sport between 1825 and 1870.⁹⁹

In 1870 when several dedicated harness racers established the National Trotting Association in New York City, the sport had “fairly uniform rules and contests taking place throughout the country.” Most of these early races took place on tracks in New York state, New England, and the eastern provinces of Canada. In California, Leland Stanford’s 1876 Palo Alto Stud, named for his first record-setting horse, was the center of a small, but noteworthy group of trotter owners and breeders (Figure 2.28). The use of timed heats and promotions listing each horse’s records generated spectator interest in out-of-town horses. It also allowed comparison of horses that were unable to compete against one another due to geographic location or other restrictions. From 1865 to 1929 wealthy businessmen became the primary harness racing breeders; they established stables to breed and train for speed as “the sole objective.”¹⁰⁰ By the late 1890s, American-style harness racing had become equally popular among the European aristocracy and wealthy.

⁹⁸Cole, “Early Road Driving and Its Patrons,” 279-281. The New York Driving Club membership included: Cornelius Vanderbilt, William H. Vanderbilt, Robert Bonner, Benjamin F. Tracy, William C. Whitney, August Belmont, O.H.P. Belmont, J. D. Rockefeller, Jay Gould, William D. Sloane, Rutherford Stuyvestant, R. Goelet, C. Oliver Iselin, Frederick T. Steinway, Frank Work, and Ulysses S. Grant. See also Nathan A. Cole, “The Light Harness Horse,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 36, no. 2 (May 1900): 223-224. Available from APS Online Database 435248002.

⁹⁹Adelman, “The First Modern Sport in America,” 7, 12-13.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 12-13, 16, 21-23. See also Stoddart, “Equestrian,” 619-620.

In 1895 the Trotting Association of Baden, Austria, hosted the first international race in Nice, France.¹⁰¹ American horses and trainers (harness and flat) also had a warm reception in Germany and Russia.

Standardbred tracks, just like flat racing tracks, were located all over the country and often were backed by a core group of wealthy investors. Other organizations, usually driving clubs, built and maintained a track for their members' use. Fair associations, such as the Meigs County Agricultural Society, which built a half-mile clay track in 1889 and a curved grandstand in 1890 (both are still in use), often used the betting at their tracks to finance their annual events.¹⁰² Some tracks, such as The Historic Track at Goshen, benefited from their location and long history. Goshen is located in the Hudson Valley an hour north of New York City near many wealthy, social elite estates and communities such as Tuxedo Park. The Historic Track at Goshen opened in 1838 (Figure 2.29). It has the distinction of being the oldest surviving harness track in the United States. The oval track came first followed over the next two decades by a clubhouse, grandstand, and stabling. In 1907 a local trainer constructed the Good Time Stable, now the Harness Horse Museum, next to the track (Figure 2.30). Other tracks, such as the short-lived North Memphis Driving Park, in Memphis, Tennessee, depended on strong financial backers. Still other tracks, relied on top drivers or famous horses such as *Dan Patch* to draw crowds. In December 1902, International Stock Food Company owner Marion

¹⁰¹ Alfred Stoddart, "Equestrianism," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 27, no. 5 (February 1896): 84. Available from: APS Online Database 434080572.

¹⁰² Kathleen B. Andrews, "Meigs Count Fairgrounds Grandstand and Racetrack," National Register of Historic Places Inventory--Nomination Form, 28 August 1981. 8-0.

Willis Savage of Minneapolis bought *Dan Patch* for sixty thousand dollars and began an intensive advertising campaign. He used *Dan Patch*'s image and the slogan "World's Champion Pacing Horse" to advertise International Stock Food Company products.¹⁰³ Savage utilized "posters on fences, walls, and billboards, put pictures and stories in every newspaper and farm journal within three hundred miles of an appearance, and even distributed articles supposedly authored by the great horse himself."¹⁰⁴

In the central United States harness racing grew rapidly in popularity, especially in the tri-state region of Indiana, Ohio, and Kentucky. Standardbred breeders established breeding farms and training stables in Lexington, Kentucky, next to the older Thoroughbred and Saddlebred stables (Figure 2.31). These breeders and many others satisfied the growing demand of those who wanted fast trotters to participate in a sport described in 1900 as "clean, manly and healthful" that "is exciting and furnishes invigorating exercise" while requiring "energy, brain force, and quick perception" to win.¹⁰⁵ Lexington's Red Mile, built in 1870 as part of the Kentucky Agricultural and

¹⁰³Gerald Waite, "An American Sports Icon: Indiana's Dan Patch," *Traces of Indiana and Midwestern History* 11, no. 3 (1999): 16-18. See also Bobbitt, "North Memphis Driving Park, 1901-1905," 47; and Merton E. Harrison, *Autobiography of Dan Patch* (St. Paul: Webb Publishing Company, 1912).

¹⁰⁴Waite, "An American Sports Icon: Indiana's Dan Patch," 21-22.

¹⁰⁵Cole, "Early Road Driving and Its Patrons," 285. See also Dwight Akers, *Drivers Up: The Story of American Harness Racing*, 2nd ed. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1947); H. T. Helm, *American Roadsters and Trotting Horses* (Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co., 1878); John L. Hervey, *The American Trotter* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1947); John L. Hervey, *Messenger: The Great Progenitor* (New York: The Derrydale Press, 1935); Edwin Howlett, *Driving Lessons* (New York: R. H. Russell & Son, 1894); John E. Madden, *Hamburg Place Stud* (Lexington, VA: John E. Madden, 1913); S. W. Parlin, *The American Trotter* (Boston: American Horse Breeder Co., 1905); Thomas C. Parsons, *National Standard Register of Pacing Horses Vol. 1* (N.p., 1891); J. H. Sanders, *Breeders' Trotting Stud Book, Vol. 1* (Chicago: J. H. Sanders,

Mechanical Association's Fair Grounds, soon garnered a national reputation by attracting top horses with its rich purses. In 1875, the reorganized Kentucky Trotting Horse Breeders Association leased the track for its meets. By 1896 the Association had purchased the entire property, including Floral Hall, from the Agricultural and Mechanical Association. Floral Hall, an octagonal four-story exhibition space built in 1882, became a national landmark associated with the record breaking horses that raced on the Red Mile (Figure 2.32).¹⁰⁶ By 1901 the track's best race, the Kentucky Futurity, was worth sixteen thousand dollars and attracted trainers and owners from across the country.¹⁰⁷ Though harness racing did not form a lasting national association until after 1929, it established Standardbred bloodlines, rules, a national circuit of race meets, and kept national rankings.

Coaching

Shortly before the Civil War, public transportation coaches began to give way to railroads, streetcars, and omnibuses. Many individuals and families retained small, simple

1881); Elizabeth Sharts, *Cradle of the Trotter: A Goshen Turf History* (Goshen, NY: Book Mill 1946); John Splan, *Life with the Trotters* (Chicago: H. T. White, 1889); Nathan A. Cole, "The Development of the American Trotter," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 37, no. 1 (October 1900): 6-14. Available from APS Online Database 434090162; Nathan A. Cole, "Equestrianism: The Light Harness Horse," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 35, no. 3 (December 1899): 307-311. Available from APS Online Database 434089382; and Nathan A. Cole, "Equestrianism: The Light-Harness Horse," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 35, no. 5 (February 1900): 522-526. Available from APS Online Database 435244262.

¹⁰⁶Susan Sanders and Mrs. James Park Jr., "Floral Hall," National Register of Historic Places Inventory -- Nomination Form, 10 June 1976, 8-2. Horses who gained national recognition between 1865 and 1929 at the Red Mile include *Maud S.*, *Nancy Hanks*, *Dan Patch*, and *Billy Direct*, 8-3.

¹⁰⁷Whitney, "The Sportsman's View-Point," *Outing*, 39, 2 (November 1901): 242.

coaches or buggies for short pleasure or business trips. For those members of the wealthy, social elite who became interested in the new sport of coaching (driving one to six horses in crowded street or on often hazardous roads while pulling a coach filled with passengers), their choices and options were virtually unlimited. Unlike the western stagecoach that was notoriously utilitarian and uncomfortable, eastern coaching aficionados ordered custom made coaches directly from England or specialty firms in the United States that built the coaches based on the most current (i.e. British) designs and according to personal preferences. The result was a dizzying array of styles, sizes, and shapes for one, two, four, or even six horses (Figure 2.33).

American coaching and coaching clubs grew out of the older English tradition of coaching routes that crisscrossed England from the mid-seventeenth to mid-nineteenth centuries. It had taken about a century from England's first coach, made in 1555 for the Earl of Rutland, for the vehicles to become a standard form of transportation. The first English coaching club, the Bensington Driving Club, was established in 1807. By the mid-nineteenth century enough Americans had been exposed to coaching, presumably while on visits to England, that coaching became a horse sport. The cost of the coach, harness, horses, livery, and membership fees easily made carriage driving the most expensive horse sport. Unlike racing there were no purses to offset the cost.

The Four-in-Hand Club, established in 1856, was the first modern American driving club. However, it was not until 1875 when "400" member William Jay established the Coaching Club, that the pastime became an elite sport. The other founding members, James Gordon Bennett Jr., Frederic Bronson, Leonard W. Jerome, De Lancey Astor

Kane, S. Nicholson Kane, Thomas Newbold, A. Thorndike Rice, August Belmont Sr. and Jr., and William H. Vanderbilt, were soon joined by relatives, including wives and daughters, and other sporting friends. Almost all of the early members imported the highly expensive British coaches.¹⁰⁸

The public could participate in coaching by buying a ticket on one of several public coaches outfitted and driven by Coaching Club members, such as “Pioneer” and “Good Times,” which traveled between New York and its outlying suburbs. Imagine being able to say that Alfred G. Vanderbilt I, J. R. Roosevelt, Reginald Rives, or De Lancey Kane drove the coach from the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel to the Woodmanston Inn out to the

¹⁰⁸Charles S. Pelham-Clinton, “Coaching and Coaching Clubs,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 13, no. 6 (March 1889): 525-526, 529-530. Available from APS Online Database 434135522. Other early members were Theodore A. Havemeyer, Francis R. Rives, G. P. Wetmore, and Pierre Lorillard. See also Don Berkebile, *American Carriages, Sleighs, Sulkies, and Carts* (New York: Dover Publications, 1977); Lilian Baker Carlisle, *The Carriages at Shelburne Museum* (Shelburne, VT: The Shelburne Museum, 1956); Andrew Carnegie, *An American Four-in-Hand in Britain* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1883); Raymond Carr, “Country Sports,” in *The Victorian Countryside* ed., G. E. Mingay, 475-487 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981); “Coaching,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 17, no. 6 (March 1891): 127. Available from APS Online Database 433812972; Ivan L. Collins, *Horse Power Days, Popular Vehicles* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1952); Edward Corbett, *Old Coachman’s Chatter, with Some Practical Remarks* (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1890); A. H. Godfrey, “Driving Four-in-hand. Taking the Reins,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 30, no. 2 (May 1897): 107-112. Available from APS Online Database 434206162; A. H. Godfrey, “Driving Four-in-hand. Concluded,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 30, no. 3 (June 1897): 252-257. Available from APS Online Database 434210102; Charles G. Harper, *Stage Coach and Mail in Days of Yore, Vol. 1* (London: Chapman & Hall, Limited, 1903); C. Morely Knight, *Hints on Driving* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1895); William Pitt Lennox, *Coaching with Anecdotes of the Road* (London: Hurst and Blackett, Publishers, 1876); Hugh McCausland, *The English Carriage: The Story of the English Carriage* (London: The Batchworth Press, 1948); and Jack D. Rittenhouse, *American Horse Drawn Vehicles* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1948).

country on Tuesday.¹⁰⁹ Begun in 1876, the Coaching Club's annual parades on Fifth Avenue became a spectator sport as well as fixtures on Society's calendar. Americans traveling in England could take Andrew Carnegie's advice, as touted in a Thomas Cook & Son advertisement, and hire a coach for a week for "the best cure we know for the overworked and jaded American."¹¹⁰ In 1905, William Mann described coaching as "the exclusive pastime of only the most luxurious and refined classes of society" when reviewing the equestrian activities of Alfred Gywnne Vanderbilt I (Figure 2.34).¹¹¹

The most complex and expensive activity undertaken by Coaching Club members was the long distance drive, particularly popular between 1880 and 1910. Beginning in 1878, the club organized an annual drive from New York to a member's country estate. The 1878 drive was seven-and-a-half hours and went to the A. J. Cassatt and Fairman Roger estates outside Philadelphia. The 1888 annual drive left the Brunswick Hotel at 9:30 A.M. and arrived at William K. Vanderbilt's Idle Hour estate in Oakdale, Long Island, at 6:00 P.M.¹¹² These drives remained popular through the 1910s (Figure 2.35).

¹⁰⁹Patterson, *First Four Hundred*, 120-123. A. H. Godfrey, "Equestrianism: Coaching," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 32, no. 2 (May 1898): 198. Available from APS Online Database 434274292. Caspar Whitney, "The Way of the Sportsman," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 36, no. 4 (July 1900): 432. Available from APS Online Database 435260162. Timpson, "Equestrian Sports," *Outing*, 17, no. 4 (January 1891): 79, J. R. Roosevelt was one of the New York Horse Show carriage class judges in 1890.

¹¹⁰"Advertisement 56," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 27, no. 6 (March 1896): XLV. Available from APS Online Database 434175352.

¹¹¹Mann, *Fads and Fancies*, 146.

¹¹²Pelham-Clinton, "Coaching and Coaching Clubs," 532.

Not all coaching trips were cross-country expeditions meticulously planned weeks ahead of time. During the summer of 1910 or 1911 Eleanor Robson Belmont persuaded her husband to organize a coaching parade in Newport. The coaches gathered at the Belmont home and paraded down Bellevue Avenue, in front of Newport's most famous mansions, to the golf club where "we were greeted by a group of summer folk who thoroughly enjoyed the show." The parade included August Belmont Jr., Frank Sturgis, William Woodward, Colonel William Jay, William Goadby Loew, Victor Loew, and F. Ambrose Clark.¹¹³

For those unable to join the Coaching Club or participate in its members' programs, they could watch or drive in local horse shows' coaching classes. The carriage classes at the summer shows were the crowning point of the weekend with their "brilliantly appointed coaches, with animated loads of gayly appareled passengers." The "coaching set" was the most elite group at the show. Unless one had "entree to the club-house and grandstand," they could "be looked at only from a distance until they deign[ed] to mingle with ordinary folk." The coaching set insured a show's success through its social standing, class entry fees, club memberships, ringside parking fees, and box seat purchases in the grandstand.¹¹⁴

Military

From the Civil War until 1920, the military made several attempts to ensure an adequate supply of healthy, suitable horses (or remount). Two other significant problems

¹¹³Belmont, *Fabric of Memory*, 83.

¹¹⁴Godfrey, "Round the Summer Horse-Shows," 113.

during the period were an uncertain supply of hay and grain for the horses and a lack of well-trained men to care for them.¹¹⁵ In 1884, General Philip H. Sheridan, head of the United States Army, outlined the need for the Cavalry and Light Artillery School eventually established in 1892 at Fort Riley, Kansas (Figure 2.36). Sheridan also recommended that Fort Riley be the site of a cavalry breeding program to reduce the cost of horse purchases.¹¹⁶

In 1907, Maj. Gen. James B. Alshire proposed a remount system to train young horses and appropriate handlers and to monitor neighboring civilian breeding programs so that purchasing officers could be prepared in an emergency. This proposal resulted in the

¹¹⁵James A. Sawicki, *Cavalry Regiments of the US Army* (n.p.: Wyvern Publications, 1985), 65.

¹¹⁶A. A. Cederwald, "The Remount Service Past and Present," *The Quartermaster Review* (November-December 1928), <http://www.qmfound.com> (accessed 3/15/2001). See also Sherry L. Smith, *Sagebrush Soldier: Private William Earl Smith's View of the Sioux War of 1876* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 7, 25; Frances M. A. Roe, *Army Letters from an Officer's Wife 1871-1888* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1909), 15-19; Thomas R. Buecker, *Fort Robinson and the American West, 1875-1899* (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1999); J. J. Boniface, *The Cavalry Horse and His Pack* (Kansas City, MO: Hudson-Kimberly Publishing Co., 1903); C. C. Colt, "Breeding Horses with U. S. and Jockey Club Assistance," *The Rider and Driver* 68, no. 3 (January 10, 1925): 13-14; Baretto de Souza, *Advanced Equitation* (London: John Murray, 1927); Guy V. Henry, *Methods of the Mounted Service School* (Washington, DC: Mounted Service School Press, 1913); John K. Herr and Edward S. Wallace, *Story of the US Cavalry* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1953); *Historic Main Post Walking Tour, Fort Riley, Kansas* (Fort Riley, KS: Museum Division, n.d.); Phil Livingston and Ed Roberts, *War Horse: Mounting the Cavalry with America's Finest Horses* (Albany, TX: Bright Sky Press, 2003); Lieutenant Colonel M. F. McTaggart, *Mount and Man* (New York: Charles Scribner's & Sons, 1925); Glenn Moore-Colyer, "Aspects of Horse Breeding and the Supply of Horses in Victorian Britain," *The Agricultural History Review* 43, no. 1 (1995): 47-60; Steven W. Pope, "An Army of Athletes: Playing Fields, Battlefields, and the American Military Sporting Experience, 1890-1920," *Journal of Military History* 59, no. 3 (1995): 435-456; and U. S. Army, *Army Horses Remount Systems Abroad* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1908).

establishment of remount depots at Fort Reno, Oklahoma, Fort Keogh, Montana, and Front Royal, Virginia, but there were not enough employees in the main office to effectively operate the system (Figures 2.37 and 2.38).¹¹⁷ However, officers at the remount depots did begin to develop working relationships with civilian breeders to identify the strengths of different breeds and specific bloodlines. The National Defense Act of 1916 moved the Army one step closer to a national remount program. The 1916 act increased the number of cavalry regiments; instituted exams to promote officers from the ranks of enlisted men; and began an officer training program at Fort Leavenworth where officer candidates learned equitation and drills during three-hour morning riding sessions.¹¹⁸

On 10 April 1917, Colonel John S. Fair took control of the newly created Remount Branch of the Quartermaster Corps (Q.M.C.). Pierre Lorillard and August Belmont Jr. had provided critical support for the creation of the Remount Service.¹¹⁹ Over the next two years, Fair shipped almost three hundred thousand remount animals to the American Expeditionary Forces in France. The Remount Service oversaw:

(a) The purchase of horses and mules and forage for the Army. (b) The care, conditioning, and training of remounts after purchase and before issue. (c) The distribution and issue of remounts. (d) Organization and operation of the Remount Service. (e) The training, allocation and assignment of Remount Service personnel operating under the control of the Quartermaster General. (f) The operation of the Army horse breeding plan.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷Cederwald, "The Remount Service Past and Present."

¹¹⁸Truscott, *The Twilight of the U.S. Cavalry*, 4.

¹¹⁹Belmont, *Fabric of Memory*, 93.

¹²⁰Cederwald, "The Remount Service Past and Present."

Through the Remount Service and its resources, the army expanded breeding programs that were closely monitored; introduced polo to the western states; represented the United States in local, regional, national, and international horse shows; and supplied the men and horses for the United States Olympic equestrian teams. Its mission was to “encourage and assist civilian breeders to produce profitably horses suitable for civilian and military use and to procure horses and mules . . . for use of the army of the United States in peace or war.”¹²¹ The Remount Service divided the country into seven remount areas and three remount depots. Each area was under the supervision of an Officer in Charge who oversaw the area’s purchasing board which included at least one Quartermaster Corps officer and one Veterinary Corps officer. The Officer in Charge selected stallion agents from civilian applicants who could provide adequate care for Remount stallions and use proper breeding and horse management techniques with the stallions, mares, and offspring. The Remount Service prohibited stallion agents from charging more than a twenty-dollar stud fee, and stallions were not to be exhibited in any jumping events. Each area maintained a stallion agent blacklist, registers of stallion agents, stallion registers, and rejected stallion registers. The stallions, many of which had been donated by members of the wealthy, social elite, were an important resource for local breeders who wanted to take part in horse sports or sell young prospects to participants in the national horse industry.

The National Defense Act of 1920 sought to establish a large regular army, a national guard, organized reserves, and a “vast school and training system” that necessitated a consolidation of resources. For Lt. Lucian Truscott Jr., stationed in Hawaii

¹²¹War Department, Office of the Quartermaster General, *Technical Manual 10-395: Remount* (Washington: War Department, 1941), 2, mimeographed copy in Remount Service Artifacts Box, U. S. Cavalry Association Library, Ft. Riley, Kansas.

and learning the rudiments of polo, the “summer of 1921 was a sad one” as he returned stateside to Arizona.¹²² The act effectively united the high-quality horses owned by the Remount Service and the top riders throughout the service, not just in the Cavalry. The three permanent remount depots after 1920 were Front Royal, Virginia, Fort Reno, Oklahoma, and Fort Robinson, Nebraska (Figures 2.39 and 2.40). The depots were to “receive, condition, train and issue horses and mules as required by the Army,” “test-breed Remount stallions,” and “conduct training as required for all personnel, commissioned and enlisted, in Remount duties.” The Quartermaster headquarters established each depot at the site of an existing army base capable of producing the majority of the horses’ hay, grain, and water. Each animal had a Record Card (W.D., Q.M.C., Form 125) that tracked a horse’s or mule’s career with the army.¹²³ By 1928, the service had over five hundred stallions that bred about eighteen thousand mares and thus produced two million dollars worth of foals for a total cost of \$125,000.¹²⁴

Quartermaster Corps officers traveled throughout the country inspecting possible remount prospects. For instance, a surviving notebook kept by Major Hiram E. Tuttle, QMC, records the horses he inspected in September 1929 and includes comments about conformation and breeding and whether or not he would recommend the horse’s

¹²²Truscott, *The Twilight of the U.S. Cavalry*, 37-38, 45-46. See also Whitney, “Month’s Review,” 209; and Louis B. Gerow, “The Use of Horses and Mules in Modern Warfare,” *The Quartermaster Review* (November-December 1928), <http://www.qmfound.com> (accessed 3/25/2001).

¹²³War Department, *Technical Manual*, 4-5, 10-11, 18-19, 23, 29. The location of any surviving Record Cards is as of yet unknown.

¹²⁴Cederwald, “The Remount Service Past and Present.” War Department, *Technical Manual 10-395: Remount*, 31-32.

purchase.¹²⁵ The Remount Service used this careful inspection of each remount prospect's conformation and bloodline, often very successfully, to improve American sport horse breeding (Figures 2.41 and 2.42).

Training cavalry officers in proper riding and horse management techniques and military tactics fell to the Cavalry School, which had been reconfirmed as the cavalry's graduate school as a result of the 1920 National Defense Act.¹²⁶ Attendance in the Cavalry School at Fort Riley and posting on other bases also provided an opportunity for officers, their families, and nearby civilians to become involved in equine sports and recreation. At Fort Riley these activities ranged from relaxed family rides into the Flint Hills of eastern Kansas to fox hunting, polo, steeplechasing, and horse shows held on post.¹²⁷ Several other bases also founded recognized foxhunts.¹²⁸ Polo, too, was extremely popular in the army. U.S. Army polo teams played in annual tournaments against British Army teams (Figure 2.43).¹²⁹ Steeplechase meets often included races just

¹²⁵Black Notebook, Major Hiram E. Tuttle Collection, U.S. Cavalry Association Library, Ft. Riley, KS. Major Tuttle, when not inspecting potential purchases for the Remount Service, represented the United States in Dressage at several Olympics during the 1920s and 1930s.

¹²⁶Truscott, *The Twilight of the U.S. Cavalry*, 52.

¹²⁷See Prize Lists and Show Bills for a wide variety in the Edward O' Donnell Papers, SD 129, U.S. Cavalry Museum, Ft. Riley, KS. See also Gordon Johnson, "Riding to Hounds with Cavalry Officers in Germany," *Journal of the United States Cavalry Association* 18, no. 65 (1905): 69-81; and Gordon Johnson, "Riding to Hounds with Cavalry Officers in Germany," *Journal of the United States Cavalry Association* 18, no. 68 (1905): 676-689.

¹²⁸Mrs. Kay Bradford Colors Letter, 10 April 1939, Mrs. Randolph A. Tayloe Papers, SD 129, U.S. Cavalry Museum, Ft. Riley, Kansas and Field Artillery School Hunt Show Bill, Edward O'Donnell Papers, SD 129, U.S. Cavalry Museum, Ft. Riley, Kansas.

¹²⁹ Truscott, *The Twilight of the U.S. Cavalry*, 52, 74.

for military men and horses. Top army show horses, owned either privately, by officers, or by the army, competed as the U.S. Army Horse Show Team at the National Horse Show and other major shows (Figure 2.44). Every four years the best dressage, show jumping, and eventing riders and horses gathered at Fort Riley to train for the Olympics.

Horse Shows

From 1865 when they were local, seasonal gatherings until 1929 when they had evolved into a highly competitive, year-long sport, horse shows were a critical element of the horse industry as illustrated in this 1897 *Outing* editorial:

From the vantage of a modern country club-house veranda, overlooking an up-to-date, open-air horseshow, it is not difficult for a lover of the equine race to realize how fully the nation comprehends the scope and purpose of the horse, and the important part it plays in the fields of sport and recreation. . . . [Horse shows] have a wholesome social tendency, too, for at an open-air horse-show one meets all sorts and conditions of people, from president to stable-boy, under circumstances when they are most natural. . . . On the grand stand the swell set vie in their exclamations of approval, and in the sumptuousness of their apparel, with others of their own social level perched up on drags and mail-coaches “parked” along the outer boarder of the enclosure.¹³⁰

Since the colonial period, city and county fairs have included competitions for equestrian sports in addition to numerous other skills such as carpentry and gardening (Figure 2.45).

In the mid-nineteenth century, local horse shows with classes for a variety of breeds and activities became a form of public entertainment.¹³¹ The first American all-horse show was

¹³⁰Godfrey, “Round the Summer Horse-Shows,” 107, 111.

¹³¹E. B. Abercrombie, “The Horse of Society,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 27, no. 4 (January 1896): 24-37. Available from APS Online Database 434163742; “American Royal Horse Show,” *The Rider and Driver* 68, no. 2 (December 13, 1924): 6-8; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair: An Historical and Descriptive Presentation of the World’s Science, Art, and Industry, as Viewed through the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893*, Volume One (New York: Bounty

the still successful, “A”-rated Upperville Colt and Horse Show of Upperville, Virginia, begun in 1853 by Richard Henry Dulany. The first show had two classes. By 1857 the show, established to “encourage better care of young horse stock,” had grown in both size and popularity, and its management, the Upperville Union Club, was lauded as an example for other horse-rich counties. After a brief hiatus during the Civil War, the horse show continued to grow and its parent organization was reorganized in 1894 into the Upperville Colt Club. The new corporation hoped the annual show would encourage better breeding and improve sales through classes “testing the speed, gaits, and jumping powers of the various breeds or classes of horses.”¹³² Upperville represented a broader transformation of horse shows from a mid-nineteenth century emphasis on local agricultural draft horse breeding to a focus on hunter/jumper short horse breeders and riders in the early twentieth century.

After the Civil War, other individualized breed and sport organizations and competitions blossomed. Specialization necessitated more controlled breeding and training, and breed shows provided a means to showcase each “ideal” type whether for

Book, 1894); Normon Bolotin and Christine Laing, *The Chicago World's Fair of 1893: The World's Columbian Exposition* (Washington, DC: The Preservation Press, National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1992); Cavalry School Academic, *Horse Show Management* (Fort Riley, KS: The Cavalry School Press, 1925); “The Country Horse Shows,” *Country Life in America* 1, no. 1 (November 1901): xix; “Glorious Tuxedo Park’s Annual Horse Show,” *The Rider and Driver* 66, no. 10 (June 28, 1924): 16-17; A. H. Godfrey, “Equestrianism: Horse Shows,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 32, no. 1 (April 1898): 91. Available from APS Online Database 434272832; “Ho! For a Season of Great Horse Shows, the National Advancing its Dates from November and October,” *The Rider and Driver* 66, no. 10 (April 5, 1924): 7-8; and R. W. Morrish, *A History of Fairs* (Chicago: International Association of Fairs, 1929).

¹³²Kitty Slater, “The Upperville Colt and Horse Show,” www.upperville.com, accessed 1/28/04.

urban industry, farming, or pleasure (Figures 2.46 and 2.47). Horse shows provided a venue for breeders and trainers to compare horses, exchange training methods, and develop breed or sport standards. During the late 1890s, enthusiasts established new horse shows in San Francisco, Chicago, and elsewhere based on the “recognized plan” of breeding classes during the day and sport classes in the evening begun “in the Eastern States and in Europe.”¹³³ They were immediate successes as in Chicago, where “fifteen thousand fashionably attired people crowd[ed] the promenade and galleries, and horses in greater variety than ever seen in the New York show parad[ed] in the ring.”¹³⁴

At the same time that older, diversified fairs changed into horse shows and the winter indoor shows such as the 1883 National Horse Show became the pinnacle of breed and sport competition, outdoor shows took on a life of their own. Unlike Upperville, initially founded to improve local livestock, most post-Civil War outdoor shows were scheduled to coincide with the seasonal resort schedule. These shows took place in suburban and resort towns patronized by the nearby urban wealthy, social elite. The local businesses, especially breeders, benefited from the horse show visitors. Area farmers, after seeing what was fashionable and the new standards and preferences illustrated by the class winners, were brought “into closer touch with likely customers [members of the “wealthy suburban colonies”], whom they could not hope to reach through any other channel.”¹³⁵ A new member of the wealthy elite could enter the show as means of entrée

¹³³Benedict, “The Coming Horse Show,” *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine* 24, no. 142 (October 1894): 409–410, 418. Available from APS Online Database 195209941.

¹³⁴Godfrey, “The National Horse-Show, New York,” 289.

¹³⁵Godfrey, “Round the Summer Horse-Shows,” 108.

into the local upper class. The judges at these summer shows often included leading members of both the horse world and elite society. Success in the show ring might then be parlayed into acceptance into other sporting events and from there into upper class society itself. Many country clubs played a vital role in the development of the summer circuit with their show rings, polo grounds, or steeplechase courses.

From 1892 to the early 1900s the Philadelphia Horse Show Association held its annual Memorial Day competition at its show grounds in Wissahickon Heights. For the 1897 show the association made structural improvements to the facilities and “fitted up” a portion of the clubhouse for “the use of ladies and their escorts.” Not all of the competition at these shows occurred in the ring. Upper class spectators parked their carriages along the ring and toured the clubhouse in order to see and be seen. The judges at the 1897 show included August Belmont Jr., Reginald W. Rives, Prescott Lawrence, Craig W. Wadsworth, and H. L. Herbert. The Philadelphia Horse Show Association’s officers were A. J. Cassatt, Rudolph Ellis, J. C. Strawbridge, Edward Morrell, and Richard M. Cadwalader.¹³⁶ The show was a complete success and O. H. P. Belmont’s harness horse *Sundown*, “one of the grandest type of a carriage horse that ever wore leather,” was the show champion. The jumping and hunt pack classes were spectator favorites.¹³⁷

The summer show schedule reflected upper class migration between resort and vacation homes. The season began Memorial Day in Philadelphia and ended in September at the Westchester show in White Plains, New York, which, in 1897, attracted almost

¹³⁶Alfred Stoddart, “Equestrianism,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 28, no. 6 (September 1896): 33. Available from APS Online Database 434183982.

¹³⁷Stoddart, “Equestrianism: The Philadelphia Horse Show,” 410.

twenty thousand spectators. Other events were very localized, though no less newsworthy, such as Newport's 1890 pony parade of eight carts driven by some of the most elite children in America, including George Lorillard, Alfred G. Vanderbilt, the three Iselin children, and Herbert Goelet.¹³⁸ The glowing review of the 1897 Long Branch is a striking example of resort shows' role in Society:

Horse shows are nowadays among the leading social functions. Apart from their usefulness as demonstrating the scope and purpose of the horse in its various forms, they are most enjoyable when they occur under clear skies, at the fashionable seaside resort, and at the height of the summer season. . . . It comes as a refreshing diversion from the ordinary seaside gayeties, and was this year unusually attractive, both in the matter of attendance of the fashionable set and in the superior quality of horseflesh placed on exhibition. . . . the grand stand and velvet sward teemed with beauty and style such as only a popular American summer resort can produce.¹³⁹

One result of the growing popularity of horse shows was a corresponding growth of professionals in competition. Many of the horse show results, especially in the heavy-harness or draft classes, listed horse dealerships in the owner category. Auction houses and importing firms showed their new stock in order to advertise and justify a horse's high selling price.¹⁴⁰ It appears that the early American horse industry included not

¹³⁸"Equestrian Sports," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 17, no. 2 (November 1890): 36. Available from APS Online Database 434139402.

¹³⁹A. H. Godfrey, "Equestrianism" *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine for Recreation* 30, no. 6 (September 1897): 623-624. Available from APS Online Database 434083172. A. H. Godfrey, "Equestrianism," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 32, no. 6 (September 1898): 641. Available from APS Online Database 434303862.

¹⁴⁰A. H. Godfrey, "Types of Horses in the Show Ring," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 33, no. 2 (November 1898): 119-120. Available from APS Online Database 434323522. Godfrey, "Round the Summer Horse-Shows," 110.

only corporations and dealerships, but also men, women, and families who occasionally straddled the division between Society members and professionals. Some of the individuals frequently mentioned in *Outlook*'s "Equestrianism" section were professionals, while most of the Society names were amateurs. The professional category included three women: Miss Marion Holloway who showed with her brother Sidney Holloway and Mrs. Emily and Miss Belle Beach.

The Holloway siblings came from a horsey family and spent their early years on the Samuel S. Howland Jr. estate, Bellwood, in Genesee, New York. Samuel S. Howland built "a model country house and stables capable of accommodating half a hundred horses" after a visit to Genesee Valley in 1881.¹⁴¹ The Holloway's English father trained Howland's horses until he opened his own stable about 1890 in Scarsdale just north of New York City. A few years later Mr. Holloway died and his two children successfully took over the family business. Marion and Sidney Holloway's first big show was the National Horse Show in 1897 when they were either in their late teens or early twenties. In one *Outing* editorial A. H. Godfrey complemented Marion Holloway's performance in a jumping class stating that she and Miss Page, "young ladies to the manner born," rode well over the "stiff fences."¹⁴² Marion Holloway also rode various horses on the flat in the saddle classes. Sometimes the horses were owned by people outside her family. Sidney Holloway appears to have been extremely talented and specialized in jumping classes and short races.¹⁴³ Neither sibling has been located in any of the relevant United States Census

¹⁴¹Willey, "Fox Hunting in the Genesee Valley," 44.

¹⁴²Godfrey, "Equestrianism: Coaching," 200.

¹⁴³Godfrey, "Equestrianism: Horse Shows-Brooklyn," 317. A. H. Godfrey,

records and it is unclear what happened to Marion, but Sidney eventually moved to Virginia where he served as the M.F.H. of the Albemarle Hunt Club from 1912 to 1914.

Emily Beach and her daughter Belle were usually mentioned in the saddle hack or gaited riding classes. At the inaugural Chicago show in 1897 Belle Beach showed in a driving class and then jumped in a hunter class.¹⁴⁴ There does not appear to have been a Mr. Beach at hand with the mother-daughter team, and it is not clear from the editorials if the women were also members of Society. The class results from the 1898 May Durland's Academy (New York City) show reports that Belle Beach rode *Blue Gown* for Mrs. Kotman.¹⁴⁵ The 1898 National Horse Show found Belle Beach, "that clever horsewoman," placing fourth in the saddle class and third in another.¹⁴⁶ At the next year's show, both Belle and her mother placed in the saddle classes riding other people's horses.¹⁴⁷ Professional riders, drivers, and trainers had become an integral part of the horse show system and reflected a similar professionalization within the corporate world.

"Equestrianism: Outdoor Horse Shows," *Outing*, 33, no. 3 (December 1898): 311, 313. At the 1898 White Plains show Sidney rode a "long string of qualified and green hunters." See also A. H. Godfrey, "Equestrianism: Outdoor Horse Shows," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 35, no. 2 (November 1899): 204. Available from APS Online Database 434089212. Consistently riding horses not owned by a family member suggests that an individual was a professional.

¹⁴⁴Godfrey, "The National Horse-Show, New York," 297.

¹⁴⁵Godfrey, "Equestrianism: Coaching," 200.

¹⁴⁶A. H. Godfrey, "Equestrianism," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 33, no. 4 (January 1899): 418. Available from APS Online Database 434085182.

¹⁴⁷A. H. Godfrey, "The Harness and Saddle-Horse Division: The National Horse Show," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 35, 4 (January 1900): 438. Available from APS Online Database 434909922.

The following three breed and show associations illustrate similar applications of corporate business practices in the horse industry. Each breed and sport benefited from horse shows' transformation from individual classes at a multi-purpose fair to entire shows lasting several days, holding various classes focused on specific breeds or activities. The process spawned a twenty-year long series of editorials calling for the creation of a national organization to regulate competitors and shows alike. The founding members and leading participants of the breed organizations and the horse show associations form a roster of who's who among the wealthy, social elite from 1865 to 1929.

American Hackney Horse Society

Hackneys were originally bred in England for long-distance trotting under saddle or in harness during the late eighteenth century. In 1872 English breeders recognized official bloodlines, and in 1883 they established the [English] Hackney Horse Society. In 1878 A. J. Cassatt imported the first English Hackney pony, 239 *Stella*, and by 1893, two years after Cassatt had helped establish the American Hackney Horse Society (AHHS), he had imported twenty-two of his forty registered Hackneys.¹⁴⁸ Cofounder William Seward Webb was the largest American Hackney owner with thirty-nine of his ninety-three Hackneys listed as imported in volume one of the Stud Book. The first officers of the AHHS were A. J. Cassatt, President; Henry Fairfax, First Vice-President; John A. Logan, Second Vice-President; and W. Seward Webb, Secretary and Treasurer. The 1891-1893

¹⁴⁸American Hackney Horse Society, Inc., "The Origin of the Hackney" (Lexington, KY: American Hackney Horse Society, Inc., 2001). American Hackney Horse Society, *The American Hackney Horse Stud Book, Vol. 1* (New York: American Hackney Horse Society, 1893), 372.

Board of Directors included the officers and John B. Dutcher, Prescott Lawrence, Pierre Lorillard Jr., J. B. Perkins, and Frederick Bronson.¹⁴⁹

The AHHS, incorporated in New York, included four goals in its constitution: “to improve the breed and to promote the breeding of Hackneys and Ponies,” “to compile and publish a Stud Book,” to acquire and dispose of property for the benefit of the society, and “to hold shows of such Horses, and to offer prizes.” Membership in the society was open to all (Article V); however, to become a member, an interested person had to first obtain sponsorship by an established member and then submit an application with the appropriate fees.¹⁵⁰ A close study of the membership lists published between 1890 and 1910 for all horse breed and sport organizations, and the AHHS in particular, reveals a steady spread of the horse industry from New York across the country. During the same twenty-year period, the majority of importers changed from individuals to businesses.

The Hackney’s growing popularity resulted in the addition of Hackney breeding classes to premier positions on all the top show schedules, including the New York Horse Show, also known as the National Horse Show, held in New York’s Madison Square Garden. Volume one of the American Hackney Stud Book includes “enumeration of the prize-winners” in New York, including the “name, color, height, age and breeding of every horse that has taken honor in the breeding classes. The name and address of the breeder, owner and exhibitor also being given.”¹⁵¹ Hackney horses were a favorite breed for

¹⁴⁹American Hackney Horse Society, *American Hackney Horse Stud Book Vol. 1*, 9, 379-340.

¹⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 11, 18.

¹⁵¹*Ibid.*, 7.

carriage and coach drivers because of their “beauty of conformation, courage, and good wear-and-tear capabilities” and their “perfect form [in] carriage and motions” (Figures 2.48 and 2.49).¹⁵²

National Saddle Horse Breeders' Association

First developed in Kentucky as crosses between gaited horses and Thoroughbreds, early Saddlebred had deep roots in early American and English Thoroughbred breeding. Saddle horses were originally bred to cover long distances at speed while remaining comfortable for the rider.¹⁵³ The early crosses also incorporated Morgan and Standardbred bloodlines, producing horses used by generals of both armies during the Civil War.¹⁵⁴ In 1891 a group of saddle horse breeders gathered in Louisville, Kentucky to establish the guidelines of the newly standardized breed. It took over a decade before the members agreed on the characteristics exemplified in early top horses such as *Poetry of Motion* (Figure 2.50).¹⁵⁵ The breed organization ended the century with a name change in

¹⁵²Benedict, “The Coming Horse Show,” 415.

¹⁵³George E. Waring Jr., “The Saddle Horse. Thoroughbreds and Arabians,” *Scribners Monthly* 15, no. 1 (November 1877): 84-99. Available online from Cornell University. See also Joseph A. Barley, *Judging Saddle Horses and Roadsters* (Milwaukee: Joseph A. Barley, 1945); Earl R. Farshler, *The American Saddle Horse* (Louisville, KY: The Standard Printing Co., 1933); Orange Judd Co., *The Saddle Horse. A Complete Guide for Riding and Driving* (New York: Orange Judd Co., 1882); Arthur B. Reeve, “What America Spends for Sport,” *Outing Magazine* 57, no. 3 (December 1910): 300-308. Available from APS Online Database; E. L. D. Seymour, “Stable Economy and the Show Ring,” *Country Life in America* 25 (November 1913): 67-68; Elizabeth M. Simpson, *Bluegrass Horses and Their Traditions* (Lexington, KY: Transylvania Press, 1932); Susanne, *Famous Saddle Horses, Vol. 01* (Lexington, KY: The Farmers Home Journal, 1932); and Louis Taylor, *The Horse America Made* (Louisville, KY: American Saddle Horse Breeders Association, 1944).

¹⁵⁴Cole, “The Development of the American Trotter,” 6.

¹⁵⁵Caspar Whitney, “The Way of the Sportsman,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly*

1899 to the American Saddle-Horse Breeders Association. By the 1910s the breed had become very standardized, and the Remount Service included many Saddlebred stallions in its program (Figures 2.51-2.53).

Kentucky and Missouri vied with one another for the honor of being the nation's Saddlebred capital. Each state boasted of lush green pastures and good breeding stock. However, until the death of Tom Bass in 1934, Missouri, and the city of Mexico in particular, had had a distinct edge in the competition. Tom Bass, born a slave, became one of the leading Saddlebred trainers in the United States. Bass invented the Tom Bass Bit, a staple in owners' tack boxes, and broke the color barrier in the show ring. According to Bass's biographer, since Bass was such an excellent rider his first time in the ring was without fanfare. Later, in 1897, Tom Bass became the first African American to compete in the show ring at Madison Square Garden after being invited by Alfred G. Vanderbilt I to enter. As Bass's national reputation grew, he added Theodore Roosevelt, W. H. Taft, William McKinley, and many other politically prominent men to his client list.¹⁵⁶ Bass and others from Missouri and Kentucky helped propel the Saddlebred into the limelight at the top American horse shows.

Magazine of Recreation 36, no. 3 (June 1900): 320. Available from APS Online Database 434089662.

¹⁵⁶Bill Downey, *Tom Bass: Black Horseman* (St. Louis: Saddle and Bridle, Inc., 1975), 62-64, 67, 95, 140, 166, 176-177. Downey lists August and Adolphus Busch, Jack Cudahy, the Armour and Swift families, Marshall Field, and the Vanderbilts as clients and visitors to the Kansas City stable in 1893, 107-108. Presidents Cleveland and Coolidge invited Bass to ride in their inaugural parades, 192. See also Max Thomson, ed., *The Pictorial History of Mexico, 1880-1959* (Mexico, MO: The Mexico Ledger and the Audrain County Historical Society, 1990); and J. L. Wilkerson, *From Slave to World-Class Horseman Tom Bass* (Kansas City, MO: Acorn Books, 1999).

American Horse Shows Association

After the 1898 National Horse Show, exhibitors formed an “incorporated society, The American Horse Show and Exhibitors’ Association,” to establish rules for show managers, class descriptions, veterinary requirements, and horse measurement procedures.¹⁵⁷ The organization was the result of growing awareness that in order to continue expanding, horse sports needed national coordination. The association dissolved sometime within the next twenty years, however, and it was not until 1917 that interested horsemen made another attempt to organize. In the intervening years, many magazine editorials directed readers’ attention to the lack of a governing body to regulate competitions, set standardized class requirements, and establish a national points system.¹⁵⁸

On 20 January 1917 horse show representatives with different breed and sport interests met in New York City to establish the Association of American Horse Shows. The representatives elected Reginald Vanderbilt as the first president and later approved incorporation in June 1918 (Figure 2.54).¹⁵⁹ The Association of American Horse Shows’ primary mission was to ensure fair competitions for both horses and riders by publicizing rules and competition results. Until its establishment, competitors depended on private publications such as the *American Horse Show Blue Book*, first published in 1902, which dedicated itself to the dissemination of annual show results in order to establish stallion

¹⁵⁷Godfrey, “Equestrianism,” *Outing*, 33, 4 (January 1899): 417.

¹⁵⁸“From a Country Window,” *Country Life in America* (November 1913): 51. See also Caspar Whitney, “The Sportman’s [sic] View Point.” 229.

¹⁵⁹Mann, *Fads and Fancies*, 164-165.

and competitor records.¹⁶⁰ By 1919 thirty-five different shows had joined the association and sixteen different annual medals were awarded to national-level champions.¹⁶¹ The second president, Alfred Maclay, elected after Reginald Vanderbilt's death in 1925, oversaw the development of the annual *Rule Book*, steward licensing, and separate show and individual membership categories. Individual members were further differentiated into amateur and professional classes. The separation of amateur and professional classifications was the culmination of fifty years of editorializing and struggles by local, regional, and national breed and sport organizations to come to an agreement about the role of each participant type within the horse industry.¹⁶² Some of the member competitions were more than fifty years older than the association and their names evoked images of some the nation's best horses' most memorable triumphs, usually at the National Horse Show begun in 1883.

The National Horse Show was the first large-scale indoor show that attracted a national pool of competitors. The officers each year included the top owners and breeders from every sport and discipline. The show's format of breeding and preliminary classes during the day and spectator friendly classes in the evening quickly became the national indoor show standard. Each year for several months before and after the show, *Outing* magazine included a series of articles about it. The articles usually focused on three themes: needed improvements to the show management, specific entries and their success

¹⁶⁰*American Horse Show Blue Book 1902*, 9.

¹⁶¹<http://www.equestrian.org> (accessed 11/8/02).

¹⁶²Cole, "The Light Harness Horse," 225.

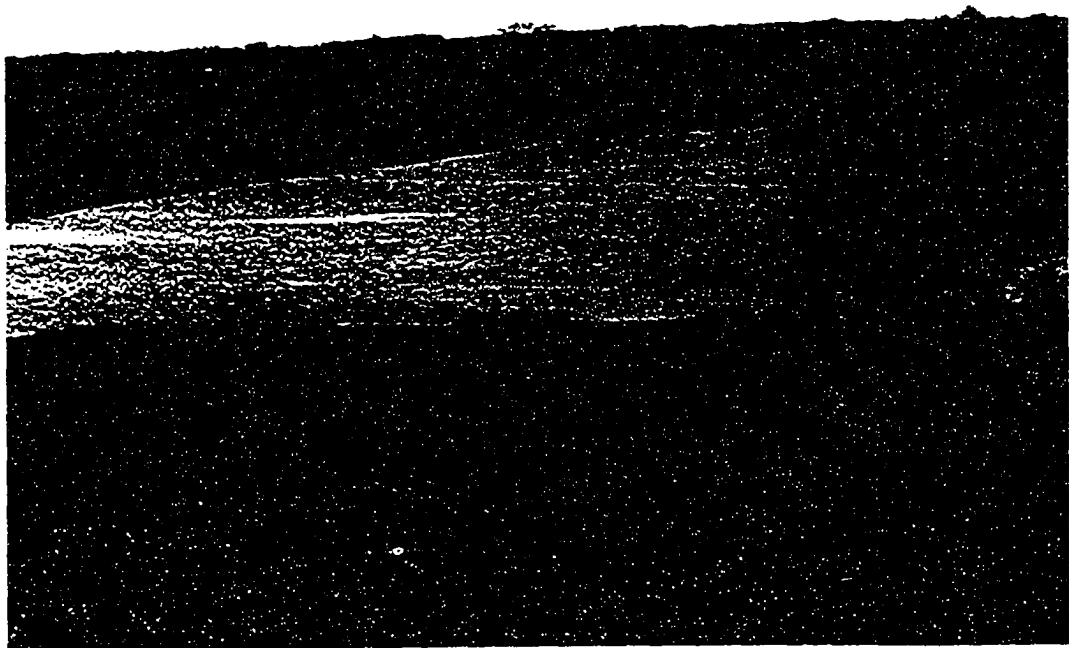
or lack thereof, and, of perhaps most importantly, the show's status as a critical event on Society's yearly calendar.

Conclusion

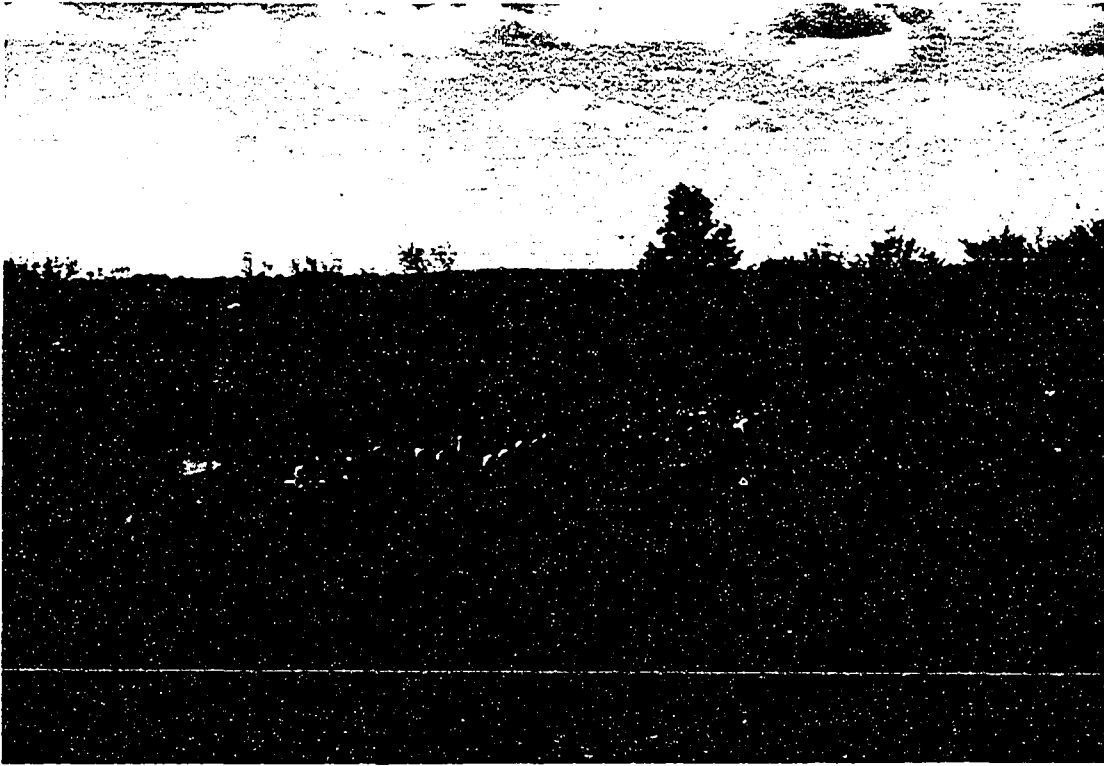
Between 1865 and 1929 the eight most popular American equestrian recreational and leisure activities among the wealthy, social elite became fully formed modern sports that reflected broader trends in American society; corporatization and professionalization became standard practices in horse sports. At the same time, the horse world remained flexible enough to include and acknowledge talented men and women at all levels of each sport and organization. Together the different groups developed the American horse industry into an interwoven network of local, regional, and national organizations supported by the wealthy, social elite. For many individuals and families, participation in horse sports was an integral part of upper-class society. Some wealthy, social elite participated in just one sport, but others competed in several activities. As a result, many of them expended significant amounts of money to build competitive stables at their country houses and rural estates, which served as luxurious backdrops to their sporting, and thus social, activities.



Figure 2.1 Foxhunting with Mission Valley Hunt at Fin and Feather, Kansas, 1997: top left, hacking to the way to the first covert. These views are very similar to the scene at the beginning of a hunt between



7: top left, hacking to the hunt; top right, gathering the field; bottom left, gathering the hounds; bottom right, the staff and hounds waiting for the start of a hunt between 1865 and 1929.



to the hunt; top right, gathering the field; bottom left, gathering the hounds; bottom right, the staff and hounds on
n 1865 and 1929.



Figure 2.2 August Belmont Sr., c. 1844-c. 1860. Daguerrotype from the studio of Matthew Brady. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs, LC-USZ62-109850.



Figure 2.3 Samuel C. Hildreth (left), Mack Garner (center), August Belmont Jr. (right) at Belmont Park for the Suburban Handicap, 30 May 1916. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 4206.



Figure 2.4 August Belmont Jr. speaking to Mr. & Mrs. Perry Belmont. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 3764.



Figure 2.5 Charles Reed, owner of Fairview Stud, Gallatin, Tennessee: left, c. 1865, Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW0778); right, c. 1895, photograph by F[]'s Studio, 22 West 23rd Street, NYC. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW0779).

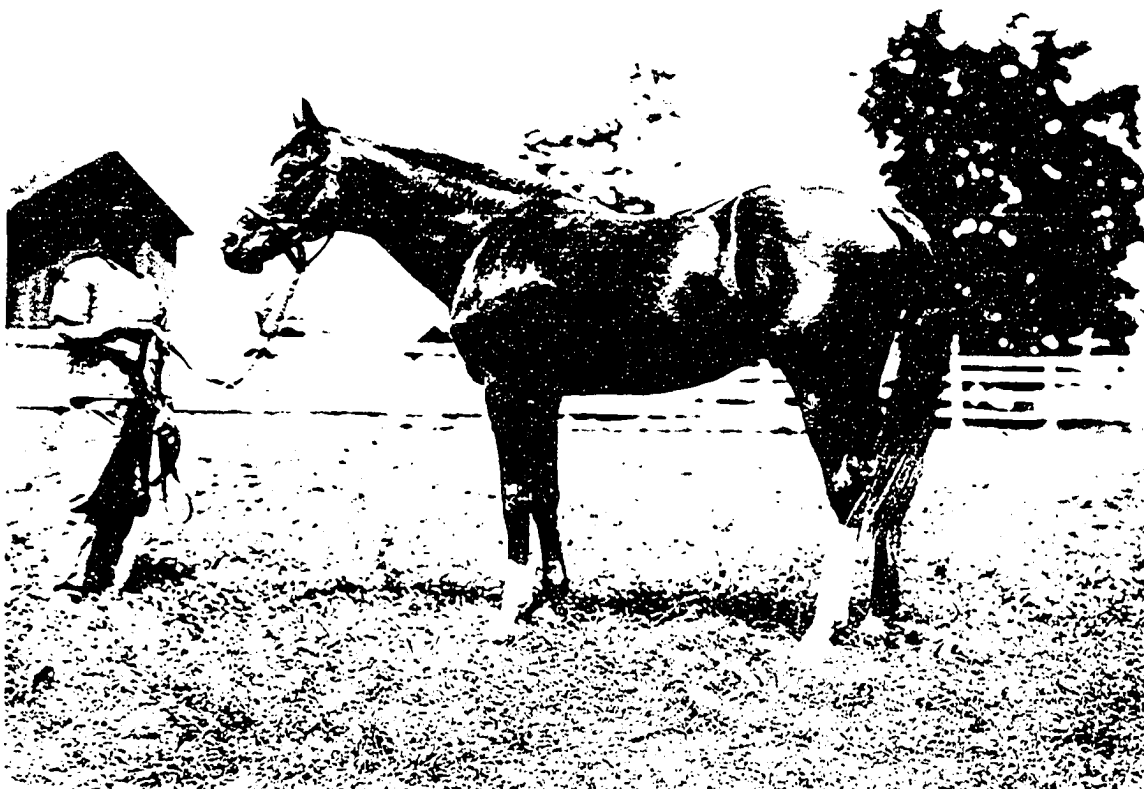


Figure 2.6 **St. Blaise*, chestnut Thoroughbred stallion 1880 by *Hermit – Fusee* by *Maisyas* by *Orlando*. Won Epsom Derby 1883. Sire of *La Tosca*, *Potomac*, *St. Leonards*. Drury Photograph. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center. MTSU (MLW2486).



Figure 2.7 *Man O'War* and groom William Harbut at Faraway Farm. Lexington, Kentucky, 1926. P. W. Moser Photograph, Sabetha, Kansas. Warden Collection. Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW2364).

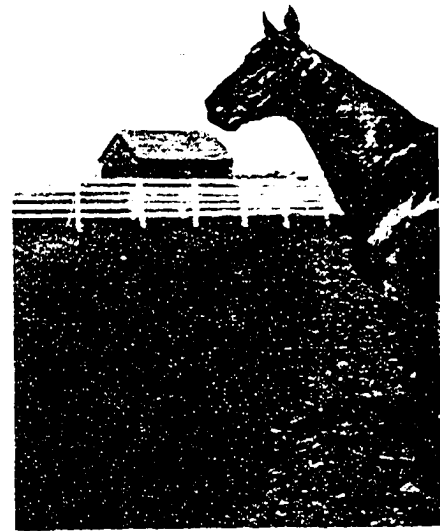
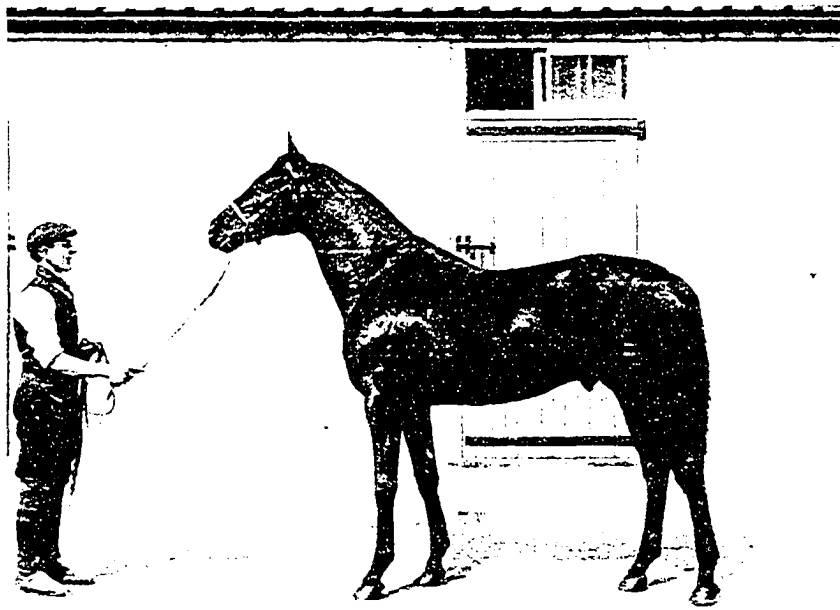
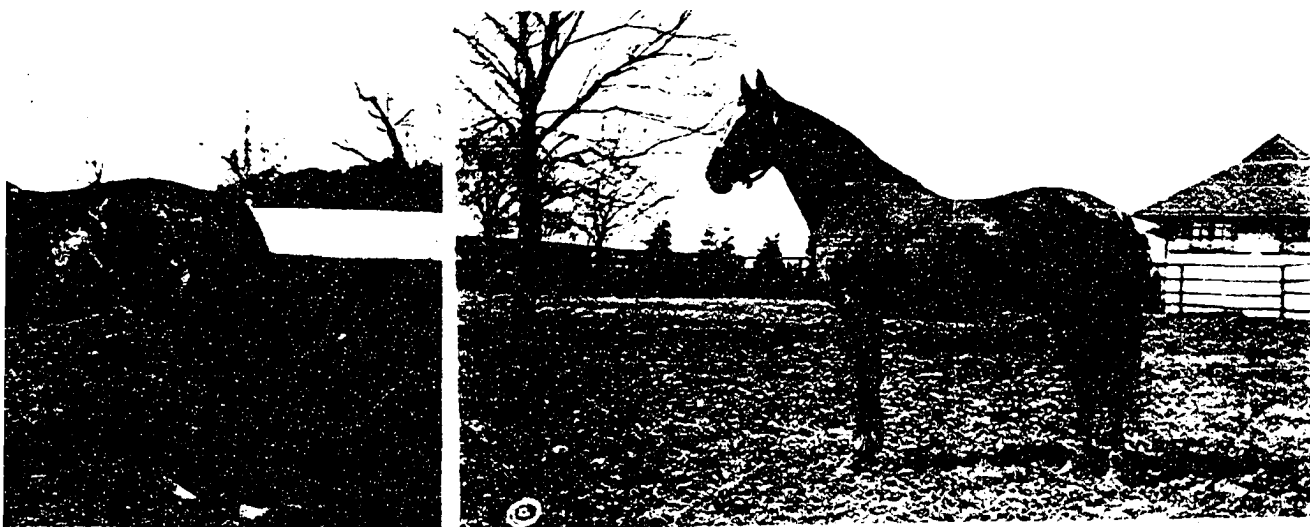


Figure 2.8 Three August Belmont Jr. Thoroughbred stallions: left, **Rock Sand*, brown, 1900-July 20, Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW2439); middle, *Hastings* by *Spendthrift-Cinderella*, Sutcliffe 1905 by *Hastings-Fairy Gold*. Three time leading sire. Sutcliffe Photograph, 1927, Lexington. Ward the family's role as significant supporters of American Thoroughbred breeding.



vn, 1900-July 20, 1914 by *Sainfoin-Roquebrune* by *St. Simon*. Frank Griggs Photograph. Newmarket. Warden Collection. *Merella*. Sutcliffe Photograph. Warden Collection. Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW2307); right, *Fair Play*. Lexington. Warden Collection. Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW2260). These three Belmont stallions have



014 by *Sainfoin-Roquebrune* by *St. Simon*. Frank Griggs Photograph, Newmarket. Warden Collection. Albert
otograph. Warden Collection. Albert Gore Sr. Research Center. MTSU (MLW2307); right. *Fair Play*. chestnut.
Collection. Albert Gore Sr. Research Center. MTSU (MLW2260). These three Belmont stallions have ensured

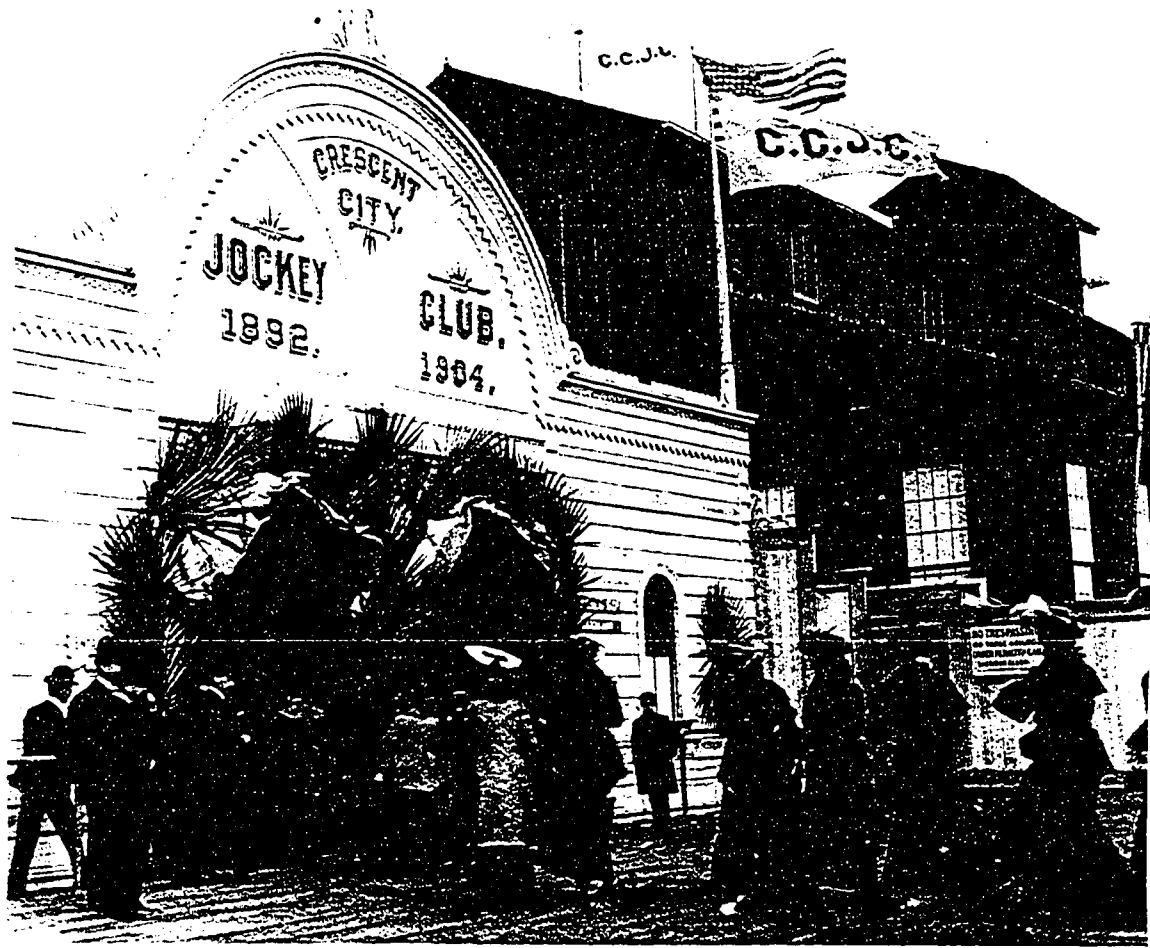


Figure 2.9 Crescent City Jockey Club. New Orleans, 1904. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 4583.

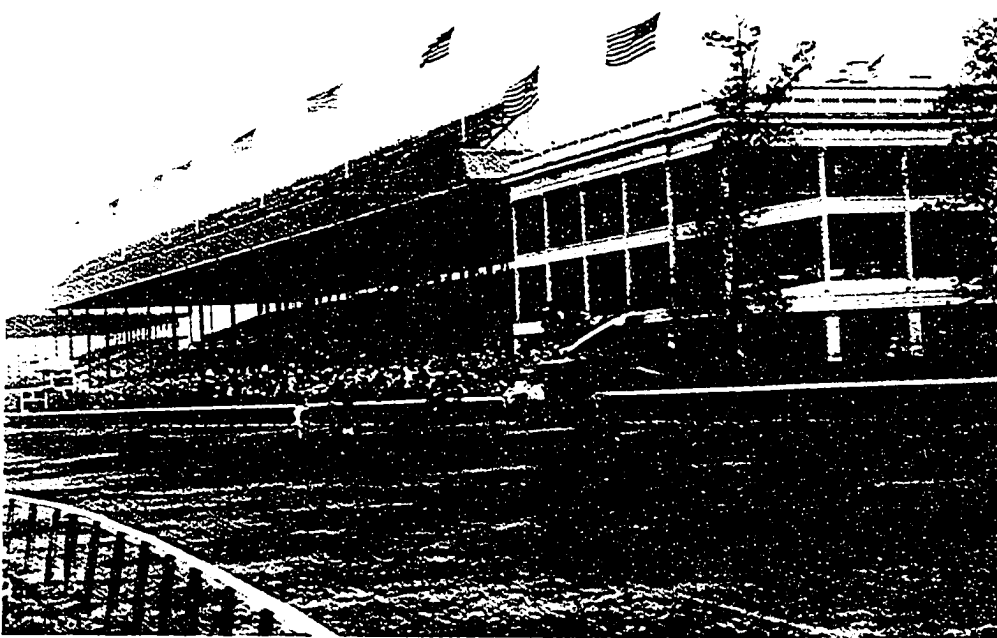
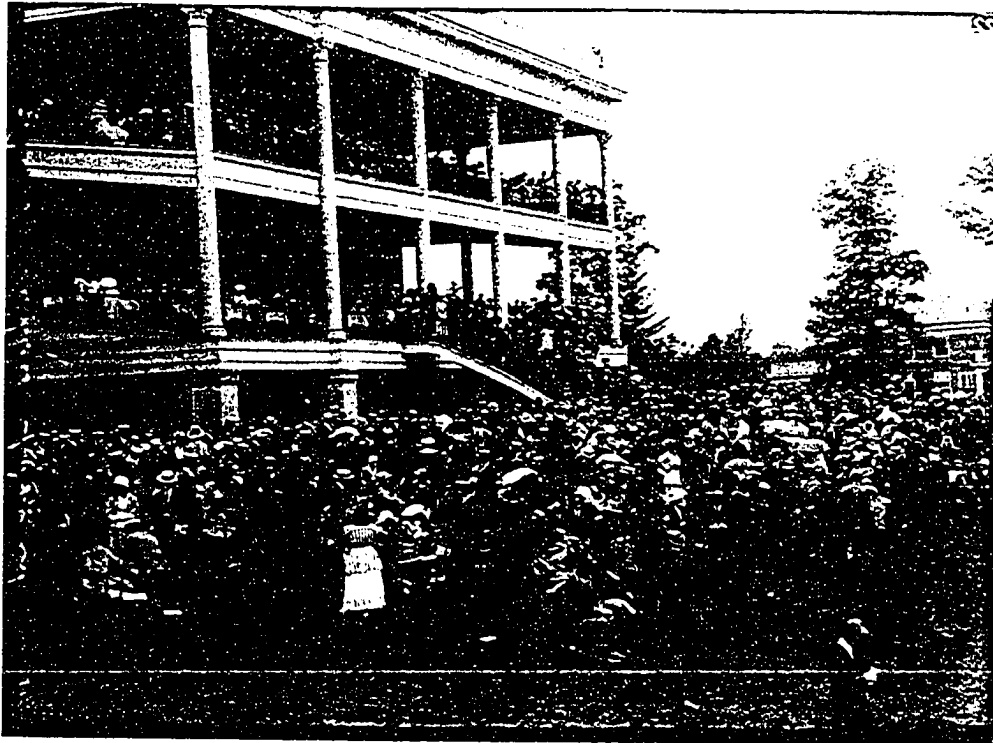


Figure 2.10 Belmont Park spectator areas: top, clubhouse lawn, 1905; bottom, clubhouse, grandstands, and track, 1906. C. Cook Photographs. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association. Keeneland-Cook 222 and 6401.



Cook 6388 Turf and Field Club at Belmont



Cook 6423 Turf and Field Club at Belmont

Figure 2.11 The Turf and Field Club at Belmont Park; top. entrance; bottom. dining room. C. Cook Photographs. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association. Keeneland Cook 6388 and 6423.

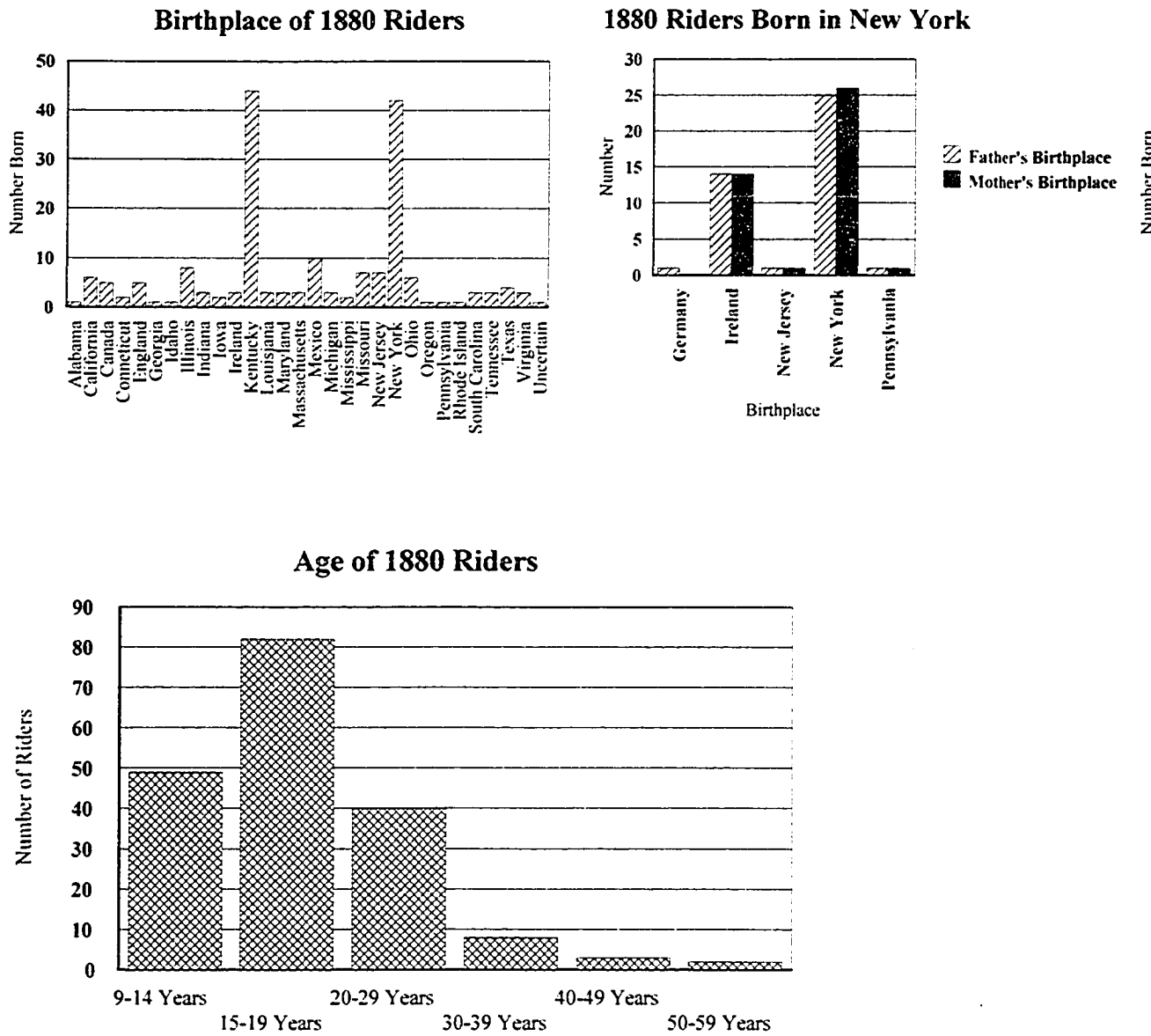
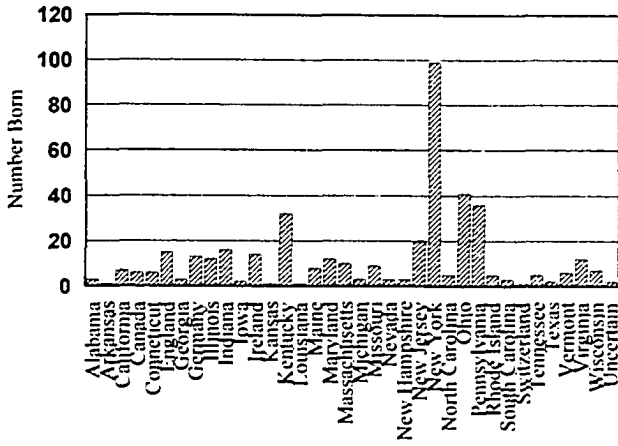
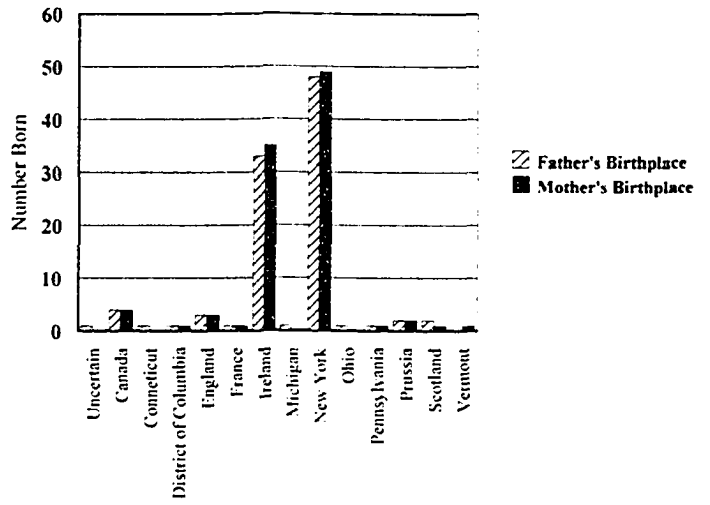


Figure 2.12 Jockey and Rider data from 1880 United States Federal Census compared by residence, birth

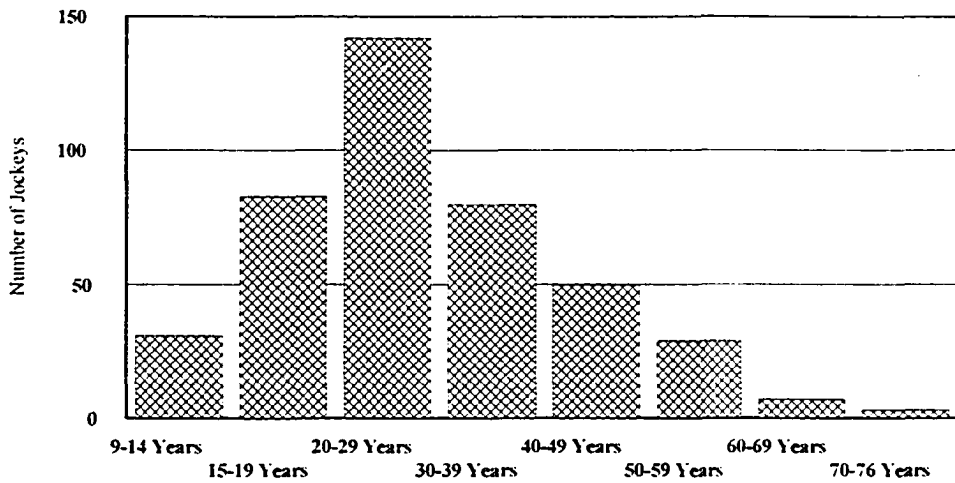
Birthplace of 1880 Jockeys



1880 Jockeys Born in New York



Age of 1880 Jockeys



residence, birthplace, parentage, and age. All jockeys are male, all but one rider is male.

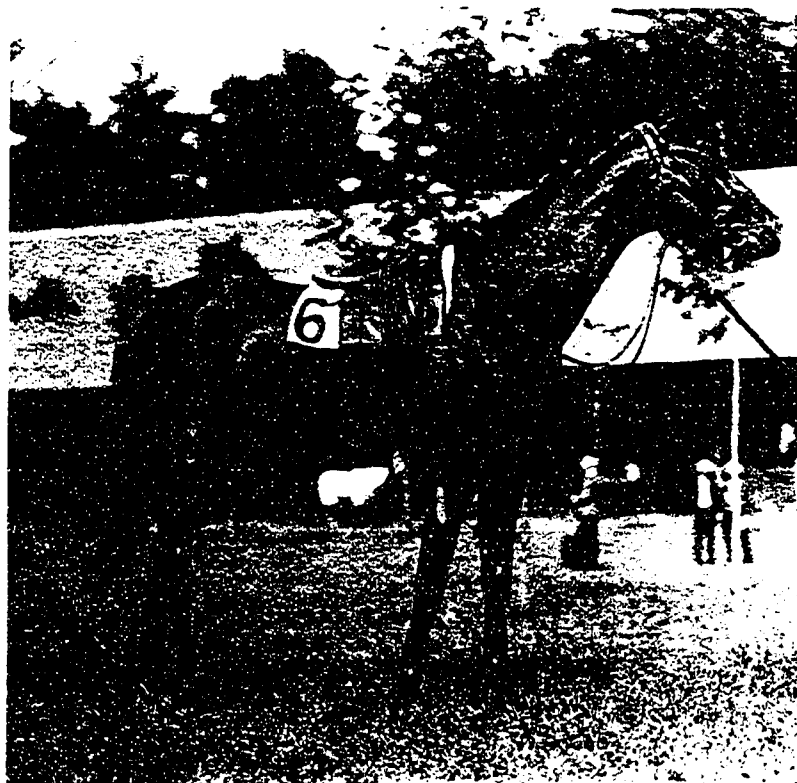


Figure 2.13 William Collins Whitney's leading two-year olds in 1904; top. **Nasturtium*, a Thoroughbred stallion purchased for \$50,000 as a two-year old. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW2390); bottom, *Artful*, brown mare, 1902 by *Hamburg-Martha II*. Won Futurity, White Plains Handicap, and Brighton. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW2174).



Figure 2.14 Payne Whitney (left) and John E. Madden (right). C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association. Keeneland-Cook 14099.

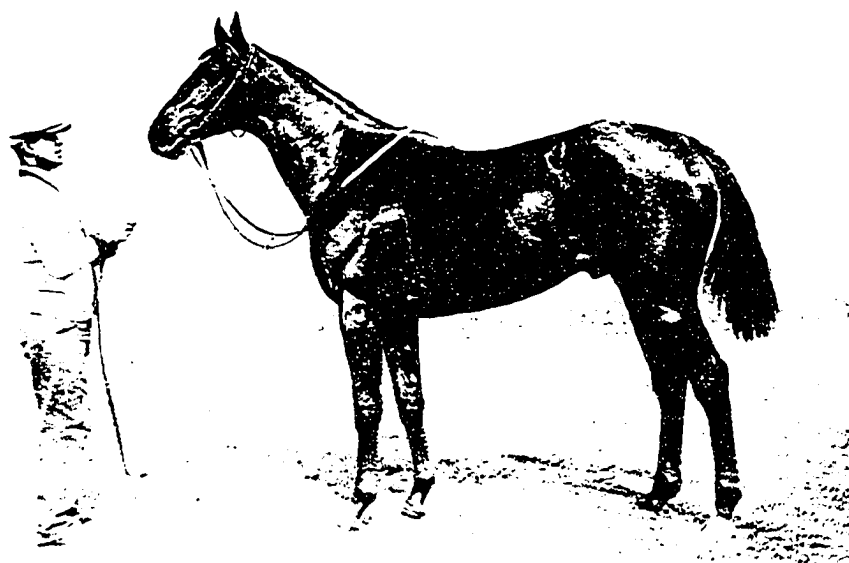


Figure 2.15 *Equipoise*, C.V. Whitney's 1930 Pimlico Stakes Winner. L. S. Sutcliffe Photograph, 16 March 1924, Lexington, Kentucky. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW2257).

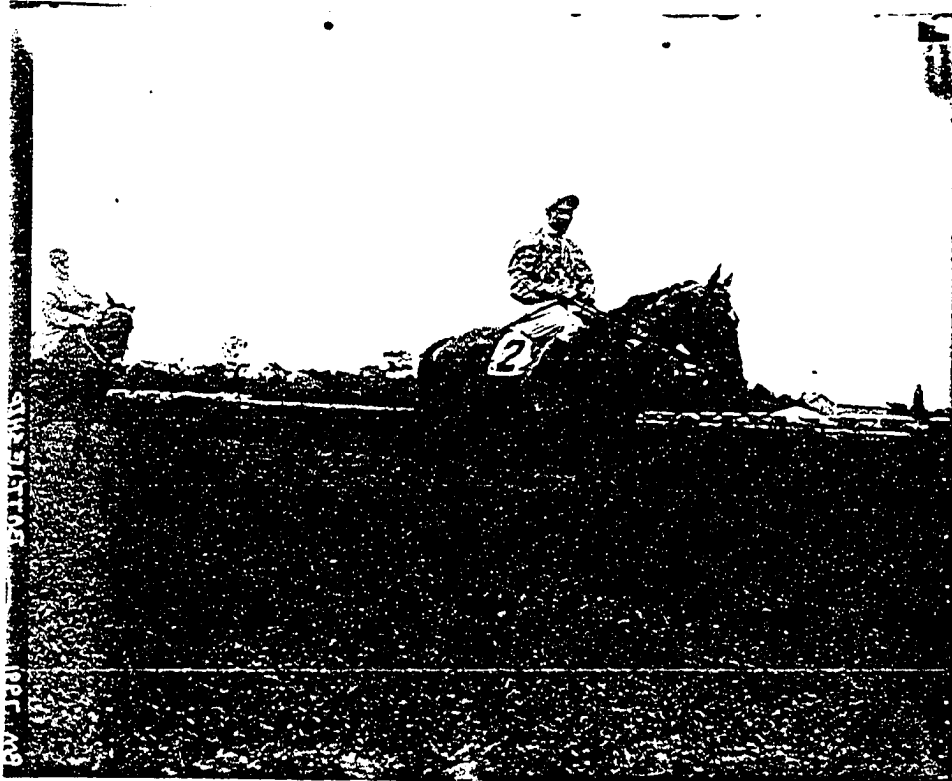
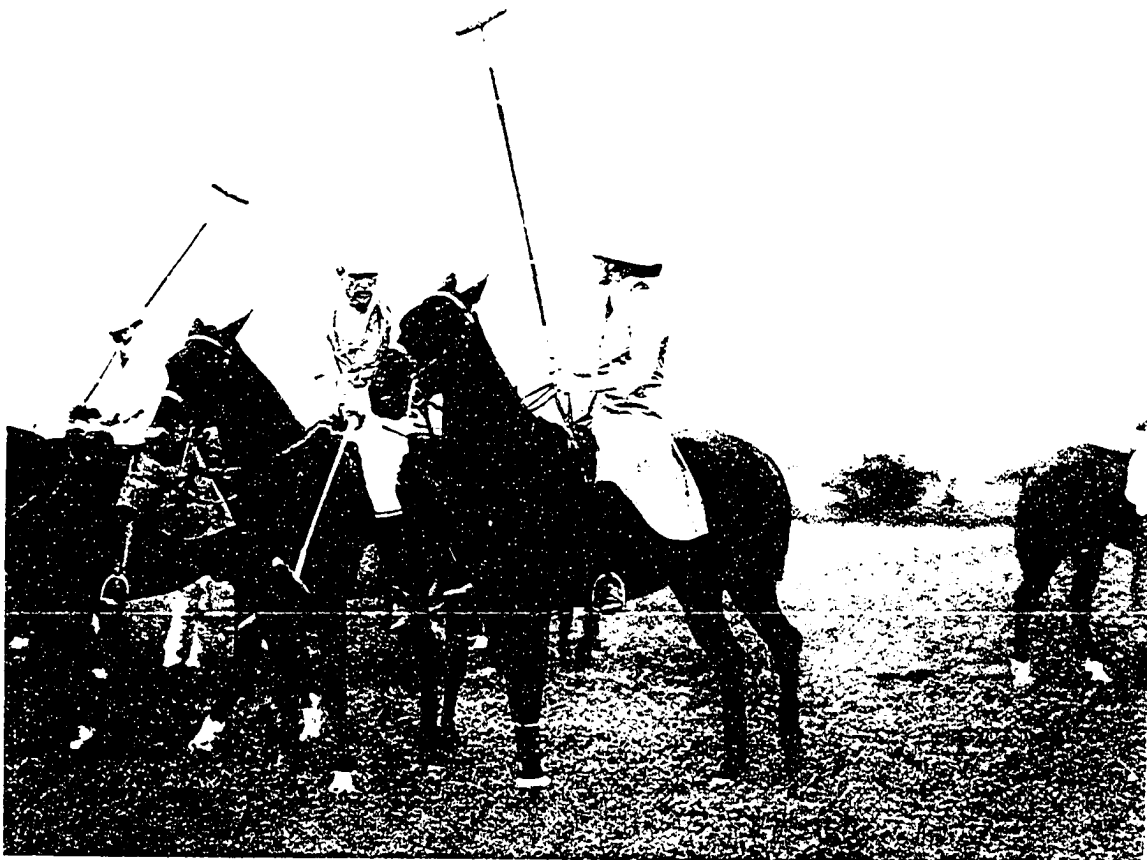


Figure 2.16 *Battleship* after the Belmont Cup Steeplechase, 1930. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association, Keeneland (BM7991).



Cook 7955 Polo women (l to r) Mrs Thomas Hitchcock, Joseph Davis and Phoebe Cary.

Figure 2.17 Polo playing women Mrs. Thomas Hitchcock and Phoebe Cary. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association. Keeneland-Cook 7995.



Myopia Hunt Club, Hamilton, Mass. The President's Club.

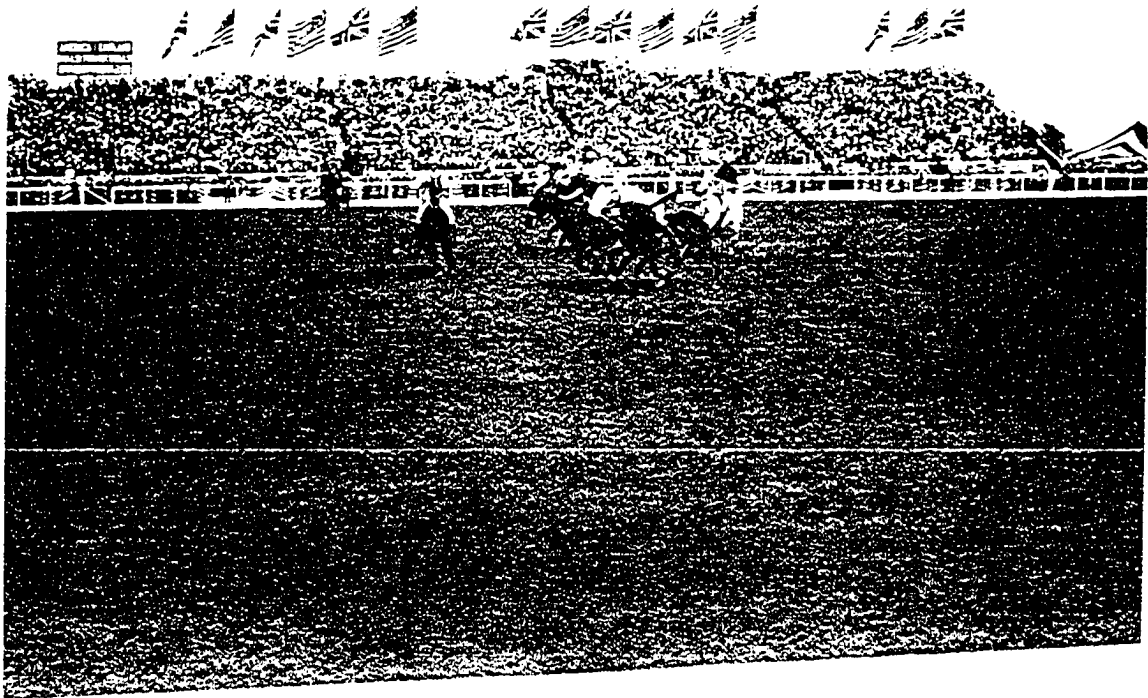
Figure 2.18 Myopia Hunt Club, Hamilton, Massachusetts. Perky Beisel Postcard Collection.



Figure 2.19 Tommy Hitchcock Jr., captain of the American team at Sands Point, Long Island, New York a month before an international match (10 August 1930). Retrieved 18 August 2004, from AccuNet/AP Multimedia Archive Online database (photo database, Item APA6844089).

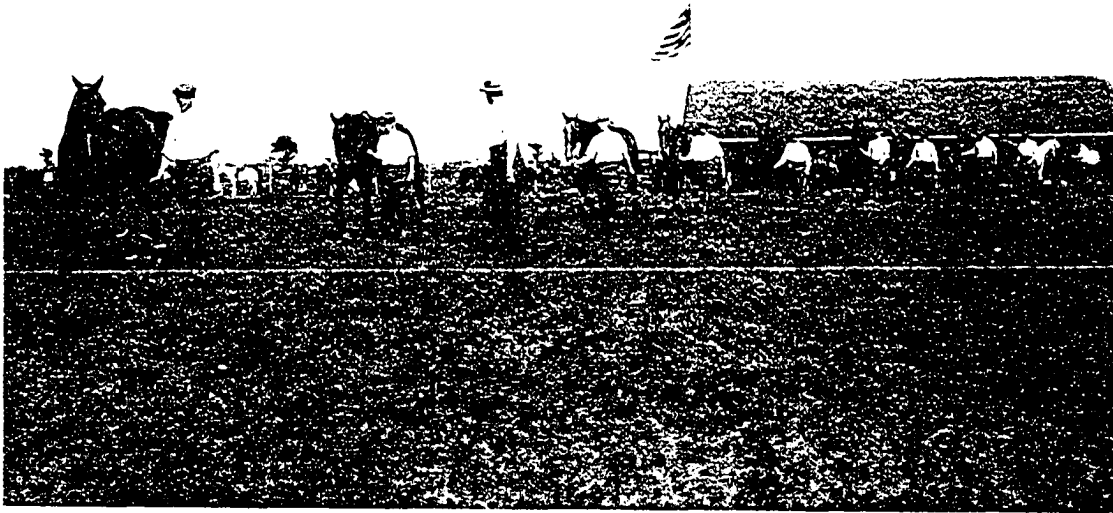


Figure 2.20 Marshal Field III's Caumsett Manor Stable (1924). Long Island, New York. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. Historic American Buildings Survey. HABS, NY, 52-LOHA, V.1-B-2.



Cook 17282 Polo International Play 1911

Figure 2.21 1911 international polo match at Meadow Brook, Long Island. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 17282.



Cook 17291 - Meadow Brook Polo 1913 American Team Ponies (Man in straw hat is Fitzpatrick, head stud groom for Harry Payne Whitney).

Figure 2.22 1913 international polo match at Meadow Brook, Long Island. The American horses under the supervision of Harry Payne Whitney's stud groom Fitzpatrick. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 17291.



Cook 17290 Meadow Brook Polo 1913 English Team Ponies - Lord Wimborne financed that team to US.

Figure 2.23 1913 international polo match at Meadow Brook, Long Island. The English team is wearing blankets or coolers with "W" stitched on right hip to signify the financial backing of Lord Wimborne. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 17290.

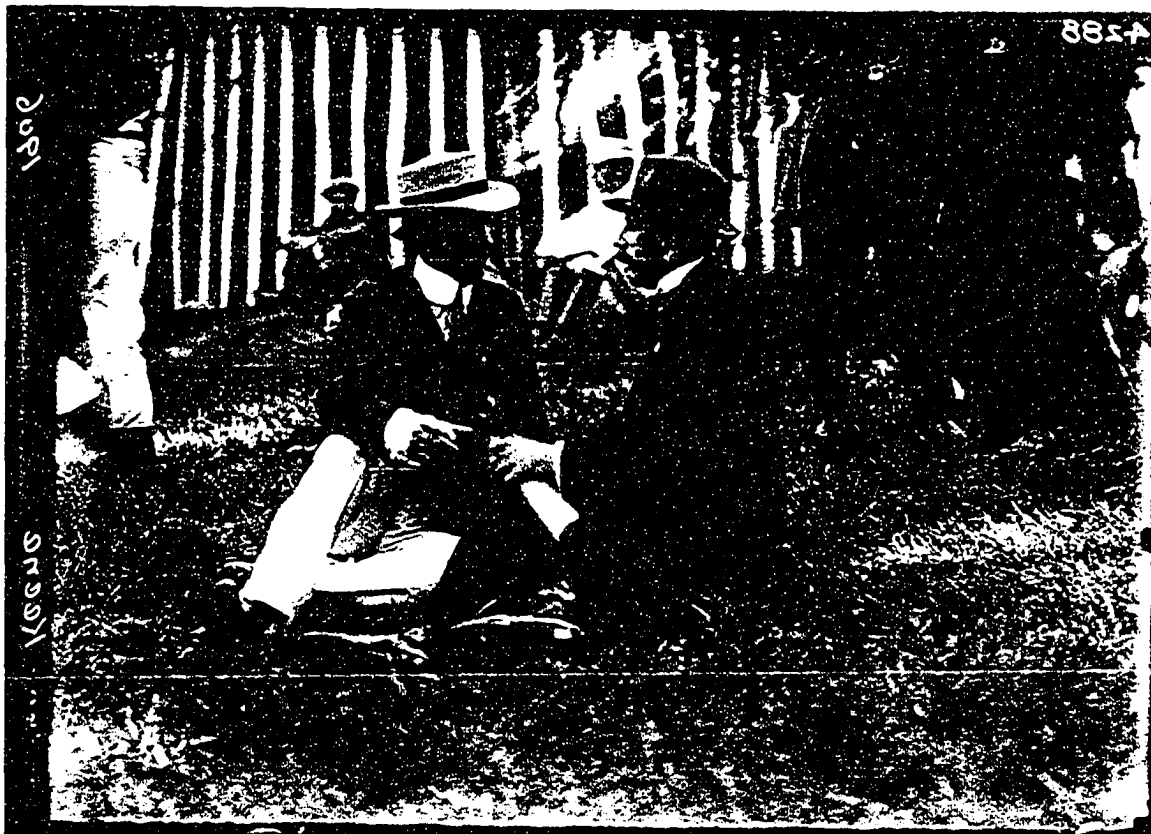


Figure 2.24 Harry Payne Whitney (left) and Foxhall Keene (right). 1906. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association. Keeneland-Cook 4288.



Figure 2.25 Two top polo players; top, Foxhall Parker Keene mounted on polo pony, 1913; bottom, Harry Payne Whitney and Rene LaMontagne Jr. at polo match. 1908. C. Cook Photographs. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association. Keeneland-Cook 4601 and 7971.



Figure 2.26 Foxhall Parker Keene (left), James Robert Keene (facing), James Rowe (right), and DeCoursey Forbes (back) at Coney Island Jockey Club. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association. Keeneland-Cook 3096.

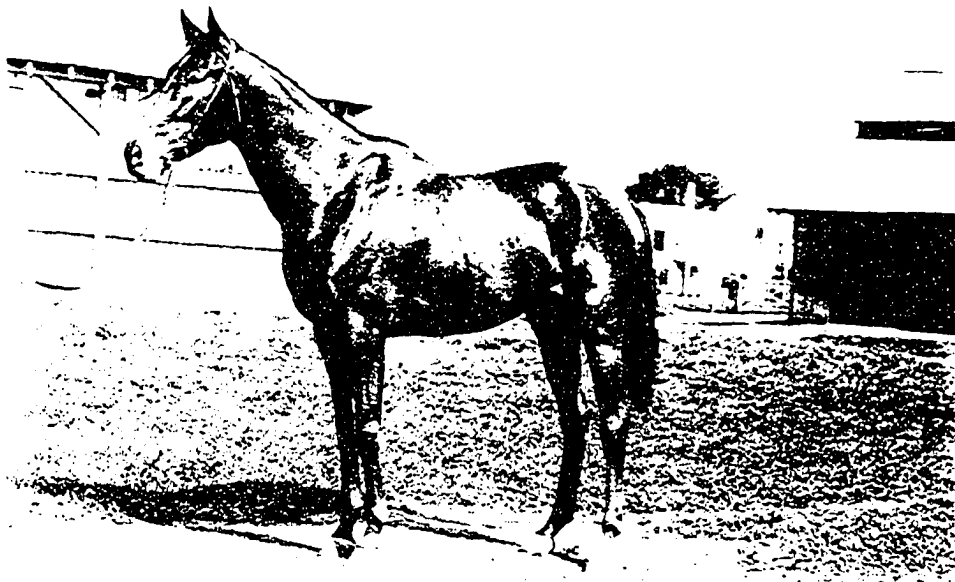


Figure 2.27 Castleton Stud stakes winner, *Sysonby*. 1901 Thoroughbred stallion by *Melton*. Warden Collection. Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW2508).

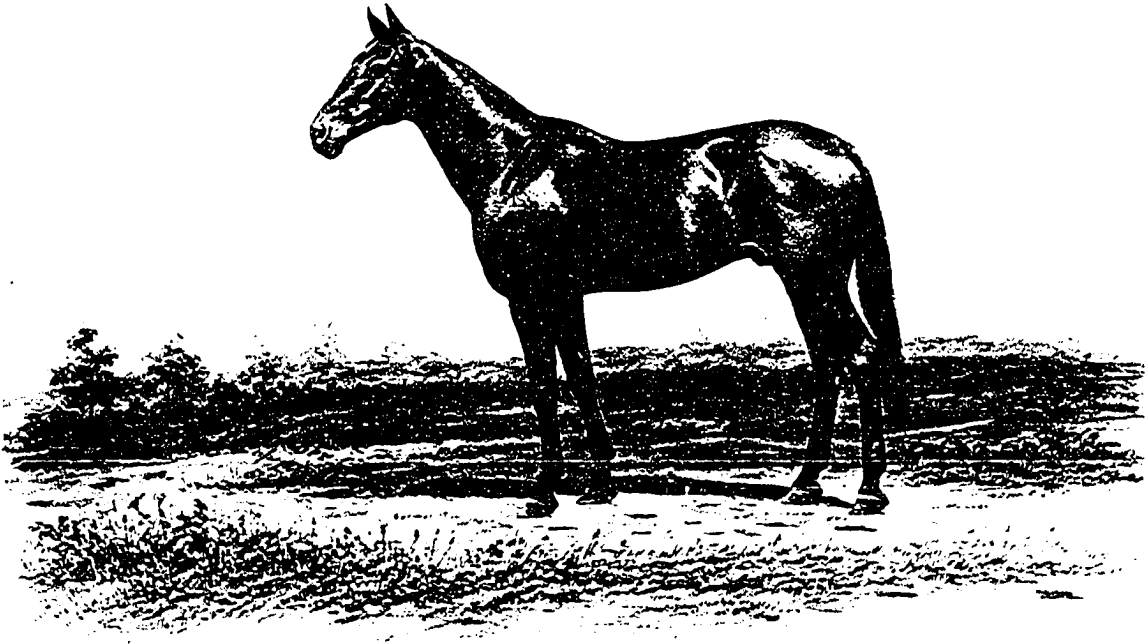


Figure 2.28 *Palo Alto*, Standardbred stallion. Schreiber Painting, 1890. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Collection, MTSU (MLW1829).

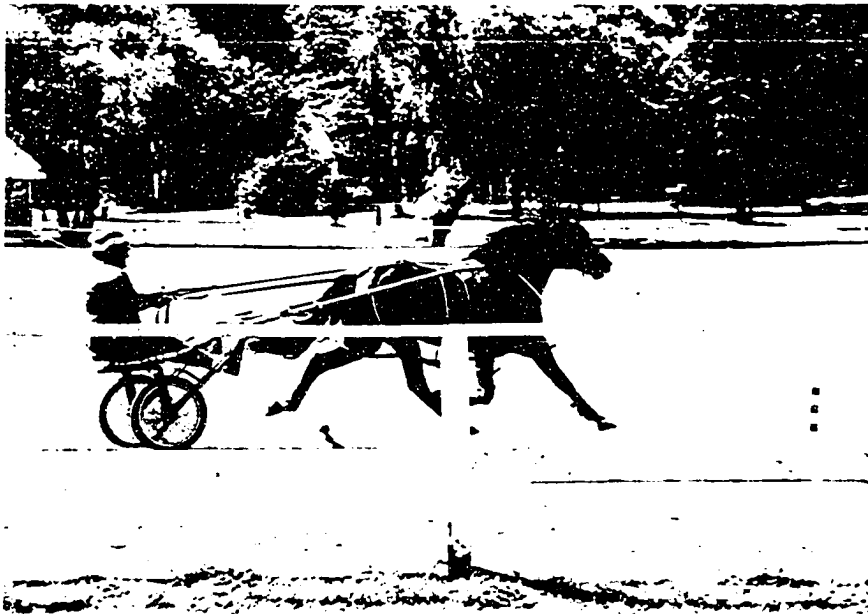
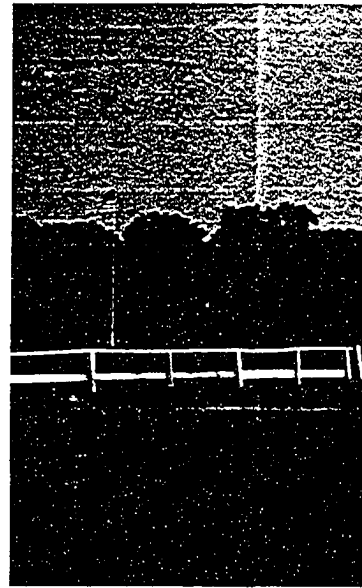
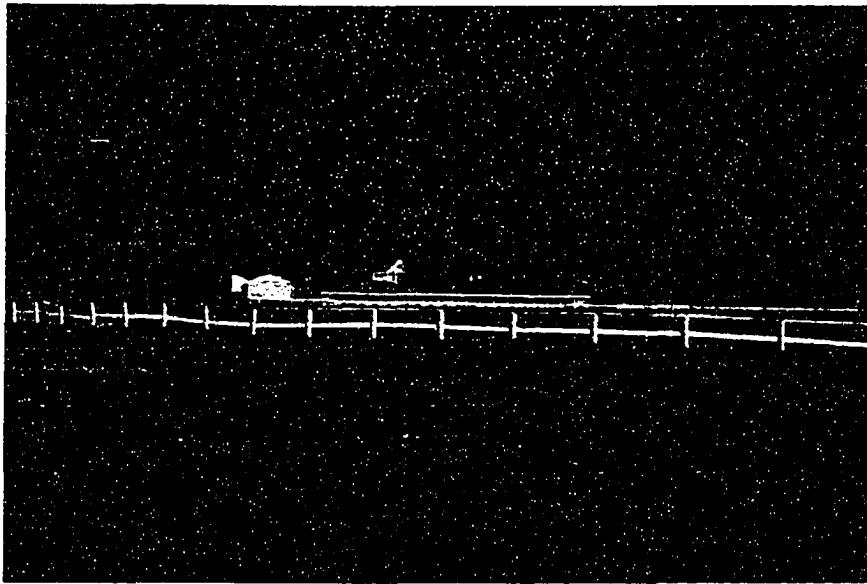
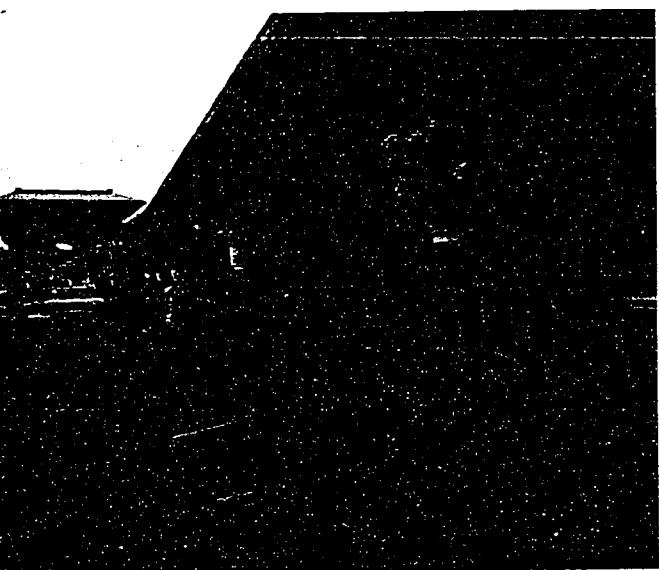
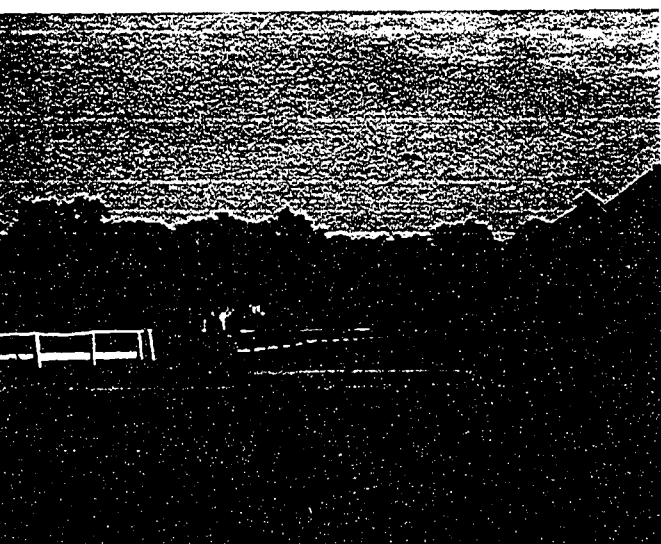
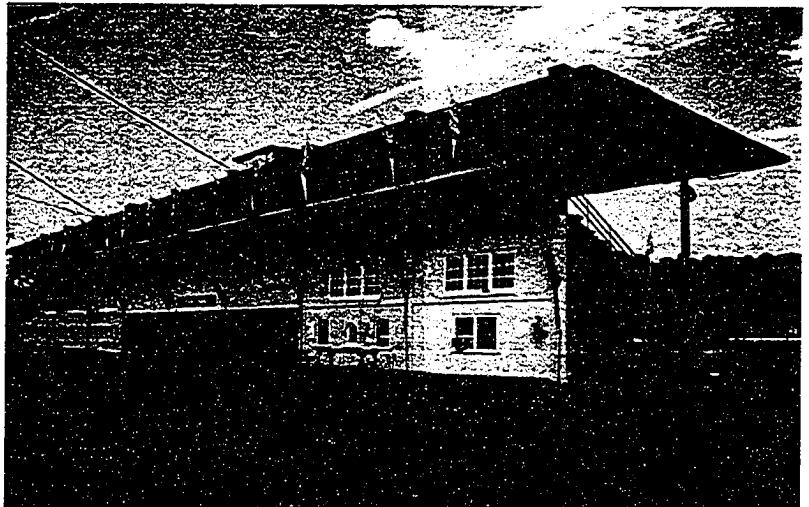


Figure 2.29 The Historic Track at Goshen, Goshen, New York, established 1839, July 2002: top left, afternoon workout; bottom middle, stabling and grandstand; bottom right, grandstand from main entrance.



002: top left, view from Good Time Stable; top middle, view towards track center; top right, far end of track; bottom left, from main entrance. The photographs illustrate the track's predominate role in the site's landscape.



from Good Time Stable; top middle, view towards track center; top right, far end of track; bottom left. The photographs illustrate the track's predominate role in the site's landscape.

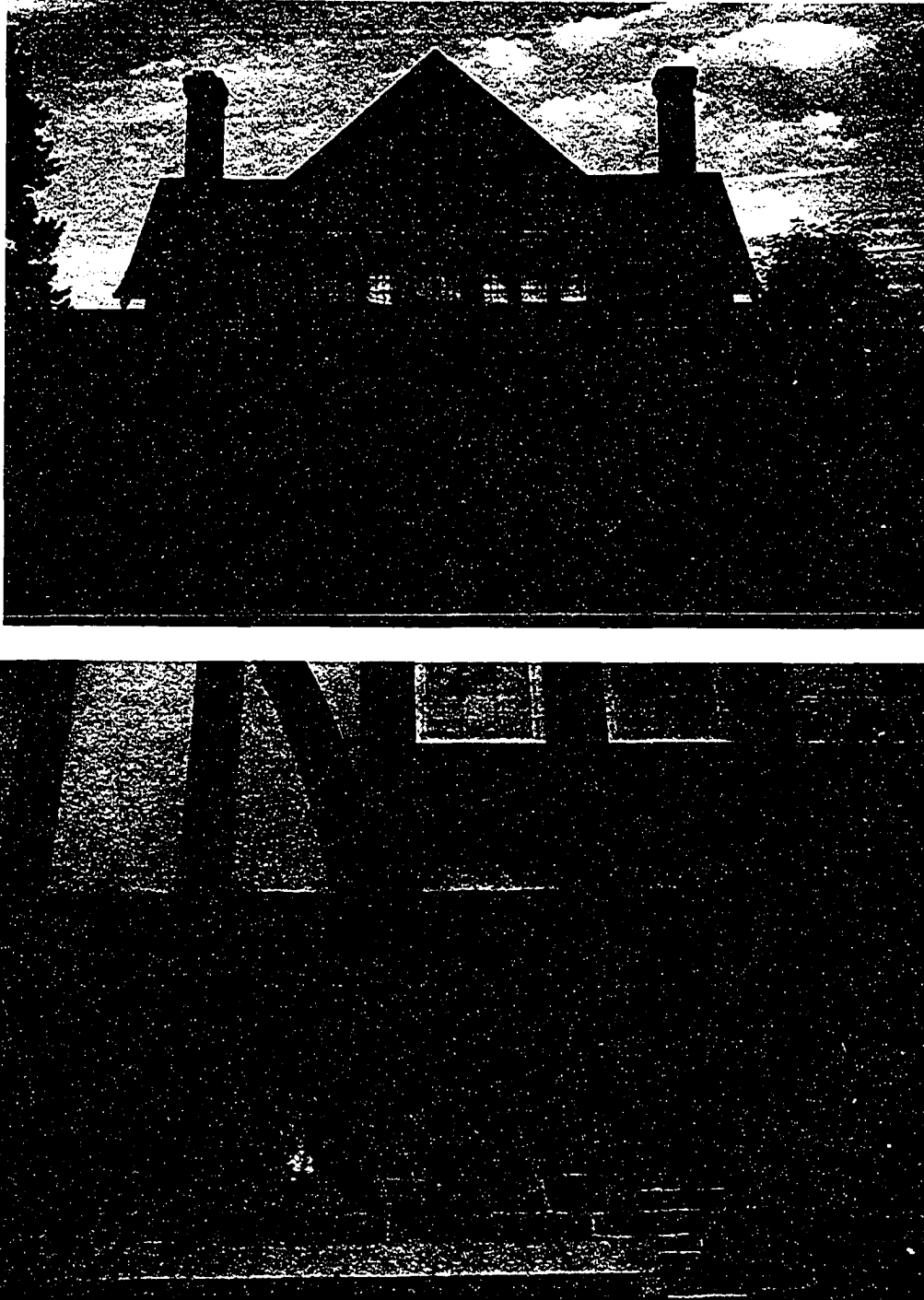


Figure 2.30 Good Time Stable (1913). Goshen, New York, July 2002: top, front façade; bottom, detail.

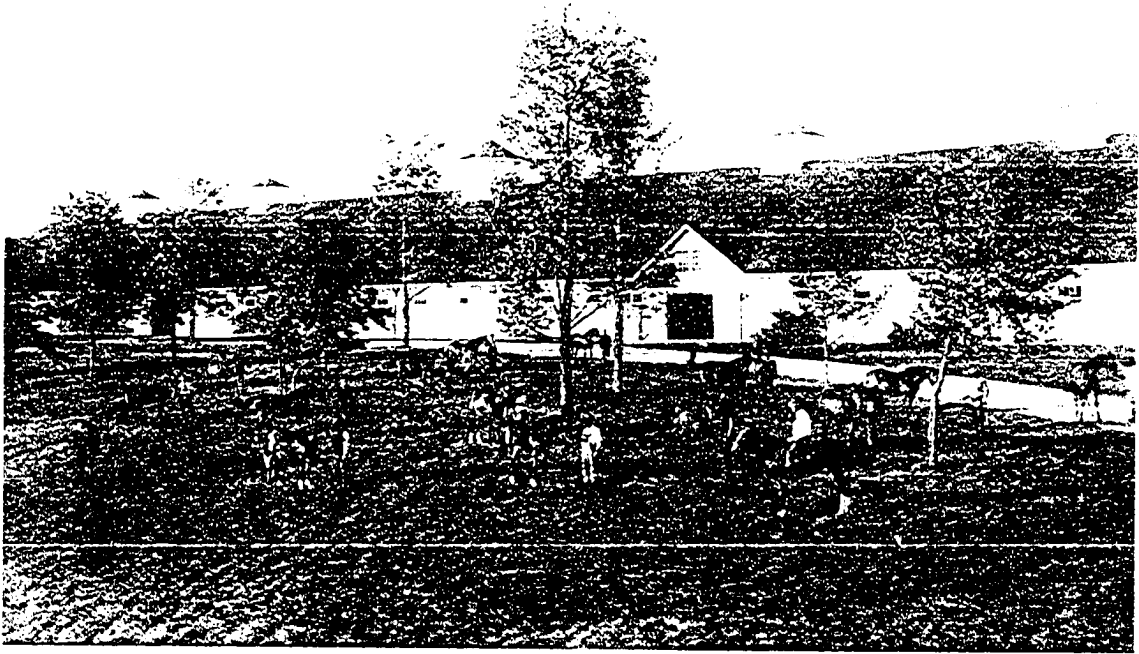


Figure 2.31 Walnut Hall, The Big Barn (1897), Lexington, Kentucky. c. 1930. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW1699).

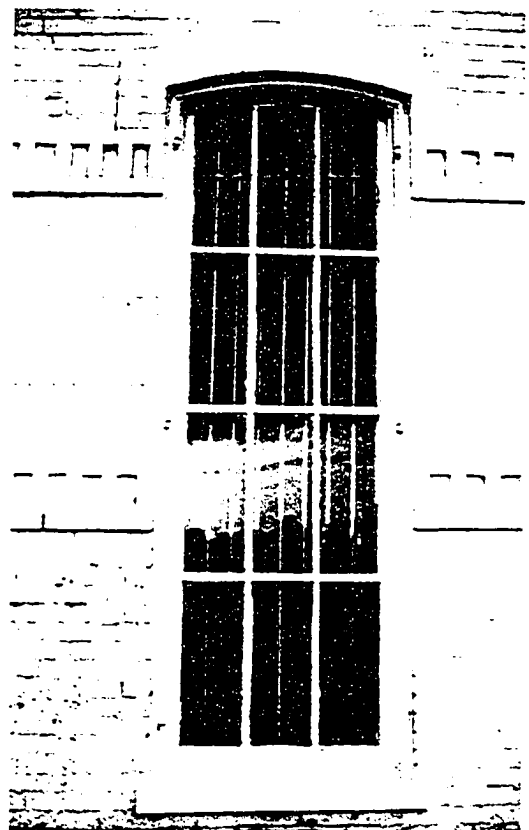
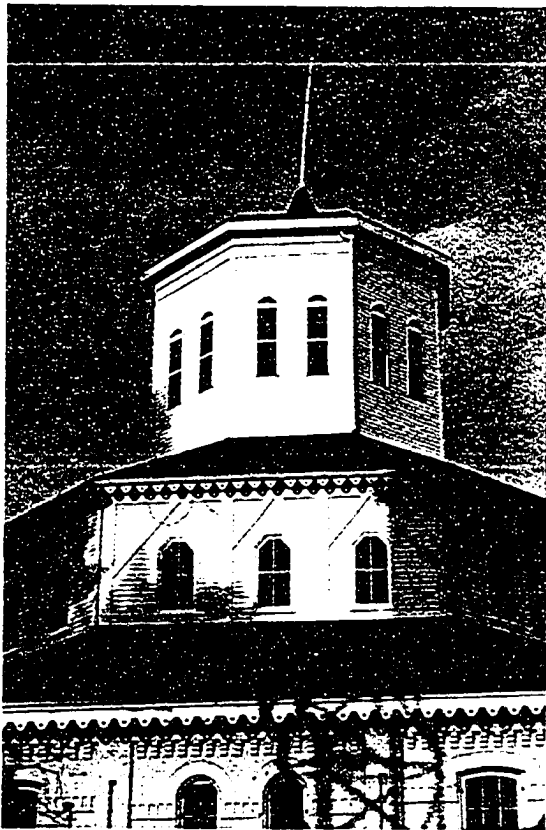
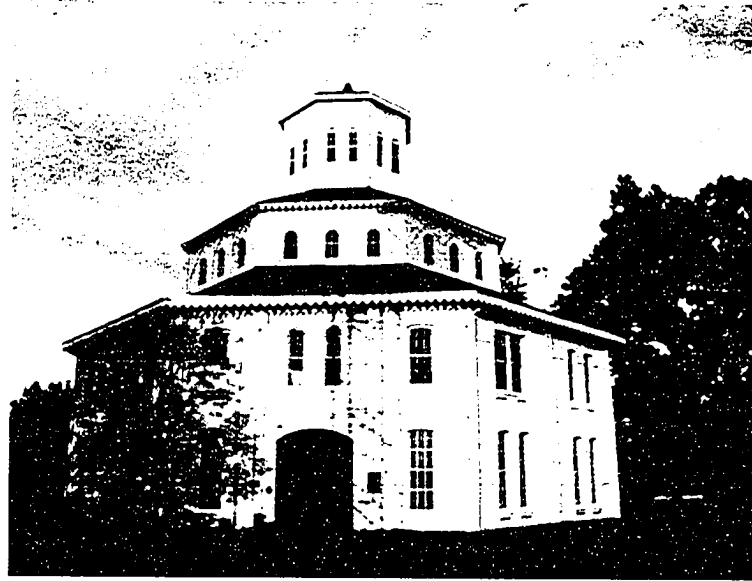


Figure 2.32 Floral Hall (1882) at The Red Mile, Lexington, Kentucky, July 2004: top, distant view; bottom left, detail upper stories; bottom right, detail window.



Figure 2.33 Belle Meade carriages and Miss Margaret L. Warden. W. E. Lawson Photograph, 11 August 1968. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW1158).



Figure 2.34 Howard Willetts and Alfred Gwynne Vanderbilt coaching. 1904. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 4586.

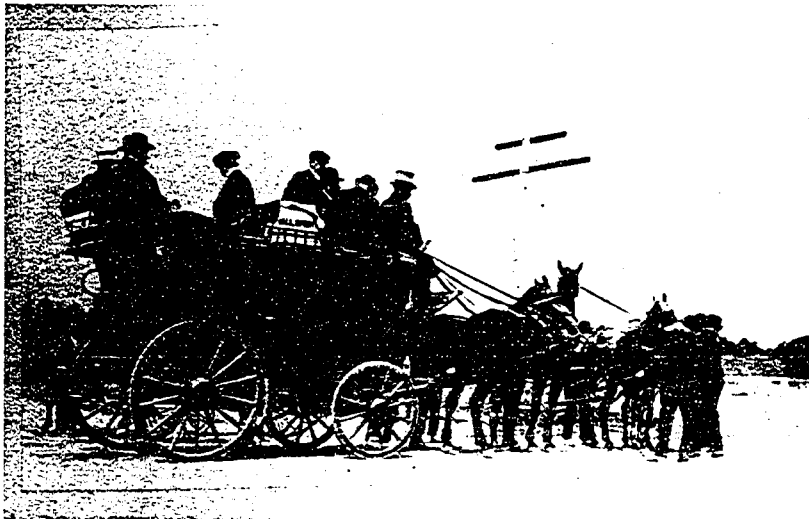
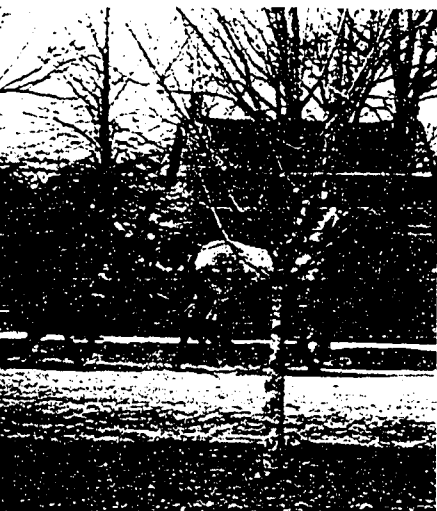


Figure 2.35 The *All Sport Scrapbook*, c. 1910. E. Devourillox photographs. Warden Collection. Albert T. ... coaching expedition and the necessary coordination of individuals, horses, and equipment.



Collection. Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU. These six photographs illustrate the festive atmosphere associated with the event.



Sr. Research Center, MTSU. These six photographs illustrate the festive atmosphere associated with a

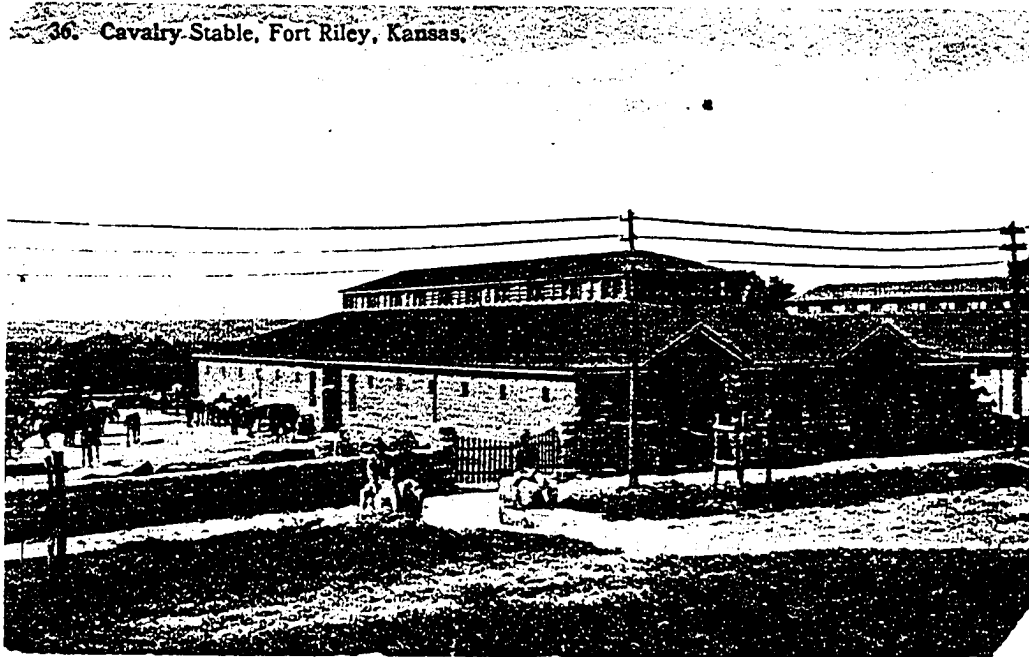


Figure 2.36 Cavalry stable at Fort Riley, Kansas. Perky Beisel Postcard Collection.

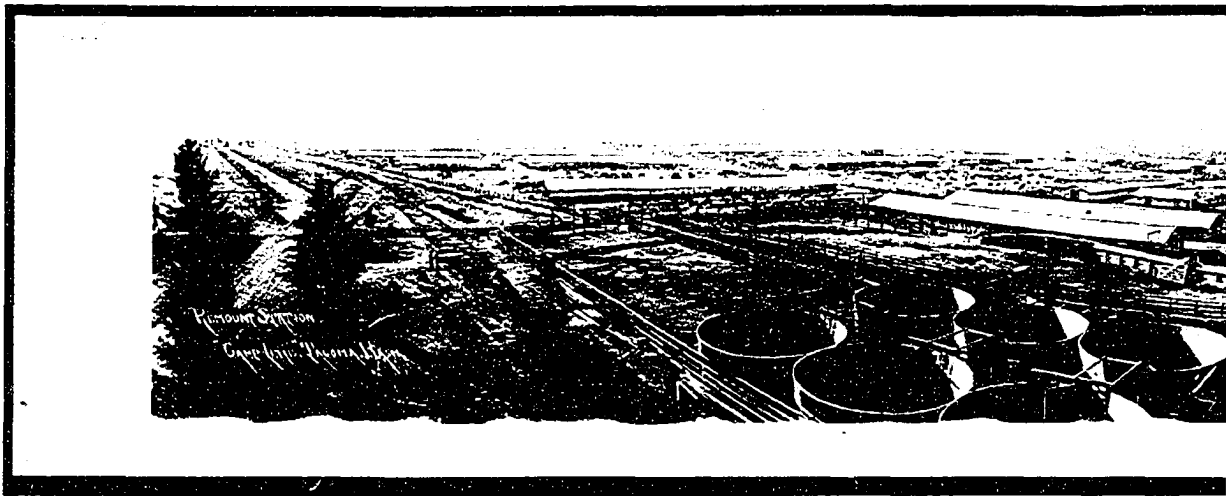
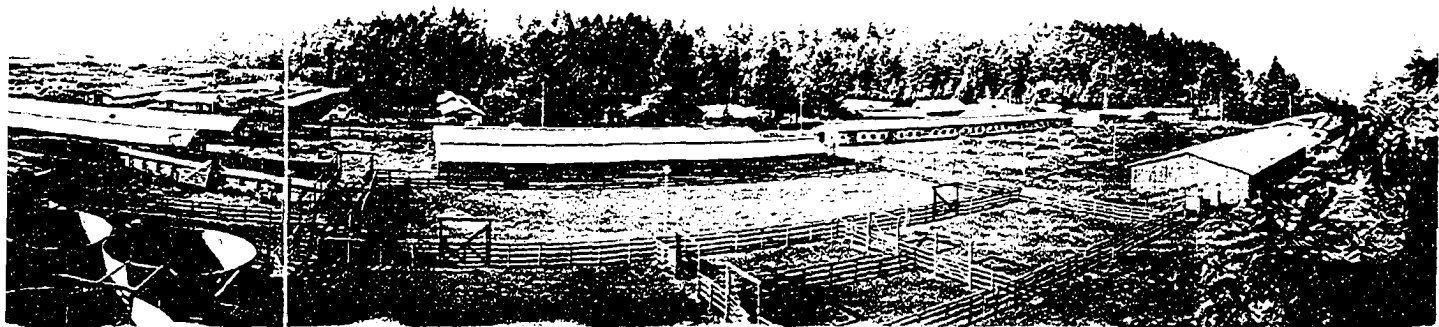


Figure 2.37 Camp Lewis Remount Station, Tacoma, Washington. Photograph by M. D. Boland & Parris 1917:45578.



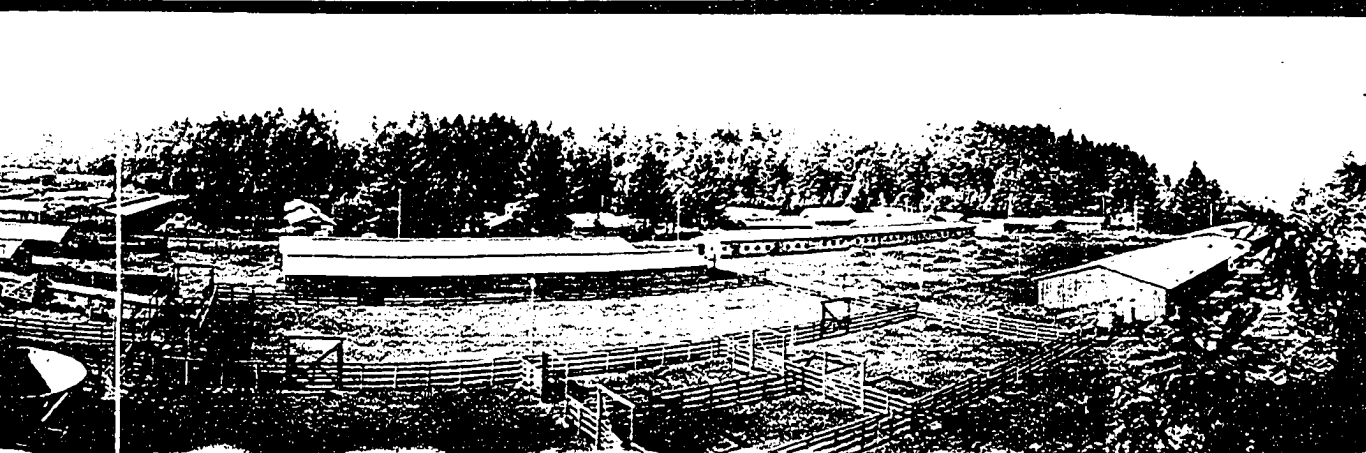
Figure 2.38 Camp Kea[...] Remount Station. Photograph by San Diego Photo Service, December 1917. According to a handwritten notation on the back of the photograph, Captain Valentine was in charge of c



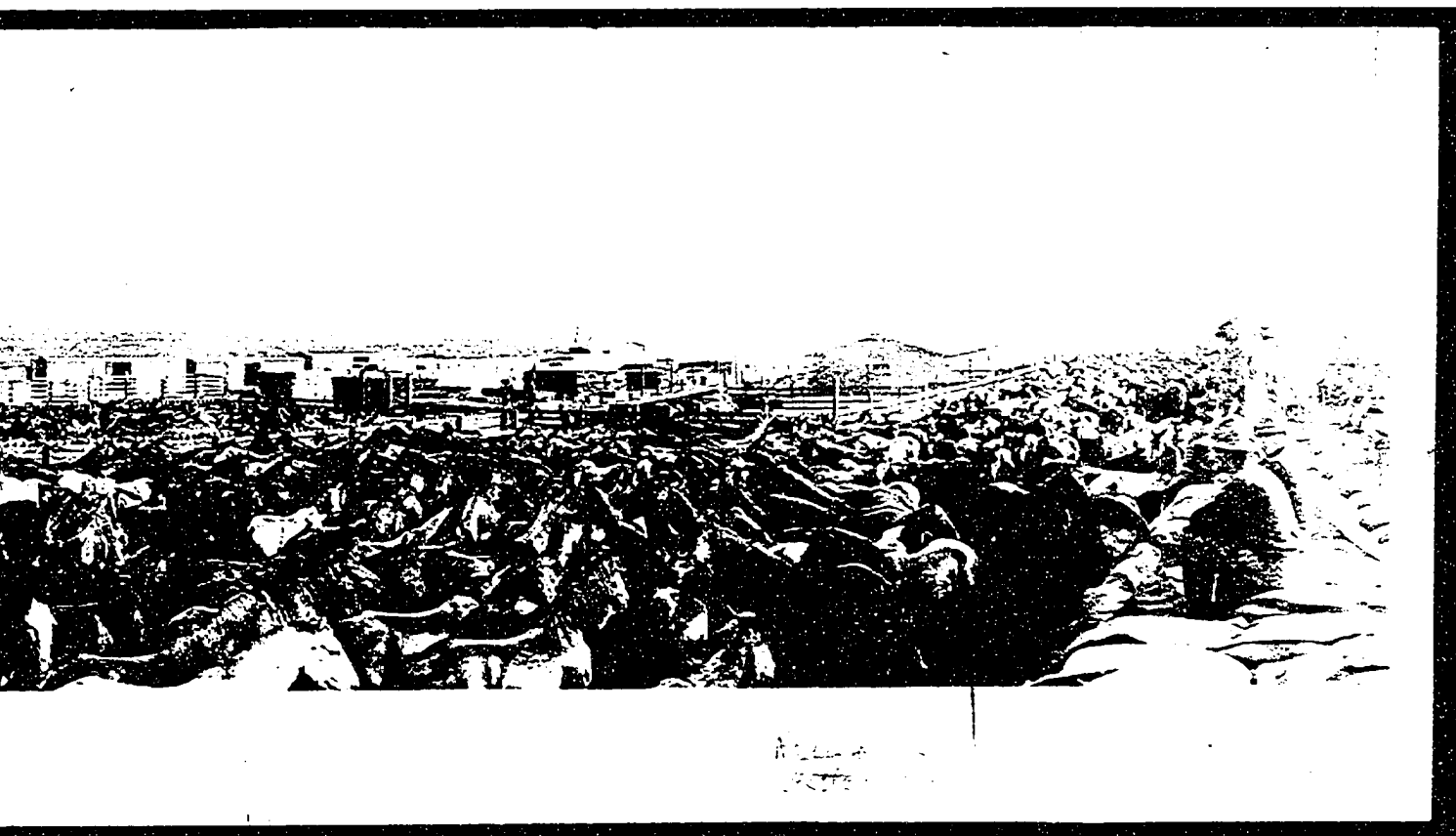
1. D. Boland & Parrish, 31 October 1917. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. DLC/PP-



vice, December 1917. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. PAN US MILITARY - Army
tine was in charge of one hundred thousand horses at this remount station.



Parrish, 31 October 1917. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, DLC/PP-



1917. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, PAN US MILITARY - Army no. 183.
ge of one hundred thousand horses at this remount station.



Figure 2.39 Front Royal Remount Station, Virginia. Warden Collection. Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW2604).



Figure 2.40 Fort Robinson Remount Station, Nebraska. Warden Collection. Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW2603).

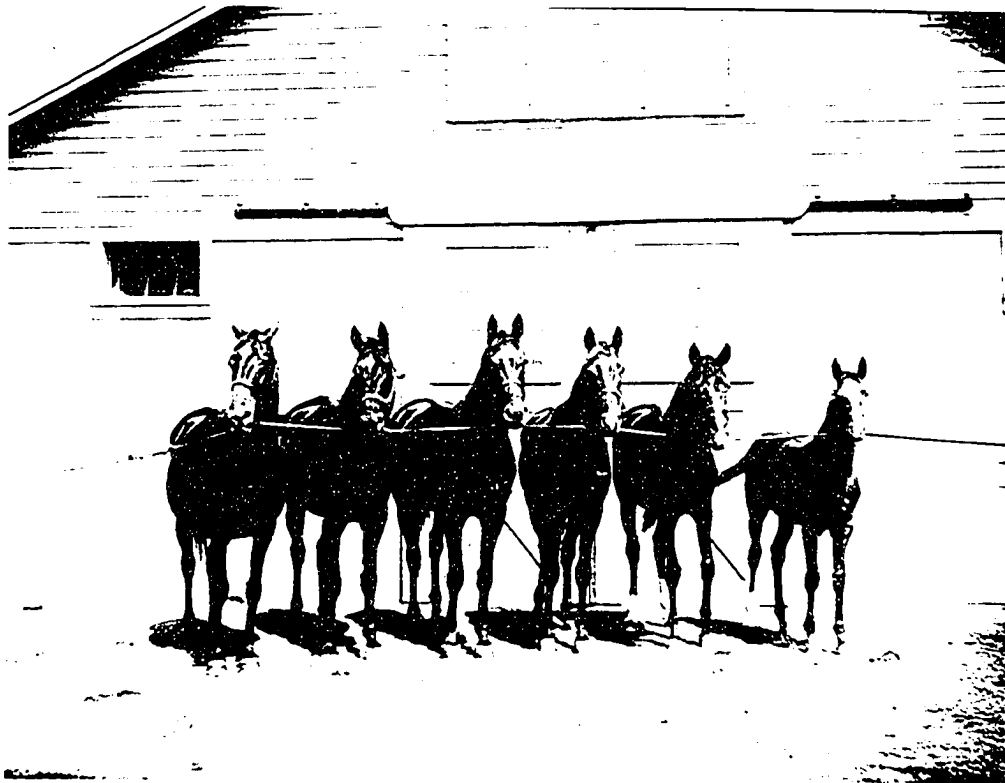
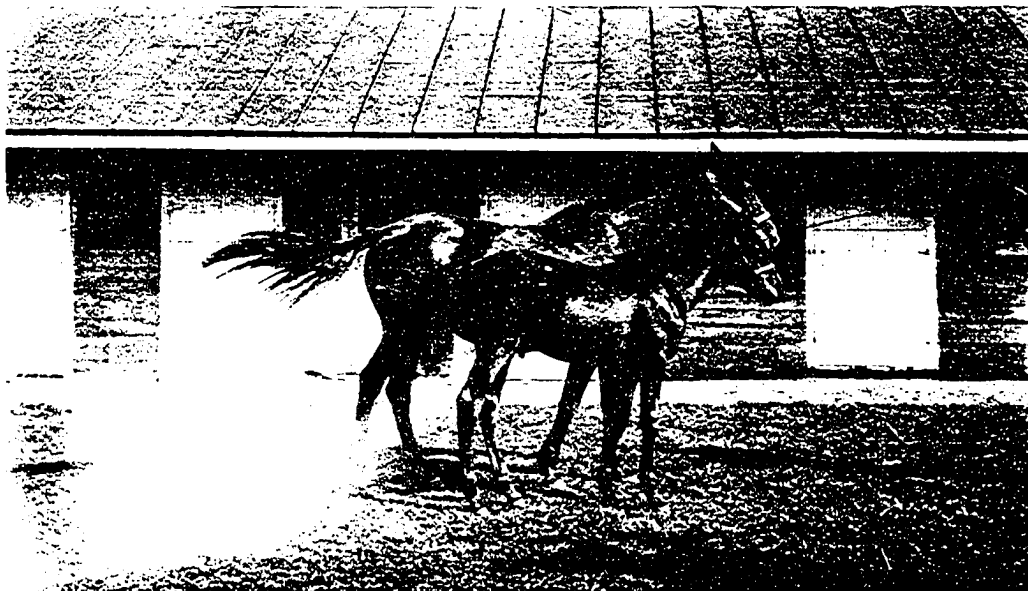


Figure 2.41 *Lou Lady* (left) and offspring, December 1935. Left to right: *Hirah* by *James P. Silo*, *Lou Lad*, *Lou Boy*, *Lou Lass* and *Lou Girl* all by *Groucher*. Front Royal, Virginia. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW2612).



"Miss America"

Figure 2.42 *Miss America* and foal, November 1936, Fort Robinson, Nebraska. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW0869).



Figure 2.43 U.S. Army Polo Team, 1922. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW2605).

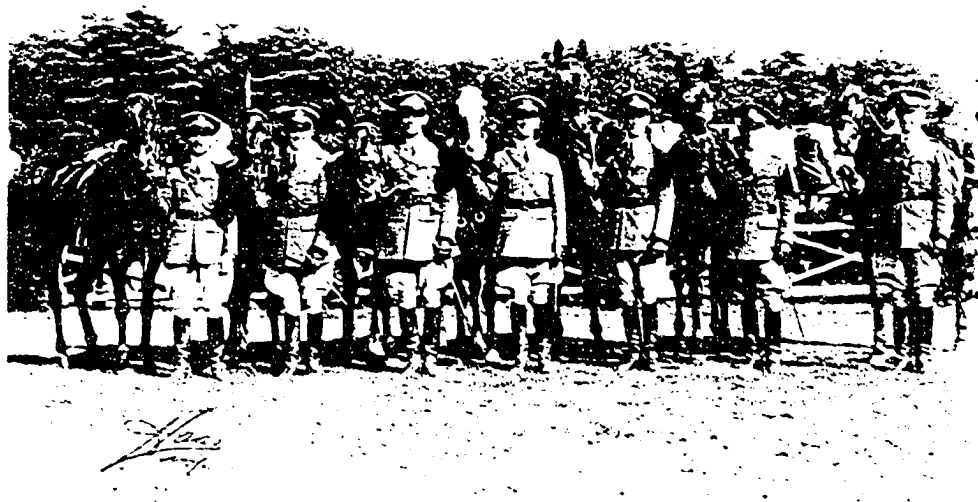


Figure 2.44 U. S. Army Show Horse Team, 1927. Haas Photograph. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW2606).

Seventh Annual Exhibition

OF THE

TENNESSEE



CENTRAL

FAIR ASSOCIATION.

TO BE HELD AT

Murfreesboro, Tenn.,

BEGINNING

Tuesday, October 5, 1876, and Continuing Five Days.

All Premiums in the Arena Paid in Currency. All Premiums in Mechanics and Floral Hall Paid in Silver Plate.

OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Dr. H. H. CLAYTON, President.

H. H. NORMAN, B. D. FLETCHER, JOHN A. COLLIER, Vice Presidents.

W. P. HENDERSON, Secretary. M. F. JORDAN, Treasurer.

J. A. JANUARY, Superintendent.

DIRECTORS.

JOS. F. BROOKS,
JOHN KELLY,
WM. MARTIN,

WM. H. SIKES,
DR. JNO. PATTERSON,
S. R. SAUNDERS,

JACK GOOCH,
DR. L. W. KNIGHT,
DR. T. J. ELAM.

NEWS PRINT, MURFREESBORO, TENN.

AWARD

Meats, &c.

- Best Sugar-cured Ham
- " Mutton, cooked
- " Beef, cooked
- " Pig, cooked
- " 5 lbs. Butter
- " 5 lbs. Lard
- " 5 lbs. Honey, in comb
- " 5 lbs. Honey, strained
- " 5 lbs. Beeswax
- " 5 lb. Tallow, mutton
- " 5 lb. Tallow, beef
- " Peach Preserves
- " Quince Preserves
- " Apple Preserves
- " Pear Preserves
- " Plum Preserves
- " Grape Preserves
- " Damson Preserves
- " Blackberry Preserves
- " Dewberry Preserves
- " Raspberry Preserves
- " Strawberry Preserves
- " Gooseberry Preserves
- " Apple Jelly
- " Plum Jelly
- " Peach Jelly
- " Quince Jelly
- " Grape Jelly
- " display of Preserves
- " display of Jellies
- " Sweet Pickle
- " Sour Pickle
- " Tomato Catsup
- " Cucumber Catsup

Native Wines, &c.

- Best Grape Wine
- " Blackberry Wine
- " Strawberry Wine
- " Raspberry Wine
- " Elderberry Wine
- " Tomato Wine
- " Peach Cordia
- " Berry Cordia
- " Apple Vinegar
- " Honey Vinegar
- " Acid Vinegar

Fruits and Flowers.

- Best display of Apples
- " display of Peaches
- " display of Pears
- " display of other Fruits
- " display of Flowers in pots

DEPARTMENT E.

- Best 5 yards Jeans, gray
- " 5 yards Jeans, brown
- " 5 yards Jeans, any other color
- " 5 yards Linsey, white
- " 5 yards Linsey, plaid
- " 5 yards Linsey, solid color
- " 5 yards Flannel
- " Woollen Currier, home-made
- " Cotton Carpet, home-made
- " Rug Carpet, home-made
- " Hearth Rug
- " Cotton Cloth, white
- " Cotton Cloth, plaid
- " pair Stockings, woollen
- " pair Stockings, cotton
- " pair Socks, woollen
- " pair Socks, cotton
- " pair Gloves, cotton
- " pair gloves, woollen
- " pair gloves, wax

Figure 2.45 1876 Tennessee Central Fair Association Brochure. Community Collection. Albert Gore R

AWARD OF PREMIUMS.

Meats, &c.	
1 Sugar-cured Ham	\$ 2
1 Mutton, cooked	" 2
1 Beef, cooked	" 2
1 Pig, cooked	" 2
5 lbs. Butter	" 3
5 lbs. Lard	" 3
5 lbs. Honey, in comb	" 3
5 lbs. Honey, strained	" 3
5 lbs. Beeswax	" 3
5 lb. Tallow, mutton	" 3
5 lb. Tallow, beef	" 3
Peach Preserves	" 3
Quince Preserves	" 3
Apple Preserves	" 3
Pear Preserves	" 3
Plum Preserves	" 3
Grape Preserves	" 3
Damson Preserves	" 3
Blackberry Preserves	" 3
Dewberry Preserves	" 3
Raspberry Preserves	" 3
Strawberry Preserves	" 3
Gooseberry Preserves	" 3
Apple Jelly	" 3
Plum Jelly	" 3
Peach Jelly	" 3
Quince Jelly	" 3
Grape Jelly	" 3
display of Preserves	5 5
display of Jellies	5 5
Sweet Pickle	" 3
Sour Pickle	" 3
Tomato Catsup	" 3
Cucumber Catsup	" 3
Native Wines, &c.	
1 Grape Wine	\$ 5
1 Blackberry Wine	" 5
1 Strawberry Wine	" 5
1 Raspberry Wine	" 5
1 Elderberry Wine	" 5
1 Tomato Wine	" 5
1 Peach Cordial	" 5
1 Berry Cordial	" 5
1 Apple Vinegar	" 5
1 Honey Vinegar	" 5
1 Acid Vinegar	" 5
Fruits and Flowers.	
1 display of Apples	\$ 5
1 display of Peaches	" 5
1 display of Pears	" 5
1 display of other Fruits	" 5
1 display of Flowers in pots	" 5
DEPARTMENT E.	
Sup'r.	
1 5 yards Jeans, gray	\$ 2
1 5 yards Jeans, brown	" 2
1 5 yards Jeans, any other color	" 2
1 5 yards Linsey, white	" 2
1 5 yards Linsey, blue	" 2
1 5 yards Linsey, any color	" 2
1 5 yards Flannel	" 2
1 Woolen Carpet, home-made	" 2
1 Cotton Carpet, home-made	" 2
1 Rag Carpet, home-made	" 2
1 Hearth Rug	" 2
1 Cotton Cloth, white	" 2
1 Cotton Cloth, plaid	" 2
1 pair Stockings, woolen	" 2
1 pair Stockings, cotton	" 2
1 pair Socks, woolen	" 2
1 pair Socks, cotton	" 2
1 pair Gloves, cotton	" 2
1 pair Gloves, woolen	" 2
1 pair Gloves, flax	" 2
Best pair Half Mittens, woolen	" 2
" pair Half Mittens, cotton	" 2
" pair Half Mittens, flax	" 2
" pair Fancy Stockings for children	" 2
" Fancy Foot Mat	" 2
" Coverlet, woolen	" 2
" White Counterpane	" 2
" White Quilt	" 2
" Calico Quilt, patch work	" 2
" Calico Quilt, fancy pattern	" 2
" Calico Comfort	" 2
" Worsted Comfort	" 2
" Silk Comfort	" 2
" Worsted Quilt, patch work	" 2
" Worsted Quilt, log cabin	" 2
" Silk Quilt, patch work	" 2
" Plain Sewing	" 2
" Plain Sewing by girl under 12 years	" 2
" made Shirt, unwashed	" 2
" specimen Crochet Work	" 2
" specimen Hemstitch	" 2
" specimen Braiding	" 2
" Ornamental Needle Work	" 2
" Chemise Yoke and Sleeves	" 2
" Gown Yoke	" 2
" Silk Embroidery	" 2
" Worsted Embroidery	" 2
" Cotton Embroidery	" 2
" Linen Embroidery	" 2
" Fancy Lamp Mat	" 2
" Woolen Shawl	" 2
" Tatting, home-made	" 2
" specimen Leather Work	" 2
" display Shell Work	" 2
" display Wax Work	" 2
" display Hair Work	" 2
" display Feather Work	" 2
" display Paper Work	" 2
Handsomest display Millinery Goods	10
To the Lady making the greatest number of entries	5 5
To the Lady taking the greatest number of premiums	5 5
SPECIAL PREMIUMS.	
By John Kelly, Saddle and Harness Maker, Murfreesboro, Tenn.—Saddle worth \$20 for the finest mare of gelding, Rutherford county stock, in a trotting race, mile heats, Bridle worth \$5 by the Association to the second horse. Three horses to start.	
By A. W. Brothers, for the fattest cow \$5—the animal to be sold after the exhibition to the highest bidder.	
To J. Hancock—For a model Rat-proof Crib, \$1.	
To Nelson—A season to "Surplus" for the best Suckling Colt to be shown at the Fall Fair of 1875.	
Same—A season to "Lookout" for the best Suckling Colt of his get, to be shown at the Fall Fair of 1875.	
The Seed Race is offered by S. R. Saunders for the best variety of Early Corn.	
Shooting Tournament—For different teams on Friday and Saturday evening, after exhibition in arena, Silver Cup, \$10.	
Best Drilled Military Company—The Association Cup.	
— The rules and regulations heretofore governing our Fair will be observed at this Fair.	

Order of Exhibition

FIRST DAY.

Jacks and Jennets, Sheep, Swine, Mules and Race.

SECOND DAY.

Cattle, Blood Horses, Best Boy Rider under Years Old, Trotting Race for Green Hor

THIRD DAY.

Horses of All Work, Combined Saddle and Animal, Model Horses, Pacing Race.

FOURTH DAY.

Harness Stock, Trotting Races for Stallions Geldings and Colts.

FIFTH DAY.

Saddle Stock, Pacing Races for All.

RD OF PREMIUMS.

5

- Best pair Half Mittens, woolen
- pair Half Mittens, cotton
- pair Half Mittens, flax
- pair Fancy Stockings for children
- Fancy Foot Mat
- Coverlet, woolen
- White Counterpane
- White Quilt
- Calico Quilt, patch work
- Calico Quilt, fancy pattern
- Calico Comfort
- Worsted Comfort
- Silk Comfort
- Worsted Quilt, patch work
- Worsted Quilt, log cabin
- Silk Quilt, patch work
- Plain Sewing
- Plain Sewing by girl under 12 years
- made shirt, unwashed
- specimen Crochet Work
- specimen Hemstitch
- specimen Braiding
- ornamental Needle Work
- Chemise Yoke and Sleeves
- Gown Yoke
- Silk Embroidery
- Worsted Embroidery
- Cotton Embroidery
- Linen Embroidery
- Fancy Lamp Mat
- Woolen Shawl
- Tatting, home-made
- specimen Leather Work
- display Shell Work
- display Hat Work
- display Hat Work
- display Feather Work
- display Paper Work
- Handicraft display Millinery Goods 10
- To the Lady making the greatest number of entries 5
- To the Lady taking the greatest number of premiums 5

SPECIAL PREMIUMS.

By John Kelly, Saddle and Harness Maker, Murfreesboro, Tenn.—Saddle worth \$29 for the most mare or gelding, Rutherford county stock, in a trotting race, mile heats, saddle worth \$5 by the Association to the second horse. Three horses to start.

By A. W. Brotners, for the fattest cow 50—the animal to be sold after the exhibition to the highest bidder.

E. T. Hancock—For a model Rat-proof Crib, \$1.

J. Nelson—A season to "Surplus" for the best Suckling Colt to be shown at the Fall Fair of 1895.

Same—A season to "Lookout" for the best Suckling Colt of his got, to be shown at the Fall Fair of 1895.

Five Seed Race is offered by S. R. Saunders for the best variety of Early Corn.

Shooting Tournament—For different teams on Friday and Saturday evening, after exhibition in arena, Silver Cup, \$10.

Best Drilled Military Company—The Association Cup.

— The rules and regulations heretofore governing our Fair will be observed at this Fair.

Order of Exhibition.

FIRST DAY.

Jacks and Jennets, Sheep, Swine, Mules and Pacing Race.

SECOND DAY.

Cattle, Blood Horses, Best Boy Rider under Twelve Years Old, Trotting Race for Green Horses.

THIRD DAY.

Horses of All Work, Combined Saddle and Harness Animal, Model Horses, Pacing Race.

FOURTH DAY.

Harness Stock, Trotting Races for Stallions, Mares, Geldings and Colts.

FIFTH DAY.

Saddle Stock, Pacing Races for All.



Figure 2.46 *Job*, grand champion Percheron stallion, Chicago International Livestock Show, 1920. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW0907).

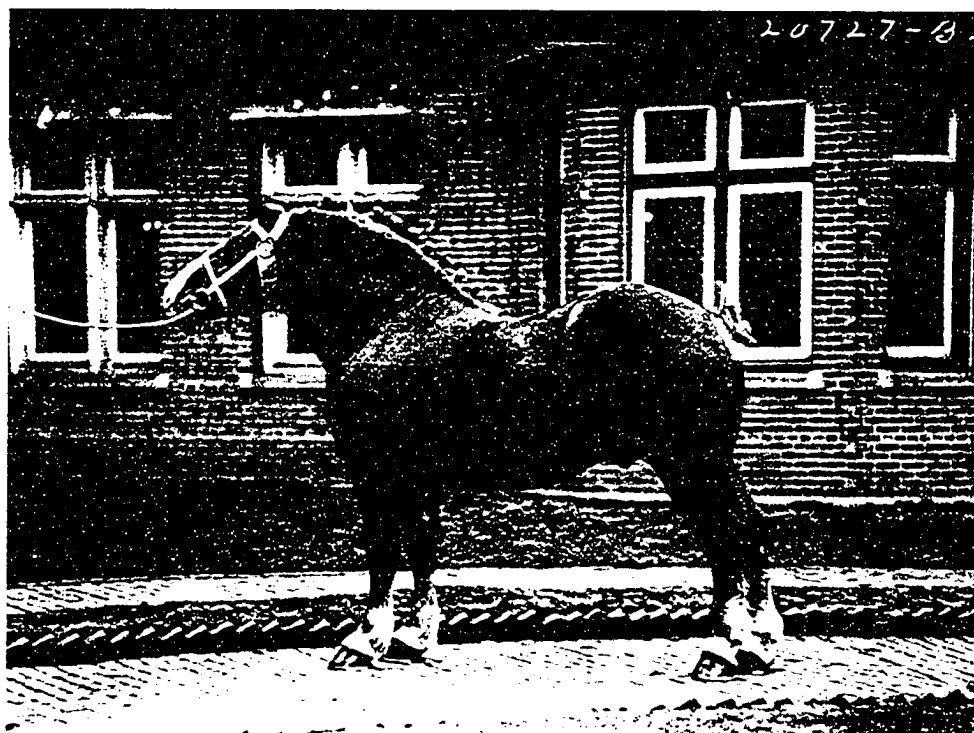


Figure 2.47 *George Henry* 11460, Belgian stallion, grand champion at Chicago International Livestock Show, 1921. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW0439).

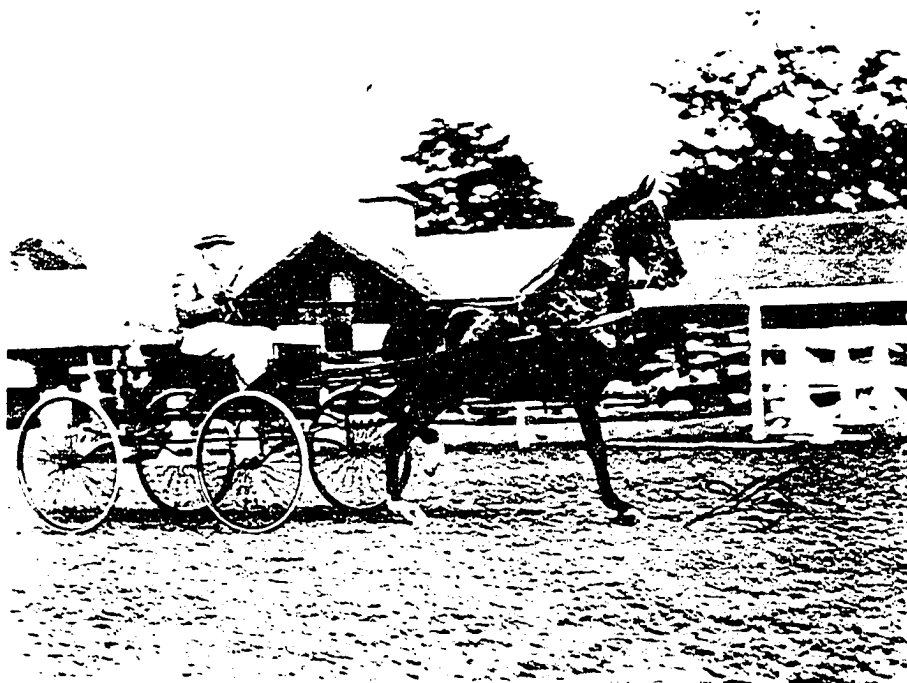


Figure 2.48 **Field Marshall*, Hackney stallion. Haas Photograph. Warden Collection. Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW0722).

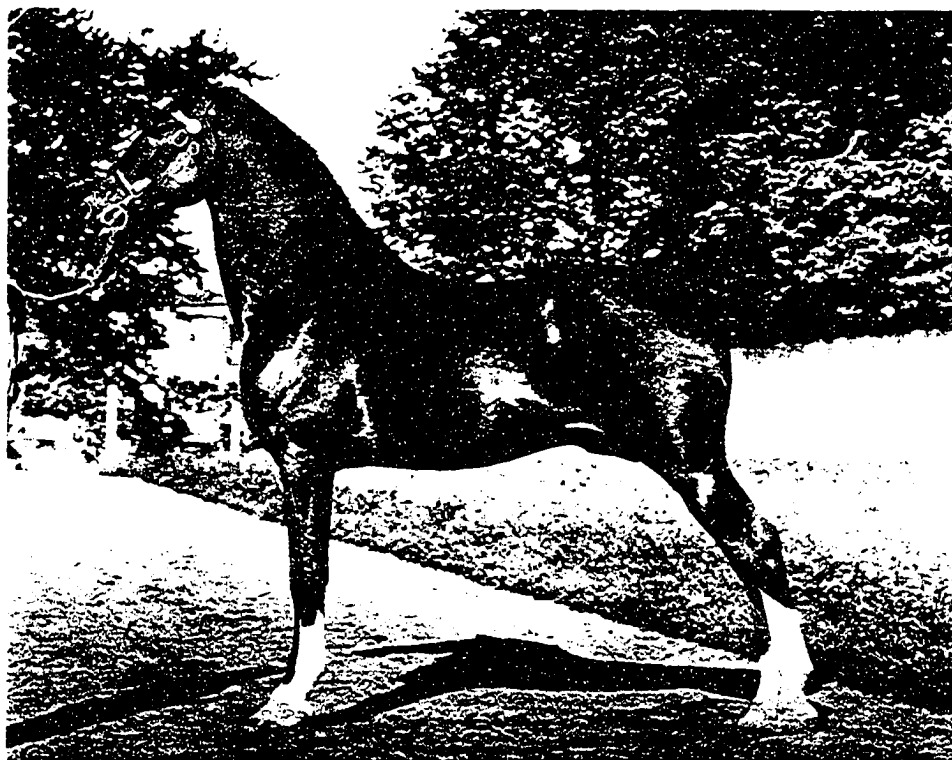


Figure 2.49 **Marlboro* by *Polomius*, Hackney stallion. Warden Collection. Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW0735).



Figure 2.50 *Poetry of Motion* 3825, American Saddlebred, chestnut gelding, foaled 1896. Bred by B. Johnson, Richmond, Indiana. Sire: *King Marvel* 1065 by *King Chester* 294 by *Chester Dare* 10. Dam: *Bonelta* 588 by *Montise*. Owned by Lawrence Jones, Louisville, Kentucky. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW1099).

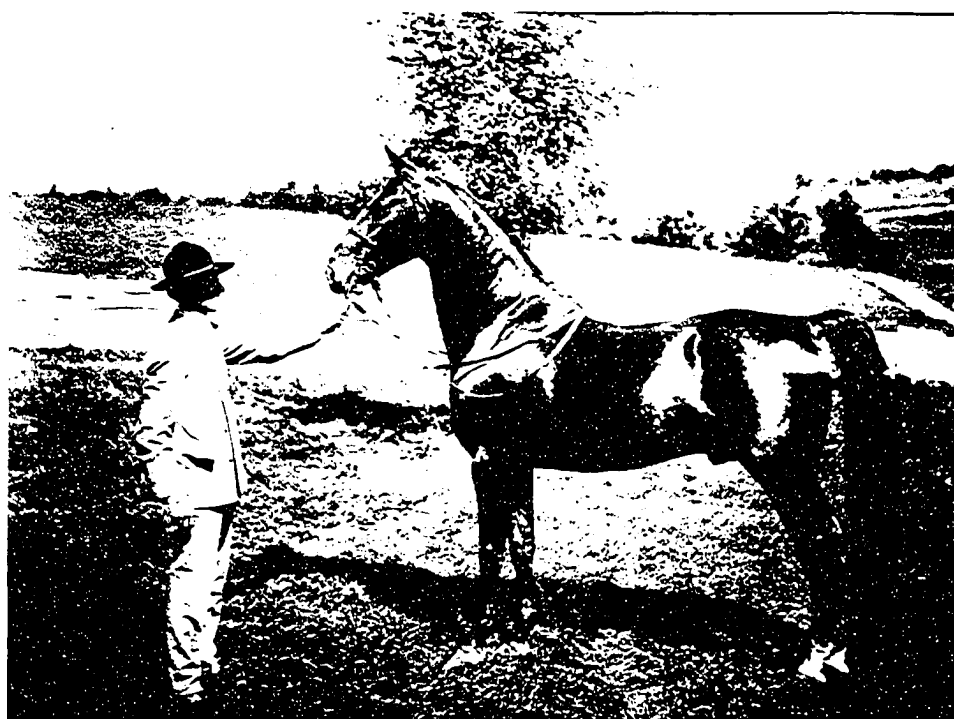


Figure 2.51 *Montgomery Chief* 1361. American Saddlebred stallion, chestnut foaled 1897 bred by R. B. Young, Mt. Sterling, Kentucky. Sire: *Bourbon Chief* 976 by *Harrison Chief* 1606. Dam: *Annie* by *King*, brother to *Bourbon King*: top, Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW1080); bottom, after 1920, Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW1078).



Figure 2.52 Eleanor & *Fair Ace King*. American Saddlebred stallion. Margaret Lindsley Warden Photograph, c. 1920. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW1005).

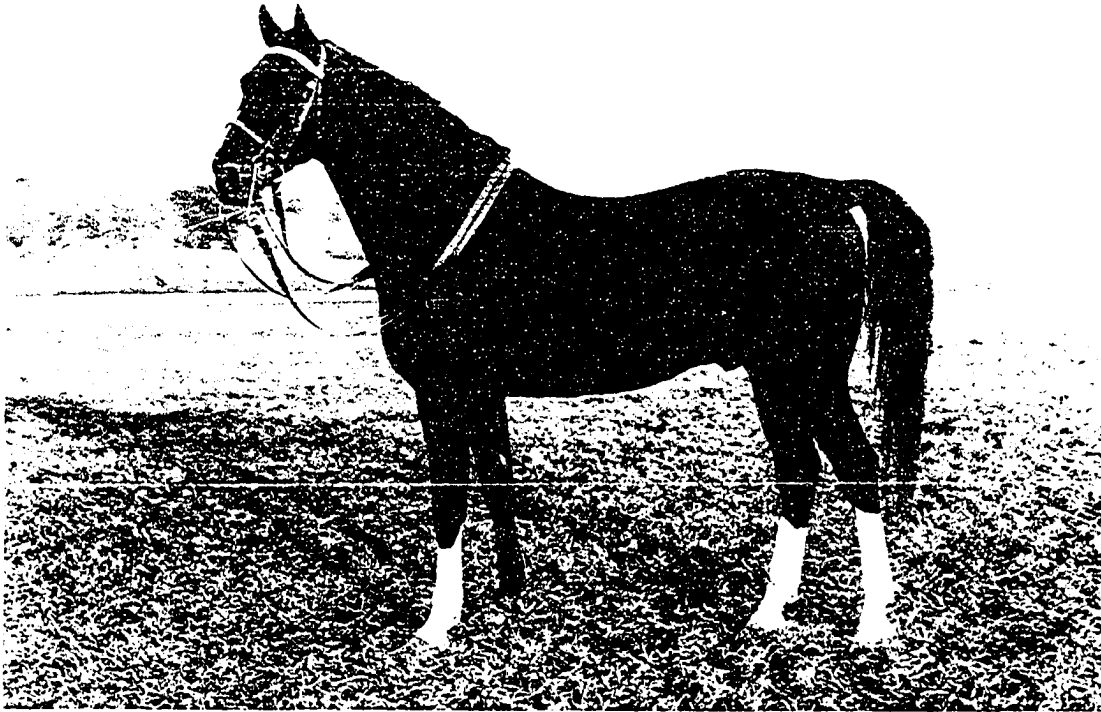


Figure 2.53 *Fair Ace King* 4059, chestnut American Saddlebred stallion. 1909-a.1920. U. S. Army Remount stallion. Sire: *Bourbon King* 1788 by *Bourbon Chief* 976. Dam: *Aletha Chief* 3451 by *Bourbon Chief*. Warden Collection. Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW1006).

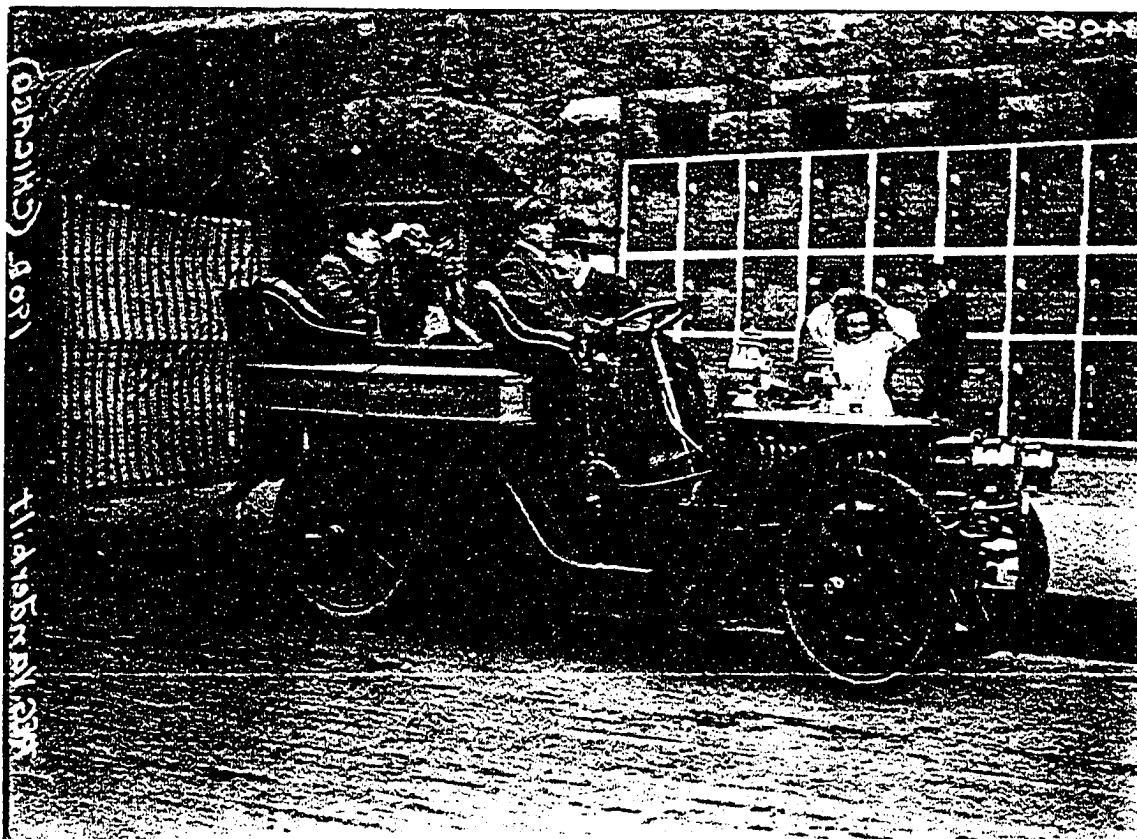


Figure 2.54 Reginald Vanderbilt and his car at the Chicago Horse Show, 1902. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 14096.

CHAPTER THREE

HOME IS WHERE THE HORSE IS

Between 1865 and 1929, the wealthy, social elite built country houses and rural estates as havens from work and urban life, and as centers for their recreational and leisure activities. The post-Civil War wealthy, social elite who participated in horse sports drew upon older design models and changing aesthetic trends to create appropriate venues for a lifestyle that often revolved around their property's competitive stable. The resulting country houses and rural estates fit within a larger context of architectural and social changes in American society while supporting the wealthy, social elites' participation in American horse sports and their social involvement within the upper class.

Each home type, country or rural, satisfied one or more particular practical requirement, such as proximity to the urban business office or a retreat from urban pressures or summer heat. Wealthy, social elite horse sports enthusiasts lived all over the nation, from cosmopolitan Fifth Avenue in New York City to rural Hamilton, Montana. Most families owned two homes, and a large number owned at least three residences, one in the urban center that produced the family's wealth, another at a popular seasonal area such as Bar Harbor, Maine, or the Adirondacks, and a country house or rural estate.¹

¹ Wealthy, social elite families used their resort and wilderness homes at similar times creating seasonal seaside or wilderness communities. The summer show circuit moved around the northeast; and, as Camden, Aiken, and Miami grew in the early twentieth century, a southern winter circuit developed. The membership of hunting and game clubs, resort social clubs, and equestrian organizations often overlapped. See John F. Reiger, *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2001. Third Edition, Revised and Expanded).

In the introduction of their broad survey of Beaux-Arts Long Island estates, Liisa and David Sclare wrote that those homes “represented important social and cultural forces at work in the American democracy” and “make up a distinctive cultural and historic resource,” a resource that until their book, they argue, had not been adequately surveyed or put into its cultural context.² This chapter takes a similar first step to provide the backdrop for country house and rural estate stables, and specifically those stables built for a serious commitment to equestrian leisure and sporting activities.³ It examines the

Americans’ relationship with nature, or the wilderness, had changed drastically in the mid-nineteenth century as writers such as Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862) helped create a “reverence for wilderness,” William A. Mann, *Landscape Architecture: An Illustrated History in Timelines, Site Plans, and Biography* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1993), 378. The upper class translated this passion for the wilderness into summer camps built in the mountains, resort homes along the seashore, vacations on rural estates, and extensive gardens and plantings at their urban homes, country houses, and rural estates. According to Roderick Nash, the American love of the wilderness was a revolutionary theory that came to fruition in the early-twentieth century. Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982), xii, 118. *Country Life in America*, the “most popular of all suburban periodicals” exemplified the contrast differentiating the wilderness and the city as readers attempted to connect with nature, Peter J. Schmitt, *Back to Nature: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), xx.

² Liisa and Donald Sclare, *Beaux-Arts Estates: A Guide to the Architecture of Long Island*, (New York: The Viking Press, 1980), ix.

³ Urban and suburban wealthy, social elite homes would have also had competitive stables, but they are much harder to identify among the more usual urban and suburban service stables or carriage houses. See James E. Patterson, *The Vanderbilts* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1989), 69, for a description and photograph of William H. Vanderbilt’s sixteen-stall stable and carriage house with an indoor ring and a full city block pasture between 43rd and 44th streets. Some possibilities in the HABS/HAER, FSA-OSI, Harvard-American Landscape and Architectural Design, and Denver Public Library collections available through the Library of Congress’s American Memory system are listed here; however, none of the owners are readily recognizable as active members of the national equestrian elite: Colonel Converse Barn, Norwich, New Jersey; Smith Stable and Carriage House, New Brunswick, New Jersey; Charles Taylor House & Stable, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Guyot-Horsford House & Stable, Cambridge, Massachusetts;

country houses and rural estates of some wealthy, social elite between 1865 and 1929 whose stables for participation in the burgeoning American horse industry utilized the expertise and ideas of architects, landscape designers, and, occasionally, scientific agricultural writers and model or experimental farm programs. Together the wealthy, social elite and the new professional class created noteworthy country houses and rural estates.

Country Houses

For the wealthy, social elite, the emerging architectural and landscape design professions facilitated country house development. A combination of elements from antebellum villas and the suburban movement, country houses were not homes in the country, but rather architectural gems set within a band of carefully landscaped grounds.⁴ Country house properties usually ranged from twenty to five hundred acres. Country house owners often lived at their properties for several months at a time or even year-round if they were within an easy commuting distance from their urban offices. Most country houses were part of a larger, often named, community or development. These developments included not only homes with shaded grass lawns, but also the appropriate schools, churches, parks, transportation routes, and, most importantly, social activity centers: shopping areas, riding trails, and country clubs. Some country house communities focused on a precise geographical element such as an older town, lake,

Bellefontaine Stable, Lenox, Massachusetts; Waring House Stable, Mobile, Alabama; Bruning Carriage House, Madison, Indiana; W. H. Winslow House and Stable, Chicago, Illinois; Babson Stable and Service Building, Riverside, Illinois; two unnamed Omaha, Nebraska “livery” stables; and the John A. Thatcher Residence, Pueblo, Colorado.

⁴ Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 149.

coastline, river, or railroad line, such as the country homes on Long Island or in the Main Line area of Pennsylvania.

William Morrison described the Main Line, in Chester County, Pennsylvania, as the “most elegant and comfortable place in the 48 states to pursue country living.”⁵ This group of wealthy, social elite was within hacking distance of several local fox hunts’ bi- and tri-weekly meets. For instance, Radnor Hunt, established at the Clyde Estate in 1883, maintained its kennels in Bryn Mawr until 1931 when the hunt sold its property due to development pressures within the hunt country.⁶ Cheswold in Haverford, one of the most important of these Main Line country homes, was founded by Alexander Johnson Cassatt when he was an executive of the Pennsylvania Railroad.⁷ The sixty-six room country house, designed by Furness and Evans, was completed in 1880.⁸ Cassatt’s nationally recognized seven hundred-acre rural estate and Thoroughbred breeding and training facility, Chesterbrook Stock Farm, was eleven miles away. Before Cassatt became immersed in the burgeoning American Hackney Horse Society he had been breeding Thoroughbreds for racing and hunting.⁹ The stable complex included an indoor arena and

⁵ William Morrison, *The Main Line Country Houses of Philadelphia’s Storied Suburb, 1870-1930* (New York: Acanthus Press, 2002), xv.

⁶ Ibid., 7. J. Stanley Reeve, *Red Coats in Chester County* (New York: Derrydale Press, 1935), 25.

⁷ Patricia T. Davis, *End of the Line: Alexander J. Cassatt and the Pennsylvania Railroad* (New York: Neale Watson Academic Publications, 1978), 2.

⁸ Library Company of Philadelphia, “The Changing Heart of the City: Building and Rebuilding Western ‘Wash West,’” <http://www.librarycompany.org> (accessed 2/18/04).

⁹ Alfred Stoddart, “Equestrianism,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine for Recreation*, 27, no. 5 (February 1896): 83. Available from APS Online Database 434080572. “Clever Hayward,” *National Police Gazette* 52, no. 561 (16 June 1888): 14.

seventeen paddocks and pastures ranging from four to sixty acres. The fields were fertilized twice annually with manure and seeded annually in timothy, alsike, and red clover in a 2:1:1 ratio per acre.¹⁰ Edward B. Cassatt, Alexander's son, who later owned his own country house in the Main Line area, continued the family involvement in Thoroughbred breeding and became a noted amateur steeplechase rider.¹¹ Despite their geographic association, such as those in Lake Forest, Illinois, or Tuxedo Park, New York, country houses' further distance from urban metropolises and their massive size and scale meant that they had little in common with their more modest suburban cousins.

A predecessor of the post-Civil War country house was the villa. After the 1837 depression, the growing industrial revolution intensified wealthy Northerners' reliance upon urban rather than rural-based wealth and fostered the construction of elaborate villas. The previously popular Greek Revival villas fell out of favor and by the mid-nineteenth century had been eclipsed by a variety of romantic revival styles. Italianate, Gothic, Norman, and other intricate architectural styles predominated. Since antebellum families used the villa for a few months a year, the house's few outbuilding were often built in a complementary manner and style, and there was little need for independent employee quarters. A second essential element of the villa was the emphasis upon elaborately designed "natural" areas and gardens.¹² By virtue of their identity as villas with gardens

Available from APS Online Database 217747371.

¹⁰ Francis Nelson Barksdale, "Chesterbrook Stock Farm: A Unique Blue Grass Farm in the East," *Country Life in America* 1, no. 2 (December 1901): 42.

¹¹ Ancestry.com, *1910 United States Census* [database on-line] (Provo, UT: MyFamily.com, Inc., 2004).

¹² John R. Stilgoe, *Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb, 1820-1939*

rather than working plantations, these Northern country homes proved to be fertile ground for the budding architectural and landscape design professions.

Andrew Jackson Downing's romantic or "naturalesque" understanding of the natural landscape is commonly credited as the foundation of American landscape architecture.¹³ Downing published three important books that included several chapters on "landscape gardening." Four of Downing's many landscape elements consistently appeared in wealthy, social elite country houses and rural estates: entrances and transportation corridors; plantings of groves, orchards, or gardens; various bodies of water; and juxtaposed woods and pastures.¹⁴ Based in Newburgh, New York, Downing was perfectly located to assist his fellow New Yorker, architect Alexander Jackson Davis, in the remodeling and construction of villas along the Hudson River. Davis's most well known Gothic-style villa, Lyndhurst, was the result of an 1865 expansion and remodeling of a villa Davis first designed in 1838-1841 (Figures 3.1 and 3.2). The new Lyndhurst villa was the centerpiece of an entire Romantic landscape that included working farm buildings, a new stable complex, and greenhouse complex (described in chapter 1). The

(New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 107.

¹³ Mann, *Landscape Architecture*, 74-75. See also Dell Upton, *Architecture in the United States*, Oxford History of Art (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 116-118.

¹⁴ Andrew Jackson Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1850. Reprint. New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), xvi. "By emphasizing the importance of the cottage no less than the mansion, his writings transformed the appearance of the American countryside. He was the first of his countrymen to regard architectural criticism as a vocation; and with him the profession of landscape gardening in America may be said to have begun." Downing described the villa as "the country-house of a person of competence or wealth sufficient to build and maintain it with some taste and elegance," 257. See also Andrew Jackson Downing, *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, Adapted to North America; with a View to the Improvement of Country Houses* (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1841).

picturesque villas and their dramatic landscapes first popularized by Downing and Davis generated hundreds of variations until the end of the third quarter of the nineteenth century along the riverways and roads leading away from cities throughout the country.¹⁵ By 1875 villa owners began to transform these properties into country houses as they spent more time in the country than the city.¹⁶

Country houses, and rural estate mansions, provided the wealthy, social elite with opportunities to patronize the arts, indulge in interior decorating, plant luxurious gardens, travel abroad for inspiration and to purchase antiques, and hire architects to create suitable family seats. Aspiring estate and country house owners could peruse a large selection of popular magazines, such as *Country Life in America*, which promoted itself in 1913 as “the headquarters for advice and information concerning every phase of country home living” and succeeded in being just that.¹⁷ For most families the house was the center of

¹⁵ Roger W. Moss, *The American Country House* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1990), 39, 142, 144, 153.

¹⁶ Clive Aslet, *The American Country House* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 20-21 notes that after 1885 the country house was “an all-round country place,” with the “illusion of self-sufficient landed life.” Aslet specifically located country houses outside the reach of suburban developers. See also Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

¹⁷ Notice, *Country Life in America*, 25 (December 1913): 126. See also “American Country Life and Art,” *Architectural Record* 11, no. 2 (1902): 112-116; John Cordis Baker, ed., *American Country Homes and Their Gardens* (Philadelphia: House & Garden, 1906); Mary Elizabeth Carter, *Millionaire Households and their Domestic Economy with Hints upon Fine Living* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1903); Herbert David Croly, *Houses for Town or Country* (N.p.: Duffield & Company, 1907); Frank Miles Day, *American Country Houses of Today* (New York: The Architectural Book Publishing Company, 1912); Harry W. Desmond and Herbert Croly, *Stately Homes in America from the Colonial Times to the Present Day* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1903); William J. Fryer Jr., “Preparing for a Country Home,” *Architectural Record* 2, no. 3 (1893): 286-290; Leonidas Hubbard Jr., “The New Country Life,”

the property, and the stables and other activity facilities existed for “the greater development and the more thorough enjoyment of country life.”¹⁸ Barr Ferree, a prominent architectural critic of the period, described the country house of 1906 as “a new type of dwelling, a sumptuous house, built at large expense, often palatial in its dimensions, furnished in the riches and manner, and placed on an estate, perhaps large enough to admit of independent farming operations, and in most cases with a garden which is an integral part of the architectural scheme.”¹⁹ Country house and estate owners who were intensely involved in horse sports often built stable complexes that rivaled the main house in architectural details, size, and prominence.

The growing demand in the late-nineteenth century for impressive country houses, and rural estates, encouraged some architects to specialize in various aspects of country house and rural estate design beyond the traditional domestic residence. Though many prominent architects and firms such as Richard Morris Hunt and McKim, Mead, and White received many of the top commissions to design entire estates, “J. W. O’Connor became the leading architect of indoor tennis courts, while Alfred Hopkins established a thriving practice in farm group design.”²⁰ Alfred Hopkins, who specialized first in farm

Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation 39, no. 1 (October 1901): 64-69. Available from APS Online Database 435281642.

¹⁸ Barr Ferree, *American Estates & Gardens* (New York: Munn & Co., 1906), 35. See also Foster Coates, “A Club of Millionaire Farmers,” *The Chautauquan*. 25, no. 4 (July 1897): 388-392. Available from APS Online Database 433742542; and “The Contemporary Suburban Residence,” *Architectural Record* 11, no. 2 (1901): 69-81.

¹⁹ Ferree, *American Estates & Gardens*, I.

²⁰ Robert B. Mackay, Anthony K. Baker, and Carol A. Traynor, eds., *Long Island Country Houses and Their Architects, 1860-1940* (New York: Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities and W. W. Norton, 1997), 28. See also Leland

groups and later penitentiaries, first published in 1902 *Modern Farm Buildings*, which focused on farm building arrangement and design.²¹ Often working with other architects on each project to coordinate the farm buildings with the main house and fit the farm complex within the estate's broader landscaping plans, Hopkins designed dozens of farm groups for members of the upper class. Depending upon the property size and the owner's interests, these farm groups varied in size and scale from a small farmyard for a few horses, cows, chickens, and pigs to full-time, specialized operations producing foodstuffs for the family and the market. Hopkins encouraged owners to use a courtyard plan to separate efficient workspaces and shelters for different activities, livestock, and employees.²² Since Hopkins's specialty was the farm group as a whole, he rarely designed purely stable complexes for sport horse activities. However, if Hopkins designed the estate or country house's farm group and the owner also had a stable complex, these two departments often complemented and supported one another. The house architect, whether for a country house or rural estate, was more often the stable designer rather than an outside consultant like Hopkins; and several country houses include excellent examples of stables for sport horses, including Blairsden, Vernon Manor, Lynnewood Hall, and Caumsett.²³

M. Roth, *McKim, Mead & White, Architects* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983); Samuel G. White, *The Houses of McKim, Meade & White* (New York: Rizzoli, 1998); and Sanford J. Mock, "Stanford White, Prince of the Gilded Age" *Manuscripts* 47, no. 3 (1995): 193-209.

²¹ Alfred Hopkins, *Modern Farm Buildings* (New York: Robt. M. McBride & Company, 1916).

²² Mackay et al, *Long Island Country Houses and Their Architects*, 215.

²³The following country homes, given as additional examples, appear to have

Blairsdon is one of four “architectural legacies” described by Jacqueline Tutton in *A Journey through Peapack and Gladstone*. Built by Clinton Ledyard Blair, Blairsdon was the country house of a third-generation millionaire. Blair’s grandfather, a New Jersey farm boy, established the family fortune in the Pennsylvania coal mines before moving into the railroad industry and becoming president of sixteen western railroads. While still at Princeton University, Ledyard “joined father and grandfather in founding Blair and Company at 1 Wall Street, New York City” in 1890. By 1920 the banking company had brokered deals with most of the major railroads, and Ledyard was director of several railroads and the chairman of Blair and Company.²⁴

During the intervening years Ledyard and his wife bought 423 acres in Peapack, New Jersey, including a high hill the couple decided to use as the site of their new country house. In 1897 the couple hired Carreré and Hastings of New York City to design and oversee the five-year construction project to build an estate anchored by a “three-story house in the French chateau style with a facade of brick and limestone to be ornamented with graceful balustrades.” Since the Blairs wanted the house on top of the hill, the construction crews leveled the hilltop and built a “single track funicular railway with a competitive stables built between 1865 and 1929 and would be a starting point for an indepth study of country house owners’ participation in horse sports:

Henry W. Bagley’s Bellehaven in Greenwich, Connecticut; Judge William C. Hungerford’s Avalon Farms, designed by A. Raymond Ellis in Kensington, Connecticut; S. Sachs’s Ellencourt, designed by J. H. Freedlander in Elberon, New Jersey; J. Seward Johnson Residence, designed by Eldredge Snyder in Oldwick, New Jersey; Odgen White Residence in Lamington, New Jersey; H. O. Frelinghuysen Residence in Far Hills, New Jersey; Mrs. Elliott F. Shepard Residence, designed by McKim, Meade, and White in Scarborough, New York; Douglas Merritt’s Leacote in Rhinebeck, New York; and the Will Rogers Ranch, Pacific Palisades, California.

²⁴Jacqueline Tutton, *A Journey through Peapack and Gladstone* (Peapack-Gladstone, NJ: Friends of the Peapack-Gladstone Library, 1993), 94-95.

miniature wood-burning engine” to haul building materials to the site. The Blairs hired Italian stone masons to build the house and ornamental gate. The two million dollar, thirty-eight room house, and the landscaped grounds designed by Henry Longfellow Greenleaf, were completed in 1902 and included waterfalls, terraces, mosaics, reflecting pool, and Italian gardens. The Blairs used Blairsden throughout the year alternating between it and their New York and Newport properties. After each New Year the Blairs, their four daughters, and their horses went to the family’s house in Bermuda.²⁵

When at Blairsden, the daughters rode and Ledyard drove four-in-hand carriages and, after 1910, he “pioneered the system of bridle paths throughout the Somerset Hills area.”²⁶ To support their equestrian activities, the Blairs spent thirty thousand dollars and hired the Newark based P. Vanderhoof and Sons company to build a limestone-and-brick coach barn and stables, stable-manger’s house, and other employee houses that matched the main house. The stable included limestone arches; glazed red brick, terrazzo tile, and yellow brick floors in a herringbone pattern; wooden tongue-in-groove wainscoted walls on the first floor; and an elevator to lift carriages to the second-story storage area.²⁷

The Blair family became more involved in the local society when their daughter Edith married Richard Van Nest Gambrill in 1917. The couple, with architect James C. Mackenzie and landscape architect Ellen Shipman, built and designed their country house, Vernon Manor, in 1927 on two hundred acres of a former dairy farm that the Gambrills

²⁵Ibid., 95-96, 101-102, 106.

²⁶Ibid., 107.

²⁷Ibid., 99-100, 130. Tutton notes that two of the Blair carriages and all of the Gambrill carriages, all made by Brewster of England, are now in the Shelburne Museum.

continued to operate after purchasing the property. The Gambrills were active participants in horse sports. Richard played polo, drove a four-in-hand team to pull his carriage, the *Defiance*, served as a M.F.H. of Essex Fox Hounds, and from 1915 to 1952 hunted with his private beagle pack.²⁸ The couple also hunted with other packs. For example, on Monday, December 2, 1935, they joined Runnymede in Pennsylvania for a good run after a “stout running fox in Mullen Wood, the very first covert drawn.”²⁹ Beagle and basset hunters often included a substantial number of foxhunters and other horse sports participants.³⁰ The estate’s stable complex reveals the Gambrills’ priorities:

A U-shaped stable complex around a central courtyard contained a carriage house, sixteen woodpaneled stalls, a sleigh room, storage rooms, and a five-room groom’s apartment. The stable complex also encompassed a Georgian [matching the main house] six-room house for a head groom, a five-stall stable for mares and foals, a greenhouse, a frame house, and a garage.³¹

Following the successful completion of Vernon Manor, Richard Gambrill and James Mackenzie subsequently coauthored an important stable design book, *Sporting Architecture: Stables and Kennels*, that included introductory images of the Vernon Manor stable interior with grooms standing in front of each stall door. Some of the

²⁸ Ibid., 126-129. Tutton notes that beagling (in this case hunting hare) had begun in the Somerset Hills area in 1888 with George Post’s Somerset Hills pack later merged with Gambrill’s forming the Vernon Somerset Beagles. After Gambrill’s death the Tewksberry Foot Bassets, a still active recognized hunt, took over the hunt country. Tutton also mentioned Gambrill’s yachting passion when “in the late thirties his M Boat, the *Carolina*, raced against the J Boats off Newport, Rhode Island.”

²⁹ Reeve, *Red Coats in Chester County*, 123.

³⁰ The National Beagle Club in Aldie, Virginia, includes several beagle and basset packs formed between 1865 and 1929.

³¹ Tutton, *A Journey through Peapack and Gladstone*, 126-129.

Gambrill family's favorite horses were buried on a wooded hillside; headstones giving each horse's name and year of death marked the graves.

Metropolitan Philadelphia, a wealthy area since the Revolutionary period, dramatically increased in size and stature between 1865 and 1929. Wealthy, social elite horse-sport participants thrived both in the city and in the many country homes in the surrounding areas. Arthur I. Meigs, a resident of neighboring Chester County, Pennsylvania, was both an architect, "the official architect of the Cheshire country," and an active horseman who lived near the Cheshire, Rose Tree and Radnor Hunts.³² It seems quite likely that Meigs used his connections as a horseman and a member of Radnor Hunt to secure several of his commissions insofar as other Radnor members who owned country houses and estates in the area included Plunket Stewart, Henry Vaughan, J. Renwick Kerr, J. Stanley Reeve, Mrs. Dean Bedford, C. V. Whitney, Howard Fair, Lydia DuPont, and William DuPont. Meigs is known to have designed a Whitney home, and an addition to Plunket Stewart's Brooklawn. When Radnor Hunt decided to build new stables and kennels, the club hired Meigs to design the facility. Meigs later designed a racecourse at his own country house, Landhope, a property described as a "hunting box . . . with everything from family portraits to wild ducks and race horses."³³

One of Philadelphia's leading horsey families between 1865 and 1929 were the Widener brothers, Joseph E., George D., and P.A.B. Jr. (Figure 3.3). Their father, the millionaire Peter Arrell Brown Widener, was a noted art collector who began his career as a butcher and, through his Republican contacts, made his first substantial wealth

³² Reeve, *Red Coats in Chester County*, 35.

³³ *Ibid.*, 17, 35-36, 45, 74, 137, 140, 175-176, 284.

“supplying mutton to all Federal troops” near Philadelphia. After a brief political career in city government, he joined with William Elkins and William Kemble to form a streetcar monopoly that served over thirty million passengers annually by 1882. The company eventually became the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company, which made inroads into other metropolitan transit systems and remained highly profitable until 1907. Widener was a director of several other large industrial companies, and he supported literacy in Philadelphia through the donation of his urban home to the Philadelphia Free Library (Figure 3.4).³⁴

P.A.B. Widener Sr.’s sons and grandsons joined the family business and branched out into the horse industry. Joseph E. Widener was an early supporter of area horse shows and encouraged his nephew George D. Jr. to compete in horse shows. In an 1897 Philadelphia area horse show “little Master Widener,” approximately six years old, drove his pony *Cock Robin* against Mr. Theodore Patterson’s “plucky children.”³⁵ In 1898, and a year older, George D. Widener Jr. once again won the pony class “in brave style, handling Lady Gibbie like a veteran.”³⁶ George Dunton Widener Sr., a banker, died on the *Titanic* (1912) along with his son Harry Elkins Widener. Neither man had been active in horse sports. The third brother, P.A.B. Jr., was a latecomer to the horse world, but

³⁴ Edward L. Lach Jr., “Widener, Peter Arrell Brown,” <http://www.anb.org/articles/10/10-01750.html>; *American National Biography Online* Feb. 2000 (accessed 2/12/04). See also P. A. B. Widener, *Without Drums* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1940).

³⁵ A. H. Godfrey, “Round the Summer Horse-Shows,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 31, no. 2 (November 1897): 113-114, 116. Available from APS Online Database 434243332.

³⁶ A. H. Godfrey, “Equestrianism,” *Outing, an Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 32, no. 4 (July 1898): 425. Available from APS Online Database 434084762.

quickly became a leading Thoroughbred owner with his brother Joseph. Eventually the family became regular fixtures at the Keeneland meets and other Kentucky racing events. In 1925 Joseph directed the Nursery Stud dispersal sale, one of the most important during the period.

The Wideners owned a large country house in the Elkins Park tract of Chestnut Hill, an exclusive Philadelphia area. The Elkins Park country houses were extravagant, luxurious homes set within carefully designed landscapes. Horace Trumbauer, a prominent architect based in Philadelphia, had several commissions from the Widener family.³⁷ Within ten years of opening his own firm, Trumbauer had gained the Wideners as his clients. P.A.B. Widener Sr.'s Lynnewood Hall (1898) was a 110-room limestone Georgian T-shaped country house on the grandest scale (Figure 3.5). Trumbauer included three distinct living areas for P.A.B. Sr., the George D. family, and the Joseph E. family, all of whom lived at Lynnewood. Lynnewood Hall was in "the middle of an adjacent 36-acre residential park" next to the 117-acre Lynnewood Farm that included the stables, polo field, and racetrack.³⁸ As the Wideners busied themselves with business and family they stopped building country houses, but they did hire Trumbauer to design the Widener Home for Crippled Children in Philadelphia (1902-1914), the Harry Elkins Widener Memorial Library at Harvard (1913-1914), and the Widener Building in Philadelphia.³⁹

³⁷Sclare, *Beaux-Arts Estates*, 253.

³⁸Michael C. Kathrens, *American Splendor: The Residential Architecture of Horace Trumbauer* (New York: Acanthus Press, 2002), 20, 63. It is unclear from Kathrens's description if Trumbauer designed Lynnewood Farm. See also *American Racing Manual 1927*, 120.

³⁹Sandra Tatman, "Trumbauer, Horace," <http://www.anb.org/articles/17/17-00872.html>; *American National Biography Online* Feb.

After two commissions by Mrs. Rice (the former Mrs. George D. Widener) and her daughter in 1922 and 1923 respectively, P.A.B. Widener Jr. hired Trumbauer to transform the carriage house at Lynnewood Hall into a country house, Lynnewood Lodge (1925). In the mid-1920s George D. Widener Jr. purchased Erdenheim Farms in Chestnut Hill. He and Trumbauer spent the late 1920s and early 1930s updating the house and building “numerous outbuildings” necessary to complete the country house.⁴⁰ Trumbauer’s other country house commissions included stable complexes that, at a minimum, usually included space for a dozen horses, several carriages, harness and tack rooms, an office, and employee quarters. Lynnewood Hall eventually passed to Joseph E. Widener who kept the property in the family until 1941.⁴¹

The largest Widener equestrian project began at the end of 1865 to 1929 period. In 1930 Joseph E. Widener, “star patron and watchdog of racing in the East,” purchased Hialeah Park in Hialeah City, Dade County, Florida, and within a year completed an architectural overhaul, developed a thorough landscaping plan (including the famed flamingoes), and vastly improved the racing facility.⁴² The two men who founded Hialeah City in 1921 as part of the new “popularization of southern Florida as a winter resort area,” had established the Miami Jockey Club and opened the Thoroughbred track in 1925

2000 (accessed 2/12/04). See also Kathrens, *American Splendor*, 30

⁴⁰ Kathrens, *American Splendor*, 25.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 45, 71, 81, 91, 128, 131.

⁴² Lupton Allemong Wilkinson, “The Sport of Kings,” *The North American Review* 230, no. 3 (September 1930): 333. Available from APS Online Database 204555741.

to attract residents and tourists.⁴³ The project had limited success initially. When the track reopened in 1931 under Widener's ownership, it included a new railroad station for the "rich and notable who rode special trains south from Palm Beach."⁴⁴ Widener's investment proved to be extremely profitable and helped establish southeastern Florida as a premier site for winter horse training and competitions. Today, one of Hialeah's most important races is the Widener Handicap.

The family's last major equestrian project also began after 1929 but had its genesis in the previous years. In 1926 Joseph E. Widener and his brother Peter A. B. Widener Jr., who had not been interested in horses as a child, joined forces in the Thoroughbred racing industry and together bought James B. A. Haggin's Elmendorf Stud in Lexington, Kentucky. P. A. B. Widener had become hooked on the horses when he and his wife attended, reluctantly, the 1924 August Belmont Jr. auction where his brother paid one hundred thousand dollars for the aged stallion, *Fair Play*.⁴⁵ After razing Haggin's Green Hills mansion, except the front columns, in 1929 to lower the taxes, the Wideners split the property.⁴⁶ P.A.B. Widener retained the name "Elmendorf Stud" and continued to breed top-quality Thoroughbreds until 1944. In 1933 Joseph Widener commissioned the construction of an L-shaped barn on Paris Pike that duplicated the "barn in Normandy, France, where he sought refuge after his plane crashed during World War I." Normandy

⁴³ John Scafidi, "Hialeah Race Track," National Registration Nomination, 5 October 1978, 8-0.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 8-1.

⁴⁵ Bowen, *Dynasties, Great Thoroughbred Stallions*, 34.

⁴⁶ Wynelle Scott Deese, *Kentucky's Bluegrass*, Postcard History Series (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2000), 54-56.

Farm also included a cemetery with a statue of *Fair Play* (who died in 1929) and “the graves of *Fair Play* and *Mahubah*, sire and dam of *Man o’ War*.”⁴⁷

Many other areas besides the Main Line, including Long Island and Chicago, had high concentrations of country houses. Long Island, New York, between 1865 and 1929 was a study in contrasts: ocean coastlines and wooded countryside, compact urban housing in the west and rural cottages in the east, small towns and elaborate country club golf courses, and New York City weekenders and descendants of the first Dutch settlers. In rural or semi-rural areas, many of the era’s most prominent wealthy, social elite created their own worlds, cultural landscapes designed around an older town, particular bay, inlet, stream, hill, crossroad, or other physical landmark. When examined together, these elements formed a distinct cultural milieu, separate from the lifestyles of the wealthy, social elite in New York City, at their seasonal retreats, and at other places they gathered throughout the year. Long Island had one of the highest concentrations of country houses and rural estates in the country, properties designed by some of the most well known architects and landscape designers of the time.

Marshall Field III’s 1922 Long Island country house, Caumsett, included a sixty-five room Georgian Revival mansion designed by John Russell Pope and staffed with eighty-five employees, including English and Scottish domestic help and a French chef; the estate water tower and electrical supply; and an indoor tennis court by Warren & Wetmore. The estate also included a dairy, milk house, and hospital barn designed by Alfred Hopkins, with a staff veterinarian for the Guernsey cows; vegetable gardens,

⁴⁷Teresa Day, “Horse Farm Tours, Thoroughbred Farms,” (Lexington, KY. Lexington Convention and Visitors Bureau, 2001), 3. *American Racing Manual 1930*, 527.

greenhouses, and cultivated fields; and outlying tenant houses and guest cottages. Of equal importance to the main house was the matching polo stable, designed by Pope and Hopkins, a brick building with clock towers overlooking a central courtyard. The polo stable had vaulted ceilings, sixteen large wooden box stalls, a double-sized wash stall, grooms' quarters, a trainer's or manager's quarters, a harness room, a carriage room, brass finials and hardware, and a brick aisle in a herringbone pattern. The property was designed to remind Field of the country houses he had known growing up in England.⁴⁸

The Lake Forest community north of Chicago was a country home community that between 1865 and 1929 rivaled Long Island. The community was home to many of Chicago's leading families including the Swifts, Armours, McCormicks, and Hamills. All of these families, and many others, were active participants in horse sports. Lake Forest included a wide range of architectural styles and landscape plans united by their exclusive locations, noteworthy gardens, and rich detailing. Each of the top American architectural and landscape firms of the period submitted plans for properties at Lake Forest. The wealthy, social elites' Lake Forest country houses and other sites facilitated participation in horse sports and other recreational leisure activities within a community setting. The Onwentsia Club, established in 1895 at the former home of architect Henry Ives Cobb, was a popular meeting place for social activities, initially a round of golf, and then shortly thereafter polo, horse shows, and fox hunting. Unlike the 1882 Country Club in Brookline, Massachusetts, where "equestrian sports held sway and golfers were only

⁴⁸Monica Randall, *The Mansions of Long Island's Gold Coast* (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1979), 149-152. American Institute of Architects, Long Island Chapter and the Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities, *AIA Architectural Guide to Nassau and Suffolk Counties, Long Island* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1992), 65. Sclare, *Beaux-Arts Estates*, 45, 170-176.

tolerated for many years. . . at Onwentsia, polo and fox hunting were also strongly developed as parallel but separately organized activities.”⁴⁹

Rural Estates

Nineteenth- and twentieth-century American rural estates were the counterparts of antebellum plantations and country seats and older European fiefdoms, castle strongholds, and palaces. In the mid-eighteenth-century South, when rising tobacco prices, increased rice production, slave labor, and shrewd land speculation generated colossal fortunes, the social and political elite built country seats, or rural estates, that doubled as administrative centers. Drayton Hall (1738-1742), Belair (c. 1745), Mount Airy (c. 1748-1758), and Carter’s Grove (c. 1750) are all distinguished examples of early American country seats (Figures 3.6 and 3.7).⁵⁰ Southern country-seat construction slowed after the American Revolution until the 1840s when the second generation of plantation owners in Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, benefiting from soaring cotton and sugar prices, built new country seats.⁵¹ Wealthy colonial and antebellum agriculturists in the Middle colonies of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and to a lesser extent the New England colonies, owned large tracts of lands commensurate with those in the Southern colonies.

Post-Civil War rural estates frequently had two common characteristics. First, the rural property was far enough away from any urban center to require an overnight stay before returning to the city. Second, the estate had a wide range of ancillary service

⁴⁹ Kim Coventry, Daniel Meyer, Arthur H. Miller, *Classic Country Estates of Lake Forest: Architecture and Landscape Design 1856-1940* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2003), 68.

⁵⁰ Moss, *American Country House*, 2, 11-17.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 31-37.

buildings, a distinguished or even extravagant main house, and appropriately utilized and maintained gardens, recreational venues, and outlying lands varying in size from a few hundred to several thousand acres.⁵² The wealthy, social elite needed the large acreage for lakes for boating and fishing, woods for walking and bridle paths, and pastures and paddocks for horses and other animals. The larger expanses also allowed for greater creativity on the part of landscape designers. Rural estates and competitive stables often had a monumental vista-oriented entrance and driveway. The mansion, designed by a professional architect, decorated by an interior designer, and complemented by planted gardens and walkways was a clear departure from antebellum estates with their second- or third-generation accretion houses and grounds. In addition to the main house, the ancillary structures and spaces were the leisure activity centers: tennis courts, golf courses, bowling alleys, boat houses, swimming pools, and, of course, the entire stable complex. Visitors could not help but realize that they had were on an estate to participate, inside and outside, in a variety of leisure activities.

Though most rural estates were larger than country houses, the primary difference was the rural estate's complexity and the image, even if mythical, of self-sufficiency. Even though country houses often were of a very similar complexity, if not quite as expansive, rural estates usually had independent departments or managers for various activities such as dairy cattle, greenhouses, and sport horses. These programs, usually with full staffs, worked year-round regardless of whether the owner was in residence. Oftentimes estate

⁵² See Appendix 4, Competitive Stables 1865-1929: 4 from 0-200 acres. 8 from: 201-500 acres, 12 from 501-1000 acres, 13 from 1001 to 3000 acres, and 10 with over 3000 acres.

departments would supply the entire estate's need of a particular product and then sell the remainder to produce a profit.

The rural estate's staff included far more individuals than those needed by a country house or suburban home. Because of rural estates' remote locations, only the upper staff, and not even all of those, would have been able to afford to live in the nearest town. Almost certainly most of the permanent lower staff lived on the estate. When a rural estate required additional labor, the owners hired employees from nearby farm families and rural towns. Rural estates supported a wide range of activities for the owners and thus a variety of employee occupations. As described by Robert B. Mackay in the introduction to *Long Island Country Houses and Their Architects, 1860-1940*, "boathouses, docks, guest cottages, servant cottages (there were twenty-one at Caumsett), outdoor pools, kennels, indoor riding rings, polo stables, and golf courses were other ingredients for 'the sauce.'"⁵³ Other rural estates, with equally large number of employees, were full-time competitive training, breeding facilities, or both whose owners, members of the wealthy, social elite, had become intensely involved in horse sports.

Some rural estates grew out of older agricultural units already owned by the family, but most were created from purchased farms or contiguous individual parcels. In some cases, especially rural estates that were breeding farms or competitive stables, the estate was often created from the division of an older property. Depending upon the location of the rural estate, farmland purchases either introduced the arrival of a new, wealthy neighbor, whose presence stimulated the local economy and provided new job opportunities or signaled the end of the area's dominant agricultural tradition as more and

⁵³ Mackay et al, *Long Island Country Houses and Their Architects*, 28.

more family farms were sold to new estate builders. Ironically, the estate owners' new roads and improvements encouraged future suburban expansion, which eventually supplanted the estates.

When developing new rural estates, owners and architects also drew from the scientific agriculture movement that had begun in the late eighteenth century. The early movement emphasized order over natural growth, reliance upon clocks and calendars rather than the sun and the seasons, and diversification of home and market produce. Antebellum agricultural industrialization underscored a continuation of the late "eighteenth-century values of industry, economy, and order."⁵⁴ In central Delaware and elsewhere the antebellum rural elite expressed their commitment to scientific farming through carefully ordered estates, experimentation, and frequent submissions to regional and national publications such as *American Farmer*.⁵⁵ Later, especially during the Progressive Era, lumber companies, railroads, land-grant universities and other organizations built model farms to improve and demonstrate farming techniques and livestock management. The wealthy, social elite also had the means and opportunity to visit model farms that flourished from 1700 to 1914 in Great Britain. British planned and model farms were "products of the landlord-tenant system of capitalist farming" that

⁵⁴ Bernard L. Herman, Rebecca J. Siders, and Max Van Balgooy, "Dwellings of the Rural Elite in Central Delaware, 1770-1830 +/-," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, 1992, E-1.

⁵⁵Ibid., E-2. On page E-18 the authors highlight domestic buildings as the "primary means for articulating values of social class and economic authority." On page F-1 the authors write the dwellings "symbolize the privatization of the countryside, the early industrialization of agriculture, and the capitalization of farming." The nomination makes a compelling argument for this; however, notwithstanding the early dates between 1770 and 1830, stables and other specialized structures should also be considered as indicators of social status; the cultural landscape should be considered as a whole.

sought to promote technical innovation, improve estates, retain tenants, and “enhance the social standing of agricultural pursuits.”⁵⁶

Like model farms, competitive horse farms or competitive stables provided a marketable product that ideally funded the entire operation. However, most competitive stable owners focused on establishing an equestrian dynasty rather than improving facility layout, or livestock and crop production as a demonstration for the wider world of British or American agriculture. Usually the wealthy, social elites’ intense involvement in competitive stables developed as estate owners moved beyond using horses purely as a recreational and leisure activity and began to draw upon their business acumen to start a business, the competitive stable.⁵⁷ Competitive stables often were and have continued to be, independent of the founding owners’ identity, and thus the farm or stable name and status was retained through ownership changes.

Some of the most innovative modern farming or scientific agriculture experiments occurred in the predominately agricultural central states during the late nineteenth century. In Iowa, barn forms of the 1870s and 1880s began to reflect new design principles as farmers built what scientific agriculture writers claimed to be the most efficient barn type: octagonal clear span structures with rectangular units along a center cross aisle.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Susanna Wade Martins, *The English Model Farm: Building the Agricultural Ideal, 1700-1914* (Cheshire, England: Windgather Press, 2002), 1.

⁵⁷ Robert McClure, *The Gentleman's Stable Guide* (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1870), 54.

⁵⁸ James E. Jacobsen and Cheryl Peterson, “Iowa Round Barns: The Sixty Year Experiment, National Register of Historic Places Inventory–Nomination Form,” 4 March 1986, 7-0. See also Martha Gray Hagedorn, “Byre and Bluff Barns of Doniphan County,” Thematic Resources Nomination, 28 October 1986, 8-0. The Kansas State Agricultural College promoted the byre/bluff barn as an economical alternative for Kansas farmers.

Professor Franklin H. King at the University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station built the first round barn in 1889.⁵⁹ Beginning in the 1890s, farmers in Iowa built circular or round barns as physical manifestations of “scientific experimentation and the application of scientific principles.” The first of these were designed by regionally and nationally “prominent farmers and agricultural writers and later professional agricultural engineers and farm building designers.”⁶⁰ In Indiana, farmers built 219 round and polygonal barns between 1874 and 1936.⁶¹ Some horse industry participants also utilized round or octagonal barns as farm sale barns or stables.⁶² Though flower displays had been the original purpose of Floral Hall at the Red Mile in Lexington, Kentucky, it later functioned as a stable during meets. The 1879 four-story brick building is now owned and operated by the Stable of Memories.⁶³ In Arlington Heights, Illinois, the c. 1910 Wheeler-Magnus Round Barn had one-third of its space devoted to horses as evidenced by the wooden flooring, to provide traction and cushion, set over the main concrete floor.⁶⁴ Hermitage Stud in Nashville used an oval shape for its c. 1890 fifty-two stall training stable, and

⁵⁹ Jacobsen and Peterson, “Iowa Round Barns,” 8-3, 8-4. See also F. H. King, *Ventilation for Dwellings, Rural Schools and Stables* (Madison, WI: by Author, 1908).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 8-0. Jacobsen and Peterson, “Iowa Round Barns,” 8-0.

⁶¹ Jerry McMahan, “Round and Polygonal Barns of Indiana,” National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, 18 October 1991, E-0.

⁶² Jacobsen and Peterson, “Iowa Round Barns,” 8-11.

⁶³ Ellen Harvey, “Floral Hall,” *Keeneland*, 32. See also Susan Sanders and Mrs. James Park Jr., “Floral Hall,” National Register of Historic Places Inventory -- Nomination Form, 10 June 1976.

⁶⁴ Joseph M. Hoerner, “Wheeler-Magnus Round Barn,” National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 10 April 1992, 7-4.

James B. A. Haggin used a circular form for his three c. 1902 stables at Elmendorf Stud in Lexington (Figures 3.8-3.11). At the Will Rogers Ranch in Pacific Palisades, California, and the Belle Meade Stud in Nashville enclosed circular barns doubled as stages for showing horses to visitors or potential customers at annual sales (Figure 3.12).

Another source of plans for all barn types, were building supply manufacturers or farm-plan service companies such as the William Louden Machinery Company in Fairfield, Iowa.⁶⁵ Louden published catalogs advertising its various labor-saving devices such as manure skips and milking parlor equipment in addition to dozens of barn plans. Farm-plan company catalogs also included a few carriage house and stable plans for suburban homes, but rarely competitive stables. A third source of barn plans were land-grant universities established by the 1862 Morrill Act, the primary places “where the scientific study of agriculture was pursued.”⁶⁶ Demonstrations, reports, and plans were available to anyone, including wealthy, social elite estate owners, but it is unlikely that they had any substantial effect upon the design of estate and competitive stables. At the same time, other estate

⁶⁵ Jacobsen and Peterson, “Iowa Round Barns,” 8-6-8-8. Mail order companies like Sears, Roebuck and Company of Chicago sold not only the barn (or more usually house) plans but also “precut, labeled lumber.” See also Eric Arthur and Dudley Witney, *The Barn: A Vanishing Landmark in North America* (Toronto: M. F. Feheley Arts Co., 1972); K. J. T. Ekblaw, *Farm Structures* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1914); Byron D. Halsted, *Barns Plans and Outbuildings*, Revised edition (New York: Orange Judd Co., 1911); Louden Machinery Company, *Louden Barn Plans* (Fairfield, IA: Louden Machinery Co., 1915); William A. Radford, ed., *Radford's Practical Barn Plans* (Chicago: Radford Architectural Company, 1909); J. H. Sanders, ed., *Practical Hints About Barn Building* (Chicago: J. H. Sanders Publishing Company, 1893); Herbert A. Shearer, *Farm Buildings* (Chicago: Frederick J. Drake & Co., 1917); Eric Sloane, *An Age of Barns* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1967); and Wilson L. Wells, *Barns in the U.S.A.* (San Diego, CA: Acme Printing Co., 1976).

⁶⁶ Jacobsen and Peterson, “Iowa Round Barns” 8-3. McMahan, “Round and Polygonal Barns of Indiana,” E-2, E-8-E-9.

departments such as dairies, piggeries, or henneries, which depended upon the expertise of designers like Alfred Hopkins almost certainly benefited from the new developments in design and management principles of the scientific agriculture and model farming movements. Stable design and horse management principles, which will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 4, had experienced a similar revolution in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries so that the period between 1865 and 1929 was quite uneventful except for the new architectural styles or shapes and manufactured materials that were aesthetic rather than critical choices.

Regardless of what their inspiration may have been, many wealthy, social elite rural estate owners built competitive stable complexes on their properties. The twenty-seven hundred-acre estate, Duke Farms (1893) in Hillsborough, New Jersey, hosted horse sport activities for a very short time until the death of its founder, James Buchanan Duke. Duke built the coach barn in 1900; it was one of the last major building projects before he died and ownership passed to his daughter, Doris Duke (Figure 3.13).⁶⁷ The H. McKown Twombly Training Stable in Madison, New Jersey, might easily be mistaken for an estate mansion. The large three-story Georgian brick building had three pedimented cross gables, exterior end fireplaces in the central administrative block, and long rows of stalls extending to each side behind the building.⁶⁸ A 1934 *Architecture* article about the stables, garage, and quarters on the Raymond Brooks Estate in Greenwich, Connecticut, included the usual architectural drawings and photographs. However, in a rare display of

⁶⁷Doris Duke Foundation, "Duke Farms," www.dorisdukefoundation.org (accessed 1/28/05).

⁶⁸"H. McK. Twombly's Training Stable, Madison, NJ," postcard sold on Ebay, members.aol.com/rkwygal/twombly.jpg (accessed 1/30/04).

function, the first photograph depicts a man grooming a horse in the covered area in front of the stalls. Brooks hired architect Greville Rickard and landscape architects Briggs & Stelling to create an estate with structures in a French Norman style set within a complementary landscape. When describing the two-story, three-stall, three-car, five-bedroom building, the author, presumably the architect, wrote that “one of the first principles of planning where horses and motors are sheltered under the same roof—[is] complete separation of the two, each with its own entrance court.”⁶⁹ By the 1930s, many surviving stables had been converted into garages. Duke Farms, the Twombly stable, and the Brooks Estate are three examples of northeastern rural estates with stables. Four more elaborate estates are Georgian Court, Castle Gould, Hamilton Farms, and Dreamwold.

George Gould, Jay Gould’s oldest son, hired New York architect Bruce Price in 1896 to design “a lavish country estate . . . on the order of the great estates in England or Scotland.”⁷⁰ The result, Georgian Court in Lakewood, New Jersey, included a large mansion, equally large stables (home to Gould’s string of forty polo ponies), and an even larger casino or recreational facility. The mansion looked across a formal garden to the stable complex that included the estate water tower (Figure 3.14). The stable could accommodate up to one hundred and fifty horses and, along with Gould’s three polo fields, starting in 1909, was used for the annual spring American national team tryouts. A drive led from the stable’s backside across the open fields to the southeastern edge of the

⁶⁹ “Stable, Garage, and Quarters on the Estate of Raymond Brooks, Greenwich, Conn.,” *Architecture* June 1932, 341.

⁷⁰M. Christina Geis, *Georgian Court, An Estate of the Gilded Age* (East Brunswick, NJ: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1982), 31.

casino. Visitors traveled from the mansion across a bridge to a roundabout that marked the top of a triangular section containing several acres of Italian gardens in front of the casino. The casino's first floor included squash, handball, tennis and racquetball courts, a lounge, a ballroom, an indoor pool, and a bowling alley along the four outside walls of a large indoor tanbark arena lit by an enormous skylight. A long second-story balcony overlooked the arena. One section of the second story held five employee bedrooms, a lounge, and a bathroom; another had ten guest bedrooms, six bathrooms, four service rooms, a linen room, a kitchen, and a lounge.⁷¹

Howard Gould, another of Jay Gould's sons, was also an active horseman and kept horses at his Long Island estate. Gould's medieval revival stables and carriage house complex, Castle Gould, was "one of the largest estate service buildings on Long Island."⁷² The 1898 sprawling, three-story building complex designed by Augustus N. Allen resembled an Irish castle.⁷³ According to a floor plan published in *New York Architect*, Allen contracted with three different firms to provide plumbing, carpentry, and metal skylights and roofs for the sixty-stall (ten box stalls), seven-bay stable and carriage house.⁷⁴ Allen also designed a nearby dairy barn for the estate. Daniel Guggenheim purchased Castle Gould in 1917, renamed the estate Hempstead and, in 1923, gave his son Harry F. Guggenheim (1890-1971) ninety acres of Hempstead to build his own estate.

Harry F. Guggenheim's estate, Falaise, was the summer base of his South Carolinian

⁷¹Ibid., 31, 56, 57, 69, 72.

⁷²American Institute of Architects, Long Island Chapter, *Architectural Guide*, 65.

⁷³Sclare, *Beaux-Arts Estates*, 58-66.

⁷⁴"Stables at Castlegould for Howard Gould Esq.," *New York Architect* 1, no. 1.

Thoroughbred racehorse stable. While on Long Island between races, the Guggenheim horses stayed in the former dairy of the Castle Gould estate.⁷⁵

Hamilton Farm in Gladstone, New Jersey, was the rural estate of James Cox Brady, a second-generation Irish-American who became a successful New York financier and a director of the Chrysler Motor Corporation, Prudential Oil Corporation and Union Oil Corporation, among others. Located in the midst of Essex hunt country and close to the New York City and resort horse show circuits, the estate was in an ideal location to complement Brady's equestrian activities. The first railroad line into the Gladstone area, "Millionaires Express," had opened in October 1890, making the area attractive to city businessmen.⁷⁶ The following year Essex Hunt and Country Club member Charles Pfizer had "bought the hounds, horses, and equipment," become the hunt's Master, relocated the hunt from Montclair to the Gladstone area, purchased two hundred acres for a clubhouse and two kennels (one for drag and one for live), and invited his neighbors and friends to hunt with his private pack.⁷⁷ This connection to fox hunting and his friendship with Charles Pfizer prompted James Brady in 1911 to begin purchasing what became a five thousand-acre estate that spanned three New Jersey counties.⁷⁸ Within five years the

⁷⁵Sclare, *Beaux-Arts Estates*, 67-68. See also Richard A. Winsche and Gary R. Hammond, "The Evolution of the Gould/Guggenheim Estate at Sands Point," *Long Island: The Suburban Experience*, ed. Barbara M. Kelly (Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1990), 38-40.

⁷⁶Tutton, *A Journey through Peapack and Gladstone*, 116, 22.

⁷⁷Ibid., 131-132.

⁷⁸United States Equestrian Federation, "Hamilton Farm," (Gladstone, NJ: Privately Printed, n.d.): 2-3. This brochure may have been compiled by Mrs. Harden L. Crawford, III who is credited with almost an exact duplicate that has been posted on the Gladstone Equestrian Association website. However Tutton on pages 114-116 in *A Journey*

Bradys had built all the structures needed for a large estate: a small house (in comparison with its contemporaries) which burned and was replaced with an appropriately large sixty-four room Georgian mansion in 1921, a gatehouse lodge, an athletic building with squash and tennis courts and a tiled pool, a work horse barn, a bull barn, a blacksmith shop, a cow barn, and a stable. The estate had a wide variety of animals and crops, including four thousand acres of “corn, wheat, oats, rye, and hay;” greenhouses with “nectarines, pineapples, melons, and every sort of vegetable and flower;” show-quality herds of Jersey dairy cows, Hereford beef cattle, Dorset sheep, Duroc-Jersey pigs, German Shepherds, Hackneys, hunters, Clydesdales, Percherons, and flocks of chickens, ducks, and geese. According to the United States Equestrian Team (USET) history of Hamilton Farm, the average monthly payroll for the one hundred farm workers “ranged between \$4,000 and \$8,000 a month. Only the farm manager and foreman earned more than \$2 per day.”⁷⁹ The farm was the passion of James Cox Brady and a major economic force in the community until his sudden death from pneumonia on 10 November 1927.⁸⁰ Brady’s heirs sold off all of the animals and stopped farming, but the family retained control of the property until 1998.

During its eleven years as part of Brady’s Hamilton Farms the Clydesdale, Percheron, Hackney, and hunter stable was one of the best of its kind in the nation. Brady attended some of the nation’s top sales to buy horses for the estate’s magnificent stable. At the Nursery Stud dispersal sale on 15 May 1925 in Lexington, Kentucky, Brady reprinted the same text and credited the Beneficial Finance Corporation.

⁷⁹United States Equestrian Federation, “Hamilton Farm,” 4-7.

⁸⁰ *The American Racing Manual 1928*, 493.

purchased three mares in foal for a total of \$38,500: *Astrology*, a 1912 chestnut; *Belvale*, a 1915 bay; and *Shop Girl*, a 1915 chestnut.⁸¹ However, some of Brady's other purchases that year were riskier; five of them were listed on the *American Racing Manual's* Reverse Bargain List (horses that earn an amount in their two-year-old racing year less than their purchase price); and six others who never raced. Together the eleven yearlings cost \$150,500, but only earned \$1150 in 1926.⁸² The poor racing results of 1926 might have spurred the prompt dispersal after Brady's death in 1927.

The Thomas J. Steen Company of New York built the \$250,000 fireproof stable at Hamilton Farm under the direction of architect William Weisenberger, Jr.⁸³ The building materials included gray stucco over brick for the exterior finish and buff salt-glazed bricks on the inside everywhere but the harness room, which was "lined throughout with soft green baize cloth" (Figures 3.15 and 3.16). Brady's commitment to keep showing his horses and building the new stable despite rising labor and supply costs from 1915 to 1917 earned him the praise of the *Rider and Driver* editor since he was "providing men of families with employment and maintaining the sports and other institutions so necessary to the promotion of the horse breeding industry."⁸⁴

Weisenberger used an H-shape design with stabling in one wing and the carriage house in the other. The central block's main floor contained the feed rooms and harness

⁸¹*Nursery Stud Dispersal Sale Catalog, May 15, 1925*. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU.

⁸²*American Racing Manual 1927*, 417-418, 421-422.

⁸³Tutton, *A Journey through Peapack and Gladstone*, 117.

⁸⁴"Hamilton Farm's New Stables," *The Rider and Driver* (November 10, 1917): 51-52.

room flanking the main entrance. Above was “a trophy room . . . surrounding a well, down which the horses being put to harness may be viewed, and surmounted by a skylight.”⁸⁵ The stable wing had three box stalls in the center block, twenty-three box stalls in the basement, and twenty-four on the first floor, all of which were twelve-by-twelve stalls of cast and wrought iron, Georgia pine wainscoting, and cork brick floors. The horses and staff used a dogleg ramp to move between the two levels. The hayloft was in the stabling wing’s second story. Employee living and recreational space (billiard and pool tables), overseen by the stable manager Fred Huyler, filled the second-story central and carriage blocks.⁸⁶ Ted Williams, a coaching expert and head groom of Hamilton Farm, trained and drove Brady’s horses, the Hackney stallion *Hamilton Model*, and the Shetland stallion *King Larigo* (who cost ten thousand dollars), to undefeated championships in the United States and Europe. After Brady’s death, some of the Hamilton Farm carriages eventually found their way to the Shelburne Museum while others remained at the farm. With a renewed presence in the horse world as the leased USET headquarters from 1962 to 1978, Hamilton Farm hosted the United States’ first World Driving Championship.⁸⁷ Between 1978 and 1988, the USET remained at the property with the permission of the Beneficial Management Corporation until USET gained full control of the stable, ring, and four acres.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Ibid., 51.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 53.

⁸⁷ Mrs. Harden L. Crawford III, compiler, “The Story of Hamilton Golf and Equestrian Center,” www.gladstoneequestrianassoc.org (accessed 2/18/04).

⁸⁸ Tutton, *A Journey through Peapack and Gladstone*, 1920.

In Scituate, Massachusetts, Thomas W. Lawson's estate, Dreamwold, was an elaborate complex with registered horses and hens, Jersey cows, and four dog breeds: Bulldogs, Blenheims, Rubies, and Prince Charles. The estate's equine stud included Standardbred trotters, Hackneys, and miniature horses. A September 1902 advertisement in *Outing* included a full list of the estate's facilities:

400 acres, 200 of grass, on the south shore of Massachusetts bay. All pipe-drained, all piped for water; all lighted by electricity, with all wires underground. Half-mile track, outer track for trotting, inner for carriage horses. Center, 9-acre polo field, all pipe-drained in 3-foot squares. Trotting Stable, 846 feet long, 100 horses. Carriage Horse Stable, 225 feet long, 50 horses. Brood Mare Stable, 320 feet long, 25 mares. Brood Mare Stable, 140 feet long, 15 mares. Stallion Stable, 200 feet long, 10 stallions. Foaling Stable, 90 feet long, 8 mares. Hospital, 90 feet long, 8 horses. Farm Horse Stable, 200 feet long, 14 horses. Blacksmith Shop, 30x30. Steel trussed Riding Academy, 170-120. Cow Barn and Dairy, 200 feet long, 15 cows. Cow Barn, 200 feet long, 15 cows. Kennel, 150 feet long, 200 dogs. Hennerly, 250 feet long, 600 show birds. Utility Hennerly, 3,000 birds. Main farmhouse, 100 feet long. Dreamwold Hall, 350 feet long. Twenty Houses for managers and trainers. All buildings uniform, gambrel-roofed, shingled outside, sheathed inside, lighted by electricity, heated by hot water system. All stalls on farm uniform in quality, box or standing, wooden floors, and guttered drainage. Full fire high-pressure water service, engine, hook and ladder, and 35 drilled men.

Lawson, a Boston businessman who, after becoming a millionaire, wrote and subsidized a twenty-month series of articles urging American businessmen and government officials to reconsider corporations' economic and social roles in American society, offered over a thousand dollars as cash prizes for private owners in the harness classes at the 1899 Boston Horse Show.⁸⁹ Dreamwold, Hamilton Farm, Georgian Court, Castle Gould, and

⁸⁹ A. H. Godfrey, "Horse Shows-1899," *Outing, an Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 34, no. 1 (April 1899): 86. Available from APS Online Database 434088612.

the many other northeastern rural estates clearly illustrate their owners' dedication to raising high quality and sport horses. Each owner used modern management principles within an architecturally unified and designed landscape.

In the southeast, there are very few extant examples of rural estate stables or independent competitive stables built between 1865 and 1929. One of the now-gone stables was the Garrett Racing Stable on the former Montebello Estate in Baltimore, Maryland, an impressive long, two-story, stone structure (Figure 3.17). Photographs taken in the 1930s reveal a building reminiscent of a rural English estate. Brick detailed arches over the windows and doors suggest that the stable was built under the supervision of a trained architect.⁹⁰

The Pinehurst Race Track in Pinehurst, North Carolina grew out of a combination of resort, model farm, and sporting influences of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. About 1915 Leonard Tufts opened a track complex with "two race tracks (one for harness racing and one for Thoroughbred racing), a group of wooden horse barns, a grand [Mission style] agricultural exhibition hall and stable known as the Amphidrome, and an early blacksmith's shop."⁹¹ The site's tracks and the Amphidrome hosted a variety of equestrian events, fairs, exhibitions, and special events.

⁹⁰Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS,MD,4-BALT,50A-1 to -4, "Garret Racing Stables, Baltimore, (Independent City) County, Maryland." I have not been able to find out any additional information about this racing stable and think that, due to its deteriorated state in the 1930s HABS/HAER photographs, it ceased functioning by 1900.

⁹¹Linda Harris Edmisten, "Pinehurst Race Track," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, September, 1992, 8-3.

Many of the spectators at these events were residents in the resort village begun in 1895 and owned by Bostonian James W. Tufts of Pinehurst Enterprises, Inc. The village was planned by Frederick Law Olmsted.⁹² After James Tuft's death in 1902, his son Leonard began his involvement with the community and, after 1906, this became his full-time career. Tufts oversaw the development of houses, streets, and public utilities, and managed the recreational activities and food supply necessary to provide for the enjoyment and comfort of Northern clients. In order to supply the village kitchens, Tufts began raising Berkshire hogs and Ayrshire dairy cattle and growing vegetables in greenhouses and market gardens, all of which were some of the largest in North Carolina by 1915.⁹³ That same year, Leonard Tufts and other local racing patrons established the Pinehurst Jockey Club and began hosting races at the "equestrian complex" Tufts had built to "expand the recreational cachet of Pinehurst."⁹⁴ It was a success. The facilities were in constant use by horse shows recognized by the American Horse Shows Association, a hacking and training stable begun in 1923 under the direction of a salaried trainer, the Pinehurst Hunt Club begun in 1928, and by outside Standardbred trainers each winter.⁹⁵

⁹²Ibid., 8-1.

⁹³Ibid., 8-2. During the 1910s and 1920s Pinehurst Enterprises also became increasingly involved in model farming using tenant farms to produce "spring oats, soy beans, livestock fodder, and garden produce," in addition to the hog, dairy cow, thoroughbred, and poultry breeding operations all of which were "supported by the Pinehurst Enterprises Work[horse] Stables, carpentry and mechanics shops, a commissary that provided necessities such as seed and fertilizer, and a farm manager's office," 8-5.

⁹⁴Ibid., 8-3.

⁹⁵Ibid., 8-6. The racetrack continued to function as a race and training track until the 1940s when the races ended.

A more traditional, but equally influential Southern rural estate was Belair in Bowie, Maryland. William Woodward Sr. was a successful businessman who, as heir to his uncle James Woodward's property and business interests, became president of the Hanover Bank in New York and owner of the Belair estate (Figure 3.18). The estate became the new headquarters of William Woodward's breeding and racing stable.

Belair had a long association with the Thoroughbred racing industry. It was the home of three-time Maryland governor Samuel Ogle, who imported *Spark* and *Queen Mab* in 1747; later it was owned by his brother-in-law, Benjamin Tasker Jr., who imported *Selima*.⁹⁶ The central core of the estate finally passed out of the Ogle family's control in 1870, and in 1898 James T. Woodward purchased the Belair Mansion and 371.4 acres. James and William Woodward Sr. began purchasing former Belair acreage, and eventually reassembled about twenty three hundred acres of the original colonial estate. The Woodwards hired approximately thirty families to work the property which included field crops, Clydesdales, shorthorn cattle, and sheep in addition to the Thoroughbred horses (Figure 3.19). Later, the farm entered its Clydesdales and short horn cattle at state fairs and agriculture competitions. William who became interested in horses and agriculture while in England during 1906 and 1907, started fox hunting and carriage driving after his return to the United States. He later became a member of the Coaching Club in New York City.

In 1907, at William's request, James Woodward built a new U-shaped stable, just downhill from the mansion, using "locally obtained dark-brown sandstone" for the central block and wood for the two wings (Figure 3.20). The left side of the central section, with

⁹⁶City of Bowie, "Bowie Spotlight," May-June 2002, page 1.

two large double wooden doors that opened into the courtyard, housed the carriage room, the office, and trophy cases. The right side of the central section was the stable manager's residence: a three-bedroom, one-bath apartment with dining room, family room, and kitchen. James Brady and his family lived in the residence from the 1920s until 1955.⁹⁷ The two stabling wings included tack rooms and stalls along the exterior wall and a long narrow aisle on the courtyard side. In the process of rebuilding Belair, the Woodward's hired several former Belair employees and other long-time industry professionals including Andrew Jackson, a former slave, about whom William Woodward published a book in 1934. Jackson had made his way from Lexington, Kentucky to the New York racetracks where, as a young man, he managed some of the nation's top stallions. When the Woodward's hired Jackson, he became the Belair stud groom and mentored William Woodward Sr.⁹⁸

After William Woodward Sr. inherited Belair, he became increasingly active in Thoroughbred breeding and racing. One of his first buying trips was to the Clay Brothers dispersal sale at Elmendorf in Lexington, Kentucky.⁹⁹ His new horses went by rail to the Bowie, Maryland, station and then walked to the Belair estate. Woodward's financial background and love "of the horse for the horse's sake" culminated in his election as

⁹⁷Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. Historic American Buildings Survey, Belair Stables, HABS,MD,17-COLTO.V,1A-, page 1.

⁹⁸ William Woodward, *A Memoir of Andrew Jackson Africamus* (New York: Privately Printed, 1935), 3.

⁹⁹ Elizabeth M. Simpson, *The Enchanted Bluegrass* (Lexington, KY: Transylvania Press, 1938), 150.

president of the Jockey Club, and he was a recognized leader of the racing industry.¹⁰⁰

Woodward was also a longtime customer and business partner of the Hancocks' Claiborne Farm in Paris, Kentucky. The Hancocks managed the Belair stallions, oversaw their breeding to Belair and outside mares, and took care of the foals until they were weaned. The yearlings then left Kentucky and went to Belair where they stayed for a year until Woodward sent them to an eastern track to begin training under the direction of New York based trainer "Sunny" Jim Fitzsimmons.

When William Woodward Sr., the owner of Belair, hired trainer Fitzsimmons in 1923, Fitzsimmons had already spent most of his life in the thoroughbred racing industry. Born in 1874 on Long Island, Fitzsimmons was the son of poor Irish immigrants and, by age ten, was working as a "blacksmith's assistant, a lunch-wagon driver, and a cook and stable hand for the Brennan Stables" at the Coney Island Jockey Club's Sheepshead Bay racetrack. The next year Fitzsimmons began working full time for the Dwyer Brothers and was probably elated with his pay of "two meals per day, a cot in a barn and \$10 per month."¹⁰¹ At age fifteen Fitzsimmons left the Dwyer Brothers for the outlaw tracks and the opportunity to ride in more races.¹⁰² In his mid-twenties Fitzsimmons was less able to make the weight limits, began suffering from spinal arthritis, and, barely able to support his family, was ready to leave the racing industry. However in 1901 he took a job as the trainer in Colonel Edward de V. Morrell's private Main Line stable, and while there

¹⁰⁰Wilkinson, "The Sport of Kings," 333.

¹⁰¹Bruce L. Janoff, "Fitzsimmons, Sunny Jim," www.anb.org/articles/19/19-0057.html, *American National Biography Online* Feb. 2000 (accessed 2/12/04).

¹⁰²www.thoroughbredlegends.com/nausha/chapter_one.html (accessed 30 August 2004).

Fitzsimmons received his Jockey Club trainer's license. After several more different training jobs, Fitzsimmons began training for William Woodward Sr. in 1924 and the next year added Wheatley Stables, owned by Mrs. Henry Carnegie Phipps and Ogden L. Mills, to his client list.¹⁰³ Woodward and Fitzsimmons usually hired jockey Earl Sande, and later Eddie Arcaro, to ride the Belair horses in the important races.

Earl H. Sande, shown in Figure 3.21 with William Woodward Sr., was born in November 1898 in South Dakota. By 1910 his parents, John and Mathilda Sande, had moved the family to Aberdeen, Idaho.¹⁰⁴ Within the next few years, Earl began his career in the horse industry. According to a 1930 article, Sande ran away from home to ride in the "bush" or outlaw tracks in the West.¹⁰⁵ On 17 September 1919 at Havre de Grace racetrack, Earl Sande joined a small group of jockeys who had won six races in one day.¹⁰⁶ In the 1920 census Sande, then living on a breeding farm in Guilford, Maryland, gave his occupation as "jockey."¹⁰⁷ After the death of his wife, a niece of the well-known trainer Samuel C. Hildreth, in 1928, Sande briefly retired as a jockey and began working as a trainer.¹⁰⁸ However, by 1930 Sande was living in the Wilson Apartment House in Jamaica,

¹⁰³Janoff, "Fitzsimmons, Sunny Jim." Fitzsimmons continued to train racehorses until the age of eighty-nine.

¹⁰⁴Ancestry.com, *1910 United States Federal Census*, [database on-line] (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com, 2004).

¹⁰⁵Wilkinson, "The Sport of Kings," 332.

¹⁰⁶*American Racing Manual 1930*, 503.

¹⁰⁷Ancestry.com, *1920 United States Federal Census*, [database on-line] (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com, 2001).

¹⁰⁸Wilkinson, "The Sport of Kings," 332. See also *Bloodstock Breeders' Review* Vol. XVII, 249.

Queens County, New York, and was again racing as a jockey.¹⁰⁹ For Sande, 1930 was a hallmark year; he earned ten percent of each win's purses and bonuses, including the prestigious Suburban stake win with *Peetee Wrack*.¹¹⁰ Even more important, Earl Sande rode Belair Stud's *Gallant Fox* to victory in the Kentucky Derby, the Preakness, and the Belmont, capturing the 1930 Triple Crown.¹¹¹

Gallant Fox was the result of one of William Woodward Sr.'s most successful breeding ventures, which began in 1926 with his participation in a syndicate which included Marshall Field III and Robert Fairbairn. Arthur Boyd Hancock, Sr. organized the syndicate to purchase **Sir Gallahad III*. **Sir Gallahad III* sired Woodward's 1930 Triple Crown winner, *Gallant Fox*, and was the grandsire of Woodward's 1935 Triple Crown winner, *Omaha*.¹¹² Syndication was an established method for breeders to ensure their mares had access to successful stallions. It was also a way to reduce expenses and liabilities. One example of an earlier syndicate was the 1913 French and American syndicate that purchased the English stallion **Rock Sand*, which August Belmont Jr. had imported to the United States in 1906. The syndicate sent **Rock Sand* to France where he remained until his death.¹¹³ After William Woodward Sr. died, his son inherited Belair

¹⁰⁹Ancestry.com, *1930 United States Federal Census*, [database on-line] (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com, 2002).

¹¹⁰Wilkinson, "The Sport of Kings," 332.

¹¹¹Sande rode in the Kentucky Derby a total of eight times. He placed 8th in 1918, 2d in 1919, 1st in 1923, 5th in 1924, 1st in 1925, 2d in 1927, 1st in 1930, and 5th in 1932.

¹¹²Philip Ardery, "The Hancocks of Claiborne Farm," *Filson Club Historical Quarterly* 63, no. 2 (1989), 268. See also William Woodward, *Gallant Fox, A Memoir* (New York: Privately Printed, 1931).

¹¹³Walter S. Vosburgh, Charles D. Lanier, Frank J. Bryan, and James C. Cooley,

stable and estate. Under his two-year ownership Belair Stable and trainer “Sunny” Fitzsimmons produced *Nashua*, the 1955 Horse of the Year who later stood at stud at Spendthrift Farm. Unfortunately, William Woodward Jr. died in an accidental shooting at his Long Island estate, after which the developer William Leavitt bought Belair in 1955. In 1964, the City of Bowie gained control of the mansion, used as city offices until the 1990s. In 1968, the city acquired the stable to use as a museum honoring the two hundred years of race horse breeding at Belair.

The highest concentration of rural estates with competitive stables and independent stables and breeding facilities in the nation between 1865 and 1929 was in the Bluegrass region of Kentucky (see Appendix 4 - Stables).¹¹⁴ Calumet, on the north side of Highway 60 (Versailles Pike) about four miles west of downtown Lexington, was world famous for its white fences and its stables accented with bright red and green (Figure 3.22). After successfully founding the Calumet Baking Powder Company in Chicago, William M. Wright established his rural estate and Standardbred breeding farm in 1924. When Wright died in 1932, his son Warren dispersed the Standardbred stud and began a Thoroughbred racing stable.¹¹⁵ By 1938 the stable had 140 horses, a three-quarter mile track, “two thirty-stall training barns and two twenty-stall barns for broodmares,” the original brick house as the manager’s house, and a new “Georgian type house of white clapboard” for

Thoroughbred Types 1900-1925 (New York: Privately Printed, 1926), 17.

¹¹⁴Some other central states estate stables are the Smith Racing Stables, County Rd. 75, Prattville, Autauga County, Alabama and Veraestau, Carriage House & Stable, Holman Hill Road, Aurora, Dearborn County, Indiana, both included in the Historic American Buildings Survey.

¹¹⁵Simpson, *The Enchanted Bluegrass*, 75.

the owners.¹¹⁶ All of the farm structures including the gate houses, gates, stallion barns, and pasture run-in sheds were color coordinated, and all of the buildings were identified with a square red plaque containing the structure's number painted in white and hung over the door. Calumet is still an active Thoroughbred breeding facility despite mismanagement, neglect, and enormous debts incurred between 1982 and 1992. The stable's cemetery, begun in 1946, has over thirty horses including the famous stallions *Citation* and *Alydar*.

Another extant Kentucky stud farm of the 1865 to 1929 period is Claiborne. Originally from Virginia, where the Hancock family continued to own and operate their historic estate and breeding farm, Ellerslie, until 1946, they became top Kentucky Thoroughbred breeders in the 1910s. During the 1910s and 1920s, under the direction of Arthur Boyd Hancock Sr., several of the nation's top stallions, including *Gallant Fox* (a Belair horse), **Sir Gallahad III*, **Wrack*, and *Celt* lived at Claiborne. Arthur's father, Captain Richard J. Hancock, and his partner Major Thomas W. Doswell bred horses at Ellerslie, and raced horses, including *Eolus*, in the United States and England during the 1880s and 1890s. After reviving Ellerslie as an eastern stud farm and training facility, Arthur Hancock established Claiborne Stud in 1915 on thirteen hundred acres his wife had inherited. In addition to breeding their own horses the Hancocks also managed the breeding horses of William Woodward (Belair Stud), Mr. and Mrs. H. C. Phipps (Wheatley Stable), Marshall Field III (Caumsett), Viscount Astor, the Mellons, and others.

¹¹⁶Ibid., 77. See also Dale Leatherman, "New Polish For an Old Icon," 22-27; Louis J. Hector, "Markey, Lucille Parker Wright," www.anb.org/articles/19/19-00702.html; *American National Biography Online* February 2000 (accessed 2/12/04); and www.calumetfarm.com (accessed 3/24/05).

By the early 1930s, between the two properties, the Hancocks cared for over two hundred horses of which about 150 were new foals each year.¹¹⁷ The Hancocks quickly made Thoroughbred breeding their full-time family business.

A third long-time Kentucky estate and stud was Elmendorf, established by Daniel Swigert on Paris (Maysville) Pike at Milton H. Sanford's former Preakness Stud. Though primarily a breeder who sold his horses as yearlings or two-year olds, Swigert held onto some youngsters who gained him national recognition as an owner. In 1877 Swigert's *Baden-Baden* won the Kentucky Derby, and in 1892 *Carlsbad* won the American Derby. Even if Swigert's own stakes entries had not even finished, his significance in Thoroughbred breeding would have been undiminished. The most famous of his stallions was *Spendthrift* the great-grandsire of *Man o' War*, and many other top horses. Swigert also bred *Hindoo*, the 1881 Kentucky Derby winner for the Dwyer Brothers, and imported *Prince Charlie*, the sire of *Salvator* who consistently made the stallion rankings. Swigert began his breeding career as the manager of Woodburn Farm, home of *Lexington*, for Robert A. Alexander. Elmendorf continued under Swigert's ownership for fifteen years until James B. A. Haggin purchased the property. By the late 1920s, the property had undergone several ownership changes, and part of Elmendorf Stud was incorporated into Spendthrift farm, established by Swigert's great-grandson Leslie Combs II, and, at the present, under new ownership.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷Simpson, *The Enchanted Bluegrass*, 193, 195. Ardery, "The Hancocks of Claiborne Farm," 260, 268-269.

¹¹⁸Simpson, *The Enchanted Bluegrass*, 295-297. See also www.spendthrift.com (accessed 3/24/05).

Beyond the Bluegrass there were many other rural estates in the central states, including the Windsor T. White Estate in Chagrin Falls, Ohio. Thomas Howard White, a native of Massachusetts, moved to Cleveland in 1867. Nine years later he incorporated the White Sewing Machine Company with his half-brother, Howard W. White, and Rollin C. White (no relation). The White Sewing Machine Company continued to grow, and in 1900 it added the White steam car invented by Thomas White's son Rollin. By 1906 the automobile division had grown to become a separate company, the White Company, which later became the White Motor Company. Thomas Howard White, his wife, and eight children became well-known members of Cleveland's wealthy, social elite.¹¹⁹

The White's oldest son, Windsor Thomas White (1866-1958), used his proceeds from the family companies to build a rural estate in the small town of Chagrin Falls, about thirty miles southeast of Cleveland. The 1926 several hundred-acre estate included three main parts, a beef cattle farm with an overseer's house and outbuildings, an airplane hanger and airstrip, and a stable complex that included Windsor T. White's summer house. In order to clear the property and reduce costs during the construction process, White built a mill on the property and logged and processed all of the timber used on the estate. The architectural firm that designed the stable, Bohnard & Parsson, used wooden siding and architectural moldings around the doors and windows to give the complex a crisp, Colonial Revival style (Figure 3.23).¹²⁰

¹¹⁹Thomas H. White Family Papers (1880-1920s) and Rollin H. White and Walter C. White Papers (1900-1931), collection descriptions. The company celebrated its centennial in 1976.

¹²⁰"Windsor White Stables, Chagrin Falls, OH," *Architecture* (October 1927): 222. Most of the information comes from a site visit in October 2002. The *Architecture* article includes only exterior photographs and a first floor plan of all the structures.

The stable's main entrance opened into a wide, long cross aisle that terminated in two stabling aisles at either end forming a U-shaped facade. Located directly behind the main cross aisle was the indoor riding ring, approximately 150 feet by sixty feet, with large windows at rider height along the two long sides. From each of the arena's far outside corners a covered walkway extended outwards perpendicular from the building; one walkway led to the kennel, and the other to two matching employee houses. The three other main elements in the stable complex were the manure cart bank, a stone-terraced space about six feet deep and eighteen feet long; the manager's four-bedroom house; and the garage/blacksmith shop to the right of the main courtyard.

Originally the stable had forty ten-by-twelve feet wood and stuccoed concrete box stalls. Each stall had a bottom-hinged indoor window grill that opened inward protecting the window from the horses and preventing drafts. Ventilation shafts with metal eighteen inches by twenty-four inches grills on each side of the outer doorways and periodically along the aisle allowed foul humid air from the stalls to escape from the building through the cupolas. The main cross aisle included the main entrance that doubled as mounting space, an office, a tack room, a wash room, an electrical transformer closet, the men's toilet, a work room, and a cook room. A feed room and wash rack were at each of the junctions between the main cross aisle and the long side stall aisle. The indoor riding arena's roof trusses incorporated a steel pipe system for watering the arena. The sprinkler system also extended into the employee cottages to prevent or halt fires. The second floor of the main cross aisle had dormitory rooms for stable help. Each of the stabling wings

had overhead grain bins above their respective feed rooms and open hay loft areas running the wing's full length.

W. T. White, an avid polo player, also was an active member of the Chagrin Valley Fox Hunt and designed his kennel to complement his interests. The kennel had four twelve-foot-wide runs with inside hound beds, two runs on each side of the sixteen-foot-wide main feeding room. The kennel's front entrance led into a food preparation room. Later in life, White used the kennel for his Norwegian Elkhound breeding program. All of the water for the stable and kennel complex came from an approximately twenty-foot deep, twenty-two foot diameter cistern just downhill of the stable. A water cannon piped the water to the twenty-five thousand-gallon tower located at the intersection of the main cross aisle and the arena, ready to supply the stable, fields, or polo fields. White also installed approximately twenty-five miles of clay piping to drain the polo fields when they were wet.

Between 1865 and 1929, most western stables were part of larger cattle and sheep ranches; however, there were also large horse ranches whose form and layout were similar to rural estates. Unlike rural estates financed by industry and business ventures, most western ranches were self supporting. In Weld County, Colorado, an area that had both irrigated and semi-arid farming and cattle and sheep ranches, breeders also produced horses for farming and ranching. In the 1880s, the Percheron-Norman Horse Company "bred high-class draft and carriage horses for factories, mills, quarries, lumbering, and farm work. The company maintained six Percheron-Norman horse ranches in the region."¹²¹

¹²¹Christine Whitacre and R. Laurie Simmons, "Historic Farms and Ranches of

In California two of the most prominent breeding and competitive stables during the time period were Rancho del Paso and Palo Alto. James Ben Ali Haggin of Sacramento owned Rancho del Paso, and as his wealth increased from various western mining and business ventures, so did the size and scope of his Thoroughbred breeding and racing program. The Rancho del Paso stable became nationally renowned as Haggin's horses found success on the track and in the breeding shed.¹²² The Rancho del Paso stable accommodated at least six hundred horses and must have had an extensive network of stables, paddocks, pastures, tracks, breeding sheds, and other necessary elements for a Thoroughbred plant of that size.¹²³ On 19 November 1905, after two decades of success in California, Haggin shipped 503 broodmares and ninety-seven stallions from San Francisco to New York via the South Pacific, Union Pacific, Illinois Central, and New York railroads to completely disperse the Rancho del Paso stud.¹²⁴

Weld County,” National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, October 1990, page E-19.

¹²²Philip P. Ardery, “James Ben Ali Haggin Kentucky’s Kubla Khan,” (1983): 1-2, 10. See also Patrick J. Furlong, “Haggin, James Ben Ali,” www.anb.org/articles/10/10-00709.html; *American National Biography Online* Feb. 2000 (accessed 2/12/04); Francis Trevelyan, “The Status of the American Turf,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 19, no. 6 (March 1892): 474. Available from APS Online Database 433817202; *Rancho del Paso 1894 Sale Catalog*, *Rancho del Paso 1902 Sale Catalog*, and *Elmendorf 1907 Sale Catalog*, Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU.

¹²³*Rancho del Paso 1901 Sale Catalog*, Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Center, MTSU. See also Furlong, “Haggin, James Ben Ali.”

¹²⁴Ardery, “James Ben Ali Haggin Kentucky’s Kubla Khan,” 16-17. Ardery’s description of the “four trains of twelve cars each run on passenger train time” is tantalizing but does not emphasize the cost and organization needed to essentially override the entire national railroad shipping industry. Moving the horses as a passenger rather than freight train required other trains to move onto sidings and give way to the horses.

Having bought out Daniel Swigert in 1897, Haggin concentrated on his operation at Elmendorf in Lexington, Kentucky. Elmendorf, at 4160 Paris Pike, quickly became as successful under Haggin as it had been under Swigert's leadership and grew to ten thousand acres, becoming the largest estate in Kentucky. Though the estate focused primarily on Thoroughbreds, it also included beef cattle, sheep, hogs, a model dairy that "through the utilization of the latest scientific methods revolutionized that industry in this country" and "corn, wheat, fodder [hay], tobacco and hemp."¹²⁵ For the horses there were three, twelve-sided barns with front and back Dutch doors on each box stall, designed by New York architect H. I. Copeland in 1902.¹²⁶ The family also enjoyed a new residence, an opulent three hundred thousand-dollar mansion, Green Hills (1887), that Haggin built for his second wife (Figure 3.24).¹²⁷

A second leading California stable was Governor Leland Stanford's Palo Alto Stock Farm. Stanford is usually remembered for the 1886 university named for him, built on his estate. However, in the horse world Stanford was known for his 1878 wager about the horse's canter, which resulted in the remarkable series of Muybridge photographs confirming that all four legs come off the ground at one time during the *moment of suspension*. A New York native and trained in law, Stanford moved to California in 1852 to join his brothers and quickly became involved in state politics. Stanford, in partnership with Charles Crocker, Mark Hopkins, and Collis P. Huntington, founded the Southern

¹²⁵"James Ben Ali Haggin," *History of Kentucky* (Louisville, KY: The J. S. Clarke Publishing Company, 1928) http://haggin.org/JBAH_biography.html (accessed 11/19/02).

¹²⁶Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Building Survey, "James Ben Ali Haggin Barn," Sheets 1-7, HABS,KY,34,LEX-11,A-1.

¹²⁷Deese, *Kentucky's Bluegrass*, 54-56.

Pacific Railroad and reaped the benefits of the transcontinental railroad system after he “drove the last spike to mark [its] completion at Promontory, Utah.”¹²⁸ In 1870 Stanford bought the first of 8,247 acres in the Santa Clara valley that soon became Palo Alto Stock Farm and a destination for trotting enthusiasts. Stanford’s first horses, *Sontag Mohawk* and *General Benton*, were fast, but that year he bought *Occident 2:19* who became the first leading sire at Palo Alto.¹²⁹ In 1876 Stanford returned to New York and bought *Electioneer*, considered a second-rate stallion, who, under Stanford and his trainer Charles Marvin’s management at Palo Alto, began to sire trotters that consistently trotted or paced a mile in 2:20 or better. The stable included a “kindergarten track” used to free trot the weanlings, a regular track, stables, and a cemetery begun in 1888 after a stable fire. Stanford died in 1893 just as the Palo Alto breeding and training programs were reaching their full potential, and his widow was forced to dissolve the operation to pay debts. The “old Red Barn,” restored in 1984, is one of the few remaining elements of the former Standardbred farm.¹³⁰

Marcus Daly was a western copper mining expert and mine owner who also owned Bitter Root Stock Farm in Hamilton, Montana. Daly was born in Ireland and at age fifteen immigrated to New York where he remained for five years. He then sailed, via

¹²⁸Helen Arbuckle, “The Heyday of Palo Alto Stock Farm,” n.p., page 1 in Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU.

¹²⁹A Standardbred horse is often referred to its name followed by the time, in minutes and seconds, that it paced or trotted a mile.

¹³⁰Arbuckle, “The Heyday of Palo Alto Stock Farm,” n.p., page 2. *Electioneer* was foaled in 1868 and died in 1890. *Electioneer*’s sire was the great Standardbred *Rysdyk’s Hambletonian* and his dam was *Green Mountain Maid*. One of *Electioneer*’s most famous offspring was *Palo Alto 2:08 ¾* who was the 1891 champion stallion, foaled in 1882 and died in 1891.

Panama, to California where, after learning the mining business, he eventually made his way to the Comstock Lode in Nevada. In 1881, after several years of managing mines for others, Daly, with backing from Lloyd Tevis, George Hearst, and James B. A. Haggin, gained control of the Anaconda mine in Butte, Montana. After ten years of private control the Anaconda Mining Company incorporated in 1899, offered shares on the open market, and elected Daly as president. The newly formed Amalgamated Copper Company controlled the Anaconda mine; thousands of acres of timber and coal fields; and a network of processing plants, railroads, dams, and power plants overseen by some of the most highly trained and skilled mining experts from the United States and Europe. When Daly sold his shares in the 1889 corporate transformation, he received an estimated thirty-nine million dollars.¹³¹ Daly used some of that money to establish the Bitter Root Stock Farm in Hamilton, Montana, where he bred Thoroughbreds and raced them in appropriately colored silks: copper and green. Shortly after Daly's death in November 1900, his executors held a final dispersal sale which included sixty-six broodmares all in foal, and lots of foals, yearlings, and two-year olds.¹³²

Unfortunately the Bitter Root Stock Farm was not the only country house or rural estate stable that ended abruptly when the interested family member died. Regardless of the length of their duration, these properties were important landmarks within the cultural landscape of the wealthy, social elite who participated in horse sports. Some, such as Blairsdon, Caumsett, or Georgian Court have been the focus of detailed studies which

¹³¹Clark C. Spence, "Daly, Marcus," www.anb.org/articles/10/10-00376.html; *American National Biography Online* Feb. 2000 (accessed 2/12/04).

¹³²*The American Gentleman's Newspaper*, 1900, page 529.

have unveiled each owner's cooperation with professionals that resulted in designed facilities and landscapes for recreational and leisure activities.¹³³ Other properties, such as Calumet, Claiborne, and Rancho del Paso, were created at one phase in their entirety and suggest similar collaborations. Horse sports enthusiasts that lived in seasonal communities such as Pinehurst or year-round country house communities such as Lake Forest either maintained their own private stable or took advantage of the larger, community-based stable complex both of which professionally developed. The well-designed country house or rural estate stable, with the latest features and best materials, complemented the owner's social standing. The ability to show guests an immaculate stable filled with well-bred and highly trained horses, cared for by a professional staff, and set within a larger equestrian-oriented landscape, was, for the committed enthusiasts, the equivalent of a private gallery of masters' paintings or ancient sculptures.

¹³³There is no conclusive evidence that estate owners with sporting stable complexes were significantly influenced by the emerging wilderness and conservation movements when designing their estates. However, most of the estate owners were extremely wealthy individuals who had the means to travel to "natural" areas and participate in sporting activities, such as foxhunting, that involved large expanses of undeveloped land, farms or estates. The wealthy, social elite certainly would have been interested, if not actively involved, in preservation and conservation concerns. Several members of the wealthy, social elite owned large tracts of forested or undeveloped land in addition to their city homes, country homes, and rural estates. Further research into the early nature, conservation, and parks organizations and their members may reveal significant connections. Today, some the country houses and rural estates created for personal social advancement have become oases of "nature" within suburban growth areas valued more as green space than for their role in architecture and landscape design development or the American horse industry.

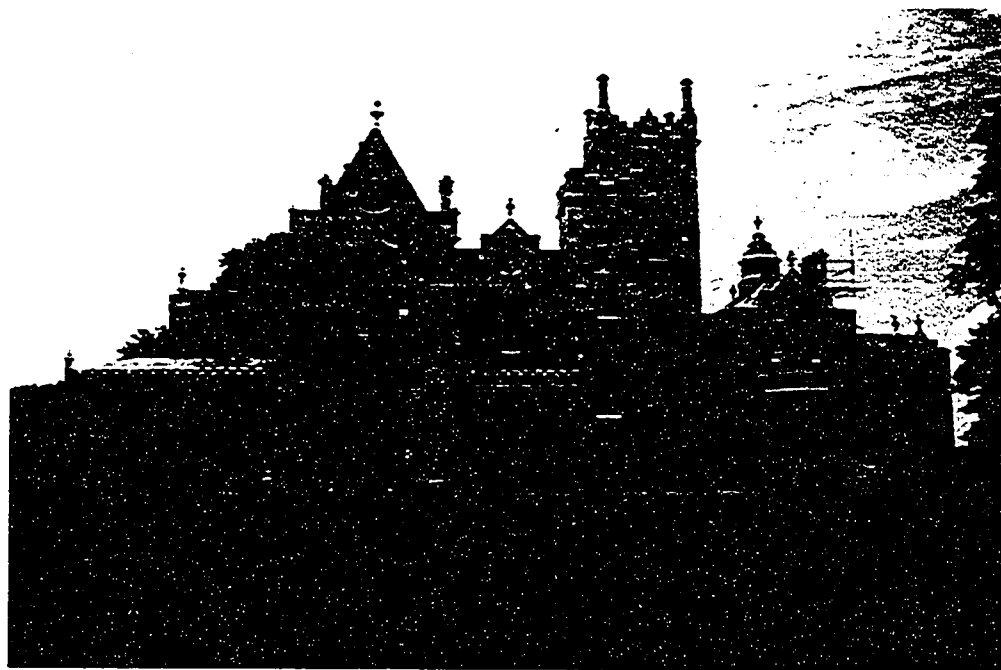


Figure 3.1 Lyndhurst National Historic Landmark, Tarrytown, New York; top, house (1865) from stable; bottom, house from main driveway. July 2003.



Figure 3.2 Stables and carriage house (1865), Lyndhurst National Historic Landmark, Tarrytown, New York: top, aerial view during restoration. Jack Boucher Photograph, 1971. Courtesy of the Library of Congress. Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS, NY, 60-TARY, 1D-5; bottom, main entrance to carriage house, July 2003.

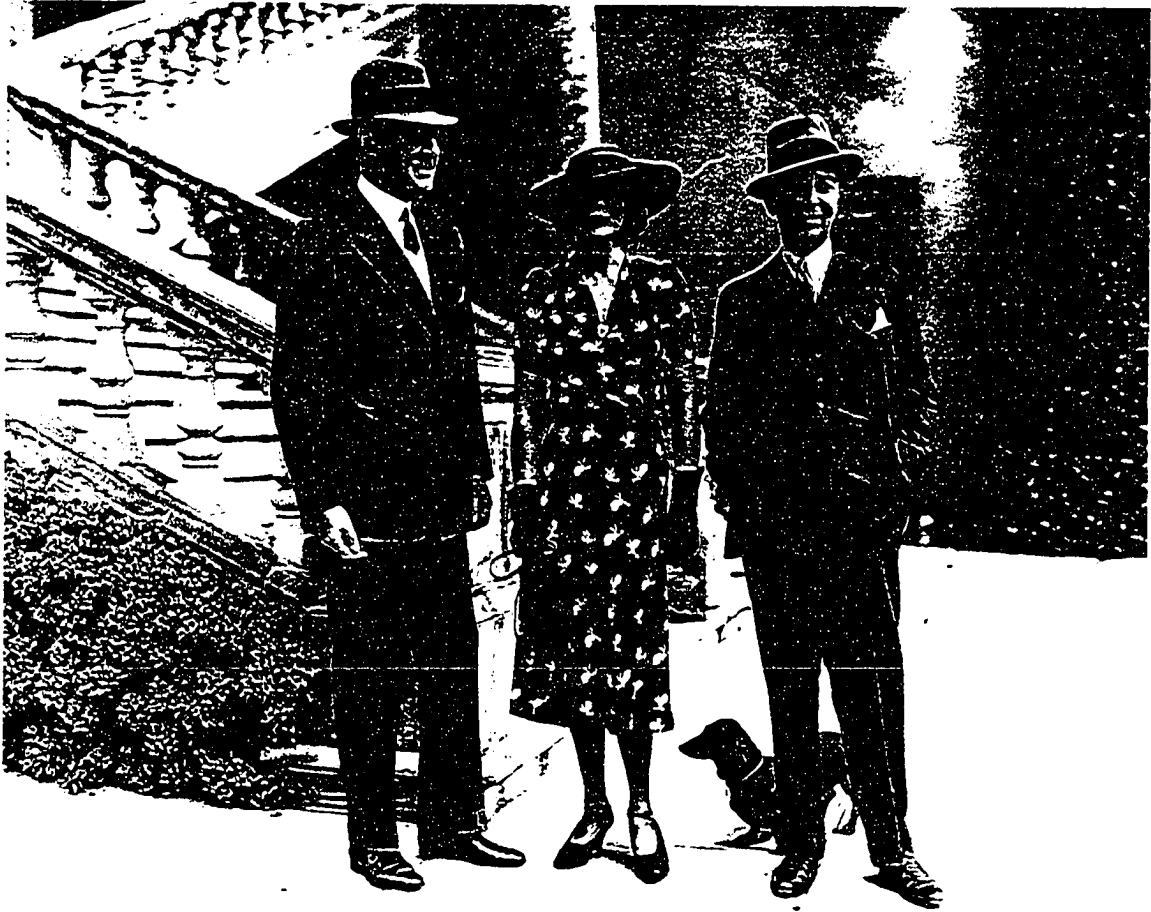


Figure 3.3 Mr. and Mrs. P.A.B. Widener Jr. and Joseph E. Widener. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 2498.

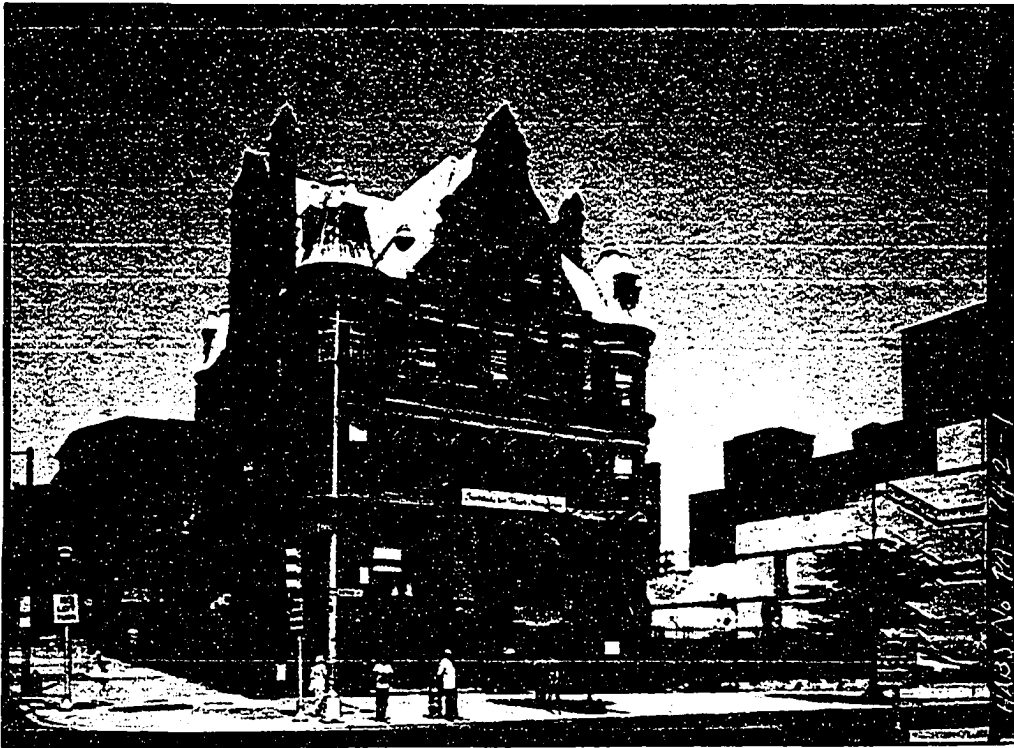


Figure 3.4 P.A.B. Widener Sr. Residence (1887) at 1200 Broad Street, Philadelphia. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS, PA,51-PHILA,352-1.

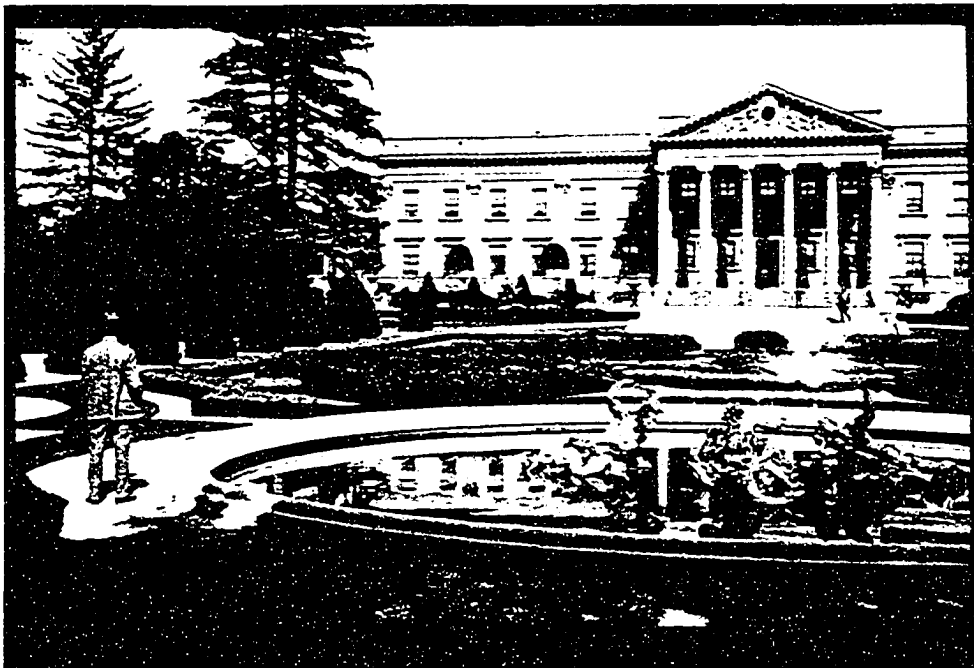


Figure 3.5 Lynnwood Hall (1898), Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Courtesy of the Frances Loeb Library, Graduate School of Design, Harvard University.



Figure 3.6 Belair Mansion (c.1745, central block), Bowie, Maryland.



Figure 3.7 Carter's Grove (c. 1750, central block), Williamsburg, Virginia.

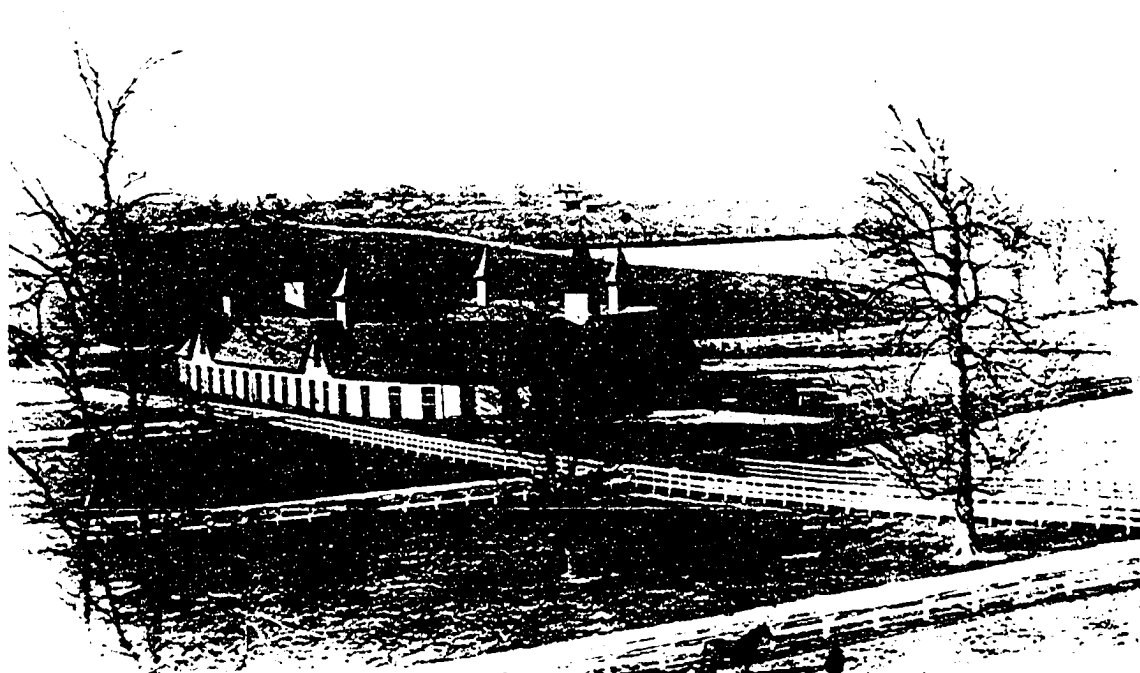
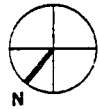
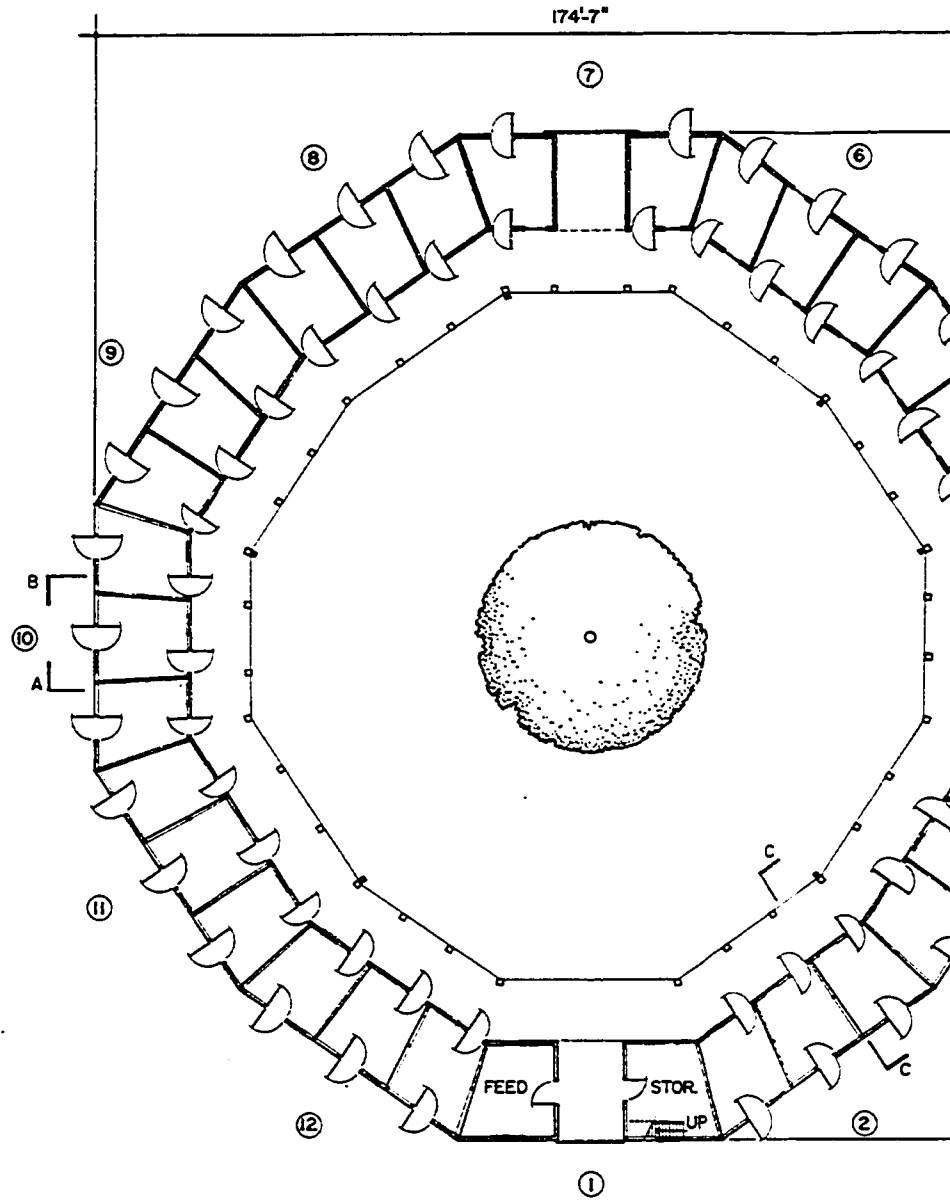


Figure 3.8 Hermitage Stud 52-stall training stable (c. 1890), Nashville, Tennessee. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW1685).



FIRST FLOOR PLAN

1/16" = 1'-0"

1985 CHARLES E. PETERSON PRIZE, HONORABLE MENTION

DRAWN BY: TIM WINTERS, 1984

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY
 RECORDING PROJECT 1984
 NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

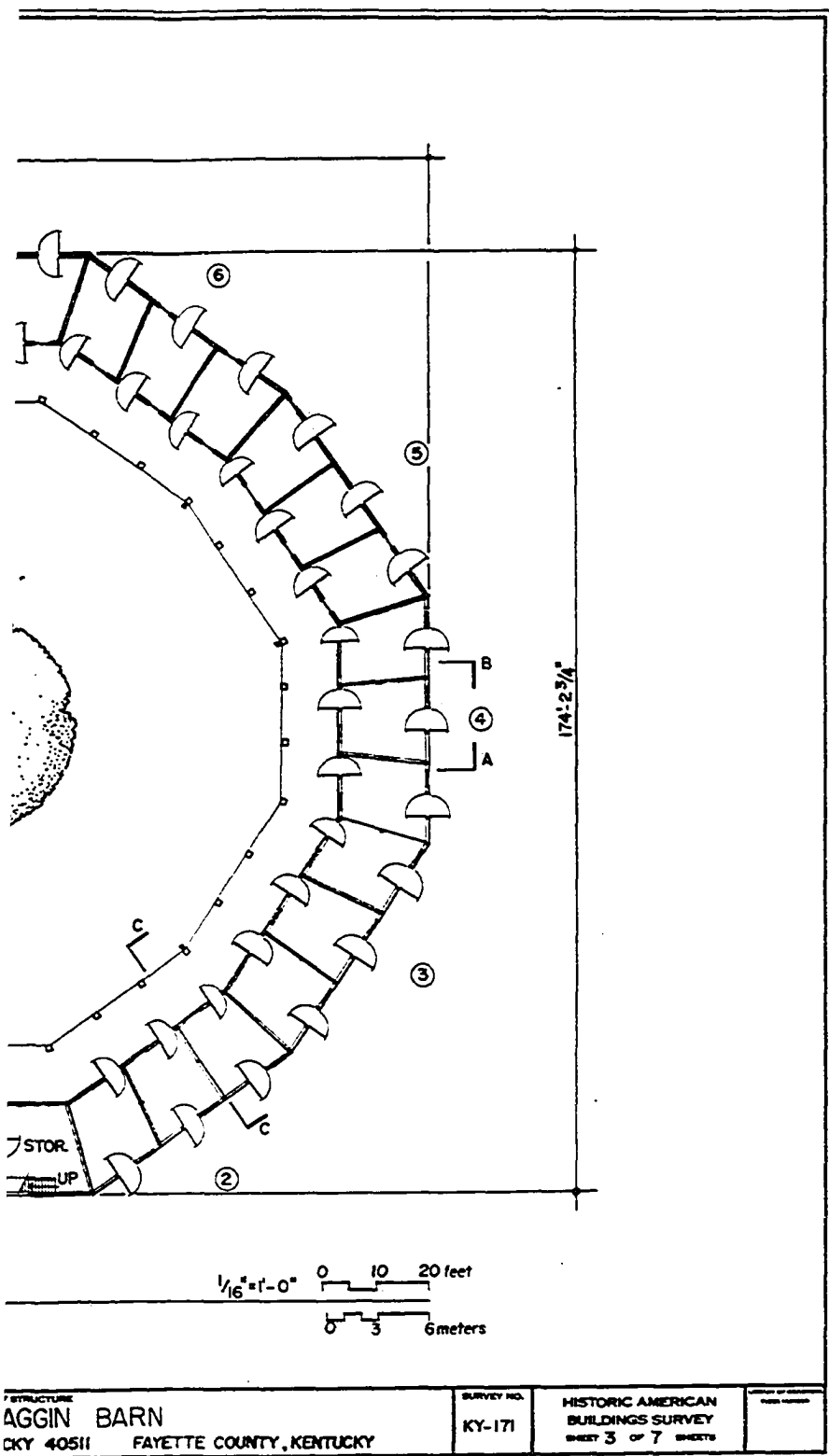
NAME AND LOCATION OF STRUCTURE

JAMES BEN ALI HAGGIN BARN

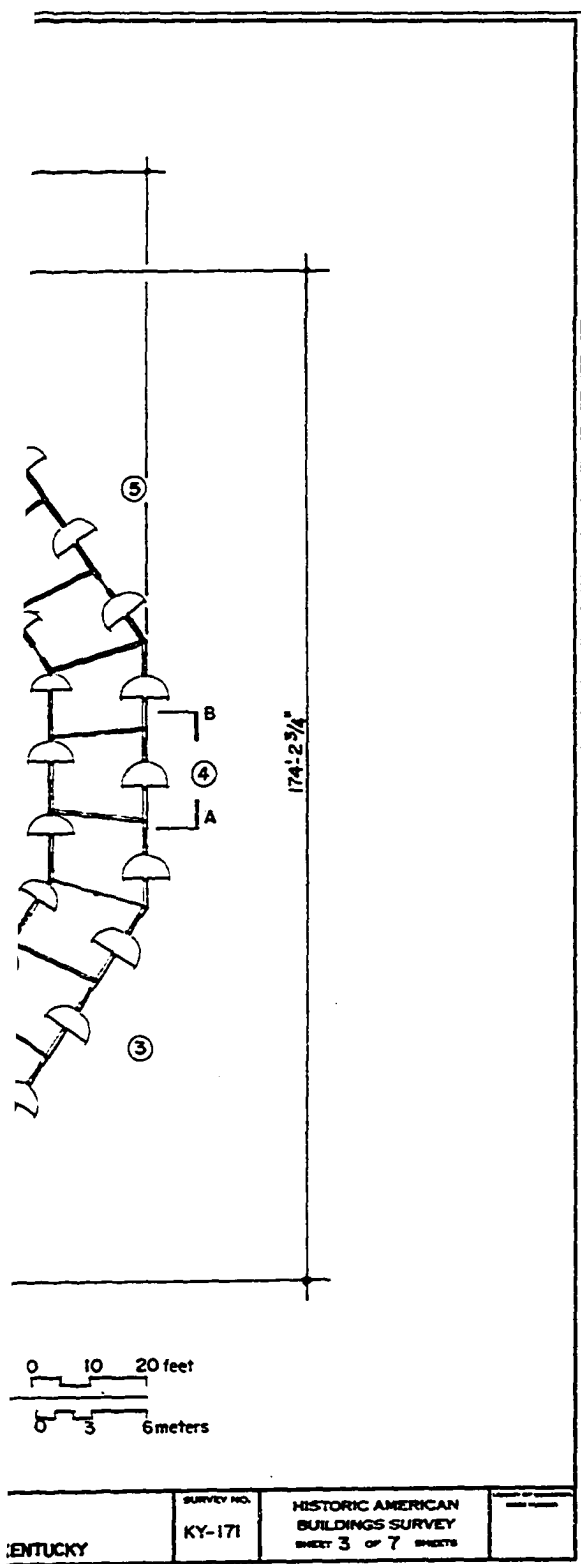
4160 PARIS PIKE (U.S. 27, 68) LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY 40511 FAYETTE COUNTY, KY

IF REPRODUCED, PLEASE CREDIT: HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, NAME OF DELINEATOR, DATE OF SURVEY

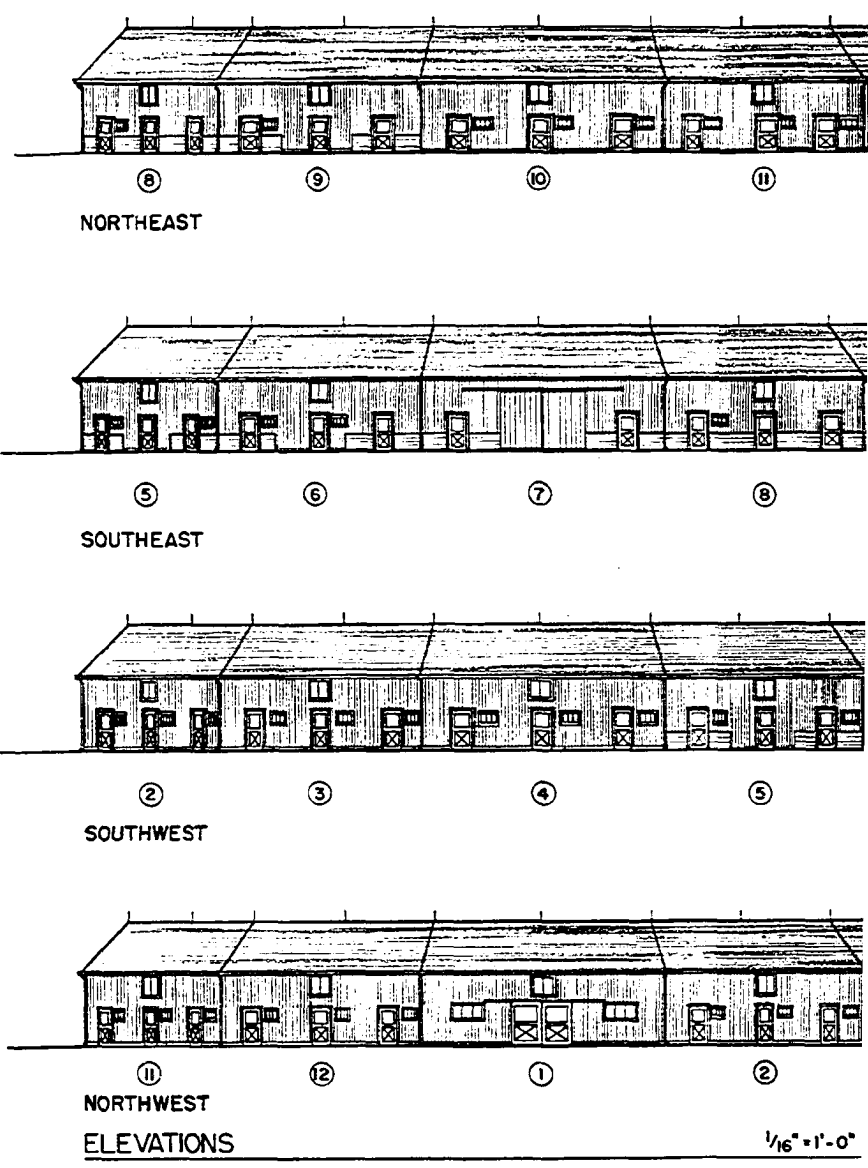
Figure 3.9 James Ben Ali Haggin Barn (1902). First Floor Plan [Elmendorf Stud]. Tim Winters Drawing Survey, HABS,KY.34-LEX,11A-3.



ud]. Tim Winters Drawing, 1984. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic America



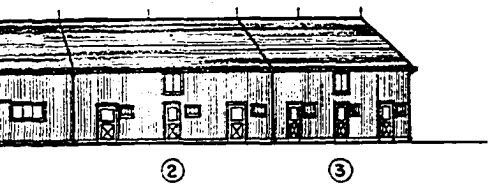
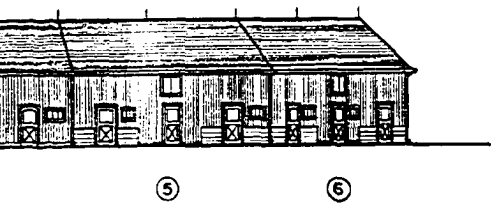
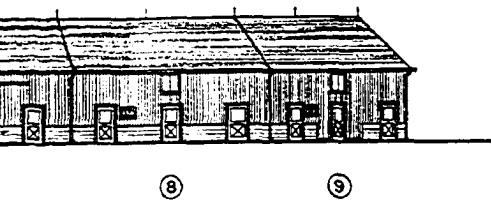
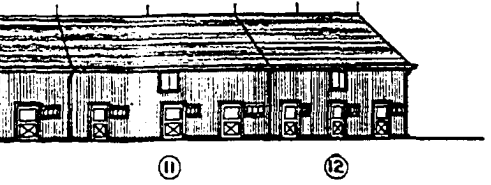
ng. 1984. Courtesy of the Library of Congress. Prints and Photographs Division. Historic American Buildings



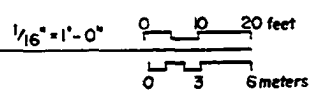
1988 CHARLES E. PETERSON PRIZE, HONORABLE MENTION

<p>DRAWN BY: TIM WINTERS, 1984</p> <p>UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY RECORDING PROJECT 1984 NATIONAL PARK SERVICE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR</p>	<p>NAME AND LOCATION OF STRUCTURE</p> <p>JAMES BEN ALI HAGGIN BARN</p> <p>460 PARIS PIKE (U.S. 27, 68) LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY 40511 FAYETTE COUNTY,</p>
--	--

Figure 3.10 James Ben Ali Haggin Barn (1902), Elevations [Elmendorf Stud]. Tim Winters Drawing. 1st Survey, HABS.KY.34-LEX.11A-5.



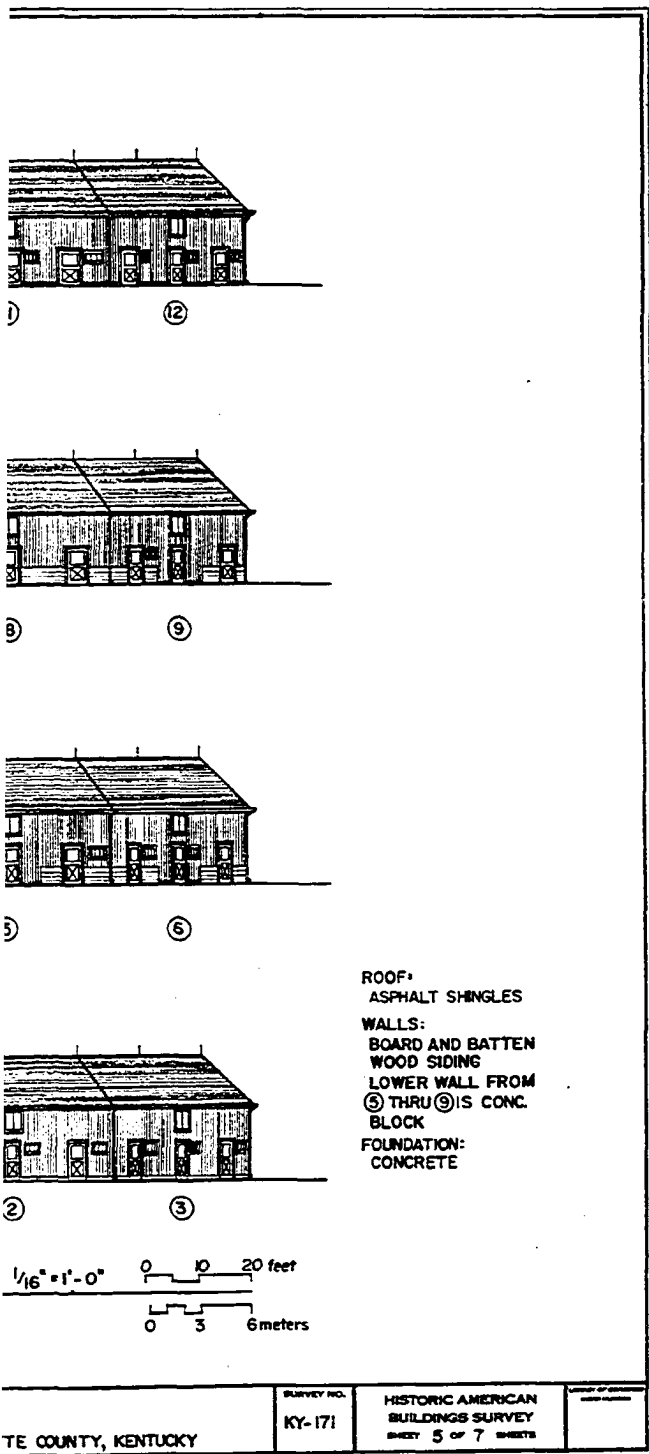
ROOF:
ASPHALT SHINGLES
WALLS:
BOARD AND BATTEN
WOOD SIDING
LOWER WALL FROM
⑤ THRU ⑨ IS CONC.
BLOCK
FOUNDATION:
CONCRETE



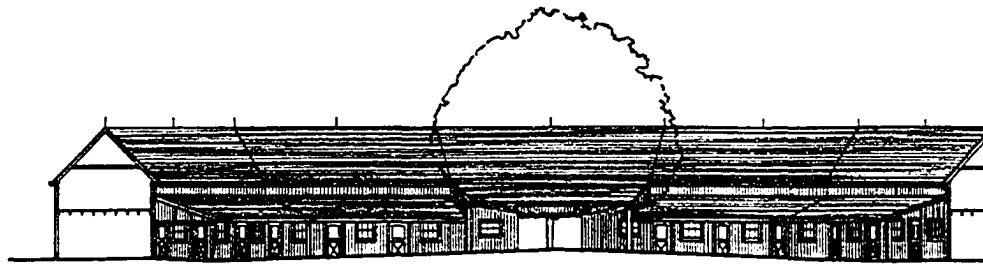
STRUCTURE AGGIN BARN KY 40511 FAYETTE COUNTY, KENTUCKY	SURVEY NO. KY-171	HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY SHEET 5 OF 7 SHEETS	DRAWN BY
---	----------------------	--	------------------

ORIGINAL PAPER SERVICE, NAME OF DELINEATOR, DATE OF THE DRAWING

Tim Winters Drawing, 1984. Courtesy of the Library of Congress. Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey

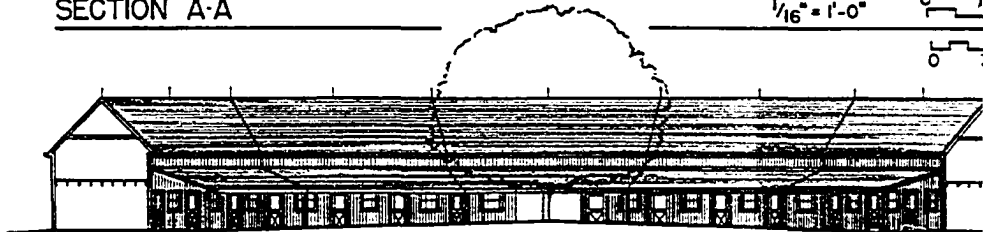


rawing, 1984. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings



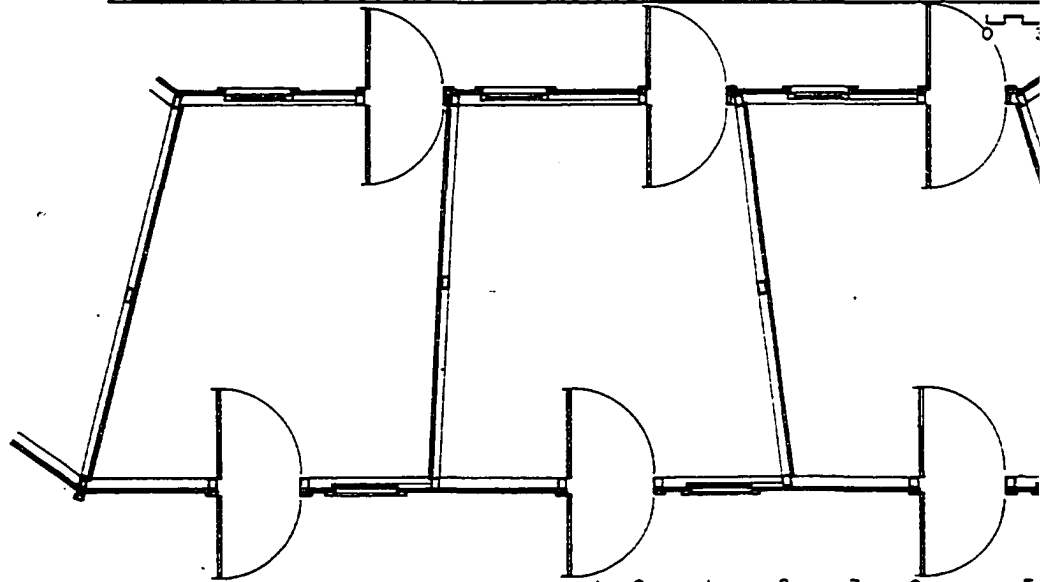
SECTION A-A

1/16" = 1'-0"



SECTION B-B

1/16" = 1'-0"



TYPICAL HORSE STALL PLAN 1/4" = 1'-0" meters 0 1 2 3 4 5
SHOWN AT BUILDING PORTION 2

1985 CHARLES E. PETERSON PRIZE, HONORABLE MENTION

DRAWN BY: TIM WINTERS, 1984

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY
RECORDING PROJECT 1984
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

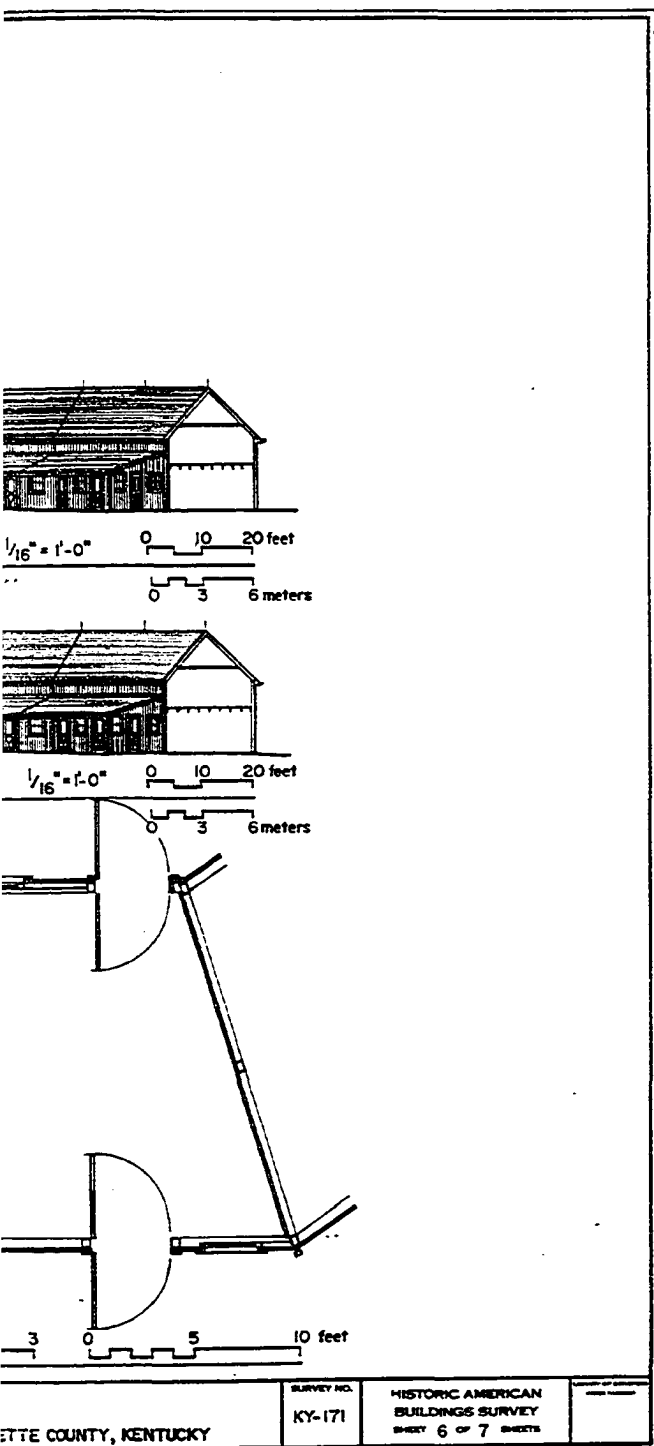
NAME AND LOCATION OF STRUCTURE

JAMES BEN ALI HAGGIN BARN

4160 PARIS PIKE (U.S. 27, 68) LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY 40511 FAYETTE COUNTY, KENTUCKY

IF REPRODUCED, PLEASE CREDIT: HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, NAME OF DELINEATOR, DATE OF THE DRAWING

Figure 3.11 James Ben Ali Haggin Barn (1902), Typical Horse Stall Plan [Elmendorf Stud]. Tim Winters Dr. Buildings Survey, HABS.KY,34-LEX,11A-6.



OF DELINEATOR, DATE OF THE DRAWING

Tim Winters Drawing, 1984. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. Historic American

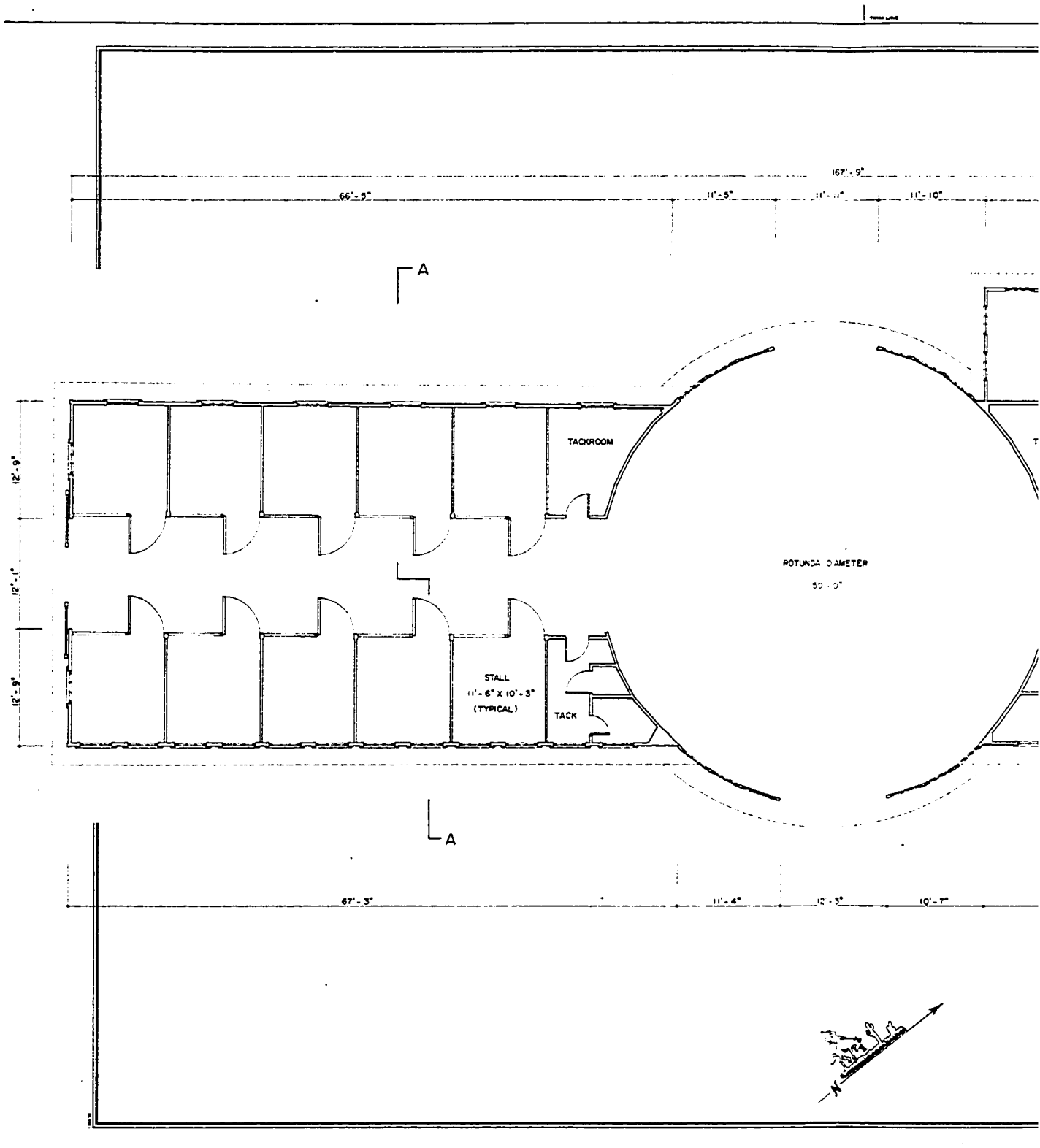
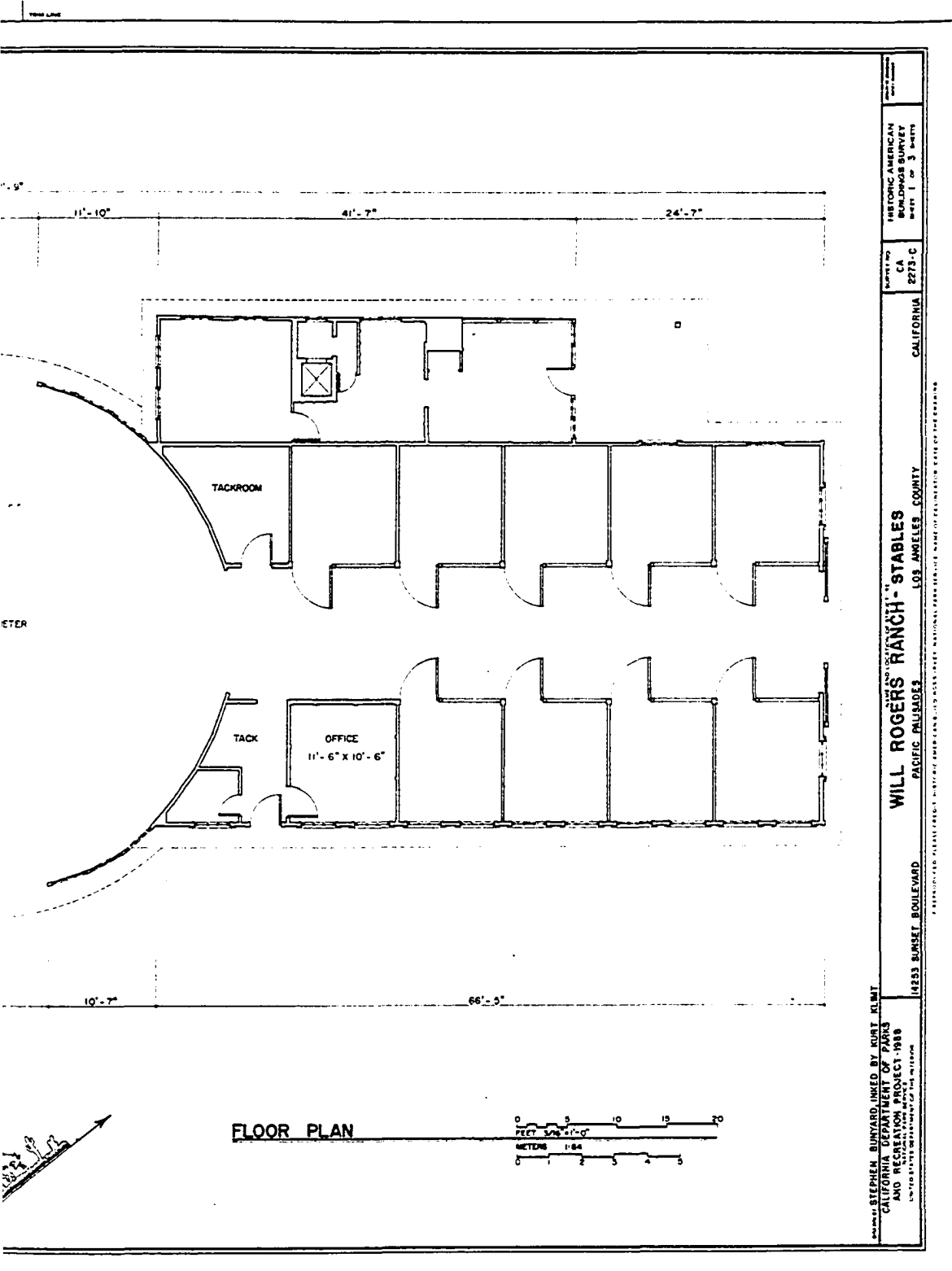
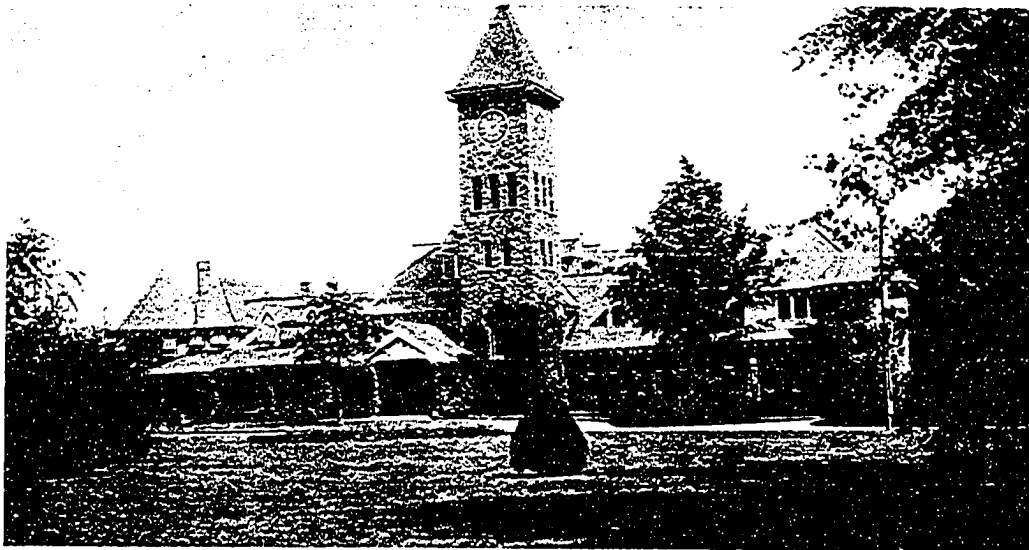


Figure 3.12 Floor Plan, Will Rogers Ranch Stables (1929). Stephen Bunyard Drawing, 1988. Kurt Klimt Inking Buildings Survey, HABS,CAL,19-PAPA,1-C1.



8. Kurt Klimt Inking, 1988. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. Historic American



STABLE, DUKE'S PARK, NEAR SOMERVILLE, N. J.

Figure 3.13 Duke's Park Stables (1900), Somerville, New Jersey. Perky Beisel Postcard Collection.

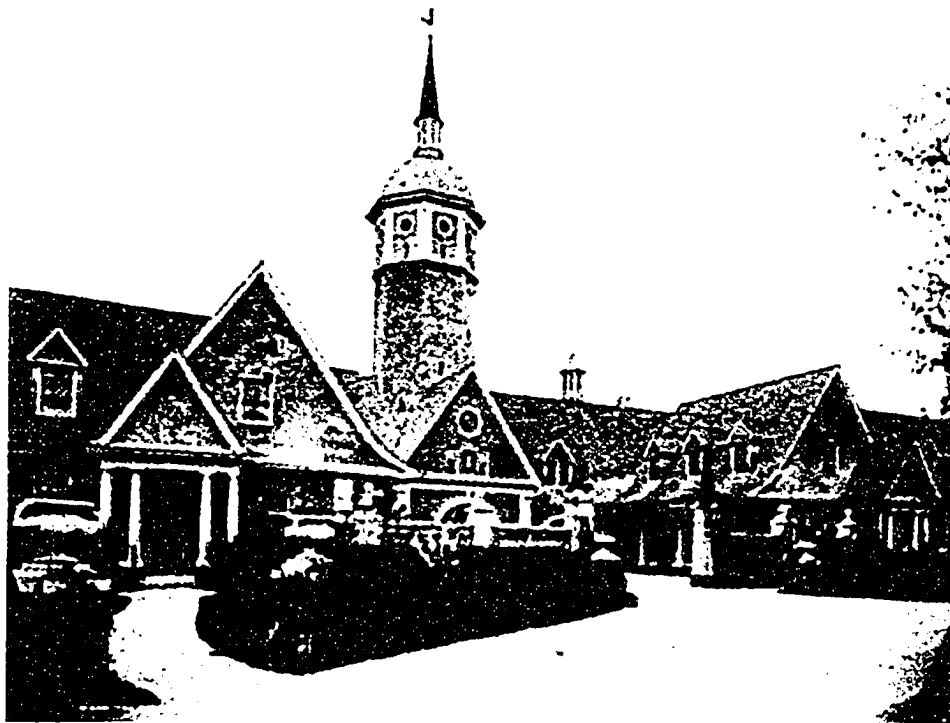


Figure 3.14 Stable at Georgian Court, George Gould Estate c. 1900: top, entrance; bottom, front. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company.

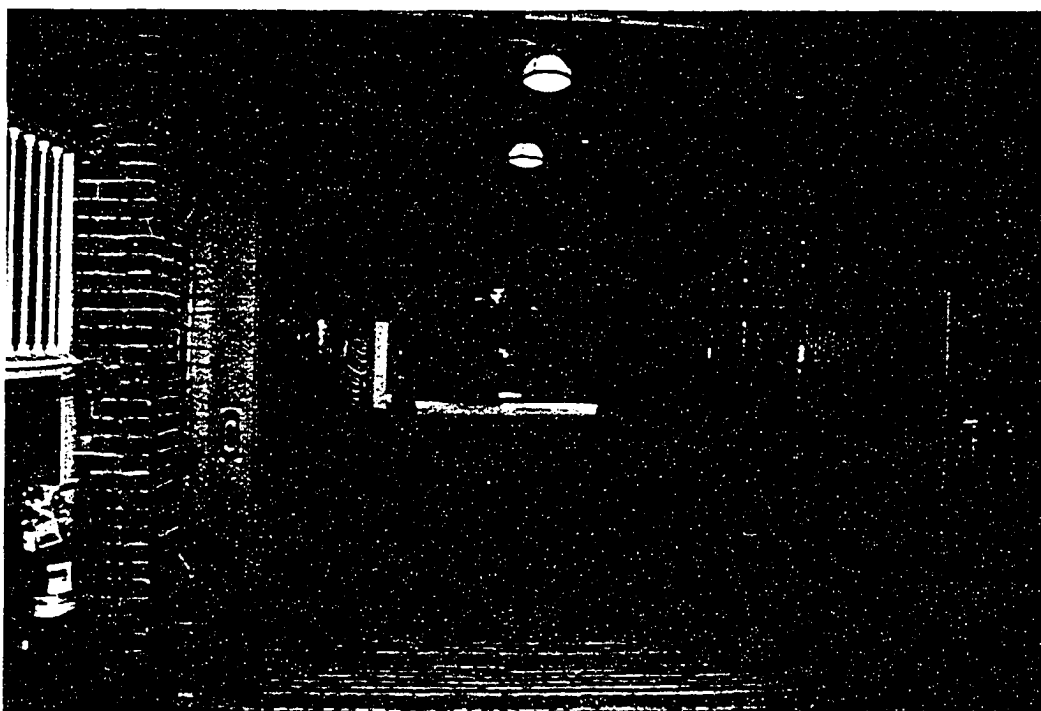


Figure 3.15 Hamilton Farm Stable (1917). Gladstone, New Jersey. The main entrance; top, from driveway; bottom, from the stabling wing looking toward the main entrance. July 2002.



Figure 3.16 Hamilton Farm Stable (1917), Gladstone, New Jersey. Exterior: top, the stabling wing; bottom, the carriage wing. July 2002.

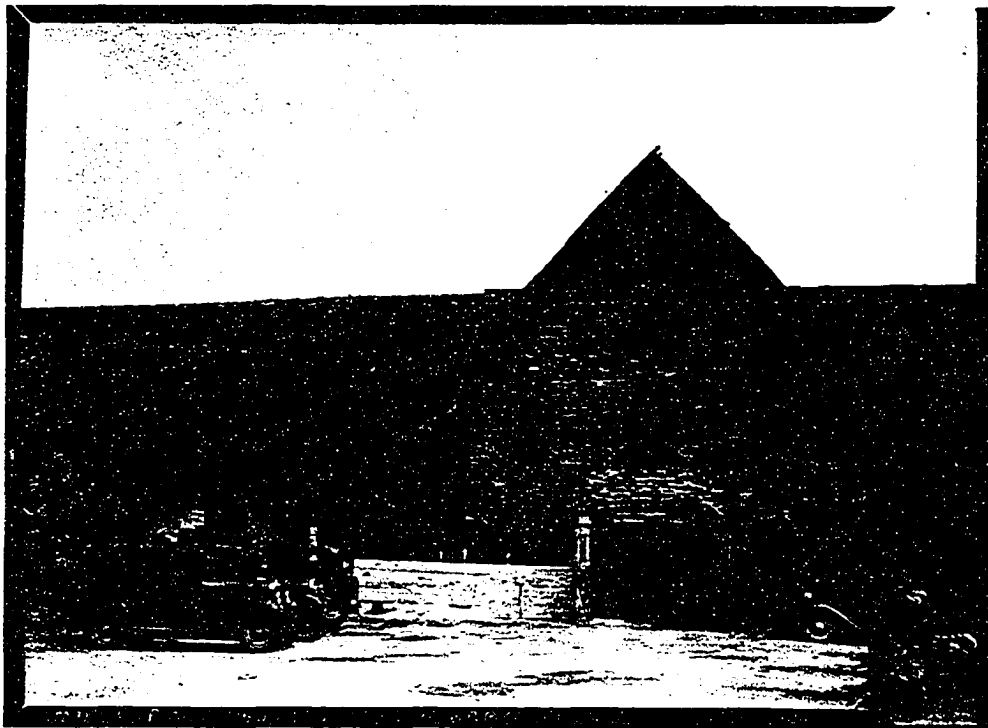
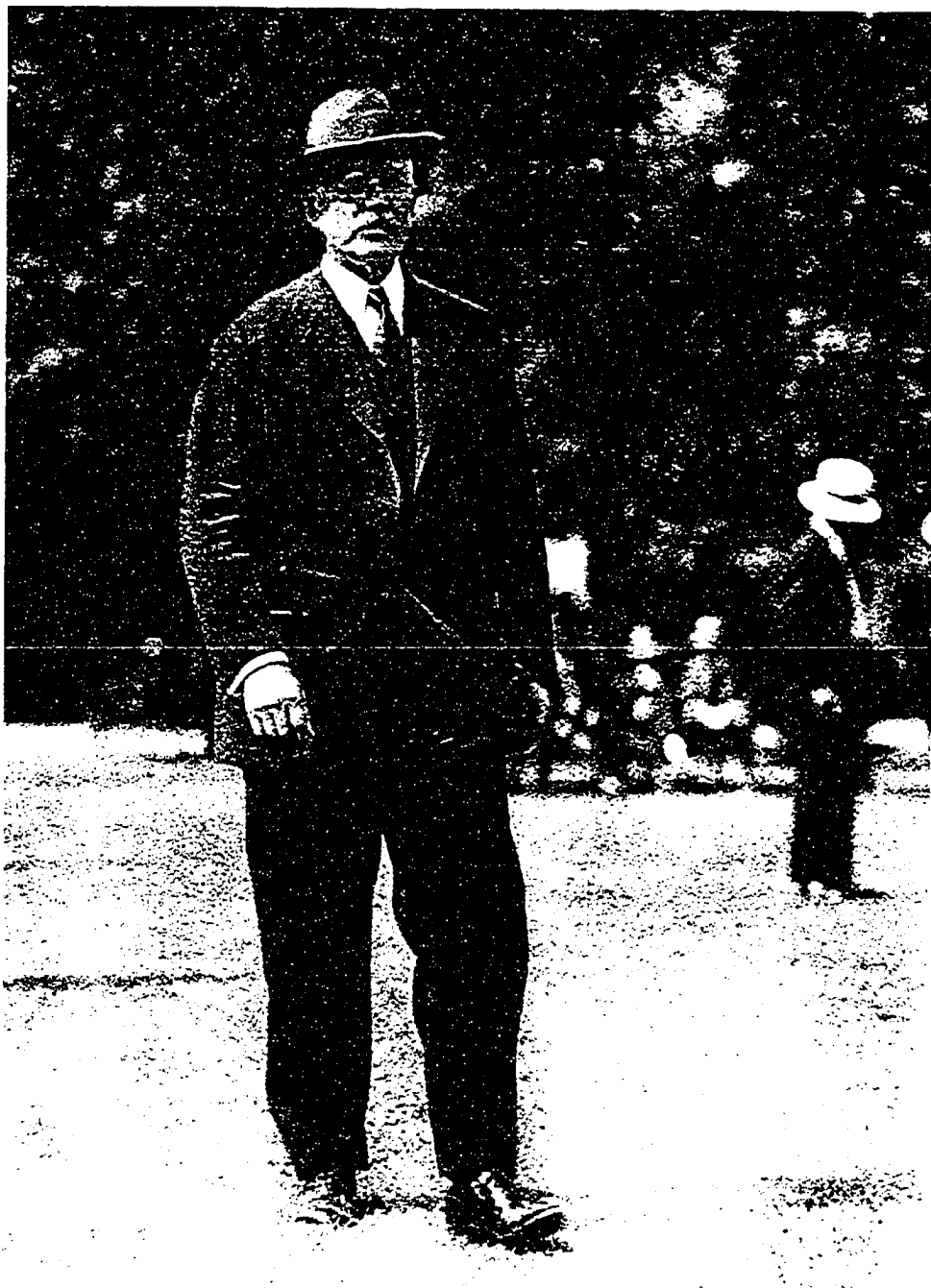


Figure 3.17 Garrett Racing Stable, Baltimore, Maryland. Front elevation: top, lengthwise view; bottom, main entrance. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS.MD.4-BALT.50-A-1 and A-3.



Cook 4518 William Woodward Sr.

Figure 3.18 William Woodward Sr. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 4518.

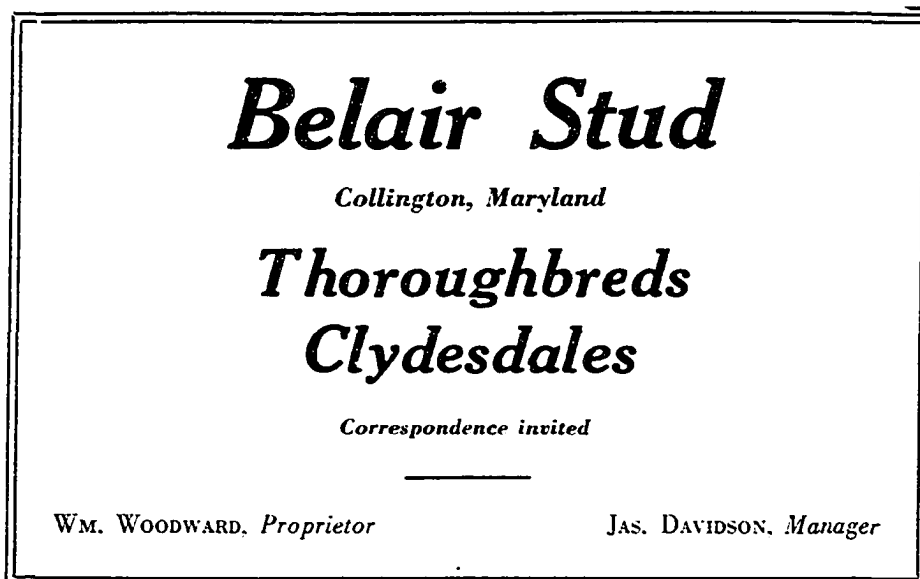
A rectangular advertisement with a double-line border. The text is centered and reads: **Belair Stud**
Collington, Maryland
Thoroughbreds
Clydesdales
Correspondence invited
Below this is a horizontal line. At the bottom left is *WM. WOODWARD, Proprietor* and at the bottom right is *JAS. DAVIDSON, Manager*.

Figure 3.19 Belair advertisement in *Rider and Driver*, 29 November 1924, page 77.



Figure 3.20 Belair Stable (1907), Bowie, Maryland; top, front entrance with diamond-pattern, leaded casement windows; bottom, central courtyard. March 2003.

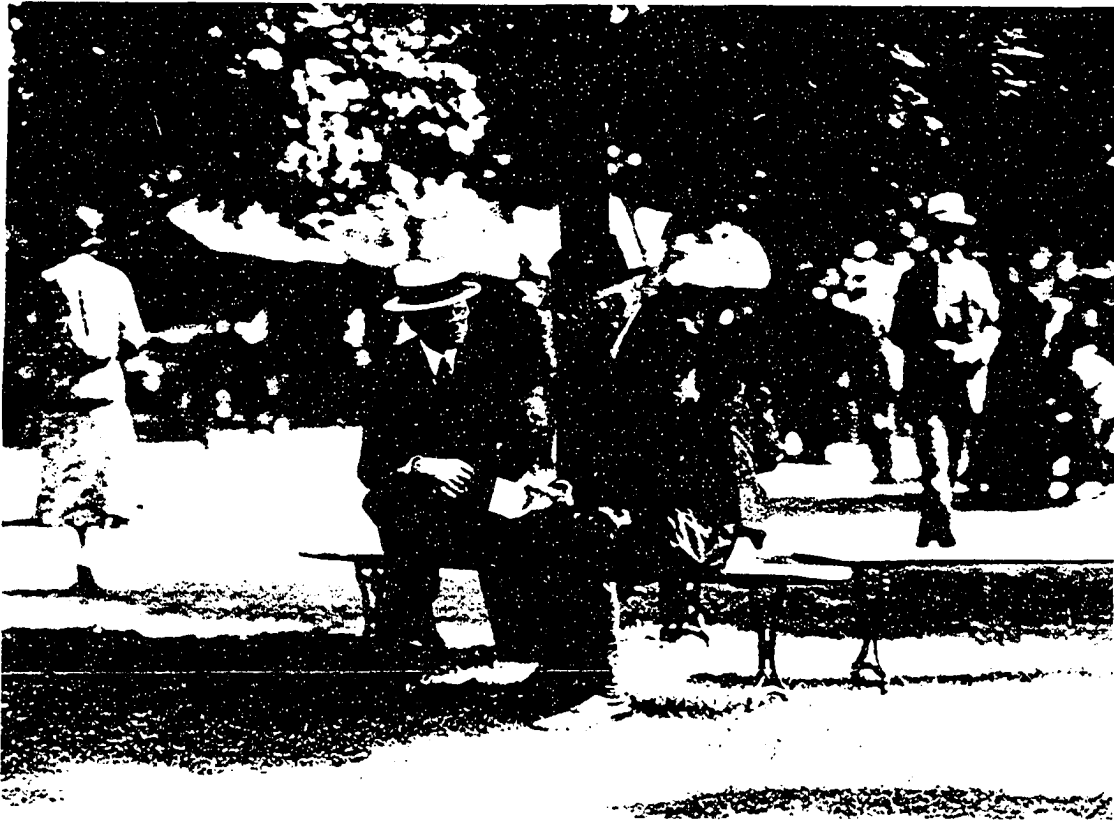


Figure 3.21 Earl Sande and William Woodward Sr., 1930. C. Cook Photograph. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association, Keeneland-Cook 4525.



Figure 3.22 Calumet Stud, Lexington, Kentucky. Perky Beisel Postcard Collection.

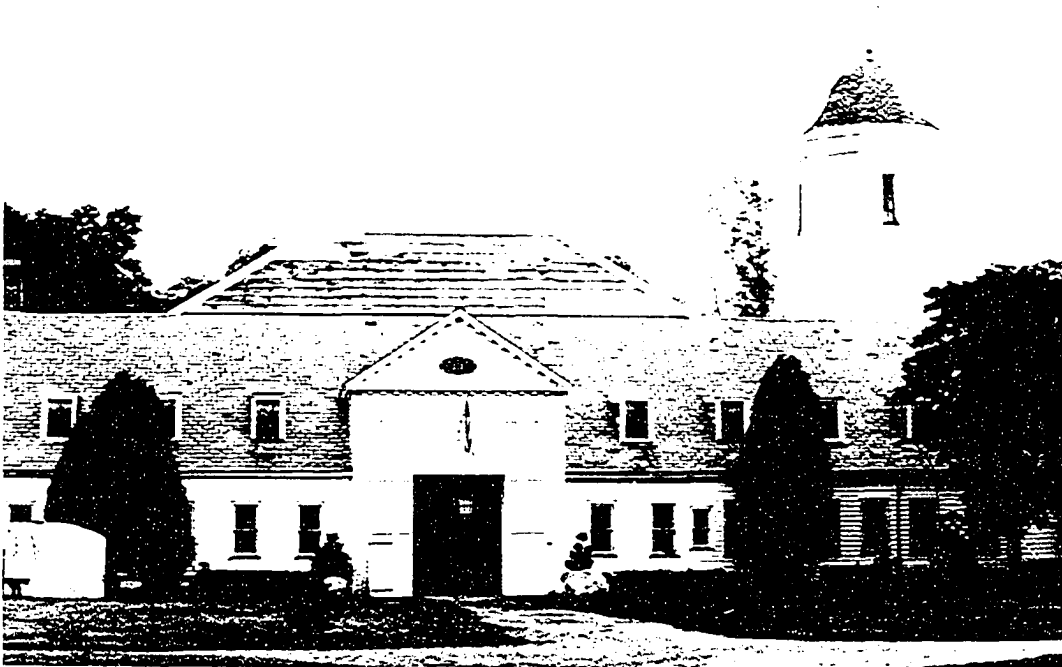


Figure 3.23 Windsor T. White Stable (1926), Chagrin Falls, Ohio. Front entrance: top, distant view; bottom, detail. October 2003.



Figure 3.24 Green Hills (1902) at Elmendorf, Lexington, Kentucky. Home of James B. A. Haggin. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW1671).

CHAPTER FOUR

THE STABLE COMPLEX

Basic stable elements, such as stalls, hay storage, grain storage, riding areas, and tack rooms, are found in competitive stables around the world. However, these elements have not been formally defined as a set group in equestrian, architectural, or preservation literature. Modern American competitive stables built between 1865 and 1929 incorporated these diagnostic elements, developed in British and American equestrian practices and literature during the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.¹ At the end of the nineteenth century many stable owners began to hire architectural firms to design and oversee the construction of new stables.² The industrial revolution provided many new structural and construction materials, and new service utilities, but the basic design elements continued to be the same. Indeed, fundamental stable management

¹ For some examples of early stable design see Lewis F. Allen, *Rural Architecture: Being a Complete Description of Farm Houses, Cottages, and Out Buildings* (New York: C. M. Saxton, 1852); Donald J. Berg, *American Country Building Design: Rediscovered Plans for 19th-Century Farmhouses, Cottages, Landscapes, Barns, Carriage Houses & Outbuildings* (New York: Sterling Publishing Co., Inc., 1997); Monique Dossenbach, Hans D. Dossenbach, and Hans Joachim Köhler, *Great Stud-Farms of the World* (New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1978); C. M. Prior, *Royal Studs of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Horse & Hound, 1935); Julius Trousdale Sadler Jr. and Jacquelin D. J. Sadler. *American Stables: An Architectural Tour* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1981); "Sporting Stables and Kennels," *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 16 October 1937, 1064-1065; and Giles Worsley, *The British Stable* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004).

² "Stables and Stable Fittings," *The American Architect* 80, April-June (1903): 52-55.

principles changed very little from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century.³ It was only with the rapid scientific and technological revolution after World War II that horsemen began to adopt noticeably new equine care and handling practices. Despite these recent horse science advancements, the basic stable elements as described by nineteenth century writers have not changed. In fact, due to space constrictions, increased materials costs, and higher labor wages, the quality of many late twentieth-century competitive stables is less than that of stables built between 1865 and 1929. The size, scope, materials, and construction of historic stables are often viewed with a reverence and awe not unlike the consideration normally given to artistic

³ For a survey of horse management ideas compare Frank T. Barton, *Horses: Their Points and Management in Health* (London: Everett & Company, 1911); Geoffrey Brooke, *Introduction to Riding and Stablecraft* (London: Seeley, Service, & Co., 1953); Cavalry School Academic, *Horsemanship and Horsemastership Vol. 1* (Fort Riley, KS: The Cavalry School Press, 1950); C. de Hurst, *How Women Should Ride* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1892); Eugene de Kieffer, *Practical Instruction in Horsemanship* (Philadelphia: Eugene de Kieffer, 1868); Ghislani Durant, *Horseback Riding from a Medical Point of View* (New York: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 1878); Francis Dwyer, *Seats and Saddle, Bits and Bitting* (London: William Blackwood and Son, 1868); E. Hartley Edwards, *Saddlery* (London: J. A. Allen & Co., Ltd., 1971); Lida L. Fleitmann, *Comments on Hacks and Hunters* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921); G. Fleming, *Modern Practical Horseshoeing* (Chicago: Geo. W. Ogilvie & Co., 1904); Sydney Galvayne, *Horse Dentition*, 2nd ed. (Glasgow: Thomas Murray & Co., n.d.); Geoffrey Gambado, *An Academy for Grown Horsemen* (London: Methuen & Co., 1905); Merritt W. Harper, *The Training and Breaking of Horses* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918); Alice M. Hayes, *The Horsewoman* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1910); M. Horace Hayes, *Points of the Horse* (London: W. Thacker & Co., 1897); H. R. Hershberger, *The Horseman* (New York: Henry G. Langley, 1844); Elizabeth Karr, *The American Horsewoman* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1884); Richard Mason, *The Gentleman's New Pocket Farrier* (Richmond, VA: Peter Cottom, 1825); J. A. McBride and T. Walton Mayer, *Anatomical Outline of the Horse* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1867); Theodore Mead, *Horsemanship for Women* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1887); Mrs. Power O'Donoghue, *Ladies on Horseback*. (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1881); and Colonel Reginald S. Timmis, *Modern Horse Management* (London: Cassell and Company Ltd., 1928).

masterpieces. The competitive stables of 1865 to 1929 and their twenty-six elements remain the epitome of stable design.⁴

Stables of varying ages can be found around the world, but extant pre-nineteenth-century competitive stable complexes, especially in the United States, are rare. *In the United States the number of competitive stables grew rapidly after the Civil War as the country underwent wide economic and social changes. As the sport horse movement rapidly expanded from 1865 to 1929, architects, builders, and horse owners refined these elements to create elaborate stable complexes, rather than barns, dedicated to the enjoyment of the horse, rather than the maintenance of the horse as a work animal. It was during this period, from 1865 to 1929, that American pleasure horses used in sports or competitive breeding moved out of the barn and into the stable.*

Whether the stable owner was the local doctor with his favorite hunter or a wealthy industrialist breeding and racing over a hundred Standardbreds, stables from 1865 to 1929 reached a level of element standardization and quality that has rarely been surpassed. Stable owners selected particular elements based upon the number and type of horses to ensure a safe, efficient, productive stable complex. *Historians and material culturalists who recognize and understand the function of each stable element will be able to better interpret stables as historic resources with distinct physical and cultural relationships between the elements, owners, workers, and, most importantly, the equine occupants.*⁵

⁴ This does not mean that farm barns do not have some or all these elements. The same can be said of industrial or livery stables. However most examples of these types will not have more than half of the elements.

⁵ Liisa and David Sclare, *Beaux-Arts Estates: A Guide to the Architecture of*

Before examining each stable element, it is first necessary to define the terms *barn*, *stable*, and *ranch*. Allen G. Noble and Richard K. Cleek's book, *The Old Barn Book: A Field Guide to North American Barns and Other Farm Structures*, designed as a guide for professional and amateurs alike, outlines the ground plan and superstructure of many barn and farm structures, the usual method of identifying barns. Noble and Cleek define a barn as "a working building. It can house animals, store harvest, and provide a work area for accomplishing various farm tasks, although not all barns provide all of these functions."⁶

Long Island (New York: The Viking Press, 1980), 131, 133. The Sclares' book is very informative and well written. However, the Sclares' strong architectural backgrounds occasionally get in the way of their descriptions and provide good examples of what types of information, if not considered from the trainer's view, result in a flat analysis. In the Broad Hollow section the Sclares describe a stone and wood cross-fenced field between the stable and the trainer's house as "divided . . . into formal equestrian rectangles . . . as sophisticated as a formal garden arrangement;" they must be referring to turnout paddocks. The Sclares' architectural descriptions are vivid, but provide little indepth understanding of stable layout, internal relationships, efficiency, or priorities since they continually refer to the stable's exterior style and shape as a whole: "U-shaped parti with stalls on both sides of a central corridor," "linear parti in which the stall areas open directly onto the outdoor exercise fields," or "L-shaped parti with a walled entry court." The footprint and style are useful, and the parti was an important part of Beaux-Arts architecture, but should not overwhelm the element descriptions.

⁶ Allen George Noble and Richard K. Cleek, *The Old Barn Book: A Field Guide to North American Barns & Other Farm Structures* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 11. See also "Barn & Stable Plan," *The Country Gentleman* (12 March 1868): 190; H. J. Barre and L. L. Sammet, *Farm Structures* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1950); R. M. Dolve, *Barn Plans*, Government Agricultural Experiment Station of North Dakota, Bulletin no. 97 (Fargo: North Dakota Agricultural College, 1912); K. J. T. Ekblaw, *Farm Structures* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914); Elric Endersby, Alexander Greenwood, David Larkin, *Barn: The Art of a Working Building* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1992); Robert F. Ensminger, *The Pennsylvania Barn: Its Origin, Evolution, and Distribution in North America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992; Johns Hopkins Paperbacks, 1995); Carolyn Janick, *The Barn Book* (New York: Gallery Books, 1990); Charles Klamkin, *Barns: Their History, Preservation and Restoration* (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1973); and Joseph W. Glass, *The Pennsylvania Culture Region: A View from the Barn* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1986).

Barns are found in every region of the United States, in a wide variety of shapes and sizes. However, a review of *The Old Barn Book* or the new, lavishly illustrated *Barns*, written by John Michael Vlach using illustrations from the Library of Congress, will reveal that barns, unlike stables, are usually described according to their function, such as dairy barns, that dictated related variables, such as floor plans.⁷ Other common classification systems such as color, roofs, and building members are better indicators of date rather than function.⁸ In their discussion of barn and farm development, Noble and Cleek write that British farms have separate barns for crops, cattle, and “a stable for horses.” American farms however “typically combine crop storage, processing, cattle housing, and even horse stabling into the barn.”⁹ The implied distinction is between single-use and multipurpose structures used in agriculture. A barn is used on a farm for a variety of crop and livestock purposes. A stable is a barn used solely for horses or ponies.¹⁰ As such, all stables are

⁷ John Michael Vlach, *Barns* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2003). Figure 4.1 illustrates some barns from the time period types that would be described by their roof shapes and floor plans: round, western, central aisle Sears plan, traverse double aisle gable, or gambrel.

⁸ John Fraser Hart, “On the Classification of Barns,” *Material Culture* 26, no. 3 (1994): 38-39. Hart’s article is a stinging indictment of Allen G. Noble and Richard K. Cleek’s “Sorting Out the Nomenclature of English Barns,” *Material Culture* 26, no. 2 (1994): 49-63. Hart insists that barn classification “must be informed by a clear and specific understanding of why farmers need and build them, how they use them, and how they have modified them in response to changing needs,” or else “any other approach can be misleading or even counterproductive,” 37. This chapter’s emphasis upon stable elements rather than stable shape reflects Hart’s admonishment.

⁹ Noble and Cleek, *The Old Barn Book*, 12.

¹⁰ One notable subspecies of barns are the late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century structures built for mules raised and trained specifically for riding or military purposes.

barns in the general sense, structures built for animals and crops, but not all barns are stables.

In the late nineteenth century most American individuals and businesses encountered and utilized one or more of the six common stable types: private stables, livery stables, clubs, industrial stables, racing stables, and competitive estate stables.¹¹ Suburban and rural Americans, or those whose jobs necessitated travel at odd hours, doctors for example, maintained a private stable at home for a few horses as the best or only transportation option. Located beside or behind the family home, carriage houses served primarily as the family's transportation center. A carriage house, the forerunner of today's detached garage, usually contained a small buggy, a larger carriage, and fewer than ten horses, usually just two or three. For a few decades in the early twentieth century, some of the buildings also had space for an automobile. Many of these small carriage houses, since converted into full garages or apartments, survive in many older suburban developments. Occasionally, the carriage house also doubled as a barn as seen in the Woodlawn Carriage Barn and Stable of 1886 (Figure 4.2). Despite their small size, suburban private stables or carriage houses often contained many of the same basic elements found in estate and competitive stables.

As the country industrialized and railroads provided affordable long-distance transportation and shipping alternatives, livery stables rapidly multiplied. Urban businessmen and their families paid livery stable owners to care for their horse rather than have the responsibility of the horse's daily care. Livery stables, usually located in the

¹¹ Chapter 2 of Robert McClure, *The Gentleman's Stable Guide* (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1870), has an excellent overview of the various stable types.

business district, often maintained a selection of horses available for temporary use, thereby eliminating the need for urban and suburban residents to purchase and maintain their own riding or carriage horse. Visitors hired livery horses and carriages just as today's travelers rent cars. Occasionally, livery stables were also located in residential neighborhoods.¹² An "old livery stable" in Omaha is one such example (Figure 4.3).¹³ Livery stables continued as viable businesses into the 1910s in most of the country and in rural areas remained profitable due to a lack of mass transit options. For example, in Wilmington, Delaware, between 1880 and 1920 there were at least fifty-eight different livery stables that, for at least a few years each, served residents and travelers alike.¹⁴ Because livery stables ran according to the owner's hours, served customers of all classes, and were often perceived as providing less than exemplary care, gentlemen often pooled their resources and founded private clubs to stable their horses.

¹² Andrew Scott Dolkart, "Feuchtwanger Stable National Register of Historic Places Inventory--Nomination Form," October 1985, 8-1. According to Dolkart, Meyer Feuchtwanger built the 1888 Romanesque Revival three-story livery stable in Brooklyn, New York in a prosperous "transitional area between the Fort Greene residential neighborhood to the south . . . and commercial Myrtle Avenue to the north."

¹³"Abandoned Livery Stable dating from Omaha's heyday, Nebraska." John Vacon Photograph. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Farm Security Administration - Office of War Information, LC-USF34-001294-M5. There is a possibility that this livery stable was in fact a large suburban private stable.

¹⁴ Lori Plavin Salganicoff, "Torbert Street Livery Stables," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1997, 8-3. The National Register nomination references Craig Van Blarcom and MaryAnna Ralph's 1993 "Livery Stable Cultural Resource Survey" for Wilmington. On a national level very little attention has been given to livery stables and their significance in transportation, trade, and communication history. The Wilmington, Delaware livery stable survey and nomination appears to be the only city wide examples. A major stumbling block in studying livery stables has been the conversion of many livery stables into garages after the automobile rose to prominence.

Club members paid a set monthly fee based on the number of the horses they owned. The fees paid for the horses' feed, bedding, facility maintenance, and a salary for one or two staff members. Clubs allowed owners to exercise more control over the horses' care than in a livery stable where the grooms were considered "the lowest kind of persons, with no responsibility, and usually never to be relied upon."¹⁵ The Brooklyn (New York) City Club Stable and Riding School published a list of its rules in 1868. The thirteen articles discussed the initial ten thousand-dollar investment of John Williams the proprietor and the fifty dollar-per-share membership dues. Members who invested in more than one share received extra benefits, such as reduced rates or even free use of a carriage or riding horse. The riding school, or arena, was available to members' wives and children and could accommodate three hundred spectators. The club also regulated its patrons by requiring membership approval by the proprietor and trustees and reserved the right to expel any member for cruelty or abuse.¹⁶

Horses used by railroad, trolley, or omnibus lines lived in stables owned and maintained by the transportation company. Other industrial horses pulled delivery wagons for businesses such as breweries or bakeries, while others worked in mines such as the Maple Hill Mine in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania (Figure 4.4). Public service horses, police or fire horses, lived in their own stables, usually within impressive, professionally designed precincts or firehouses.¹⁷ One excellent example is the Brookline, Massachusetts, town

¹⁵ McClure, *The Gentleman's Stable Guide*, 49.

¹⁶ "Brooklyn City Club Stable and Riding School," Brooklyn, 1868. Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Printed Ephemera Collection. Portfolio 127, Folder 40b.

¹⁷ Anthony W. Robins, "20th/83rd Precinct Station House and Stable," National

stable, which represented Brookline's "emerging sense of municipal responsibility" after the Civil War.¹⁸ In 1873 the city approved the superintendent of streets's request for a new stable for twenty horses and a year's worth of hay. The city hired architect Charles Kirby of Boston to design a two-story brick Gothic Revival stable. Changes in technology and city growth prompted an 1898 remodeling and a Georgian Revival addition designed by the architectural firm of Peabody and Stearns. The alterations incorporated the latest in stable design:

The old stable was altered into the carriage room, carriage wash, superintendent's office, a harness room, and a lunch and coat room for employees. The former hayloft was converted into storage space for carriages, pung [sleighs], and harnesses not in use. The basement contained the manure pit. Within the new stable was a coal bin, water boiler and storage space in the basement; 28 single [standing] stalls and two box stalls on the first floor; and storage for grain, hay, and straw in the loft. . . .the stall floor drained into the sewer in Cypress Street; the carriage and harness rooms drained into the brook which ran through the yard.¹⁹

Racing stables, or training stables, are groups of stalls called shed rows, located next to a track, in the stabling area, and usually used on a temporary basis when visiting owners raced or trained at the track. At some larger tracks stable owners or trainers own or lease a block of stalls, or an entire shed row, to use year round. Fairs and horse shows have similar stabling arrangements. Shed rows are most often two rows of stalls arranged back to back and protected from the sun, wind, and rain by an overhanging roof rather

Register of Historic Places Inventory--Nomination Form, 1982. Daniel P. Brunetto, "68th Police Precinct Station House and Stable," National Register of Historic Places Inventory--Nomination Form, 1982. Both of these police stables are in the Romanesque style.

¹⁸C. Benka and G. Hardwicke, "Town Stable," *Brookline MRA*, January 1985, 8-0.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 7-0, 7-1.

than exterior stable walls. Another common plan is a central aisle flanked by two stall rows (Figure 4.5). As discussed in chapter 2, individuals and consortiums built horse show stabling areas and race track stabling, as equine sports evolved into a professionalized national industry.²⁰

For the purpose of this study, the term *farm* is understood to be an agricultural production center of any size, producing field crops, livestock, or poultry, singularly or in any combination. A competitive stable can be located on a larger farm, country house, or rural estate property, but rarely are farming products, excluding hay, grown at an independent competitive stable. This distinction having been made, even if a stable calls itself a farm, it will not be considered a farm merely on the basis of its name. A *ranch* is often used to define farms that solely, again with the exception of hay crops, produce livestock, most often horses, cattle, or sheep. For example, the King Ranch, established during this time period in Corpus Christi, Texas, is both a cattle ranch and a Thoroughbred and Quarter Horse ranch. A cattle ranch often has a stable, though it is usually called a barn, since horses are needed to oversee and manage the cattle. The words *farm* and *stable* are found in place names across the country, though competitive stables with the term *ranch* in their name, such as Rancho del Paso, are more common in the western United States.

In the United States, the primary horse sport capitals between 1865 and 1929 were located along the eastern seaboard, in California, and the Bluegrass region of Kentucky. From Saratoga Springs, New York, to Aiken, South Carolina, wealthy industrialists built stables on their private estates or separate farms, and near resort areas. As the stable

²⁰ McClure, *The Gentleman's Stable Guide*, 54.

complexes grew larger between 1865 and 1929, many owners established new stables near major racetracks or prominent fox hunts. Participation in horse sports required stables, wherever they were located or whatever they were named, to have certain elements, turning stables into distinctive, classifiable units, just like factories or houses.

Twenty-six elements characterize most stable complexes built between 1865 and 1929, the gilded age of stables. These stable elements, not the external architectural style or roof/entrance orientation, are most often used to describe and identify stables and are brought together here for the first time. For example, two 1925 stable advertisements referenced “screened stable and ‘King’ ventilation, box stalls, clay floors, good pasture,” and “several acres of farm land and large horse barn with 30 box stalls,” but not exterior style as selling points.²¹ Most of these elements were not newly created in the 1865-1929 time period, but rather they became commonly used in almost every competitive stable built at that time. The elements’ functions are based in the theories and practices of equine management, a field that was slow to change and in many respects had very few fundamental differences between the late-eighteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Besides the large size of 1865-1929 competitive stables and the incorporation of modern utilities, the greatest difference between them and their predecessors was the involvement of trained architects who adapted external architectural styles to accommodate the internal elements’ requirements. For example, the John C. Stevens stable in Jamaica Bay, New York, built in the 1820s included “separate dwellings for the superintendent and the trainers, another for the farm employees, a smith, power-house, extensive granaries . . .

²¹ Advertisements, *Rider and Driver* LXIX, no. 7 (22 August 1925): 22. See also F. H. King, *Ventilation for Dwellings, Rural Schools and Stables* (Madison, WI: by Author, 1908).

twenty-eight boxes . . . Numerous paddocks with sheds, one-mile dirt training track, [and] a turf course.”²² All of these elements will be discussed as they were built and used fifty years later.

Competitive stables also are described by owners and participants according to the horses’ breeds, disciplines or both. Thus, when studying stables or describing a historic stable, it is important to realize that a stable may have operated first as a Standardbred facility and then a hunter-jumper facility with no exterior design changes. However, changes that frequently do occur include altered interior partitions and the addition or deletion of certain stable elements, with no change to the stable complex’s architectural “look.” Often new stable owners retain the stable name and the colors that identify each structure. Without an understanding of stable elements, it may be difficult for the historian to identify alterations.

Some stables constructed between 1865 and 1929 were very elaborate structures, such as Blairsdon in Bernardsville, New York, owned by C. Leyard Blair and described as a stable where “the finest possible accommodations have been provided for his blooded stock, all of which are housed and cared for in a stable almost royal.”²³ Others were efficient structures built to handle a large number of horses. Elaborate or utilitarian, each competitive stable complex had most, if not all, of the following elements. After 1929, improved electrical and plumbing components, trucks and tractors, higher labor and

²² John Hervey, *Racing in America 1665-1865 Vol. 02* (New York: The Jockey Club, 1944), 270.

²³ Barr Ferree, *American Estates & Gardens* (New York: Munn & Co., 1906), 5.

materials costs, and plastic had noticeable effects on many stable elements' construction, but these did not affect stable management or design as a whole.

Each description, in alphabetical order, explains the element's function, most common sizes, and construction materials. Most of the accompanying illustrations are from stables built between 1865 and 1929. The best stable design publication for this period is *Sporting Stables and Kennels* by Richard Van Nest Gambrill and James C. Mackenzie, published in 1935.²⁴ The authors drew upon stables conceived and constructed between 1865 and 1929. Elizabeth Simpson's 1938 *The Enchanted Bluegrass* is a flowery narrative of horses, estates, and people, especially their social backgrounds. In the midst of numerous character descriptions like "born of Gaelic ancestry, she not only is a lovely thing to see, but as sparkling as champagne, as irresistible as spring itself," Simpson devotes an entire page to the description of a Lexington, Kentucky, stable's elements:

Of outstanding interest at Walmac is the 19-stall barn placed on an eminence and surrounded by low, evergreen planting, every detail of which was planned by the master himself. There are two hospital stalls with opposite exposures, screened and perfectly equipped. The foaling stalls open at each side of the attendant's room; and a complete dispensary is provided. There are chests for the blankets, and saddles of every type, a crusher for feeds that is supplied from enormous bins above; a storage place for hay and straw on the second floor where carloads of grain are kept in mouse proof compartments. . . .

An avenue from the Maysville pike leads directly to the farm office, a white clapboard building with garage, scales and parking space nearby. A small entrance hall opens into the general office on one side, the private office on the other. Above the open fireplace in the private office is a print of *Salvator*, and other walls are hung with photographs of McIlvain's favorite horses.

²⁴ Richard Van Nest Gambrill and James Cameron Mackenzie, *Sporting Stables and Kennels* (New York: The Derrydale Press, 1935).

In all of this is reflected the vision, the interest and care of Robert Wallace McIlvain.²⁵

Robert McIlvain appears to have been quite dedicated to the development of his new stable. However, McIlvain did not create a new property type; instead, he arranged the twenty-six stable elements according to his own preferences and needs as did other stable owners.

Aisle

An aisle, or alleyway, is the main passageway connecting the stable entrances to individual stalls and work spaces. It can be an interior or exterior space. Aisles facilitate horse movement as well as care and management, and serve as the central stage for the stable and its occupants. During the 1865 to 1929, the ground at the stable entrance, usually two matching doors, often was covered with gravel, wood, brick, or concrete, to reduce the dirt and water carried into the aisle. The aisle floor, usually a hard surface like brick or concrete to ensure a dust-free, level working surface, was swept several times a day (raked if dirt).²⁶ Visitors walked along the main aisle to observe the horses. Aisle widths varied; however, by the end of the period the use of tractors for cleaning and feeding chores led to the adoption of a standard twelve-foot minimum central aisle width. Sometimes Saddlebred stables, and Tennessee Walker stables at the end of the period, had an extra wide central aisle to provide additional riding space. Aisles also functioned as veterinarian examination spaces, farrier workspaces, or grooming areas if spaces dedicated

²⁵ Elizabeth Simpson, *The Enchanted Bluegrass* (Lexington, KY: Transylvania Press, 1938), 151, 178.

²⁶ Wood and cork were also popular choices. See David O. Whitten, "A Century of Parquet Pavements: Wood as a Paving Material in the United States and Abroad, 1840-1940" *Essays in Economic & Business History* 15 (1997): 209-226.

for these purposes were not included in the stable complex. When not grooming horses in the stall, a traditional British method, grooms used cross-ties or tie rings in the aisle.

Cross-ties were five- to seven-foot-long ropes or chains with snaps attached to facing stall fronts and used to secure horses in the middle of the aisle. Tie rings, the more common option found in the estate stables, were rings, often brass, bolted onto the aisle side of the main stall posts, at least five feet high, and used for tying a horse on one side of the aisle. Figure 4.6 of the Roosevelt Stable (1886) shows the fancy tie ring and architectural embellishment of a structural support post separating two stall fronts.

Figure 4.7 is an undated photograph, probably c. 1900, that shows exterior entrance boards and a gravel or packed front area. The narrow entrance boards were laid perpendicular to the lengthwise aisle floorboards. The entrance height was also lower than the aisle, thus making sweeping easier and preventing water from running into the aisle. Figure 4.8 is an entrance from an extant 1917 stable that includes not only exterior mats (they would have been cocomats), but also a smaller entrance hall used for washing dirt off horses and carriages before entering the building. The brick floors and central drains facilitated daily cleanings. Figure 4.9 shows a typical 1880s-1890s British interpretation of aisle and walkway surfaces. The stable consisted of a row of stalls with exterior stall doors opening onto a brick walkway that separated the stalls from the gravel yard. The Hamilton Farm Stable (1917) had a herringbone patterned brick floor in the aisles. Figure 4.10 also shows brass tie rings on the front stall support posts. The 1886 Roosevelt Stable had a less-complex patterned brick floor in the aisle (Figure 4.11).

Bedding Storage and Manure Disposal

Each day, stable workers cleaned the stalls, removing manure and soiled bedding, and putting in fresh bedding. Most stables during the time period used wood shavings or straw to provide an absorbent cushion for stabled horses. However, depending upon the stable location, other choices included rice hulls, peat moss, sand, or sawdust. If the stable used straw, then the bedding could be easily stored in the loft; otherwise, there was a separate area for a shavings pile. Employees used pitchforks and wheel barrows to clean the stalls and transport the manure outside the stable. Manure spreaders, horse- or tractor-drawn, could then be used to spread the manure on hay fields or pastures as fertilizer. Unless a period stable has a surviving ramp or concrete manure pit, it may be difficult to determine the method used to dispose of manure. Manure pits were near the stable to provide easy access and to monitor the decomposition process, yet far enough away to avoid flies. After several months of turning the pile and adding fresh manure, the manure would be spread on outlying fields or used for landscaping or gardening.²⁷ Though each disposal method had its disadvantages, nothing was worse for a competitive stable than to have horses with bad feet or respiratory infections from dirty stalls. Regardless of the method utilized, stable managers avoided contact between manure and visitors or potential customers.

The stabling at the Historic Track at Goshen includes a “new” shavings bin for storing clean shavings (Figure 4.12). After those shavings and others are used, they are dumped into manure piles, often to the dismay of stable managers (Figure 4.13), if there is not a suitable container for the manure, such as the large concrete bins at Saratoga (Figure

²⁷ Gambrill and Mackenzie, *Sporting Stables and Kennels*, 15.

4.14). Some stables choose to spread each day's manure and so, if a tractor does not fit into an older, narrower aisle, today's stable hands push carts of manure out to loading ramps leading up to manure spreaders, just like the stable help of 1865 to 1929 (Figure 4.15). The James Ben Ali Haggin Barn (1902) included three manure pits located equidistant around the exterior of the circular stable; these were for storing and composting manure (Figure 4.16). Figure 4.17 is a conformation photograph, or a picture taken to record the musculature, bone structure, and angles of the stallion *Orvieto*, but it also shows what appears to be spread straw on the pasture.

Blacksmith/Farrier and Veterinary Area

Antebellum estates and towns in the United States and Great Britain often included a metal working facility, or blacksmith shop, to repair and construct metal items, both large and small. In a stable setting, the most important metal worker was the farrier, who was responsible for making and fitting horseshoes. Some of the most important breakthroughs in the field of horse management occurred in the farrier shop. Because farriers were often skilled metalsmiths, they were asked to experiment with shoeing techniques or to create new pieces of equipment to solve lameness or to improve management efficiency. Veterinary and dental services were common side business for many farriers until agricultural departments and experiment stations began supporting trained veterinarians. This separation of veterinary and farrier services also reflected similar changes in society as the medical profession established new schools, exams, and self-governing policies. Veterinarian professionalization included the same processes and also encouraged specialization in small or large animals. Within large-animal practice,

veterinarians then began to specialize in food or livestock and horses. Breeding farms were more likely to have a separate veterinary building while estates with both work and sport horses stables often had independent blacksmith shops.

Carriage Room or House

Stable owners who owned several carriages for sport had large rooms or entire buildings to house and maintain the vehicles. Sometimes stable owners installed lifts in the stable so that seasonal or extra carriages could be stored on the second floor or hay loft. Carriage rooms often had large, exterior sliding doors to lessen damage during entrances and exits, and a connected wash area for the carriages. To preserve the wood and other construction materials, the carriages had to be stored in dry, clean areas. Any interior doors that lead to the stabling area were “always kept closed, as the ammonia and gas from the horses in the stable [were] very injurious to the paint and varnish on the carriages.”²⁸ Horses used solely for transportation between 1865 and 1929 were often stabled separately from the owner’s competition carriage horses.

The Longview Farm Show Horse Barn (1914) had one wing devoted solely to carriage storage (Figure 4.18). Smaller stables such as the Meadow/Leacote Stable and Carriage House (1896) stored the carriages in a more central location, but still separated from the horses (Figure 4.19). Second-story storage areas were common at the more expensive country house and rural estate stables such as the Ring Barn (1891) at Shelburne Farms (Figure 4.20).

²⁸ McClure, *The Gentleman’s Stable Guide*, 46

Clock

Most stables had a clock in a prominent location. One of the most important advances in horse management during the time period was the understanding that horses perform best when cared for in a regular routine of activities.²⁹ A central clock would have also aided employee management. Conformation photographs from 1865 to 1929 that include the groom often show that he has a pocket watch, as evidenced by the visible watch chain. The main clock, an expensive addition to the stable design, was another embellishment opportunity for the architect.

The Hamilton Farm (1917) clock is especially detailed. The clock face is set within a scalloped border in a rounded arch. Swags of ribbons flow from what would be the arch's columnar supports. Beneath the clock a hunting horn and a whip are crossed and held together with a horseshoe (Figure 4.21).

Employee Housing

Stable staff, depending upon the stable size and the employees' positions, often lived in the main barn or nearby houses. These quarters would be provided as part of their salary or at reduced rates. The larger stables included recreational areas and living rooms in addition to individual bedrooms for each man. Unmarried grooms had living quarters in the stable loft area and barn managers had a house nearby. On larger stable complexes, employee houses spread across the landscape, often built in an architectural style identical to the stables, so that the grooms lived near their respective horses and stables. This arrangement was a clear carryover from the antebellum period when groom and jockeys,

²⁹ Gambrill and Mackenzie, *Sporting Stables and Kennels*, 11, 18. See also Veterinary Department, General Staff, War Office, *Animal Management*. 1908, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1908. Reprint, 1918), 83-84.

especially those who were slaves, lived in the stable. At Belair, the manager's family lived in an apartment in the stable and the help lived in their own homes off the property.

Though rare, some estate owners also built a chapel for employees. At E. R. Bradley's Idle Hour Stock Farm in Lexington, the chapel was a one-story wooden building enclosed by a stone wall.³⁰

Most competitive estate stables had at least three or four full-time employees to care for the horses. These men, including grooms, hostlers, jockeys, coachmen, and (sometimes) trainers, worked under the supervision of the stable manager. Grooms ensured the horse's daily well-being and prepared it for work, and hostlers fed the horses and cleaned the stalls. Grooms living in the stable also were responsible for catching loose horses, quickly finding sick horses, helping cast horses, and attending births.³¹ At racetracks, grooms' quarters were usually located at the end of the stall row. The trainer, often the stable manager, but not always, oversaw each horse's fitness and training program and taught the owner and/or the family.

The Hamilton Farm Stable (1917) employee quarters are in excellent condition since they are still used today by visiting horses' grooms. The stairs to the second-floor quarters are slate, the bannister wood, and the walls glazed brick up to the first landing (Figure 4.22). The upper hallway is a long corridor connecting the bedrooms and the bathroom (Figure 4.23). The Windsor T. White Stable (1926) second-story employee

³⁰ Edward L. Bowen, "B is for Bradley: Breeder Extraordinaire," *Keeneland*, Spring (2001): 48.

³¹ McClure, *The Gentleman's Stable Guide*, 39. John Henry Walsh, *Horse, in the Stable and the Field: His Management in Health and Disease* (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1871), 174.

quarters have suffered over time, but enough remains to understand the basic arrangement. The bathroom, located in the gable of the main entrance, was flanked by bedrooms on one side and an open recreational room on the other (Figure 4.24). Other living quarters on the White property included the manager's house and a large duplex for two families (Figure 4.25). The Belair (1907) stable manager's apartment entrance looked out over a central courtyard and included a kitchen, a dining room, three bedrooms, and one bathroom (Figure 4.26). At the Saratoga racetrack, grooms continue to live in the stabling area. In the older sections, the rooms were constructed at the stable. In the newer section, two small shed rows of bedrooms flank central bathrooms, one for women and one for men, a room arrangement that closely resembles the horse stall rows (Figure 4.27). Figure 4.28 is an example of separated employee housing at Hanover Shoe Farm, situated next to a broodmare pasture but not within the stable complex proper. The 1920s stallion manager's house at the Man O'War Farm, formerly Faraway Farm, was a Sears plan home and matches the stallion barn across the drive (Figure 4.29).

Entrance

The stable's main entrance was usually marked with flanking walls, posts, or signs with the stable's name. Guests and passersby are reminded of the property name each time they enter or pass the property. The main driveway often went between two pastures and led up to the main stable. At Georgian Court, the Gould Stable in Lakewood, New Jersey, the entrance included stone fountains and planters set within trimmed hedges.³²

Smaller roads connected the various stables, paddocks, pastures, and other elements.

³² William Henry Jackson, "The Stables, Georgian Court, Lakewood, NJ," Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Touring Turn-of-the-Century America Collection, LC-D4-13379, LC-D4-13380, and LC-D4-13381.

Directional signs helped point visitors and guests toward the stable (Figures 4.30 and 4.31). Stable complexes usually had at least one other entrance, especially large competitive facilities with separate breeding and riding horses or extremely large properties (Figure 4.32).

Equine Memorial and Cemetery

Many stables honored their best horses from the breeding shed or the winner's circle with a marked burial and memorial in the stable complex. These equine graves are often the last remnants of long past stables of the 1865 to 1929 period. The monuments and markers to these horses took many forms, and there are numerous examples of burials associated with horse industry sites of the 1865-1929 period.

In Middle Tennessee several former stable complexes have surviving graves or monuments, but few other extant elements. Belle Meade Plantation in Nashville has preserved the main house and carriage house, but except for a monument to the Thoroughbred *Enquirer* nothing remains of the competitive stable. The Saturn visitors center in Maury County, formerly Haynes Haven Farm, has reused the historic stable as a visitor center and preserved the nearby graves of the Standardbred pacer *Napoleon Direct* and Tennessee Walker *Haynes Peacock*. Milky Way farm in Pulaski, home to a variety of horse types between 1865 and 1929, buried several of its top horses on a small knoll marked by a tree along the fence line. It is not clear if the graves were marked with memorial markers, but the groom depicted in Figure 4.33 clearly considered the area a special location. At Spendthrift Farm in Lexington, Leslie Combs II began a cemetery

near his original stable; a cemetery that has grown significantly over the years (Figures 4.34 and 4.35).

Race tracks and show grounds also had burial areas for horses who set records or became famous at the facility. The historic Upperville Horse Show grounds in Upperville, Virginia is the gravesite of *Silver Crest*, a champion hunter gray gelding in the 1920s that won not only at Upperville, but also at the other major horse shows.³³ The infield of the Historic Tract at Goshen includes a memorial area (Figure 4.36). The interior of a training track at Saratoga has several headstones and the Kentucky Derby Museum at Churchill Downs includes monuments for horses closely connected to the Derby.

The most elaborate, and unusual, ritual occurred when an owner decided to preserve the deceased horse and donate the body, usually for science or education, to a museum or university. While this did happen often, the most significant example of equine memorialization occurred in 1947 when *Man O'War*, who had captured the nation's attention during the 1920s, died at Faraway Farm in Lexington, Kentucky. Because of *Man O'War*'s national significance, the stallion was embalmed and made available for viewing in an open casket for several days (Figure 4.37). After thousands of fans passed the coffin, *Man O'War* was buried in a nearby pasture and the event was broadcast live on radio stations across the country. Several decades later *Man O'War* was disinterred and reburied at the nearby Kentucky Horse Park where his grave is now marked with a life-sized statue.

³³Kitty Slater, "The Upperville Colt and Horse Show," <http://www.upperville.com> (accessed 1/28/04). Walter S. Vosburgh, Charles D. Lanier, Frank J. Bryan, and James C. Cooley, *Thoroughbred Types 1900 - 1925* (New York: Privately Printed, 1926), 215. See also Christopher Hyde, *A Week Down in Devon. A History of the Devon Horse Show* (Padnor, PA: Chilton Book Company, 1976).

Equine Use Areas

Track. A track is any oval shaped area, often with inner and outer railings, used primarily for working horses under saddle or in harness against time or one another. A track can be either open air or under cover. Some historic shed rows had a track encircling the entire stabling area. In this arrangement the track doubled as a riding and grooming space. Others, like the 1916 horseshoe-shaped twenty-two-stall Knox School Stables, formerly the Lathrop Brown estate stable in St. James, Long Island, had the stalls forming the exterior perimeter and the covered track on the inside.³⁴ Track footing between 1865 and 1929 was often a mixture of dirt, wood, sand, gravel, or river rock and was regularly maintained to prevent deep or slick areas that cause injuries or accidents. Grass race tracks were less common in the United States than in Europe, but when present were built inside or outside a dirt track.

The “Oklahoma” stabling area at Saratoga, named for its distance from the main racetrack, has a 1940s stable with a track encircling the double shed row of stalls (Figure 4.38). The 505 Farm continues to use its c. 1920s stable’s exercise track even though it has built a new training track nearby (Figure 4.39).

Arena. Riding rings or arenas are enclosed spaces used primarily for riding. At historic stables, rings could be outside surrounded by a fence or inside a building. An indoor arena might utilize the structure’s entire square footage or it might be a smaller area surrounded by stalls or spectator space. Arenas provided secure areas to hold sales, work young horses, and teach beginning riders. Rings, often were rectangular or oval in

³⁴ American Institute of Architects, Long Island Chapter and the Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities, *AIA Architectural Guide to Nassau and Suffolk Counties, Long Island* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1992), 178.

shape, but there were many varieties of shape and size. The only standardized arena form during the time period was the dressage arena first used by the military. A large dressage ring was twenty by sixty meters and the small dressage ring was twenty by forty meters. However, flat, dressage, or manege style riding predated the 1865 to 1929 period.³⁵

Arena footing, like that of tracks, was of any natural material; however, the most popular during the time period was a wood chip and dirt mixture, called tanbark. The most important functions of arena footing were to provide traction and reduce concussion. One elaborate private indoor ring was The Casino built from 1899-1900 at Georgian Court, the George Jay Gould estate in Lakewood, New Jersey. The Casino included a “tanbark ring the size of the old Madison Square Garden in New York [that] provided an exercise run for horses and polo ponies.” When not in use for riding, the family held parties, presented plays, and other events in The Casino’s ring.³⁶

The Windsor T. White Stable (1926) and the Hamilton Farm Stable (1917) each had their own arena. The White arena was enclosed with windows along each of the long sides to keep it cool in summer and provide natural light (Figure 4.40). The Hamilton Farm outdoor arena is a large open space still used for national events (Figure 4.41).

Round Pens and Walkers. Round pens and walkers are exercise areas. In historic stables, both of these spaces were round and of small size, usually no more than sixty feet in diameter. Unlike pastures and paddocks, there was no provision for water

³⁵ John Adams, *An Analysis of Horsemanship; Teaching the Whole Art of Riding, in the Manage, Military, Hunting, Racing, and Travelling System*, Volume 1. (Ivy-Lane, England: James Cundee, 1805), xviii. See also James Fillis, *Breaking and Riding* (London: Hurst & Blackett, Ltd., 1812).

³⁶ Christina M. Geis, *Georgian Court: An Estate of the Gilded Age* (East Brunswick, NJ: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1982), 54.

access. Round pens, like the western corral, had high fences made of wood, but unlike the corral were primarily for short-term single horse use. The walker, a mechanical alternative to hiring numerous grooms, was used to walk horses for extended lengths of time either to cool out a horse after work, build up muscle after an injury, or ensure controlled exercise. At the racetracks grooms, or hot walkers spent each day walking horses in the stabling area. The enclosed walker was powered by a central motor that moved partitions along a dirt track just inside the exterior wall. These partitions formed stall front and back walls that moved each horse around the circle. The design ensured that the horse moved at a certain pace, the pace set by the motor, but the horse was not tied to any piece of equipment. There also were inexpensive open-air versions that required the horse to be attached to long horizontal arms extending from a rotating central post turned by a motor.

Figure 4.42 shows a new round pen at the 505 Farm in Lexington, Kentucky. The farm also has a hexagonal indoor exercise track/walker with exterior windows that open to create cross breezes through the building (Figure 4.43). Figure 4.44 shows an almost identical British indoor walker from the mid-1930s or earlier.

Outdoor Courses. Riding and driving activities that required several acres used pastures or large unfenced spaces that included a rolling terrain for cross-country, driving, steeplechase, and jumping courses. Built obstacles were scattered across the landscape and included banks, ditches, and natural brush stabilized with heavy timbers. The footing was the natural ground surface with little or no maintenance other than mowing and hole filling.

The Rolex event course at the Kentucky Horse Park has dozens of interesting jumps, of which just a few are shown in Figures 4.45 and 4.46. Outdoor courses are one of the few elements that have undergone significant changes since the 1865 to 1929 period. Jump and course design principles and standards have evolved in response to safety and rider and horse skill issues. Generally speaking, the height, mass or both of eventing and show jumping obstacles has been reduced, but these changes have been offset by increasing the standards for technical difficulty.

Trails. Trails are riding paths linking all areas of a stable, country house, or rural estate and often extend beyond the property boundary onto neighboring land. In the 1865 to 1929 period individuals and riding clubs created miles of trails linking public parks and private stables. In foxhunting country, trails took the most direct route between coverts (while avoiding field crops) with jumps placed across fence lines.³⁷ Riding trails followed fence lines and usually forded creeks or rivers wherever the stream bed was the most solid and smooth. Since horses can easily swim, it was more important to have a crossing with solid and safe footing, free of debris, rather than the lowest water level.

Fencing

The primary goal of stable fencing is to keep horses in specific areas, out of others, and safe from machinery and other animals. The underlying considerations for an estate owner deciding on a particular fencing type were safety, cost, durability, and style. Horse fences needed to be tall enough to prevent jumping in or out, an ability every horse has even if it is not a “jumping” horse. For this reason most pasture and paddock fences were

³⁷ Coverts are the locations the huntsman draws (moves through) with the hounds when searching for the quarry; these are usually overgrown tree lines, a dense thicket of shrubs or trees, or a vegetation covered gully or ravine.

at least four feet tall. However, stallion paddock or pasture fences up to six feet high were not uncommon. In addition to its height, a fence had to be smooth yet strong enough to withstand horses rubbing, leaning, or pushing on the it. The fence also had to be clearly visible. Visibility depended not upon color, but rather the size and shape of the materials. Barbed wire, invented in 1874, was safe fencing for horses when tightly strung; however, its low visibility and the potential for serious injury to horses caught in loosened wires made it (and continues to make it) an unpopular fencing material at many competitive stables. Stiles or walkthroughs were often incorporated into the fence line at intervals to make human fence crossing easier. Fence corners were often rounded rather than set at right angles to prevent horses from becoming “stuck.” The commonly preferred fencing type between 1865 and 1929 was wooden board fences, but other types included post and rail, stone, and hedge.³⁸

Figure 4.47 illustrates a person-sized walk through in a new fence around a prominent auction facility established in the 1865 to 1929 period.

Wood Fences. Board fences, the most common fencing material between 1865 and 1929 were often painted white or covered with a creosote finish, unless they are oak, to prevent horses from chewing the boards and to extend the fence’s life. Three- or four-board fencing was the most popular style because of its high visibility and safety. Board fencing was also arranged designed to form intricate designs and patterns. Some fences had extra vertical boards covering the board joints on the post. The vertical boards were nailed into the posts on the inside of the paddock to make it harder for horses to

³⁸ George Tattersall, *Sporting Architecture* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1850), 16-17.

push the boards off the fence. Another wood fence, the post and rail, did not use any nails thus eliminating a majority of potential puncture wounds. Each post had three or four holes cut through the center and the rails had tapered ends that slid into the holes.

Figures 4.48 to 4.50 illustrate the universality of competitive stable quality board fencing. Located in Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Missouri respectively all of the fences are nailed on the inside of each pasture and have the top boards level with the top of the fence posts. Figure 4.51 includes a board fences at historic stables and some other types discussed below.

Stone Fences or Walls. Stone fences, more expensive to construct than wood, were often used in areas that had a ready supply of limestone or other suitable rock type. The solid walls also serve as a visual marketing tool advertising the property boundary. The Bluegrass Region of Kentucky and New England were well-known for their stone walls. The two most common sights in the Lexington area, besides the horses and stables, were the wood and the dry-laid limestone fences. After 1933 the Historic American Buildings Survey recorded the Gainesway and Normandy farms, both of which are along Paris Pike, a road that before 1930 was almost continuously lined with stone fences from its intersection with Iron Works Pike in Lexington to the town of Paris about seven miles north.³⁹ Competitive stables from 1865 to 1929 frequently used stone walls along the front property line or the stable entrance. At Castleton Farm in Lexington, Kentucky,

³⁹ “Gainesway Farm, Dry-laid Limestone Wall, 3890 Paris Pike, Lexington, Fayette County, KY,” HABS KY-274-A and “Normandy Farm, Limestone Wall, 4701 Paris Pike, Lexington vicinity, Fayette County, KY,” HABS KY-272-B, Historic American Buildings Survey, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress. Both of these stables postdate 1929 (Gainesway is 1969, Normandy is 1933) but the stone fences may easily date to the prior stables that owned the property between 1865 and 1929. John Gaines bought 500 acres from C. V. Whitney in 1969. See also www.gainesway.com.

David Look, Castleton's owner from 1911 to 1945, paid approximately \$25,000 to build the limestone wall paralleling the main road, Iron Works Pike.⁴⁰ The rest of the farm had four board fencing. The University of Kentucky's Agricultural Station is probably the best fenced station in the United States. Located on part of the former Saddlebred stable and estate Spindletop (1933), the university uses the outlying lands for experimental plots and the mansion as a faculty, staff, and alumni club.⁴¹ The stone walls from the Spindletop era and earlier stables on the same property continue to border the agricultural plots.

Metal Fences. Though barbed wire was an unpopular fencing choice among wealthy, social elite stable owners from 1865 to 1929, elaborate woven wire or metal fences were occasionally used. The same companies that made and sold stall fittings also carried a selection of wire and metal fencing options.

Natural Fences. If a stable owner wanted an "authentic" British look, the most appropriate fencing choice was a natural hedge. Thick shrubs, occasionally trimmed along their sides, grew into thick, impenetrable barriers that provided a "maintenance-free" fence line. Unlike wood which rotted or faded, or metal which rusted and required annual repairs, natural fences were also appropriate for ponies or livestock that might be able to slip through a different fence type.

Figure 4.52 includes two British conformation photographs taken against a natural hedge backdrop.

⁴⁰ Dean A. Hoffman. *Castleton Farm: A Tradition of Standardbred Excellence* (N.p.: n.p., 1995), 9.

⁴¹ Simpson, *The Enchanted Bluegrass*, 245. Spindletop's founder and drilling equipment inventor Miles Frank Yount made his fortune in 1925 from Andrew Mellon and "Diamond" Jim Brady's abandoned Texan well, Spindletop.

Grain Room

Grain rooms, also called feed rooms, were secured areas, though not necessarily fully enclosed, that contained grain, supplements, and medications. The term grain or concentrate was usually used to refer to corn or oats singularly or in a mixture with barley, bran, and other additives mixed with molasses. Between 1865 and 1929 horse owners debated the merits of corn and oats, an argument that has not abated, different processing techniques (crimped, cracked, rolled, whole), and additives (cottonseed, linseed, soybean meal) that improve nutritional value or digestion. The 1865 to 1929 era feeding methods often differed greatly “since much depend[ed] on the individual animal, study and observation [were] necessary on the part of a good feeder.”⁴² The grain was usually stored in the hay loft in one or more large wooden bins with a hinged lid. Suppliers delivered grain either by sack or loose via an auger attached to an overhead, second-story storage bin. Most of the second-story grain bins surveyed held three-to-five tons of grain; however, the Shelburne Ring Barn (1891) bins could have easily held up to ten tons. The grain flowed through a chute to a first-floor grain bin. If the grain was stored in the upper story, it was often delivered in whole-kernel form and, in order to preserve freshness, processed only as needed. The Gibson Company advertised that its oat crusher would “save 20 per cent on grain bills, aid digestion and improve your horses and cattle.” According to the company, its crushers were “used by hundreds of leading Breeding Farms, Private, Racing and Show Stables throughout the country.”⁴³ The two major

⁴² Ivy Madison, *Riding Astride for Girls* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1923), 257.

⁴³ Advertisement, *Rider and Driver* LXVIII, no. 8 (7 March 1925): 22.

goals of grain room design were to keep out rodents and horses and to keep the grain dry and clean. Grain rooms also often doubled as a safe place to store stable tools: brooms, pitchforks, rakes, and shovels.

The feed room at the Windsor T. White Stable (1926) is still used for its original purpose. The new grain is stored in the second story lofts and when needed allowed to fill a wheelbarrow for feeding (Figure 4.53). As Figure 4.54 illustrates, the feed room is also filled with supplements and medications for the horses, to be given according to a schedule outlined on the board above the lower grain storage bin. The aisle grain bin at the Belair Stable (1907) is a less elaborate feed storage space that is not enclosed but would be, “horse proof” if it were still in use (Figure 4.55). The feed room in the Hamilton Farm Stable (1917) is used for grain storage, but the second-story overhead bins are no longer used since, horses are no longer in full-time residence. Visiting horses often bring their own grain, which is kept in the grain room. Figure 4.56 clearly shows the large size of the room’s two bins and the galvanized pipes from the upper floor. The Roosevelt Stable (1886) has another variation; the overhead grain chute led directly into the aisle where each horse’s bucket could be filled individually (Figure 4.57). Beneath the Hamilton Farm Stable ramp in the stabling wing is a spaced designed for stall cleaning equipment so that none of it needs to be kept in the feed room (Figure 4.58).

Grooming Area

Grooming areas are open-front stall-sized areas utilized for grooming or cleaning horses. Horses are tied in the grooming stall using cross ties. Horses waiting before or after work often stand in grooming stalls in order to prevent the horse from rolling once

clean, eating, or damaging the tack or harness. The grooming area is the least common architectural element during the 1865 to 1929 period. Most grooms worked on horses in their stalls.⁴⁴ It became more popular in the post-World War II era when many competitive stables became boarding barns and the owner preferred to groom horses outside the stall. Between 1865 and 1929, grooms often used the grooming area to clip horses that worked throughout the winter. The Gillette Clipping Machine company advertised in 1925 that “clipped horses work, feel and look better” and that their “machines operated on the light circuit furnished by any Electric Light and Power Co., or on any make of Farm Lighting Plant.”⁴⁵

Harness Room

Harness rooms served a purpose similar to that of tack rooms, but more often had large sets of cabinets to properly protect and hang the harness. Large hooks, were mounted high on the walls to store the traces or longest pieces of leather.⁴⁶ All of the harness was cleaned after each use. The buckles and hardware required special attention. At the Belcourt Stable the harness fittings were sterling silver which required polishing.⁴⁷

Stables that competed in coaching or Standardbred racing usually had harness rooms.

⁴⁴ Gambrell and Mackenzie, *Sporting Stables and Kennels*, 4. See also Henry William Herbert, *Hints to Horse-Keepers, A Complete Manual for Horsemen* (New York: Orange Judd & Company, 1859), 145-146.

⁴⁵ Advertisement, *Rider and Driver* LXVIII, no. 11 (18 April 1925): 31.

⁴⁶ George E. Harney, *Barns, Outbuildings, and Fences* (New York: Geo. E. Woodward, 1870), plate no. 60. See also C. M. Moseman, *Moseman's Illustrated Guide for Purchasers of Horse Furnishings Goods, Novelties, and Stable Appointments, Imported and Domestic*, Reprint (New York: Arco Press, 1976).

⁴⁷ Arthur T. Vanderbilt II, *Fortunes Children: The Fall of the House of Vanderbilt* (New York: William Morrow, 1989), 249.

Hackney ponies and Saddlebreds shown in harness at horse shows also required harness rooms. Many smaller stables combined harness and tack rooms, especially if the harness horses were also used for riding. Harness rooms were also found in carriage houses, workhorse barns, fire stations, or any other structure used to store carriages before the widespread use of the automobile.

Figure 4.59, the tack/harness room at the Roosevelt Stable (1886) exemplifies a small, combined room. The saddles were hung on the back and side walls around the two windows. A tiled section of the floor around the drain prevented water from damaging the floor during the cleaning process. Two large cases on the right-hand wall housed harnesses and bridles.

Hay Storage

Most American stables built between 1865 and 1929 stored hay, cut and dried grasses or legumes, in lofts above the stall area. Some English stables continued to use the older open-air hay ricks (Figure 4.60). During most of the period, loose hay, rather than baled hay, was the most common form.⁴⁸ Just like the grain debates, preferred hay types (brome, clover, alfalfa, timothy, etc.) varied greatly across the country. Workers brought the hay in from the field on wagons. Then, after lowering a hay fork from the hayloft opening, they used the oversized tongs to lift the loose hay to the second story. A team of horses on the opposite side of the barn, hitched to a rope running beneath the roof

⁴⁸ Hay balers, like other farming equipment, began appearing on a large scale in the 1880s; however, they were not much more efficient than loose hay for which the stables lofts and framing systems had been designed. Once baled hay became supreme, then stable roofing structures were significantly altered to better accommodate the rectangular bales. Eventually the extra work required to store hay in second-story lofts originally designed for loose hay supported the rapid adoption of pole barns after the World War II.

line on sets of rollers, raised and lowered the hay fork, then moved it into the loft. At feeding time, stable help pushed loose hay, or flakes of baled hay, down each stall's chute or through trap doors into the main aisle. Employees used ladders or stairs to access hay lofts. Sometimes the hay loft areas adjoined employee living areas. Despite the convenience of overhead haylofts, stable designers concerned with dust, ventilation, and fire hazards occasionally designed a separate hay storage area.

Figure 4.61 shows three different hay mow doors (Roosevelt, 1886; Hamilton, 1917; and Historic Goshen, c. 1910) each designed for storing hay in the stable. The Windsor T. White Stable (1926) uses trap doors that open onto the lower aisle from the hayloft to move hay to the first floor (Figure 4.62). At other stables, such as the 505 Farm, a hay loft above only the stalls gives easy access to the hay while increasing air circulation (Figure 4.63). Regardless of how the hay reaches the horses, employees must climb, and Figure 4.64 shows the two usual options, a ladder (Hamilton Farm) or stairs (Man O'War Farm).

Lounge or Spectator Area

Lounges inside the stable or an independent clubhouse were designed for the comfort and pleasure of owners and their guests while watching the horses practice or compete. Large-scale spectator seating areas, track and ring side bleachers, or a large open hillside accommodated large numbers of visitors attending a sale or competition held at a stable, show grounds, or racetrack. By the late 1830s in England and Ireland there were several racecourse grandstands, designed by architects, that accommodated up to five thousand spectators.⁴⁹ Racetrack grandstands often had betting windows on the

⁴⁹ Tattersall, *Sporting Architecture*, 91-95.

backside of the structure, an important spectator area. At larger facilities there often were separate seating areas for the high-priced seats. Many 1865 to 1929 horse shows underwrote the competition by selling box seats months before the show. The “reserved” sections accommodated the wealthy, social elite competitors and owners who desired a more private area and, at the same time, provided a designated area for people, rather than horse, watching. For example, at the 1897 National Horse Show “the boxes and promenade glowed with beauty and gorgeous apparel as of old . . . during the evening hours, when twelve thousand of New York’s fashionable elite gather there . . .”⁵⁰ Other spectators stood along the ring wall, track fence, or any other location close to the horses. At racetracks, the paddock area, where before each race the horses was tacked or harnessed up, was a popular space.

At the Historic Track at Goshen, the grandstand (c. 1950s, not the track’s original) has covered seating facing the track and betting windows on the backside (Figure 4.65). The Red Mile, another Standardbred Track, has a grandstand overlooking the box seats next to the rail. The c. 1882 track has changed little since its foundation and neither has the grandstand, as illustrated by the comparison images (Figure 4.66). The grandstand at Churchill Downs in Lexington, Kentucky, rebuilt several times since its appearance in 1867, has always had the trademark twin spires seen in this 1910s postcard (Figure 4.67). At Oaklawn, a Thoroughbred racetrack in Hot Springs, the paddock area, under the new (1970s) grandstand, and the paved exterior space along the track are popular spectating areas (Figures 4.68 and 4.69).

⁵⁰A. H. Godfrey, “The National Horse-Show, New York,” *Outing. An Illustrated Monthly Magazine for Recreation* 31, no. 3 (December 1897): 295-297. Available from APS Online Database 434083832.

Office/Trophy Room

The owner, stable manager, and trainer used the office to maintain training schedules, breeding records, health records, pay and collect bills, and oversee the operation of the stable complex. Some stables had a separate trophy room to display the awards and ribbons won by the horses, riders, and trainers, but the office often doubled as the trophy room. The office was either an independent structure or inside the stable on the main aisle. When owners and trainers had their stables at racetracks, offices were often part of the stable complex. For instance, the Pinehurst Race Track attached a trainer's office to each of the original stables at the track.⁵¹

The Hermitage Stud (c. 1890-1898) office was off to the side of the main training stable and overlooked several pastures (Figure 4.70). The square building appears to have had a single room where the manager, May Overton, would have spent at least some time writing letters to delinquent mare owners, especially Col. Horace Ready of Murfreesboro, Tennessee. On August 24, 1897, Ready was more than six months' late paying for his mare's May 14, 1896 breeding to the Standardbred stallion *Ponce de Leon* 2:13.⁵² The offices of Elmwood Farm in Lexington, Kentucky and the Wellsville Driving Park in New York also managed stallion fees and board bills of mare and young horses, as advertised in their 1890 catalog and 1907 brochure (Figure 4.71).⁵³ The second-story trophy room at

⁵¹ Linda Harris Edmisten, "Pinehurst Race Track," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. September 1992, 8-1.

⁵² May Overton to Col. Horace Ready 24 August 1897, Warden Collection, Hermitage Stud Research File, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU.

⁵³ Elmwood Farm and Wellsville Driving Park pamphlets, Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU.

Hamilton Farm (1917), above the main entrance hall, is illuminated by an oval stained glass ceiling light. The light then passes through a clear-glass section of the trophy room floor and down to the main entrance. The slate stairs up to the trophy room are lined with cases filled with ribbons. The trophy room itself has shelves, cabinets, and ledges for trophy display (Figures 4.72 and 4.73). The Hamilton Stable trophy room doubled as a lounge area. The back doors opened onto a small deck overlooking the outdoor arena. The stable at Reginald Vanderbilt's estate, Sandy Point, had a trophy room overlooking the private track.⁵⁴

Paddock

A paddock is a fenced area, usually grass or dirt, used to turn out horses individually or in small groups. Between 1865 and 1929, paddocks were used primarily in shifts throughout the day and night so that a large number of horses could have a few hours of free time on the least amount of land.⁵⁵ Paddock entrances usually faced the stable so that horses could be efficiently moved between the stall and the paddock. Paddocks often shared common fences, but sometimes there was a five-to-ten-foot wide passage between paddocks. These individual fences prevented contact and fighting between neighboring horses. Occasionally the lanes between the paddocks or pastures were used as riding areas. Though few paddocks had shelters, they all had some type of

⁵⁴ Vanderbilt II, *Fortunes Children*, 328.

⁵⁵ Tattersall, *Sporting Architecture*, 14. Robert Stewart, *The American Farmer's Horse Book* (Cincinnati, OH: E. W. Starr & Co., 1874), 431-432. Samuel Sidney, *The Book of the Horse: (Thorough-bred, Half-bred, Cart-bred,) Saddle and Harness, British and Foreign, with Hints on Horsemanship; the Management of the Stable; Breeding, Breaking and Training for the Road, the Park, and the Field*, 2nd. ed., (New York: Orange Judd Co., 1875), 516.

water source for the horses. Individual stallion barns often had an attached paddock so that the stallion could move freely between stall and paddock. Figure 4.74 of the lower field at the Windsor T. White Stable (1926) shows paddocks to the left and a larger pasture to the right.

Pasture

A pasture is a large multi-acre fenced grass area used to turn out a large number of horses. Horses in a pasture group are often the same age, sex, or use. For example, a stable with a large number of yearlings or two-year olds might designate a pasture just for them to prevent older horses from hurting younger horses. At large breeding stables between 1865 and 1929 horses lived in pastures full-time, handled only one or twice a day at feeding times or during inclement weather. Pastures' large size enabled stables to accommodate more horses than there were stalls and reduced the time required to care for a large number of horses. The horses depended upon the pasture's grass for the majority of their roughage (Figure 4.75). Some large breeding farms utilized creep feeders, large troughs encircled by restricted-access fencing within a pasture, to selectively feed grain. Mares or geldings were unable to enter between the fence posts, but foals or yearlings fit through the openings and could eat the grain in the troughs (Figures 4.76 and 4.77). A similar method was used to feed foals in stalls with their dams: feeders had narrow bars or pieces of wood across the top through which the foal, and not the mare, could fit its muzzle and eat. Occasionally pastures had small pens or holding areas near a road for easy access by veterinarians and staff.

Pastures, too, shared common fences or had individualized fences to prevent contact between different horse groups, provide riding lanes, and enable quicker capture of loose horses. Pastures, more often than paddocks, had free-access shelters, called run-in sheds, to block strong winds and provide shade. These shelters had at least one, and sometimes two, open sides. The roof was usually of a shed type with a shorter, steeper overhang extending past the front opening. A water supply, also mandatory in a pasture, often included one or more of the following: water tanks, spring fed ponds, or creeks. The Carter Paint Company advertising postcard (1910) of Dreamwold, the Thomas W. Lawson estate in Egypt, Massachusetts, gives an aerial view of the relationship between paddocks and pastures. The smaller paddocks are closer to the buildings and the larger pastures are in the foreground (Figure 4.78). A new pasture run-in shed at Settlers Acre uses a design very similar to those of the 1865 to 1929 period (Figure 4.79).

Stable Colors

The entire stable complex—stables, outbuildings, employee housing, and sometimes even the fencing—often was painted with coordinated trim color, a practice that continues to the present. These colors were repeated in the horse clothing (blankets, coolers, wraps), racing silks, show tack room curtains, trunks, and employee uniforms so that items could be quickly identified as belonging to a certain stable while at the same time ensuring recognition from a distance. The colors and patterns often became synonymous with the owner and stable. Monograms, such as Lord Wimborne’s “W” on the 1913 English polo team’s coolers discussed in chapter 2, served as an advertising tool as well as

an ownership mark. Signs identifying the various structures, such as “Barn 8,” directional signs, and entrance markers had matching color schemes. Owners used decorative designs on stall and stable doors; common decorative patterns included circles, crosses, and Xs.

The Belair (1907) racing silks, one of the oldest in the country, are bright red polka dots on a white field. The stable continued the color scheme, with bright red paint on the metal pieces of the stalls and doors (Figure 4.80). Phil T. Chin’s Himyar Stud in Lexington, Kentucky, shown here in a picture from its 1928 sale catalog, had white stables with a dark color trim around each door and window and on specially made decorative woodwork on the main doors (Figure 4.81). The breezeway at the Man O’War farm is painted white with green trim around the doors and windows and on the door cross braces (Figure 4.82). Likewise, the historic colors of Walnut Hall Stud Farm, also in Lexington, are yellow sides with red trim and red roofs for a distinctive color scheme (Figure 4.83). Hanover Shoe Farm, a Standardbred stable that was just beginning to grow in stature at the end of the period, continues to paint its stables and other structures creamy yellow with a hunter green trim (Figures 4.28 and 4.84).

Stall

A stall is a “room” for a horse. There are two main forms, standing stalls and box stalls, and four types: regular, broodmare, stallion, and isolation. Between 1865 and 1929, flooring options included dirt, gravel, concrete, wood, clay, sand, asphalt, and brick. Each material had advantages and disadvantages when considered in relation to the horse’s health and soundness since stall floors must provide a secure footing for a horse, be free of dampness or ammonia, and be easily cleanable. Stable built between 1865 and

1929 often had a cast iron drainage system linking the stalls and wash areas, with a series of pipes and traps to carry away waste and control ammonia.⁵⁶ Expensive to construct and maintain, these drainage systems are rarely found in stables constructed after 1929. Once the architect and owner decided upon the stall base and drainage choices, there was a variety of cushioning options: straw (rye, wheat, or oat), sawdust shavings, peat moss, and rice hulls.⁵⁷ These bedding materials provided a softer surface for the horses when they slept and speeded cleaning if there was not a drainage system. An additional alternative was a woven cocomat that provided traction and a denser base.⁵⁸ High ceilings and exterior windows in the stall area provided ventilation and lighting. Window placement and hinge location was a multi-paragraph section in each stable management guide. Windows were often placed high in the walls to prevent damage and injury from kicking. The windows had hinges on the bottom and opened inward to prevent drafts from blowing directly onto the horse.⁵⁹ The Marshall Field III polo stable at Caumsett, Long Island (1925) is a good example of the high ceilings, and exterior windows, and bottom-hinged, inward-opening windows in the stalls (Figure 4.85).

One early example of a drainage system is the Governor Christopher Gore Carriage House and Stable, constructed c. 1806, had wooden floors in the tie stalls, and,

⁵⁶ Tattersall, *Sporting Architecture*, 12. McClure, *The Gentleman's Stable Guide*, 23. Walsh, *Horse, in the Stable and the Field*, 165-166.

⁵⁷ Madison, *Riding Astride for Girls*, 256.

⁵⁸ J. Stanley Reeve, *Red Coats in Chester County* (New York: The Derrydale Press, 1940), 7.

⁵⁹ Edward L. Anderson and Price Collier, *Riding and Driving* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905), 212-213, 216.

along the aisle, hinged boards provided access to the lower drainage system (Figure 4.86). Urine would flow through the widely spaced stall boards and the soiled bedding and manure could be pushed to the back of each stall and into the drain. At least one panel in the middle of the aisle provided access to the central drainage system. A similar system from the 1865 to 1929 period is in the 1873 Adams Carriage House and Stables in Quincy, Massachusetts (Figures 4.87).

Standing Stall. Standing stalls, also called straight or tie-stalls, of the time period, usually measured nine feet long and five feet wide. Often there were several standing stalls in a row and groups of up to thirty were not uncommon, especially when the owner had several strings of polo ponies or teams of carriage horses. Standing stalls were also very common in industrial, government, workhorse, or mule barns. The stalls faced the exterior wall with each horse's rear toward the central aisle. Standing stalls had side walls, usually wood, four feet or taller, that rose toward the front or head end to prevent horses from biting and fighting with their neighbors. In some cases, the dividing partitions or sides were not fixed, and the partition could swing as much as six inches depending upon the length of chain connecting the partition to the bale-post at the back of the stall.⁶⁰ A movable partition allowed horses more space for sleeping or turning around when being removed. Metal dividers often topped the side walls and the front partitions. These partitions were easier to clean and less vulnerable than wood to chewing.⁶¹ The dividers were another opportunity for stable architects to utilize decorative patterns and add style to the stable area. The front of the standing stall usually had holders for hay, grain, and

⁶⁰ McClure, *The Gentleman's Stable Guide*, 27.

⁶¹ Madison, *Riding Astride for Girls*, 255.

water. These were either individual components or together in a full-width manger.⁶²

Sometimes tie stalls had a small aisle along the exterior wall so that workers did not have to walk into the stall at feeding time. Each horse was secured either with a fixed tie attached to the facing wall or to a rope running through a hole in the front edge of the manger, ending with a knot or large ball. Many standing stalls had wooden floors made of long oak boards laid lengthwise. Oak, a very durable wood, also “gives” beneath a horse’s weight, and the lengthwise direction eased stall cleaning.

Two noteworthy examples of standing stalls are the Royal Mews (1837) at Buckingham Palace and the later, circa 1920, Royal Canadian Mounted Police Riding Hall at Rockcliffe Park, Ottawa, Ontario (Figures 4.88 and 4.89). Both of these stables, the Spanish Riding School in Vienna or the private estate stables of George Gould’s Castle Gould, used standing stalls to maximize the number of horses that could be kept in a single space.⁶³

Box Stall. Box stalls, loose stalls, or loose-boxes, were one of the relatively newer design concepts in 1865. By 1929, box stalls had become the norm and standing stalls were considered “obsolete” since, as noted in a 1935 publication, horses “are kept only as luxuries today, and not as necessities, and need not be kept in standing stalls and tied all the time, as was the case in the days of livery stables and carriage horses.”⁶⁴ Box stalls usually ranged between ten and twelve feet square.⁶⁵ Specialized box stalls were

⁶² Harney, *Barns, Outbuildings, and Fences*, plate no. 50.

⁶³ Anatole Girard, “French Farms,” *Architectural Record* 13, no. 4 (April 1903): 320

⁶⁴ Gambrell and Mackenzie, *Sporting Stables and Kennels*, 4.

⁶⁵ McClure, *The Gentleman’s Stable Guide*, 28. Maddison, *Riding Astride for*

often quite large, sometimes measuring up to sixteen by sixteen feet. The walls, often wooden boards from the ground to a height of four or five feet and then topped with metal bars or meshes, were strong enough to withstand kicks and prevent full contact between neighboring horses. If the owner had an unlimited budget, as did George Gould, the stall walls were built of mahogany; however, most stables were of less expensive, yet equally durable, hardwoods.⁶⁶ Few stalls of the period had solid side walls since owners, realized that horses fared much better when they could see other horses. Solid walls, from floor to ceiling, also made it more difficult for staff members to check horses regularly, decreased ventilation, and blocked light. In many competitive country house, rural estate, or independent stables from 1865 to 1929 the bottom eighteen inches of the box stall walls were angled inward about a foot to prevent horses from becoming cast or lodged against the stall wall and unable to rise.⁶⁷ This design feature is quite uncommon today since it would require specialized carpentry.

Since horses were free to move about box stalls, there were often separate holders for hay, grain, salt, and water. Quarter-round iron hay mangers mounted at horse head height were often located in a back corner beneath a chute coming from a second-story hayloft. However, some authors recommend that horses be fed their hay on the ground.⁶⁸

Girls, 255

⁶⁶ Geis, *Georgian Court, an Estate of the Gilded Age*, 72.

⁶⁷ Gambrill and Mackenzie, *Sporting Stables and Kennels*, 9.

⁶⁸ Price and Collier, *Riding and Driving*, 222. The hay feeding location debate still continues.

Grain and water buckets were usually placed in identical corners in a row of stalls to reduce fighting at feeding time, bad eating habits, and human error.

Box stall doors frequently matched the wall construction materials and style and were at least four feet wide. Horse management guides of the time period recommended sliding doors because they reduced the risk of horses becoming caught between the door and a wall and took up less space in the aisle.⁶⁹ Dutch doors, a hinged door with separate top and bottom halves, most often occur on exterior walls and were very common in race track shed rows. A Dutch door provided ventilation and warmth control while allowing a horse to see more, thus reducing boredom and associated bad habits. Cotton web stall guards often were used in conjunction with Dutch doors to prevent escapes while increasing ventilation. Stall door hinges, latches, and locking mechanisms were another opportunity to provide decorative features, whether through the metal choice itself, such as brass, an intricate design, or a “clean” look with no protruding edges to injure horses.⁷⁰ Stable architects of 1865 to 1929 had a plethora of choices for additional pieces of hardware, such as stall plaques, blanket racks, and halter hooks for stall fronts.

The extant stables at Hamilton Farm (1917) and 505 (c. 1920) have box stalls with wooden walls laid vertically, a more expensive but stronger method than horizontal boards, surmounted with metal bars (Figure 4.90). The 505 (Figure 4.91) box stalls’ metal upper partitions extend to the ceiling. The next four illustrations (Figures 4.92-4.95) show different variations of feeding and watering fixtures. The inside of the Hamilton Farm (1917) box stall includes a porcelain automatic waterer, an interior brass

⁶⁹ McClure, *The Gentleman’s Stable Guide*, 19.

⁷⁰ Tattersall, *Sporting Architecture*, 12-13.

tie ring, and wooden siding on the lower portions of the walls to protect both the horse and the structure from kicks. The quarter-round hay manger in the stallion barn at Spendthrift (c. 1950) is filled from inside the stall. Since this is a stallion barn, the stall walls are full height to prevent fighting, but the stallions have two screen doors, on the front and back walls, so they can see outside. Figure 4.94, the Belle Meade Carriage House and Stable, c. 1890, and Figure 4.95, the 1909 Good Time Stable depict two examples of hay chutes from the hayloft to the manger. The Belle Meade hay rack enabled the stable help to feed two horses at one time since it straddled the stall wall. The Belle Meade stall wall also is a good example of the decorative metalwork often used for the upper wall sections. The Good Time Stable hay chute, now altered into a display case for the Harness Racing Hall of Fame, originally had its manger in the large space now occupied by the Currier and Ives print. Like the Belle Meade chute and manger, the Good Time combination served two stalls; however, the Good Time chute continued to the stall floor and provided storage space for each horse's grooming tools.

Solid brass, as shown in some of the illustrations, was a popular choice for door handles, name plates, tie rings, blanket racks, and halter hooks (Figure 4.96). Occasionally, especially earlier in the time period, the owner took the opportunity to purchase decorative iron work for the stall door hinges. The Roosevelt Stable (1886) door hinges are in the shape of two buckled leather straps with a central circular medallion flanked by upright two bits (Figure 4.97). The c. 1926 photograph of the Standardbred *Peter Manning* of Hanover Shoe Farm shows a simple wood box stall with a Dutch door (Figure 4.98). The front of the stall was decorated with a plaque listing his record and

ownership; a thermometer; a halter hook (serving its purpose); a drying rack with its name, towels, and a sweat scraper; a blanket rack with multiple coolers and towels; and, just barely visible, a tack trunk. The Windsor T. White (1926) stall front shows, a blanket rack and a halter hook (Figure 4.99). A detailed example of a door locking mechanism from the Windsor T. White stable illustrate that, when the door was open, the horse would be unable to hurt itself on any protruding metal (Figure 4.100)

Isolation Stall. An isolation stall is a box stall located at the end of an aisle or separated, usually by tack rooms, from the rest of the stalls. Sick horses are kept in the isolation stall to prevent the spread of disease. New horses may stay in isolation for a week or two being monitored for easily transmittable illnesses. During the historic period, large estates with work and competition horses, such as Longview Farm, frequently had an entire stable devoted to the care of sick or injured horses.⁷¹

Stallion or Broodmare Stalls. Stallions or mares and foals often had larger box stalls, up to sixteen feet square, or independent stables.⁷² If in a mixed stable, these stalls were in the quietest areas of the stable. Stables with extensive breeding programs built separate stables specifically for stallions or brood mares. By the early-twentieth century breeders were building stallion stables with a breeding shed either attached or nearby. The breeding shed, usually found on large breeding farms, was used to prepare mares by putting on tail wraps or breeding hobbles. A well-designed area provided a safe environment for all involved in the breeding process, humans and equines alike. Separate

⁷¹ Price and Collier, *Riding and Driving*, 216.

⁷² Tattersall, *Sporting Architecture*, 6, 23-24. See also J. H. Sanders ed., *Practical Hints About Barn Building* (Chicago: J. H. Sanders Publishing Co., 1893), 134-136, 148.

broodmare stables reduced the foals' exposure to potential illnesses, created a quieter environment, and allowed easier movement of mares and foals from stalls to their own pasture.

In the antebellum period, stallion management at Fairview in Gallatin, Tennessee, included the construction of independent single-stallion stables, one-stall structures that allowed individualized turnout and customer viewing along the main drive (Figure 4.101). At Man O'War Farm (c. 1925 previously Faraway Farm), the four stallions had their own stable, each occupying a corner, with an attached breeding shed (Figure 4.102). The stallions could enter and exit the stable without passing another stallion by using his individual exterior door. The breeding sheds at Spendthrift (c. 1950) and Maine Chance (c. 1944) have similar layouts: low ceiling with ample lighting, opposite entrances, and a large open space for breeding (Figures 4.103 and 4.104).

Tack Room

Tack rooms are rooms built for the care and storage of horse equipment used for riding and general care: bridles, saddles, harnesses, grooming supplies, and horse clothes. Larger stables often had two or three tack rooms equidistant between the stalls so that each horse's equipment was close at hand. While horses in a stable could share tack, most horses in regular work at competitive stables had their own set of tack, creating another expensive line item in the stable budget. At competitions it was especially important to have a complete set of tack for each horse to prevent delays. Bridles, martingales, and girths often hung in groups along one or two of the walls. Saddle racks usually filled another wall. Competitive stables from 1865 to 1929 often had sinks and stoves in the

tack room, or a separate cleaning room, for daily cleaning chores.⁷³ Many competitive stable tack rooms also had cabinets or adjacent closets to store horse clothing. This was especially important since most blankets and coolers of the period were wool, trimmed and monogrammed in the stable coolers, and did not look impressive with numerous moth holes. At Belcourt the Belmont horses wore embroidered white linen blankets that were changed three times a day by “special English grooms.”⁷⁴ Other tack room storage spaces held bandages, wraps, and boots needed for daily care, competition, and traveling.⁷⁵ At competitions horse owners usually used a box stall as the tack room for show equipment.

Horse clothing required large drawers, chests, and cabinets. The saddle and blanket cabinet at the Windsor T. White Stable (1926) is unusual since saddles usually were not stored in a case. This large wooden cabinet with five doors and six drawers is quite nice (Figure 4.105). The drawers also could have been used to store the types of protective leg wraps illustrated in chapter 2. A most unusual historic tack room was Harry Payne Whitney’s “Carry All.” His mobile tack room with canvas sides was particularly suited to polo matches since it could accommodate a four-sided mallet tree, two large tack trunks, two folding tables, and assorted supply bags (Figure 4.106).

Transportation Centers

Between 1865 and 1929 stables regularly shipped horses across the nation for sales, breeding, and competition. Top competitors and breeders also arranged

⁷³ Tattersall, *Sporting Architecture*, 35. Gambrill and Mackenzie, *Sporting Stables and Kennels*, 11.

⁷⁴ Vanderbilt, *Fortunes Children: The Fall of the House of Vanderbilt*, 249. See also Sydney D. Barney, *Clothes and the Horse* (London: Vinton & Company, 1913).

⁷⁵ Sidney, *The Book of the Horse*, 504-505.

international travel via the shipping lines. Primary source material regarding international equine travel is not readily available, but an examination of the competition reports and blood stock auctions suggests a significant number of horses traveled into and out of the United States and other countries each year.⁷⁶ Cruise lines, in addition to their usual advertisements for luxurious staterooms also directed ads at their four-legged passengers. The most common method to move horses within the United States between 1865 and 1929 was the railroad and, growing slowly at the end of the period, vans.⁷⁷

Railroads. Until the 1920s estate stable owners often built railroad sidings to connect their property to a main rail line. Individual property sidings made moving family members, guests, employees, households, supplies, and horses much more efficient. Stable owners used either a railroad company's horse car or their own private, named car. The first horse cars appeared in England in the 1830s. American railroads shipped draft and sport horses as freight in "conventional stock or ventilated boxes" until the 1880s when passenger train service included specialized horse cars.⁷⁸ Auction or sale pamphlets included the relevant train schedules for prospective buyers. Railroad companies, like the

⁷⁶ The United States Customs Agency or United States Department of Agriculture are the most likely repositories for detailed information about international horse importing and exporting numbers and procedures.

⁷⁷ Veterinary Department, *Animal Management*, 246-269. Colonel William H. Carter, *Horses Saddles and Bridles*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: The Lord Baltimore Press, 1902), 271-293. A few major motion movies include a few good visual examples of transportation. *The Man From Snowy River*, includes a New Zealand version of unloading from a train, *Seabiscuit* includes a good platform scene, and, of course, the classic ship scene in *The Black Stallion*, a bit dramatic but illustrates ship slings and swimming. See Alexis Gregory, *The Golden Age of Travel, 1880-1939* (London: Cassell, 1998).

⁷⁸ John H. White Jr., *The American Railroad Freight Car: From the Wood-Car Era to the Coming of Steel* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 265-266.

ship companies, also advertised their services to those interested in transporting horses across the country. If a stable did not have its own railroad siding, grooms walked the horses to closest train station. In a nostalgic moment in his unpublished autobiography, the legendary sportsman Harry Worchester Smith recounted a reminiscence of Miss Elizabeth Daingerfield of Castleton Stud, who recalled grooms walking sale horses to the Lexington, Kentucky, railroad station in the 1930s:

Then the easy gentle introduction of the young horse to the railroad train, all so gentle and so matter of course for the horse to follow the soft-voiced colored boy he loved, that there was rarely any trouble or delay, and the white cotton bag heavy with silver dollars, cheerfully accepted for the long walk, bags of candy and ginger cakes for refreshment, or “goober peas” by the pocketful.

It’s all gone now, or nearly gone, for in spite of the slick and dangerous roads, the road patrol with great six-shooters and determined mien walk beside the yearlings shipped to Saratoga by Phil Chinn, the only colts in Kentucky led to the train in the same old way. Even last year [c. late-1930s] as the red moon set just after midnight the 140 Himyar Stud yearlings walked to the train and the cadence of the feet and the crooning songs of the men was a dream of olden days.⁷⁹

Vans. Horse vans were single-unit enclosed vehicles holding up to eight horses in a series of tie or box stalls. Once trucks became large and dependable enough to haul horses efficiently, approximately 1920, stables began to use horse vans to meet their transportation needs. The greatest advantage was the freedom to ship horses without being tied to a railroad schedule, even though roads were considerably less than perfect. A loading dock eased the difficult process of getting recalcitrant horses up ramps into railroad boxcars or vans. Ramps built for van use were usually about four feet tall on the

⁷⁹ Harry Worchester Smith, “The Life of an American Sportsman, [1930s],” 3d, 3f, “The Death of Wheeler,” Manuscripts, Box 2, Harry Worchester Smith Collection, The National Sporting Library.

driveway side and had a smooth stone, timber, or concrete vertical face with a sloping earthen ramp.⁸⁰

An early example of a horse van was portrayed in the April 5, 1945 edition of *Rider and Driver* (Figure 4.107). There is not enough primary source material to determine if the Busch van's elaborate decoration was typical of the period, but the side and rear ramps are still part of basic van (and trailer) design today. The two loading ramps in Figure 4.108 show new and historic ramps for comparison.

Utilities

The element that most clearly separated the elite stables of 1865 to 1929 from their predecessors were the utilities: electricity, telephones, fire suppression, and rain water control. Stable owners and workers enjoyed many services unavailable to their rural neighbors until President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal programs "modernized" the nation. Most estate stables maintained their own power plants to supply electricity to the entire estate, not just the stable. Aisles had regularly spaced lights, often with designer shades, and usually each stall had an individual bulb. Exterior lights, often enclosed in elaborate wrought iron fixtures, enabled evening visits or travel. Electricians used metal conduits to reduce fires. With electricity grooms could take advantage of new electric clippers, vacuums, and other grooming tools. Owners and trainers transmitted daily directions and requests for emergency help by the estate telephone system. Comparable to the electrical systems, telephones were a luxury not found in most neighboring households.

⁸⁰ Gambrill and Mackenzie, *Sporting Stables and Kennels*, 20.

Stables used furnaces to heat workrooms and the stabling area with radiators. Architects also incorporated ventilation shafts leading from the main floors up through the roof cupola to increase air circulation and lower humidity. Fire prevention/suppression precautions included fire extinguishers, overhead sprinklers, exterior fireplugs, metal trusses, concrete or stucco-covered brick rather than wooden exterior walls, and fire doors at intersecting aisles (Figure 109).⁸¹ Country house and rural estate stables had better fire protection than most stables of the late-twentieth century (except for today's advanced fire departments).⁸² Unfortunately fires still occurred. After a stable fire that killed several horses, Empire City Stud owner William B. Simpson hired architect John H. Coxhead to design a new concrete, fireproof, forty-stall, 347 feet long, fifty feet wide, stable at his stud in Cuba, New York. (Figure 4.110).⁸³ Indoor waste water drains and

⁸¹ Ibid., 30.

⁸² Few late-twentieth century competitive stables have overhead sprinkler systems or fireplugs. The electrical wiring of the earlier period was safe for its time. 1865 to 1929 stables that are still in active use usually have conduit lines installed next to the old wiring lines. New outlets and fixtures will often be installed next to the originals since the design of the original layout is still effective and not outdated. Using metal conduits in a stable reduces the risk of shock or fire due to rodents, natural weathering, or the worst case scenario, a horse chewing on a cloth or plastic coated line. Early twenty-first century reliance on summertime fans and other electrical appliances often overwhelms older electrical lines that have not been replaced.

⁸³ Nancy L. Todd, "McKinney Stables of Empire City Farms," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, 1999, 7-1, 8-1. According to Todd most of the stalls were fifteen feet by fifteen feet except the stalls originally built for Shetland ponies. The stall area has an overhead hay mow and the central block has "two offices, rest rooms, and a former blacksmith shop on the first floor and a large, open dining hall facility and grooms' quarters on the second floor. Access to the second floor is via an elegant wooden staircase." See also Bill Harris, *Barns of America* (New York: Crescent Books, 1991), 116-117.

exterior gutters and down spouts were another opportunity for 1865 to 1929 stable architects to indulge in decorative details while serving a practical purpose.

The Windsor T. White Stable (1926) transformer room, while obviously not in use, is accessible (Figure 4.111). There is a similar situation in the Hamilton Farm Stable (1917) lounge. The original light switch panels have not been removed, but there are new switches (Figure 4.112). Throughout the structure instead of taking out the old wiring, new electrical wiring has been added along side the old whenever possible and the original fixtures are still used, just with new bulbs and wattage. The exterior lamps at Hamilton (1917) and Longview (1914) are excellent examples (Figure 4.113). At Belair (1907) the original phone remains in the stable, but is obviously antique (Figure 4.114).

Water Source

Estate stables, tracks, and show grounds constructed between 1865 and 1929 usually did not have the luxury of a municipal water system and had to provide their own large, regular supply of fresh, clean water. Competitive stables could use a several hundred gallons a day since most horses drink at least twelve gallons a day and lactating mares and horses in training can easily drink several more gallons a day. Stables also needed water to wash horses, sulkies, coaches, transportation vehicles and accessories; water polo fields; maintain arena or track footing; and clean aisles, tack, harnesses, and horse clothing. Grooms used cast iron water troughs in the aisle to fill stall buckets and wash wraps and towels. Perforated metal plates allowed excess water from washing horses and other activities to flow to a subsurface waste water system.

Most stables included water towers in the building plans, either as an independent structure or within the stable itself, to ensure an adequate supply of water. Occasionally, stable designers would incorporate cisterns into the stable plans to store rainwater. Depending upon the physical landscape, horses in pastures and paddocks drank water from the tower or a natural source. Pasture and paddock water troughs were usually large with rounded edges made of porcelain, metal, or concrete. These troughs were either freestanding or crossing under fence lines to serve two sets of horses. During the antebellum period stalled horses often drank from a fountain or pool in the central courtyard or entrance. Grooms led the horses to the water several times a day for communal watering. Town squares and road intersections in the time period also had watering fountains. Improved pressure and piping systems led to the development of automatic watering systems in the late-nineteenth century. A better understanding of disease transmission also encouraged individualized watering with buckets in stalls. In the evening, grooms filled a wooden bucket for each horse and left it outside the stall to be used during the night to refill buckets or as a first defense against fires.

Figures 4.115 to 4.124 illustrate various aspects of water management. The J. W. Fiske Company, a popular manufacturer of cast-iron architectural elements, produced the drain cover in Figure 4.115 at the 1907 Good Time Stable. The trap cover in the Hamilton Farm Stable (1917) shows a similar piece (Figure 4.116). The Longview (1914) and Hamilton Farm (1917) down spouts in Figure 4.117 are remarkably similar. The back entrance to the Windsor T. White Stable (1926) is next to the base of the stable's water tower, an octagonal wooden structure concealing an enormous metal storage tank (Figure

4.118). Some of the water from that tower flowed to the overhead sprinkling system in the indoor arena (Figure 4.119). Figure 4.120 shows four versions of the cast iron water/wash troughs found in each competitive stable between 1865 and 1929. Two historic photographs from Kentucky, one of the pasture pond at Walnut Hall, and the other of the Himyar yearlings at their water trough illustrate watering options for horses kept outside (Figures 4.121 and 4.122). Outdoor water troughs were also used during the period, such as the trough at Belair (1907) and the fountain (1890s) in Goshen (Figures 4.123 and 4.124).

Wash Rack

A bathing area for horses, usually a minimum of ten feet square to ensure the groom's safety, was most often called a wash rack. Interior wash racks became more common after the turn of the century as the older style of washing horses from buckets, a very time and labor intensive process, slowly gave way to the faster hose system.⁸⁴ Cold hosing injured or sore legs and cleaning wounds occurred in the wash rack. A better understanding of equine physiology also corrected early misconceptions about horses' reactions to bathing after work. Some stables had an interior wash rack used for intensive cleaning and an exterior wash rack to rapidly cool off horses after work. Carriages,

⁸⁴ Bucket washing is still used, especially at locations like polo matches or in the middle of eventing courses, when there is no access to pressurized water and/or the horses remained tacked up for further competition or in cold weather. Edward Mayhew, *The Illustrated Horse Management Containing Descriptive Remarks upon Anatomy, Medicine, Shoeing, Teeth, Food, Vices, Stables; Likewise a Plain Account of the Situation, Nature, and Value of the Various Points together with Comments on Grooms, Dealers, Breeders, Breakers, and Trainers also on Carriages and Harness* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippencott & Co., 1865), 321. Mayhew lamented that grooms were often negligent in their duties when it came time to pump water from the cistern to fill the stable boiler and watering troughs.

sulkies, and carts usually had their own wash areas. Wash rack walls were often tile or concrete block with a central drain to prevent leakage and keep the main aisle dry. At the Windsor T. White Stable (1926) the wash rack walls are stucco over concrete with metal panels halfway up the walls acting as splash boards. The Hamilton Farm Stable (1917) wash rack has glazed brick walls (Figures 4.125 and 4.126).

Weathervane

Originally used to predict the weather by changing wind patterns, weather vanes have historically been an opportunity for local blacksmiths to display their artistic abilities. Wealthy, social elite stable owners and their architects took advantage of that expertise and incorporated personalized weather vanes into the stable complex design. In Lakewood, New Jersey the center of the c. 1900 Georgian Court stables main block, a large octagonal water tower, was capped with a twelve-foot-tall bronze Mercury statue/weather vane.⁸⁵ One of the most prominent commercial weather vane makers between 1865 and 1929 was the J. W. Fiske Iron Works begun in 1858 after the founder, Joseph Winn Fiske, returned to his native Massachusetts from a five-year stint in Australia. Fiske established his factory in Massachusetts but in 1864 moved the main office and showroom to New York City, where it remained until 1956, when the company relocated to Paterson, New Jersey. As the company expanded, its mail order catalogs grew to include all types of architectural and ornamental metalwork, including stable fittings and elements. The Fiske copper weather vanes were particularly popular and

⁸⁵ Geis, *Georgian Court: An Estate of the Gilded Age*. 69

earned Fiske an award from the City of New York. As a leading metal fabricator, J. W. Fiske Iron Works sold its products to many stable owners between 1865 and 1929.⁸⁶

Though it is uncertain if the Windsor T. White Stable (1926), home of an avid foxhunter, was a Fiske customer, the hunting scene weathervane that doubled as a lightening rod is an excellent example of the personalized element details supplied by companies such as J. W. Fiske Iron Works (Figure 4.127a). The village of Hunting Valley, Ohio appropriated the White weathervane as a model for its city signs (Figure 4.128). The 1886 Roosevelt Stable's weathervane resembles a flag with its cutout initials of the owner, James Roosevelt (Figure 4.127b). The Good Time Stable (1907), a harness racing stable, had a weathervane of a racing harness horse, which is the logo for the Harness Racing Museum and Hall of Fame (Figure 4.127c). The Hamilton Farm (1917) weathervane depicting four horses pulling a coach is about three feet long and a foot high (Figure 4.127d). The driver was based on Ted Williams, the Hamilton Farm trainer. The stable also had another team weathervane and a single Hackney horse weathervane, modeled after Brady's favorite horse, *Hamilton Model*.⁸⁷

Conclusion

Most of these twenty-six elements were commonplace in competitive stables in Europe and the United States as early as the mid-eighteenth century.⁸⁸ However, between

⁸⁶ Item description, "Order Books, 1870, 1872," Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, The Winterthur Library.

⁸⁷ United States Equestrian Federation, "Hamilton Farm," (Gladstone, NJ: privately printed, n.d.): 11.

⁸⁸ Sidney, *The Book of the Horse*, 498. Sidney referenced the 1680 book, *The Compleat Horseman*, by DeGrey when he introduced the stable design section.

1865 and 1929, stable owners across the nation, with the assistance of professional architects, were able to improve stable construction methods using new building materials, such as structural steel and reinforced concrete, and to purchase mass-produced, high-quality accessories from manufacturing companies. The elements and their purposes remained unchanged, but their quality and durability improved dramatically. Stable management principles, the underlying foundation of each element, were based on traditional methods of horsemanship that did not change much between 1865 and 1929. However, the historic horse management often depended upon cheap labor and great wealth to function as intended. Immigrants and recently emancipated African Americans provided ample cheap labor in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and industrialization provided many opportunities for the rapid acquisition of wealth. As a result, the stables 1865 to 1929 were both architectural and functional masterpieces that epitomized stable design.

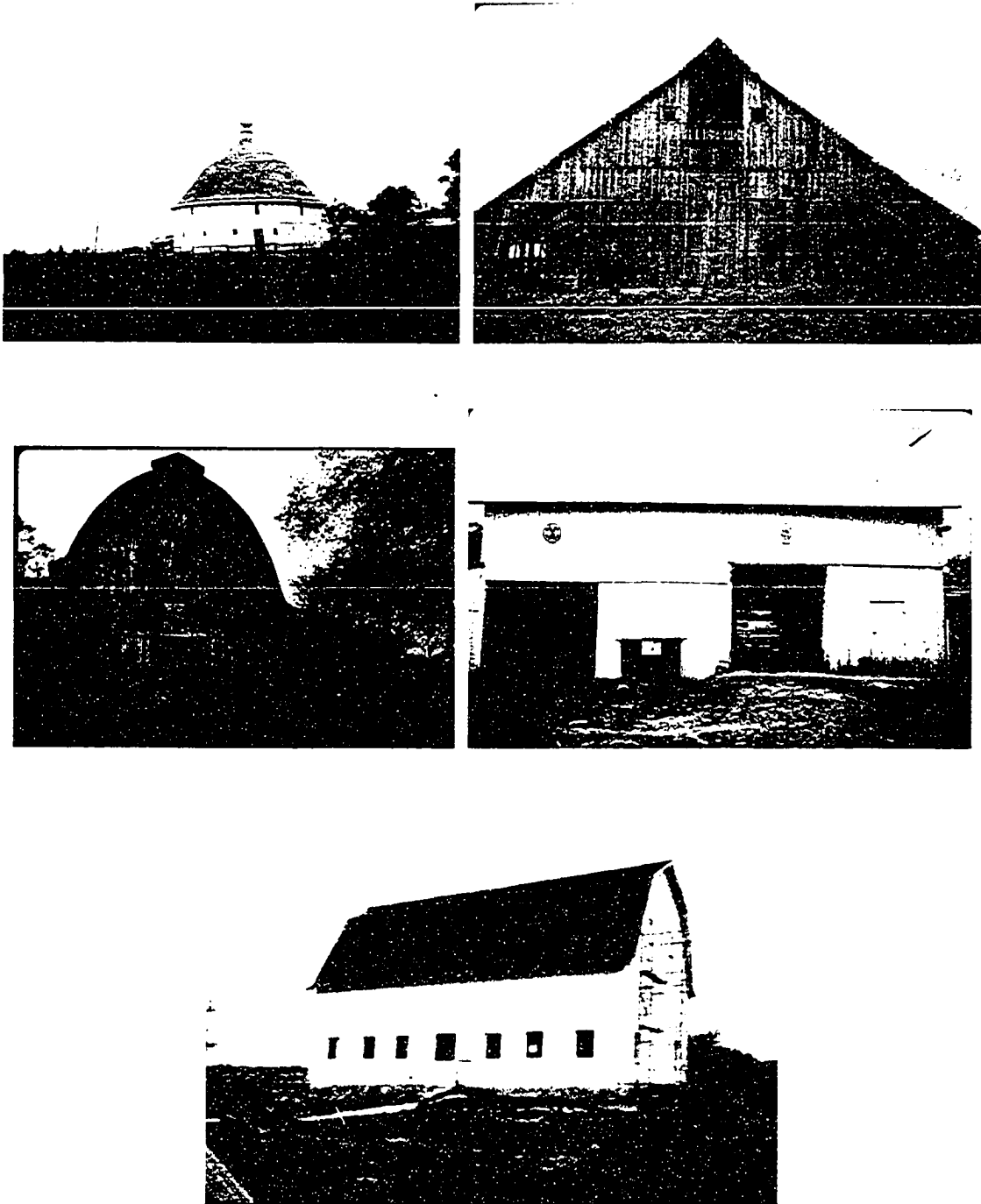


Figure 4.1 Barns: top left, Keiffer barn (1904); top right, Nought barn; middle left, Pheister barn (1924); middle right, Settlers Acre barn (c. 1890); bottom, Settlers Acre barn (c. 1924), all in Missouri (March 1996).

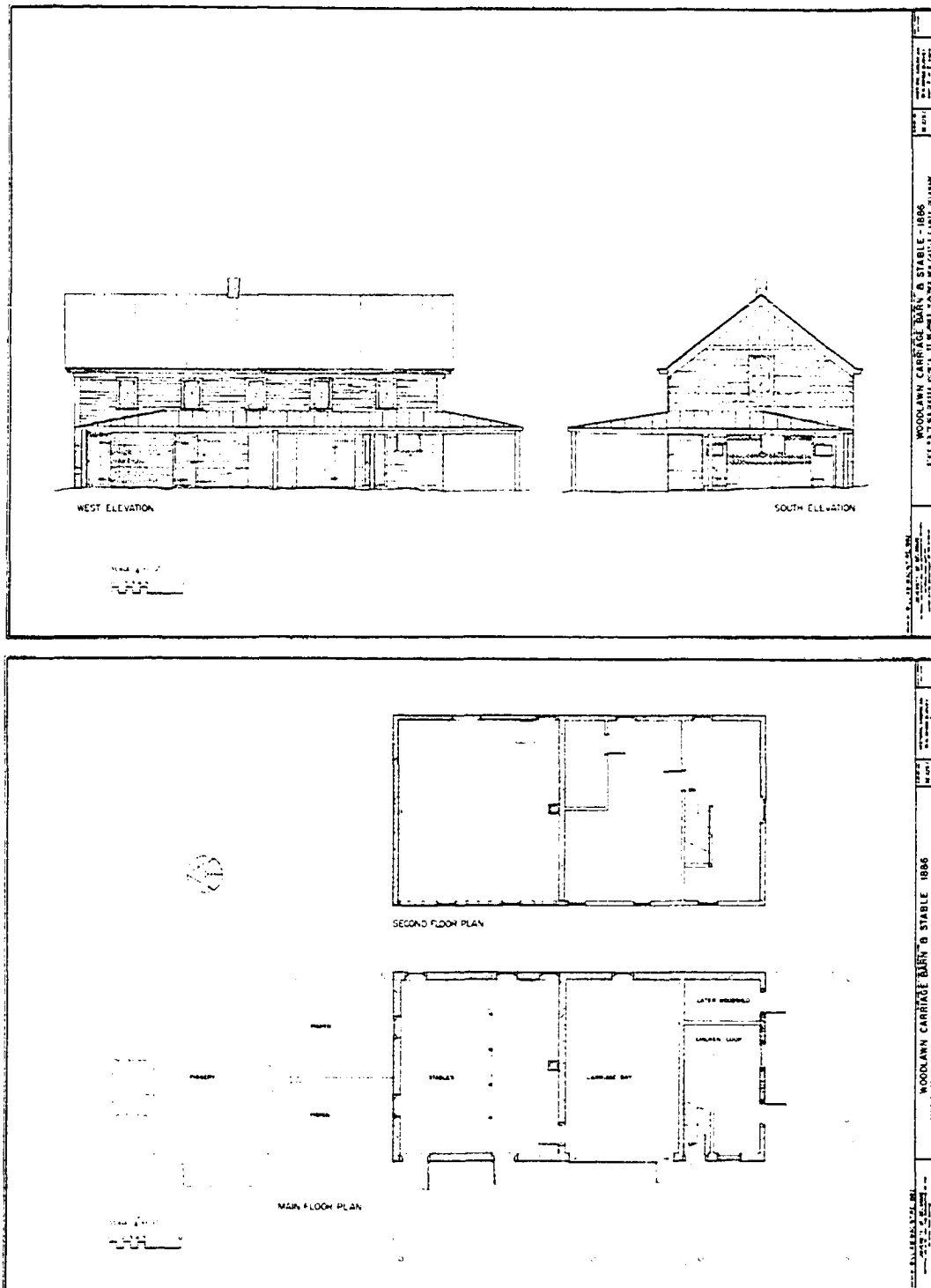


Figure 4.2 Woodlawn Carriage Barn and Stable (1886), New Castle County, Delaware. William MacIntire Drawing, 1982. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS.DE.29-C1 and -C2: top, exterior; bottom, interior.

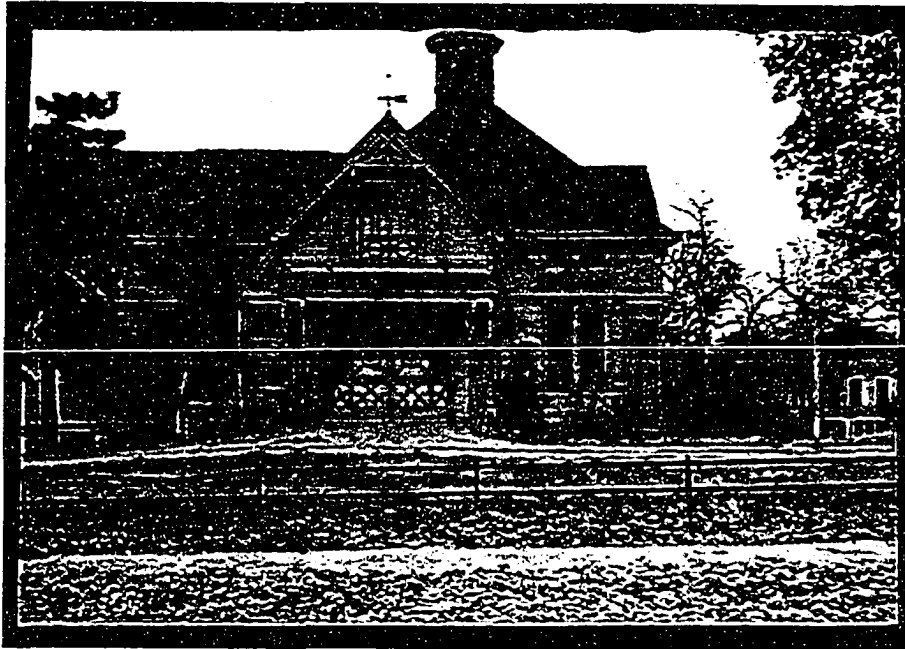


Figure 4.3 Abandoned livery stable from Omaha's heyday. John Vachon Photograph, 1938. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection, LC-USF3301-001294-M5 DLC.



Figure 4.4 Interior of the Maple Hill mine mule stable, seven hundred feet below ground, Pennsylvania. Sheldon Dick Photograph, c. 1938. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection, LC-USF34-040414-D.

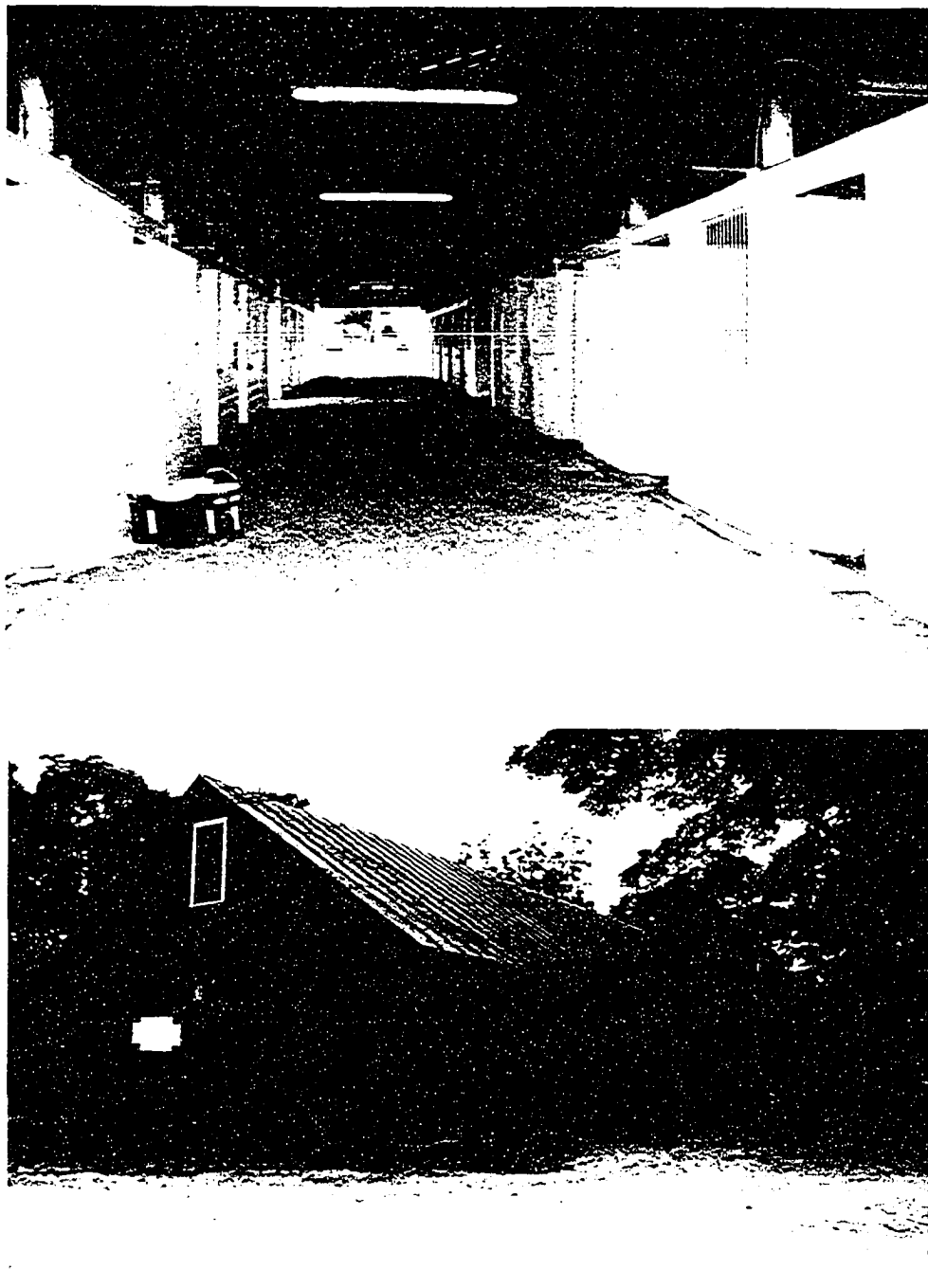


Figure 4.5 Stable blocks: top. The Red Mile, Lexington, Kentucky, central aisle: July 2004; bottom. Historic Stabling (c. 1900) at Saratoga, Saratoga Springs, New York, shed row. July 2003.



Figure 4.6 Aisle tie ring on fancy support post and metal stall fronts in the Roosevelt Stable (1886), Hyde Park, New York. July 2002.

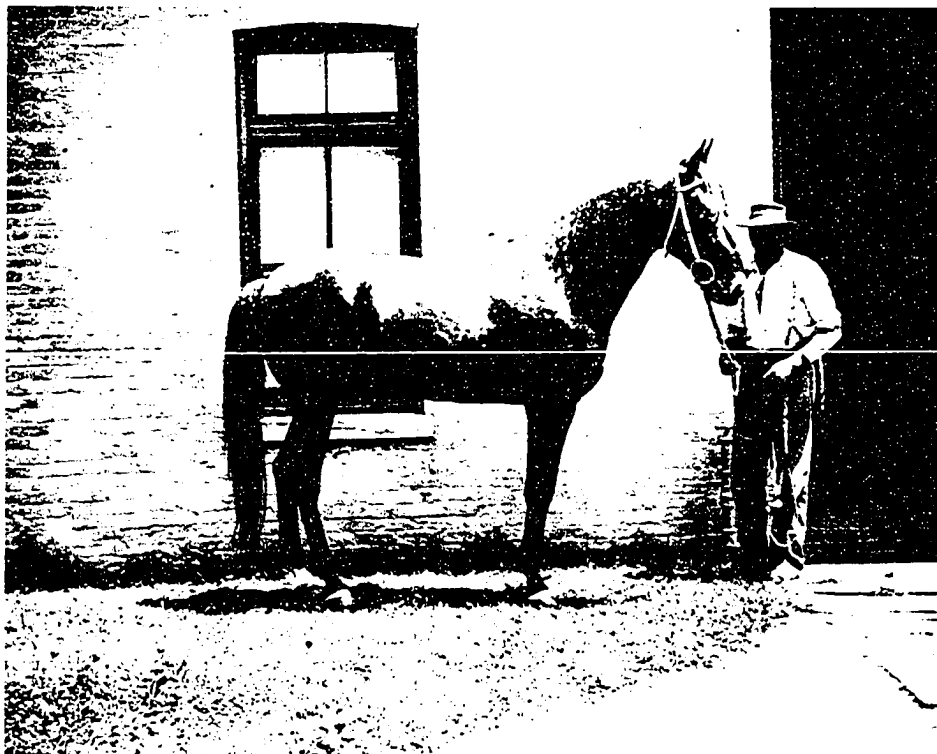


Figure 4.7 Boards used at entrance and in aisle, note the pipestand behind groom. *Peter the Great*, Standardbred stallion. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW1839).



Figure 4.8 Main entrance looking through wash area to outdoor arena, note the two-story skylight above. Hamilton Farm (1917). Gladstone, New Jersey. July 2002

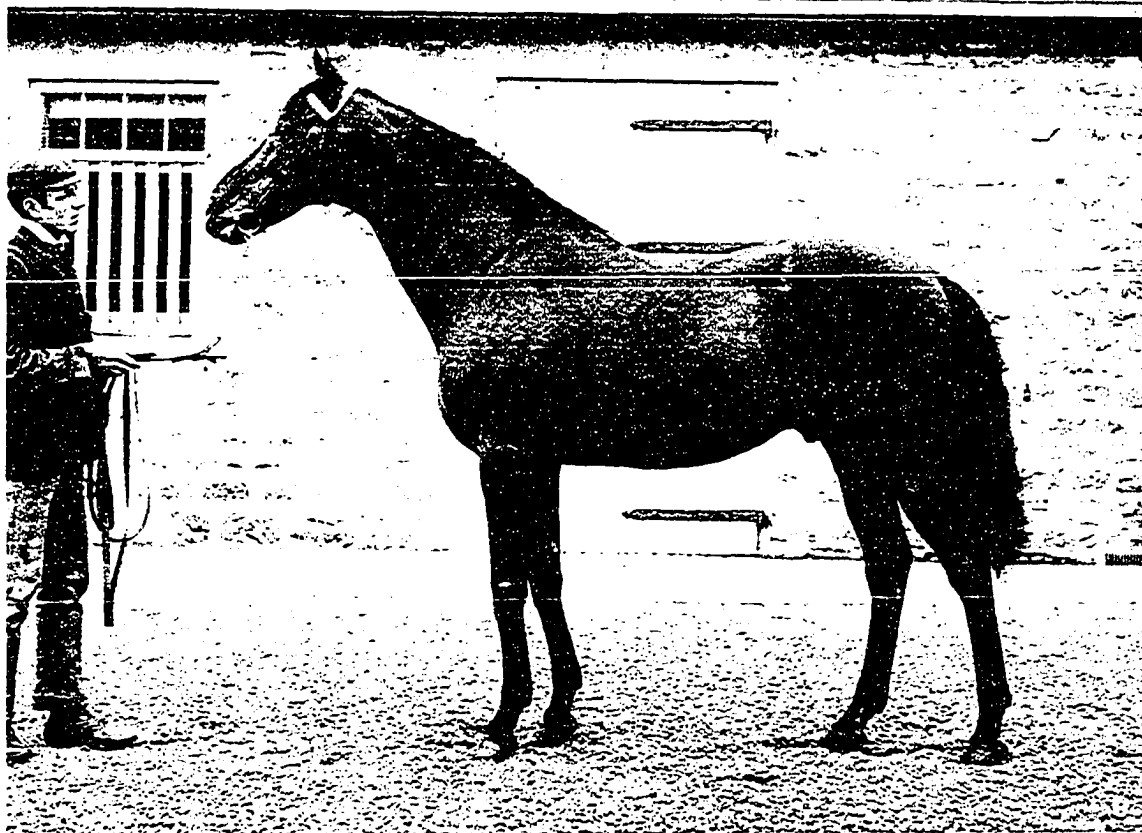


Figure 4.9 Box stall in stable block, with full door, open window, brick walkway, gravel yard. *St. Simon*, brown Thoroughbred stallion, 1881-April 2, 1902, by *Galopin* out of *St. Angela* by *King Tom*. Frank Griggs Photograph, Newmarket. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW2492).

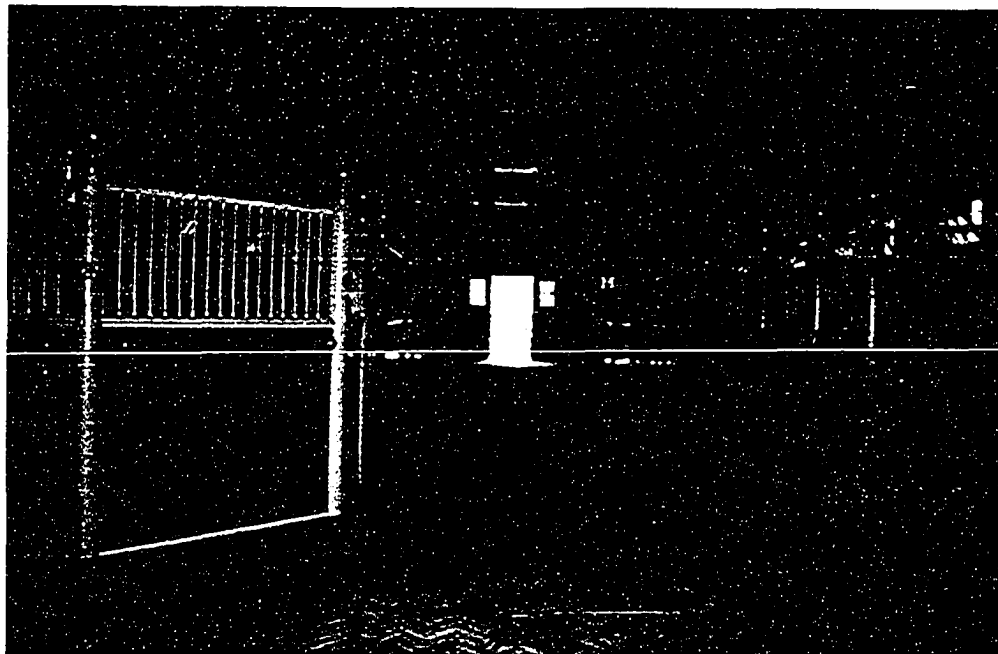


Figure 4.10 Cross-aisle with brick floor and tiled, vaulted ceilings, and brass tie-rings on stall fronts at Hamilton Farm (1917), Gladstone, New Jersey. July 2002.



Figure 4.11 Brick aisle with box stalls to left, tack and harness room and grain room to right, Roosevelt Stable (1886), Hyde Park, New York. July 2002.



Figure 4.12 Modern stabling area with shavings bin Historic Track, Goshen, New York. July 2002.



Figure 4.13 Manure pile at The Red Mile, Lexington, Kentucky. July 2004.

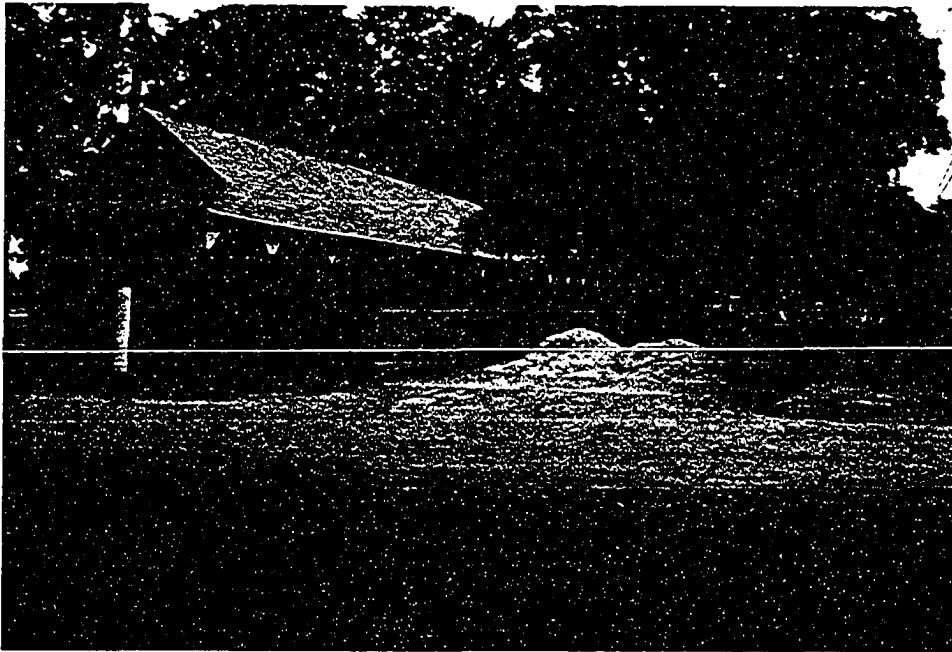
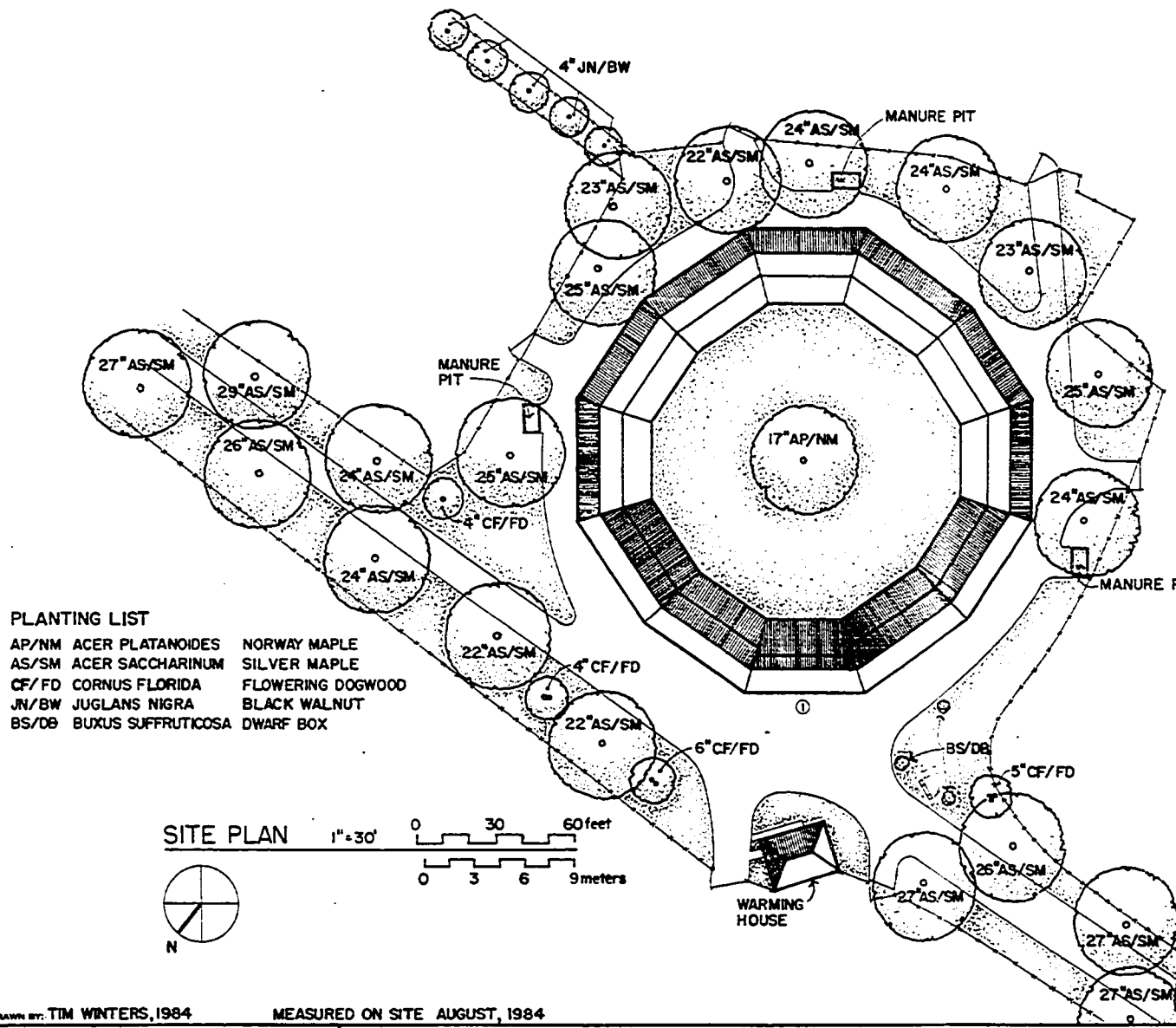


Figure 4.14 New manure area in historic stabling area at the Saratoga racecourse, Saratoga Springs, New York. July 2003.



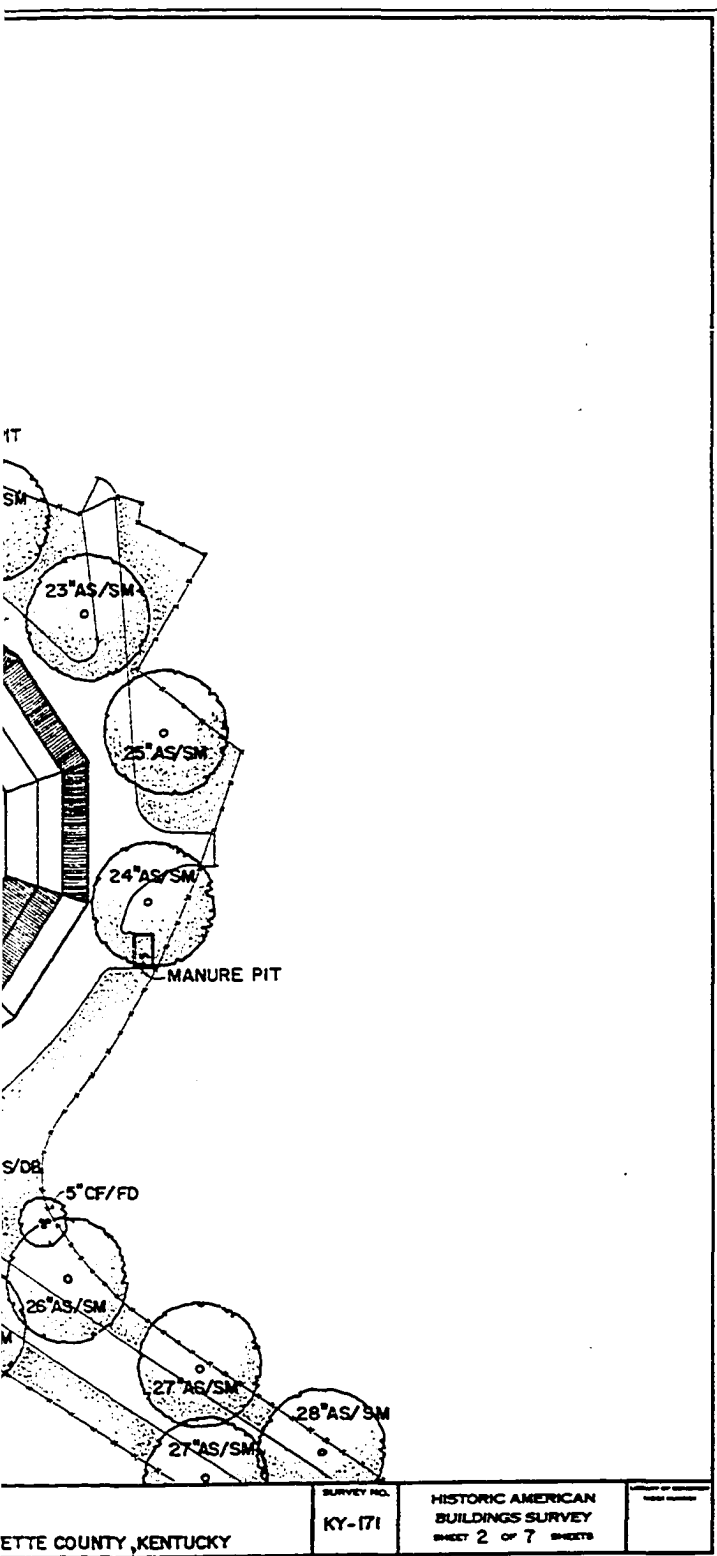
Figure 4.15 Manure loading area. Windsor T. White Stable (1926), Chagrin Falls, Ohio. October 2003.



1985 CHARLES E. PETERSON PRIZE, HONORABLE MENTION

DRAWN BY: TIM WINTERS, 1984 UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY RECORDING PROJECT 1984 NATIONAL PARK SERVICE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR	NAME AND LOCATION OF STRUCTURE JAMES BEN ALI HAGGIN BARN 4160 PARIS PIKE (U.S. 27, 68) LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY 40511 FAYETTE COUNTY, KENTUCKY MEASURED ON SITE AUGUST, 1984 <small>IF REPRODUCED, PLEASE CREDIT HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, NAME OF DELINEATOR, DATE OF THE DRAWING</small>
--	---

Figure 4.16 Site Plan, Elmendorf Stud, James Ben Ali Haggin Barn (1909). Tim Winters Drawing, 1984. Court HABS.KY.34-LEX.11A-12. The barn's round shape is noteworthy as are the equidistant manure pits.



Drawing. 1984. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. Historic American Buildings Survey
manure pits.

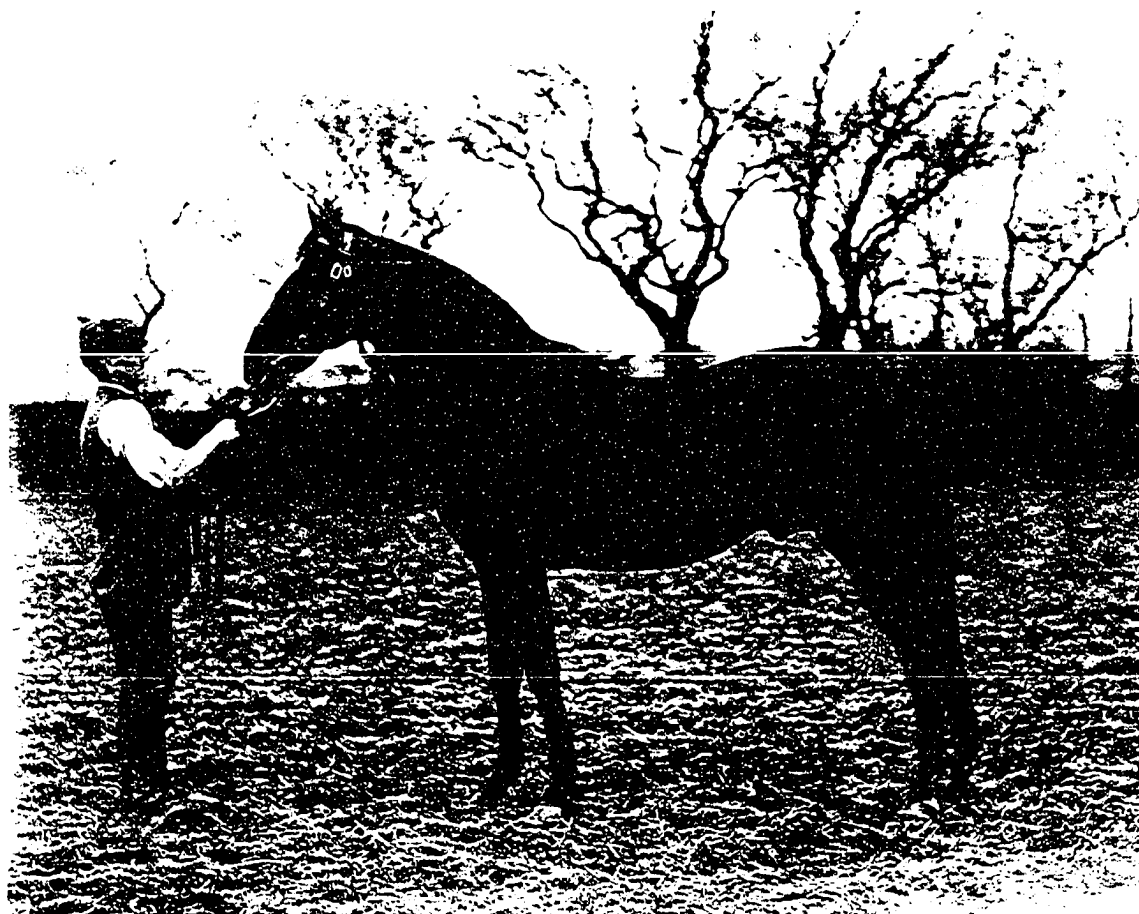


Figure 4.17 This pasture was most likely used for spreading manure and straw. Also note the groom's attire, solid fence in background, and horse's healthy dapples. *Orvieto*, bay Thoroughbred stallion, 1888-June 10, 1910, by *Bend Or* out of *Napoli* by *Macaroni*. Won 1891 Sussex, Great Yorkshire and Doncaster Stakes. Photograph by Frank Griggs, Newmarket. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW2407).



Figure 4.18 Carriage Room, Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. David J. Kaminsky Photograph, 1978. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS, MO,48-LESUM,1/14-23.

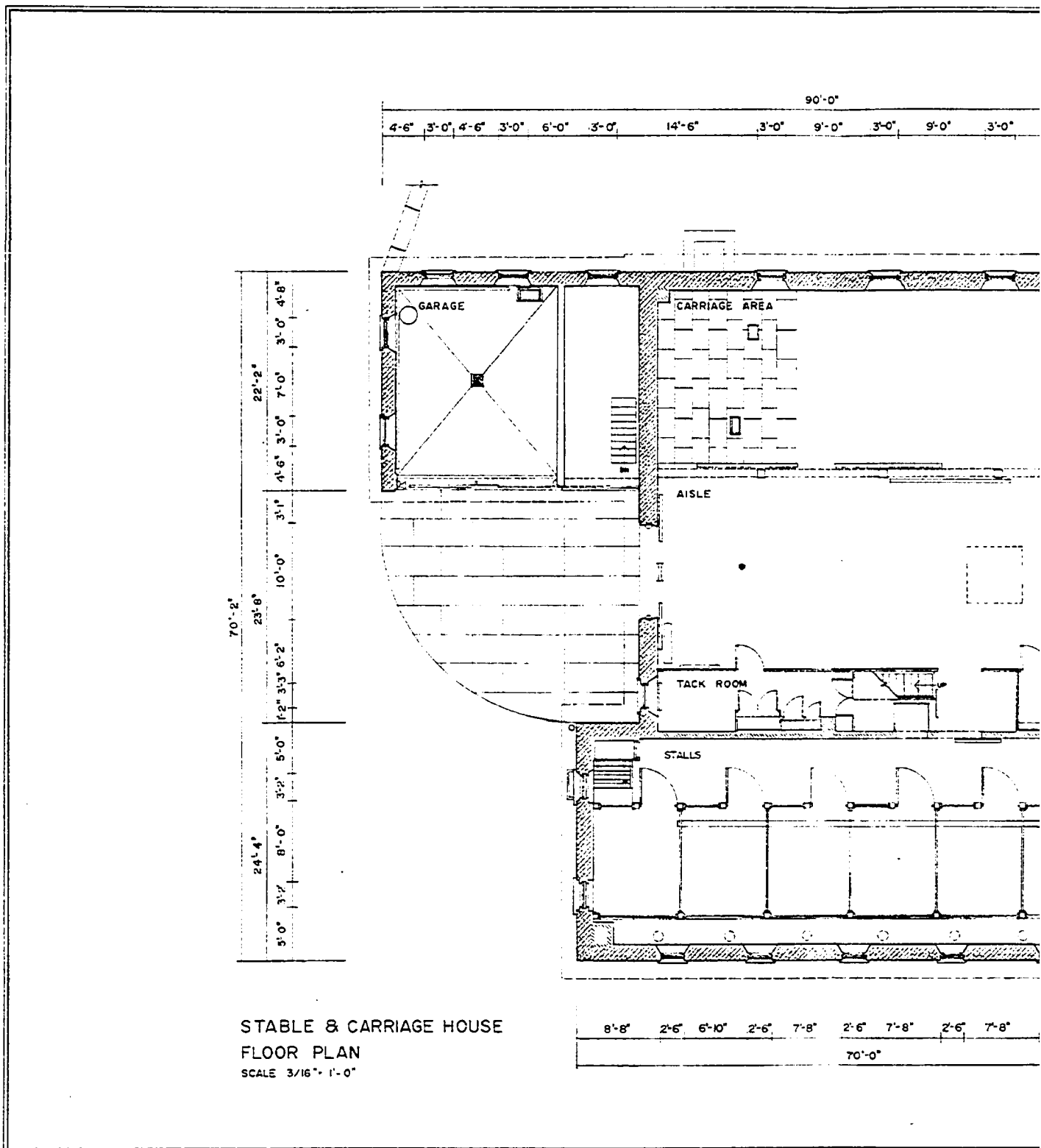
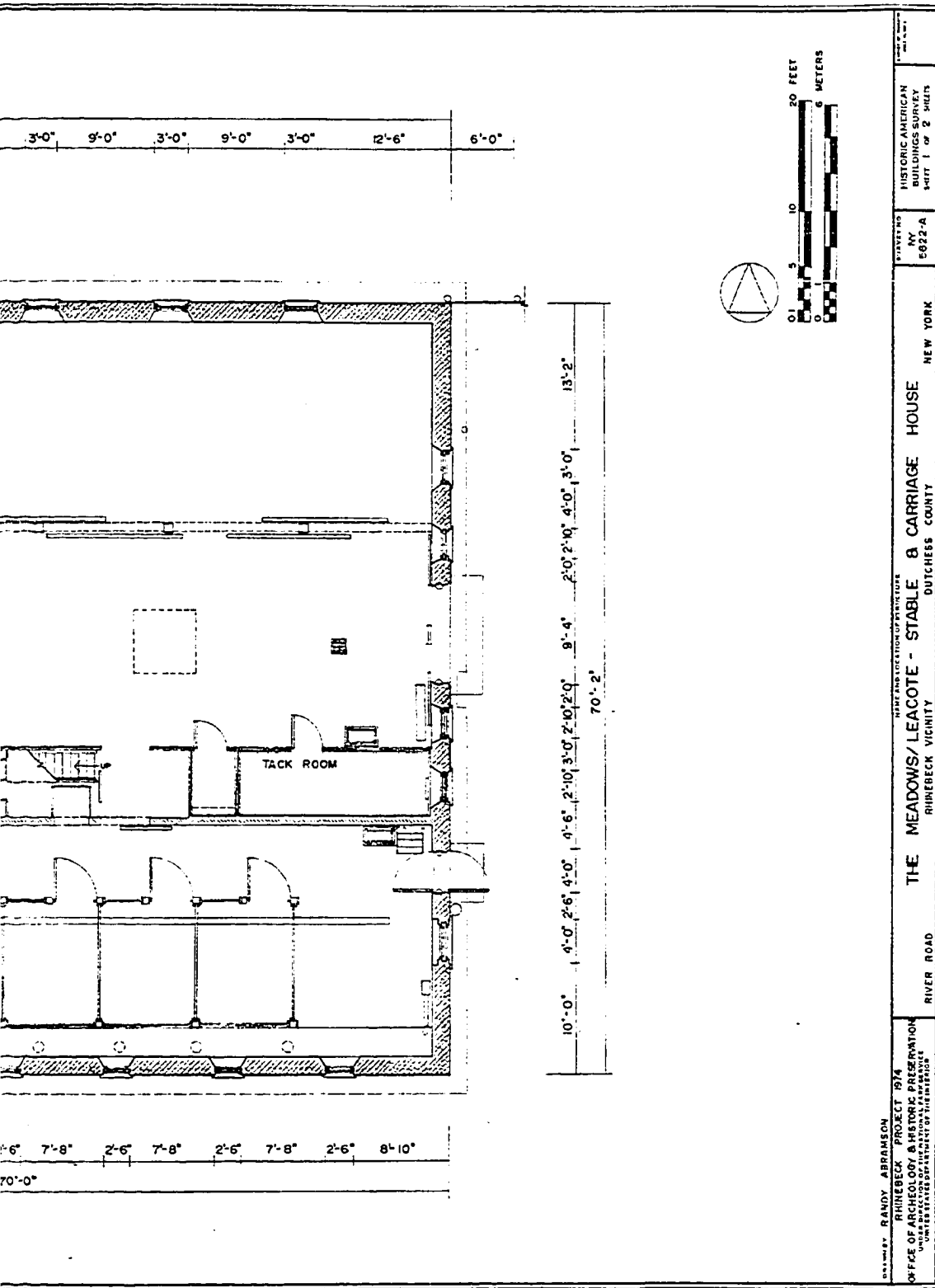


Figure 4.19 The Meadows/Leacote Stable and Carriage House (1896). Rhinebeck, Dutchess County, New York
 American Buildings Survey, HABS, NY.14-RHINB.V.5A-1.



... County, New York. Randy Abramson Drawing, 1974. Library of Congress. Prints and Photographs Division. Historic

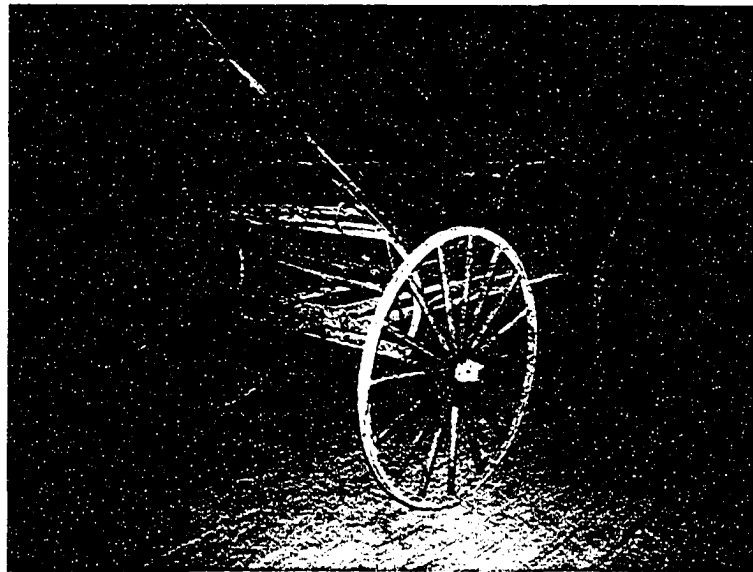


Figure 4.20 Second-story carriage storage area: top. trap doors for carriage lift system; bottom. cart in storage in the Breeding Barn (1891) at Shelburne Farm, Shelburne, Vermont. July 2002.



Figure 4.21 Clock in decorative setting with crossed whip and horn. Hamilton Farm (1917), Gladstone, New Jersey. July 2002.

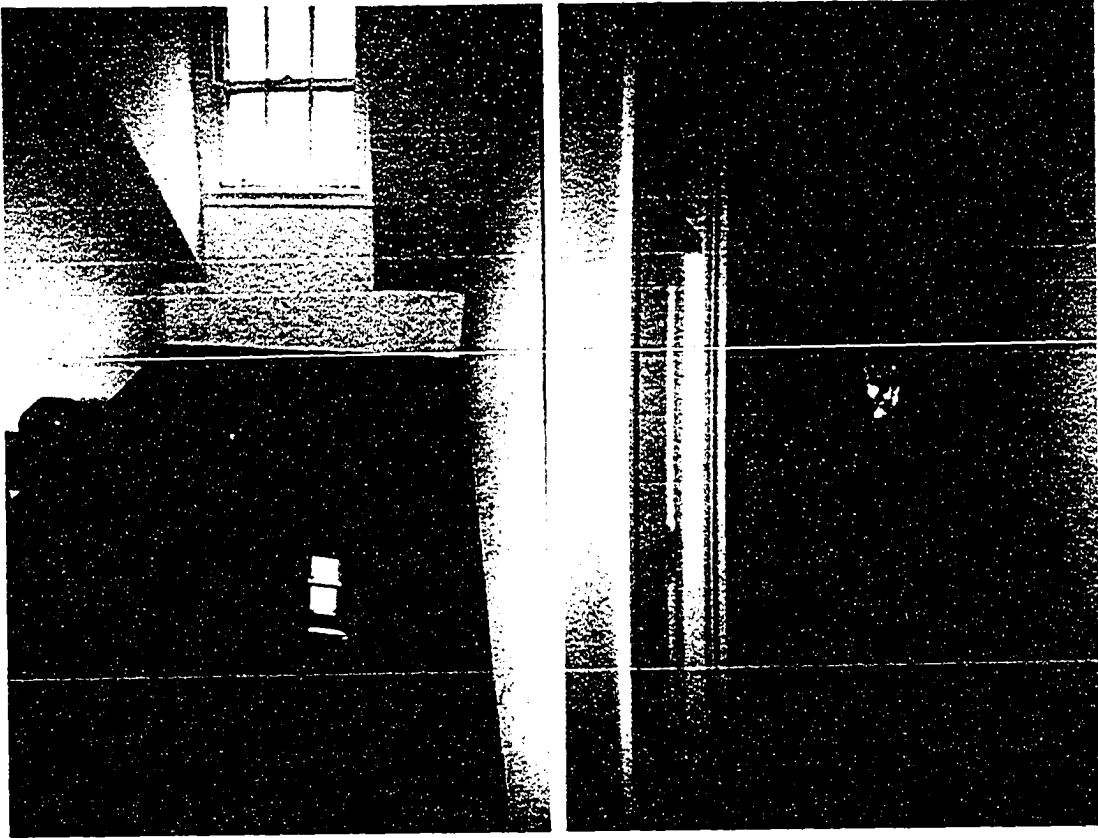


Figure 4.22 Second-story grooms' quarters: left, stairway; right, central hall at Hamilton Farm (1917), Gladstone, New Jersey. July 2002.

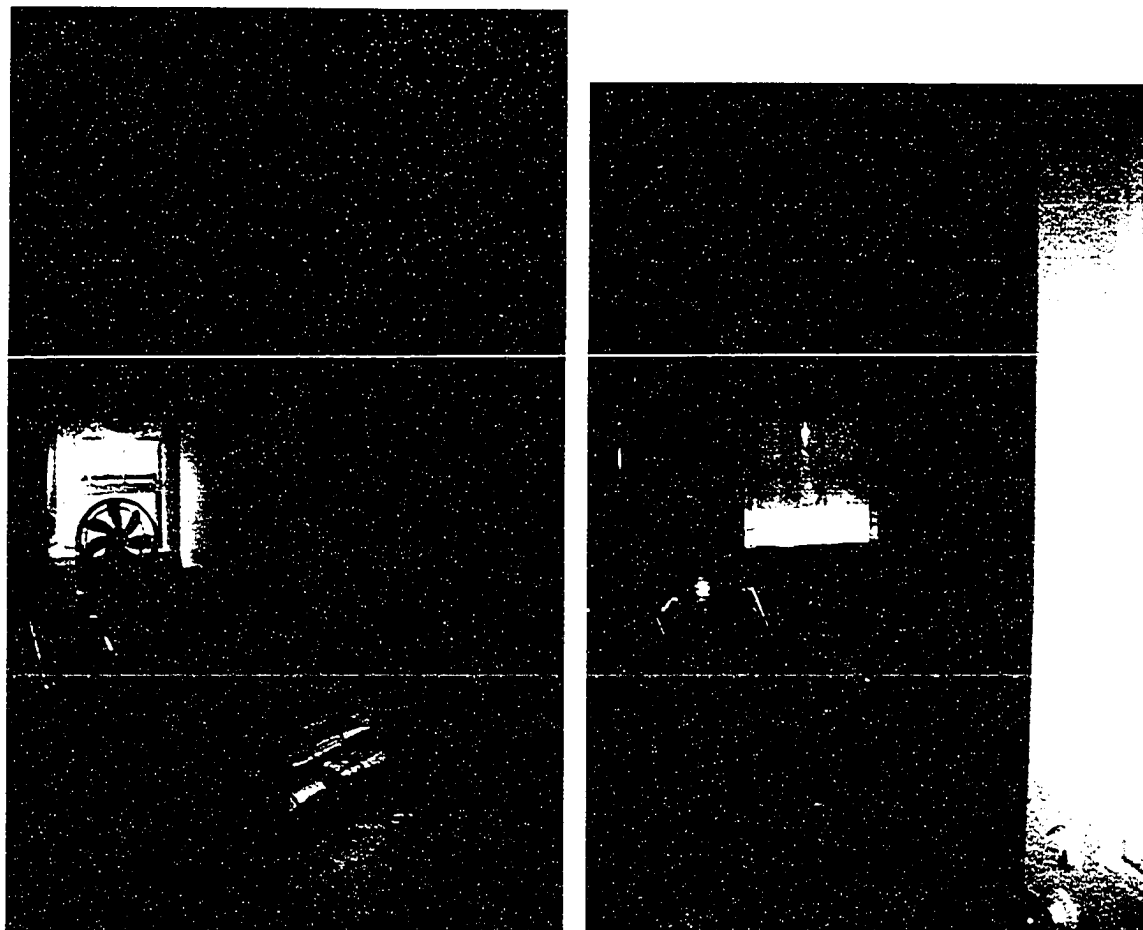


Figure 4.23 Second-story grooms' quarters: left, bedroom; right, bathroom at Hamilton Farm (1917), Gladstone, New Jersey. July 2002.

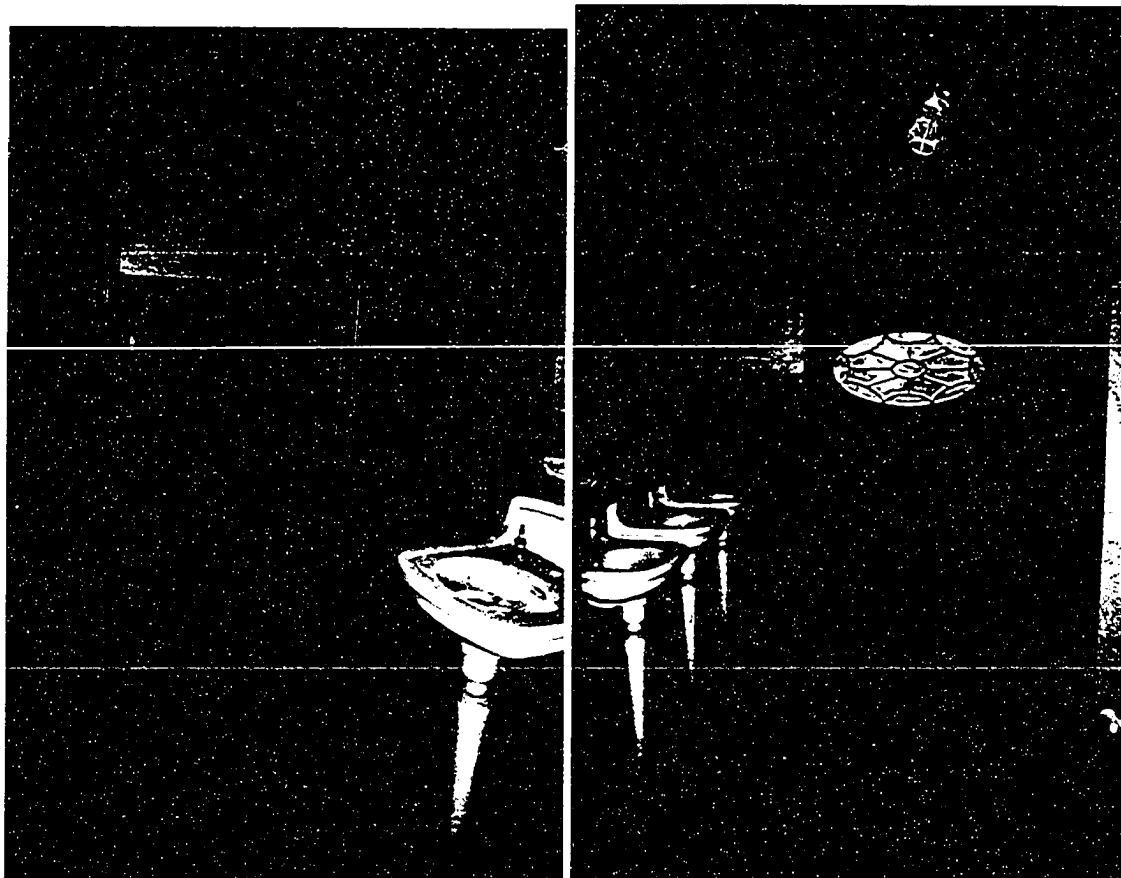


Figure 4.24 Second-story grooms' quarters: left, sink and tub; right, sinks and leaded window at Windsor T. White Stable (1926), Chagrin Falls, Ohio. October 2003.

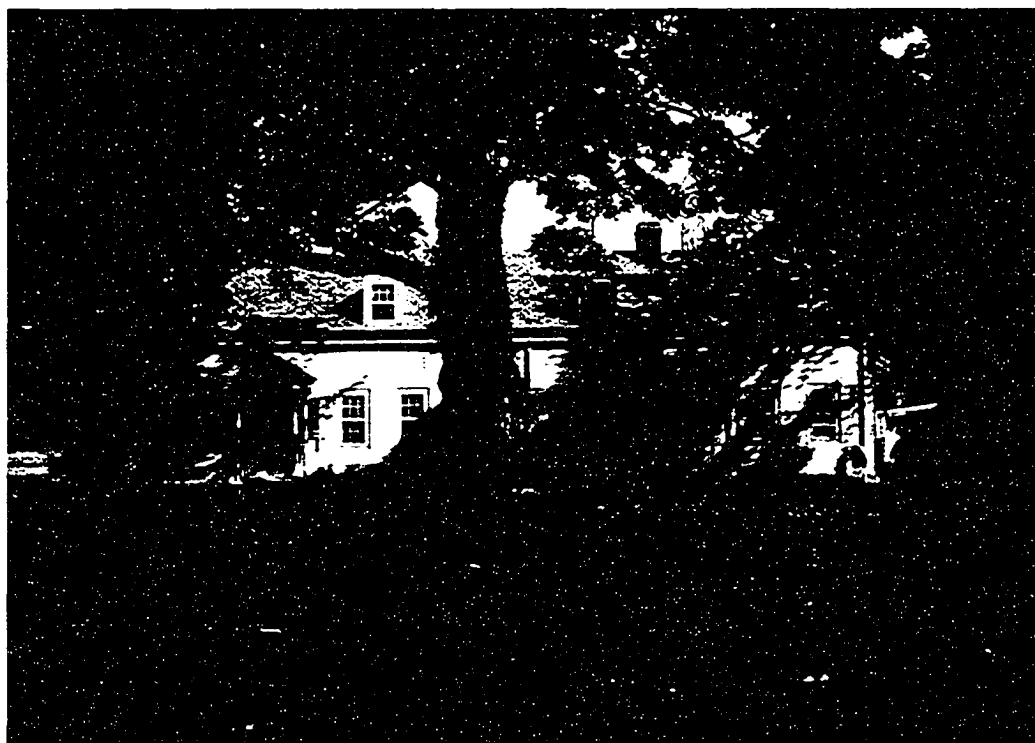


Figure 4.25 Employee housing: top, manager's house with a walkway (behind trees) connecting the house to the stable; bottom, duplex for employees with families at the Windsor T. White Stable (1926), Chagrin Falls, Ohio. October 2003.

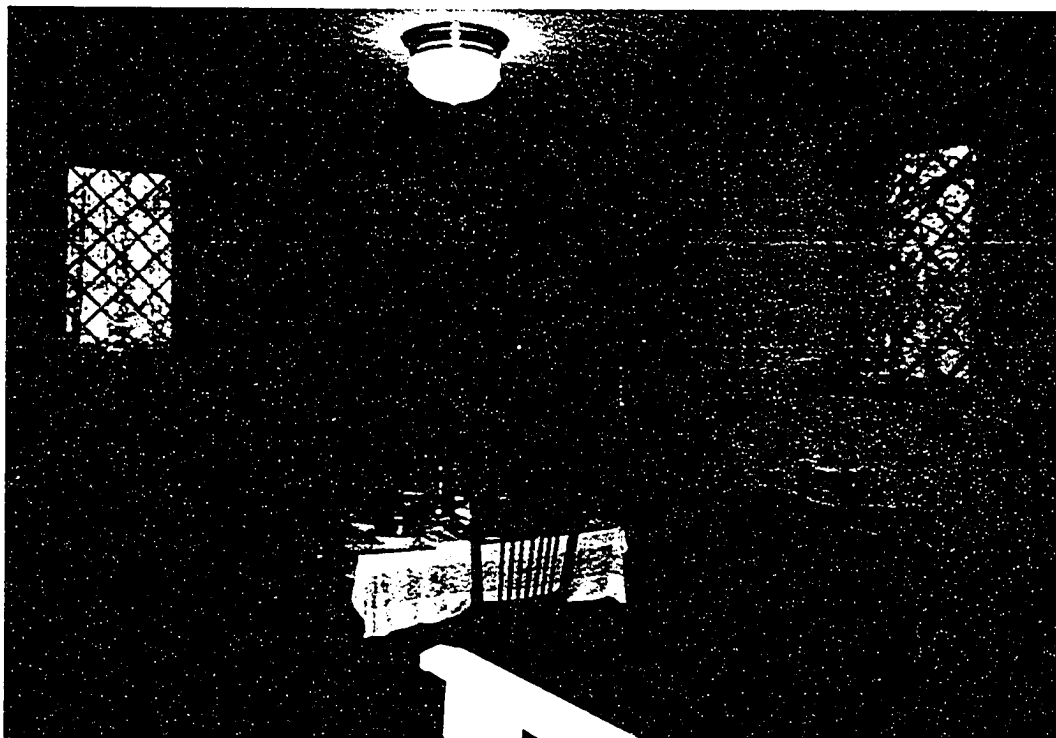
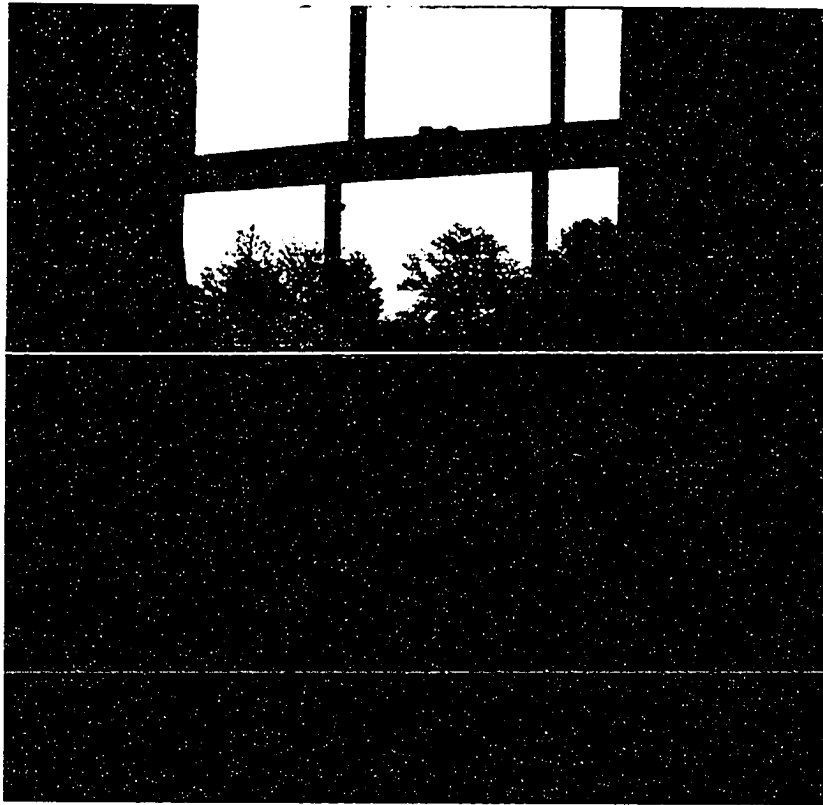


Figure 4.26 Manager's apartment: top, view from hall into stable's inner courtyard; bottom, dining room, Belair (1907) Stable, Bowie, Maryland. October 2003.



Figure 4.27 Grooms' quarters at Saratoga racecourse: top, historic stabling area (c. 1920s); bottom, "Oklahoma" stabling area (c. 1950s) in Saratoga Springs, New York. July 2003.

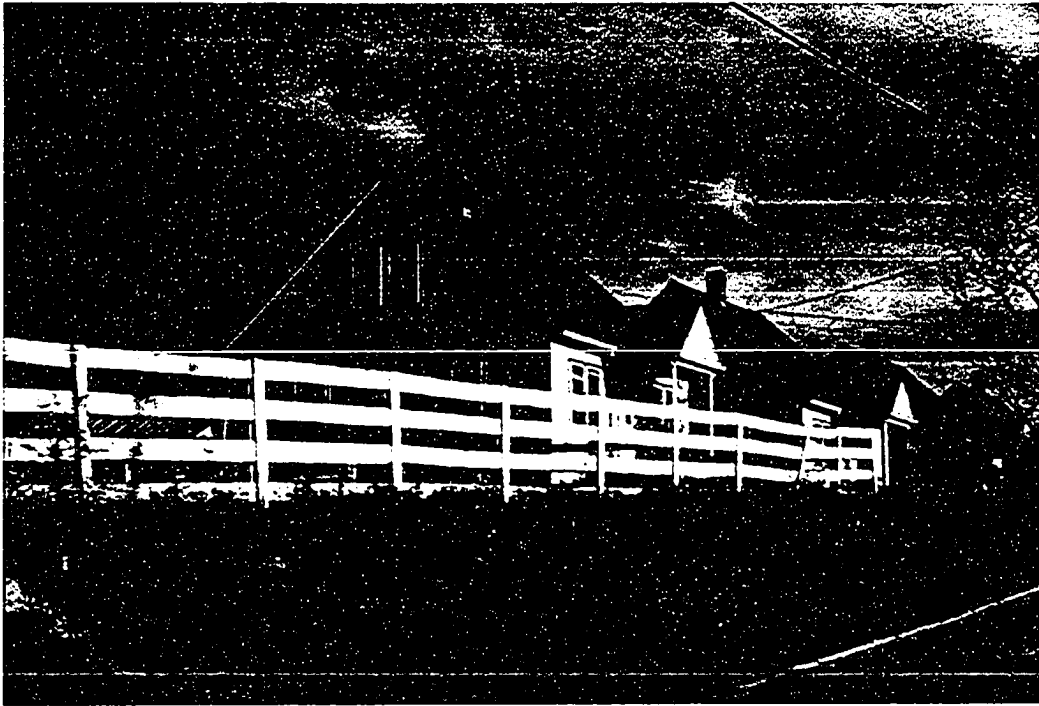


Figure 4.28 Employee housing with matching paint and trim at Hanover Shoe Farm, Hanover, Pennsylvania. October 2002.



Figure 4.29 Stallion manager's house, a Sears plan, at stallion barn at Man O'War Farm (c. 1925, previously Faraway Farm), Lexington, Kentucky. June 2002.

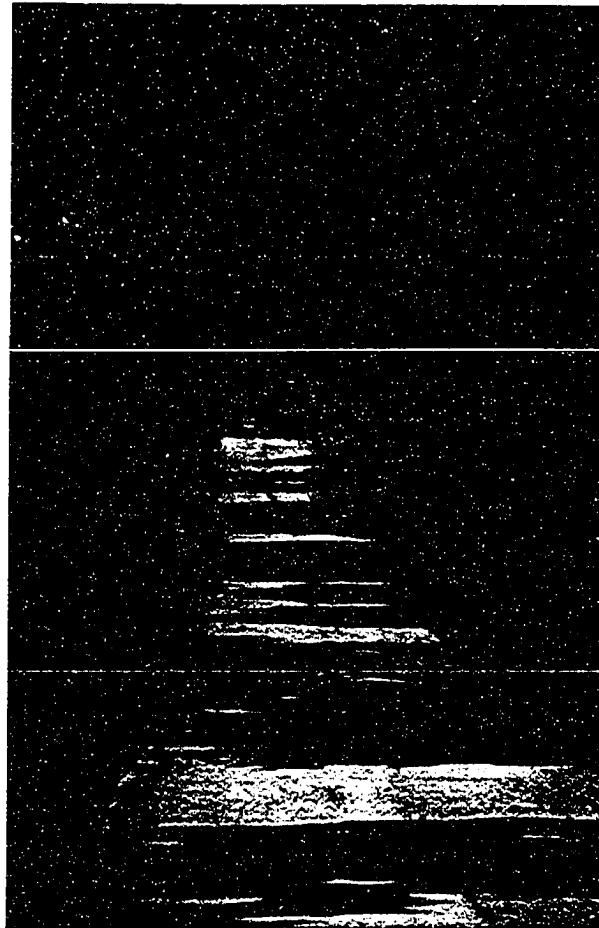


Figure 4.30 Main driveway at Spendthrift Farm, Lexington, Kentucky. June 2002.



Figure 4.31 Directional signs at Spendthrift Farm, Lexington, Kentucky. June 2002.

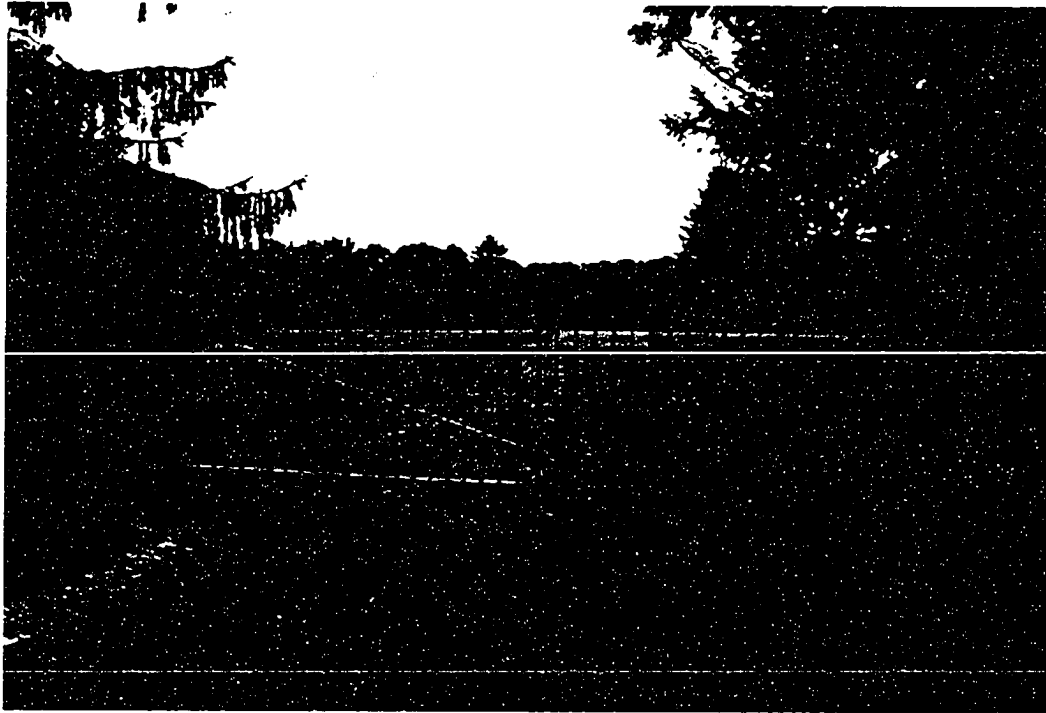


Figure 4.32 Secondary entrances: top, Hamilton Farm (1917), Gladstone, New Jersey. July 2002; bottom, Spindletop Farm (1930), now University of Kentucky Agricultural Center, Iron Works Pike, Lexington, Kentucky. June 2002.

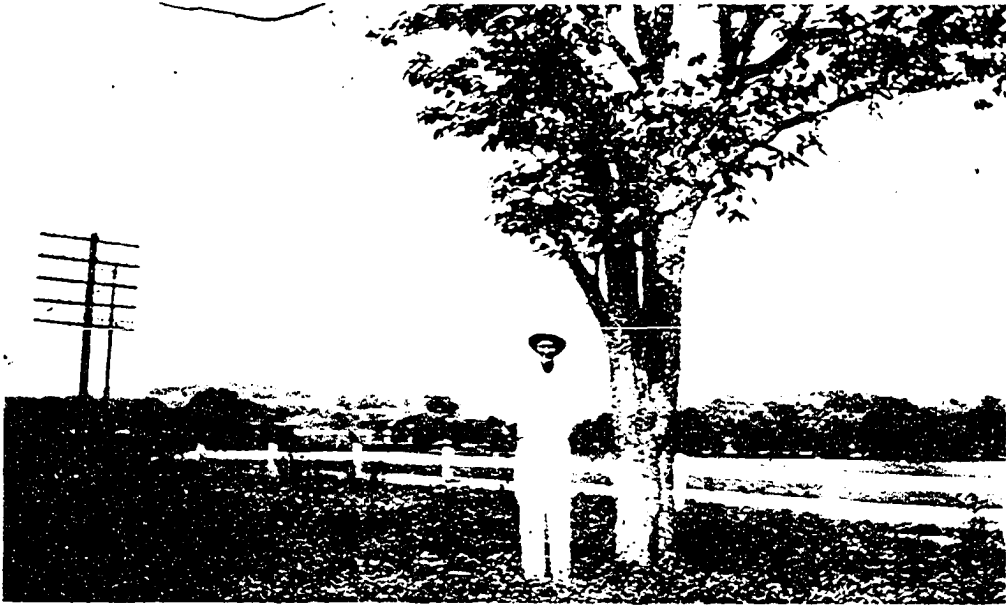


Figure 4.33 Equine graveyard, c. 1886, at Milky Way Farm, Pulaski, Tennessee. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW1695).



Figure 4.34 Cemetery and older stable at Spendthrift Farm, Lexington, Kentucky. June 2002.

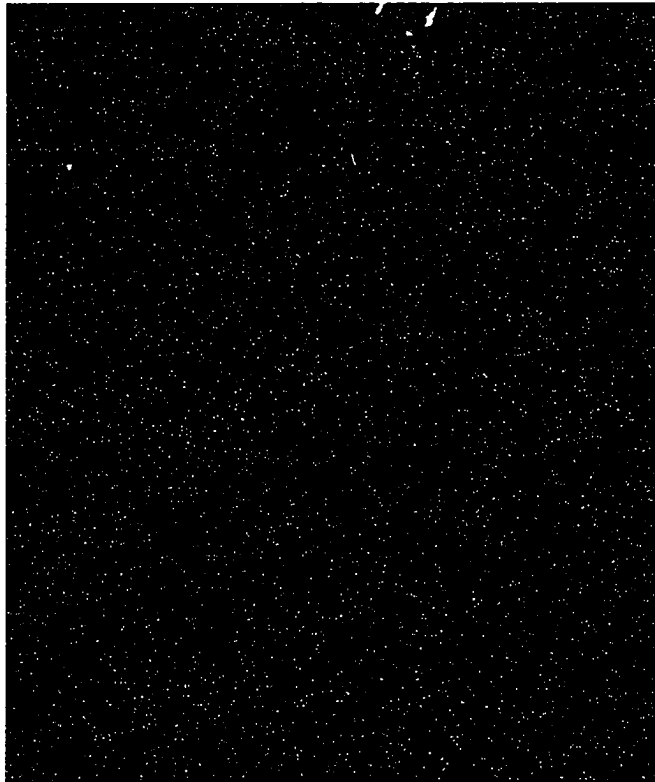


Figure 4.35 Gravestone for the Thoroughbred stallion *Majestic Prince* at Spendthrift Farm, Lexington, Kentucky. June 2002.

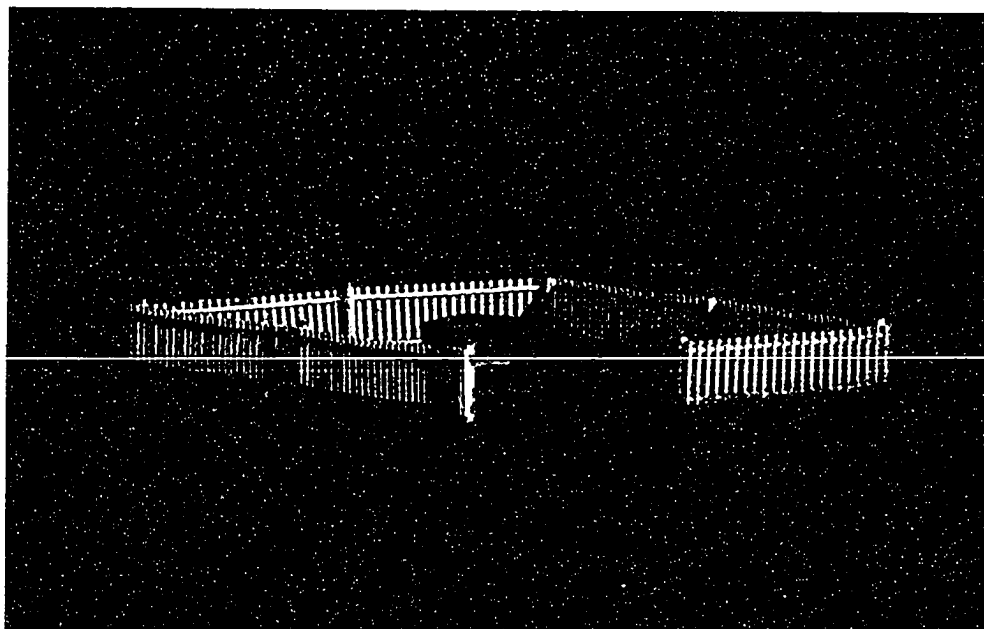


Figure 4.36 Cemetery and memorial area in track infield at the Historic Track, Goshen, New York. July 2002.

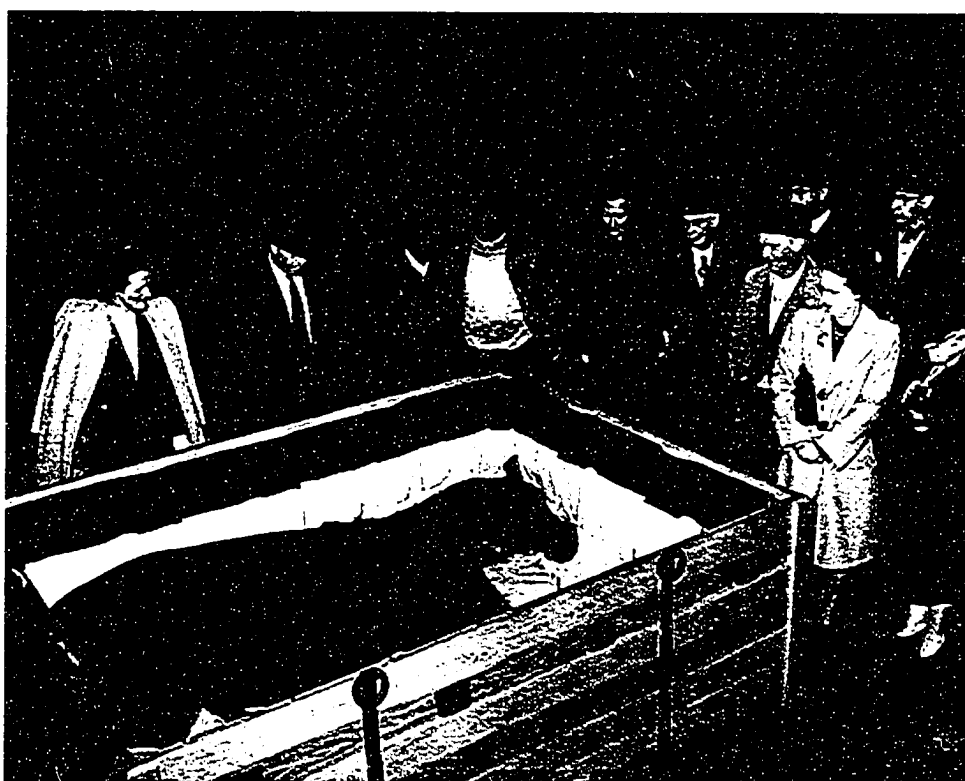


Figure 4.37 *Man O'War* lying in state in a casket lined with his racing colors at Samuel D. Riddle's Faraway Farm, Lexington, Kentucky (3 November 1947). Retrieved 18 August 2004, AccuNet/AP Multimedia Archive online database (Item APA4550919).

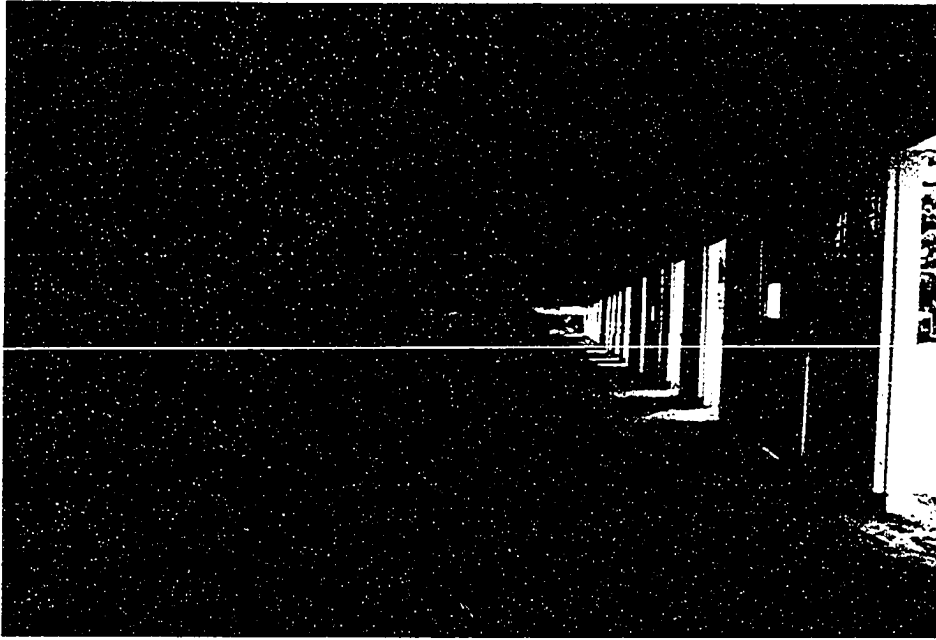


Figure 4.38 Exterior covered stable aisle (c. 1950s) used during inclement weather as exercise track at the Saratoga racecourse, Saratoga Springs, New York. July 2003.

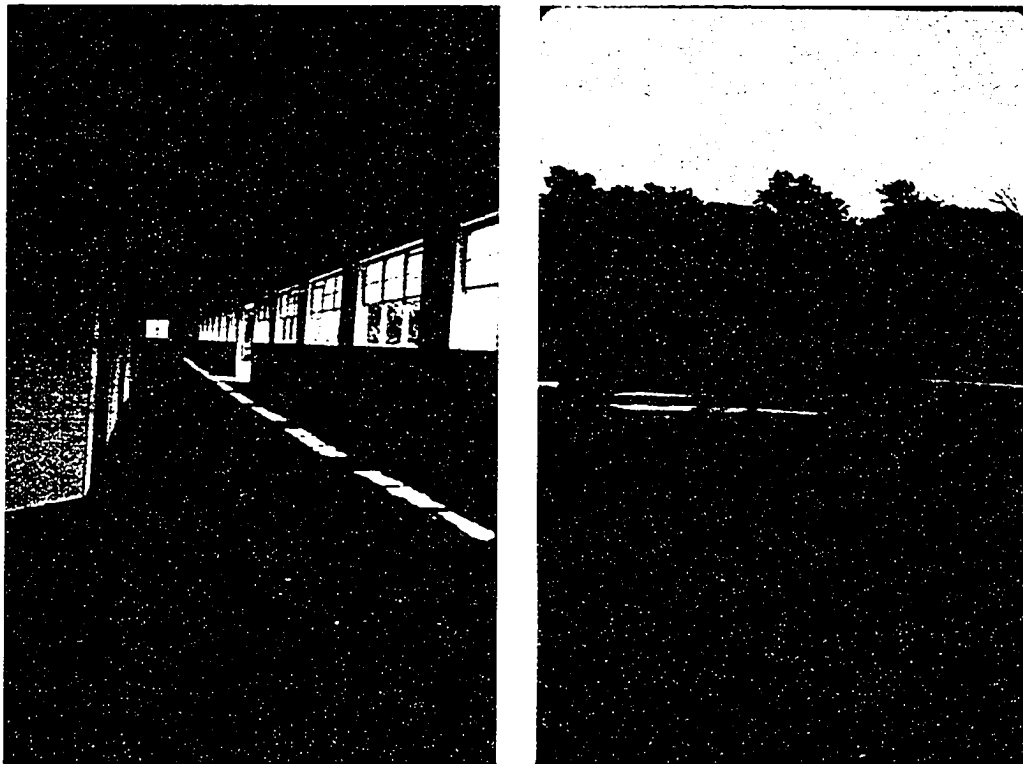


Figure 4.39 Tracks: left, enclosed exercise track circuiting stable (c. 1920s); right, new practice track and mobile four-stall starting gates with stable in background at 505 Farm, Lexington, Kentucky. June 2002.

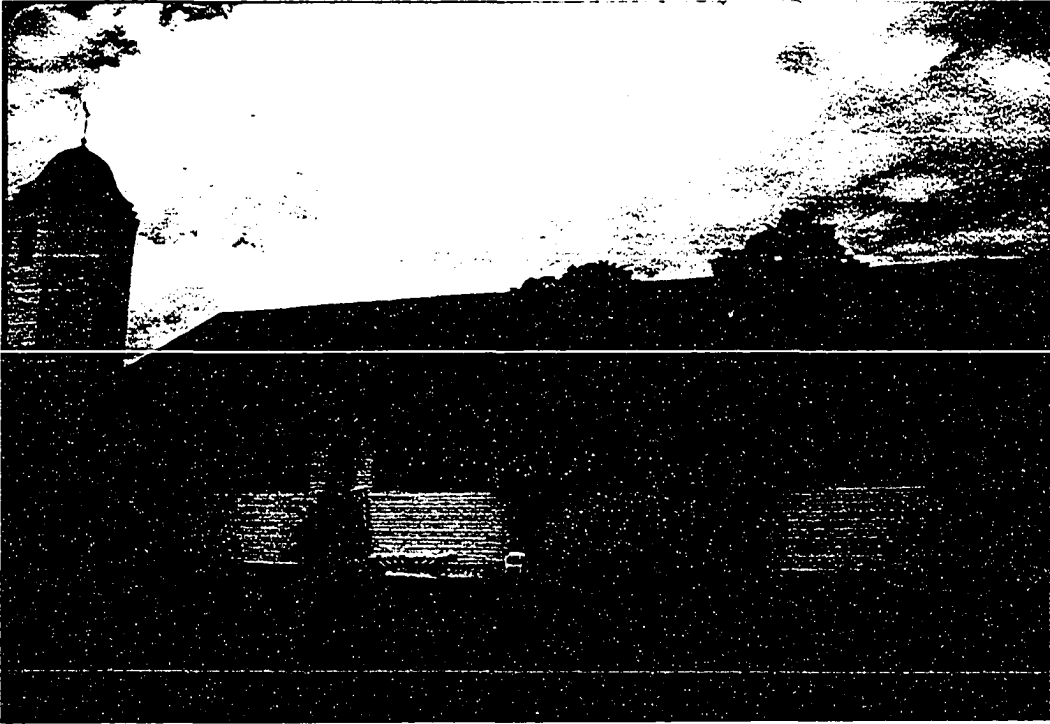


Figure 4.40 Exterior entrance to indoor arena at Windsor T. White Stable (1926). Chagrin Falls, Ohio. October 2003.



Figure 4.41 Entrance to outdoor arena behind the stable at Hamilton Farm (1917). Gladstone, New Jersey. July 2002.

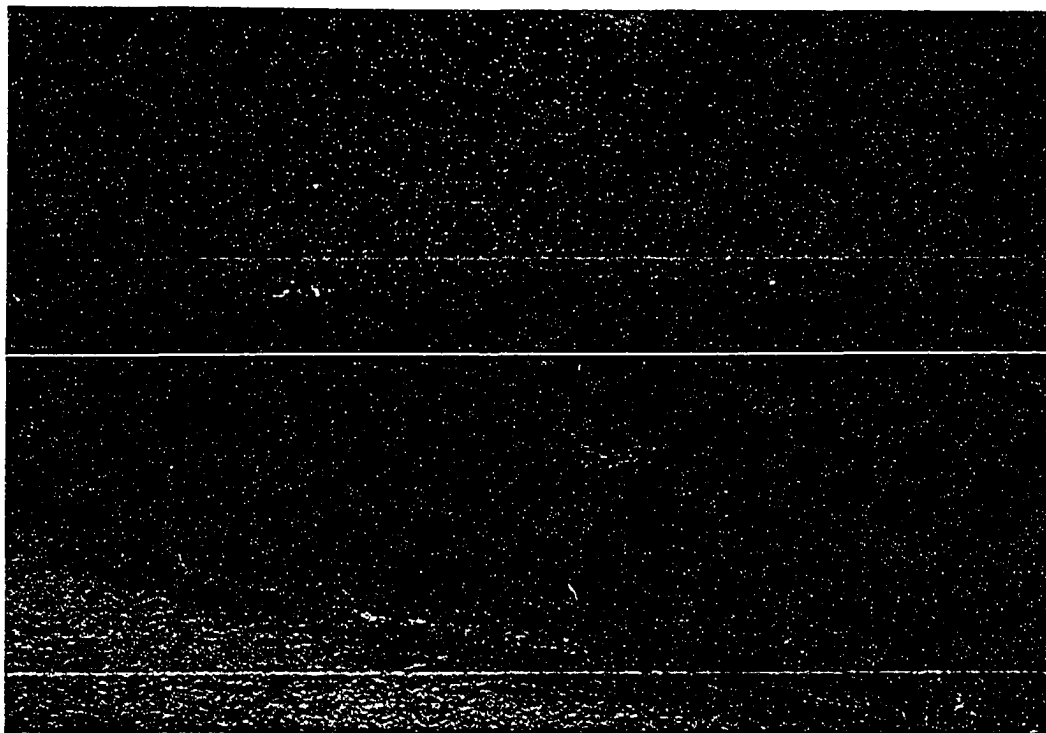


Figure 4.42 Round pen at 505 Farm, Lexington, Kentucky. June 2002.

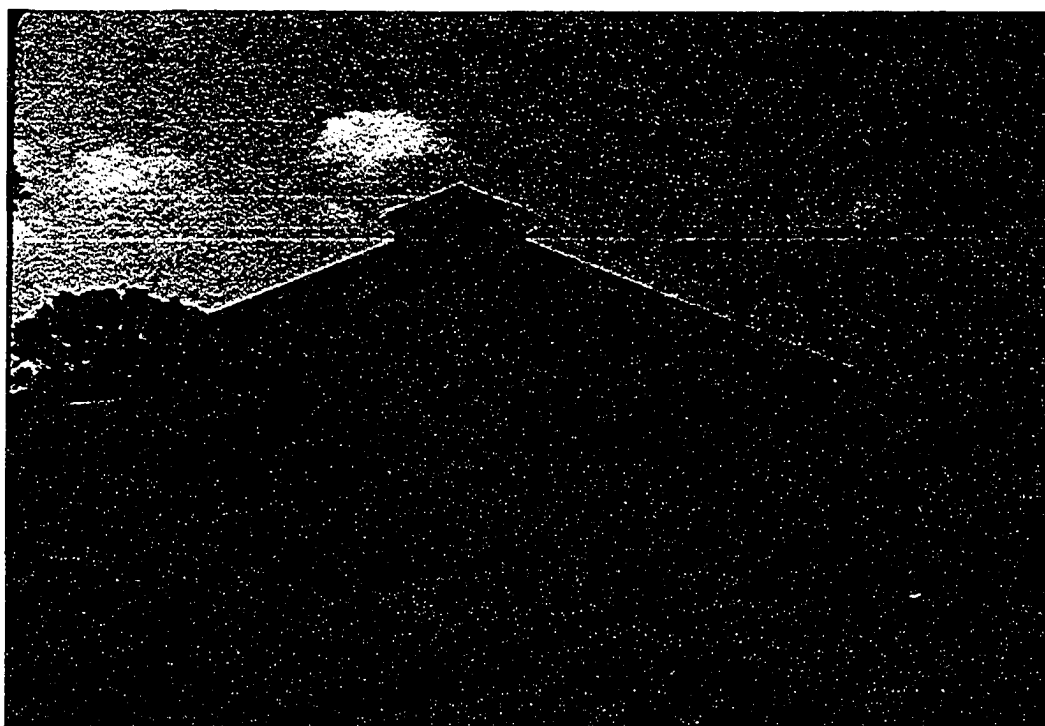


Figure 4.43 Indoor exercise track/walker at 505 Farm, Lexington, Kentucky. June 2002.



Figure 4.44 This conformation photograph shows what is either an early enclosed free walker or covered roundpen in the background. *Tetratema*, gray Thoroughbred stallion, April 27, 1917-1939, by *The Tetarch* out of *Scotch Gift* by *Symington*. Taken at Ballylinch Stud, County Kilkenny, Ireland. Photograph by Frank Griggs, Newmarket. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW2510).



Figure 4.45 Cross-country jumps on the Rolex course at the Kentucky Horse Park, Lexington Kentucky. July 2004.



Figure 4.46 Cross-country jumps on the Rolex course at the Kentucky Horse Park. Lexington, Kentucky. July 2004.

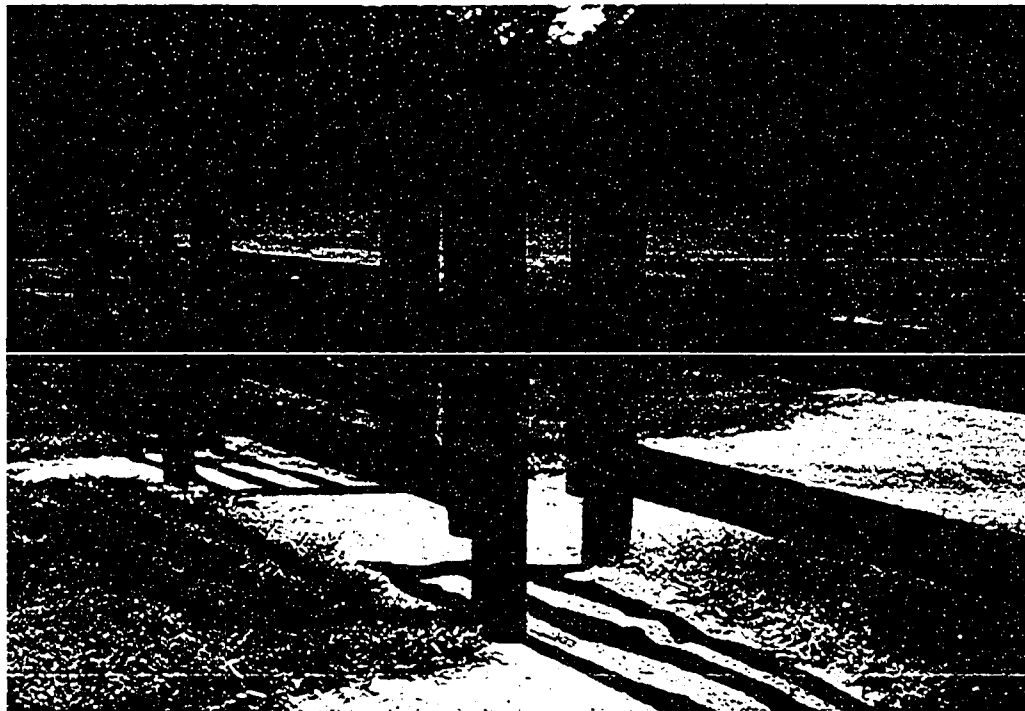


Figure 4.47 People walkthrough in fence line at Fasig-Tipton sale facility, Lexington, Kentucky. June 2002.



Figure 4.48 Oak board fencing of Hanover Shoe Farm, Hanover, Pennsylvania. October 2002.



Figure 4.49 Board fencing showing protective facing boards in corner. Brownland Farm, Franklin, Tennessee.



Figure 4.50 Oak board fencing separating two pastures (stallions left, mares and foals right) that allow for riding and vehicular movement through the property. Settlers Acre, Greenwood, Missouri. March 2002.

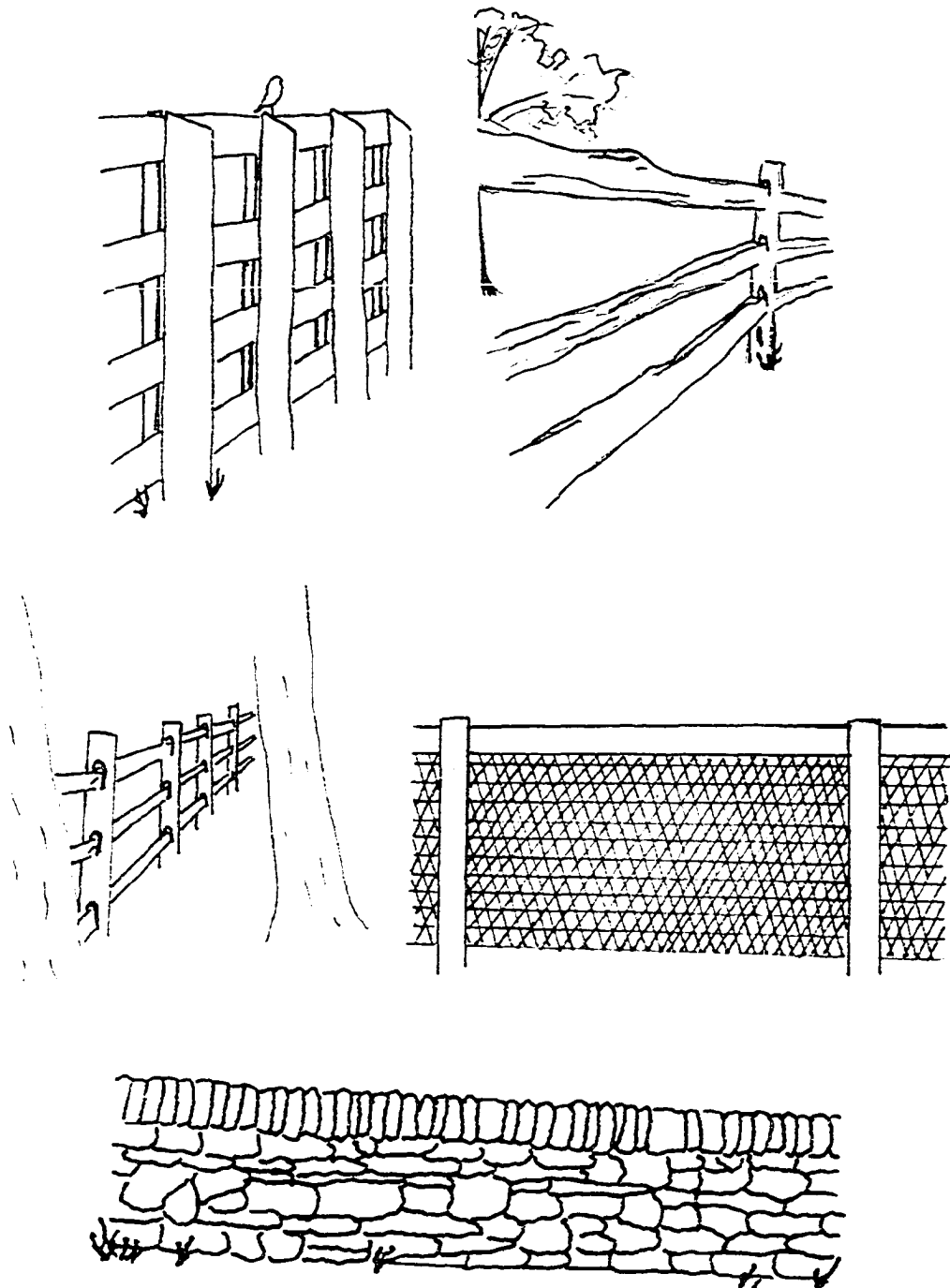


Figure 4.51 Four fencing types: top left, board at Spendthrift; top right, post and rail at W. T. White; middle left, post and rail at Hamilton; middle right, wire at 505; bottom, stone at Spindletop. Stacy Schmidt Drawing, October 2004.

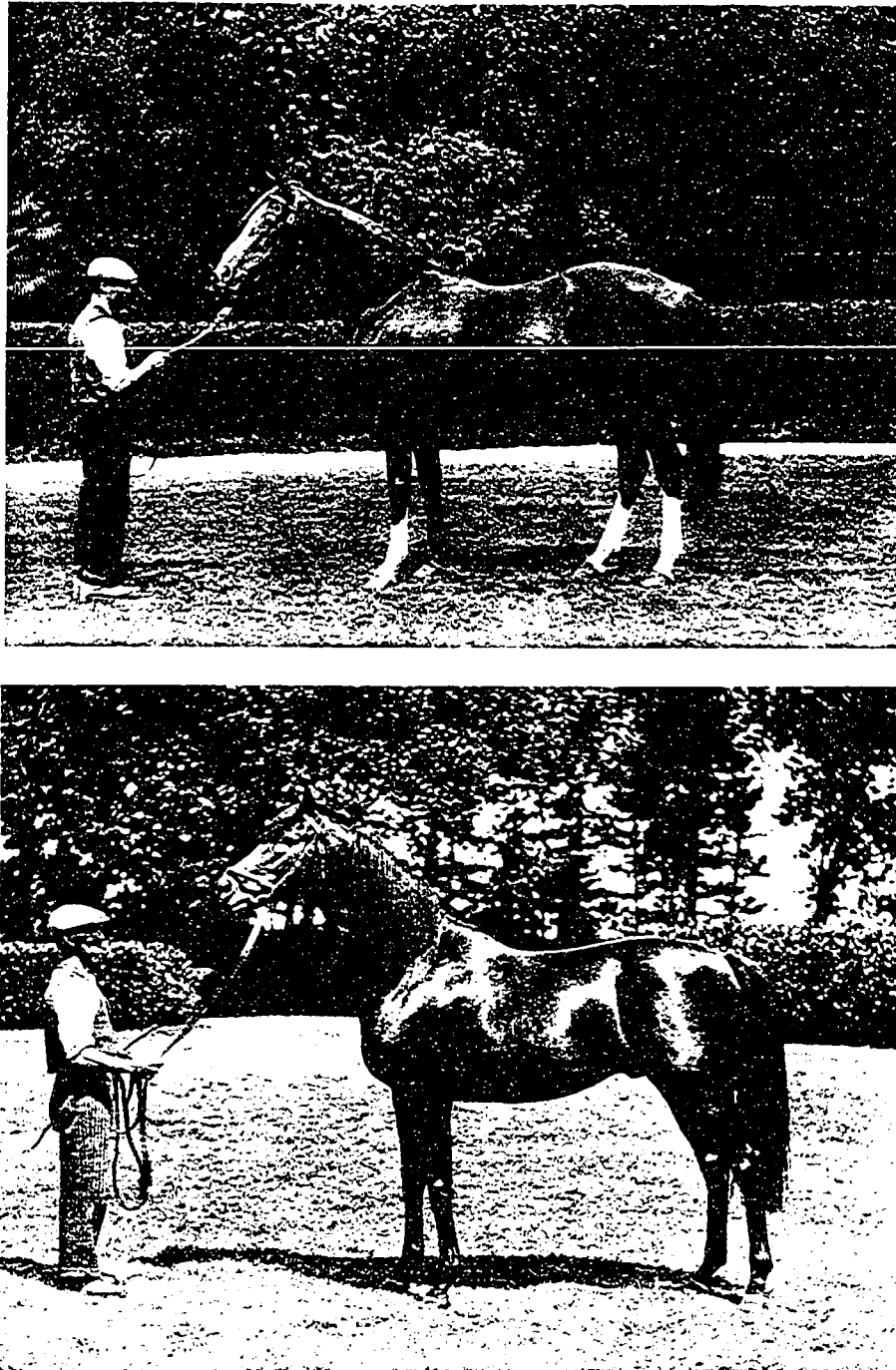


Figure 4.52 Trimmed hedge borders, gravel paths, mowed grass, and stud grooms: top, *Mintagon*, 1901 chestnut Thoroughbred stallion by *Martagon* out of *Mimi*. Won 1906 Cesarwitch Stakes. Frank Griggs Photograph, Newmarket. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW2384); bottom, *Pommern*, bay Thoroughbred stallion, March 22, 1912 – August 1935, by *Polymebus* out of *Merry Agnes*. Won 1915 Derby, 2000 Guineas, September Stakes, Simbeln Stakes. Frank Griggs Photograph, Newmarket. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW2419).

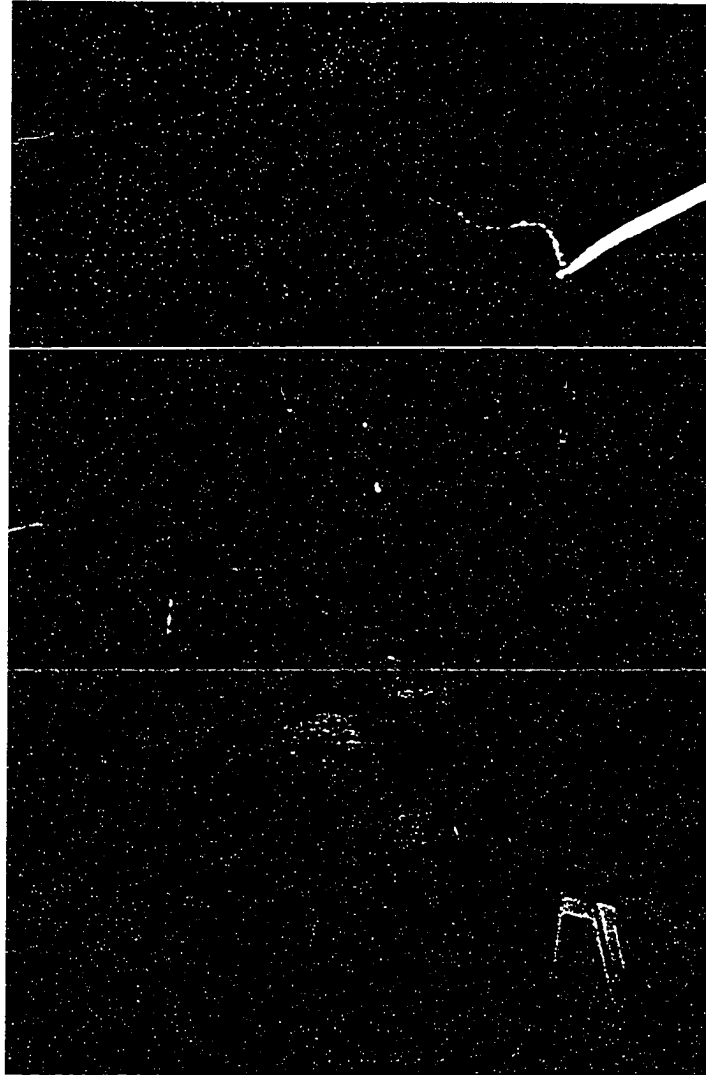


Figure 4.53 Second-story grain storage bins with delivery auger. The bins' front sections are approximately four feet tall and the backs are five feet tall. Each bin holds three to five tons of grain. Windsor T. White Stable (1926), Chagrin Falls, Ohio. October 2003.

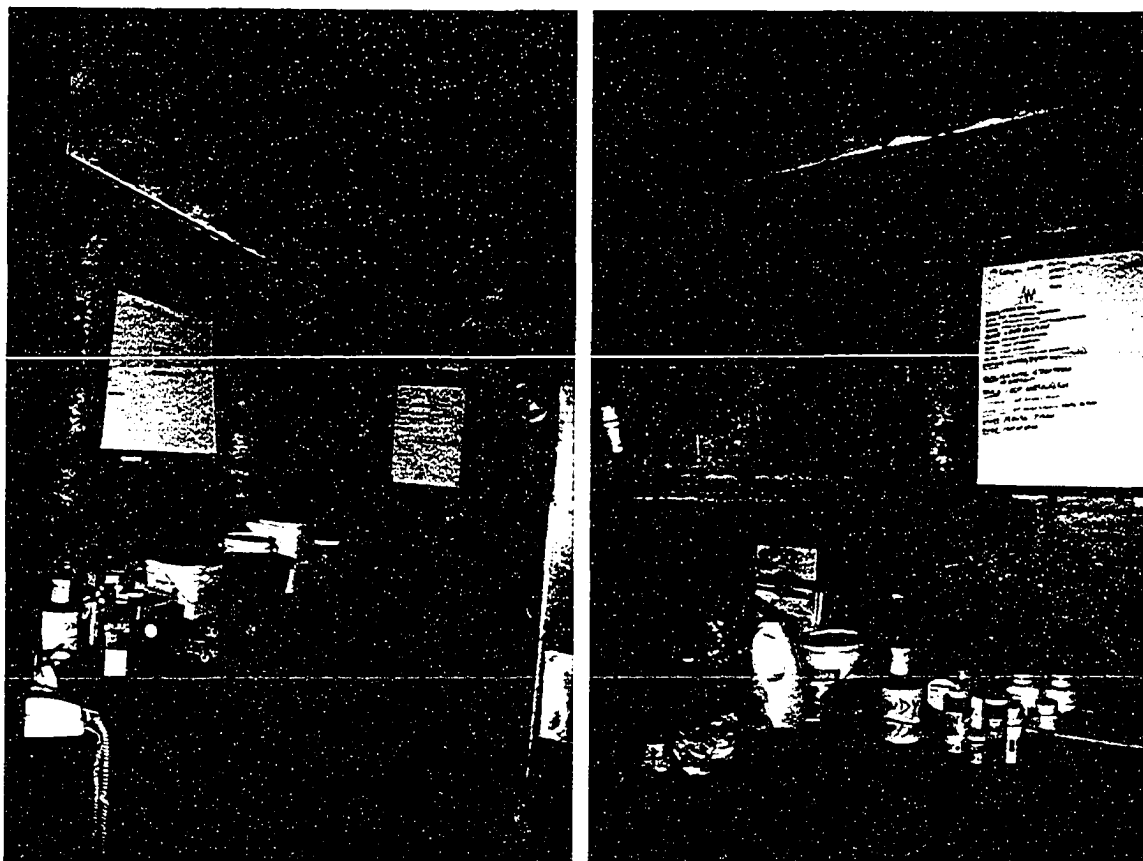


Figure 4.54 Feed room: left, grain bin and chutes; right, cabinet at Windsor T. White Stable (1926), Chagrin Falls, Ohio. October 2003.

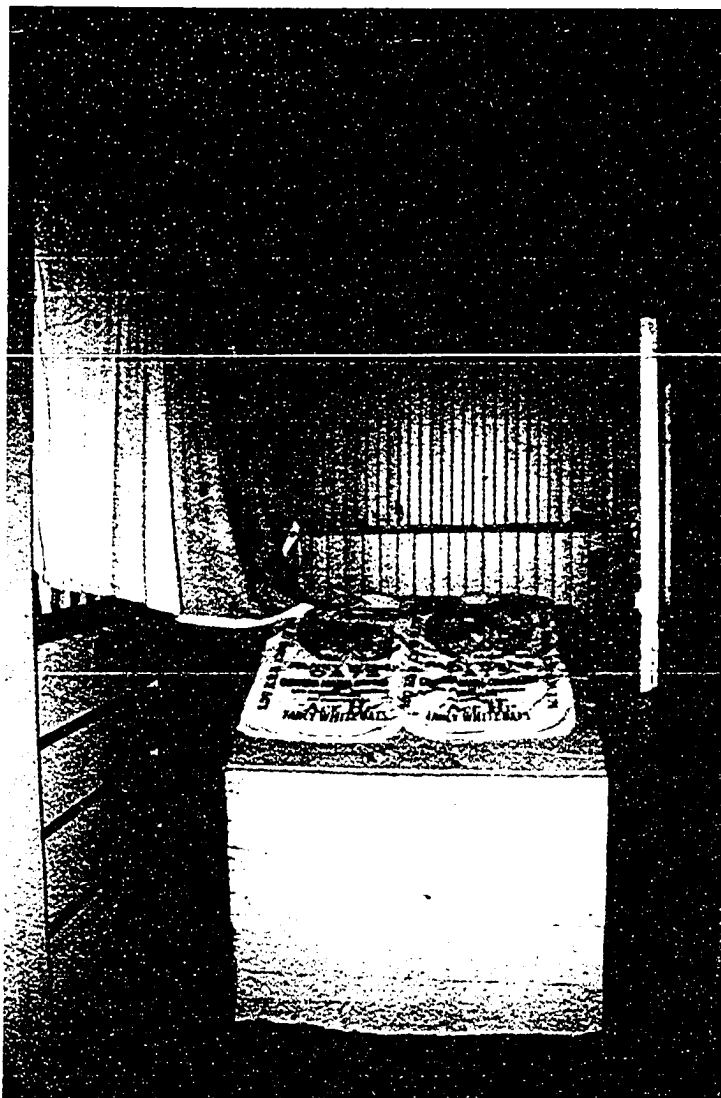


Figure 4.55 Grain bin at the end of the aisle in the Belair Stable (1907). Bowie, Maryland. October 2003.

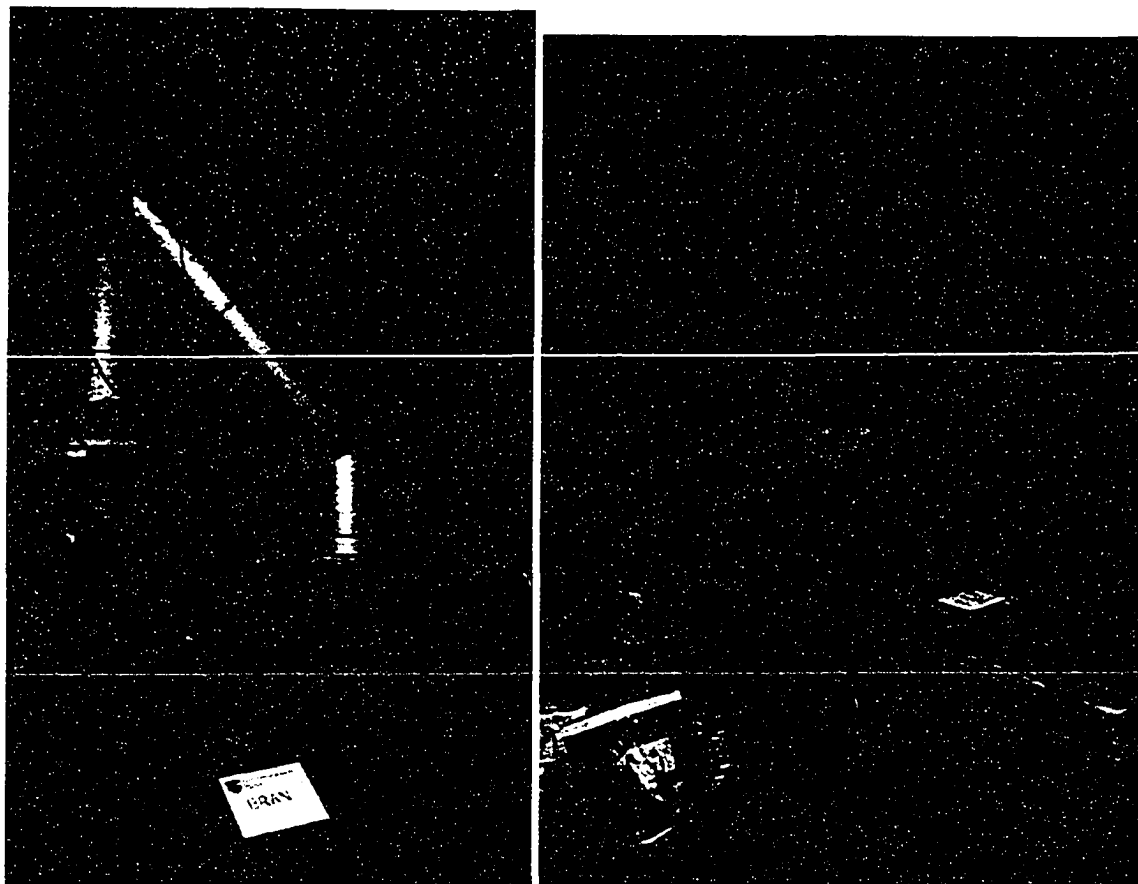


Figure 4.56 Feed room: left, chute from second story and bin; right, large grain bin. Hamilton Farm (1917), Gladstone, New Jersey. July 2002.

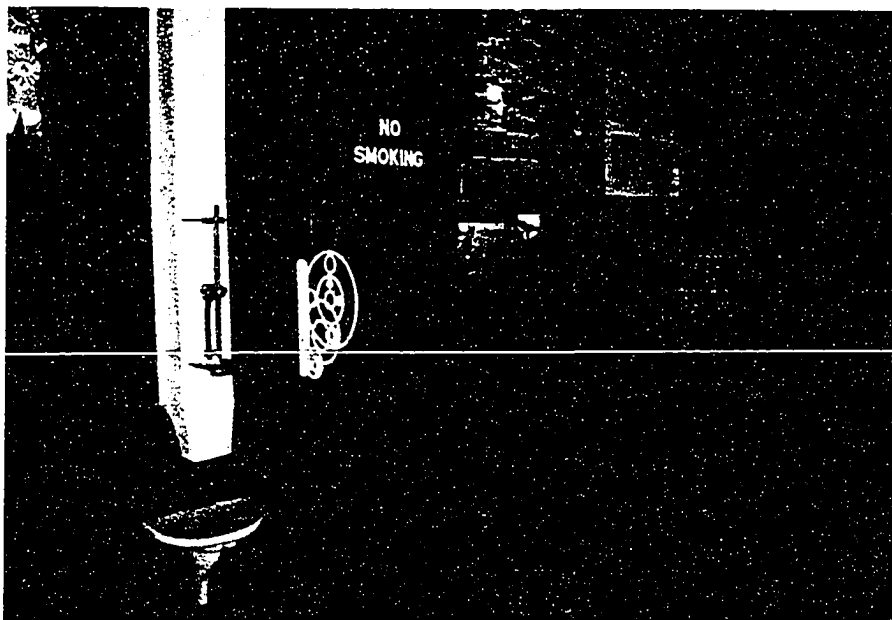


Figure 4.57 Aisle with grain chute and blanket rack (without rail) along aisle wall in Roosevelt Stable (1886), Hyde Park, New York. July 2002.



Figure 4.58 Storage area for stall cleaning equipment. Hamilton Farm (1917), Gladstone, New Jersey. July 2002.

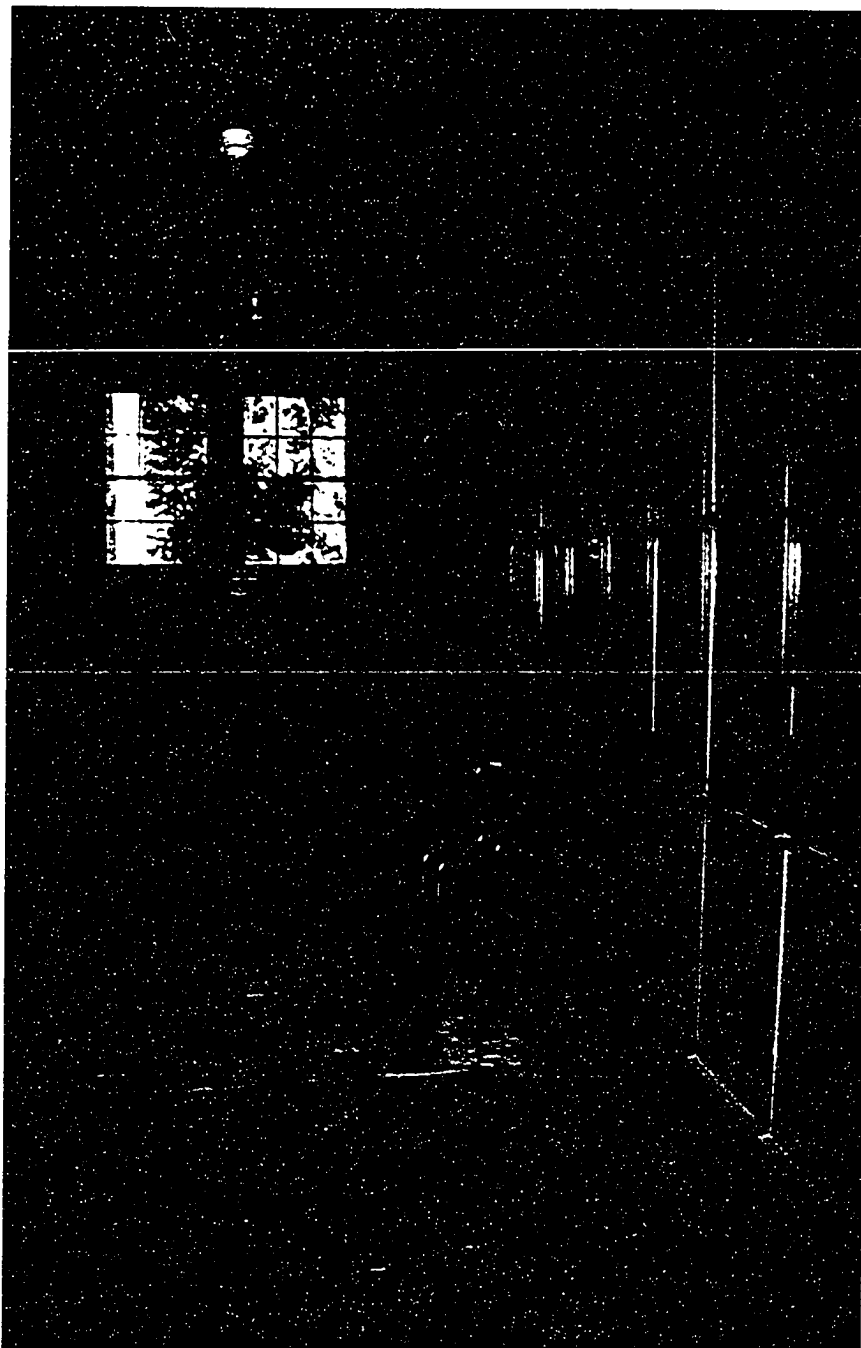


Figure 4.59 Harness and tack room: interior cabinets, saddle racks, and tiled cleaning area with drain in the Roosevelt Stable (1886), Hyde Park, New York. July 2002.

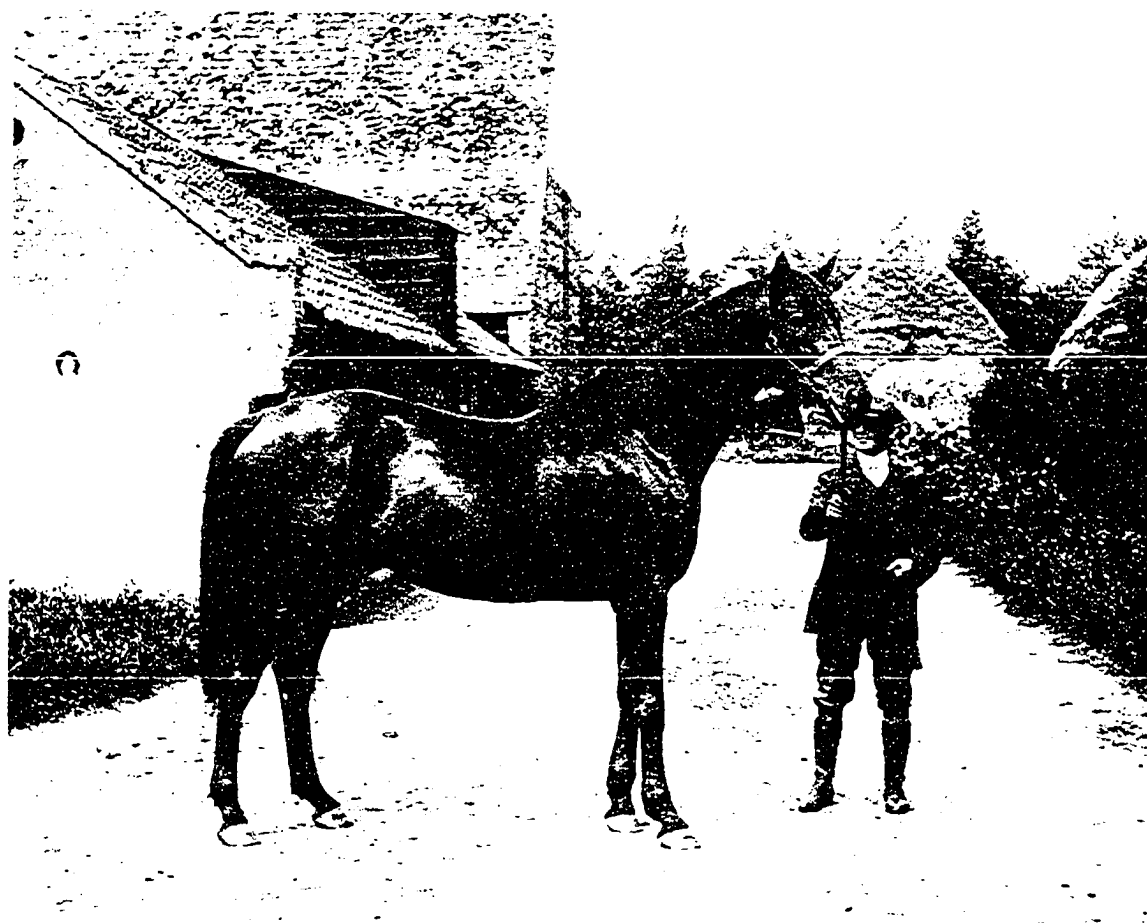


Figure 4.60 English hay or straw ricks in background. Note the groom's attire, stable lane, and the bit buckled to the halter for greater control. *Swynford*, brown Thoroughbred stallion, 1907-May 18, 1928, by *John O'Gaunt* out of *Canterbury Pilgrim* by *Tristan*. Photograph by Frank Griggs, Newmarket. Warden Collection, MTSU (MLW2507).

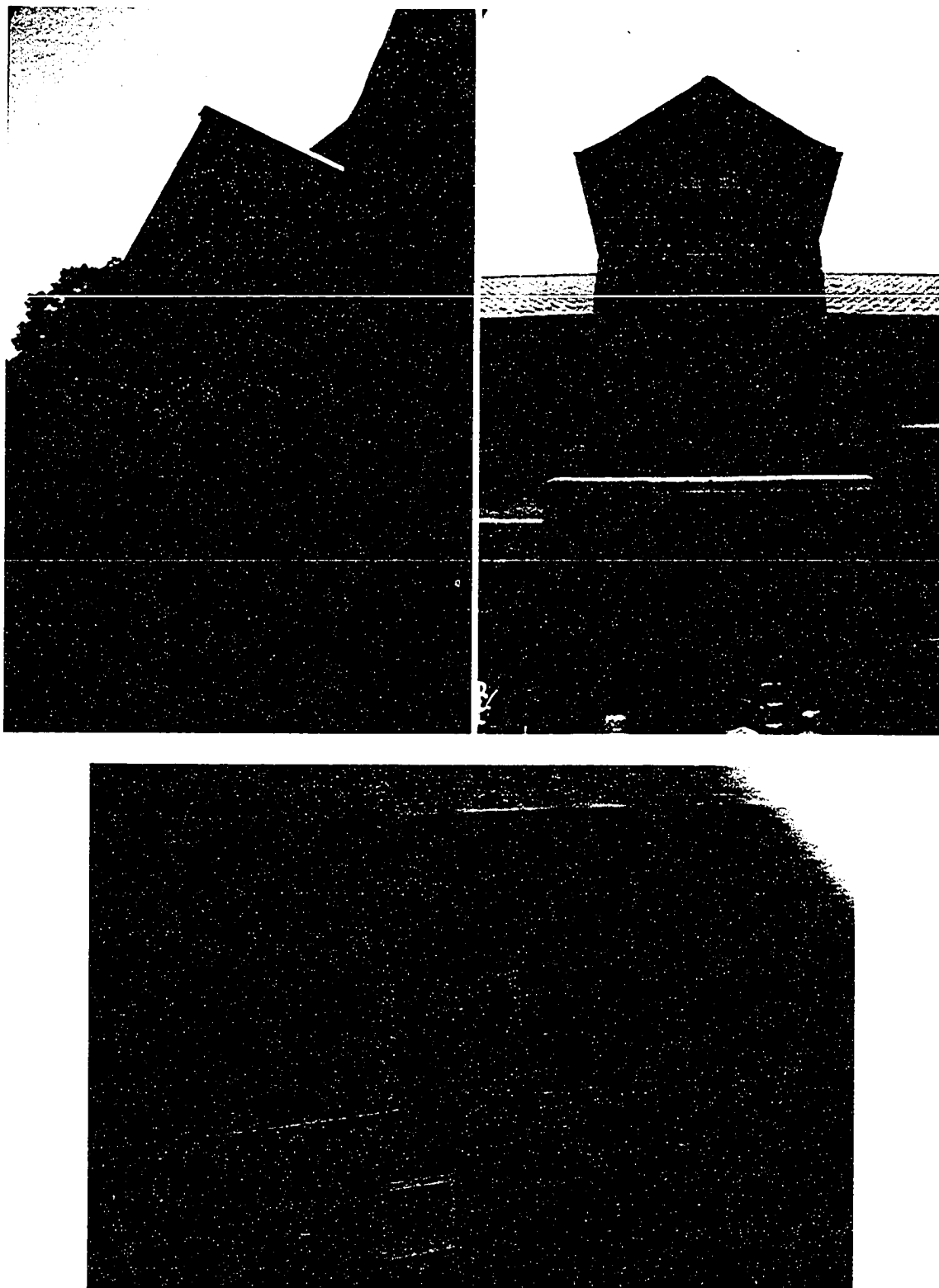


Figure 4.61 Hay loft entrances: top left, Roosevelt Stable (1886), Hyde Park, New York; top right, Hamilton Farm (1917), Gladstone, New Jersey; bottom, Historic Goshen Track (c.1910), Goshen, New York. July 2002.

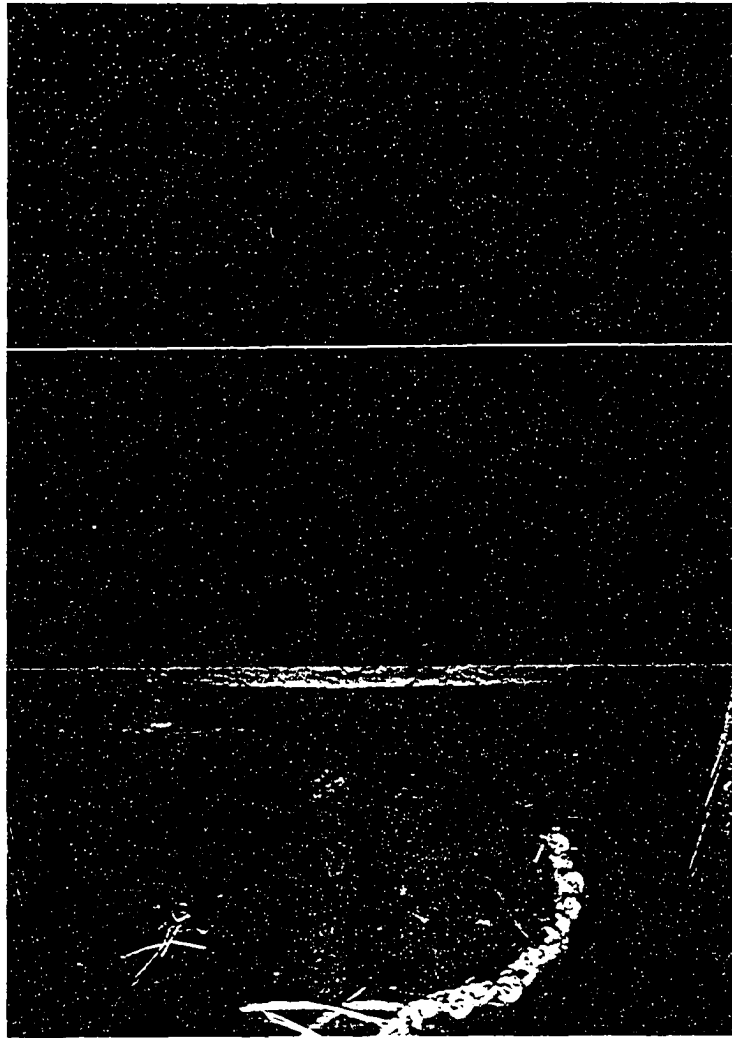


Figure 4.62 Trap door from hayloft into lower stable alley at Windsor T. White Stable (1926), Chagrin Falls, Ohio. October 2003.



Figure 4.63 Above stall hay storage as viewed from aisle at 505 Farm (c. 1920).
Lexington, Kentucky. June 2002.

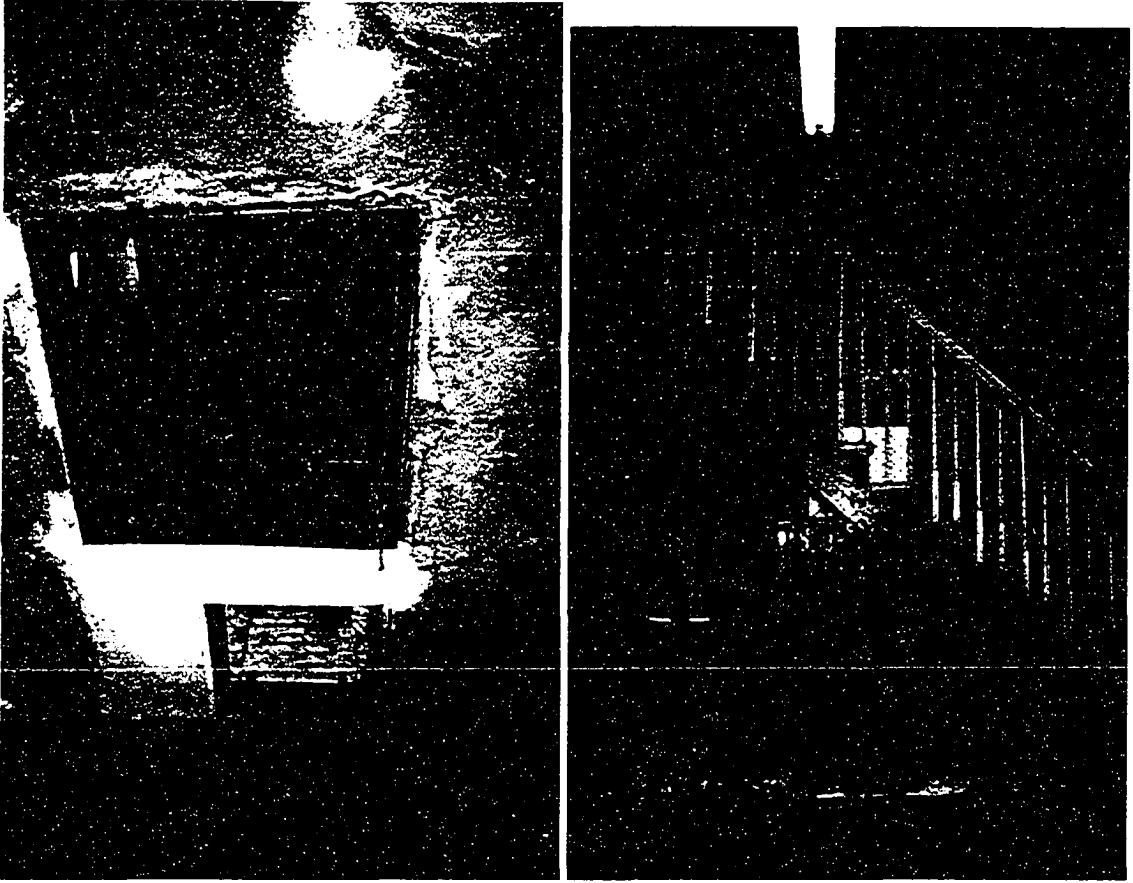


Figure 4.64 Hay loft access: left, ladder at Hamilton Farm (1917), Gladstone, New Jersey. July 2002; right, stairs in the stallion barn at Man O'War Farm (c. 1925, previously Faraway Farm), Lexington, Kentucky. June 2002.

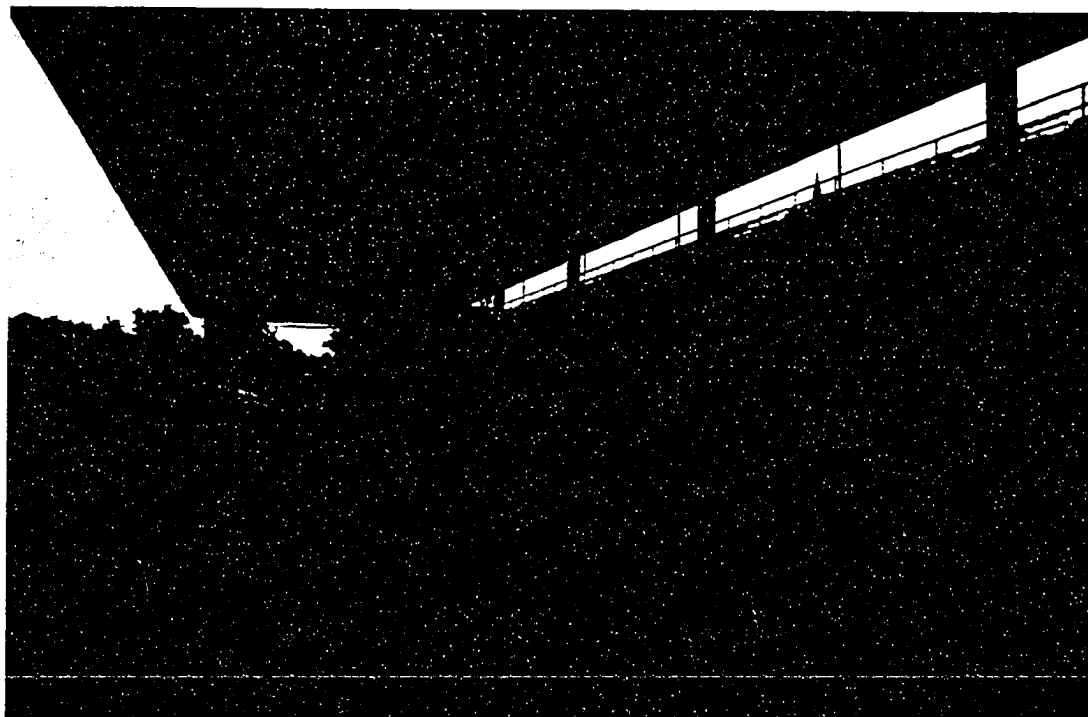


Figure 4.65 Grandstand (c. 1950s): top, seating; bottom, backside with betting windows at the Historic Track, Goshen, New York. July 2002.

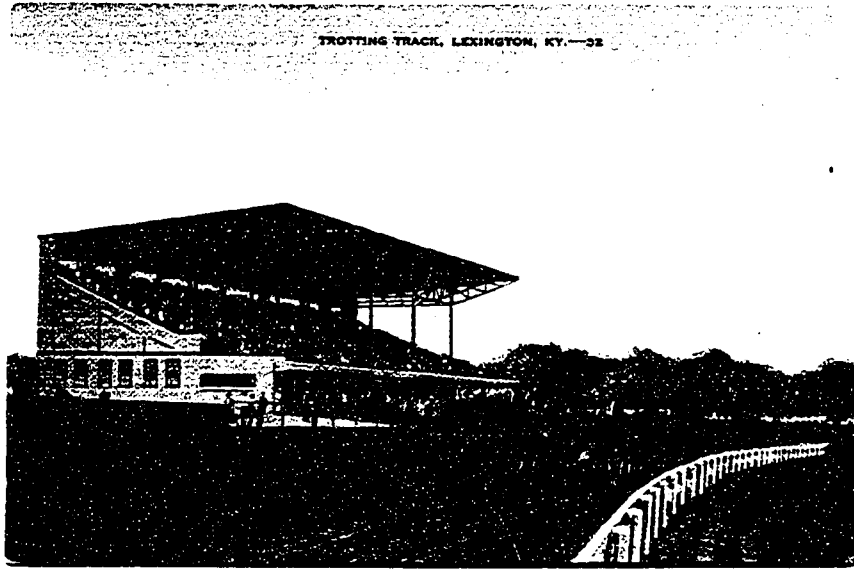
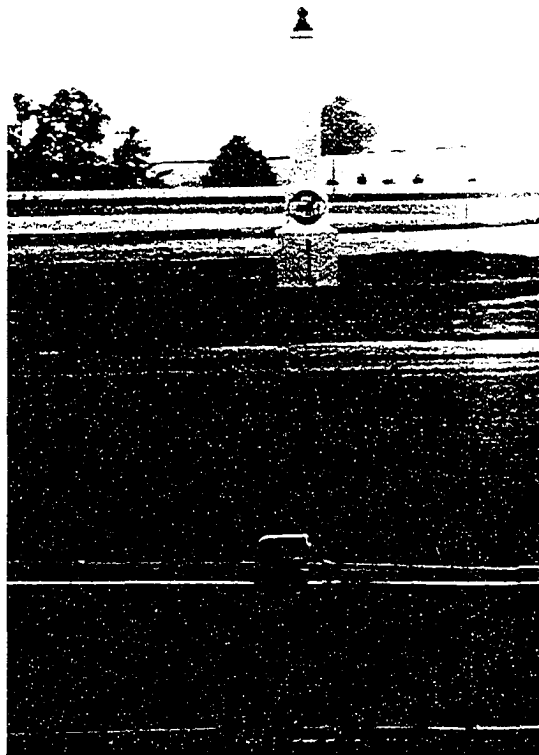
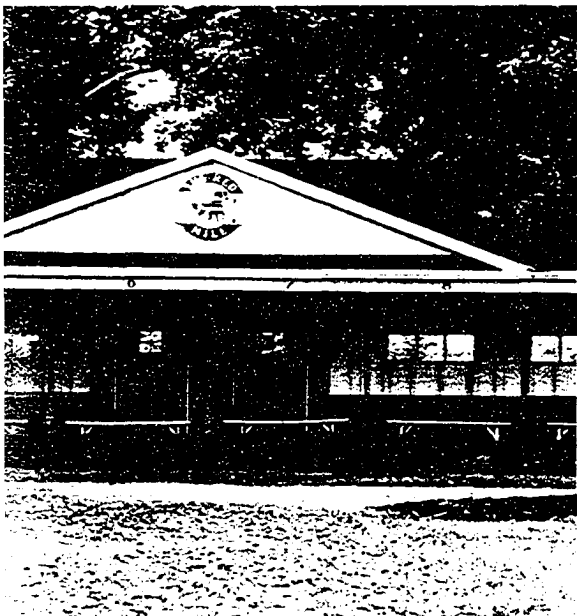
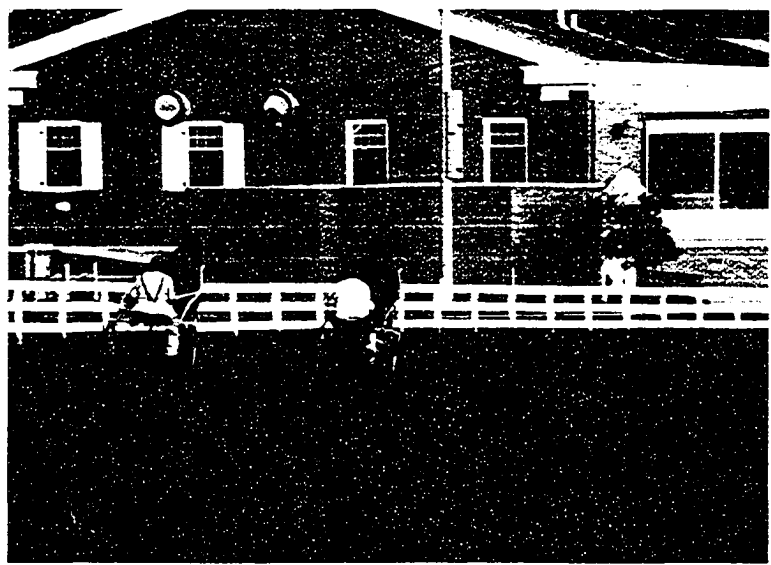


Figure 4.66 The Red Mile: top left, historic postcard, c. 1920, of grandstand (Perky Beisel Postcard Collection); middle, paddock area; bottom right, finish line. July 2004. The track clearly retains much of its historic character.



stcard Collection); top middle, grandstand; top right, early morning workout; bottom left, box seats along track; bottom its historic character and setting. Each of the track elements are highlighted in red reinforcing the track's red footing.

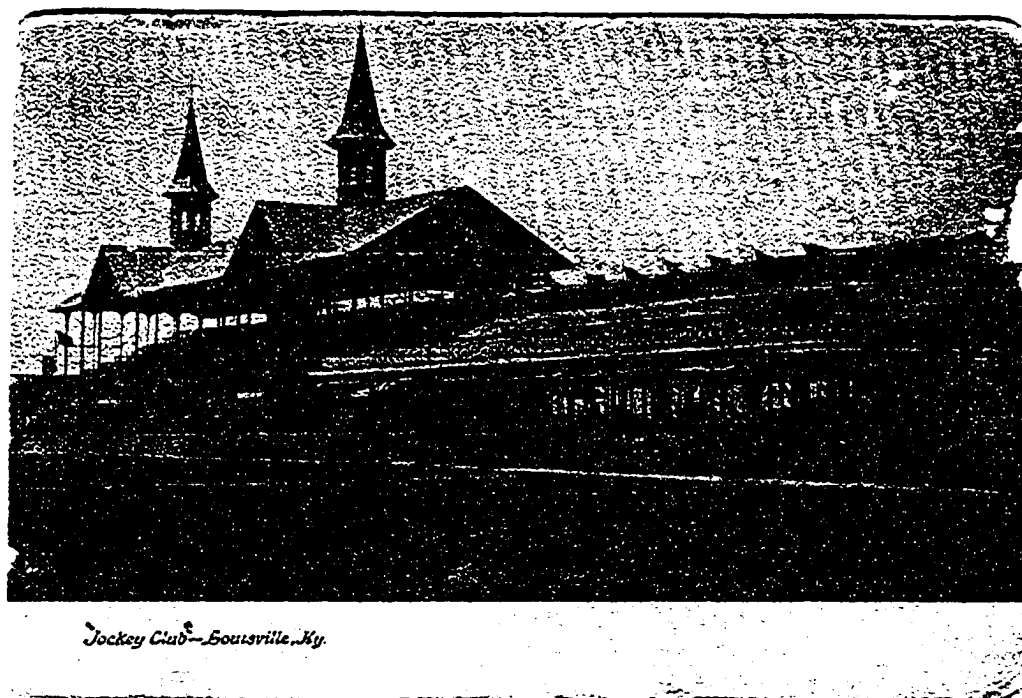


Figure 4.67 Grandstands c. 1910 at Churchill Downs, Louisville, Kentucky. Perky Beisel Postcard Collection.



Figure 4.68 The paddock area at Oaklawn, Hot Springs, Arkansas: top, the spectators waiting for the first race's horses; bottom, saddling for a later race. March 2005.

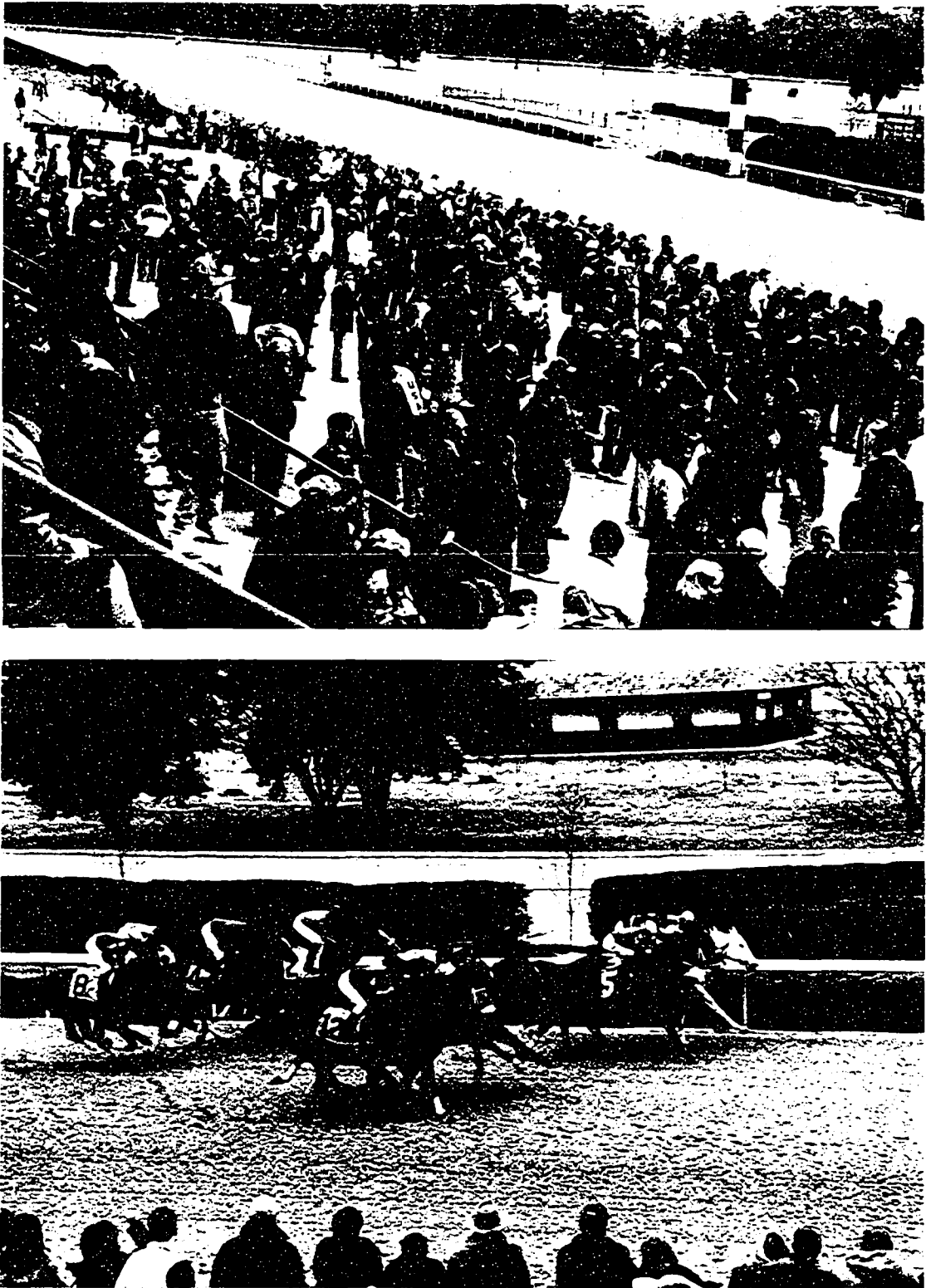


Figure 4.69 Outside at Oaklawn, Hot Springs, Arkansas the spectators watch: a. the spectators before the first race; b. watching the finish of the first race. March 2005.

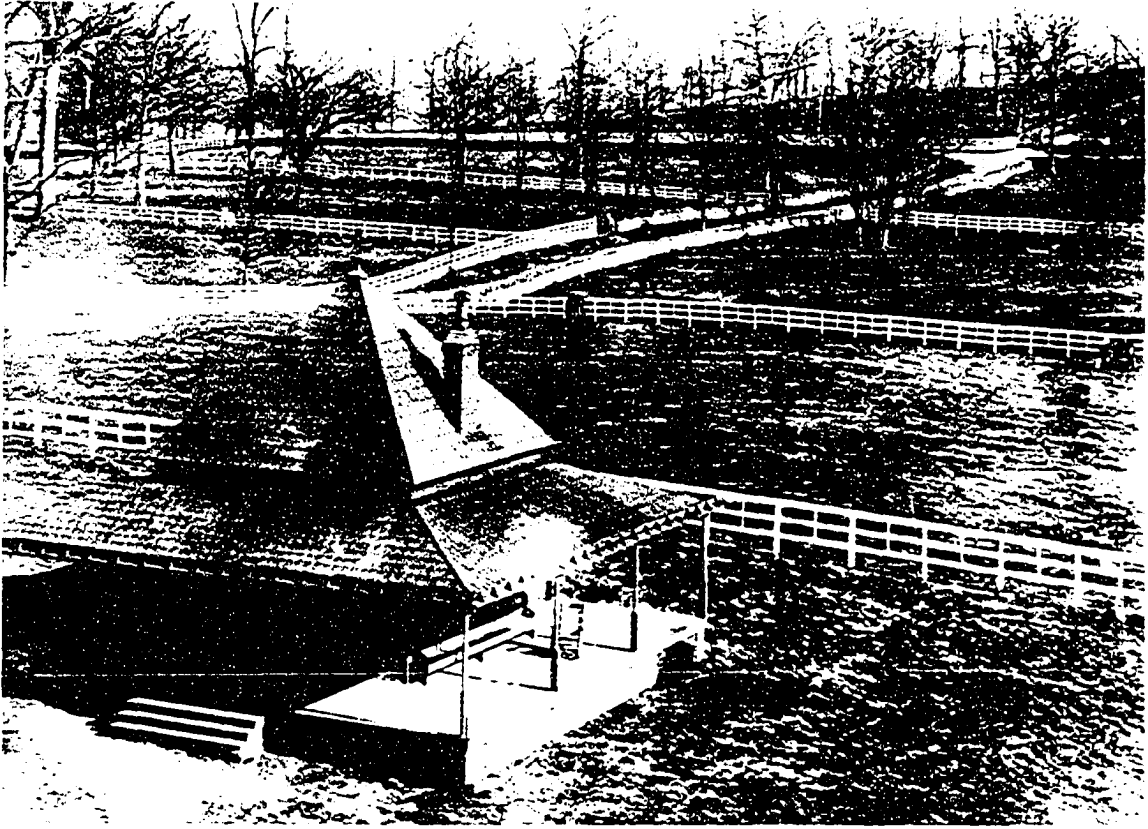
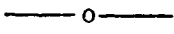


Figure 4.70 Office. note the fencing, driveways, and central location of the building. Hermitage Stud (c. 1890), Franklin Pike, Nashville, Tennessee. Warden Collection. Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW1686).

NOTICE.



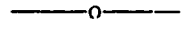
In order to answer the numerous inquiries made of me in regard to the stock on the farm, this Catalogue is issued. The farm is located five miles east of Lexington, Ky., on Winchester pike. For further information address

W. W. ESTILL, Lexington, Ky.

TELEPHONE 427.

Stock open to inspection any day, Sunday excepted.

KEEP FOR STOCK.



Brood mares on grass.....	\$ 1 00 per week
Brood mares when fed and good box stall at night ...	8 00 per month
Weanlings from October 1st to May 1st.....	10 00 per month
Yearling stallions after May 1st.....	12 00 per month
Two-year-old stallions.....	16 00 per month
Fillies on grass.....	1 00 per week
Fillies when fed.....	8 00 per month

Bills due January and July of each year.

No responsibility for accidents, escapes or deaths. All stock receives same attention as my own.

W. W. ESTILL.

SERVICE

DIR

SERVICE
privilege of
mare does n

ST

SERVICE
privilege of
mare does n

T

Mares w
risk and will
passed a su
that the ma
farm must b
for trials.
observe this
fee, or a retu
prove to be v

T

BROOD M
pasture and
grain, or \$100

WEANLI
as brood ma
halter break

FILLIES.
brood mares

YEARLIN
EXTRA
injury charg
shoeing and

BOARD B
or whenever
year settle
quarterly.
before stock
and escapes.

Figure 4.71 Fees: left, 1890 Elmwood Farm Sale Catalog; right, 1907 Wellsville [NY] Driving Park Adver. illustrate advertisement techniques and the costs associated with breeding and competition.

SERVICE FEES. TERMS AND CONDITONS.

DIRECT HAL, 2:04 1-4 .0115

SERVICE FEE. \$200.00 with the usual return privilege or money refunded at our option if mare does not prove to be with foal.

STAR HAL, 2:04 3-4

SERVICE FEE. \$75.00 with the usual return privilege or money refunded at our option if mare does not prove to be in foal.

Trial and Care of Mares

Mares will be carefully cared for at owner's risk and will be tried regularly until they have passed a sufficient number of trials to indicate that the mares are in foal. Mares not left at the farm must be produced there on the days indicated for trials. Failure on the part of the owner to observe this requirement will forfeit the service fee or a return privilege in case the mare does not prove to be with foal.

Terms for Keeping Stock

BROOD MARES. \$1.00 per week when kept in pasture and \$2.50 per week when kept up and fed grain, or \$100 per year when left by the year.

WEANLINGS. Regardless of sex, same price as brood mares after five months old. This includes halter breaking and weaning.

FILLIES. One year old and over same price as brood mares.

YEARLING STALLION COLTS. \$12.00 per month.

EXTRA EXPENSES. In case of sickness or injury charge will be made to cover expenses; also shoeing and trimming feet will be charged for.

BOARD BILLS. Are due the first of each month or whenever presented. When stock is left by the year settlements are not urged, excepting quarterly. All bills must positively be settled before stock is removed from farm. All accidents and escapes at owner's risk.

BOTH THESE STALLIONS are entered in the Horse World Stallion Representative Purse of \$7,500 with entry fee paid up until April 1911, the year of the race, when a \$25 payment will be required, which amount, will be added to original purse. It is predicted this purse will be the largest ever trotted or paced for.

**DIRECT HAL 2:04 1/4
.0115
PACER.**

BLACK STALLION, 15.2 1/2 Hands. White Face
left front ankle white. Foaled 1896. Bred by
E. F. Geers. Memphis. Tenn.

World's Champion Green Pacer, 2:04 1/4.

Holder of World's Pole Record, 2:05 1/2.

Winner of 13 races and over \$25,500 in '02.

SIRE OF

Walter Direct, (Chamber of Commerce Winner 1905).....	2:05 1/4
Floy Direct.....	2:13 1/4
Claudia Hal.....	2:20
Hal Direct.....	Trial 2:06 3/4
The Instructor.....	Trial 2:08 1/4
Regardless, (4) in race.....	Trial 2:08 1/4
Travelleso, trial trotting.....	2:10
Lord Direct, (3).....	Trial 2:11
Grace Direct, (3).....	Trial 2:13 1/4
James Hal, trial trotting.....	2:22
Lakeside Hal,	Trial 2:20 1/4

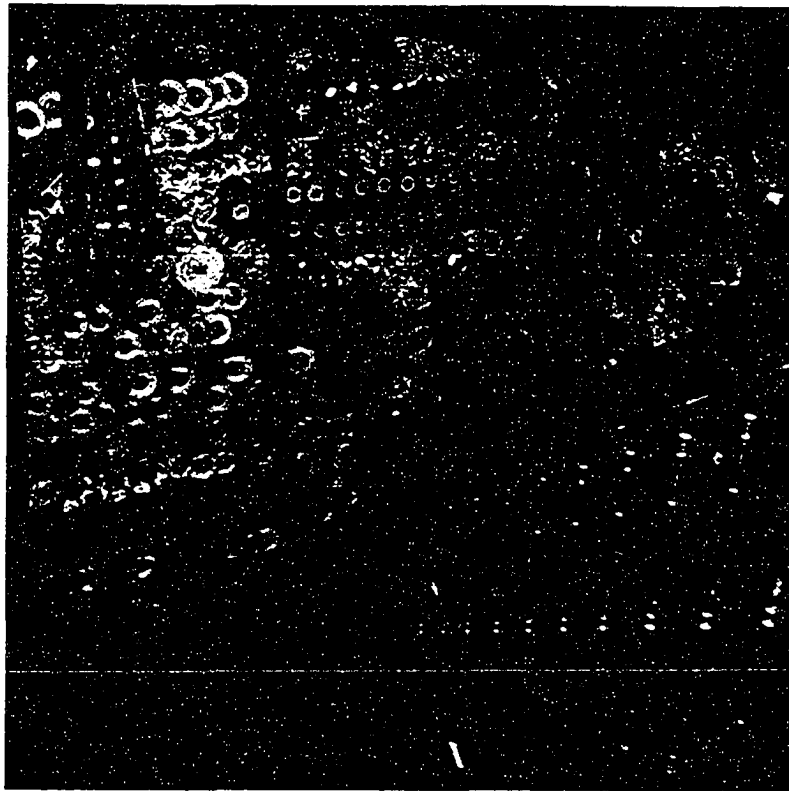


Figure 4.72 Ribbons in display cases in stairwell leading to lounge/trophy room. Hamilton Farm (1917), Gladstone, New Jersey. July 2002.

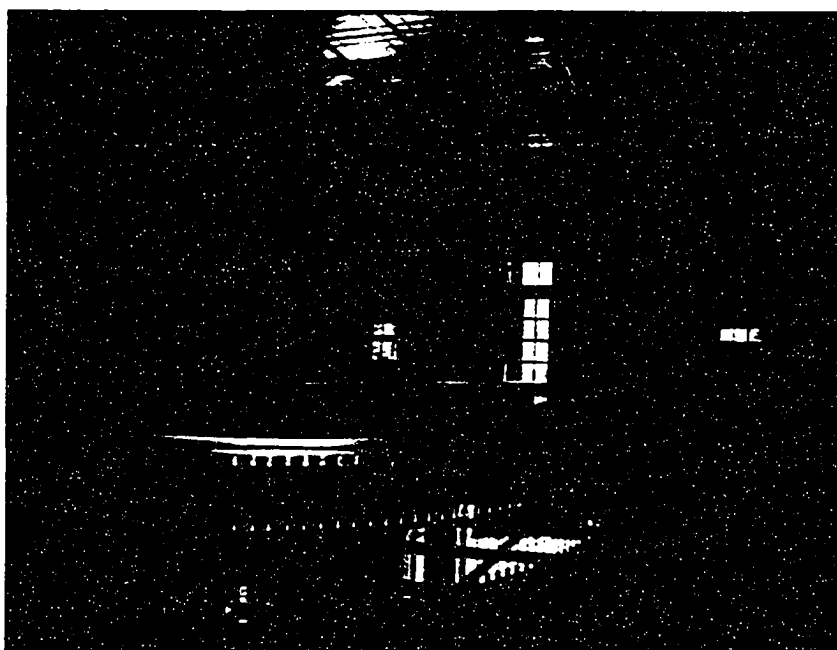


Figure 4.73 Trophy room above main entrance with stained glass skylight and balcony overlooking the arena. Hamilton Farm (1917), Gladstone, New Jersey. July 2002.



Figure 4.74 Paddocks (left) and pasture (right) along river below stabling level. Windsor T. White Stable (1926), Chagrin Falls, Ohio. October, 2003.



Figure 4.75 Pasture at Walnut Hall, Lexington, Kentucky. Marion Post Wolcott Negative, July 1940. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection, LC-USF34-055809-DLC.



Figure 4.76 Holding paddocks and work area in pasture at the Walnut Hall Stud Farm, Lexington, Kentucky. July 2004.



Figure 4.77 Creep feeder in a pasture at Walnut Hall Stud Farm, Lexington, Kentucky. July 2004.

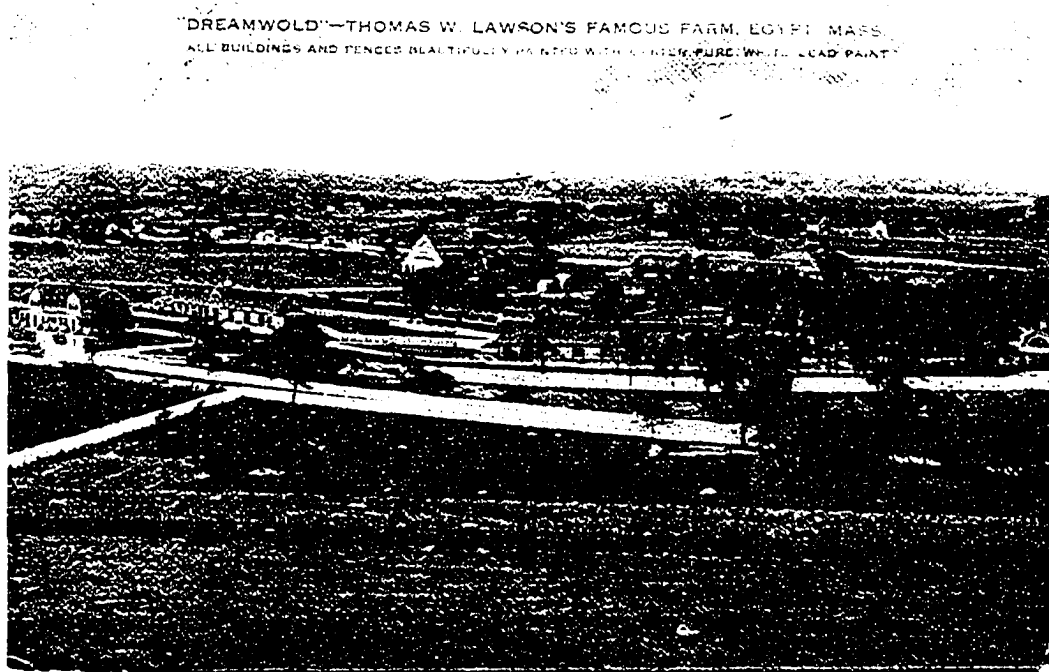


Figure 4.78 Carter Paint Company advertising postcard (c. 1910) showing pasture and paddock fencing at Thomas W. Lawson's Dreamwold Farm, Egypt, Massachusetts. Perky Beisel Postcard Collection.

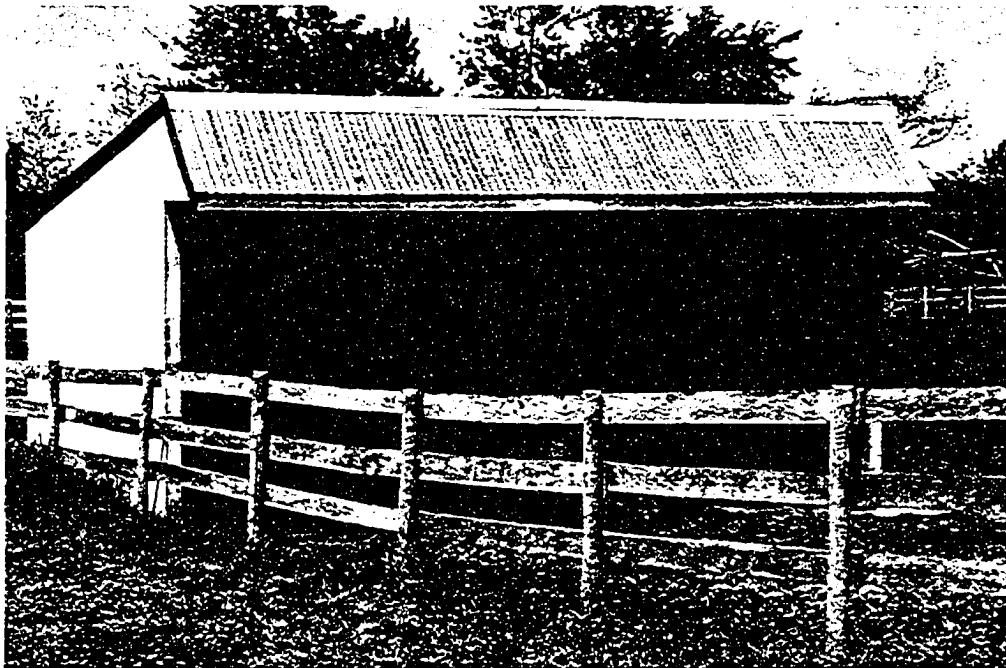
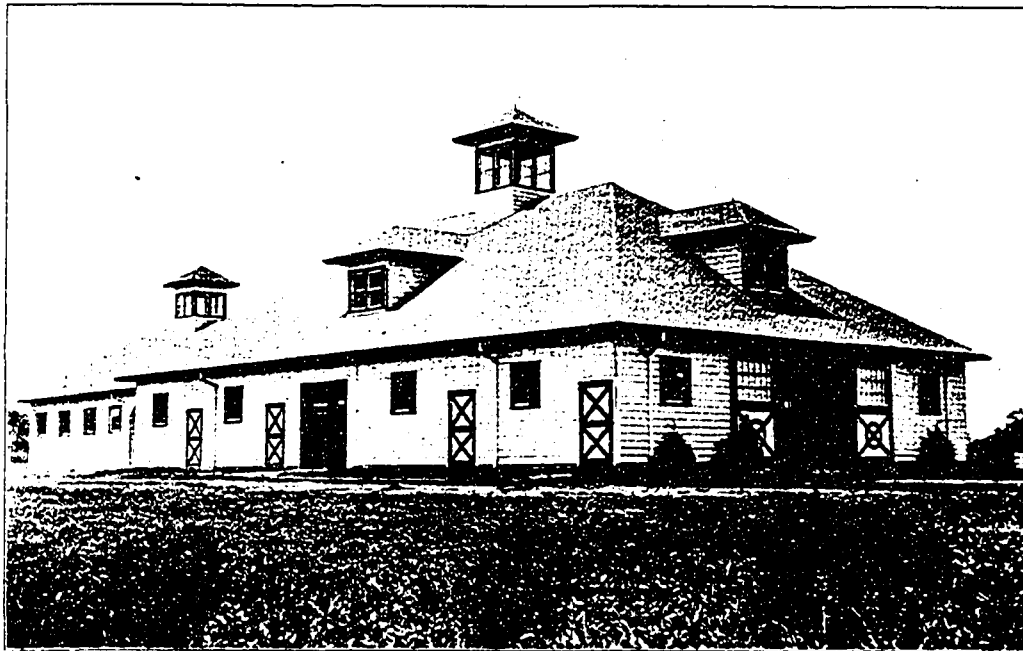


Figure 4.79 Pasture run-in shed, facing south, at Settlers Acre, Greenwood, Missouri. March 2002.



Figure 4.80 Stall door with coordinated paint colors, Belair Stable (1907). Bowie, Maryland. October 2003.



STALLION BARN AT HIMYAR STUD

Photograph by L. S. Sutcliffe.

Figure 4.81 Stallion barn at Himyar Stud with matching windows trim and door logos. *1928 Himyar Stud Yearlings Sale Catalog*. Fasig-Tipton. L. S. Sutcliffe Photograph. Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU.



Figure 4.82 Breezeway, with coordinated paint and trim, connecting the stallion stalls to small indoor breeding area at stallion barn at Man O'War Farm (c. 1925, previously Faraway Farm), Lexington, Kentucky. June 2002.



Figure 4.83 Two stables with coordinated color schemes at Walnut Hall Stud Farm, Lexington, Kentucky. July 2004.

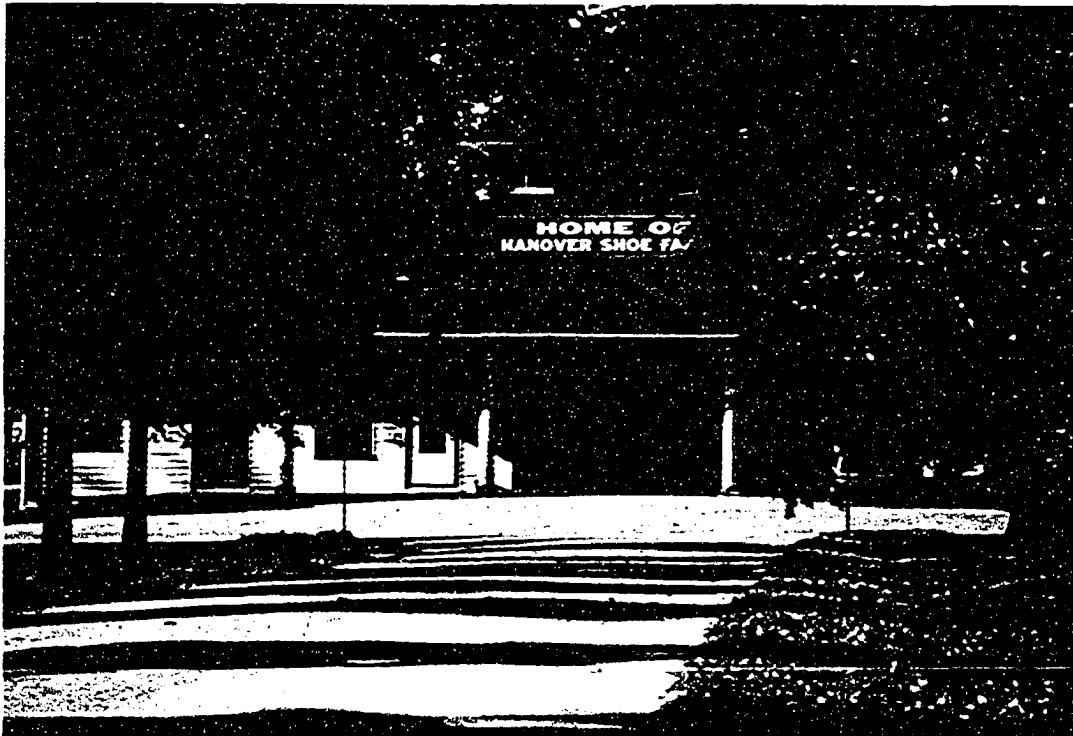


Figure 4.84 Main stable of the Hanover Shoe Farm with the signature yellow with green trim. The employee houses, Figure 4.28 has matching paint colors. Hanover, Pennsylvania. October 2002.



Figure 4.85 Polo stable at Caumsett, Long Island with high ceilings and windows, brick aisle, water buckets, and overhead radiators. Samuel H. Gottscho Photograph. 12 October 1933. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Gottscho-Schleisner Collection, LC-G612-20793.



Figure 4.86 Governor Christopher Gore Coach House and Stable (c. 1806), Waltham, Massachusetts with standing stalls and drainage system. Jack E. Boucher Photograph, May 1962. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS, MASS.9-WALTH.7-5.

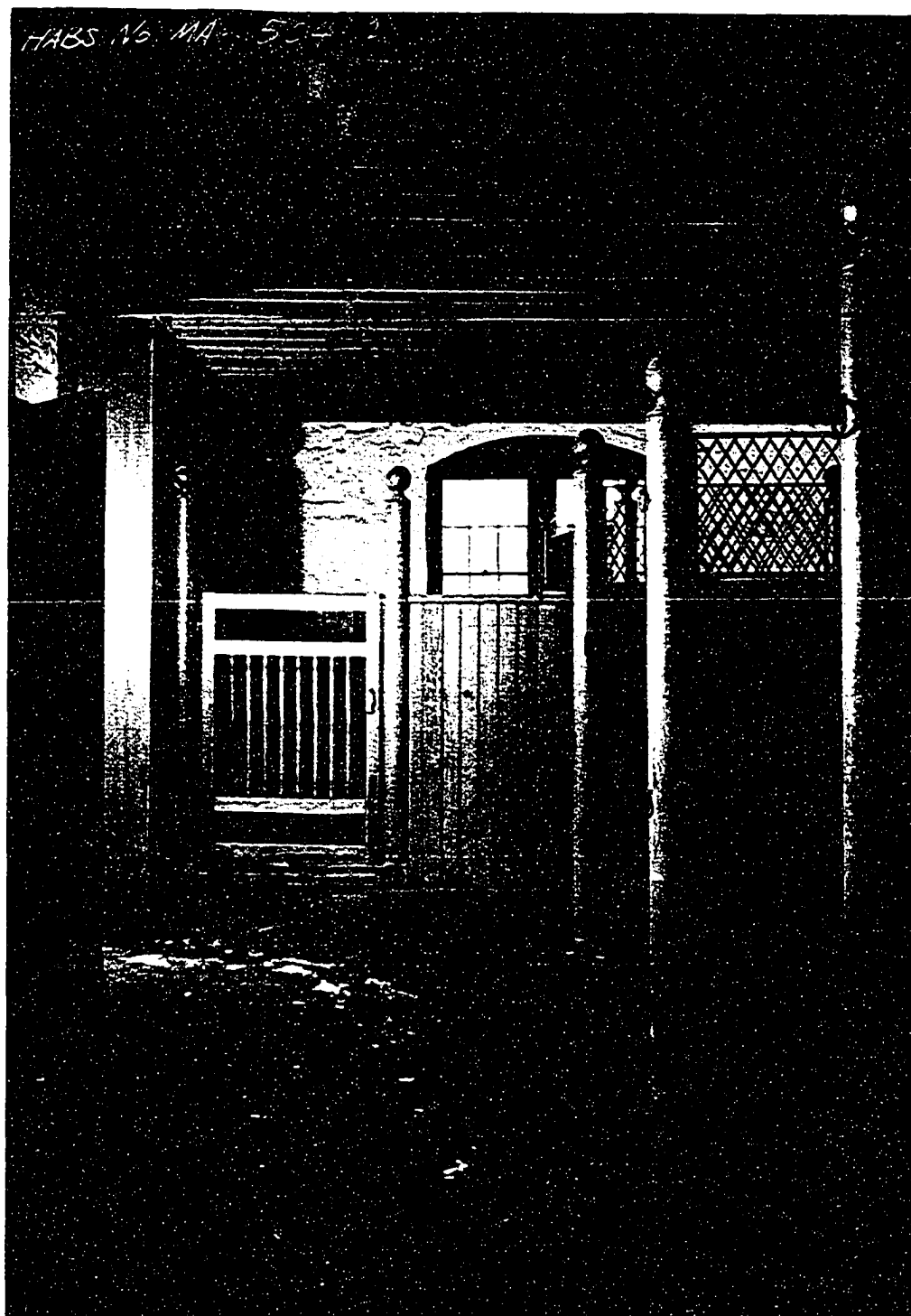


Figure 4.87 Adams Carriage House and Stable (1873), Quincy, Massachusetts, showing trap doors and slotted floors in aisle and tie stalls. Cervin Robinson Photograph, 1962. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Building Survey, HABS.MASS.11-QUI,5B-2.



Figure 4.88 Standing stalls with individual lights and windows in the state stable (the Royal Mews), Buckingham Palace (1837), England. Perky Beisel Postcard Collection.



Figure 4.89 Standing stalls in Royal Canadian Mounted Police Stable, Rockcliff Park, Ottawa, Ontario. March 2002.

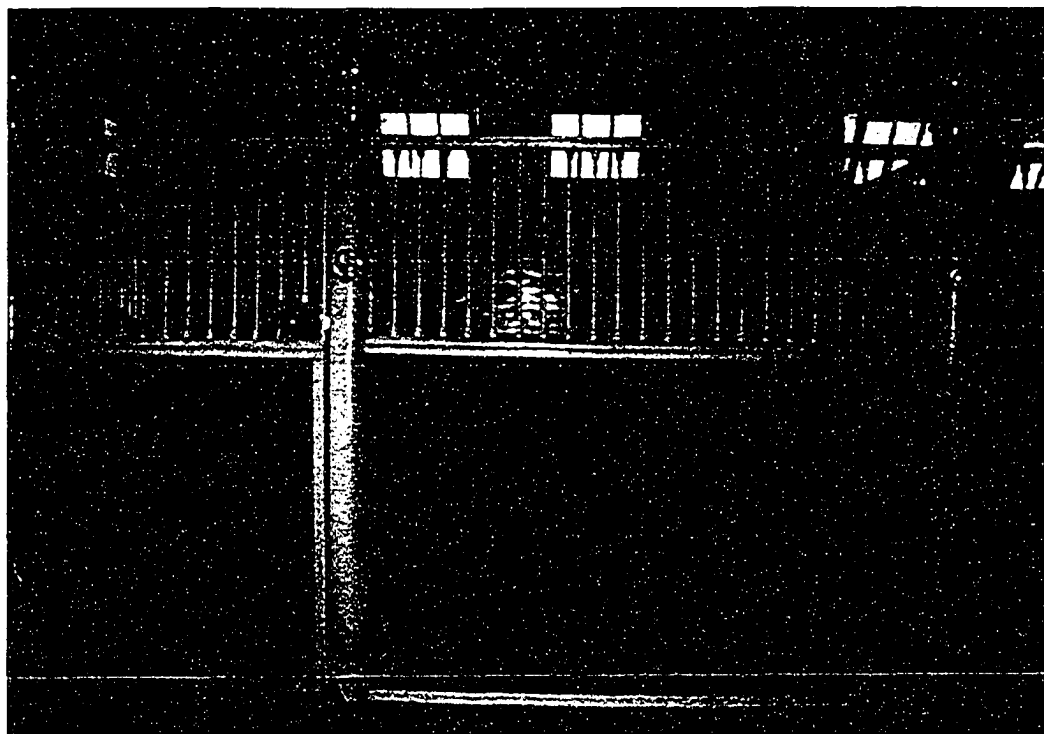


Figure 4.90 Box stall in Hamilton Farm (1917), Gladstone, New Jersey. July 2002.

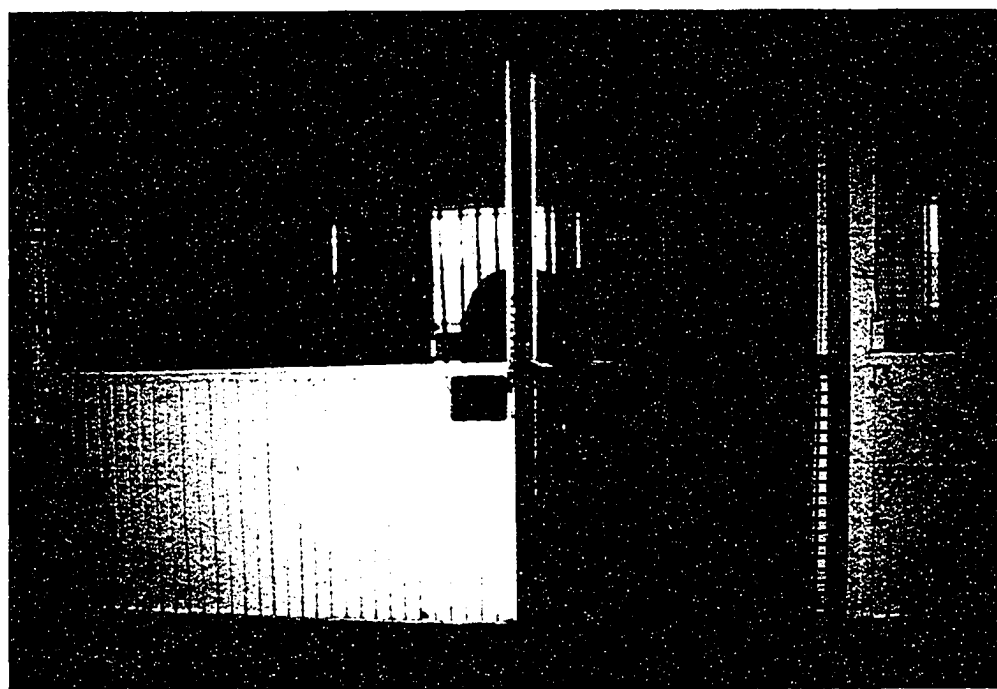


Figure 4.91 Box stall with interior and exterior doors. Note the feed bucket and stall plaque hanging on outside of stall. 505 Farm (c. 1920), Lexington, Kentucky. June 2002.

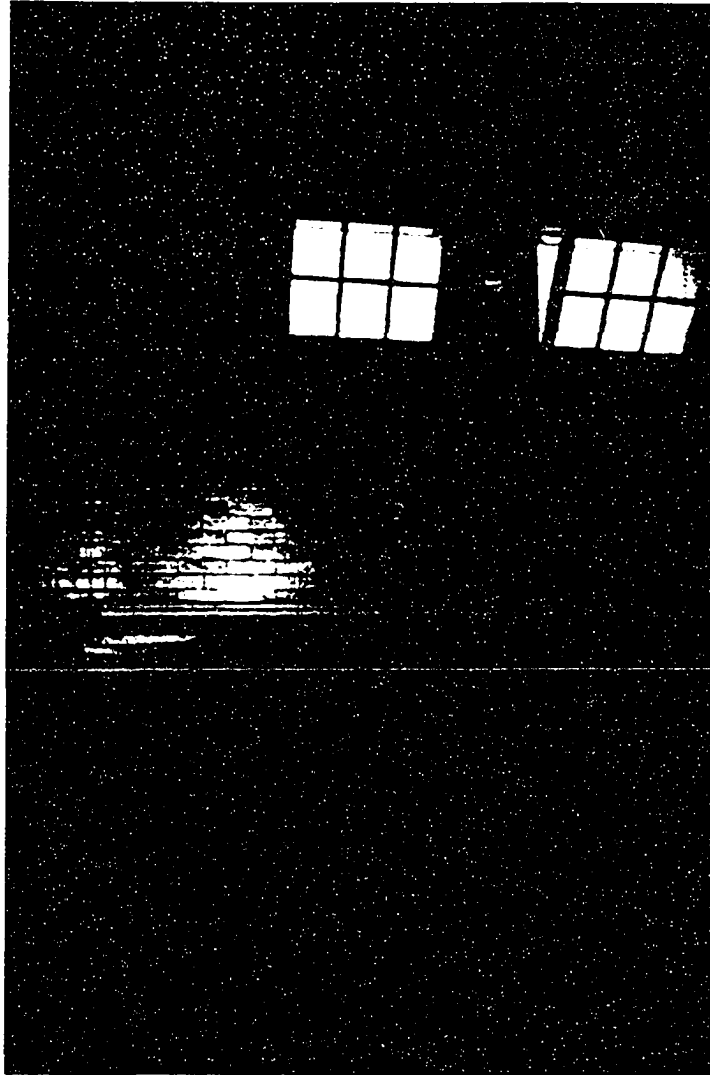


Figure 4.92 Box stall interior with high, bottom hinged, inward opening windows, wooden lower walls, paved floor, automatic waterer, and interior tie ring. The scuffed surface of the back wall is from kicking. Hamilton Farm (1917), Gladstone, New Jersey, July 2002.

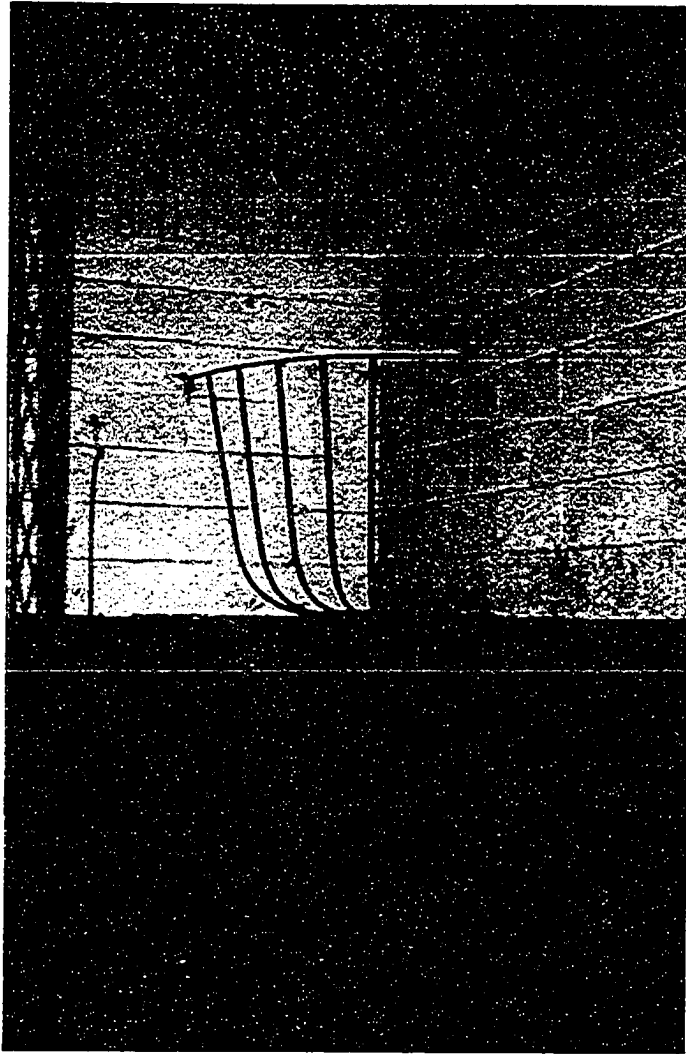


Figure 4.93 Hay manger and short tie rope in stallion block. c. 1950. at Spendthrift Farm. Lexington, Kentucky. June 2002.

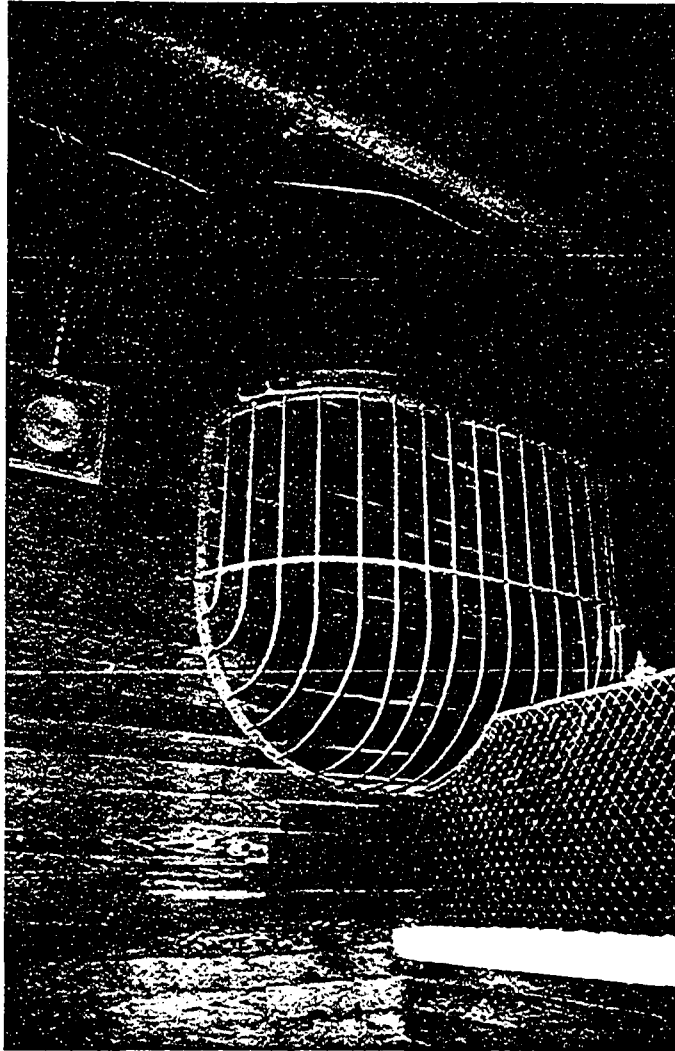


Figure 4.94 Shared hay chute and hayrack in box stall with wire upper walls. Belle Meade Carriage House and Stable (c. 1890), Nashville, Tennessee. March 2004.



Figure 4.95 Hay chute, manger (Currier & Ives print), and groom's storage area in the Harness Racing Hall of Fame, Good Time Stable (1913), Goshen, New York. July 2002.

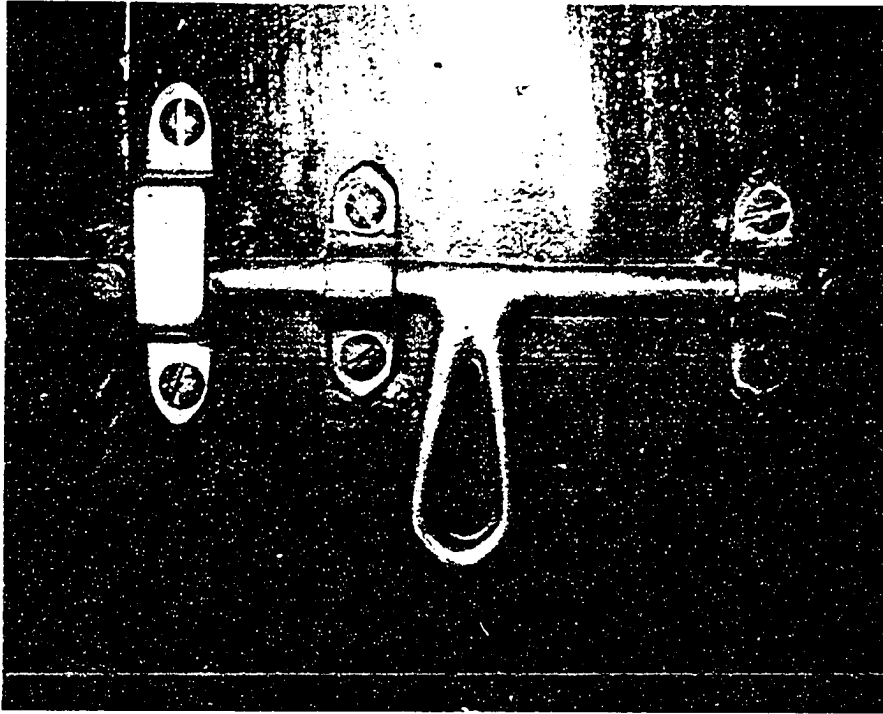


Figure 4.96 Brass hardware on box stall door at Spendthrift Farm (c. 1937). Lexington, Kentucky. June 2002.

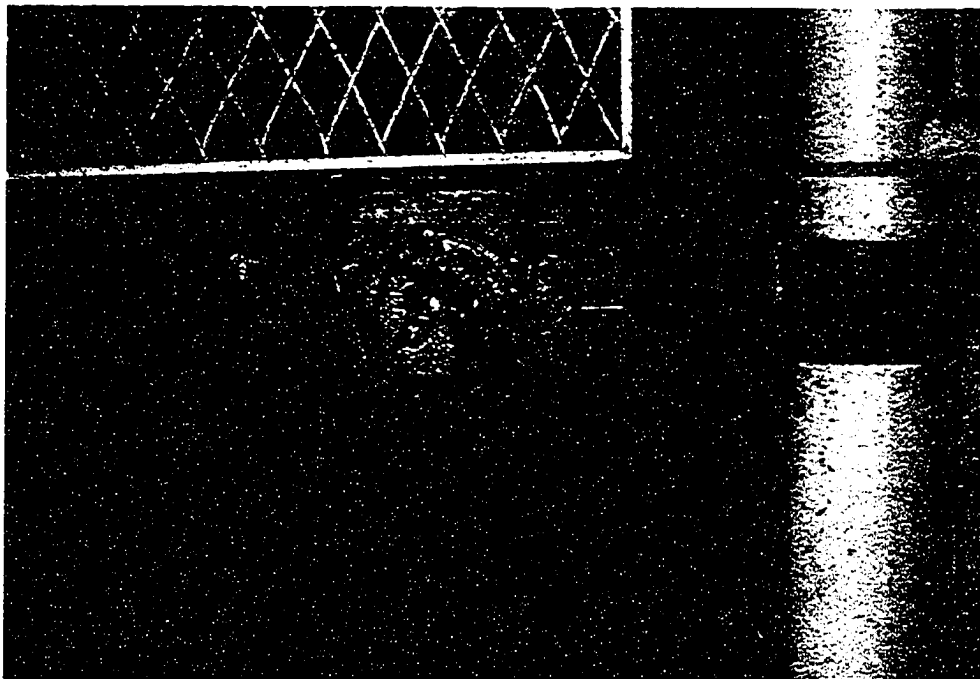


Figure 4.97 Decorative iron box stall door hinge in the Roosevelt Stable (1886). Hyde Park, New York. July 2002.

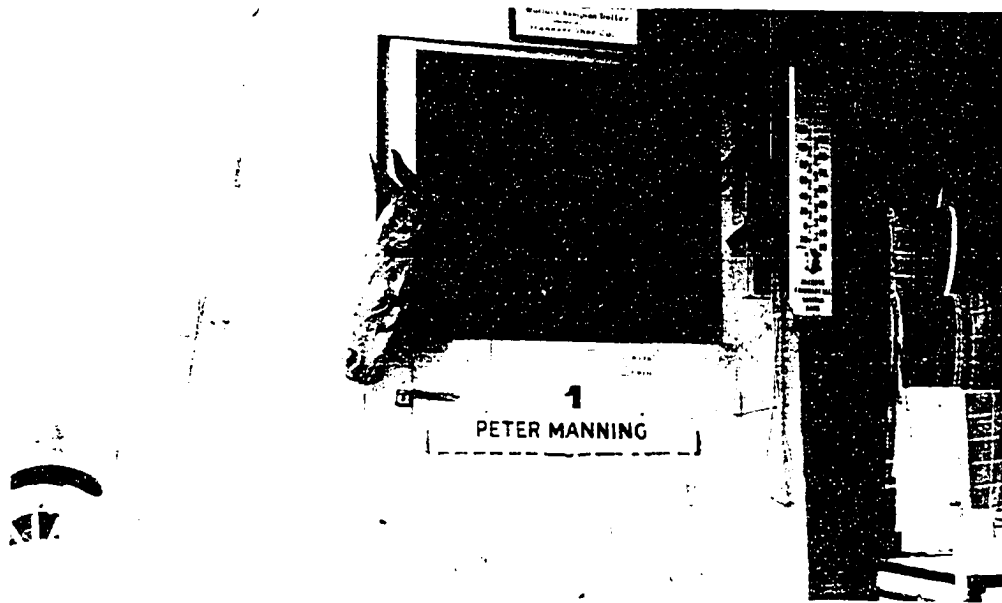


Figure 4.98 Stall plaque, halter on hook, blankets and towels on rack, trunk. *Peter Manning* 1:56 $\frac{3}{4}$ 1926, Standardbred owned by Hanover Shoe Farm, Hanover, Pennsylvania. P. W. Moser Photograph, Sabetha, Kansas. Warden Collection, Gore Center, MTSU (MLW1833).

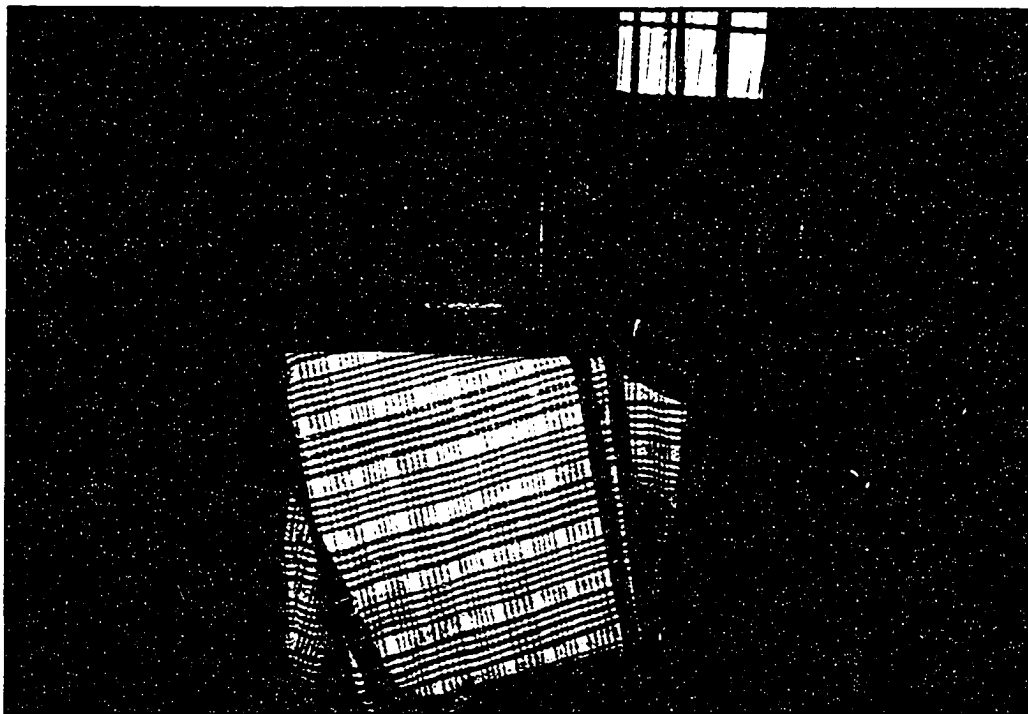


Figure 4.99 Stall front blanket rack and halter hook at Windsor T. White Stable (1926), Chagrin Falls, Ohio. October 2003.

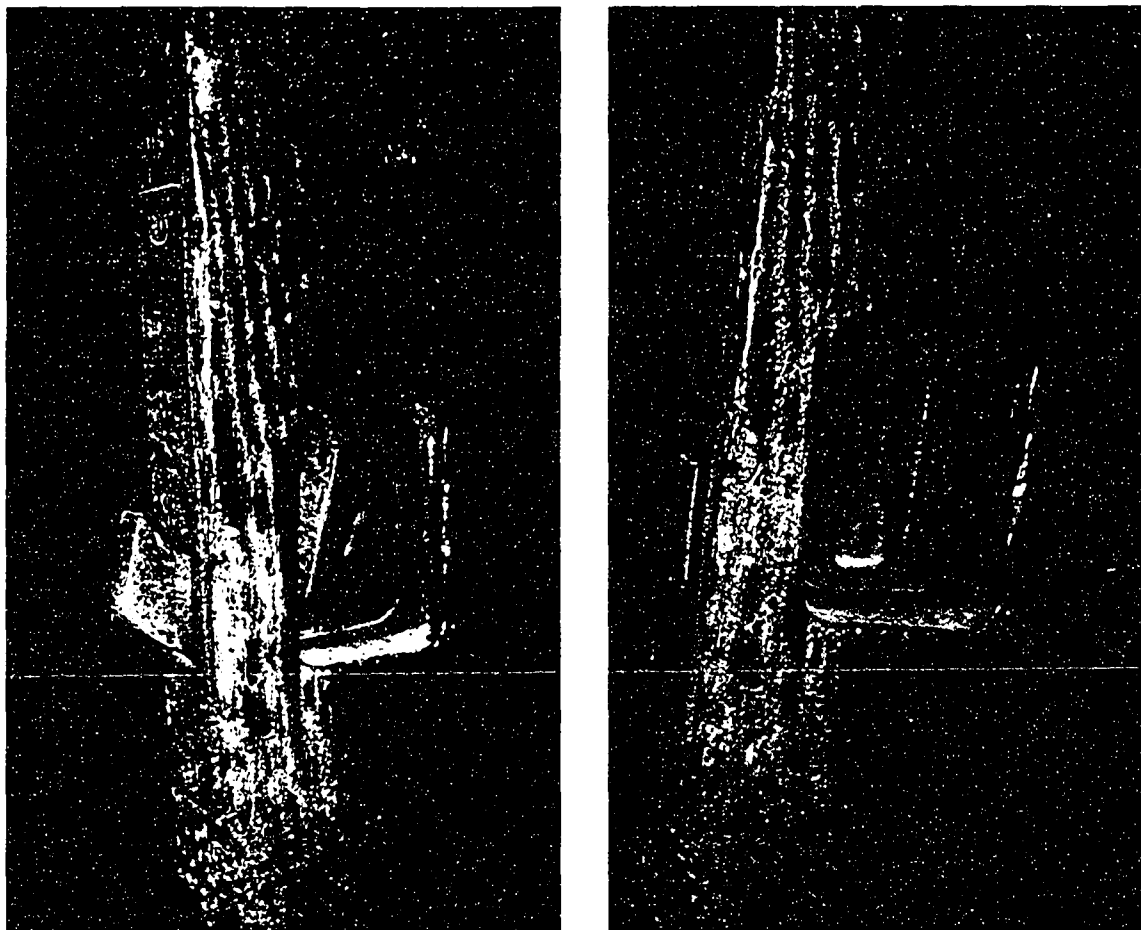


Figure 4.100 Stall door latching mechanism: left, locked; right, unlocked at Windsor T. White Stable (1926), Chagrin Falls, Ohio. October 2003.

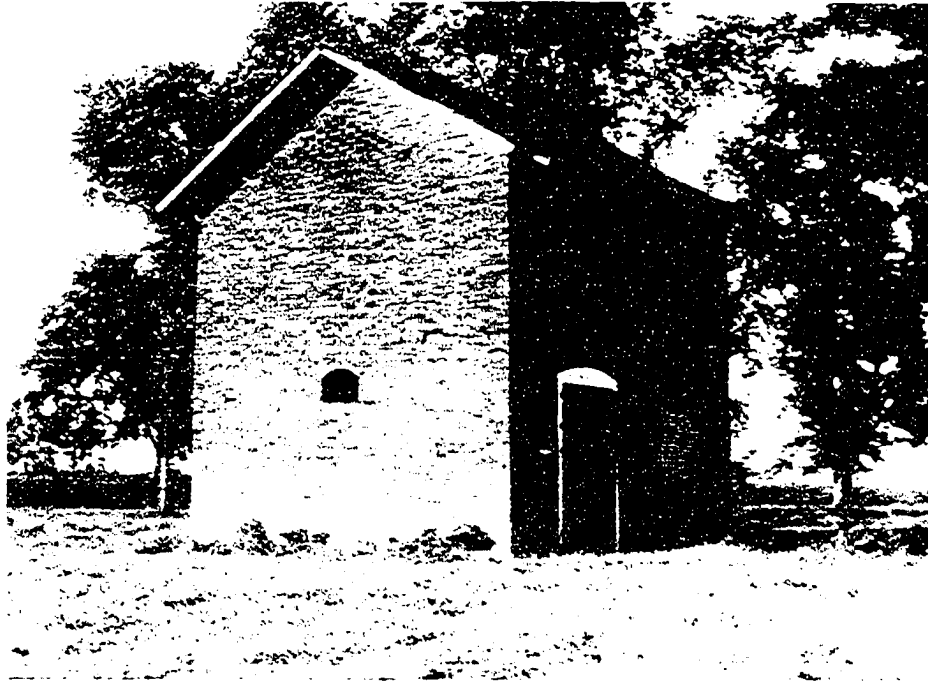


Figure 4.101 Fairview stallion barn (c. 1830), paddock view, Gallatin, Tennessee. Warden Collection. Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU (MLW1683).



Figure 4.102 Cross aisle entrance and exterior stall doors in the stallion barn at Man O'War Farm (c. 1925, previously Faraway Farm), Lexington, Kentucky. June 2002.

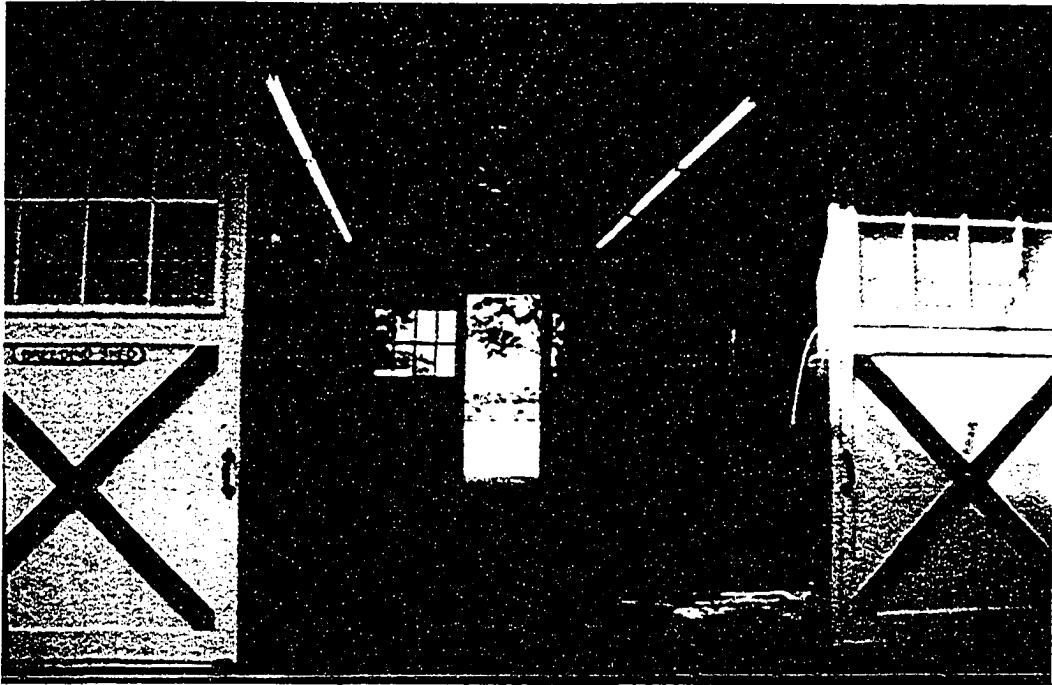


Figure 4.103 Breeding shed (c. 1950) at Spendthrift Farm, Lexington, Kentucky. June 2002.

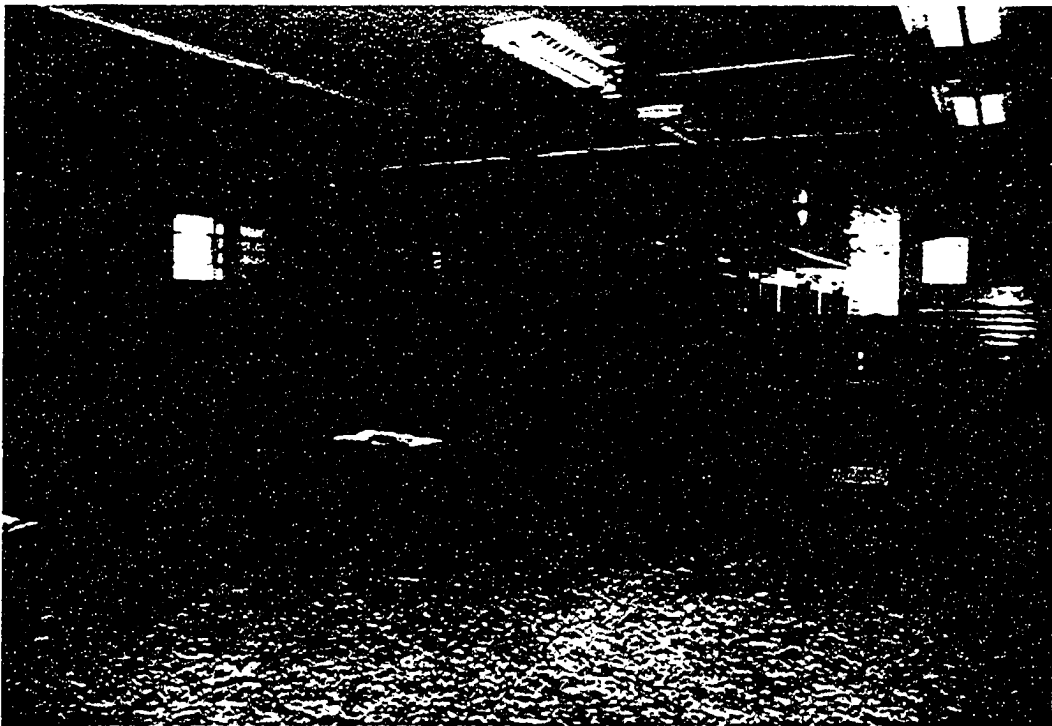


Figure 4.104 Breeding room (c. 1944) at Maine Chance Farm, Lexington, Kentucky. June 2002.

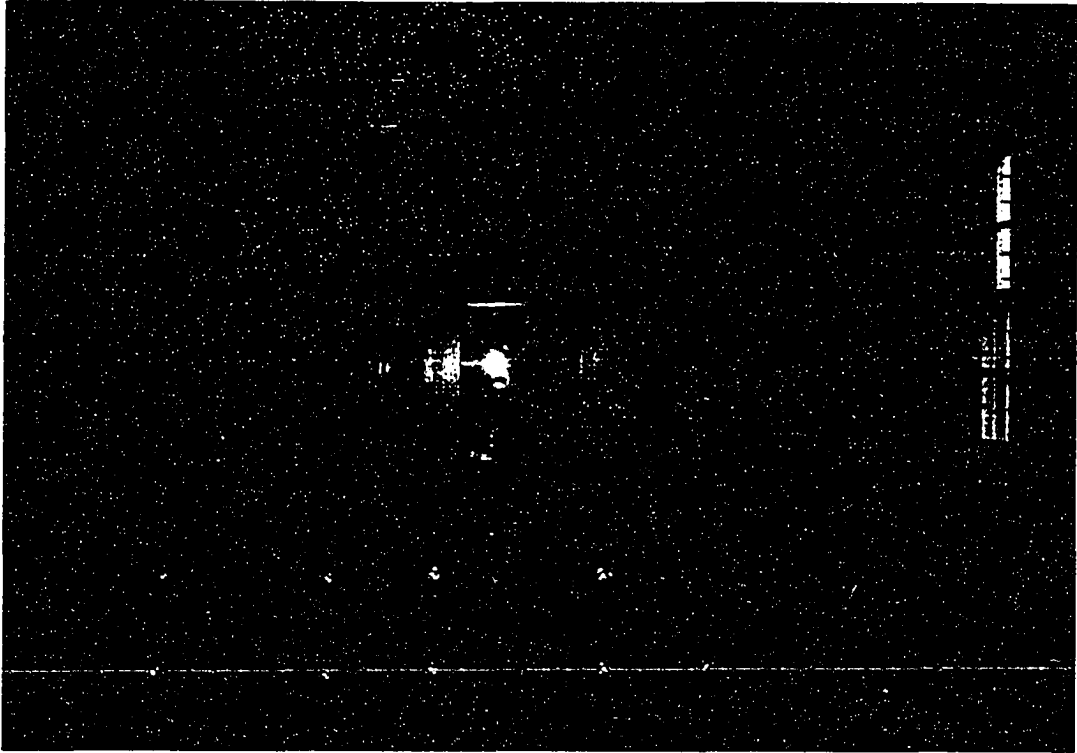
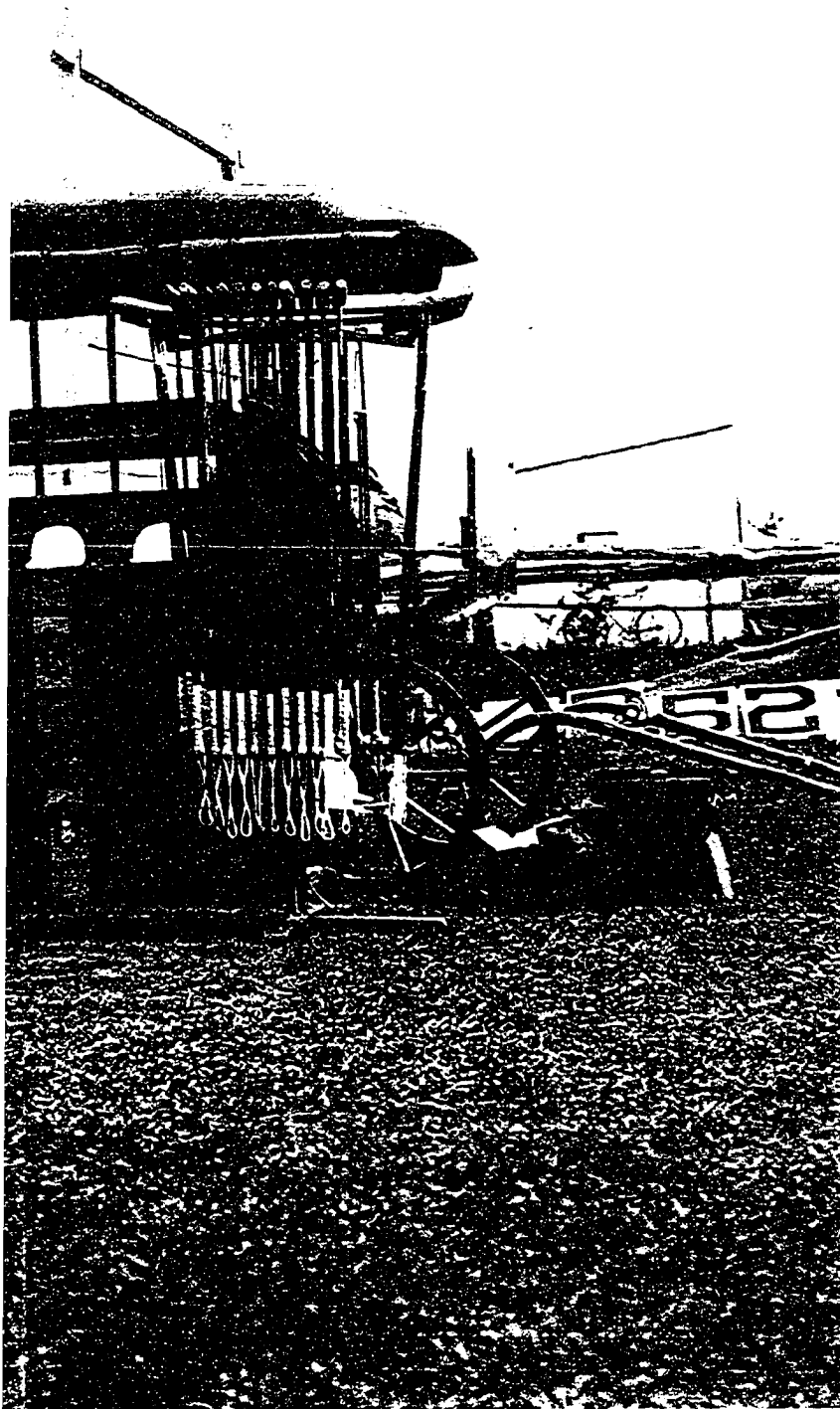


Figure 4.105 Saddle and blanket cabinet in tack room at Windsor T. White Stable (1926). Chagrin Falls, Ohio. October 2003.

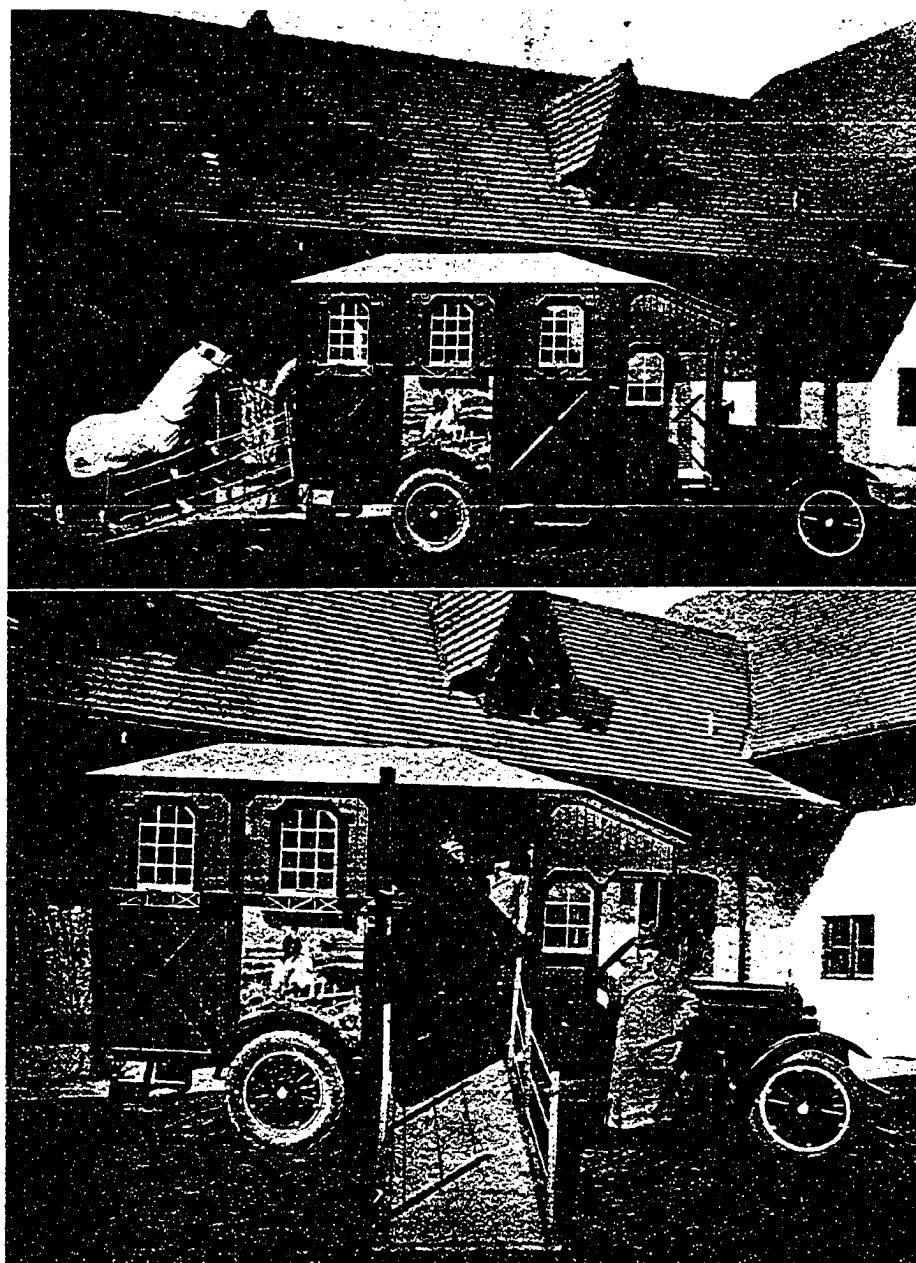


Cook 17293 Meadow Brook Polo - Whitney Carry All, 1913

Figure 4.106 The Whitney "Carry All," a unique polo tack room at the Meadow Brook Polo Club polo fields. (



o Club polo fields. C. Cook Photograph, 1913. Courtesy of the Keeneland Library Association. Keeneland-Cook 17293.



THE MOTOR TRUCK AS SERVANT TO THE HORSE

"A. A. B. Horse Transport," of Mr. August A. Busch, St. Louis, Mo., and Los Angeles, Cal., for the delivery of valuable horses from breeding farms, stables and R. R. stations, to the show rings, race tracks and polo fields; Mr. Busch is standing at the head of the car.

Figure 4.107 Van transportation in the mid-1920s. August A. Busch owner. *Rider and Driver Magazine*, 5 April 1924, page 23.



Figure 4.108 Loading ramps: top, Saratoga racecourse (c. 1950s), Saratoga Springs, New York. July 2003; bottom, Windsor T. White Stable (1926), Chagrin Falls, Ohio. October 2003.

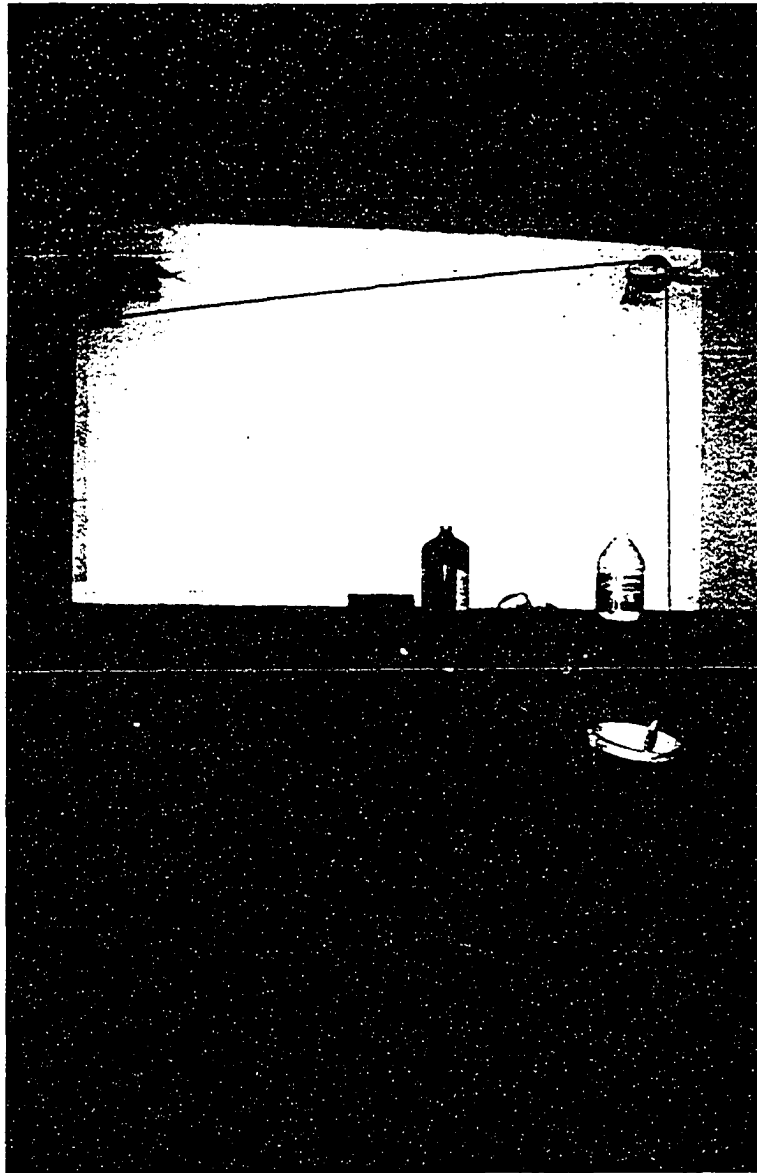


Figure 4.109 Wash rack with pulley system for fire door at Windsor T. White Stable (1926), Chagrin Falls, Ohio. October 2003.

Office and Stable of the Empire City Farms, Cuba, N. Y.

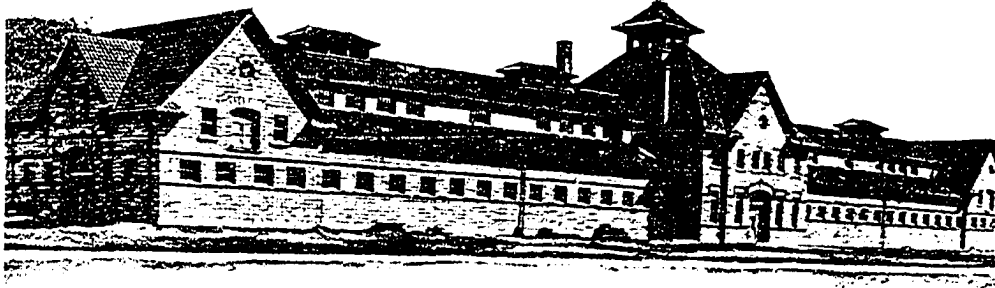


Figure 4.110 Concrete stable, McKinney Stud. Cuba, New York (1917). Perky Beisel Postcard Collection.

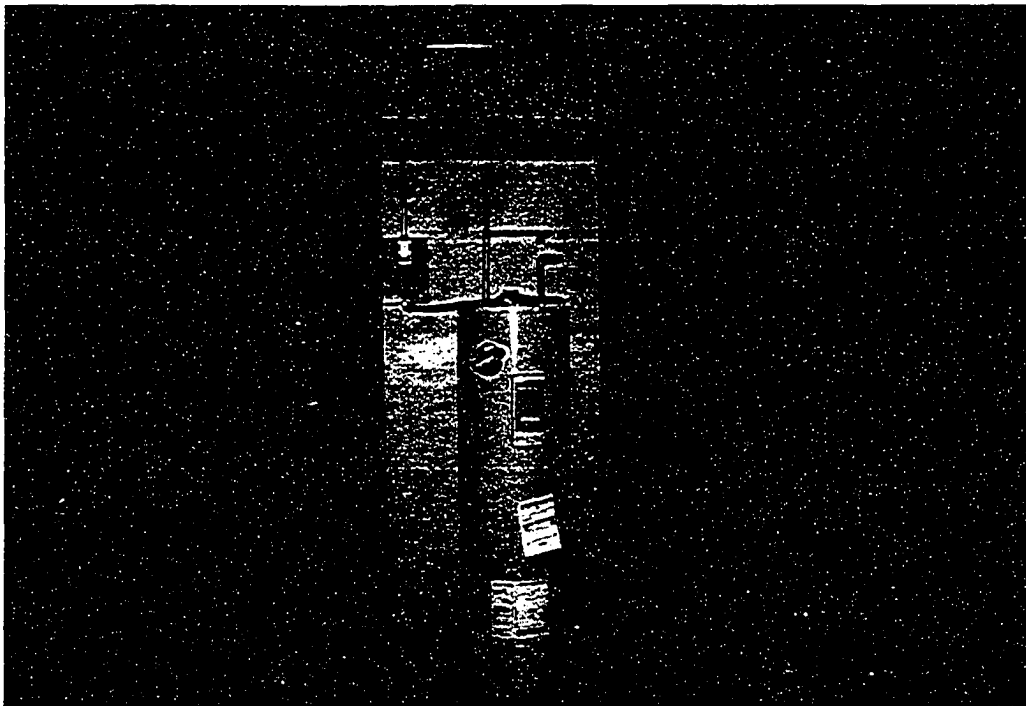


Figure 4.111 Electrical transformer room in the Windsor T. White Stable (1926), Chagrin Falls, Ohio. October 2003.



Figure 4.112 Light switch panel in trophy room at Hamilton Farm (1917), Gladstone, New Jersey. July 2002.



Figure 4.113 Wrought iron entrance lamps: left. Hamilton Farm (1917), Gladstone, New Jersey, July 2002; right. Longview Show Horse Barn (1914), Lee's Summit, Missouri, August 2002.



Figure 4.114 Stable telephone. Belair Stable (1907), Bowie, Maryland. October 2003.

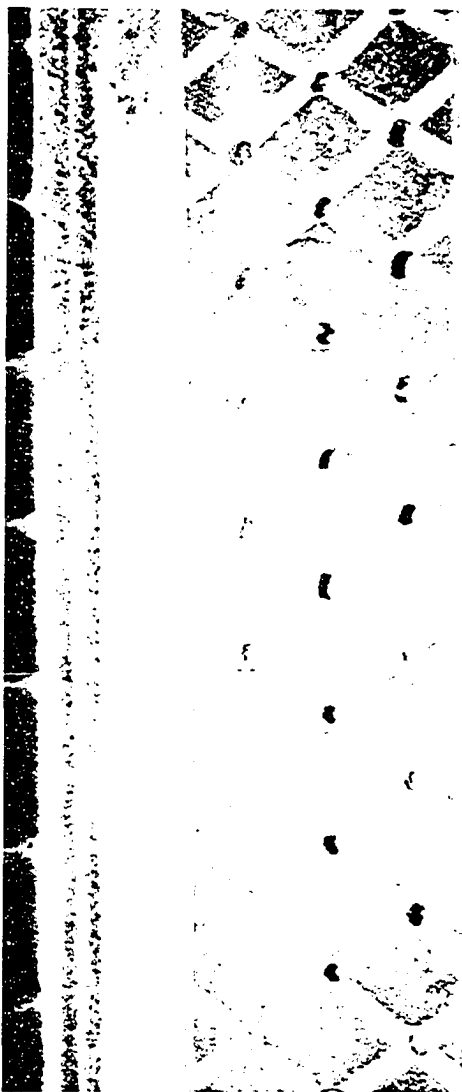


Figure 4.115 J. W. Fiske drain grate in aisle in Harness Horse Museum, Good Time Stable (1913), Goshen, New York. July 2002.



Figure 4.116 Drainage system in Hamilton Farm (1917), Gladstone, New Jersey. July 2002.

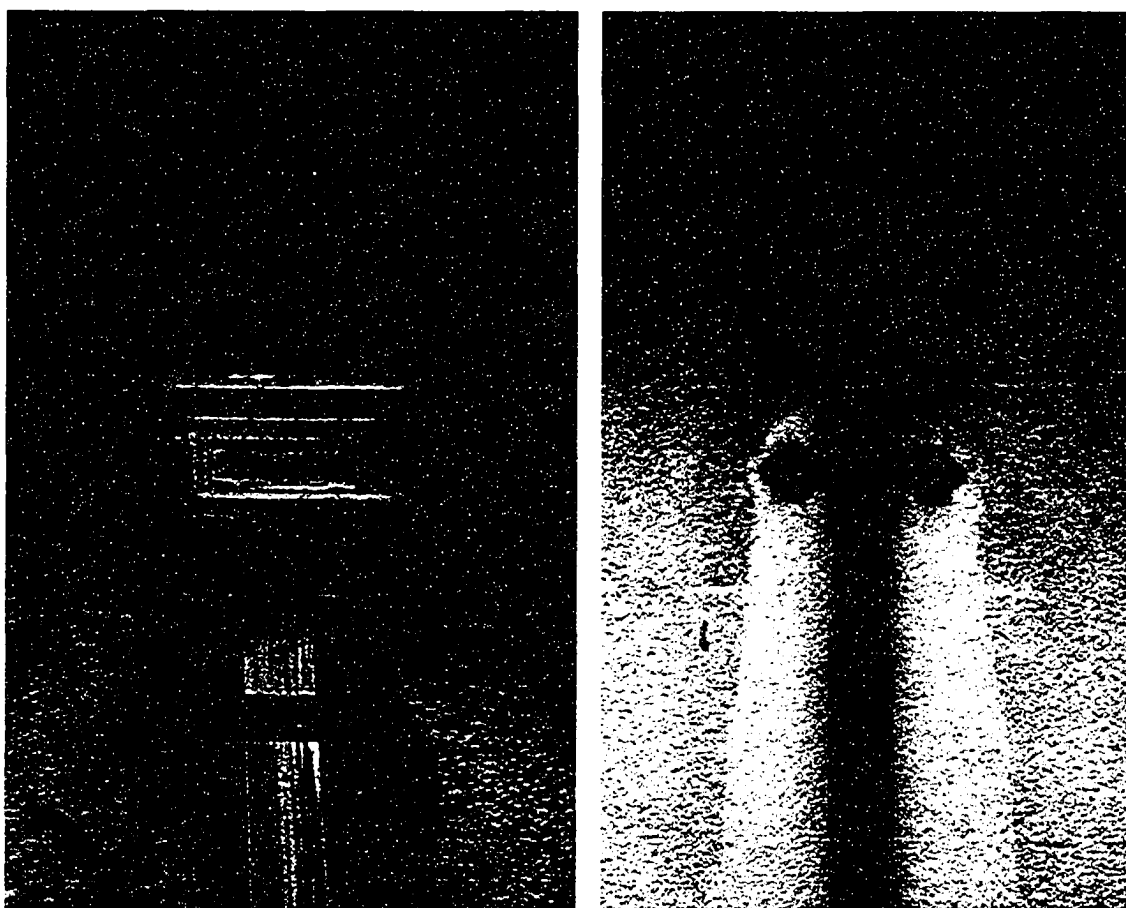


Figure 4.117 Downspouts: left. Hamilton Farm (1917), Gladstone, New Jersey, July 2002; right. Longview Show Horse Barn (1914), Lee's Summit, Missouri, August 2002.

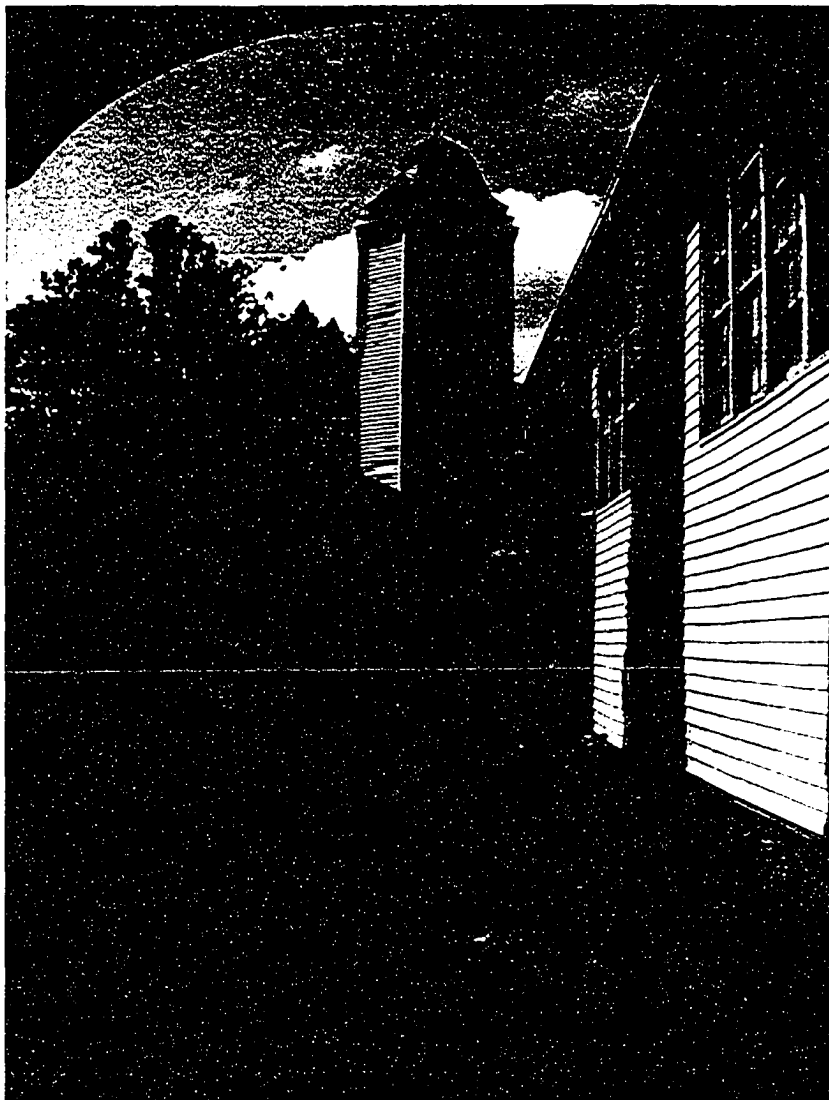


Figure 4.118 Back entrance to main aisle and the water tower, indoor arena is to the right at Windsor T. White Stable (1926), Chagrin Falls, Ohio. October 2003.



Figure 4.119 Part of the indoor arena's watering system at Windsor T. White Stable (1926), Chagrin Falls, Ohio. October 2003.

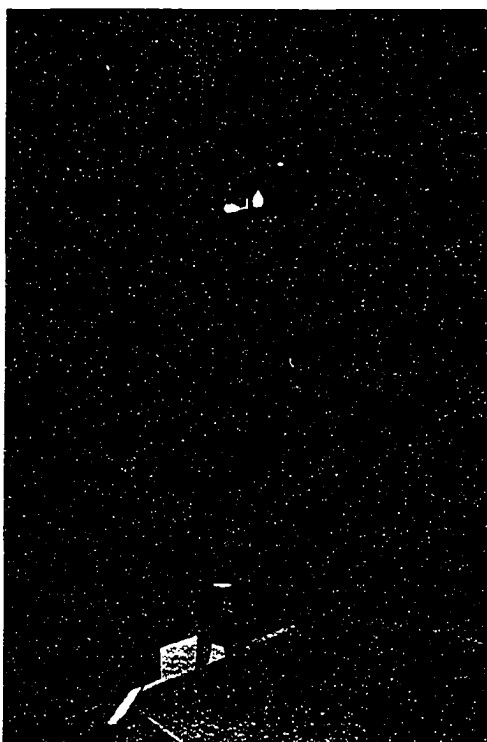
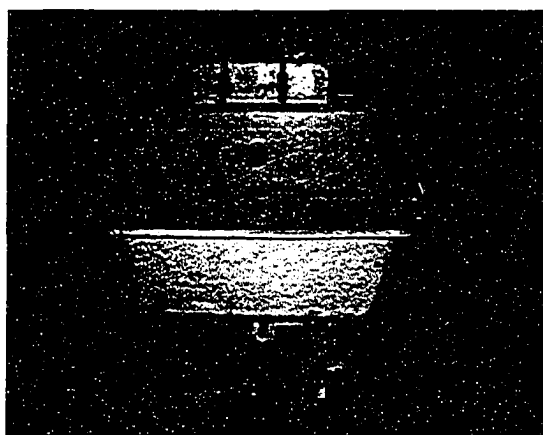


Figure 4.120 Cast iron water/wash troughs: top left, Hamilton Farm (1917), Gladstone, New Jersey. July 2002; top right, Windsor T. White Stable (1926), Chagrin Falls, Ohio. October 2003; bottom left, Roosevelt Stable (1886), Hyde Park, New York. July 2002; bottom right, Lyndhurst (1865), Tarrytown, New York. July 2002.



Figure 4.121 Pasture pond with stone walls reinforcing the bank at Walnut Hall, Lexington, Kentucky. Marion Post Wolcott Negative, July 1940. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection, LC-USF34-055808-D.



YEARLING COLTS AT HIMYAR STUD

Photo by L. S. Sutcliffe

Figure 4.122 Yearlings at pasture water trough. *1928 Himyar Stud Yearlings Sale Catalog*. Fasig-Tipton. L. S. Sutcliffe Photograph. Warden Collection. Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU.



Figure 4.123 Central courtyard wall with water trough and well area at Belair Stable (1907), Bowie, Maryland. October 2003.



Figure 4.124 Crossroad watering fountain (c. 1890s) in Goshen, New York, financed by Mrs. E. A. Harriman. July 2002.

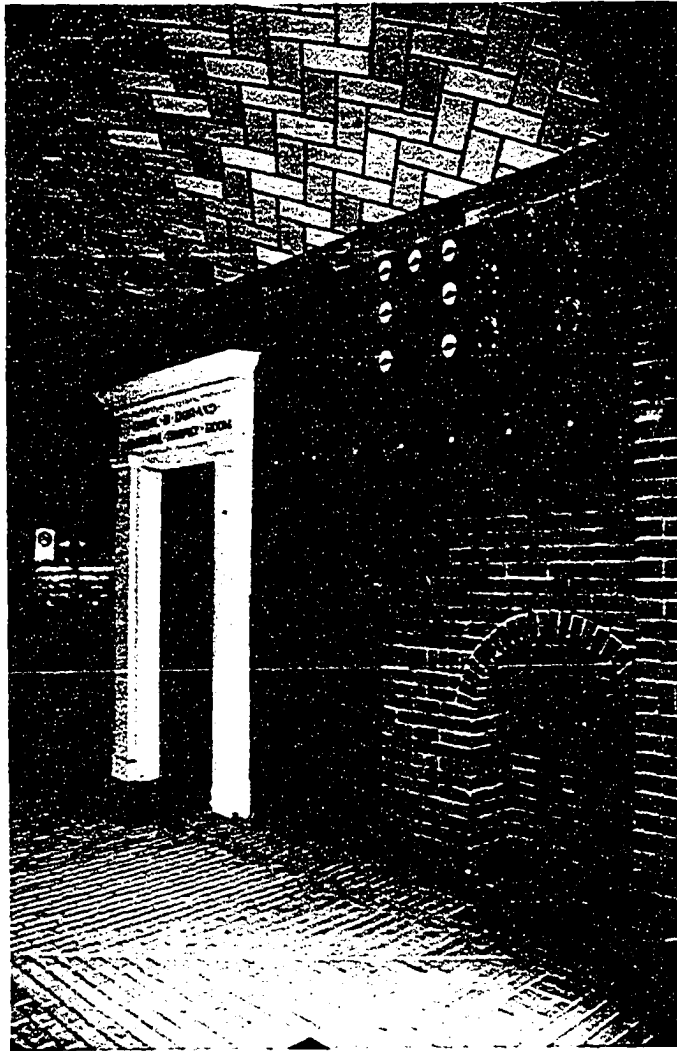


Figure 4.125 Wash rack area of main entrance with door to lounge/trophy room on second floor. Hamilton Farm (1917), Gladstone, New Jersey. July 2002.

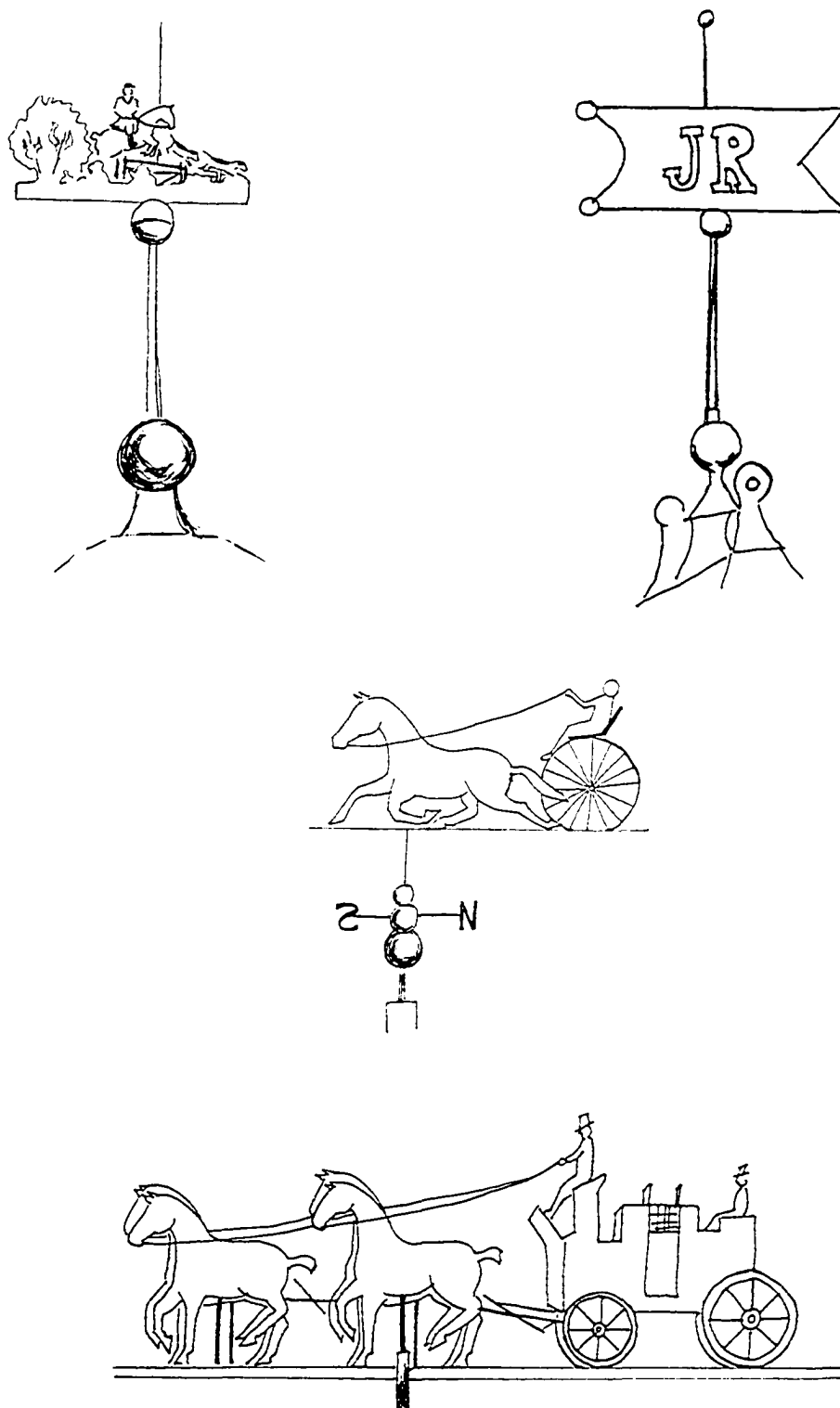


Figure 4.126 Weathervanes: top left, W. T. White Stable (1926); top right, Roosevelt Stable (1886); middle, Harness Horse Museum (1913); bottom, Hamilton Farm (1917). Stacy Schmidt Drawings, October 2004.



Figure 4.127 Hunting Valley, Ohio sign based on the Windsor T. White Stable (1926) weathervane. Drawn by Stacy Schmidt, October 2004.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE WEBBS OF SHELBURNE AND THE LONGS OF LONGVIEW:

TWO FAMILIES, THEIR HORSES, AND THEIR RURAL ESTATE STABLES

Shelburne Farms and Longview Farm are two of the many rural estates with competitive stables built between 1865 and 1929. Each family, the Webbs and the Longs, were lifelong participants in horse sports and their properties reflected that interest. However, each family also considered their estates to be working model farms, albeit with substantial financial backing to meet the annual deficits. Both of these properties have been the focus of detailed studies, but the stables, their elements, and the horses were secondary to the family, the main house, and the estate as a whole. These two short overviews will highlight some of the equestrian activities that took place at the 1885 and 1914 estates. These properties exemplify the sporting interests of the wealthy, social elite between 1865 and 1929. Site visits and a brief sampling of the substantial archival resources available for each property have already revealed more detailed information about the families' participation in horse sports, their horses, and the estates' stables.

Shelburne Farms

In 1882, Dr. William Seward Webb, Wagner Palace Car Company president and his new wife, Eliza “Lila” Osgood Vanderbilt, bought a few hundred acres in Burlington, Vermont, and began construction on their country house, Oakledge.¹ Author Joe

¹ Joe Sherman, *The House at Shelburne Farms: The Story of One of America's Great Country Estates* (Forest Dale, VT: Paul S. Eriksson, 1992), 9.

Sherman wrote that the Webbs may have decided to build in Vermont because Webb's grandfather had owned land in the area, or because of its natural beauty, potential railroad business opportunities, or Webb's possible political ambitions. The young couple's motives for building a country house were less mysterious. W. Seward and Lila Webb were part of the social, wealthy elite, accustomed to visiting country houses and rural estates of family and friends. When W. Seward and Lila married in 1881, Lila's parents, aunts and uncles, brothers and sisters, and most of her extended family had built, or were in the process of building, both country houses and rural estates. Lila's youngest brother, George Washington Vanderbilt, would later build the most famous Vanderbilt estate, Biltmore, in North Carolina. After her father, William Henry Vanderbilt, died in December of 1885, Lila inherited about "\$10 million, and her house on Vanderbilt row in New York."² The Webbs had suddenly changed from comfortably rich to very wealthy, even when compared to fellow members of the wealthy, social elite. The young couple promptly reevaluated their options and began an intensive, five-year project that resulted in their rural estate, Shelburne Farms. At its peak, Shelburne Farms, on the northeastern shore of Lake Champlain, was a four thousand-acre estate with over twenty departments. To the east and the west the Green Mountains and the Adirondacks formed visual borders for the estate's landscape of rolling pastures and wooded hills.

In early 1885 Webb had sent his Oakledge estate manager, Arthur Taylor, to obtain options from several property owners located south of Burlington in the Shelburne area. The couple had probably begun to consider building a rural estate; however, they must have not been ready to fully commit to the required large-scale investment. In early

² Ibid., 11.

1886, after William H. Vanderbilt's death, W. Seward Webb began to buy the first of thirty farms that eventually formed Shelburne Farms. The Webbs' landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmsted, who had first come in contact with the Vanderbilt family in 1848 on Staten Island, visited the property in June 1886 to design a comprehensive estate plan.³ Olmsted was later joined by Gifford Pinchot, who would become chief forester of the U.S. Forest Service from 1898 to 1910.⁴ The Shelburne estate was to be a combination family home, with every conceivable recreational facility, model farm, and stable complex, including a stud farm. Since the couple wanted to stay at their new estate during the development period, they hired Boston-based architect Robert Henderson Robertson to design a Shingle Style cottage on Saxton's Point. The permanent home, whose location had been specified by Frederick Law Olmsted, was to be built on Lone Tree Hill.⁵ Later, the Webbs decided to forgo a completely new home; from 1895 to 1899 the Webbs and Robertson remodeled and expanded the temporary house into a hundred-plus room Queen Anne style house (Figure 5.1).⁶ The Webbs did, however, follow Olmsted's plans to

³ Ibid., 14, 16.

⁴ William A. Mann, *Landscape Architecture: An Illustrated History in Timelines, Site Plans, and Biography* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1993), 362.

⁵ "Historic Buildings & Structures Timeline, Shelburne Farms," August 2000, Shelburne Farms Archives.

⁶ Montgomery Schuyler, "The Works of R. H. Robertson," *Architectural Record* 6, no. 2 (July 1896): 184-219. According to Schuyler, Robertson graduated from Rutgers University, worked in Philadelphia, moved to New York to work under George E. Post, and then opened his own architectural firm in 1871. After two decades of primarily cottage, church, and city home commissions in the Gothic and then Romanesque styles, Robertson became a proponent of the Queen Anne style for country house and rural estate properties. In addition to Shelburne Farms, Robertson also designed the carriage house and stable at the Vanderbilt estate in Hyde Park, New York and the entire Dr. Warner estate in Irvington, New York.

create an estate with integrated roadways, pastures, woods, lakefront, recreational areas, and working structures.⁷ The estate produced all of the stone for the roads and other projects. Full-time crews built and maintained the roads and the roadside plantings, including thousands of trees strategically located to ensure grand views at the appropriate moments (Figure 5.2).⁸ Except for the house site, estate development continued to follow Olmstead's plan as the Webbs commissioned Robertson to design appropriate structures for each department, such as pigs or gardens, a squash court, and, of course, the sport horses. The estate was to become a "private park" for the "full enjoyment of out-door life by the family and fiends of a wealthy country gentleman."⁹

The Webbs soon focused their attention on the estate's working parts, and, confirming R. H. Robertson's role as their preferred architect, hired him to design the

⁷ Sherman, *House at Shelburne Farms*, 93. Shelburne Farms' transformation from a collection of different farms into a single, efficiently run estate took ten years, from 1885 until 1895, when all major construction, except the main house and coach barn, had been completed and each department was fully operational. The process appears not to have inhibited the Webb's enjoyment of their estate since they maintained a full social calendar in New York and had other activities to occupy themselves until the estate was completed. Sherman notes that in 1889 the Webbs, accompanied by friends, took an eighteen thousand mile, year-long trip across the United States in their two private railroad cars which then culminated in a cruise to Alaska.

⁸ John P. Dumville, "Shelburne Farms," National Register of Historic Places Inventory -- Nomination Form, 8-2. Edwin C. Powell, "Shelburne Farms: An Ideal Country Place," *Country Life in America* 3, no. 4 (February 1903), 152. See also Julie Bressor, "The Shelburne Farms Archives and Webb Family Collection," *Vermont Archives and Manuscripts* 59, no. 3 (1991): 180-183.

⁹ William Seward Webb, *Shelburne Farms Stud (Shelburne, Chittenden County, Vermont) of English Hackneys, Harness and Saddle Horse, Ponies and Trotters* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1893), 18. See also A. Pauli to E. F. Gebhardt 7/30/1901, W. Seward Webb Papers, Box 1, Folder 7, Shelburne Farms Archives.

“hub of the agricultural operations,” the Farm Barn (Figures 5.3 and 5.4).¹⁰ The construction of the Farm Barn, a U-shaped structure with a stone wall enclosing a two-acre courtyard, was completed in two phases. The main section, finished in 1888, was five stories tall, 475 feet long and sixty feet wide. The two, three-story sides, each 275 feet long and twenty-eight feet wide, were finished in 1890 with a total appraised value of \$55,300. The structure was (and still is) the ultimate agricultural headquarters with

administrative offices, telephone and telegraph, stable for work horses and mules, fire equipment, wagon and sleigh storage, blacksmith, paint and carpenter shop, implement storage, fur storage, machinery and tractor storage, rooms to clean, bag and store harvested crops, bathrooms and changing rooms, and a variety of small ‘shops’ and support services.¹¹

The Webbs used the Farm Barn and its departments as a model farm to demonstrate agricultural techniques and equipment. The ninety Shelburne cows, mostly Shorthorns, provided milk, butter, and cream for the family, whether at Shelburne, in New York or elsewhere and each week the remainder was sold to the New York Central Railroad’s “dining-car service” and “several families, clubs, and restaurants in New York.”¹² The sheep, pigs, poultry, pheasants, and other animals overseen by the Farm Barn manager and his department heads were reserved first for the family and the farm and then the surplus was sold at market to recoup expenses. These farming programs utilized most of the estate property, but they were not the estate’s only activities. The Webbs also

¹⁰ Sherman, *House at Shelburne Farms*, 93.

¹¹ Julie Bressor, “Fact Sheet: The Farm Barn, Shelburne Farms,” June 1991, Shelburne Farms Archive. Using the Minnesota Federal Reserve Bank’s conversion program the Farm Barn’s 1890 value of \$55,300 was equal to \$5,530,000 in 2004 dollars.

¹² Powell, “Shelburne Farms: An Ideal Country Place,” 153.

had numerous horses for pleasure and sport that required separate programs housed in stables built to the specific needs of the horses and their caretakers.

In 1891, in the southern section of the estate, the Webbs built two stables, the Breeding Barn (originally called the Ring Barn by the Webbs and Robertson) and the Broodmare Barn (a short-lived name and purpose since the Webbs converted the building into a dairy in 1894).¹³ Laborers constructed a third stable, the Coach Barn between 1901 and 1902; was the last major building project and coincided with an exterior remodeling of the main house. The Coach Barn (Robertson referred to it as the House Barn) was just down the hill from the main house on a small rise along the lake shore. Once the Webbs had completed the initial building phase at Shelburne in 1891, the estate became the foundation of their participation in horse sports.

Dr. W. Seward Webb was nationally recognized as a leading Hackney horse owner and breeder, but he and his family also were avid foxhunters, polo players, coaches, and horse showers. Like many of their contemporaries, each family member tended to gravitate to a particular activity, but they often rode together as a family. Central to W. Seward Webb's equestrian activities was his involvement in Hackney and French Coach horse breeding. He believed that the traditional Vermont workhorses, mostly Morgans, were poorly bred and ill-suited for farm tasks. By allowing local farmers to breed their mares to his Hackney and French Coach stallions, Webb hoped to improve the stamina, conformation, and gaits of the local produce:

¹³ Logan Sanitary Stall and Stable Company to Dr. W. Seward Webb 2/9/1901, W. Seward Webb Papers, Box 1, Folder 2, Shelburne Farms Archives. The Webbs also had a stable in New York City for their horses while the family was in town.

[I]t only needs a proper appreciation of my views on the part of the agricultural element of the State [of Vermont] to bring about the general adoption of the system of horse-breeding as herein explained, and through it the greater prosperity of the whole community.¹⁴

Dr. William Seward Webb's introduction to his 1893 catalog, *Shelburne Farms Stud (Shelburne, Chttenden County, Vermont) of English Hackneys, Harness and Saddle Horse, Ponies and Trotters*, left no question about Webb's opinion of contemporary breeding practices in Vermont or his self-appointed role as the leader of a revitalized harness horse breeding industry. Contemporary accounts and historians disagree about the Vermont farmers' reaction to Webb's breeding program and the program's effectiveness.¹⁵ It would take an in-depth examination of Shelburne Farms' bloodlines and Vermont registrations to determine, at the state level, who is correct: the nineteenth-century advocates or the twentieth-century skeptics. However, at a national level, Webb's Hackney breeding program was widely recognized as an influential and progressive operation that propelled the Shelburne horses to the top of the annual rankings and to first place in the show ring.

In the late 1880s, Webb began to import Hackney and French Coach horses from Europe and show them in county fairs, summer resort shows, and large indoor winter shows. In 1891 Webb paid between fifteen and twenty thousand dollars for **Matchless of Londesboro 18 (1517)* who had been imported in 1888 by Henry Fairfax of Virginia. Under Webb's management **Matchless of Londesboro 18 (1517)* became a leading

¹⁴ Webb, *Shelburne Farms Stud*, 1.

¹⁵ Erica Huyler Donnis, *The Conception of a Country Residence: Shelburne House, 1887-1900* (M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1998), 10. See also Powell, "Shelburne Farms: An Ideal Country Place," 152-156.

foundation sire in the United States. Webb later sold **Matchless of Londesborough* for twelve thousand dollars on 3 February 1897 in a sale of almost one hundred of his horses at the W. D. Grand American Horse Exchange in New York City. The sale “brought together nearly a thousand of the prominent horsemen of the country, and likewise attracted many ladies and gentlemen known in the highest social circles.” The buyers included all of the primary Hackney breeders as well as other breeders such as General W. H. Jackson of Belle Meade Stud in Nashville, Tennessee.¹⁶ The W. D. Grand American Horse Exchange company, whose officers included William K. Vanderbilt as president and prominent driving author F. M. Ware as treasurer, arranged auctions of harness and saddle horses and imported carriages and harnesses. The auctions ranged from liquidation of private estates, annual breeders sales, or a theme sale, such as Hackneys, with a large number of contributors. The American Horse Exchange, located at 50th Street and Broadway in New York City, charged a ten percent commission on all sales, fifty cents for halters, and a dollar-a-day board for any unsold horses that remained after the sale.¹⁷

The Shelburne Hackneys commanded high prices at the 1897 sale and afterwards because of their success in the show ring and good bloodlines. In December 1897, an

¹⁶ Alfred Stoddart. “Equestrian: High-Stepping Hackneys,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation*, 29, vol. 6 (March 1897): 618-619. Available from APS Online Database 434085942. See also Alfred Stoddart, “Equestrian Sports,” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 19, 4 (January 1892): 73. Available from APS Online Database.

¹⁷ W. D. Grand to Dr. W. Seward Webb 1/2/1901, W. S. Webb Papers, Box 1, Folder 1, Shelburne Farm Archive. W. D. Grand, American Horse Exchange Bill to Shelburne Farms 5/27/1902, Farm Manager’s Papers, E. F. Gebhardt Correspondence, Box 1, Folder 5, Shelburne Farms Archives. W. D. Grand, American Horse Exchange Bill to Shelburne Farms 10/28/1902, Farm Manager’s Papers, E. F. Gebhardt Correspondence, Box 1, Folder 5, Shelburne Farms Archives.

editorial about that year's National Horse Show, a show that had drawn "twelve thousand of New York's fashionable elite." credited Webb with some of the best entries in the Hackney classes.¹⁸ Webb was not the only family member to enter the shows. Frederica Webb, W. Seward and Lila's only daughter, successfully showed her own horses throughout the year. For example, on 4 January 1905 the American Horse Show Blue Book Company wrote to Frederica requesting a photograph of her horse *El Queso* for that year's *Horse Show Blue Book*.¹⁹ Two years before, at the 1902 National Horse Show, *El Queso* had won three firsts, a second, and the championship, earning \$825 in prize money and plate.²⁰ These horses, and the Webb's other horses, traveled to New York City, Shelburne, and elsewhere in the Webbs' new Pullman Company Horse Car, built in 1901 (Figure 5.5).²¹

The Shelburne Hackneys were also courted by horse show organizers who hoped their presence would draw competitors and spectators. The organizer of the 1901 Addison County Fair, in Middlebury, Vermont, wrote E. F. Gebhardt, Shelburne Farms assistant manager, asking for the support of the Shelburne harness horses. Though the fair did not have any stabling on the grounds, it could ensure advertisements in "large letters"

¹⁸ A. H. Godfrey, "The National Horse-Show, New York," *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine for Recreation* 31, no. 3 (December 1897): 295-297. Available from APS Online Database 434083832.

¹⁹ American Horse Show Blue Book Co. to Frederica Webb 1/4/1905, Farm Manager's Papers, E. F. Gebhardt Correspondence, Box 1, Folder 5, Shelburne Farms Archives.

²⁰ *El Queso* results 11/26/1902, Farm Manager's Papers, E. F. Gebhardt Correspondence, Box 1, Folder 5, Shelburne Farms Archives.

²¹ E. A. Benson to Dr. W. Seward Webb 5/1/1901, W. S. Webb Papers, Box 1, Folder 1, Shelburne Farms Archives.

and “a chance both days to exhibit stock in front of [the] grandstand.”²² It is likely, however, that the Shelburne horses did not attend the Addison County Fair that year since they were in Ottawa, Ontario for the Central Canada Exposition, where Shelburne Farms sponsored a fifty-dollar prize, in the form of a cup, for the Hackney Class to generate interest and entries.²³ Six Shelburne horses won prizes at Ottawa, including *Bell-boy*, who won the Hackney championship and the Shelburne Farms prize.²⁴

In 1893, as a founding member of the American Hackney Horse Society (AHHS), Webb had become a leading Hackney breeder and owner and remained so for a decade until he sold almost all of the Hackneys in 1904. Webb’s decision may have been due to the unenthusiastic response he had received from Vermont farmers; or perhaps he had begun to realize that Hackneys, though popular at horse shows, were not as popular as trotters and other types; or it may have been in response to a reduced income after Webb’s Wagner Palace Car Company lost a lawsuit to the Pullman Palace Car Company. However, until 1904 Webb was credited with being one of “the large number of wealthy gentlemen who are interested in the breed” who were attempting to transform the Hackney into a popular general harness horse.²⁵

²² C. G. Dana to E. F. Gebhardt 8/28/1901, W. Seward Webb Papers, Box 1, Folder 8, Shelburne Farms Archives.

²³ E. M. Mahon to E. F. Gebhardt 4/23/1901, W. Seward Webb Papers, Box 1, Folder 4, Shelburne Farms Archives.

²⁴ William West to E. F. Gebhardt telegram 9/19/1901, W. Seward Webb Papers, Box 1, Folder 9, Shelburne Farms Archives.

²⁵ Samuel Walter Taylor to Dr. W. Seward Webb 2/26/1901, W. Seward Webb Papers, Box 1, Folder 2, Shelburne Farms Archives.

The other leading Hackney importer and breeder in the early 1890s was A. J. Cassatt of the Cheswold Estate in Pennsylvania. Cassatt visited Shelburne Farm at least one time during the formative years of the AHHS when he signed the Shelburne House Guest Book on 27 February 1892. Cassatt's visit probably focused on the Shelburne Hackneys and the AHHS. A second visit, on 10 June 1894 was connected to another activity, coaching.²⁶

The New York Coaching Club, as described in chapter 2, often coordinated long-distance trips for its members. In June 1891 and May 1892 the Coaching Club organized two trips, one from Rutland, Vermont to Shelburne Farms, and the second from New York City to "Carnwath," Reginald W. Rives's estate in Hamburg, New York. The whips for these two two-day trips included Colonel Jay, W. Seward Webb, De Lancey Kane, F. T. Underhill, and J. R. Roosevelt.²⁷ In June of 1894 the club undertook what was probably its most ambitious event, a four-day drive from New York City to Shelburne, Vermont. The 318 mile trip was completed in forty-three segments by twenty different teams of horses. The members designed a complex schedule that leapfrogged the drivers and the horses along the route using railroad cars so that the horses and men would arrive the day before they drove their second section. The coachmen and their number of teams were: W. S. Webb (four), A. J. Cassatt (two), F. K. Sturgis (one), F. Bronson (one), T. A. Havemeyer (two), P. Lawrence (one), R. W. Rives (two), Ogden Mills (one), Perry Belmont (one), W. K. Vanderbilt (two), O. H. P. Vanderbilt (two), E.

²⁶ Shelburne House Guestbook Collection, Shelburne Farms Archives.

²⁷ Coaching Club schedules, June 1891 and May 1892, Dr. W. Seward Webb Correspondence, Papers, 1894 New York Coaching Club Trip to Shelburne Farms, Shelburne Farms Archives.

V. R. Thayer (one), and W. C. Whitney (one). Making their way northward at about eight miles per hour, the teams changed at local inns or taverns near a railroad depot. Each day the coach stopped for an hour for the club members to eat lunch on the *Ellesmere*, the Webb's private railroad car.²⁸

The most impressive logistical feature of the 1894 trip, after the coaching itself, was the movement of the horses and private railcars along the coaching route. Figure 5.6 depicts W. Seward and James W. Webb each driving one such coaching team at Shelburne Farms. In late May, Webb wrote to the superintendents of the Bennington & Rutland, Central Vermont, Fitchburg, and Hudson Division (New York Central) railroads requesting "special train service" and information about the platforms and chutes available for loading horses at specific stations.²⁹ Webb then used the replies to schedule nine cars for the twenty teams. The railroad cars were mostly New York Central 1900 or 150 series cars, but also included a Central Vermont 13 and the *Chesterbrook*, A. J. Cassatt's private car from the Pennsylvania Railroad.³⁰

When the Coaching Club members arrived at Shelburne Farms in June 1894, they enjoyed the Webbs' hospitality in the main house, but the club members would have also

²⁸ Coaching Club New York to Shelburne, Vermont, June 6-June 9, 1894, Program, Dr. W. Seward Webb Correspondence, Papers, 1894 New York Coaching Club Trip to Shelburne Farms, Shelburne Farms Archives.

²⁹ W. S. Webb to E. D. Bennett 28 May 1894, W. S. Webb to F. W. Baldwin 28 May 1894, W. S. Webb to W. D. Ewing 28 May 1894, W. S. Webb to E. Van Etten 28 May 1894, W. S. Webb to W. D. Ewing 29 May 1894, Dr. W. Seward Webb Correspondence, Papers, 1894 New York Coaching Club Trip to Shelburne Farms, Shelburne Farms Archives.

³⁰ Office copy of Coaching Club schedule, Dr. W. Seward Webb Correspondence, Papers, 1894 New York Coaching Club Trip to Shelburne Farms, Shelburne Farms Archives.

certainly visited the estate hub, the Farm Barn, and the Webbs' two large stables completed in 1891: the Breeding Barn (Ring Barn) and the Broodmare Barn. The stables contained Hackneys, French Coach horses, and the ponies, crosses between the Orloff, Welsh, and Shetland breeds.³¹ Both designed by R. H. Robertson, the Breeding Barn was the more impressive structure, utilizing "an unusual system of iron rods that join the tops of the side walls and carry the thrust of the roof" to create the largest "unsupported roof structure" in the country.³² With its large arena, sixty-four box stalls, twenty-four standing stalls, and numerous work areas, the Breeding Barn was the "Mecca of all visitors to the farms" (Figures 5.7-5.10).³³ The main entrance, large enough for a four-in-hand carriage, in the middle of the front facadé, led into the arena opposite the second-story balcony overlooking the arena (Figure 5.11).

The Breeding Barn was more than a stable for the Shelburne Hackney and French Coach horses, it also was an active production center with a showroom floor (the arena), workrooms, and supply or inventory storage spaces such as the blanket and harness rooms.³⁴ The total number of blankets and sheets needed in the Breeding Barn to maintain short glossy coats, must have been very large. For example, on 6 June 1901 Mark W.

³¹ Webb, *Shelburne Farms Stud*, 23.

³² Julie Bressor, "Fact Sheet: The Breeding Barn, Shelburne Farms," c. 1990, Shelburne Farms Archive. James Watson Webb reminiscences. Shelburne Farms Archive

³³ Webb, *Shelburne Farms Stud*, 25. Breeding Barn - 300 69, Blueprints Collection, Breeding Barn and Farm Barn Blueprints Box, Shelburne Farms Archive.

³⁴ If these two oversized box stalls had solid walls between them and the two neighboring box stalls, they would have been extremely well suited to be used as stallion stalls. For the same reasons they could also have been used as isolation or foaling stalls; most of the interior wall was certainly solid since they neighbored the blanket and storage rooms respectively. This was not physically checked during the two site visits.

Cross & Co. sent two dozen “blue and white check blankets” to Shelburne Farms.³⁵ The harness room held many sets of harness, some of which were probably the three sets sent to Shelburne Farms on 23 August 1901 by Webb’s preferred harness supplier, the Walter J. Lee Company of Newport, Rhode Island, and New York City (Figure 5.12).³⁶

Most of the second story was dedicated hay storage area. External hay loft doors regularly spaced along the outer wall reduced the amount of labor required to fill the large space. One of the second story’s short sides contained open equipment storage space for trunks and other items. That end also had the three large grain bins along the outer wall (Figure 5.13). The other short end had a three-room tack room and living quarters for stable employees (Figure 5.14).³⁷ Additional Breeding Barn employees lived in cottages, built in 1890 at an unknown nearby location. The head stud groom, William West, who managed the Breeding Barn and the Broodmare Barn, lived in a remodeled farmhouse off to one side of the two buildings.³⁸

William E. West is a good example of the Shelburne Farms department heads (Figures 5.15 and 5.16). As the stud groom and trainer, West oversaw the public exhibition of the Shelburne horses and the breeding program. West was the rural estate

³⁵ Mark H. Cross & Co. to Dr. W. S. Webb 6/6/1901, W. Seward Webb Papers, Box 1, Folder 6, Shelburne Farms Archives.

³⁶ Walter J. Lee to A. Taylor 8/23/1901, W. Seward Webb Papers, Box 1, Folder 8, Shelburne Farms Archives. See also E. F. Gebhardt to Hon. Percival W. Clement 6/7/1901, W. Seward Webb Papers, Box 1, Folder 3, Shelburne Farms Archives.

³⁷ “Historic Buildings & Structures Timeline, Shelburne Farms,” August 2000, Shelburne Farms Archives. According to the timeline, in 1890 the Breeding Barn Cottages were constructed in an unknown location. They were moved to their “current location behind Dog Kennel” in 1914.

³⁸ Webb, *Shelburne Farms Stud*, 23.

equivalent of the new urban, business white-collar executives. Born in 1858, West was working for Shelburne Farms by 1893 and was in his position until at least October 1904. It is probable that West continued to work at Shelburne at least until 1910, but there is no comprehensive list of Shelburne Farms employees and their dates of employment.³⁹ West was responsible for hiring, firing, and overseeing the Breeding Barn and Broodmare Barn personnel; purchasing and selling horses; and managing the horses' daily care, training, transportation, and competitions. When away from Shelburne Farms, West, like his corporate counterparts, served as the farm's representative, salesman, and advertiser as he matched Shelburne horses with prospective buyers and located potential acquisitions.

The Broodmare Barn was a large stable used primarily for mares in foal and mares with foals before weaning (Figures 5.17 and 5.18). The two-story building had a long central aisle with large box stalls along each side. A central short cross aisle provided quick access to the front and back of the stable and had different workrooms on each side. The 1893 catalog described the Broodmare Barn box stalls as "the most comfortable quarters for stock," with "earth floors, bedded over with deep straw," and exterior Dutch doors opening into connected paddocks.⁴⁰ The open area between the two stables included a large oval ring for riding and turnout (Figure 5.19).

³⁹ The approximate post quem and ante quem dates are from the W. Seward Webb Papers and the Farm Managers Correspondence. In the 1910 U.S. Federal Census, William West was living in Shelburne (Town of), Vermont suggesting that he either had retired or continued to work for Shelburne since a man with his experience would have easily found another position. Ancestry.com, *1910 United States Federal Census* [database on-line] (Provo, UT: MyFamily.com, Inc., 2004).

⁴⁰ Webb, *Shelburne Farms Stud*, 24.

The estate's second building phase, from 1901-1902, began when the Webbs decided to replace an older stable with a new Coach Barn to better serve the family's recreational activities.⁴¹ The Coach Barn, occasionally called the House Barn by architect R. H. Robertson, was located south of the main house along Lake Champlain (Figures 5.20 and 5.21). The stable, completed in 1902 with an appraised value of \$87,600, had a "washroom, carriage rooms, harness cleaning room, harness storage, 16 loose boxes, open shed to shelter baggage wagons, 32 standing stalls, and [second story] hay loft, grainbins and 13 sleeping rooms and bathroom for staff" arranged around a large courtyard (Figure 5.22)⁴² The left side of the complex included the box stalls and the standing stalls with individual windows overlooking the central courtyard or the exterior (Figures 5.23-5.25). The main aisle led from the stabling area into tack cleaning rooms and the harness rooms. The rear section of the Coach Barn was a series of large carriage rooms with wooden floors (Figures 5.26 and 5.27). In the middle of the central room an overhead door opened into the second story loft. A lift raised the carriages to the upper floor for storage (Figure 5.28). The right hand side of the first floor contained carriage and horse washing areas (Figures 5.29 and 5.30). The right-hand section of the front wall was an open shed for cart and supply storage (Figure 5.31). The second-story employee living quarters were above the tack and harness rooms, and hay and grain storage areas filled the rest of the space (Figures 5.32 and 5.33).

⁴¹ "Historic Buildings & Structures Timeline, Shelburne Farms," other 1901-1902 building projects included the south seawall and a squash court.

⁴² Julie Bressor, "Fact Sheet: The Coach Barn, Shelburne Farms," c. 1991, Shelburne Farms Archive. According to the Minnesota Federal Reserve the Coach Barn's 1902 value in 2004 dollars would be \$876,000.

An examination of the 1901 W. S. Webb correspondence illuminates the Coach Barn construction process. In either late January or early February Dr. Webb must have given architect R. H. Robertson permission to finalize the “drawings for the house stables.” On March 1st Robertson wrote E. F. Gebhardt to let him know that the blueprints and drawings, including “eight elevations, three plans and several sections” would be ready shortly. Gebhardt, as the estate’s assistant manager under Arthur Taylor, was the Coach Barn construction superintendent in charge of the men and ordering supplies; he later became the estate manager in 1902 and remained in that position at least 1917.⁴³ Robertson’s letter hints that both he and Gebhardt were under pressure from Webb to have the planning for the “stable entirely complete on his return on the 19th of March.”⁴⁴

During the first week of February several eastern newspapers and periodicals carried articles about the Webbs’ future stable project, spurring a wave of marketing letters from building supply companies and potential contractors. These letters provide a wealth of information about marketing and building construction practices of the early-twentieth century and the products available to stable designers and builders. According to a 9 February 1901 marketing letter from the New England Structural Company of Boston, a recent “newspaper report” announced that the Webbs were

⁴³ Edward F. Gebhardt, according to the 1910 U.S. Federal Census, was born in New York in 1858 and lived, in 1910, in the first ward of Burlington, Vermont. In 1930 he and his wife, Isabel, still lived at 404 College Street in Burlington. Ancestry.com, *1910 United States Federal Census* [database on-line] (Provo, UT: MyFamily.com, Inc., 2004); Ancestry.com, *1930 United States Federal Census* [database on-line] (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com, 2001).

⁴⁴ R. H. Robertson to E. F. Gebhardt, March 1, 1901, W. S. Webb Papers, Box 1, Folder 1, Shelburne Farms Archives.

planning to construct a “large brick stable” at Shelburne Farms.⁴⁵ The New England Structural Company wanted the contract for the structural and ornamental metalwork. The Brownville Maine Slate Co. wanted a follow up contract for the “\$75,000 stable” since it had provided roofing slate for other Shelburne buildings.⁴⁶ As stable flooring options, the Johnsonburg Vitrified Brick Company of Johnsonburg, Pennsylvania offered its own vitrified paving bricks and American Enameled Brick & Tile Co. enameled bricks, of which Johnsonburg was a distributor. According to the Johnsonburg company, the H. McKay Twombly stable in Madison, New Jersey had used over one hundred thousand such bricks.⁴⁷ Though the Coach Barn did not include the Johnsonburg bricks or many of the other proposed items, the final result was a stately Coach Barn and matching Coachman’s House that complemented the estate’s main house architectural style.

The Coach Barn building process began in earnest in April 1901 and continued for the next year and a half. During each phase, from digging foundations, to coordinating brick and mortar colors, to choosing the final interior fittings, Robertson and Gebhardt exchanged letters, telegrams, and drawings.⁴⁸ As each phase or section was completed, Robinson, or R. Burnside Potter, another architect in the firm working on the project,

⁴⁵ New England Structural Company to E. F. Gebhardt 2/9/1901, W. S. Webb Papers, Box 1, Folder 1, Shelburne Farms Archives.

⁴⁶ Brownville Maine Slate Co. to E. F. Gebhardt 2/9/1901, W. S. Webb Papers, Box 1, Folder 1, Shelburne Farms Archives.

⁴⁷ Johnsonburg Vitrified Brick Company to Dr. W. Seward Webb 2/11/1901, W. S. Webb Papers, Box 1, Folder 1, Shelburne Farms Archives. The Johnsonburg Company reference to the Twombly stable was calculated to gain an extra advantage; Twombly was a brother-in-law of Lila V. Webb.

⁴⁸ R. H. Robertson to E. F. Gebhardt 5/16/1901, W. Seward Webb Papers, Box 1, Folder 5, Shelburne Farms Archives.

requested final payment for each supplier or contractor, less a ten percent guarantee fee. The Shelburne Farms policy was to pay the entire bill except the ten percent which would be paid if, after a year, the materials or construction was still satisfactory. For example, on 18 October 1901 Potter wrote E. F. Gebhardt about sending payment for the just completed sewage disposal system installed by the Powers Company. Shelburne Farms, in a move similar to other corporate maneuvering during the late-nineteenth century was able to reduce its initial expenditures and collect interest during the intervening year. The Shelburne Farm Coach Barn, and other similar projects within the horse industry, were large enough to prove irresistible to bidders despite contingency terms.

Though it appears that W. Seward Webb allowed Robertson and Gebhardt to manage the day-to-day process of building the Coach Barn, in other matters concerning the horses, their tack and supplies, and stable employees Webb was much more involved. Many of his letters and telegrams to Shelburne Farms employees were composed at his Rutland Railroad, St. Lawrence & Adirondack Railway, and Raquette Lake Railway office in New York City. For example, on 10 October 1901 Webb (or his assistant) wrote E. F. Gebhardt telling him to put a stall in a “good freight car” and send *Trinidad* to a Mrs. Burden in Pittsfield. Gebhardt was also to send a groom with the horse who would then pick up a different horse from Mrs. Burden and accompany it back to Shelburne.⁴⁹ Apparently Mrs. Burden and W. Seward Webb had been in contact and arranged a trade, but Gebhardt was to oversee the activity by informing the appropriate department head.

⁴⁹ W. S. Webb to E. F. Gebhardt 10/10/1901, W. Seward Webb Papers, Box 1, Folder 10, Shelburne Farms Archives.

The 1901 correspondence had begun with a New Year's Day letter on the letterhead of Horace R. Sturgis at Broadacres in Riverside, Maine, written in Augusta, Maine. Addressed to Arthur Taylor, the Shelburne Farms manager, the letter expressed Sturgis's desire to lease a French Coach or Hackney stallion for a year with an option to buy. If the stallion "proved popular in the neighborhood" Sturgis would buy the stallion and continue to breed quality horses at his farm. Sturgis provided the name of a former division superintendent of the M. C. Railroad as a reference and encouraged Taylor to contact "any bank in Augusta." Though Taylor's response is difficult to read, it appears that he, and Webb by extension, was favorably impressed and Sturgis received the stallion *Burlington*.⁵⁰ An indepth examination of the Shelburne Farms ledger books would probably reveal the lease fee or the possible purchase of *Burlington* after the breeding season as well as the fate of many other Shelburne horses.

The Shelburne Farms' annual ledgers were the estate accounting books. Each year began with an itemized list of each department's assets followed by weekly expense reports for the rest of the year. These ledgers, balanced to the penny, were indicative of wider corporate practices developed to track production, reduce expenses, and increase profits. In 1891 W. Seward Webb's stock account totaled almost one million dollars offset by just over nine hundred thousand dollars of Shelburne Farms resources and liabilities. Throughout the Webb's correspondence with his farm managers there are numerous references to private and farm accounts. The stock account appears to have been the Shelburne Farms account used to pay for the horses food, shelter, equipment, and

⁵⁰ Horace R. Sturgis to Arthur Taylor January 1, 1904, W. S. Webb Papers, Box 1, Folder 1, Shelburne Farms Archives.

care, and all of the estate's other day-to-day activities. Table 3 outlines the value of some of the buildings, animals, and equipment at the end of 1891, a year filled with new buildings and department expansion. The minute detail included in the ledger, including the debits and credits between departments illustrates the corporate business practices utilized by Webb and the Shelburne Farms managers operating this million-dollar estate.

Table 3. Selected entries from the Shelburne Farms 1891 Ledger

Page #	Value	Department/Item
22		Real Estate
22	\$220,320.00	January 1 Farm Land 2754 acres
22	\$72,400.00	WSW House & Outbuildings
22	\$57,700.00	Farm Barn
22	\$48,970.00	Breeding Barn Buildings
22	\$1,200.00	School House
22	\$1,000.00	Chapel
22	\$64,093.15	Exercising Ring Building [Breeding Barn]
22	\$293.83	Aviary
26		Farm Barn Stock & Implements
26	\$9,600.00	24 span Mules
34		Breeding Barn Stock & Implements
35	\$138,202.75	Breeding Barn Livestock Total Jan 1 - Dec 1
35	\$2,907.41	Breeding Barn Implements Total Jan 1 - Dec 2
35	\$1.50	1 tooth rasp
35	\$0.15	1 whip rack
36	\$1.25	4 ankle boots
36	\$3.50	2 horse clippers
42-47	\$111,755.00	Total value of 30 Hackneys, 38 trotting horses 106 carriage horses, 41 ponies and 4 miscellaneous animals in the Breeding Barn
47	\$50.00	1 light double set harness
47	\$80.00	1 heavy double set harness with collar brass trim
47	\$15.00	3 saddles
47	\$4.00	1 hunting bridle
47	\$12.00	12 Newside lanterns
47	\$0.50	1 Oldside lantern
47	\$36.00	12 iron beds
47	\$12.00	12 mattresses
47	\$44.00	22 blankets
47	\$12.00	12 pillows
47	\$3.00	6 hardwood chairs
48	\$87.50	25 Stable blankets
48	\$6.50	13 hay forks

By 1910 Dr. Webb had become less interested in horse sports, having sold many of his horses, but this did not end the family's participation in horse sports. As the Webb's eldest son, James Watson, matured he became increasingly interested in polo and foxhunting, maintaining a presence in the horse industry. The Breeding Barn was ideally suited to training and riding horses and playing indoor polo (Figure 5.34). When J. Watson married Electra Havemeyer in 1910, the elder Webbs gave the couple just over one thousand acres, including the Breeding Barn and the Dairy Barn, formerly the Broodmare Barn, in the southern section of Shelburne Farms.⁵¹ The younger Webbs named their new estate Southern Acres and continued to utilize the land and structures in a manner similar to that of W. Seward and Lila. In 1912 J. Watson and Electra built the Dog Kennel near the Breeding Barn and two years later moved a Breeding Barn Cottage behind the Dog Kennel.⁵² At the time of his marriage, J. Watson was the secretary of the Masters of Foxhounds Association and continued to be associated with the organization for a period of about thirty years.

⁵¹ Julie Bressor, "Fact Sheet: The Breeding Barn, Shelburne Farms," c. 1990. Shelburne Farms Archive. In 1994, after twelve years of ownership by Shelburne Museum, the Breeding Barn and four hundred acres returned to Shelburne Farms. See also the "Historic Buildings & Structures Timeline, Shelburne Farms," the Webbs remodeled the Broodmare Barn into the Southern Acres Dairy Barn in 1894. In 1952 the building was renamed the old dairy when the next generation of Webbs built a new dairy, one of the first pole barns in Vermont. The building deteriorated to the point that the roof blew off in 1995, and the following year Shelburne Farms began stabilizing the building and using it for lumber storage.

⁵² "Historic Buildings & Structures Timeline, Shelburne Farms," the Dog Kennel was originally built for the Shelburne Foxhounds and as such should properly be referred to as the foxhound kennel between 1912 and 1920. After Webb sold off the last of the foxhounds in 1920, the family used the kennel for all dog types thus giving rise to the name Dog Kennel.

His own pack, the Shelburne Fox Hounds, recognized in 1904 or 1907, was a family favorite. At the final hunt for the 1906 season on November 21st, Webb recorded a fine end to the season of twenty-three runs.

Worked coverts south starting [?] & along lake to Hill's, started a fox in Tucker's woods & had a nice run for a mile or two. They got him away well, but he doubled back into the woods & the rain soon wiped out scent. Hounds worked well together & gave fine tongue running him. Cold rainy day good afternoon sport & satisfactory end of 1906 season.⁵³

During World War I, when J. Watson was absent, his wife Electra served as the acting M.F.H. and continued to hunt the hounds (Figure 5.35). Years later, in 1935, the hunt's fixture card listed J. Watson Webb and Dunbar W. Bostwick, his son-in-law, as joint masters, son Samuel B. Webb as honorary whip, Fred Ingleson as huntsman, and Lawrence Carlson and Edmond Ladue as whips.⁵⁴ By 1939 Samuel B. Webb had become a joint-master with his father and brother-in-law.

After World War I the couple moved to Long Island, New York. Their new home was closer to other family members and friends, and in the midst of the sporting set. J. Watson Webb's sister, Frederica, and her husband, Ralph Pulitzer, had moved to Long Island several years before and hired Charles A. Platt, an architect and landscape designer, to design their 1913 home in Nahasset.⁵⁵ One of the extended family members and friends was F. Ambrose Clark (1881-1964), an uncle by marriage, the owner of Broad Hollow, a

⁵³ Shelburne Fox Hounds Journal, page 3, Shelburne Farms Archives.

⁵⁴ 1935 Shelburne Fox Hounds Fixture, Object 2003.3.7, Shelburne Farms Archives. 1939 Shelburne Fox Hounds Fixture, Object 2003.3.9, Shelburne Farms Archives. J. Watson Webb is assumed to be the senior, not the junior.

⁵⁵ Liisa and Donald Sclare, *Beaux-Arts Estates: A Guide to the Architecture of Long Island* (New York: The Viking Press, 1980), 252.

four hundred-acre estate on Long Island he built in 1912 with architect Harry St. Clair Zogbaum. The brick Colonial Revival house looked across two pastures enclosed with split rail fences and down a tree-lined drive to the stable. The stable formed a square around a central courtyard that doubled as an enclosed riding area. Clark's passion was horses and with his fortune, from his father who had been a president of the Singer Sewing Machine Company, he was able to own, train, breed, and ride steeplechase horses, drive four-in-hand coaches, and foxhunt at Broad Hollow and his other properties: Kellsboro House in South Carolina, an unnamed farm in Cooperstown, New York, and Melton Mowbray in England. For many years Broad Hollow hosted the Meadow Brook Cup Race, "the oldest point-to-point horse race in the United States."⁵⁶

Under the direction and mentoring of F. Ambrose Clark and others, J. Watson Webb became a ten-goal polo player (Figure 5.36). Webb had begun playing while attending Yale University and, until his move to Long Island, had been usually ranked as a three-goal player.⁵⁷ In 1921 Webb played the number three position in the International polo match and in 1924 he played number one. His lead horse in the 1924 match at Meadow Brook was **Naughty Girl*, an English-bred polo pony imported by his

⁵⁶ Ibid., *Beaux-Arts Estates*, 131-134. Monica Randall, *The Mansions of Long Island's Gold Coast* (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1979, reprint), 109-112. Randall writes that Clark was an heir to the Singer Sewing Machine Company founder; the Sclares write he was an heir to a president of the company. Randall gives Clark's name as Ambrose Clark; the Sclares identify Clark as F. Ambrose Clark. Randall describes Broad Hollow as a five hundred-acre estate; the Sclars write Broad Hollow had four hundred acres. Since I have information describing Frederick Bourne as an heir to the Singer Company founder and J. Watson Webb Jr., who knew Clark, refers to Clark as F. Ambrose (which also agrees with other sources) I am using the Sclares' data.

⁵⁷ United States Polo Association, *America vs. England International Polo 1886-1924* (New York: United States Polo Association, 1924), 47.

brother-in-law, Horace Havemeyer, in 1916 and from whom Webb had bought the chestnut mare in the intervening years.⁵⁸ J. Watson Webb was a member of the 1924 International Match executive committee along with men such as railroad owner W. A. Harriman and polo-playing Society members W. Cameron Forbes and Devereux Milburn. Less than a month before the event all of the seats in the entire grandstand had been sold. J. Watson Webb had purchased three boxes including one, Box 9 in Section X, Row B, near the center of the western grandstand and one row from the front. The box holders in the front row included polo players Julius Fleischmann, Thomas Hitchcock Jr., Devereux Milburn, and steeplechase jockey John Sanford. Webb's row included Lawrence Waterbury, a leading Society horseman, and F. Ambrose Clark (two boxes); the row behind Webb included Payne Whitney and August Belmont Jr.⁵⁹

Despite J. Watson and Electra's move to Long Island, they continued to spend time at Southern Acres near the elder Webbs at Shelburne Farms. Dr. W. Seward Webb died in 1926 at Shelburne Farms and Lila died in 1936. The estate had slowly become a burden to the couple whose health and financial resources had begun to fade in the early 1920s. After Lila's death, Vanderbilt Webb inherited two thousand acres, the bulk of Shelburne Farms. Frederica received Shelburne Point and Seward received Nehasane, the camp in the Adirondacks. Vanderbilt Webb and his family lived most of the year in New York City, but in the summers from the 1930s to the 1950s, his wife and children stayed at Shelburne. The rest of the year the house was under the care of a caretaker, the farm land

⁵⁸ Walter S. Vosburgh, Charles D. Lanier, Frank J. Bryan, and James C. Cooley, *Thoroughbred Types 1900 - 1925* (New York: Privately Printed, 1926), 261.

⁵⁹ United States Polo Association, *America vs. England*, 23, 24, 27.

was rented out to local farmers, and different houses were held as life tenancies by former servants.⁶⁰

After Vanderbilt Webb's death in 1956, his son, Derick Webb, who had been farming the property since the end of World War II, took over Shelburne Farms. In 1972 the Derick Webb family decided to preserve the farm and founded the nonprofit company Shelburne Farms Resources as an educational and cultural organization.⁶¹ After a decade of slow progress the fourth generation in 1984 established Shelburne Farms as a 501(c)(3) nonprofit educational organization, whose mission is to "cultivate a conservation ethic by teaching and demonstrating the stewardship of natural and agricultural resources."⁶² During the same time period, Electra Havemeyer Webb left the bulk of Southern Acres to the nearby museum she had established, Shelburne Museum. In 1994 Shelburne Museum sold Shelburne Farms four hundred acres of the former Southern Acres, which was then supplemented by additional land, building, and easements contributions by J. Watson and Electra Webb's descendants. These included the Breeding Barn and the Broodmare Barn.

By 2004 Shelburne Farms had established several conservation easements with cooperating organizations to create trails linking Shelburne Farms with other areas. The farm itself produced and sold cheese made from the milk of its one hundred and twenty head Brown Swiss dairy herd. The Farm Barn is now headquarters for the cheese making business and educational programs for visiting elementary through college level students.

⁶⁰ Sherman, *House at Shelburne Farms*, 76-77.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁶² Shelburne Farms, *Shelburne Farms Contributor Report* (Shelburne, VT: Shelburne Farms, Summer 2004), i.

The Farm Barn also includes an independent elementary school and the workshop of an independent furniture company that utilizes sustainable forestry products. The main house, renamed the Inn at Shelburne, operates as an exclusive hotel and event center for five months of the year and houses the Shelburne Farms Archives. Shelburne Farms includes the Breeding Barn, Broodmare Barn, and Coach Barns on its special tours. However, most visitors usually stay at the Farm Barn during their entire visit, especially families with small children. Shelburne Farms has invested considerable resources into restoring the Coach Barn and Breeding Barn and stabilizing the Broodmare Barn. The Coach Barn continues to function as a stable in the summer for visiting local dressage riders when they perform during a fundraiser featuring dressage and classical music. For those interested in the Webb's horses, simply touring the three stables is thrilling because of their size, scale, and details. However, continued research into the Shelburne Farms horses, the stables' personnel, equipment, and the Webbs' participation in horse sports would provide the opportunity for Shelburne Farms to expand its interpretation of the surviving structures, material culture, and archival resources. The property has the necessary archival and museum resources to create programs that would complement the site's established educational programs while creating a new group of visitors and potential supporters of Shelburne Farms.

Longview Farm

In 1969 two elderly sisters, Sallie Long Ellis and Loula Long Combs, deeded 146 acres to the Metropolitan Junior College District for the establishment of Longview Community College.⁶³ The new college in the southeastern region of the Kansas City

⁶³ Marshall and Brown, AIA, *Master Plan Longview Community College* (N.p.,

metropolitan area presaged the area's rapid growth in the next quarter century. For the Long sisters, supporting the college was the last act in a series of innovative social and agricultural activities begun by their father, Robert Alexander Long, in 1914 when he built Longview Farm (Figures 5.37 and 5.38).

R. A. Long, like many of his contemporary Gilded Age wealthy elite friends, was a first generation millionaire who had some education, grew up in a rural area, and with initial financial support from family and friends established a multi-million dollar corporation. The Long-Bell Lumber Company, one of the largest lumber companies in the United States before the Great Depression, thrived on the yellow pine forests of the South and then moved onto Washington forests. Long's transformation from a farmer to an internationally recognized businessman and social leader depended not only upon his company's success, but also his willingness to spend his personal wealth in ways both typical and atypical of his wealthy elite counterparts.

Long was born in 1850 in Shelby County, Kentucky, into a religious, anti-slavery family. In 1873 Long moved to Kansas City to live with his banker uncle, Church White. After several failed ventures, R. A. Long, his cousin Robert White, and Church White's partner's son, Victor Bell, established R. A. Long and Company. While based in Columbus, Kansas, Long married a local Quaker girl, Martha Ellen Wilson.⁶⁴ Their two surviving children, daughters Sallie America and Loula, were born in 1879 and 1880. By January, 1971), 8. See also Lynn Wade, "College, Established in 1968, Now Considered One of the Best, *Lee's Summit Journal* 16 March 2001, 2A.

⁶⁴ Lenore K. Bradley, *Robert Alexander Long: A Lumberman of the Gilded Age* (Durham, NC: Forest Historical Society, 1989), 4, 7, 11, 19-20, 22. According to Bradley the Campbellites were "in his day known as the Christian Church, later the Disciples of Christ--and in more recent times again as the Christian Church."

1884 R. A. Long and Company included nineteen lumberyards, and the two living partners, R. A. Long and Victor Bell, changed the company's name to Long-Bell Lumber Company when they "dissolved the partnership and reorganized as a corporation in the state of Missouri."⁶⁵ In 1891, after starting a Kansas-based coal mining company and pine mills in Oklahoma, Long moved the company headquarters to Kansas City, Missouri.⁶⁶

Once in Kansas City, R. A. Long began to buy vast tracts of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas pine forests and invested in the machinery and personnel to produce large quantities of timber for the growing housing, railroad, and shipping industries. Long's expansion into Louisiana in 1897 had followed the Kansas City Southern railroad, just as he had followed other railroads through Kansas, buying early and cheap enough, though not in the first wave of speculators, to make enormous profits.⁶⁷

As the Long-Bell Company prospered so did its owner. R. A. Long began to fulfill what may have been a childhood dream, owning prize-winning Saddlebreds. He had grown up in one of the nation's leading areas for producing purebred livestock and home

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 23, 27. See also William E. Connelley, *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans*, transcribed (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1918) <http://skyways.lib.ks.us/genweb/archives/1918ks/biol/longra> (accessed 3/29/04).

⁶⁶ Bradley, *Robert Alexander Long*, 29-31. See also Ellen J. Uguccioni and Sherry Piland, "Longview Farm," National Register of Historic Places-Nomination Form, 8-1.

⁶⁷ Bradley, *Robert Alexander Long*, 32-35. Bradley writes that the first speculators in the Louisiana pine forests were Northeastern and Great Lakes timber men and companies including Delos A. Blodgett, Nathan Bradley and C. F. Hackley of Michigan; the British North American Land and Timber Company; Henry Lutchter and G. B. Moore, most of whom had bought a majority of the Louisiana timber before 1870.

of the “best of the fancy saddle and harness horses in the state.”⁶⁸ The Long’s first house in Kansas City was a Queen Anne frame house on Independence Avenue, one of the only two “proper” addresses in 1891. Like its neighbors, the Independence Avenue house had its own private stable for the carriage and riding horses, where, as Bradley writes, “many mornings he would saddle his horse Redbuck, and ride up and down the hills to work.” Long may have tacked up his own horse, but this would have been more unlikely with each passing year. In 1896, when on a trip visiting the company sawmills and lumberyards in the Indian Territory, Long and his then fifteen-year-old daughter, Loula, rode 120 miles from Thomasville, Oklahoma, to Hot Springs, Arkansas, through the Ozarks.⁶⁹ The trip must have cemented the close relationship between father and daughter and their joint love of horses.

In 1904 Long-Bell reached its first plateau as the company became a nationally recognized corporation with a fully developed executive staff and a powerful president. A 1904 report listed capitalization at one and a quarter million dollars, gross sales over seven million dollars, accounts receivable at one million dollars, and only six thousand dollars in bad accounts.⁷⁰ The Long-Bell Company developed several mill towns while working in the Southern pine forests. Like its competitors, the Long-Bell company provided homes, usually painted, recreational facilities, stores, schools, doctors, and graded streets. One of the early company towns was Longville, Louisiana, a company mill site from 1906 to

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

⁶⁹ Bradley, *Robert Alexander Long*, 37-39.

⁷⁰ As reported in Bradley, *Robert Alexander Long*, 44.

1934.⁷¹ The company flourished, with growing investments in sawmills, company towns, land, and top personnel, and by 1910 it had ten million dollars in capital.⁷²

R. A. Long's presence in the Kansas City business community grew in conjunction with his company's success, and by 1910 he served on several boards, including the National Bank of Commerce, along with the real estate developer Jesse Clyde Nichols.⁷³ In 1906, the R.A. Long Building with three hundred offices opened on the corner of Grand and Tenth Street, with the eighth and ninth floors of the sixteen-story building accommodating the Long-Bell Lumber Company headquarters.⁷⁴ The building's architect, Henry Ford Hoit of the Kansas City architectural firm Van Brunt and Howe, used the traditional Beaux-Arts Classical architectural style, but the building's structural components were pure modern. Hoit had graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1897 and joined the Boston architectural firm Cabot, Everett and Meade where he worked until moving in 1903 to Kansas City to work for Van Brunt and Howe.⁷⁵ Like many of his better known East Coast contemporaries such as Stanford White or Richard Morris Hunt, Henry Ford Hoit "specialized in architecture for the rich" and, with

⁷¹ Joe V. Warren Jr., *A History of the Long-Bell Lumber Co. and "The Family" at Longville, LA 1906-1934* (Longville, LA: Curtis Media, Inc., 1997), v-vii.

⁷² Bradley, *Robert Alexander Long*, 51.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 61. John M. McClelland Jr., *R. A. Long's Planned City: The Story of Longview* (Longview, WA: Longview Publishing Co., 1976), 22.

⁷⁴ Bradley, *Robert Alexander Long*, 63-64; Elizabeth Rosin and Janice Lee, "R. A. Long Building," National Register of Historic Places - Nomination Form, 7-1, 8-11.

⁷⁵ Uguccioni and Piland, "Longview Farm," 8-16; Lenore K. Bradley, *Corinthian Hall: An American Palace on Gladstone* (Kansas City, MO: The Lowell Press, 1981), 16.

the success of the R. A. Long building, became Long's architect for several future personal and business projects.⁷⁶

The first of these personal projects was the design and construction of a country house, a more suitable home for one of the city's leading businessmen. Long had already purchased a custom made Pullman car in 1904, *The Kymokan*, complete with mahogany paneling, a stateroom, and a drawing room. He used his fifty thousand-dollar car frequently for business and pleasure trips. Long's biographer, Lenore Bradley, is sure that, while at the 1904 World's Fair, he visited the exclusive homes of elite St. Louis, resplendent in their art and architecture. In any case, Long soon thereafter became dissatisfied with his older Queen Anne home. Bradley notes that though Loula Long later said the stable on Independence Avenue was no longer suitable for their horses and the new house was the result, it was more likely a growing understanding that both family *and* horses deserved more elite surroundings.⁷⁷

In 1907 Hoit began designing a seventy-room, Beaux-Arts country house with gate house, garage, stable complex including paddocks, pergola, greenhouse, and conservatory to fill an entire square block in the Scarritt Point neighborhood (Figure

⁷⁶ Bradley, *Robert Alexander Long*, 65. See also <http://www.skyscrapers.com> (accessed 3/29/04). The still active architectural firm of Hoit, Price & Barnes is credited with four surviving Kansas City skyscrapers built between 1913 and 1931: Fidelity Bank & Trust Building, Power & Light Building, Mark Twain Tower, and the Oak Tower Building. See also Rosin and Lee, "R. A. Long Building," 8-16, other Kansas City projects included the Continental Hotel, Temple B-nai Jehudah, the Dierks Building, and Municipal Auditorium.

⁷⁷ Bradley, *Robert Alexander Long*, 77-80. See also Nathaniel Thompson Allison, *History of Cherokee County Kansas and its Representative Citizens*, transcribed (n.p., 1904) <http://skyways.lib.ks.us/genweb/archives/cherokee/1904/bios/> (accessed 3/29/04). Despite what Long may have thought in 1904 of his Independence Avenue home, to outsiders it was considered "one of the most comfortable homes in the city."

5.39). Importantly, the eighty thousand-dollar stone carriage house and stable, “the first building completed at the site,” was finished two years before the house. It included a two-story carriage house, with lift to the loft, and a one-story stable for ten horses and five grooms with a combined harness and tack room and “white-tiled wash room” (Figure 5.40).⁷⁸ It is unclear if the wash room was used to wash carriages or as a wash rack for the horses, or both. Trainer Dave Smith and his family lived in the gate house, and the other stable employees lived in the stable. The stable and other outbuildings were constructed of light-colored stone with red tile roofs, as were later Longview Farm structures. The stable’s decorative copper weathervane sported a horse pulling a cart with a driver and two passengers. Construction on the mansion began in February 1909 after the rest of the dependencies had been completed and continued until December 1910.⁷⁹

While waiting for the house to be completed, the family left Kansas City in April 1910 for a six-month tour of Europe. This was not, however, the family’s first or last trip to Europe. Loula was granted permission to take her best horse, *The King*, to the Olympia horse show in London. Trainer Dave Smith most likely oversaw his own and *The King*’s transportation and baggage since the family sailed directly to Cherbourg and then

⁷⁸ Loula Long Combs, *My Revelation*, limited edition, 1991 (Lee’s Summit, MO: Longview Publishing Company, 1947), 122. See also Bradley, *Robert Alexander Long*, 80, 81.

⁷⁹ Robert Buerglener, “R. A. Long House,” *Historic American Buildings Survey*, 1-2; Uguccioni and Piland, “Longview Farm,” 8-2; Bradley, *Corinthian Hall*, 7, 12, 14. See also Lenore K. Bradley, “R. A. Long House,” National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. The box stalls were ten feet by ten feet with individual windows and sliding doors. The tack/harness room had “built-in shelves for the monogrammed woolen horse blankets, carriage robes, and stacks of driving aprons of pure silk satin, wool challis and linen. Steam heat came from radiators with bronze grilles, and there was always a plentiful supply of hot and cold running water.”

traveled to Paris to pick up their new Pierce Arrow car. Like many other wealthy American families traveling in Europe, the Longs visited museums, attended the opera, and made numerous purchases including a wide variety of artwork to fill their new home. The family also made contacts with other American wealthy, social elite and members of the European aristocracy. Once they arrived in London, Loula not only became the first woman to drive in a roadster class at the Olympia, but she and *The King* also won the class. Loula and her father also visited several European stables to look at prospective horses and certainly took note of any special design features. When the Longs returned to the United States in September 1910, the house was not yet finished, but the new stable's population grew with the two Hackneys purchased in London.⁸⁰ A few months later the family moved into completed home. The result was a magnificent structure, Corinthian Hall, that successfully accommodated a variety of guests from grandchildren and Mrs. Long's sewing circle to World War I leaders and numerous other political and economic leaders. Corinthian Hall helped to further establish the Longs as members of the national wealthy, social elite.

The continuing success of the Long-Bell Lumber Company and R. A. Long's growing wealth supplied the means for Long to indulge in a project that quickly

⁸⁰ Bradley, *Robert Alexander Long*, 83-86. Bradley, *Corinthian Hall*, 13. Combs, *My Revelation*, 143. The rest of the family's horses went to Maysville, Kentucky during the family's trip because the barbed wire fences around the available Kansas City pastures were unacceptable. See also Howe & Hoit Architects, "House of R. A. Long, Esq., Kansas City, MO," *The American Architect* 5, no. 1893 (April 3, 1929); Wilda Sandy, "R. A. Long" Special Collections, Kansas City Public Library <http://www.kcpl.org/specialcollections>. Corinthian Hall cost six hundred thousand dollars; Ellis Island, <http://www.ellisland.org>. According to the Ellis Island passenger records the family arrived in New York City on 27 September 1910 on the *Kaiser Wilhelm II* that departed from Cherbourg, France.

outstripped the lavish Gladstone Boulevard home. The resulting estate, Longview Farm, combined functionality with a carefully designed landscape that facilitated farm production and provided opportunities for family recreation. In the fall of 1912, Long began buying individual farms just west of Lee's Summit, Missouri, and by the end of the year had obtained seventeen hundred acres. He also began consulting with Henry Hoit and landscape architect, S. Herbert Hare. The planning process lasted for over a year as Long visited dairies in Wisconsin and Illinois and stables in Kentucky.⁸¹

The Kansas City landscape and planning firm Hare and Hare had previously worked with Olmsted Associates on the 1911 Forest Hills project in New York. The father, Sidney J. Hare, began the firm in 1902, and after his son, S. Herbert Hare, graduated from Harvard University, they formed a partnership that continued until the senior Hare's death in 1938.⁸² Hare and Hare also utilized the services of George Kessler, a German born and trained landscape architect who had worked with Frederick Law Olmsted on a small portion of New York's Central Park. For the City of Kansas City, Kessler had planned "three major parks connected by a network of boulevards," one of which was North Terrace next to Corinthian Hall.⁸³ The combined effort of Hoit, Hare and Hare, and Kessler resulted in an architecturally united estate with several departments

⁸¹ Bradley, *Robert Alexander Long*, 94, 95. Bradley notes that Hoit utilized many of Alfred Hopkins's ideas published in the 1913 *Modern Farm Buildings*. Bradley writes that Long's motivation stemmed from a desire to place himself within the context of English country estates, a need for more space for Loula's increasing stable, and the need for a source of high quality milk for his grandchildren.

⁸² Citizens Historical Association, *Biographical Data of Kansas Citizens Index* (n.p., 1938), 193-194.

⁸³ Uguccioni and Piland, "Longview Farm," 8-2, 8-17.

(including dairy, hog, show horses, farming, and greenhouses) with more than four dozen specially designed buildings and structures (Figure 5.38).⁸⁴

At the center of Longview Farm was the mansion built on a small hill overlooking many of the farm departments. The main driveway, anchored by the gatehouse, a gatehouse residence, and the Longview Chapel, was located at the bend in the main road that bisected Longview Farm (Figure 5.38 Structures 6 and 46; Figures 5.41 and 5.42). At each end where the road crossed the Longview property line an arch spanned the road (Figure 5.38 Structure 5; Figure 5.43). Where the main driveway approached the house, Hare designed a symmetrical drive to encircle a multilevel sunken garden (Figures 5.44 and 5.45). Downhill from the mansion were arbors, a pergola, a lily pond, and a twenty-acre lake used to supply the estate's water needs. (Figure 5.38 Structures 2 and 4; Figures 5.46 and 5.47). The designers used Indiana limestone to accent the estate's wood framed, stuccoed buildings, all of which had red tiles roofs. The estate's thirty miles of cypress rail fencing, produced in the Long-Bell Louisiana mills, used "pressed boards fitted into dovetailed grooves" to eliminate the need for nails, and was painted white to match the buildings (Figure 5.48).⁸⁵

The landscape architects successfully planned the estate's layout so that each department's elements fit within the larger system of roads, bridges, fence lines, and

⁸⁴ Ibid., 8-0. The estate never accomplished its goal to become a "comprehensive self-sufficient community;" however, its "scientific" planning illustrated the best ideas of agricultural planning. The estate quickly became nationally known as the "World's Most Beautiful Estate," and became home to tens of families who, according to their oral histories, fondly regarded their time at Longview, especially during the Depression.

⁸⁵ Bradley, *Robert Alexander Long*, 97; Ugucioni and Piland, "Longview Farm," 7-2, 8-14. The fence cost fifteen thousand dollars and used eight feet posts and twelve feet rails.

underground electrical and water systems. During the early construction phase the farm employed up to two thousand men, including “50 Belgian craftsmen and 200 Sicilian stonemasons” hired directly from Europe.⁸⁶ Some of the workers quarried rock to mix the buildings’ concrete foundations. Two-horse teams hired out by R. A. Long to the individual contractors cost five dollars for the team and driver.⁸⁷ Once the construction phase ended, the estate continued to employ about two hundred men, women, and children, many of whom lived in houses built for each department’s manager, assistant manager, and other employees.⁸⁸ The Longview Farm community design, a mix of lower and upper level employees, work and leisure areas, homes and offices, more closely resembled its mill town counterparts than the nearby town, Lee’s Summit.

The farm residents, human and animal, enjoyed electricity produced by the farm’s generator, purified water, indoor plumbing, including hot and cold water, heat, and an estate-wide telephone system.⁸⁹ In the basement of each major building was an independent steam plant “of sufficient capacity to supply radiation to every radiator.” The contractor had to guarantee that each room would reach at least seventy degrees

⁸⁶ Bradley, *Robert Alexander Long*, 97.

⁸⁷ Henry F. Hoit, “Specification: General Work, Stallion Barn, Longview Farm,” KC4-B.5, Western Historical Manuscript Collection-Kansas City, Addenda 1; Henry F. Hoit, “Specification: Workhorse Barn, Wagon & Implement Sheds, Longview Farm,” KC4-B.5, Western Historical Manuscript Collection-Kansas City, Addenda 2.

⁸⁸ Jared Hamilton, “Longview’s Beginnings Weren’t Humble,” *Lee’s Summit Journal*, 26 February 2001, 2A.

⁸⁹ Uguccioni and Piland, “Longview Farm,” 8-15. The lake’s purifying plant processed fifty thousand gallons of water per day then piped to the water tower located on the highest part of the estate.

Fahrenheit in negative fifteen degree weather.⁹⁰ Costing an initial two and a half million to build over fifteen years, the farm's annual operating expenses cost between \$130,000 and \$140,000 more than it produced until it ceased to be run as a working farm in 1938.⁹¹

From the mansion, the Longs and their visitors could look at the surrounding hilltops and see the most important of the farm's departments. The closest to the north was the show horse barn (Figure 5.38, Structure 14; Figure 5.49), and beyond it was the one hundred thousand-gallon water tower and the dairy complex (Figure 5.38, Structures 7, 20-24; Figure 5.50). The dairy herd initially consisted of Jersey cows, some imported from the Isle of Jersey, which produced milk for private and commercial use. As part of Long's philanthropic activities, the farm also sold milk below cost to Children's Mercy Hospital and donated milk to the Sheffield House.⁹² In 1925, the first American-bred Grand Champion Jersey at the National Dairy Show in Chicago was a Longview Farm heifer, *Raleigh's Oxford Thistle*.⁹³

To the east of the mansion were the hog, saddle horse, stallion, and brood mare departments (Figure 5.38 Structures 15, 16, 35-40). Though the Longview horses were the most famous, R. A. Long did not stint on the other departments. The hog department's prizewinning Duroc stud boar reportedly cost twelve thousand dollars in

⁹⁰ Henry F. Hoit, "Specification: Heating, Boarding House, Showhorse Barn, Dairy Barn, and Milkhouse, Longview Farm," KC4-B.5, Western Historical Manuscript Collection-Kansas City, 1, 5.

⁹¹ Bradley, *Robert Alexander Long*, 98-99.

⁹² Uguccioni and Piland, "Longview Farm," 7-5, 8-10.

⁹³ Bradley, *Robert Alexander Long*, 77, 100; Uguccioni and Piland, "Longview Farm," 7-5, 8-10. The dairy closed in April 1944 due to wartime manpower shortages and the farm switched to beef cattle. See also Combs, *My Revelation*, 300.

1916.⁹⁴ A depictive copper hog weathervane topped the hog barn. The other department headquarters had their own respective weathervanes.⁹⁵ The farm and its various departments became so well known and popular as a local tourist site that the general manager, Ira Drymon, issued a “General Rules” flyer to prevent interruptions and ensure the Longs’ privacy (Figure 5.51). The workhorse complex, which included the Hotel, a dormitory for single male employees, was to the southwest the main house (Figure 5.52). The Hotel’s single men comprised the core of the Longview baseball team and other recreational groups sponsored by the Longs. Married employees who lived on the estate had individual houses of varying size. The homes ranged from simple cottages to the detailed general manager’s house (Figure 5.38, Structures 41, 42, 47; Figures 5.53-5.57). All of the individual homes throughout the property had many windows for light and air, kitchens, fireplaces to augment the heating systems, detailed interior woodwork, and coordinated external landscaping including window boxes and kitchen gardens.

Most of the original Longview Farm structures have succumbed to time, vandalism, and demolition; however, eleven parts of the estate’s original fabric remain: arches, roads, fencing, gate house and residence, garage/powerhouse, mansion, lake, pergola, show horse barn, water tower, and dairy complex. The surviving show horse barn is a symbol of R. A. and Loula Long’s passion for their horses. All of the horses, but the competitive horses in particular, were paramount in the impetus, design, and management of the entire estate.⁹⁶ The Longview Farm competitive stables, the Show

⁹⁴ Bradley, *Robert Alexander Long*, 77, 100.

⁹⁵ Uguccioni and Piland, “Longview Farm,” 8-0.

⁹⁶ The Percheron work horses and their successors, the mules, are not discussed in

Horse barn, and the Saddle Horse barn, incorporated all of the twenty-six elements found in other stable complexes built throughout the country between 1865 and 1929. The Show Horse barn for the Hackneys was “the largest barn west of the Mississippi” with a 175 feet by 75 feet driving arena built using steel trusses. The saddlehorse barn had “thirty box stalls and an indoor arena on the first floor and living quarters above.”⁹⁷ There estate also had a stallion barn, paddocks, and pastures. Analogous to other competitive stables from the time period, Longview Farm included a half-mile track, a clubhouse, and “a grandstand for a thousand people with stabling below for visiting horses.”⁹⁸

The Saddle Horse department was the special domain of R. A. Long until his death in 1935. The department remained until a final dispersal sale later that same year.⁹⁹ As a child attending the fair in Shelbyville, Kentucky, Long had watched some of Kentucky’s top Saddlebreds compete in the show ring. As a wealthy adult he could afford to hire John T. Hook from Paris, Missouri, trained by Missouri’s leading Saddlebred trainer, Tom

detail by Longview Farm writers. These work horses and mules were part of a larger national draft horse and mule renaissance that peaked during the early twentieth century. Draft horse breeders and importers operated throughout the nation, but primarily in the Midwest. Mule breeding was a Missouri specialty.

⁹⁷ Bradley, *Robert Alexander Long*, 95-96; Uguccioni and Piland, “Longview Farm,” 8-8.

⁹⁸ Uguccioni and Piland, “Longview Farm,” 8-7.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 8-7. The nomination writers state that “120 stallions, brood mares, and colts,” all show horses, were auctioned in 1934 due to the prevailing economic conditions and a general shift to a breeding rather than showing. Though the economic conditions were certainly a contributing factor, these were most likely R. A. Long’s Saddlebreds, and not Loula L. Combs’s Hackneys, thus they were also sold due to his declining health and interest.

Bass, to manage the saddle horse department.¹⁰⁰ With Hook's guidance Long bought, showed, and subsequently stood at stud several champion Saddlebred stallions including *Independence Chief*, *My Major Dare*, and *Kentucky's Best*. Longview Farm held annual sales, sent horses to local sales, and advertised regularly in national equestrian publications (Figures 5.58-5.60). Unlike some stables or breeding establishments that only sold young stock, the Longs had a price for each horse. They bought breeding and show horses at competitions, at sales, and while traveling. Long's purchase of the stallion, *Easter Cloud*, must have been especially gratifying when he and Hook in 1917 won "the first \$10,000 Grand Championship at the Kentucky State Fair."¹⁰¹ One of the most famous of the Saddlebreds bred at Longview was the stallion *Chief of Longview* who sold for thirty-five thousand dollars in 1926.¹⁰² The Saddlebred and Hackney stallions had their own stallion barn, used at Longview, as at other competitive stables, to separate and exhibit the stallions. The stallion barn, a two-story building, had a concrete foundation, a "mill construction" superstructure, and stuccoed exterior walls surmounted by "tile roof, with metal gutters, flashing and skylight."¹⁰³ Hoit's specifications additionally described the requirements for sheathing, building paper, furring, window frames, sashes, exterior door frames, doors, glazing, and outdoor finishes. Hoit's specifications for other estate buildings were equally detailed.

¹⁰⁰Bill Downey, *Tom Bass: Black Horseman* (St. Louis: Saddle and Bridle, Inc., 1975), 148-151, 164. John T. Hook later left Longview and became the trainer of the Carnation Stock Farm in California.

¹⁰¹Bradley, *Robert Alexander Long*, 99.

¹⁰²*Idem*.

¹⁰³Hoit, "Specification: General Work, Stallion Barn, Longview Farm," 2.

The Show Horse barn, home to Loula's Hackney harness horses, was the heart of the estate (Figure 5.38 Structure 14); its location, along the main drive to the house, and its visibility from Longview Road ensured recognition of its importance (Figures 5.61 and 5.62).¹⁰⁴ Dave Smith, the trainer who had overseen *The King's* trip to London in 1910, moved the horses from Corinthian Hall to Longview Farm after the show horse barn's completion in 1913. Though the horses lived at Longview, Smith's family continued to live in the Corinthian Hall gatehouse until the Longs transferred the property to the City of Kansas City in 1938. In the 1930 U. S. Census the Smith family at 3220 Gladstone Boulevard included the forty-four year old trainer and his Northern Irish-born wife, their four sons, ages nineteen to two years and all born in Missouri, and one servant living in the rented home.¹⁰⁵ Smith, a Scotsman, had worked with horses in England until he emigrated in 1907. Shortly after his arrival in the United States, Smith started working for the Longs and continued to oversee the harness horse department (as illustrated in a photograph from *Rider and Driver*, Figure 5.63) until his retirement in 1961.¹⁰⁶

John Haffey, like Dave Smith, had begun working for the Longs at Corinthian Hall shortly after he immigrated from Ireland in 1910. Long hired Haffey in 1912 as the assistant show horse trainer, and he first lived with his family at Corinthian Hall. Haffey accompanied Dave Smith on his daily commute from Corinthian Hall to Longview Farm

¹⁰⁴The barn cost one hundred thousand dollars to construct in 1913, which was probably a reduced price since Long presumably received discounted prices on the lumber.

¹⁰⁵Ancestry.com, *1930 United States Federal Census* (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com, 2002).

¹⁰⁶Bradley, *Robert Alexander Long*, 100; Bradley, *Corinthian Hall*, 13; Combs, *My Revelation*, 115-117.

until about 1915, when R. A. Long offered to build each family a house on the farm. Although Smith declined the invitation, Haffey accepted; his family moved into a house near the Brood Mare barn and next door to Lonnie Hayden “one of the top riders in the country.”¹⁰⁷ In 1923 the Haffey family relocated into the newly completed gatehouse so that Haffey would be closer to the show horses. He remained in the employ of Longview Farm until his death in 1966.¹⁰⁸

The trainers were responsible for overseeing the horses’ daily care and training and for coaching Loula at horse shows. In 1896 Loula, age 15, won her first blue ribbon in a small, local horse show, and each year she entered successively more difficult competitions. Once the stable moved to Longview Farm, Loula’s show schedule continued to grow, even after her marriage to R. Pryor Combs in 1919. The busy show season included Devon in Pennsylvania (when at Devon the Longs stayed with the William Wanamaker Jr. family), the National Horse Show in New York, earning Combs a place in the Madison Square Garden Hall of Fame, and the local American Royal where she was honored as the Queen of the American Royal. At one of the National Horse Shows, before 1901, Loula, no older than age twenty, met Mrs. Reginald Vanderbilt after a class

¹⁰⁷Matt Bird-Meyer, “Former Residents Treasure Memories of Life on Farm,” *Lee’s Summit Journal*, 2 March 2001, 3A. Bird-Meyer interviewed Margaret Haffey Molo who grew up on the farm. Molo stated that Loula Combs provided summer jobs for the children and helped her brother get into the Naval Academy. The *1930 Horse Show Blue Book* includes a photograph of Lonnie Hayden riding *Chief of Longview* for Mrs. Roth. Hayden probably left in 1927 when the Longs sold the stallion to Mrs. Roth. See also Combs, *My Revelation*, 169.

¹⁰⁸Matt Bird-Meyer, “Gatehouse Returns as Family Home,” *Lee’s Summit Journal*, 14 March 2001, 1A. Albert Aldrich, assistant farm manager from 1953-1985, lived in the gatehouse from 1967 to 1985 after the Haffeyes whose rent from 1923 to 1966 had been \$8.50 month. Bird-Meyer, “Former Residents Treasure Memories of Life on Farm,” 1A.

in which they had both competed. Upon learning that Loula was not planning to show in the “class for a pair to be driven by a lady,” Vanderbilt offered Loula her own carriage and team. Loula not only won the class, but also became even more accepted into Society through her conversation and driving skills, and, of course, wealthy background.¹⁰⁹ In 1920, according to the *Horse Show Chronicle*, Mrs. Combs competed “in sixteen different shows, won thirty-one championships, and 170 blue ribbons.”¹¹⁰ Combs’s show stable doubled as a traveling advertisement for Longview Farm’s equine and botanical produce. At horse shows Loula’s stabling area displayed flowers and greenery produced by the Longview greenhouses and shipped fresh to each show.¹¹¹ Large hats with exotic feathers and spangled dresses were Loula’s trademark outfit in the indoor show ring, where she often drove accompanied by some of her Boston Terriers.¹¹² In the outdoor shows, such as the South Shore Country Club Horse Show in Chicago, Loula’s attire was less flamboyant.¹¹³ In 1934, Loula Combs, described as “the country’s No. 1 Exhibitor,” joined the American Horse Show Association, Inc. as one of its first female directors. She served with other leading horse show supporters such as Charles M. Fleischmann, Pierre Lorillard Jr., Alfred B. Maclay, W. Plunkett Stewart, Henry G. Vaughan, William H.

¹⁰⁹Combs, *My Revelation*, 111-112, 268.

¹¹⁰As reported by Uguccioni and Piland, “Longview Farm,” 8-6.

¹¹¹Bradley, *Robert Alexander Long*, 99; Uguccioni and Piland, “Longview Farm,” 8-14. The greenhouses eventually became a commercial wholesale business producing “2,000 blooms daily...including sweet peas, roses, and chrysanthemums.”

¹¹²Jared Hamilton, “Long Family Leaves Mark on Local Area,” *Lee’s Summit Journal*, 28 February 2001, 4A. Uguccioni and Piland, “Longview Farm,” 8-6.

¹¹³The *Chicago Daily News* Collection at the Chicago Historical Society includes a photograph of Loula Combs seated in a carriage with two of her Boston Terriers.

Wanamaker, and J. Macy Willets.¹¹⁴ When not traveling, Loula regularly worked with her horses in the Show Horse barn at Longview Farm.

The centerpiece of the asymmetrical H-shaped Show Horse barn was the oval indoor arena. The two wings, one for stabling and the other providing carriage/employee housing, extended westward from the arena (Figures 5.64-5.66). Entering the arena from the barn's three-sided front courtyard, guests walked through the main cross aisle into the arena. A raised wooden platform around the perimeter was used for spectator seating during shows and sales. The arena's oval shape was very common during the time period; it encouraged speed while preventing horses from becoming stuck in a corner. Tiffany and Co. designed the ornamental light fixtures in the arena and the more restrained smaller fixtures in the stable's aisles and workrooms (Figure 5.67 and 5.68).¹¹⁵ The four-sided estate clock in the cupola tolled each hour and could be heard across the entire estate (Figure 5.69 and 5.70). Loula Comb's carriages filled the eastern section of the northern wing, and housing for ten employees took up the western half of the wing. The main cross aisle at the front of the stable was a service area with a harness/saddle room, a trophy and blanket storage room, a tack room, a carriage wash room, a grain room, and the lounge/office with a bathroom.

The central tack room had bridle and harness hooks between large windows that allowed external light to enter the aisle (Figures 5.71-5.73). According to the 1978

¹¹⁴ Adrian Van Sinderen. *Our Highest Purpose: The History of the American Horse Shows Association 1917-1960* (New York: American Horse Shows Association, 1960), 18, 69, 80.

¹¹⁵ Christina Paulsell, "Show Horse Barn Finds Lots of New Uses," *Lee's Summit Journal*, 12 March 2001, 1A.

HABS drawing, this space originally was intended for tie stalls (Figure 5.66). The two other tack and harness rooms were much plainer and most likely were used to store the schooling tack. Show trunks and infrequently needed equipment were probably stored in the second story tack room overlooking the courtyard. The feed room on the cross aisle had two chutes leading into the room from the two hayloft grain bins. The oats, and perhaps other grains as well, flowed through the chute into the top of the Gibson Oat Crusher for processing (Figures 5.74-5.76).

The Hackneys lived in two rows of box stalls, twenty-eight total, on the southern side of the arena. At the eastern end of the stall area a sliding door provided direct access into the arena. When closed, the sliding doors would have kept the stall area significantly warmer in winter and prevented nighttime escapes into the main cross aisle or arena (Figures 5.77-5.79). The National Register nomination chiefly focuses on the exterior architectural elements: window and door type and placement, roof forms, and the cupola with clock and weathervane. However, the southern stabling wing was much more intricately designed inside and out.¹¹⁶ Each southern wall stall had an interior aisle door and an exterior Dutch door to facilitate movement to pastures and paddocks and a quick exit in case of fire. Each stall had two tie rings in each back corner post. The stall walls were constructed of wood up to a height of five feet and then vertical metal bars topped by a metal railing. The stall fronts had blanket bars, halter, and harness hooks (Figures

¹¹⁶Uguccioni and Piland, "Longview Farm," 8-8, 7-3. The nomination is based upon the traditional architectural style evaluation of each extant structure. However the Longs, their employees, and visitors would have been dissatisfied with the stable complex if the interior did not include the necessary elements regardless of the exterior's beauty. The stable complex becomes much more interesting and impressive when considered within the context of its inhabitants, the horses and employees.

5.80 and 5.81). Feeding the horses was made easier by the individual hay chutes leading from the hay loft into each stall, as was noted in the nomination. Grooms carried the hay, first stored loose in the loft and later baled, to each chute and, after pushing open a top hinged door, threw the hay into the stall. Grain tubs in the front of each stall were filled from the aisle. The horses had continual access to salt placed in cylindrical porcelain holders made by the Roto Salt Company of Union Spring, New York (Figures 5.82-5.85). Automatic water bowls, in the back corner of each stall, were just one reason for the estate's water purifying system. The stall area also had a wash rack next to the cross aisle on the interior wall. The wash rack included an iron trough on one side next to the faucets and a central drain (Figures 5.86 and 5.87). A one hundred-gallon boiler ensured that there was enough hot water to be run on "full circulation with return to the boiler, so that hot water may be drawn instantly at any point." To prevent marring the stable's facade, all of the vent pipes for the barn's plumbing were required to be placed behind the front roof line.¹¹⁷

Immediately surrounding the show horse barn was a grassy area bounded by pasture and paddock fencing. On the north side of the show horse barn one segment of paddock No. 18's fencing remains (Figure 5.88). The Longview paddocks, like those of other competitive stables, were individually numbered to prevent accidents, such as horses being turned out with unsatisfactory pasture mates.¹¹⁸ Water troughs placed near the gate

¹¹⁷Hoit, "Specification: Plumbing, Boarding House, Showhorse Barn, Dairy Barn, Calf & Shelter Barn, & Milkhouse, Longview Farm," KC4-B.5, Western Historical Manuscript Collection-Kansas City, 5, 6, 9. The shelter barn required hot water to the trough, most likely to help prevent freezing in winter. Interestingly the schedule of fixtures does not include the automatic waterers in the Show Horse barn stalls.

¹¹⁸The paddock width was estimated during a site visit on 23 March 2004 by

in the fence line between neighboring paddocks ensured that the horses had water at all times and made it easy for stable hands to check the tanks (Figure 5.89). Hoit also included two fire hydrants on opposite corners of the stable outside the grassy areas where horses might get loose but still within fifty feet of the show horse barn (Figure 5.90). Historic photographs duplicated in the HABS record show early fire extinguishers at each aisle intersection in the stable.

Loula's most famous horse was *Revelation*, bought by Loula at the Tichenor Grand Stable during a trip to Chicago in 1909, was retired with fanfare in 1925 at the Denver Horse Show, where he had had his first win fifteen years earlier.¹¹⁹ *Revelation's* 1935 grave in front of the show horse barn is marked with a granite memorial (Figure 5.91 and 5.92).¹²⁰ According to a 2001 newspaper account, former employees said that other show horses were buried in the woods east of the barn.¹²¹ The Saddlebred horses Longview bred were often named using the usual derivatives of sire and dam names or "Longview." However Loula, inspired by one of her earliest horses, *Sensation*, named all of the Hackney harness horses with names words ending in "ion."¹²² Some of Mrs.

walking the remaining fence line. The paddock length is unknown. The fence height was taken from less disturbed fencing in the woods on the south side of the stable.

¹¹⁹"Revelation Retires," *The Rider and Driver* (7 March 1925): cover, 7.

¹²⁰Uguccioni and Piland, "Longview Farm," 8-15; Bradley, *Corinthian Hall*, 13.

¹²¹Paulsell, "Show Horse Barn Finds Lots of New Uses," 1A.

¹²²Combs, *My Revelation*, 127.

Combs's top "ion" horses included *Aviation*, *Carnation*, and the pair *Captivation* and *Consternation* (Figure 5.93).¹²³

Between the show horse barn and the lake were the clubhouse, grandstand, and racetrack (Figure 5.38 Structures 17 and 18). The racetrack served as a training track and an outdoor ring for charity horse shows as well as large social and business gatherings. Up to fifteen hundred spectators could enjoy the events from the shelter of the grandstand, while special guests ate and mingled in the clubhouse. The log grandstand and clubhouse were the only two significant structures that deviated from the estate's standard white stucco exterior. A large stone fireplace dominated the interior of the clubhouse (Figures 5.94-5.96). The track, designed after the North Memphis Driving Park, had a polo field in the infield.¹²⁴ A bandstand near the Longview clubhouse and grandstand provided space for a "twenty-piece band."¹²⁵ Band and organ music was, and continues to be, an invigorating part of a Saddleseat show.

Usually the Longview horses were associated with horse shows; however, as young women the Long sisters played polo and the game must have remained a family favorite. The Longs were first introduced to polo by an Englishman, Ernest Stephens, who was a riding instructor, when vacationing with relatives in Glenwood Springs, Colorado. Loula was quite taken with the Denver Polo Team whose "Thoroughbred, with their bandaged legs and tails, and bodies covered with fine woolen blankets, were being led up and down the side lines by their well-turned-out grooms," so she joined several

¹²³Hamilton, "Long Family Leaves Mark on Local Area," 4A.

¹²⁴Uguccioni and Piland, "Longview Farm," 8-9.

¹²⁵Idem, 8-9.

other women riders to ride astride and “try our hand at polo.”¹²⁶ In a photograph at the Denver Historical Society, the Long sisters are dressed to ride in boots and britches covered with long skirts similar to their East Coast counterparts.¹²⁷

However much his preoccupation with the creation of Longview Farm might have absorbed his attention, Long continued to search for new business opportunities. On 29 May 1918 that search led the company’s directors to vote to “liquidate their holdings in the South, and transfer operations to the Pacific Northwest.” The “blue chip corporation[’s] assets exceeded \$30 million, and Long’s \$20 million.”¹²⁸ Long realized that conditions in the Washington forests resembled those in Louisiana and that it would be necessary to build mill towns in order to harvest the timber. The result was a planned town, Longview, Washington, coordinated by Kansas City real estate developer J. C. Nichols, and designed by George Kessler and S. Herbert Hare.¹²⁹ Throughout his life Long also coordinated a simultaneous series of philanthropic projects, many of which utilized Longview Farm. In 1919 Long spearheaded the campaign to raise funds for the

¹²⁶Combs, *My Revelation*, 170, 175.

¹²⁷The Denver Public Library has photographs of the Long sisters dressed for polo in Glenwood, Colorado. See also Linda Newcom Jones, ed., *The Longview We Remember* (N.p.: Storm Ridge Press, 1990), 62, Loula Long Combs continued to vacation in Colorado Springs until late in life, often taking Pearl Crawford, who lived at Longview Farm with her family and became a close companion in Mrs. Combs’s later years.

¹²⁸Bradley, *Robert Alexander Long*, 65.

¹²⁹Mann, *Landscape Architecture*, 335; Bradley, *Corinthian Hall*, 8; McClelland, *R. A. Long’s Planned City*, 22. See also Lynn Wade, “Logging Company Connects Two Cities,” *Lee’s Summit Journal* 28 February 2001, 1. “Newspaper accounts in the Longview Daily News say Long didn’t want the community to be just another logging town, but a Christian-oriented community with parks, planned commercial and residential districts and the lavish Hotel Monticello to provide a higher quality of life for its citizens.”

construction of the Liberty Memorial on a hill overlooking Kansas City's monumental Union Station. Lenore Bradley writes that when the World War I officers were in town in 1921 for a dedication ceremony, they enjoyed a day at Longview Farm as part of their visit since Long had met British Admiral Beatty while on a horse buying trip in England the previous year.¹³⁰

Unlike many of his peers, R. A. Long lost most of his fortune in the Great Depression. The 1930 census shows R. A., age 79; Loula, age 49; and her husband, Robert P. Combs, age 43, living in Corinthian Hall, then valued at two hundred thousand dollars, with nine servants, including a housekeeper, valet, cook, trained nurse, and five maids.¹³¹ This was a greatly reduced staff from the family's heyday in the 1910s and 1920s. R. A. Long died in 1934 with a personal estate of less than one hundred thousand dollars. The family promptly divorced itself from his Longview, Washington, project, which had been financed almost exclusively by Long personally. At home in Kansas City, the family decided to stop supporting Longview Farm as a full working farm. The estate however, continued to be Loula and Pryor Combs's primary residence and the home of her show horses. In 1935 Loula deeded Longview Chapel to its congregation and established a trust fund for the church.¹³² The family donated Corinthian Hall to Kansas

¹³⁰Bradley, *Robert Alexander Long*, 101. See also The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation, Inc., Passenger Record, <http://www.ellisland.org>.

¹³¹Ancestry.com, *1930 United States Federal Census* (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com, 2002).

¹³²Lynn Wade, "Local Church Survives, Thrives," *Lee's Summit Journal*, 14 March 2001, 1A. See also Wade, "Logging Company Connects Two Cities," 5A.

City in 1938 for use as a museum.¹³³ Compared to most, the Combs were not destitute, nor did they sacrifice much of their day-to-day routine or personal possessions; however, the family no longer fell into the category of multimillionaires. Loula Long Combs and her sister most likely benefited from stock ownership in Long-Bell, especially after the company merged with the International Paper Company in 1956. Loula continued to show Hackneys into her seventies.¹³⁴ After her husband's death, Sallie A. Long Ellis moved to Longview Farm, and the two sisters spent their last years together on the estate. The farm buildings, no longer in active use, slowly fell into disrepair, and several were burned or destroyed before Loula Long Combs's death in 1971.

Shortly after Loula Comb's death, her heirs sold several small tracts of land, mostly on the farm's eastern edge, to tenants, employees, and neighboring farmers. The northern, southern, and western quarters of the estate became Longview College and, eventually, a lake.¹³⁵ In the early 1970s the Ellis heirs sold about nine hundred acres to the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, land that became the central core of the 4,762 acre Longview Lake project. The Corps subsequently moved or destroyed all structures in the

¹³³Matt Bird-Meyer, "Riding Out of the Caves," *Lee's Summit Journal*, 23 December 2002. 1A.

¹³⁴Tom Turley, "Horsewoman, 73, Wouldn't Give One Horse for All Cars," *The Courier-Journal* (Louisville, Kentucky) 9 February 1954.

¹³⁵Jared Hamilton, "Lake First Built for Flood Control," *Lee's Summit Journal* 16 March 2001, 1A. Longview Farm, 1978 HABS MO-1222 Sheet 1; Ellen J. Ugucioni and Sherry Piland, "Longview Farm," 8-9. The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, and the Missouri State Historic Preservation office signed a Memorandum of Agreement in May 1982 that provided for the recording of any structures that would adversely affected by the impending lake project. The agreement called for recording according to HABS standards and allowed salvaging by the state historic preservation officer. The resulting project garnered national attention.

prospective flood zone including the “blacksmith/carpenter shed, the workhorse barn, the colt barn, a dormitory and duplex for farm workers, the bridge over Mouse Creek, a manager’s house, an assistant manager’s house, a row of cottages for married workers, and the north gate house.”¹³⁶ The then-current Longview Farm owner was allowed two days to salvage some materials, including roof tiles (Figure 5.97).¹³⁷ Construction began on the Longview Dam in September 1979, was finished in September 1985, and by June of 1986 the lake was opened to the public. Jackson County Parks and Recreation, a copartner since 1976 and responsible for half the Lake’s cost and upkeep, also built a marina and the 230-acre Fred Arbanas Golf Course to complement the Corp’s recreational facilities.¹³⁸ On the western edge of the property, along the new lake, the Jackson County Parks and Recreation department opened the Longview Horse Park in 1986. Since the park’s opening it has hosted a wide variety of equestrian competitions and activities, including horse shows, eventing, steeplechasing, combined driving, competitive trail rides, and Pony Club games rallies.

The remaining core of Longview Farm passed out of family control in 1985 when a Colorado-based development group, Georgia 400 Company d.b.a. Longview Properties Limited, led by Dean and Nancy Goodman, purchased the property and began to restore

¹³⁶Hamilton, “Lake First Built for Flood Control.” 1A.

¹³⁷Matt Bird-Meyer, “Much of Farm no Longer Here,” *Lee’s Summit Journal*, 26 February 2001, 3A.

¹³⁸Hamilton, “Lake First Built for Flood Control,” 2A. The article implies that the restoration included the removal of most if not all of the interior stable elements since “there were still horse stalls lining the walls.”

the mansion, show horse barn, and gatehouse.¹³⁹ The same year approximately 325 acres and seventeen structures were nominated for inclusion in the National Register.¹⁴⁰ To finance the restoration, Longview Properties Limited began a new housing development, also named Longview Farm, in the eastern section of the company's property. This prompted the razing of the brood mare and hog department structures to make way for the new homes. Lee's Summit's rapid growth during the 1990s pushed new housing westward onto former outlying fields of Longview Farm, which had been sold in the early 1970s (Figure 5.98).

By early 2001, development pressures reached a critical point when an apartment complex developer expressed interest in the remaining property.¹⁴¹ Within the year, Longview Properties Limited sold the property to Gale Communities, Inc. David Gale, the president, began to restore the mansion and pergola and began to develop the property

¹³⁹Matt Bird-Meyer, "Gatehouse Returns as Family Home," 4A. See also Matt Bird-Meyer, "Restoring the 'Big House,'" *Lee's Summit Journal*, 12 March 2001, 1A, 3A. Paulsell, "Show Horse Barn Finds Lots of New Uses," 3A.

¹⁴⁰Uguccioni and Piland, "Longview Farm," 7,0-7,1. The writers specifically excluded extant structures that the Corps of Engineers had "slated for demolition, and others [that] are geographically located beyond the core area of the farm." The nomination included the mansion, well house, pergola, show horse barn, gatehouse, gatehouse residence, diary barn and milk house, manure pit, water tower, calf and shelter barn, dairy manager's residence, farm office, saddle horse manager's residence, hospital barn, chapel, and the two arches. The grandstand and club house were not included in the nomination since they were "in advanced stages of deterioration." They were destroyed by fire after the nomination was completed. The authors also identified other cultural elements, "farm lanes, fencing, lake, formal gardens, ornamental entrance markers, and lighting fixtures," that contributed to the site's significance and integrity.

¹⁴¹Barbara Hollingsworth, "Longview," *Kansas City Star*, 19 January 2001. Barbara Hollingsworth, "Preservation Groups Air Concerns about Longview Farm," *Kansas City Star*, 21 February 2001; Russ Pulley, "Longview Farm to be Nominated for Endangered List," *Kansas City Star*, 9 February 2001.

into New Urbanist community around the show horse barn, adapted for use as an elementary school (begun in May 2004), and the dairy complex, which will be rehabilitated for use as a shopping and business district modeled after the Country Club Plaza.¹⁴² The Gale plan, “New Longview,” calls for a return to early suburban planning using the design principals utilized by J. C. Nichols in earlier Kansas City area developments and since adopted by proponents of New Urbanism. The development’s slogan, “What’s old is new again at New Longview,” emphasizes the potential mix of design strategies to create a “sustainable Traditional Neighborhood Design community.” The gatehouse and three other homes will be used “as either residences or small commercial spaces.” The project also calls for the restoration of the water tower, gazebo, and lakeside pergola to “enhance New Longview’s historic character.”¹⁴³ The remainder of the property will be subdivided into house lots and businesses connected by a system of greenways and curvilinear roads.¹⁴⁴ The former estate, Longview Farm, will no longer host horse shows or produce prizewinning Hackneys. However, the current developer’s emphasis upon the estate’s historic character suggests that interpretive signage along the greenways; permanent

¹⁴²Kelly Evenson, “Piece of History: New School Built from Longview Horse Arena,” *Town and Country* (Jackson County, Missouri) 16 November 2004, 1-2. According to the reporter, the project architect hopes the students will “learn history just by being in the building.” The project manager was pleased that the “children will be able to see the trusses, the columns and the structural detail of the building.” Both are laudable goals, but not the building’s original significance which also needs to be addressed.

¹⁴³New Longview, “Plans & History,” <http://www.newlongview.com> (accessed 2/11/04).

¹⁴⁴Karalee Miller, “New Longview Project Hits a Speed Bump,” *Kansas City Star*, 15 May 2004. On May 13, 2004 the Gale Properties third phase plans were delayed when it submitted a proposal to the Lee’s Summit City Council to eliminate the use of “no parking” signs and change some other traffic control practices that would conflict with the new “historic” design theories of New Urbanism.

exhibit space in the mansion and dairy barn complex; and a comprehensive educational packet for the teachers at the new Longview Elementary School (formerly the Show Horse barn) would enhance the development.

Halfway across the country from one another and established almost thirty years apart, Shelburne Farms and Longview Farm illustrate a certain continuity within the material culture of the wealthy, social elite between 1865 and 1929. Each property played an important role in local history through departments that provided employment for numerous families and the owners interest in improving area agriculture. At the same time, each family and their horses were nationally recognized for their success in competitions and their contributions to sport organizations, the Hackney and Saddlebred breeds in particular. In the last twenty years each property has undergone significant changes that have resulted in one becoming a preserved green space with historical and environmental programs and the other an ex-urban community building upon history and the landscape. However, each site presents an opportunity to draw upon successful interpretations at other historic horse industry sites to become a resource for the study of American wealthy, social elite families, their horses, and country house and rural estate competitive stables between 1865 and 1929.



Figure 5.1 Main house (1895) at Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont: top, eastern side; bottom, southern end.

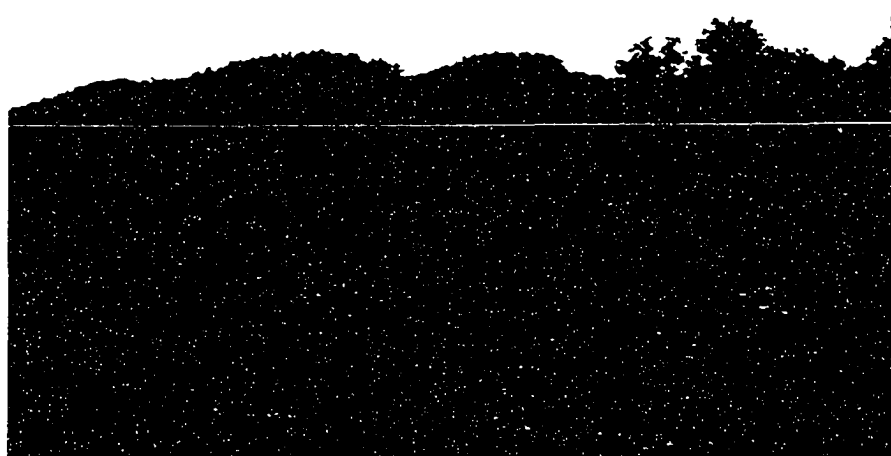


Figure 5.2 Scenic views at Shelburne Farms: top, c. 1900-1906. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company Photograph Collection, LC-D4-16082 DLC; bottom, July 2003.

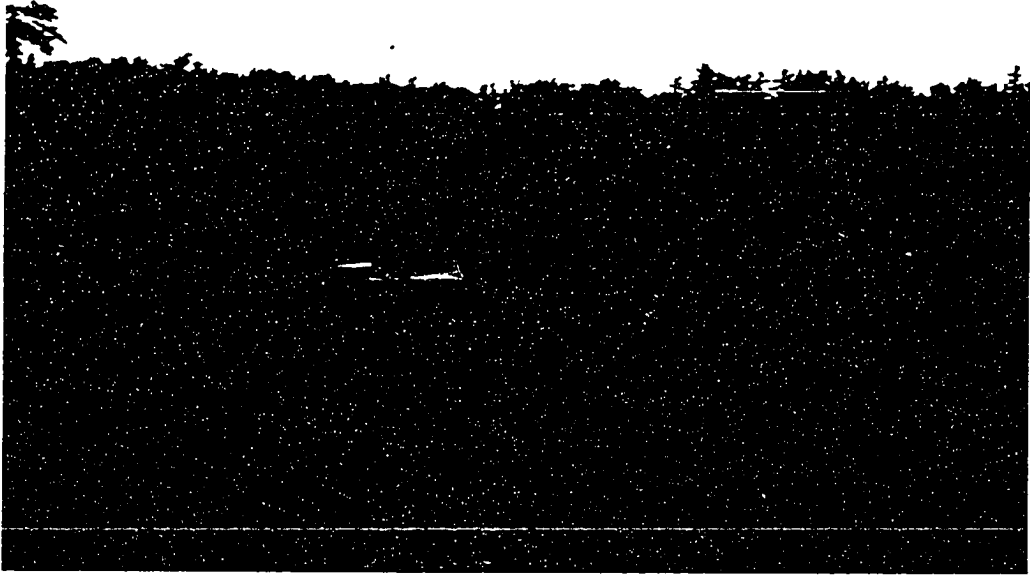
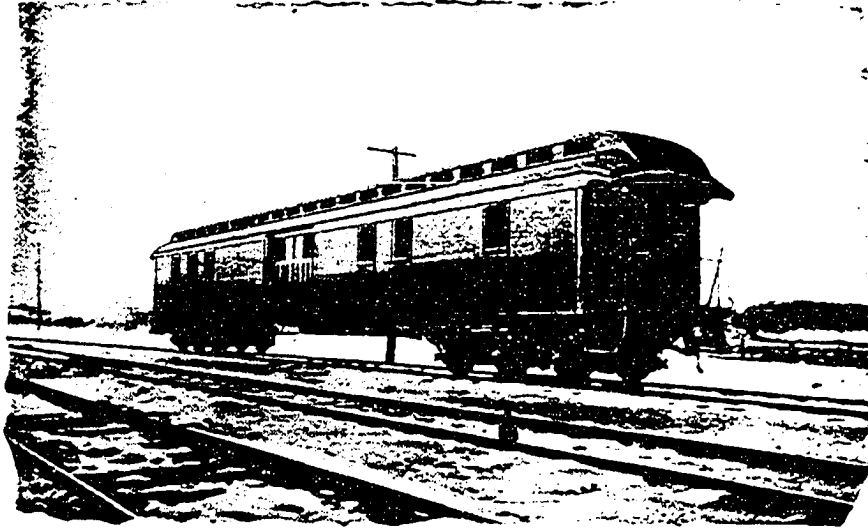


Figure 5.3 The Farm Barn (1890), Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont. July 2003.



Figure 5.4 The Farm Barn (1890), left wing, Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont. July 2002.



THE SHELBURNE FARMS PALACE HORSE-CAR.

Figure 5.5 The Shelburne Farms Palace Horse Car (1901). Courtesy of the Shelburne Farms Archives (James Watson Webb Jr. Collection #158), Shelburne, Vermont.

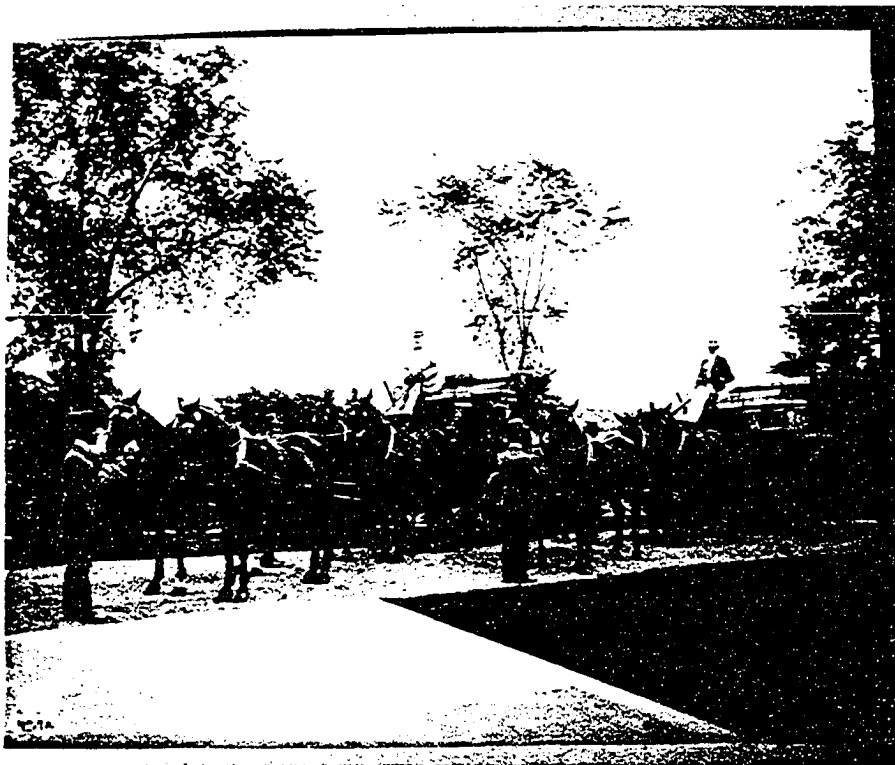


Figure 5.6 W. Seward Webb and J. Watson Webb coaching at Shelburne Farms. Courtesy of Shelburne Farms Archives (T. E. Marr Photograph Collection #4317).



Breeding Barn.
 Shelburne Farms
 Shelburne
 June 1895
 James Watson Webb Jr.



Figure 5.7 The Breeding Barn (1891), Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont: top, in 1895, courtesy of the Shelburne Farms Archives (James Watson Webb Jr. Collection #102); bottom, July 2003. The building's exterior measurements were 106 feet, 10 inches wide by 418 feet, 10 inches long.

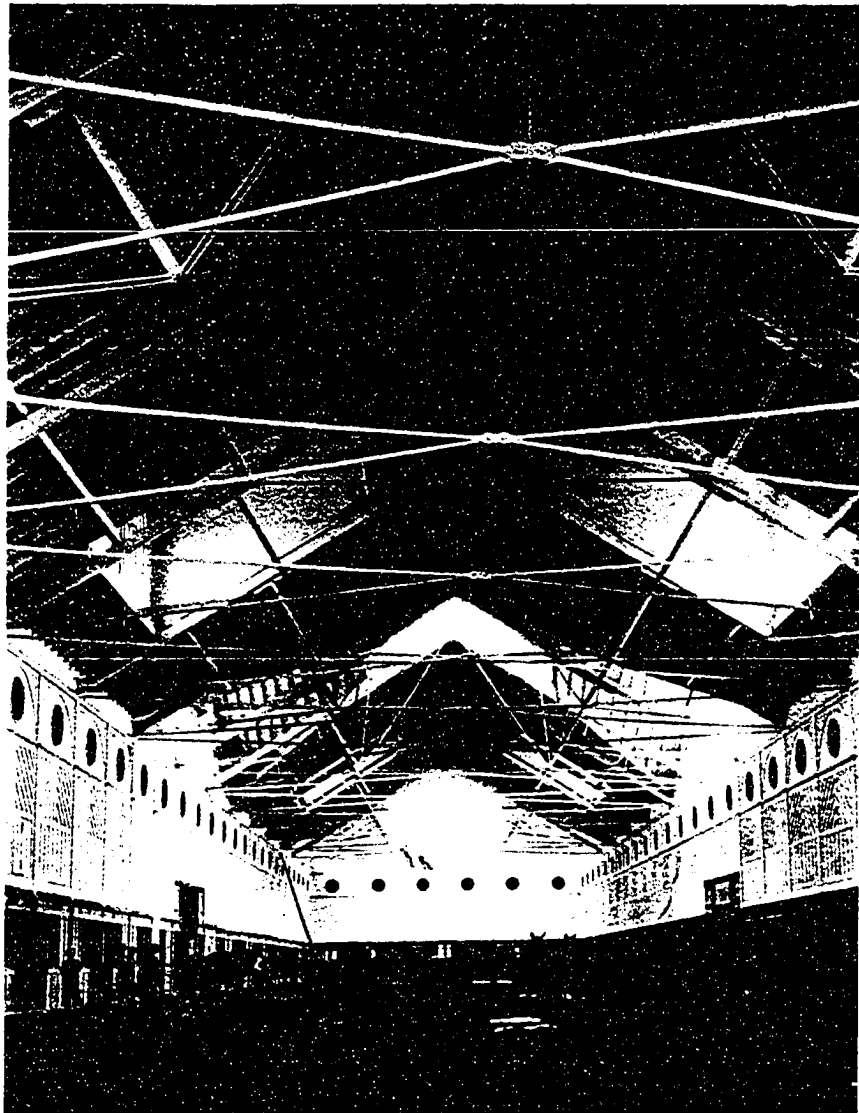


Figure 5.8 Breeding Barn Arena (1891), Shelburne Farms. The indoor arena had fifty-eight, twelve-by-sixteen foot box stalls along the two long sides of the arena. Courtesy of the Shelburne Farms Archives (James Watson Webb Jr. Collection), Shelburne, Vermont.



Figure 5.9 Breeding Barn (1891), Shelburne Farms. Perky Beisel Postcard Collection.

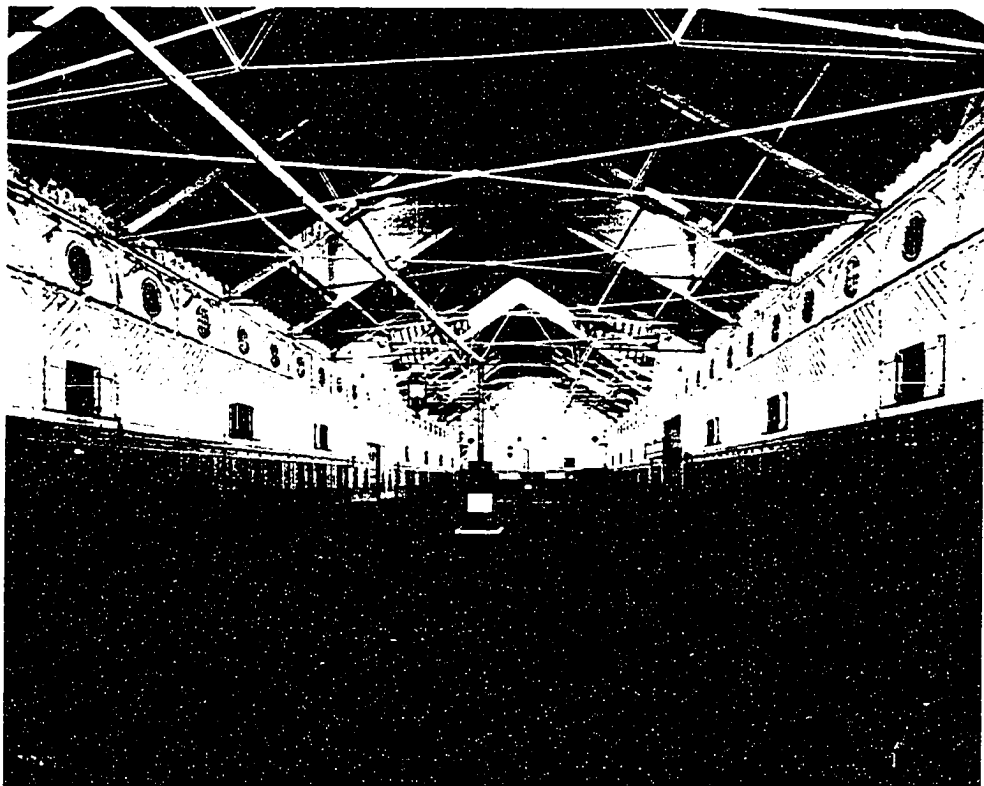


Figure 5.10 Breeding Barn (1891), Shelburne Farms. Courtesy of Shelburne Farms Archives (T. E. Marr Collection #3176)

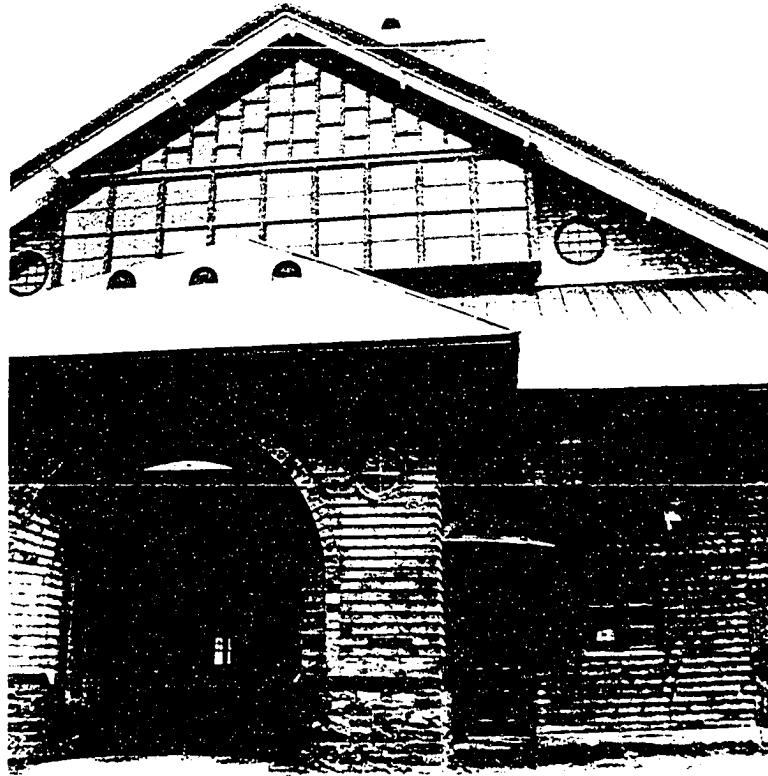


Figure 5.11 Breeding Barn (1891). main entrance. Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont. July 2003.

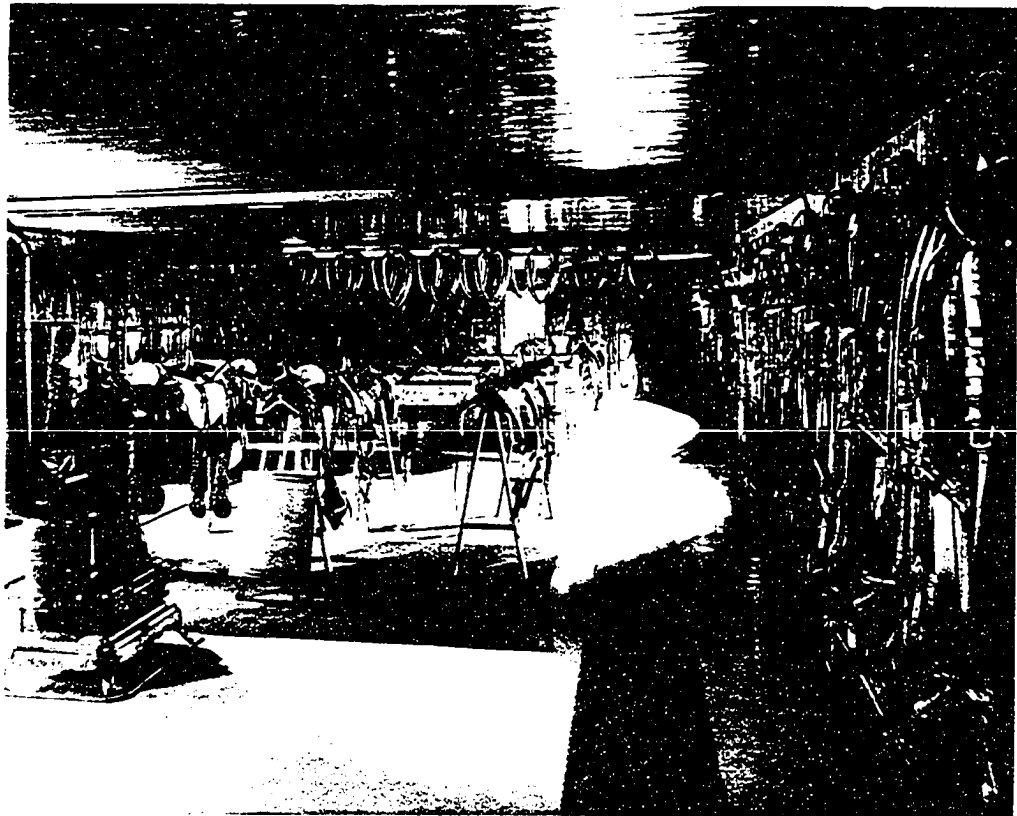


Figure 5.12 Harness Room. Breeding Barn (1891). Shelburne Farms: top, July 2003; bottom, c. 1895, courtesy of Shelburne Farms Archives (T.E. Marr Photograph Collection #3179).



Figure 5.13 Grain bins, approximately five feet tall, five feet deep, and thirty feet long in the second story, Breeding Barn (1891), Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont. July 2003.

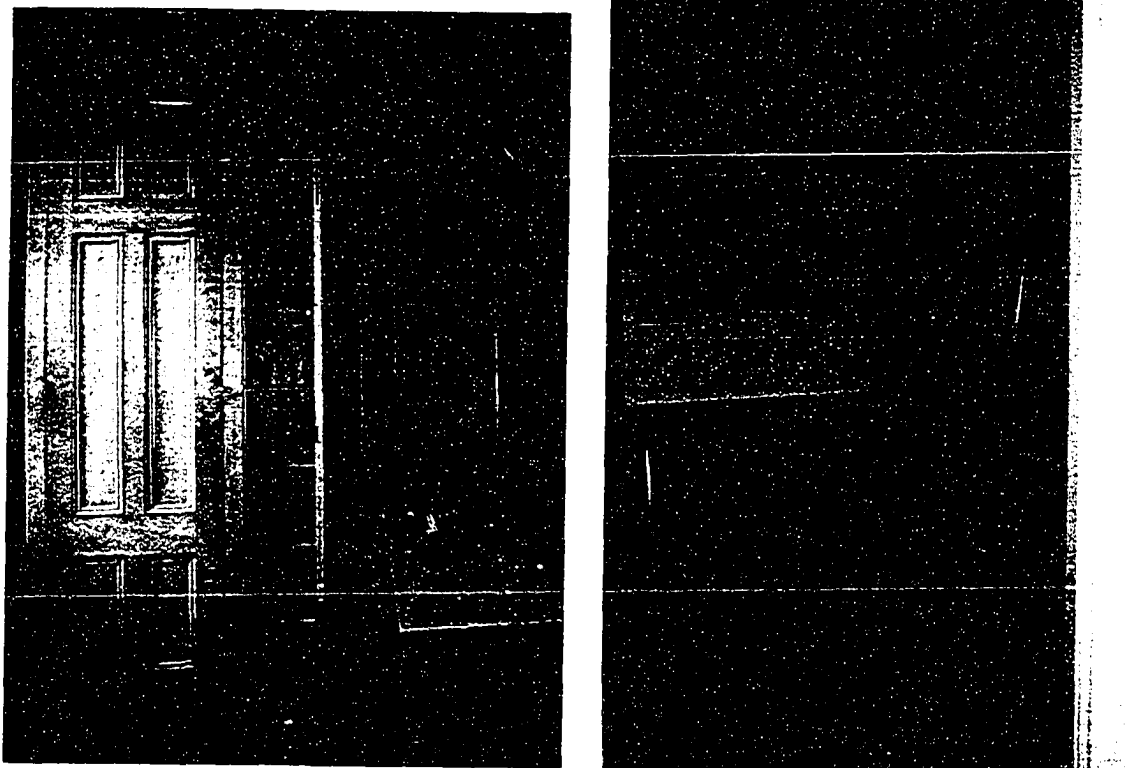


Figure 5.14 Second-story tack room and living quarters in the 1891 Breeding Barn. Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont. July 2002.



Figure 5.15 Shelburne Farm Employees. Courtesy of Shelburne Farms Archives (James Watson Webb Collection #179). Shelburne, Vermont.



Figure 5.16 Breeding Barn Employees (c. 1892), Shelburne Farms. Courtesy of Shelburne Farms Archives (James Watson Webb Jr. Collection #718). Shelburne, Vermont.



Figure 5.17 Broodmare Barn (1891), Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont. July 2002.



Figure 5.18 Broodmare Barn (1891), Shelburne Farms. Courtesy of Shelburne Farms Archives (James Watson Webb Jr. Collection #111). Shelburne, Vermont.



Figure 5.19 Paddock, c. 1895 looking from Broodmare Barn to Breeding Barn (1891), Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont. Courtesy of the Shelburne Farms Archives (Nitrate Negative Collection #489-9).



Figure 5.20 Foundation of the Coach Barn c. 1901. Shelburne Farms, Vermont. Courtesy of Shelburne Farms Archives (T. E. Marr Collection #4314).



Figure 5.21 View from the Coach Barn to the House. Lake Champlain on left. Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont.

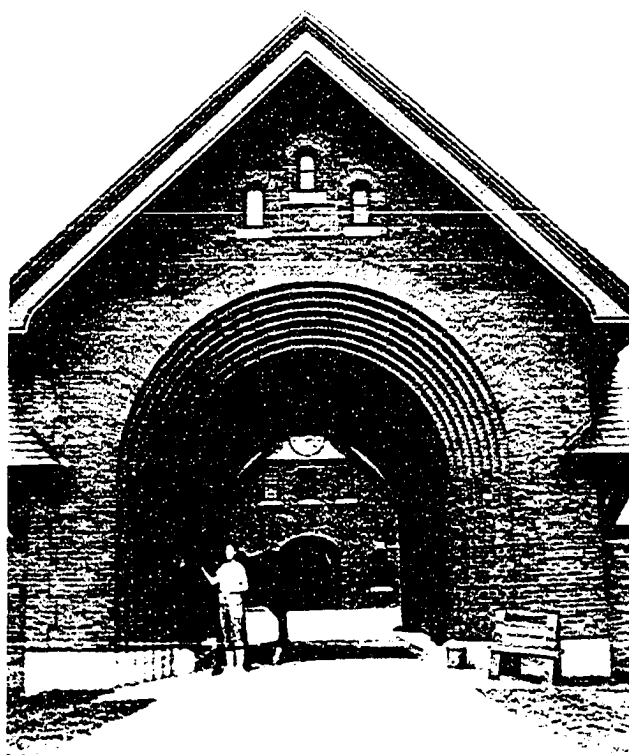


Figure 5.22 The seventy-five feet by one hundred feet courtyard of Coach Barn (1901), Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont. July 2003: top, looking in through main entrance; bottom, looking out through main entrance.

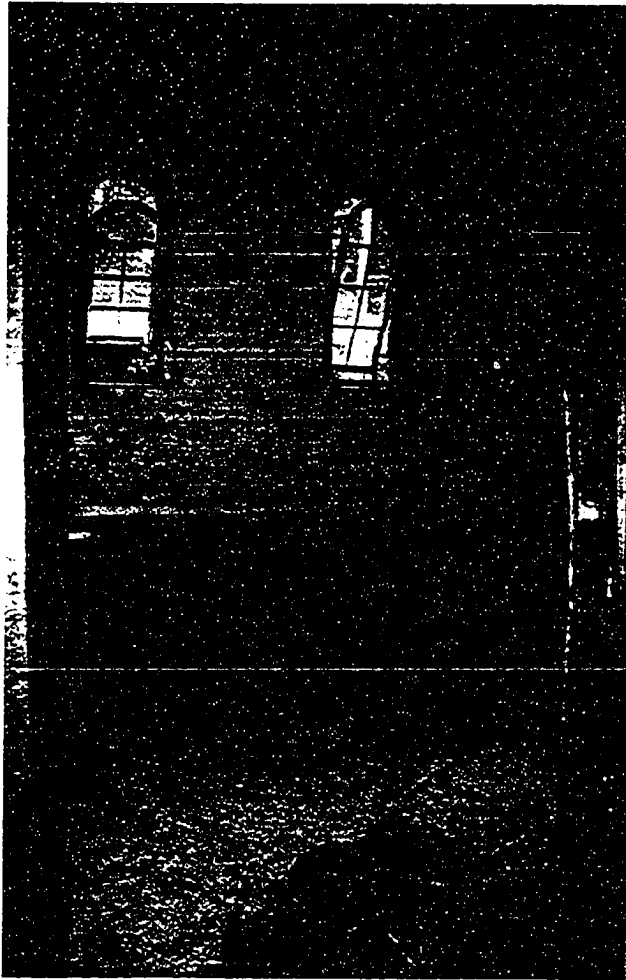


Figure 5.23 Box stall in Coach Barn (1901), Shelburne Farms. Shelburne, Vermont. July 2003.



Figure 5.24 Tie stall in Coach Barn (1901), Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont. July 2003.



Figure 5.25 Standing stalls in the Coach Barn (1901), Shelburne Farms. Courtesy of Shelburne Farms Archives (T. E. Marr Collection #6612). Shelburne, Vermont.



Figure 5.26 The back side of the Coach Barn (1901), Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont. July 2003.



Figure 5.27 Carriage Room, Coach Barn (1901), Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont. July 2003.



Figure 5.28 Second-story left to raise carriages from the first floor room to the storage area in the Coach Barn (1901), Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont. July 2003.

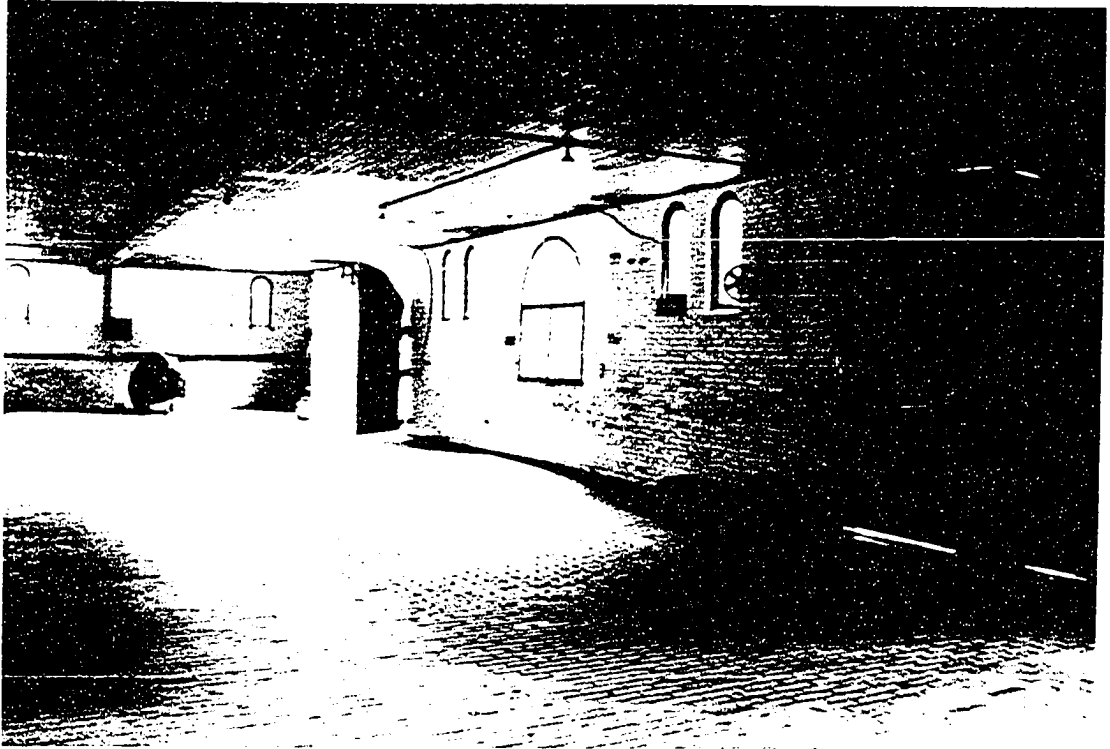


Figure 5.29 Carriage wash area in the right-hand wing of the Coach Barn (1901). Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont. July 2003.

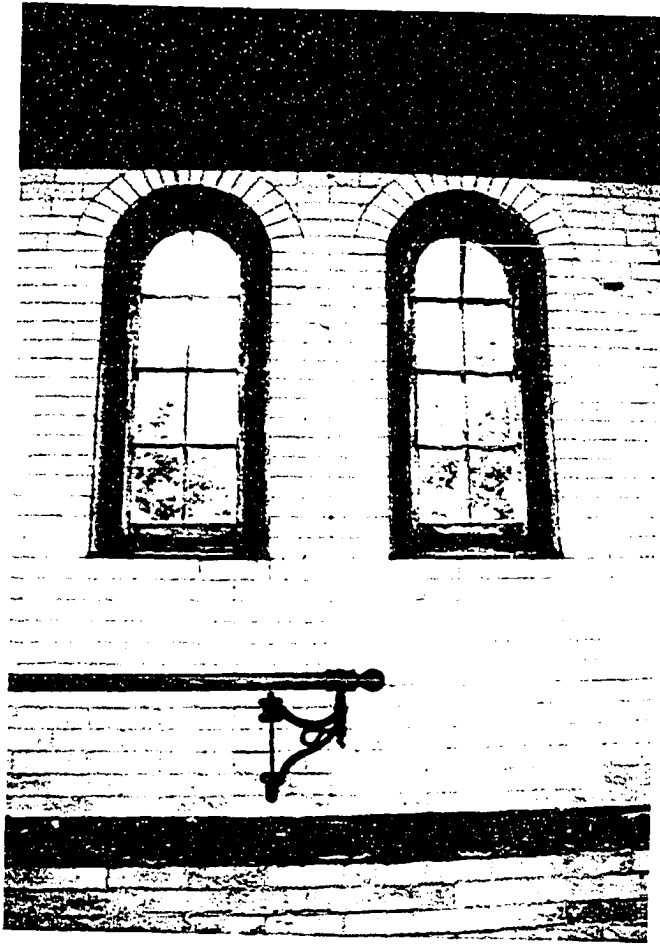


Figure 5.30 Carriage wash area in the right-hand wing of the Coach Barn (1901), Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont. July 2003.

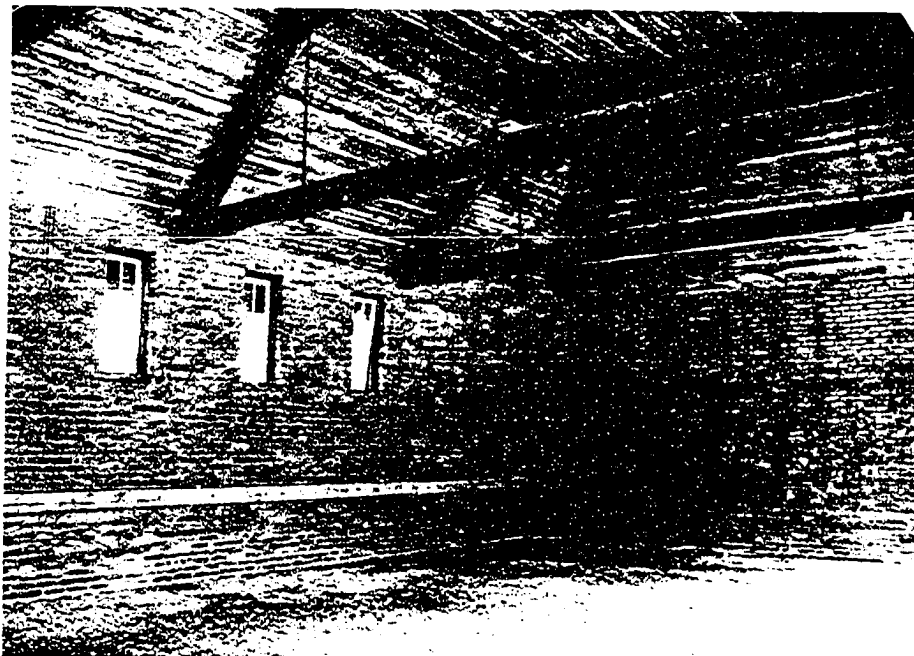


Figure 5.31 Cart and storage are in right-hand front section of the Coach Barn (1901), Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont. July 2003.

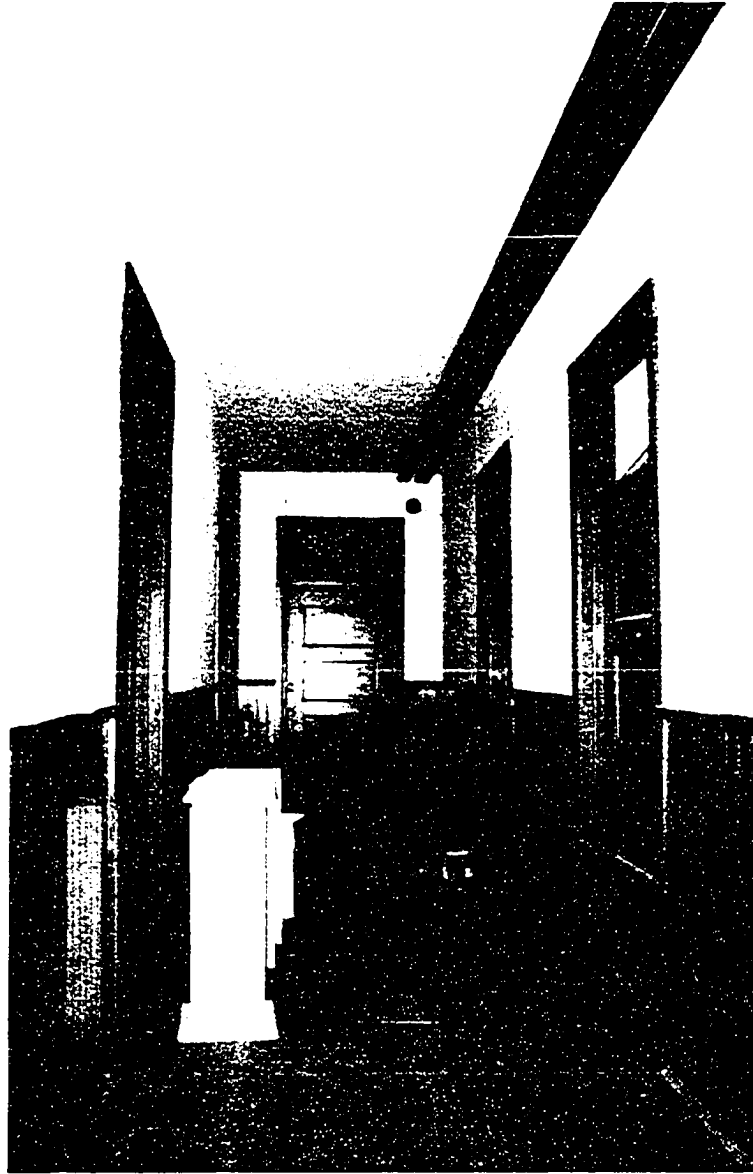


Figure 5.32 Second-story living quarters in the Coach Barn (1901), Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont. July 2003.

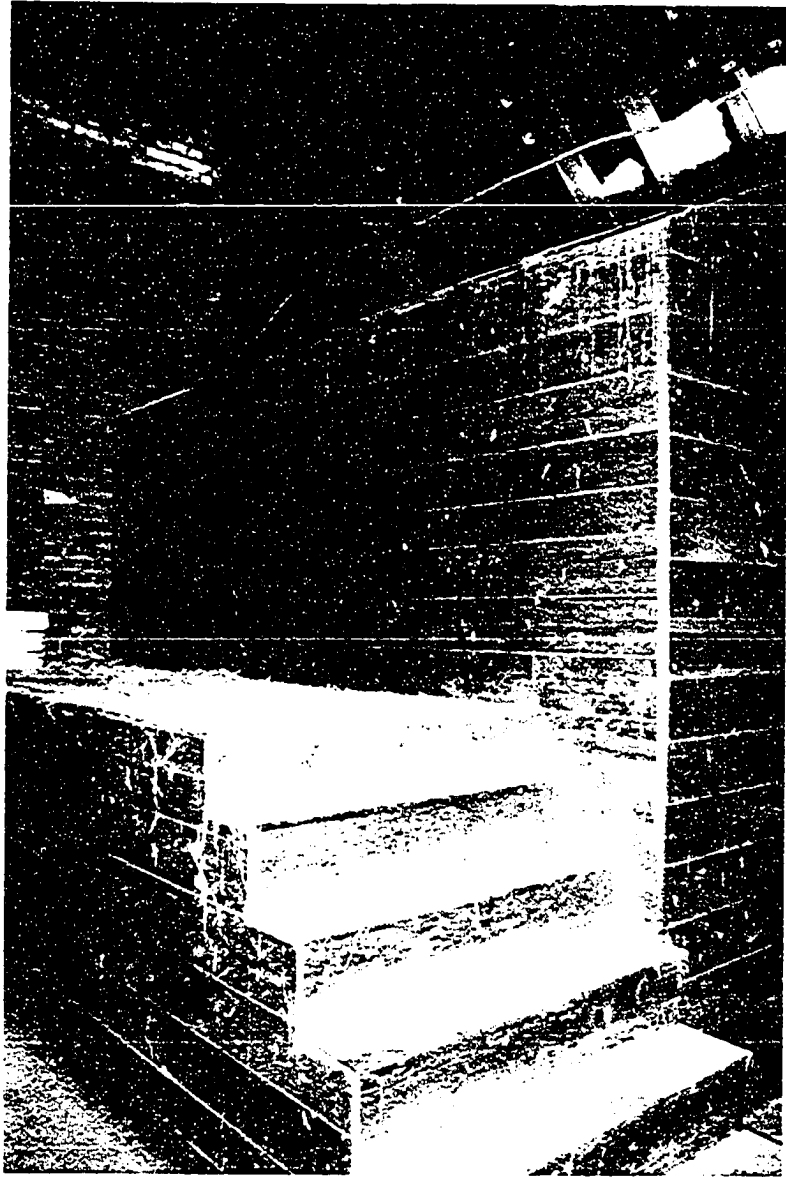


Figure 5.33 Second-story grain bin in the loft of the Coach Barn (1901). Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont. July 2003.

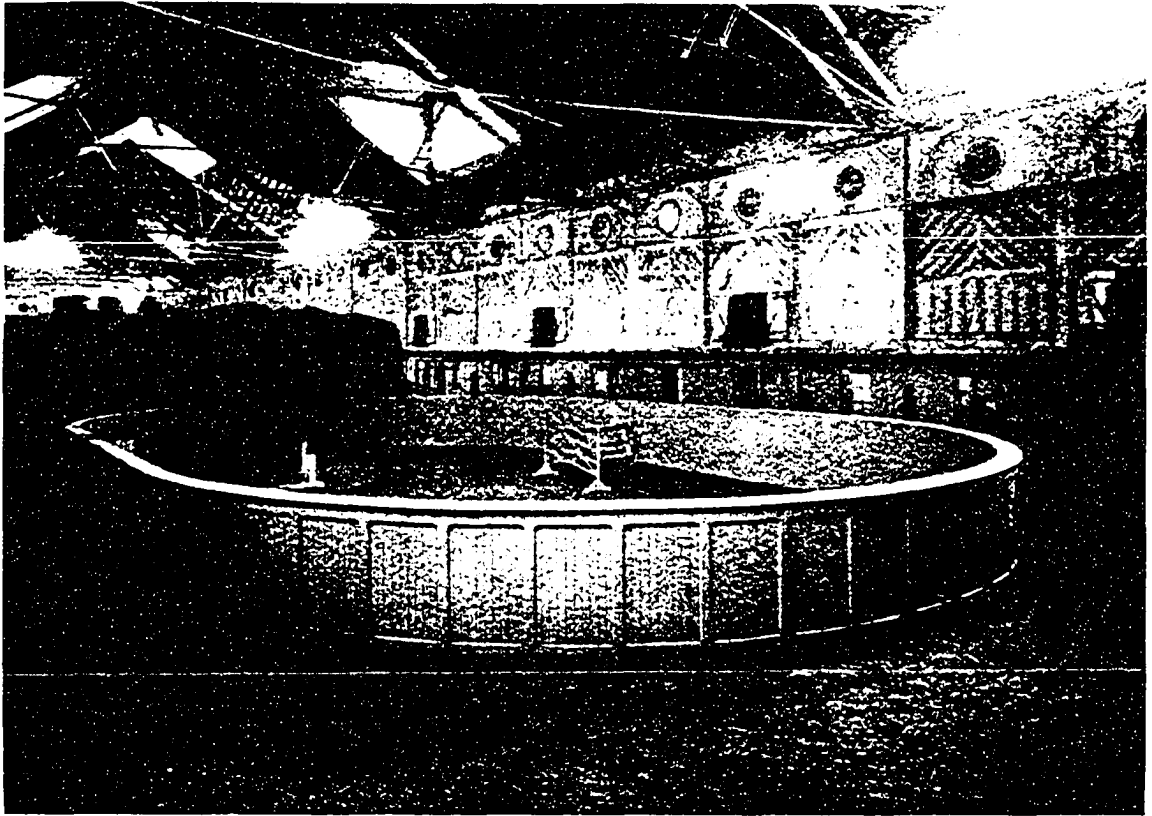


Figure 5.34 Breeding Barn (1891) with haystacks and schooling ring. c. 1915. Courtesy of Shelburne Farms Archives (James Watson Webb Collection #106). Shelburne, Vermont.



Figure 5.35 Shelburne Fox Hounds at Southern Acres. J. Watson and Electra H. Webb mounted. Courtesy of Shelburne Farms Archives (James Watson Webb Collection #861). Shelburne, Vermont.



Figure 5.36 J. Watson Webb on polo pony. Courtesy of Shelburne Farms Archives (Shelburne Farms Collection #1991.01.b). Shelburne, Vermont.

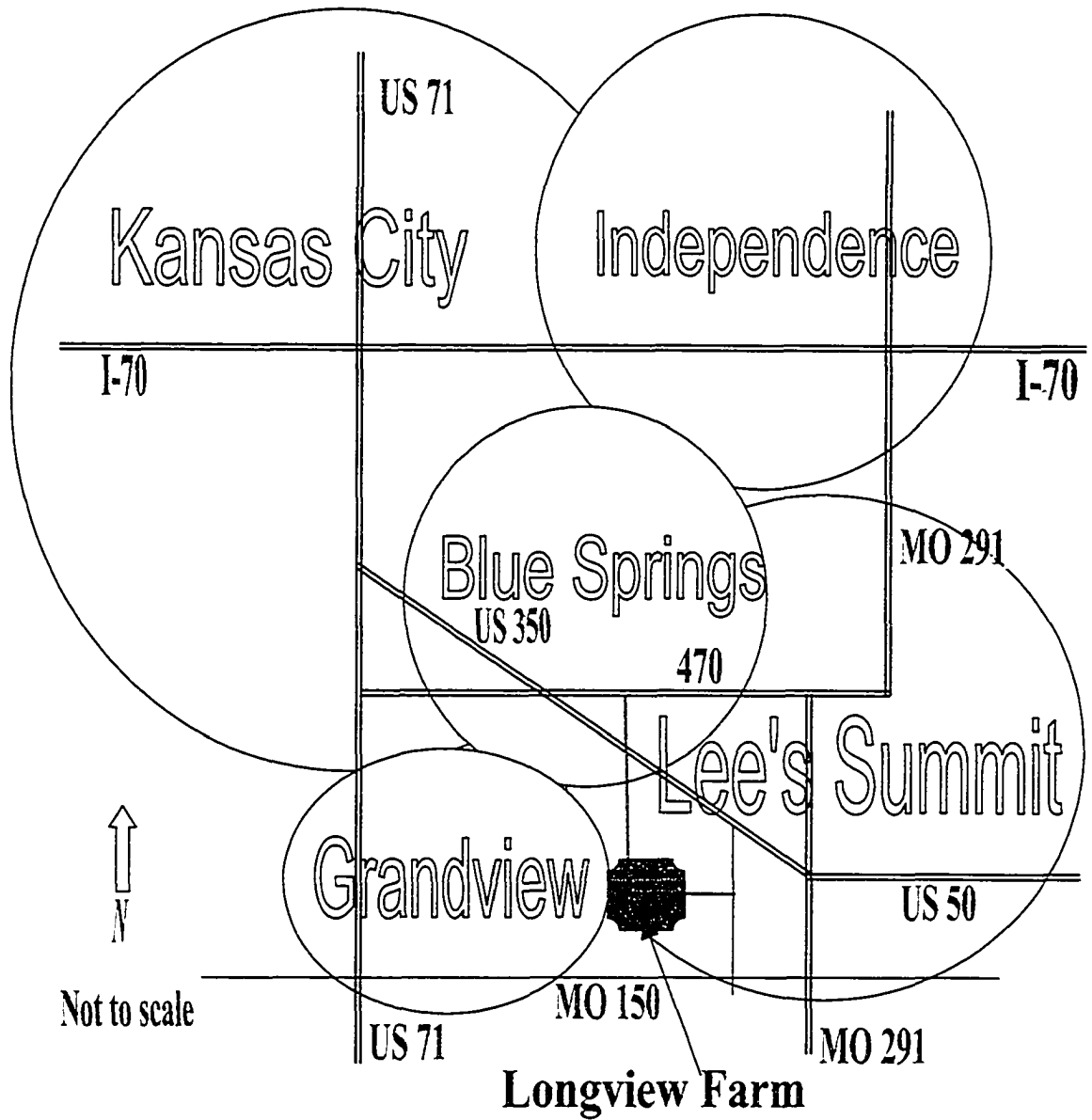


Figure 5.37 General map of Longview Farm in Lee's Summit, Missouri in relation to the Kansas City metropolitan area.

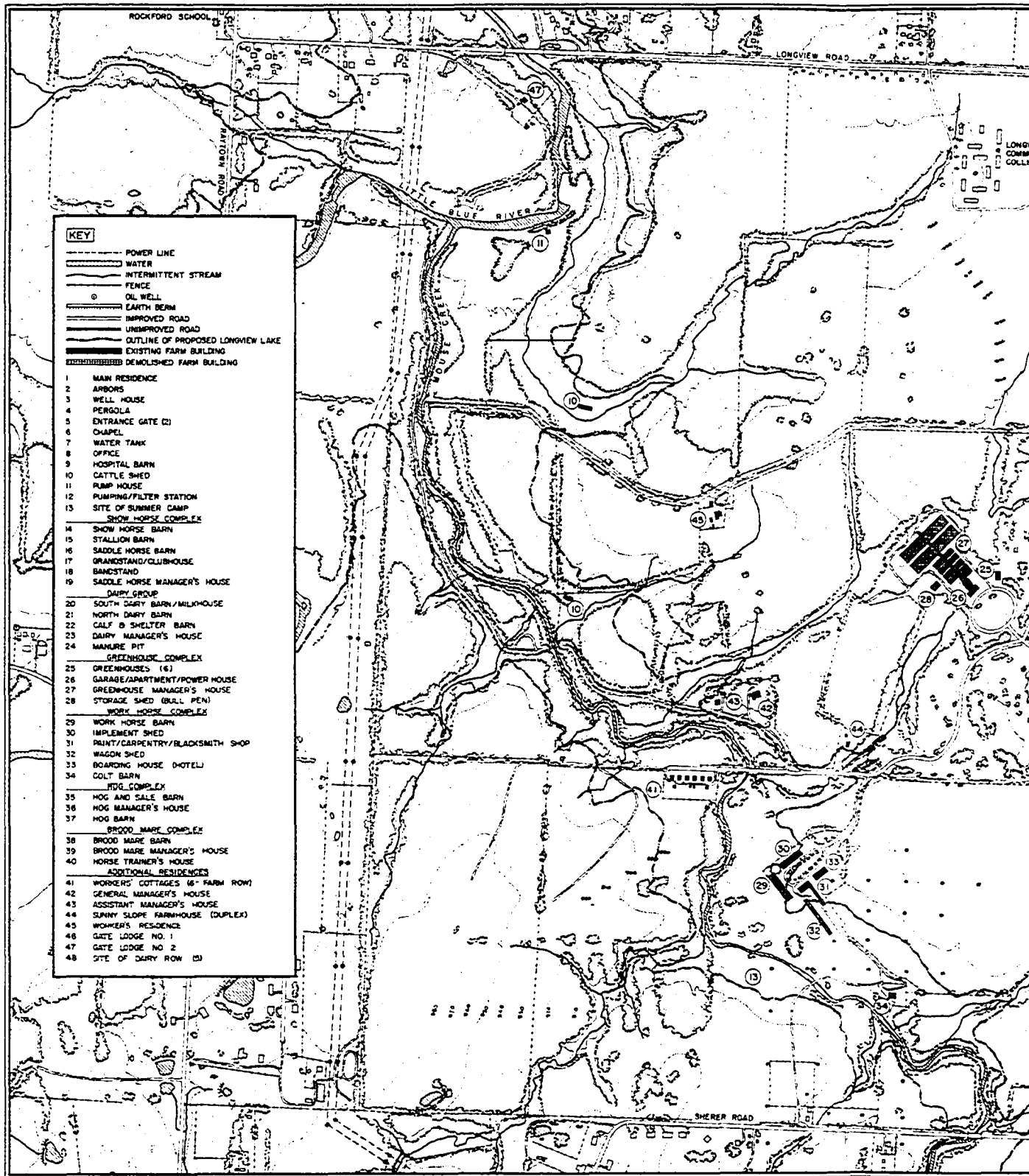
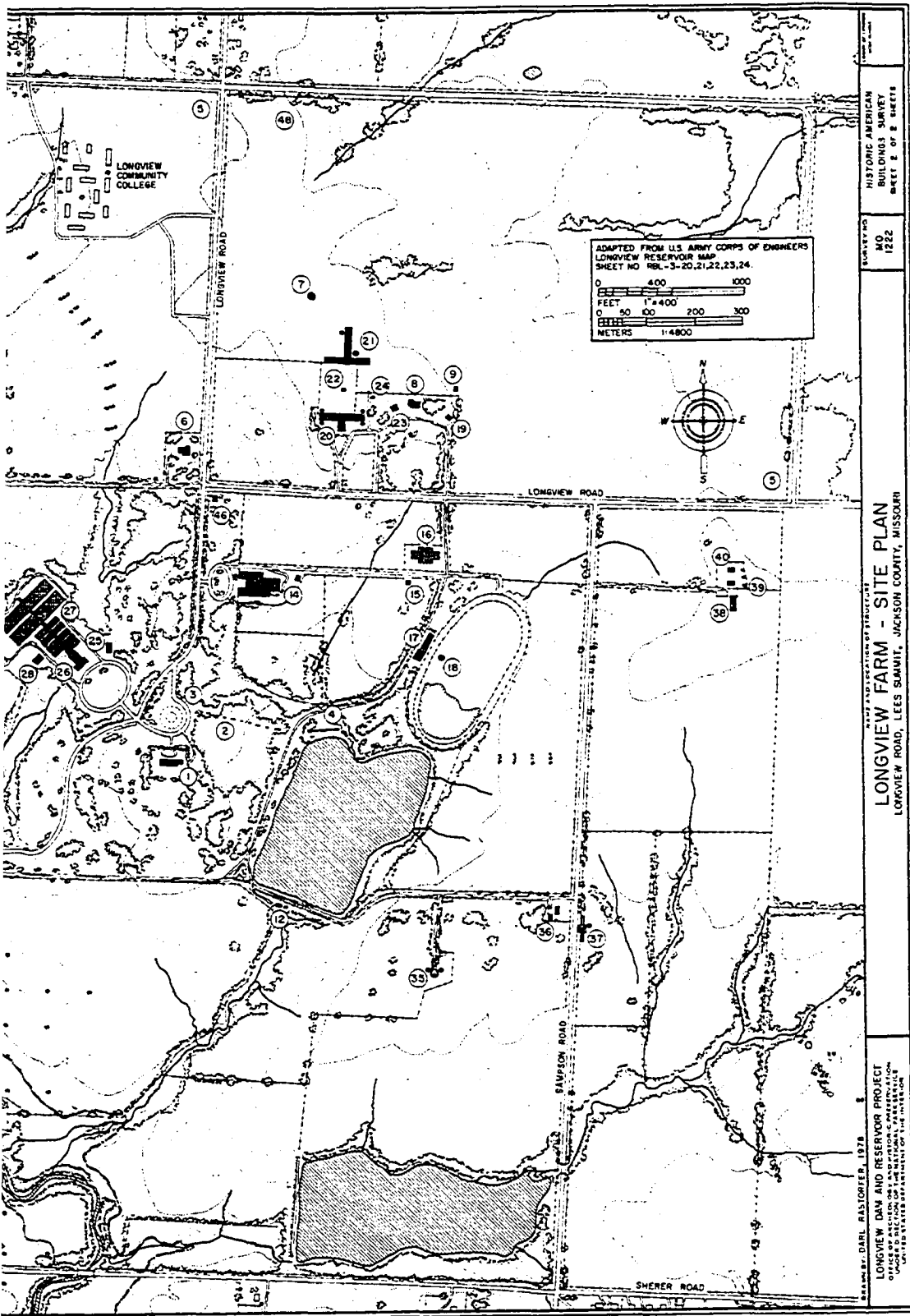


Figure 5.38 Map of Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. Darl Rastorfer Drawing, 1978. Library of Congress 1222. This map clearly shows the estate's well-designed system of roads, production areas, and recreational ce



Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey. HABS.MO.48-LESUM.1-recreational centers. The 1978 survey was one part of a larger section 106 project focused on the entire estate.



Figure 5.39 Corinthian Hall (1910), Kansas City, Missouri. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS.MO-1863-2.



Figure 5.40 Stable and Carriage House. Corinthian Hall (1910). Kansas City, Missouri. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS.MO-1863-10.



Figure 5.41 Longview Gatehouse (1914) and Gatehouse Residence, Longview Farm. Lee's Summit, Missouri. August 2002.



Figure 5.42 Longview Chapel (1914), Longview Farm. Lee's Summit, Missouri. August 2002.

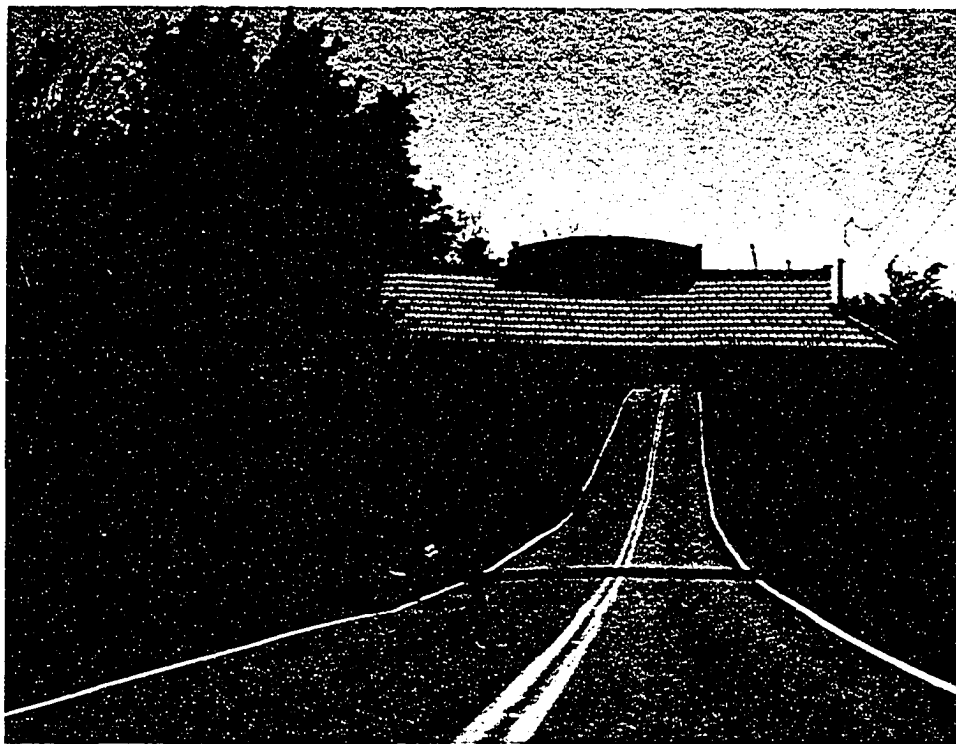
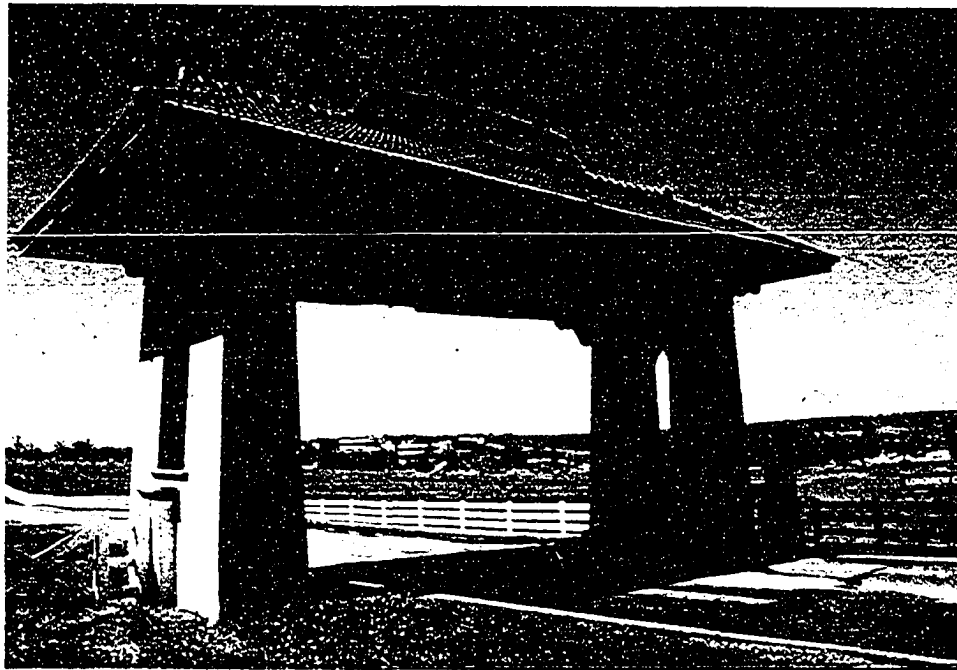


Figure 5.43 Entrance arches (1912) along Longview Road, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.



Figure 5.44 Longview Mansion (1912) as seen through sunken garden. Lee's Summit, Missouri. August 2002.



Figure 5.45 Longview Mansion (1912) view of front portico. Lee's Summit, Missouri. August 2002.

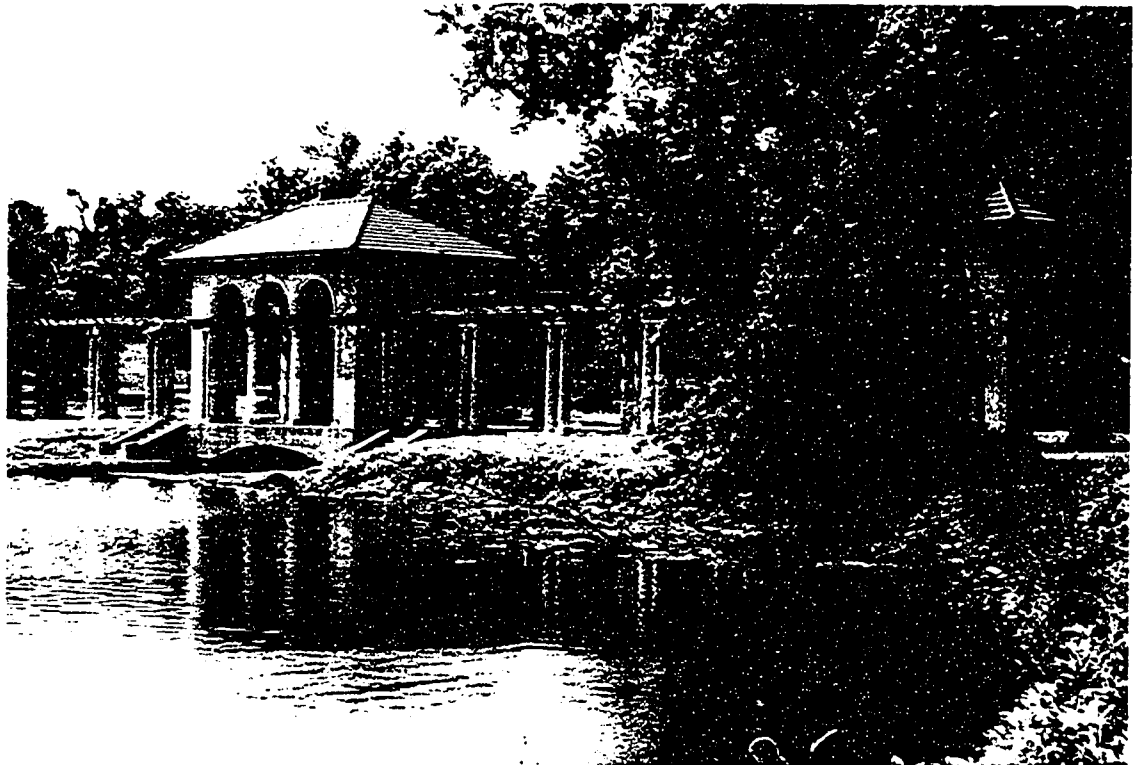
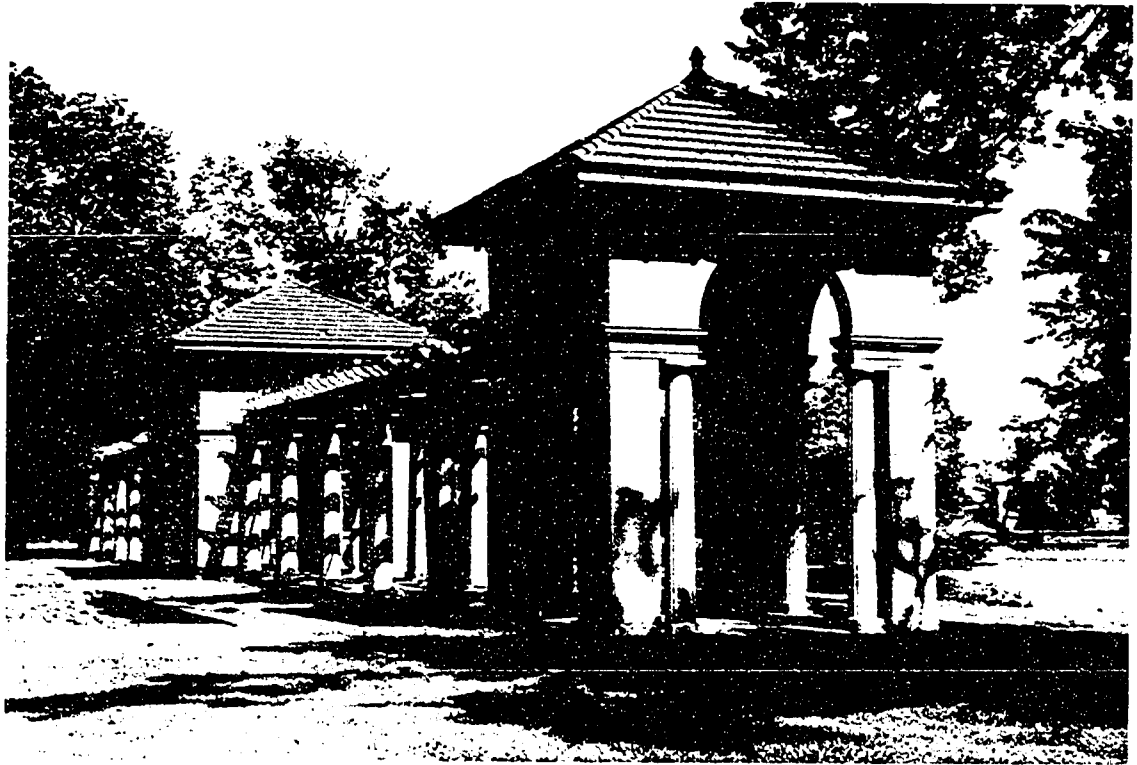


Figure 5.46 Longview pergola (1912). Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2002: top, lily pond to left; bottom, lake and boat dock to left.

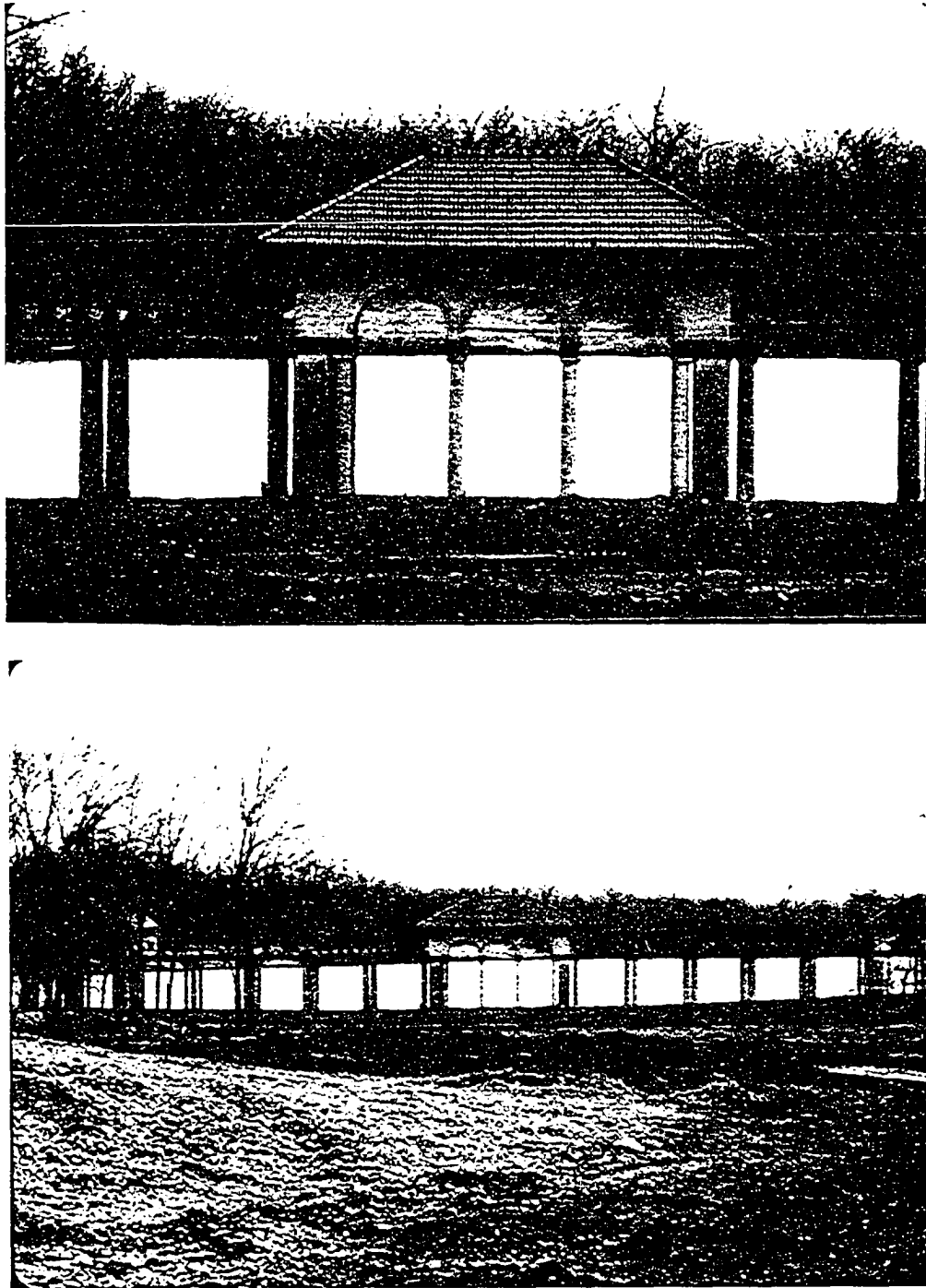


Figure 5.47 The pergola at the head of the lake at Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004: top, detail from former clubhouse location; bottom, distant view from former clubhouse location.



Figure 5.48 Pasture fencing for Show Horse Barn (1914) at Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.



Figure 5.49 The Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. August 2002.

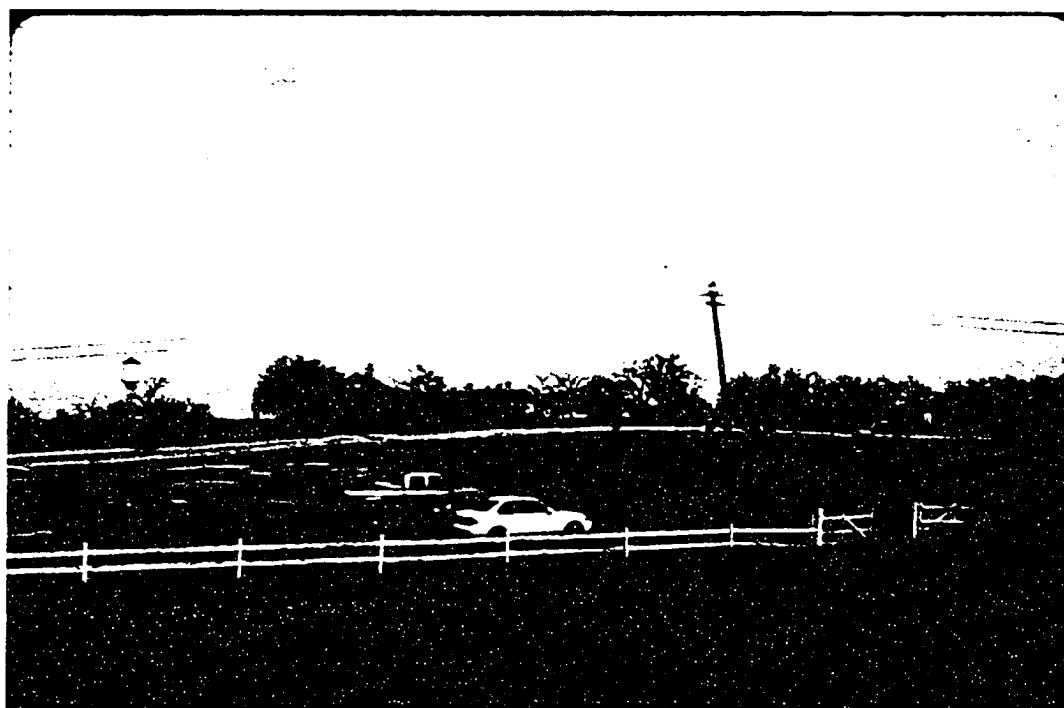


Figure 5.50 The water tower (1912) and dairy complex (1912) north of the Show Horse Barn and the mansion, Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.

General Rules

1. *The farm will be open to visitors, by permit only, each week day from eight a. m. to six p. m.*
2. *No visitors on Sunday.*
3. *Picnics or the spreading of lunches prohibited.*
4. *Grounds or buildings marked "private" mean that they are not to be used by visitors.*
5. *Don't attempt to turn around on any of the drives. Wait until you reach an intersection.*
6. *Speed limit twenty miles per hour, which must be observed.*
7. *Should you meet anyone with a horse or horses, stop if requested to do so.*
8. *Do not open any stall doors at barns.*
9. *The boats on the lake are not to be used by the public.*
10. *No fishing, hunting or swimming allowed on any part of the premises.*
11. *Please bear in mind the fact that Longview Farm is a private estate and not a public institution.*

IRA DRYMON,

General Manager.

Figure 5.51 Longview Farm General Rules. Provided by Dean and Nancy Goodman.



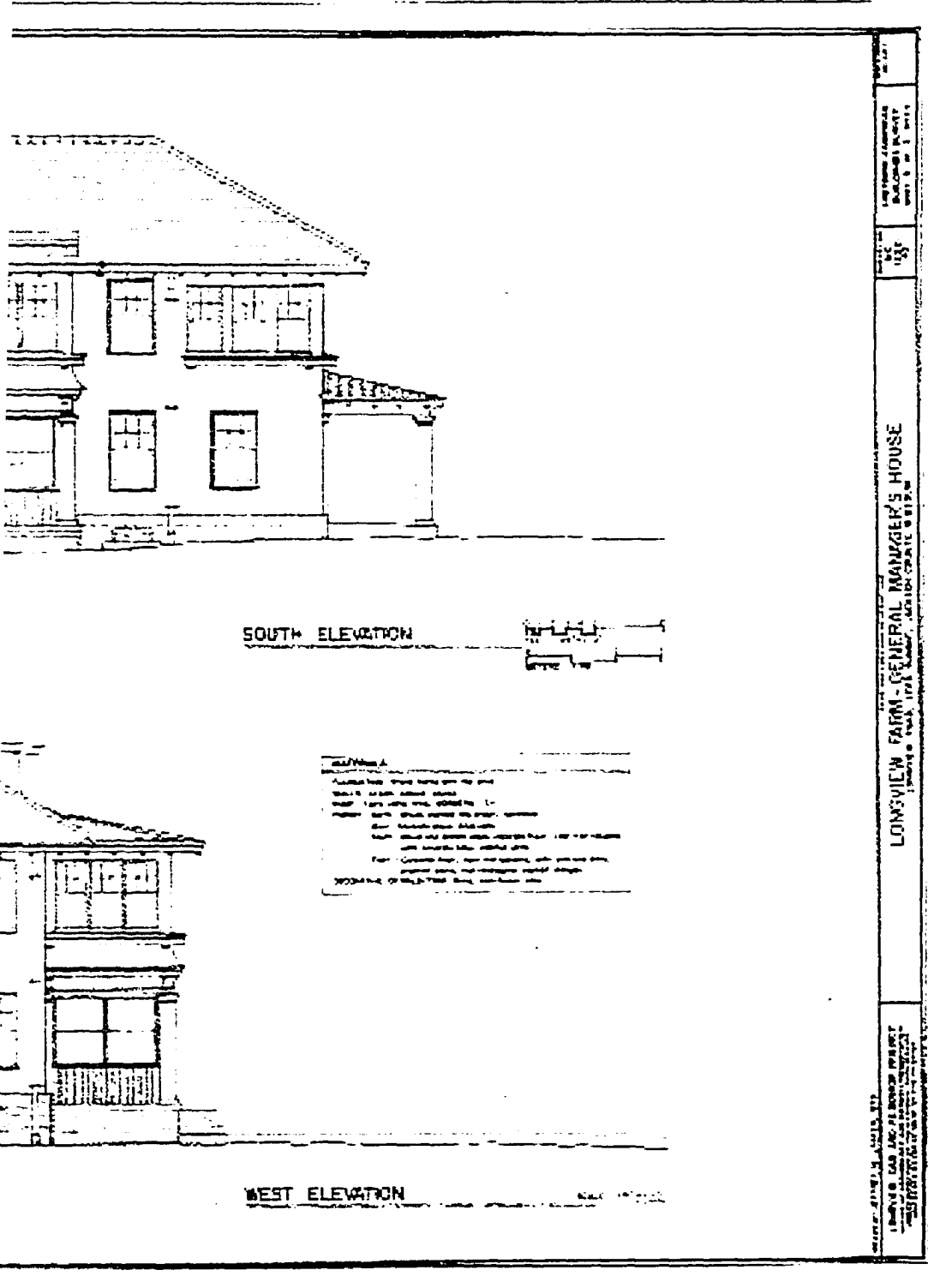
Figure 5.52 Longview Hotel in workhorse complex. c. 1916. Lee's Summit, Missouri.
Provided by Dean and Nancy Goodman.



Figure 5.53 Employee house, c. 1916. Longview Farm. Lee's Summit, Missouri.
Provided by Dean and Nancy Goodman.



Figure 5.54 Elevations, General Manager's House, Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. Jeffrey M. Laufer Survey, HABS.MO.48-LESUM,1-1222-42.



uri. Jeffrey M. Laufer Drawing, 1978. Library of Congress. Prints and Photographs Division. Historic American Buildings

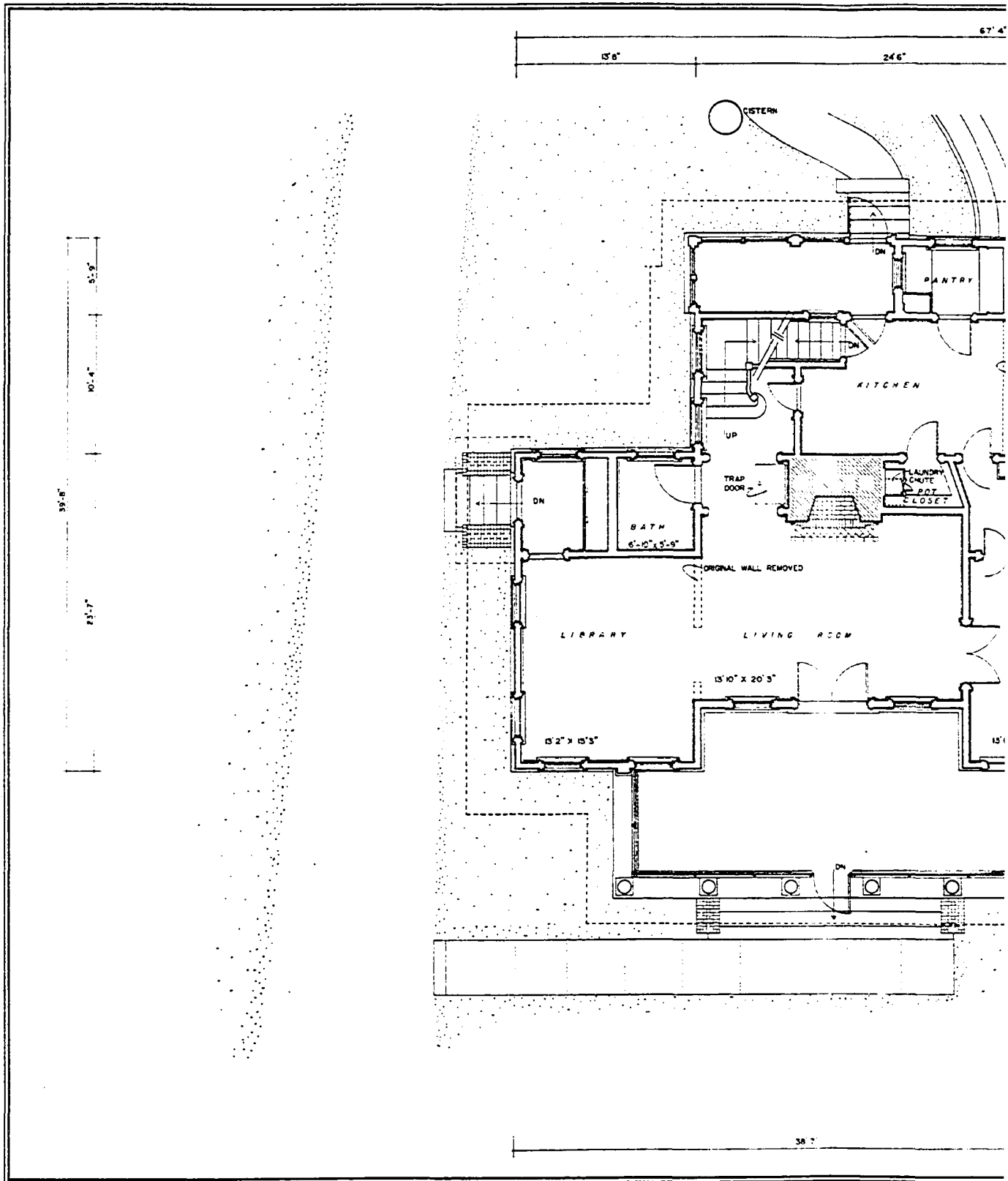
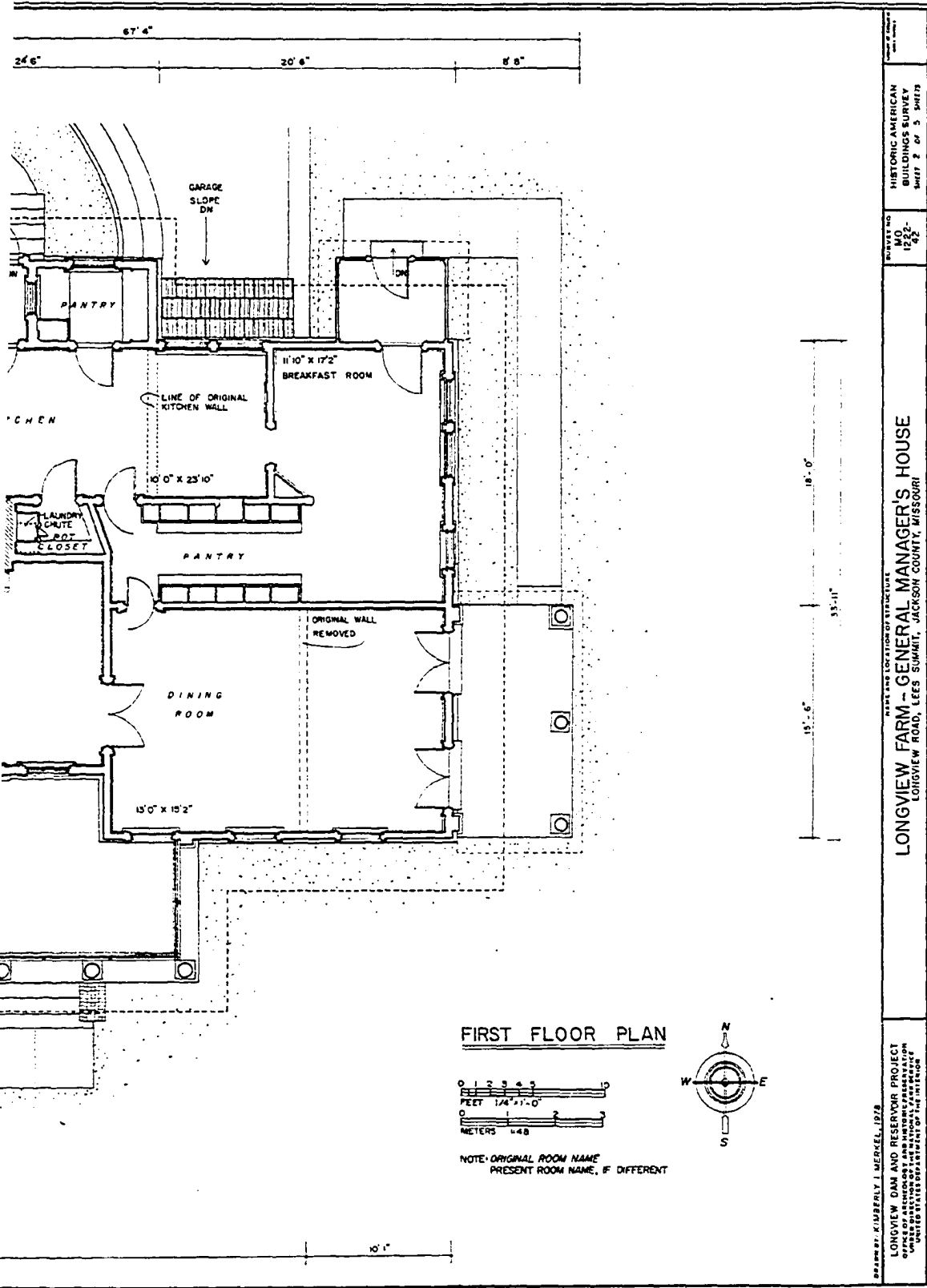


Figure 5.55 First Floor, General Manager's House, Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. Kimberly I. M Survey. HABS,MO,48-LESUM,1-1222-42.



HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY SHEET 2 OF 5 SHEETS
 SURVEY NO. 1002-1922
 MADE AND LOCATED BY STRUCTURE
LONGVIEW FARM - GENERAL MANAGER'S HOUSE
 LONGVIEW ROAD, LEES SUMMIT, JACKSON COUNTY, MISSOURI
 DRAWN BY: KIMBERLY I. MERKEL, 1978
 LONGVIEW DAM AND RESERVOIR PROJECT
 OFFICE OF ARCHITECTS AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION
 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
 BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

Kimberly I. Merkel Drawing, 1978. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. Historic American Buildings

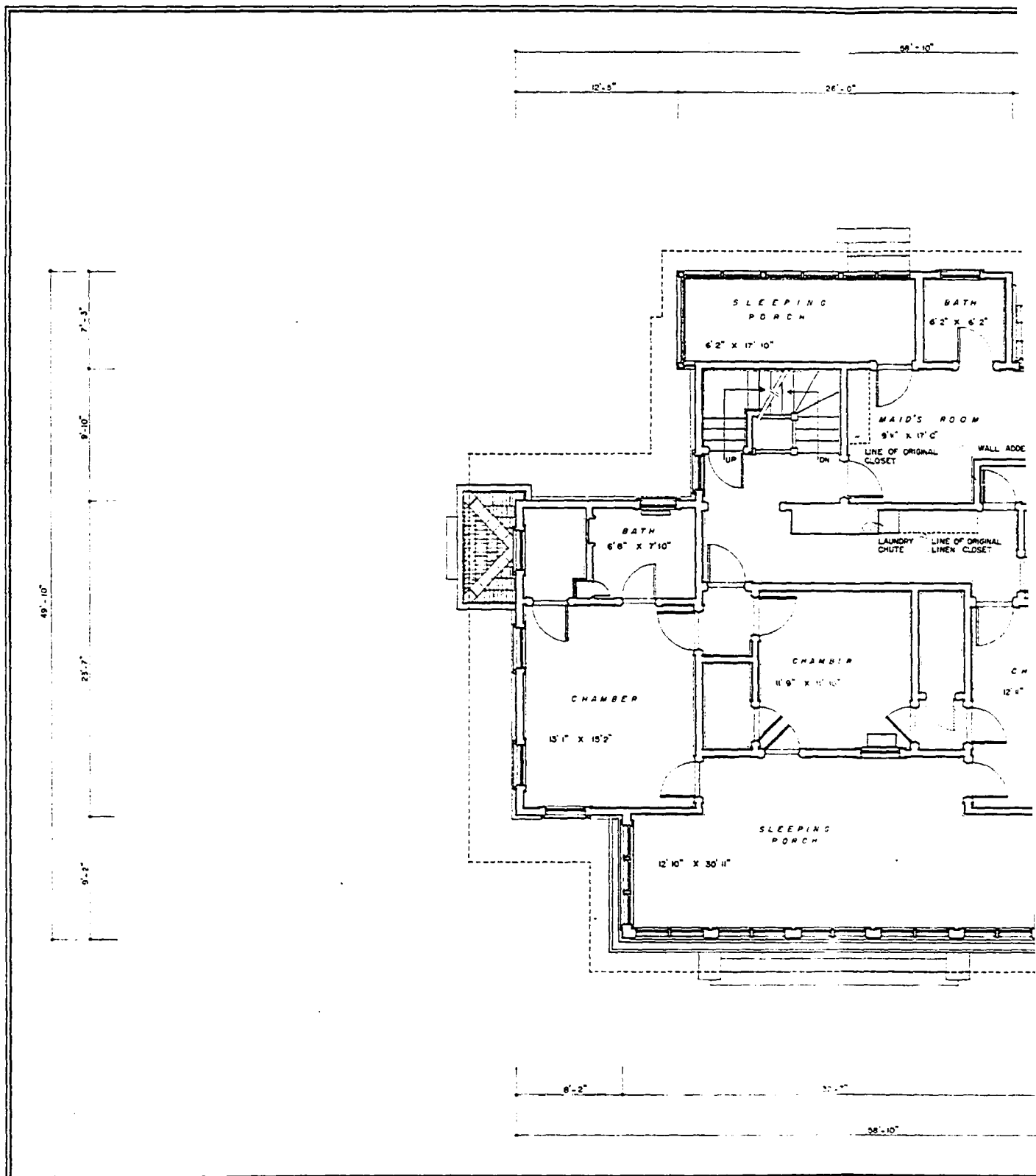
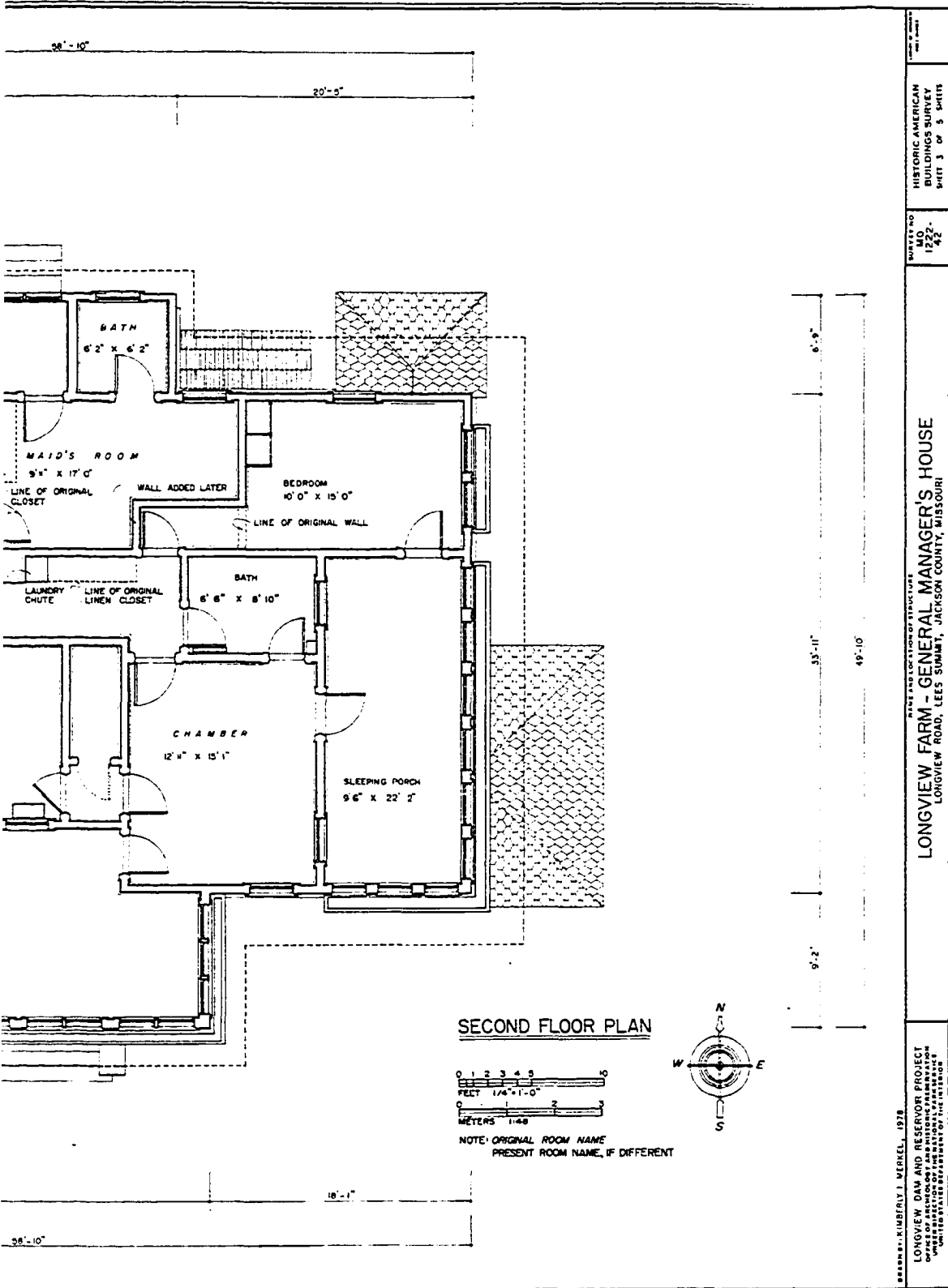


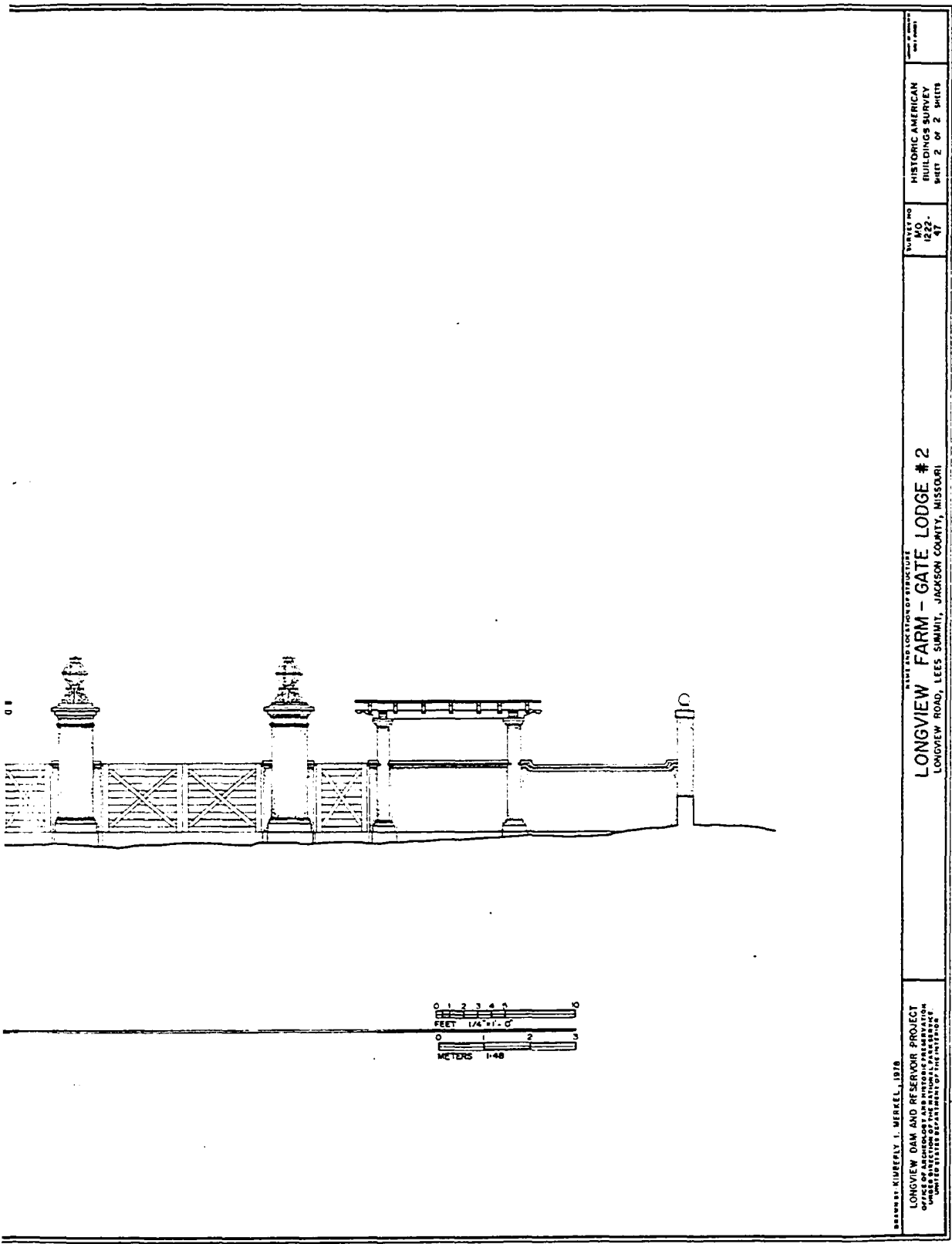
Figure 5.56 Second Floor, General Manager's House, Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. Kimberly I. M Buildings Survey. HABS.MO-1222-42.



uri. Kimberly I. Merkel Drawing, 1978. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American



Figure 5.57 Gate Lodge #2. Longview Farm. Lee's Summit. Missouri. Kimberly I. Merkel Drawing. 1978. Libr 1222-47.



HISTORIC AMERICAN
 BUILDINGS SURVEY
 SHEET 2 OF 2 SHEETS

SURVEY NO.
 MO
 1222-
 47

STATE AND LOCATION OF STRUCTURE
LONGVIEW FARM - GATE LODGE # 2
 LONGVIEW ROAD, LEES SUMMIT, JACKSON COUNTY, MISSOURI

DRAWN BY KIMBERLY L. MERKEL, 1978

LONGVIEW DAM AND RESERVOIR PROJECT
 CHINA PASS DAM AND RESERVOIR
 UNDER AUTHORITY OF THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR



el Drawing, 1978. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. Historic American Buildings Survey. HABS.MO-

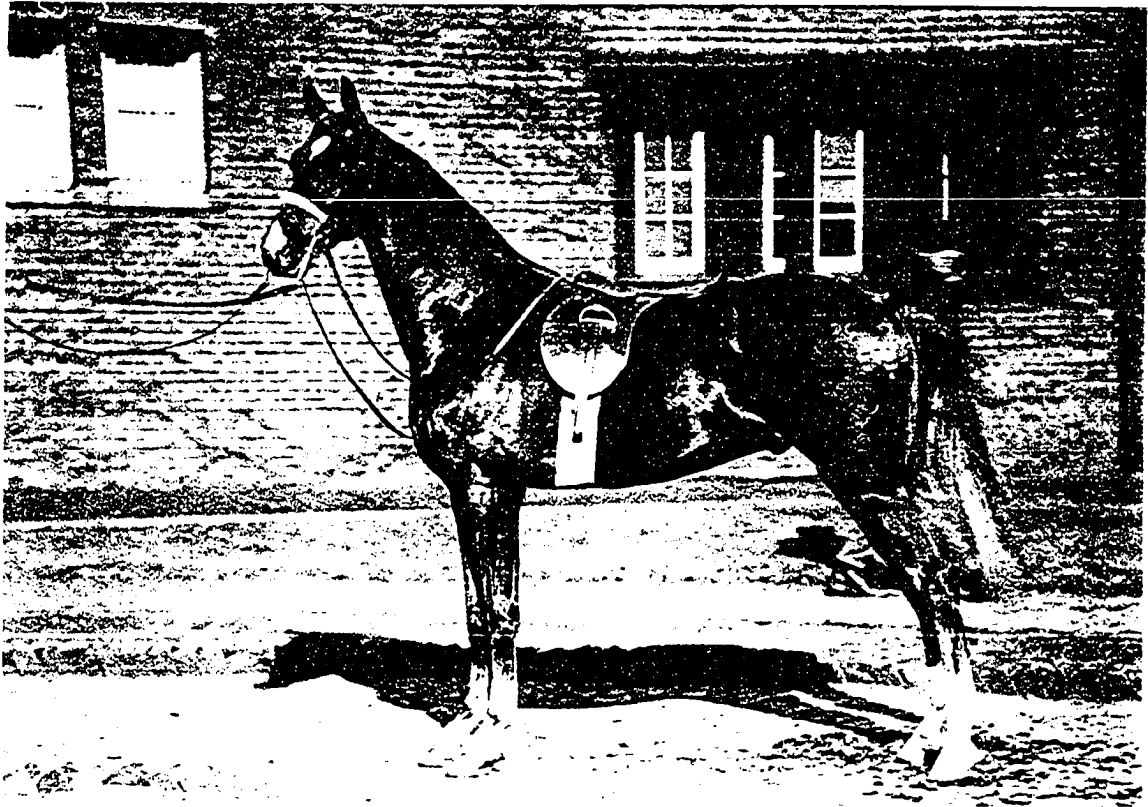


Figure 5.58 *Golden Flash*. 5 gaited American Saddlebred stallion. 1st prize Chicago International Livestock Show, owned by Loula Long Combs, Longview Stable. Warden Collection, MTSU (MLW1030).

Longview Horses

We will sell at the
Annual Spring Sale
of
Pickens, Owen, Sweet & Piper
Horse and Mule Co.
at the
American Royal Pavilion
Kansas City, Mo.

APRIL 16th, 1924

30 Head of Strictly High-Class Three- and
Five-Gaited Saddle Horses
Catalogue furnished upon request

Longview Farm
LEE'S SUMMIT :: :: MISSOURI

Figure 5.59 Longview Farm advertisement in *Rider and Driver Magazine*. 5 April 1924, page 27.

Longview Horses

We sell our show horses and
Show our sale horses

☞

☞ We have a number of
three- and five-gaited horses
on hand that are ready to show.

☞

Write for description, prices, etc.

Longview Farm
LEE'S SUMMIT :: :: MISSOURI

Figure 5.60 Monthly advertisement in *Rider and Driver Magazine*. 1 November 1924.
page 3.



Figure 5.61 Northern side the Show Horse Barn (1914). Longview Farm. Lee's Summit, Missouri. August 2002.



Figure 5.62 Southwest corner of the Show Horse Barn (1914). Longview Farm. Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.

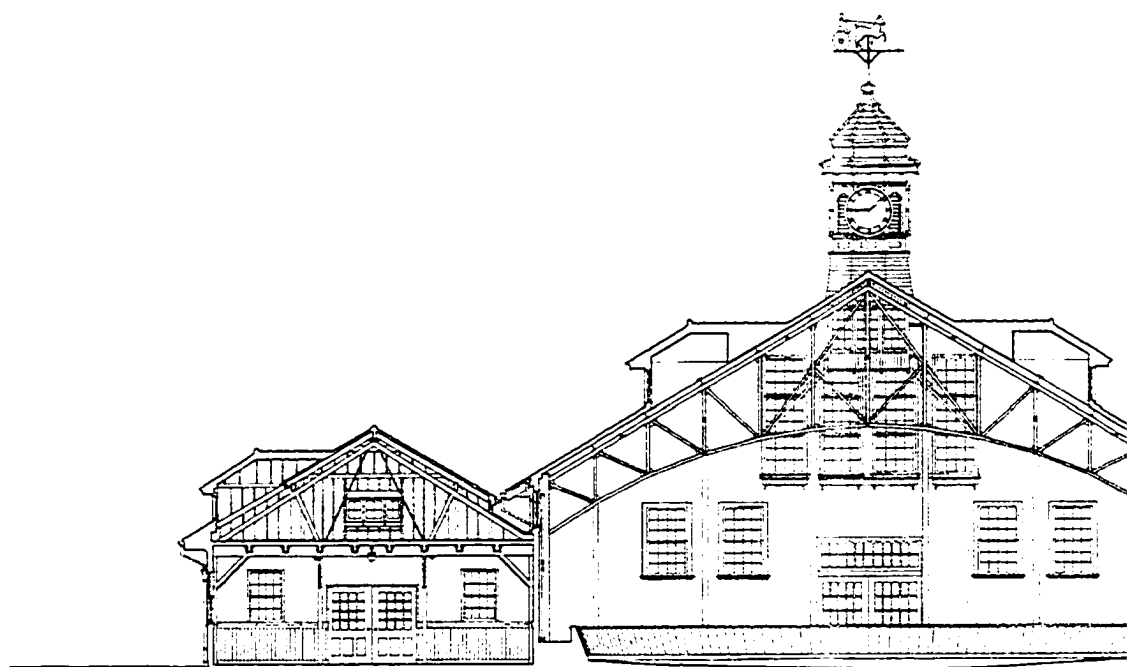


Photo by Haas

OVATION

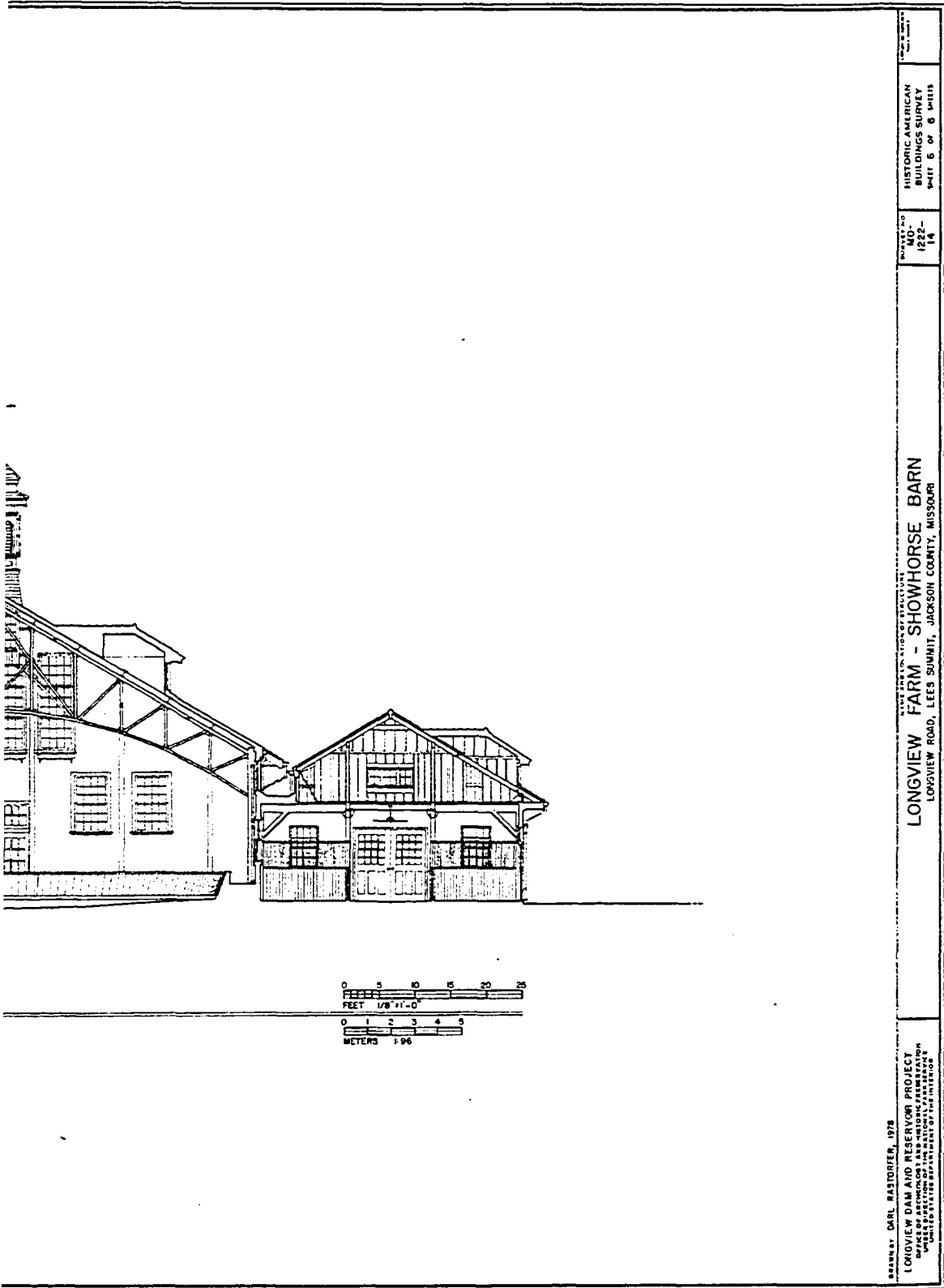
Ch. g., owned by Mrs. Loula Long Combs; first prize winner in the \$1,000 Stake for heavy harness horses any weight, offered by the Gano Downs Co., of Denver, Colo., at the National Western Horse Show.

Figure 5.63 Dave Smith showing *Ovation* in Denver, Colorado in 1925. *Rider and Driver Magazine*, 21 February 1925, page 12.



SECTION A-A
TRANSVERSE SECTION

Figure 5.64 Transverse Section looking West, Show Horse Barn, Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. D
Buildings Survey, HABS,MO-1222-14.



summit, Missouri. Darl Rastorfer Drawing, 1978. Library of Congress. Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American

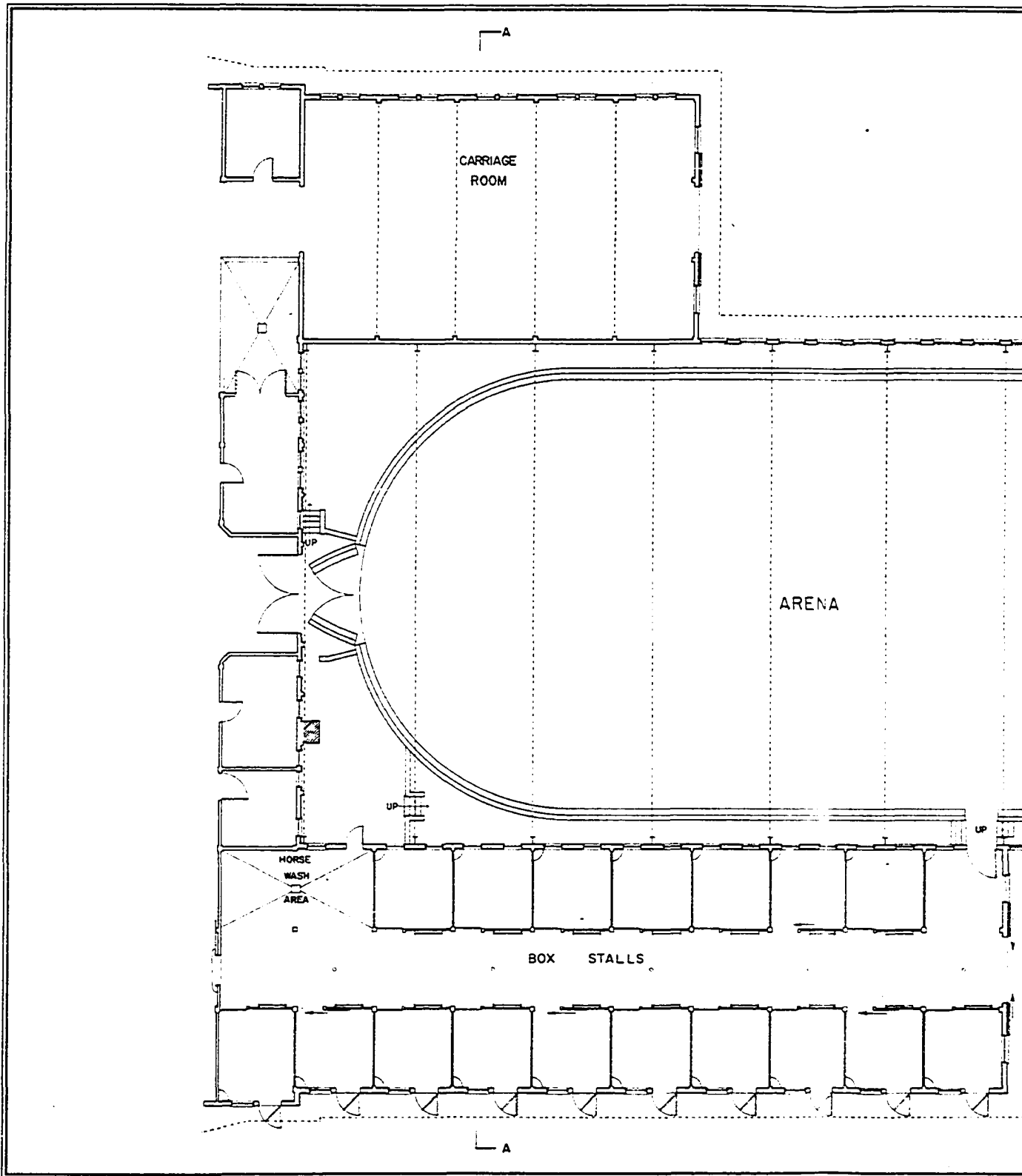
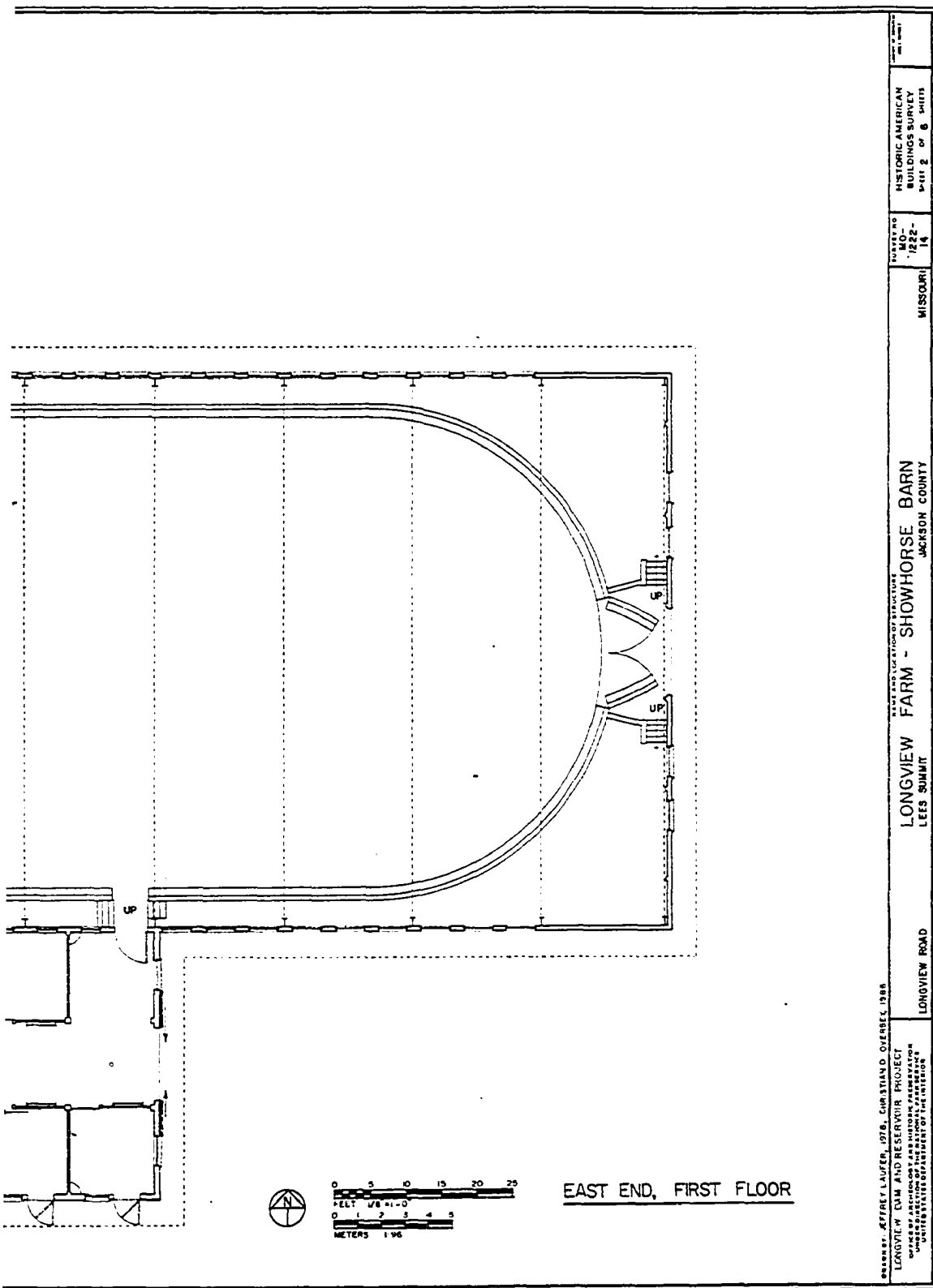
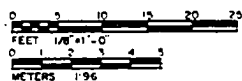
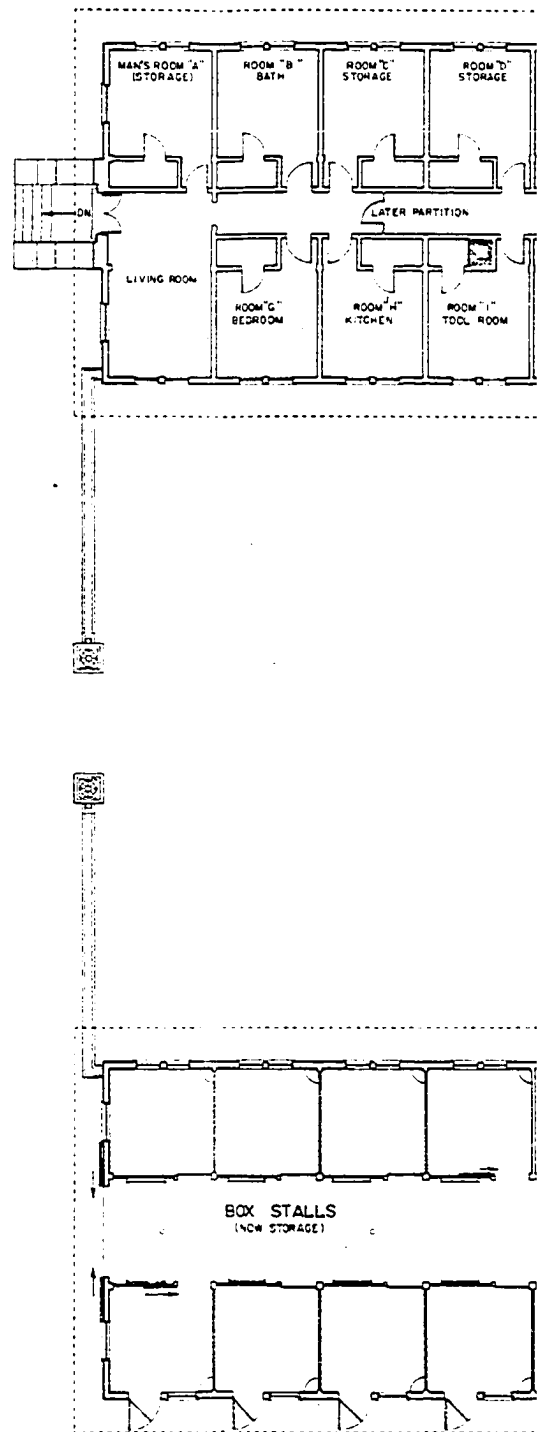


Figure 5.65 East End, First Floor, Show Horse Barn, Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. Jeffrey M. La Historic American Buildings Survey. HABS,MO-1222-14.



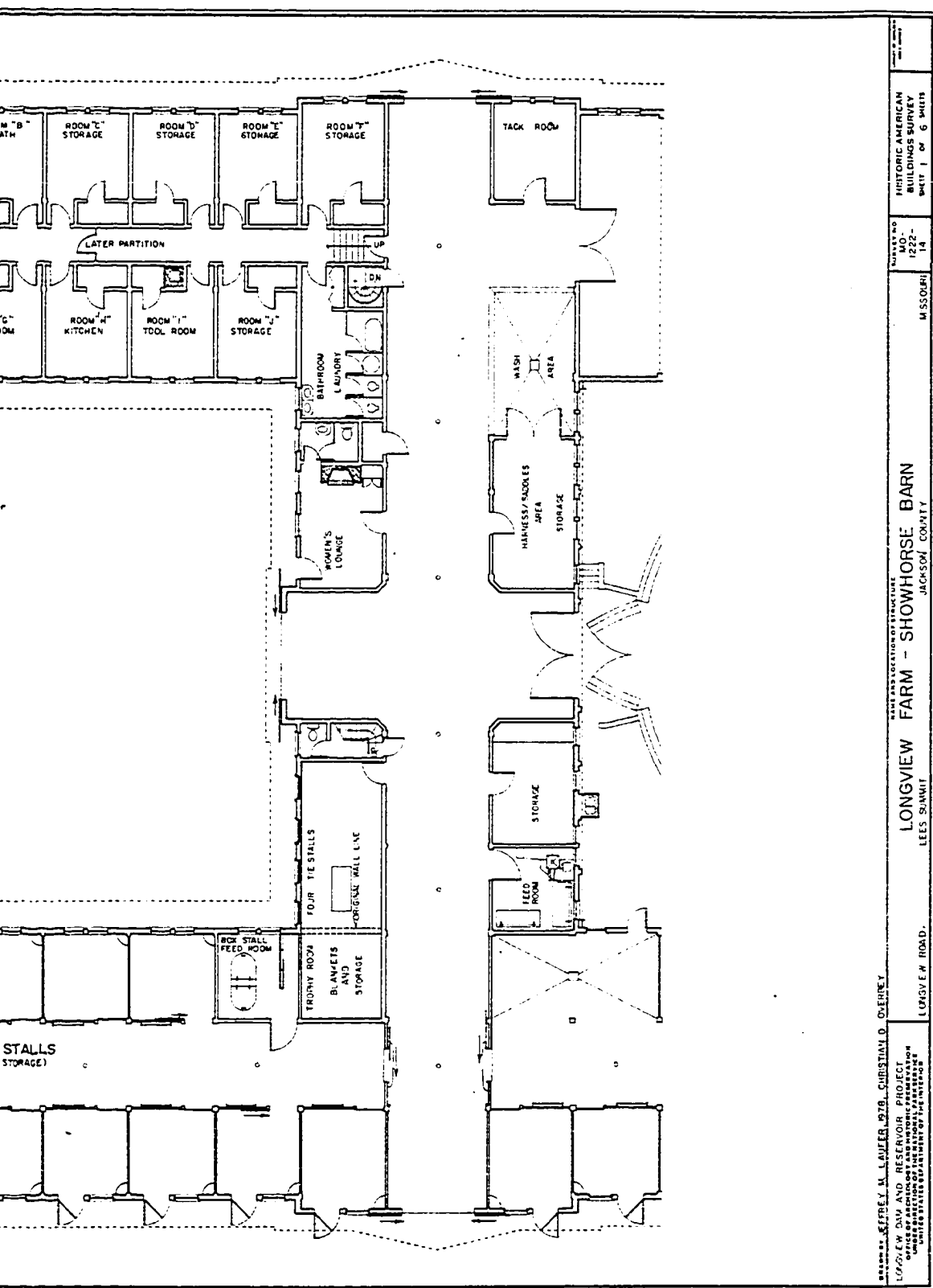
Jeffrey M. Laufer Drawing, 1978. Christian D. Overbey 1986. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.

LONGVIEW
 FARM
 SHOWHORSE
 BARN



WEST END, FIRST FLOOR

Figure 5.66 West End, First Floor, Show Horse Barn, Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. Jeffrey M. Laufman. Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS,MO-1222-14.



uri. Jeffrey M. Laufer Drawing, 1978. Christian D. Overbey 1986. Library of Congress. Prints and Photographs Division.

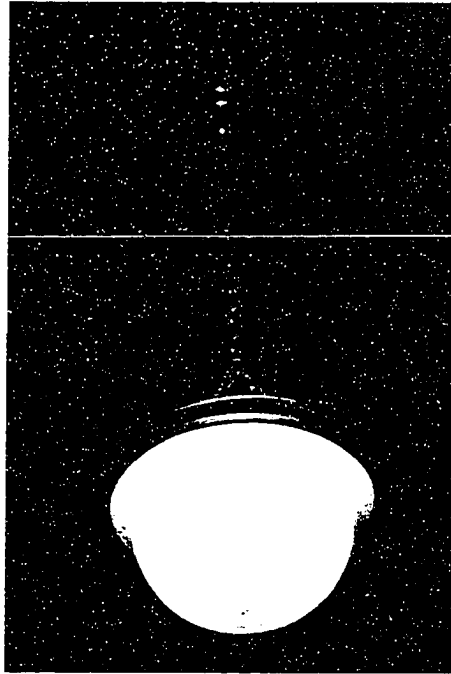


Figure 5.67 Light fixture in tack room of the Show Horse Barn (1914) at Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.



Figure 5.68 Light fixture in the arena of the Show Horse Barn (1914) at Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.

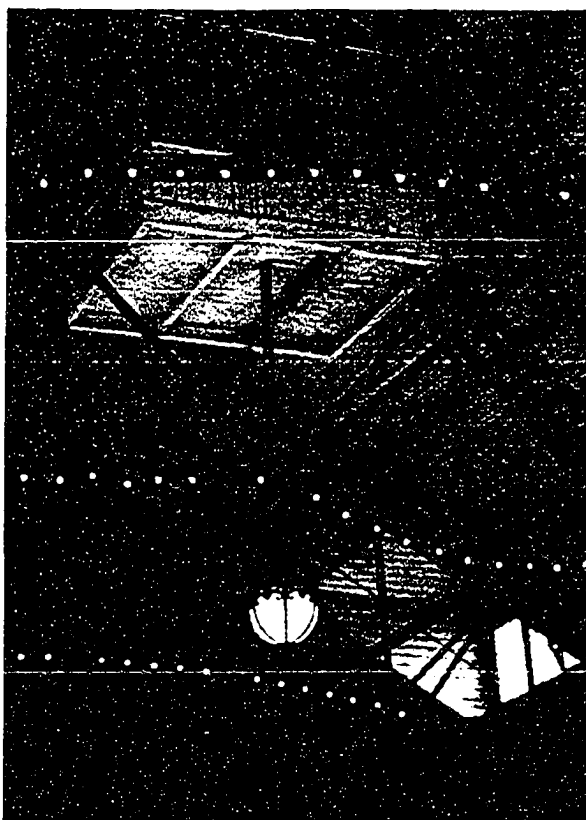


Figure 5.69 Ladder and mechanical room of the clock in the roof of the Show Horse Barn (1914) indoor arena at Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.



Figure 5.70 The weathervane and clock on top of the Show Horse Barn (1914), Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. August 2002.



Figure 5.71 Tack room: top left, interior view; top right, main aisle view of tack room door on left beneath metal sign holder; bottom, view to main aisle in Show Horse Barn (1914) at Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.

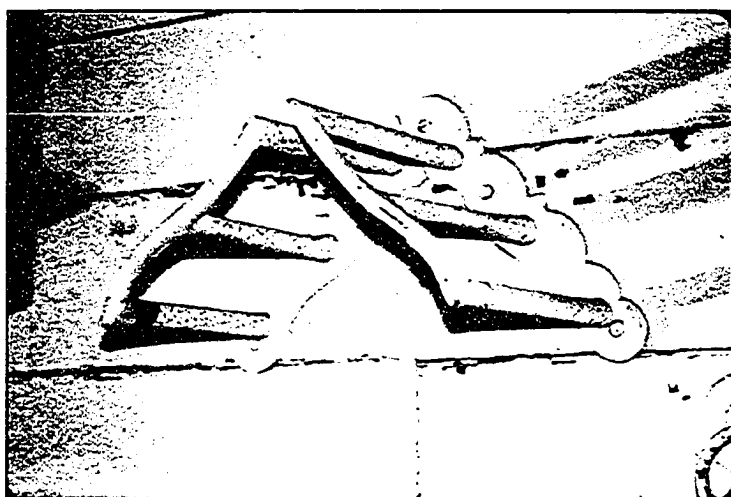
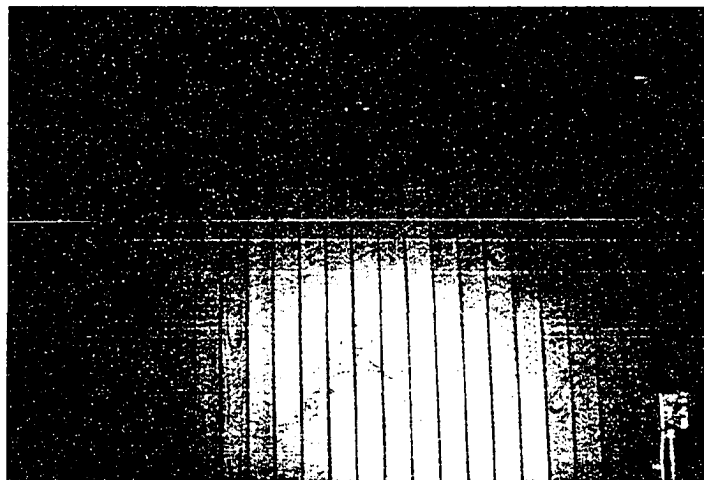


Figure 5.72 Tack hooks: top, ghost imprints of tack holders on wall in tack room; bottom, extant tack holder in wash rack in the Show Horse Barn (1914) at Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.

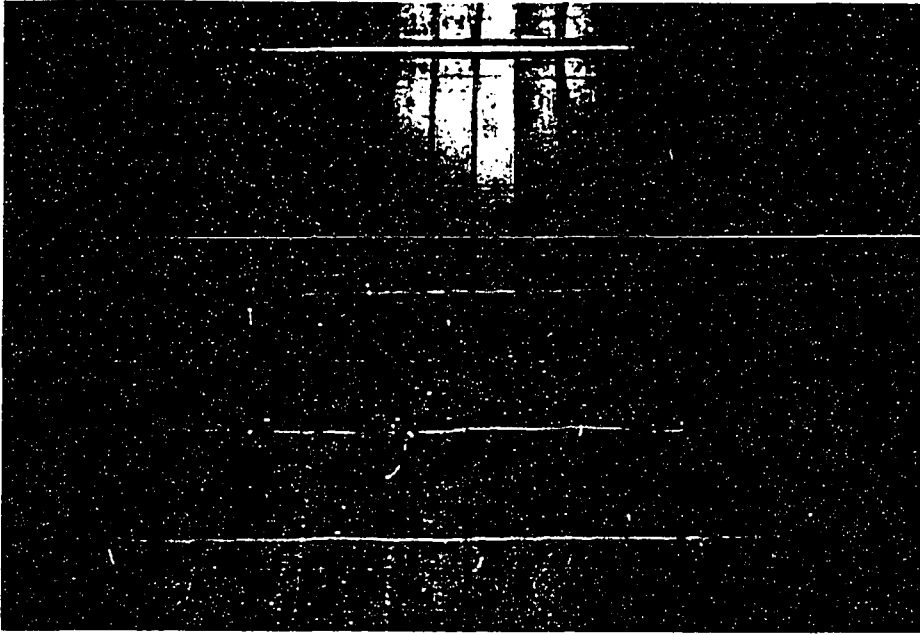


Figure 5.73 Wires nailed onto wall in main tack room for ribbons in the Show Horse Barn (1914) at Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.

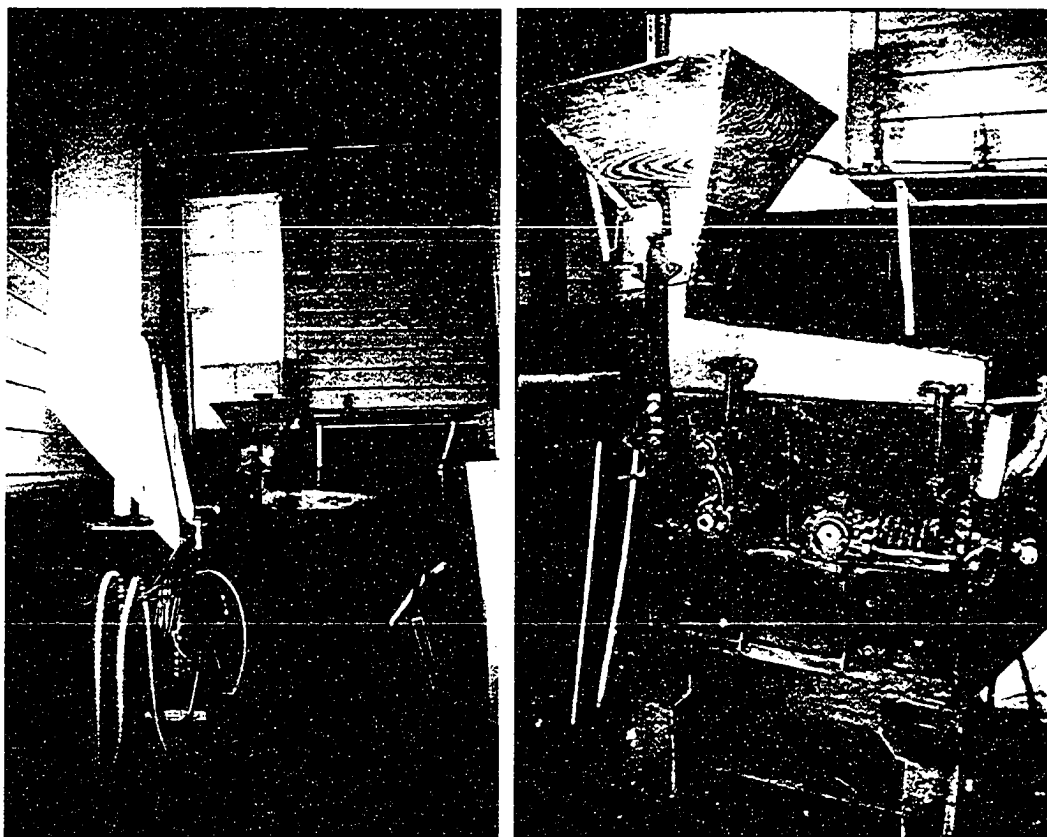


Figure 5.74 Grain room: left, chute and Gibson oat crusher; right, Gibson oat crusher in Show Horse Barn (1914) at Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.

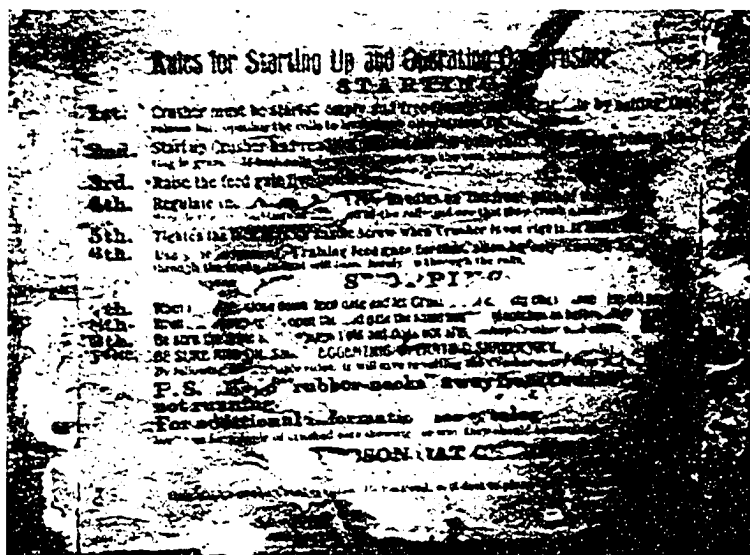
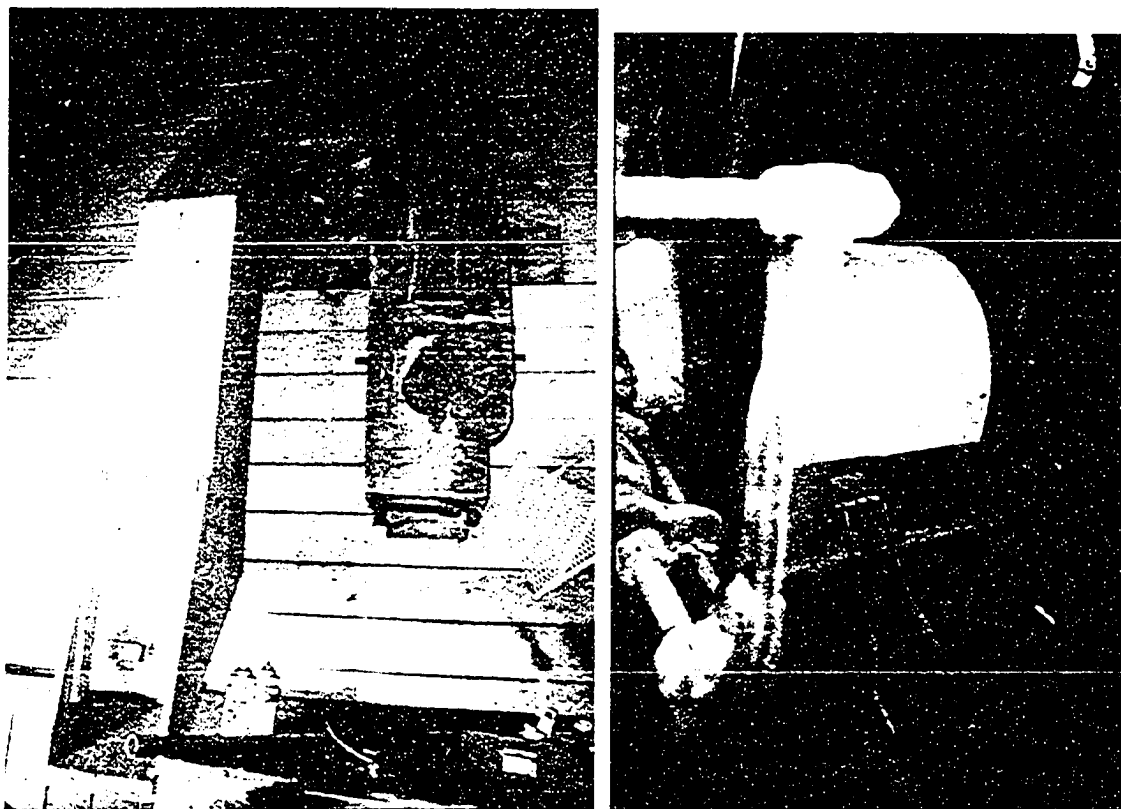


Figure 5.75 Grain room: top left, chutes from loft bins; top right, engine of Gibson oat crusher; bottom, directions for the Gibson Oat Crusher in Show Horse Barn (1914) at Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.

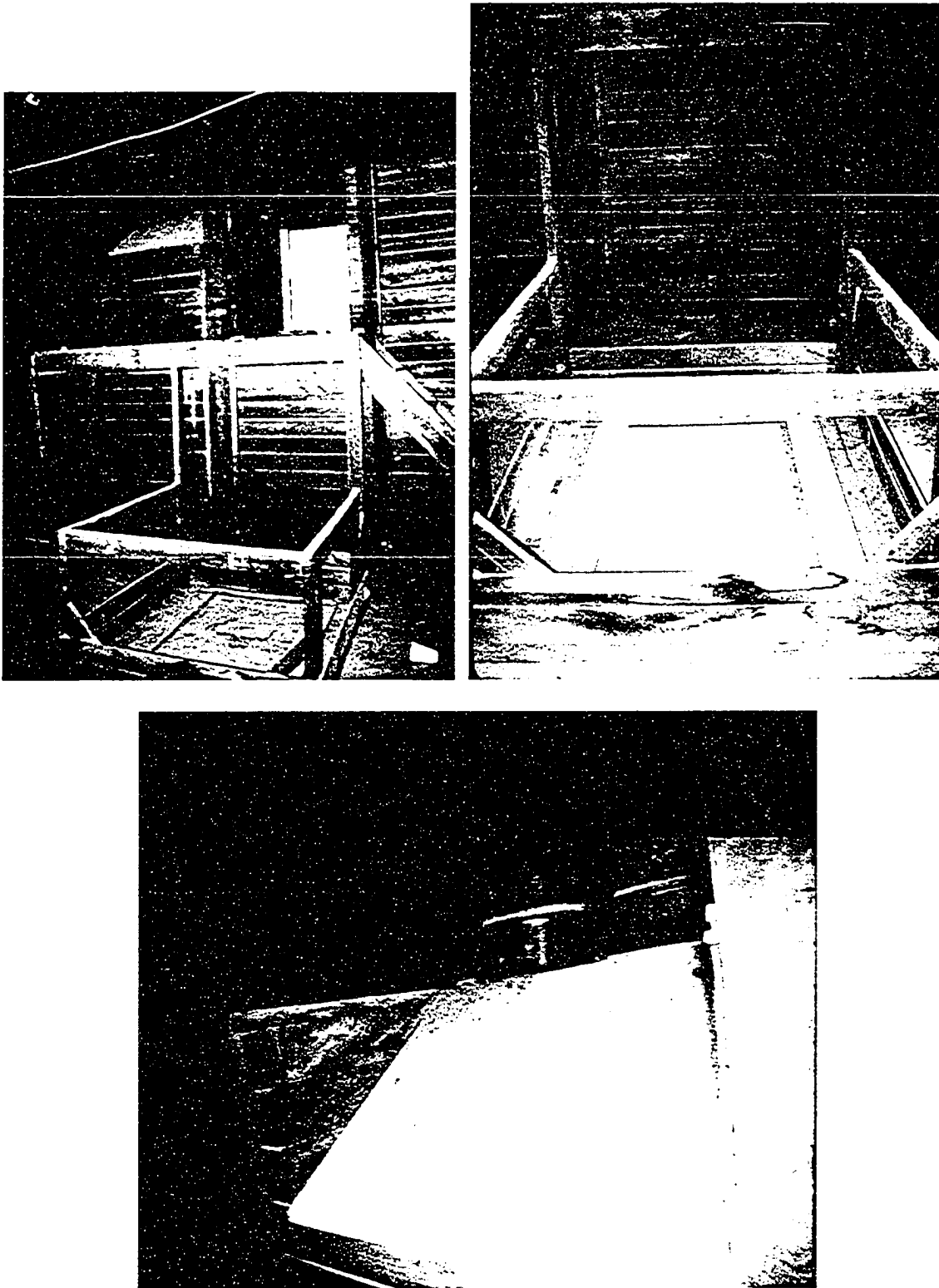


Figure 5.76 Grain bins: top left, bins with access stairs and trap door in foreground: top right, detail of trap door: bottom, detail of bin cover (upper left of top left) in Show Horse Barn (1914) at Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.

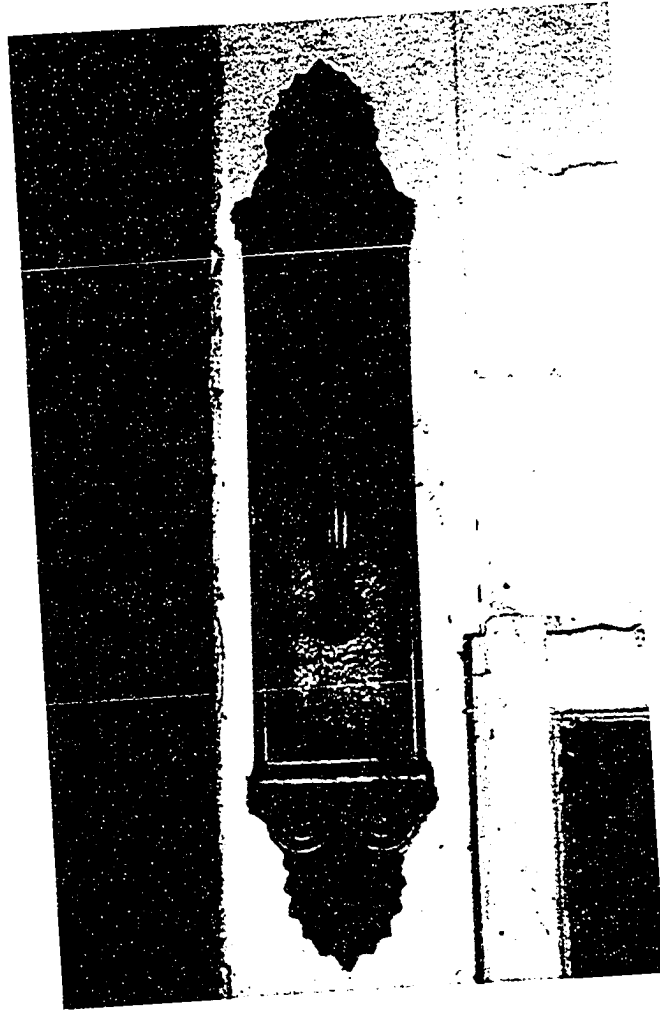


Figure 5.77 Handle on aisle door in Show Horse Barn (1914) at Longview Farm. Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2002.

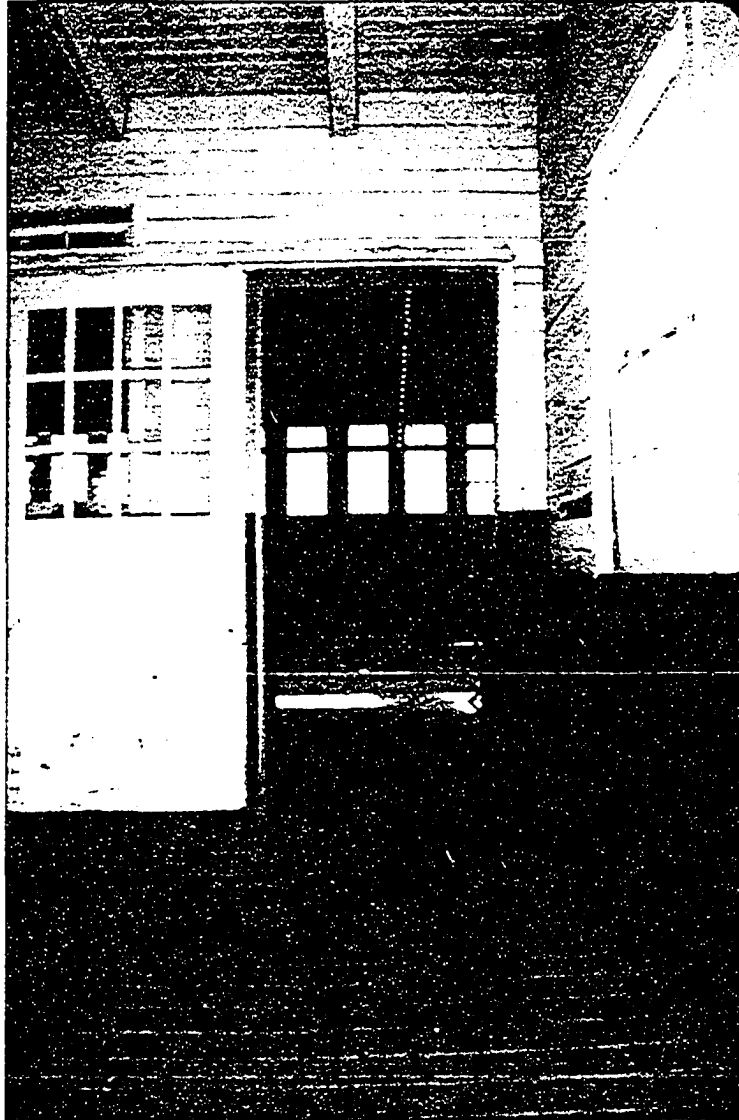


Figure 5.78 Cross aisle from stabling area into the arena in the Show Horse Barn, Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.



Figure 5.79 Cross-aisle door way in stabling area of Show Horse Barn (1914) at Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri.



Figure 5.80 Box stall front, side view, with blanket bar and halter hook in the Show Horse Barn (1914) at Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.



Figure 5.81 Box stall front, front view, with blanket bar and halter hook in the Show Horse Barn (1914) at Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.

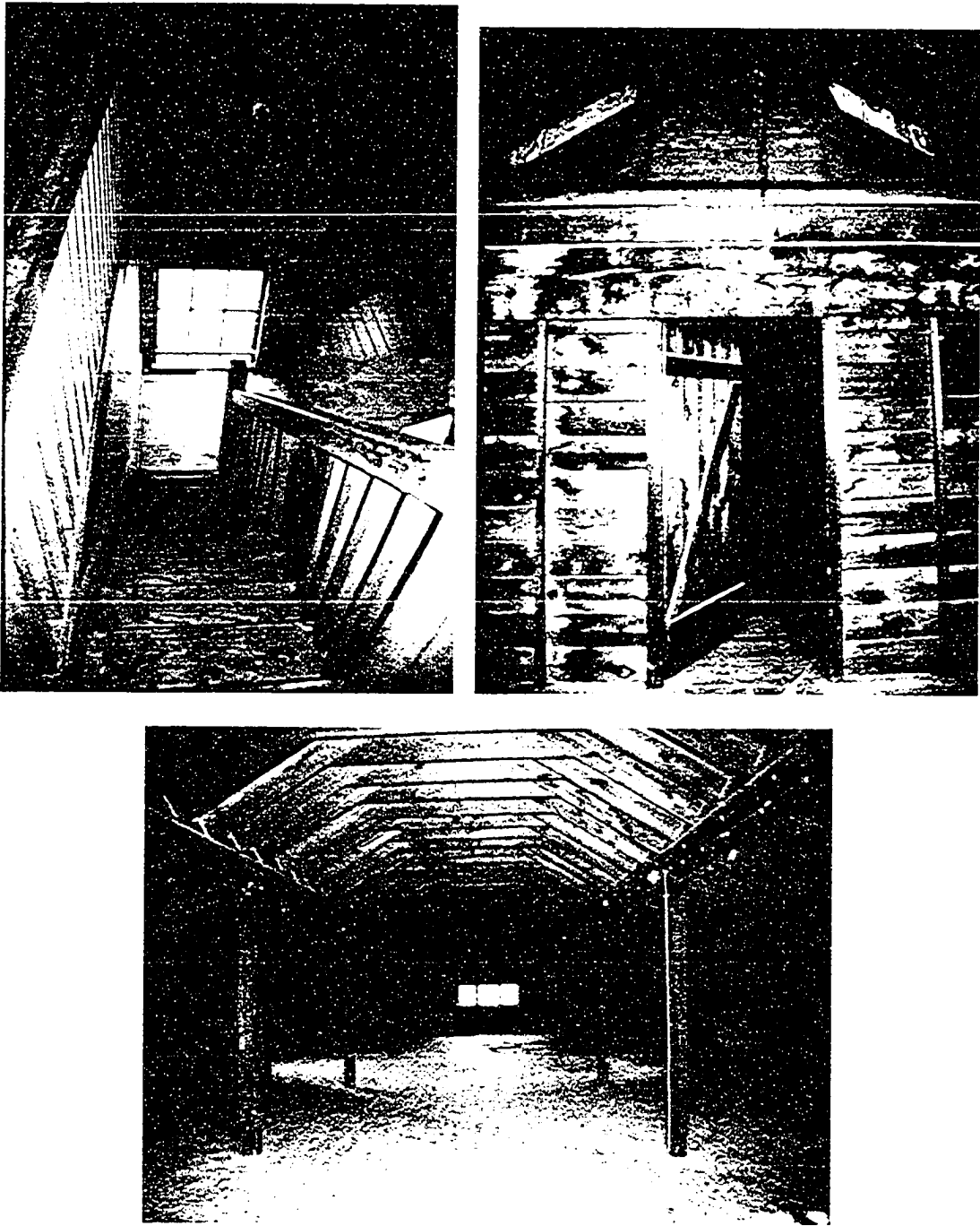


Figure 5.82 Hay loft: top left, staircase: top right, equipment storage room; bottom, hay storage area with chutes to lower stalls in Show Horse Barn (1914) at Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.

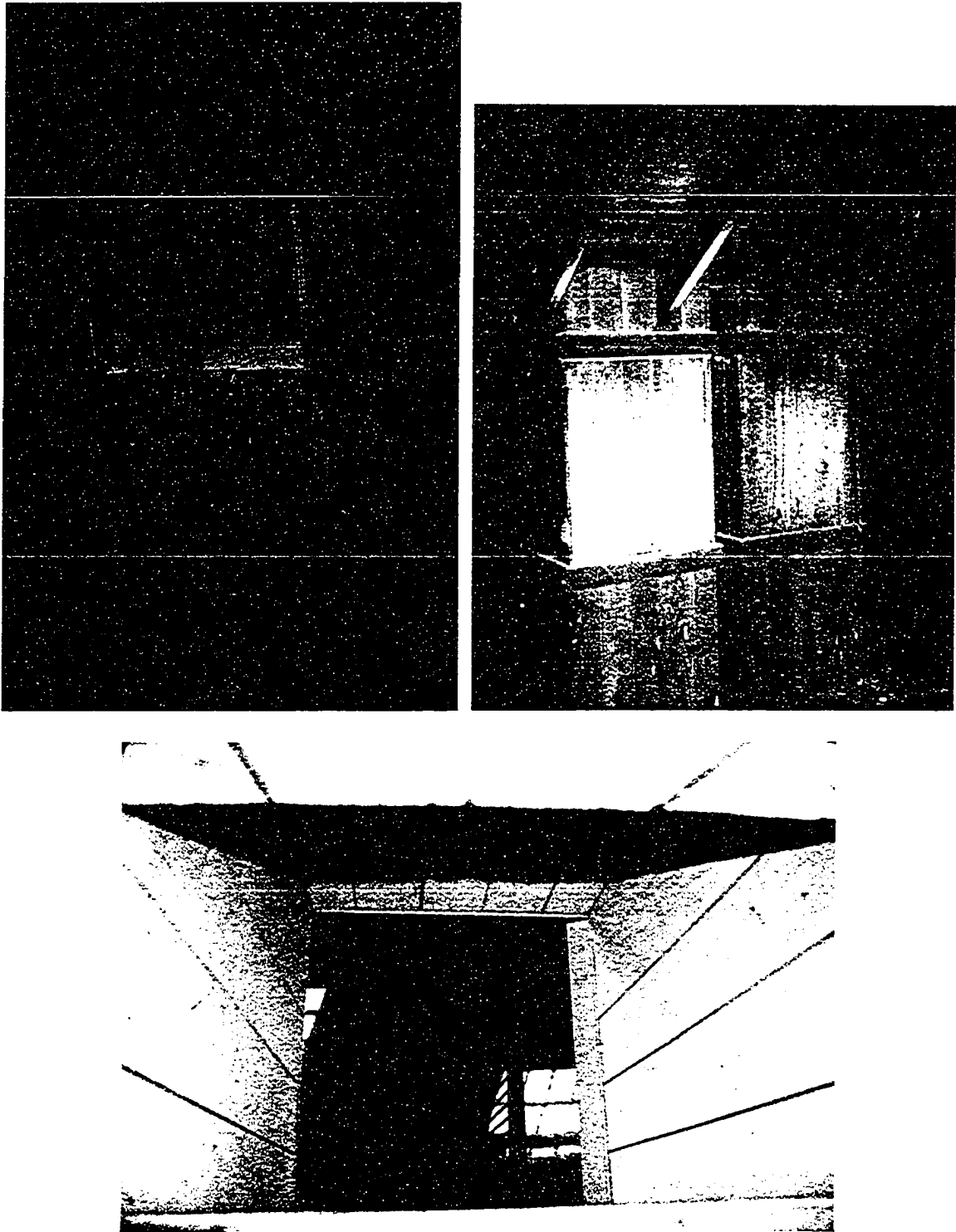


Figure 5.83 Hay chutes: top left, short chutes; top right, tall chutes; bottom, view through chute into stall below Show Horse Barn (1914) at Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.



Figure 5.84 Hay trolley in loft of Show Horse Barn (1914) at Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.

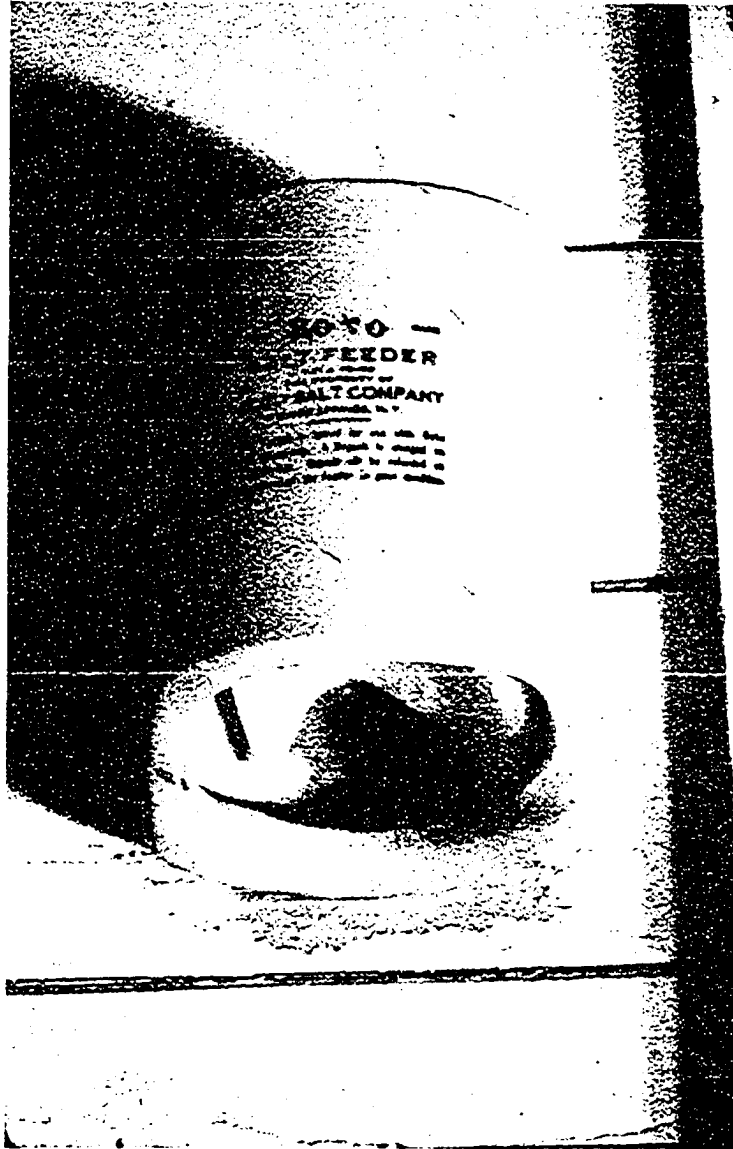


Figure 5.85 Salt holder in box stall of the Show Horse Barn (1914) at Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.

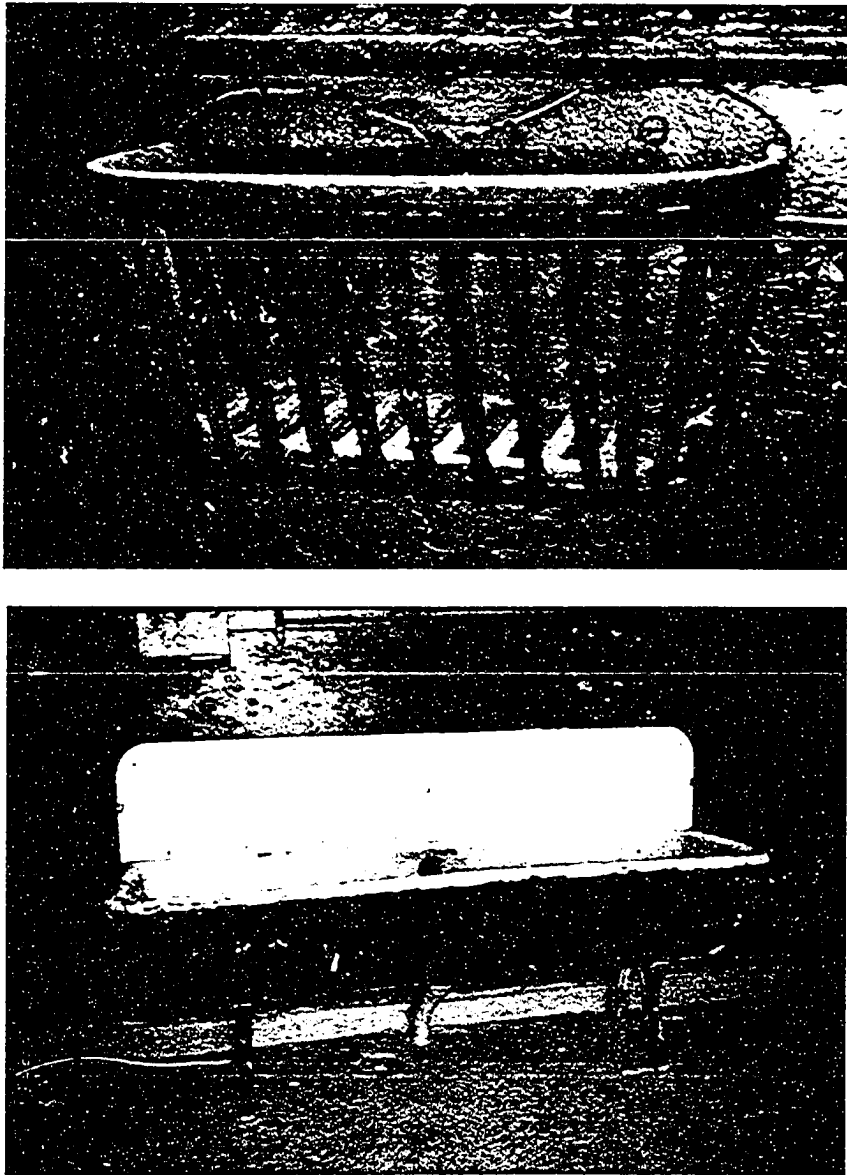


Figure 5.86 Wash rack: top. sponge rack; bottom. wash basin in Show Horse Barn (1914) at Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.

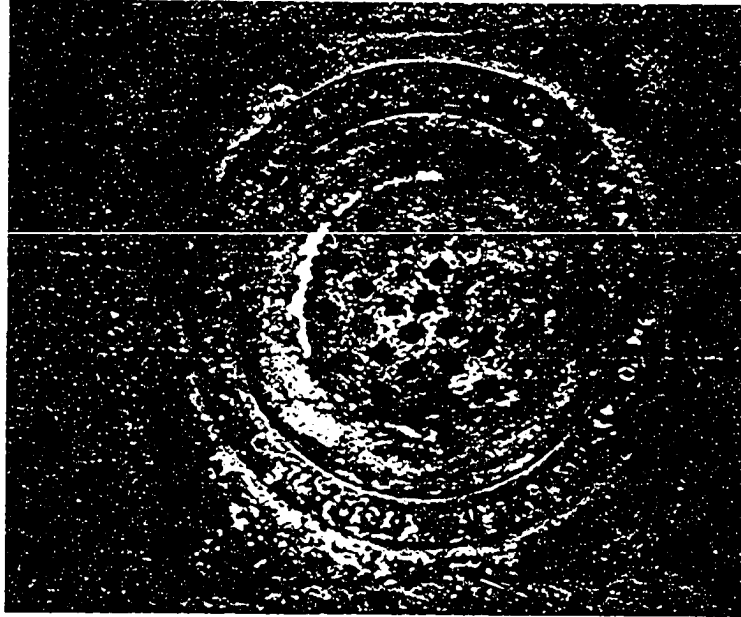


Figure 5.87 Drain for wash rack in Show Horse Barn (1914) at Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.

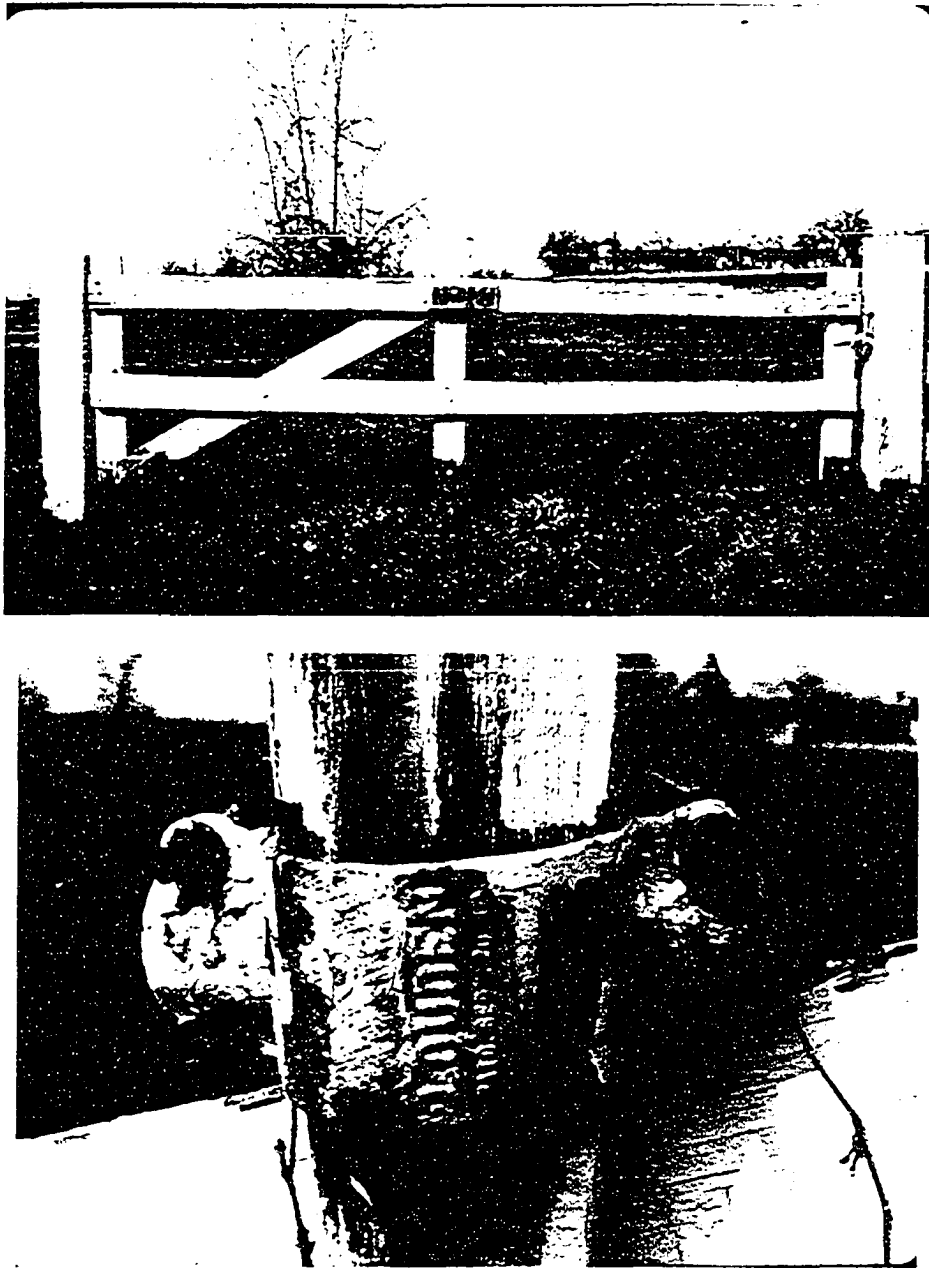


Figure 5.88 Paddock gate: top, gate with sign; bottom, detail of gate hardware made by the Loudon Company at the for the Show Horse Barn (1914). Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.



Figure 5.89 Pasture water trough: top, detail showing end fence posts; bottom, detail of concrete base at Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.



Figure 5.90 Fireplugs: left, southeast corner; right, northwest corner of Show Horse Barn (1914) at Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.



Figure 5.91 *Revelation*. American Saddlebred stallion owned by Loula Long Combs, Longview Stable. Warden Collection. MTSU (MLW0741).

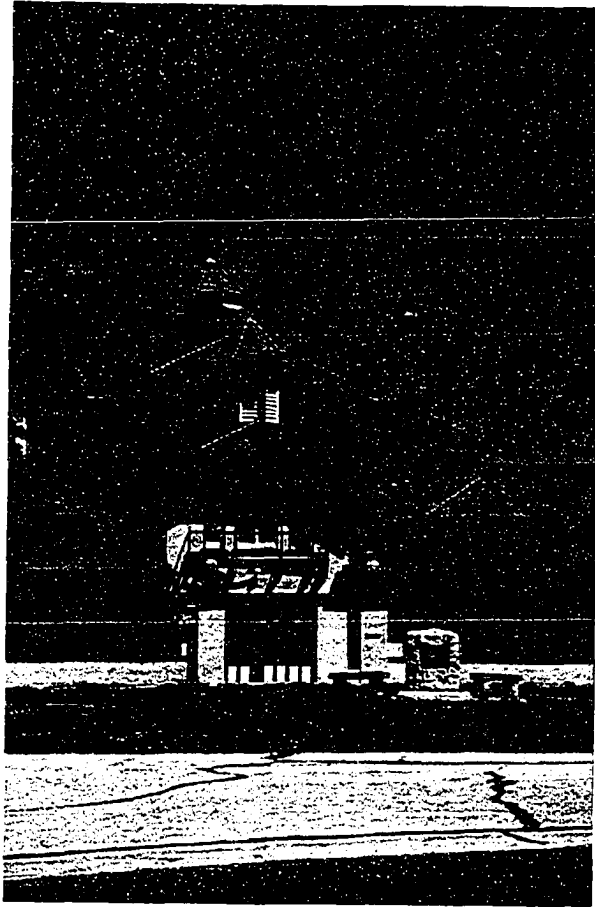


Figure 5.92 Grave of *Revelation* in front of the Show Horse Barn (1914) at Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. August 2002.

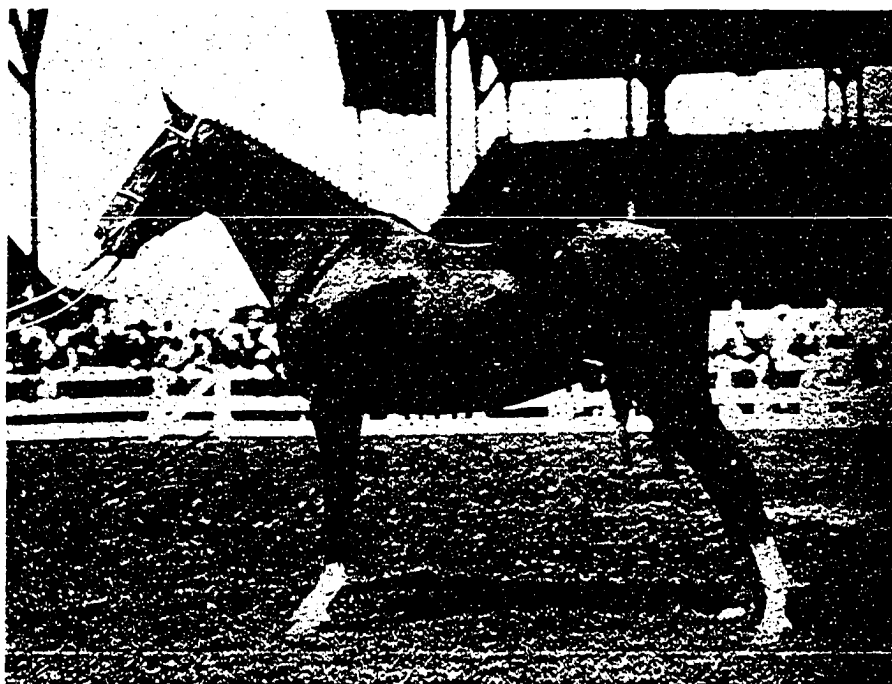


Photo by Haas

**CARNATION, (FORMERLY AXHOLME SUNBEAM), B. M., 13.1, 5 YRS.
Owned by Mrs. Loula Long Combs, of Kansas City, Mo.; championship winner**

Figure 5.93 *Carnation* in *Rider and Driver Magazine*, November 29, 1924, page 6.
Photograph by Haas.



Figure 5.94 Club House at Longview Farm. c. 1916. Provided by Dean and Nancy Goodman.



Figure 5.95 Longview Clubhouse, Grandstand and Track, c. 1916. Provided by Dean and Nancy Goodman.

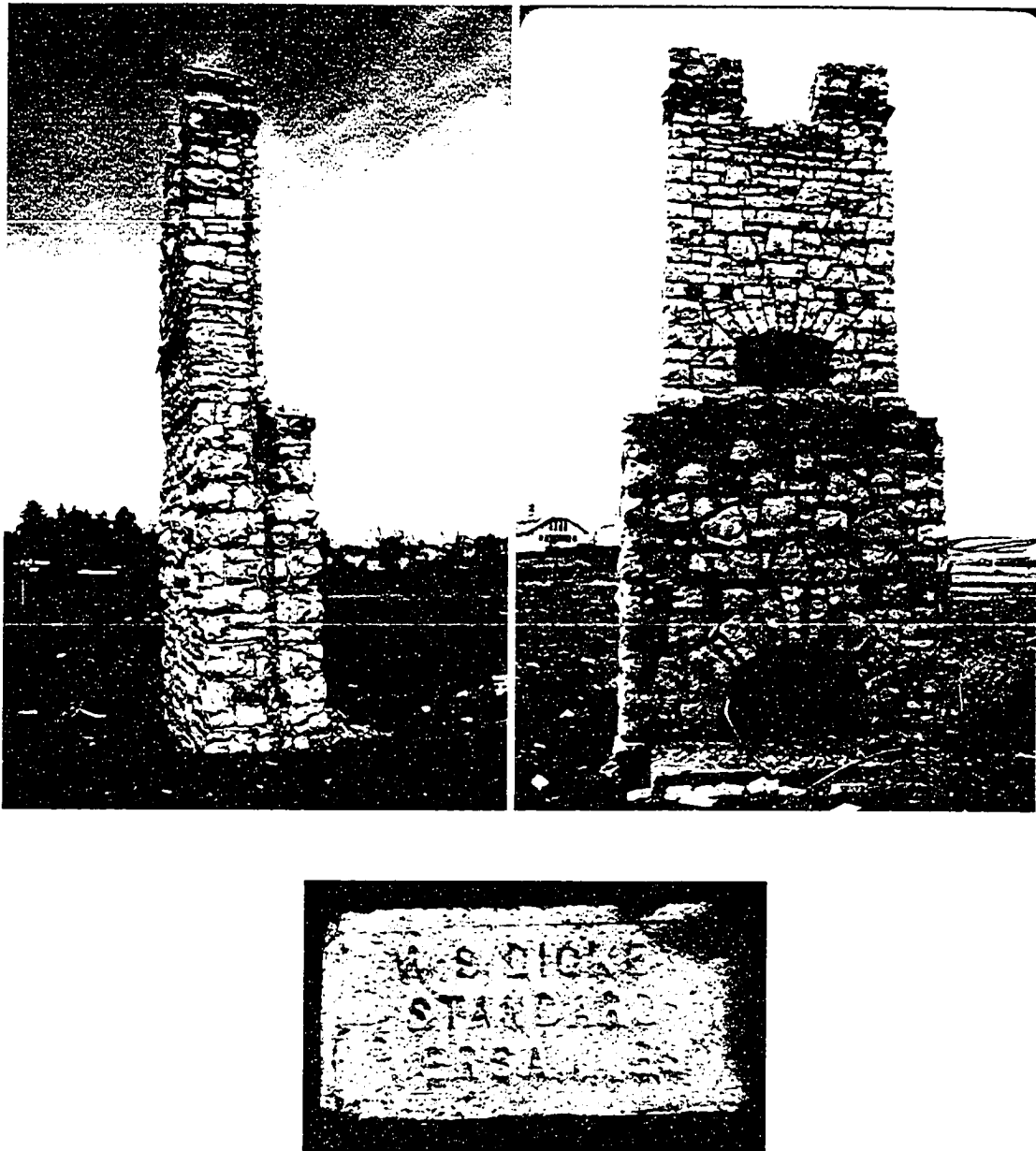


Figure 5.96 The fireplace and a brick used in the clubhouse at Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.



Figure 5.97 Power plant with salvaged roofing tiles and discarded railing from main house patio and stall doors. Longview Farm, Lee's Summit, Missouri. March 2004.

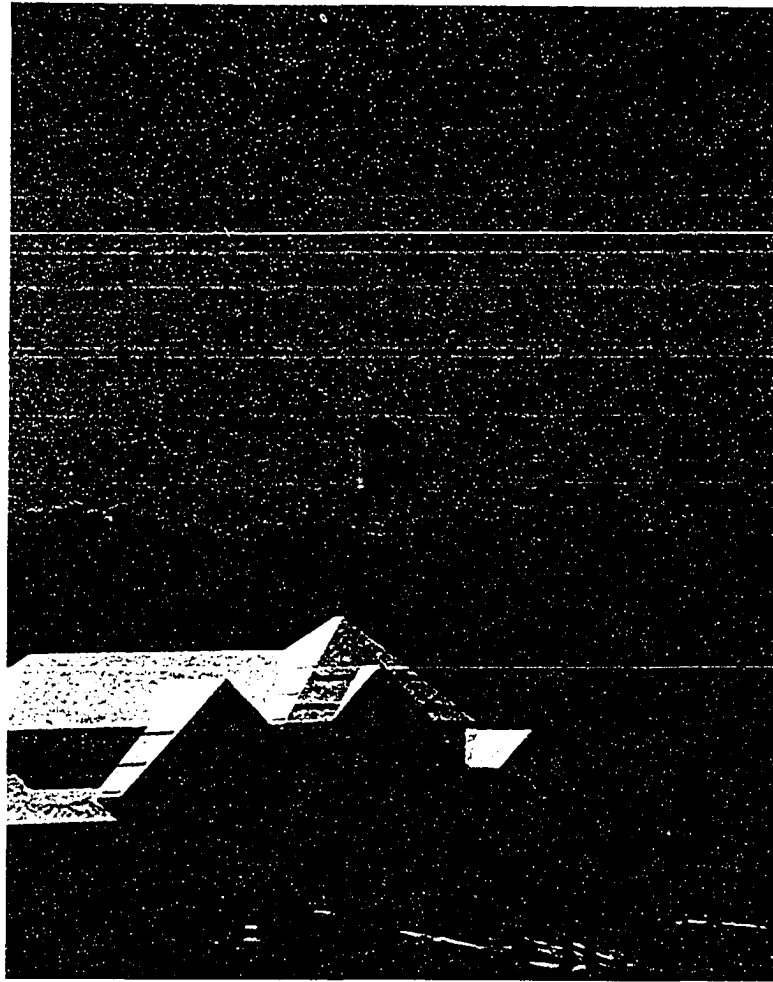


Figure 5.98 New housing in former eastern Longview Farm fields. Lee's Summit, Missouri. Longview Farm water tower visible in distance. August 2002.

CHAPTER SIX

INTERPRETING THE HISTORY OF HORSE SPORTS IN CONTEXT

Country house and rural estate stables from the 1865 to 1929 period are a venue to discuss recreational and leisure activities; and the rise of professions, especially architecture and landscape design, in a rapidly industrializing and urbanizing nation. Museum directors, historic preservationists, and other material culture professionals and educators are often unaware of these neglected resources. An unabridged use of the historical context will enhance a horse sports site's interpretation: the wealthy, social elite owners and competitors, working class grooms and stable help, corporate business and administration practices, and traditional horse management principals. These new interpretations could encourage visitors and the neighboring public to support historic sites and stables that face mounting pressures from suburban sprawl, increased taxation, and high structural preservation costs.

There are many museums and historic sites in the United States that emphasize their connection with one or more aspects of the American sport horse industry from 1865 to 1929. These museums fall into two categories according to their type: historic site or horse sport and/or breed organization. Most of these sites, regardless of type, use three themes to present their history: the site's physical structure(s); the owners, employees, and horses; and associated material culture. Museum and historic site staff seeking to improve their presentation, better utilize their historic structures, or support a larger,

site-wide mission, if the equestrian-related resources are just one element of a larger, more complex site, can use these three themes to emphasize their own particular history or activity.

Stable Complex Structures

Using extant stable complex structures as interactive venues usually occurs at historic house or estate museums. However, all too often, the stable complex is relegated to a secondary status as a storage unit or maintenance facility as is the case with the 1897 coach house and garage at the Vanderbilt Mansion in the FDR/Vanderbilt National Historic Site (Figure 6.1). At Shelburne Farms, in Shelburne, Vermont, the 1891 Broodmare Barn is primarily a lumber drying facility, though the site does have plans to renovate the building into classrooms, dormitories, and workshop space. The 1891 Ring Barn or Breeding Barn, a difficult building to adapt for reuse due to its immense size, is mostly used as an off-site storage space for the other departments.

The 1907 Belair stable in Bowie, Maryland, one of five different museums owned and operated by the City of Bowie, had a similar fate as a storage facility during the early 1960s.¹ In 1969, the Heritage Committee opened the stable as the city's first museum and began to advertise the stable as the Cradle of Thoroughbred Racing in America since it had been the "oldest continually operated horse farm in the United States."² From 1969 to 2000, the stable was primarily a memorial to *Gallant Fox* and the other Belair horses, with

¹ "The Museums of Bowie." Brochure, City of Bowie Museums, obtained October 2003. The other City of Bowie Museums are Belair Mansion, Bowie Railroad Station, Prince Georges County Genealogical Library, and the Radio and Television Museum.

² Belair Stable Page, www.cityofbowie.org/comserv/museums.htm and *Bowie Spotlight*, City of Bowie Newsletter, May-June 2002, 1-2.

statues and framed pictures inside the stalls.³ The exhibit would have given visitors an idea of what the horse looked like, but neither the horse nor his grooms would have recognized the stall. There was almost no context providing a glimpse into the daily life of the horses or their caretakers. A two-year renovation from 2000 to 2002 resulted in a new interpretive program in the stabling area. The carriage room, no longer a repair shop, has introductory panels for the entire site and each stall front has a section panel that provides basic information about the structure and its elements (Figure 6.2). One wing addresses the estate's development under the Woodwards and the other the Belair horses and employees. The second wing's stalls are bedded with straw, and grain sacks and straw bales line the aisle, giving the stable a lived-in feel (Figure 6.3).

In the 1913 Good Time Stable, in Goshen, New York, the introductory panel at the stable entrance outlines the stable's history. Inside the stable, tack trunks and blanket bars with blankets complement the occasional section panels that describe some individual elements, such as the hay chute cubby hole exhibit (Figure 6.4). Converting a stable into a museum usually requires some significant changes to the structure itself to meet safety and curatorial standards. At the Good Time Stable, the changes are both effective and sympathetic. For example, the exterior hayloft doors are visible yet sealed, and the main aisle retains its historic feel despite the removal of a few dividing stall walls to create larger exhibit spaces (Figures 6.5 and 6.6).

At Lyndhurst, in Tarrytown, New York the brick-and-timber carriage house complex—with carriage sheds, stables, and a coach house with second floor dormitory

³ Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record, "Belair, Stables, Belair Drive at East end of Tulip Grove Road, Bowie, Prince George's County, Maryland," HABS,MD,17-COLTO.V,1A-1 to -10.

space grouped around a central courtyard--are all part of George Merritt's 1864 building program.⁴ Half of the carriage house and stable complex has been converted to a bookstore and museum. Although the museum has interpretive panels that provide an overview of the entire site, including the carriage house and stable complex, the other areas do not include any signage or explanatory placards. The other half of the complex includes the harness room, used for viewing the introductory video, and a cafe. Some of the cafe seating has been cleverly incorporated into the stable's standing stalls, but the adaptive reuse area does not interpret the original use (Figure 6.7).

The 1886 Roosevelt Coach House-Stable at the FDR/Vanderbilt National Historic Site, designed by F. C. Withers, has the least amount of interpretive information available to visitors (Figure 6.8). The stable includes an audio recording of Eleanor Roosevelt talking about unruly horses, not necessarily the best choice, and some ribbons won by family members at local horse shows. There is no attention directed to the detailed ornamental hinges or rollers, monogrammed wooden buckets, or other stable elements. Nor is there any mention of James Roosevelt (Rosy) Roosevelt, Franklin Delano Roosevelt's older brother, an active participant in horse sports, and whose interests would have exposed Franklin D. Roosevelt to the other members of the wealthy, social elite and their recreational activities. The 1997 Historic Structures Report does mention their father's early interest in race horses. According to the report, the Franklin D. Roosevelt

⁴ Lyndhurst, National Trust for Historic Preservation, "Visitor's Guide" obtained during a July, 2003 visit. Richard Greenwood, "Jay Gould Estate, Lyndhurst," National Register of Historic Places Inventory -- Nomination Form, 1978, 7-2.

family primarily used their horses for transportation, although Anna became more involved in horse sports.⁵

In Kentucky, a tour of the Churchill Downs grandstands and paddock area is included in the Kentucky Derby Museum admission, and visitors may pay an additional fee to take a backside track tour. Additional attractions include the resident Thoroughbred and Miniature Horse Exhibit, two horses stabled next to the museum along a memorial-lined path of past Derby equine participants. A guide introduces the horses, but any information about the facility itself or its elements must be gleaned from the first section of the interior museum exhibit that outlines the development of Churchill Downs.

At Belle Meade Plantation in Nashville, Tennessee, a site that actively promotes its connection to the Thoroughbred breeding industry, the carriage house and stable lacks permanent signage about the structure, its elements, and the other stable elements that were once part of the estate (Figure 6.9). Built to enhance the well-established Thoroughbred breeding program, the wooden c. 1890 carriage house and stable could be an important resource for equine interpretation at Belle Meade Plantation. However, the stable, restored in the 1980s, remains secondary to the majestic brick house in the site's interpretive plan. The carriage room does have some historic photographs of the property

⁵ Marie L. Carden, *Draft. Outbuildings. Historic Structures Report* (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service: Building Conservation Branch, Northeast Cultural Resources Center, 1997), 18-19, 27-28, 48. See also Linda Donn, *The Roosevelt Cousins: Growing Up Together, 1882-1924* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001); Margaret Partridge, revised by James L. Brown, 1991, *Interpretive Prospectus. Home of Franklin D. Roosevelt National Historic Site* (Hyde Park, NY: Roosevelt-Vanderbilt National Historic Sites, 1989); and Maureen K. Phillips, *Vanderbilt Garage/Stable Historic Structure Report. Vanderbilt Mansion National Historic Site. Hyde Park, New York, Draft* (Lowell, MA: Building Conservation Branch, Northeast Cultural Resources Center, 1999).

mounted along the exterior walls and a few estate maps in the cross-wing.⁶ Updated displays of architectural drawings/maps of stable and other livestock areas could show the estate's evolution and illustrate more of the estate's original buildings and their animal occupants, such as the cashmere goats. For the stable complex in particular, new interpretive panels could illustrate the stallion sheds, the long stable, the round sales stable, blacksmith shop, foaling stable, and mule barn. Environmental issues such as water supply and sanitation could also be addressed. In the stabling area one of the stalls could become an architectural model with a panel of examples from plan books of the period. Other panels could outline the manufacturers of various components including the door, hay manger, water trough, grain bucket; identify the construction date; and describe the building process, including labor (hired hands or permanent staff) and the procurement, cost, and shipment of supplies. The aisle, like the Belair Stable, could include samples of hay, grain, and bedding produced and used at Belle Meade.

Owners, Employees, and Horses

Stable complexes are ideal locations for historic sites and museums to address broader issues in social and cultural history. Unlike the main house or the exhibits devoted to the breed or sport founders, stable panels and tours can focus on the employees, their daily lives, and their interactions with the horses and their employers. A detailed examination of the stable complex can also highlight corporate business and administration practices as they were used in horse sports at the historic site. At a museum without a stable, a section devoted to the organization's evolution, subsidiary

⁶ The Belle Meade Carriage House and Stable also had an audio recording that was difficult to understand since it was old, scratchy and utilized excessive dialect.

associations, and annual events can provide more than a list of accomplishments; it also can highlight the organization's development within a national context.

At Belair, section panels in the second wing have detailed descriptions and historic photographs of the Woodwards, their employees, and the horses. The library has several trophies won by the Belair horses and a set of Belair racing silks (Figure 6.10). However, the site does not use the silks as an opportunity to discuss the jockeys employed by the Woodwards or the employees who cared for the Belair horses when racing and not at the historic stable. The museum has another opportunity to interpret administrative and employee history in the furnished manager's apartment (Figure 6.11). James Brady, the stable manager, lived in the stable residence with his family. One of his daughters, Thelma, has given much of her family furniture to the museum. Visitors step back in time as they walk into the apartment now filled with Brady family pieces. Since the city reopened the museum, more horse-related items have been donated to the museum, filling the once empty rooms and shelves in the apartment and elsewhere. The rooms could be enhanced with one or two interpretive panels that include a history of the family.

The Kentucky Derby museum examines the experiences of all participants (human and equine) in the yearly festival that effectively preempts all other activities in Louisville on the first Saturday in May. On the first floor, a covered walkway, lined with biographies and facts about notable Derby jockeys, trainers, owners, and horses, highlight the men and women who have been successful in the Kentucky Derby. However, the museum's second-floor exhibit of African-American trainers, jockeys, and other track personnel is the weakest section of the entire museum. The depth of information displayed in the other

areas is not equaled here. The worn appearance of the panels and the older monitor (downstairs the exhibits include flat-screen monitors) suggest that these panels might be replaced in the future which would be an opportunity to reconceptualize the interpretation.

At Belle Meade, the administration has focused upon slavery and the lives of African Americans at Belle Meade Plantation from 1835 to 1904. Within this broadened interpretation, the horses and other animals are generally interpreted as examples of both white and black residents' daily activities. A brief tour of the stable is included in the home tour during which the docents touch upon the upkeep of the horses and the extensive carriage collection. However, the site does not fully utilize the published research of Ridley Wills II or Margaret Lindsley Warden.⁷ New interpretive panels describing the carriage house and stable elements, blanket racks, storage drawers, feed room, and so forth would provide opportunities to discuss the daily routine of the employees. A series of panels, like those in the Kentucky Derby Museum, could describe the various employees' positions and duties during the stable's heyday, 1865-1900. These might include the stud manager, Bob Green (without the usual sobriquet "Uncle"), c.1826 - 1906, the grooms, any children or women who had jobs in the stable; and those who performed the farrier and veterinary work. Panels might also address members of the

⁷ See Ridley Wills II, *Belle Meade Bloodlines* (Nashville: Association for the Preservation of Tennessee Antiquities, 1990); *The Belle Meade Farm Its Landmarks and Out-Buildings* (Nashville: Association for the Preservation of Tennessee Antiquities, 1986); "Black-White Relationships on the Belle Meade Plantation," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 50, no. 1 (1991): 17-32; "The Eclipse of the Thoroughbred Horse Industry in Tennessee," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (1987): 157-171; *The History of Belle Meade: Mansion, Plantation, and Stud* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1991); and Margaret Lindsley Warden, *The Belle Meade Plantation*, rev. James H. Redford and Ridley Wills II (Nashville: Association for the Preservation of Tennessee Antiquities, 1988).

Harding-Jackson family who were involved with the horses. In the central cross-way a looped video showing examples of the estate's sporting activities would interest adults and children alike. This film could include both still photographs and contemporary video clips of events such as harness racing, flat racing, foxhunting, steeplechasing, competitive driving, and pleasure or trail riding.

Belle Meade could also transform five of its stalls into a timeline, like the one at the Good Time Stable, to address agricultural and equine life at Belle Meade. Each stall could use a prominent Belle Meade stallion as a lens for the appropriate time period. Photographs or drawings of each specific horse should be linked to the decorative objects in the house; charts could outline each horse's competition record and his produce; and other panels could interpret broader changes in horse sports, the estate's agricultural development, and the employees and owners associated with the stable complex during the period.

For example, the first stall could be **Priam*, a pre-Civil War horse and winner of the 1830 English Derby. The stall might include the extent and scope of agriculture before and during the Civil War, the era's major sporting events, the slaves involved with the stables and the hay/grain fields, and the transformation of the property from a farm to a stud. The narrative could also include descriptions of the other pre-1865 Belle Meade horses owned by John Harding (1777 to 1865) such as *Childe Harold*; the Arabian *Baghdad* imported in 1823; the stud's first foal, *Alpha*, born March 10, 1836; the stallions *Vandal*, *Jack Malone* (1858), and *John Morgan* (1858). The second through fifth stalls could interpret 1865-1880 with **Bonnie Scotland*; the 1880s with *Iroquois*; 1890s-1904

with *The Commoner*; and 1904-1953 when Belle Meade's ownership transferred from the Jacksons to Jacob McGavock Dickinson, J. O. Leake, Walter O. Parmer, and Meredith Caldwell, each of whom had individual equestrian ventures. This section would conclude with the continuation of the Belle Meade name as a breeding facility until 1953 and its connection to early-twenty-first century Thoroughbred horses.⁸

Material Culture

All of these sites have a wealth of available material culture. The Kentucky Derby Museum, the Harness Racing Museum, and Belair provide excellent examples of how these material culture can be incorporated to interpret different facilities. The Kentucky Derby Museum celebrates an annual race for Thoroughbred three-year-old horses, the Kentucky Derby. The two-story museum advertises itself as a place “where technology, history and time honored traditions combine to make your visit a day to remember.” Overall the museum is an excellent experience for both children and adults, browsers and streakers, with text and visuals fulfilling its mission to recreate “Derby day, every day.”⁹ The exhibits include a 360-degree introductory film, starting gates as entrance stiles, historic photographs, memorabilia including a selection of the famous hats, electronic and graphic illustrations of the pyramidal Thoroughbred industry, large model horses to ride in a virtual race, and films of each Derby race since 1918. Another area explains the job descriptions and tools of all backside, track, and office personnel. Though most of the

⁸ Francis Trevelyan, “The Status of the American Turf,” *Outing, an Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 19, no. 6 (March 1892): 473. See also Sanders D. Bruce, *The Horse-Breeder's Guide and Hand Book* (New York: Turf, Field and Farm, 1883), 24, 38. Other Belle Meade stallions included *Priam, *Eagle, *Bluster, *Loyalis:, *Luke Blackburn, Tremont, Huron, Tammany, The Parader, and Inspector B.*

⁹ Kentucky Derby Museum Brochure, from 12 March 2004 visit.

material culture items in this last section are new, few are designed for interactive use (Figure 6.12).

At the Harness Racing Museum, a historic tack truck filled with artifacts and descriptive cards is designed for visitor handling and inspection (Figure 6.13). The tack and harness room at Belair is an excellent example of properly hung, clean, oiled tack. Though the room does not have any section panels, visitors do get a feel for a tack room's usual order (Figure 6.14). The Lyndhurst harness room exhibit has some rare example of stable employee uniforms from the museum collection, but the harness is improperly hung (Figure 6.15). The Shelburne Ring Barn is another example of a site with original primary resources that have not yet been fully utilized. The second-story storage area includes carriages that have not yet been repaired or interpreted. The tack room has wool wither pads, saddle pads, and blankets. Tack trunks and miscellaneous leather items round out the displayed items (Figures 6.16-6.19). At the Roosevelt Stable, dry, dirty, improperly hung harness pieces fill the harness cases in the tack room (Figure 6.20). The site has numerous equine-related items in its museum collection that could be used to better interpret the stable's role in the Roosevelt family. The site is primarily focused on the later life of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, which is understandable, but the coach house would have been an important part of his daily life as a child.

At Belle Meade, the carriage collection provides an opportunity for the site to address transportation and sporting activities in the daily lives of those who lived and visited Belle Meade (Figure 6.21). The visitor would be able to better imagine carriages arriving and leaving and the daily routines of Belle Meade employees if the site began with

four items. First, each carriage should have new labels providing the date, materials, place of manufacture, when purchased and by whom (if applicable), and type/use. Ideally these labels would incorporate historic photographs of each carriage in use. These could be on moveable stands since the space is often used for special events. Second, new labels could describe the tack (harness) on the walls, including, for each set: date, materials, place of manufacture, when purchased and by whom (if applicable), and type/use. The harnesses should be hung correctly and not allowed to become dry and crack. Third, a general panel could describe the evolution of transportation methods: foot, horseback, boat, carriage or wagon, trolley, train, car, plane. A transportation timeline might include notable events from the Harding and Jackson families. For example, John Harding IV was one of the first men to fly around the world in 1924. An explanation of road evolution in the United States could then explain the changes in wagon/carriage manufacture as related to the Belle Meade carriage collection. This would include an overview of the local area and Belle Meade roads, the plantation's depot, even the Town of Belle Meade's road signs adapted from the Belle Meade Plantation logo. Fourth, the stable area could have one or more grooming boxes with brushes and tools, like the tack trunk at the Good Time Stable. A tack trunk could also include blankets (in the Belle Meade colors), halters, bits, fly swatters, and so forth.

At any horse sports site, creative development of educational packets for teachers and students can address the relevant state standards across the curriculum, not just history or social studies, and utilize the different learning styles: auditory, visual, mixed, and kinesthetic.¹⁰ For example, students could “stack” small, one-by-two-foot straw bales;

¹⁰Exhibits and educational packets that utilize the four learning styles would also

calculate the total volume of a hay or straw stack; measure and weigh feeds according to stall cards; sort tack or grooming tools according to use and shape; or listen to recordings of different horses and determine their gaits according to the beats. Some sites would improve merely through the implementation of a curatorial plan focused upon the equestrian resources. Proper care of the leather goods, including cleaning, oiling, and hanging would ensure long-term preservation of these historic resources and improve the appearance of these exhibits. There are some sterling examples of historic stabling areas and stall fronts in *Chicago Daily News* photographs at the Chicago Historical Society that could be used as models. Lyndhurst, Shelburne, and the Roosevelt home all have readily discernible curatorial practices in place for their house collections, but no obvious guidelines for the other structures.

The horse sport-related structures and artifacts at all of these sites are opportunities to discuss wealthy, social elite recreational and leisure activities, employee and owner (horse or property) relations, and the transformation of American horse sports. Belle Meade promotes its equestrian heritage, but unlike the Kentucky Derby Museum or the Harness Racing Museum, does not fully integrate this history into the visitor experience. Shelburne Farms, in the past, has not specifically addressed the site's role in the development of American horse sports and the development of the American upper class. However, it has successfully integrated its dairy herd and Farm Barn into the interpretive program, and there is no reason that the stable complexes could not be similarly incorporated (Figures 6.22 and 6.23). All of these sites and the many other benefit from the incorporation of the eight multiple intelligences as outlined by Howard Gardner: linguistic, musical, logical-mathematical, spatial, bodily-kinesthetic, interpersonal, intrapersonal, and naturalistic.

museums, historic properties, or even new developments such as New Longview, can utilize similar techniques to interpret the American horse industry and the wealthy, social elite between 1865 and 1929.

Outreach and Opportunities

Improved presentation, better utilization of historic structures, and more cohesive, site-wide interpretive plans would not only enhance the visitor experience, but also open new opportunities for funding and development. Horse sport museums and sites are natural partners for fundraising activities, including equestrian demonstrations or entire competitions depending upon the property size or location. Nearby pony clubs, trail riding groups, or other horse sport organizations provide appropriate volunteer sources for large projects. For example, in 2001 the Danada Forest Preserve in the Chicago area, which includes a historic racing stable, joined four other groups, two of which were equestrian organizations, to repair and paint its half-mile training track.¹¹ Some sites, like the Kentucky Horse Park and the Kentucky Derby Museum, have horses as permanent residents and exhibits on the property. Each of these sites also hosts internationally recognized annual competitive events in addition to other competitions throughout the year. Shelburne Farms has enough space to host a variety of competitive events such as horse shows, cross-country events, foxhunting, competitive trail rides, combined driving, or polo, all of which were part of the Webbs' equestrian activities. These events require dedicated personnel, continual facility maintenance and development, and a significant

¹¹Kristin J. Ingwell and Eileen C. White, "Doing Up Danada," *The Blood-Horse* (1 December 2001): 7148.

initial investment of funds; however, these events also provide substantial returns that increase exponentially with the competition length and quality.

Historic stable complex sites or museums that are part of a suburban, or ex-urban, area can draw from a myriad of existing preservation plans across the country. In Fairfax County, Virginia, an area that has experienced dramatic suburban growth, the Frying Pan Park, a county park, is a multi-use public facility that preserves green space, hosts the annual Difficult Run Pony Club Horse Trials, preserves historical and archaeological resources, and serves as a cultural and educational center.¹² At the Pinehurst Harness Track, a National Historic Landmark in North Carolina, the historic track and stabling areas have been renovated by a local community group, the Pinehurst Historic Preservation Foundation. The site hosts the annual Dressage in the Sandhills competition, preserving the green space in a rapidly developing area.¹³ The Equestrian Land Conservation Resource, an organization endorsed by all of the leading equestrian associations, works to preserve all types of equestrian sites. It also has developed free informational packets about funding opportunities and successful joint venture programs to preserve land for equestrian use (and jogging, hiking, and biking) by drawing upon a network of preservation and equestrian oriented organizations.¹⁴ In an era of increased competition for funding and visitors, a better understanding and utilization of historic

¹²Ashleigh Elliott, "Eventing in Suburbia? It's Not so Difficult," *Eventing USA* (July/August 2002): 23-30.

¹³"Historic Showgrounds," *The Chronicle of the Horse* (20 May 2003): 40.

¹⁴Equestrian Land Conservation Resource, *Equestrian Land Protection Guide* (Galena, IL: Equestrian Land Conservation Resource, 2000). See also Charles E. Little, *Greenways for America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990).

stables and a site's role in the horse sport industry will provide opportunities to attract a wider audience and will open new avenues for preservation and funding.

The new American upper class formed between 1865 and 1929, and the wealthy, social elite in particular, drew upon pre-Civil War American class stratifications; popular understanding of European nobility and gentry and lifestyles; generous rewards, both financial and temporal, for corporate success; and an unapologetic display of consumption. Individuals and families used their wealth and leisure time to participate, often competitively, in automobile racing, yachting, flying, and horse sports. At the same time they also built resort and camp homes; collected artwork; and participated in horticulture as marks of their social prestige while establishing the foundation of the modern American horse industry. The American upper class had become a nationalized social class open to newly wealthy individuals whose position within the upper strata was defined by their actions in both their public and private lives as manifested in the construction of country house, rural estate, and competitive stable complexes.



Figure 6.1 Coach house and garage (1897) at Vanderbilt Mansion, Hyde Park, New York. July 2002: top, side view; bottom, main entrance.

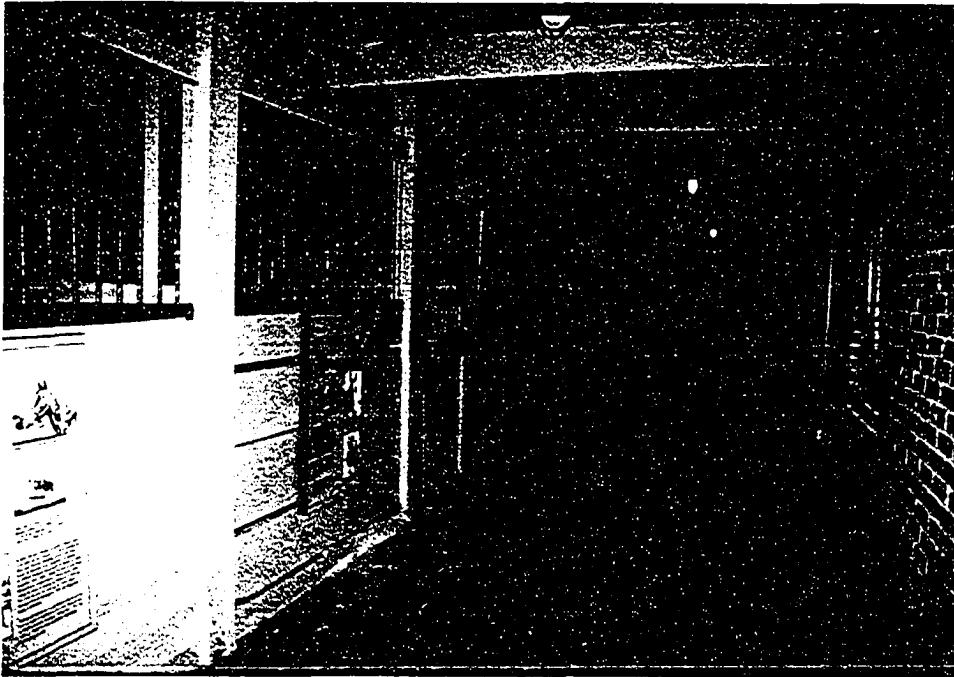


Figure 6.2 Aisle with chronologically arranged section panels on the stall fronts, Belair Stable (1907), Bowie, Maryland. October 2003.

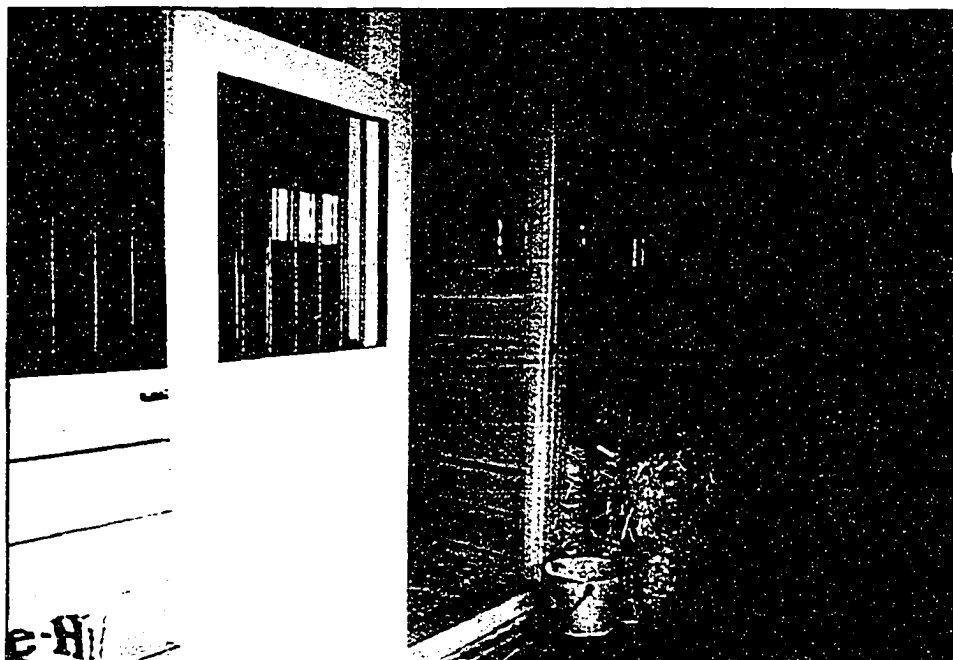


Figure 6.3 Stall area with straw bales, stuffed grain sacks, feed scoops and buckets in one wing of the Belair Stable (1907), Bowie, Maryland. October 2003.



Figure 6.4 Exhibit in stall hay chute cubbyhole, Good Time Stable (1913), Harness Horse Museum and Racing Hall of Fame, Goshen, New York. July 2002.

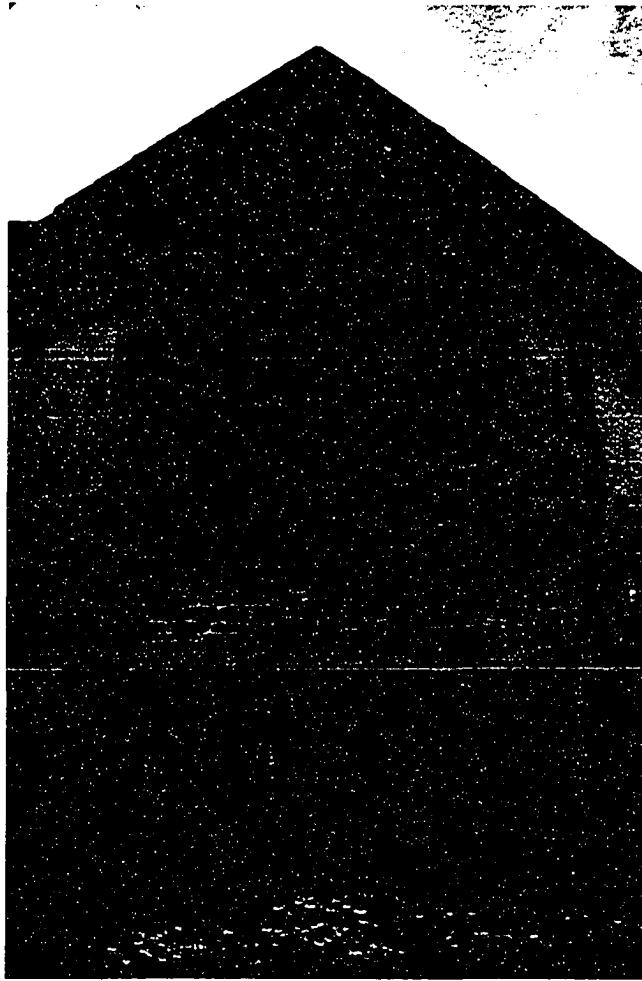


Figure 6.5 Good Time Stable (1913), the Harness Racing Museum and Hall of Fame, Goshen, New York. July 2002. The hay loft doors have been left in place, but are now protected and sealed with a transparent cover.

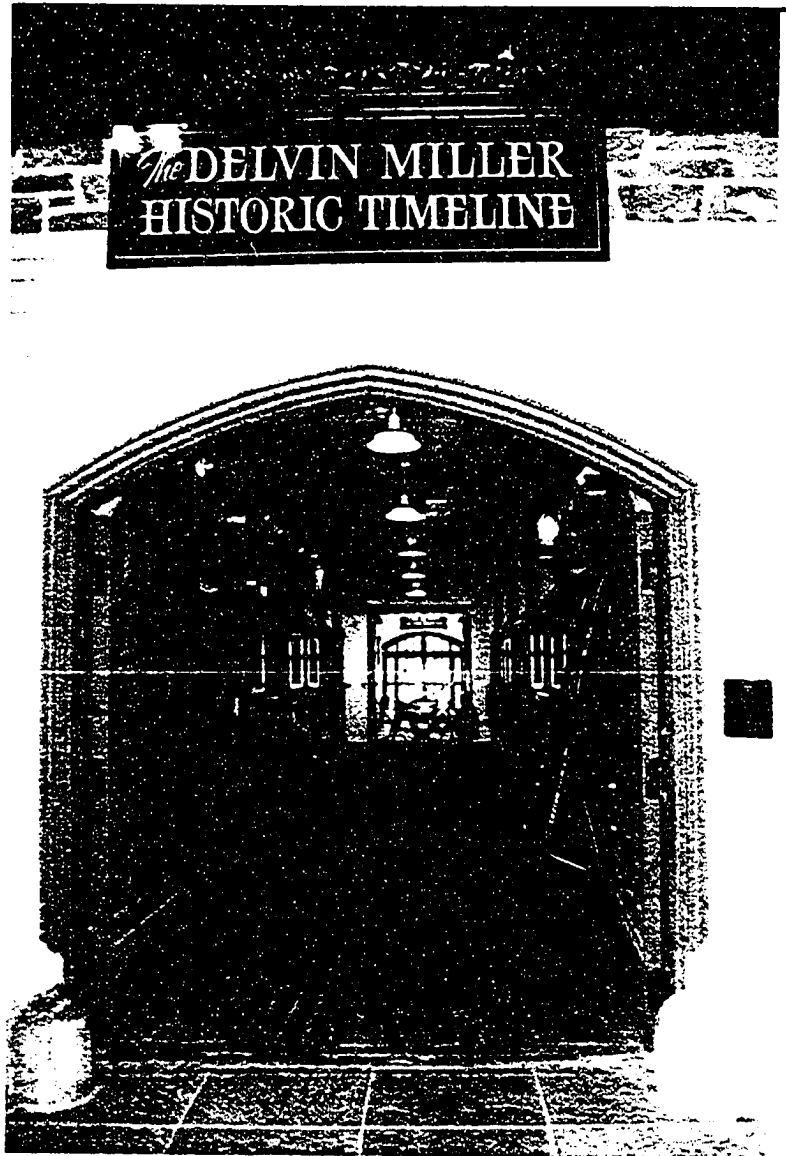


Figure 6.6 Entrance to historic Good Time Stable (1913), part of the Harness Horse Museum and Racing Hall of Fame, Goshen, New York. July 2002.

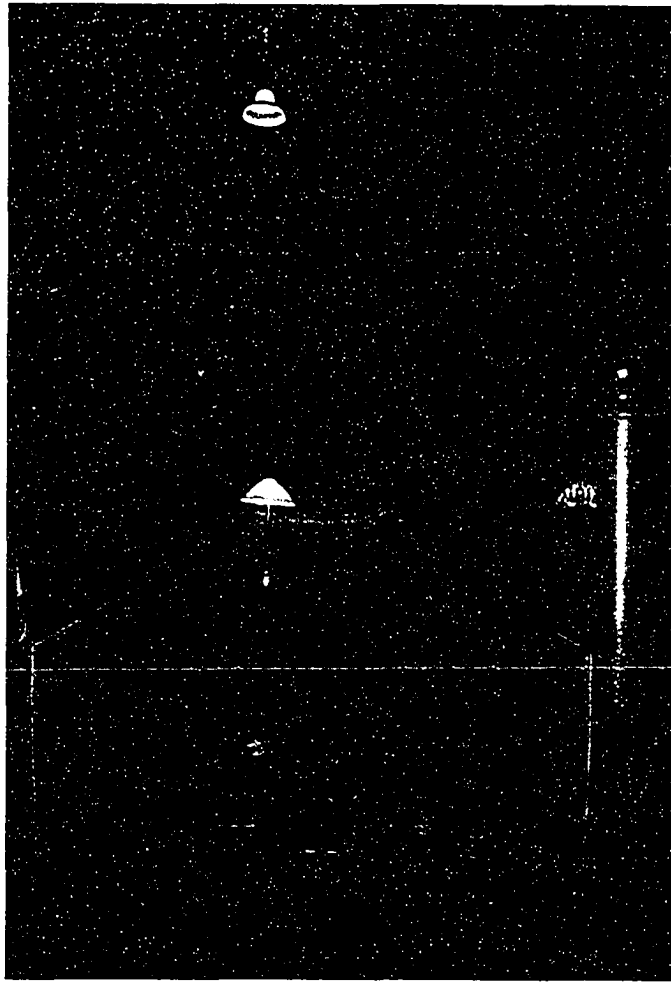


Figure 6.7 Standing stall in Lyndhurst carriage house stable (1865), now used as café seating. Lyndhurst National Historic Site. Tarrytown, New York. July 2002.



Figure 6.8 Exterior of the Roosevelt Coach House-Stable (1886). FDR/Vanderbilt National Historic Site. Nancy A. Morgan Photograph. September 2004.

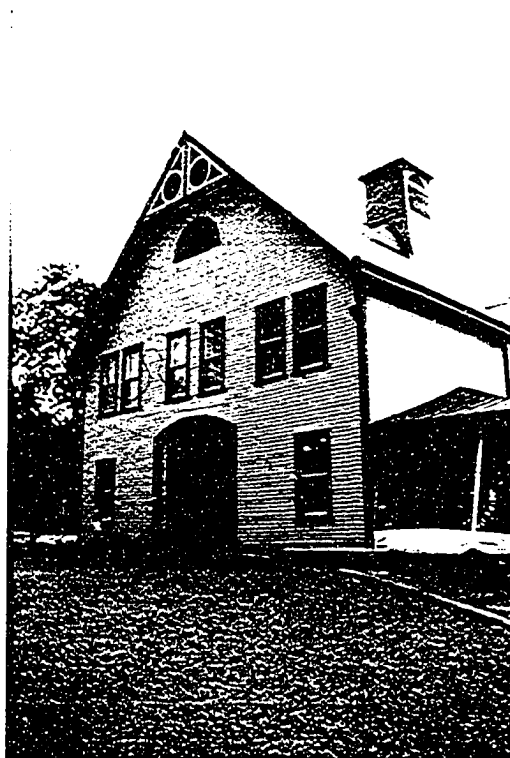


Figure 6.9 Carriage House and Stable (c. 1890), Belle Meade, Nashville, Tennessee. March 2004.

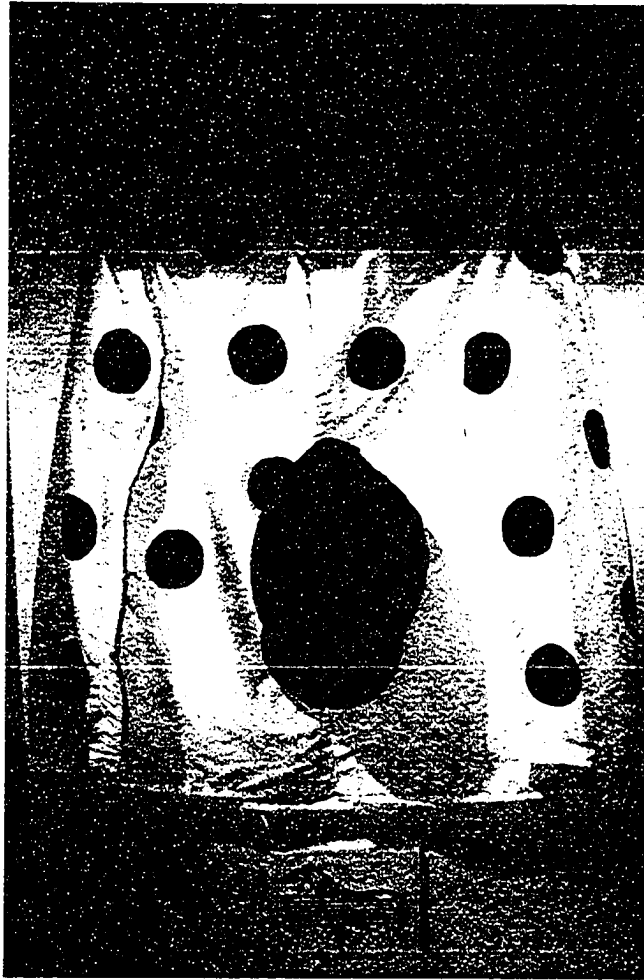


Figure 6.10 Belair Stud racing silks exhibit in the library of the Belair Stable, Bowie, Maryland. October 2003.



Figure 6.11 Kitchen in stable manager's quarters. Belair Stable (1907). Bowie, Maryland. October 2003.

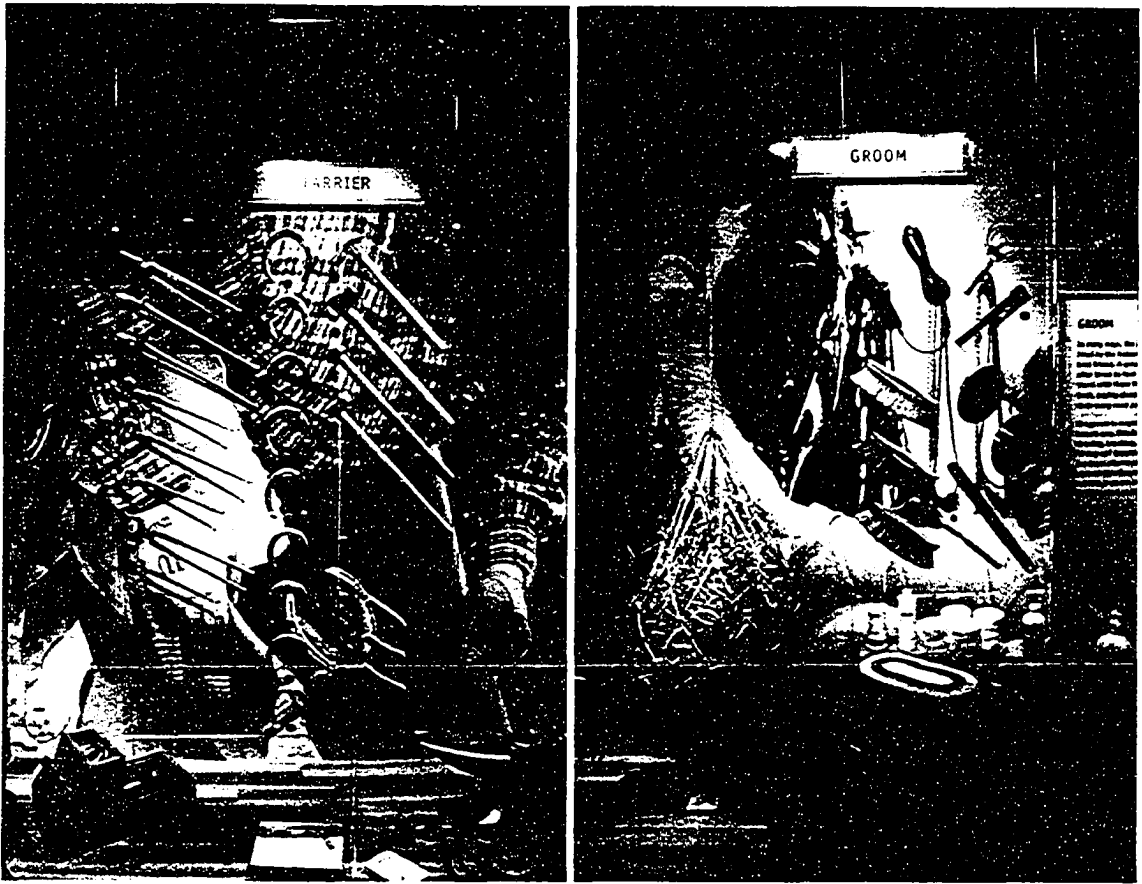


Figure 6.12 Two exhibits with the tools of two track personnel in the Kentucky Derby Museum, Churchill Downs, Louisville, Kentucky. March 2004: top, the farrier; bottom, the groom.



Figure 6.13 Tack box exhibit, Harness Horse Museum and Hall of Fame, Goshen, New York. July 2002.



Figure 6.14 Harness room showing clean, oiled, and symmetrically hung harness in the Belair Stable (1907), Bowie, Maryland. October 2003.

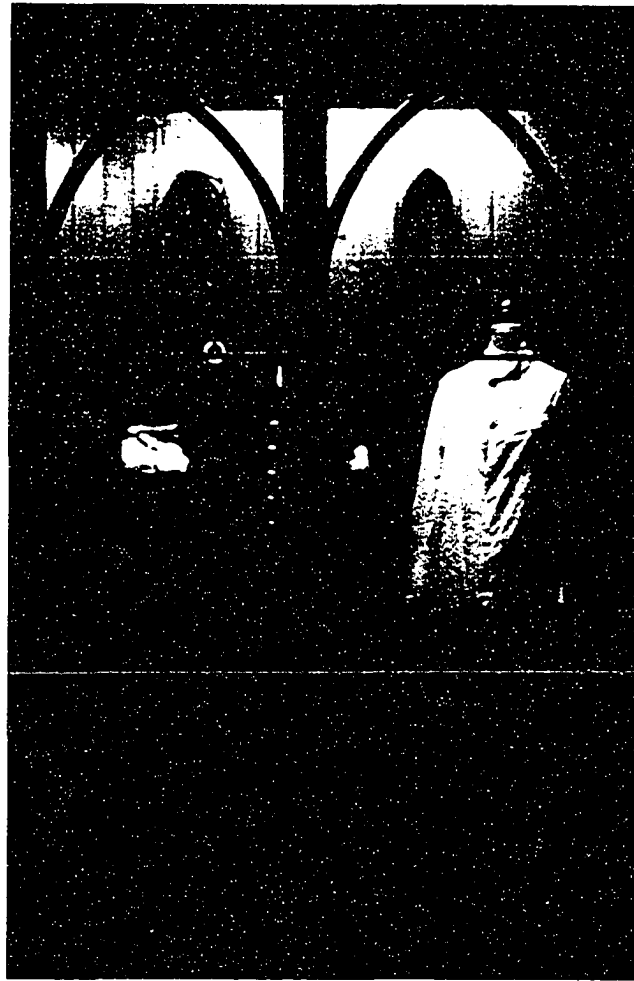


Figure 6.15 Exhibit in harness room of 1865 carriage house and stable, Lyndhurst, Tarrytown, New York. July 2002. The stable employee uniforms are quite rare, however the tack is dusty, dry and improperly hung.

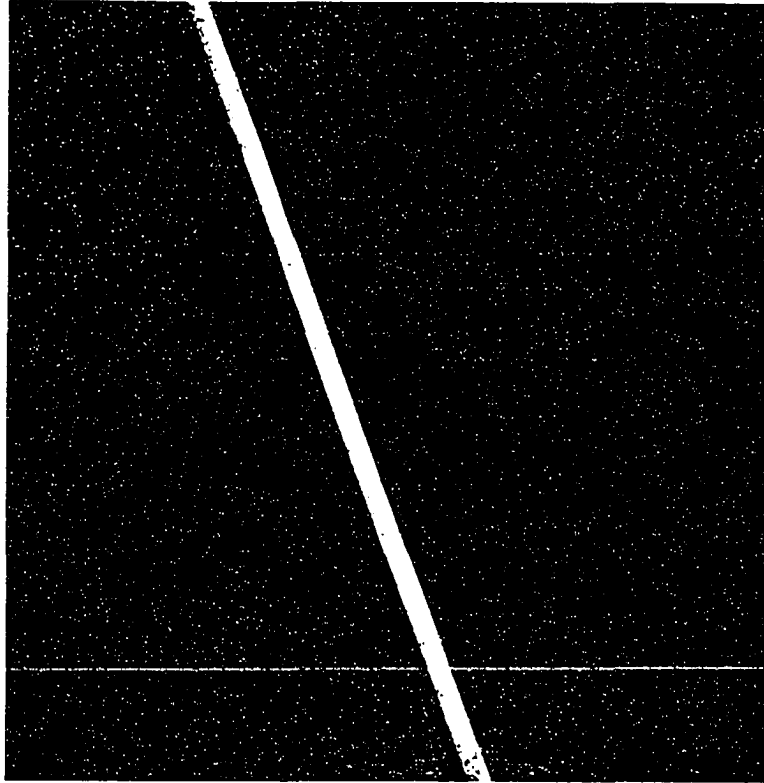


Figure 6.16 Sleighs in the carriage storage area of the Breeding Barn (1891) at Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont. July 2002.

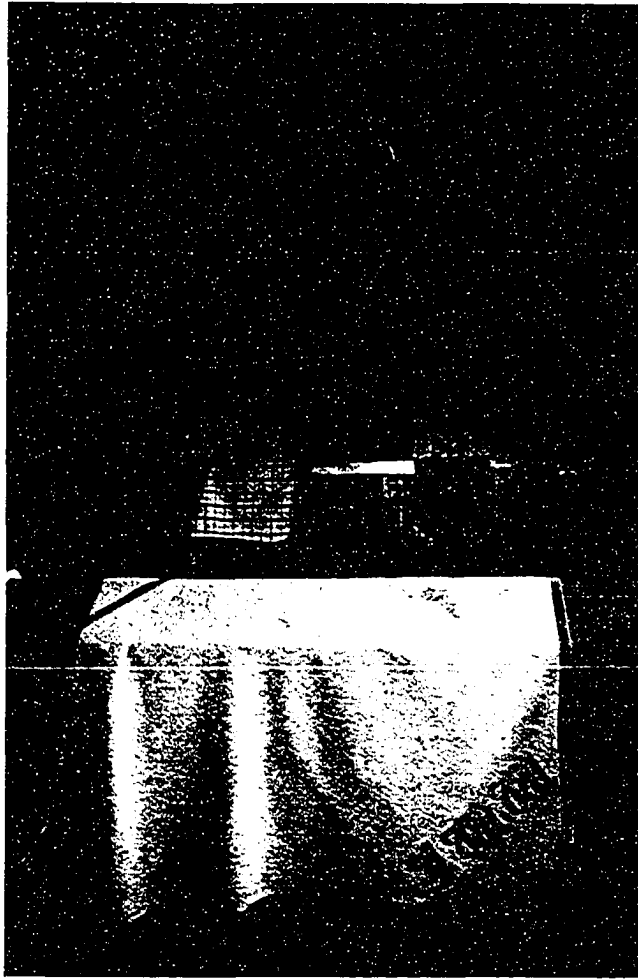


Figure 6.17 Tack and blanket storage room in the Breeding Barn (1891) at Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont. July 2002. The wool wither pads, saddle pads, and blankets were owned by James Watson Webb as can be seen from the monogram.

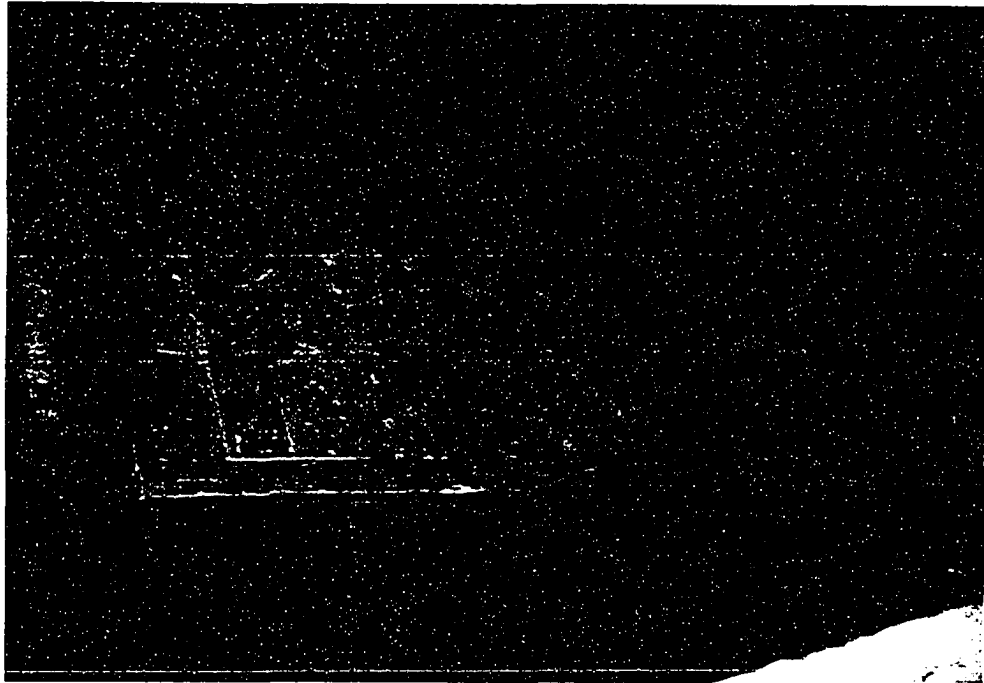


Figure 6.18 Two tack trunks in the tack and blanket storage room of the Breeding Barn, (1891), Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont. July 2002.

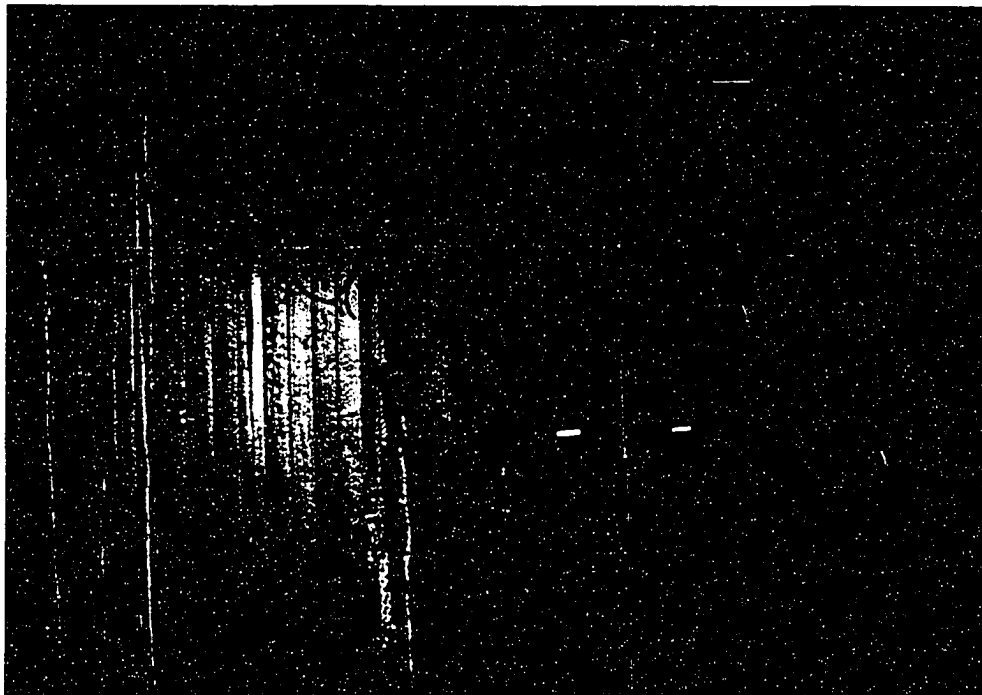


Figure 6.19 Miscellaneous, randomly hung, dry tack in the tack and blanket storage room of the Breeding Barn (1891), Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont. July 2002.

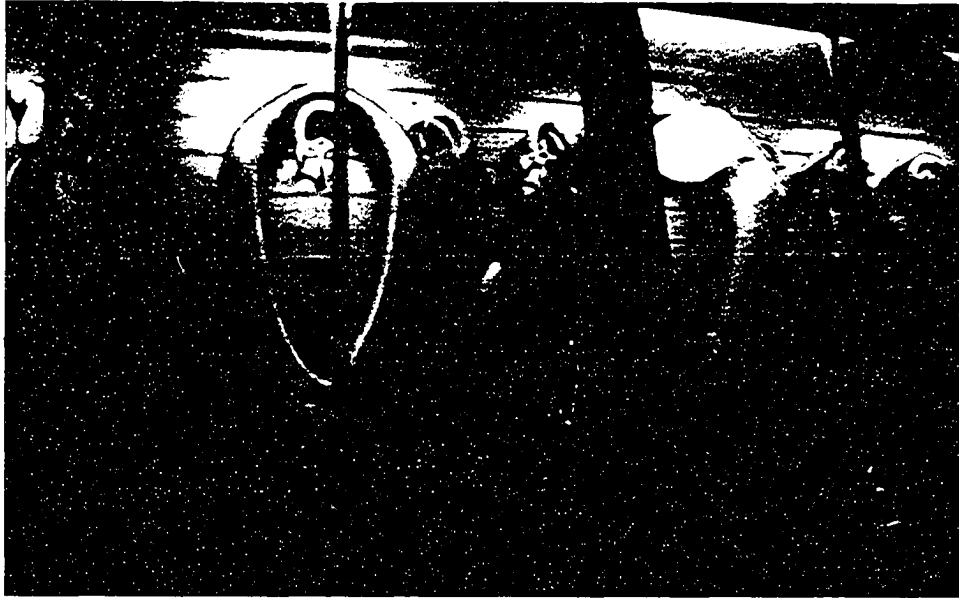


Figure 6.20 Harness and tack improperly hung in harness and tack room of Roosevelt Stable, 1886, Hyde Park, New York. July 2002.

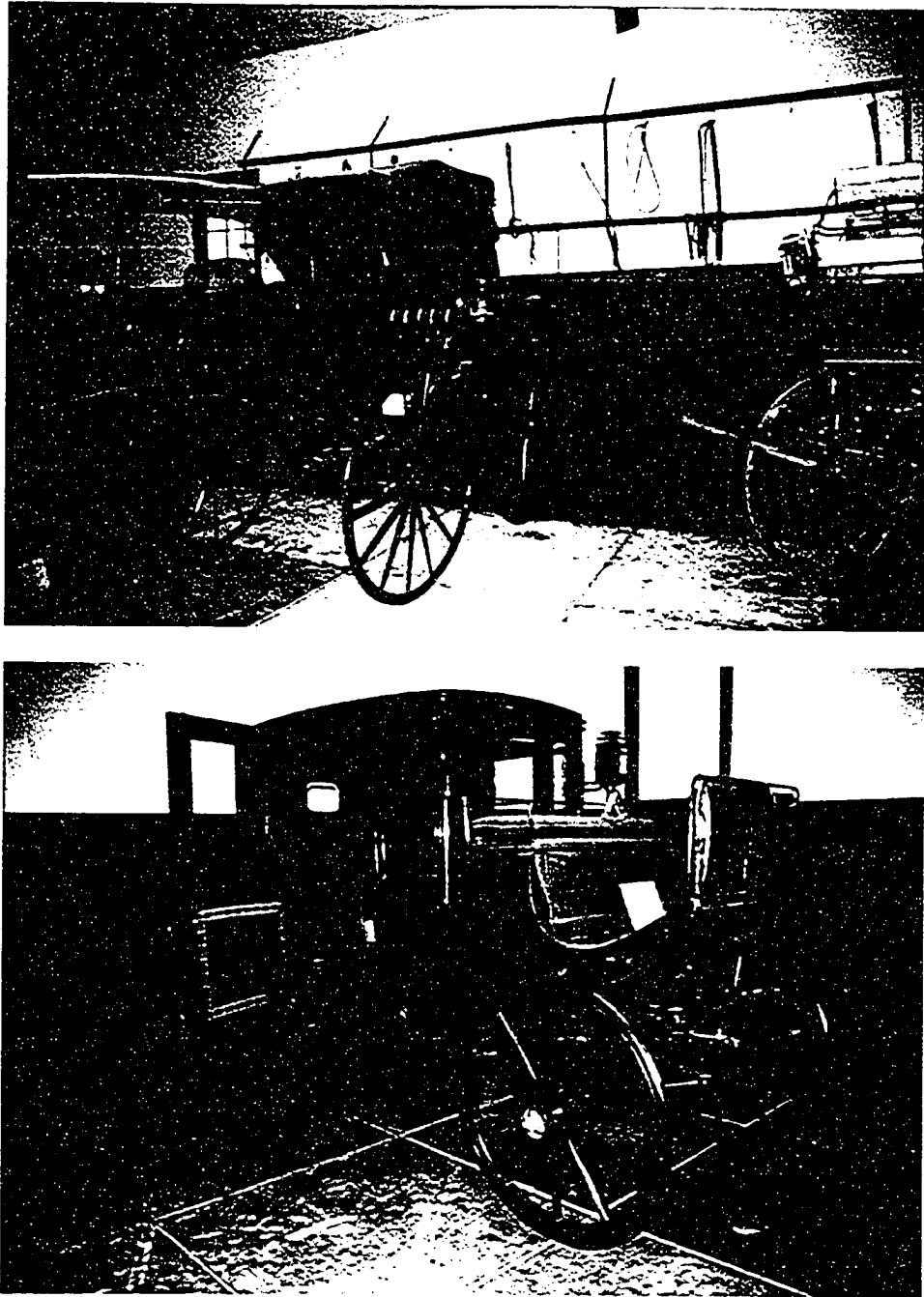


Figure 6.21 Historic carriages and randomly hung harness in the Carriage House and Stable (c. 1890), Belle Meade Plantation, Nashville, Tennessee. March 2004.



Figure 6.22 Brown Swiss dairy cows, Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont. July 2003.



Figure 6.23 Visitors with chickens at the Farm Barn (1890), Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont. July 2003.

EPILOGUE

The Great Depression and World War II slowed the rapid growth of American horse sports that had begun in the 1910s. Most of the wealthy, social elite did not lose their fortunes during the Depression, but by the end of World War II many members of the swellest set were no longer active participants in horse sports. Between 1930 and 1945 many of the wealthy, social elite family leaders died and their heirs, unlike the two generations of Belmonts who repurchased the family racing and breeding stock, were not interested in horse sports.¹ The large family fortunes begun in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries and once concentrated in the hands of one or two family members, had become much smaller due to taxes, divorces, inheritances, and the decline of the former leading corporations. Railroads, oil, steel, and many of the other large industries that were synonymous with the 1865 to 1929 period failed to produce the excessive profits that had once been their hallmark.

After World War II American society became more diverse as other cities, especially Los Angeles, began to challenge New York City for social and cultural dominance. The rising use of automobiles and airplanes further eroded the insular world of the 1865 to 1929 wealthy, social elite as individuals and families built or purchased second, third, or vacation homes in Caribbean, Europe, and more remote areas of the

¹ C. J. Fitzgerald, "Nursery Stud's Future," *The Rider and Driver* 68, no. 6 (7 February 1925): 12.

United States. No longer were the wealthy, social elite part of a community that played, worked, and lived together throughout the year. However, this does not mean that the activities and lifestyles perfected by the wealthy, social elite between 1865 and 1929 had completely ceased by the end of World War II. Instead, the new upper class that emerged after 1945 continued to enjoy summer vacations along the seashore, but the Hamptons became more popular than Newport; to have winter cabins in the Rockies, rather than in the Adirondacks and Appalachians; and to build country houses and rural estates, but Malibu and West Palm Beach became more popular than the Main Line, Lake Forest, or the Somerset Hills. Wealthy families and individuals who became active participants in horse sports often purchased older, established country houses or rural estates, though some then went on to build new properties using all of the standard stable elements, just in new materials.

Some members of the wealthy, social elite of 1865 to 1929 period continued to participate as the horse industry became larger and more fragmented. The population boom of the late 1940s and early 1950s resulted in a corresponding growth in the horse industry, and the growing middle class became active participants in horse sports. The popular image of a girl and her pony became a hallmark of the post-World War II era. At the same time horse sports became one of the few sports where the top athletes, horse and human, and trainers regularly competed and worked alongside beginning and lower-level competitors and clients. Late twentieth-century wealthy business leaders or entertainment stars, the new version of the wealthy, social elite, were mixed in among the other competitors. And, like Andrew Jackson or Bob Green, both former slaves who, as stud

grooms gained national reputations, minority groups still provided the essential power to operate almost all of the various disciplines, if not at the lower, local levels, then most assuredly at the top, national competitions. Modern horse sports and organizations continued to retain some of the cache and exclusivity established between 1865 and 1929.

Foxhunting, the oldest American horse sport, has continued to flourish since 1929. Though dozen of hunts have quickly sprung to life and just as quickly faded, many hunts had celebrated their fiftieth anniversaries by 2005. Virginia has maintained its role as a center of American foxhunting despite increased pressure from new developments and wealthy families that purchase a country house in the middle of foxhunting territory, because of its location and associations, but then do not allow the area hunts to cross the property. However, other area landowners such as Pamela Harriman (ambassador to France and sponsor of Virginia's show jumping Olympian Katie Monahan), Jacqueline Onassis and Paul Mellon (financier, race horse owner, and longtime joint master of the Piedmont Hunt) continued to support foxhunting.² One of the biggest threats to foxhunting has come not from suburban growth, which is substantial, but from animal rights activists. As American foxhunters followed the debate in Great Britain, which resulted in the 2004 ban of foxhunting, the Masters of Foxhounds Association began to establish closer ties with other hunting and land conservation organizations in order to protect the sport against a similar attack in the United States.

² Ricky Moon, *The Middleburg Mystique: A Peek Inside the Gates of Middleburg, Virginia* (Sterling, VA: Capital Books, Inc., 2001), 25-31. See also Virginia Winmill Livingstone Armstrong, *"Gone Away" with the Winmills* (N.p.: by the author, 1977); and William Scarth Dixon, *Foxhunting in the 20th Century* (London: Hurst & Brackett, Ltd., 1925).

American flat racing has grown well beyond the traditional Thoroughbred racing. After World War II, Quarter Horse, Arabian, and Appaloosa racing joined the ranks, especially in the West. Some of the historic tracks remain dedicated to Thoroughbred racing, but most now host a combination of breeds and some also alternate between flat and harness racing. Harness racing experienced several decades of sustained growth and expansion until the mid-1980s when it began a slight, but noticeable, decline. Though annual numbers of spectators will probably never again equal the peak period of the 1930s, harness racing's Little Brown Jug and Thoroughbred racing's Triple Crown, the Kentucky Derby in particular, still draw large crowds of spectators. Box seats at Churchill Downs, which normally sell for three or four thousand dollars during a two- or three-week-long regular race meet, sell for tens of thousands of dollars for the Derby weekend as entertainment, political, and industry giants join the usual crowd.

After World War II most new racehorse breeders and owners paid industry professionals, with their own stables, to manage and train their horses, but some, like Henryk de Kwiatkowski, with the interest and financial means, entered the sport at same level of the former 1865 to 1929 wealthy, social elite. In 1992, de Kwiatkowski, a Canadian industrialist, purchased at auction Calumet Farm's 850 acres and numerous structures for seventeen million dollars. All of the horses and equipment had been previously sold to pay debts. De Kwiatkowski paid an addition \$210,000 for the Calumet name, but passed on the farm colors that sold for twelve thousand dollars. Within ten years he had restored Calumet as a top thoroughbred breeding facility. The only physical alteration to the estate under de Kwiatkowski's ownership was the addition of a polo field

in the farm track's infield. De Kwiatkowski had bought not only the estate and its name, but also its history and former stature in the Thoroughbred racing industry: breeding nine Kentucky Derby winners and two Triple Crown winners, and earning seven Horse of the Year awards and thirty-eight divisional or Horse of the Year championships. At the auction De Kwiatkowski was quoted as saying, "To me Calumet was more than a farm. It was a way of life that I have always respected. The elegance, the quality, the way it was received worldwide gave great credit to the Bluegrass region and to Kentucky as a superior place for racing and breeding. Calumet personified all of this."³

Steeplechasing, coaching, and polo continue to be popular sports whose centers are still located primarily along the East Coast. Each year steeplechase owners, jockeys, and trainers vie for millions of dollars in prize money offered by the top racecourses, many of which were built after 1929. In the fall of 2004 the National Sporting Library celebrated its fiftieth anniversary and as part of the celebrations hosted a three-day coaching extravaganza, which raised eighty thousand dollars for the library. The event coordinators included thirty coaches from members of the historic Four-in-hand Club and other coaching enthusiasts from around the United States.⁴ Since World War II, competitive driving, an outgrowth of the older coaching tradition but which adopted the format of the military's three-day test, has become a popular horse sport. Polo clubs, like foxhunting clubs, have multiplied, and most United States Polo Association members are

³ Dale Leatherman. "New Polish For an Old Icon," *The Blood-Horse* (1992): 23, 25. See also www.calumetfarm.com; and *The Blood-Horse, A Quarter-Century of American Racing 1916-1941* (Lexington, KY: The Blood-Horse, 1941).

⁴ *Horse Country*, Virginia Steeplechasing Association December/January 2004/2005.

low-goal (zero or below) players. At the local level, many polo club and foxhunt club members are one and the same as individuals hunt their horses in the winter and play the same horses in the summer. Members of smaller clubs often pool their resources to hire a high-goal player, usually from Mexico or Argentina, to coach the team and play with the club in regional competitions. Wealthier polo players might hire one or more high-goal players to buy and train new horses, coach the owner and/or his family, and compete, thus creating a private team of four players and thirty to forty horses. Nationally polo has retained its popularity among the summer and winter resort communities, and many feature films have used polo as a backdrop to signify wealth and a life of leisure.

After World War II, the American military began to mechanize the remaining horse-based units.⁵ However, the Olympic selection process did not radically change from the system developed under the army's organization. The United States Cavalry Association, formed in 1885 as a professional officer organization, was first the American representative to the International Equestrian Federation. As such, the United States Cavalry Association oversaw the selection and competition of American riders at the Olympic games, a position later assumed by the United States Equestrian Team (USET)

⁵ The last months of the fighting in Europe during World War II, horses had an important role in directing American actions. For example, General Patton and his Soviet counterparts both raced through central Europe taking over Lippizan breeding farms and training facilities. The Americans captured the Spanish Riding School in Vienna as the Soviets seized the breeding farms in Czechoslovakia. The American military shipped substantial numbers of horses, of all types, to the United States as it pulled out of Europe. In 2005 horses and riders from the Spanish Riding School in Vienna toured the United States in honor of the sixtieth anniversary of Patton's arrival in Vienna. See Colonel Alois Podhajsky, *The Spanish Riding Academy of Vienna* (Vienna: Burder Rosenbaum, 1947); Hans Handler, *The Spanish Riding School: Four Centuries of Classic Horsemanship*, translated by Russell Stockman (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1972); and The U. S. Army Remount Service, *Parade of Horses Recently Imported from Europe* (Front Royal, VA: U. S. Army Remount Service, 1946).

created in 1952. Support for the Olympic teams began at the highest levels. The War Department sent out a memo on 24 October 1929 to all corps, schools, and commanders to notify leaders about the 1932 Olympic Games and to urge their cooperation by relieving their best men and/or horses from regular duties and sending them for training at Fort Riley. The writers noted that the previous four American Olympic teams had excelled in Show Jumping due to the many shows available for practice, but that the Dressage and Three Day teams were going to be very difficult to assemble and train.⁶ After World War II former military officers, American and foreign, joined the horse show industry as coaches, competitors, and judges. For the traditional military sports of dressage, show jumping, and three-day eventing, the 1950s began an exciting period of rapid growth and expansion as the leading horsemen promoted new riding styles first developed in the Italian military by Captain Federico Caprilli. Activists and writer-riders such as Louise Lott Bedford, Sallie Sexton, Brigadier General Harry D. Chamberlain, Alexander Mackay-Smith, Major General Johnathan R. Burton, Captain John H. Fritz, General Guy V. Henry Jr., Colonel Howard Fair, Gordon Wright, Captain Vladimir S. Littauer, Brigadier General Franklin F. Wing, and Bertalan de Nemethy founded new competitions and organizations, including the United States Pony Clubs in 1954, which prepared the

⁶ AG 353.85 Olympic Games (8-28-29 Misc., Major Hiram E. Tuttle Collection, 1932 Olympics Folder, U.S. Cavalry Association Library, Ft. Riley, Kansas. See also Maj. J. A. Barry, "Olympia and the VIII Olympiade," *The Rider and Driver* 67, no. 11 (18 October 1924): 12, 16; William Steinkraus, ed., *The U. S. Equestrian Team Book of Riding. The First Quarter-Century of the USET* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1976); Barbara Wallace, *Equestrian Excellence: The Stories of Our Olympic Equestrian Medal Winners, From Stockholm 1912 thru Atlanta 1996* (Boonsboro, MD: Half Halt Press, Inc., 1996); and Gary J. Benson, *In the Irons: Show Jumping, Dressage and Eventing in North America* (New York: Howell Book House, 1994).

three sports for the upsurge of amateur, and particularly female, participation after World War II.⁷

At the same time that former military events were becoming independent sports, saddleseat and western riding were changing into equally prominent sports with their own national circuits and associations. Pleasure and trail riding clubs organized local competitions, developed trail routes, and promoted riding as a family oriented activity.⁸ Tennessee Walkers, Missouri Fox Trotters, and other saddleseat breeds joined the older Hackney and Saddlebred breeds at state fairs and multi-discipline horse shows while beginning their own independent circuits.⁹ Western riding, and the post-World War II Quarter Horse and Paint Horse associations, moved beyond the rodeo and fair circuit and off the ranch to become an entirely new horse show circuit.¹⁰ Other historic breeds, like

⁷ See Captain E. Beudant, *Dressage du Cheval de Selle* (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1948); Harry D. Chamberlin, *Riding and Schooling Horses* (Washington, DC: Armored Cavalry Journal, 1934); Sergei Kournakoff, *School for Riding: A Primer of Modern Horsemanship* (Boston: Charles T. Branford Company, 1948); Vladimir S. Littauer, *Riding Forward: Modern Horsemanship for Beginners* (Garden City, NY: Garden City Publishing Co. 1934), *Be a Better Horseman: An Illustrated Guide* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1941), *Common Sense Horsemanship*, 2nd ed. (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1963); Paul Rodzianko, *Modern Horsemanship* (London: Seeley Service & Co., Ltd., 1950); Major Piero Santini, *Riding Reflections* (London: Country Life, 1950); and Diana Shedden and Lady Apsely, *To Whom the Goddess: Hunting and Riding for Women* (London: Hutchinson & Co, 1932).

⁸ See "Connecting Parkways Necessary to Link up Central Park with Riverside Drive and Other Parks," *The Rider and Driver* 68, no. 5 (January 24, 1925): 11-12; and Green Mountain Horse Association, *Green Mountain Horse Association 1926-1976, A History* (South Woodstock, VT: GMHA Magazine, 1976).

⁹ See Georgann Jessup and Barbara Stahura, *Tennessee Walking Horse National Celebration*, 2nd ed. (Paducah, KY: Turner Publishing Company, 1996); and Bob Womack, *The Echo of Hoofbeats: The History of the Tennessee Walking Horse* (Shelbyville, TN: The Walking Horse Publishing Co., 1973).

¹⁰ See Don Hedgpeth, *They Rode Good Horses: The First Fifty Years of the*

Arabians and Morgans, began new associations that promoted their horses' versatility at all sports: jumping and dressage, trail riding, saddleseat and western.¹¹ According to The Jockey Club's *2004 Online Fact Book*, the number of American horses, of the breeds popular between 1865 and 1929, have remained steady or declined since 1985. The latter year was the peak for all breeds between 1960 and 2003. Thoroughbred, Morgan, Arabian, Appaloosa, and Standardbred registration fell significantly from 1985 to 1995, at which point each has continued with slight declines. Quarter Horse, Miniature Horse, Paint, and Paso Fino numbers have fluctuated, but overall continued to increase during the same period.¹²

Since 1929 the American sport horse industry has flourished, but the participation has narrowed among the late twentieth-century equivalents of the former wealthy, social elite. Unlike the wealthy, social elite of the 1865 to 1929 period, who often bred, owned, and competed in a variety of disciplines and breeds, the post-World War II industry became much more insular. Since 1920, there have been two prominent national and non-breed-or-sport-specific organizations have worked to promote the horse industry as a

American Quarter Horse Association (Amarillo, TX: The American Quarter Horse Association, 1990); and Tobi Taylor and Sandra McCoy Larson, "The Life and Times of Rillito Park," *The Blood-Horse* 15 December 2001: 7534, 7540, 7546-7554.

¹¹ See Jeanne Millin, *The Morgan Horse* (Battleboro, VT: The Stephen Greene Press, 1961); Spencer Borden, *The Arab Horse* (Los Angeles: Borden Publishing Co., 1949); Homer Davenport, *My Quest of the Arabian Horse* (Chicago: The Arabian Horse Club of America, 1949); The Arab Horse Society, *The Arab Horse* (London: The Arab Horse Society, 1937); and Albert W. Harris, *The History of the Arabian Horse Club Registry of America, Inc. 1908-1950* (Chicago: The Arabian Horse Club Registry of America, Inc., n.d.).

¹² The Jockey Club, *2004 Online Fact Book*, www.jockeyclub.org (accessed 2/1/05).

whole, just like other industrial associations and lobbying organizations. In 1920 a group of owners, trainers, breeders, riders, horse equipment and feed manufacturers, and veterinarians established the Horse Association of America. The organization's members were, on the one hand, attempting to preserve the horse as a functioning element in American agriculture, and, on the other hand, to increase the quality of equine and mule care and breeding. The Association dissolved in 1949, not because of a lack of horses, but rather because of a shift in the horse types and uses. American horses were no longer a critical part of agriculture, commerce, and transportation.¹³

In 1969 a new group of organizations and individuals throughout the horse industry joined to form the American Horse Council, a national lobbying group that "has been promoting and protecting the industry by communicating with Congress, federal agencies, the media and the industry itself on behalf of all horse related interests."¹⁴ In 1996, the American Horse Council published a 1995 study of the horse industry which found that the industry contributed over one hundred billion dollars to the United States gross domestic product, provided over one million jobs, and paid almost two billion dollars in taxes and fees. The horse industry's contribution to the gross domestic product, when compared to other leading industries, ranked after apparel and other textile-products manufacturing and before motion pictures, furniture, and fixtures manufacturing. The sport horse industry employed fewer people than motion picture services, but more people

¹³ Ira Drymon to Horse Association of America Members, 14 October 1949, Warden Collection, Horse Association of America Research File, Albert Gore Sr. Reserach Center, MTSU.

¹⁴ American Horse Council, www.horsecouncil.org.

than the railroads, radio and television broadcasting, and petroleum and coal products manufacturing. The study found almost seven million horses in the United States in racing (three-quarters of a million), showing (almost two million), recreation (almost three million), and other (one and a quarter million). The economic distribution of horse industry participants' annual income in 1993 included 32.3 percent in the less than twenty-five thousand dollar level, 32.7 percent in the twenty-five to fifty thousand dollar range; 19.4 percent in the fifty to seventy-five thousand dollar range, 7.9 percent in the seventy-five to one hundred thousand dollar range, and 7.6 percent with an annual household income of over one hundred thousand dollars.¹⁵ Despite the many changes in the American sport horse industry's activities, membership, and breeds since 1929, the stable elements, property types, and much of the professional, corporate structure developed and funded by the wealthy, social elite between 1865 and 1929 have remained intact and continue to be recognized as distinctive characteristics of the American sport horse industry.

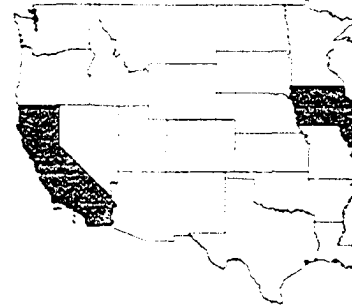
¹⁵ American Horse Council. *1996 National Economic Impact Study* (Washington, D.C.: The American Horse Council, 1996).

APPENDIXES

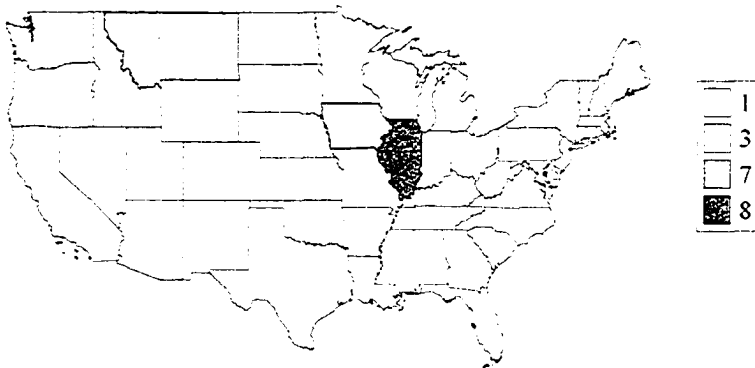
Summary of horse sport industry personnel in the 1880 United States Federal Census

Occupation	Number	White	Black	Mulatto	Indian	Avg. Age	US born	Foreign born
Groom	782	639	119	24	0	29	503	279
Race track or Jockey Club employee	14	9	4	1	0	31	14	0
Trainer (Partial)	52	50	1	1	0	37	37	15
Breeder	37	37	0	0	0	46	29	8
Dealer or Trader (Partial)	20	20	0	0	0	37	15	5
Stallion or Stud Keeper	105	100	4	1	0	37	94	11
Jockey	425	357	42	24	2	29	376	49
Rider	184	112	60	12	0	18	161	23

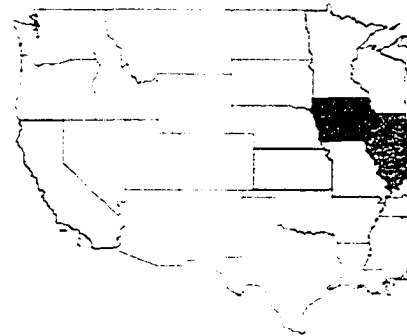
1880 Grooms b



1880 Horse Breeders & Importers by Residence

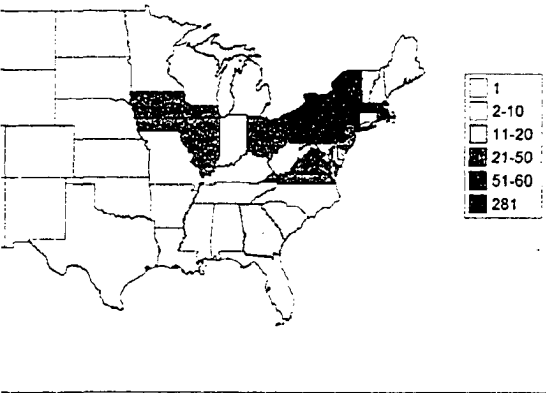


1880 Stud/Stallion Ke

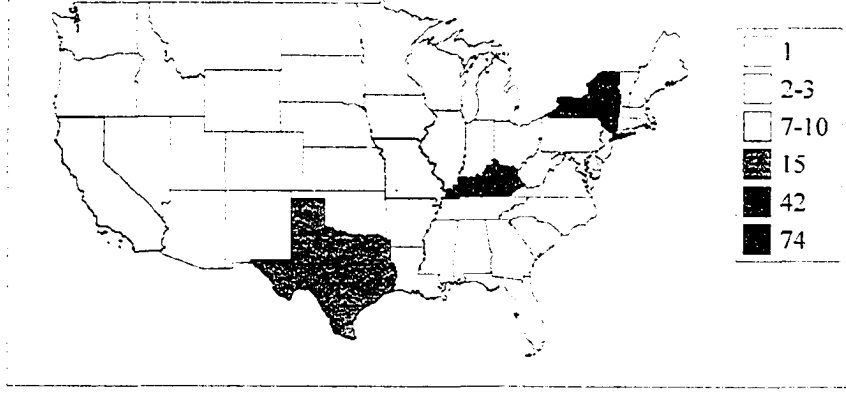


Appendix 1. The distribution of horse sport industry personnel as reported by occupation in the 1880 United States Federal Census. Persons have not been included.

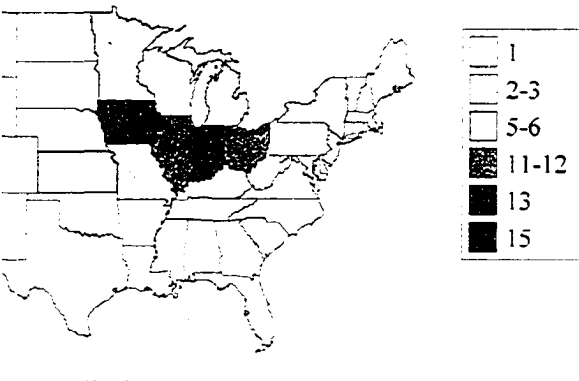
1880 Grooms by Residence



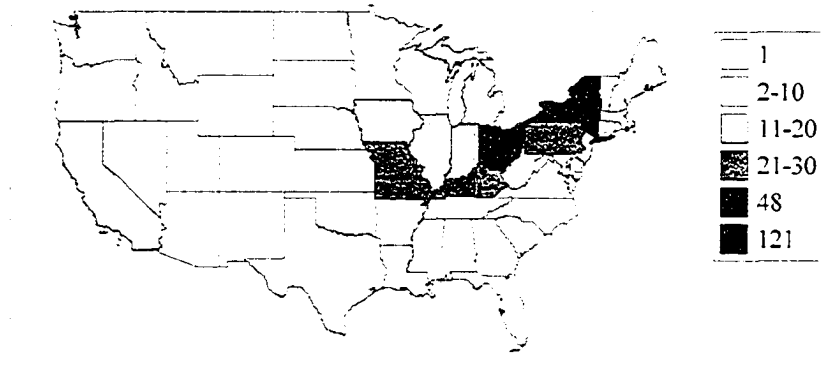
1880 Riders by Location



1880 Saddlers/Stallion Keepers by Location



1880 Jockeys by Location



the 1880 United States Federal Census. All known railroad, dray, omnibus, car, livery, circuit, mail, and circus related

Appendix 2. Recognized North American Foxhunts 1865-1929

Hunt Name	Dates	Size & Kennels	Notable Persc
Albemarle County Hunt	b. 1917 - a. 1927	Charlottesville	VA A. S. Craven.
Aiken Hounds	1914-2003	2,200 acres, Aiken	SC Mrs. Thomas
Andrews Bridge Foxhounds	1917-2003	15 x 20 miles, Christiana	PA
Arapahoe Hunt	1929-2003	35,000 acres, Watkins, Arapahoe Co.	CO
Battle Creek Hunt	1929-2003	12,500 acres, Augusta	MI
Beaufort Hunt	1929-2003	30 x 30 miles, Hummelstown	PA
Bloomfield Open Hunt	b. 1917 - a. 1927	Bloomfield	MI Hunt Commit
Blue Ridge Hunt	1888-2003	Clark Co.	VA Kenneth N. G
Brandywine Hounds	1892-2003	15 x 15 miles, Northbrook	PA Charles E. M
Bridlespur Hunt	1927-2003	11,000 acres, New Melle	MO
Bull Run Hunt	1911-2003	Culpeper	VA
Camargo Hunt	1925-2003	25,900 acres (OH & KY), Burlington	KY
Camden Hunt	1926-2003	15 x 15 miles, Camden	SC
Cavalry School Hunt	b. 1927 - a. 1927	Fort Riley Military Reservation	KS Capt. Robert
Casanova Hunt	1909-2003	Casanova	VA R. R. Barrett.
Chagrin Valley Hunt	1908-2003	15 x 21 miles, Gates Mills	OH W. T. White.
Cheshire Foxhounds	b. 1917 - a. 1927	Unionville, Chester Co.	PA Capt. W. Plun
Chester Valley Hunt Club	b. 1917	Strafford	PA W. C. Wilson.
Chevy-Chase Hunt	October 1892	Chevy Chase	MD
Deep Run Hunt	1887-2003	100,000+ acres, Cumberland Co.	VA
Eagle Farms Hunt	b. 1927-a. 1927	Eagle	PA W. J. Clothier
Elkridge Hunt Club	1878-1934	Woodbrook, Towson	MD W. W. Lanaha
Elkridge-Harford Hunt	1934-2003	120 sq miles, Monkton	MD Mrs. Dean Be
Essex County Club Hunt	1870-1891	Montclair	NJ
Essex Hunt	1891-1912	Bernardsville & Gladstone	NJ Charles Pfizer
Essex Fox Hounds	1912-2003	10 x 15 miles, Peapack	NJ A. Fillmore H
Fairfax Hunt	1927-2003	Loudoun Co.	VA
Fairfield County Hounds	1924-2003	17 sq miles, New Milford	CT Donald G. Per
Farmington Hunt	1929-2003	14 squ miles, Albemarle Co.	VA
Fort Leavenworth Hunt	1929-2003	25,100 acres, Fort Leavenworth	KS
Fort Sill Hunt	-1944	Lawton	OK
Foxcather Hounds	b. 1927-a. 1927	Chester Co.	PA William du Po 1927

Notable Persons

References

Notable Persons	References
VA A. S. Craven, Master 1917; Ronald Tree, Master 1927	NSHRA 1917; ARM 1927, 116.
SC Mrs. Thomas Hitchcock, Master 1927	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38, ARM 1927, 116.
PA	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
CO	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
MI	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
PA	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
MI Hunt Committee 1917; E. S. Nichols, Master 1927	NSHRA 1917; ARM 1927, 116.
VA Kenneth N. Gilpin, Master 1927	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38; ARM 1927, 116.
PA Charles E. Mather, Master 1917-1927	NSHRA 1917; Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38; ARM 1927, 116.
MO	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
VA	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
KY	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
SC	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
KS Capt. Robert W. Grow, Master 1927	ARM 1927, 117.
VA R. R. Barrett, MFH 1917	NSHRA 1917; Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
OH W. T. White, Master 1917-1927	NSHRA 1917; Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38; ARM 1927, 116.
PA Capt. W. Plunkett Stewart, Master 1917-1927	NSHRA 1917; ARM 1927, 117. J. Stanley Reeve, Red Chester County, 84.
PA W. C. Wilson, Master 1917	NSHRA 1917
MD	
VA	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
PA W. J. Clothier, Master 1927	ARM 1927, 118.
MD W. W. Lanahan, Master 1917	NSHRA 1917
MD Mrs. Dean Bedford hunted here	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
NJ	Tutton, Journey through Peapack & Gladstone, 131-134
NJ Charles Pfizer's private pack	Tutton, Journey through Peapack & Gladstone, 131-134
NJ A. Fillmore Hyde, Master 1917-1927	NSHRA 1917; Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38; ARM 1927, 116.
VA	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
CT Donald G. Perkins, Master 1927	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38; ARM 1927, 118.
VA	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
KS	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
OK	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
PA William du Pont, Jr. & Mrs. Thomas H. Somerville, Master 1927	ARM 1927, 118.

	References
Master 1917; Ronald Tree. Master 1927	NSHRA 1917; ARM 1927, 116.
Hitchcock. Master 1927	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38, ARM 1927, 116.
	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
ee 1917; E. S. Nichols. Master 1927	NSHRA 1917; ARM 1927, 116.
lpin. Master 1927	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38; ARM 1927, 116.
ther. Master 1917-1927	NSHRA 1917; Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38; ARM 1927, 116.
	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
V. Grow. Master 1927	ARM 1927, 117.
MFH 1917	NSHRA 1917; Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
Master 1917-1927	NSHRA 1917; Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38; ARM 1927, 117.
ckett Stewart. Master 1917-1927	NSHRA 1917; ARM 1927, 117. J. Stanley Reeve. Red Coats in Chester County. 84.
Master 1917	NSHRA 1917
	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
Master 1927	ARM 1927, 118.
n. Master 1917	NSHRA 1917
lford hunted here	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
s private pack	Tutton. Journey through Peapack & Gladstone. 131-134.
de. Master 1917-1927	Tutton. Journey through Peapack & Gladstone. 131-134. NSHRA 1917; Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38; ARM 1927, 118.
	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
kins. Master 1927	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38; ARM 1927, 118.
	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
nt, Jr. & Mrs. Thomas H. Somerville, Master	ARM 1927, 118.

Hunt Name	Dates	Size & Kennels		Notable Persons
Genesee Valley Hunt	1876-2003	10 x 20 miles, Genesee	NY	James S. Wadsworth 1927; Maj. W. Austin MFH 2003
Glen-Arden Hunt	b. 1917	Goshen, Orange Co.	NY	Mrs. R. Penn Smith, 1917
Glen Moore Hunt	b. 1917	Eagle	PA	Capt. William J. Clo
Golden's Bridge Hounds	1924-2003	17 x 22 & 6 x 18 miles, North Salem	NY	
Goshen Hunt	b. 1927 - a. 1927	Goshen	NY	Theodore Dougherty,
Green Spring Valley Hounds	1892-2003	25 x 12 miles, Glyndon	MD	Benjamin H. Brewste
Grosse Pointe Hunt Club	b. 1917	Grosse Pointe	MI	Burnes Henry, Maste
Groton Hunt	b. 1927 - a. 1927	Groton	MA	Richard Danielson, M
Harford Hunt	1912-1934	Monkton	MD	Maj. John R. Valenti 1917; Mrs. W. G. Lo
Hermstead Hunt	b. 1927 - a. 1927	Withrow	MN	Worrell Clarkson & J
Huntingdon Valley Hunt	1914-2003	Furlong; Willow Grove	PA	Capt. William H. Mu Masters 1917
Iroquois Hunt	1880-2003	10 x 10 miles, Lexington	KY	Established by Gener
Jacobs Hill Hunt	b. 1927 - a. 1927	Seekonk	MA	Benjamin Ladd Cook
Keswick Hunt Club	1896-2003	Keswick	VA	Francis Lee Thurmar
Lake Shore Hunt Club	b. 1927 - a. 1927	Derby	NY	Howard Kellogg, Ma
London Hunt	1885-2003	Hyde Park, Ontario, Canada		
Loudoun Hunt	1894-2003	25 x 18 miles, Leesburg	VA	
Meadow Brook Hounds	1881-1971	Westbury, Nassau County, LI	NY	A. Belmont Purdy, E 1882. Edwin D. Mor 1889. F. Gray Grisw Willets 1908. Harry Capt. H. I. Nicholas Thomas Allison, Cha
Metamora Hunt	1928-2003	9 x 12 miles, Metamora	MI	
Middleburg Hunt Club	1906-2003	10 x 15 miles, Middleburg	VA	Hunt Committeee 19
Middlesex Foxhounds	b. 1917	South Lincoln	MA	A. Henry Higginson,
Mill Creek Hunt	1920-2003	10 sq miles, Old Mill Creek	IL	
Millbrook Hunt	1907-2003	10 x 23 miles, Millbrook	NY	Oakleigh Thorne, M
Millwood Hunt	b. 1927 - a. 1927	Framingham Centre	MA	John B. Bowditch, M
Milwaukee Hunt Club	b. 1927 - a. 1927	North Milwaukee	WI	John Cudahy, Master
Mission Valley Hunt	1927-2003	15 x 15 & 2 x 3 miles, Stillwell	KS	

able Persons	References
es S. Wadsworth & Ernest L. Woodward, Masters 7; Maj. W. Austin Wadworth, William P. Wadsorth H 2003	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38; ARM 1927, 118.
s. R. Penn Smith, Jr. & John R. Townsend Jt. Masters 7	NSHRA 1917
t. William J. Clothier, Master 1917	NSHRA 1917 Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
odore Dougherty, Master 1927	ARM 1927, 118.
jamin H. Brewster, Master 1917	NSHRA 1917; Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
nes Henry, Master 1917	NSHRA 1917
hard Danielson, Master 1927	ARM 1927, 118.
l, John R. Valentine & Frank A. Bonsal, Jt. Masters 7; Mrs. W. G. Loew, Master 1927	NSHRA 1917; ARM 1927, 119.
rrell Clarkson & E. V. Saunders, Masters 1927	ARM 1927, 119.
t. William H. Mulford & Rodman Wanamaker 2nd, Jt sters 1917	NSHRA 1917; Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
ablished by General Roger Williams	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
jamin Ladd Cook, Master 1927	ARM 1927, 119.
ncis Lee Thurman, Master 1917	NSHRA 1917
ward Kellogg, Master 1927	ARM 1927, 119. Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38 Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
Belmont Purdy, Elliot Roosevelt, Francis R. Appleton 2, Edwin D. Morgan Jr 1883, Thomas Hitchcock Jr. 9, F. Gray Griswold 1893, Foxhall Keene 1903; Samuel lets 1908, Harry T. Peters 1927, Devereaux Milburn, t. H. I. Nicholas 1917 (MFH date if known); Huntsmen omas Allison, Charles Plumb, and Michael McDermott.	NSHRA 1917; Ferrell, "Fox Hunting on Long Island." 3-9. live and drag. 4' min. ARM 1927, 120.
nt Committeee 1917; D. C. Sands, Master 1927	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38 NSHRA 1917; Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38; ARM 1927, 120.
Henry Higginson, Master 1917	NSHRA 1917
leigh Thorne, Master 1917-1927	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38 NSHRA 1917; ARM 1927, 120.
n B. Bowditch, Master 1927	ARM 1927, 120.
n Cudahy, Master 1927	ARM 1927, 120.
	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38

Hunt Name	Dates	Size & Kennels		Notable Persons
Monmouth County Hunt Club	1885-2003	20 x 10 miles. Upper Freehold	NJ	Robert J. Collier. Master 1927
Montgomery Hunt	b. 1927 - a. 1927	Jeffersonville	PA	Chalres C. Evans and C
Montpelier Hounds	b. 1917	Montpelier Station	VA	William du Pont, Jr., M
Montreal Hunt	1826-2003	St. Augustin, Mirable, Quebec, Canada		
Moore County Hounds	1914-2003	10 x 20 miles. Southern Pines	NC	James & Jackson Boyc
Mr. Behr's Hounds	b. 1927 - a. 1927	Lake Forest	IL	Ben L. Behr. Master 19
Mr. Jefford's Hounds	b. 1927 - a. 1927	Glen Riddle	PA	Walter M. Jeffords, M
Mr. Larrabee's Hounds	b. 1927 - a. 1927	Orleans	VA	Sterling Larrabee. Mas
Mr. Peabody's Hounds	b. 1927 - a. 1927	Hinsdale	IL	Stuyvesant Peabody, M
Mr. Riddle's Hounds	b. 1917 - a. 1927	Glen Riddle, Delaware Co.	PA	Samuel D. Riddle, Ma
Mr. Stewart's Cheshire Foxhounds	1912-2003	17 x 25 miles. Unionville, East Marlborough Township, Chester Co.	PA	
Mr. Winston's Hounds	b. 1917 - a. 1917	Midlothian	VA	Thomas S. Winston, M
Myopia Hunt	1882-2003	20 x 17 miles. Hamilton	MA	Prince brothers founde Master 1917-1927
Norfolk Hunt	1895-2003	14 x 16 miles. Dover	MA	Henry G. Vaughan, M
Old Chatham Hunt	1926-2003	25 x 30 miles. Chatham	NY	
Old Dominion Hounds	1924-2003	100 sq. miles. Orlean	VA	William F. Jones. Mas
Onwentsia Hunt	b. 1927 - a. 1927	Lake Forest	IL	Austin H. Niblack, Ma
Orange County Hunt Club	1900-2003	16 x 12 miles. The Plains, Farquier Co.	VA	Robert L. Gerry & Wi Fletcher Harper, Mast
Ottawa Valley Hunt	1873-2003	35 sq. miles. Almonte, Ontario, Canada		
Pickering Hunt	1910-2003	15 x 25 miles. Chester Springs	PA	Capt. William J. Cloth
Piedmont Foxhounds	1840-2003	20 x 12 miles. Upperville, Loudoun Co.	VA	Joseph B. Thomas & M Masters 1917; Waugh 1927
Potomac Hunt	1910-2003	10 x 12 miles. Barnesville	MD	
Princess Anne Hunt	1927-2003	Charles City Co.	VA	
Quansett Hounds	b. 1927 - a. 1927	South Westport	MA	William Almy Jr., Ma
Queens County Hunt	1877-1882	Queens County, LI	NY	A. Belmont Purdy, Wi Robert Center
Radnor Hunt	1883-2003	5 x 6 miles. Malvern, Chester Co.	PA	Horace B. Hare, Mast
Rappahannock Hunt	1926-2003	30 x 20 miles. Culpeper	VA	
Remlik Hounds, The	b. 1917	Remlick	VA	Willis Sharpe Kilmer.

Notable Persons	References
Robert J. Collier, Master 1917; Rufus C. Finch, Master 1927	NSHRA 1917; Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38; ARM 1927, 120.
Charles C. Evans and Clarkson Addis, Master 1927	ARM 1927, 120.
William du Pont, Jr., Master 1917	NSHRA 1917 Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38. MFH Website.
James & Jackson Boyd, Masters 1927	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38; ARM 1927, 120.
John L. Behr, Master 1927	ARM 1927, 120.
Walter M. Jeffords, Master 1927	ARM 1927, 120
Herling Larrabee, Master 1927	ARM 1927, 120.
Guyesant Peabody, Master 1927	ARM 1927, 120.
Samuel D. Riddle, Master 1917	NSHRA 1917 Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
Thomas S. Winston, Master 1917	NSHRA 1917
The brothers founded; Capt. James W. Appleton, Master 1917-1927	NSHRA 1917; Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38; ARM 1927, 120.
Henry G. Vaughan, Master 1908-1938 (President MFA)	NSHRA 1917; Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38; ARM 1927, 120. Reeve, Red Coats, 288. Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
William F. Jones, Master 1917	NSHRA 1917; Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
Justin H. Niblack, Master 1927	ARM 1927, 120.
Robert L. Gerry & William Skinner, Jr. Masters 1917; Fletcher Harper, Master 1927	NSHRA 1917; Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38; ARM 1927, 120. Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
Capt. William J. Clothier, Master 1917-1927	NSHRA 1917; Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38; ARM 1927, 120.
Joseph B. Thomas & Maj. Malbon Gore Richardson Jr.	NSHRA 1917; Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38; ARM 1927, 120.
Masters 1917; Waugh Glascock & L. B. Norman, Masters 1927	MFH Website. Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38 Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
William Almy Jr., Master 1927	ARM 1927, 120.
Belmont Purdy, William E. Peet, F. Gray Griswold, Robert Center	Ferrell, "Fox Hunting on Long Island," 3-9. First drag hunt in USA
Grace B. Hare, Master 1927	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38; ARM 1927, 120.
	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
Willis Sharpe Kilmer, Master 1917	NSHRA 1917

Hunt Name	Dates	Size & Kennels	Notable Persons
Richmond County Hunt	b. 1917	Dongan Hills, Richmond Co.	NY Victory J. McQuade. M
Rockaway Hunting Club	1878-1893	Cedarhurst, LI	NY William Hazard & fam
Rocky Fork Headley Hunt	1925-2003	8 x 8, 5 x 5, 5 x 5, 10 x 10 miles, Gahanna	OH button is 1802-1935 (c
Rolling Rock Hunt	1921-2003	14 x 16 miles, Ligonier	PA Richard K. Mellon, Ma
Rombout Hunt	1929-2003	100 sq miles (old) 12,000 acres (new), Staatsburg, Dutchess Co.	NY
Rose Tree Foxhunting Club	1859-2003	20 x 22 miles, Brogue, York Co.	PA M. Roy Jackson, Mast
Sedgefield Hunt	1927-2003	15 sq. miles, Stokesdale	NC 1927
Sewickley Hunt	1922-2003	12 x 18 miles, Sewickley	PA Mr. & Mrs. J. O. Burg
Shelburne Fox Hounds	b. 1917 - a. 1927	Shelburne	VT Capt. J. Watson Webb, Langley, Master 1927
Smithtown Hunt, The	1900-2003	Smithtown Branch/Northport, LI	NY R. Lawrence Smith MF Maj. Allen Pinkerton M Bloodgood MFH 1928
Spring Valley Hounds	1915-2003	6 x 3 (old) 12 x 15 (new) miles, Allamuchy	NJ
Suffolk Hounds of the Suffolk Hunt Club	1906-1919	Southampton, LI	NY Charles Coster, H. P. F Newton Jr. 1927, H. H
Toronto and North York Hunt	1843-2003	23,600 acres, Creemore, Ontario, Canada	
Tryon Hounds	1926-2003	6 x 10 miles, Tryon	NC
Vickmead Hunt	b. 1927 - a. 1927	Wilmington	DE E. C. McCune, Master
Warrenton Hunt, The	1887-2003	35 x 10 miles, Warrenton	VA Julian C. Keith, MFH Chauncey Williams, M
Watchung Hunt Club	b. 1917 - a. 1917	Plainfield	NJ Rufus C. Finch, Maste
Westmoreland Hunt	b. 1927 - a. 1927	Greensburg	PA Torrence Miller, Maste
White Marsh Valley Hunt Club	b. 1927 - a. 1927	Flourtown	PA C. S. Cheston, Master
Whitelands Hunt	b. 1927 - a. 1927	Whitford	PA Wikoff Smith, Master
Wicomico Hunt	1929-2003	Centreville	MD
Woodbrook Hunt	1925-2003	40,000 acres (Ft. Lewis Military Reservation)	WA

ARM = *The American Racing Chronicle*
 Chronicle = *The Chronicle of the H*
 NSHRA = *National Steeplechasin*

Notable Persons	References
Victory J. McQuade, Master 1917	NSHRA 1917
William Hazard & family; James & Foxhall Keene Whitton is 1802-1935 (combined?)	Ferrell. "Fox Hunting on Long Island." 3-9. Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
Richard K. Mellon, Master 1927	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38; ARM 1927. 120. Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
L. Roy Jackson, Master 1917; Walter M. Jeffords, Master 1927	NSHRA 1917; Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38; ARM 1927. 120. Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
Mr. & Mrs. J. O. Burgwin, Masters 1927	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38; ARM 1927. 120.
Capt. J. Watson Webb, Master 1917-1927; William C. Langley, Master 1927	NSHRA 1917; ARM 1927, 120.
J. Lawrence Smith MFH 1900, Clarence R. Robbins 1907; E. W. Allen Pinkerton MFH 1913-1917; Lida Fleitmann Woodgood MFH 1928-1932	NSHRA 1917; Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38; Ferrell, "Fox Hunting on Long Island." 3-9.; ARM 1927, 120. Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
Charles Coster, H. P. Robbins, W. Scott Cameron, Richard Lewton Jr. 1927, H. H. Rogers, William K. Vanderbilt	NSHRA 1917; Ferrell, "Fox Hunting on Long Island." 3-9. (a summer drag hunt only); ARM 1927. 120. Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38
J. C. McCune, Master 1927	Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38 ARM 1927, 120.
Julian C. Keith, MFH 1917; Mrs. R. C. Winmill & J. Chauncey Williams, Masters 1927	NSHRA 1917; Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38; ARM 1927. 120.
Lufus C. Finch, Master 1917	NSHRA 1917
Horrence Miller, Master 1927	ARM 1927, 120.
J. S. Cheston, Master 1927	ARM 1927, 120.
Vikoff Smith, Master 1927	ARM 1927, 120. Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38 Chronicle Vol. 66 No. 38

The American Racing Manual

The Chronicle of the Horse

National Steeplechasing & Hunt Race Association Annual Report

Appendix 3. Prominent Racetracks in the United States between 1865 and 1929

Racetrack*	Dates	Location		Significant Person
Ak-Sar-Ben	1920- a. 1974	Omaha	NE	Ak-sar-Ben Exhibition C
Alameda County Fair	1858 - Present	Pleasanton	CA	
American Grand National Steeplechase Course	1899 - Present	Far Hills	NJ	
Aqueduct (old)	1894 - Present	Queens County. Long Island	NY	Queens County Jockey C Francis Reilly. Robert Tu Phil Dwyer (president 19
Arlington Park (old)	1927 - Present	Arlington Heights	IL	H. D. Curley Brown
Ascot Park (Northampton Park)	1922	Cuyahoga Falls	OH	
Belmont Park (old)	1905 - Present	Elmont. Long Island	NY	August Belmont II. J. P. William C. Whitney
Benning	1889	Benning	MD	Washington (DC) Jockey
Beulah Park (Columbus)	1920 - Present	Grove City	OH	
Big Fresno Fair	1884 - Present	Fresno	CA	Fresno Fairgrounds Assc
Bowie (Prince George Park)	1914-1985	Bowie	MD	Southern Maryland Agri Association
Brighton Beach	1879-1907	Brighton Beach, Coney Island	NY	William Engeman; Brigh Beach Racing Associatic
Butte Jockey Club	b. 1914	Butte	MT	
Churchill Downs (Kentucky Jockey Club)	1875 - Present	Louisville	KY	Col. Merriwether Lewis Col. Matt J. Winn
City Park	b. 1905	New Orleans	LA	Louis & Charles Cella
Clear Lodge	1890		MT	H. D. Curley Brown
Crescent City Jockey Club	b. 1900 - a. 1906	New Orleans	LA	
Cumberland Park	b. 1898 - a. 1918	Nashville	TN	Louis & Charles Cella
Del Mar Park	b. 1918	St. Louis	MO	Louis & Charles Cella
Douglas Park	b. 1918	Louisville	KY	Louis & Charles Cella

Significant Persons	Type	Notes
Exhibition Co.	TB	Run by non-profit civic, agricultural and educational organization. ARM 1927. 116.
	TB	Also Quarter Horse racing, www.race-track.info . 10/30/04.
	Steeple	
nty Jockey Club:	TB	Bought by the newly legislated New York Racing Association in early 1950s, old track demolished in 1955 then new track nearby opened 1959. www.race-track.info .
ly, Robert Tucker,		10/30/04.
(president 1905-		
/ Brown	TB	Financed by Laurance Armour, John Hertz, Weymouth Kirkland, Otto Lehman, Maj. Frederick McLaughlin, John R. Thompson, Roy D. Keehn, Charles A. McCulloch. Historic track burned in 1985, rebuilt. Wilkinson. "The Sport of Kings." 334.
	TB	
mont II, J. P. Morgan,	TB,	Westchester Racing Association built track; bought by newly legislated New York
Whitney	Steeple	Racing Association in early 1950s after being condemned in 1963 was renovated at cost of \$30 million. Extensive fire in 1917. The 1905 1.5 mile dirt track is largest in United States. www.race-track.info . 10/30/04. Bowmar. Giants of the Turf. 74.
(DC) Jockey Club	TB	Keeneland-Cook photo; Kelly. "At the Track." Maryland Historical Magazine. 67.
	TB	www.race-track.info . 10/30/04.
grounds Association	TB, Stdbd	Also has Quarter Horse, Appaloosa, Arabian, and mule racing. Used 1942-1947 for internment of Japanese-Americans. www.race-track.info . 10/30/04.
aryland Agricutlrua	TB	Since 1985 has been used as a training track, is very close to Laurel Park. Joseph Kelly. "At the Track." Maryland Historical Magazine. ARM 1927. 122.
geman; Brighton	TB	Home of the Suburban: Keeneland-Cook photo; Jeffrey Stanton. Coney Island - Horse
ing Association		Racing, http://naid.spsr.ucla.edu . 7/2/04.
		Panoramic Photographs. Library of Congress
ether Lewis Clark:	TB	Built to support postwar Thoroughbred industry, based on English models, introduced
Winn		French parimutuel betting. Many Keeneland-Cook & Library of Congress (Panoramic, Chicago Daily News, Detroit Publishing Co., and HABS/HAER) photographs & materials. National Historic Landmark in 1986.
arles Cella	TB	Keeneland-Cook photo
y Brown	TB	
	TB	Keeneland-Cook photos; Detroit Publishing Co. Library of Congress
arles Cella		
arles Cella		
arles Cella		

Racetrack*	Dates	Location		Significant Persons
Ellis Park (Dade Park)	1922 - Present	Henderson	KY	Green River Jockey Club; Jac Ellis
Empire City	b. 1930	Yonkers/Mt. Vernon, Westchester Co.	NY	William Butler
Fair Ground	c. 1908	Phoenix	AR	
Fair Grounds	1872 - Present	New Orleans	LA	Louisiana Jockey Club
Fairmount Park	1924 - Present	Collinsville	IL	Colonel Bradley and Matt Wi Culflash & Edwards; Fairmou Jockey Club
Fairplex Park	1922 - Present	Pomona	CA	Los Angeles County Fair
Fashion Course	b. 1860		NY	
Florida Downs (Sunshine	1926	Tampa	FL	
Grand National Steeplechase		Butler	MD	
Grasslands International Steeplechase Course	1928 - 1932	Gallatin	TN	
Gravesend Race Track	1886-1910	Gravesend, Coney Island	NY	Brooklyn Jockey Club; Phil & Mike Dwyer
Hagerstown	1920-1929	Hagerstown	MD	
Harlem Jockey Club (Race Track)	1902-1903	Forest Park (Harlem)	IL	
Havre de Grace	1912 - a. 1927	Havre de Grace	MD	Harford Agricultural & Breed Association
Hawthorne Race Track	1890 - Present	Cicero	IL	Edward Corrigan (d. 1924 Kansas City). Thomas Carey
Hialeah	1925 - Present	Miami	FL	Miami Jockey Club, Joseph E Widener
Highland Park	b. 1899 - a. 1899	Detroit	MI	
Great Meadow Course	1922 - Present	The Plains	VA	
Jamaica	b. 1927	Jamaica, Long Island	NY	Metropolitan Jockey Club

Significant Persons	Type	Notes
Jockey Club; Jack	TB	Green River Jockey Club built on island, designed by Lexington architect, held 1 harness meet then flat races; 1923-1925 auto races; Ellis bought track in 1934, name changed 1955. www.churchilldowns.com/ellispark
er	TB	Empire City Racing Association, Keeneland-Cook photo
	Stdbd	Panoramic Photograph, DLC/PP-1908-43389. Library of Congress
Jockey Club	TB	ARM 1927, 119.
ley and Matt Winn; Edwards; Fairmount	TB	Began with Thoroughbreds, harness horses in 1948 & 1949, TB night races in 1950, 8 furlong track; www.fairmountpark.com , accessed 12/27/04. ARM 1927, 52-53.
County Fair	TB	Also hosts Quarter Horse and Appaloosa racing.
	TB	see Wilkes' Spirit of the Times Vol 3 no. 5 Sat Oct 6, 1860
	TB	
	Steeple	
Jockey Club; Phil &	TB	Home of the Brooklyn Handicap; Jeffrey Stanton, Coney Island - Horse Racing. http://naid.spsr.ucla.edu , 7/2/04.
	TB	
	TB	Chicago Daily News, Chicago Historical Society. In 1904 some horse races and then converted to automobile races.
cultural & Breeders	TB	Kelly, "At the Track." Maryland Historical Magazine, 73.
igan (d. 1924), Thomas Carey	TB, Stdbd	Chicago Derby began 1891, grandstand burnt & rebuilt 1902, racing banned in Chicago 1905, Corrigan sells & Carey holds races 1909 & 1911 but stopped. Chicago racing resumed 1922, numerous turf races. See Chicago Daily News, Chicago Historical Society; www.hawthorneracecourse.com ; www.race-track.info , 10/30/04.
y Club, Joseph E.	TB	Widener purchased track 1931, rebuilt under direction of architect Lester Geisler, added infield turf track, and Longchamps. France style walking ring. Hialeah is a certified Audubon Wildlife Sanctuary with the world's largest domestic colony of flamingos originally imported from Cuba. Hialeah Park Race Track National Register Nomination Form. HABS.FLA,13-HIAL
	Stdbd	
	Steeple	International Gold Cup Steeplechase & Virginia Gold Cup Steeplechase
Jockey Club	TB	Bought by the newly legislated New York Racing Association in 1950s and torn down, Keeneland-Cook photo. ARM 1927, 120.

Racetrack*	Dates	Location		Significant Persons
Jerome Park	1866	Bathgate Estate, New York City	NY	Leonard Jerome, August Belmont
Keeneland	1916 - Present	Lexington	KY	John Oliver Keene
Kentucky Association	b. 1900 - 1933	Lexington	KY	Kentucky Association, Inc.
Kinloch	b. 1918	St. Louis	MO	Louis & Charles Cella
Lakeside Race Track	1903	Chicago	IL	
Latonia	1883-1939	Covington (Cincinnati)	KY	James T. McGibben; Louis & Charles Cella (1905) - Kentucky Jockey Club, Inc.
Laurel Park	1910-Present	Laurel	MD	H. D. Curley Brown; James Butler, Matt J. Winn
Lincoln Fields Race Track (Crete RT, Balmoral Park)	1925 - 1941; 1954 Present	Crete	IL	Colonel Matt J. Winn and Kentucky Jockey Club
Marlboro	1900-1920		MD	Southern Maryland Agricultural Fair Association
Maryland Hunt Cup Steeplechase Course	1894 - Present	Glyndon	MD	National Steeplechase Association
Meadows, The	-1903	Seattle	WA	
Metairie Course	b. 1865	New Orleans	LA	Richard Ten Broeck
Miegs County Fair Grounds	1889 - Present		OH	Miegs County Agricultural
Moncreif Park	1911	Jacksonville	FL	H. D. Curley Brown
Monmouth Park (old)	1870-1893	Monmouth (Oceanport)	NJ	D. D. Withers, G. Peabody Wetmore, James Gordon Bennett, George Lorillard, P. Lorillard, August Belmont
Montgomery Park	b. 1918	Memphis	TN	Louis & Charles Cella
Montpelier Race Course		Montpelier Station	VA	Marion du Pont Scott
Morris Park	1889 - 1905	Bronx, Westchester Co.	NY	John A. Morris; Westchester Racing Association; August Belmont; James R. Keene

Significant Persons	Type	Notes
Jerome, August	TB	Owned by the American Jockey Club, course built in one year including ballroom for the club. Belmont Stakes first run at Jerome in 1867. Bowen, Jockey Club's Illustrated History of Thoroughbred Racing, 47. Bowmar, Giants of the Turf, 53.
Keene	TB, Steeple, Sales	Originally a private track, purchased by Keeneland Association, nonprofit org in 1935 led by Major Louie A. Beard, Jack Young, Hal Price Headley, and James Basett Jr. The 1826 gateposts are from the Kentucky Association's Lexington track.
Keeneland Association, Inc.	TB	Track closed in 1933, Keeneland Library photo. ARM 1927, 119.
Charles Cella	TB	Chicago Daily News photographs, Chicago Historical Society.
McGibben; Louis & Ella (1905) - Kentucky	TB	Very popular in 1880s & 1890s, up to 15,000 spectators per day, remained steady, then grew in 1920s. Zimmerman, "Sport of Kings," Cincinnati Historical Society Bulletin, www.race-track.info, 10/30/04.
Winn; James	TB	Hosts 1 1/2 mile Washington International turf race Veterans Day. Maryland State Fair ownership in 1926. ARM 1927, 120.
Winn and Jockey Club	TB, Stdbd	Dempsey trained at Crete for 1904 boxing match: shut down; red spanish tile roofs. Chicago Daily News photographs, Chicago Historical Society. The Blood-Horse photo, www.balmoralpark.com: www.race-track.info, 10/30/04.
Maryland Agricultural Station	TB	ARM 1927, 122.
Steeplechase	Steeple	www.nationalsteeplechase.com
	TB	www.washingtonthoroughbred.com, 3/27/05.
Broeck	TB	now Metarie Cemetery
County Agricultural	Stdbd	National Register Nomination Form
Winn	TB	
Peabody	TB	Original Monmouth Park, 600 acres & largest track in country, closed 1893 due to legislation, new Monmouth Park built & opened 1946 after anti-racing legislation ended in 1941. www.race-track.info, 10/30/04. Bowmar, Giants of the Turf, 57.
James Gordon		
George Lorillard, Pierre August Belmont		
Charles Cella		
Pont Scott	TB, Steeple	
Morris; Westchester Association; August	TB	15,000 person grandstand, food service, 6 railroad tracks for attendees. 12' square box stalls, grooms quarters & kitchens at the end of each stable row, artisan well with water tower. Keeneland Library & Panoramic Library of Congress photographs: Bowen, Jockey Club's Illustrated History of Thoroughbred Racing, 47. Sporting Tramp, The New Westchester Track, 474. Bowmar, Giants of the Turf, 73.
James R. Keene		

Racetrack*	Dates	Location		Significant Persons
National Hunt Cup Steeplechase Course	1909 - Present	Radnor	PA	
North Memphis Driving Park	1892-1921	Memphis	TN	C. G. K. Billings, Seth Griffin
Oakland House & Race Course	1840	Louisville	KY	
Oakland Race Track	b. 1900-a.1907	San Francisco	CA	
Oaklawn Park	1902 - Present	Hots Springs	AR	Louis & Charles Cella
Oriental Park	1915 - a. 1927	Havana	Cuba	H. D. Curley Brown
Pimlico	1870 - Present	Baltimore	MD	Gov. Oden Bowie; Maryland Jockey Club; Gov. Frank Brown; Ral Parr
Pinehurst	1915 - Present	Pinehurst	NC	Leonard Tufts
Pompano	b. 1927		FL	
Raceland	b. 1927	Lexington	KY	Tri-State Fair and Racing Association
River Downs	1925 - Present	Coney Island. Cincinnati	OH	
Rockingham Park	1906 - a. 1929	Rockingham	NH	John "Bet a Million" Gates
Santa Anita (old)	1907- a.1908	Arcadia	CA	Lucky Baldwin, Dr. Charles Strub
Saratoga Race Course	1864 - Present	Saratoga Springs	NY	John Morrisey, William R. Travers, John R. Hunter, Leonard W. Jerome; William C. Whitney; Saratoga Ass. for the Improvement of Horses
Savannah	b. 1909	Savannah	GA	
Sheepshead Bay Race Track	1880-1910	Sheepshead Bay. Coney Island	NY	Coney Island Jockey Club; Leonard Jerome, W. K. Vanderbilt, August Belmont Jr., William R. Travers, A. Wright Sanford.

Significant Persons	Type	Notes
	Steeple	
Griffins, Seth	TB	
	TB	The Blood-Horse photo: Burns Handicap run in 1907 - Panoramic Photographs has 1907 of grandstand and track DLC/PP-1907:43305
Charles Cella	TB	Suffered from anti gambling legislation: closed 1907, opened 1916 with Cellas, closed 1919, reopened 1933; 1 mile oval. http://www.race-track.info , accessed 10/30/04
W. Brown	TB	Havana-American Jockey Club. ARM 1927, 119.
Bowie; Maryland	TB,	Track began with Dinner Party Stakes renamed Preakness for first winner.
Gov. Frank Brown;	Steeple, Stdbd	Standardbreds early 1890s. Camp Wilmer in Sp-Am War. Maryland Steeplechase Assoc., 1900-1903 under William R. Riggs & Ral Parr. Joseph Kelly, "At the Track," Maryland Historical Magazine.
Griffins	TB, Stdbd	Also hosted horse shows, fairs, polo matches, became a Standardbred training track in the 1940s. 1992 began renovations and reintroduction of more equestrian events.
	TB	Keeneland-Cook photo
Horse and Racing	TB	ARM 1927, 123.
	TB	Zimmerman, "Sport of Kings." Cincinnati Historical Society Bulletin - sporadic through 1930s then stable. www.race-track.info , 10/30/04.
"Million" Gates	TB	Privately operated one time in 1906, closed until reopened in 1933.
Win, Dr. Charles	TB	Originally part of Baldwin's Rancho Santa Anita stud farm, public races until 1910. Los Angeles built new track that opened 25 December 1934 with \$100,000 Santa Anita Handicap. Historic farm and home open as public park. 3 Panoramic Photographs from March 1908. Bowen, Illustrated History, 111.
W. R. Hunter,	TB,	Oldest continuously used Thoroughbred track in United States, has oldest stakes race.
Jerome; William C.	Steeple, Stdbd,	1864 Travers Stake; buildings have been renovated. After Morrissey other casino owners 1864-1902, last Gottfried Walbaum oversaw major construction in 1892 then W.
Warataha Ass. for the	Sales	C. Whitney led syndicate bought property c. 1900 and began new building in 1902. Keeneland-Cook and Library of Congress photographs. ARM 1927, 122.
Department of	TB	The Blood-Horse photo
Horse and Racing	TB	Home of the Futurity; Keeneland-Cook photo. Bowen, Jockey Club's Illustrated History, 47. Jeffrey Stanton, Coney Island - Horse Racing.
August Belmont Jr., Travers, A. Wright		

Racetrack*	Dates	Location		Significant Persons
Springdale Race Course		Camden	SC	Harry D. Krikover, Ernest Woodward, Marion du Pont
Stockton Fair	b. 1900		CA	
St. Louis Fair Grounds	b. 1918	St. Louis	MO	Louis & Charles Cella
St. Louis World's Fair	1904	St. Louis	MO	
The Historic Track at Goshen	1839 - Present	Goshen	NY	
The Red Mile	1878 - Present	Lexington	KY	
Thistledown Park	1925 - Present	North Randall	OH	Thistle Down Jockey Club
Timonium Fair	1887 - Present	Timonium	MD	Baltimore County Agricultural Association; Maryland Jockey Club
Union Course	1821 - a. 1840	New York	NY	
Washington Park	1902 - Present	Chicago	IL	James Howard; Benjamin Lindheimer
Worth Race Track	1901-1915	Worth	IL	

*Original name is in parenthesis or "old" if track has been destroyed, rebuilt or relocated since original o

General Sources: John O. Humphreys. *American Racetracks and Contemporary Racing Art*. South
Edward L. Bowen, ed. *The Jockey Club's Illustrated History of Thoroughbred Ra*
Nancy Stout. *Great American Thoroughbred Racetracks*. New York: Rizzoli, 19
The American Racing Manual

Significant Persons	Type	Notes
Wickover, Ernest Marion du Pont	Steeple	National Steeplechase Museum. www.carolina-cup.org Colonial Cup & Marion du Pont Scott Colonial Cup. 600-acre training and competition now owned by SC
	TB	
Charles Cella		
	TB	Keeneland Library photo
	Stdbd	National Historic Landmark in 1966
	Stdbd	
Illinois Jockey Club	TB	www.race-track.info , 10/30/04. ARM 1927, 122.
Montgomery Agricultural ; Maryland Jockey	TB	Races held during the Maryland State Fair. www.race-track.info , 10/30/04.
	TB	First track to be an oval and all dirt: site of the 1840 rematch between Boston & Fashion (won) with crowd of 50,000
Chicago Jockey Club; Benjamin	TB	Keeneland-Cook photographs and Chicago Daily News photographs, Chicago Historical Society. Hosts Derby Day race. Illinois Jockey Club. ARM 1927, 119.
	TB	Chicago Daily News photographs, Chicago Historical Society. One story stables with gable roofs, brown color. S. C. Hildreth attended in 1904

restored since original opening

Racing Art. South Bend, IN: South Bend Publishing Company, Inc., 1966.
 History of Thoroughbred Racing in America. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1994.
 The Jockey. New York: Rizzoli, 1991.

Appendix 4. Selected Stables in the United States between 1865 and 1929

Name	Date	Location	Acres	Owner(s)
Adelbert Stud Farm	b. 1910 - a. 1910	Hopkinsville, KY		Williams & Radford
Algeria Stud	1882-1892	Erie, PA		Scott, Honorable William L.
Almahurst Farm		Nicholasville, KY		
Arden Farms	1886 - a. 1900	Orange County, NY	9300	Harriman, Edward H. and Mrs.
Ashland Stud Farm		Lexington, KY		Clay, Mrs. Henry
Audley Farm	b. 1920 - a. 1927	Berryville, VA		Jones, Monfort and Benjamin B.
Avondale Stud	b. 1905 - a. 1905	Saundersville, TN		Gardner, E. S.
Bates, Tyree Farm	b. 1897 - a. 1897	Gallatin, TN		
Beaumont Stud	1894 - 1951	Lexington, KY		Headley, Hal Pettit (-1920); Headley, Hal Price; Alice & Patricia Headley
Belair	1746-1898	Bowie, MD		Ogle, Samuel and descendents
Belair Stud	1898-1955	Bowie, MD	2300	Woodward, James T (1898-1924) William Sr. (1924-1953) & William Jr. (1953-1955)
Belcourt	b. 1905- a. 1906			Belmont, Oliver Hazard Perry
Belle Meade Plantation	1807-1868	Davidson Co., TN	8.500	Harding, William Giles (1807-1868) & John Harding (1839-1868)
Belle Meade Stud	1868 - 1890	Davidson Co., TN	3.870	Jackson, William H., Howell Jackson & John Harding Jr.
Belle Meade Stud	1890 - 1902	Davidson, Co., TN	2,167	Jackson, William Hicks
Bellwood	1881- a. 1890	Genesco, NY		Howland, S. S.
Bitter Root Stock Farm (Riverside Stud)	- 1900	Hamilton, MT		Daly, Marcus
Blairsdon	1897-1949	Bernardsville, NJ	423	Blair, C. Ledyard
Blue Ridge Stud	1896 - 1922	Upperville, VA		Oxnard, Henry Thomas
Bosque Bonita Stud	b. 1878 - a. 1920	KY		Morris, John H.
Broad Hollow	1912-1964	Old Westbury, LI	400	Clark, F. Ambrose
Brookdale Stud	1905-1929	Red Bank, NJ		Whitney, Harry Payne (-Oct 26, 1914) (Newmarket Stable 1909-1914)
Brookdale Stud	b. 1892 - a. 1892	Red Bank, NJ		Withers, David Dunham (Founder)

Architect(s)	References & Industry
ford	ARM 1930, 767.
e William L.	1894 Rancho Del Paso sale catalog. Trevelyan. "The Status of the American Turf." 476. ARM 1930, 766.
rd H. and Mrs.	Figliomeni, E. H. Harriamn. Klein. Life and Legend of E. H. now a subdivision
nd Benjamin B. Jones	BBR 1921, 127. BBR 1923, 166. BBR 1927, 223. ARM 1930, 767.
tit (-1920); Headley, & Patricia Headley	ARM 1927, 512, 738. ARM 1930, 592. Buckley. Keeneland, 67. Simpson. Enchanted Bluegrass, 29. BBR 1921, 125
d descendents	
es T (1898-1924) (1914-1953) & William	possibly Delano & Aldrich BBR 1930, 189-193. BBR 1925. ARM 1927, 512, 738. ARM 1930, 588. BBR 1921, 157. BBR 1923, 166. BBR 1924, 148. Pennoyer & Walker. Architecture of Delano & Aldrich. Banker
Hazard Perry	Richard Morris Hunt
n Giles (1807-1839) (1839-1868)	Vanderbilt. Fortunes Children, 249. Wills. Belle Meade, 55, 57, 62, 251. ARM 1927, 355. BBR 1928, 246. Cotton/Cashmere Goats/Farming
n H., Howell Jackson, Jr.	Wills. Belle Meade, 136, 146-149, 154-156. Bruce. Horse-Breeder's Guide, 24, 38. Cotton/Horses/Farming
n Hicks	Wills. Belle Meade, 235-236, 274. Trevelyan. "The Status of the American Turf." 474-475.
	Willey. "Fox Hunting." 44. Finance
	Trevelyan. "The Status of the American Turf." 475. BBR 1921, 156.
l	Carrere and Hastings; P. Vanderhoof & Sons (Builder)
omas	BBR 1921, 123. BBR 1922, 157. American Sugar Beet Company ARM 1930, 766. BBR 1921, 127.
se	Harry St. Clair Zogbaum
	Randall. Mansions of Long Island's Gold Coast, 109-112. Sclare. Beaux-Arts Estates, 131-134. Singer Sewing Machine Company executive
ayne (-Oct 26, 1929) ole 1909-1914)	ARM 1927, 511. ARM 1928, 786. ARM 1930, 584, 768-769. ARM 1927, 356-357. BBR 1930, 205-206.
Dunham (Founder)	Trevelyan. "The Status of the American Turf." 478.

Name	Date	Location	Acres	Owner(s)
Brookthorpe	1921	Radnor, PA		Reeve, J. Stanley
Burlingame Stock Farm	1893	Burlingame, CA		Ponatowski, Prince Andre
Calumet Farm	1924-1932	Lexington, KY	1000	Wright, William Monroe
Calumet Farm	1932-1955	Lexington, KY	1000	Wright, Warren
Calumet Farm	1955-1982	Lexington, KY	1000	Markey, Lucile Parker
Castlegould	1902-1917	Sands Point, LI	250	Gould, Howard
Castlegould	1917-1940	Sands Point, LI	250	Guggenheim, Daniel
Castleton Farm	1816-1880s	Lexington, KY		Castleton, David & family; Castleton Gen. John CSA
Castleton Farm	1880s-1912	Lexington, KY		Keene, James R. (-1913) & Foxhall Keene
Castleton Farm	1911(2) - 1945	Lexington, KY		Look, David
Castleton Farm	1945-1985	Lexington, KY		Van Lennep, Fred & Frances Dodge
Castleton Farm	1985-2001	Lexington, KY	1010	Frederick L. Van Lennep Trust (offered for sale in 2001).
Caumsett	1922-1956	Lloyd Neck, LI	1750	Field, Marshall III
Chesterbrook Farm	- 1921	Berwyn, PA		Cassatt, Colonel Edward B.
Chesterbrook Farm (Chester Valley Stud)		Berwyn, PA		Cassatt, Alexander J.
Claiborne Stud	1915-Present	Paris, KY	1300	Hancock, Arthur Boyd Sr., A. B. "Bull" Hancock Jr. & Seth Hancock
Coldstream Stud (now U of KY/Maine Chance)	1928 - a. 1940	Lexington, KY		Schaffer, Charles Benjamin, E. Dalk & Jack Howard
Dixiana Farm	1875-1891	Lexington, KY		Thomas, Major Barak G.

Architect(s)	References & Industry
Andre onroe	Buckley, Keeneland, 117. Calumet Baking Powder Calumet Baking Powder
ker	Buckley, Keeneland, 94.
Hunt & Hunt (house); Augustus N. Allen (stable)	AIA, Architectural Guide to Nassau & Suffolk Counties, 65. Sclare. Beaux-Arts Estates, 58-66. New York Architect 1. 1. Winsche & Hammond. "Evolution of the Gould/Guggenheim Estate." 38-49. Railroads/Finance
el	Hunt & Hunt (house); Augustus N. Allen (stable) AIA, Architectural Guide to Nassau & Suffolk Counties, 65; Sclaree. Beaux-Arts Estates, 58-66. New York Architect 1. 1. Winsche & Hammond. "Evolution of the Gould/Guggenheim Estate." 38-49. Mining/Smelting/Refining/Exploration
family; Castleton.	
(1913) & Foxhall	ARM 1927, 356. ARM 1927, 511. Bowen, Dynasties, 13. ARM 1930, 767-768. Financier Castleton Book.
& Frances Dodge ennep Trust (2001).	
John Russell Pope; Alfred Hopkins (farm group); Marian C. Coffin (landscape)	ARM 1927, 516. ARM 1930, 591. Randall, Mansions of Long Island's Gold Coast, 149-152; Mackay et al. Long Island Country Houses, 218. AIA, Architectural Guide to Nassau and Suffolk Counties, 124. Sclare, Beaux-Arts Estates, 45, 170-176. Retail/Dept. BBR 1922, 158.
Edward B.	
J.	Frank Furness Bruce, Horse-Breeder's Guide, 154. Pennsylvania Railroad
oyd Sr., A. B. & Seth Hancock	ARM 1930, 460. ARM 1930, 592. ARM 1927, 736-737. Buckley, Keeneland, 63-64. Bowen, Dynasties, 19. Simpson, Enchanted Bluegrass, 189-197. Ardery, "Hancocks," 257-273. Landowner/Horses
benjamin, E. Dale	ARM 1930, 590. Buckley, Keeneland, 133. Bowen, Dynasties, 73. ARM 1941, xix.
rak G.	Trevelyan, "The Status of the American Turf," 474-475. ARM 1930, 767. BBR 1928, 243.

Name	Date	Location	Acres	Owner(s)
Dixiana Farm	1927-1930	Lexington, KY	900	Fisher, Charles T.
Dixiana Stud (was Himyar)	1882 - 1921	Lexington, KY		Carson, Major Thomas J.
Dixiana Stud Farm	1922-1927	Lexington, KY		Brady, James Cox (-Nov. 10, 19...)
Domino Stud	b. 1930	Lexington, KY		
Dreamwold		Egypt, MA		Lawson, Thomas W.
Electra	b. 1927 - a. 1927	Fort Worth, TX	1,000	Waggoner, W. T.
Elkton Stock Farm (all became Greentree Farm)	1896-1924	Lexington, KY	750	Hughes, John T.
Ellerslie Stud	1927	Charlottesville, VA		Hancock, Arthur Boyd, Jr.
Ellerslie Stud	1866 - c. 1913	Charlottesville, VA		Hancock, Cpt. R. J. & Maj Tho W. Doswell
Ellerslie Stud	c. 1913-1946	Charlottesville, VA		Hancock, Arthur Boyd Sr.
Elmendorf (then Old Kenney, Spendthrift, now Green Gates Farm)	1926-1948	Lexington, KY	1297	Widener, Joseph E. and George then PAB Widener III after 194...
Elmendorf Stud	1892-a. 1895	Lexington, KY	544	Enright, C. J. and/or Gluck
Elmendorf Stud (all from Preakness)	1876 - 1891	Lexington, KY	550	Swigert, Daniel
Elmendorf Stud (part became Spendthrift)	1897-1914	Lexington, KY	10,000	Haggin, James Ben Ali
Empire City Stud	1856-1917	Cuba, NY	99	Simpson, William B.
Erdenheim Stud	1920s - 1940s	Chestnut Hill, PA		Widener, George D. Jr.
Erdenheim Stud	b. 1878 - 1920s	Chestnut Hill, PA		Welch, A.
Fair Stable	b. 1926 - a. 1930			Vanderbilt, Mrs. W. K.
Fairfield Farm	b. 1924	Wilmington, DE		du Pont, Amy E. 2nd
Fairview Stud Farm	b. 1883- a. 1892	Gallatin, TN		Reed, Charles
Faraway Farm (now Man O'War)	a. 1929	Lexington, KY		Riddle, Samuel D.
Fashion Farm	c. 1885	Trenton, NJ		
Faulkner Farm	b. 1906	Brookline, MA		Sprague, Mrs. Charles F.
Ferncliff Stud Farm	1890-1924	Rhinecliff-on-Hudson, NY		Astor, John J. IV

Architect(s)	References & Industry
s T.	Deese, Kentucky Postcards, 53. BBR 1929, 340. BBR 1928, 243. ARM 1941, xxv. General Motors
Thomas J.	ARM 1927, pg. 356. ARM 1930, 767. BBR 1922, 158.
Cox (-Nov. 10, 1927)	BBR 1927, 220-221. BBR 1928, 242. Financier Deese, Kentucky Postcards, 53.
nas W.	Coolidge & Carlson
T.	BBR 1928, 250. BBR 1927, 227. Texas Oil
T.	Juett & De Camp, "Fairlawn," 8-1-- 8-3.
ur Boyd, Jr.	Landowner/Horses
R. J. & Maj Thomas	Simpson, Enchanted Bluegrass, pg. 191. Ardery, "Hancocks," 257-273. Landowner/Horses
ur Boyd Sr.	ARM 1927, 356. Buckley, Keeneland, 63-64. Bowen, Dynasties, 20. Simpson, Enchanted Bluegrass, 189-197. ARM 1930, 768. Landowner/Horses
ph E. and George D. Jr.; lener III after 1944	Deese, Kentucky Postcards, 54-56. Buckley, Keeneland, 166. BBR 1923, 169. ARM 1927, 512.
and/or Gluck	Trevelyan, "The Status of the American Turf," Outing, 476.
el	Wills, Belle Meade, 225. Bruce, Horse-Breeders Guide, 54. Simpson, Enchanted Bluegrass, 291-299. Trevelyan, "The Status of the American Turf," 475-476.
s Ben Ali	Deese, Kentucky Postcards, 54-56. Mining
iam B.	John H. Coxhead
ge D. Jr.	H. Trumbauer, remodeled
rs. W. K.	ARM 1927, 512.
E. 2nd	Explosives/Synthetics Bruce, Horse-Breeders' Guide, 72. Trevelyan, "The Status of the American Turf," 472.
l D.	Bowen, Dynasties, 35. ARM 1930, 768.
Charles F.	Little & Brown Architects
IV	Trevelyan, "The Status of the American Turf," 475.

Name	Date	Location	Acres	Owner(s)
Ferncliff Stud Farm	b. 1883 - 1890	Rhinecliff-on-Hudson, NY		Astor, William
Forest Hill	1874	Cleveland OH		Rockefeller, John D. Jr.
Foxcatcher Farm Stable	b. 1924 -a.1929	Longwood, Rosemont, PA		du Pont, William Jr. & Mrs.
Georgian Court	b. 1906	Lakewood, NY		Gould, George J.
Greentree Farm	1926- a. 1942	Lexington, KY	750	Whitney, Payne (-May 26, 1927) & Helen Hay
Greentree Farm (now Gainesway Farm)	a. 1942- a. 1975	Upperville, VA	750	Whitney, Jock
Hamburg Place Stud	1900-1926	Lexington, KY	2.500	Madden, John Edward (-1929)
Hamilton Farm Stable	1911-1927	Gladstone, NJ	5,000	Brady, James Cox (-Nov. 10, 1927)
Hanover Shoe Farm		Hanover, PA		
Harbel Manor		Akron, OH		Firestone, Harvey S.
Harbor Hill	1902 - a. 1924	Roslyn, LI		Mackay, Clarence H.
Harlinsdale Farm	1935-1946	Franklin, TN		Harlin, Alex & Wirt
Hartland Stud (now Univ. KY/Pin Oak Stud)	b. 1895 - 1930s	Versailles, Woodford Co., KY		Camden, Hon. Johnson N., Jr.
Haynes Haven	1919-1937	Columbia, TN		Tolley, W. M.
Haynes Haven	1938 - 1959	Columbia, TN		Haynes, Col. Jack
Highland Place	c. 1878- a. 1901	Versailles, KY		Respass, J. B.
Himyar Stud Incorporated	1920- a. 1930	Lexington, KY	500	Chinn, Philip Thompson
Hira Villa Farm (now Mount Brilliant Farm)	1891- a. 1897	Lexington, KY		Thomas, Major Barak
Hurricane Stud Farm	b. 1903 - 1913	Amsterdam, NY		Sanford, Stephen (1826-1913)
Hurstbourne Stud Farm	c. 1864	St. Matthews, KY		Harris, Norvin T.
Idle Hour	1876-a. 1901	Oakdale, LI	862	Vanderbilt, William Kissam Sr.
Idle Hour Stock Farm (center core from Ash Grove; now Darby Dan and Three Chimneys)	1906- a. 1930	Old Frankfort Pike, Lexington, KY	2300 (1480)	Bradley, Edward Riley (1859-1946)
Indian Harbor	b. 1906	Greenwich, CT		Benedict, E. C.

Architect(s)	References & Industry
John D. Jr. John Jr. & Mrs.	Bruce. Horse-Breeders' Guide, 10. Trevelyan, "The Status of the American Turf," 475. Standard Oil
J. (-May 26, 1927) &	Bruce Price Geis. Georgian Court. Railroads/Finance Deese. Kentucky Postcards, 53. ARM 1927, 512, 738. BBR 1927, 219. ARM 1928, 494. Juett & De Camp. "Fairlawn." 8-1, 8-3. BBR 1928, 249.
Edward (-1929)	Deese. Kentucky Postcards, 51-52. BBR 1926, 261. ARM 1927, 356-357. ARM 1927, 518, 736. ARM 1930, 521, 768. Simpson, Enchanted Bluegrass, 1938, 3-7. BBR 1928, 337.
Fox (-Nov. 10, 1927)	William Weisenberger Jr. Thomas J. Steen Company BBR 1927, 220. ARM 1928, 493. Tutton, Peapack & Gladstone, 131-134. BBR 1928, 242. Financier
Eyre S. Eyre H.	McKim, Mead & White: Warren & Wetmore Rubber Sclare. Beaux-Arts Estates, 31.
Wirt Johnson N., Jr.	Tennessee Walkers Simpson, Enchanted Bluegrass, 151-153. ARM 1930, 768. Landowner/Politician
Pack	
Thompson	ARM 1927, 384. ARM 1930, 461. ARM 1930, 589. Buckley, Keeneland, 30. Sale catalogs 1928 & 1929.
Barak	Bowen, Dynasties, 12.
en (1826-1913)	ARM 1940, 500-501. Trevelyan, "American Racing," 11.
T. William Kissam Sr.	Richard Morris Hunt Architectural Record 13, no. 5 (May 1903): 458. New York Central Railroad
rd Riley (1859-1946)	Deese. Kentucky Postcards, 50. BBR 1929. BBR 1928, 253. BBR 1926, 241-243. ARM 1927, 430. ARM 1930, 588. Buckley, Keeneland, 18. Bowen, Dynasties, 19. Bowen, "B is for Bradley," 44-50. Casinos
Carrere & Hastings	

Name	Date	Location	Acres	Owner(s)
Indian Neck	1902	Oakdale, LI		Bourne, Frederick G.
International 1:55 Stock Food Company	1902 - 1919	Savage, IN		Savage, Marion
Inverness Farm	1931	Monkton, MD		Keiffer, Leslie E.
Keeneland Stud	1924-1933	Lexington, KY		Keene, John Oliver (Jack) & George Hamlet Keene
Kennesaw Stud	1867-1916	Gallatin, TN		Franklin, James
Kennesaw Stud	1916 - 1980s	Gallatin, TN		McMahan, Isaac Colvert
Killearn Farm	b. 1924	Millbrook, NY		Maclay, Alfred B.
King Ranch		Corpus Christie, TX		Kleberg, Robert J. Jr
Kingston Stud	1890s	Lexington, KY		Mackay, Clarence H.
LaBelle Stud	-1904	Old Frankfort Pike, Lexington, KY		Whitney, William C. (-1904)
Larchmont Farm	c. 1870	Lexington, KY		
Leona Stock Farm	c. 1927- a. 1943	Chicago, IL	126	Hertz, John D. (Mrs. only after 1927)
Locust Grove Stud	c. 1896	Cynthiana, KY		
Longview Farm	1913-1979	Lee's Summit, MO	1,780	Combs, Loula Long & R. A.
Lynnewood Farm	b. 1929 - 1942			Widener, Joseph E.
McGrathiana Stud	c. 1877	Lexington, KY	500	McGrath, Price
McGrathiana Stud (then Coldstream Stud)	b. 1884 - a. 1901	Lexington, KY	500	Young, Colonel Milton
Meadowbrook Farms		Rochester, MI		Dodge, Frances M.
Melbourne Stud	1901	Lexington, KY		Barnes, William Sudduth
Mereworth Farm	1920s	KY	600	Salmon, Walter J.
Milky Way Farm	1931 - 1945	Pulaski, TN		Mars, Franklin C. & Ethel V.
Montpelier Farms	b. 1917 - a. 1966	Montpelier Station, VA		du Pont, Marion
Montpelier Farms (Montpelier Hounds)	c. 1925 - a. 1927	Montpelier Station, VA		du Pont, William Jr.
Nantura Stock	b. 1867 - a. 1895	Midway, KY		Harper, F. B. & John Harper
Normandy Farm	1929 - present	Lexington, KY		Widener, J. E. (a. 1944 E. Barry R.)
Nursery Stud	1851-1890	Babylon, LI	1300	Belmont, August Sr. (-1890)

Architect(s)	References & Industry
ck G. Ernest Flagg; Alfred Hopkins (farm group)	Sclare, Beaux-Arts Estates, 25, 253. Singer Sewing Machine Company. Waite, "An American Sports Icon," 22-23.
iver (Jack) & George	Buckley, Keeneland, 80. ARM 1927, 512. ARM 1928, 494. ARM 1930, 593. Buckley, Keeneland, xii. BBR 1927, 223-224. Trainer/Landowner
c Colvert B.	Buckley, Keeneland, 83. ARM 1927, 356. ARM 1930, 768.
t J. Jr nce H. am C. (-1904)	Chernow, Titan, 290. BBR 1926, 263. ARM 1927, 511. Lexington Morning Herald, Feb. 3, 1904, pg. 1, col. 5. Railroad
(Mrs. only after 1929)	BBR 1929, 331 & 340. ARM 1928, 786. ARM 1930, 592. BBR 1928, 239-242. Yellow Cab Company
ong & R. A. Henry Hoit, George Hare (Landscape)	Longdreams, 4. Lumber
h E.	Hillenbrand, Seabiscuit, 188. ARM 1927, 492. ARM 1930, 598. Trevelyan, "The Status of the American Turf," 476.
l Milton	Wills, Belle Meade, 225. ARM 1927, 356. Bowen, Dynasties, 25. Sanders, Horse-Breeder's Guide, 124. Trevelyan, "The Status of the American Turf," Outing, 476.
M. n Sudduth	Copper Mining Buckley, Keeneland, 10. Land Speculation/Hotels/Canal
C. & Ethel V.	Kelly, "At the Track." Maryland Historical Magazine, 73. BBR 1924, 150. Real Estate Bowen, "B is for Bradley," 48. Candy Bars
n	Explosives/Synthetics
m Jr.	BBR 1927, 226. Explosives/Synthetics
John Harper (a. 1944 E. Barry Ryan)	ARM 1930, 767. BBR 1925, 131-132.
st Sr. (-1890)	Belmont, Fabric, 117. Bruce, Horse-Breeders' Guide, 84. Bowmar, Giants, 48. Finance

Name	Date	Location	Acres	Owner(s)
Nursery Stud	1885-1890	Lexington, KY		Belmont, August Sr. (-1890)
Nursery Stud	1891-1924	Lexington, KY		Belmont, Major August Jr. (1853-1924) Mrs. Kane - mgr.
Nursery Stud (now Belmont State Park)	1891-1924	Babylon, LI	1300	Belmont, Major August Jr. (1853-1924)
Nursery Stud (now part Rood & Riddle Vet Clinic)	1924	Lexington, KY		Belmont, August III, O. H. P. & Pe
Oakland Farm	b. 1905 - 1915	Newport, RI	150	Vanderbilt, Alfred Gwynne (1877-1915)
Old Westbury Gardens	1906-1958	Old Westbury, LI	160+	Phipps, John S. & Margarita Grace
Pabst Stock Farm	1908-	Oconomowoc, WI		Pabst, Frederick
Palo Alto Stock Farm	1870-1893	Menlo Park, Santa Clara, CA	8247	Stanford, Leland
Paulfred Farms		Tulsa, OK		Koontz, F. B.
Preakness Stud (all became Elmendorf)	1871-1876	Maysville Pike, Lexington, KY	544	Sanford, Milton H.
Quincy Stable	b. 1916 - a. 1929			Johnson, James F.
Raceland	c. 1880s - 1908			Woodford, Catesby
Raceland	e. 1930s	MA		Macomber, John R.
Rancho del Paso	1862- 1905	Del Paso, CA	44,000	Haggin, James Ben Ali
Rancho Santa Anita	c. 1871		80000	Baldwin, Lucky
Rancocas Stable (then Helis Stock Farm)	b. 1920 - a. 1926			Sinclair, Harry F.
Rancocas Stud	c. 1865 - a. 1923	Jobstown, NY		Lorillard, Pierre Jr.
Rosemary	b. 1906 - 1927	Old Westbury, NY		Keene, Foxhall Parker (-Sept. 25, 1941)
Ross Stable		at former Free State harness track near Laurel, Maryland		Ross, James Kenneth Mathews Commander
Runnymede	1931	White Horse, PA		Reeve, J. Stanley
Runnymede Stud	c. 1880-1913; 1920-1926	Cynthiana Road, Paris, KY		Woodford, Catesby and Col. Ezekiel Field Clay; Zeke Woodford & Brut Clay
Sagamore Farm		Glendon, MD		Vanderbilt, Alfred Gwynne II (1911-1999)

Architect(s)	References & Industry
st Sr. (-1890)	Bowmar, Giants of the Turf, 57. Finance
August Jr. (1853- ne - mgr.	ARM 1927, 738. Buckley, Keeneland, 12. ARM 1930, 767. BBR 1924, 141. BBR 1925, 136. Finance/Subways/Canal
August Jr. (1853-	BBR 1924, 141. Finance/Subways/Canal
st III, O. H. P. & Perry	BBR 1925, 134-136.
red Gwynne (1877-	Mann, Fads and Fancies, 146-147. New York Central Railroad
& Margarita Grace	George A. Crawley
k	Brewery
d	Buckley, Keeneland, 141; Arbuckle, "The Heyday of Palo Alto Stock Farm. Railroads
	Buckley, Keeneland, 83.
H.	Simpson, Enchanted Bluegrass, 296. Trevelyan, "The Status of the American Turf." 476.
F.	www.thoroughbredlegends.com/nashua/chapter_one.html .
esby	BBR 1923, 166.
n R.	Wills, Belle Meade, 225. ARM 1927, 256. Trevelyan, "The Status of the American Turf," 474-475. Mining
Ben Ali	Bowen, Illustrated History, 111.
	ARM 1927, 512. Owned Playfellow. BBR 1923, 166.
F.	www.thoroughbredlegends.com/nashua/chapter_one.html .
e Jr.	ARM 1927, 511. Buckley, Keeneland, xii. Bruce, Horse-Breeders' Guide, 32.
Parker (-Sept. 25.	Francis G. Hasselman; George A. Freeman
nneth Mathews	BBR 1928, 252. Randall, Mansions of Long Island's Gold Coast, 97-102. Sclare, Beaux-Arts Estates, 113, 118-121.
	ARM 1927, 512, 738. Buckley, Keeneland, 128. Kelly, "At the Track," 84. Canadian Railroads
esby and Col. Ezekiel	Bowen, Dynasties, 23. Simpson, Enchanted Bluegrass, 143, 149-151.
e Woodford & Brutus	ARM 1930, 766-767. BBR 1923, 166.
red Gwynne II (1912-	New York Central Railroad

Name	Date	Location	Acres	Owner(s)
Sagamore Hill	1884-a.1905	Oyster Bay, LI		Roosevelt, Theodore
Sandy Point Farm	c. 1903-1925	Portsmouth, RI	280	Vanderbilt, Reginald C. (-1925)
Sanford Stud Farm (formerly Hurricana)	1913 - 1939	Amsterdam, NY		Sanford, John (1851-1939)
Senorita Stud	-1906	Lexington, KY		Brown, Captain Samuel S. (-1906)
Shelburne (Museum)	1910-	Shelburne, VT		Webb, J. Watson
Shelburne Farms	1887-1936	Shelburne, VT	3000+	Webb, Dr. Watson Seward
Shoshone Farm	b. 1921 - a. 1923	WY	1.2 mill	Coe, William R.
Shoshone Farm (became Spindletop)	-1935	Lexington, KY	800	Coe, William R.
Silver Brook Stud	1905			Mackay, Clarence H.
Spendthrift (from Elmendorf)	1937- Present	Lexington, KY		Combs, Leslie II & Mrs. (-Nov 25, 1926)
Spindletop (first all of Shoshone Farm, then more)	1935 - 1960s	Lexington, KY	1066	Yount, Mrs. Miles Frank
Springwood		Hyde Park, NY		Roosevelt, James R.
Stan Hywet Hall	1912 - a. 1916	Akron, OH		Seiberling, Franklin A.
Swingalong Stud, Inc.	1930 - 1931	Paris, KY		Hart, Harry S.
The Madison Stud	1893	NY		Kelly, Edward
The Orchard	b. 1906	Southampton, NY		Breese, James Lawrence
The Peak/Landhope	1921	Radnor, PA		Meigs, Arthur Ingersoll
Vanderbilt Stable	b. 1904 - 1920	Poissy, France		Vanderbilt, William K.
Vernon Manor	1927-1969	Peapack, NJ	385	Gambrill, Richard Van Nest
Village Stock Farm	1891	East Aurora, NY		Hamlin, Cicero J.
Walmac	1939	Lexington, KY		McIlvain, Robert Wallace
Walnut Hall (part became KY Horse Park)	1892-Present	Lexington, KY	3,700	Harkness, Lamont V.
Westbrook Farms	b. 1900	Great River, LI		Lorillard, Louis L.
Westbrook Farms	b. 1900	Great River, LI		Lorillard, Pierre
Wheatley Hills	b. 1905 - a. 1905	Westbury, Long		Whitney, William Collins

	Architect(s)	References & Industry
odore	C. Grant LaFarge; Lamb & Rich	Sagamore Hill NHS pamphlet, 20.
inald C. (-1925)		Mann, Fads and Fancies, 164-165. Vanderbilt, Fortunes Children, 328. New York Central Railroad
851-1939)		ARM 1927, 492, 522, 738. John Sanford Scrapbooks. Keeneland Library. BBR 1921, 156.
Samuel S. (-1906)		Bowen, Dynasties, 25-27. ARM 1930, 768.
a		Sherman, House at Shelburne Farms, 94.
on Seward	Robert Henderson Robertson	Sherman, House at Shelburne Farms, 26. New York Central Railroad BBR 1922, 159. BBR 1923, 166. Sheep/Cattle Simpson, Enchanted Bluegrass, 251.
ce H.		Buckley, Keeneland, 92.
& Mrs. (-Nov 25.		ARM 1927, 429. Simpson, Enchanted Bluegrass, 291-299.
es Frank		Deese, Kentucky Postcards, 58. Simpson, Enchanted Bluegrass, 250-279. Texas Oil
s R.		
klin A.	Charles Schneider (w/ George B. Post & Son) & Warren Manning.	Rubber Buckley, Keeneland, 66. Buckley, Keeneland, 80.
awrence	McKim, Meade & White	
gersoll	Arthur V. Meigs	Reeve, Red Coats in Chester County, 140-142.
iam K.		Mann, Fads and Fancies, 55. BBR 1926, 264. New York Central Railroad
rd Van Nest	James MacKenzie; Ellen Shipman (landscape architect)	Tutton, Journey through Peapack & Gladstone, 126-130.
J.		Buckley, Keeneland, 63.
t Wallace		Simpson, Enchanted Bluegrass, 178.
n V.		Deese, Kentucky Postcards, 57. Sanders and Park, "Floral Hall," 8-4.
L.		Tobacco
		Tobacco
n Collins		Mann, Fads and Fancies, 127.

Name	Date	Location	Acres	Owner(s)
Wheatley Stable	b.1926-a 1938	Long Island, NY		Phipps, Mrs. Henry Carnegie & J. Ogden Mills
Whitney Stud (now Gainesway Farm)	b. 1929 - 1992	Lexington, KY		Whitney, Harry Payne (-1929) & C Whitney
Wickliffe Stud (was Kingston Farm)	1913 - 1918	Lexington, KY		McKinney, Price; Miss Elizabeth Daingerfield mgr.
Wikiup	b. 1921 - a. 1922	Santa Rosa, CA		Rosseter, John H.
William C. Whitney Estate	1898-a.1902	Old Westbury, LI		Whitney, William C. (-1904)
Wilson T. W. H. Farm	1932			Comer, Guy
Windsor White Stables	1920s	Hunting Valley, OH		White, Windsor T.
Woodburn Stud	b. 1883 - a. 1900	Midway, KY		Alexander, R. A. & A. J.
Xalapa Farm Stable	1921 - a.1930	Paris, Bourbon Co., KY		Simms, Edward Francis

Architect(s)	References & Industry
Henry Carnegie & J.	ARM 1927, 522. ARM 1930, 598. Buckley, Keeneland. 22. Simpson, Enchanted Bluegrass. 195.
Payne (-1929) & C. V.	BBR 1930, 205-206.
Miss Elizabeth	ARM 1930, 769. BBR 1925, 140. BBR 1926, 265.
gr.	BBR 1922, 159.
H.	BBR 1922, 159.
Sam C. (-1904)	George A. Freeman-1898 stable; McKim, Mead & White 1902 house Mackay et al, Long Island Country Houses, 1860-1940. 28. Sclare, Beaux-Arts Estates, 33, 109-111.
Mr T.	Bohnard & Parsson Manufacturing (Sewing Machines/Motors)
A. & A. J.	Trevelyan. "The Status of the American Turf," 476. ARM 1930, 766. Farmer
Ed Francis	ARM 1927, 518, 738. Buckley, Keeneland, 135. Wilkinson. "The Sport of Kings," 333. BBR 1922, 153. Oil

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archives and Manuscript Collections

Belair Mansion and Stables, Bowie, Maryland. The city-owned historic home and stable has an extensive collection of *Country Life in America*, and *Polo*. The collection also includes historic photographs and several rare secondary publications.

Cavalry Association Museum and Archives, Fort Riley, Kansas. The archive contains information about the American military's equestrian developments after the Civil War. Research materials illuminate the background and experiences of those individuals who became involved in American horse sports during and after their military service.

U.S. Army Olympic Papers and Photographs

Col. Hiram Tuttle Papers

Harness Horse Museum and Racing Hall of Fame, Goshen, New York. An extensive library and museum collection focusing on the Standardbred breeding and racing industry.

Kansas City Museum, Kansas City, Missouri. Built in 1910 as the Long family home, the house and stable site has an archive and museum exhibits containing information about the Long family's involvement with horses and the creation of Longview Farm.

Keeneland Library, Lexington, Kentucky. Established by the John Oliver Keene in 1916 as a Thoroughbred breeding facility the site is now one of the premier American racetracks. The Keeneland Racetrack Association maintains a library and an archive with several photographic collections devoted to the Thoroughbred.

Margaret Lindsley Warden Collection, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, MTSU, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

The Warden collection contains a significant number of books and serial publications not available through interlibrary loan. The photograph collection contains over two thousand conformation and action photographs of prominent horses in over twenty different breeds or disciplines.

National Sporting Library, Middleburg, Virginia. Established in 1954 the National Sporting Library collection of organizational archives, manuscripts, books, serials, and artwork focuses on turf and field sports.

Harry Worcester Smith Papers

Marshall Hawkins Collection (Photographs)

National Beagle Club Archives

Piedmont Fox Hounds Archives

The Spirit of the Times; The American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine; The Chronicle of the Horse; Turf, Field, and Farm; New York Sportsman; Chicago Horseman; Bloodstock Breeders' Review

Shelburne Farms, Shelburne, Vermont.

Shelburne Farms maintains a library and archive collection in the main house.

Estate letters, record books, architectural drawings, and photographs

Shelburne Foxhounds records

Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee. The state archive's photographic library collection includes numerous photographs of Belle Meade Stud, its owners and horses, and post-1929 Tennessean equestrian activities.

United States Pony Clubs, Inc., Kentucky Horse Park, Lexington, Kentucky. The organization's headquarters at the Kentucky Horse Park includes a library with minutes, reports, and publications that provide information about individuals who founded USPC in 1954. Many of the founders are directly linked to the wealthy, social elite between 1865 and 1929.

Minutes, 1953-1969; *USPC News*; *USPC Annual Report 1956-2001*

Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, Columbia, Missouri. The WHMC collections focus primarily upon Missouri but also include other states west of the Mississippi River. The collections vary greatly in size and scope and are located at four different sites in Missouri.

Longview Farm Records, US Army Corp of Engineers. Copies of HABS/HAER records. (University of Missouri-Columbia)

Longview Farm Records, Henry Hoit, Architect, Specifications and Drawings (University of Missouri-Kansas City)

Primary Sources

Belmont, Eleanor Robson. *The Fabric of Memory*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Cudahy, 1957. Reprint. New York: Arno Press, 1980.

Combs, Loula Long. *My Revelation*. Limited Edition, 1991. Lee's Summit, MO: Longview Publishing Company, 1947.

Jones, Linda Newcom, ed. *The Longview We Remember*. N.p.: Storm Ridge Press, 1990.

Keene, Foxhall. *Full Tilt: The Sporting Memoirs of Foxhall Keene*. New York: Derrydale Press, 1938.

Reeve, J. Stanley. *Red Coats in Chester County*. New York: The Derrydale Press, 1940.

Wadsworth, W. Austin. *The Hunting Diaries of W. Austin Wadsworth, M.F.H., Genesee Valley Hunt, 1876-1909*. Genesco, NY: Genesee Valley Hunt, 1984.

Webb, William Seward. *Shelburne Farms Stud (Shelburne, Chittenden County, Vermont) of English Hackneys, Harness & Saddle Horses, Ponies and Trotters*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1893.

Whitney, W. C. *The Whitney Stud*. New York: n.p., 1902.

Widener, P. A. B. *Without Drums*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940.

Woodward, William. *Gallant Fox, A Memoir*. New York: Privately Printed, 1931.

Woodward, William. *A Memoir of Andrew Jackson Africanus*. New York: Privately Printed, 1935.

Secondary Sources

- Abercrombie, E. B. "The Horse of Society." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 27, no. 4 (January 1896): 24-37. Available from APS Online Database 434163742.
- Adams, John. *An Analysis of Horsemanship; Teaching the Whole Art of Riding, in the Manage, Military, Hunting, Racing, and Travelling System*. Volume 1. Ivy-Lane, England: James Cundee, 1805.
- Adelman, Melvin L. "The First Modern Sport in America: Harness Racing in New York City, 1825-1870." *Journal of Sport History* 8, no. 1 (1981): 5-32.
- Admunson, Michael. "The Mink and Manure Crowd: The History of an Elite Subculture in Wyoming." M.A. thesis, University of Wyoming, 1990.
- "Advertisement 56." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 27, no. 6 (March 1896): XLV. Available from APS Online Database 434175352.
- Akers, Dwight. *Drivers Up: The Story of American Harness Racing*, 2nd ed. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1947.
- Allen, Lewis F. *Rural Architecture: Being a Complete Description of Farm Houses, Cottages, and Out Buildings*. New York: C. M. Saxton, 1852.
- Allison, Nathaniel Thompson. *History of Cherokee County Kansas and its Representative Citizens*. Transcribed. N.p., 1904.
<http://skyways.lib.ks.us/genweb/archives/cherokee/1904/bios/> (accessed 3/29/04).
- "American Country Life and Art." *Architectural Record* 11, no. 2 (1902): 112-116.
- American Hackney Horse Society, Inc., "The Origin of the Hackney." Lexington, KY: American Hackney Horse Society, Inc., 2001.
- American Horse Council. *1996 National Economic Impact Study*. Washington, DC: American Horse Council, 1996.
- American Institute of Architects, Long Island Chapter and the Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities. *ALA Architectural Guide to Nassau and Suffolk Counties, Long Island*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1992.
- "American Residence Series: Ellencourt, The Residence of S. Sachs, Esq. at Elberon, NJ." *Architectural Record* 13, no. 2 (February 1903): 180-192.
- "American Residence Series: The Residence of Mrs. Elliott F. Shepard at Scarborough, NY." *Architectural Record* 12, no. 5 (October 1902): 549-568.
- "American Royal Horse Show." *The Rider and Driver* 68, no. 2 (December 13, 1924): 6-8.
- Anderson, Edward L. and Price Collier. *Riding and Driving*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905.
- Andrews, Kathleen B. "Meigs County Fairgrounds Grandstand and Racetrack." National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form. 28 August 1981.
- "Answers to Correspondents." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 29, no. 5 (February 1897): 520. Available from APS Online Database.
- Arab Horse Society, The. *The Arab Horse*. London: The Arab Horse Society, 1937.
- Ardery, Philip. "The Hancocks of Claiborne Farm." *Filson Club Historical Quarterly* 63, no. 2 (1989): 257-273.
- _____. "James Ben Ali Haggin Kentucky's Kubla Khan." *Filson Club Historical*

- Quarterly* 57, no. 2 (1983): 1-10.
- Armstrong, Virginia Winmill Livingstone. "Gone Away" with the Winmills. N.p.: by the author, 1977.
- Arthur, Eric and Dudley Witney. *The Barn: A Vanishing Landmark in North America*. Toronto: M. F. Feheley Arts Co., 1972.
- Apsley, Lady. *Bridleways through History*. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1936.
- Aslet, Clive. *The American Country House*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990.
- _____. *The Last Country Houses*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982.
- Baker, John Cordis, ed. *American Country Homes and Their Gardens*. Philadelphia: House & Garden, 1906.
- Baltimore Country Club. *One Hundred Years*. n.p.: Baltimore Country Club, 1998.
- Baltz, Shirley Vlasak. *A Chronicle of Belair*. Bowie, MD: Bowie Heritage Committee, 1984.
- Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *The Book of the Fair: An Historical and Descriptive Presentation of the World's Science, Art, and Industry, as Viewed through the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893*. Volume One. New York: Bounty Books, 1894.
- Barksdale, Francis Nelson. "Chesterbrook Stock Farm: A Unique Blue Grass Farm in the East." *Country Life in America* 1, no. 2 (December 1901): 41-46.
- Barly, Joseph A. *Judging Saddle Horses and Roadsters*. Milwaukee: Joseph A. Barley, 1945.
- Barney, Sydney D. *Clothes and the Horse*. London: Vinton & Company, 1913.
- "Barn and Stable Plan." *The Country Gentleman* (12 March 1868): 190.
- Barre, H. J. and L. L. Sammet. *Farm Structures*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1950.
- Barry, Maj. J. A. "Olympia and the VIII Olympiade." *The Rider and Driver* 67, no. 11 (October 18, 1924): 12, 16.
- Barton, Frank T. *Horses: Their Points and Management in Health*. London: Everett & Company, 1911.
- Beckett, J. V. *The Aristocracy in England 1660-1914*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1986.
- Benedict. "The Coming Horse Show." *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine* 24, no. 142 (October 1894): 409-423. Available from APS Online Database 195209941.
- Benka, C. and G. Hardwick. "Town Stable." *Brookline MRA*, January 1985.
- Benson, Gary J. *In The Irons: Show Jumping, Dressage and Eventing in North America*. New York: Howell Book House, 1994.
- Berg, Donald J. *American Country Building Design: Rediscovered Plans for 19th-Century Farmhouses, Cottages, Landscapes, Barns, Carriage Houses & Outbuildings*. New York: Sterling Publishing Co., Inc., 1997.
- Berk, Gerald. *Alternative Tracks: The Constitution of American Industrial Order, 1865-1917*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994.
- Berkebile, Don. *American Carriages, Sleighs, Sulkies, and Carts*. New York: Dover

- Publications, 1977.
- Beudant, Captain E. *Dressage du Cheval de Selle*. Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1948.
- Bird-Meyer, Matt. "Former Residents Treasure Memories of Life on Farm." *Lee's Summit Journal* 2 March 2001.
- _____. "Gatehouse Returns as Family Home." *Lee's Summit Journal* 14 March 2001.
- _____. "Much of Farm No Longer Here." *Lee's Summit Journal* 26 February 2001.
- _____. "Restoring the 'Big House.'" *Lee's Summit Journal* 14 March 2001.
- _____. "Riding out of the Caves." *Lee's Summit Journal* 23 December 2002.
- Blanchard, Elizabeth Amis Cameron and Manly Wade Wellman. *The Life and Times of Sir Archie: The Story of America's Greatest Thoroughbred 1805-1833*. New York: Van Rees Press, 1958.
- Blanke, David. *Sowing the American Dream: How Consumer Culture Took Root in the Rural Midwest*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2000.
- Bloodgood, Lida Fleitmann. *Hoofs in the Distance*. New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1953.
- Blood-Horse, The. *A Quarter-Century of American Racing 1916-1941*. Lexington, KY: The Blood-Horse, 1941.
- Bobbitt, Charles A. "The North Memphis Driving Park, 1901-1905: The Passing of an Era." *The West Tennessee Historical Society Papers* 26 (1972): 40-55.
- Bolotin, Norman and Christine Laing. *The Chicago World's Fair of 1893: The World's Columbian Exposition*. Washington, DC: The Preservation Press, National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1992.
- Boniface, J. J. *The Cavalry Horse and His Pack*. Kansas City, MO: Hudson-Kimberly Publishing Co., 1903.
- Borden, Spencer. *The Arab Horse*. Los Angeles: Borden Publishing Co., 1949.
- Bowen, Edward L. "'B' is for Bradley: Breeder Extraordinaire." *Keeneland Spring* (2001): 44-50.
- _____. *Dynasties: Great Thoroughbred Stallions*. Lexington, KY: The Blood-Horse, Inc., 2000.
- _____, ed. *The Jockey Club's Illustrated History of Thoroughbred Racing in America*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1994.
- Bowmar, Dan M. III. *Giants of the Turf*. Lexington, KY: The Blood-Horse, 1960.
- Braden, Donna R. *Leisure and Entertainment in America*. Dearborn, MI: Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village, 1988.
- Bradley, Hugh. *Such was Saratoga*. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1940.
- Bradley, Lenore K. *Corinthian Hall: An American Palace on Gladstone*. Kansas City, MO: The Lowell Press, 1981.
- _____. "R. A. Long House." National Register of Historic Places Inventory -- Nomination Form.
- _____. *Robert Alexander Long: A Lumberman of the Gilded Age*. Durham, NC: Forest History Society, 1989.
- Brainard, Newton C. "Hartford Horse Dealers." *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin* 28, no. 2 (1963): 45-46.

- Brandon, Ruth. *The Dollar Princesses: Sagas of Upward Nobility, 1870-1914*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1980.
- Breen, T. H. "Horses and Gentlemen: The Cultural Significance of Gambling among the Gentry of Virginia." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd Ser., Vol. 34, no. 2 (April 1977): 239-257.
- Bressor, Julie. "The Shelburne Farms Archives and Webb Family Collection." *Vermont Archives and Manuscripts* 59, no. 3 (1991): 180-183.
- Britz, Billie Sherrill. "Lyndhurst Greenhouse: Emblem of a Grand Society." *Historic Preservation* 25, no. 1 (1973): 15-21.
- Brock, David William Errington. *Introduction to Fox Hunting*. London: Seeley, Service & Co., n.d.
- Brooke, Geoffrey. *Introduction to Riding and Stablecraft*. London: Seeley, Service, & Co., 1953.
- Brown, Douglas A. "Thoroughbred Horse-Racing Receives an Imperialist Nod: The Parliamentary Debate on Legalizing Gambling in Canada, 1910." *International Journal of the History of Sport* 11, no. 2 (1994): 252-269.
- Brown, Paul. *Polo*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949.
- Bruce, Sanders Dewees. *Horse-Breeder's Guide and Handbook*. New York: Turf, Field & Farm, 1883.
- Brunetto, Daniel P. "68th Police Precinct Station House and Stable." National Register of Historic Places -- Nomination Form, 1982.
- Buckley, Amelia King. *The Keeneland Association Library: A Guide to the Collection*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1958.
- Buecker, Thomas R. *Fort Robinson and the American West, 1875-1899*. Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1999.
- Burgess, T. W. "Indian Harbor - An Ideal American Estate." *Country Life in America* 2, no. 4 (August 1902): 148-151.
- Bush, Michael L. *The English Aristocracy: A Comparative Synthesis*. Manchester: University Press, 1984.
- Calhoun, Charles W., ed. *The Gilded Age: Essays on the Origins of Modern America*. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1996.
- Camfield, Thomas M. "The Professionalization of American Psychology, 1870-1917." *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 9, no. 1 (1973): 66-75.
- Cannadine, David. *Aspects of Aristocracy: Grandeur and Decline in Modern Britain*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994.
- _____. "Aristocratic Indebtedness in the Nineteenth Century: The Case Re-opened." *Economic History Review* New Series 30, no. 4 (November 1977): 624-650.
- _____. "Aristocratic Indebtedness in the Nineteenth Century: A Restatement." *Economic History Review* New Series 33, no. 4 (November 1980): 569-573.
- _____. *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*. New York: Vintage Books, 1999.
- _____. *The Pleasures of the Past*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1991.
- _____. *Rise and Fall of Class in Britain*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

- Carden, Marie L. *Outbuildings. Historic Structures Report. Home of Franklin D. Roosevelt National Historic Site. Hyde Park, New York.* Draft. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service: Building Conservation Branch, Northeast Cultural Resources Center, 1997.
- Carlisle, Lilian Baker. *The Carriages at Shelburne Museum.* Shelburne, VT: The Shelburne Museum, 1956.
- Carnegie, Andrew. *An American Four-in-Hand in Britain.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1883.
- Carr, Raymond. "Country Sports." In *The Victorian Countryside*, ed. G. E. Mingay, 475-487. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.
- Carter, Mary Elizabeth. *Millionaire Households and their Domestic Economy with Hints upon Fine Living.* New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1903.
- Carter, Colonel William H. *Horses Saddles and Bridles*, 2nd ed. Baltimore: The Lord Baltimore Press, 1902.
- Cary, Richard L., Jr. *Tales of the Turf and "Rank Outsiders."* Chicago: Francis J. Schulte, 1891.
- Case, Carole. "Paddock Rites: Integrative Ritual in the Racing Community." *Sociological Inquiry* 58, no. 3 (1988): 279-290.
- Cashman, Sean Dennis. *America in the Gilded Age: From the Death of Lincoln to The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*, 3rd ed. New York: New York University Press, 1993.
- Cavalry School Academic. *Horse Show Management.* Fort Riley, KS: The Cavalry School Press, 1925.
- _____. *Horsemanship and Horsemastership Vol. 1.* Fort Riley, KS: The Cavalry School Press, 1950.
- _____. *Horsemanship and Horsemastership Vol. 2.* Fort Riley, KS: The Cavalry School Press, 1953.
- _____. *Horsemanship and Horsemastership Vol. 3.* Fort Riley, KS: The Cavalry School Press, 1952.
- Cederwald, A. A. "The Remount Service Past and Present." *Quartermaster Review* (November-December 1928). <http://www.qmfound.com> (accessed 3/15/2001).
- Chalmers, Patrick. *The History of Hunting.* London: Seeley, Service & Co., 1951.
- Chamberlin, Harry D. *Riding and Schooling Horses.* Washington, DC: Armored Cavalry Journal, 1934.
- Chandler, Alfred D. Jr. *The Railroads: The Nation's First Big Business.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1965.
- Chernow, Ron. *Titan: The Life of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.* New York: Vintage Books, 1999.
- Churchill Downs. *The Kentucky Derby 1875-1975.* Louisville, KY: Churchill Downs Inc., 1975.
- Citizens Historical Association. *Biographical Data of Kansas Citizens Index.* N.p., 1938.
- City of Bowie, "Bowie Spotlight," May-June 2002, 1-2.
- "Clever Hayward." *National Police Gazette* 52, no. 561 (16 June 1888): 14. Available from APS Online Database 217747371.

- “Coaching.” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 17, no. 6 (March 1891): 127. Available from APS Online Database 433812972.
- Coates, Foster. “A Club of Millionaire Farmers.” *The Chautauquan*. 25, no. 4 (July 1897): 388-392. Available from APS Online Database 433742542.
- Cohen, Clive. “The Early History of Chemical Engineering: A Reassessment.” *British Journal for the History of Science* 29, no. 2 (1996): 171-194.
- Cole, Nathan A. “The Development of the American Trotter.” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 37, no. 1 (October 1900): 6-14. Available from APS Online Database 434090162.
- _____. “Early Road Driving and Its Patrons.” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 36, no. 3 (June 1900): 277-285. Available from APS Online Database 434089732.
- _____. “Equestrianism: The Light Harness Horse.” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 35, no. 3 (December 1899): 307-311. Available from APS Online Database 434089382.
- _____. “Equestrianism: The Light-Harness Horse.” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 35, no. 5 (February 1900): 522-526. Available from APS Online Database 435244262.
- _____. “The Light Harness Horse.” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 36, no. 2 (May 1900): 223-225. Available from APS Online Database 435248002.
- Colt, C. C. “Breeding Horses with U. S. and Jockey Club Assistance.” *The Rider and Driver* 68, no. 3 (January 10, 1925): 13-14.
- Conn, Steven. *Museums and American Intellectual Life 1876-1926*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- “Connecting Parkways Necessary to Link up Central Park with Riverside Drive and Other Parks.” *The Rider and Driver* 68, no. 5 (January 24, 1925): 11-12.
- Connelley, William E. *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans*. Transcribed. Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1918.
<http://skyways.lib.ks.us/genweb/archives/1918KS/biol/longra> (accessed 3/29/04).
- “Contemporary Suburban Residence, The.” *Architectural Record* 11, no. 2 (1901): 69-81.
- Contosta, David R. *A Philadelphia Family: The Houstons and Woodwards of Chestnut Hill*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988; University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992.
- Corbett, Edward. *Old Coachman’s Chatter, with Some Practical Remarks*. London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1890.
- “Country Horse Shows, The.” *Country Life in America* 1, no. 1 (November 1901): xix.
- Coventry, Kim, Daniel Meyer, and Arthur H. Miller. *Classic Country Estates of Lake Forest: Architecture and Landscape Design, 1856-1940*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2003.
- Crawford, Mrs. Harden L. III, compiler. “The Story of Hamilton Golf and Equestrian Center,” <http://www.gladstone-equestrianassoc.org> (accessed 2/18/04).
- Croak, Thomas M. “The Professionalization of Prizefighting: Pittsburgh at the Turn of

- the Century." *The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 62, no. 4 (1979): 333-343.
- Croly, Herbert David. *Houses for Town or Country*. N.p.: Duffield & Company, 1907.
- _____. "Rich Men and Their Houses." *Architectural Record* 12, no. 1 (May 1902): 27-32.
- Cunstance, Henry. *Riding Recollections and Turf Stories*. London: Edward & Arnold, 1894.
- Dale, T. F. "English Polo of To-Day." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 38, no. 5 (August 1901): 501-507. Available from APS Online Database 434093342.
- Davenport, Homer. *My Quest of the Arabian Horse*. Chicago: The Arabian Horse Club of America, 1949.
- Davis, Patricia T. *End of the Line: Alexander J. Cassatt and the Pennsylvania Railroad*. New York: Neale Watson Academic Publications, Inc., 1978.
- Day, Frank Miles. *American Country Houses of Today*. New York: The Architectural Book Publishing Company, 1912.
- Day, Teresa. "Horse Farm Tours, Thoroughbred Farms." Lexington, KY: Lexington Convention and Visitors Bureau, 2001.
- de Broke, Lord Willoughby. *Steeplechasing*. London: Seeley Service & Co., 1954.
- Deese, Wynell Scott. *Kentucky's Bluegrass*. Postcard History Series. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2000.
- de Hurst, C. *How Women Should Ride*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1892.
- de Kieffer, Eugene. *Practical Instruction in Horsemanship*. Philadelphia: Eugene de Kieffer, 1868.
- DeSantis, Vincent P. *The Shaping of Modern America: 1877-1916*, 2nd ed. Arlington Heights, IL: Forum Press, Inc., 1989.
- Desmond, Harry W. and Herbert Croly. *Stately Homes in America from the Colonial Times to the Present Day*. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1903.
- de Souza, Baretto. *Advanced Equitation*. London: John Murray, 1927.
- Dixon, William Scarth. *Foxhunting in the 20th Century*. London: Hurst & Brackett, Ltd., 1925.
- Dolkart, Andrew Scott. "Feuchtwanger Stable." National Register of Historic Places -- Inventory Form.
- Dolve, R. M. *Barn Plans*. Government Agricultural Experiment Station of North Dakota, Bulletin no. 97. Fargo: North Dakota Agricultural College, 1912.
- Donn, Linda. *The Roosevelt Cousins: Growing Up Together, 1882-1924*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001.
- Donnis, Erica Huyler. *The Conception of a Country Residence: Shelburne House, 1887-1900*. M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1998.
- Donzel, Catherine, Alexis Gregory, and Marc Walter. *Grand American Hotels*. New York: The Verdome Press, 1989.
- Dossenbach, Monique, Hans D. Dossenbach, and Hans Joachim Köhler. *Great Stud-Farms of the World*. New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1978.
- Downing, Andrew Jackson. *The Architecture of Country Houses*. New York: D.

- Appleton & Co., 1850. Reprint New York: Da Capo Press, 1968.
- _____. *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, Adapted to North America; with a View to the Improvement of Country Houses*. New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1841.
- Doyle, Don H. *New Men, New Cities, New South: Atlanta, Nashville, Charleston, Mobile, 1860-1910*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990.
- Downey, Bill. *Tom Bass: Black Horseman*. St. Louis: Saddle and Bridle, Inc., 1975.
- Drybrough, T. B. *Polo*. New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1906.
- Duke, Cordia Sloan and Joe B. Frantz. *6000 Miles of Fence: Life on the XIT Ranch of Texas*. Austin: University of Texas, 1961.
- Dumville, John P. "Shelburne Farms." National Register of Historic Places Inventory -- Nomination Form.
- Durant, Ghislani. *Horseback Riding from a Medical Point of View*. New York: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 1878.
- Dunn, Hampton. "Florida: Jewel of the Gilded Age." *Gulf Coast Historical Review* 10, no. 1 (1994): 19-28.
- Dunn, Robert. "The Country Club: A National Expression, Where Woman is Really Free." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 47, no. 2 (November 1905): 160-174. Available from APS Online Database 434100782.
- Dwyer, Francis. *Seats and Saddle, Bits and Bitting*. London: William Blackwood and Son, 1868.
- Edmisten, Linda Harris. "Pinehurst Race Track." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, September 1992.
- Edwards, E. Hartley. *Saddlery*. London: J. A. Allen & Co. Ltd., 1971.
- Edwards, Lionel. *My Hunting Sketchbook*. London: Eyre and Spottis Wood Ltd., 1928.
- Eichengreen, Barry. "Currency and Credit in the Gilded Age." *Research in Economic History*, Supplement 3 (1984): 87-114.
- Ekblaw, K. J. T. *Farm Structures*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914.
- Eliot, Elizabeth. *Portrait of a Sport-Steplechasing in U. S.* Woodstock, VT: The Countryman Press, 1957.
- "Ellerslie: An American Country Seat." *Country Life in America* 1, no. 1 (November 1901): 9-13.
- Elliott, Ashleigh. "Eventing in Suburbia? It's not so Difficult." *Eventing USA* (July/August 2002): 23-30.
- Ellis, A. Raymond. "Stable of Judge William C. Hungerford, Avalon Farms, Kensington, Conn." *Architecture* (February 1931): 97-98.
- Ellis, Roger. *Who's Who in Victorian Britain*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2001.
- Endersby, Elric, Alexander Greenwood, and David Larkin. *Barn: The Art of a Working Building*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1992.
- Ensminger, Robert F. *The Pennsylvania Barn: Its Origin, Evolution, and Distribution in North America*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992; Johns Hopkins Paperbacks, 1995.

- Equestrian Land Conservation Resource. *Equestrian Land Protection Guide*. Galena, IL: Equestrian Land Conservation Resource, 2000.
- "Equestrian Sports." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 17, no. 2 (November 1890): 36. Available from APS Online Database 434139402.
- Evenson, Kelly. "Piece of History: New School Built from Longview Horse Arena." *Town and Country (Jackson County, Missouri)* (16 November 2004).
- Farshler, Earl R. *The American Saddle Horse*. Louisville, KY: The Standard Printing Co., 1933.
- Ferree, Barr. *American Estates & Gardens*. New York: Munn & Co., 1906.
- Ferrell, Merri McIntyre. "Fox Hunting on Long Island." *Nassau County Historical Society Journal* 56 (2001): 3-9.
- Figliomeni, Michelle P. *E. H. Harriman at Arden Farms*. Arden, NY: Orange County Historical Society, 1997.
- Fillis, James. *Breaking and Riding*. London: Hurst & Blackett, Ltd., 1812.
- Fitzgerald, C. J. "Nursery Stud's Future." *The Rider and Driver* 68, no. 6 (7 February 1925): 12.
- Fleitmann, Lida L. *Comments on Hacks and Hunters*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921.
- Fleming, G. *Modern Practical Horseshoeing*. Chicago: Geo. W. Ogilvie & Co., 1904.
- Forbes, William Cameron. *As to Polo*. n.p.: Dedham Country & Polo Club, 1911.
- "Fox Hound Kennels. The Warwickshire Fox Hounds - Visit to the Kennels." *Forest and Stream* 2, no. 2 (28 May 1874).
- Fox, James. *Five Sisters: The Langhorns of Virginia*. New York: Touchstone, 2001.
- "From a Country Window." *Country Life in America* (November 1913): 51.
- Fryer, William J. Jr. "Preparing for a Country Home." *Architectural Record* 2, no. 3 (1893): 286-290.
- Furlong, Patrick J. "Haggin, James Ben Ali." *American National Biography Online*. February 2000. <http://www.anb.org/articles/10/10-00709.html> (accessed 2/12/04).
- Galvayne, Sydney. *Horse Dentition*, 2nd ed. Glasgow: Thomas Murray & Co., n.d.
- Gambado, Geoffrey. *An Academy for Grown Horsemen*. London: Methuen & Co., 1905.
- Gambrill, Richard Van Nest and James Cameron Mackenzie. *Sporting Stables and Kennels*. New York: Derrydale Press, 1935.
- Garland, John. "The Legacy and Fall of Westbrook Farms." M.A. thesis, Hofstra University, 1994.
- Garland, Joseph E. *Boston's Gold Coast: The North Shore 1890-1929*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1981.
- Garraty, John A. *The New Commonwealth, 1877-1890*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1968.
- Gawalt, Gerard W., ed. *The New High Priests: Lawyers in Post-Civil War America*. Contributions in Legal Studies, Number 29. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984.
- Geers, Ed. *Ed Geers Experience with the Trotters & Pacers*. Buffalo, NY: The

- Matthews-Northrup Co., 1901.
- Gerow, Louis B. "The Use of Horses and Mules in Modern Warfare," *Quartermaster Review* (November-December 1928), <http://www.qmfound.com> (accessed 3/25/2001).
- Gies, M. Christina. *Georgian Court, an Estate of the Gilded Age*. East Brunswick, NJ: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1982.
- Girard, Anatole. "French Farms." *Architectural Record* 13, no. 4 (April 1903): 299-321.
- Girouard, Mark. *Life in the English Country House*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978.
- _____. *The Victorian Country House*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1979.
- Glass, Joseph W. *The Pennsylvania Culture Region: A View from the Barn*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1986.
- "Glorious Tuxedo Park's Annual Horse Show." *The Rider and Driver* 66, no. 10 (28 June 1924): 16-17.
- Godfrey, A. H. "Driving Four-in-hand. Taking the Reins." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 30, no. 2 (May 1897): 107-112. Available from APS Online Database 434206162.
- _____. "Driving Four-in-hand. Concluded." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 30, no. 3 (June 1897): 252-257. Available from APS Online Database 434210102.
- _____. "Equestrianism." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 30, no. 6 (September 1897): 623-624. Available from APS Online Database 434083172.
- _____. "Equestrianism." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 32, no. 4 (July 1898): 425-426. Available from APS Online Database 434084762.
- _____. "Equestrianism." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 33, no. 4 (January 1899): 416-420. Available from APS Online Database 434085182.
- _____. "Equestrianism: Coaching." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 32, no. 2 (May 1898): 198-200. Available from APS Online Database 434274292.
- _____. "Equestrianism: Horse Shows." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 32, no. 1 (April 1898): 91. Available from APS Online Database 434272832.
- _____. "Equestrianism: Horse Shows." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 32, no. 6 (September 1898): 641-642. Available from APS Online Database 434303862.
- _____. "Equestrianism: Horse Shows—Brooklyn." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 32, no. 3 (June 1898): 317-318. Available from APS Online Database 434277082.
- _____. "Equestrianism: Outdoor Horse Shows." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 33, no. 3 (December 1898): 311-313. Available from APS Online Database 434323752.

- _____. "Equestrianism: Outdoor Horse Shows." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 35, no. 2 (November 1899): 203-205. Available from APS Online Database 434089212.
- _____. "Equestrianism: Outdoor Shows of the Season of 1897." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 31, no. 2 (November 1897): 201-202. Available from APS Online Database 434243092.
- _____. "Equestrianism: Polo." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 33, no. 1 (October 1898): 102-105. Available from APS Online Database 434308202.
- _____. "Equestrianism: Austrian Trotting Prizes." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 29, no. 5 (February 1897): 517-520. Available from APS Online Database 434082272.
- _____. "The Harness and Saddle-Horse Division: The National Horse Show." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 35, no. 4 (January 1900): 436-438. Available from APS Online Database 434090922.
- _____. "Horse Shows-1899." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 34, no. 1 (April 1899): 86-87. Available from APS Online Database 434088612.
- _____. "The National Horse-Show, New York." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 31, no. 3 (December 1897): 289-297. Available from APS Online Database 434083832.
- _____. "Outing's Monthly Review of Amateur Sports and Pastimes: Polo." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 32, no. 5 (August 1898): 515-519. Available from APS Online Database 434280852.
- _____. "Polo." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 34, no. 3 (June 1899): 325-326. Available from APS Online Database 434363842.
- _____. "Polo in Play." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 30, no. 3 (June 1897): 478-487. Available from APS Online Database 434217442.
- _____. "Round the Summer Horse-Shows." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 31, no. 2 (November 1897): 107-117. Available from APS Online Database 434243332.
- _____. "Types of Horses in the Show-Ring." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 33, no. 2 (November 1898): 111-120. Available from APS Online Database 434323522.
- Gorn, Elliott and Warren Goldstein. *A Brief History of American Sports*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1993.
- Graham, Clive and Bill Curling. *The Grand National: An Illustrated History of the Greatest Steeplechase in the World*. New York: Winchester Press, 1972.
- Gray, David. "Fox Hunting in America." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 45, no. 3 (December 1904): 257-267. Available from APS Online Database 434099682.
- _____. "The Outlook for Fox Hunting in America: Wire Fencing and Wire Jumping." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 37, no. 3 (December 1900): 326-329. Available from APS Online Database 434090642.

- Green Mountain Horse Association. *Green Mountain Horse Association 1926-1976, A History*. South Woodstock, VT: *GMHA Magazine*, 1976.
- Greenberg, Kenneth S. *Honor and Slavery*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Greenspan, Anders. *Creating Colonial Williamsburg*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002.
- Greenwood, Richard. "Jay Gould Estate, Lyndhurst." National Register of Historic Places Inventory -- Nomination Form, 1978.
- Gregory, Alexis. *The Golden Age of Travel, 1880-1939*. London: Cassell, 1998.
- Griswold, Frank Gray. *Horses and Hounds*. New York: Duttons, 1926.
- _____. *Race Horses and Racing*. n.p.: The Plimpton Press, 1925.
- Grover, Kathryn, ed. *Hard at Play, Leisure in America, 1840-1940*. Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1992.
- Habakkuk, H. John. *Marriage, Debt, and the Estates System: English Landownership, 1650-1950*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- Haber, Samuel. *The Quest for Authority and Honor in the American Professions, 1750-1900*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Hagedorn, Hermann. *The Roosevelt Family of Sagamore Hill*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954.
- Hagedorn, Martha Gray. "Byre and Bluff Barns of Doniphan County," Thematic Resources Nomination, 28 October 1986.
- Halsted, Byron. *Barn Plans and Outbuildings*. Revised edition. New York: Orange Judd Co., 1911.
- "Hamilton Farm's New Stables." *Rider and Driver* November 10, 1917, 51-56.
- Hamilton, Jared. "Lake First Built for Flood Control." *Lee's Summit Journal* 16 March 2001.
- _____. "Long Family Leaves Mark on Local Area." *Lee's Summit Journal* 28 February 2001.
- Handler, Hans. *The Spanish Riding School: Four Centuries of Classic Horsemanship*. Translated by Russell Stockman. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1972.
- Harnack, Curtis. *Gentlemen on the Prairie*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1985.
- Harney, George E. *Barns, Outbuildings, and Fences*. New York: Geo. E. Woodward, 1870.
- Harper, Charles G. *Stage Coach and Mail in Days of Yore, Vol. 1*. London: Chapman & Hall, Limited, 1903.
- Harper, Marjory. "Aristocratic Adventurers: British Gentlemen Emigrants on the North American Frontier, ca. 1880-1920." *Journal of the West* 36, no. 2 (1997): 41-51.
- Harper, Merritt W. *The Training and Breaking of Horses*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918.
- Harris, Albert W. *The History of the Arabian Horse Club Registry of America, Inc. 1908-1950*. Chicago: The Arabian Horse Club Registry of America, Inc., n.d.
- Harris, Bill. *Barns of America*. New York: Crescent Books, 1991.

- Harrison, Fairfax. *The Background of the American Stud Book*. Richmond, VA: Old Dominion Press, 1933.
- _____. *The Belair Stud*. Richmond, VA: Old Dominion Press, 1929.
- _____. *Early American Turf Stock, 1730-1830, Vol. 1*. Richmond, VA: Old Dominion Press, 1934.
- _____. *Early American Turf Stock, Vol. 2*. Richmond, VA: Old Dominion Press, 1935.
- _____. *The Equine F. F. V.s.* Richmond, VA: Old Dominion Press, 1928.
- _____. *The John's Island Stud: 1750-1788*. Richmond, VA: Old Dominion, 1931.
- _____. *The Roanoke Stud, 1795-1833*. Richmond, VA: Old Dominion Press, 1930.
- Harrison, Merton E. *Autobiography of Dan Patch*. St. Paul: Webb Publishing Company, 1912.
- Hart, John Fraser. "On the Classification of Barns." *Material Culture* 26, no. 3 (1994): 37-46.
- Harvey, Ellen. "Floral Hall." *Keeneland*, 32.
- Hays, Samuel P. *The Response to Industrialism 1885-1914*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957.
- Hayes, Alice M. *The Horsewoman*. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1910.
- Hayes, M. Horace. *Points of the Horse*. London: W. Thacker & Co., 1897.
- _____. *Riding and Hunting*. London: Hurst and Blackett, Ltd., 1910.
- Hearst, Mrs. William Randolph, Jr. *The Horses of San Simeon*. San Simeon, CA: San Simeon Press, 1985.
- Hector, Louis J. "Markey, Lucille Parker Wright." *American National Biography Online*. February 2000. <http://www.anb.org/articles/19/19-00702.html> (accessed 2/12/04).
- Hedgpath, Don. *They Rode Good Horses: The First Fifty Years of the American Quarter Horse Association*. Amarillo, TX: The American Quarter Horse Association, 1990.
- Helm, H. T. *American Roadsters and Trotting Horses*. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co., 1878.
- Henry, Guy V. *Methods of the Mounted Service School*. Washington, DC: Mounted Service School Press, 1913.
- Herbert, Henry William. *Hints to Horse-Keeper, A Complete Manual for Horsemen*. New York: Orange Judd & Company, 1859.
- Herman, Bernard L., Rebecca J. Siders, and Max Van Balgooy, "Dwellings of the Rural Elite in Central Delaware, 1770-1830 +/-," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, 1992.
- Herr, John K. and Edward S. Wallace. *Story of US Cavalry*. Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1953.
- Hershberger, H. R. *The Horseman*. New York: Henry G. Langley, 1844.
- Hervey, John L. *The American Trotter*. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1947.
- _____. *Messenger: The Great Progenitor*. New York: The Derrydale Press, 1935.
- _____. *Racing in America 1665-1865 Vol. 01*. New York: The Jockey Club, 1944.
- _____. *Racing in America 1665-1865 Vol. 02*. New York: The Jockey Club, 1944.

- Hervey, John L. et al. *Racing and Breeding in America and the Colonies*. London: Loundon & Counties Press, 1931.
- Higginson, A. Henry. *Letters from an Old Sportsman to a Young One*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1929.
- Hildreth, Samuel C. and James R. Crowell. *The Spell of the Turf*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1926.
- Hillenbrand, Laura. *Seabiscuit: An America Legend*. New York: Ballantine Books, 2001.
- Hirsch, Mark D. *William C. Whitney: Modern Warwick*. n.p.: Archon Books, 1969.
- Historic Main Post Walking Tour, Fort Riley, Kansas*. Fort Riley, KS: Museum Division, n.d.
- “Historic Showgrounds.” *The Chronicle of the Horse* (20 May 2003): 40.
- “Ho! For a Season of Great Horse Shows, the National Advancing its Dates from November and October.” *The Rider and Driver* 66, no. 10 (April 5, 1924): 7-8.
- Hoerner, Joseph M. “Wheeler-Magnus Round Barn,” National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 10 April 1992.
- Hoffman, Dean A. *Castleton Farm: A Tradition of Standardbred Excellence*. N.p., 1995.
- Hofstadter, Richard. *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F. D. R.* New York: Vintage Books, 1955.
- Hollingsworth, Barbara. “Longview.” *Kansas City Star*, 19 January 2001.
- _____. “Preservation Group Air Concerns about Longview Farm.” *Kansas City Star*, 2 February 2001.
- Holman, Andrew. “Cultivation’ and the Middle-Class Self in Nineteenth-Century America. *Canadian Review of American Studies* 23, no. 2 (1993): 183-193.
- Homberger, Eric. *Mrs. Astor’s New York: Money and Social Power in a Gilded Age*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Hopkins, Alfred. “Farm Group for John W. Lawrence, Pittsburgh, Pa.” *Architecture* (September 1932): 165-168.
- _____. *Modern Farm Buildings*. New York: Robt. M. McBride & Company, 1916.
- Hore, J. P. *History of New Market and Annals of the Turf, Vol. 1*. Newmarket: J. P. Hore, 1885.
- Horn, Henry Harcourt. *An English Colony in Iowa*. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1931.
- Hotaling, Edward. *The Great Black Jockeys: The Lives and Times of the Men Who Dominated America’s First National Sport*. Rocklin, CA: Forum, Prima Publishing, 1999.
- _____. *Wink: The Incredible Life and Epic Journey of Jimmy Winkfield*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005.
- Houghland, Mason. *Gone Away*. Berryville, VA: Blue Ridge Press, 1934.
- Howard, William Willard. “Midwinter Fox Hunts.” “Fox Hunting in America.” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 11, no. 2 (November 1887): 178-179. Available from APS Online Database 433800312.
- Howe & Hoit, Architects. “House of R. A. Long, Esq., Kansas City, MO.” *The American Architect* 51, no. 1893 (April 3, 1912): n.p.

- Howlett, Edwin. *Driving Lessons*. New York: R. H. Russell & Son, 1894.
- Hubbard, Leonidas Jr. "The New Country Life." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 39, no. 1 (October 1901): 64-69. Available from APS Online Database 435281642.
- Huggins, Mike. *Flat Racing and British Society 1790-1914: A Social and Economic History*. Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2000.
- _____. "Lord Bentinck, the Jockey Club and Racing Morality in Mid-Nineteenth Century England: The 'Running Rein' Derby Revisited." *International Journal of the History of Sport* 13, no. 3 (1996): 432-444.
- _____. "'Mingled Pleasures and Speculation': the Survival of Enclosed Racecourses on Teesside, 1855-1902." *British Journal of Sports History [Great Britain]* 3, no. 2 (1986): 158-172.
- Humphreys, John O. *American Racetracks and Contemporary Racing Art*. South Bend, IN: South Bend Publish Company, Inc., 1966.
- Hyde, Christopher. *A Week Down in Devon. A History of the Devon Horse Show*. Radnor, PA: Chilton Book Company, 1976.
- Ingwell, Kristin J. and Eileen C. White. "Doing Up Danada." *The Blood-Horse* (1 December 2001): 7148.
- Jackson, Kenneth T. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Jackson, W. Turrentine. *When Grass was King: British Interests in the Range Cattle Industry*. Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 1956.
- Jacobsen, James E. and Cheryl Peterson, "Iowa Round Barns: The Sixty Year Experiment," National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form. 4 March 1986.
- Jaher, Frederic Cople. "The Gilded Elite: American Multimillionaires, 1865 to the Present." In *Wealth and the Wealthy in the Modern World*, ed. W. D. Rubenstein. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980.
- "James Ben Ali Haggin," *History of Kentucky* (Louisville, KY: The J. S. Clarke Publishing Company, 1928), http://haggin.org/JBAH_biography.html (accessed 11/19/02).
- Janick, Carolyn. *The Barn Book*. New York: Gallery Books, 1990.
- Janoff, Bruce L. "Fitzsimmons, Sunny Jim." *American National Biography Online*. February 2000. <http://www.anb.org/articles/19/19-00057.html> (accessed 2/12/04).
- Jessup, Georgann and Barbara Stahura. *Tennessee Walking Horse National Celebration*, 2nd ed. Paducah, KY: Turner Publishing Company, 1996.
- Jeter, Katherine Brash. "A Racing Heritage." *Louisiana History* 30, no. 1 (1989): 5-22.
- Jockey Club, The. *2004 Online Fact Book*. www.jockeyclub.org (accessed 2/1/05).
- Johnston, Gordon. "Riding to Hounds with Cavalry Officers in Germany." *Journal of the United States Cavalry Association* 18, no. 65 (1905): 69-81.
- _____. "Riding to Hounds with Cavalry Officers in Germany." *Journal of the United States Cavalry Association* 18, no. 68 (1905): 676-689.
- Johnston, William R. *William and Henry Walters, the Reluctant Collectors*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.

- Josephson, Matthew. *The Robber Barons. The Great American Capitalists 1861-1901*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1962.
- Joyce, William L. "Bonner, Robert." *American National Biography Online*. February 2000. <http://www.anb.org/articles/16/16-00145.html> (accessed 2/12/04).
- Juett, Janice R. and Richard S. DeCamp. "Fairlawn (Greentree)." National Register of Historic Places Inventory -- Nomination Form. September 1975.
- Karr, Elizabeth. *The American Horsewoman*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1884.
- Kathrens, Michael C. *American Splendor: The Residential Architecture of Horace Trumbauer*. New York: Acanthus Press, 2002.
- Kehoe, Elisabeth. *The Title Americans: Three American Sisters and the British Aristocratic World into Which They Married*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2004.
- Kelly, Joseph B. "At the Track: Thoroughbred Racing in Maryland 1870-1973." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 89, no. 1 (1994): 63-87.
- Kester, Wayne O. *The History of the American Association of Equine Practitioners 1954-1979*. Golden, CO: American Association of Equine Practitioners, 1980.
- King, Bucky. *The History of Big Horn Polo*. Sheridan, WY: Still Sailing Publications, 1987.
- King, F. H. *Ventilation for Dwellings, Rural Schools and Stables*. Madison, WI: by Author, 1908.
- Kipp, Samuel M. III. "Old Notables and Newcomers: The Economic and Political Elite of Greensboro, North Carolina, 1880-1920." *Journal of Southern History* 43, no. 3 (1977): 373-394.
- Klamkin, Charles. *Barns: Their History, Preservation and Restoration*. New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1973.
- Klein, Maury. *The Life & Legend of E. H. Harriman*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988.
- Knight, C. Morely. *Hints on Driving*. London: George Bell & Sons, 1895.
- Koehn, Nancy F. "Henry Heinz and Brand Creation in the Late Nineteenth Century: Making Markets for Processed Foods." *Business History Review* 73, no. 3 (1999): 349-393.
- Kournakoff, Sergei. *School for Riding: A Primer of Modern Horsemanship*. Boston: Charles T. Branford Company, 1948.
- Lach, Edward L. Jr. "Widener, Peter Arrell Brown." *American National Biography Online*. February 2000. <http://www.anb.org/articles/10/10-01750.html> (accessed 2/12/04).
- LANDSCAPES and David Schuyler. "Lyndhurst Historic Landscape Tour" brochure. N.p.: National Trust for Historic Preservation, n.d.
- Lanius, Judith H. and Sharon C. Park. "Martha Wadsworth's Mansion: The Gilded Age Comes to DuPont Circle." *Washington History* 7, no. 1 (1995): 24-45.
- Leatherman, Dale. "New Polish For an Old Icon." *The Blood-Horse* (1992): 22-27.
- LeFrank, Kathleen, Zachary N. Studentroth, and Barbara Van Liew. "Stony Brook Harbor Estates." National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Thematic

- Resources Documentation Form. July 1992.
- Leiweke, Tracey and Aimée Larrabee. *Longdreams: The Story of Longview*. n.p.: Longview Ltd., 1987.
- Lennox, William Pitt. *Coaching with Anecdotes of the Road*. London: Hurst and Blackett, Publishers, 1876.
- Lerner, Eugene M. "Southern Output and Agricultural Income, 1860-1880." *Agricultural History* 33, no. 3 (1959): 117-125.
- Library Company of Philadelphia. "The Changing Heart of the City: Building Western 'Wash West.'" <http://www.librarycompany.org> (accessed 2/18/04).
- Licht, Walter. *Industrializing America: The Nineteenth Century*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.
- Lieven, Dominic. *The Aristocracy in Europe, 1815-1914*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.
- Linscott, Haylett & Associates. *Master Plan Longview Community College*. Kansas City, MO: n.p., 1971.
- Little, Charles E. *Greenways for America*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.
- Littauer, Vladimir S. *Be a Better Horseman: An Illustrated Guide*. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1941.
- _____. *Common Sense Horsemanship*, 2nd ed. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1963.
- _____. *Riding Forward: Modern Horsemanship for Beginners*. Garden City, NY: Garden City Publishing Co., 1934.
- Livingston, Phil and Ed Roberts. *War Horse: Mounting the Cavalry with America's Finest Horses*. Albany, TX: Bright Sky Press, 2003.
- Louden Machinery Company. *Louden Barn Plans*. Fairfield, IA: Loudon Machinery Co., 1915.
- Mackay, Robert B., Anthony K. Baker, and Carol A. Traynor, eds. *Long Island Country Houses and Their Architects, 1860-1940*. New York: Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities and W. W. Norton, 1997.
- Mackay-Smith, Alexander. *The American Foxhound, 1747-1967*. Millwood, VA: American Foxhound Club, 1968.
- _____. *Foxhunting in North America: A Comprehensive Guide to Organized Foxhunting in the United States and Canada*. Millwood, VA: by the author, 1988.
- Madison, Ivy. *Riding Astride for Girls*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1923.
- Mahood, Wayne. *General Wadsworth: The Life and Times of Brevet Major General James S. Wadsworth*. Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2003.
- Mandler, Peter. *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Mangum, William Preston II. *A Kingdom for the Horse: The Legacy of R.A. Alexander and Woodburn Farms*. Louisville, KY: Harmony House Publishers, 1999.
- Mann, William A. *Landscape Architecture: An Illustrated History in Timelines, Site Plans, and Biography*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1993.

- Mann, William d'Alton. *Fads and Fancies of Representative Americans at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century*. New York: Town Topics Publishing Company, 1905. Reprint, New York: Arno Press Inc., 1975.
- Marshall and Brown, AIA. *Master Plan, Longview Community College*. N.p., 1971.
- Martins, Susana Wade. *The English Model Farm: Building the Agricultural Ideal, 1700-1914*. Macclesfield, Cheshire, England: Windgather Press, 2002.
- Mason, Richard. *The Gentleman's New Pocket Farrier*. Richmond, VA: Peter Cottom, 1825.
- Mayhew, Edward. *The Illustrated Horse Management Containing Descriptive Remarks upon Anatomy, Medicine, Shoeing, Teeth, Food, Vices, Stables; Likewise a Plain Account of the Situation, Nature, and Value of the Various Points together with Comments on Grooms, Dealers, Breeders, Breakers, and Trainers also on Carriages and Harness*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippencott & Co., 1865.
- McBride, J. A. and T. Walton Mayer. *Anatomical Outline of the Horse*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1867.
- McCausland, Hugh. *The English Carriage: The Story of the English Carriage*. London: The Batchworth Press, 1948.
- McClelland, John M. Jr. *R. A. Long's Planned City: The Story of Longview*. Longview, WA: Longview Publishing Co., 1976.
- McClure, Robert. *The Gentleman's Stable Guide*. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1870.
- McClymer, John F. "The "American Standard" of Living: Family Expectations and Strategies for Getting and Spending in the Gilded Age." *Hayes Historical Journal* 9, no. 3 (1990): 20-43.
- McCullough, David. *Mornings on Horseback*. New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1981; Touchstone, 1981.
- McFarlane, Larry A. "British Immigrants to the American West: An Introduction." *Journal of the West* 40, no. 1 (2001): 6-7.
- _____. "British Remittance Men in Frontier America." *Journal of the West* 40, no. 1 (2001): 41-48.
- McLean, Stewart. *The Elkridge Club: A Fragmentary Record of Events, 1878-2002*. Baltimore: The Elkridge Club, 2003.
- McMahan, Jerry. "Round and Polygonal Barns of Indiana," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, 18 October 1991.
- McTaggart, Lieutenant Colonel M. F. *Mount and Man*. New York: Charles Scribner's & Sons, 1925.
- Mead, Theodore H. *Horsemanship for Women*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1887.
- Mellin, Jeanne. *The Morgan Horse*. Battleboro, VT: The Stephen Greene Press, 1961.
- Melville, Tom. "An Aspiration to Cosmopolitanism: Cricket in Nineteenth-Century St. Louis." *Gateway Heritage* 19, no. 1 (1998): 16-21.
- Mikkelsen, Glen. "The Sport of Kings in Victorian Canada." *Beaver [Canada]* 76, no. 4 (1996): 18-21.
- Miller, Karalee. "New Longview Project Hits Speed Bump." *Kansas City Star* 15 May 2004.

- Miller, Nyle, H., ed. "An English Runnymede in Kansas." *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (1975): 22-62.
- _____. "An English Runnymede in Kansas-Concluded." *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* 41, no. 2 (1975): 185-224.
- Mingay, G. E., ed. *The Victorian Countryside*. Two Volumes. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.
- Mock, Sanford J. "Stanford White, Prince of the Gilded Age." *Manuscripts* 47, no. 3 (1995): 193-209.
- Moon, Vicky. *The Middleburg Mystique: A Peek Inside the Gates of Middleburg, Virginia*. Sterling, VA: Capital Books, Inc., 2001.
- Moore, Glenn. "Pittsburg Phil for a Day: Racetrack Gambling in the United States at the Turn of the Century." *International Journal of the History of Sport* 9, no. 1 (1992): 111-118.
- Moore-Colyer, Glenn. "Aspects of Horse Breeding and the Supply of Horses in Victorian Britain." *Agricultural History Review* 43, no. 1 (1995): 47-60.
- Morrish, R. W. *A History of Fairs*. Chicago: International Association of Fairs, 1929.
- Morrison, William. *The Main Line: Country Houses of Philadelphia's Storied Suburb, 1870-1930*. New York: Acanthus Press, 2002.
- Moseman, C. M. *Moseman's Illustrated Guide for Purchasers of Horse Furnishings Goods, Novelties, and Stable Appointments, Imported and Domestic*. Reprint. New York: Arco Press, 1976.
- Moss, Richard. "Sport and Social Status: Golf and the Making of the Country Club in the United States, 1882-1920." *International Journal of the History of Sport* 10, no. 1 (1993): 93-100.
- Moss, Roger W. *The American Country House*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1990.
- Nash, Roderick. *Wilderness and the American Mind*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982.
- National Turf Writers Association, ed. *Horses in the National Museum of Racing Hall of Fame*. Saratoga Springs, NY: National Museum of Racing, n.d.
- "New Steeplechase Track, The." *National Police Gazette* 46, no. 400 (16 May 1885): 4. Available from APS Online Database 217621731.
- Noble, Allen G. "Sorting out the Nomenclature of English Barns." *Material Culture* 26, no. 1 (September 1994): 49-63.
- _____. and Richard K. Cleek. *The Old Barn Book: A Field Guide to North American Barns & Other Farm Structures*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995.
- O'Donoghue, Mrs. Power. *Ladies on Horseback*. London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1881.
- Olson, Lee. *Marmalade & Whiskey: British Remittance Men in the West*. Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 1993.
- Orange Judd Co. *The Saddle Horse. A Complete Guide for Riding and Driving*. New York: Orange Judd Co., 1882.
- Page, Harry S. *Between the Flags: The Recollections of a Gentleman Rider*. New York: Derrydale Press, 1929.

- Parlin, S. W. *The American Trotter*. Boston: American Horse Breeder Co., 1905.
- Parsons, Thomas C. *National Standard Register of Pacing Horses Vol. 1*. N.p., 1891.
- Partridge, Margaret. Revised by James L. Brown, 1991. *Interpretive Prospectus. Home of Franklin D. Roosevelt National Historic Site*. Hyde Park, NY: Roosevelt-Vanderbilt National Historic Sites, 1989.
- Patterson, Jerry E. *Fifth Avenue: The Best Address*. New York: Rizzoli, 1998.
- _____. *The First Four Hundred: Mrs. Astor's New York in the Gilded Age*. New York: Rizzoli, 2000.
- _____. *The Vanderbilts*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1989.
- Patterson, Jerry E., Anthony T. Mazzola, and Frank Zachary, editors. *The Best Families: The Town & Country Social Directory, 1846-1996*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1996.
- Paulsell, Christina. "Show Horse Barn Finds Lots of New Uses." *Lee's Summit Journal* 12 March 2001.
- Pelham-Clinton, Charles S. "Coaching and Coaching Clubs." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 13, no. 6 (March 1889): 525-532. Available from APS Online Database 434135522.
- _____. "Plain Talk About Steeple-Chasing." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 13, no. 4 (January 1889): 361-362. Available from APS Online Database 433803142.
- Pennell-Elmhirst, Captain E. *The Best of the Fun 1891-1897*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1903.
- Pennoyer, Peter and Anne Walker. *The Architecture of Delano & Aldrich*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2003.
- Perkin, Harold. *The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880*. History and Archaeology 65. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969.
- Pessen, Edward. "Wealth in America Before 1865." In *Wealth and the Wealthy in the Modern World*, ed. W. D. Rubenstein, 167-188. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980.
- Phillips, Maureen K. *Vanderbilt Garage/Stable Historic Structure Report. Vanderbilt Mansion National Historic Site. Hyde Park, New York*. Draft. Lowell, MA: Building Conservation Branch, Northeast Cultural Resources Center, 1999.
- Pinfold, John. "Where the Champion Horses Run: The Origins of Aintree Racecourse and the Grand National." *International Journal of the History of Sport* 15, no. 2 (1998): 137-151.
- Plumptre, George. *The Fast Set: The World of Edwardian Racing*. London: Andre Deutsch, 1985.
- Podhajsky, Colonel Alois. *The Spanish Riding Academy of Vienna*. Vienna: Bruder Rosenbaum, 1947.
- Polo Association. *Polo Association Yearbook 1923*. New York: Polo Association, 1923.
- Pope, Steven W. "An Army of Athletes: Playing Fields, Battlefields, and the American Military Sporting Experience, 1890-1920." *Journal of Military History* 59, no. 3 (1995): 435-456.
- Powell, Edwin C. "Shelburne Farms: An Ideal Country Place." *Country Life in America*

- 3, no. 4 (February 1903): 152-156.
- Powis, Jonathan. *Aristocracy*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984.
- Prior, C. M. *Royal Studs of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. London: Horse & Hound, 1935.
- Pulley, Russ. "Magazine Publisher Charged in Theft of Limestone from Longview Farm." *Kansas City Star* 18 March 2003.
- Radford, William A. ed. *Radford's Practical Barn Plans*. Chicago: Radford Architectural Company, 1909.
- Randall, Monica. *The Mansions of Long Island's Gold Coast*. New York: Hastings House, 1979.
- Reed, James P. "The Role of an English Land Company in the Settlement of Northwestern Iowa and Southwestern Minnesota: A Study in Historical Geography." M.A. Thesis, University of Nebraska at Omaha, 1974.
- Reeve, Arthur B. "What America Spends for Sport." *Outing Magazine* 57, no. 3 (December 1910): 300-308. Available from APS Online Database 434111102.
- Reiger, John F. *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2001. Third Edition, Revised and Expanded.
- "Revelation Retires." *The Rider and Driver* (7 March 1925): Cover, 6-9.
- Rickard, Greville and Briggs & Stelling. "Stable, Garage, and Quarters on the Estate of Raymond Brooks, Greenwich, Conn." *Architecture* (June 1932): 341-344.
- Rishel, Joseph F. *Founding Families of Pittsburgh: The Evolution of a Regional Elite, 1760 - 1910*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990.
- Rittenhouse, Jack D. *American Horse Drawn Vehicles*. New York: Bonanza Books, 1948.
- Robins, Anthony. "20th/83rd Precinct Station House and Stable." National Register of Historic Places -- Nomination Form, 1982.
- Rodzianko, Paul. *Modern Horsemanship*. London: Seeley Service & Co., Ltd., 1950.
- Roe, Frances M. A. *Army Letters from an Officer's Wife 1871-1888*. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1909.
- Rome, Roman Albert. "Property and the Social Status of the Family Farmer in Gilded Age America." Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1984.
- Roosevelt, Theodore and Henry Cabot Lodge. "Cross Country Riding in America." *Century Magazine* (1886).
- Rosin, Elizabeth and Janice Lee. "R. A. Long Building." National Register of Historic Places - Nomination Form.
- Rossell, Lieutenant Colonel John E. Jr. *History of the Maryland Hunt Cup 1895-1954*. Baltimore: The Sporting Press, 1954.
- Roth, Leland M. *McKim, Mead & White, Architects*. New York: Harper & Row, 1983.
- Rubenstein, W. D. *Men of Property: The Very Wealthy in Britain since the Industrial Revolution*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1981.
- _____, ed. *Wealth and the Wealthy in the Modern World*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980.
- Russell, Fox. *In Scarlet and Silk: Hunting and Steeplechasing*. London: Bellairs & Co., 1896.

- Sadler, Julius Trousdale, Jr. and Jacquelin D. J. Sadler. *American Stables: An Architectural Tour*. Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1981.
- Salganicoff, Lori Plavin. "Torbert Street Livery Stables." National Register of Historic Places -- Nomination Form, 1997.
- Sanders, J. H. *Breeders' Trotting Stud Book, Vol. 1*. Chicago: J. H. Sanders, 1881.
- _____, ed. *Practical Hints About Barn Building*. Chicago: J. H. Sanders Publishing Co., 1893.
- Sanders, Susan and Mrs. James Park Jr. "Floral Hall." National Register of Historic Places Inventory -- Nomination Form. 10 June 1976.
- Sandy, Wilda. "R. A. Long." Special Collections, Kansas City Public Library. <http://www.kcpl.org/specialcollections> (accessed 12/10/04).
- Santini, Major Piero. *Riding Reflections*. London: Country Life, 1950.
- Sawicki, James A. *Cavalry Regiments of the US Army*. N.p.: Wyvern Publications, 1985.
- Saylor, Henry H., ed. *Thoroughbred Types 1900-1925*. New York: Private, 1926.
- Scafidi, John. "Hialeah Park Race Track." National Register of Historic Places -- Nomination Form. 5 October 1978.
- Schmitt, Peter J. *Back to Nature: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.
- Schneider, Paul. *The Adirondacks: A History of America's First Wilderness*. New York: Owl Books, 1998.
- Schuyler, Montgomery. "The Works of R. H. Robertson." *Architectural Record* 6, no. 2 (July 1896): 184-219.
- Sclare, Liisa and Donald. *Beaux-Arts Estates: A Guide to the Architecture of Long Island*. New York: The Viking Press, 1980.
- Seymour, E. L. D. "Stable Economy and the Show Ring." *Country Life in America* 25 (November 1913): 67-68.
- Sharts, Elizabeth. *Cradle of the Trotter: A Goshen Turf History*. Goshen, NY: Book Mill, 1946.
- Shearer, Herbert A. *Farm Buildings*. Chicago: Frederick J. Drake & Co., 1917.
- Shedden, Diana and Lady Apsley. *To Whom the Goddess: Hunting and Riding for Women*. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1932.
- Shelburne Farms. *Shelburne Farms Contributor Report*. Shelburne, VT: Shelburne Farms, Summer 2004.
- Shelton, Brad. "Ooops, I Made A Booboo." *Longview Current* (6 December 2002).
- Sherman, Joe. *The House at Shelburne Farms: The Story of One of America's Great Country Estates*, 3rd ed. Forest Dale, VT: Paul S. Eriksson, 2002.
- Sidney, Samuel. *The Book of the Horse: (Thorough-bred, Half-bred, Cart-bred,) Saddle and Harness, British and Foreign, with Hints on Horsemanship; the Management of the Stable; Breeding, Breaking and Training for the Road, the Park, and the Field*. 2nd ed. New York: Orange Judd Co., 1875.
- Siltzer, Frank. *Newmarket: Its Sport & Its Personalities*. London: Cassell & Co., 1923.

- Simpson, Elizabeth M. *Bluegrass Horses and Their Traditions*. Lexington, KY: Transylvania Press, 1932.
- _____. *The Enchanted Bluegrass*. Lexington, KY: Transylvania Press, 1938.
- Sklar, Martin J. *The Corporate Reconstruction of American Capitalism, 1890-1916. The Market, The Law, and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Slater, Kitty. "The Upperville Colt & Horse Show." www.upperville.com (accessed 1/28/04).
- Sloan, Tod. *Tod Sloan*. London: Grant Richards, Ltd., 1915.
- Sloane, Eric. *An Age of Barns*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1967.
- Smith, Henry Worcester. *A Sporting Family of the Old South*. Albany, NY: J. B. Lyon Co., 1936.
- _____. *Life and Sport in Aiken*. New York: The Derrydale Press, 1935.
- Smith, Peter C. and Karl B. Raitz. "Negro Hamlets and Agricultural Estates in Kentucky's Inner Bluegrass." *Geographical Review* 64, no. 2 (1974): 217-234.
- Smith, Sherry L. *Sagebrush Soldier: Private William Earl Smith's View of the Sioux War of 1876*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989.
- Sparks, Randy J. "Gentleman's Sport: Horse Racing in Antebellum Charleston." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 93, no. 1 (1992): 15-30.
- Spence, Clark C. "Daly, Marcus." *American National Biography Online*. February 2000. <http://www.anb.org/articles/10/10-00376.html> (accessed 2/12/04).
- _____. *British Investments and the American Mining Frontier*. Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press, 1958.
- Spitzer, Paul. "The First Death of Horse Racing." *Columbia* 9, no. 2 (1995): 14-20.
- Splan, John. *Life with the Trotters*. Chicago: H. T. White, 1889.
- "Sporting Stables and Kennels." *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 16 October 1937, 1064-1065.
- Sporting Tramp. "Editor's Open Window." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 13, no. 4 (January 1889): 361. Available from APS Online Database 433803152.
- _____. "Equestrian Sports." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 21, no. 5 (February 1893): 107-108. Available from APS Online Database 433819692.
- _____. "Equestrian Sports: The Right Direction for Turf Reform." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 22, no. 1 (April 1893): A13-A14. Available from APS Online Database 433820012.
- _____. "The New Westchester Track." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 14, no. 6 (September 1889): 474. Available from APS Online Database 433806652.
- Spring, David. "Aristocratic Indebtedness in the Nineteenth Century: A Comment." *Economic History Review New Series* 33, no. 4 (November 1980): 564-568.
- _____. "English Landed Society in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." *Economic History Review New Series* 17, no. 1 (1964): 146-153.
- _____. "English Landownership in the Nineteenth Century: A Critical Note." *Economic History Review New Series* 9, no. 3 (1957): 472-484.

- “Stable, Garage, and Quarters on the Estate of Raymond Brooks, Greenwich, Conn.” *Architecture* June 1932, 339-343.
- “Stables and Stable Fittings.” *The American Architect* 80, April-June (1903): 52-55.
- “Stables at Castlegould for Howard Gould Esq.,” *New York Architect* 1, no. 1.
- Stanton, Jeffrey. “Coney Island.” <http://naid.sppsr.ucla.edu> (accessed 7/2/04).
- “Steeple-Chasing.” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 12, no. 2 (May 1888): 174. Available from APS Online Database 433801582.
- Steinkraus, William, ed. *The U. S. Equestrian Team Book of Riding. The First Quarter-Century of the USET*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1976.
- Stern, Robert A. M., Thomas Mellins, and David Fishman. *New York 1880: Architecture and Urbanism in the Gilded Age*. New York: The Monacelli Press, Inc., 1999.
- Stewart, Robert. *The American Farmer's Horse Book*. Cincinnati, OH: E. W. Starr & Co., 1874.
- Stilgoe, John R. *Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb, 1820-1939*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988.
- Stoddart, Alfred. “Equestrian: High-Stepping Hackneys.” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 29, no. 6 (March 1897): 618-620. Available from APS Online Database 434085942.
- _____. “Equestrian Sports.” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 19, no. 4 (January 1892): 73-74. Available from APS Online Database 434143762.
- _____. “Equestrianism.” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 27, no. 5 (February 1896): 83-84. Available from APS Online Database 434080572.
- _____. “Equestrianism.” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 28, no. 6 (September 1896): 33. Available from APS Online Database 434183982.
- _____. “Equestrianism: The New York Horse Show.” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 27, no. 4 (January 1896): 74-76. Available from APS Online Database 434163632.
- _____. “Equestrianism: The Philadelphia Horse Show.” *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 30, no. 4 (July 1897): 410-411. Available from APS Online Database 434213652.
- Stout, Nancy. *Great American Thoroughbred Racetracks*. New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1991.
- Stover, John F. “Vanderbilt, William Kissam.” *American National Biography Online*. February 2000. <http://www.anb.org/articles/10/10-01682.html> (accessed 3/13/05).
- Struna, Nancy L. “The North-South Races: American Thoroughbred Racing in Transition, 1823-1850.” *Journal of Sport History* 8, no. 2 (1981): 28-57.
- Surtees, Robert Smith. *Jorrocks's Jaunts and Jollities*. New York: G. Routledge and Sons, 1893.
- Susanne. *Famous Saddle Horses, Vol. 01*. Lexington, KY: The Farmers Home Journal, 1932.
- Tatman, Sandra. “Trumbauer, Horace.” *American National Biography Online*. February 2000. <http://www.anb.org/articles/17/17-00872.html> (accessed 2/12/04).

- Tattersall, George. *Sporting Architecture*. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1850.
- Tauton, Thomas Henry. *Famous Horses*. London: Sampson, Low, Marston & Co., 1887.
- Taylor, Louis. *The Horse America Made*. Louisville, KY: American Saddle Horse Breeders Association, 1944.
- Taylor, Tobi and Sandra McCoy Larson. "The Life and Times of Rillito Park." *The Blood-Horse* 15 December 2001: 7534, 7540, 7546-7554.
- "The New Steeplechase Track." *National Police Gazette* 46, no. 400 (16 May 1885).
- Thompson, F. L. M. *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963.
- _____. *Landowners, Capitalists, and Entrepreneurs: Essays for Sir John Habakkuk*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- Thomson, Max, ed. *The Pictorial History of Mexico, 1880-1959*. Mexico, MO: The Mexico Ledger and the Audrain County Historical Society, 1990.
- Thormanby. *Famous Racing Men and Tales of the Turf*. London: James Hogg, 1882.
- Timmis, Colonel Reginald S. *Modern Horse Management*. London: Cassell and Company Ltd., 1928.
- Timpson, Lawrence. "American Polo." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 18, no. 4 (July 1891): 330-334. Available from APS Online Database 434142202.
- _____. "American Polo: Part II." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 18, no. 5 (August 1891): 410-414. Available from APS Online Database 434142842.
- _____. "Equestrian Sports." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 17, no. 4 (January 1891): 79-80. Available from APS Online Database 433812262.
- _____. "Hunting." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 18, no. 1 (April 1891): A20. Available from APS Online Database 433813632.
- _____. "Hunting." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 18, no. 3 (June 1891): 64. Available from APS Online Database 433814352.
- Todd, Nancy L. "McKinney Stables of Empire City Farms." National Register of Historic Places -- Nomination Form, 1999.
- Trachtenberg, Alan. *The Incorporation of America: Culture & Society in the Gilded Age*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1982.
- Treacy & Walker. *American Thoroughbred Stallion Register Vol. 01*. Lexington, KY: Treacy & Walker, 1921.
- Trevathan, Charles E. *The American Thoroughbred*. New York: Macmillan Company, 1905.
- Trevelyan, Francis. "American Racing." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 42, no. 1 (April 1903): 3-11. Available from APS Online Database 434096982.
- _____. "On English Tracks." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 42, no. 2 (May 1903): 159-166. Available from APS Online Database 434097202.

- _____. "The Status of the American Turf." *Outing. An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 19, no. 6 (March 1892): 468-479. Available from APS Online Database 433817202.
- Turley, Tom. "Horsewoman, 73, Wouldn't Give One Horse for All Cars." *The Courier-Journal (Louisville, KY)* 9 February 1954.
- Turner, Charles Quincy. "Polo, Ancient and Modern: A Game That Brings out the Best There is in Man and Horse." *Country Life in America* 2, no. 4 (August 1902): 132-135.
- Tutton, Jacqueline. *A Journey through Peapack and Gladstone*. Peapack-Gladstone, NJ: Friends of the Peapack-Gladstone Library, 1993.
- U. S. Army. *Army Horses Remount Systems Abroad*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1908.
- U. S. Army Remount Service, The. *Parade of Horses Recently Imported from Europe*. Front Royal, VA: U. S. Army Remount Service, 1946.
- Uguccioni, Ellen J. and Sherry Piland. "Longview Farm." National Register of Historic Places -- Nomination Form.
- Underhill, George F. *A Century of English Fox-Hunting*. London: R. A. Everett & Co., 1900.
- United States Equestrian Federation. Hamilton Farm. Gladstone, NJ: Privately Printed, n.d..
- United States Polo Association. *America v. England International Polo 1886-1924*. New York: United States Polo Association, 1924.
- Upton, Dell. *Architecture in the United States*. Oxford History of Art. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Van Sinderen, Adrian. *Our Highest Purpose: The History of the American Horse Shows Association, 1917-1960*. New York: American Horse Shows Association, 1960.
- Vanderbilt, Arthur T. II. *Fortune's Children: The Fall of the House of Vanderbilt*. New York: William Morrow, 1989.
- Veterinary Department, General Staff, War Office. *Animal Management. 1908*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1908. Reprint, 1918.
- Vlatch, John Michael. *Barns*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2003.
- Vosburgh, Walter S. *Racing in America 1866-1921*. New York: The Jockey Club. 1922.
- Vosburgh, Walter S., Charles D. Lanier, Frank J. Bryan, and James C. Cooley. *Thoroughbred Types 1900 - 1925*. New York: Privately Printed, 1926.
- Wade, Lynn. "College, Established in 1968, Now Considered One of the Best." *Lee's Summit Journal* 16 March 2001.
- _____. "Local Church Survives, Thrives." *Lee's Summit Journal* 14 March 2001.
- _____. "Logging Company Connects Two Cities." *Lee's Summit Journal* 28 February 2001.
- Wadsworth, William P., M.F.H. *Riding to Hounds in America*. Berryville, VA: The Chronicle of the Horse, 1967.
- Waite, Gerald. "An American Sports Icon: Indiana's Dan Patch." *Traces of Indiana and Midwestern History* 11, no. 3 (1999): 14-23.

- Wallace, Barbara. *Equestrian Excellence: The Stories of Our Olympic Equestrian Medal Winners, From Stockholm 1912 thru Atlanta 1996*. Boonsboro, MD: Half Halt Press, Inc., 1996.
- Walsh, John Henry. *Horse, in the Stable and the Field: His Management in Health and Disease*. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1871.
- Warden, Margaret Lindsley. *The Belle Meade Plantation*. Revised by James H. Redford and Ridley Wills II. Nashville: Association for the Preservation of Tennessee Antiquities, 1988.
- Waring, George E. Jr. "The Saddle Horse. Thoroughbreds, and Arabians." *Scribners Monthly* 15, no. 1 (November 1877): 84-99. Available online from Cornell University.
- _____. "The Thoroughbred Horse. On the Turf and Across Country." *Scribners Monthly* 15, no. 2 (December 1877): 157-171. Available online from Cornell University.
- Warren, Joe V. Jr. *A History of the Long-Bell Lumber Co. and "The Family" at Longville, LA 1906-1934*. Longville, LA: Curtis Media, Inc., 1997.
- Weadick, Guy. "A Great Canadian Mare." *Alberta History* 36, no. 4 (1988): 24-26.
- Wells, Wilson L. *Barns of the U.S.A.*. San Diego: Acme Printing, 1976.
- Whitacre, Christine and R. Lauri Simmons. "Historic Farms and Ranches of Weld County." National Register of Historic Places Multiple Properties Documentation Form. October 1990.
- White, John H. Jr. *The American Railroad Freight Car: From the Wood-Car Era to the Coming of Steel*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
- White, Samuel G. *The Houses of McKim, Meade & White*. New York: Rizzoli, 1998.
- Whitney, Caspar. "The Month's Review." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 36, no. 2 (May 1900): 199-211. Available from APS Online Database 435248052.
- _____. "The Sportman's [sic] View-Point." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 37, no. 2 (November 1900): 215-230. Available from APS Online Database 434090322.
- _____. "The Sportsman's View-Point." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 36, no. 5 (August 1900): 553-567. Available from APS Online Database 435260442.
- _____. "The Sportsman's View-Point." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 39, no. 2 (November 1901): 229-242. Available from APS Online Database 435291312.
- _____. "The Sportsman's View-Point." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 41, no. 5 (February 1903): 635-642. Available from APS Online Database 435370252.
- _____. "The Way of the Sportsman." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 36, no. 3 (June 1900): 311-326. Available from APS Online Database 434089662.
- _____. "The Way of the Sportsman." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of*

- Recreation* 36, no. 4 (July 1900): 423-436. Available from APS Online Database 435260162.
- Whitten, David O. "A Century of Parquet Pavements: Wood as a Paving Material in the United States and Abroad, 1840-1940." *Essays in Economic & Business History* 15 (1997): 209-226.
- Wiebe, Robert H. *The Search for Order, 1877-1920*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1967.
- Wiggins, David K. "Isaac Murphy: Black Hero in Nineteenth Century American Sport, 1861-1896." *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education* 10, no. 1 (1979): 15-32.
- Wilkerson, J. L. *From Slave to World-Class Horseman Tom Bass*. Kansas City, MO: Acorn Books, 1999.
- Wilkinson, Lupton Allemong. "The Sport of Kings." *North American Review* 230, no. 3 (September 1930): 330-339. Available from APS Online Database 204555741.
- Wiley, D. A. "Fox Hunting in the Genesee Valley." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 17, no. 1 (October 1890): 44-48. Available from APS Online Database 433811982.
- Williams, John O. "National Horse Breeding Situation." *The Rider and Driver* 68, no. 1 (November 29, 1924): 60.
- Williams, Mara Rose. "District to Build School at Longview Farm." *Kansas City Star* 30 August 2003.
- _____. "Innovative School Idea Takes Step Forward." *Kansas City Star* 7 May 2004.
- Williams, William Appleman. *The Roots of the Modern American Empire*. New York: Random House, 1969.
- Wills, Ridley II. *Belle Meade Bloodlines*. Nashville: Association for the Preservation of Tennessee Antiquities, 1990.
- _____. *The Belle Meade Farm Its Landmarks and Out-Buildings*. Nashville: Association for the Preservation of Tennessee Antiquities, 1986.
- _____. "Black-White Relationships on the Belle Meade Plantation." *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 50, no. 1 (1991): 17-32.
- _____. "The Eclipse of the Thoroughbred Horse Industry in Tennessee." *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (1987): 157-171.
- _____. *The History of Belle Meade: Mansion, Plantation, and Stud*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1991.
- Winchester, Simon. *Their Noble Lordships: Class and Power in Modern Britain*. New York: Random House, 1982.
- "Windsor White Stables, Chagrin Falls, Ohio." *Architectrue* (October 1927): 221-224.
- Winsche, Richard A. and Gary R. Hammond. "The Evolution of the Gould/Guggenheim Estate at Sands Point." In *Long Island: The Suburban Experience*, ed. Barbara M. Kelly (Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1990), 38-49.
- Womack, Bob. *The Echo of Hoofbeats: The History of the Tennessee Walking Horse*. Shelbyville, TN: The Walking Horse Publishing Co., 1973.
- Woods, Lawrence Milton. *British Gentlemen in the Wild West: The Era of the Intensely English Cowboy*. New York: The Free Press, 1989.

- Worsley, Giles. *The British Stable*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Wrenn, Lynette B. "Commission Government in the Gilded Age: The Memphis Plan." *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (1988): 216-226.
- Yates, Arthur and Bruce Blunt. *Arthur Yates: Trainer and Gentleman Rider, An Autobiography*. London: Grant Richards Ltd., 1924.
- Yo-oicks. "Fox Hunting." *Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation* 15, no. 5 (February 1890): 393. Available from APS Online Database 433808822.
- Zimmerman, Mrs. James M. ed. "The Sport of Kings: Horseracing in Cincinnati." *Cincinnati Historical Society Bulletin* 31, no. 2 (1973): 104-114.
- Zunz, Olivier. *Making America Corporate, 1870-1920*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Serial Publications

- American Agriculturalist*.
- American Architect and Building News, The*.
- American Hackney Stud Book, The*.
- American Horse Show Blue Book*.
- American Racing Manual, The*.
- American Stud Book, The*.
- American Turf Register and Racing Calendar*.
- Architectural Record*.
- Architectural Review*.
- Bloodstock, Breeders' Review, The*.
- Bowie Spotlight*.
- Breeder's Gazette*.
- Chronicle of the Horse, The*.
- Country Life*.
- Country Life in America*.
- Horse Country*.
- New Country Life, The*.
- New York Architect*.
- Outing, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation*.
- Outing Magazine*.
- Rider and Driver*.
- Turf, Field, and Farm*.
- Spirit of the Times*.

Internet Sites

- <http://race-track.info>
- <http://www.ancestry.com>
- <http://www.balmoralpark.com>
- <http://www.carolina-cup.org>
- <http://www.cityofbowie.org>
- <http://www.dorisdukefoundation.org>

<http://www.ellisland.org>
<http://www.equestrian.org>
<http://www.fairmountpark.com>
<http://www.gainewayfarm.com>
<http://www.hawthorneracecourses.com>
<http://www.horsecouncil.org>
<http://www.nationalsteeplechase.com>
<http://www.newlongview.com>
<http://www.skyscrapers.com>
<http://www.spendthrift.com>
<http://www.thoroughbredlegends.com>
<http://www.washingtonthoroughbred.com>