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**A Day at the Races in Black and White:  
How an 1898 Horse Race Led to a Whipping, a Lawsuit, and a 1901 Arrest**

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### Abstract

After losing an 1898 horse race in the Bronx, New York, African-American jockey Alonzo ‘Lonnie’ Clayton, who had won the Kentucky Derby in 1892 at the age of fifteen, heard an insult from the crowd along the rail and struck a white spectator from Brooklyn across the face with his riding whip. The blow resulted in a two hundred dollar fine by the track stewards, but ultimately led to a civil trial, a financial judgment against Clayton that he ignored, and then an arrest and incarceration for non-payment of the judgment, which some writers mistakenly still claim was for race-fixing. Clayton had other financial difficulties as well that, compounded by his lack of success on the racetracks and decreasing opportunities for black jockeys, led him to sell both his large house and his commercial property in North Little Rock, Arkansas. After moving around the west and even to Vancouver, Canada, Clayton was working as a bellhop in California at the time of his death in 1917. The article also discusses the life of the man who was assaulted by Clayton, Henry Bolomey.

*Keywords:* Horse racing, African-American jockeys, civil trials, civil judgments, body executions

## INTRODUCTION

On April 22, 1901, as African-American jockey Alonzo ‘Lonnie’ Clayton was preparing to ride The Golden Prince in the fifth race at New York City’s Aqueduct racetrack, he was arrested by Deputy Sheriff Warren Ashmead and locked up in the Queens County Jail.<sup>1</sup> With Clayton unable to ride, John Bullman, who was considered by the bettors to be a more successful (and therefore more popular) jockey, was given the mount on the Prince, whose odds immediately fell.<sup>2</sup> The crowd smelled a rat – the *New York Times* called it ‘a turf coup’<sup>3</sup> – but the arrest of Clayton had nothing to do with gambling, even though some biographical sources on Clayton have continued to assert that the 1901 incident was a wrongful arrest for race fixing.<sup>4</sup> What, then, led to the arrest of Lonnie Clayton, a jockey who had won the Kentucky Derby a decade earlier? The story involves a bad ride, the lashing of a track spectator, a civil trial and court proceedings in three New York counties, a judgment, and *then*, finally, that 1901 arrest.

## ALONZO CLAYTON’S EARLY LIFE AND CAREER

Both early and modern profiles give conflicting information about Alonzo Clayton’s place of birth, including Louisiana;<sup>5</sup> Kansas City, Kansas;<sup>6</sup> and Kansas City, Missouri.<sup>7</sup> Clayton’s 1917 death certificate gives his date of birth as January 4, 1876, and his birthplace as ‘Miss.’<sup>8</sup> Mississippi did not begin keeping official birth records until 1912,<sup>9</sup> so there is no official record of his birth. However, Mississippi *is* most likely where Clayton was born – his parents, Robert and Evaline (sometimes spelled Eveline) Clayton, were living in Moss Point in Jackson County, Mississippi at the time of the 1870 United States Census.<sup>10</sup> The Clayton family was still living in Mississippi in 1878, two years after Lonnie’s birth, as four older siblings are listed as being of school age in Mississippi’s 1878 *Enumeration of Educable Children*.<sup>11</sup> At the

time of the 1880 Census, the Claytons had moved to Wyandotte, Kansas with their nine children, and the place of birth for all of the children listed on that enumeration (including Alonzo) was given as Mississippi.<sup>12</sup> The Clayton family moved to Arkansas around 1886, and young Alonzo ran away from home two years later, at age 12, to try to become a jockey in Chicago like his older brother, Albertus (Albert).<sup>13</sup> After beginning as a stable hand and exercise rider, he began working as a jockey in 1889 for owner Dan Honig, and won his first race in 1890 in Clifton, New Jersey.<sup>14</sup> One of the first things he did after winning some races was to buy a farm for his parents in Brushy Island, Arkansas, in December 1890.<sup>15</sup>

Clayton's career moved to the next level when was given the mount on Azra – together they won the Champagne Stakes (1891), the Kentucky Derby (1892), the Clark Handicap (1892), and the Travers Stakes (1892).<sup>16</sup> He is listed in the record books as having won the Kentucky Derby at the age of fifteen, which was the youngest at the time and only equaled once since – however, it is likely that he was already sixteen at the time of the victory, if the birth date given on his death certificate is accurate. Clayton's success continued in 1893, when he came in second at the Kentucky Derby aboard Plutus II,<sup>17</sup> and won the Churchill Downs crown – of his thirty mounts at the track during that season, he finished in the money twenty-four times (eleven wins, five place, and eight show).<sup>18</sup> Clayton also had success riding Henry of Navarre, and the pair had an ongoing rivalry with the thoroughbreds Domino and Clifford, leading the New York Jockey Club to put up a \$5,000 purse for a match race with the three horses at Morris Park in Bronx, New York, which Clayton won aboard Henry (1894).<sup>19</sup> In 2020 dollars, that \$5,000 purse would be worth \$149,539.53.<sup>20</sup> Riding Laureate in 1895, Clayton came in third at the Kentucky Derby,<sup>21</sup> won the Kentucky Oaks at Churchill Downs aboard Valadora,<sup>22</sup> and was signed to a contract to ride for the Brookdale Stable at the salary of \$10,000 a year – \$306,200 in

2020 dollars.<sup>23</sup> The 1895 season was by far Clayton's busiest, with a total of 688 mounts – and he finished in the money 398 times (58% of his mounts).<sup>24</sup> Although he never had that many mounts again, he finished in the money 61% of the time in 1897.<sup>25</sup>

Although many contemporary writers looked at Clayton through prejudiced eyes and dwelled on his appearance – the writer Edward Hotaling has described it as 'white reporters' obsession with shades of black'<sup>26</sup> – labeling him variously as 'mulatto,' 'coffee colored,' 'copper colored,' and even 'saddle colored,' as well as being a natty dresser, they also referred to him repeatedly as 'clever' and 'exceptionally bright,' noted that he came from a religious family, and praised the fact that he did not squander his winnings, having bought property and built a house in North Little Rock, Arkansas.<sup>27</sup> Clayton purchased two lots of land in the North Argenta Addition section of North Little Rock in December 1893, and then spent \$6,000 (\$183,720 in 2020 dollars) to build a Queen Anne-style house on the property in 1895, which later became known as the Engelberger House, which was described as 'the finest on that side of the river.'<sup>28</sup> He also purchased a commercial property, in his father's name, in North Little Rock in February 1896, where his brother-in-law, William F. Stewart, operated the Stewart & Smith Grocery on the first floor, while the second level was a hotel.<sup>29</sup>

Riding Ornament, Clayton won the Flatbush Stakes (1896), the Latonia Derby, the St. Louis Derby, and the Oakley Derby, all in 1897, and came in second at that year's Kentucky Derby.<sup>30</sup> Other important stakes races won by Clayton in the 1890s include the Jerome Handicap on Picknicker (1891), the Alabama Stakes on Ignite (1892), the Latonia Derby on Newtown (1892), the Latonia Oaks on Lake Breeze (1892) and Sardonic (1898), the Great Western Handicap on Sabin (1894), the Kentucky Oaks on Selika (1894), the Flash Stakes on Onaretto (1895), the Tennessee Oaks on Handspun (1895), the United States Hotel Stakes on Axiom

(1895), the Lawrence Realization and the Swift Stakes on Requitall (both 1896), the California Derby on Traverser (1898), and the Suburban Handicap on Tillo (1898).<sup>31</sup> Undoubtedly, many of those who followed thoroughbred racing would have agreed with the sentiment, expressed in one newspaper profile, that Clayton was ‘the premier jockey of the West.’<sup>32</sup>

Despite his successes, though, Clayton was not immune from criticism. In an article about a race at Saratoga – with the subtitle ‘Clayton Made Onaretto Lose’ – a racing columnist wrote that, ‘Clayton is riding, and there was a time when Clayton might have been called a jockey, but Clayton now rides as if the Saratoga water had gone to his head and changed the gray matter there to sawdust. Indeed, his performances are so remarkably bad that one wonders if it is not a changeling Clayton who is riding... No living bad jockey, not even Fenn [*sic.*]<sup>33</sup> at his worst, could have equaled Clayton on Wallace’s Onaretto in the Bankers’ Stake to-day. He not only took advantage of every opportunity to go wrong that was offered him, but with extraordinary ingenuity he wrought out opportunities for himself.’<sup>34</sup> Writers who covered horse racing at that time could not only be highly critical, they would often use inflammatory racial imagery when Clayton lost, especially when the writer felt that the horse he was piloting should have won. When he came in second riding Clifford in the Brooklyn Handicap (1896), the *New-York Tribune*’s racing columnist called Clayton a ‘little sooty imp,’ said that a ‘jockey who did so much mischief and damage to high-class sport as Clayton did ought never to have a chance to do any more harm upon any reputable American racetrack,’ and remarked that ‘hundreds of colored men have been lynched in the South for offences less irritating and exasperating than that which this jockey Clayton committed in destroying all the chances of Clifford, the popular choice, in the Brooklyn Handicap... it was lucky for Clayton that it was in the presence of a Northern assembly of law-abiding, order-loving, self-restrained and peaceful people that he rode

Clifford, instead of before a conventicle of southerners at Texarkana or Paris, Tex.’<sup>35</sup> The racial views of the day even came through when Clayton was being *complimented*, as when a newspaper columnist noted that ‘Clayton has a more scientific seat than most of the colored boys, whose appearance is generally a careless, slovenly one. Clayton’s distinguishing feature is his ability to place his mount well at the moment for the final rush, but this leads him to temptation of “riding a grandstand finish,” drawing it so fine that the crowd will yell their approval at him; in this way Clifford was defeated for the Brooklyn Handicap by Sir Walter. Clayton waits too long on many critical occasions.’<sup>36</sup>

#### **HENRY BOLOMEY, ‘AN INOFFENSIVE ICE DEALER OF BROOKLYN’**

The other person who played a major part in the events that led to Alonzo Clayton’s 1901 arrest was Henry Bolomey, a European-American ice dealer from Brooklyn, New York. His 1917 death certificate gives his date and place of birth as June 16, 1863 in Belgium,<sup>37</sup> and his name appears in New York real estate records for the first time in 1894, obtaining a \$32 mortgage to buy a wagon (\$957.05 in 2020 dollars).<sup>38</sup> ‘Bolomey H’y’ is listed in the *Brooklyn City Directory* for the first time in 1896,<sup>39</sup> so his earlier years are not well documented. Census, municipal records, and genealogical sources show that Henry and his wife Catherine (McKenna) Bolomey had four sons born between 1896 and 1903, although the first child (also named Henry) died at one day old.<sup>40</sup> On each child’s birth certificate, the place of birth given for their father alternates between Switzerland and Belgium, which could mean that Henry was being deliberately evasive, since the two countries do not share a border – and on his son Charles’ birth certificate, the name of the father is listed as *Harry* Bolomy [*sic.*] instead of Henry, so it seems likely that he went by both Henry and Harry. The 1901 *Brooklyn City Directory* lists him as



‘Bolmey Harry,’ at the same address previously listed for Henry.<sup>41</sup> The 1900 U.S. Census gives Bolomey’s place of birth as Belgium, while the 1905 New York State Census and the 1910 U.S. Census give his place of birth as Switzerland.<sup>42</sup>

Since Bolomey seems to have used both Henry and Harry, it is interesting to note that in March 1894, a ‘truckman’ named Harry Bolomey was arrested and accused of stealing a diamond ring worth \$75 (\$2,243.09 in 2020 dollars) from a lady whose furniture he was engaged in moving.<sup>43</sup> Although the outcome does not appear in the contemporary newspapers, official records show that the case was dismissed on April 2, 1894.<sup>44</sup> One is left to speculate that perhaps the missing ring eventually turned up – or was returned.

#### **WHEN HENRY MET LONNIE: THE 1898 INCIDENT AT MORRIS PARK**

The lives of Lonnie Clayton and Henry Bolomey intersected on October 14, 1898, at the Morris Park racetrack<sup>45</sup> in Bronx, New York. In the third race, Clayton had the mount on Warrenton, who by all accounts ran terribly, swerving all over the track and losing the race to Sailor King. As the jockeys came back to weigh out, something provoked Clayton to strike spectator Bolomey across the face with the butt end of his whip. The track stewards fined Clayton \$200 for disorderly conduct – \$6,297.78 in 2020 dollars – and the incident was covered (in various lengths) by newspapers all around the United States, from Anaconda (Montana) to Washington, DC, with the victim’s name listed variously as Bolomey, Bolomay, and Balamey.<sup>46</sup> None of the articles specifically mentioned whether Clayton used a ‘loaded whip’ – jockeys often used whips that contained lead for balance, which made them potent weapons.<sup>47</sup>

As one might expect, much of the press coverage was highly critical of Clayton. In the *New York Journal*, one columnist, who described Bolomey as ‘an inoffensive ice dealer of

Brooklyn,' managed to insult another ethnic group by wondering if the jockey had 'a streak of "redskin" blood somewhere in his make-up,' since 'he took revenge on a spectator who, he imagined, had insulted him... [like] any raid of Indians on a frontier settlement.'<sup>48</sup> Another columnist, writing in the *Morning Telegraph*, deemed Clayton's action as 'unpardonable,' criticized his riding of Warrenton, and then gave one of the more detailed accounts of what transpired after the race:

As the field finished a German [*sic.*], by the name of H. Bolomay [*sic.*], who gave his address as 632 DeKalb avenue, Brooklyn, was standing with a friend near the rail alongside the stewards' stand. According to his story, he remarked to his friend that Warrenton would have won if the boy could have kept him straight. At that instant Clayton came by with Warrenton, and, swerving into the rail, he heard the remark and immediately slashed Bolomay across the face with his whip. The blow landed just above the temple and across the ear.

Bolomay went up to the gate leading to the stewards' stand to make complaint, but the policeman there stopped him. A big crowd, however, collected about the stand, and the incident created so much excitement that eventually the stewards felt impelled to take some action. They held a meeting, questioned both Bolomay and Clayton, and evidently found much comfort in the statement made by Clayton that Bolomay had applied a vile epithet to him. They fined Clayton \$200.<sup>49</sup>

The subtitle of the article in the *New York Press* described it as 'a Ruffianly Assault,' whose unnamed track columnist argued that Clayton should have been banned from Morris Park

for life, as well as receiving a dozen lashes on his bare back. The writer also noted that the blow ‘left a long ridge on the man’s face and raised a big lump on his ear,’ and said that the victim ‘protested that he did not make any remark to Clayton, but he refused to make a complaint against the jockey to the stewards.’ The reporter summed up his coverage by adding that, ‘When a colored jockey can assault a spectator in this ruffianly manner and escape with a \$200 fine it is a temptation for spectators to take such cases into their own hands.... Spectators should beware of the whips of colored jockeys.’<sup>50</sup>

Even in an age when African-Americans were considered to be inferior to whites in many parts of the United States, and only two years after the Supreme Court had upheld racial segregation laws for public facilities (‘separate but equal’) in *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, not all of the press coverage was against Clayton. An unnamed writer in the *Boston Herald* defended Clayton, saying that the jockey ‘rode the colt to the best of his ability, and the criticism of the spectator was unwarranted.’<sup>51</sup> The *Daily Racing Form* noted that the spectator ‘addressed an abusive remark to the jockey’ and in addition to fining Clayton, the stewards ‘should have gone farther and had the man who insulted an honest jockey put out of the grounds.’<sup>52</sup> (One wonders that if it truly was highly insulting, even a ‘vile epithet,’ to say that a horse lost a race because the jockey didn’t keep him straight, then should numerous horse racing columnists also have been whipped, since they routinely said even *more* unflattering things about jockeys on a daily basis, as seen in some of the excerpts about Clayton cited above?) The *Cincinnati Enquirer* referred to the spectator who was whipped as ‘a race-track fiend,’ but it is not known if that was a moral judgment about those who frequented racetracks in general, or about Henry Bolomey in particular.<sup>53</sup>

## LAWSUIT AND TRIAL

Notwithstanding the *New York Press*' account that Bolomey initially 'refused to make a complaint against the jockey to the stewards,' he evidently had no qualms about going to a lawyer, because his attorney, Reginald R. Thomas, had the Supreme Court, Kings County (Brooklyn), issue a summons on October 19, 1898 for Clayton to answer the charges against him within twenty days. Whether it was served on Clayton or on his representative is not known, but on November 2, 1898, Clayton's attorney, Louis Lowenstein, requested a copy of the complaint and all other papers pertaining to the action from Thomas. On November 17, Henry Bolomey signed a complaint against Alonzo Clayton which stated, 'That on the 14th day of October, 1898, at the Morris Park Race Track, in the Borough of Bronx, in the City and State of New York, while the plaintiff was peaceably and lawfully standing near the rail alongside the Steward's stand, the defendant, Alonzo Clayton, violently, wrongfully, wantonly and willfully struck this plaintiff with the butt end of a horse whip, bruising and cutting plaintiff's head and left ear and cutting, bruising and discoloring his left eye, and whereby this plaintiff was made sick and was seriously injured and the sight of his left eye impaired.' He asked for court costs as well as \$10,000.00 (\$309,889.16 in 2020 dollars) for pain and suffering. Clayton, in response, denied 'each and every allegation in said complaint' through his attorney, Louis Lowenstein.<sup>54</sup>

It took over a year for the case to finally be tried. After being listed in the court calendars of various newspapers for several days incorrectly as '*Boloney vs. Clayton*,' *Bolomey vs. Clayton* was tried in Supreme Court, Kings County on February 21, 1900, before Justice Josiah T. Marean. According to coverage in the *New-York Tribune*, the plaintiff alleged that the assault was unprovoked and that the blow affected his eyesight. In his defense, according to that newspaper, Clayton seemed to claim that it was both an accident *and* that he was acting in self-

defense: ‘On his way back from the judges’ stand after weighing out he heard some one [*sic.*] in the crowd call him an insulting name. Turning, he saw Bolony [*sic.*] about to strike him. Raising his arms to ward off the expected blow, the whip which he carried in his right hand accidentally struck Bolony in the face.’ The reporter went on to say, ‘In rebuttal the plaintiff said that he did not utter a word and had no occasion to do so, as he had bet on Sailor King, and that horse won. He thought some one in the crowd might have said something which Clayton overheard in passing, and which provoked him to strike with his whip.’ The writer then concluded, ‘It was the opinion of many who saw the races at Morris Park that day that Warrenton was badly ridden. No intelligent person believes that Clayton’s version of the matter was correct. The jury would not have given Bolony a verdict for \$1,250 if they had thought Clayton told the truth. Clayton has ridden in races more than once which called out severe criticism.’<sup>55</sup>

The judgment awarded to Bolomey by the court was for \$1,250 in damages plus the plaintiff’s costs of \$201.98, for a total of \$1,451.98.<sup>56</sup> According to an online inflation calculator, that amount would correspond to \$44,459.63 in 2020 dollars. It was entered into the Judgment Roll by the Kings County Clerk on February 26, 1900,<sup>57</sup> and was published in various newspapers beginning the following day.<sup>58</sup>

### **ADDITIONAL FINANCIAL AND LEGAL TROUBLES FOR CLAYTON**

Even before being sued by Henry Bolomey, Clayton was complaining about all the expenses that he had to take care of. In a newspaper article about how numerous jockeys die in poverty, Clayton was quoted as saying, ‘Jockeys are at a terrible expense all the time, and few people think about this. When I am riding right along I have four men under salary, and it takes a lot to keep them a-going. You have to look out for them the year round, so when you are not

working they cost you a great deal for board and clothes. Then when I was going from Chicago to Cincinnati and from Cincinnati to New York and back to St. Louis we all traveled first class, which was a big expense. There are an infinite number of small expenses which help eat up your salary.’<sup>59</sup> As historian Katherine C. Mooney described it, these successful jockeys were ‘the focal points of employment networks,’ which was ‘a constant worry for someone with largely seasonal work.’<sup>60</sup>

On top of his own regular expenses, as well as the judgment for Bolomey against him, Clayton was also having some financial and legal problems back home in Arkansas. A lien of \$600 was placed on Clayton’s house in North Argenta on November 30, 1897, and additional liens of \$900 and \$500 were added on February 4, 1899, and March 27, 1899, respectively.<sup>61</sup> And just after the civil case in Brooklyn was held and the judgment was awarded to Bolomey, Clayton was on the losing end of two more judgments in Arkansas. A ‘warning order’ was published in the press by the Pulaski Circuit Court, Second Division, giving notice to Alonzo L. Clayton (defendant) to appear within thirty days to answer the complaint from Charles Clayton (plaintiff), his older brother.<sup>62</sup> A trial was held with Judge Joseph W. Martin presiding, and a judgment for \$511.00 was awarded to Charles Clayton on April 11, 1900.<sup>63</sup> That would correspond to \$15,646.82 in 2020 dollars. Another judgment against Clayton, for \$160.05 (\$4,900.73 in 2020 dollars), was awarded to George M. Street, on April 29, 1900.<sup>64</sup> Street was one of the people who sold the commercial property in North Little Rock to Clayton.<sup>65</sup> In addition, four months later, Clayton was sued by ‘Jos. Leob’ for \$75.00 (\$2,296.50 in 2020 dollars) for services rendered.<sup>66</sup> The 1899 *Little Rock City Directory* does not list anyone with that name – however, there were a few people named Joseph Leob, one of whom was an attorney, so one can surmise that Leob may have represented Alonzo in one of the cases against

him, and then needed to bring action to get his legal fee.<sup>67</sup> In addition, records show that Clayton also did not pay his real estate taxes on his North Argenta house/property in 1899.<sup>68</sup>

### **THE SEARCH FOR CLAYTON AND HIS PROPERTY**

Although Henry Bolomey received a favorable ruling in civil court, he would then have to try to collect his judgment. After publication of the judgment, there was a twenty-day stay, after which attorney Thomas began to actively search for Clayton's property. On March 19, 1900, Thomas issued executions against the property of Alonzo Clayton to the Sheriffs of both Westchester and New York Counties, because Thomas had been told that the defendant owned some property in the former, and because Clayton had testified at trial that his place of residence was 492 Seventh Avenue in Manhattan (New York County). Both executions were returned unsatisfied, however – the former on March 30, 1900, and the latter on April 10, 1900. Attorney Thomas then undertook his own investigation to ascertain Clayton's residence or whereabouts. According to an affidavit he filed with the court a year later (after Clayton's 1901 arrest), he himself went to 492 Seventh Avenue, and also to 229 West 32nd Street, where he had been informed that Clayton had lived. He also went to 243 Sixth Avenue, where Thomas had been told that he might hear of Clayton. Thomas also made inquiries at the racetracks at Aqueduct, Morris Park, and Gravesend, but each time he was not successful.<sup>69</sup>

Around that time, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* noted the absence of black jockeys on the tracks and attributed it to prejudice, and also reported that 'Lonnie Clayton has grown to be a man almost and cannot do weights that would bring him every-day usefulness. But he made a lot of money in his time, built for himself a gorgeous mansion at Little Rock, and now is in a position to get some return for his years of self-denial in the training barn.'<sup>70</sup> The *Cincinnati*

*Enquirer* reported that, unlike in the past, Clayton and several other big name jockeys had not been signed to riding contracts with any stables for spring 1900, and noted that Clayton ‘has grown heavy and will not be able to accept mounts except in heavy-weight handicaps and stake events.’<sup>71</sup>

Clayton’s name *was* among those granted licenses by the Jockey Club for the 1900 season.<sup>72</sup> On May 22, 1900, the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* reported that Clayton would be taking part in the Brooklyn Jockey Club meeting, after which it said that he was planning to go to England to ride.<sup>73</sup> It was also reported elsewhere that Clayton had asked Edward Corrigan, a stable owner who was bringing his horses to England, to give him some mounts in that country.<sup>74</sup> Hearing that Clayton might be at Brooklyn’s Gravesend track, attorney Thomas obtained an order on May 31, 1900 for Clayton’s examination in Supplementary Proceedings, and served the order personally to Clayton on the same day at a place on Village Road near Gravesend Avenue in Brooklyn.<sup>75</sup>

On June 2, 1900, Clayton appeared for examination before Justice Frederick Smyth in Special Term Part II of the Supreme Court, New York County (Manhattan). The jockey testified that he was the owner of land with building thereon in North Little Rock, Arkansas, that it was mortgaged to the amount of \$1,500 (\$45,930 adjusted for inflation), and that there was also an attachment affecting the property amounting to \$500 (\$15,310 adjusted for inflation).<sup>76</sup> The examination was adjourned until June 7, 1900. Clayton, however, did not return to court on June 7 for examination, and Thomas obtained several orders requiring him to show cause as to why he should not be punished for contempt in failing to appear. However, the orders were never served because, once again, Thomas could not locate Clayton. A body execution against Clayton was issued to the Sheriff of New York County on June 25, 1900, where Clayton testified (both at the



civil trial and also at the Supplementary Proceedings) that he lived. The execution was held from June 25 to August 24, but the Deputy Sheriff was not able to find Clayton.<sup>77</sup> In an article about how white owners and jockeys had conspired to shut out black jockeys, the *New York Times* noted that ‘Clayton spent but a short time in New York in the Spring [of 1900], and, finding he could get no riding to do, ceased to appear at the racetracks.’<sup>78</sup> This just happened to coincide with the fact that attorney Thomas was searching for him in New York and at its tracks. There is also no listing for Alonzo Clayton in the 1900 U.S. Census, so whether it was purposeful or not, Clayton seems to have been staying under the radar.

Having been forced to appear in court and give details about his North Little Rock property, was Clayton now concerned that he would (finally) be forced to pay Henry Bolomey the judgment against him, while also having liens on his house and two other judgments against him in Arkansas? Bolomey’s attorney, Reginald Thomas, was actively pursuing Clayton and trying to collect on behalf of his client. On July 12, 1900, just over a month after testifying at the Supplementary Proceedings, Clayton sold his house in North Little Rock to Robert A. Little for \$3,000 (\$91,860 in 2020 dollars).<sup>79</sup> Within a week after the sale, Clayton paid off his back real estate taxes, as well as \$1,400 in liens, and the judgments for George M. Street and Charles Clayton were satisfied.<sup>80</sup> His parents also sold off part of their farm on November 26, 1900, for \$275 (\$8,420.50 in 2020 dollars).<sup>81</sup>

Not having a contract to ride with any particular stable and not getting any mounts, whether because of his weight or prejudice, two newspapers reported that Clayton decided to quit riding altogether and open a restaurant in upstate Albany, New York.<sup>82</sup> Was Clayton sincerely through with jockeying, or was he trying to throw Thomas off his trail and avoid being arrested or having to pay the judgment(s) against him? On April 13, 1901, just nine days before

his eventual arrest, Clayton's commercial building in North Little Rock was sold for \$4,000 (\$121,039.06 in 2020 dollars).<sup>83</sup> Evidently Clayton was not committed to running a restaurant (if he indeed ran one), because the Jockey Club granted its licenses for the spring meeting on March 20, 1901, and Clayton was among those who received licenses.<sup>84</sup>

Hearing that Clayton was living at Gravesend, Brooklyn, and preparing to ride in the coming races, attorney Thomas obtained a property execution (April 9, 1901) and a body execution (April 12, 1901) against Clayton, which were issued to the Sheriff of Kings County (Brooklyn). As in the previous instances, Clayton was not able to be located, and the executions were returned, the former on April 12, and the latter on April 27.<sup>85</sup>

Clayton *did* finally reappear on the New York City racing scene on April 15, 1901, when it was reported in the press that he was in the saddle in the second race at Aqueduct, riding Osman Digna.<sup>86</sup> Clayton, it turned out, was actually quite fortunate, because two days later, Osman Digna threw jockey George Wilkerson, fracturing the man's skull.<sup>87</sup>

With Clayton riding at Aqueduct, attorney Thomas obtained a body execution against Clayton, which was issued to Sheriff Joseph H. De Bragga of Queens County, where Aqueduct was located.<sup>88</sup> Deputy Sheriff Warren B. Ashmead proceeded to Aqueduct and arrested Clayton as he was about to ride The Golden Prince in the fifth race – as one news report noted, 'Ashmead refused to let Clayton pilot his horse, as he was fearful the jockey would ride off after the race was finished.'<sup>89</sup> The jockey was then brought to the Queens County Jail in Long Island City.<sup>90</sup> Thus, Clayton's 1901 arrest was due to the fact that he had not paid the civil judgment against him and had nothing to do with alleged race-fixing.

## CLAYTON'S ARREST AND INCARCERATION

Although Clayton's arrest *did* make the front page of his adopted home town newspaper,<sup>91</sup> the story did not receive nearly as much coverage as the 1898 assault.<sup>92</sup> As one might have expected, an African-American jockey whipping a white spectator was more newsworthy than the arrest of an African-American jockey, even though the latter resulted from the former.

Three weeks after his arrest, Clayton signed an affidavit on May 17, 1901, appealing for release, the legal argument being that the execution upon which he was arrested was issued more than ten days after the verdict, and more than three months after the entry of the judgment. Clayton also pointed out that he raced at the Brooklyn Jockey Club's racetrack during the spring meeting of 1900, thereby implying that there had been other, earlier opportunities for Bolomey and Thomas to find him if they really wanted to. Brooklyn Supreme Court Justice Samuel T. Maddox ruled that Clayton or his attorney should appear before him at a hearing on May 22, 1901.<sup>93</sup>

Reginald Thomas, Bolomey's attorney, made a motion on May 21, 1901, opposing Clayton's release. He pointed out to the court that 'Section 572 of the Code of Civil Procedure, under which this motion [by Clayton] evidently has been made, does not apply to an execution against the person, but does apply to an order of arrest,' and that no order of arrest was issued in this action. Thomas also submitted an extremely detailed affidavit, chronicling all of the attempts he had made since the trial to collect the judgment, with numerous body and property executions having been issued to several Sheriffs, but 'not one has been able to find any property belonging to the defendant or the defendant himself until the 22nd of April [1901] as above stated when the defendant was arrested.'<sup>94</sup> Justice Maddox denied Clayton's appeal on May 23, 1901, using Thomas' legal argument as the basis for his decision, and Clayton remained in jail.<sup>95</sup>

Clayton was incarcerated for at least two months, since it was noted in press reports in mid-June 1901 that he was the cellmate of rich playboy Theodore Burriss, whose wealthy father had had him arrested for vagrancy.<sup>96</sup> One can get a picture of conditions at the Queens jail, which seem to have been much better than other New York City prisons, from a later news description: ‘There are shower baths, marble wash basins and other up-to-date fixin’s and the grimmest prisoners have appeared in court for trial, after a stay in the jail, looking like regular dudes.’<sup>97</sup> Unfortunately, the whereabouts of the records of the former Queens County Jail are unknown and are likely no longer extant, so it is not possible to determine the exact date of Clayton’s release. Although Queens was incorporated into Greater New York City in 1898 and became one of the City’s five boroughs, the New York City Commissioner of Corrections did not take possession of the Queens County Jail from the Queens County Sheriff until 1912 – but the Sheriff retained oversight of civil prisoners even after that.<sup>98</sup>

We know that Clayton was released sometime after mid-June, because it was reported in the press that he was at Saratoga on August 14, 1901, that he had a jockey’s license, and that he planned to ride again.<sup>99</sup> Again, we do not know with certainty *why* he was eventually released – did he use some of the proceeds from the sale of his North Little Rock properties to (finally) pay all or part of the civil judgment to Henry Bolomey? The *Morning Telegraph* reporter wrote, ‘It is said that his complainant has forgiven him and the case is ended.’<sup>100</sup> There is nothing about Clayton’s release in the case file, and as the Deputy Kings County Clerk pointed out to the present author, when a payment for a civil judgment is made, it goes directly from one party to the other, without involving the court, so the County Clerk would have no record of the payment.<sup>101</sup>

### CLAYTON'S LATER YEARS

Clayton's career had already begun to decline before the 1898 assault at Morris Park – according to *Goodwin's*, he had only 158 mounts in 1898,<sup>102</sup> which was less than half of 1897's total (337), and then fell to only fifty-four mounts in 1899.<sup>103</sup> After that season, *Goodwin's* stopped including him in their annual 'Jockey Mounts' table, presumably no longer considering him one of the top jockeys.

With limited opportunities for him in the east, Alonzo Clayton moved further west to try to earn a living. In spring 1902, Clayton, still only twenty-six years old and previously one of the most successful jockeys in the country, was riding in Butte, Montana, and was the subject of a very flattering profile in a local paper that detailed his earlier successes riding Henry of Navarre, Ornament, and Tillo (which the paper misspelled as Fillo), but with no mention of the 1898 assault.<sup>104</sup>

In early 1904, he was riding in Memphis, Tennessee, where it was noted that he was 'working hard to get in condition to race at the coming Hot Springs race meeting. Clayton has been living at the home of his father near Little Rock, and the farm represents all that the once wealthy jockey retained from enormous winnings and earnings. He is able to do 108 pounds at present, and thinks that he will hold his own with present-day jockeys.'<sup>105</sup>

The earlier image of Clayton as someone who saved and wisely invested his money persisted, whether or not it was still accurate. In a 1905 *Washington Post* column about the decline of the number of black jockeys, the writer noted that, 'Clayton bought some property in the West during his successful career as a jockey, and is now one of the colored riders who have something to live off in their old age.'<sup>106</sup> Clayton, of course, was neither in his 'old age' nor living off his savings, having already sold his house and commercial property. His parents sold

the rest of their Arkansas farm on August 23, 1906, and moved to Los Angeles to live with their daughter and son-in-law.<sup>107</sup> Robert Clayton was still living with his daughter, Bessie Westbrook, and son-in-law at the time of the 1910 U.S. Census, but Alonzo is not listed in that Census.<sup>108</sup>

Clayton's name returned to the news and sports pages in 1913, when a man claiming to be former jockey Lonnie Clayton was arrested in New York City for stealing expensive gowns from a local dressmaking shop where the man worked as a porter. The story was covered widely, and newspapers accepted the man's claim and repeatedly (and mistakenly) identified the culprit as the former jockey.<sup>109</sup> It was not until the man who claimed to be Clayton was found guilty and sentenced to jail that the newspapers realized he was an imposter – his real name was Howard Clifton, and he was sent to Sing Sing prison on November 7, 1913, under the name Howard Clayton.<sup>110</sup> The press reported that the *real* Lonnie Clayton had been living in *Vancouver*, Canada, for twelve years.<sup>111</sup> Although he is not listed in the 1911 Census of Canada, Lonnie Clayton, with 'jockey' as his profession, *is* listed in the 1913 edition of the Vancouver City Directory.<sup>112</sup> Around 1914, Clayton moved to California, where he worked as a hotel bellhop for the Union League.<sup>113</sup> He died in Los Angeles of chronic pulmonary tuberculosis at age 41 on March 17, 1917, and was buried in Evergreen Cemetery three days later – the present author could only find three newspapers that reported his passing.<sup>114</sup> He was inducted into the Arkansas Sports Hall of Fame on February 3, 2012.<sup>115</sup>

### **BOLOMEY'S LATER YEARS**

What happened to Henry Bolomey, the 'inoffensive ice dealer of Brooklyn,' after the 1898 assault? In early 1899, 'Bolomey H (also called A F M Van Dyck)' obtained a mortgage of \$75 (\$2,324.17 in 2020 dollars) for an ice and coal plant.<sup>116</sup> Later that year, 'Bolme[y] [*sic.*], H

and F M Van Dyck' obtained a mortgage of \$165 (\$5,113.17 adjusted for inflation) for wagons and furniture.<sup>117</sup> In June 1900, 'Bolomey, H.' obtained a mortgage of \$150 (\$4,593 in 2020 dollars) for horses.<sup>118</sup> Henry Bolomey's name (misspelled as usual) returned to the news briefly in 1908, when 'Harry Bolomay, a driver for the American Ice Company, and Tommy Lawson, his assistant, were among the witnesses to the bomb throwing' at the side entrance to the saloon owned by Carmello Manzello at 63 Sackett Street, near the Brooklyn waterfront, which police and news reports attributed to the Black Hand, an early name for organized crime. As the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* described it, 'by pulling up his horses Bolomay managed to escape injury to himself and companion,' although the only description he could give was that the bomb thrower wore a gray coat.<sup>119</sup>

Aside from his civil suit against Clayton, Bolomey also attempted to sue both the Long Island Rail Road Co. and the Brooklyn Heights Rail Road, the latter being a trolley car system. Unfortunately, the files for both of those cases, along with thousands of others, were destroyed in a 2015 Brooklyn warehouse fire.<sup>120</sup> Another case, *Bolomey vs. Nassau Electric Rail Road*, appeared on the court calendars in various newspapers in 1916 and was heard in 1917 – a judgment of \$108.90 was awarded to Edmund Bolomey, a minor, with his mother, Catherine Bolomey, listed as his guardian.<sup>121</sup> That would correspond to \$2,188.28 in 2020 dollars. Edmund Bolomey's 1918 draft registration record notes that his right leg was paralyzed, which may have formed the basis of some, if not all, of the civil cases against the trolley/railroad companies.<sup>122</sup>

Although Henry Bolomey is listed as the head of his household in the 1910 U.S. Census, he is not listed in the 1915 New York State Census, where his wife Katharine [*sic.*] is listed as the head of the household.<sup>123</sup> Oral family tradition holds that at some point after 1910, Henry

Bolomey left his family in Brooklyn, changed his name to Henry Van Dyke, and moved to New Jersey. He died at age 53 on January 20, 1917 of septicemia at Jersey City Hospital, and was buried at Holy Cross Cemetery, Brooklyn, New York – both his death certificate and burial record are under the name Henry Van Dyke.<sup>124</sup> Bolomey/Van Dyke was buried in the same grave with his baby son Henry (Jr.), as well as his wife’s aunt and uncle (Elizabeth McKenna Noonan and Peter Noonan). When his wife, Catherine McKenna Bolomey, died in 1922, she was also buried at Holy Cross Cemetery – but, tellingly, *not* in the same grave with her estranged husband Henry, but rather with her mother’s relatives (the Murphy family).<sup>125</sup> Linked together in both life and death, both Alonzo Clayton and Henry Bolomey died in 1917.

### CONCLUSION

The assault of Henry Bolomey, the lawsuit, and the arrest did not ruin Alonzo Clayton’s career as a jockey. Other African-American jockeys had lost their tempers and used whips, too, and their careers survived. In 1878, the great Isaac Murphy was falsely accused of hitting another jockey with the butt of his whip during a race, and was hit with a \$25 fine and a one year suspension. However, Murphy was reinstated after a few months, when the culprit admitted his guilt.<sup>126</sup> In 1889, George ‘Spider’ Anderson struck a black coachman at Pimlico, but he was permitted to ride in that day’s Preakness, and the victim decided not to press charges.<sup>127</sup> The career lifespan of jockeys is usually brief and depends more on *nature*: as their bodies grow, and as their weight increases, their usefulness as a jockey decreases. Clayton had been a very successful jockey for much of the 1890s, and the one documented instance of him losing his temper and lashing out did not affect his career, which was already starting to decline, although it definitely seems to have affected his personal life, as it coincided with him having to sell both his



house and his commercial property. It also happened to coincide with a noticeable decline in the numbers of African-Americans working as jockeys and trainers. Although fourteen of the fifteen jockeys in the first Kentucky Derby were black, and black jockeys won fifteen of the first twenty-eight Derbies,<sup>128</sup> recent scholarship about African-American jockeys has pointed out that, even at their peak of success, blacks did *not* make up anything close to a majority of jockeys, accounting for only 22% of the jockey population in 1880 – but that percentage was almost *twice* their representation (13%) in the general population.<sup>129</sup>

However, as mentioned above, columnists were already noting the sudden absence of black jockeys in 1900 – the *New York Times* attributed it to a secret ‘Anti-Colored Jockeys Union’ of white jockeys who were doing everything legal to prevent horses ridden by black jockeys from winning races.<sup>130</sup> Historian Katherine C. Mooney described these concerted efforts by white jockeys to terrorize black jockeys: ‘In the midst of a pack of flying horses on the backstretch, they tried to unseat black competitors, box them in, injure or kill them or scare them so badly that they quit racing.’<sup>131</sup> White jockeys made it obvious to owners that if they wanted their horses to not only have a fair chance of winning but also of finishing races safely, they should *not* hire black men to ride them.<sup>132</sup> Although the racetrack had been integrated for two centuries in America, it ‘was an intolerable offense to the logic of Jim Crow, itself a response to deep-seated fears that black people might take advantage of the opportunities of freedom and the possibility of equality,’ and thus a threat to wealthy owners.<sup>133</sup> Rather than dealing with the effects of prejudice, the stable owners and trainers ‘simply wanted to win purses... Instead of forcing the sport to give fair treatment to their African American jockeys, white stable owners simply quit hiring blacks.’<sup>134</sup>

In addition to these overt and covert attempts to drive black jockeys out of the business, there were other sociological forces at work, too. As they left the south and migrated north to cities, young African-Americans no longer grew up around horses and did not see the racetrack as a viable career, as previous generations had.<sup>135</sup> As Edward Hotaling put it, ‘In one massive shift, African Americans had become city dwellers. This alone shrank the pool from which black jockeys might be drawn. Struggling in a big city, a young African American was not likely to find his way to a horse’s back, let alone a racecourse. In only a few generations, charity campaigns would be organized to take African American kids to the countryside to show them what a horse’s back looked like.’<sup>136</sup> Hotaling went on to point out, ‘The great black riders had grown up on horse farms, or near them, but by 1910, most African Americans were living in cities, where thoroughbreds were a rare sight – unless you took a train to Coney Island or happened to see them being led into a horse sale at the old Madison Square Garden.’<sup>137</sup> Yet even that migration had much to do with escaping racism, with Hotaling pointing out that, ‘Racial prejudice and violence, lynchings and the terror of the Klan, contributed mightily to that migration, which in turn intensified racial prejudice and violence in the cities.’<sup>138</sup>

Another factor in the decline in numbers of African-American jockeys, and, for a time, *all* jockeys, was that, by the early 1900s, horseracing was under persistent attack from progressive reformers who wanted to outlaw gambling, and legislation they enacted resulted in shortened race schedules, smaller crowds, and smaller purses. The number of racetracks in America fell from 314 to only 25 by 1908, and in New York, led by their progressive Governor Charles Evans Hughes, they ‘passed a draconian bill that did the trick for the puritans,’ making it ‘illegal for anybody to quote odds openly, solicit bets, or record bets in a fixed place. The next three seasons were a disaster for the New York tracks, and they shut down completely in 1911

and 1912.<sup>139</sup> Many stable owners exited the racing business and shipped their horses to Europe, and many jockeys (black *and* white) went overseas in the early 1900s as well, including Tod Sloan and Jimmy Winkfield. Kentucky, Maryland, and Canada were the only places in North America where horse racing still took place.<sup>140</sup> A 1913 New York State Supreme Court decision in *People ex rel. Shane v. Gittens* ‘established the important precedent that individuals had the right to wager privately at a track as long as the betting was not a business and not carried on with paraphernalia... It provided a loophole that the laws did not ban racing or betting but prohibited pari-mutuel betting or bookmaking.’<sup>141</sup> Although horse racing was resurrected in New York, none of the tracks in Brooklyn re-opened, and while some African-American jockeys did not return to the sport because they had moved on to other jobs, many others were simply no longer hired by rich white stable owners or trainers.<sup>142</sup> The most popular sport in America had gone from one where blacks and whites had competed against each other for two centuries, to one that was virtually completely white, until later in the century when it eventually came to be dominated by jockeys from Latin America.<sup>143</sup> Tragically, had Alonzo Clayton lived longer and had his career *not* already started to decline, he likely would have been out of a job anyway.

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Clayton Arrested at Aqueduct,’ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, April 23, 1901; ‘Three Favorites in Front at Aqueduct—Jockey Clayton Arrested as He is About to Mount Golden Prince,’ *New-York Tribune*, April 23, 1901; ‘Jockey Clayton in Jail,’ *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, April 25, 1901; ‘Jockey Clayton in Jail,’ *Long Island Farmer*, April 26, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> “‘That Deceptive Angle’ Makes Trouble at Aqueduct: Backers of Robert Waddell Dissatisfied With Decision in Favor of King Bramble. The Hoyden Losing Her Form. Substitution of Bullman for Clayton on the Golden Prince Cost the Layers a Large Sum,’ *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, April 23, 1901.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Law Aided a Turf Coup: Bettors Suffered by a Change of Jockeys Due to an Arrest,’ *New York Times*, April 23, 1901.

<sup>4</sup> Cary Bradburn, ‘Alonzo “Lonnie Clayton (1876-1917),”’ in *Encyclopedia of Arkansas History & Culture*, <https://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/entries/alonzo-lonnie-clayton-5300/>; Rachel Silva, ‘Arkansas Listings in the National Register of Historic Places: North Little Rock’s Historic Engelberger House,’ *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 59 (2010): 271; Robert Yates, ‘Jockey Youngest Winner of Derby,’ *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette*, February 2, 2012, <https://www.pressreader.com/usa/arkansas-democrat-gazette/20120202/292878116511818>.

<sup>5</sup> ‘Ten Thousand a Year: Lonnie Clayton, the Little Rock Jockey, Has Made About \$65,000. He Now Has an Ambition and it is to “Settle Down and Be a Christian” – Has an Elegant Home,’ *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, March 1, 1896.

<sup>6</sup> Sallie L. Powell, ‘Clayton, Alonzo “Lonnie,”’ in *The Kentucky African American Encyclopedia*, ed. Gerald L. Smith, Karen Cotton McDaniel, and John A. Hardin (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 111.

<sup>7</sup> Lyman Horace Weeks, *The American Turf: An Historical Account of Racing in the United States with Biographical Sketches of Turf Celebrities* (New York: The Historical Company, 1898), 394.

<sup>8</sup> California State Board of Health, Standard Certificate of Death, Alonzo Clayton, filed on March 20, 1917, copy in possession of the author.

<sup>9</sup> ‘Jackson County, Mississippi Government Records,’ Jackson County Mississippi Genealogy & History Network, <https://jackson.msghn.org/records.html>.

<sup>10</sup> *1870 United States Federal Census* (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2009).

<sup>11</sup> *Mississippi, Enumeration of Educable Children, 1850-1892; 1908-1957* (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2014).

<sup>12</sup> *1880 United States Federal Census* (Lehi, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010).

<sup>13</sup> Cary Bradburn, ‘The Jockey and the Jeweler,’ *North Little Rock Times*, June 7, 2007, <http://nlrheritagecenter.org/the-jockey-and-the-jeweler/>; Silva, 268; ‘Western Light-Weight Jockeys,’ *Live Stock Record*, August. 25, 1894: 117.

<sup>14</sup> Bradburn, ‘The Jockey and the Jeweler’; Silva, 268; ‘Western Light-Weight Jockeys’; ‘All Sorts: Something About Jockeys. Soup Perkins Once Had a Very Hard Fall. He Was Out for Nearly Twenty-Four Hours. Lonnie Clayton Was Third the First Time He Rode. The Latest Gossip About Fights and Fighters—Other Matters of Interest,’ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, November 4, 1894; Weeks, 394.

<sup>15</sup> Pulaski Co. Book of Deeds, copy in file of North Little Rock History Commission. Thanks to Cary Bradburn, historian at the North Little Rock History Commission, for graciously providing me with copies of all of the Commission documents cited in this article.

<sup>16</sup> Bradburn, ‘The Jockey and the Jeweler’; Silva, 268; Buster Miller, ‘Important American Racing Stakes Won by Negro Jockeys,’ in Edwin Bancroft Henderson, *The Negro in Sports*, rev. ed. (Washington, DC: The Associated Publishers, 1949), 458-474; James Robert Saunders and Monica Renae Saunders, *Black Winning Jockeys in the Kentucky Derby* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 2003), 66-71.

<sup>17</sup> Richard Sowers, *The Kentucky Derby, Preakness and Belmont Stakes: A Comprehensive History* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 2014), 43-44.

<sup>18</sup> Silva, 268; ‘Where the Money Went: Figures Regarding the Meeting that Closed Saturday. Two Louisville Stables Head the List of the Winning Owners. “Lonny” Clayton Leaves All the Other Riders Behind in Winning Mounts. A Justifiable Protest from the Bluegrass Against Those Who Derry Domino’s Greatness. Gossip of the Runners,’ *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), October 16, 1893.

<sup>19</sup> ‘The Turf Championship: Henry of Navarre, Clifford, and Domino,’ *Leslie’s Illustrated Weekly*, October 18, 1894, 249. For the importance of Domino among thoroughbreds, see Kent Hollingsworth, *The Kentucky Thoroughbred* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2009), 55-73.

<sup>20</sup> CPI Inflation Calculator, online at <http://www.in2013dollars.com/>; all subsequent references to inflation or 2020 prices use this same tool.

<sup>21</sup> Sowers, 45-46.

<sup>22</sup> Miller, 468.

<sup>23</sup> ‘Jockey Clayton’s Fat Salary,’ *Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 26, 1895; ‘Sporting Notes,’ *Daily Inter Ocean* (Chicago, IL), November 28, 1895; ‘Big Boost for Clayton: A Little Rock Correspondent Makes Him a Hero. The Colored Lightweight Goes to New Orleans to Get in Trim, and an Enthusiastic Admirer Writes a Few Verses—His Home Described,’ *Nashville American*, February 28, 1896.

<sup>24</sup> ‘Jockey Mounts in 1895,’ *Goodwin’s Annual Official Turf Guide for 1895* (New York: Goodwin Bros., 1896), Vol. 2, ccxlvii.

<sup>25</sup> ‘Jockey Mounts in 1897,’ *Goodwin’s Annual Official Turf Guide for 1897* (New York: Goodwin Bros., 1898), Vol. 1, cxx, Vol. 2, ccxliii.

<sup>26</sup> Edward Hotaling, *The Great Black Jockeys: The Lives and Times of the Men Who Dominated America’s First National Sport* (Rocklin, CA: Prima Publishing, 1999), 279. Hotaling also offered mock praise ‘to the obsessed white writers for their thesaural contributions’ (331).

<sup>27</sup> ‘Big Boost for Clayton’; Broad Church (pseud.), ‘New Orleans,’ *The Spirit of the Times and the New York Sportsman*, March 6, 1897.

<sup>28</sup> Silva, 269; ‘An Enterprising Citizen,’ *Star of Zion*, October 22, 1896; ‘Abstract of Title to Lots 7-8 Block 6 North Argenta,’ copy in file of North Little Rock History Commission.

<sup>29</sup> Silva, 272; ‘An Enterprising Citizen,’ *The Freeman* (Indianapolis), October 17, 1896; ‘An Enterprising Citizen,’ *Star of Zion*, October 22, 1896; ‘Doings of Afro-Americans: A Column of Gleanings Culled From Various Sources. A Jockey Saves Money. Kentucky Presents Hon. Albert S. White as a Candidate for the Liberian Mission,’ *Star of Zion*, December 24, 1896; Pulaski Co. Book of Deeds, copy in file of North Little Rock History Commission.

<sup>30</sup> Sowers, 48-49; Silva, 268; ‘Typhoon II: Son of Top Gallant and Dolly Varden, the Derby Winner. Grand Race in Heavy Going Won by a Neck on the Post. Ornament’s Superb Struggle Lands Him Only in Second Place. The Contest for the Blue Ribbon Witnessed by a Brilliant Assemblage. Opening of a Splendid Meeting,’ *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), May 13, 1897; ‘Ornament Wins Again: Captures the Stakes in the Oakley Derby—Close Pressed by Tillo,’ *New York Times*, July 2, 1897; ‘Once More in the Saddle: Lonnie Clayton, One-Time Premier Jockey, in Butte. Will Ride for Hugh Wilson. Colored Boy Who Has Achieved Fame in Racing to Resume His Calling—He Rode Ornament to Victory,’ *Anaconda Standard* (Anaconda, MT), April 5, 1902.

<sup>31</sup> Miller, 462-474.

<sup>32</sup> ‘It Was Dead Easy: Jockey Clayton Tells How Ornament Won the Great Race,’ *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 27, 1897.

<sup>33</sup> Probably a typo, where the newspaper writer was likely referring to Willie Penn, a jockey who later confessed to race fixing. See, for example, ‘Confession of Turf Fraud: Jockey Penn Signs Affidavit Showing Gross Cheating in Running of Steeplechase Events,’ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 7, 1903.

<sup>34</sup> ‘More Entries Demanded: Saratoga’s Association Threatened to Race Only Three Days Each Week. Clayton Made Onaretto Lose. Clifford, Barred in Betting, Won First Race, Hard Held, and Was in Good Form,’ *The World* (New York, NY), July 26, 1895.

<sup>35</sup> ‘Tara! Won the Handicap: It was Not the Horse, but the Rider. But Clifford Could Have Been First Very Early if Properly Ridden—A Most Unsatisfactory Brooklyn Handicap—The Best Horse Beaten by Poor Jockeyship,’ *New-York Tribune*, June 5, 1896.

<sup>36</sup> Harry P. Mawson, ‘How Our Jockeys Ride: Each Has a Way of His Own, and that is Often Eccentric. The Style of Famous Riders Contrasted—Colored Boys Are Born Horsemen, but Not Great Jockeys,’ *Los Angeles Times*, August 31, 1896.

<sup>37</sup> Department of Health of the State of New Jersey, Bureau of Vital Records, Certificate and Record of Death for Henry Frank Van Dyke, filed on January 24, 1917.

<sup>38</sup> *Real Estate Record & Builders Guide*, November 17, 1894, 747.

<sup>39</sup> *Lain & Healy’s Brooklyn Directory for the Year Ending May 1st 1897* (Brooklyn: Lain & Healy, 1896), 123.

<sup>40</sup> Birth certificates of Henry Bolomy [*sic.*] [Jr.], Edmund Boloney [*sic.*], Charles Theodore Bolomy [*sic.*], and Arthur Joseph Belomey [*sic.*]; death certificate for Henry Bolomey [Jr.], all in possession of the author.

<sup>41</sup> *Upington’s General Directory of Brooklyn, New York City, for the Year Ending May 1st 1902* (Brooklyn: George Upington, 1901), 117.

<sup>42</sup> *1900 United States Federal Census* (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2004); *New York, State Census, 1905* (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2014); *1910 United States Federal Census* (Lehi, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2006).

<sup>43</sup> ‘Mrs. Cox’s Missing Ring,’ *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, March 28, 1894.

<sup>44</sup> Minutes of the Police Court, Brooklyn, District #2 (Gates Avenue), April 1894, New York City Municipal Archives. Thanks to Kenneth Cobb, Assistant Commissioner, Department of Records & Information Services, for providing the record.

<sup>45</sup> Morris Park was a horseracing track from 1889 to 1904, hosted the Preakness Stakes in 1890, and was the site of the Belmont Stakes from 1890 to 1904. For more on its history, see Nicholas Di Brino, *The History of the Morris Park Racecourse of Westchester County, Now Bronx County, State of New York: A Brief, But Most Complete and True Account of the History of the Morris Park Racecourse, Also the Genealogical History of the Morris, Hennen, and Allied Families, Until the Time of John A. Morris* (Bronx, NY: Bronx Historical Society, 1977).

<sup>46</sup> See articles in the *Anaconda Standard* (Anaconda, MT), October 15, 1898; *Augusta Chronicle*, October 15, 1898; *Baltimore Sun*, October 15, 1898; *Boston Herald*, October 15, 1898; *Boston Journal*, October 15, 1898; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 15, 1898; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, October 15, 1898; *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), October 15, 1898; *Daily Independent* (Helena, MT), October 15, 1898; *Denver Evening Post*, October 15, 1898; *Detroit Free Press*, October 15, 1898; *Evening Telegram* (New York, NY), October 15, 1898; *Kansas City Star*, October 15, 1898; *Los Angeles Times*, October 15, 1898; *Morning Oregonian* (Portland), October 15, 1898; *Morning Telegraph* (New York, NY), October 15, 1898; *New York Herald*, October 15, 1898; *New York Journal*, October 15, 1898; *New York Press*, October 15, 1898; *New-York Tribune*, October 15, 1898; *The North American* (Philadelphia, PA),

October 15, 1898; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 15, 1898; *Philadelphia Times*, October 15, 1898; *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland), October 15, 1898; *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 15, 1898; *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 15, 1898; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 15, 1898; *The Sun* (New York, NY), October 15, 1898; *Toronto Globe*, October 15, 1898; *Washington Post*, October 15, 1898; *Washington Times*, October 15, 1898; *The World* (New York, NY), October 15, 1898; *Nashville American*, October 16, 1898; *Daily Racing Form*, October 16-17, 1898; *New York Press*, October 17, 1898; and *New York Times*, October 17, 1898.

<sup>47</sup> Hotaling, 265.

<sup>48</sup> Francis Trevelyan, 'Clayton's Ire Was Roused: Colored Jockey Assaulted a Spectator with His Riding Whip,' *New York Journal*, October 15, 1898.

<sup>49</sup> S. B. Weems, 'Jockey Clayton's Vicious Assault: Slashed a Racegoer Over the Face with His Whip. Fined \$200 by the Stewards,' *Morning Telegraph* (New York, NY), October 15, 1898.

<sup>50</sup> 'Judges Picked Golden Days: Chivalrous, However, Won the Race by a Head. Jockey Clayton Uses His Whip. Makes a Ruffianly Assault on a Spectator at Morris Park and Gets Off Easy,' *New York Press*, October 15, 1898.

<sup>51</sup> 'Jockey Hits His Accuser: For Resenting a Spectator's Charge Clayton Is Fined \$200,' *Boston Herald*, October 15, 1898.

<sup>52</sup> 'Notes of the Turf,' *Daily Racing Form*, October 16-17, 1898.

<sup>53</sup> 'Lonnie Clayton: Hit a Spectator Across the Face With His Whip,' *Cincinnati Enquirer*, October 15, 1898.

<sup>54</sup> *Bolomey v. Clayton*, unpublished case file 1218/1900, Record Room, Kings County Clerk's Office, New York State Supreme Court, Kings County, Civil, Brooklyn, NY; hereafter cited as Case file.

<sup>55</sup> 'Verdict Against a Jockey: Must Pay \$1,250 For Striking a Spectator at Morris Park,' *New-York Tribune*, February 25, 1900.

<sup>56</sup> Case file.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> *New York Law Journal*, February 27, 1900, 1712; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, February 27, 1900; *Daily Standard Union* (Brooklyn, NY), February 27, 1900; *New York Herald*, February 27, 1900; *New York Times*, February 27, 1900; *Real Estate Record & Builders Guide*, March 3, 1900, 379.

<sup>59</sup> 'Die Poor: Do Most of the Jockeys, Says Lonnie Clayton. Tod Sloane Blows it in Like a Prince. Some Few are Provident,' *Daily Leader* (Louisville, KY), Feb. 12, 1898.

<sup>60</sup> Katherine C. Mooney, *Race Horse Men: How Slavery and Freedom Were Made at the Racetrack* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 196.

<sup>61</sup> 'Abstract of Title to Lots 7-8 Block 6 North Argenta,' copy in file of North Little Rock History Commission.

<sup>62</sup> 'Warning Order,' *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, February 7, 1900.

<sup>63</sup> Taxes and Judgments for Lots 7-8 Block 6 North Argenta, copy in file of North Little Rock History Commission; 'Circuit Court, Second Division,' *Arkansas Democrat*, April 12, 1900; 'Damage Suit on Trial: It is One of Several Against John M. Gracie. Jury Failed to Agree in Condemnation Suit Against James M. Moore and Was Discharged,' *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, April 12, 1900 – the judgment for Charles Clayton appears right after that article. Unfortunately, in response to a request from the present author, the Supervisor of Records for the Pulaski Circuit/County Clerk was not able to locate the case file.

<sup>64</sup> Taxes and Judgments for Lots 7-8 Block 6 North Argenta, copy in file of North Little Rock History Commission.

<sup>65</sup> North Little Rock History Commission file.

<sup>66</sup> 'Warning Order,' *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, August 7, 1900.

<sup>67</sup> *U.S. City Directories, 1822-1995* (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011).

<sup>68</sup> Taxes and Judgments for Lots 7-8 Block 6 North Argenta, copy in file of North Little Rock History Commission.

<sup>69</sup> Case file.

<sup>70</sup> Charles E. Trevathan, 'No More Negro Riders: Expert Colored Jockeys are Now a Thing of the Past. Once a Potent Factor in Turf Affairs, These Clever Pilots of Racehorses Have Had Their Day and are No Longer Prominent – Conditions Which Bring About the Change – "Texas" Smith's Profitable Season – Taral Will Not Go Abroad,' *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 1, 1900.

<sup>71</sup> 'Engagements of Jockeys,' *Cincinnati Enquirer*, April 23, 1900.

<sup>72</sup> 'Action of Jockey Club Stewards,' *New-York Tribune*, May 20, 1900.

<sup>73</sup> 'Firearm at a Short Price: The Rayon d'Or Gelding Races Home Eight Lengths in Front of Lady Lindsey. Standing a Good 3 Year Old. Defeats Brisk and Knight of the Garter and Becomes a Belmont Possibility,' *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, May 22, 1900.

<sup>74</sup> 'Going Abroad: Ed. Corrigan, the Chicago Turfman, Will Race in England. He Will Take a String of Twelve Throughbreds – Jockey Clayton Will Ride,' *Evening Gazette* (Burlington, IA), May 24, 1900.

<sup>75</sup> Case file.

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> ‘Negro Jockeys Shut Out: Combination of White Riders to Bar Them From the Turf,’ *New York Times*, July 29, 1900.

<sup>79</sup> ‘Abstract of Title to Lots 7-8 Block 6 North Argenta,’ copy in file of North Little Rock History Commission; ‘Local Brevities,’ *Arkansas Democrat*, July 21, 1900; Silva, 270; Bradburn, “The Jockey and the Jeweler”.

<sup>80</sup> ‘Abstract of Title to Lots 7-8 Block 6 North Argenta’; Taxes and Judgments for Lots 7-8 Block 6 North Argenta, copies in file of North Little Rock History Commission.

<sup>81</sup> Pulaski Co. Book of Deeds, copy in file of North Little Rock History Commission.

<sup>82</sup> ‘Jockey Clayton Has Left Turf,’ *Morning Telegraph* (New York, NY), March 15, 1901; ‘Jockey Clayton Now an Albany Boniface: Noted Rider Announces His Permanent Retirement from Turf to Become a Restaurateur,’ *The World* (New York, NY), March 15, 1901.

<sup>83</sup> Pulaski Co. Book of Deeds, copy in file of North Little Rock History Commission; Silva, 272; ‘City Briefs,’ *Arkansas Democrat*, April 19, 1901.

<sup>84</sup> ‘No License for Spencer: Stewards Meet and Act Upon the Names of Certain Jockeys and Trainers,’ *New-York Tribune*, March 21, 1901.

<sup>85</sup> Case file.

<sup>86</sup> ‘Kirke in a State of Mind: Said Things About the Rapid Transit Outfit. Featherstone was in Form,’ *Morning Telegraph* (New York, NY), April 16, 1901.

<sup>87</sup> ‘Jockey Hurt in a Race: Wilkerson, a Promising Rider, Seriously Injured at Aqueduct,’ *New York Times*, April 18, 1901.

<sup>88</sup> ‘Has Body Execution Against Negro Jockey,’ *Evening Telegram* (New York, NY), April 22, 1901; ‘Jockey Clayton’s Trouble,’ *The World* (New York, NY), April 22, 1901; Case file.

<sup>89</sup> ‘State Senators Won Races at Aqueduct: P. H. McCarren and Tim Sullivan Back King Bramble and Neither One Heavily. Clayton is Arrested. Jockey Fails to Settle a Judgment Secured Against Him for an Alleged Assault,’ *The World* (New York, NY), April 23, 1901.

<sup>90</sup> Case file.

<sup>91</sup> ‘Clayton Arrested: Jockey Failed to Pay a Judgment Another Secured Against Him,’ *Arkansas Democrat*, April 29, 1901.

<sup>92</sup> See articles in the *Daily Standard Union* (Brooklyn, NY), April 23, 1901; *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, April 23, 1901; *New York Times*, April 23, 1901; *New-York Tribune*, April 23, 1901; *The Sun* (New York, NY), April 23, 1901; *The World* (New York, NY), April 23, 1901; *The Newtown Register*, April 25, 1901; *The Long Island Farmer*, April 26, 1901; and *Turf, Field and Farm*, April 26, 1901, 397-398.

<sup>93</sup> Case file.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> ‘Jockey Clayton Must Stay in Jail,’ *The Sun* (New York, NY), May 24, 1901; ‘Turf Clatter,’ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 25, 1901; ‘Clayton Remains in Jail,’ *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, May 25, 1901; ‘From the Track and Stable,’ *Detroit Free Press*, May 26, 1901; Case file.

<sup>96</sup> ‘Father has Son Arrested: Elliott Burris Says the Young Man Would Not Work,’ *New-York Tribune*, June 17, 1901; ‘Father Locks His Boy Up: Elliott Burris Says His Son Theodore is a Vagrant. Intends to Keep Him in a Cell Till He Can Ship Him to a Foreign Country – The Boy, Who Is 23 Years Old and Six Feet Tall, Says His Father’s Mind Is Affected – Under Bonds,’ *The Sun* (New York, NY), June 17, 1901; ‘Broker Jails His Son as a Common Vagrant: Young Theodore Burris Says His Father Locked Him Up to Coerce Him to Wed. In Queens Prison With Negro Cellmate. Senior Burris Says He Had Son Arrested Thinking Jail Life Might Reform Him,’ *The World* (New York, NY), June 17, 1901; ‘Rich Broker Jails His Son: Boy Says His Father Locked Him Up to Force Him to Wed. Vagrancy Charge Made. Elder Man Claims He Wants to Reform the Youngster. Odd Case in New York,’ *Pittsburgh Press*, June 18, 1901.

<sup>97</sup> ‘Jail Palace Changes Hands,’ *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, April 23, 1912.

<sup>98</sup> ‘County Jail Turned Over: Was Under Control of Sheriff For Over 229 Years, is Now Under the Jurisdiction of Department of Corrections. The Ceremonies Incidental to Transfer Took Place in the Jail Buildings at Midnight Friday,’ *Daily Star*, June 1, 1912.

<sup>99</sup> Ed Cole, ‘Five Nations Easily Won the Troy Stakes at Saratoga,’ *Morning Telegraph* (New York, NY), August 15, 1901.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Personal communication with James Blain, Deputy Kings County Clerk, January 22, 2019.

- <sup>102</sup> ‘Jockey Mounts in 1898,’ *Goodwin’s Annual Official Turf Guide for 1898* (New York: Goodwin Bros., 1899), Vol. 2, ccxiv.
- <sup>103</sup> ‘Jockey Mounts in 1899,’ *Goodwin’s Annual Official Turf Guide for 1899* (New York: Goodwin Bros., 1900), Vol. 2, clxiv.
- <sup>104</sup> ‘Lonnie Clayton: One of America’s Great Veteran Jockeys, Will Ride in Butte,’ *New Age* (Butte, MT), May 30, 1902.
- <sup>105</sup> ‘Clayton Will Ride Again,’ *Arkansas Democrat*, February 4, 1904.
- <sup>106</sup> ‘Negro Rider on Wane: White Jockeys’ Superior Intelligence Supersedes. Black Boys Once Had a Trust. Only Two Darkies of Note are Now Successfully Competing on American Tracks, Whereas Years Ago They Were More Conspicuous in Numbers and Were Equal to Their White Rivals,’ *Washington Post*, August 20, 1905.
- <sup>107</sup> Pulaski Co. Book of Deeds, copy in file of North Little Rock History Commission; Bradburn, ‘The Jockey and the Jeweler.’
- <sup>108</sup> *1910 United States Federal Census* (Lehi, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2006).
- <sup>109</sup> ‘Negro Jockey’s Wife Had 5th Ave. Gowns: Black Belt Gaped With Envy at Queenie’s Daily Fashion Show. Police Take ‘Em All Away. Husband, Lonnie Clayton, Held for Stealing Clothes From Mme. Allouise,’ *The Sun* (New York, NY), October 27, 1913; ‘Famous Jockey is Arrested For Stealing Swell Gowns,’ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, October 30, 1913.
- <sup>110</sup> *New York, Sing Sing Prison Admission Registers, 1865-1939* (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2014).
- <sup>111</sup> ‘A Rank Imposter: Was Man Who Claimed To Be Lonnie Clayton, the Famous Jockey,’ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, November 12, 1913; ‘Former Jockey Clayton in the West,’ *Daily Racing Form*, November 13, 1913.
- <sup>112</sup> *Henderson’s Greater Vancouver City Directory for 1913* (Vancouver, BC: Henderson Publishing Co., 1913), Part 1, 708. Clayton is not listed in the Vancouver Directory for any years prior, or after, 1913.
- <sup>113</sup> Silva, 273; California State Board of Health, Standard Certificate of Death, Alonzo Clayton, filed on March 20, 1917. His death certificate states that he was a resident of California for three years.
- <sup>114</sup> California State Board of Health, Standard Certificate of Death, Alonzo Clayton, filed on March 20, 1917; ‘Lonnie Clayton Buried: Once Famous Jockey Laid Beneath the Sod,’ *Chicago Defender*, April 7, 1917. The *Chicago Defender* obituary was also picked up by the *Kansas City Star* and the *Kansas City Sun*, both on April 14, 1917. All three incorrectly gave his death date as March 24.
- <sup>115</sup> Rex Nelson, ‘Nov. 18, 2011: Alonzo “Lonnie” Clayton,’ *Arkansas Sports Hall of Fame*, archived online at <https://web.archive.org/web/20160623232834/https://www.arksporthalloffame.com/legends/nov-18-2011-alonzo-lonnie-clayton>.
- <sup>116</sup> ‘Chattels,’ *Real Estate Record & Builders Guide*, February 4, 1899, 235.
- <sup>117</sup> ‘Chattels,’ *Real Estate Record & Builders Guide*, December 30, 1899, 1044.
- <sup>118</sup> ‘Chattel Mortgages,’ *Real Estate Record & Builders Guide*, June 9, 1900, x.
- <sup>119</sup> ‘Bomb Smashes Stores in Downtown District: Two Buildings at Sackett and Van Brunt Streets Damaged This Morning. Saloon Stock is Wrecked. Police Think Deadly Missile Was Exploded by Long Fuse—Eye Witness Says He Saw Man Throw It,’ *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, July 16, 1908.
- <sup>120</sup> Shayna Jacobs, ‘Court Files Go Up in Smoke,’ *Daily News* (New York, NY), March 22, 2015.
- <sup>121</sup> ‘Judgments: July 23,’ *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, July 25, 1917.
- <sup>122</sup> *U.S., World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918* (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2005).
- <sup>123</sup> *1910 United States Federal Census* (Lehi, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2006); *New York, State Census, 1915* (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2012).
- <sup>124</sup> Department of Health of the State of New Jersey, Bureau of Vital Records, Certificate and Record of Death for Henry Frank Van Dyke, filed on January 24, 1917, in possession of the author; Catholic Cemeteries, Roman Catholic Diocese of Brooklyn, Interment record for grave number 181, Range L – Letters, certificate in the name of Peter Noonan, Holy Cross Cemetery, in possession of the author.
- <sup>125</sup> Catholic Cemeteries, Roman Catholic Diocese of Brooklyn, Interment record for grave number 127, Range 10 – St. Michael, certificate in the name of Mary Murphy, Holy Cross Cemetery, in possession of the author.
- <sup>126</sup> Hotaling, 242.
- <sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 265.
- <sup>128</sup> Geoff Strain, ‘Showing the Way: The Early Derbies Were Dominated by Black Jockeys,’ *Los Angeles Times*, May 1, 1993.
- <sup>129</sup> Debra Barbezat and James Hughes, ‘Finding the Lost Jockeys,’ *Historical Methods* 47 (2014): 19-30.
- <sup>130</sup> ‘Negro Jockeys Shut Out: Combination of White Riders to Bar Them From the Turf,’ *New York Times*, July 29, 1900.
- <sup>131</sup> Mooney, 226.



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<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 227.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., 232.

<sup>134</sup> Hotaling, 332.

<sup>135</sup> Mooney, 243.

<sup>136</sup> Hotaling, 284.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 325.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., 325.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 327. For an excellent discussion of horse racing, crime, and gambling, see Stephen A. Riess, *The Sport of Kings and the Kings of Crime: Horse Racing, Politics, and Organized Crime in New York, 1865-1913* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2011), particularly 302-348 for the progressives' efforts.

<sup>140</sup> Riess, 335.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 343.

<sup>142</sup> Hotaling, 327-328.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.339-340.