Out of the Shadows

A Biographical History of African American Athletes
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Jimmy Winkfield, photographed here in his racing silks, is considered the last of the great black jockeys. (Keeneland-Cook, Keeneland Library)
Jimmy Winkfield
The "Black Maestro"
of the Racetrack

SUSAN HAMBURGER

In many respects, Jimmy Winkfield's career as a jockey mirrored that of many other outstanding African American athletes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in that he was grudgingly acknowledged at home in the United States, while revered as a champion in Europe. He managed to enjoy a long racing career, first as a jockey then later as a trainer, well beyond the age when most jockeys retire. Through two world wars and the Great Depression, Winkfield survived and succeeded—because of, despite, and regardless of his race.

Horse racing in America enjoyed a long history parallel with the young country. Brought over from England with the colonists, the sport appealed to all classes and races while participation at various levels sorted out among these selfsame divisions. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century racing saw owners and breeders of racehorses come from the moneyed upper classes. During the era of racing as a gentleman's sport, some owners also trained their own horses. As the sport moved from an avocation to a business, the ranks of trainers arose from the lower classes—farm boys with minimal formal education or opportunity to better themselves. As a predominantly rural sport transplanted to the fringes of urban areas, horse racing attracted farm youth to the track in search of jobs in a milieu with which they were familiar.

The primary theory, still accepted today, is that the jockey's weight is a major factor in slowing a horse's speed and endurance. The early race riders—sometimes the full-size adult owner, sometimes a young stable boy—soon demonstrated that the smaller and lighter-weight jockeys won more races than their larger, heavier counterparts. To gain a
competitive edge, owners and trainers started using smaller men and
young boys to ride their racehorses.

As the breeding industry developed in the southern states of
Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, with limestone-enhanced water and
grass to develop strong bones in young horses, so too did the apprentice-
ship of jockeys. Prior to the American Civil War, most of the southern
jockeys were slaves. After the war, these men continued in the pro-
ession as successful riders at tracks in the border and northern states
before the southern economy recovered enough for racetracks to flour-
ish there again. From New Orleans to Cincinnati, black jockeys domi-
nated the sport. But with the rise of Jim Crow and the competition for
rapidly increasing paychecks from winning races, white riders insinuated
themselves into the black-dominated profession and, by fear and intimi-
dation, began to squeeze out African American jockeys until the only
black faces seen on the track were either in the grandstand betting on the
horses or working at menial jobs tending horses on the backstretch.

At a time when African American jockeys reigned supreme on the
American turf, Jimmy Winkfield (1880–1974) began his rise to racing
stardom only to be stymied by racism and the decline of horse racing
in the early 1900s. His determination to continue riding sent him to
Czarist Russia, Poland, and France as a jockey, then to the United States
and back to France as a trainer of thoroughbreds. Throughout his long
life and rollercoaster career, Winkfield exhibited the perseverance of an
indomitable will to survive and to succeed.

The youngest of seventeen children, Winkfield learned to ride
saddle horses on the farms near where his parents sharecropped tobacco
and hemp in Chilesburg, Kentucky. Orphaned at ten, Winkfield left his
home and went to live with his older sister in Lexington, Kentucky, the
center of the state's—and the nation's—horse racing and breeding.
Surrounded by successful black jockeys such as James "Soup" Perkins
and three-time Kentucky Derby winner Isaac "Ike" Murphy, Winkfield
saw much to admire as he worked his first job shining shoes. The sup-
portive environment reinforced a strong sense of self-worth and pride.
Winkfield respected Murphy's honesty and integrity and learned a valu-
able lesson about a strategy for making money in the profession.
Murphy, considered a "money rider," accepted mounts in stakes races
rather than the cheaper claiming races. Instead of going for the great-
est number of wins in a season, he focused on riding quality horses with better than average chances of winning to give him an unusually high percentage of wins. Murphy theorized that a jockey who won in big stakes races gave him a good reputation and the opportunity to ride better horses with excellent chances of winning the stakes races—money follows money—rather than racking up wins in a hundred minor races for low pay. Winkfield emulated this example and sought the better-paying races instead of frequent wins.

During the evenings Winkfield attended school but daytime found him driving carriages throughout Lexington as the horsemen conducted their business. He observed and absorbed how these white men interacted. On Saturdays, he and his friends played marbles and watched the horses at the historic Kentucky Association racetrack, nicknamed Chittin' Switch, at Sixth and Race Streets abutting the black neighborhood where they lived. When the opportunity arose at age seventeen, Winkfield began working at the track as a stable hand. In later years he remembered, "I galloped an old mare that year that won five races, and each time she win the owner give me $5 and the jockey $5. Next spring, Bub May hired me for $10 a month and board. His daddy was mayor of Lexington, and in the summer of '98 they took some horses to Chicago." Winkfield progressed to race riding as a jockey in 1898, with an inauspicious debut, being disqualified—too eager to win—for bumping another horse. His one-year suspension gave Winkfield the time to hone his craft in morning workouts and illegal races outside the official sanctions of the Jockey Club in New York. The Mays traveled the then-western circuit from Chicago to New Orleans, where Winkfield won his first race a year later. In 1902 Winkfield signed with the more prominent trainer Patrick Dunne, son-in-law of the powerful Chicago stable owner Edward Corrigan. As early as 1900 Corrigan also raced his horses in England. Horsemanship Phil Chinna remarked, "May brought him up, but May never had to teach that boy how to ride. He was a natural from the start. He had no particular style; he just sat up there like a piece of gold." Winkfield learned his lessons well from Ike Murphy and other black jockeys who dominated the sport.

Paralleling the white paternalism so common to the sports world, Winkfield had a string of white patrons who first acted as surrogate fathers and one was later his father-in-law. One would almost think he
was more comfortable in white society since for most of his life he lived with white women in Europe. The strictures of race are an artificial construct. With a white grandfather and unknown antecedents on his mother's side, it is possible that only Winkfield's skin color assigned him to the category of black while his personhood inwardly gravitated toward his white paternity. In any event, the superficiality of Winkfield's blackness is what people saw and those in the United States treated him as black. In Europe, however, even though his skin color was a novelty, Winkfield transcended racial barriers to live, love, and work unfettered by the constraints of racist negativity. One European horseman commented that "on the ground Winkfield was a perfect gentleman. But in the saddle he was a demon." Winkfield's skin color made him easily identifiable among the pale Europeans, but it was his skill with horses that distinguished "the black maestro" from the other jockeys.

Expatriate African Americans such as Josephine Baker and James Baldwin, and other celebrated figures like Paul Robeson, experienced not only the adulation of European audiences but acceptance as human beings—a comfortableness among people lacking the baggage of hundreds of years of institutionalized racism. Ironically, in Europe, the novelty of blackness made these expatriates sought-after rather than discriminated against. Baker remembered that a waiter once told an American who had insulted her, "You are in France, and here we treat all races the same." In this milieu Jimmy Winkfield thrived and prospered.

As a young black man living in the segregated South, Winkfield learned early that politeness and deference to white folks kept you alive. He had to carefully balance this off-track public demeanor with his competitive spirit to win on the racetrack. Described as courageous and confident in the saddle, well mannered, smart, quick minded, and fun, Winkfield never shied away from hard work as long as it paid. Over the years, Winkfield honed the skill of promoting himself to be hired while not appearing boastful or arrogant. By the time he lost the 1900 Kentucky Derby, Winkfield had already learned to quickly weigh out after a race to be the first jockey interviewed. Typical of the time, the newspaper rendered black speech in dialect while an equally country-boy white's answers were printed with perfect grammar and diction. Winkfield never seemed bothered by this affront, perhaps adhering to the adage, "any publicity is good publicity." While he knew the benefits of talking himself up to the
press to garner recognition for his feats and thus attract owners and trainers to hire him for stakes races, he treaded lightly in the path of Murphy toward whom the press had turned hostile after badly losing a race. A few well-placed interviews kept his name in the paper, but Winkfield did not court notoriety just to see his name in print.

Unlike current horse racing with months’ long or year-round racing at one track, early-twentieth-century racing consisted of three or four days at one venue with constant traveling necessary to make a living wage. His first mentors, white trainer Bub May and his father, stable owner W. H. May, took care of the teenaged Winkfield, but their cold, remote businesslike approach to him set an example for the jockey that remained with him for life. Winkfield’s lack of stability in his family life and his mentors’ unaffectionate stance imprinted on him and informed his relationships with women throughout his life. The nomadic life of a jockey also strained any attempt at a normal home life.

The racing climate at the turn of the twentieth century began to change from predominantly black jockeys to only white riders as purses became more lucrative. Fewer blacks were growing up on farms and black migration to northern cities to escape the Ku Klux Klan and lynchings combined to supply fewer riders. As one of only four back-to-back winners of the Kentucky Derby, in 1901 on His Eminence and in 1902 on Alan-a-Dale, Winkfield would seem to be able to command the racing world’s respect as a journeyman rider and consummate professional. However, even the prestigious racing publication, Goodwin’s Annual Official Turf Guide, omitted Winkfield from its annual rankings in 1899, 1900, and 1901 despite being the fifth leading rider and Kentucky Derby winner in 1901, while listing a few of the other black jockeys with worse records. The Louisville Courier-Journal acknowledged him as “a colored boy but one of the great race riders of the world” in 1903. Perhaps Winkfield was too good at a time when collective white amnesia erased black accomplishments from the written record of the sport. The racism embedded in society coupled with the fierce competition among all jockeys for a dwindling number of mounts just to make a living pitted riders viciously against one another up and down the circuit while antigambling forces closed racetracks across the country. Winkfield once explained the subterfuge he used to ride the better horses in the 1902 Kentucky Derby. The horse’s owner, Thomas Clay McDowell, had
contracted Nash Turner to ride one of his two horses and Winkfield would ride the other. While exercising both horses, Winkfield held back Alan-a-Dale in workouts so it appeared The Rival was faster. "Nash was a good jockey, pretty famous by then, and he was a white boy, so he was goin' to get his pick. So when Nash come down on the mornin' of the race, naturally he pick The Rival." Even though Winkfield won, McDowell gave each jockey one thousand dollars apiece. Competing with white jockeys for riding assignments, Winkfield, already with back-to-back Kentucky Derby wins, accepted mounts at the third-rate Queen City track outside Cincinnati when he should have been riding for the premiere stables at the New York racetracks.  

Coupled with the decline in the number of racetracks, the scramble for jobs created a tension-filled and often-hostile environment for African American riders. The primitive racing conditions—predating starting gates, film patrols, and racing judges stationed around the racecourse—allowed cutthroat riding tactics among the jockeys. Racing, dangerous enough in a clean race, became life-threatening as white riders bumped, squeezed, and struck black jockeys during a race. At Chicago's Harlem track in August 1900, white riders crowded Winkfield and his horse into a fence, injuring both. 12 The Thoroughbred Record reported that "a race war is on between the jockeys at the local tracks. Jealous because of the success of so many colored riders, the white boys . . . have taken desperate measures to put their rivals out of business. . . . The officials, who are aware of the jealousy, have done all they can to adjust matters and keep peace among the boys but have not yet succeeded in preventing accidents." 13 While not banning blacks from being jockeys, the racing establishment turned a blind eye to the white jockeys' intimidation tactics—neither condoning nor reproaching them. Because of both the hierarchical nature of the sport with rich white owners at the top of the pyramid and jockeys at the bottom, and the expense of running a stable, jockeys—black and white—were at the mercy of owners and trainers for their livelihood. Jockeys could not walk off easily and start their own rival business; it takes a lot of financial capital to operate a stable. Horses eat whether they win or lose. Racing could not sustain a separate and parallel black league as in baseball. When the gang mentality surfaced and the white riders injured their black rivals during a race, the owners and trainers acceded to the implied threat. If they wanted their horses to run and
win—and even survive because the rough riding hurt not only the jockey but the horse if it fell—owners and trainers would have to hire only white riders. Roscoe Goose, a white jockey, said the owners and trainers did not want their horses at a disadvantage. "People got to thinking that if they had a colored boy up, he'd have the worst of it." African American trainer Nate Cantrell believed it was not only the money but also the winning reputation the whites coveted. Rather than forcing horse racing to treat the African American jockeys fairly, white stable owners quit hiring them. In the face of this unstated boycott of black jockeys, their number quickly diminished on the racetracks. As the older jockeys disappeared, no young ones took their place. The top black jockeys left the sport altogether turned to riding steeplechasers, or were relegated to minor bush league tracks where they faded into obscurity. Some became trainers or assistant trainers, while others ended up doing menial labor caring for the horses on the backstretch just to have a job. The overt hostility on the track mirrored the behavior toward blacks in society at large.

Facing the declining job offers and threats not only to his employment but also to his person, Winkfield entertained the notion of leaving the United States to ride in Europe. Racing enjoyed a higher status and prestige among the European and British nobility, and they appreciated American riders' skills in winning races with the "American seat," also known as the "monkey seat," introduced by black jockey Willie Simms but credited to white rider Tod Sloan. Initially skeptical of this crouched-over position, the Europeans soon came to acknowledge the aerodynamic style as far superior to their traditional upright, straight-backed seat, which hindered rather than helped the horse. The lure of money, better riding conditions, steady employment, and adoration from racing fans sent the best riders across the Atlantic Ocean in the first mass exodus of American athletes. American jockeys returned from England and Europe with fantastic tales of big money and easy lifestyles. Others never returned, preferring to stay abroad.

Ever mindful of hedging his bets, Winkfield reneged on a contract with the powerful trainer John E. Madden in the 1903 Futurity Stakes to ride instead for his old friend and mentor Bub May. When both horses lost, the enraged Madden threatened to have Winkfield banned from racing. To escape the trainer's anger, the hostility of white jockeys at the Chicago and New York tracks, and the scarcity of riding opportunities,
Winkfield signed a contract—although still not as lucrative or beneficial as ones received by his white cohorts who moved to Europe at the same time—with Mikhail Lazareff, the leading Russian stable owner, to ride for him in Poland and Russia.\textsuperscript{16} By 1908, American racing reeled from the antigambling backlash as the pressure closed racetracks across the country, diminishing their number from 314 to 25 and collapsing the purse structure by one-third in a two-year period.\textsuperscript{17} The antigambling laws in New York State drove the best stable owners, trainers, and jockeys to Europe and England to make a living. By this time, Winkfield was the leading rider in Russia. While he thrilled the European racing fans, earned accolades for his skills, and won riding titles, these achievements went unnoticed in America outside his native Kentucky. In one of his rare interviews with the *Courier-Journal*, Winkfield talked about his good year in Russia.\textsuperscript{18} Neither whites nor blacks, on or off the turf, knew of Winkfield’s European victories or riding titles. He had disappeared from the American sports scene. Before the days of global television coverage and Internet access to international news and sporting events, the insularity of sports reporting confined itself to the newspapers’ immediate location except for the annual major events such as the Kentucky Derby. News of European racing did not filter through the wire services to the United States unless it involved the social elite of a Whitney or Belmont.\textsuperscript{19}

Life in Poland during the spring training season and in Russia during the summer race meets brought Winkfield consistent reinforcement of his decision to leave the United States, winning 51 percent of his races and the 1904 Russian National Riding Championship. He won the Emperor’s Purse, the Moscow Derby twice, the Poland Derby twice, and the Russian Derby three times.\textsuperscript{20} Although he made his living in Europe, during the first several years Winkfield returned to the United States each winter during the off-racing season to visit his family in Kentucky, and never renounced his American citizenship. He knew the reaction to his white Russian mistress would be hostile so he left her behind. A practical and reticent man, Winkfield kept his private life private and, unlike boxer Jack Johnson, did not flaunt his relationships with white women for American bigots to attack him over.

He expanded his racing sphere into Austria, Germany, and Hungary between 1910 and 1912, and rode full-time for the Armenian oil tycoon Leon Mantacheff by late in 1913, winning the Grand Prix de Baden.
Mantacheff paid the jockey 25,000 rubles a year plus 10 percent of all purses. Winkfield never rode for Czar Nicholas, who, he claimed, "never paid his jockeys nothin'."21 World War I had no effect on Russian racing; it continued as war ravaged the rest of Europe. The racing elite were oblivious. As a financial precaution, Winkfield branched out as an owner of an ice skating rink in Moscow.22 Had he continued along this path uninterrupted, Winkfield's life and career may have brought him even more acclaim, riding titles, plus money, and perhaps recognition in the United States. However, the Russian Revolution intervened. In a later interview, Winkfield remembered that "before the Revolution that was a good country. And I never had to pay no income tax."23 The racing aristocracy could ignore the first world war, but revolutionaries denouncing the czar and his imperialist circle, among whom Winkfield counted employers, friends, and lovers, threatened not only his livelihood but also his very life.

Riding for the wealthy Russian bourgeoisie imperiled Winkfield with the revolutionaries. The natty dresser attired himself in workers' clothes to avoid being murdered by the anti-aristocracy mobs rioting in the streets. To save himself and the thoroughbreds, he fled Moscow to Odessa, the last refuge of Polish and Russian racing in 1917 and 1918. Winkfield traveled in 1919 with a coterie of 260 horses, owners, trainers, jockeys, and stable hands on a three-month, eleven-hundred-mile circuitous route—often without food and through hostile territory—to safety in Poland. The 252 surviving horses became the foundation of a new Polish breeding program, and Winkfield was soon to embark on the next phase of his life; Mantacheff summoned him to Paris to ride.24

In Europe, Winkfield's name was a drawing card to the races. Similar to the early racing in the United States, Europeans staged multi-day events in one place. When Winkfield moved to the outskirts of Paris, he could travel easily from home to any one of the several racecourses in the countryside surrounding the city. Fans flocked to watch him ride and the French daily newspaper, Le Figaro, reported on each race won by "le blackman."

Winkfield finally appeared to settle down in Maisons Laffitte. But his love life continued along a tumultuous path. His childhood and career affected his relationships with women. An early marriage was marked by frequent absences on the racing circuit. Although his African American
wife, Edna, accompanied him to Russia in 1906 where they adopted a
girl in 1907, she soon returned to the United States to raise the child
alone, eventually divorcing Winkfield in the summer of 1911 for deser-
tion. In the meantime, his Russian mistress, Alexandra Yalovicina, gave
birth to their son George in January of that same year. Dapper and
well spoken, Winkfield attracted the attention of women wherever he
traveled in Europe. Liaisons with several white women produced chil-
dren, both in and out of wedlock. As in Russia, Winkfield enjoyed the
celebrity of a winning career in France. He either began or renewed a
friendship with Lydie de Minkwitz, daughter of a Russian baron, in 1921;
they married in 1922 and had a son, Robert, in 1923, and daughter,
Liliane, in 1924. His former mistress, Alexandra, and their son, George,
moved to France in 1926 and lived near the Winkfields in Maisons-
Laffitte. Reportedly, a Hungarian woman, Clara-Beatrice Haimen, who
claimed to be Winkfield’s mistress and mother of his twins, shot and
wounded him after an argument in 1931. At age sixty, Winkfield had yet
one more affair with an English woman. A pattern of distancing him-
self from his wives, lovers, and children was seemingly the result of a
lack of a parental role model during his early orphaned years. Winkfield
did not know how to relate to his young children and treated them as
sternly as he had been dealt with by his gruff racing-stable mentor.

Success in France continued in the same vein as in Russia with a big
win in the Prix du Président de la République. Winkfield rode winning
horses for Mantacheff and, after a falling-out, as a freelance rider. While
he never made the kind of money in France that he earned in Russia,
Winkfield saved enough to buy the property at Maisons-Laffitte twelve
miles northwest of Paris. His father-in-law designed and built a house as
a wedding gift there and, in 1924, Winkfield started training racehorses,
first for his mother-in-law and then for himself and other owners, win-
ning the Grand Prix de Paris. As he increased his training duties,
Winkfield gradually decreased his race riding, finally retiring from riding
at age fifty in 1930. Having ridden more than twenty-three hundred win-
ners in the United States, Poland, Russia, Germany, Austria, Hungary,
and France, Winkfield had forged a brilliant international career.
Americans in Paris who attended the races and invariably lost sought out
Winkfield for dinner money. Phil Chinn remarked that Winkfield “fed an
average of ten Americans a day over there. He was a man with a heart.”
Phase three of his remarkable life would soon come to a close with the advent of World War II. Winkfield realized the danger facing his mixed-race fourteen-year-old daughter’s life. Winkfield sent his daughter Liliane to live with relatives in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1939 to escape Nazism. He carried on with training until racing was banned in France in May 1940. The French army took over his stables, and quartered their two hundred horses and soldiers there until just prior to the Nazi invasion of France; the Nazis then occupied the stables. As a United States’ citizen, Winkfield obtained an exit visa for himself, his wife Lydie, and son Robert and they journeyed to Portugal where, with eight hundred dollars borrowed from the American Consulate, they sailed for New York City and safety. Friends in Harlem initially took them in but the family soon moved to Jamaica, Queens. Long forgotten by most of the New York horsemen, the only job Winkfield could find was jackhammering the streets of Jamaica for the Works Progress Administration. Robert, an experienced jockey in France, quickly found a job as a steeplechase rider for the Bostwicks, a noted steeplechasing family. He helped his father get a job, first as a groom then exercise rider in New York and then at the Bostwicks’ winter stable and training track in Aiken, South Carolina, where Pete Bostwick recognized him. Leaving his white wife, Lydie, working in a New York glove factory to avoid bringing her to the segregated South, Winkfield trained horses for the Bostwicks and began adding other owners within a few years. Training on the Maryland-Delaware-West Virginia circuit brought Winkfield back into the winner’s circle and he helped start the riding career of Racing Hall of Fame jockey Bill Hartack. The success Winkfield had training Little Rocket, coupled with Lydie’s shrewd bets on him, afforded the family the chance to return to France. Lydie went back first, and Winkfield followed a year later; Robert joined them in 1953, leaving behind his new wife and child—an old Winkfield family pattern. Jimmy and Robert Winkfield reestablished their racing stable at Maisons-Laffitte; Jimmy, at age seventy-six, turned over the stable’s ownership to Robert in 1956, but as Robert noted, “I do most of the work. He just tells me all the things I’m doing wrong.” After Lydie died in 1958, Winkfield began spending the winters in Cincinnati with daughter Liliane and her physician husband and their three daughters.
Expediency seemed to run through many of Winkfield's actions. As an older man seeking any kind of work during the second world war, he recognized that age discrimination would handicap his chances and therefore applied shoe polish to his graying hair so he would appear younger; it worked. Winkfield also shaved years off his birth date to stretch his riding career beyond when most jockeys retired.\textsuperscript{31}

Thanks to an interview with him in \textit{Sports Illustrated}, the National Turf Writers Association invited Winkfield to attend their annual banquet a few days before the 1961 Kentucky Derby. With Liliane by his side, Winkfield again faced down the indignity of initially being refused entrance through the front door of the whites-only Brown Hotel in Louisville on the night of the dinner. Of all the people in attendance only Roscoe Goose bothered to speak to Winkfield during the entire evening. Three days later the two old jockeys sat together in the stands at Churchill Downs for their last Kentucky Derby. Winkfield lived the remainder of his life in Maisons-Lafitte, dying in his sleep at age ninety-three on March 23, 1974.\textsuperscript{32} The sole American obituary in the \textit{New York Times} attested to his obscurity in the United States when it noted, "Only turf historians, or perhaps those who heard stories told by their grandfathers, would have recognized Winkfield's name in the United States in this decade."\textsuperscript{33}

Jimmy Winkfield was never a black activist. He concentrated on his racing career to the exclusion of outside activities or social causes, living his life among horses and horse people. His struggles were personal ones—the fight back to a semblance of the comfortable life he led in Europe prior to World War II. Despite the adversity of starting again from scratch as a stable hand and exercise rider in his sixties, Winkfield climbed back to a modicum of success as a trainer in the United States. By returning to France for the last years of his life and resuming his training operations, Winkfield lived out the remainder of his life on his own terms as a respected trainer in France. He never really retired even though he turned over daily operations of the stable to his son. Fortunate to practice his craft long after most men his age, Winkfield transitioned into a second career as a trainer and thus kept his hand in the racing game. Resilient and persistent, Winkfield met adversity head-on and triumphed.

Winkfield finally received recognition in the United States for his lifetime accomplishments. In 2003 the Kentucky Derby Museum at
Churchill Downs racetrack in Louisville mounted a nine-month exhibit of his life in honor of the 100th anniversary of his last Derby ride. He was inducted into the National Thoroughbred Racing Hall of Fame in Saratoga Springs, New York, on August 9, 2004. His daughter, Liliane Winkfield Casey, accepted the plaque in his honor that day, remarking, "He was a little man, but he had a huge heart for his love of horses. He had his ups and downs, but he had a beautiful life." Finally, Aqueduct Racetrack in New York honored him in 2005 by naming a race the Jimmy Winkfield Stakes.
NOTES

1 Jimmy Winkfield: The “Black Maestro” of the Racetrack, by Susan Hamburger

19. The Associated Press was founded in 1848 (http://www.ap.org/pages/about/history/history.html [accessed January 23, 2005]); UPI was founded in 1907 by E. W. Scripps as the United Press (UP). It became known as UPI when the UP merged with the International News Service in 1958, which was founded in 1909 by William Randolph Hearst (http://about.upi.com/company/).

1. Worcester Spy, April 29, 1900.
3. The League of American Wheelmen was constituted on May 30, 1840. From its inception, the League saw the organization and promotion of bicycle racing as one of its primary tasks and a Racing Board was created, which sanctioned race meetings and participated in the classification of amateur and professional riders. Within such a large national organization, with its rotating national committee and decentralized state-run local divisions, there was plenty of room for disagreement, and the annual League conventions were hotbeds of wrangling and intrigue. The role of the powerful bicycle industry and its tendency to lure amateur riders toward professionalism within an organization that struggled to uphold amateur ideals was one constant source of tension. Who was and was not an amateur was a question constantly at issue in American bicycle racing, just as it was across the Atlantic in Great Britain. In the United States, the question of membership and race was another controversial issue, debated and voted on at the League conventions in the 1890s. As the League