

**Bicycle Racing and Recreation:
Sport, Technology and Modernity,
1867-1903**

Part Two

[Chapters 8 to 11 and Bibliography]

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Chapter Eight

The internationalization of bicycle racing, 1886 - 1896

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1. Outline: bicycle racing attains status as a global sport

As the preceding chapters have made clear, by the mid-1890s British cycling had a complex past, and there was abundant evidence of a compulsive drive towards technological improvement, organizational systematization and bureaucratic codification within the sport, three characteristics which defined it decisively as a 'modern' sport.¹

Little was left to chance; the rules for competition were systematically spelled out and the races were meticulously documented in the press, and a 'record' of times and distances kept which became the standard by which future performances could be judged. The written 'record' of the sport is surprisingly complete, only its very beginnings (literally a handful of the earliest races – see Chapter 2) are not precisely dateable and identifiable.² 'A complete history of cycle racing would fill a very bulky volume', commented F.T. Bidlake in an 1896 book on cycling. Bidlake gave a brief resume of British championships since the beginnings of the sport:

The first amateur championships of the National Cyclists' Union were held in 1878; prior to that date, the Amateur Athletic Club having organized a four miles' championship from 1871. The Union was then called the Bicycle Union, and its championships were for ordinary bicycles. In 1882 a tricycle championship was added, and in the following year two such events were run; while from 1884 to 1888 inclusive, the set of championships was 1, 5, 25 and 50 miles for ordinaries, and 1, 5 and 25 miles for tricycles. In 1889, the first safety championships were held, and in 1890 they were all won by R.J. Mecredy on the then novel pneumatic tyre, F.J. Osmond securing the complete set of ordinary championships. The ordinary falling into disuse as a racing machine, the ordinary championships were abandoned in 1893, the 1892 races being practically uncontested, and the tricycle events reduced to 1 and 10 miles, and will probably also be abandoned. In 1894 pacing was introduced into the longer events, and the time for the 50 miles' race improved immediately by something like half-an-hour.³

From this summary, it is evident that the British cycling championships had a complex history in the 19th century, and that their development reflected the technological evolution within the sport. As bicycles and tricycles changed, the nature of competition changed, and the different styles of machines and races were tested and validated through an annual championship process (see Fig. 5. 5.). Annual championships existed then, as they still do, to test the top performers in a given sporting discipline, under shared conditions. Bidlake was charting here only the amateur championships, and merely hinted at the ongoing debate

over the definition of amateurism and professionalism which continued to characterize cycling affairs through the 1890s.

One of the most important tasks of the National Cyclists' Union, as expressed in the mid-1890s, was: 'To examine the question of Amateur and Professional Bicycle and Tricycle Racing in general, and to frame definitions and recommend rules on the subject. To arrange for Annual Race Meetings at which the Amateur and Professional Championships of Bicycling and Tricycling shall be decided'.⁴ Nevertheless, writing in 1896, Bidlake thought that the result of this objective had 'not been a success, for at the present day the question of amateurism in cycling is as troublesome as it was when the Union started to examine it'. In another passage in his book, he was critical of the N.C.U.'s attempt to legislate an amateur/professional segregation, asserting that this had had divisive repercussions within the sport and had held back its development. Bidlake complained that:

In the formation of rules for racing the Union has been very zealous, and has spent immense time and trouble in attempting to define an amateur, and to keep the class so defined pure, but the result has been a ludicrous failure, as sham amateurism and veiled professionalism have been rampant more than ever in the past few years, and the sorting process has been carried on in such a way that some of the worst offenders have been untouched, and not a few straight men have been unnecessarily interfered with. Consistency has not been observed throughout the country and a great deal of dissatisfaction has been manifest; in consequence the sport of England has not been encouraged as it might have been. In an endeavour to maintain amateurism, the Union has really degraded it, as many riders do not care to mix with men professionals in all but name, and the social class of amateurs has, taking the average, very seriously deteriorated. Whether the recent revival of professionalism will clear the amateur ranks is at present a debatable question.⁵

As competition intensified in the 1890s, and the bicycle industry played an assertive role in using the sport to test and advertise its products, it was seen as crucial to elaborate a clear and functional definition of what 'amateur' and 'professional' really meant, and yet it was always difficult to do so. While the bicycle industry was capable of supporting an increasing number of full professionals, others, partially sponsored or supported with equipment or expenses, fell into a grey area, and the bureaucrats of the N.C.U., in their zeal to 'defend' amateurism, were most concerned with what many felt was the pernicious intrusion of 'the trade' into amateur sport.

This chapter continues discussion of themes already outlined in Chapters 5 and 7. The speed of cycling's evolution should again be emphasized. It had grown from a naïve set of indoor gymnastic exercises and jarring races over cobbled city streets into a globally popular participant and spectator sport, with a world governing body, in less than twenty-five years. In the following sections, the national and international organization of competition will be examined.

Summary of Chapter 8

Section 2 (National championships, international competition and early 'world championships') examines national and international competition during the expansion of high-wheel racing in the 1880s and the bicycle boom of the 1890s. It describes how international competition was sought out at the elite level of the sport and how the professional class inevitably grew with bicycle industry sponsorship.

Section 3 (Establishment of the International Cyclists' Association in 1892 and the first official World Championships in 1893) looks at the growth of the European and American governing bodies of cycling and examines the foundation of the International Cyclists' Association, the first world governing body of the sport. It describes the staging of the first official World Championships in Chicago in 1893.

Section 4 (World champion: the international career of American sprinter, Arthur Zimmerman) looks at the international career of sprinter, Arthur Zimmerman. It is examined here in some detail as a prominent example of the trend towards professionalism at the elite level of competition, and the complications resulting from the involvement of the bicycle industry in the sport. The tensions within the sport between amateurism and professionalism are illustrated here in the controversial events which surrounded Zimmerman's European visits in the 1890s.

Section 5 (Amateurism, professionalism and licensing schemes) gives details of the brief attempt of the National Cyclists' Union to licence riders, including professionals, but concludes that prevailing economic forces within the sport rendered this scheme unworkable.

Section 6 (The 1896 Olympic Games) situates the first Olympic Games in 1896 within the context of the internationalism in sport described in Sections 2 and 3, and asserts that it was more ambitious than effective in presenting amateur cycling events which were more regularly and successfully staged in the European and American capitals with commercial sponsorship and the support of the bicycle industry.

2. National championships, international competition and early 'world championships'

Professionalism in cycling - racing for cash prizes or for a share of the money put up as a wages - was present, as we have seen, from the earliest velocipede racing, and was similar in nature to other wagered contests such as pedestrianism, pugilism or horse-racing. The early professional scene has already been described in Chapter 4. It was typified, at the most accomplished level, by riders such as James Moore, an English resident of Paris, or South Londoner John Keen, both of whom travelled between London and the English Midlands and featured prominently in 'championship' contests in the 1870s.⁶ Races at the Crystal Palace in South London in 1869 were boosted in the press as 'International Velocipede Races', and the contestants called 'English and Continental Champions'.⁷

Professional racing grew steadily in popularity through the 1870s. Amateur bicycle racing, strongly attached to its athletic club connections through the 1870s and 1880s, continued to emerge alongside the professional sport. These two aspects of the sport were not totally segregated, amateurs and professionals occasionally appearing on the same program, but in general professional events were organized by autonomous, profit-making individual promoters while amateur events were under the jurisdiction of athletic or cycling club organizations, or of the National Cyclists' Union.

Early professional events, held before any official governing body existed, demonstrated the extent of the profitability of the early days of the sport. Promoters needed 'stars' and the habitual winners of important events were identified as 'champions'. Indoor professional races were as likely to be long-distance as short-distance events in the 1870s because this gave the opportunity to create an arena-like atmosphere and longer periods during which to sell tickets. Six Day races, which began in the mid-1870s, were marketed as sensational, super-human endurance events. Huge crowds attended outdoor Six Day races in the English Midlands in 1876.⁸ The strongholds of professional cycling in England included Wolverhampton, Sheffield, Birmingham, Leicester and, inevitably, London. In Edinburgh, Newcastle, Liverpool and Manchester, all areas with a strong working-class tradition, professional racing was also popular. In France, Paris, Lyon and Bordeaux were the most important centres.

Early rivalry between neighbours England and France gave bicycle racing its first international contests. French and English riders vied for the early 'world championships', held from 1870 onwards, in which the English were at first dominant. By 1874, the idea of 'world championship' races appears to have been firmly implanted: the 1 mile event held at the Molineux Grounds, Wolverhampton in April 1874 was referred to variously as the 'world's mile challenge champion cup', 'the race for the championship cup', and the 'course de Championnat du Monde'. Howard's *The Bicycle for 1874* refers to it as a 'One Mile Championship. Open to the World'.⁹ In one of the earliest gesture of trans-Atlantic cycling competition, English professional 'crack' David Stanton made a trip to the United States in 1876, giving encouragement to the embryonic bicycle racing scene there.¹⁰ The trip of Charles Terront, David Stanton, John Keen and William Cann to the United States in 1879, promoted by Harry Etherington, which has been examined in Chapter 4, was an indication of a pattern of international exchanges to come.

In 1882, the American weekly paper *Bicycling World* was prepared to concede that:

England is pre-eminently the home and paradise of bicycle racing, and when American cyclists hear the loud bayings of the celebrated British dog "Brag", we tremble on our pedals with despair, accept with resignation our ignominious inferiority, and complacently congratulate ourselves if we win an occasional and patronizing approval from over the water.¹¹

But by the mid-1880s, British amateur and professional riders crossed the Atlantic to compete at the Springfield Tournaments and in the later-1880s, parties of American riders crossed the Atlantic to make their appearance on the international scene, to compete in England and France, contributing to an intensified level of international competition.

A professional championship was not at first recognized under the auspices of the N.C.U.. Although the attitude of some of the amateur members of the Bicycle Union (later the National Cyclists' Union) towards professionals appears to have been exclusionary, there was also a very evident interest in the abilities of the professionals and a desire to see them perform. Rooted class distinctions were responsible for whatever animosity existed, but a new 'liberal' attitude was apparent within the new sport of cycling and was manifested by the amateur-versus-professional races organized by Gerard Cobb and sanctioned by the Bicycle Union in 1878-79 (as described in Chapter 4). Some amateur riders of the time (particularly those in the North) also perceived the national governing body as hostile to

them, resenting the intrusion of central organization into regional affairs. The N.C.U., however, claimed to want to look after the interests of cyclists of both classes.

A Committee for Promoting Professional Racing was formed, and its Report presented at a Council Meeting of the N.C.U. on 3rd February 1887. The Report concluded that 'the present obscure and unsatisfactory position of professional racing' was due to 'the scarcity of opportunities for racing for money prizes... and the social disabilities under which professionals now exist'. The Committee recommended that 'regulations existing in most clubs excluding professionals be removed wherever possible, and the fact of a man riding for money be not made a bar to his becoming or remaining a member of a club, providing his social position in all other respects be sufficiently satisfactory'. Further recommendations were that a set of rules for governing professional racing be worked out, that professionals should be allowed to be included in teams selected for international representation, and that 'the fact of the N.C.U. not being an exclusive amateur body is not sufficiently known and understood throughout the country; and that it is advisable to procure the assistance of professionals at its deliberations either on the Council or the Executive'.

On the question of amateur versus professional racing, however, which the Executive still supported, they were 'aware of the difficulties surrounding such a suggestion' and thought that such races 'should be an exceptional occurrence, and be under the direct sanction and control of the Union'.¹² By 1894, a motion (proposed by Henry Sturmev) was carried in the N.C.U. Executive that: 'The Union shall hold, or permit to be held, at least one professional championship in each year', as well as an 'open' championship, 'open to all riders licensed by them, without the amateur rider losing his status'.¹³

The French saw things differently, and encouraged professional racing, there being no pressure to separate amateurs from professionals either in track racing or in the early classic road races, where the distinction was more between athletic expectations, between 'coureurs de vitesse' ('speed riders', more likely to be experienced, i.e., professional level) and 'routiers' ('road-men', more likely to be of amateur level). The Union Vélocipédique de France was founded in 1881, and British amateurs could not compete in France without risk to their status upon their return; French riders were not sure of their status when they competed in events in Britain. 'A new complication has

been brought into question by the fact that Frédéric de Civry, titular amateur champion of France, has been over in England racing with our professionals for money prizes', reported the *Wheel World Annual* in 1880.¹⁴

The French openly criticized what they saw as the British obsession with trying to classify bicycle racers. They pointed at what they saw as the hypocrisy of certain N.C.U. officials who were willing to declare that some French and American riders were 'professionals' and therefore ineligible to compete internationally as amateurs, while at the same time turning a blind eye to their own questionable amateurs. In 1892, an unsuccessful attempt was made to create a uniquely amateur body in France, in the face of opposition from the Union Vélocipédique de France, and a *Cycling* editorial reported that English observers had 'assisted in the inauguration of amateur racing in France', and described amateurism in France as being 'in its earliest infancy', and that 'across the Channel the conditions under which cycle racing is carried on are distinctly unfavourable to the growth of true amateurism'.¹⁵ Such attitudes demonstrated clearly the status of amateurism as a moral ideology which it was necessary to construct and define within the sport: 'amateurism' and 'professionalism' were two sides of the same coin, locked into a dialectical struggle.

According to the rules governing most other Amateur Athletic clubs, 'professionals' were specifically denied membership, and the National Cyclists' Union and the League of American Wheelmen had an uncomfortable, ambivalent relationship with them. First, there was the problem of framing definitions to identify exactly who was a professional and who was an amateur. Second, what exactly did the distinction between the two classes mean in practical terms in actual competition? When *could* they compete against each other? Thirdly, what kind of sanctions could be brought to bear on competitors who infringed official regulations? No other single issue was so troublesome for the promoters of early bicycle racing, and the necessity of framing these distinctions led to various licensing and classification schemes and the need to subject riders to intrusive questioning by governing bodies, discussed again later in this chapter. The cause of many disputes in the 1880s and 1890s, growing out of cycling's intimate economic relationship with the bicycle and tyre manufacturers, were the 'maker's amateurs', or unlicensed semi-professionals, who

accepted equipment from manufacturers or expenses from promoters, but held on for as long as possible to their official amateur status.

The concept of a 'world championship' was embryonic at the beginning of the 1870s, a looser idea than twenty years later. Until the International Cyclists' Association's first amateur championships in 1893, there was no officially recognized cycling 'world championship'. The character of unofficial 'world championships' within the sport during this twenty-year period changed considerably. In the early period, a promoter could promote a 'world championship' based on personal challenges addressed by one rider to another, using the term partly as a marketing ploy but also as a *bona fide* recognition of an elite level of competition. In the 1870s and 1880s, most 'world championships' consisted of matches between the leading English riders, or between English and French riders, the American, Belgian and German contenders arriving on the scene later. Thus, on the basis of his many international victories, John Keen was often referred to as 'world champion' in the 1870s.

An alternative way of asserting a claim to the 'world championship' was in terms of world-record time. When, for example, English amateur Sanders Sellers broke the 1 mile amateur world record at a meeting of the Connecticut Bicycle Club in Hartford, Connecticut in September 1884, he was reported in *Outing and The Wheelman*, as having won 'the world's championship'. Sellers and the reigning English professional champion, Richard Howell (then holder of the world professional 1 mile record, in 2m 40 4/5s), were in a party of British visitors to America which also included Robert James, R. Chambers, G.H. Illston and H.W. Gaskell.¹⁶ Amateur Sellers broke Howell's professional record on 9 September, with a ride of 2m 39s. The result of the race 'made the audience almost wild with excitement', and Sellers was 'pronounced the world's champion'. Howell immediately tried to retake his record, but failed.

On 17 September, however, at the Springfield Tournament, American professional John S. Prince was successful in again breaking Howell's professional record, equalling Seller's record, with a ride which created 'a mighty cheer from the 12,000 spectators'. It was reported that 'he had wrested the world's professional championship from Howell in 2m 39s'.¹⁷ In this case, amateurs and professionals competed for the same record at the same race meeting; it was evident that the mile record was what mattered, and that amateurs and

professionals were evenly matched. The athletic quality of these races as ‘world championships’ was unquestionable, and their promotion by the Springfield and Connecticut Bicycle Clubs, two of the most important American clubs, with a sanction from the League of American Wheelmen, gave them prestige and credibility. But what was still lacking to establish their authenticity as ‘world championships’ was official international recognition by a world governing body.

In February 1886, Henry Sturmeý published an editorial in his paper, *The Cyclist*, entitled ‘International Championships’. The English championships, he wrote, no longer had ‘the right to practically claim the title of world’s champion for any of our riders without a contest of the same’, and it was ‘high time systematic arrangements were made for the regulation and holding of world’s championships at truly international meetings’. Sturmeý added that ‘cyclists in other countries have been making rapid progress’, particularly in the United States, Germany, France and Australia, and that ‘until now the supremacy of British limbs and wheels has been undoubted, but as nation after nation increases in proficiency on the cycle, that position must be each year more open to doubt’. He proposed the immediate formation of ‘a federation for the arrangement of an annual series of international contests for the supremacy of the world of wheels’, the contests to circulate annually among the participating nations.¹⁸

The possibility of having the annual Springfield Tournaments recognized as ‘world championships’ evidently appealed to the affluent and well-organized American club, which eagerly took up Sturmeý’s suggestion. In April 1886, the President of the Springfield Bicycle Club, Henry Ducker, wrote to Abbott Bassett, Chairman of the Racing Board of the League of American Wheelmen, promising that:

the Springfield Bicycle Club will do all in its power to assist the N.C.U. and the L.A.W. in uniting upon a plan to establish a recognized championship race of the world. The Springfield Bicycle Club hereby extends to the legislative bodies of the world a cordial invitation to send representatives to the fifth annual meeting of the club to be holden at Springfield, Mass... in the month of September 1886, and there to enter into a friendly competition for the championship of the world on such conditions as may be mutually agreed upon.¹⁹

The Springfield Tournaments, which began in 1882 and continued into the 1890s, have already been discussed in Chapter 6. They were the scene of intense annual competition

between American and British riders on American soil, and were the cause of earnest chauvinistic debate about athletic strength and speed, and the measurement of distance and the timing of record events. The organizers of these prominent annual races had already asserted their status as early as 1884 as an 'International Tournament' (see Fig. 8. 1.) and proudly announced a 1 mile race as a 'Grand Race for the World's Championship!' (see Fig. 8. 2.) in spite of the fact that competitors were drawn almost exclusively from the English-speaking countries and did not attract French or German cyclists. In the absence of a world governing body, however, this attempt to designate the Springfield Tournaments as a formal 'world championship' did not succeed and the history of international racing in the late 1880s and early 1890s showed that the National Cyclists' Union championships continued to be accepted widely as being the most international, with a surprisingly large number of foreign riders winning various British championships between 1887 and 1896.²⁰ Geographical distance certainly did not strengthen the case for the promotion of a world championship held in the United States.

It is important to recognize the expansion and the growing internationalization of the European and American sport in the mid and later 1880s. The following Table 8.A gives a chronology of the establishment of the national governing bodies of bicycle racing and touring as a recreational activity) and pinpoints the initial expansion of cycling organizations in the first half of the 1880s, the apogee of high-wheel development:

1878	England	Bicycle Union
1878	England	Bicycle Touring Club (renamed Cyclists' Touring Club)
1880	United States	League of American Wheelmen
1880	France	Union Vélocipédique de France
1881	Denmark	Dansk Cycklie Club
1882	Germany Bund	Deutsche und Deutsch-Österreichische Velocipedisten
	(including Austria)	
1882	Ireland	Irish Cyclists' Association
1882	Canada	Canadian Wheelmen's Association
1882	Australia	Australian Cyclists' Union
1883	Holland	Het Nederlandsche Velocipedisten Bond (renamed 1884 as Algemene Nederlandsche Wielrijder Bond) ²¹

1883	Switzerland	Schweizerische Radfahrer Bund
1883	Belgium	Fédération Vélocipédique Belge
1883	Bohemia	Bohemian Cyclists' Union
1883	England	National Cyclists' Union (renaming of Bicycle Union)
1884	Germany	Deutsche Radfahrer Bund
1884	Russia	(?Exact name of Russian federation uncertain)
1885	Italy	Unione Velocipedistica Italiana
1888	England	Road Records Association
1888/89	Scotland	Scottish Cyclists' Union
1890	France	Touring-Club de France

[Table 8.A: showing the dates of the foundation of national bodies concerned with the oversight of bicycle racing and touring.]²²

The comparative chronological place of the foundation of national cycling bodies in four countries, by way of comparison with the establishment of governing bodies in other sports, is shown in the following Table 8.B:

	Britain	United States	Germany	Russia
Association Football	1863		1900	1912
Swimming	1869	1878	1887	
Cycling	1878	1880	1884	1884
Rowing	1879	1872	1883	1898
Ice skating	1879	1888	1888	1889?
Athletics	1880	1888	1898	1911
Lawn tennis	1886	1881	1902	1907
Skiing	1903	1904	1904	1910
Olympic Committees	1905	1906?	1906?	1911

[Table 8.B: showing the dates of foundation of national bodies overseeing various sports in four countries.]²³

The question of who should represent substantial populations of athletes in those areas of central Europe with divided, or ambiguous, national identities, became a crucial one, particularly within the Austro-Hungarian empire. Exactly what constituted Germany, for example? Should Austria be included, and where did German-speaking Sudetan Bohemia belong? How should multi-ethnic Switzerland be represented? Amid talk of 'world' championships, regional cycling championships offered a more practical arrangement (although entitlement to participation was problematic). Thus, in 1885, a 'Nordic championship' took place in Copenhagen and in 1892 and 1893 a Sokol association in Zagreb held a 'Championship of the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia'. At a more prominent level, in 1886 the Deutsche Radfahrer Bund held the first 'European championship' in Berlin, when the Viennese newspaper, *Allgemeine Sport Zeitung*, expressed support for the concept of a united, multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic 'Mitteleuropa', and from 1894 the promotion of a 'European championship' or a 'Grand Prix of Europe' continued to be a prominent part of the professional European track-racing season, contested as an alternative and rival to official 'world championships'.²⁴ French athletic pride was asserted here against what the Europeans tended to see as the hegemony of the English-speaking cycling governing bodies.

The national cycling organizations created, in the examples discussed here, were not only bodies which united enthusiasts of the bicycle, but were also manifestations of deeply-rooted class, ethnic and national tendencies and aspirations, and international sport events (particularly championships and professional 'matches') might carry heavily-laden symbolic meaning for both the athletes and spectators. Nowhere was this truer than in the emotionally charged environment of the velodrome, a confined space where nation was pitted against nation through the proxy of national athletes, and sport gave expression to (and might be an instigator of) national rivalries. In his three European tours, in 1892, 1893 and 1894, for example, Zimmerman was always, first and foremost, the 'American' champion, and the fact that he had won British championships in 1892 was seen as especially challenging and provocative. In the case of the sprint contests between French champion Edmond Jacquelin and African-American champion Major Taylor in Paris in 1901, which attracted extraordinary crowds of spectators, national rivalry was intensified by the unique racial component of the competition.²⁵ A 'match' between two or three riders from different countries and backgrounds, and with contrasting personalities, was a formula more likely to

be a successful promotion and allowed the purely athletic rivalry to be embellished and exaggerated in the press.

As cycling on the pneumatic 'safety' became an accepted part of everyday life from the early 1890s, the sheer numbers of cyclists, as Bonini has asserted, became 'a factor of international visibility and social recognition', a significant social and political force. Competitive sport was a specialized aspect of a wide and deep recreational and social phenomenon, which is explored in more depth in Chapter 9. Major European cities such as London, Vienna, Berlin, Rome, Paris, Stockholm, Prague, Frankfurt, Bordeaux and Milan all had more than 100,000 cyclists, but the smaller towns were also caught up in the cycling fever. The same was true in America. Bonini calculates that 'at least 2 million members were affiliated with European clubs, 1 million in Britain alone'.²⁶ The paid up total membership of the National Cyclists' Union in 1897 was about 314,000, with 885 affiliated clubs (10,000 in London alone, from 173 clubs), while membership the Cyclists' Touring Club in the same year was 44,5000, figures which do not include those cyclists who preferred not to join a club.²⁷ Membership in a local club, which was frequently affiliated to a national federation, had significant overtones of citizenship, nationalism and patriotism, and sporting events which gathered together large crowds of spectators could take on added social and political resonance as demonstrations of civic, regional and national identity.

By the late 1880s, as the sport expanded and track facilities improved, racing on the high-wheel bicycle was entering its brief point of climax before it was outmoded by the arrival of the 'safety' bicycle and the pneumatic tyre and was becoming a more international sport, with ambitiously promoted race meetings, and foreign riders used as a marketing incentive. The creation of better organized bicycle racing within national governing bodies, together with the increased international competition at the elite level noted below, was accompanied by a third tendency, the more systematic and successful promotion of competition within the professional ranks, and the growing numbers of professionals made possible by industry sponsorship.

At the end of 1887, *The Cyclist* wrote of 'a strong and decided revival of professionalism' and later expressed the view that 'the chief interest in racing this year will centre upon that amongst professionals... On all sides, we find professionalism taking a decided advance'.²⁸

By 1893, international professionalism had advanced to the extent that the Palmer Tyre company, of Birmingham, England, was able to advertise its sponsorship of cyclists in England, America, Canada and South Africa (see Fig. 8. 3.) The following Table 8.C lists some of the large number of meetings which were promoted in 1888 as ‘international’:

10 April 1888	‘International Race’ between Richard Howell (GB) and W.A. Rowe (USA) at Leicester. ²⁹
10 May 1888	Munich International Tournament.
13-17 May 1888	Bohemian Championships, Prague.
21-23 May 1888	<i>Sport and Play</i> International Cycling Tournament, Birmingham.
June 1888	‘Great International Races’, Berlin.
June 1888	Glasgow International Exhibition ‘Grand Amateur Athletic and Cycling Meeting’.
6-8 Aug.	‘England versus the World’, Grand International Cycling Tournament.
11-12 Aug. 1888	National and International Two Day’s Meeting, Scheveningen, Holland.
26-27 Aug. 1888	‘Great Race Meeting’, Berlin.
Sept. 1888	Buffalo International Tournament, United States. Hartford International Tournament, United States.

[Table 8.C: showing representative ‘international’ cycling events promoted in 1888.]³⁰

The promotional benefits resulting from well-choreographed and publicized international exchanges could be seen in the visit of a team of American professional riders to England in 1887/88. W.J. Morgan (often referred to as ‘Senator’ Morgan) brought W.M. Woodside (Philadelphia) and Ralph Temple (Chicago) to compete against R.H. English (North Shields), Jack Lee (Clay Cross), Richard Howell (Coventry), A.H. Robb (Birmingham), Jules Dubois (France) and Charles Terront (France). Indoor races were promoted throughout the winter of 1887-88 in various locations (the Agricultural Hall, Waverley Market, Edinburgh; St. George’s Drill Hall, Newcastle; Bingley Hall, Birmingham), reminiscent in many respects of the kind of sensation-seeking sports events described in Harry Etherington’s promotions of 1878 – 1880 (see Chapter 4). Show business elements were emphasized in a series of three ‘Cowboys versus Cyclists’ events in London and

Birmingham, where Howell, Woodside and Terront raced against 'cowboys' on horseback in a 'six day's race, eight hours per day'; the race 'went on day by day, enlivened by a programme of matches and trick-riding'.³¹ But serious racing was mixed with this show business entertainment. Thomas Battensby, backed by the manager of the Newcastle branch of the Rudge Cycle Co., issued a challenge to 'any member' of the American team to ride 'for six days, eight hours a day'.³² At the same time as the American team was visiting England, there was heated match competition for professional honours between champions Howell and 'Billy' Wood (North Shields), who rode competing makes of bicycles, Howell on a Rudge and Wood on a Premier,³³ and between Howell and recently arrived American professional W.A. Rowe (Lynn, Massachusetts), who contested three matches over 5 miles at Leicester, 1 mile at Wolverhampton and 10 miles at Coventry.³⁴ Rowe and Wood were also matched at Jarrow-on-Tyne.³⁵ At the same time as Britain and the United States were staging these international events, international meetings on continental Europe, in Berlin, Vienna and Dresden, were becoming a routine occurrence.

3. Establishment of the International Cyclists' Association in 1892 and the first official World Championships in 1893

Thus, there was a widespread awareness among those involved in international bicycle racing in the late 1880s and early 1890s of the difficulties of defining and carrying out a satisfactory 'world championship'.

The British and Americans were active and energetic rivals - they squabbled about accurate measurement of time and distance and they challenged each other's claims to world records, but they did not disagree about the basic organizational principles of bicycle racing. British and French amateurs, however, did not routinely compete against each other because they did not agree on the definition of 'amateur'. The European nations, Germany, Austria, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland and Italy, were inclined for practical reasons to think in terms of a 'European championship', and yet the often-vaunted 'superiority' of the British needed to be contested. A definitive world championship was hard to promote because rival nations were separated by distance and it was difficult to assemble all the best competitors in one place, at one time. But, above all, it was the absence of a world governing body, a federation of participating nations, which precluded international agreement about a structure for world championships.

According to cycling historians René Jacobs and Hector Mahau, the Secretary of the Unione Velocipedistica Italiana, Gustave Brignone, made an attempt to create an international body in Turin in May 1890, which was closely followed by another attempt by the President of the Deutsche Radfahrer Bund in June of the same year. In April 1892, the Union Vélocipédique Suisse issued invitations to an international congress in Berne, but also without success.³⁶

British intentions were perhaps ultimately more dynamic, or the National Cyclists' Union's organizational reach and influence more developed, than these continental initiatives, and the most active instigator within this urge to create an official world governing body for cycling appears to have been Henry Sturmey, editor of *The Cyclist* and a powerful figure within the National Cyclists' Union, though the equally influential George Lacy Hillier was also involved at the committee stage and in framing the draft rules.³⁷ These rules were drawn up and circulated to all the active national cycling bodies, and a convention called for

November 1892, in London, during the important Stanley Show, the annual trade event at which manufacturers presented their new season's products. Delegates from England, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Ireland, Belgium, Canada and the United States were present, and the Canadian delegate, Dr. Doolittle, elected Chairman.³⁸

The meeting had two inter-related objectives, to 'institute a universally recognized series of world championships', and to create an organization which would 'tend towards the establishing of a common amateur definition'. The first task was easily accomplished. Sturmev moved that: 'In the opinion of this meeting it is desirable to combine for the purpose of holding organized championships of the world', and the motion was carried unanimously.³⁹ Amateur championships would be held in 1893 in the United States under the auspices of the League of American Wheelmen, whose powerful chairman, Howard E. Raymond, was appointed the first President of the organization. The championships would coincide with the Chicago World Fair, with medals given for races of 1 mile, 10 kms and 100 kms paced. The second task, to agree on a common definition of amateurism, was more problematic. Officially, the French amateur sport was represented at the convention by the Union des Sociétés Françaises de Sports Athlétiques, even though the Union Vélocipédique de France was the acknowledged governing body of French cycling. This was because the U.V.F. continued to pursue an independent course, flouting British/ American definitions of amateurism by allowing all riders to compete together for cash, and resisting English attempts to segregate a 'pure' amateur class. Chairman Doolittle ruled that the three U.V.F. representatives present could be heard, but could not vote. The U.V.F. was essentially told that it needed to fall into line with its definition of amateurism before it could become a full member of the new international organization.

The successful formation of the International Cyclists' Association in London was not an entirely original initiative, therefore, but an assertion of the dominant British and American ideal of segregated amateurism in sport - a power play from within the National Cyclists' Union and the League of American Wheelmen to gain wider recognition for that ideal on an international basis, and to steer the recalcitrant French and Italians towards amateur/professional segregation. The possibility of 'open' championships was rejected, and the

professionals at first left to occupy an ambivalent position *outside* the world governing body.

The first clause of its initial set of bye-laws declared that, 'The International Cyclists' Association of the recognized governing bodies of Amateur cycling sport throughout the world is formed expressly and solely for the holding of the "Amateur Cycling Championships of the World", and for the proper conduct and carrying out thereof'. The definition of amateurism accepted by the I.C.A. was strictly that framed and used by the National Cyclists' Union since its creation in 1878 (then called the Bicycle Union), and stated that:

An amateur is one who has never engaged in, nor assisted in, nor taught any athletic exercise for money, or other remuneration, nor knowingly competed with or against a professional for a prize of any description, or in public (except at a meeting specially sanctioned in writing by the Union of the country in which he resides), or who is recognized as an amateur by the ruling body of his country.

The championships would rotate from country to country; the prizes would be gold medals; significantly, national unions could pay the expenses of their amateur riders; all races were to be on the track and recognized the disciplines of sprinting, middle- and long-distance riding, but no road races were planned or recognized.

An editorial in *The Scottish Cyclist* by J.R.Nisbet, who was at the convention in London, commented that:

For long the championships of the National Cyclists' Union have been regarded by all nations as World's Championships, though the N.C.U. never claimed to so entitle them. They were open to all who complied to the N.C.U. definition of an amateur, and riders of various nationalities have taken part in them. It is creditable to the N.C.U. that, though possessing the distinction of holding what were recognized as the championships of the world, it took the initiative of instituting an organization by means of which other countries would share, as they deserved to, in the honour.⁴⁰

Another editorial in *Cycling* thought that the new International Cyclists' Association was 'a most important progressive move' and would 'give such a fillip to the sport as it has never had before, and will go far towards breaking down the anomalies of our present amateur definition'. *Cycling* welcomed the decision to pay the expenses of amateur competitors in the championships.⁴¹

The 1893 Championships were in Chicago (won by Zimmerman – see below and Section 4), and those in 1894 in Antwerp were contested on a brand-new track, purpose-built for the occasion.⁴² In spite of the initial rejection of professionalism, professional championships were inaugurated in 1895, when a professional sprint race and a 100 kms paced event were held in Cologne. Thus were formal championships inaugurated.

If there was optimism among the British and Americans about these first formal World Championships, however, the French were unenthusiastic. In an editorial revealingly entitled “Paris versus Chicago” in the Paris paper, *La Bicyclette*, Paul Hamelle protested strenuously about ‘the menacing, grimacing, ugly question of amateurism... which blocks all of the pathways of cycling. This latest manifestation of its vitality is a real as well as an underhanded declaration of war on our country’. The I.C.A. conference in London was a ‘comedy’ from which France, ‘one of the three most important sporting nations in Europe’ had been excluded. It showed hostility towards France, which for a long time had had to put up with the prejudices and ‘tyrannical pretensions of their Majesties, the National Cyclists’ Union’.⁴³

European unwillingness to accept the *fait accompli* of the I.C.A.’s World Championships was demonstrated when an amateur road race between Paris and Brussels was promoted by *La Bicyclette* with the endorsement of Leopold II, the Belgian King. The race was staged in August 1893, together with a ‘Grand Prix International’ as part of a series of ‘Grandes Fêtes’ at the Brussels Velodrome, and was timed to take place at precisely the same time as the I.C.A.- sponsored World Championships in Chicago, which did not feature French riders. A report of the Paris - Brussels road race from its sponsor, *La Bicyclette*, spoke of the love of cycling as a sport which had united the French and Belgian peoples; it thought the race ‘had done more for the good relations between the two countries than all of the best efforts of twenty diplomats’. The success of the race showed that France’s evident strength in professional cycling had not drained away the energy of its ‘jeunesse sportive’, and that French amateurism, too, was ready ‘to take the place of honour in international sport which is its rightful due’.

This snub to the British-American World Championships was a blatant assertion of European pride and independence – the French simply would not participate in the British/American party.⁴⁴

The first official amateur World Championships were held in Chicago in 1893. The Chicago organizers advertised the races in terms of ‘America versus The World!’ (see Fig. 8. 4.). The National Cyclists’ Union, instigators of the World Championships, did not send any British contestants because of ‘the inability of the English association to secure the requisite amount of funds necessary to defray the expense’, as the *New York Times* put it. Ironically, having pushed for these Championships, the British found themselves priced out of the international market. The League of American Wheelmen, however, presided over a successful six-day event, at which American national, as well as the ‘International Championships’ were decided. A party of more than a hundred cyclists from New York and New England left for Chicago on a special train and a crowd of fully 8,000 persons enjoyed the ‘hotly-contested events’ on the final day. Controversial star, Arthur Zimmerman, took the 1 mile sprint and the 10 km race, while a South African, L.S. Meintjes, won the 100 kms title, validating the event as truly international.⁴⁵

But the holding of the World Championships did not, of course, resolve questions about cycling supremacy. The entry list was ‘the largest ever known for any bicycle meet in this country, and includes all the prominent racing men from the various States of America, while but few entries are in from foreign countries’.⁴⁶ After Chicago, there was dissatisfaction on both sides of the Atlantic, from American critics because the English had not come, from the English that the races had, in effect, been a walk-over for the Americans. Subsequent Championships were held in Antwerp (1894), Cologne (1895), Copenhagen (1896), Glasgow (1897) and Vienna (1898) before returning across the Atlantic to Montreal (1899), a geographical reach which emphasizes their international character, and Championship winners were typically drawn from the dominant cycling nations (see Table 8. D. below):

Date	Place	Event	Winners and Nationalities
1893	Chicago	Am. Sprint Am. 100 kms	Arthur Zimmerman (USA) L.S. Meintjes (South Africa)
1894	Antwerp	Am. Sprint	August Lehr (Germany)

1895	Cologne	Am. 100 kms	Wilhelm Henie (Norway)
		Am. Sprint	Jaap Eden (Holland)
		Am. 100 kms	J. Cordang (Holland)
		Prof. Sprint	R. Protin (Fr.)/G. Banker (USA) -
		contested	
1896	Copenhagen	Prof. 100 kms	J. Michael (England)
		Am. Sprint	Harry Reynolds (Ireland)
		Am. 100 kms	M. Ponscarne (Fr.)
		Prof. Sprint	P. Bourrillon (Fr.)
1897	Glasgow	Prof. 100 kms	A.A. Chase (England)
		Am. Sprint	E. Schaefer (Denmark)
		Am. 100 kms	E. Gould (England)
		Prof. Sprint	W. Arend (Germany)
1898	Vienna	Prof. 100 kms	J.W. Stocks (England)
		Am. Sprint	Paul Albert (Germany)
		Am. 100 kms	A.J. Cherry (England)
		Prof. Sprint	George Banker (USA)
1899	Montreal	Prof. 100 kms	R. Palmer (England)
		Am. Sprint	Tom Summersgill (Great Britain)
		Am. 100 kms	John Nelson (USA)
		Prof. Sprint	Major Taylor (USA)
1900	Paris	Prof. 100 kms	H. Gibson (Great Britain)
		Am. Sprint	A. Didier-Nauts (Fr.)
		Am 100 kms	L. Bastien (F)
		Prof. Sprint	Edmond Jacquelin (Fr)
		Prof. 100 kms	Constant Huret (Fr.)

[Table 8. D., showing dates, locations, events and winners of official amateur and professional World Championships from 1893 to 1900, sponsored by the International Cyclists' Association. There were no professional Championships in 1893 and 1894.]

For the usual reasons of distance and expense, there were no American entries for the 1894 championships in Antwerp or the 1897 championships in Glasgow, which, said *Spalding's Official Bicycle Guide*, 'is the only excuse offered for not having the world's championship medals in this country at the present time'. But *Spalding's* hinted at the stimulus created by the existence of annual, official World Championships when it said of the future 1898 Vienna championship date that 'already preparations are being made to send a large and representative American team abroad to battle for the world's championship honors'.⁴⁷ The criticism of lack of competition was also directed at Major Taylor, when he became World 1 mile Professional Champion in Montreal in 1899. A number of writers complained that the best of the European riders had simply not been there to challenge him, and that he was, therefore, a less than worthy world champion. It was partly for this reason that Major

Taylor's 1901 European matches were such an attraction to spectators, because the European champions who had not been in Montreal in 1899 were eager to measure themselves against him.⁴⁸

Following the successful 1893 amateur Championships, there was a strong movement, typified by the 'turning' of Zimmerman and other American riders, attracted by the money newly available in professional racing, and perhaps frustrated with the arbitrary bureaucracy within the British and American governing bodies, to accept professionalism on the French model, and the 1894 season in Europe, in Paris especially, was full of big professional matches on the track and the energetic sponsorship of road racing which has been examined in the previous chapter. Even the N.C.U. agreed to try to take the professionals under its wing by introducing a licensing scheme.

The accelerated acceptance by riders and the general public, the understanding that organized professionalism would inevitably be accepted as a permanent component of the sport, appears to have been what caused I.C.A. officials to vote for the first official professional World Championships in Cologne in 1895, where Robert Protin (Belgium) and George Banker (U.S.A.) became enmired in a series of appeals following a muddled championship, the results of which were never properly disentangled.⁴⁹ By the beginning of the 1897 season, the National Cyclists' Union's *Review and Official Record* reported that: 'the most prominent feature in...the racing side of the Union's work in 1896 was the great boom in professional racing...About 300 riders were licensed by the N.C.U., and the establishment of a healthy class of professional racing is bound to have a good effect on the amateur side of the sport'.⁵⁰

The formation of the International Cyclists' Association could not, of course, solve the logistical problems of actually bringing national champions together. Just as the Europeans had been absent from Chicago in 1893, so the Americans were absent from Antwerp in 1894, leading to a comment from the New York paper, *The Wheel*, that 'it was not a world's championship because America was not represented. It is now certain that there is only one world's champion, and he is elected by public opinion. The champion of the world is Zimmerman'. The British weekly *Wheeling* was incensed: 'When these events were held on American soil, they were lauded to the skies... When they were transferred to Europe,

ridicule and contempt were heaped on them... The ambition to establish real world's championships is a great and a laudable one, but we fear that it can never be realized'.⁵¹

Far from resolving all questions of superiority within international cycling, the new I.C.A. championships became yet another occasion (albeit an 'official' one) when top competitors could challenge each other, and yet another occasion when national idiosyncrasies and the fairness of judging and timing could be debated in the press. Skirmishing for bureaucratic power within the international sphere continued, as particularly the French continued to resent and resist the I.C.A. as a British-dominated body. 'At present the International Cyclists' Association seems to be little more than a nice little family party', alleged a columnist in *Bicycling News* in 1896, an accusation which brought a stinging response from Henry Sturmey, the N.C.U.'s representative on the I.C.A.:

The International Cyclists Association is a federation of every recognized cycling Union in Europe, America and Africa, the countries forming the federation being America, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, England, France, Germany, Holland, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Scotland, South Africa and Switzerland. Each one of the Unions governing cycle sport, both amateur and professional, in these countries has formally decided upon joining, and applied for and been elected to membership.⁵²

But Sturmey's protestations did not calm the suspicions among the European countries, particularly the French, Italians, Germans and Austrians (Holland and Denmark appear to have accepted the I.C.A. more easily) that the management of the International Cyclists' Association by the influential English figure (it was in effect run from within the National Cyclists' Union) was 'tyrannical, despotic and harmful'.⁵³ As Gherardo Bonini makes clear in an article on national identity in early cycling, the collapse of the I.C.A. in 1900 was brought about by an alliance between the French, the Germans and a new American national professional organization (the National Cyclists' Association), and resulted in the creation of a new, French-dominated organization, the Union Cycliste Internationale, which still governs the sport today.⁵⁴

The decline of the influence of the British-dominated I.C.A. was also brought about by the reluctance of the amateur-orientated, conservative personnel (principally Sturmey and Hillier) to move with the times, to recognize the strength of the professional sport in continental Europe and the power which resided with track owners and the commercial

sponsorship of the sport.⁵⁵ Ultimately, the vibrant professional, continental cycling sport which exists today can be viewed as a historical victory for the professional sport and for massed-start road racing over the segregated amateurism preferred and espoused by the first International Cycling Association in the mid-1890s, and the resistance to road racing made official policy by the National Cyclists' Union.

4. World champion: the international career of American sprinter, Arthur Zimmerman

Of the many important cycling careers well documented in the 1890s, that of Arthur Augustus Zimmerman (1869-1936) was one of the most prominent and meteoric and certainly expressive of the sporting preoccupations and controversies at the highest level of the sport at the time (see Fig. 8. 5.). Zimmerman's active racing career lasted only from 1889 to about 1896, but this was a period of intense change within the sport and his winning of the first amateur World Championship title in 1893 gives the opportunity for a brief examination of the career of an international cycling star of the period, particularly as it touches the prevailing definition of amateurism and the rising surge of professionalism within cycling in the mid-1890s, subjects which are among the themes discussed in this chapter.

Zimmerman began his cycling exploits as an amateur on the high-wheel bicycle, and his outstanding initial successes led to national champion status, world records and international professional stardom. His athletic qualities and status were highly rated at the time: in 1893 *Wheelmen's Gazette* called him 'the greatest cycle racer of the time'; *The Wheel* said that he occupied 'the most exalted position ever held by an athlete', and writer Gregory Bowden later called him 'one of the most extraordinary superstars of the sport the world has known'.⁵⁶ His sponsorship arrangements as a professional with two of the largest bicycle manufacturing companies, Raleigh and Dunlop, was typical of the inter-connectedness of sport and commerce in bicycle racing in the 1890s.

Zimmerman was born in Camden, New Jersey, the son of a wealthy real-estate owner, and as a teenager was headed towards business and the law. From an early age, however, he 'showed great proficiency in athletic sports', winning prizes in running and jumping.⁵⁷ In 1889, he began to ride the high-wheel bicycle, his chosen machine being the solid-tyred 'Star' high-wheeler, driven by an unusual lever action, and by the end of the 1890 season, as a member of the New Jersey Athletic Club and Freehold Cyclers, he had won 45 first prizes, including a victory over Willie Windle, the reigning American sprint champion. For the 1891 season, as a member of the New York Athletic Club, Zimmerman made the transition from the high bicycle to the newly introduced pneumatic 'safety' bicycle, and by the end of

the season had amassed 52 first places, won the League of American Wheelmen national ½ mile championship and established several short-distance world records.

Early in 1892, Zimmerman announced his intention of racing in England and an invitation was extended to him by George Lacy Hillier to become a member of Hillier's own club, the newly formed London County Cycling and Athletic Club, and to train at Herne Hill track in South London, of which Hillier was the director. As soon as he arrived in England, Zimmerman was invited to Nottingham and presented with a state-of-the-art lightweight Raleigh bicycle and other material support by Frank Bowden, the Chairman of the large and prosperous Raleigh company, whose bicycles already held many national and international championships and records. Zimmerman had already begun to ride a Raleigh in America that year, and although his amateur status had been questioned by the League of American Wheelmen, the League's 'Class B' amateur rules did in fact allow him to accept a certain amount of material assistance. 'One of the main reasons for the tremendous demand for Raleigh bicycles in the 1890s was that they were so very successful in racing all over the world', asserts a history of the company:

This was yet another aspect of Frank Bowden's business genius; from the moment he became chairman of the firm, he began to approach leading cycle champions of every nationality and encourage them to race on Raleighs. The combination of his infectious enthusiasm and the excellence of his machines proved irresistible and by 1892 Raleigh was leading the world in cycle sport successes'.⁵⁸

In the early stages of his training in England, Zimmerman 'was winning golden opinions everywhere by his unassuming manners, and the good tempered way in which he bore defeat with the same quiet smile as when afterwards victorious'.⁵⁹ His amateur status, however, was questioned by *British Sport*, which, 'without mincing its words about the matter, plainly demands that the N.C.U. should make inquiry into Zimmerman's financial resources.... In justice to the English riders, it should be ascertained who pays the piper for the Yankee'.⁶⁰ The situation was confused by the existence of the League of American Wheelmen's two-tier amateur class, 'Class A' and 'Class B', where 'Class B' amateurs could accept certain expenses from promoters and some equipment from makers, and by the fact that Zimmerman had indeed been disqualified by the L.A.W. for a 'technical violation of the Amateur rule' and then reinstated. A letter attesting to his amateur status was sent to the N.C.U. by the L.A.W. and read in Committee.⁶¹

As a member of the London County C. and A.C., and a registered L.A.W. amateur, Zimmerman was eligible to compete in all four of the English amateur national championships. In the 25 mile race, 'he fell through the crowded condition of the track', but in the 1 mile and the 5 mile, he 'made common hacks of the best in England', while in the 50 mile race he beat Frank Shorland, one of England's best distance riders.⁶² Zimmerman's performances in the two short-distance races in Leeds, reported the *Irish Cyclist*, marked him as 'a champion of champions...we never saw a man sprint as Zimmerman sprints, and sweep by men with such supreme ease..His pluck and quiet determination have excited our liveliest admiration from the first...In Zimmerman, the Americans really have a rider to be proud of, one possessing the best qualities of a MAN first and of a racing crack afterwards'.⁶³

Zimmerman's relationship with Raleigh made him, in effect, the most prominent – and conspicuous - of that controversial category of semi-professional cyclists, the 'maker's amateurs'. As an amateur, he was not supposed to be fully sponsored by a manufacturer. Bowden, of course, must have known this, as must Lacy Hillier, whose own club's promotions profited from the large gates which Zimmerman's presence generated. As an aggressive proponent of amateurism, Lacy Hillier had created a conflict of interest situation, in which his own club benefitted from the attractions of the questionably 'amateur' star.

The 1892 European tour was a pronounced a resounding success. Zimmerman did not meet F.J. Osmond, England's best long-distance rider, but there was good sportsmanship on all sides, and Zimmerman was a popular star. The *American Cyclist* thought that 'nothing could have been more graceful than the Englishmen's acknowledgement of the American representative's prowess'.⁶⁴ *Wheeling* concluded that – 'There is probably no man racing in England today more popular personally than Zimmerman'.⁶⁵

Zimmerman's victories in the English championships made him an even greater celebrity in the United States, where the press was effusive with its patriotism. 'The American champion's visit to England excited greater attention and interest than any previous happening in the history of all cycledom', reported *The American Cyclist*:

He went abroad to meet the English racing men solely from motives of personal curiosity and pleasure. He did not in any sense posture as a representative of America against England. But nothing on the face of the earth could have

prevented the international aspect of the events in which he competed while on the other side. All American wheelmen have expanded with pride over Zimmerman's success with the English. They have appropriated everything connected therewith and have made Zimmerman's personal cause a cause of America *versus* England. The American eagle has flapped his wings and screamed himself hoarse. The champion was received back with such an ovation as was never before accorded to any living cyclist.⁶⁶

At home, Zimmerman broke a world record at the Springfield Tournament, for which he won a carriage and a pair of horses worth \$1,000, and took the New York state championship. The sum total of his 1892 season was, out of 100 starts, 75 first, 10 second and 5 third places, for a total value of \$8,800. He was reported, during the season, to have won '29 bicycles, several horses and carriages, half a dozen pianos, a house and a lot, household furniture of all descriptions, and enough silver plate, medals and jewelry to stock a jewelry store'.⁶⁷

Zimmerman was still officially an amateur upon his second visit to England in 1893, where he intended to contest the English championships again. He raced and won in Ireland and France. But in June, 1893, the N.C.U. stirred up international cycling relations by refusing to recognize him as an amateur. He was, reported the *New York Times*, 'without having been given a proper hearing, told to change his wheel [i.e., his make of bicycle – AR]; this he declined to do unless he was given time to get an American make of wheel... Zimmerman said that he considered his treatment exceedingly unsportsmanlike and contrary to a spirit of fairness'.⁶⁸

Later, challenged to reveal why it had acted in such a high-handed fashion towards the American star, the N.C.U. alleged that he had received shares of Raleigh stock, that he had published a book endorsing Raleigh, that Bowden had given him diamonds, that he continued to have a business relationship with the Raleigh company. Evidently, to combat this ongoing, high-profile sully of the amateur ranks, the N.C.U. had decided to make a prominent example of Zimmerman.⁶⁹

But another exacerbating factor may have been Zimmerman's refusal, on this second visit, to be tightly contractually bound to appear exclusively in meetings organized by Lacy Hillier and the London County Cycling and Athletic Club, and Lacy Hillier's consequent hypocritical determination as a powerful official within the N.C.U. to exclude him from

amateur competition completely if he could not have Zimmerman's crowd-pulling power in the palm of his hand. Upon his return to America, Zimmerman outlined the above explanation of the controversy to the *New York Times*, telling a reporter:

It is not difficult to understand the position of Hillier's Association. Here they were in the position of standing by and seeing their championships go over the water again. I do not think I exaggerate when I say things looked that way. I had won the first twenty races I had started in, and the men whom the Englishmen had counted on to beat me were not track possibilities, having been protested off the track. Unless some charge was trumped up against me, what hope had they for their championships!⁷⁰

Vélocé-Sport, the leading French cycling journal, understood the attitude of the National Cyclists' Union, but criticized it heavily; 'It is logical, but it is also profoundly regrettable. Once more, we in France condemn this idiotic business of classifying riders, which deprives international competition of really good matches by excluding men of the same level. Above all, the English should at least be as strict with their own maker's amateurs as they are with Zimmerman'.⁷¹

The American press exploded with impatience, hardly stopping to remind itself that Zimmerman's 'amateurism' had also been questioned at home. The *New York Times* reported the affair with intense interest. *Bearings* called the N.C.U.'s actions 'uncalled for and disgraceful... not only unsportsmanlike, but cowardly and dishonorable'.⁷² An Editorial, 'The Treatment of Zimmerman', in the Indianapolis *Wheelmen's Gazette*, protested at the 'insular pride and prejudice' of the N.C.U.:

There is no doubt that in matters of sport England is exceedingly unfair. When the English think they are going to see something superior, they shut their eyes – and don't see it... If the American is a second-class performer he is welcomed, if he is first-class and threatens to wrest a prize away from Britain's sons he is given the cold cut... The action of the National Cycling Union of England in withholding a licence from Zimmerman is a particularly aggravating instance of this British peculiarity. To refuse to recognize Zimmerman as an amateur is such a spiteful affront that the officials of the League of American Wheelmen are at a loss to understand its meaning. At least, so they say, but we doubt not that they thoroughly understand it. The action was due to a determination to prevent Zimmerman from reaping the benefit of his pluck and skill. He won the championship events last year and there was every reason to believe that he would repeat the achievement this year. So the wily Britons ruled him out.⁷³

The N.C.U.'s actions raised the possibility that the L.A.W. and even the International Cyclists' Association might also rule against him, and that he might have trouble qualifying as an amateur for the World Championships about to be held in Chicago.

But the N.C.U., with all its power, could not claim jurisdiction over him in America. Having been excluded from N.C.U. competition, Zimmerman returned to America to win the first amateur World Championships, at 1 mile and 10 miles, in August 1893. These championship races were also ridden on a Raleigh, and Zimmerman subsequently appeared as 'Champion of the World' on an internationally distributed advertising poster for the Raleigh company (now frequently reproduced) where his image and fame were used to endorse and advertize the company's product. No sooner had an 'amateur' world cycling champion been created than he was immediately and thoroughly co-opted by the bicycle industry. An altogether modern kind of advertising had been created, using a champion and his racing victories to endorse and sell bicycles to the general public.⁷⁴

Zimmerman, in spite of his prominent success, was reported as a reluctant and reticent 'star'. In Indianapolis, in August 1893, where the teenager, Major Taylor, watched as Zimmerman won a gold cup worth \$1,000 and set a new 1 mile world record, he:

shot by the grandstand like a stone from a catapult... He then dismounted and walked back with that awkward, gawky gait of his, looking neither to the right nor the left, as the cheers rent the air and hundreds of handkerchiefs were waved... He received an ovation which would have caused most any man to have swelled visibly, but he paid no attention to it, and ambled along to his dressing room like some green, country boy who never seems to know where to put his hands... When he is called upon to make a speech or respond to an address of presentation, he blushes and stammers and gets as nervous as a school girl, and yet he can go out on the track and whip the world riding.⁷⁵

By the end of 1893, Zimmerman was a de facto Raleigh professional in every sense except for his official status. Even friendly American commentators agreed that his amateurism was merely titular: 'Those near him admit and even boast that the smiling Jersey-man has turned his racing abilities to more practical account than any other man on the path, either amateur or professional. But Zimmie never broke the rules blatantly. If he bartered his speed for coin of the realm, it was most diplomatically done'.⁷⁶

Full, formal professionalism appeared inevitable, and Zimmerman took out his professional licence at the beginning of the 1894 season. The editor of *The Wheel* expected Zimmerman to be 'as smooth, level, impeturbable and honest' as a professional as he had been as an amateur, and 'to prove that a man may be a professional crack-a-jack and continue to

advance in those graces, talents and attributes which settle upon the right men as they grow into manhood'.⁷⁷ Zimmerman went on to bring 'glory, delight and prosperity to Raleigh by winning a total of 100 races that year in England, France, Germany and Ireland', against all the leading European riders.⁷⁸

The specific instigation to turn professional were guarantees proffered by Baduel, the director of the Velodrome Buffalo in Paris. Zimmerman's manager, Willis B. Troy, went to Paris and negotiated a contract worth about \$10,000 cash, 30% of gates receipts and any prizes he won.⁷⁹ The press generally approved of his move. 'Nothing has awakened so much interest in a long time as the desertion of the amateur ranks by Zimmerman', commented

Bearings:

it has been almost the sole topic of cyclists and the cycling press for the past few weeks... What does it all mean? It means that we are coming nearer an era of professionalism; that, before long, professional bicycle racing will be as well established as horse racing. That time has already come in France, and it is bound to come in this country. The fact that the great Zimmerman has led the way will make it all the easier for others to follow.

Outing thought that 'in these days of big purses for pugilists and expensive prizes for amateurs, the successful athlete despises the simple prizes which were given in the olden days when amateurs were really amateurs. The king of amateurs will become the king of professionals... It is a question, however, whether Zimmerman can last longer than a season or two more'.⁸⁰

Others were tempted by generous offers from Raleigh, and Harry Wheeler (East Orange), George Banker (Pittsburg) and Austin Crooks (Buffalo) also joined the professional ranks, to make up a Raleigh team in Europe with Willis Troy as 'diplomat, general manager, cashier and treasurer', and Harry Rue as trainer.⁸¹ Troy was another representative, like H.O. Duncan, of a new kind of figure in the world of sport, the promoter/manager/trainer/agent, who began to play an increasingly important role in cycling in the mid-1890s. It was reported that Zimmerman expected to make as much as \$30,000 during his trip.⁸² J.-M. Erwin, a reporter who followed Zimmerman and Wheeler in Europe during the 1894 season, wrote of 'the triumph of professionalism in Europe'. The professionals were everywhere; only England held out as an amateur country, with its 'severe and tortured' amateur definition. France was 'a sort of apostle of the revolutionary professional movement', with its attractive velodromes and rich prizes. Belgium was a hybrid of professionalism and

amateurism. Switzerland was much like France, and Italy went further still, with organized betting at its tracks.⁸³ Erwin was convinced that 'next year will see professional racing in the ascendancy in England. The hide-bound sticklers for amateurism still hold out against it...but the public wants the professional racing, and that means they will have it'.⁸⁴

Zimmerman himself was of the opinion that the amateur sport had been eclipsed by the high quality of the new professionals: 'In Europe, amateurs who one could really call racers are now in such a minority that when they appear at race meetings it is an occasion for curiosity and amusement. This is true above all in France and Italy, where the racing is at such a high level that the other countries go there to take lessons'.⁸⁵ But, after his experiences in Europe in 1894, Zimmerman was less sure of the future of professionalism in America. He complained of the readiness of American audiences to criticize and slur athletes' performances, suspecting them of dishonest practices: 'Europeans take naturally to professional cycling. It is the style they have been mostly educated to like, and they accept defeats of idols philosophically, not with murky glances and whispered slurs. The outlook for professional racing in this country for this season is not bright. The very best men will be continually driven to the other side by these unjust criticisms'.⁸⁶

Zimmerman's 1894 season in Europe lasted from May to November. As a visiting American star, he was obsessively pursued by the press as he competed in 34 race meetings in France, England, Switzerland, Italy and Belgium. He was first 27 times, second twice and fourth once. In Paris, he stayed at the best hotels and made the rounds of his training and racing at the famous Buffalo and Seine velodromes wearing a top hat and dress suit. In Belgium, he was beaten by Belgian champion, Houben, and in England, he raced in London, Birmingham, Leicester and Newcastle. In Newcastle, 'the boys who sold programmes on the street had "Zimmerman" in large letters on their hats, and "Zimmerman, Champion of Champions" could be seen on tram-cars and omnibuses', while promoters Troy, Baduel and H.O. Duncan 'watched the people pass through the gates, and the click of the turnstiles was sweet music to their ears'. But the crowd was not happy at the doubling of the price of admission from the customary 6 pence to 1 shilling, and Troy was called 'a damned thieving Frenchman'. In Leicester, Zimmerman made the mistake of throwing a few pennies to the street urchins, and quickly 'boys in various stages of dirt or rags sprang up from the pavement... They fought and rolled over in the dirt for every coin that jingled on the stones,

and the people came in swarms to watch the fun'.⁸⁷ These vignettes of commercial activity are evidence of the new intensity of sport promotion in the mid-1890s, as professionalism expanded, and bicycle racing was marketed to an enthusiastic public.

'Why do Zimmerman, Wheeler, Lehr, and a host of other famous riders, prefer the Raleigh?' demanded the Raleigh Cycle Co. in an advertisement in *Cycling*, 'Because they know it to be the Fastest Machine built. The Fastest Machine is that which is The Easiest-Running. This is what YOU want!'⁸⁸ 'Zimmerman, Wheeler, Banker, the Great American Professionals who are beating all the European cracks, all ride the wonderful Dunlop Racing Tire. And that wonderful Dunlop Racing Tire Holds all World's Records from 110 to 460 miles', trumpeted the American Dunlop Tire Company.⁸⁹ Interviewed by the press when he returned to the United States, Zimmerman was effusive in his praise of the European racing scene. 'To the European the idea of amateur racing for clocks, prizes etc is ridiculous. The poor and the wealthy riders alike wish to race for money', he told *The Wheel*. And for the *New York Times*, he painted a glowing picture of Paris. He had, he said:

never seen such splendid tracks as the Buffalo Velodrome in Paris and the track in Bordeaux. They are about perfect... There were about 12,000 people at the Seine track, in Paris, one day when I was there. The French enjoy themselves at these races in great style. The events are twenty minutes to half an hour apart, and during these intervals the people sit around the grounds, drinking, smoking, and discussing the last race. In Paris the tracks, or rather the grounds about them, resembled a picnic. They do not have classes, as we do. All their racing men are professionals, and ride to advertise the firms whose wheels they use. Such clubs as we have are unknown, the men being unattached... Paris is the best place in the world for bicycling. Nothing surprised me more at first than the great number of wheels [i.e., bicycles – AR] used in Paris.⁹⁰

Zimmerman's athletic decline after 1894 was rapid, for reasons which are not absolutely clear. He visited Australia in the winter of 1895-6, had a successful tour (27,000 people were reported at the opening meeting in Sydney),⁹¹ but announced his retirement soon after. He attempted a comeback in both 1897 and 1899, but his racing consisted of little more than a few 'exhibitions'. At the races of the Quill Club Wheelmen, Manhattan Beach, Zimmerman 'was surrounded by old-timers, but from the new field of racing men he attracted no attention. The champion of the world of but a couple of seasons ago passed in front of the grandstand and not a cheer was heard from the people. Such was fame'.⁹² He invested in a short-lived company manufacturing the 'Jimmy' bicycle and wrote a column for a New York newspaper. He prevaricated as to whether or not to return to France in 1896,

but did not finally return until 1902, by then merely a symbol of his past excellence, well past his athletic prime. Mostly he appears to have become a hotel owner in Freehold, New Jersey.

Yet Zimmerman's career was highly significant, and essentially typical, of the emergence of mass-spectator bicycle racing in the late 1880s and 1890s. One of a group of pioneer international champion cyclists, he participated at the highest level in taking the sport from the solid-tyred, high-wheel bicycle period into the era of the pneumatic safety, from a somewhat limited, athletic coterie out into the mass-market, where he became a star with enormous public appeal. In the 1890s, bicycle racing on the track became a significant mass-spectator sport, where modern sporting heroes were created and promoted.

In a review of the 1893 bicycle racing season, the Indianapolis *Wheelmen's Gazette* spoke of 'an exceedingly profitable season, both for race meet promoters and the racers themselves... The racing cracks have thriven wonderfully the past season. They have been the idols of the land, and the whole cycling world has bent knee to do them homage. Rival cycling clubs have fallen over themselves in their frantic efforts to secure the attendance of the stars'. Zimmerman had been the biggest attraction, 'the ideal racer. He has yet to meet his superior on the cycle track. He is certainly the greatest cycle racer of the time and bids fair to remain so. He is an honest and gentlemanly athlete; as much cannot truthfully be said of some of his rivals'.

In a similar review the following year, the same publication concluded that:

There is no question but that the cycle racing season of 1894 outshone in brilliancy all preceding seasons. Public interest in the sport took on an even more enthusiastic tinge than ever before. Many more meets were held than in 1893, and the love of the American people for this phenomenally popular youthful sport was largely increased... The progress of racing is dumbfounding the false prophets. This comparatively new rival of the diamond and the turf is shaking the hold of both on the public heart'.⁹³

A revealing Editorial from *The Wheel* spoke of the 'enlightened folk of the nineteenth century, who love football, the prize ring and the race track', many of whom:

have come to look upon the cycle and its lithe and sinewy rider as the best exponents of the modern idea of clean, enjoyable athletics... We turn to the cyclist as the coming man. The season just ended has proved beyond a doubt that man has at last secured for himself the one thing for which he has longed so many

centuries, namely, a self-driven vehicle which will bear him further and faster in a given time than any animal-drawn conveyance'.⁹⁴

In a relatively short career, Zimmerman had made the transition from amateur to professional during a period of tremendous growth and change in the organization and economy of the sport. He became a 'modern' professional athlete, his celebrity created not only by his own athletic ability, but also by the commercial interests which promoted him and profited from his success. Zimmerman was one of the most prominent athletes who carried bicycle racing from a national to an international level, and was one of the first cycling champions to become a media celebrity outside his own country. His three tours in Europe (1892, 1893 and 1894), as well as his amateur World Championship in Chicago in 1893, put the United States firmly among the world's foremost cycling nations.

Zimmerman's decision to become a full professional was a demonstration of the feasibility of a professional class in the United States and Europe, sponsored by the bicycle industry, and organized outside the pervasive amateurism of the League of American Wheelmen. A new professional organization, the National Cycling Association, came into existence in 1893. Zimmerman's gentlemanly sporting conduct and demeanour as a professional challenged the entrenched idea that only amateurs could uphold high standards of behaviour. Zimmerman set a trend, going to Europe to take on the European champions, and paved the way for other Americans, such as Major Taylor and Jack Kramer, in the future. With Zimmerman's visit, Paris became firmly established as the Mecca of bicycle racing where, at the growing number of international promotions, foreign champions had to educate themselves and establish their athletic skill and credibility.

5. Amateurism, professionalism and licensing schemes

While professionalism was expanding in Europe and America, the National Cyclists' Union continued to uphold the essential practice of the segregation of amateurs from professionals, the current trends in cycling having made it all the more necessary, in their view, to do so.

In 1893, the N.C.U. introduced its 'Licensing Rules' which stated that: 'On and after May 1893, no rider shall take part in any race held under N.C.U. rules... unless at the date of such race he shall hold a licence permitting him to so compete'.⁹⁵ The specific purpose of licences was to distinguish between amateurs and professionals, and the licencing process was an expression of a negative bureaucratization within the sport. The N.C.U.'s definition of amateurism and professionalism were as follows in 1896:

An Amateur is one who has never engaged in, nor assisted in, nor taught any athletic exercise for money or other remuneration; nor knowingly competed with or against a Professional or person under sentence of suspension for a prize of any description, or in public (except at a meeting specially sanctioned by the Union).

To prevent misunderstanding in interpreting the above, the Union draws attention to the following explanations:-

A cyclist ceases to be an Amateur, and becomes a Professional, by:

a) Engaging in Cycling or any other athletic exercise, or personally teaching, training, or coaching any person therein, either as a means of obtaining a livelihood, or for a staked bet, a money prize or gate money.

(Cycle manufacturers and agents, as such, are not to be considered as Professionals, but are cautioned that to personally teach Cycle riding as the means to effect the sale of a machine will be taken as an infringement of clause a.)

b) Knowingly competing with, or pace-making for, a Professional or person under sentence of suspension, in public, or for a prize.

c) Selling, realizing upon, or otherwise turning into cash, any prize won by him.

d) Accepting, directly or indirectly, any remuneration, compensation, or expenses whatever from a cycle manufacturer, agent or other person interested in the trade or sport, for cycle riding.

e) Offering, directly or indirectly, any remuneration, compensation, or expenses whatever for cycle riding, to any amateur as such.

(The General Committee, or the Committee of the Centre, has right to call upon any rider to remove by proof any circumstantial evidence of his infringing, or having infringed, the provisions of clause d), and the onus of disproving the charge brought against him shall in such case rest upon the persons charged, who, until he does clear himself to the satisfaction of the General Committee, or a Centre Committee, may be suspended. All sentences of suspension pro. tem. which have been, or may be, passed upon riders suspected of "makers' amateurism" may be turned by the General Committee, or a Centre Committee, into sentences of permanent disqualification in the case of riders who do not

within two months from their suspension disprove the charges brought against them, or enter appeals which ultimately become successful.)⁹⁶

Suspicion of the actual economic attachments of those claiming to be amateurs led to an almost Draconian questioning of them by the N.C.U. A declaration of amateurism had to be made, and if the amateur was in the cycling trade, he had to make an additional declaration that he had no special time allowed for training or racing, and did not receive any bonus for wins. All applicants for a license were expected, in the mid-1890s, to fill out an application form which contained the following questions:

Name of applicant. Age last birthday. Have you been licensed before? If so, by which centre? Give number of license. Present employment? Name of employers, with address? Hours of employment? How many open races did you compete in last season? With what result? The names of the three race meetings at which you competed furthest from your residence? Have you ever been called before a Committee, any Centre, or the General Committee of the Union for breach of rules; if so, which Centre or Committee? For what offense? With what result?... Name of machine or machines you raced upon last year. Name of tyres raced upon last year. Name of machine you intend racing on this year. Name of tyres you intend racing on this year. What period of the day do you devote to training? Do you employ a trainer, or are you assisted by anyone of that calling? If so, give names and addresses. Does he accompany you to the various race meetings or races at which you compete? Have you ever done any pace-making on the road? If so, for whom, between what places, for what event or events? Have you ever been paid for pace-making? If so, by whom?⁹⁷

Small wonder that riders were upset by a list of questions which smacks less of sport than it does of inquisition by a Communist Party committee.

The inner circles of cycling politics were a turbulent affair, removed from the majority of racing activity, but nevertheless having a significant impact on it. Amateur riders could be denied a licence, temporarily suspended, permanently disbarred or physically prevented from starting in an event for infringements of amateur status. The business of the Council Meetings of the National Cyclists Union during 1893 and 1894 make compelling reading on the question. No other issue created so much acrimony or was so divisive as the administration of the two classes of competitors, amateurs and professionals. The general tenor of discussion appears to have been that amateurism should not be tainted by professionalism, but that the professionals had nevertheless to be acknowledged and somehow accommodated. Exactly how that should be done was exhaustively debated. Proponents of amateurism like Lacy Hillier were essentially ideologically opposed to

professionalism, distrustful of the industry as promoter and convinced that any scheme to revive and control it was doomed to failure. Faced with a proposal within the Union late in 1893 to take the professionals under its wing by licensing them, Lacy Hillier reluctantly conceded that 'professionalism today has got a chance of a revival', but that this would need 'the countenance, approval and active assistance of the N.C.U.'.⁹⁸

The proposed N.C.U. licensing scheme caused controversy in 1893-4, creating new tensions because it put the personal and economic lives of riders under the microscope. A cartoon from *Cycling* illustrated what the general public thought about the N.C.U. bureaucrats and their licensing scheme: it was seen as detrimental to those qualities which were thought to contribute towards good sport. Playing on the adage that 'Fools rush in where angels fear to tread', the N.C.U. is shown as a ferocious flying angel with a sword, slashing at a cyclist sheltering on the shoulder of a laurel-wreathed goddess labelled 'Sport'.⁹⁹ (see Fig. 8. 6.).

Who would organize professional racing and put up the prize money if it was to be controlled by the N.C.U.? As Dr. E.B. Turner put it in *Cycling*, 'two wet days and consequent bad gates would spell bankruptcy' for the Union as promoter. According to Turner, the problem with professional racing was various 'offences', such as 'cutting-up, roping, arrangements and ramping', which had to be stopped: 'Every form of sport depending on individual competition has, up to the present, come to grief in the hands of professionals, choked by the malpractices enumerated above..... The only sports in which professionalism flourishes are cricket and football'. Given a 'strong and solvent association', and races 'licensed and firmly controlled by such a committee', Turner thought that professional racing could flourish in England, particularly in the North. But 'until professionalism has raised itself from the mire in which it has been landed by the fault of its latter-day exponents, the British Public, in the South at least, will leave it severely alone'.

But Turner did recognize that, in France and the United States, there was 'a class of professionals actually making their living by their speed', athletes who were 'kept and subsidized by the makers of different machines, and held under agreement to race for them on machines of their manufacture as an advertisement'.¹⁰⁰ And just such a structure, with the economic underpinning of the bicycle industry, would in fact become the foundation for

professionalism in the future, rather than tight supervision and control by national cycling bureaucracies, though there would continue to be considerable tension between the two.

The mid-1890s licensing scheme was intended to bring professionals within the fold of the N.C.U., but many of them refused to be corralled in this way, and Birmingham and Nottingham riders rebelled against it in June 1894.¹⁰¹ A *Cycling* editorial expressed the opinion that there was ‘no other alternative but to form a Cycle Racing Association’, an independent professional governing body with control over racing, and that ‘the meeting of the two classes should be frequently permitted, as is that of “Gentlemen v. Players” in cricket. This, at once, overcomes the whole difficulty of international racing’. The same writer hoped that cycling would separate itself completely from the Amateur Athletic Association, and that that organization would ‘begin to recognize the uselessness of attempting to preserve amateurism in all its purity’.¹⁰²

Ultimately, as has been suggested elsewhere here, the forces of the market in Europe and the United States ushered in a decade of international professional racing, from about 1894 to well after the turn of the century, which the advocates of amateurism were powerless to control.

6. The 1896 Olympic Games

If the formation of the International Cyclists' Association in 1892 and the holding of amateur world cycling championships in 1893 was a recognition of the world-wide status of the sport of cycling, the creation of the first modern Olympic Games in 1896 was further powerful evidence of the growing globalization of sport in general and of the continued strength of the movement towards the construction of the amateur ideal within sport. Many points of similarity can be seen in the successful promotion and foundation, in London and Paris, of these two ambitious international sports organizations.

International sports institution formation was one of the component parts of the fashionable internationalism of the 1890s, a product of easier and faster international communications and travel. World's Fairs and Exhibitions were another aspect of this conspicuous historical trend, a self-conscious expression of modernity. In 1890, Coubertin wrote that 'since Ancient Greece has passed away, the Anglo-Saxon race is the only one that fully appreciates the moral influence of physical culture and gives to this branch of educational science the attention it deserves', this 'moral influence' being confined to amateur, and specifically excluding professional, sport.¹⁰³

There was in fact a parallel movement among the English in the 1890s for the recreation of an 'Anglo-Saxon Olympiad', or a 'Pan-Britannic Gathering'. Suggestions, too, were made that the World's Exhibition in Chicago in 1893, where the first I.C.A.-sponsored world cycling championships were held, in fact be the site of a major international athletic festival. 'If this matter of an International Athletic Festival to be held every three or four years is to be taken up seriously, what more auspicious year to inaugurate it than that of our World's Fair, when the eyes of the universe are upon us?' wrote an American correspondent to the magazine *Nineteenth Century* in 1892.¹⁰⁴

As the amateur-oriented International Cyclists' Association was being formed in London, Pierre de Coubertin in Paris was trying to persuade French amateur sports organizations to join his Union des Sociétés Françaises des Sports Athlétiques, which in November 1892 (although the organization was then only a couple of years old!) staged a 'Jubilee' which featured a bicycle race and culminated with a closing meeting at the Sorbonne, where Coubertin announced his desire to 'reestablish a great and magnificent institution, the

Olympic Games'. The creation of various kinds of 'tradition' was a prominent aspect of national and international affairs at the end of the 19th century.¹⁰⁵

Coubertin's plans to bring together a prestigious group of international sports figures to plan the first modern Olympic Games coincided closely with the decision of representatives of national cycling organizations to hold the first official World Championships in Chicago. Coubertin himself was involved in attempts to smooth over the conflict between the British National Cyclists' Union and French Union Vélocipédique de France over the definition of amateurism in cycling, which was also a problem in French-English rowing competitions. Coubertin was in fact an official French representative at the 1893 Chicago World's Exposition, during which the world cycling championships were held, and travelled extensively in the United States. Given his consuming interest in international competition, it is hard to imagine that he would have been absent from the cycling events if his visit to Chicago coincided with them.¹⁰⁶

At the Congress of Paris, held in June 1894 to further the aims of Coubertin's Comité International des Jeux Olympiques, the Congress' President, Baron de Courcel, closed his opening remarks by reminding his audience that amid national frontiers and hate, with Europe 'armed to the teeth',

... the chivalrous feelings of the fraternity of swordsmanship could enoble the formidable military profession even in the eyes of those who practice it, and limit the inevitable horrors of war. Let us hope that our international contests, if we do succeed in establishing them, will create such noble feelings among our contemporaries and in the future among the people of the 20th century. Let us gather all nations together for friendly sporting battles, and may the faithful observance of the rules which govern our games open their hearts to those feelings of mutual respect which are the most crucial foundation for ensuring peace between peoples.¹⁰⁷

Compared with the dramatic and meticulously organized professional cycling spectacles audiences were accustomed to in London, Paris, Berlin and the United States, the 1896 Olympic cycling competitions in Athens were somewhat tame.¹⁰⁸ Events included a 1 lap (1/3 km) time trial, a 2 km match sprint, a 10 km track race, a 100 km long-distance track race, a 12 hour track race and an 87 km individual road time trial. The six events were thus a recognition of a wide range of cycling disciplines, though neither the increasingly popular massed-start road race or paced racing were included. Hardly any of the top amateur

sprinters, distance riders or road-men were there, most of the leading French riders did not qualify as amateurs and the Games received scant attention in the European cycling press. The cycling events were not well organized, and the small number of competitors did not produce outstanding performances. In the 100 km track event, of ten starters only two remained at the finish; the one-lap, 2 km and 10 km races were all won by French rider Emile Masson; the 12 hour track endurance race saw only six entries, reduced to two riders at the finish who were unprepared physically for the demands of such an event. The 87 km road 'marathon' also had only six starters and the bad road out of Athens 'was lined with optimistic spectators in numbers out of all proportion to the quality of the cyclists and the organizers' preparation for such an event'.¹⁰⁹

If the organization and performances at the 1896 Olympic cycling events left much to be desired, and if the event attracted little attention from cycling journalists more interested in the well-promoted and theatrical professional cycling events in Paris, London and Berlin, cycling's inclusion in the first modern Olympics should, nevertheless, be seen as a recognition of the contemporary status and wide geographical distribution of the sport. The map released by Thomas Cook showing railway and steam-ship routes over which special fares for the 1896 Olympic Games in Athens would apply, 'both for competitors and interested people from all over the world', can also be seen as a diagrammatic representation of the then current dissemination and international reach of bicycle racing as a sport.¹¹⁰ (see Fig. 8. 7.)

Well-organized where cycling was most popular – Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Germany and the United States – the national cycling bodies had already demonstrated their ability to organize themselves on an international basis and had struggled successfully to formulate standards for international competition. There were similarities in the initially ideologically amateur agendas of the International Cyclists' Association and Coubertin's International Olympic Committee, although the unashamedly commercial nature of professional racing in London or Paris was a far cry from Olympic ideals.

Care should be taken to avoid seeing the 1896 Olympic Games, in retrospect, as having had more influence over contemporary affairs than they in fact had. Held only every four years, the event was in its infancy, and could not compare in importance with the regular

'championship' and professional race meetings, supported by the bicycle and tyre manufacturers, where athletic fame and fortune could be made and leading cyclists strove to better speed and distance records throughout a hectic indoor and outdoor, year-long 'season'.

7. Summary and conclusions

International competition:

From its beginnings in the late 1860s, through its high-wheel phase in the 1870s and 1880s, competitive cycling had always had an international appeal. Skilled French riders had entertained the audiences at the Crystal Palace in London in 1869, and early 'world championships' were contested between the best French and English riders. Geographical proximity had determined such international exchanges as occurred and there was always particular interest in a foreign 'champion'.

The occasional visits of British cyclists to the United States, of American cyclists to Britain and of exchanges between France and England were an indication of the expanding reach of the sport, in which national pride sought out international competition to test and defend athletic prowess at the highest level.

But international competition also thrust differences of competitive structure into the forefront, particularly those between Britain and France concerning the definition of amateurism. The measurement of tracks and the accuracy of timing systems were also areas of disagreement and friction; the necessity to calculate times and distances between the European metric system and British and American systems was a constant headache.

Thus, a coherent and consistent set of regulations and an organizational structure for international events needed to be created within which regular international competition could take place without acrimonious disagreements occurring.

Creation of an international governing body:

The mid-1890s was a period of intense organizational and institutional activity within the sport of cycling, as indeed it was within the structures of other sports.¹¹¹ The creation in 1892 of the first world governing body of cycling, the International Cyclists' Association, the holding of the first official amateur World Championships in 1893 and the first Olympic Games in 1896 were three institutional events which elevated amateur cycling to a new level of international significance and were part of the movement towards the increasingly global reach of the sport during the decade.

In the case of the first Olympic Games, a strong ideological connection was made between the ideals espoused by amateurism ('good sportsmanship', for example, and 'playing the game') and ideals of international peace, brotherhood and harmony. The 1893 World Championships in Chicago were held in the context of the Chicago World Fair.

Assertion of professional priorities:

But at the same time, and in rivalry to the ideological programme of amateurism, the promotion of professional cycling on both road and track was pursued with great energy in France, Germany, Great Britain and the United States as a vehicle for the advertisement of the bicycle industry's products, and as a dramatic, crowd-pleasing, modern spectacle.

A power struggle within the international membership of the I.C.A. resulted in the emergence of a new international governing body, the Union Cycliste Internationale, in 1900 and marked a shift from British to French dominance of the sport, in effect marking the decline of the international control exercised by old-fashioned amateurism.

Thus, two rival versions of competition and athletic excellence were contemporaneously staged and promoted in the same sporting arena, the one based on commercial expediency, profit and mass appeal, the other based on ideals constructed around the honourable striving for excellence and the beauty of athletic performance without the intrusion of money as a primary consideration. The career of Zimmerman illustrated the controversies and difficulties encountered by a top-level champion as he made the transition from amateur to professional status within the dominating presence of the bicycle industry.

Because of the inherent conflict between these two visions of cycling as a sport, rival economic and social structures were created to espouse them, although as the sport expanded in the later 1890s, the economics of promoting both categories of events demanded a similarly efficient organization. Bicycle racing, whether amateur or professional, had become big business.

Notes to Chapter 8

¹ A good deal of material has been published analysing the process by which sport has 'evolved' or 'advanced' to its present-day structure and organization. See, for example, Dunning, E. and Sheard, K., *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players: A Sociological Study of the Development of Rugby Football* (New York, New York University Press, 1979); Guttmann, A., *From Ritual to Record – The Nature of Modern Sports* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1978); Hargreaves, John, *Sport, Power and Culture – A Social and Historical Analysis of Popular Sports in Britain* (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1986). Dunning and Sheard publish a chart showing the structural properties of folk games and modern sports, and emphasize that the structural properties of sport are cultural constructions, socially shaped. Central to the discussion is the distinction between 'pre-industrial' and 'modern' sport, and it can easily be seen that cycling, which began in 1868-69, falls into the category of a 'modern' sport. The pre-condition for cycling to exist - the manufacturing of the bicycle itself - was by definition an industrial process. The technology necessary for the production of the very earliest velocipedes was not of a level much more advanced than that of the pre-mass production craft of blacksmithing. But as soon as quantity production was needed, bicycle manufacture began to make use of the most up-to-date machine-tools. Indeed, bicycle manufacturing in the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s was extremely progressive in its use of high quality machine-tools, mass-production of small interchangeable parts and modern methods of distribution and advertising.

² The confluence of meanings of the word 'record' as both a verb ('to record') and a noun ('a record') should be noted here. The original meaning implied by the word was that 'a record' was kept of a particular performance, or that a particular performance 'was recorded', and thus was 'on record'. From this comes the contemporary use of the word as a noun as in 'a world record', as meaning the best time performance ever achieved for a particular distance.

³ See "Championships and Records", in F.T. Bidlake, *Cycling* (Routledge, London, 1896), p. 117.

⁴ The phrasing of this clause in the stated objectives of the N.C.U. in the earlier days did not include the professional class.

⁵ F.T. Bidlake, *op. cit.*, p.111. Bidlake was not a fan of the N.C.U. and its many committees. In 1898, when the N.C.U. was finally successful in prohibiting its licenced riders from taking part in road-racing, Bidlake was ‘stumping the country haranguing sympathetic audiences of road-racing club members’. Bidlake, a life-long member of the North Road C.C., suggested that road-racing clubs should secede from the N.C.U.. Commented the N.C.U.: ‘The results of Bidlake’s new association... will be the promotion of road-racing in defiance of the law of the land, in opposition to public opinion and the cycling and general press, and with more danger to pedestrians, to drivers of carriages and other vehicles, and to 99% of cyclists themselves, who neither road race nor have any sympathy with this discredited branch of the sport’. (*N.C.U. Review and Official Record*, Jan. 1898, Vol. 4, #38). It may still be argued that Britain’s failure to become a world cycling power on a par with France, Italy or Belgium in the later 1890s can be traced to the obsessive concern of National Cyclists’ Union bureaucrats to uphold amateur ‘respectability’ during this formative period and to fail to promote and encourage ‘open’ road racing.

⁶ See Appendix 1 for a list of professional world championships between 1871 and 1892; for information on James Moore, see Nick Clayton, “The cycling career of James Moore”, *The Boneshaker* #125, Spring 1991.

⁷ *Morning Advertiser*, 11 and 16 Sept. 1869.

⁸ The earliest Six Day racing I have been able to document was in 1876. *The Athletic News*, a Manchester paper (30 September 1876) reported two six day rides by individual cyclists, Thuillet of France at the Molineux Grounds, Wolverhampton, and Frank White at the Arboretum, Walsall. These were pure audience-grabbing endurance events, the Thuillet ride attracting 10,000 spectators, where he was paced by John Keen on the final day. On 21 October 1876 the same paper reported the logical conclusion to the earlier reports, a six day race between Thuillet and White, again at Walsall.

⁹ H.O. Duncan, *World on Wheels*, Paris, 1927; N. Salamon, *Bicycling: Its Rise and Development*, London, 1874; *Le Vélocipède Illustré*, 11 April 1874; A. Howard, *The Bicycle for 1874*, London, 1874.

¹⁰ *New York Times*, 18 April and 11 May 1876; Michael Wells, “America and the Ordinary: In the beginning, 1876”, *The Wheelmen*, Nov. 1992.

¹¹ “International Competition”, *Bicycling World*, 20 Jan. 1882, p.123.

¹² “The Policy of the N.C.U.” and “Report of the Committee for Promoting Professional Racing”, *N.C.U. Review and Official Record*, April 1887, Vol. 4, #1.

¹³ *N.C.U. Review and Official Record*, March 1894, Vol.2, #23.

¹⁴ “Resume for 1880”, *Wheel World Christmas Annual*, London, 1880.

¹⁵ *Cycling*, 9 July 1892.

¹⁶ Sellers was called ‘a rider who had landed in New York but three days before, and whose name had never been heard outside the Midland counties of England’. Sellers was only 21 years old, ‘the son of a prosperous manufacturer of Preston’. The British, said *Outing* (Nov. 1884) ‘came to ride, not to disgust people with swaggering remarks, as some of the Britons did last year’.

¹⁷ See “The Broken Records at Hartford and Springfield”, pp.128-131, and “Monthly Record”, pp.145-6, *Outing and The Wheelman*, Nov. 1884.

¹⁸ “International Championships”, *The Cyclist*, 24 Feb. 1886, pp.431-32.

¹⁹ *The Cycle* (Boston), 9 April 1886.

²⁰ These included tricyclist E. Kiderlein (Holland, 1887, 1 mile), August Lehr (Germany, 1889, 1 mile), P. Scheltema-Beduin (Holland, 1891, 1 mile safety), A.A. Zimmerman (U.S.A., 1892, 1 mile, 5 miles and 50 miles), C. Ingeman-Petersen (Denmark, 1894, 1 mile) and M. Diakoff (Russia, 1896, 5 miles and 25 miles).

²¹ See Theo Stevens, “The Elitist Character of Early Dutch Cycling”, *Proceedings of the 12th International Cycling History Conference* (Van der Plas Publications, San Francisco, 2002).

²² The German Deutsche Radfahrer Bund founded in 1884 also included Austria, German-speaking Bohemia and German-speaking Switzerland. This Table shows governing bodies established by 1890. The dates of other national governing bodies are provisionally listed below (based on correspondence with Gherardo Bonini): Argentina – Union Velocipedistica Argentina, 1902 (? - one of two national bodies struggling for representation at 1902 U.C.I. Congress); South Africa – South African Cycling Federation (date of foundation unknown); Spain – Federacion Espanola do Ciclismo, 1893 (?). A detailed study of the influences which were at work in the spread of cycling from country to country has still to be carried out, and this study offers only a partial scenario. The pioneering technological and organizational role of Britain is well-documented in the cases of the United States (see Chapter 4), of Australia (see “Under

the Southern Cross”, *Outing*, Feb. 1884, Vol.3 #5) and of Germany, where a Briton, T.H.S. Walker, became editor of the leading journal, *Der Radfahrer*, and a significant promoter of club events (see Heiner Gillmeister, “English Editors of German Sporting Journals at the Turn of the Century”, *The Sports Historian*, May 1993, pp.38-65).

According to Theo Stevens in “The Elitist Character of Early Dutch Cycling” (see Note 21 above), this pattern of English participation in the diffusion of cycling into northern Europe and the formation of athletic clubs devoted to cycling was also repeated in Holland. In 1883, C.H. Bingham, the captain of the Ooievaar Club (Stork Club) of The Hague, was instrumental in the foundation of Het Nederlandsche Velocipedisten Bond and became its first President, while another Englishman, D. Webster, captain of the Haarlemsche Velocipede Club, became vice-President. Both were members of the C.T.C. The French appear to have been more influential in the spread of cycling into Italy and Spain, a process which remains unresearched.

²³ This chart has been taken substantially from John Windhausen and Irina Tsyapkina, “National Identity and the Emergence of the Sports Movement in Late Imperial Russia”, *International Journal of the History of Sport*, Aug. 1995, Vol. 12, #2.

²⁴ Quoted in Gherardo Bonini, “National Identity and Ethnicity in International Cycling before 1914”, *Annual of European Committee for the History of Sport*, 2001. The 1886 Berlin ‘Championship of Europe’ was the brain-child of T.H.S. Waker, the English editor of *Der Radfahrer*, the journal of the Deutsche Radfahrer Bund, and was held on the occasion of the annual meeting of the D.R.B. The fact that the winner of the 10,000m high-wheeler event, Edward Hale, was not one of the best British cyclists was underlined in *Sporting Life*. See Rüdiger Rabenstein, “T.H.S. Walker – English Cycling Pioneer in Germany”, *Proceedings, International Cycle History Conference*, 1994.

²⁵ See Andrew Ritchie, *Major Taylor*, pp.176-183.

²⁶ Gherardo Bonini, “National Identity”, *op. cit.*

²⁷ Figures for N.C.U. from *N.C.U. Review and Official Record*, March 1897 and for C.T.C. from *C.T.C. Monthly Gazette*, Jan. 1897. A figure for total membership of national cycling organizations for the whole of Great Britain would also have to include membership of the Scottish Cyclists’ Union and the Irish Cyclists’ Union. There was, of course, a considerable overlap in membership of the N.C.U. and the C.T.C. since some cyclists joined both organizations.

²⁸ “1887”, *The Cyclist*, 28 Dec. 1887 and “Professional Racing Prospects”, *The Cyclist*, 11 April 1888 (Editorials probably by Henry Sturmeý).

²⁹ American Rowe had recently turned professional, and was thus a new challenge to Howell, the well-established English professional champion. *The Cyclist*, 11 April 1888, wrote of this contest that Howell and Rowe had been, ‘for the last two years at least, the acknowledged and practically undefeated champions of the Eastern and Western hemispheres’.

³⁰ Garnered from *The Cyclist* and *Bicycling World*.

³¹ “Cowboys v. Bicyclists” at the Agricultural Hall, Islington, *The Cyclist*, 16 Nov. 1887, “Cowboys v. Cyclists at Birmingham”, *The Cyclist*, 4 Jan. 1888 and “Cyclists v. Cowboys”, *The Cyclist*, 28 March 1888. At the Birmingham race. The ‘Cyclists’ rode 804 miles, while the ‘Cowboys’ rode 795 miles.

³² “Battensby Challenges the Yankees”, *The Cyclist*, 18 April 1888.

³³ According to *The Cyclist*, (‘R. Howell v. W. Wood for £100’, 4 April 1888), Wood’s performances had ‘evidently tickled the perceptive faculties of Mr. Robert Mould, of the Marquis of Lorne Hotel, North Shields’, who ‘seems to have taken Wood in hand, and has proved a most consistent and generous supporter to him. Mr. Mould’s great ambition seemed to be in meeting the world’s recognized champion, and he lost no time in issuing a challenge which was promptly accepted by Howell’. W. Wood should not be confused with Leicester professional Fred Wood, who in April 1888 returned home from an extended racing trip to the United States, Australia and New Zealand which had begun in Aug. 1886 (see “Interview with Fred Wood”, *The Cyclist*, 25 April 1888).

³⁴ “International Race at Leicester. Howell v. Rowe”, *The Cyclist*, 18 April 1888.

³⁵ “International Race at Jarrow-on-Tyne”, *The Cyclist*, 25 April 1888.

³⁶ René Jacobs and Hector Mahau, *Le Prestige de la Route* (Éditions Eeclonaar, Belgium, 2002).

³⁷ See Minutes of a Meeting of General Committee, National Cyclists’ Union, 12 Aug. 1892 (Modern Records Centre, Warwick University): ‘Inter-National Championships – Mr. Sturmeý proposed and Mr. Church seconded: That a Committee be appointed to consider the question of Inter-National Championships (Carried). Messrs. Sturmeý, Hillier and Turner were appointed as the first members of the Committee’.

³⁸ Scotland, although invited, could not send an official representative, though J.R. Nisbet, editor of *The Scottish Cyclist*, attended. (There was continued dissension about the position of the Irish, Scottish and Welsh Cyclists' Unions within the umbrella of the N.C.U.) The full list of delegates was as follows: Henry Sturmeay and W.M. Appleton (National Cyclists' Union); A.E. Kemplen (Union des Sociétés Françaises de Sports Athlétiques); Heinrich Kleyer (German Cyclists' Union); Franz Netcher (Dutch Cyclists' Union); G. Bonetti (Italian Cyclists' Union); W.F. McCourt (Irish Cyclists' Association); A. Choisy (Belgian Cyclists' Union); Dr. P.E. Doolittle (Canadian Cyclists' Association); H.E. Raymond (League of American Wheelmen). Also present were Messrs. Marais, Rousseau and Paul Hardy representing the Union Vélocipédique de France. See "Formation of an International Cyclists' Association", *The Scottish Cyclist*, 30 Nov. 1892.

³⁹ Sturmeay's committee reported back to the N.C.U. (see *N.C.U. Review and Official Record*, Dec. 1892): 'Your Committee have to report that, in accordance with instructions, they communicated with the various ruling bodies of Cycling on the Continents of Europe and America, laying before them, briefly, the suggested basis on which it was proposed to work, and asking that if the idea met with their approval they should appoint committees to deal with the details of a draft scheme which would be submitted... for the consideration of the various Unions... This was provided and copies sent to each... A meeting was accordingly held on Wednesday, Nov. 23rd, at the Agricultural Hall, at which officially appointed delegates were present'.

⁴⁰ Editorial, "International Championships", *The Scottish Cyclist*, 30 Nov. 1892; see also report in the same issue, "Formation of an International Cyclists' Association", from which much of this account has been gleaned. The Americans would not have agreed that everyone accepted the N.C.U. championships as de facto 'world championships'. In contemporary sport, the Americans repeat a chauvinistic evaluation of home-based events in labelling their national baseball championship the 'World Series' although no foreign teams participate; college championships are called the 'Collegiate World Series'.

⁴¹ *Cycling*, 3 Dec. 1892.

⁴² A letter from Henry Sturmeay, Secretary of the International Cyclists' Association mentions the holding of a 1 mile professional race at the 1894 Championships, which

was probably not a full Championship event. Sturmeý also mentions ‘a conference on international amateurism and an International Exhibition in Antwerp’ (see *Wheeling*, 25 July 1894).

⁴³ “Paris versus Chicago”, *La Bicyclette*, 1 Jan. 1893, pp.590-592.

⁴⁴ “Course Internationale d’Amateurs, Paris-Brussels”, *La Bicyclette*, 25 Aug. 1893, pp.1594-1601.

⁴⁵ The championships were reported in the *New York Times*, 23, 30 July, 1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 Aug. 1893; also in *Bearings*, 4, 11 and 18 Aug. 1893 (with excellent photographs).

⁴⁶ “Arrangements for the Big International Meet”, *New York Times*, 30 July 1893.

⁴⁷ See “The Year 1897 in Cycling”, *Spalding’s Official Bicycle Guide for 1898*.

⁴⁸ See Andrew Ritchie, *Major Taylor*, pp.125-128.

⁴⁹ See “Report of the General Committee – Report of the International Championships and the First International Congress at Antwerp and Brussels”, *N.C.U. Review and Official Record*, March 1895, Vol. 3, #27: ‘The Board of the I.C.A. were desired by the Congress to draft rules for, and establish Cycling World’s Championships for professionals... professional championships will be included in the I.C.A. programme at Cologne this season’. An account by Henry Sturmeý of the confusion and appeals following the 1 mile professional race at the 1895 Cologne championships can be found in the *N.C.U. Review and Official Record*, Dec. 1895, Vol. 3, #30.

⁵⁰ *N.C.U. Review and Official Record*, March 1897, Vol. 3, #35.

⁵¹ *The Wheel* quoted in “International Championships”, Editorial in *Wheeling*, 12 Sept. 1894.

⁵² See discussion in *Bicycling News*, 15, 22 and 29 April 1896.

⁵³ Quoted in Gherardo Bonini, “National Identity and Ethnicity in International Cycling before 1914”, *Annual of European Committee for the History of Sport*, 2001.

⁵⁴ The creation of the U.C.I. was effected at the Aug. 1900 Congress of the I.C.A. in Paris. Reported in *Allgemeine Sport Zeitung*, 12 Aug. 1900, quoted in Gherardo Bonini, “National Identity and Ethnicity in International Cycling before 1914”, *Annual of European Committee for the History of Sport*, 2001. There was a brief period of overlap between the two bodies, during which the I.C.A. lingered on as an N.C.U.-controlled organization. A dispute over voting rights at first prevented resolution of British

membership in the new U.C.I., since the N.C.U. wanted a vote for each of the constituent national members of the United Kingdom – England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales – which was finally agreed in 1903.

⁵⁵ Bonini points out that the ‘official’ World Championships were not a priority for the professionals since their competition in the open marketplace of sport was already determining their pecking order. The attitude of the professionals towards the nationalism fostered by official World Championships was also ambivalent – they raced wherever they were most popular and could demand the highest fee. In effect, track owners and promoters (of whom the most powerful were in Paris, Antwerp, Copenhagen, Berlin and New York presented a rival authority to that of the national federations. In modern cycling, the same rifts continue to be in evidence.

⁵⁶ *Wheelmen’s Gazette*, Nov. 1893; *The Wheel*, 4 Jan. 1895; Gregory Houston Bowden, *The Story of the Raleigh Bicycle* (W.H. Allen, London, 1975).

⁵⁷ Introduction by Frank Bowden in A. A. Zimmerman, *Points for Cyclists with Training* (F.W.S. Clarke, London, 1893).

⁵⁸ Bowden, op. cit.

⁵⁹ Bowden, *Points for Cyclists*, op. cit.

⁶⁰ *British Sport*, quoted in *American Cyclist*, April 1892.

⁶¹ “L.A.W. re. Zimmerman”, Minutes of General Committee of N.C.U., 29 April 1892, Mss. 328/B, Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick, Coventry.

⁶² Bowden, in Zimmerman, op. cit.

⁶³ *Irish Cyclist*, quoted in *American Cyclist*, Aug. 1892.

⁶⁴ “Zimmerman’s Latest”, *American Cyclist*, Sept. 1892.

⁶⁵ *Wheeling*, quoted in *American Cyclist*, Aug. 1892.

⁶⁶ *American Cyclist*, Sept. 1892, op.cit.

⁶⁷ Bowden, in Zimmerman, op. cit.; *New York Times*, 30 June 1893.

⁶⁸ “Zimmerman Treated Unfairly”, *New York Times*, 25 June 1893.

⁶⁹ A revealing insight into attitudes within the National Cyclists’ Union following Zimmerman’s victories in the 1892 championships is given in the report of a Committee meeting of 17 Dec. 1892 (reported in *N.C.U. Review and Official Record*, March 1893). E.B. Turner proposed the motion, which was seconded by Hillier, that: ‘In the opinion of this Council the time has now arrived when it is advisable that no person connected with

the trade of making, selling, or letting on hire cycles or their essential parts, should be eligible to act as a representative... on the Council or on the Appeals or General Committees of the Union'. The proposal was voted down, 31 for, 39 against. E.B. Turner addressed the meeting: his proposal was 'a first step towards the purification of the sport', which 'was being dragged in the mire by those men who were suborned by the makers. The Union was being held up to derision by foreign countries... It was a prostitution of a most noble sport... They must keep the sport free from any trade influence whatever. The moment that pounds, shillings and pence came in at the door, amateur sport flew out at the window'.

⁷⁰ Interview with Zimmerman, *New York Times*, 12 July 1893. The interview gives further revelations of the hypocrisy and double-dealing within the power structures of English 'shamateurism', and is particularly interesting on the role of George Lacy Hillier and Zimmerman's reactions to him:

'Lacy Hillier, one of the cycling editors of the metropolis, has become quite an autocrat on racing matters. The first year I went over I placed myself under his guidance. He took me everywhere and got some credit, I can fairly say, out of my victories. Of course, when the season was nearly over, lovers of racing in various parts of the United Kingdom expressed themselves with some bitterness to me. They argued that I had no right to slight their cities, that I was a drawing card, that they had always been friends of mine, and that I had hurt honest sport by continuing my work to the limits set by Hillier. You see, most of my racing had been done under the direction of the London County Association, a limited company which gives athletic tournaments (in fact, the London County Cycling and Athletic Club – AR). Mr. Hillier is financially interested in it. My presence at their meetings always meant a big gate for them, and of course they were interested in keeping me as much as possible under their wing. I don't boast when I talk thus of big gate receipts, for that was a fact based on the international character that I would give a meet... I see all this more clearly now than I did then. I didn't appreciate then that I had made a mistake in not taking in the Irish and Scotch championships instead of confining myself so largely to London events.

'This year when I went over I decided that I would do a little of my own directing and race all over the kingdom. It is not going too far to say that this was not agreeable to the Hillier crowd, who would thus lose the monopoly of what was formerly a source of

revenue and more or less reputation. I went to Scotland and to Paris on my own hook and won my races as before. I suppose that if I had allowed my name to be used for the exclusive advantage of the London County Association Limited, I might not have encountered such fierce opposition and found my amateur standing so bitterly protested. I believe that the Scotch and Irish racing men stand by me, as do those who are outside of London and are not under the influence of the London Association'.

⁷¹ *Véloce-Sport* (Paris), 15 June 1893.

⁷² Quoted in "American Comments on the Zimmerman Incident", Editorial in *Cycling*, 8 July 1893.

⁷³ *New York Times*, 14, 25 and 26 June; 12 and 29 July 1893; *Wheelmen's Gazette* (Indianapolis), July 1893.

⁷⁴ This poster is published in various places, most accessibly in Jack Rennert, *100 Years of Bicycle Posters*, Harper and Row, New York, 1973. The art for the poster was drawn by George Moore, the doyen of cycling commercial artists, and the copy in Rennert advertises the Paris agency of the Raleigh company.

⁷⁵ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, 25 August 1893. Another interesting description of Zimmerman was published in *Véloce-Sport*, 15 June 1893: 'His head is somewhat small, his clear, grey eyes attractive and big, his mouth well-shaped and full of excellent teeth, and his nose prominent. His hair is brown at its roots, but becomes almost yellow-coloured in front and on top, which makes him look as if he is wearing a badly coloured and combed wig. He speaks quietly and seldom, and has a soft and sympathetic smile. Both on and away from the track, he is completely nonchalant about his appearance, and certainly isn't a dandy.

He walks slowly about town, with his hands in his pockets, seeming to be quite indifferent to everything he encounters. Thoroughbred race horses also have this same kind of nonchalance.

On the track, he dresses all in black. He wears socks, but lets them fall around his ankles. His shorts don't fit him well. His jersey, which has a wing embroidered in colour on the front, like a coat of arms, not only is not fresh but seems even to be dirty. This is the jersey in which the champion won all his races last year, and it is said that it has never been washed and never will be. Zimmerman thinks of it as a lucky charm and is perhaps afraid his luck will run out if it is washed.

Zimmerman is big, but quite light, weighing only 72 kg. His body and arms are somewhat thin, but his legs are strong and powerful and extraordinarily supple. He never travels without his brother-in-law, MacDermott, and his own personal trainer, who he consults before doing anything and who is never far away. His bicycle weighs about 11 kilos, and has a gear of 66/67". He doesn't want a lighter bicycle since he feels that he loses in rigidity what he gains in lightness, or a bigger gear reasoning that more force results in less speed.

In riding, Zimmerman is very interesting to study, especially since he has a style and a position completely different from our best riders. When he is going slowly, he is balanced on his machine with a side-to-side movement of his shoulders, although his hips are completely still. But when the pace picks up, all his body movement stops as it is an obstacle to speed. Our best riders tend to bend their arms, to arch their backs, to move their head and shoulders, but Zimmerman simply pedals faster, without any visible sign of effort. Rather than lowering his head, like the others, he stretches it forwards, looking straight in front of him, his nose in the air, rather like a hare or a thoroughbred horse. He doesn't bend his arms, but holds them close to his body, while his legs rotate with absolute regularity like the pistons of a locomotive. His ankles are extraordinarily supple, and you have the impression that his feet press the pedals with a smooth and continuous motion, such a difficult perfection to achieve. When he begins his sprint, it is not sudden, and you can't tell when it begins, and you have the impression that it is just his normal style, and not exceptionally fast. He is certainly the best rider at the moment, perhaps the best ever. Everyone who has seen him agrees that it is a new experience, that he deserves to be called the king of the track'.

⁷⁶ Editorial, *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review*, 6 April 1894.

⁷⁷ "Zimmie", *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review*, 6 April 1894.

⁷⁸ Bowden, in *Zimmerman*, op.cit.

⁷⁹ *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review*, 6 April 1894.

⁸⁰ *Bearings*, 27 April 1894; *Outing*, May 1894.

⁸¹ *The Wheel*, 13 April 1894.

⁸² *Cycling Life*, 19 April 1894.

⁸³ Information quoted from J.-M. Erwin and A.A. Zimmerman, *Conseils d'Entrainement par Zimmerman et Relation de son Voyage en Europe* (Librarie du Vélo, Paris, 1894).

⁸⁴ *The Wheel*, 31 Aug. 1894.

⁸⁵ Quoted from Erwin and Zimmerman, op. cit. (author's translation).

⁸⁶ Interview published in *Chicago Evening Post*, date unknown, quoted in *The Wheel*, 18 Jan. 1895.

⁸⁷ *The Wheel*, 7 Sept. 1894.

⁸⁸ *Cycling*, 18 Aug. 1894.

⁸⁹ *The Wheel*, 7 Sept. 1894.

⁹⁰ Interview published in *Chicago Evening Post*, date unknown, quoted in *The Wheel*, 18 Jan. 1895; *New York Times*, 13 Nov. 1894.

⁹¹ *New York Times*, 18 Feb 1896.

⁹² *Bearings*, 27 May 1897.

⁹³ See "The Cycle Racing of 1893", *Wheelmen's Gazette*, Nov. 1893 and "A Resume of the Racing Season", *Wheelmen's Gazette*, Nov. 1894.

⁹⁴ "The Men of the Year", *The Wheel*, 4 Jan. 1895.

⁹⁵ *Rules, Regulations and Instructions of the N.C.U.*, 1895 edition.

⁹⁶ Quoted from Bidlake, op. cit., pp.111-113.

⁹⁷ F.T. Bidlake, op. cit., pp.113-114.

⁹⁸ G. Lacy Hillier, "The Chances of the New Professionalism", *Cycling*, 23 Dec. 1893.

⁹⁹ Cartoon from *Cycling*, 27 April 1895.

¹⁰⁰ Dr. E. B. Turner, "The New Professionalism", *Cycling*, 30 Dec. 1893. It is not clear exactly what the nature of the objections to professionalism voiced by a critic such as Turner actually were. Was professional bicycle racing really as dishonest, as prone to deceptions, vices and disappointments as amateur proponents suggested, or was it in these suspicions that the class-based antipathies and prejudices were most tellingly expressed?

¹⁰¹ "Mass Meeting of Racers", *Cycling*, 30 June 1894 and "The Racing Men's Revolt", *Cycling*, 14 July 1894.

¹⁰² Editorial, *Cycling*, 23 June 1894.

¹⁰³ *La Revue Athlétique*, 25 Dec. 1890, quoted in Mandell, op. cit., p. 32.

¹⁰⁴ J. Astley Cooper, "An Anglo-Saxon Olympiad", *Nineteenth Century*, Sept. 1892, quoted in Mandell op. cit., p.32.

¹⁰⁵ Richard Mandell, *The First Modern Olympics* (University of California Press, 1976), p. 82; see also Chap. 7, “Mass-Producing Traditions”, in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge U.P., 1983). See also Douglas Brown, “Modern Sport, Modernism and the Cultural Manifesto: De Coubertin’s *Revue Olympique*”, *International Journal of the History of Sport*, June 2001.

¹⁰⁶ Mandell, *ibid.*, p.83.

¹⁰⁷ *Bulletin du Comité International des Jeux Olympiques*, Oct. 1894. The text in French reads: ‘... le sentiment chevaleresque de la confraternité de l’épée vient ennoblir le redoutable métier des armes aux yeux même de ceux qui le pratiquent, et tempérer les inévitables horreurs de la guerre. Souhaitons que nos concours internationaux, si nous parvenons à les établir, développent parmi nos contemporains, et bientôt parmi les hommes du vingtième siècle, des sentiments aussi élevés. Rapprochons les nations diverses pour les luttes amicales du sport, et puisse l’observation loyale des règles qui président à nos yeux, ouvrir leurs âmes à ce sentiment de mutuel respect, qui est le premier fondement du maintien de la paix entre les peuples!’ [author’s translation].

¹⁰⁸ The sports represented at the 1896 Olympic Games were those then popular in the expanding upper and middle-class European context, though team sports were as yet not included. The sports included track and field (100m, 400m, 800m, 1500m, marathon, 110m hurdles), jumping and throwing (high jump, long jump, pole vault, triple jump, shot put, discus), wrestling, swimming, weight-lifting, fencing, gymnastics, rowing, cycling, shooting and tennis. Of the original 15 members of the International Olympic Committee, 12 were European, and the other three from the United States, Argentina and New Zealand. See David Wallechinsky, *The Complete Book of the Summer Olympics* (Little, Brown and Co., 1984).

¹⁰⁹ Mandell, *op. cit.*, p.144.

¹¹⁰ *Bulletin du Comité International des Jeux Olympiques*, April 1895, p.4.

¹¹¹ A search for the earliest dates of foundation of world governing bodies of other major sports has provided the following information: the Fédération Internationale Gymnastique was formed in 1881, but no world championships were held until 1903. The International Skating Union was formed in 1892 and began contesting world championships from 1893. The Fédération Internationale des Sociétés d’Aviron (rowing)

was also formed in 1892, though only European championships were held from 1893. F.I.F.A., the world soccer body, was formed in 1904.

Chapter Nine

The expansion of non-competitive - recreational and utility – cycling in the bicycle ‘boom’ of the 1890s

- 1. Outline: the three modes of cycling: formal competition, recreation and utility (p. 467)**
 - 2. The bicycle ‘boom’ of the 1890s: non-competitive - recreational, and utilitarian – cycling (p. 472)**
 - 3. Estimating numbers of bicycle riders/users: club membership and the problem of the ‘unattached’ (p. 481)**
 - 4. Summary and conclusions (p. 489)**
- Notes to Chapter 9 (p. 498)**

1. Outline: the three modes of cycling: racing, recreation and utility

'Membership in a club gives a man a social standing in the bicycling world', Henry Sturmeay, *Indispensable Cyclists' Handbook*, 1879

'...the bicycle is now used almost solely for utility...', *Bicycling World* (21 Nov. 1903)

These two quotations illustrate the striking contrast between cycling in 1879 as a specialized club-based status-oriented athletic activity and the growth of cycling as an everyday practical activity by 1903, 24 years later. The repercussions of such utility growth and the growth of recreational and leisure cycling for an assessment of the sport of cycling are considerable and are discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 9 looks at the dimensions of the growth - alongside racing - of recreational, leisure and utility riding as the extraordinary bicycle 'boom' of the mid-1890s occurred. The chapter provides some quantitative data from a variety of sources, and evaluates briefly what conclusions may be derived from it. Although this dissertation has not set out to be primarily sociological in its method, it is suggested here that a sociologically oriented approach is most useful in assessing the relevant data. This chapter references several secondary sources which have attempted a wider quantitative analysis of bicycle usage in the 1890s. The chapter asserts that useful indications can be found in manufacturers' production figures, in the membership figures of national and local institutions and clubs, and in the limited number of surveys of utility cycling. But it also concludes that it is difficult to evaluate accurately and comparatively the numbers of participants involved in the various modes of cycling. The 'unattached' rider - that is the rider who did not join a club or a national organization - remains unquantified and problematic. Even statistics which appear to quantify categories in a straightforward way can, for a variety of reasons, be less informative than at first they seem to be.

This dissertation has focused primarily on the birth and growth of competitive cycling from its earliest days. Where did the sport come from? How did it evolve? How was it organized? How can it be characterized? The sport has been examined in a chronologically developmental, thematic and comparative way. The commercial and institutional links

between the participants in the sport as consumers of bicycle equipment and the bicycle manufacturers as producers of that equipment have been emphasized and examined. Bicycle racers were, as has been illustrated persuasively from the source material here, the most critical and demanding consumers of the industry's products, and it has been asserted here that their experiences and reactions were integral to the development of bicycle technology as it changed and developed through the 19th century. An examination of the racing careers of those who took part in formal competition, and some of those who were involved in the promotion and social organization of the sport, has been central to this history.

Competitive cyclists were not, however, the only consumers of the bicycle industry's products, and were not the only category of riders the industry had to take into consideration. Distinctions have been made here throughout the period under examination between, a) the seriously competitive core, those who raced in formal competition on the road or track, b) those enthusiasts involved in cycling as an athletic recreation, a touring or a leisure activity, and c) those for whom the bicycle became primarily a means of utilitarian transportation and therefore not a sporting activity.¹ The structural difficulties of this three-mode social construction of cycling were pointed out in the Introduction, Section 4, and some further comments on the subject are included here, bearing in mind that as the 'boom' of the 1890s occurred the ratio between the numbers of people involved in competition, recreation and utility changed. To what extent can we know or estimate what the relative numbers in these three groups were? And how did their relative proportions change over time?

This chapter sets out to understand better the complexities of investigating the relationships between competitive sport, recreation and touring, and utility use during the 1890s bicycle phenomenon. The co-existence of the three groups of users has various implications, both in terms of the structure of the sport and people's social and working lives. In the 1890s, for example, a man might well ride a race on Saturday, tour with his wife on Sunday and then ride to work on Monday, either on the same or on three different kinds of bicycles. He might or might not have been a member of a cycling organization. His presence may or may not be historically traceable. He may have bought his bicycle from a dealer or, second-hand, from a friend. How should the historian or sociologist distinguish or analyze these varied activities? Into which particular slots should his activities be placed?

In England, data such as that provided by National Cyclists' Union membership figures suggests that seriously competitive athletes, those who needed a licence to compete either as amateurs or professionals after a licensing scheme was introduced in the mid-1890s, constituted a relatively small proportion of those cyclists who joined the N.C.U. In 1894, when total British membership in the N.C.U. approximated 80,000, a total of 2,682 racing licenses was issued, indicating that about one person out of 30 of its members intended to race seriously.² Figures for N.C.U. membership in 1897 (see Table 9.E., Appendix to the chapter below), also indicate that the seriously competitive athletes (obliged to take out a licence to compete either as amateurs or professionals) again constituted a relatively small (although larger than in 1894) proportion of the entire body of N.C.U. members. If the number of licenses issued in that year (2,626) is taken as a fraction of the total paid membership of the N.C.U. (which had declined to 31,397), then about one N.C.U. member in twelve was requesting a licence to compete.³ Relative to total membership, those intending to race had proportionally increased in number between 1894 and 1897, from 1 in 30 to 1 in 12. The figures are deceptive, however, because they probably include only those who intended to race in events sponsored or organized by the N.C.U., whereas some riders would certainly have raced outside any existing club or licencing rules. Also, of course, N.C.U. members were those who joined the organization either because they were members of affiliated clubs or for some other specific reason (special rates on trains, availability of maps, lists of places to stay while touring, etc), and there were many (how many?) active cyclists who simply did not join.

Nevertheless, these two N.C.U. membership years suggest that a figure of between 3-4% and 8-9% appears to be a good estimation of the percentage of serious racers within the N.C.U., while more than 90% were non-racers. Some specialized racing clubs of course had a much higher percentage of racers. These are discussed below in Section 3. A more detailed comparative and geographical study of British club records, race programmes and reports and club membership figures could probably be made to yield more precise figures on the balance between serious racers and more recreationally oriented club members.

Unquantified, of course, remains the athletic and sporting endeavour suggested by participation in strenuous trials such as century rides (100 miles) on the road, or all day club

rides, which can be found reported in great numbers in the cycling press throughout the 1880s and 1890s, but which do not constitute formal competition.

Once again, a more sociological analytical approach would be likely to yield useful results, but was not the primary intention of this research. I have worked on this thesis from the wide perspective of social history, fleshing out the story of “what actually happened” in an area that has been inconsistently researched. The account has inclined towards an interpretation of printed documents, but has not emphasized the collection and analysis of quantifiable data concerning the bicycle industry and bicycle usage. A recent account by Thomas Burr (a Ph. D. thesis, as yet unpublished) explores the differences between the French and American bicycle markets from the point of view of sociology and economic history. Burr describes himself as an ‘economic sociologist’. It is a sophisticated approach. It has many new insights, presents much new information, and is required reading for any historian of the bicycle coming to the period from any discipline.⁴ It is discussed further in Section 2 of this chapter.

It has been argued here that competitive sport (including the wider field of athletic recreational cycling) was the engine which drove a great deal of the innovation and technological change within the bicycle industry in the 1880s and 1890s.⁵ Can it also reasonably be argued that as recreational and utility cycling increased in the boom of the 1890s the influence of competitive cyclists on the industry was correspondingly less significant and the utility cyclist more influential? Certainly, the industry had to supply a greater demand and address a larger, less specialized consumer, and pay more attention to the general rider. Although the tricycle had previously, on a small scale, been a viable utility machine, it was the introduction of the safety bicycle and pneumatic tyre in 1890-92 that began to attract utility riders in significant numbers, including women and older men. But there is also a certain amount of evidence that the competitive ‘mode’ continued to be a style or fashion among those who had no intention of competing formally. Burr suggests that ‘racing remains the numerically smallest but culturally most prestigious form of consumption, heavily influencing bicycle design and leisure riding.’ He also writes that because ‘popular design followed racing design’, the danger of cycling increased in cities because racing design ‘was inappropriate for riding in traffic.’⁶ In other words, an expensive, light, racing-style bicycle was likely to be used for leisure or utility riding even

though it was not the most appropriate machine for that purpose. Production figures for a certain kind of bicycle may not, therefore, necessarily correlate with the use to which that bicycle is actually put.

The complexity of this theme is therefore further elaborated here with examination of the expansion and popularity of both recreational and utilitarian cycling alongside the specifically competitive aspects which have been the principal focus of this history in the previous chapters.

Summary of Chapter 9

Section 2. (The bicycle ‘boom’ of the 1890s: the expansion of non-competitive - recreational, and utilitarian – cycling) presents and discusses evidence of the expansion and penetration of cycling as a recreational, touring and utility activity. It considers this expansion from the perspective of three categories, a) industrial production and customer consumption, b) expansion of cycling institutions and c) increase in utility cycling.

Section 3. (Estimating numbers of bicycle riders/users: club membership and the problem of the ‘unattached’) examines membership figures for a variety of cycling institutions, especially British club data collected by Henry Sturmey in the 1890s. It comments on the difficulties of estimating the size of various groups, or categories, of cyclist users, including ‘the unattached’.

2. The bicycle 'boom' of the 1890s: the expansion of non-competitive - recreational and utility – cycling

It is appropriate to give a short general outline of the expansion of the bicycle industry in the 1890s here. In the developed countries where the bicycle was a significant factor, cycling increased hugely from about 1891 with the arrival of the safety bicycle and the pneumatic tyre. But between about 1892 and 1896 there was an explosion of popularity. A huge demand was created and industrial production increased by leaps and bounds.

Not only did the total numbers of people cycling increase hugely, but there is evidence that the balance between the three modes changed. Competitive cycling, though it increased in popularity, involved a smaller percentage of all riders, while there was a huge increase of recreational riding and an increase in utility riding, especially in urban environments. These assertions, while easy to make in a general sense, are not always easy to support with data, however. There is evidence that as the bicycle became more accessible to recreational and utility riders, the imbalance between competition and recreation/utility became even more pronounced than is suggested above.

By the early 1890s, the bicycle had become an industrial success story and a recreational and utilitarian fact of daily life in the developed world, a widespread movement within which it is important to emphasize that competitive sport was the primary concern of only a small minority.

At the turn of the century, *Leslie's* expressed an expansive confidence in this growing industry and in the usefulness and health and recreational possibilities of the bicycle:

No review of the great inventions and remarkable achievements of the nineteenth century will be complete that does not give adequate space to the origination and wonderful development of the bicycle industry, that stands among the foremost in the amount of capital invested and the number of persons employed, and that ministers to the enjoyment and physical well-being of millions of people in all lands under the sun. And all this growth and development are covered by the history of hardly more than the last quarter of the century.⁷

a) Industrial production and customer consumption

According to A.E. Harrison, in his economic analysis of the British industry, 'there were 2 manufacturers of completed cycles in Coventry in 1874, 14 in 1882, 22 in 1890 and 35 in

1892. Birmingham had 6 makers in 1875, 43 in 1880, 54 in 1886 and 114 in 1891. Nottingham had 8 in 1878, 13 in 1886 and 33 in 1892'. The number of 'makers of complete cycles' for 1896-97 is given as 'Birmingham - 309, Coventry - 75, London - 390 and Nottingham - 59'. On the American industry, Harrison gives the following figures: in 1889, there were 27 'cycle-making firms', with an output of \$2,568,326; by 1895, there were 500 factories, by 1897, 700; the 1899 Census showed 312 'bicycle-making establishments', with a production worth nearly \$32 million.⁸

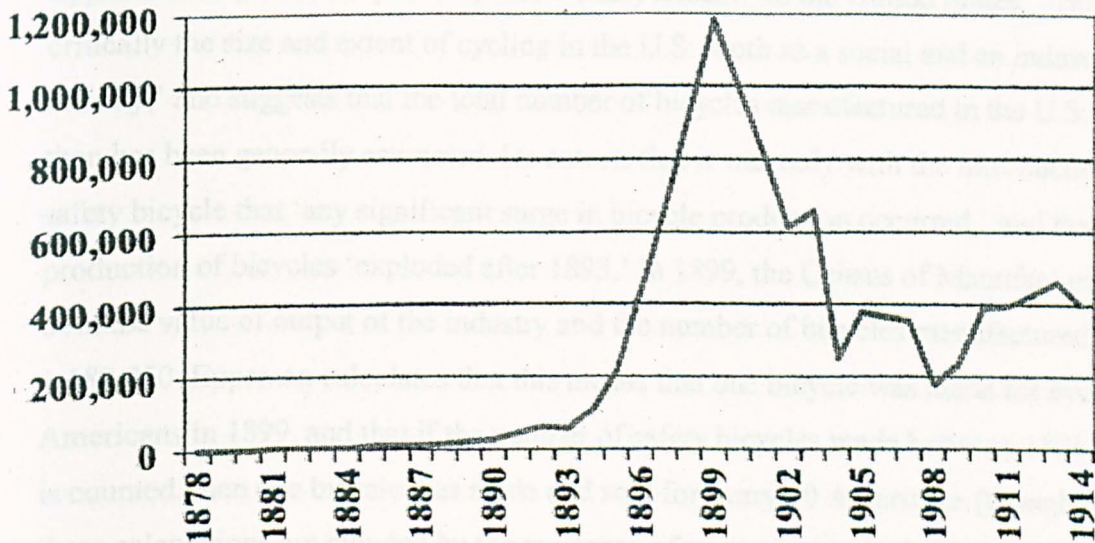
In 1897, the British journal *The Hub* offered the following statistics about the American industry: 'In 1885, the United States had 6 cycle factories producing 11,000 machines. In 1890, 17 factories turned out 40,000 machines. In 1895, 500 factories produced 600,000 cycles and in 1896, over 700 factories manufactured 1 million bicycles, worth £12 million'. Up until 1876, another issue of *The Hub* recorded, only about 300 bicycle patents had been issued; since then, 4,000 had been added, half of those since 1891.⁹

Burr notes a similar expansion in the United States. In July 1895, *Harper's Weekly* noticed that 'The number of riders has doubled in the past six months, and is still increasing.' It also reported 'an immense rage for bicycling' that summer. Membership in the League of American Wheelmen grew rapidly, and peaked at 103,000 in 1898. There was a 'dramatic growth in U.S. bicycle production' and 'the entire U.S. market grew explosively....The American market doubled from 1894 to 1895, the first year of the boom; it almost doubled again from 1895 to 1896; it grew by 40% from 1896 to 1897; and the national market increased by 30% from 1897 to 1898.'¹⁰ (see Table 9. 1. on following page) In 1892, the U.S. industry had at least 50 manufacturers and 40-50 importers. By 1898, there were 316 large manufacturers (those which produced at least 500 bicycles annually) and about 2,500 small manufacturers (producing fewer than 500 bicycles annually).¹¹

Table 9. 1.

Estimated annual U.S. bicycle production, 1878 – 1914

(Source: Epperson, "How Many Bikes?" and Burr, "Markets as Producers and Consumers")



Source: Epperson 2001:43.

Harper's estimated that the American bicycle trade involved a total consumer expenditure of \$50 million, that a half a million bicycles would be sold in 1895, and that a total of 1 million were in use in the United States. A further article in *Harper's* spoke of 'the cheapness of bicycling as compared with horse-back riding... A bicycle costs from \$100 - 150, a horse costs from \$200 to very much larger sums. The keep of a horse is at least \$30 a month, including the charges of the farrier and veterinary; the cost of a bicycle for repairs ought not to be \$3 a month.'¹² By 1898, a good quality, brand new bicycle could be bought for between \$25 and \$50 in the United States, and a slightly outdated, used bicycle for much less.

Epperson has posed the question, "How Many Bikes?" in the United States.¹³ He examines critically the size and extent of cycling in the U.S. 'both as a social and an industrial activity,' and suggests that the total number of bicycles manufactured in the U.S. was less than has been generally estimated. He asserts that it was only with the introduction of the safety bicycle that 'any significant surge in bicycle production occurred,' and that the production of bicycles 'exploded after 1893.' In 1899, the Census of Manufactures recorded both the value of output of the industry and the number of bicycles manufactured – 1,182,850. Epperson calculates that this means that one bicycle was made for every 63 Americans in 1899, and that if the number of safety bicycles made between 1891 and 1899 is counted, then one bicycle was made and sold for every 10 Americans (though he adds that these calculations are clouded by the existence of an export market). Having presented various data, however, Epperson concludes that in its early years, especially its first three decades (i.e., 1878 – 1908), 'the size and extent of the American bicycle industry is still a matter of conjecture and more than a little educated guessing is required to calculate it.'

Such statistics charting the expansion of the bicycle industry between 1870 and 1900 (and particularly in the boom of the early 1890s) are impressive; what other late-19th century sport/recreation was the location for the manufacture and consumption of such a vast quantity of equipment? What is evident is that within the bicycle movement in the 1890s, there was a parallel development of racing, recreation and utility cycling, all three modes together accounting for the huge increase in demand for machines. Although it is reasonable to conclude that only a small proportion of these bicycles were used in competitive sport *per se*, it would nevertheless be a truism to assert that not a single one of these bicycles was ridden without the use of muscular power. Thus, it is unarguable that there was also an

athletic element of varying degrees in recreational and in utilitarian cycling. An examination of makers' catalogues and the kinds of machines advertised in the cycling press shows that clear distinctions were made between those machines intended for sport, for recreation and for utility, but the dictates of fashion or practicality, as much as the intentions of the maker, meant that a 'racing' machine was frequently used for recreational purposes or that a substantial tour was done on a humble utility machine.

Many accounts confirm that the social and economic influence of the bicycle was wide and deep and that the cycling sport and pastime was not confined in a narrow sense to competition. It was most emphatically not an enthusiasm for bicycle racing *in isolation from* other uses of the bicycle which characterized the period. Interest in the wider sport and pastime extended far beyond those who actually competed on bicycles.

b) Expansion of cycling institutions

As has been previously described, an institutional separation took place very early in Britain (1878) between the Bicycle Union (later the National Cyclists' Union, mostly racing) and the Bicycle Touring Club (later the Cyclists' Touring Club, mostly touring and recreation). Competitive cycling's governing body in England, the National Cyclists' Union, struggled to accommodate the interests of its non-racing members and to answer the criticism that it was too heavily involved in racing. The *N.C.U. Review* reported that 'the championships of 1886, instead of resulting in a handsome profit to the Union, as they have done in previous years... have been the means of involving that body in a loss', equivalent to the annual subscriptions of 3,000 club-men'.¹⁴ In 1887, a committee member reported that:

an erroneous opinion evidently exists amongst cyclists... that the N.C.U. is a racing association, pure and simple... others condemn the Executive for giving too much of its time to racing matters, to the alleged prejudice of important work more essential to the interests of cyclists, and for which the Union professes to legislate.¹⁵

Robert Todd, the Secretary of the N.C.U., admitted that 'the racing constituents of the Union have for some time past absorbed more than their fair share of the time at the disposal of the Executive' and he proposed that the Executive would in future 'devote much more of their time and efforts to matters which more generally interest and affect the large body of road-riding cyclists, who use cycling as a healthful means of recreation and rational enjoyment'.¹⁶ Evidence of this wider interest was the struggle for legal recognition of bicycles on the

public highway, and the creation as early as 1887 of a Roads Improvement Association of the N.C.U. and the C.T.C.¹⁷ Thus, a narrow, competitive definition of the sport was seen as undesirable by the majority of the members from the mid-1880s.

In France, too, cycling had two principal organizations, the Union Vélocipédique de France (established 1880) and the Touring Club de France (established 1890). The U.V.F. was concerned mostly with racing and the T.C.F. was created to answer the criticism that the U.V.F. did not pay attention to the needs and interests of non-racing cyclists. According to Burr, membership of the T.C.F. had gradually increased since its foundation, but the increase accelerated in April 1894. The membership of the T.C.F. increased tenfold between 1894 and 1898. Membership in the U.V.F. tripled from 1891 to 1892 and grew 37% in 1893. However, membership doubled again in 1894, and grew by 80% in 1895. Burr estimates that the combined membership of the U.V.F. and the T.C.F. was close to 100,000 by 1898. Official statistics show that the number of bicycle owners throughout France grew by 34% from 1893 to 1894, and grew an average of 26% every year for the next three years.¹⁸

A similar dichotomy, and questioning of its essential purposes, confronted the League of American Wheelmen in the United States in trying to balance its control of racing with its responsibilities in touring, legal and transportation advocacy. Its interest in improving road conditions for all cyclists was demonstrated with the organization of what became known as the Good Roads Movement.

Sport, recreation and utility thus overlapped in various ways. Many of the spectators at racing events, for example, were recreational riders, and the emergence of the specialized cycling press in Britain, France and the United States, which has frequently been commented upon here, helped to consolidate a network of non-racing, athletic, club-based enthusiasts who together constituted the consumers in the cycling marketplace. Accounts of long and short touring rides at home and in foreign countries abound in the cycling press in the 1880s and 1890s. These journeys were not only an expansion of bicycle tourism, but a means of making travel of any kind feasible for those with a small income.

As an illustration of the growth of the press directed at the cycling consumer in France, a book by popular journalist Baudry de Saunier, published in 1892 in Paris, contained

advertisements for fourteen periodicals then available in France which either concentrated exclusively on cycling or featured it heavily.¹⁹ These were weeklies and monthlies, and the list does not include the Parisian daily cycling newspaper, *Le Vélo*, which first appeared in December 1892. Britain, at the same moment, had a similar number of cycling-related newspapers and journals. At a time of general expansion of the popular press, the publishers of these publications covering cycling were pioneers in understanding the viability and profitability of the regular publication of sport-specific periodicals and journals, and of positioning themselves in the popular marketplace for bicycles. In the 1860-70 period, sport-related news items were published in general interest publications such as *Bell's Life*, *The Bazaar*, *Exchange and Mart* (G.B.), or *The Spirit of the Times* (U.S.), but in these there was no related marketing of sport-specific products to the consumer.

Cycling's wider social importance was understood and widely commented upon by contemporary observers. 'The historian who will write the true history of the closing years of the 19th century will be compelled to say a great deal about the growth, influence and effects of the bicycle habit during that period', said *Harper's Weekly* in 1895; 'The bicycle was taken up as an appliance for exercise and pleasure. These it has furnished to an extent not anticipated by its most enthusiastic devotees. In addition, it has passed beyond any limits of mere pleasure or exercise'.²⁰ *Harper's* went on to list some of the facets of life impacted by the bicycle; its potential in war, its acceptance by 'society', its promise as an alternative to the horse, its raising the question of better roads and its giving a new freedom of physical activity and dress styles to women:

It is undoubtedly true that woman is riding to greater freedom, to a nearer equality with man, to the habit of taking care of herself, and to new views on the subject of clothes philosophy. The woman on the wheel is altogether a novelty, and is essentially a product of the last decade of the century'.²¹

A close study of the expansion of the bicycle shows that women formed a small but significant proportion of the recreational and utilitarian users as the 'safety' bicycle and pneumatic tyres were introduced. At first, women riders in general laboured in long skirts, but during the 'boom' of the mid-1890s, cycling costumes became both a fashion and a statement of modern practicality, including 'bifurcated' skirts and 'bloomers'. Only a very small proportion of female cyclists became competitors (see Figs. 9. 1. to 9. 4.).

c) Increase in utility cycling

By the early 1890s, with the advent of the 'safety' bicycle and the pneumatic tyre, and the related huge expansion of the bicycle industry, cycling had thus become much more popular as a recreational and utilitarian activity. It was no longer necessary to be a member of an elitist, specialist club to be a recreational cyclist or cycle-tourist. With the increased comfort and practicality of the 'safety', the bicycle was also much more useful for practical transportation and daily mobility within cities or for short distances. Combined with railway travel, the cyclist could effectively cover greater distances.

Other than the often problematic membership statistics of cycling organizations, and an occasional report of bicycle usage in specific geographical locations, statistical information about utilitarian cycling within the research period is patchy, meagre and occasional. Even within an organization such as the Good Roads Movement, which was established parallel with the League of American Wheelmen from 1880 to 1905, actual bicycle usage appears to have been regarded as such a self-evident and expansive contemporary fact that it was not much measured in statistical terms.²²

The numbers and proportions of purely utility riders are difficult to estimate. Appreciation of the recreational pleasures, the health-giving and utilitarian aspects of cycling was already widespread in the 1880s. One comment, which recognized the practical advantages of the high-wheel bicycle as opposed to the stresses and strains of racing, was this passage from a book directed at a popular audience, *Cassell's Complete Book of Sports and Pastimes*:

Amongst all manly and athletic pursuits bicycling holds a most prominent place, not only as a sport, but also as a really useful accomplishment... The practice of bicycling is distinguished over all other sports by its independence. The adept, rising early in the morning, can encompass eighty or one hundred miles with ease in the course of a holiday... The toil-worn clerk can, by getting up an hour earlier than usual, take a quiet run amongst the green fields, and fill his lungs with fresh air before entering upon the labours of the day... With care, bicycle-riding will be found most beneficial and health-giving.²³

Later, as the bicycle's utility became more widely accepted, functional cycling trips in various cities were surveyed and reported, but these surveys tend to be occasional and unsystematic. Counts appear to have been taken mostly where there were a lot of cyclists in one particular place and totals would be high. On one day in 1896, for example, the City of Chicago counted a little over 5,000 cyclists going into the downtown and in 1898, 10,700.²⁴

In Louisville, Kentucky, a journalist counted 2,836 cyclists passing one location during a three-hour period.²⁵ In Manchester, in 1896 and 1897, a census of cyclists going in and out of the city was taken and reported on two occasions in the *Manchester Guardian*.²⁶ In 1900, *The Sporting Goods Dealer* spoke of 'the crowds awheel, whose course is set during the rush hour of the morning towards the business center, and again in the evening as they seek the home'.²⁷ In 1903, *Bicycling World* noted that 'the bicycle is now used almost solely for utility, which cuts demand down to a fraction of what fashion was able to produce'. By 1907, a Minneapolis city engineer counted more than 1,200 bicycles a day between April and September on downtown streets, and on some days bicycles made up as much as 20% of total daily traffic. In Indianapolis there were 'large bicycle storage rooms in the downtown district.'²⁸

By the mid-1890s, the bicycle had thus been widely diffused from its earlier, more limited, more specifically sport-oriented, athletic and competitive role, and had become a widely-used, practical transportation tool. But the glimpses of utility riders in various, arbitrary locations are also problematic from a data collection point of view. Why was this particular location chosen? On what day of the week was the count taken? How many people were riding on a city-wide basis? The small amount of data that can be retrieved is random and gives only a very general idea of wider social trends.

3. Estimating numbers of bicycle riders/users: club membership and the problem of the 'unattached'

If manufacturers' production figures, national institution membership figures and occasional city surveys of bicycle usage in Britain give unmistakable evidence of the dramatic expansion of cycling in general in the mid-1890s, they still do not give further precise information on the relative size of the competitive, recreational and utility modes of the total cycling population. British club membership figures, however, are available, and show the penetration of cycling as a primarily specialized enthusiast sport into a wider segment of society.

Henry Sturmey, a journalist, editor, race official and cycling bureaucrat, extensively documented the progress and expansion of cycling, cycling institutions and the bicycle industry between the late-1870s and the late-1890s, and is a rare and valuable, though not unproblematic, source. Sturmey published a successful series of annual handbooks for consumers and the industry which charted trends in the cycling marketplace. His *Indispensable Handbook* and *Cyclist Annual and Year Book*, and other annuals listing and explaining the different models of bicycles and tricycles, were early examples of consumer product guides, where competing models and designs were rigorously examined and evaluated. Sturmey was also an active rider and clubman. 'Membership in a club gives a man a social standing in the bicycling world which he could scarcely otherwise possess', he wrote in 1879 in his *Indispensable Bicyclists' Handbook*, when cycling was still largely restricted to the specialist clubman-athlete.

In 1879, only six or seven years only into the active development of the high-wheel bicycle in England, Sturmey noted that there were 'upwards of 230 clubs in the United Kingdom', with 75 in London alone. He estimated that there were 8-9,000 'club men', with an average membership of between 30 and 40. The largest club was the Cambridge University Club, with 280 members. Several London clubs had more than 100 members. In 1876, 1877 and 1878, he wrote, clubs were being created at the rate of 60-70 a year, which proved 'the gigantic strides with which this invigorating pastime is gaining ground in popular favour'.²⁹

Sturmey's interest in documenting British cycling clubs continued in his annual *The Cyclist Year Book*, a compendium of information about many aspects of the cycling

trade and sport.³⁰ The lists of clubs and membership figures published there in the 1890s gives the opportunity for an analysis of Sturmeys data (for 1892, 1893, 1894 and 1898), which has been compiled into the four tables included in the Appendix to this chapter.

Table 9. A. gives figures for 1892, Table 9. B. gives figures for 1893 and Table 9. C. gives figures for 1894 (see the end of the chapter).³¹ The figures give a projected total membership in British clubs, based on average membership. It should be emphasized that the data given here is imperfect, based on the incompleteness of the information given to Sturmeys. A few entries, for example, give no membership figures for a particular club.

By 1899, as a National Cyclists' Union official and Secretary of the International Cyclists' Association, which had overseen world championships since 1892, Sturmeys had become one of the most prominent figures in international cycling affairs. In a characteristic display of late-Victorian energy and thoroughness, Sturmeys was still collecting and publishing data as a journalist. His 1899 *Cyclist's Indispensable Handbook and Year Book* is of great interest to the historian, including lists of new products, directories of manufacturers, national and world championships and records. It also contained a 50-page list of "The Cycling Clubs of 1898".

As in previous editions, Sturmeys had written to the secretaries of all the British clubs, enclosing a prepaid reply envelope asking for details of membership. Some did not reply, so his project was inevitably incomplete. Together with figures showing the growth of the bicycle industry, Sturmeys's survey provides valuable evidence of the penetration of sporting and recreational cycling into the social fabric of British society, although unfortunately it did not include any calculations on utility cycling or estimates of the number of people who used bicycles to go to work. A plausible inference from the club membership figures given here is that non-club-member recreational and utility cyclists (the 'unattached') constituted a large group of bicycle users who were not accounted for in Sturmeys's club lists.

In 1899, the total number of British cycling clubs listed by Sturmeys was 1,816; England had 1,374, Scotland 250, Ireland 144 and Wales 44.³² Of the English clubs, 256 were based in

London, while several other major cities had 40 or more clubs; Birmingham had 76, Manchester 49, Liverpool 47 and Edinburgh 44, for example. If the 50 London clubs and approximately 200 provincial clubs whose secretaries did not respond to Sturmeys request for information are also counted, the total number of clubs in 1898 was about 2,050. The total nationwide membership of all the clubs listed by Sturmeys was 128,936, with an average individual membership of 71 members. The 256 London clubs listed had a total of 20,597 members, with an average membership of about 80 people. The size of individual clubs varied considerably. The largest were the well-established racing clubs, like the Catford C.C. (450 members), the Polytechnic C.C. (250 members), the Manchester Clarion C.C. (400 members) and the Belfast Cliftonville C.C. (650 members), certainly evidence that competition and serious 'speed' cycling were strong motivating factors in club formation. But the 'society' club, the Sheen House C.C., whose members were more interested in fashion than racing, was also extremely large, with about 1,100 members since 1896, indicative of the explosion in recreational riding during the 'boom', while the smallest clubs listed had a mere 12 or 15 members.

The names of the clubs listed by Sturmeys demonstrate the extent to which cycling as a sport and recreation had penetrated into many different kinds of social groupings. This mass of clubs was distributed all over the country and nearly all of them included the words 'Cycling Club', 'Bicycle Club', 'Road Club' or 'Wheelers' in their titles. Their social activity, nevertheless, extended beyond cycling, and their existence demonstrates how the popularity of cycling had become the focal point for other socially cohesive patterns of recreation and leisure. A detailed study of these hundreds of clubs would provide many insights into the history of British working- and middle-class social life at the end of the 19th century, but is a project which is outside the scope of this present study, however.³³

What does Sturmeys compendious list tell us about the ratio between truly competitive cycling, recreational/touring cycling and utility cycling? Many of the big clubs, such as the North Road C.C., the London County Cycling and Athletic Club, the Catford C.C. or the Polytechnic C.C., existed primarily to race and 'scorch' on the roads, to express an athletic and competitive sense of masculine identity rooted in physical strength, fitness and endurance.³⁴ Most others, certainly the majority, were weekend riding and touring groups, with an active social calendar, particularly in the winter months. Some clubs were organized

around a specific activity or social group, such as the Daily Press C.C. (London, 263 members), the Licenced Victuallers C.C. (London, 80 members), the London Scottish B.C. (70 members), the Vegetarian C.C. (London, 108 members), the Alington (Gloucester) Working Men's C.C. (12 members), the Hexham Congregational Church C.C. (31 members) or the Edinburgh Abstainers C.C. (65 members). Some were based in a specific working-class geographical area, like the Surrey Commercial Docks C.C. (42 members) or the Thames Ironworks C.C. (150 members), or originated in one particular factory, such as the Humber C.C. (450 members) and the Rudge-Whitworth C.C. (200 members) in Coventry, or the Colchester Brewing Company C.C. Others, such as the nationally organized Clarion Cycling Clubs, or the Association of Conservative Clubs C.C. (London, 450 members), had an overt political agenda.³⁵

Within and beyond this predominantly masculinist milieu, women too began to participate. Ladies' cycling clubs were increasingly common by the end of the 1890s (for example, the Lady Cyclists' Association, with 200 members), existing either independently or as the women's section of a male club, and women's participation in cycling was recognized with the development of a specialized press specifically directed at women.³⁶

For a comparison of the numbers of competitive and recreational cyclists calculated from Sturmeys' figures, it is useful to refer again to membership totals for the National Cyclists' Union, a national umbrella organization which consisted of a centralized government and local district committees, some of whose members were also members of local clubs. Table 9. E. in the Appendix gives regional membership figures for the N.C.U. at the beginning of 1897, based on the geographical regions. The total estimated membership of more than 31,000 members of the N.C.U. shown in Table 9. E should be compared with the approximate total club membership for Britain of 128,936 in 1898 projected from Sturmeys (*Cyclist Year Book* for 1899) shown in Table 9. D., and indicates that only about a quarter of the cyclists who joined a local club availed themselves of the advantages of membership in the national organization, which gave legal advice and information about road conditions and published a handbook listing hotels and restaurants where members could get special rates. This suggests that club membership was a local, community-based matter and membership in the national organization was perhaps limited to the most active and

enthusiastic. Once again, this comparison indicates how problematic and deceptive membership figures can be.

Another source of data for the estimation of numbers of cyclists in membership in the Cyclists' Touring Club of Britain. In 1892, the Cyclists' Touring Club advertised itself as 'the largest athletic or quasi-athletic institution in the world! It is international in its character, and possesses over 20,000 members, which number is daily increasing'.³⁷ The C.T.C. appointed Consuls abroad, as well as in all the British counties, thus recognizing the international aspects of bicycle touring and facilitating foreign touring rides by C.T.C. members. In 1899, the first Congress of the International League of Touring Associations was held in London in honour of the 21st birthday of the C.T.C., founded in 1878. The League included 17 touring associations from 14 different countries.³⁸ Among its many functions, the C.T.C. published a directory of affordable hotels and farmhouses which catered to the needs of recreational cyclists as they travelled in Britain and abroad. Table 8.F. in the Appendix illustrates the growth of the C.T.C. from its foundation in 1878 until 1898, and highlights the 'truly phenomenal increase' which occurred during the bicycle boom years, from 16,343 members in 1895 to 34,655 in 1896, an increase of 18,312 members.³⁹ In giving these various kinds of membership statistics, it should once again be emphasized that there are no figures for active cyclists (possibly utility cyclists?) who were not members either of a local club or of the N.C.U. or C.T.C., who rode primarily either for recreational or utility purposes and were content to be among the 'unattached'.

The League of American Wheelmen, the American national organization, also grew quickly. 'I consider the act of joining the League of American Wheelmen one of the very first duties which every cyclist in this country owes his fellows', wrote Karl Kron in 1887.⁴⁰ Founded in 1880, it had 527 members by the end of that year, and its subsequent growth is shown in Table 9. G. in the Appendix. It should be noticed here that the substantial fall in membership after 1898/99 indicates a decline in interest in becoming a member of a cycling organization, but it should not therefore necessarily be taken as conclusive evidence of a decline in the numbers of cyclists actually on the roads. Mason notes that membership figures for the L.A.W. were 'not an accurate measure of the strength of the League because they tend to underestimate its... power. There were several million bicycle riders in the United States in the 1890s and early 1900s who, for one reason or another, never joined the League'. He goes

on to argue that competition from the automobile was not a major cause of the decline of the League, for 'membership in the wheelmen's organization had declined considerably before the automobile received widespread public acceptance'.⁴¹ Once again, it can be inferred that the dramatic fall in membership after 1898, although giving strong evidence of a substantial decline in recreational cycling, does not necessarily prove that a similar decline also occurred in utility cycling, for which appropriate figures are much harder to find.

These British and American organizations were not alone: Belgium, Holland, Germany, Italy, Canada and Australia also saw a similar substantial growth and later decline of membership in cycling clubs. In fact such growth and decline appears to have been a global phenomenon within the industrialized countries.

An exception was France, where growth in club membership appears to have been consistently upwards, including membership in the touring body, the Touring-Club de France.⁴² Since French clubs were obligated by law to register their existence with local municipal authorities, the statistics given in Alex Poyer's recent book appear to be solid. He gives the number of cycling clubs in France in 1880/82 as 52, in 1887 - 97, in 1891 - 308, in 1895 - 1390 and in 1909 - 1834. Of this total number of clubs, however, only some were affiliated with the national governing body of racing, the Union Vélocipédique de France, indicating a specialized interest in racing. The number of clubs affiliated with the U.V.F. was, in 1888 - 27, in 1895 - 186, in 1901 - 203, in 1903 - 474 and in 1914 - 521.⁴³ Doubtless, the 'unattached' were also present in large numbers in France.⁴⁴

The problem of the 'unattached'

Club membership, as has been apparent in this examination, was fluid from year to year, but the data is specific to particular organizations, and omits those who did not join. Thus, the problem of the 'unattached' remains. As we have seen above, various useful sources of statistical data relating to production, formal competition and club membership do exist, as well as very sketchy glimpses of utility usage. But the overall late 19th century statistical picture of bicycle usage, in competition, recreation and utility transportation, remains complex and imprecisely measured. It has to be concluded that the recorded membership of cycling clubs was much smaller than the total numbers of cyclists on the roads, and that

decline of membership in predominantly sporting and recreational organizations should not necessarily be taken as offering evidence about the frequency of utility cycling, which remains difficult to document and to assess. A utility rider does not need to join a club.

What can be said with certainty is that outside the cycling club fraternity was a large group of anonymous cyclists, frequently referred to in the cycling press as the ‘unattached’. These people are difficult to characterize and to measure, because they did not join groups. They remain shadowy except when they appear in fiction, in memoirs or photographs of the period.⁴⁵ Occasionally they were included in the infrequent city surveys that were conducted (see ‘Increase in utility cycling’ in Section 2). Among them can be found the growing numbers of utility users. For the purposes of this examination, the ‘unattached’ remain a sociologically significant group of users, essentially uncounted and estimateable only with difficulty. Annual bicycle sales figures, for example, such as those quoted above, give one way of calculating how many people were riding and increases in ridership, but even establishing that number is always complicated by the existence of the second-hand bicycle market.⁴⁶ Burr asserts that ‘clubs and national organizations had been important throughout the 1880s, far out of proportion to the sheer number of riders.’ By the later 1890s, however, ‘unattached riders vastly outnumbered riders in clubs or national organizations; the bicycle was becoming a widespread, even normal, product... Strength in numbers now provided legitimacy, legal protection, and sociability, so clubs were no longer nearly as necessary.’⁴⁷

‘Club Life of Today’, an article published in *Cycling* at the end of 1901, attributed changes in the pattern of club activities to ‘the introduction of the safety, and especially of the lady’s pattern; the restrictions in regard to road racing and a commendable effort to make the fixture lists more varied and enjoyable in character’. The writer of the article emphasized the diverse social activities organized by different kinds of clubs and suggested a move away from a more competitive approach to club life: ‘Many clubs have so widened their scope with the introduction of a more varied programme and the admission of lady members, that they have succeeded in retaining their old members and securing many new ones. I emphasize the social side because it may be thought that clubs exist solely for the fast rider whose only ambition is to ‘snork’ club medals and ‘sew up’ all other roads users’. A prospective club member ‘should join that particular club which caters for his tastes. It is as unsatisfactory for the “potterer” to join a club devoted to “speed runs” as it would be unwise

for the “speedman” to join a “mixed” club, composed of both sexes and having a varied programme’. Many clubs were purely social and undertook no hard riding whatsoever, ‘devoting attention solely, in the summer months, to ordinary club runs, picnics, river parties, etc., and during winter to dances, card parties, and of course to the new craze of today, Ping-pong’.⁴⁸

Once again, the meaning of cycling club membership is hard to evaluate, because a man or woman might join just for the dances, the card parties, and Ping-pong! And the article does not make mention of those who preferred to remain outside any organized cycling activities, and simply rode their bicycles by themselves, or with their friends, for pleasure or utility. From the perspective of those within the club community, these were the ‘unattached’.

4. Summary and conclusions

A variety of sources on bicycle industry production, national and local club membership and utility use of bicycles has been reviewed here, but measuring and assessing the relative participation in the three inter-connected social and technological modes - competition, recreation and utility - remains problematic. It is possible that a more detailed quantitative, sociological, geographically oriented, analysis of the sport and recreation, using racing reports, club membership statistics, comparative population counts, national and/or regional comparisons might resolve the problems of interpretation.

The generalized conclusion from data such as the National Cyclists' Union membership figures discussed in Section 1 of this chapter, however, strongly suggests that among athletic cyclists (defined as those who joined national and local clubs) only a small minority – not more than 10% - raced in formal competition. The existence of many cycling clubs demonstrated a wide interest in cycling, but not only as a competitive sport. Indeed, those groups devoted primarily to racing, and the proportion of the total membership of the National Cyclists' Union who raced, were certainly in a minority.

The umbrella organizations, the National Cyclists' Union, the Cyclists' Touring Club, the League of American Wheelmen, the Union Vélocipédique de France, and also the diverse range of larger and smaller local clubs shared certain features in common, but their membership was also specific to their particular interests and specialisms. Recreational riding was the interest of the overwhelming majority of club members. The primary focus of the clubs was centred on the possibilities of the bicycle, the speed and distance that could be achieved on it, the mobility it provided, the social interactions it cemented, the adventure or escape it mediated, the leisure and recreational time that it dominated and the political and organizational work which needed to be carried out, for instance in the 'Good Roads' movement. But not everyone raced. Cycling clubs were a potent and popular means of organizing and giving focus to the leisure time and activities of a diverse range of special-interest social groups. The bicycle was not just a pleasure in itself, facilitating travel, adventure and exercise, but it was also a means to an end, the pursuit of a wide range of other socially cohesive activities.

It has also been useful to present this further analysis of the essential institutional affiliations – local and national clubs - of a large number of racing and recreational cyclists, and to distinguish between the numbers thus affiliated and those who remained unaffiliated, and thus uncounted. Outside national and local clubs, a large group of ‘unattached’ bicycle users existed, whose numbers are difficult to calculate, but whose presence was highly significant in a recreational and utilitarian sense.

Not only did the total number of people cycling increase hugely, but there is evidence that the ratio between the three modes changed over time, with the proportion of racers shrinking and recreational and utility riders increasing. The greater popularity of cycling in general through the 1890s meant a downward diffusion away from a specialized athletic coterie out into the general population, where it became the everyday recreational, leisure and transportational norm of a much wider swathe of the population.

Appendix

Table 9. A.

Total number of clubs in London	272
Total membership in London clubs	12,865
Average membership of London clubs	47.3
Total number of clubs in England, outside London	986
Total number of clubs in England, including London	1,258
Clubs in Wales	35
Clubs in Channel Islands, Isles of Man and Wight	8
Clubs in Scotland	205
Clubs in Ireland	128
Clubs not responding, or doubtful	Approx. 400
Total number of clubs in Great Britain	1,634
Projected total membership in British clubs, based on average membership of 48.3 per club	78,922

Table 9. A. Membership of British cycling clubs in 1892. Data compiled from Henry Sturmev, *The Cyclist Year Book for 1893*.

Table 9. B.

Total number of clubs in London	260
Total membership in London clubs	14,287
Average membership of London clubs	54.9
Total number of clubs in England, outside London	1,044
Total number of clubs in England, including London	1,304
Clubs in Wales	33
Clubs in Channel Islands, Isles of Man and Wight	8
Clubs in Scotland	225
Clubs in Ireland	126
Clubs not responding, or doubtful	Approx. 400
Total number of clubs in Great Britain	1,696
Projected total membership in British clubs, based on Average membership of 53.8 per club	91,244

Table 9. B. Membership of British cycling clubs in 1893. Data compiled from Henry Sturmev, *The Cyclist Year Book for 1894*.

Table 9. C.

Total number of clubs in London	280
Total membership in London clubs	16,320
Average membership of London clubs	58.3
Total number of clubs in England, outside London	986
Total number of clubs in England, including London	1,258
Clubs in Wales	35
Clubs in Channel Islands, Isles of Man and Wight	8
Clubs in Scotland	205
Clubs in Ireland	128
Clubs not responding, or doubtful	Approx. 400
Total number of clubs in Great Britain	1,634
Projected total membership in British clubs, based on average membership of 52.9 per club	86,439

Table 9. C. Membership of British cycling clubs in 1894. Data compiled from Henry Sturmev, *The Cyclist Year Book for 1895*.

Table 9. D.

Total number of clubs in London	256
Total membership in London clubs	20,597
Average membership of London clubs	80.5
Total number of clubs in England, outside London	1,118
Total number of clubs in England, including London	1,374
Clubs in Wales	44
Clubs in Channel Islands, Isles of Man and Wight	4
Clubs in Scotland	250
Clubs in Ireland	144
Clubs not responding, or doubtful	No data
Total number of clubs in Great Britain	1,816
Projected total membership in British clubs, based on average membership of 71.0 per club	128,936

Table 9. D. Membership of British cycling clubs in 1898. Data compiled from Henry Sturmev, *The Cyclist Year Book for 1899*.

Table 9. E.

Centre	Total clubs affiliated	Membership Paid	Class A licences (amateur)	Class B licences (semi-pro)	New clubs affiliated
London	173	6,725	725	48	29
Bristol	71	2,539	98	37	17
Birmingham	65	2,375	Not given	Not given	12
Liverpool	53	2,250	131	15	7
W.Riding Yorks	57	1,925	123	14	7
Manchester	61	1,875	195	23	5
Newcastle	70	1,864	97	10	4
N. Yorks	42	1,562	74	1	12
Southampton	37	1,608	126	27	3
N. Lancashire	36	1,425	125	26	10
E. Counties	37	1,090	87	19	11
E. Riding Yorks	25	1,050	68	8	7
Devon/Cornwall	30	1,029	36	12	Not given
S. Yorks	29	925	75	7	5
Northampton	32	875	141	23	13
Sussex	20	780	49	17	5
S. Wales	14	625	94	14	2
Leicester	20	550	28	5	4
Oxford/Berks	13	325	39	9	4
Nottingham	Not given	Not given	Not given	Not given	Not given
Totals	885 clubs	31,397	2,311	315	157
		Total paid			

Table 9. E. Membership in the National Cyclists' Union in March 1897, from *N.C.U. Review and Official Record*, March 1897.

Table 9. F.

Year	Renewals	New members	Total paid membership
1878	-	144	144
1879	144	692	836
1880	616	2740	3356
1881	1821	1976	3797
1882	2676	4029	6705
1883	4384	6243	10,627
1884	8134	8491	16,625
1885	12,456	7929	20,385
1886	15,099	7217	22,316
1887	16,057	5904	21,961
1888	15,881	6103	21,984
1889	15,594	5771	21,365
1890	15,074	5357	20,431
1891	14,566	4718	19,284
1892	13,058	4263	17,321
1893	12,946	3646	16,592
1894	10,897	3269	14,166
1895	10,461	5882	16,343
1896	13,312	21,343	34,655
1897	25,390	19,101	44,491
1898	33,128	21,208	54,336
1899	41,053	17,659	58,712

Table 9. F. Annual membership in the Cyclists' Touring Club from its foundation in 1878 to 1899. Sources: *C.T.C. Monthly Gazette*, Sept. 1899 and Henry Sturmev, *The Cyclists' Indispensable Handbook and Year Book for 1899*.

Table 9. G.

Year	Total paid membership
1880	520
1881	1654
1882	2500
1883	2131
1884	4,250
1885 (Dec.)	5,176
1886 (Dec.)	10,264
1887 (Dec.)	11,939
1888	11,948
1889 (April)	12,193
1890 (April)	12,703
1891 (Feb.)	18,504
1892	
1893	36,320
1895	38,477
1896	43,799
1897	102,636
1898	102,142
1899	75,045
1900	24,142
1905	'less than 3000'

Table 9. G. Membership of the League of American Wheelmen from 1880 to 1900. Source: Abbott Bassett, "League of American Wheelmen – Items from Its History", in Luther H. Porter, *Wheels and Wheeling* (Wheelman Company, Boston, 1892).⁴⁹

Notes to Chapter 9

¹ Cycling is certainly not unique among sports in having a functional/transportational aspect; rowing, skiing, horse-riding, as well as running can all have a strong element of utility. Team sports do not in general have any utility, neither does golf or tennis.

² *Cyclist Year Book* for 1895.

³ *N.C.U. Review and Official Record*, March 1897.

⁴ Thomas Burr, "Markets as Producers and Consumers: the French and U.S. National Bicycle Markets, 1875-1910" (Ph. D. thesis, Davis, California, 2005). It includes an extended discussion of the influence of class and fashion on the development of recreational and utility cycling in those two countries.

⁵ While recognizing this general dynamic that competition had a strong affect on design, it is important to recognize that certain kinds of technological change certainly occurred with no need to be tested within competition. The introduction in the late 1880s of female-specific open frame design, for example (the woman's bicycle), was an innovation related to practical usage and unrelated to speed. Similarly, the introduction of the luxury touring bicycle of the mid-1890s was directed specifically at the affluent recreational rider. But by the mid-1890s, bicycle design had solidified around the diamond-frame, which had by that time become the bicycle for all kinds of riding. Many smaller details of style were directed at a particular kind of consumer.

⁶ Burr, op. cit., p.265 and p.281.

⁷ "The Bicycle in 1900", *Leslie's*, 24 Feb. 1900.

⁸ A. E. Harrison, "The Competitiveness of the British Cycle Industry, 1890-1914", *Economic History Review*, 1969 (Economic History Society, London). It is not clear whether these figures also include component manufacturers.

⁹ *The Hub*, 8 May 1897 and 14 Aug. 1897.

¹⁰ Burr, op. cit., pp. 226 and 228.

¹¹ *Bicycling World*, 27 May 1898, quoted in Burr, op. cit.

¹² *Harper's Weekly*, 12 Jan. 1895.

¹³ "How Many Bikes? An Investigation Into the Quantification of Bicycling, 1878 – 1914", *Cycle History 11, Proceedings of the 11th International Cycling History Conference*, Osaka, Japan, 2000, pp.42-50.

¹⁴ Quoted in Karl Kron, *Ten Thousand Miles on a Bicycle*, p.648, reporting *Wheeling*, 6 Oct. 1886.

¹⁵ *N.C.U. Review and Official Record*, April 1887, Vol.4, #1.

¹⁶ *N.C.U. Review and Official Record*, April 1887, Vol.4, #1.

¹⁷ *N.C.U. Review and Official Record*, Jan. 1887, Vol.3, #1.

¹⁸ Burr, op. cit, Chapter 6, p.225 and p.259.

¹⁹ The book was Baudry de Saunier, *Le Cyclisme Théorique et Pratique*. Papers advertised were: *La Revue des Sports*, *La Revue du Sport Vélocipédique*, *Le Véloce-Sport*, *Le Cycle*, *Le Monde Cycliste*, *La France Cycliste*, *Les Sports Cycliste*, *Le Bulletin Officiel de l'Union Vélocipédique de France*, *Le Cycliste Belge*, *Le Cyclisme*, *La Bicyclette* and *L'Écho des Sports de Paris*.

²⁰ *Harper's Weekly*, 17 August 1895.

²¹ The role of women riders in the history of the bicycle, and the question of the bicycle's contribution to the social emancipation of women in the 1880s, 1890s and the turn of the century period has been touched on occasionally here, although it has not been a central concern. The literature of the subject has now become quite large, as the significant but problematic role of the bicycle in the history of women's sport and recreation is better understood. A great deal of attention was paid to the controversial question of women's participation in cycling in the British and American general and cycling press in the 1890s. Rational Dress Societies were created and the press contained extensive discussion of the propriety of the novel 'divided' skirts and fashionable bloomers worn by women riders, see, for example, Mrs F.W. Harburton, *Reasons for Reform in Dress* (London: Hutchings and Crowsley, 1885) and *Rational Dress Society Gazette* (1880s); "A Minister Writes of Bicycle Skirts" and "The Women Bicycle Riders of Louisville - How and Where They Ride and What They Wear", *Louisville Courier-Journal*, 17 Oct. 1897. The mid-1890s saw the rise of periodical publications specifically directed at the woman cyclist. Titles include *The Lady Cyclist* (1896-97) and *Wheelwoman and Society Cycling News* (1896-1899) in Britain and *The Wheelwoman* in the United States. Critical secondary discussions of the topic include: P. Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press* (Kentucky: University of Kentucky, 1990); P. Vertinsky, *The Eternally Wounded Woman: Women, Doctors and Exercise in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Urbana and Chicago: Illinois University Press, 1994); Claire

Simpson, "Respectable Identities: New Zealand Nineteenth-Century 'New Women' on Bicycles", *International Journal of the History of Sport*, June 2001 (including an excellent bibliography). That cycling was not the only sport where women were asserting themselves is confirmed by an article such as: "Women who Shoot, Drive and Ride - Equal to the Most Expert of Their Friends", *Louisville Courier-Journal*, 7 Feb. 1897, which said, 'American woman are rapidly taking to out of door sports'.

²² See Mason, P.P. "The League of American Wheelmen and the Good Roads Movement, 1880 - 1905" (University of Michigan: Ph. D. thesis, 1957).

²³ *Cassell's Complete Book of Sports and Pastimes* (London: Cassell, 1888).

²⁴ *Cycle Age and Trade Review*, 22 Sept. 1898, cited in Burr, op. cit., p.266.

²⁵ "Lawyer Won the Bet - 2,836 Wheels Passed between Fourth and Walnut from 5.30 to 8.30 o'clock", *Louisville Courier-Journal*, 11 July 1897, published and discussed in *The Boneshaker* 156, Summer 2001.

²⁶ *Manchester Guardian*, 11 May 1896 and 17 May 1897; see also Nick Clayton, "Manchester Cycling Census 1896-97", *The Boneshaker* 154, Summer 2000.

²⁷ *Sporting Goods Dealer*, May 1900, quoted in Burr, op. cit.

²⁸ *Bicycling World*, 21 Nov. 1903; both cases cited in Burr, op. cit.

²⁹ Henry Sturmeý, *Indispensable Bicyclist's Handbook*, 1879 edition.

³⁰ Henry Sturmeý (ed.), *The Cyclist Annual and Year Book for 1893* (London: Iliffe, 1893). I have had access only to the 1893, 1894, 1895 and 1899 editions of this publication. In his 'Introduction' to the 1893 edition, Sturmeý writes that it the thirteenth year he has presented his *Annual and Year Book*.

³¹ Assuming that similar data is given in the other years in which Sturmeý published his *Yearbook* (all these issues were not available to me), a more complete chronological analysis of club membership in the 1890s might be produced.

³² By way of comparison, A.J. Wilson, *The Pleasures, Objects and Advantages of Cycling* (1887) quotes 1876 club figures as 60 total, with 11 in London, 39 in provinces, 9 in Ireland and 1 in Scotland.

³³ A similar study of urban cycling clubs in the United States would also certainly shed interesting light on patterns of urban and suburban recreation and mobility. Chicago, for example, appears to have been an especially active cycling city, but also significant were

Boston, New York, Buffalo, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Milwaukee and other mid-western cities.

³⁴ In London, these racing clubs included: Anerley B.C. (150 members), Bath Road Club (120), Catford C.C. (450), Dover Road C.C. (180), Holborn C.C. (290), London County C. and A.C. (300), North Road C.C. (178), Polytechnic C.C. (250). See, for example, S.H. Moxham, *Fifty Years of Road Riding (1885-1935) – A History of the North Road Cycling Club* (Bedford: Diemer and Reynolds, 1935) and E.J. Southcott, *The First Fifty Years of the Catford Cycling Club* (London: Foulis and Co., 1939).

³⁵ See Denis Pye, *Fellowship is Life; The National Clarion Cycling Club, 1895 – 1995*, (Clarion Publishing, Bolton, Lancashire, 1995). The nature of the extra-cycling interests of cycling clubs tended to widen, of course, during the 20-year period under examination, being particularly broad and varied during the cycling ‘boom’ of the mid-1890s.

³⁶ See Note 21 above.

³⁷ Advertising supplement in *Wheeling*, 20 July 1892. This claim is contradicted by the N.C.U. figures given previously. However, C.T.C. membership may have been counted as individual subscriptions, whereas the vast majority of N.C.U. members had joined automatically through the affiliation to the N.C.U. of a local club.

³⁸ A.W. Rumney, *A Cyclist's Notebook* (Johnston, Edinburgh, 1900), p.122.

³⁹ *CTC Gazette*, March 1897, p. 99. This number was still less than the membership in the N.C.U. for the same year, contradicting the C.T.C. claim that it was ‘the largest athletic or quasi-athletic institution in the world’.

⁴⁰ Karl Kron, *Ten Thousand Miles on a Bicycle* (New York: self-published, 1887).

⁴¹ Mason, op. cit., p. 48.

⁴² See Table for membership figures for the T.-C.F. in Burr, op. cit., p. 291

⁴³ See Alex Poyer, *Les Premiers Temps des Véloce-Clubs: apparition et diffusion du cyclisme associatif français entre 1867 et 1914* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2003).

⁴⁴ Once again Burr (op.cit., Note 5) is useful and provocative on the dynamics in France.

⁴⁵ See, for example, H.G. Wells, *The Wheels of Chance*, first published 1896.

⁴⁶ A valuable contribution to the discussion of bicycle production and use statistics is Bruce Epperson, “How Many Bikes?”, *Cycle History 11, Proceedings of the 11th Cycling History Conference* (San Francisco: Van der Plas, 2000).

⁴⁷ Burr, op. cit., p.273.

⁴⁸ A. Lloyd Owen, "Club life of today", *Cycling*. 7 Dec., 1901.

⁴⁹ Since the L.A.W. was also the governing body, through its Racing Committee, of bicycle racing in the United States, it was similar in its function to the English N.C.U. and different from the C.T.C., which had no racing functions whatsoever.

Chapter Ten

Bicycle racing and modernity: the obsession with speed, distance, record-breaking and the commercialization of competition at the turn of the century

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1. Outline: the transformation of bicycle racing in the 1890s¹

The 1890s were the heyday of sprinting on the track, one of the most important disciplines in bicycle racing. 1,000 metres, equivalent to several laps of typical tracks, was the most common distance covered in these races. The racing took place in an enclosed arena, a track or velodrome, around which the spectators were gathered, the best places being in the grandstand along the finishing straight. Tactics, surprise acceleration and a pure burst of speed over the last few hundred meters were the decisive factors, and the actual time of the entire race was relatively unimportant. Records were not set in this discipline, but the racing was attractive to an audience which appreciated the subtleties of tactics between a number of evenly matched opponents, and the thrill of a close, fast finish.

The sport had emerged in the 1870s and 1880s, the era of the high-wheel bicycle, when many of the stars of the 1890s began to race. By the 1890s, the 'match race', between two or three rivals, represented the classic form of sprinting. The most famous amateur and professional sprinters regularly attracted huge crowds, and were in demand internationally. The American Arthur Zimmerman, for example, who won the first officially sanctioned world amateur sprint championship in Chicago in 1893, won 110 races in just one year; the German champion Willi Arend collected 137 'Grand Prix' sprinting prizes between 1896 and 1903, and between 1896 and 1904 the African-American sprinter Major Taylor raced in the United States, France, Belgium, Italy and Germany, earning a large amount of money.² But in hundreds of race meetings throughout Europe and America, short-distance sprint races provided the mainstay of competitive amateur and professional bicycle racing.

However, as the sport of cycling broadened and diversified in the later 1890s and in the first years of the new century, the leading sprinters, the 'aristocrats' of track cycling, lost some of their earlier pre-eminence. With the introduction of the diamond-framed, 'safety' bicycle and the pneumatic tyre, the high-wheel bicycle quickly became outmoded technology. Through the 1890s, the years of the first consumer bicycle boom, bicycle racing underwent a dramatic shift in its character as improvements in equipment and pneumatic tyre technology made racing bicycles faster and lighter. A new generation of purpose-built banked and surfaced velodromes, replacing the often somewhat

improvised tracks of the high-wheel period of the 1870s and 1880s, effectively corralled a paying audience and provided the infrastructure for well-advertised events. These tracks contributed greatly to the remarkable increase in speeds achieved in the 1890s.³ Gas and electric light made evening racing possible. There was increased interest in setting speed records over short distances and in amassing greater mileages in long distance races. An understanding of pacing techniques, in which the cyclist was helped to overcome wind-resistance with a variety of techniques, pushed up both speeds and distances achieved. Extreme long-distance events and performances on both road and track became increasingly popular.

[The increasing speeds in various categories of racing on both road and track are shown in the Tables A - D in the Appendix to this Chapter.]

Crucially, all these changes took place in the context of, and driven forward by, the increasing commercialization and professionalization of the sport. Bicycle and tyre manufacturers and newspaper proprietors became involved in the sponsorship of bicycle racing, which was recognized as an ideal circulation-boosting and publicity vehicle. The bicycle racing which emerged in the 1890s, new, exciting and fashionably technological, thus had many of the characteristics of modern sport. Cycling increasingly became a business, with an accompanying growth of managers, agents and trainers. In addition, the organization and promotion of bicycle racing became more centralized, more efficient, more likely to encourage high athletic standards. In the United States, for example, amateur and professional championships were fought out through the season on a 'National Circuit', which took the leading contenders to the major cities, in an attempt to create a sport which was 'national in the fullest sense of the word':

It is the arena in which the pick and flower of American speedsters daily measure their relative standings in the racing world. It is the great cycle-racing university, to enter which is the fondest ambition of every young racer... it enlists the cream of our racing talent... to win its laurels is to attain the supreme pinnacle of racing fame. Without it, cycle racing would be sporadic and local in character and national fame would be well nigh impossible in racing circles.⁴

These new developments were a far cry from the more limited, club-based amateur events of the 1870s and 1880s. The new 'professionalized' sport became less accessible, in its technical and athletic demands, to non-specialists, and top amateurs had highly accomplished specialist professionals to measure their standards against.

The tendency to promote endurance events and realize extraordinary performances occurred in many different sports. At a time of supreme confidence, improvements in athletic achievement appeared to be limitless. The suggestion, by extension, was that human capacity in general was without limits.⁵ Technology, exemplified by the bicycle - and the newly emerging internal combustion engine, served to enhance human physical capacity. At the first official world cycling championships in Chicago in 1893, the two events contested were a 1000m sprint and a paced 100km event. During the first Olympic Games in Athens in 1896, the first modern marathon running race took place.⁶ In the United States, there were six day roller-skating races.⁷ The *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung* reported a six day race in New York City for the 'Road-skuller', a rowing machine on wheels.⁸ During the period from 1892 to 1893, between Vienna and Berlin, long-distance races were promoted for cyclists, marchers on foot and riders on horseback, and long-distance events remained fashionable for many years after that.⁹

A new kind of bicycle racing emerged, which had a 'gigantic' character. Four kinds of cycling events typified this new kind of racing: long-distance place-to-place races on the road, stage-races on the road, 'stayer' or paced races on the track and, lastly, Six Day races on the track. Long-distance road races, several of which still survive today as the 'Classics' of the professional cycling calendar, were organized over distances of as much as 500 or 600 kms in the 1890s, often between major European cities with Paris and Berlin featuring prominently.¹⁰ The first major international long-distance race from Bordeaux to Paris, held in 1891 (which has been described in detail in Chapter 7), was praised by the German Cyclists' Association as an example of 'the bicycle race of the future' and as 'the beginning of a new era for our sport'.¹¹ A new facet of the sport was introduced and emphasized, that of physiological and psychological stresses lasting for more than a twenty-four hour period. 'Stayer' (that is, paced) races on cycling tracks were prolonged and extended from the 100 km distance competed for in the first world championships of 1893 to 6, 12, 24, 48 and even 72 hour races during the 1890s. Soon, an uninterrupted 1000 kms became a record-breaking objective. Six Day races on the track and stage-races on the road spread over many days were introduced as further new extreme racing disciplines. The demands of such racing placed extraordinary, hitherto unexplored, stresses and strains on the athletes.

The urge to break records had been an intrinsic part of top-level bicycle racing since its beginnings, posing an athletic challenge to leading riders throughout the high-wheeler period in the 1870s and 1880s. Racing had been crucial in stimulating the early technological development of the bicycle; it had been instrumental in defining the high-wheeler as the favoured, most appropriate and efficient kind of bicycle for sport. The quest was to improve times on certain roads, usually well-known place-to-place routes, and to achieve better, faster performances on the track. Two distances which were the consistent objective of riders and equipment manufacturers were the easily understood races over 1 mile (or 1 km in continental Europe) and 1 hour. The first rider to cover 20 miles in an hour, H. L. Cortis, was extravagantly praised.¹² A detailed and up-to-the-minute account of best times on record became a regular feature of cycling periodicals and yearbooks from the mid-1870s on, with comparative evaluations of British, French and American athletes. In fact, the documentation of these 'records' appears to have become an almost obsessional preoccupation within the sport. Timing procedures and standards for world records were vigorously debated in often chauvinistic exchanges in the press. There were genuine areas for confusion, such as, for example, exactly how the distance around a track should be measured (relative to a marked inside line), and how exactly the timing watch should be started and stopped relative to the pistol report. Authentication of times and distances on the road was always problematic. Thus, faster times and greater distances continued to be the objective in all four of the 'gigantic' disciplines, and characterized the sport through the turn-of-the-century period.

These extreme cycling disciplines, first established in the 1890s, have survived for more than a century, although the physical strains have now in general been reduced. Distances of more than 300 kms a day are now unusual in single-day professional races, as are stages of more than 250 kms in professional stage-races. 'Stayer' races now usually last a maximum of one hour, and the actual daily racing time in Six Day races is between 6 and 12 hours. However, the major stage-races, the Tour de France, the Giro d'Italia and the Vuelta d'España are still of 'gigantic' proportions, as is the recently introduced 'Race Across America', in which about 3000 miles is now regularly covered in about 8 or 9 days by the fastest contenders.

Summary of Chapter 10

Sections 2 – 5 (2. Long-distance races on the road; 3. Stages races on the road; 4. Stayer (paced) races; 5. Six Day races) explore briefly the various kinds of specialized racing which characterized the commercially developed stages of the sport in the later 1890s and turn-of-the-century period examined here.

The four extreme racing disciplines which are described shared a ‘gigantic’ character or nature. A parallel development within these disciplines could be seen internationally, although the chronological sequence of events differed from country to country. In England, Germany and France, for example, long-distance road races first occurred in the early 1890s, followed by the extreme ‘stayer’ races around the mid-1890s. Six Day races were not introduced in Germany until 1909 and stage-races in 1911, whereas in France the Tour de France stage-race, first held in 1903, preceded the first Six Day race by ten years. In the United States, Six Day races were popular from the early 1890s, and paced racing expanded rapidly in the mid-1890s, whereas long-distance road races were less popular.

Section 6 (**‘Gigantism’ and the pursuit of records as a social phenomenon**) describes the urge towards spectacular qualitative and quantitative achievements in human enterprise – record-breaking in sport - which characterized the decade of the 1890s. In no other sport did a machine enlarge and expand human capacity to the extent that the bicycle did. The bicycle enabled an intensification, a maximization of human athletic effort, allowing previously unimagined, ‘gigantic’, physical feats to be accomplished.

Section 7 (**Sensationalism and ‘Gigantomania’**) describes the extreme edge of this thirst for sensation, which included foolhardy cycling exploits such as pacing behind trains.

Section 8 (**Professionalization and commercialization**) explains the relationship between the new athletic demands made of competitors and the bicycle industry support of them, which involved organizational specialization and the increasing professionalization and commercialization of the sport.

2. Long-distance races on the road

Long-distance cycling races were preceded by long-distance competitions for horse-riding, running and marching, where the objective was to cover a significant distance in as short a time as possible. In the late 1880s and early 1890s, long-distance road races were introduced in which rest-breaks were not scheduled and 'gigantic' demands were made on the cyclists, who were required to race over distances of 500 or 600 kms.¹³ Road conditions were bad and bicycle equipment unreliable, so that it took more than 24 hours to reach the destination, making it inevitable that the fastest riders would have to ride for at least one night without sleeping. Eating, resting, sleeping, coping with mechanical problems, organizing support, were all part of the athletic challenge.

The earliest international long-distance road race was the 577 km Bordeaux-Paris, first promoted in 1891, which continued as one of the 'Classic' road races until it was removed from the calendar after 1987. The daily and the cycling press took a great deal of interest in this new event. Four British riders with extensive experience of long-distance racing won the first four places, surprising the opposition by riding right through the night.¹⁴ Bordeaux-Paris continued to be heavily publicized throughout the 1890s; in fact, rival newspapers *Le Vélo* and *L'Auto* both promoted an event over this route in 1902. The patriotic feelings of the French were hurt so much by the British sweep of the placings in the 1891 Bordeaux-Paris race that a second, even longer race, without British participation, was organized by Pierre Giffard, editor of *Le Petit Journal*, a leading French daily. More than two hundred cyclists participated in the 1196 km Paris-Brest-Paris race, won by French rider Charles Terront, who rode for three days without sleep.¹⁵

This race, of unprecedented distance, demonstrated what a human being could endure and what it was possible to accomplish on a bicycle. The public could barely understand the extraordinary performances of the leaders in this race. At the turning point in Brest, the crowd watched with astonishment as Jiel-Laval, in the lead, ate a few pears and some beef soup, took a bath and then got on his bicycle to ride back to Paris. It was unprecedented for an athlete to ride 600 kms in 33 hours without sleeping, and lack of sleep became the decisive factor in the race. With a lead of more than an hour on the road, Jiel-Laval took a sleeping break at Guingamp on the return journey while his

manager, De Civry, posted guards to give warning of second-placed Terront's arrival. But spies reported Jiel-Laval's rest to Duncan, Terront's manager, who instructed his rider to make a detour through the back streets of the town, bypassing Jiel-Laval's hotel. Jiel-Laval awoke to learn that his opponent was two hours ahead of him on the road. But Terront was also totally exhausted. He fell off his bicycle and was only persuaded to continue after much urging by his brother. Ultimately, Terront arrived in Paris 8 hours ahead of Jiel-Laval after riding more or less non-stop for 71 hours 16 mins.¹⁶

Paris continues today to be the most prominent starting and finishing point for road-race cycling classics, including the now well-established entry of the Tour de France onto the Champs-Élysées for the final sprint and victory celebrations. In the 1890s, the Germans also originated some long-distance races, most of which were, however, discontinued later.¹⁷ In 1891, a Leipzig-Berlin-Leipzig-Dresden-Leipzig race was held over 500 kms, while others included Magdeburg-Cologne (1892, 457 kms), Mannheim-Cologne (1892, 250 kms) and Basel-Cleve (1893, 620 kms).¹⁸ The long-distance race from Vienna to Berlin organized in 1893 created favourable publicity for cycling in general and particularly for the utility and practicality of the bicycle.¹⁹ The inspiration for this race was a long-distance ride by soldiers on horseback on the same route in 1892. The fastest horsemen covered the 580 kilometres in 71 hours 35 mins.²⁰ Racing cyclists were intrigued by the possibility of measuring themselves against the military horsemen, demonstrating the viability of the bicycle for military purposes. From a field of 117 German and Austrian amateurs who participated in the race, Joseph Fischer was the first to reach Berlin, with a time of 31 hours and 22 minutes.²¹ He started on 29 June 1893 at 6:10 am and arrived in Berlin on 30 June at 1:10 pm.²² Storms during the night created bad conditions for the cyclists, 38 of whom arrived in Berlin within the prescribed time of 50 hours.²³

The event was a success for the sport of cycling, and the German bicycle industry experienced a strong surge in sales. Several of the many European bicycle road races initiated in the 1890s still take place on a regular basis today, for example, Liège-Bastogne-Liège (first held 1890), Paris-Roubaix (since 1896), Paris-Tours (since 1896) and 'Rund um Berlin' (since 1896, held today as an 'open' race). The oldest amateur classic still held in Germany is the 'Rund um Köln' race, first held in 1908. The enduring

attraction of events of this kind was proved by the fact that new long-distance races continued to be introduced until 1914, and those still held annually include the Tour of Lombardy (1905), Paris-Brussels (1907), Milan-San Remo (1907), the Tour of Flanders (1913) and the Championship of Zürich (1914).

3. Stage-races on the road and the origins of the Tour de France

The concept of the stage-race can be traced to a military origin, or to long over-land coach journeys, where a stage was a designated location serving as a night-time stop for marching troops or travellers, allowing rest and the provision of fresh supplies. A stage-race in cycling is a race held over several or many days, consisting of separate daily races with an aggregate finishing order. The idea of stage-racing for cyclists originated specifically in the long-distance rides undertaken by individual pioneers during the 1870s and 1880s. In the middle of the 1890s, there was a kind of 'touring fever', in which cyclists undertook semi-competitive, long-distance rides of a touring and record-setting nature, which were frequently reported in the press.²⁴

In 1875, in a very early, pioneering demonstration of the potential of the bicycle, two French riders, Laumillé and Richard, rode the nearly 700 miles from Paris to Vienna in 12 days. With better weather, they might have made it in 9 or 10 days.²⁵ Thomas Stevens rode around the world on a high-wheel bicycle from 1884 to 1887, publishing an account of his travels in *Outing* as he went, and *Around the World on a Bicycle*, a two-volume book, when the trip was completed. In Britain, the record for the 'End-to-End' ride, approximately 900 miles from Land's End to John o'Groats, was frequently contested, with G.P. Mills' 1894 record of 3 days 5h 49m standing for many years. 12 and 24 hour rides on public roads were frequently organized by British clubs, with distances achieved constantly bettered.

Following his success in Paris-Brest-Paris, Charles Terront, supported by his manager H.O. Duncan, the Paris agent of the Rudge bicycle company, accompanied by pacers and sponsored by Rudge, the Clincher tyre company and the makers of Carter's gear-case, rode the more than 3000 kms from St. Peterburg to Paris in 14 days 7 hours and 2 minutes. In his account of this ride, Duncan wrote that the ride had introduced the bicycle to a country 'where it is almost completely unknown', that 'man is still a powerful motor', and that 'the word "distance" is only a word'.²⁶ As he arrived in Berlin, 'cries of "Bravo, Terront!" and "Vive Terront!" were yelled from the hundreds of boys who tramped along behind the cyclists in the slippery muddy streets'. In Hannover, Terront was escorted into the city by five hundred cyclists, while at the finish at the Velodrome Buffalo in Paris a crowd of 7,000 greeted him with 'a colossal reception'.

The ride, thought *The Cyclist*, 'was a great success, and one that has done no end of good to the sport and trade in Europe'.²⁷

Robert Louis Jefferson made bicycle trips to Constantinople, to Moscow and back, and a 6,574 mile ride from London to Irkutsk which was reported in his *Across Siberia on a Bicycle*, published in 1896.²⁸ (see Fig. 10. 3.) In 1895, Théophile Joyeux and Jean Corre were rivals in undertaking separate tours of the whole of France; Joyeux covered 4500 kms at the rate of 225 kms a day, while Corre rode 5,000 kms in 25 days, at the rate of 200 kms a day.²⁹ One of the companions who persuaded Joyeux to persist in his 'tour' was Henri Desgrange, the founder of the Tour de France.

The first Tour de France in 1903 was a calculated publicity vehicle for Desgrange's sporting newspaper *L'Auto*, engaged in a circulation and prestige battle with its rival, Pierre Giffard's *Le Vélo*. (see Figs. 10. 1. and 10. 2.) The race, which consisted of 6 huge stages and visited Lyon, Marseille, Toulouse, Bordeaux and Nantes before finishing in Paris, was intended to stimulate newspaper sales both in Paris and in the provincial stage cities, the readers being held in suspense as to the eventual outcome, and entertained with dramatic stories of the rivalries and ordeals of the stars. It was a well-orchestrated media event, centred in Paris, a capital city obsessed with sport, art and modern technology. In *L'Auto*, one of the first Tour's managers, Geo Lefèvre, writing from Bordeaux, reported, 'I saw more than 10,000 peasants looking at their copies of *L'Auto* out in the fields today. Surely this proves that the Tour de France is the finest sporting creation of the century'.³⁰

In this first event, 2428 kms were ridden in six daily stages, with rest days between the stages. The winner, Maurice Garin, took a total of 93 hours 29 mins to cover the entire course. The average time spent in the saddle during the six days of actual competition was 15h 35m, so that the 60 competitors were on the road every racing day until nightfall.³¹ In the following years, the route, the overall distance and the number of stages changed annually. The demands made on the cyclists were gradually increased, stages were shorter but there were more of them, so that actual competition occurred nearly every day for three weeks. The event quickly became, and remains today, the world's most demanding sporting event. The maximum number of stages was in 1927,

with 24 stages, and the longest distance covered, in 1926, was 5745 kms.³²

The story of what happened to Eugène Christophe during the 1913 Tour de France illustrates the additional severity of the regulations; repairs to their bicycles had to be done by the cyclists themselves. Christophe had gained a 20 minute lead on the favorite, Thys, at the Tourmalet mountain (2114 metres high), but his bicycle suffered a broken fork during the descent. He then had to carry his bicycle 14 kms to the next village blacksmith, repair it himself and consequently reached the day's finish with a four hour deficit. Additionally, the jury imposed a penalty of 15 minutes on him because a boy had operated the bellows in the smithy, which qualified as 'outside help'. Despite all this, Christophe managed to finish 7th overall. Such exploits helped to create the Tour de France myth of heroes engaged in a super-human, 'gigantic' endeavour.

However, strict regulations could not always guarantee honest results in stage and long-distance races. Because of the difficulty of supervising the riders during races, they were sometimes able to cheat by having themselves pulled by motorcars or traveling part of the route by train. Rival bicycle manufacturers and managers not only organized support for their own riders but also arranged unpleasant surprises for other competitors, such as sabotaged bicycle frames or nails on the road - the strains on the cyclists were increased in many ways.³³ Even blockades of the road and physical attacks on rivals were resorted to, as in the 1904 race, when passions ran high between rival teams supported by manufacturers La Française and Peugeot and alleged infractions of the regulations caused the Union Vélocipédique Française to disqualify the first four riders, including winner Maurice Garin, against the wishes of Henri Desgrange, promoter of the event.

The idea of holding stage races lasting as long as several weeks became very popular, both as athletic events and as successful vehicles for publicity. Exceptional strength and stamina were demanded from the participants, while spectators and the public were provided with thrills and sensations every day, widely reported in the press. Heroic stature was carefully constructed for rival contenders. The successful formula of the Tour de France stimulated other European countries to introduce their own national tours, and before the First World War, the Tour of Belgium (1908), the Tour of Holland (1909), the Tour of Italy (1909) and the Tour of Germany (1911) were all established.³⁴

4. 'Stayer' (paced) races

The phenomenon of 'pacing' – a word used to describe the aerodynamic and athletic process of one cyclist benefitting by riding in the slipstream of another cyclist, a multicycle or a motor-driven pacing machine – made it possible for cyclists to ride faster and further, and gave rise to the systematic organization of pacing to achieve record speeds and distances. (see Figs. 10. 4.) The overcoming of wind-resistance was very early on – even in the high-wheel days – understood as a crucial factor in bicycle racing, and continues to this day to be the most fundamental technical and tactical aspect of bicycle racing.³⁵

The expression 'pace-making' was probably initially derived from horse-racing, where the 'pacemaker' ensured the desired speed. From the early 1890s, human-power, that is other cyclists taking turns, or tandems, triplets and even quadruplets and quintuplets (four and five-man bicycles) were deployed to pace an individual rider. Photographs from the mid-1890s show teams of cyclists, riding multi-cycles, hired by Dunlop and other manufacturers to pace their sponsored riders to new records. Skill and a precise technique were required from the record-breaking rider in switching from a tiring pacing crew to a new, fresh crew, and the pacing process was frequently referred to in terms of 'an art' or 'a science'. An article from October 1896, headlined "The Art of Pacemaking, which has revolutionized cycling contests", explained that:

The pacing of the racing cyclist is at the present day not only a veritable science, but an extensively followed profession. Hundreds of men are earning their living as pacemakers; and the exhibitions of speed and skill given week by week on our faster tracks prove to what a high pitch of perfection the art has now been carried... In most paced races, the riders go at absolutely top speed all through. Those who can 'stick the pace' set them alone have a chance of success; the man who 'cracks' is out of it... With the increased speeds attained by the flying multi-cycle there comes a cry for more and still more 'banking' on the bends of the tracks.³⁶

Spaldings Official Bicycle Guide for 1898 commented that, 'racing as an art has been practiced more regularly this year than ever before', making 'the season just closed the most successful that has ever been known..... The star feature was the middle-distance match racing made popular in this country by the arrival of Jimmy Michael, a diminutive midget, who has revolutionized our races and set the racing and scientific world aguessing... Nothing of a sporting nature can begin to compare with a middle distance

paced bicycle race for excitement and interest'.³⁷

Many reports in the press attest to the fact of the sport changing in the direction of more speed, more excitement and longer races. 'Revolution in cycle racing', headlined one American newspaper early in 1898, which predicted 'almost a complete revolution in the methods, manner, style and quality of cycle racing in the United States', to the extent that 'at the end of the coming year it is freely predicted that all unpaced events, from one mile to five miles, will have become practically obsolete'. At the same moment, the *New York Times* headlined that 'Innovations in cycle racing threaten to change the character of the sport', and reported that 'there is reason to believe that a year from hence cycle racing will be an altogether changed sport from that which America, England and the Continent have followed with interest hitherto... short distance contests must sink to the level of introductory features, or fillers between the longer races'. Half a dozen tracks had been built in the New York area, and 'to secure a paying "gate", attractions of a high order must be presented at each track, and the result should be a continuous series of big matches, novel features, and assemblages of racing notables from all parts of the world'.³⁸

Pace-making machines driven by electricity and steam-power succeeded human-powered multi-cycles, but were at first unreliable. Smooth, consistent power was needed to achieve higher speeds. From 1897 onwards, especially designed one- and two-seat, gasoline-powered motor bikes proved most effective for pacing on velodromes and underwent a rapid technological development. Record-breaker S. F. Edge told a reporter late in 1896: 'Next year will see mechanical pacemakers at work... Later on will come the most startling innovation, mechanical pacemakers fitted with wind-shields. The man going against time will ride, drawn along in the vacuum created behind the shield that is being propelled round the track before him'.³⁹ An article in *Cycling* in early 1897 thought it 'pretty evident that mechanical pace-making machines will soon be receiving attention from several quarters. No one who has watched recent developments in this direction can help seeing what possibilities are open to a tireless pacer that can keep up a perfectly even pace for an hour or so without flagging'.⁴⁰ The article explored the various kinds of power available, and emphasized the one huge disadvantage of gasoline-powered pacing-machines, which spewed out an exhaust the cyclist was forced to inhale.

Mechanical pacing-machines were systematically used to attack short-distance records, but the most impressive gains were realized over longer distances, where the prolonged advantage of efficient pacing was most dramatic. Photographs from the period show pacing-machines partially enclosed in leather farings to reduce wind-resistance, and pacers sitting on their machines bolt upright to create the maximum shelter for their rider. (see Fig. 11. 3.) The track races which used such pace-makers were called 'stayer' races because they were contested over longer distances and demanded stamina or staying power. These machines, built with increasingly powerful engines to achieve higher speeds, were a crucial link between bicycle racing and the emerging motorcycle, automobile and aviation technologies, which all benefitted from the knowledge, the skilled man-power and the economic base which had been developed within the bicycle industry.⁴¹

Such races were a dramatic new departure of a modern, machine age, a public demonstration of power and technological accomplishment. They were noisy, smelly and dangerous events held within the confines of a banked, cement velodrome, with the spectators surrounding the action. Little critical attention has been paid by historians of sport to the significance and implications of this type of 'gigantic' bicycle racing, popular at the turn of the century, in which man and machine collaborated in a sporting endeavour. Suffice it to say that the spectacle of racing cyclists 'towed' at high speed sometimes for hours on end by huge, petrol-driven pacing-machines was a most potent and hazardous expression of technological and athletic modernity.

Speeds of as much as 100 kph and the willingness of the participants to take the consequent high risks involved characterized this new discipline as 'gigantic', and these 'stayer' races experienced a surge of spectatorship in France, Germany and the United States before the First World War, the element of danger adding drama to the sport. The enormous sums of money earned by the leading professionals ensured a constant stream of new talent prepared to accept the risks. Both the riders and the pace-making machines were generously sponsored by manufacturers who needed urgently to subject their products to arduous tests and to publicize them. The tracks were more and more steeply banked to accommodate the high speeds, but serious accidents (caused most often by

mechanical failure, or the bursting of a tyre) were frequent and numerous cyclists and several pacemakers died in them.

On 30 May 1903, 24 year-old international-level rider, American Harry Elkes, was competing on the opening day of the new Charles River Track, at Cambridge, Massachusetts in front of a crowd of 10,000 people, who 'realized that he was riding the fastest race of his life and cheered him to the echo', when he was run over and killed instantly by the heavy pacing-machine of one of his rivals. Elkes was leading comfortably in the 20 mile race against William Stinson, Bobby Walthour and James Moran, and had already covered 15 miles in world record speed, when his rear tyre exploded and his back wheel collapsed. *Bicycling World* commented that it was 'one of the most tragic and lamentable fatalities in the history of cycling... It was a baptism of blood for the record-making course, and the bright, particular star of the record-breaking firmament was snuffed out while in the act of setting new figures for the emulation of the riders of the world'. Elkes' was 'one of the greatest careers ever known on the cycle paths in the world'.⁴²

A terrible accident at the Botanical Gardens in Berlin on 18th July 1909, in which a pacing-machine left a newly constructed board track and exploded in the crowd, killing nine spectators and injuring 52, brought about a temporary ban followed by strict new racing regulations in Prussia.⁴³ The accident was a 'terrible holocaust... the worst accident that has ever taken place since the introduction of motor paced racing'; it 'was of such an extremely startling character as to have a paralizing effect upon those spectators who themselves were out of harm's way'.⁴⁴

'Gigantism' manifested itself not only in high speeds, but also in the ever-increasing distances involved. Between 1886 and 1894, the record for a paced 24-hour ride on English roads was increased from 227 miles (G.P. Mills) to 376 miles (C.C. Fontaine).⁴⁵ While long-distance races on the track had formerly been held over a maximum of 100 kms, from the mid-1890s they were extended to a period of 24 hours. In the early 1890s, with human-powered pacing, mammoth distances were covered. The first 'Cuca Cocoa Cup' 24 hour race was held on the Herne Hill Track in London in 1892, when amateur Frank Shorland covered nearly 414 miles, increasing his total to 460 miles in 1894.⁴⁶ In

1894 in Paris the first 'Bol d'Or' was held, in which the winner, Constant Huret, covered 756 kms in 24 hours behind tandem-pace, maintaining a speed of 30.706 kph for the entire distance! The 'Bol d'Or' subsequently became the pre-eminent annual, 24-hour, paced endurance race, in which, in front of huge crowds, world record distances of 800 and 900 kms (behind human-powered tandem pace) and, in 1899, 1,020 kms (behind a petrol-driven tandem) were accomplished.⁴⁷

The dramatic increase in the speed potential of the bicycle during the previous thirty years was emphatically demonstrated in a chart published in 1909 by the French newspaper *L'Auto* on the occasion of the first hour record of more than 100 kph established by French rider, Paul Guignard (see Appendix J – i. The progress of the various categories of the world hour record between 1870 and 1908 is charted in the four sections of Appendix H). On the high-wheel bicycle, by 1884, 32.707 kms had been covered in the hour. On the solid-tyred safety bicycle, the distance increased by 1891 to 36.605 kms. After 1892, with the introduction of the pneumatic tyre and increasingly efficient pacing, the speed shot up quickly. By 1895, 46.711 kph was realized; by 1900, 64.673 kph; by 1905, 89.904 kph, and by the date of publication of the list in *L'Auto*, Paul Guignard had just established his sensational record of 101.623 kph, riding behind a powerful pacing-machine driven by German pace-maker Franz Hofmann on the Milbertshofen velodrome in Munich, a record which stood until 1924.⁴⁸

As the 'stayer' races enjoyed their heyday in the two decades preceding the First World War, the excessive stresses of such endurance races were often criticized. The *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung* protested against a 24 hour race in Berlin in 1898, but was compelled to admit afterwards that 'the race has not completely justified our fears... nobody fell off his bicycle from exhaustion, nobody suffered delusions and nobody went crazy'.⁴⁹

Similar criticisms were directed at long-distance events in Britain, France and America. Even in the face of public criticism (perhaps, indeed, partly fuelled by the controversy) this dramatic kind of bicycle racing continued to attract huge crowds, providing an ideal opportunity for advertizers to market their products, particularly the new machines and inventions of transportation and mobility.

5. Six Day races

Six Day races were indoor track races lasting for six days, either for individual participants or a team of two riders. The limitation of six days for an athletic event was imposed historically because of Sunday observance laws in England; racing could begin at 12.01 am Monday, but had to finish at midnight on Saturday. Six Day bicycle racing was pioneered in the English Midlands in 1876 as a feat of endurance for a single rider, inspired by similar, long-distance pedestrian events which were then popular. At the Molyneux Grounds, Wolverhampton, 'in the presence of 10,000 spectators, Camille Thuillet, of Paris, the champion bicyclist of France, ended his task of riding 650 miles in six consecutive days, a feat never before accomplished'. At the same time, Frank White, of Wolverhampton, was riding 600 miles in six days at the Walsall Arboretum. It made perfect sense, therefore, for them to race against each other for six days later in the month.⁵⁰ Six Day bicycle races on the high-wheel bicycle came to prominence in a series of indoor events promoted at the Agricultural Hall, London by entrepreneur Harry Etherington in 1878 and 1879. These races were widely reported in the press, and in the 'Long-distance Championship of the World', from 1-6 September 1879, George Waller, from Newcastle, covered the extraordinary total of 1,404 miles. The race, reported *American Bicycling Journal*, 'proved from beginning to end to be of the most absorbing interest to the immense crowds of spectators'. On the fifth day, Waller rode from 6 a.m. to 12 midnight without a single stop or dismount, covering 220 miles, 'a performance which speaks volumes both for the endurance of the rider and the perfection of the machine which he bestrode'.⁵¹

Etherington, as has been described in Chapter 4, also introduced Six Day bicycle racing to America in 1879. These early Six Day races were literally 24 hour-a-day, 'gigantic' competitions, where sleep had to be snatched at the risk of slipping in the standings, whereas later races were held over six days with agreed rest-periods, but with at least 12 hours a day of actual racing. Six Day races continued to be promoted through the 1880s, as genuine athletic spectacles, and as an entertaining and lucrative box-office attraction. In 1885, the *Deutsche Illustrirte Zeitung* commented that 'simple competitions in the different sport disciplines do not seem to satisfy the English and the Americans any longer; now the competitions in walking, bicycle riding and ice skating, etc., are being extended to six days'.⁵² Two Six Day races were held consecutively at the Royal

Aquarium: a long distance walking competition with twelve 'pedestrians' and a 'bicycle tournament' on the 160 metre track with 8 hours of racing a day, which was won by Birt from Northampton with a total of 630½ miles.⁵³

The first of a series of annual Six Day races, ridden without formal breaks, took place at Madison Square Garden in New York City in 1891, with many of the riders imported from among the tough, experienced professionals from the north of England and Scotland. In 1892, riders competed for a \$1,000 first prize. In December 1896, 40 cyclists from the United States and Great Britain competed, one of whom was the teenager Major Taylor, later to become American and World sprint champion.⁵⁴ The *New York Times* commented that the race was:

by far the most interesting and by far the most successful test that has been furnished of combined speed and endurance on wheels... It is interesting to note just how much greater for long distances is the speed of the wheel than that of the human animal unaided by any mechanical appliances... An average of 14 miles an hour maintained for 100 hours by the propulsion of the human muscles is an astonishing performance.⁵⁵

The 1896 race proved to be such a popular success that in 1897 another race was held, won by Charlie Miller with a total of 3,300 kms.⁵⁶ Because of the considerable lead he gained, Miller could afford 7 hours of sleep in these six days, which meant that he spent 137 hours on his bicycle. On this occasion, the *New York Times* was much more critical of the excessive nature of the event.⁵⁷ With these exceptional performances, a typically exploitative type of promotion began, including sensational press accounts designed to attract the crowds. Some newspapers reported that 'the cyclists went crazy because of the strains, and they climbed up the columns of the hall, ate leaves or behaved like lunatics'. In 1898, urged on by crafty promoters, Miller even got married in his racing jersey in the velodrome. Among the press comments were reasoned medical objections to the staging of such stressful athletic events.⁵⁸

In these Six Day races for individual participants, the fastest competitors might develop a substantial lead (several hundred miles was possible) which was almost impossible for lower-placed riders to recover on the small tracks, so that at the end there was very little suspense or tension in the racing. Hence, the New York race at Madison Square Garden in 1899 was raced with a team of two riders, only one of whom was on the track at a time, thus creating a faster, more exciting race. The race was won by Charlie Miller and

Waller with a total of 4400 kms. Even though the Six Day 'fever' spread in the United States from then on, the first modern race in Europe did not take place until 1909 in Berlin, and was a great success. German promoters had first shown an interest when the German Walter Rütt was victorious in New York in 1907 and 1909.⁵⁹ Although the German press protested against the 'mistreatment' of the riders, the trend was unstoppable.⁶⁰ Further Six Day races were held in the German cities of Kiel, Bremen, Dresden, Hamburg, Mainz and Frankfurt before the neighboring countries, Belgium (Brussels 1912) and France (Paris 1913) followed. Other Six Day races were held in Hanover (Germany), in the United States, Canada and Australia before the First World War.⁶¹

A number of reasons can be advanced to explain the popularity of Six Day races as a permanent feature of turn-of-the-century bicycle racing, with an enduring fascination lasting to the present day. As box-office, they provided a long and large catchment, and pitted competitors against each other in a small arena, with a circus-like ambiance. But most crucially, the spectators witnessed incredible physical and psychological performances by the cyclists. The proximity of the audience with their idols, the intense feeling of sharing their suffering, accidents and injuries, added intensity to the atmosphere of the small indoor tracks. As the riders strove to gain time and win special evening prizes offered by the promoters, spectators filled the cheap seats after a day's work to cheer on the exhausted riders in their marathon ordeal.

6. 'Gigantism' and the pursuit of records as a social phenomenon

In cycling, as has previously been mentioned, there was a strong interest in breaking records as early as the 1880s, as evidenced by the large number of record lists which were published in the cycling journals from the 1880s on. 'Gigantism' and the pursuit of superlative records were phenomena which could be seen in the fields of both sports and technology, especially around the turn of the century. Both can be seen as fundamental expressions of an industrialized society, in which outstanding, and hitherto unrealized, qualitative and quantitative achievements were the objective of all human enterprises. Such efforts and aspirations were evident, for example, in the building of the Eiffel Tower (1885-89), the undertaking of record-setting attempts in cars, motor-cycles, motor-boats and aeroplanes as well as in the building of ever-larger warships and passenger steamers, to mention just a few examples. Record-setting Atlantic Ocean crossings to win the 'Blue Riband' were widely publicized, and culminated in the hubris of the Titanic disaster.⁶² The trend extended to amusement parks as well: huge ferris wheels from 62 to 110 metres high were erected in London, Chicago, Vienna and Paris between 1884 and 1900. The first skyscrapers also date from the 1880s. Thus, bicycle racing as a sport was very much in accord with other contemporary trends and the spirit of the times; there was a belief in absolute progress and the feasibility of everything man tried to achieve by means of technology and the natural sciences. 'Gigantism' in sport was a further manifestation of and characteristic of 'modernism' in society.

An article published in *Scientific American* in 1899 explored the phenomenon of the obsession with breaking records, and offered the following explanation of current developments:

The craze for 'breaking the record', whether it be on the train, the steamship, or the wheel, is prompted by something more than the mere love of the spectacular; for the world recognizes that every new performance is a further breaking away from that universal stagnation in which all matter lay before its present evolution began – a stagnation which it is the constant effort of our modern arts and sciences to overcome.⁶³

A public euphoria with every new technological development and a desire to sweep away perceived barriers surely contributed to the flood of athletic records. The press and the public demanded records and gigantic achievements, and they wanted to witness them. Commercial ambition made them possible. In this process, the cyclists were driven

to make superhuman efforts, to struggle and to suffer, even to die. The first cyclists to achieve major feats were often surprised themselves to be capable of such performances, as in the case, for example, of Charles Terront and Jiel-Laval's 3 day, 1,200 km, Paris-Brest-Paris ride in 1891.⁶⁴

This new professionalized quality of sport, characterized by extreme achievements and record-breaking as a principal objective, appeared earlier and more prominently in bicycle racing than in any other sport. The fact was that bicycle racing was a technologically-based sport, and the bicycle industry contributed significantly to racing trends. The urge towards record-breaking, characterized by professionalism, commercialization and 'gigantic' endurance events, led to excessive forms of competition, and also to the formation of a new consciousness and awareness. In 1898, Karl Planck described a negative shift in aesthetic awareness which he saw expressed in professional cycling, in a sense the realization of the results which proponents of amateurism had always feared:

The real sportsman does not care any more about naturalness of movement, or about beauty and dignity of appearance. The marvelous neck where the full chin contrasts with the finely curved line, is stretched out like an ugly goose's gullet, the upper part of the body is rolled up to look like a hedgehog, the legs compulsively working away at the pedals, in this way the cyclist is whizzing along, a 'god on his machine'. It doesn't matter that the legs and feet work in a way that is exactly the opposite of natural; that the muscles of the heart and lungs, strained to the maximum inside the compacted chest, finally fail and cause severe diseases of the heart and lungs, as long as the opponent is beaten by a fifth of a second! Because a victory has to be won, man becomes part of the machine ... All hail to the record! We don't give a damn about man! Nor do we give a damn whether human nobility can be seen in this expression of power or when on other occasions - perhaps even to our liking - we recognize the ape in man.⁶⁵

Even insiders within the sport fought against the excesses described above. Paul von Salvisberg, with the headline 'Human torture', referred in an article in 1897 to the 'nonsense of Six Day races' and reported that in the State of Illinois a bill had been introduced proposing to limit the legal daily maximum amount of racing to 12 hours.⁶⁶ In 1898, the *Monatsschrift für das Turnwesen (Turning Monthly)*, which espoused the ideal of a many-faceted, general physical education and was the mouthpiece for the German Gymnastics Association, quoted several newspapers which reported the deplorable physical condition of the cyclists at the end of a 72 hour race in Paris.⁶⁷ Examples were

given of cyclists being taken to hospital and driven almost insane in long-distance races, and the demand for an 'Association for the Protection of Humans' was voiced. Even before the first Six Day race in Berlin was held, the *Sport-Album der Rad-Welt* for 1908/09 severely criticized contests of this kind. The Six Day race was seen not as a sports event but as 'a lucrative speculation which encourages the basest instincts of the masses who watch with brutal insensitivity as half-dead people try to chase their best friends to death'.⁶⁸

The criticism of independent cultural critics was similarly severe but more comprehensive. Bertz condemned the 'greed for speed', and professionalism and dependence on the industry as 'degenerate'.⁶⁹ Prof. Boruttau's writings were equally critical. He saw the professional cyclist as a modern 'gladiator' who sacrificed his health and life 'to thrill a brutalized public' and to satisfy 'the commercial interests of the bicycle industry'. This criticism applied in particular to endurance races such as the '6-days-24-hour races: in addition to the huge stress of the events themselves, there is the extreme risk which can be seen in the numerous fatal accidents that have occurred in such events, forming a blot on our culture'.⁷⁰ Surrealist Alfred Jarry in his own way, using utopian fables, also denounced commercialization and doping among bicycle racers.⁷¹

In spite of emotional criticisms such as these, the advocates of unfettered progress and those who profited from this 'gigantomania' prevailed at the time. Professional and commercial sports, with all of their excesses, continued almost unchanged until 1914. Only then were reductions of the stresses gradually implemented. Thus, cycling participated in pursuing 'gigantism' in sports achievements in the dynamic period preceding the First World War. The four new 'gigantic' disciplines certainly helped to popularize bicycle racing, but they also resulted in a loss of prestige and were rejected by a significant, critical segment of the population.⁷²

7. Sensationalism and 'Gigantomania'

In further examples of its popular entertainment potential, the bicycle was used for other, more foolhardy tests of courage, which were not athletic events per se, but can be categorized as spectacular events promoted for the amazement of a paying audience. In 1869, Professor Jenkins, 'the Canadian Blondin', wearing 'white tights, black velvet knee-breeches, a crown-shaped hat, all profusely bedecked with tinsel and beads', rode 'a velocipede' across the Niagara Falls on a tight-rope.⁷³ Artistic trick-cycling was popular in Vaudeville theaters, at circus performances and during Six Day races. Unusual cycling tracks were presented on stage. Cycling acrobats, for example, rode on circular tracks so small and so steeply banked that they were riding on an almost vertical wall.⁷⁴ The so-called 'death slopes', looping tracks on which the cyclist had to perform an upside-down loop, became notorious. The biggest 'death slopes' - the so-called 'looping the loop' tracks, could only be erected outside.⁷⁵ After a steep, fast descent, the cyclist performed a loop, riding for a short time upside-down. Cycle jumps into water from ramps similar to those of ski jumpers were performed. In these sensational, daredevil performances, it was inevitable that accidents and fatalities occurred.⁷⁶

In the same category of a 'lust for sensation' and an obsessive pursuit of records were the attempts to set bicycle speed records behind trains during the years 1896 to 1899. These pitted the human athlete against the most powerful, fastest land vehicle. More accurately, perhaps, it should be said that, through an understanding of the benefits of pacing, the power of the train was harnessed collaboratively to extend human athletic ability. In 1896, E. E. Anderson rode a mile in 1m 03s behind a train just outside St. Louis, Missouri, and a sextuplet raced against the famous Empire State Express on the New York Central Railway.⁷⁷ But the most famous of these publicity-grabbing rides involving trains and cyclists was the record set in June 1899 by professional cyclist Charles 'Mile-a-Minute' Murphy, who rode a measured mile in 57 4/5 seconds behind a train on the Long Island railroad, an event reported in hundreds of American newspapers.⁷⁸ As he came almost to the end of the board track laid between several miles of rails, Murphy was plucked into the air by several assistants standing on a specially shaped platform built on the back of the train, escaping near-certain death by seconds. This spectacularly dangerous ride was seen as a sensational athletic achievement which was both foolhardy and of scientific interest. *Scientific American* discussed the significance of Murphy's ride

in an editorial, and commented that 'without disparaging in any degree the persistence and pluck of the bicyclist, the most interesting feature of the ride is the impressive object lesson it affords as to the serious nature of atmospheric resistance on moving bodies'. As a media 'star', Murphy enjoyed a brief moment of international fame.⁷⁹

Cyclists thus made a significant contribution to 'gigantomania' in spectacular events which emphasized the controversial image of bicycle racing as a sensational factor in modern life and mass entertainment. Although these activities took place outside formal, sanctioned competition, the distinction between sport and entertainment was not scrupulously recognized by audiences. And it was, of course, the spectators, hungry for sensation, who to a large extent financed with their ticket purchases both the legitimate 'gigantic' racing achievements and the more unconventional, foolhardy exploits of athletes and performers.⁸⁰

8. Professionalization and commercialization

These four 'gigantic' cycling disciplines not only put intensive athletic demands on the cyclists, but also changed their way of life, their incomes and their social status. So it is appropriate to examine here the nature of the relationship between 'gigantism' and its compulsion to break records on the one hand and the growing professionalization and commercialization of the sport on the other.

Professionalism - racing for cash prizes - was, as has frequently been noted here, intrinsic to bicycle racing from the beginning of the sport in the late 1860s.⁸¹ A winner riding a particular maker's machine provided a de facto endorsement of that product. Amateur clubs were formed as a reaction to the perceived moral undesirability of professionalism. Professionalism was already well established in other sports before the emergence of the first professional cyclists, the high-wheel sprinters. The construction and promotion of racing tracks was one of the principal factors which led to the later growth of professionalism in cycling. Promoters, backed by the advertising revenue of bicycle and tyre manufacturers, were another key ingredient. They booked riders and were able to charge an admission fee for track events, which led the cyclists - the main actors in the racing drama - to demand their share to compete on a regular basis.⁸²

By the early 1890s, extensive advertising of bicycles and bicycle accessories was occurring as the bicycle boomed and a sophisticated retail distribution system was established for this major consumer product. British, American, German and French cyclists, hired by bicycle and tyre manufacturers, found themselves in demand and were able to channel their athletic ability into a well-paid sporting career. According to German journalist and historian Fredy Budzinski, 'The propaganda of action had a stronger impact than any of the claims made on paper about the quality of bicycles, and the German industry acted quickly and willingly to use this new promotional technique'. The same was true in the bicycle industry world-wide.⁸³

By 1895, obvious changes in the sport had been brought about by the strong movement towards professionalization. Rintelen, writing in 1895, maintained that: 'It is thanks to the professionalization in cycling brought about and sustained by the industry that we see today the enormous cycling achievements which have contributed so greatly to the

popularity of cycling and of the sport of cycling'.⁸⁴ Here, it is claimed that it was the bicycle industry which made professionalization possible, in turn making possible the raised level of performances. This is partly true, but is an interpretation that does not fully explain the complexity of the situation. There was certainly a strong tendency for the best amateurs to get sucked into professionalism, and certainly professional cyclists could better adjust to the immense demands of the sport. But there were also amateurs who participated successfully in 'gigantic' races.⁸⁵ Another explanation would be to suggest that, at an expansive technological moment in society, there was an urge to push at the limits of what was humanly possible in sport, that as the limits of human capacity were thus being explored in bicycle racing, it was inevitable that such physically demanding and stressful work could, on a permanent basis, best be done by full-time specialists.

In fact, a complex web of economic connections and dependencies existed between 'gigantism', the role of the bicycle industry, and the professionalization and popularization of the sport of cycling. A further crucial component in the marketing and consumption of professional cycling was the press, which showed an intense interest in the incredible accomplishments achieved, its reporting being sometimes euphoric and sometimes critical. Advances in the sport were reported either as fascinating or threatening and repulsive and the consequent heavy press coverage helped to contribute to the popularization of professional cycling from the mid-1890s.⁸⁶ What is clear is that the advertizing budgets of the bicycle manufacturers enabled a large number of professional and semi-professional athletes to be employed in the 1890s. In 1899, the German Cyclists' Association listed 452 professional cyclists among its members. *Spaldings Bicycle Guide* reported in 1898 that 'it is estimated that there are in the United States 1,000 professional racers'. A year later, Albert Mott, the chairman of the racing board of the League of American Wheelmen, reported that 'there are 621 professionals registered and over 20,000 wheelmen engaged in racing either as professionals or amateurs'.⁸⁷

It was not just the official, licensed professionals who took advantage of the financial opportunities. So-called 'maker's amateurs' found ways to turn their prizes into cash and to be compensated for their expenses and their equipment; they were licensed to compete

as amateurs, but functioned in most other ways as professionals. This trend towards the commercialization even of the amateur sport put the cycling associations in a predicament; 'amateurs' were frequently suspended for taking money or racing against professionals. Perhaps in no other sport was there such a consistent history of disputes and controversy on the amateur/professional question as within cycling. Among the prizes, worth more than \$11,000, that American world champion Arthur Zimmerman was reported to have won as an amateur were: thirty-five diamond pins, rings and brooches, fifteen bicycles, twelve silver services, six grandfather clocks, eight pocket watches, seven medals, one piano, a building site, twelve bronze figures, a wardrobe, two carriages and many bicycle tyres.⁸⁸ But this total was an under-estimate. In fact, in 1893, his last official year as an "makers' amateur" (riding a Raleigh bicycle and Palmer and Dunlop tyres), during which he won more than a hundred races, Zimmerman was estimated to have won prizes worth \$15,000.⁸⁹ The tendency for a top amateur to sell his prizes for cash or to embrace full professionalism was thus easy to understand.

But a top professional's income was greater than Zimmerman had been able to earn as an amateur. Exact incomes are difficult to estimate, since athletes earned money from a variety of sources, but the high earning potential of professional cyclists (who often, of course, only had short careers at the top of the sport) can be outlined. The editor of the Chicago paper, *Bearings*, estimated in 1897 that the two best-paid French riders, Morin and Jacquelin, earned about \$12 - 14,000 (60 - 70,000 francs) a year, made up of 'the fixed salary given by the manufacturers who engage them; the purses won in racing; the percentage allowed on said purses by the makers; and the allowance granted by the track managers in match events likely to draw a big crowd'. Other lesser riders, however, earned their livings 'pacing' the star performers, and were 'attached to some firm in the tire or wheel business, at a fixed salary of from 100 to 150 francs per month', with a similar payment from the star who employed them 'during training hours'.⁹⁰ When the African-American sprinter Major Taylor broke a series of paced short-distance world records (including the prestigious 1-mile record) in Philadelphia in November 1898 for his employer, the Sager Gear Company, the attempts cost 'about \$3,000... others have paid five times that amount... and failed'. The expenses were summarized as follows:

In addition to the Major's salary, which is said to be \$100 a week, and that of his manager which is less by \$25, there is the salary of twenty pace-makers, rubbers (i.e., masseurs - AR), an expert repairman, an attendant at the track,

hotel bills of several members of the company whose gear the Major is riding, making in all a weekly salary list of close to \$800. In addition to this, the Major gets \$100 each for the kilometer, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ and 2 mile records and \$500 for the mile. The riders have been on the pay roll for three weeks... the cost of the record trials will be any where from three to five thousand dollars'.⁹¹

In 1900, as his drawing-power increased following his victory in the 1899 world professional sprint championship, Major Taylor was offered \$10,000 to race in Europe for three months.⁹² In 1905, the world's best 'stayers' received 2-3,000 German marks as first prize in a major race.⁹³ On German tracks, world champion 'stayer' Thaddeus Robl earned 26,430 marks in 1903, 39,500 marks in 1904, 27,450 marks in 1905 and 49,250 marks in 1906. Between 1895 and 1905, Robl earned a total of 200,000 marks at home and abroad, four times more than any other German 'stayer'. By comparison, on German tracks German sprinter Willy Arend earned 10,822 marks in 1903, only 5,655 marks in 1904 and 4,620 marks in 1905, emphasizing the increasing popularity of 'stayer' races over sprinting in Germany. As a sprinter, Arend still made a lot of money outside Germany, however, for between 1895 and 1905, he earned a total of 125,918 marks; his compatriot sprinter Walter Rutt earned 23,964 marks at home and abroad in 1905.

These were the best-paid cyclists in their disciplines, however, and most others made a great deal less. In a list of 66 professional cyclists (both 'stayers' and sprinters) showing total earnings on German tracks between 1896 and 1903, only four earned more than 30,000 marks, four made more than 20,000 marks, 22 made more than 10,000 marks and the rest less than 10,000 marks.⁹⁴ World-class sprinters Ellegaard and Major Taylor reportedly had an annual income of about 100,000 marks at the turn of the century.⁹⁵ Contemporaries judged the highest of these incomes to be equivalent to those of Cabinet Ministers.⁹⁶ The total value of prizes awarded continued to increase, for example, in Germany between 1901 and 1907 from 99,956 marks to 1,101,803 marks, which was an eleven times increase.⁹⁷ A middle-level British professional, not employed by a bicycle manufacturer, told a reporter in 1896 that from 1893-95, he had made more than £700 annually, and that in 1896 he expected to make £1,200: 'I am paid from the company whose tyre I ride, by the rim-makers, by the machine manufacturers, the people who supply the saddle, and I have just made a contract to use a certain make of shoe'.⁹⁸ In the

United States, *Spaldings Official Bicycle Guide* agreed that 'it would be hard indeed to estimate the amount of money won in prizes and salary by the average racing man, but it is fair to estimate that their winnings averaged \$100 for each first, \$75 for each second and \$50 for each third, to which must be added their salary, as nearly all the professional riders are employed by makers of bicycles and their accessories'.⁹⁹ This growing commercialization was recognized and criticized at the time: 'The heyday of the sport was in the 1890s, whereas today business pushes itself too much to the fore', commented *Bühne und Sport* in 1907.¹⁰⁰

In summary, it can be seen from the above data that the strong trend towards professionalization and commercialization, more and more apparent from about 1895 on, and the 'gigantism' in cycling which has been explored above, complemented each other. The sensational performances by cyclists in the extreme disciplines - endurance racing on the road, stage-racing, 'stayer' racing and Six Day racing - were generously rewarded by their sponsors, a network of manufacturing and press interests, and by the general public who paid to see them race and enthusiastically embraced the often romanticized accounts of their exploits in the press.

According to an 1894 account in the American cycling paper, *The Referee*, the role of sport in influencing the preferences of the public in the purchase of an expensive consumer item like a bicycle was well recognized:

The general public has always cherished the idea that the wheel on which many victories are won on the path must be a stoutly built and thoroughly reliable machine; and of late years, the shrewdest makers have been taking more and more pains to encourage this belief, each one at the same time striving to outdo his competitors in the number of victories won on his machine. Consequently, the racing men began to find their services more and more in demand. Manufacturers vied with each other in the attempt to secure the very best men available to ride their machines.

But such an arrangement demanded experienced managers: 'The racing teams have become quite complicated and expensive affairs and form a very important item in a maker's list of expenditures'. Consequently, there was a need for 'competent men to take charge of the speed merchants on and off the track', with the result that 'most teams of fast riders under thoroughly competent management have proven a profitable investment'. 'Thoroughly competent' managers, however, were scarce and could 'easily

be counted on the fingers of one hand'. Of course, the participation of the bigger, wealthier manufacturers put pressure on others to enter the promotional arena: 'now that one or two firms have set the fashion, it is a matter of pride with every manufacturer to have his wheel represented on the path by the best possible riders obtainable, and few makers will be content to have their wheels unplaced in the struggle for racing honors'.¹⁰¹

As well as appealing to the desire of the male cyclist to be seen to have an athletic, 'sporty' image, the bicycle racing presented to the public in the later 1890s in both Europe and America was thus more ambitious, athletically more demanding and commercially more sophisticated than in the early 1890s, when the pneumatic tyre had first impacted the sport. It was also more speculative and risky, involving an investment and expenditure of larger amounts of money. The editor of *Bearings*, F.E. Spooner, wrote of the high cost of salaries and travelling expenses for the large groups of riders and managers on the National Circuit in the United States, 'which averages very close to sixty people week after week and month after month throughout the season'. He thought that the Circuit had cost more than \$200,000 in riders' expenses, and that if 'prize money' and 'gate money' was included in the calculations, \$1 million 'will be found to be a very light estimate of the amount of money which is annually involved in this cycle racing game'. Such a figure did not include track and grand-stand construction, which he estimated at a further \$1 million.¹⁰²

Spooner's projected figures were probably on the low side. At the beginning of the season of 1898, Albert Mott, Chairman of the Racing Board of the League of American Wheelmen (not, of course, an impartial judge of the situation) was reported in the *New York Times* as claiming that bicycle racing was the 'most popular of sports', which 'flourishes beyond any other method of entertainment in this country'. As evidence, Mott offered the following statistics: in 1897, 8 million spectators 'paid \$3,600,000 to attend 2,912 race meetings participated in by 9,000 men, who have won and received racing and pace-making prizes to the value of \$1,645,020, giving the promoters a margin on the meets and incidentals of \$1,089,180'. Mott went on to describe the efficiency and sophistication of the promotions:

One new feature that has improved bicycle racing during the past season is the

entrance into it of capitalists and business men. Their meets are conducted in a business-like manner, and with system. Everything moves with precision, spectators are well cared for and better entertained, and the racing man is sure of the full value of the prizes he wins. It is not only in the large cities that these enterprises exist, or that the largest attendance is attracted. A track in a town of 200 inhabitants in the South drew over ten times its own population at one meet.¹⁰³

Comparative figures for various sports showing spectatorship, earned income and overall expenditure are hard to come by, but there are frequent suggestions supporting the claim that in the late 1890s, when there is certainly a strong suggestion that it was at its apogee of popularity and economic success, bicycle racing rivalled baseball as the most popular spectator and participant sport in America.¹⁰⁴

The very success of the sport was an ongoing problem for the League of American Wheelmen, which represented itself as never having sought the responsibility for control of racing in the United States. A new professional organization, the National Cycling Association (founded in 1893, but not influential until later), contested the control of professional racing with the L.A.W. between 1898 and 1900 and by enlisting the support of riders, promoters and track owners, succeeded in wresting control of the professional sport from the L.A.W. in 1900.¹⁰⁵ The L.A.W. was thus freed from the obligation to legislate the constantly troublesome distinction between amateur and professional competitors and enabled to 'devote its energies to pushing sidepath and good roads work and its other legitimate work'.¹⁰⁶

This dynamic commercial activity and its impact on the character and organization of sport outlined in the American analyses quoted above could be duplicated with many other accounts from the British and French press in the 1890s, and is reflected in the thousands of pages of advertising which can be found in the cycling and general press. More than a century before today's heavily commercialized sports structure, a strikingly modern organizational and promotional structure was evident within the sport of bicycle racing.¹⁰⁷

9. Summary and conclusions

The radical structural and economic developments described in this chapter which occurred within the sport of bicycle racing in the later 1890s can be briefly summarized and categorized.

Emergence of a specialized, professional sports structure:

The sport was characterized at the highest athletic level by a compulsive search for speed, extraordinary feats of endurance and sensational public spectacles, and was driven forward by the dynamic economic activity within the bicycle industry. The competitive sport bloomed at the same time as recreational and utility cycling underwent an international 'boom' between about 1894 and 1900.

The industry was economically integral to the sport in all the technologically advanced countries and collaborated in the creation of a new kind of professional athletic star, who was most advantageously presented to the public within a state-of-the-art velodrome, but could also be admired on the public roads while competing in a well-publicized road-race. The general and cycling press was involved with the promotion and reporting of dramatic, newsworthy competitive events, as well as reporting on and discussing the many different social aspects of the popularity of cycling, for instance, health, fashion or gender issues.

As bicycle racing became a more ambitious business, professionals increased in number and in earning power and in pursuing their vocations as specialists tended to separate themselves as a class from the top amateurs. Professional cycling teams were formed and supported by the leading manufacturers, and victorious riders and the machines and equipment they rode were featured in prominent advertisements in the press.

A more scientific approach towards the achievement of greater speed in competition was seen in the use of increasingly sophisticated techniques of pacing, and training methods also became more scientific. Presiding over this novel sports structure, and earning their livings within it, was a new generation of managers, promoters and journalists, whose job was to organize and present profitable sports events.

The growth of a specialized professionalism was a telling example of the interpenetration of the sport and the bicycle industry which has been a dominant theme of this account.

'Cycle racing is becoming a science', pronounced a writer in the Chicago paper, *The Referee*, in 1894, which gave an American perspective on contemporary changes within the sport, particularly the growth of pacing teams:

Only within the last four or five years has the racing team been developed on anything like scientific lines... by far the greater proportion of the big teams of the path are organized and sent out by bicycle manufacturers who have learned, either from their own experience or that of their competitors, that a few first-class men doing brilliant work on one particular make of bicycle furnish one of the most effective advertisements for that bicycle that the fertile mind of the modern advertiser has yet devised.¹⁰⁸

In the face of this expansion of specialized professionalism, a high-level, pure amateurism became more difficult to maintain, and as we have seen in the case of French road-racing, professionalism became firmly entrenched and accepted.

Penetration of sport priorities into recreational and utility cycling:

But it was not only the particular brands of victorious and prominently advertized bicycles which attracted some consumers, but also the racy style and image of the bicycle itself. In other words, recreational riders wanted to imitate the professionals. 'The design of racing machines has in years gone by largely set the fashion for the construction of road bicycles', commented the American paper, *Cycle Age*, in 1900:

Energized by the general enthusiasm in the new sport and pastime, practically every male convert to cycling developed an irrepressible ambition to emulate on the street and road the popular favorites of the race track, and as a consequence road racing models were demanded which resembled in every respect save in strength and weight, the track machines. Handlebar, tire, pedal, toe clip and gear styles were set for years by the racing men.¹⁰⁹

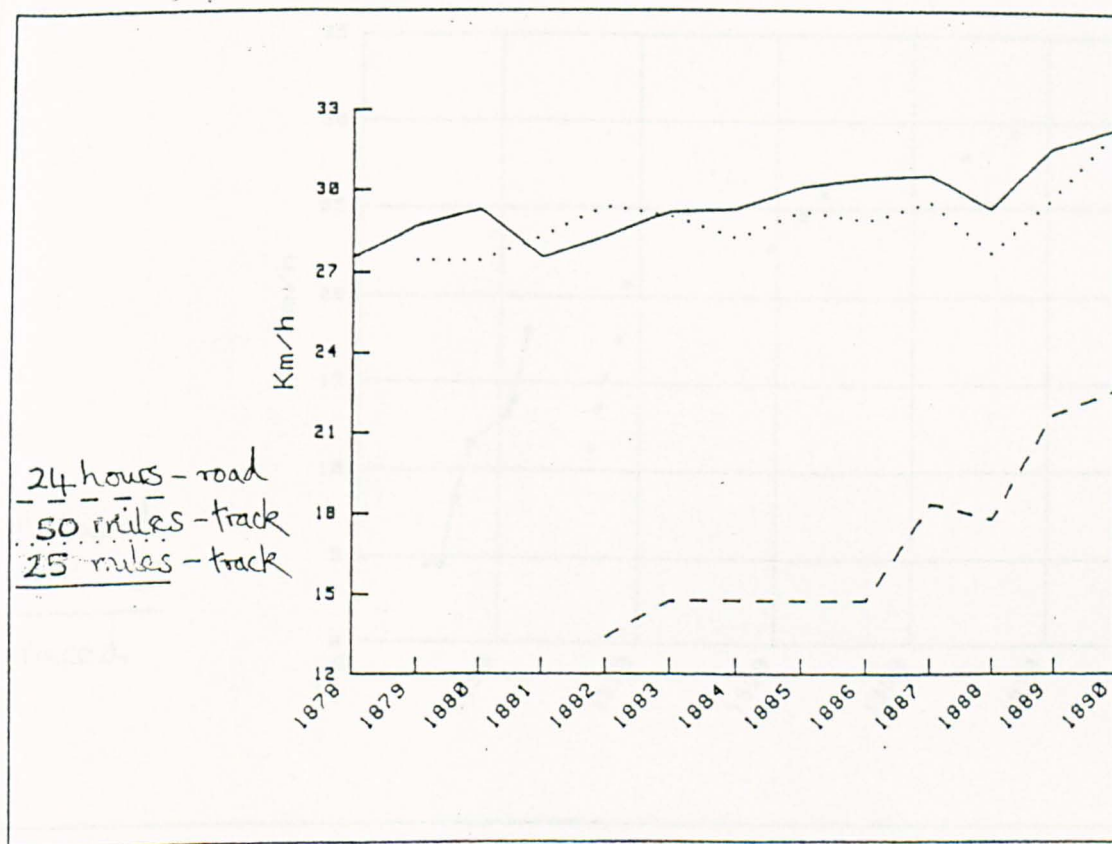
Professional sport, sponsored by bicycle makers, tyre and accessory manufacturers and the producers of other consumer products (newspapers, clothing, foods, drinks and stimulants), was used to advertise those products to the general public, heavily impacting the buying habits of recreational and utilitarian cyclists and setting fashionable trends during the bicycle 'boom'.

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In all these ways, the dynamics of the commercial world of late-19th century bicycle racing was strikingly prophetic of the later emergence of sponsored professional sport of many different kinds, and can be seen as an early example – a paradigm - of the modern, contemporary organization of sport.

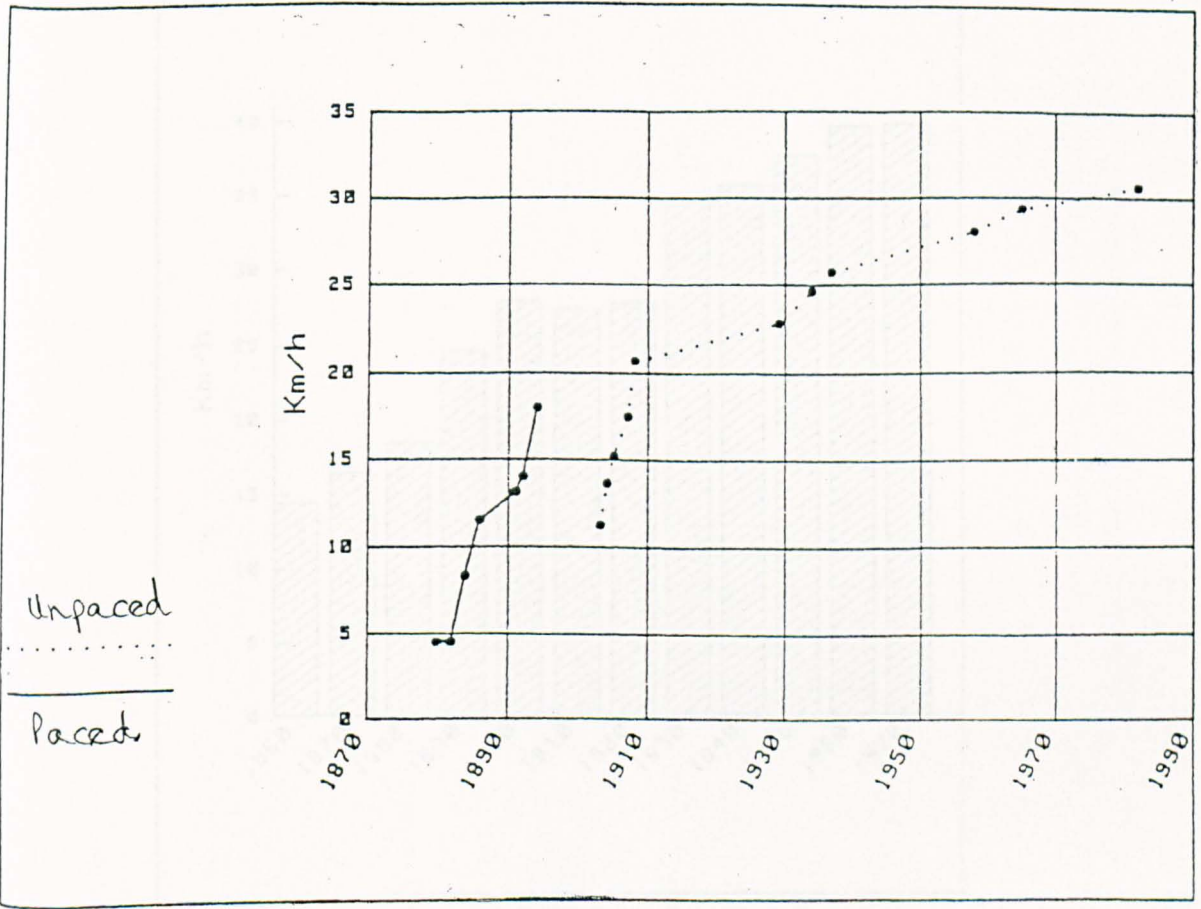
Appendix to Chapter 10

Tables 10a – 10d: Bicycle racing speeds



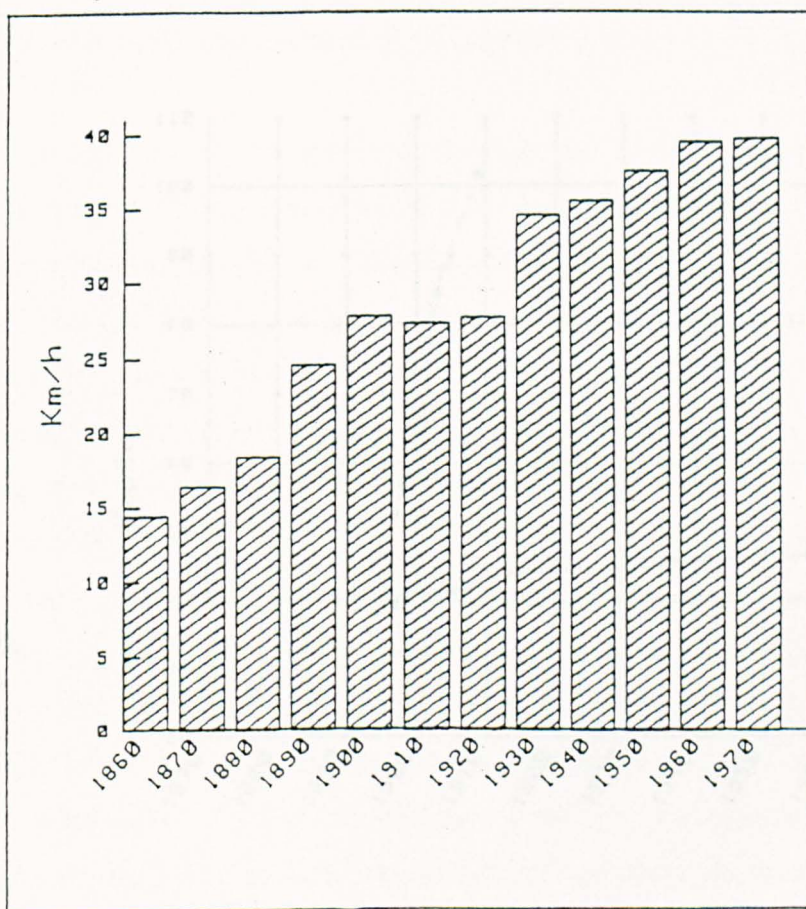
[Table 10. A. Bicycle Racing Speeds

Increase in racing speeds from 1878 to 1890, showing average speeds of annual 24 hour road rides organized by North Road Cycling Club and 25 and 50 mile championships on the track organized by the National Cyclists' Union (source: *Deutscher Radfahrer-Bund*, 1891, pp. 176 and 519).]



[Table 10. B. Bicycle Racing Speeds

Average speeds of the British 'End-to-End' record; the black dots show the actual records as they stood at the end of each year in which a record was set (from various sources).]



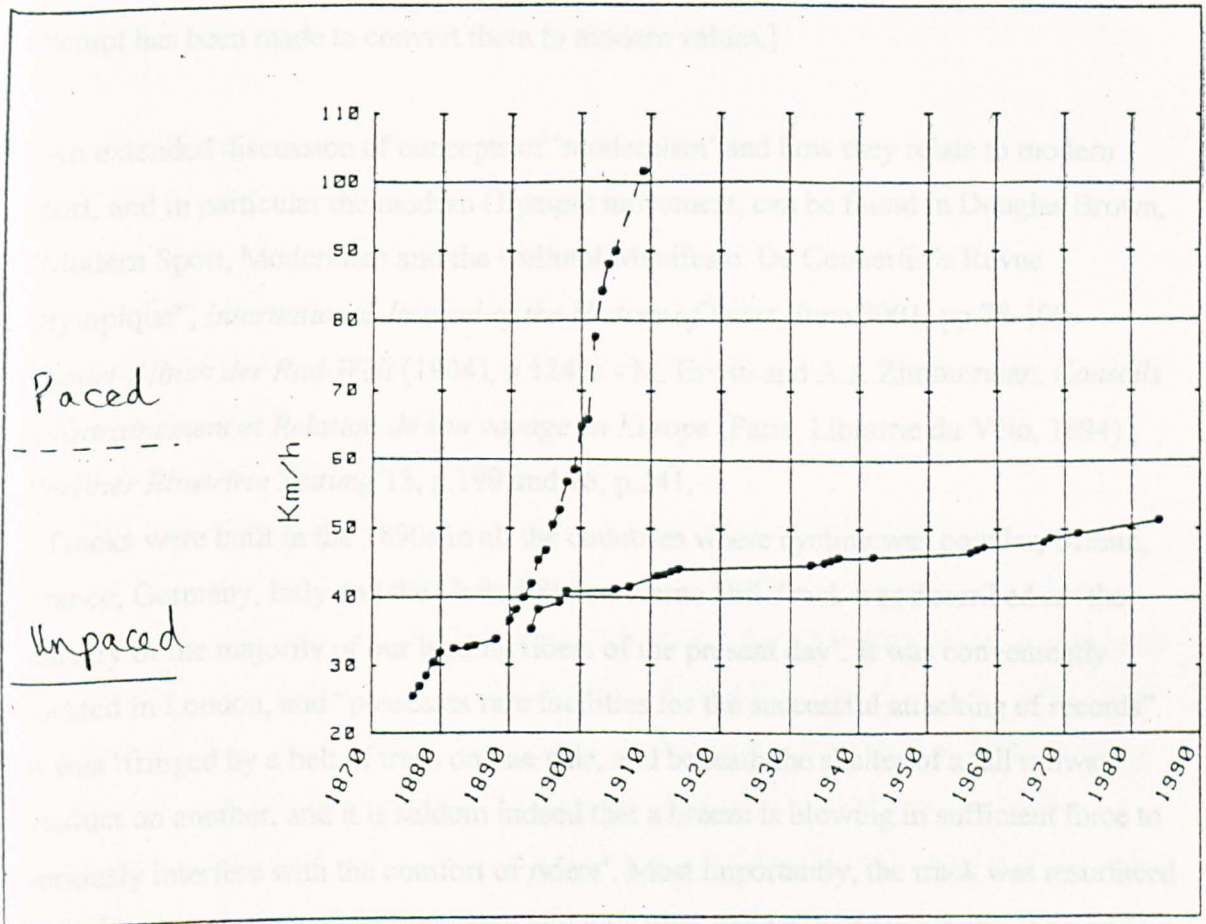
[Table 10. C. Bicycle Racing Speeds

Average speed of major road races for each decade from 1860 to 1970. (Numbers of races included for analysis for each decade as follows: 1860s - 5; 1870s - 6; 1880s - 9; 1890s - 25; 1900s - 30; 1910s - 48; 1920s - 75; 1930s - 82; 1940s - 65; 1950s - 90; 1960s - 86; 1970s - 57. (From various sources.)]

Notes to Chapter 10

Note on distances, speeds and salary amounts discussed in the text.

Distances and average speeds are expressed in both miles and kilometres, and no attempt has been made to convert them because of conversion anomalies. If necessary, miles may be converted into kilometres and kilometres into miles using the formulae: 1 mile = 1.60934 km and 1 km = 0.621371 miles. Many of the salary amounts are difficult to verify and no attempt has been made to convert them to modern values.



[Table 10. D. Bicycle Racing Speeds

World hour record on the track with and without pace-makers; the black dots show the actual records as they stood at the end of each year in which a record was set (from various sources).]

Notes to Chapter 10

[Note on distances, speeds and salary amounts discussed in the text.

Distances and average speeds are expressed in both miles and kilometres, and no attempt has been made to convert them because of conversion anomalies. If necessary, miles may be converted into kilometres and kilometres into miles using the formulas: 1 mile = 1.6 kms and 1 km = 0.63 miles. Money and salary amounts are difficult to assess, and no attempt has been made to convert them to modern values.]

¹ An extended discussion of concepts of 'modernism' and how they relate to modern sport, and in particular the modern Olympic movement, can be found in Douglas Brown, "Modern Sport, Modernism and the Cultural Manifesto: De Coubertin's Revue Olympique", *International Journal of the History of Sport*, June 2001, pp.78-109.

² *Sport-Album der Rad-Welt* (1904), p.124; J.- M. Erwin and A.A.Zimmerman, *Conseils d'Entraînement et Relation de son voyage en Europe* (Paris: Librairie du Vélo, 1894); *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung* 13, p.199 and 16, p.241.

³ Tracks were built in the 1890s in all the countries where cycling was popular, Britain, France, Germany, Italy and the United States. Herne Hill Track was described as 'the nursery of the majority of our leading riders of the present day'. It was conveniently located in London, and "possesses rare facilities for the successful attacking of records". It was 'fringed by a belt of trees on one side, and beneath the shelter of a tall railway viaduct on another, and it is seldom indeed that a breeze is blowing in sufficient force to seriously interfere with the comfort of riders'. Most importantly, the track was resurfaced in 1893 with 'the then newly invented and now well-known 'battens', strips of wood laid upon a substratum of concrete and cement, and banked at each end sufficiently to allow of its successful negotiation at even the highest rate of speed'. The cost of the new facility was from £5-6,000. ("The cost of a famous racing track", *The Hub*, 22 Aug. 1896). This wooden track was severely criticized as cement became increasingly popular and was generally recognized as faster. New tracks were also built in London at Wood Green and Catford, and that at Putney improved. The Wood Green track cost a total of £18,000, including £3,000 for the cement track itself and £3,600 for the grandstand ("Famous racing tracks", *The Hub*, 29 Aug. 1896, p.147). In Paris and Berlin new tracks were generally constructed of cement. By 1903, *Sport-Album der Rad-Welt* listed listed

19 leading continental tracks outside Germany, including Amsterdam, Antwerp, Brussels, Copenhagen, Florence, Rome, Turin, Zurich and three in Paris. The same publication for 1904 lists 54 tracks in Germany!

⁴ "The National Circuit of 1897", *The Referee*, 10 Dec. 1896.

⁵ See Chapter 7, pp.127-141, "Let him ride to death – The Crazy Fringe", in Robert A. Smith, *A Social History of the Bicycle* (New York: American Heritage Press, 1972).

⁶ Richard D. Mandell, *Die ersten Olympischen Spiele der Neuzeit* (Aloys Henn Verlag, Kastellaun, 1976).

⁷ *Deutsche Illustrierte Zeitung* 48, 1884-5, p.470.

⁸ *Illustrierte Zeitung* 2366, 1888.

⁹ Op.cit., 1893, 2598, p.408; 2607, p. 660 and 2608, p. 688; J.R. de Bruycker, *Das Abenteuer der grossen Distanzritte* (Kiel: Moby Dick Verlag, 1985).

¹⁰ The oldest of these 'classics' are Bordeaux-Paris (1891), Paris-Roubaix (1896), Paris-Tours (1896) and Paris-Brussels (1896).

¹¹ *Deutscher Radfahrer-Bund*, 1891, p.510.

¹² The record was set on 27 July 1882 at Crystal Palace, London; 20 miles in 59m 31 4/5s, or 20 miles 300 yds in the hour. See G. Lacy Hillier, "A succinct and critical history of the One Hour's Cycle Path Record from the earliest authenticated record to the present day", *The Cyclist Annual and Year Book for 1892*.

¹³ Robert Höfer, *Zwanzig Jahre Deutscher Rad-Rennsport – Geschichte des Deutschen Rennsports von 1881 bis 1901* (Berlin: Verlag der Rad-Welt, 1901), p.43.

¹⁴ *Deutscher Radfahrer-Bund*, 1891, p.312. Journalist Victor Breyer recollected later that 'this race was an eye-opener for the masses..... That human beings had been capable of riding nearly 400 miles on their frail machines, almost without a dismount, filled everybody with admiration. It came as a tremendous revelation'. ("How G. P. Mills won the first Bordeaux-Paris", *Cycling*, 19 March 1947). The North Road Cycling Club had promoted 12 hour and 24 hour time trials since its foundation in 1885, having been formed specifically to take advantage of the fine condition of the Great North Road, and its suitability for bicycle racing. The first North Road C. C. 24 hour race was held in 1886, and won on an ordinary bicycle by G. P. Mills (227 miles), the same rider who won the Bordeaux-Paris race in 1891.

¹⁵ See Andrew Ritchie, "Charles Terront and Paris-Brest-Paris in 1891", *The Boneshaker*

150, Summer 1999 and Andrew Ritchie, "The French Classics and British opposition to road racing in the 1890s", *The Boneshaker* 151, Winter 1999.

¹⁶ Philippe Tissié, *Guide du Vélocipédiste pour l'Entraînement, la Course et le Tourisme* (Paris: Octave Doin Editeur, 1893); H.O. Duncan, *The World on Wheels* (Paris: Self-published, c.1926); Versnick, op. cit.; L. Baudry de Saunier, *Les mémoires de Terront* (1893; modern edition Paris: Prosport, 1980).

¹⁷ *Sport-Album der Rad-Welt* (1903); Fredy Budzinski, *Taschen-Radwelt – Ein radsportliches Lexikon* (Berlin, 1908/9).

¹⁸ Höfer, op. cit., p.43.

¹⁹ Höfer, op. cit., pp.50 and 58.

²⁰ Höfer, op. cit., p.53; Detlev Sierck, *Das Tourenfahren*, in Paul von Salvisberg, *Der Radfahrersport in Bild und Wort* (Munich: Academischer Verlag, 1897).

²¹ *Illustrierte Zeitung* 2810 (1893), p.45; *Deutscher Radfahrer-Bund* (1893), p.424.

²² *Vossische Zeitung* (30 June 1893).

²³ *Illustrierte Zeitung* 2610 (1893), p.46.

²⁴ *De Kampioen* (1890); Leonard de Vries, *De dolle entree van automobiel en velocipede* (Bussum, Holland, 1973).

²⁵ *Morning Advertiser*, 26 Oct. 1875. Laumailé and Richard, from the club Vélo-Sport of Paris, encountered terrible weather conditions, but still beat the record time of Lieut. Count von Zubowitz and his mare Caradoc, which 'inspired the members of the Paris club with the ambition of rivalling it', by nearly 3 days. They rode bicycles made by the Coventry Machinists Company. 'All along the route the light machines were the admiration and the envy of the people who had hitherto known of no other bicycles than the wooden-wheeled 'boneshakers' which are now abandoned in this country'. See also *Bicycling: Its Rise and Development, A Text Book for Riders*, London: 1876, pp. 34-40.

²⁶ H. O. Duncan and Pierre Lafitte, *En Suivant Terront de St. Petersburg à Paris à Bicyclette* (Paris: 1894).

²⁷ "Terront's Record Ride Across Europe", *The Cyclist*, 18 Oct. 1893.

²⁸ See Robert Louis Jefferson, *To Constantinople on a Bicycle* (1894), *Roughing It in Siberia* (1895), *Awheel to Moscow and Back* (London: Sampson, Low, Martin, 1895), *Across Siberia on a Bicycle* (London: Cycle Press, 1896) and *A New Ride to Khiva* (London: Methuen, 1899). See also Thomas Allen and William Sachleben, *Across Asia*

on a Bicycle (New York: Century Co., 1894).

²⁹ Jacques Seray, *1904 - Ce Tour de France qui faillit être le dernier* (Abbeville, 1994).

³⁰ *L'Auto*, date unknown, quoted in Seray, op. cit., p.118. The early Tour de France is explored in Hugh Dauncey and Geoff Hare, "The Tour de France: A Pre-Modern Contest in a Post-Modern Context" (pp.1-29), and Philippe Gaboriau, "The Tour de France and Cycling's Belle Epoque" (pp.57-78), both in Dauncey and Hare, *The Tour de France 1903 – 2003: A Century of Sporting Structures, Meanings and Values* (London: Cass, 2003). Gaboriau rightly makes the connection between the beginning of the Tour de France and the series of well publicized road races involving both bicycles and cars between 1891 (date of the first Bordeaux-Paris bicycle race) and 1903. Both bicycle and automobile industries were deeply and competitively involved in these events. Following a series of appalling fatalities and serious injuries on the road between Paris and Bordeaux during the French leg of the Paris-Madrid car race in May 1903, car racing was banned on the roads of France. The publicity potential of such events had been amply demonstrated, however, before the Paris-Madrid tragedies. Says Gaboriau: "a whole series of road races can be considered as a single category of competitions linking sports, newspapers and industries to the values of endurance, record-breaking and mechanical modernity". But with the Paris-Madrid fatalities, "this fantastic race towards progress ended in drama and chaos", writes Gaboriau. The first Tour de France, therefore, although it down-played speed and sensation, emphasised the human and heroic values of tenacity and endurance.

Most accounts of the foundation of the Tour de France published during 2003 – the centenary year of the event – have failed to situate the Tour de France in this wider historical perspective, preferring to see it as an original conception arising in the mind of its founder, Henri Desgrange, and his assistants. But as an ex-bicycle racer and director and editor of a new newspaper, *L'Auto-Vélo*, which was in competition with its older rival, *Le Vélo*, Desgrange was very much aware of the history of the sport in the 1890s and of the impact of sporting events on the sale of newspapers.

³¹ George Hogenkamp, *Een halve eeuw wielersport* (Amsterdam: 1916), p.382.

³² Rene Jacobs, *Velo*, 1980, p.290.

³³ *Deutsche Turn-Zeitung*, Leipzig, 1904, p.647; W. Gronen and W. Lemke, *Geschichte des Radsports und des Fahrrades* (Eupen: Edition Doepgen Verlag, 1978), p.239

(referred to throughout as Gronen/Lemke).

³⁴ Hogenkamp, op. cit., p.437; René Jacobs, *Vélo*, 1978, p.285; Gronen/Lemke, 1978, p.239.

³⁵ G. Lacy Hillier, in *The Cyclist Annual and Yearbook for 1892* (see Note 11), wrote that the 2 Sept. 1880 attempt of H. L. Cortis to break the 20 mph time for the hour was 'the earliest recorded instance of pacemakers being used in an attempt to make good time'. Hillier himself was one of the four pacers. An analysis of psychological aspects of pacing was conducted in 1898 by Norman Triplett, of Indiana University, and published as "The Dynamogenic Factors in Pacemaking and Competition", *American Journal of Psychology*, Vol. IX, July 1898. A more recent analysis of tactical aspects of pacing in bicycle racing is Edward Albert, "The Sociology of Bicycle Racing – Group Sport with a Difference", *Cycling Science*, Sept.-Dec. 1991.

³⁶ *The Hub*, 10 Oct. 1896, p. 363. The article continues: 'To get good results out of a multi-cycle, the men riding it must, as it is termed, "nick" perfectly together, that is to say, they must work with that mechanical unison of movement that alone brings out the highest speed. For this reason it is that the "professionals" are most to be relied upon. They are men specially picked on account of an ability to ride best in particular company, just in the same way as a university eight is selected'.

³⁷ "The Year 1897 in Cycling", *Spaldings Official Bicycle Guide for 1898*. Spaldings goes on to comment on Jimmy Michael: 'He is the most marvellous athlete the world has ever seen, for with his diminutive size he combines a power and an ability that is gigantic, and during the last season has duplicated in this country his record in England, France and Germany. He has been the bright particular star of the match racing season. He has met defeat only once during the entire season, and he met all who were brave enough to face him in a race'.

³⁸ "Revolution in Cycle Racing", newspaper unknown, from early 1898, author's collection; *New York Times*, 2 Jan. 1898.

³⁹ "Record-breaking as a science", *The Hub*, 7 Nov. 1896, p.3.

⁴⁰ "Motor Pacing Possibilities", *Cycling*, 13 Feb. 1897.

⁴¹ Gronen/Lemke, 1978, have many interesting photographs of pacing-machines from the period. The link between bicycle racing and the emerging automobile and aviation industries was both in the technology of large, powerful gasoline-powered engines and

the skilled personnel with expertise in working with them. Many of the bicycle racers, after their cycling careers, went into the automobile and aviation industries. This issue still needs to be systematically researched.

⁴² "Dies Making Records", *Bicycling World*, 8 June 1903 . This article also explained that following the accident, American paced riders were compelled to use heavier American-made tyres in races: 'Most of the accidents to pace followers have been due to tires bursting. The racing men during the last two years have nearly all been using French made tires. These they discovered when they went to race abroad. They are very finely made tires, resilient and speedy, but their fast quality is largely due to their being made exceedingly thin and with a web that is silky in its fineness. The heat generated by the speed at which the men go now is enough to make such tires explode'. Belgian star Verbist was another cyclist killed during a race, and British star Jimmy Michael died of a brain hemorrhage on an Atlantic crossing following a serious accident. Gronen/Lemke, *Geschichte des Radsports*, estimate that between 1899 and 1928, 33 riders and 14 pace-makers were killed on European and American tracks. *Sport-Album der Rad-Welt* listed the deaths of 'stayers' almost routinely between 1903 and 1905, the toll including Alfred Gornemann, Paul Albert, Harry Elkes and Edouard Taylor in 1903, Karl Kaser and Paul Dangla in 1904 and Charles Brecy, George Leander, Jimmy Michael, Hubert Sevenich and Willy Schmitter in 1905. American riders Johnnie Nelson and Archie McEachern also died.

⁴³ Hogenkamp, op. cit., 1916, p.387; *Sport-Album der Rad-Welt* #8 (1910) printed an article on the accident, 'Die Rennbahnkatastrophe und ihre Folgen', which Rabenstein excerpts on his p.295. At a meeting on 17 August 1909 between ministers and representatives of bicycle racing organizations, a complete ban on the sport was lifted on the condition that windshields were not used and that a roller had to be installed at a distance of 40 cm from the back wheel of the pacing-machine, to slow the cyclist. See Gronen/ Lemke, p. 223.

⁴⁴ "The Track Tragedy at Berlin", *Bicycling World and Motorcycle Review*, 7 Aug. 1909, p.745.

⁴⁵ S. H. Moxham, *Fifty Years of Road Riding, the North Road Cycling Club, 1885 – 1935* (Bedford: Diemer and Reynolds, 1935).

⁴⁶ Cuca Cocoa races were as follows: 1892, Shorland, 414 miles; 1893, Shorland, 426¼

miles; 1894, Shorland, 460 miles 1296 yards; 1895, George Hunt, 450 miles 1459 yards; 1896, F. R. Goodwin, 476 miles 1702 yards.

⁴⁷ Hogenkamp, 1916, p.180; photo in Gronen/Lemke, 1978, p. 216.

⁴⁸ *L'Auto*, 16 Sept. 1909; see also Gronen/Lemke, p. 228. Guignard's world record, set on 15 Sept. 1909 was the reason for the publication of the retrospective record list.

⁴⁹ *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* 38 (1898), p.5.

⁵⁰ *The Athletic News* (Manchester), 30 Sept. 1876 and 21 Oct. 1876. At the first event, Thuillet 'was accompanied by his friend Keen, the long-distance champion, and the enthusiasm of the spectators rose to a great pitch as the race drew near the end, for the champions were running at the astonishing pace of 16 miles an hour'.

⁵¹ The young Charles Terront, who has already been mentioned in the context of the 1891 Paris-Brest-Paris and the ride from St. Petersburg to Paris, was one of the leading contenders in these contests. See Andrew Ritchie, "The Beginnings of Trans-Atlantic Bicycle Racing: Harry Etherington and the Anglo-French Team in America, 1879-80", *International Journal of the History of Sport*, Dec. 1998; see also *Cycle-Clips, A History of Cycling in the North-East*, Tyne and Wear County Museums, 1985.

⁵² *Deutsche Illustrierte Zeitung* 28 (1884-85), Vol. 2, p.47.

⁵³ *ibid supra*.

⁵⁴ Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, p.67; Andrew Ritchie, *Major Taylor* (Bicycle Books, San Francisco, 1989).

⁵⁵ Editorial, *New York Times*, 12 Dec. 1896.

⁵⁶ Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, p.76; Gronen/Lemke, p.163; Budzinski, *Taschen-Radwelt – Ein radsportliches Lexikon* (Berlin: Verlag der Rad-Welt, 1908-09).

⁵⁷ *New York Times*, 6 -13 Dec. 1897.

⁵⁸ Kaufmann, *op.cit.*, p.69.

⁵⁹ Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, p.71 and 76.

⁶⁰ *Bühne und Sport* 29, 1907, p.15.

⁶¹ Kaufmann, *op.cit.*, pp.72 and 76; Hogenkamp, *op. cit.*, pp.462 and 472; *Sport-Album der Rad-Welt*, 1912, 1913 and 1914.

⁶² Hermann Glaser, *Die Kultur der Wilhelminischen Zeit – Topographie einer Epoche* (Frankfurt: S. Fischer Verlag, 1984), p.104.

⁶³ *Scientific American* 361 (1899), p.292.

- ⁶⁴ Joseph Jiel-Laval, "Une course à bicyclette. Paris-Brest et retour" (Bordeaux, 1892); in Philippe Tissié, op. cit. (Note 15), p.227.
- ⁶⁵ Karl Planck, *Fusslümmelei. Über Stauchballspiel und englische Krankheit* (Stuttgart: 1898), p.15.
- ⁶⁶ Paul von Salvisberg, *Der Radfahrersport in Bild und Wort* (Munich: Akademischer Verlag, 1897; reprinted by Olms Presse, Hildesheim and New York, 1980), p.260.
- ⁶⁷ *Monatsschrift für das Turnwesen*, 1898, p. 247.
- ⁶⁸ *Sport-Album der Rad-Welt*, 1909, p.6.
- ⁶⁹ Bertz, op. cit., p.84.
- ⁷⁰ H. Boruttau, "Radfahren und Automobilsport", in Siegfried Weissbein, *Hygiene des Sports* (Leipzig: Verlag Grethlein, c. 1911), p.184.
- ⁷¹ Jim McGurn, *On Your Bicycle* (London: John Murray, 1987), p.122.
- ⁷² Adolphe Schulze, "Radfahren", in Richard Nordhausen, *Sport und Körperpflege* (Leipzig: J.J.Arnd, 1908), p.574.
- ⁷³ The event was reported in *Buffalo Express*, 26 Aug. 1869 and *New York Times*, 27 Aug. 1869 and imaginatively illustrated in *L'Illustration*, 25 August 1869. In fact, as a series of contemporary stereograph photographs makes clear, the exploit was less dangerous than was apparent from the written accounts because the 'velocipede' consisted of two heavy wheels between which Professor Jenkins was positioned so that much of his weight and a heavy balance-bar were below the tight-rope. The machine was not a normal velocipede (see *The Boneshaker* #158, Spring 2002, p.46).
- ⁷⁴ *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*, 1900, p.695.
- ⁷⁵ *Sport-Album der Rad-Welt*, 1906, p.34.
- ⁷⁶ *Deutsche Turn-Zeitung*, 1889, p.336.
- ⁷⁷ *Bearings*, 13 April 1896; *The Hub*, 3 Oct. 1896.
- ⁷⁸ Among them; *New York Times*, 1 July 1899, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 1 July 1899, *Louisville Courier-Journal*, 1 July 1899, *San Francisco Examiner*, 1 July 1899. Bertz, op.cit., p.90; photos in Gronen/Lemke, pp.132 and 174. See also Andrew Ritchie, *Major Taylor*, op. cit., p. 118-120.
- ⁷⁹ "Murphy's Bicycle Ride a Hint to the Railroads", p.34 and "A Mile in Less than a Minute on a Bicycle", p. 41, *Scientific American*, 15 July 1899.
- ⁸⁰ See Rüdiger Rabenstein, "Sensational Bicycle Acts Around 1900", *Proceedings of the*

9th *International Cycle History Conference* (San Francisco: Van der Plas Publications, 1999), pp. 62-68.

⁸¹ See Andrew Ritchie, "The Origins of Bicycle Racing in England: Technology, Entertainment, Sponsorship and Advertising in the Early History of the Sport", *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 26, #3, Fall 1999.

⁸² Cycling was certainly progressive in its creation of this new type of sports promoter and manager, whose tasks included the provision and maintenance of racing facilities and the personal management of the athletes. H. O. Duncan, working in Paris in the 1890s, managed a stable of riders, liaising between them and manufacturers, arranging their racing schedules and personally supervising their training and travel.

⁸³ Fredy Budzinski, "Radsport und Turnen", in Edmund Neuendorf, *Die deutschen Leibesübungen* (Berlin-Essen: W. Andermann Verlag, 1928), p.665.

⁸⁴ C. Rintelen, "Sport und Industrie", in *Amtliche Fest-Schrift zum 12. Bundestage des DRB*, 1895, pp. 49.

⁸⁵ For example, in the Vienna-Berlin long-distance race in 1893; see *Deutscher Radfahrer-Bund*, 1893, p.351.

⁸⁶ Thaddäus Robl, *Der Radrennsport* (Leipzig: Verlag Grethlein, 1905), p.18.

⁸⁷ *Amtliche Liste der Deutschen Berufsfahrer* (1899); *Spaldings Official Bicycle Guide for 1898*, p.5.; *The Cycle Age and Trade Review*, 16 Feb. 1899, p.488. *Spaldings* for 1899 said, 'There are perhaps 25,000 amateur and professional racing men in the United States'.

⁸⁸ *Deutsche Turn-Zeitung*, 1894, p.204.

⁸⁹ "Looking Backward - A Review of '93 Racing", *Bearings*, 22 Dec. 1893.

⁹⁰ *Bearings*, 25 Feb. 1897, p.390.

⁹¹ *Worcester Spy*, 22 Nov. 1898 and unidentified Philadelphia newspaper in author's collection. See also, Andrew Ritchie, *Major Taylor*, pp.108-10.

⁹² Ritchie, *Major Taylor*, p.143.

⁹³ H. Naundorf, "Radfahren", in C. Diem, H. Sippel, F. Breithaupt, *Stadion, Das Buch von Sport und Turnen – Gymnastik und Spiel*, (Berlin: Neufeld and Henius Verlag, 1928), p.272.

⁹⁴ *Sport-Album der Rad-Welt*, 1903, 1904, 1905 and 1907.

⁹⁵ *Bühne und Sport* 5 (1907), p.8.

⁹⁶ Eduard Bertz, *Die Philosophie des Fahrrads* (Dresden: Verlag Reissner, 1900), p.86.

⁹⁷ Adolph Schulze, "Radfahren", in H. Richard, *Sport und Körperpflege* (Verlag J.J.Arnd, Leipzig, 1908), p.580.

⁹⁸ "Popular professionals and their salaries", *The Hub*, 7 Nov. 1896.

⁹⁹ Spaldings Official Bicycle Guide for 1898.

¹⁰⁰ *Bühne und Sport*, 1907.

¹⁰¹ Barry Hecla, "Racing as a Business. The Evolution of the Racing Team, Its Causes and Effects", *The Referee*, 26 Oct. 1894.

¹⁰² "Money Spent by Circuit Chasers", *Bearings*, 2 Sept. 1897.

¹⁰³ "Cycle Racing Reforms", *New York Times*, 6 Feb. 1898.

¹⁰⁴ An article in the *New York Times*, 23 Sept., 1892 ("Tempting the Wheelmen – Baseball Magnates after the Amateur Cyclists") explained that 'a syndicate of baseball magnates was forming to manage bicycle racing on a professional basis. The future of this scheme depends largely upon engaging all the prominent amateur riders, thus inducing them to compete for cash prizes'. The plan was evidently to bolster the slow winter baseball season by building cycling tracks within existing baseball fields. H.E. Raymond, Chairman of the Racing Board of the League of American Wheelmen told the *Times*: 'It has been known for some time that such a plan was afoot, and it is intended by the baseball people as a shift to use their grounds. Baseball has been steadily on the decrease as a paying investment, and the rapid growth of cycle racing has directed the speculation in sports to our quarter. I am aware that cement tracks are talked of for all baseball fields, and of course that means that they must be made to pay by securing the services of all the fast riding men on the path at the present time in the amateur ranks'. There is no evidence that such a scheme was actually carried out, but the existence of the plan underlines the speculative nature of sport promotion at the time.

¹⁰⁵ See Ritchie, *Major Taylor*, pp.101-108, pp.115-116, pp.128-129 and pp.140-143. A summary of the conflict between the opposing sides can be found in "Outlaw Racing Movement Elucidated", *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review*, 1 June 1899, pp.20-26 and in "Racing Situation Summed Up – Strength of Opposing Sides", *The Cycle Age and Trade Review*, 30 March 1899, pp.680-81. The issue was partially resolved at the League of American Wheelmen convention in Philadelphia in February 1900. 'The speed and facility with which that vital matter was disposed of savored of the manner in which a

hot potato is popularly supposed to be dropped. Anyone who heard the hearty cheer which followed the announcement of the vote (it was practically unanimous) would have imagined that the assemblage had at last rid itself of an incubus that was fast sapping its vitality.’, “L.A.W. National Assembly – Delegates Vote to Abandon Race Control Without Discussion”, *Cycle Age*, 22 Feb. 1900.

¹⁰⁶ *Cycle Age and Trade Review*, 1 March 1900.

¹⁰⁷ For a definition of ‘modern’ and ‘modernity’, Glen Norcliffe’s *The Ride to Modernity* is useful and apposite. On pp.248-249, ‘modernity’ is described as follows: ‘Although the bicycle era was only a brief episode in the complex drama of modernity, it provides a number of insights into the workings of the broader cultural movement... During its turbulent (and still incomplete history) modernity has passed through many phases as new technologies and fashions were discovered, modified, diffused, and then discarded, one after another, each in turn being replaced by new ideas that revived the project, and relaunched it in a new direction’. Norcliffe then highlights four aspects of modernity: ‘First, modernity is antagonistic to the status quo. Second, and paradoxically, although local traditions form a part of the established practices that are inimical to modernity, modernity itself becomes locally embedded... Third, a part of this geographical embeddedness has resulted from the ability of modernity to seduce the “crowd”, in slightly different ways in different places, mainly because it is able to create spectacles that have a local resonance. Finally, the practical manifestation of modernity has been most firmly based in industry; the abstract rhetoric of rationality and reason has found its most decisive incarnation in factories, in the industrial workforce, and in the production of a succession of consumer goods of varying utility. The essential subtext to the discussion is that modernity has become massively important because it grew from its metaphysical origins into a popular and diversified movement that progressively infiltrated every practical aspect of western civilization’.

¹⁰⁸ Barry Hecla, “Racing as a Business. The Evolution of the Racing Team, Its Causes and Effects”, *The Referee*, 26 Oct. 1894.

¹⁰⁹ *Cycle Age and Trade Review*, 16 Aug. 1900.

Chapter 11

Conclusions

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1. Concluding summary: a period of intensive technological change and sport development

'Few historians have noticed that modern sport has characteristics that are distinctive and that modern sport has its origins in precisely those social circumstances that fostered rationalized industrial production. For a while, industrial production and modern sport were uniquely regnant in England and both, subsequently, have spread over much of the world'.

Richard Mandell, *Sport – A Cultural History* (1984)

The statement above underlines broad conclusionary aspects of the character of the social, technological and sporting changes described in the dissertation, which characterized the transformation of cycle sport from its beginnings in the late 1860s, and which have been described and argued in the chapters of the dissertation. What, then, are the conclusions which can be formulated? How can the originality of the dissertation best be defined?

Essentially, what has been constructed here is an essay in the relationships between the sport, its associated social institutions and the bicycle industry. The dissertation did not set out to be an economic history of the bicycle or the bicycle industry, but it did set out to research and document the history of the sport in primary source material, and to set the sport in its wider social and economic setting. It has questioned the relationship between the sport and the evolving bicycle, and the extent to which the sport contributed to bicycle design. It concluded that the influence of the sport was considerable. In understanding this relationship, the dissertation made use of a social constructionist approach to the history of technology and concluded that this approach has been fruitful and helpful in interpreting the many factors – social and economic forces – which were in play in the early years of cycling as a sport. To a large extent, this constitutes its originality.

The account has documented how the velocipede 'craze', which originated as a gymnastic entertainment, developed in the 1870s and 1880s into the serious, dangerous high-wheel sport contested by gentleman amateurs and tough professionals, and thereafter with the arrival of the 'safety' bicycle and the pneumatic tyre had expanded as a competitive sport and also become a much wider recreational and utilitarian social

activity. It has argued that the needs of the sport had a profound and continuous influence on the evolving designs of bicycles throughout the period.

Above all, as has been repeatedly emphasized and documented here, the sport of cycling was enmeshed with and co-dependent upon the bicycle industry, which made the sport possible by creating its essential tool and also benefitted from the sport by virtue of a continuous testing and experimenting process. However, this relationship of inter-dependence was often an uneasy one. The commercial purposes and interests of manufacturers were not the same as the individuals within the governing bodies of the sport who preferred to espouse and protect amateur ideals, and the struggle between amateurism and professionalism was a characteristic and constant tension within the sport during the whole of the period, whose importance has I hope been sufficiently emphasized here.

The three modes of cycling – competitive, recreation and utility – were inherent in cycling from the very earliest velocipeding activity, and have been discussed at length in the Introduction and in Chapter 9. Within formal competitive sport, firstly, there was racing on road and track which this history has focused on particularly. Secondly, there was cycling as leisure and recreation providing physical exercise and certainly involving athletic ability. This recreational aspect merged into a third mode, cycling as a utilitarian activity. The compulsion to go faster (competition), to explore unknown places (tourism), to develop better machines (technological ingenuity), to associate with others in competition and club life, to use the machine simply to go from here to there (utility), were all characteristics of the bicycle movement. The three modes were integral to the bicycle's broad-based social impact, and contributed to the varied 'relevant social groups' which impacted its development. However, in historical terms, the three categories are not easy to sharply differentiate. The word 'sport' was not understood by the public to refer exclusively to competitive bicycle racing. Those who joined a club and rode for recreation and pleasure also saw themselves as participating in 'sport'.

Within cycling, a certain amount of tension existed between the racer and the recreational and touring cyclist – a difference which became institutionalized in the different aims of the two British national organizations, the National Cyclists' Union and the Cyclists'

Touring Club, and in the squabbles within the League of American Wheelmen. A similar rift emerged between the two French organizations, the Union Vélocipédique de France (formed in 1880, primarily interested in racing) and the Touring-Club de France (formed in 1890 to promote touring).¹ Paul de Vivie ('Velocio'), an ardent proponent of equipment innovations for touring, wrote in *Le Cycliste* that: 'Sport and touring are not made to go together; they must follow parallel paths each with its own guides and chiefs'.²

A significant demonstration of this tension was the opposition in Britain from the National Cyclists' Union and much of the cycling press to group road-racing in the late 1880s and early 1890s because of the widespread conviction that 'scorching' by racing clubs on the public roads brought the general body of recreational cyclists into disrepute (see Chap. 6). For many slower riders, racing and racing cyclists, who were referred to disparagingly as 'scorchers', were anathema.³ 'We cannot too greatly emphasize the statement that records, the achievement of which has corrupted the whole tone of cycling as a sport, prove absolutely nothing', wrote Lacy Hillier, criticizing consumers who paid attention to manufacturer's claims for their machines based on speed records.⁴ It can be concluded that, throughout the 1880s and 1890s, the minority of racing cyclists were regarded as a somewhat undesirable 'fringe' by the much larger numbers of more conventional club, touring and utility cyclists.

The account, as was stated in the Introduction (Chapter 1), has concentrated on British developments and explored the global impact of the British sport and industry between about 1868/9 and 1903. The United States was initially heavily influenced by these British developments, as has been described in Chapter 4, although an energetic American industry and sport was soon established which quickly became one of Britain's principal rivals. Taking account of the history of cycling in France has been more problematic, for French sources, especially in the early part of the period (1870 - 1885), have been difficult to access and inadequately explored to date, and French sport historians have paid surprisingly little detailed attention to the early history of France's national sport.⁵

In general, the relationship between Britain and France was of two neighbouring countries closely linked technologically, but pursuing independent directions in the organizational and social structuring of cycling as a sport. This relationship has been touched upon at many points in the narrative although it has not been a primary focus. The detailed international history of cycling as a sport in Italy, Spain, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Eastern Europe, Russia, Australia and South America has also in general been outside the scope of this study.

This dissertation has outlined and analyzed the processes of social and technological change within the new sport and industry of cycling. The character and repercussions of the profound historical changes which occurred over the thirty-five year period examined here may be summarized as follows:

First, cycling in its technical and social aspects represented a radical transformation, a new sport and recreation, with economic, organizational and social repercussions which led to profound changes in personal mobility, patterns of transportation and in transportation and industrial technology. Cycling preceded and enabled the motorcycle, automobile and aviation industries. The developments in bicycle technology and cycle sport in the last 30 years of the 19th century should be recognized as part of a sporting and transportation continuum which led to the development of the motorcycle and the automobile.

Second, it was a radical change because it was an alternative to the horse for individual transportation over both short and long distances, and was independent, i.e., driven by human muscle-power, of other forms of transportation, the horse and carriage or the railway, and cheaper. Bicycle racing was about human-powered speed. In the 1880s there were frequent, well-publicized contests between bicycles and race-horses, to prove which was faster in a variety of circumstances. As bicycle speeds increased, the case was proven, and such contests gradually lost their interest.

Third, the sport as it grew globally produced hundreds of local clubs, national institutions and international bodies, including the first world governing body, the International Cyclists' Association, established in 1892. This growth was accompanied by an

enormous expansion of the specialized cycling press, especially in Britain and France, catering both to the sport and the industry.

Fourth, the development of the sport and the new machine constituted a novelty in patterns of recreation and leisure. A minority engaged in formal competition. Either individually, or as members of clubs, cyclists ventured out of the crowded cities in a kind of sensual and athletic escapism. Even for the majority of non-competitors, riding was an activity with a real sense of athletic challenge. 'Sport' was not confined to competition.

Fifth, there was an intense evolution within the sport as styles of machine evolved and as competition became more formalized and more specialized. Various styles of road and track racing evolved. Records were kept, styles and varieties of racing were experimented with, refined and organized. A similar progression occurred in other sports. The striking differences in cycling, with its heavily technology-dependent character, were that bicycles underwent profound design experimentation and speeds increased dramatically. They were also increasingly used for utilitarian purposes.

Sixth, there was a prolonged struggle within cycling institutions (as within other sports), which was not completely resolved or concluded within the research period, on behalf of the ideological amateurism (love of sport for its own sake) which sought to keep money out of sport and to promote the idea that 'true sport' had to be purged of the corrosive moral effects of competing for money. This was, in effect, a struggle between the ideals of amateurism and the pragmatic interests of the bicycle industry and other sponsors. In England there was opposition to racing bicycles on public roads, whereas in France it was encouraged, and in the United States briefly tolerated. The promotion of track racing took the racing from contested public space into a private arena around whose perimeter a paying audience could be accommodated. Thus, in the developed cycling sport of the world cultural capitals of the 1890s – London, Paris, Berlin, Copenhagen, Brussels, New York, Boston and Chicago – the emergence of a modern professional spectator-sport can be seen, perhaps the most developed flowering of a professional sport in the late-19th century.

Seventh, as various recent studies of the social history of sport have argued, all these aspects of cycling as a new sport were related to a revolution in the economic well-being and purchasing capacity of an emerging urban middle-class, as well as new habits of work and leisure and expectations of recreation and pleasure. This is not to say that the upper class or the industrial proletariat did not participate, but that the majority of cycling enthusiasts came from this stratum.

Lastly, what was crucially distinctive about the sport of cycling was the extent of its embeddedness in a massive manufacturing infrastructure, the bicycle industry. In no other 19th century sport did technology and equipment play such a significant role. It is this relationship – in all its social and economic complexity – which this thesis has examined and sought to understand. It has been argued here that the sport had a profound influence on the industry, and deeply affected evolving bicycle design, throughout the period under examination.

The recognition of all these varied aspects of historical and technological change relating to cycling sport and recreation constitutes and contributes to the originality of the approach here. The student's original contribution to the field of sport history in the dissertation may thus be succinctly summarized as a discovery, examination and critical analysis of many and varied historical and social components of the history of cycle sport in the 19th century, which has not been carried out before using any self-consciously expressed methodology or approach.

The themes are by now familiar: the rise of the first velocipede races from a circus-like professional entertainment context; the rapid acceptance of the young, amateur sport into a club-based popularity; the three-mode nature of cycling as competition, recreation and utility; the links between the sport and the fast-growing industry; the popularity of the sport across class boundaries; the heavy involvement of the press; the increasing commercialisation of racing; the creation of a new class of professional bicycle racing stars. These have been the historical and social themes presented in the dissertation. Cycling shared many characteristics with other expanding sports of the last thirty years of

the 19th century – its clubability, the formation of governing bodies with sets of rules, the organization of formal competitive structures and a system of championships and records, and its growth as a mass-spectator sport in the 1880s and 1890s. ‘There is no doubt’, writes Tranter, ‘that the period between the mid-nineteenth century and the outbreak of the First World War was characterized by a notable transformation in the scale and nature of Britain’s sporting culture’.⁶

Contemporary participants, looking back to the 1870s from the vantage point of the end of the century, documented an intense process of sporting, technological and transportational change which had occurred with the bicycle as its agent, a process which has been examined here. Towards the end of the period of this study (1867 – 1903), this evolution was described as having been rapid and extraordinary. 1870 was seen as close chronologically, but distant in terms of the changes that had occurred. It was a past of primitive beginnings which could only be compared unfavourably with the present. The present was confident, full of technological mastery. Lacy Hillier, a dominant personality in this history, referred to the past as ‘the Dark Ages of Cycling’.⁷ Words such as ‘advance’, ‘improvement’, ‘progress’ and ‘present perfection’ were used. These were also some of the watchwords of, and rationalizations for, Victorian imperial expansion and colonial domination.

The bicycle industry had been built from the ground up, from blacksmith-shop beginnings, in about thirty years. By the late 1890s bicycle technology was seen as so advanced that it was hard to even imagine what future improvements might consist of.⁸ The sport had been transformed, from the heavy metal-tyred ‘boneshaker’ of the very early sport, to the solid tired high-bicycle of the early 1880s raced on a dirt or gravel track (see Fig. 11. 1.), to the pneumatic-tyred ‘safety’ bicycle raced on a purpose-built, paved and banked velodrome in front of thousands of paying spectators (see Fig. 11. 2.). Motor-paced speeds of about 50 mph were maintained for long periods. In 1903, western Europe and the United States stood on the edge of a revolution in motorized personal transportation; aviation was just beginning. The bicycle industry had been essential in providing the technological advances and skills necessary for this next wave of mechanized mobility.

2. Further research

The transformations in the social and technological history of cycling outlined here suggest many avenues for further research.

Neil Tranter, in “Agenda for research” in his book *Sport, economy and society in Britain, 1750 – 1914* (1998, p. 95) recognizes that “future research will need to devote more attention to the... evolution of sports such as amateur athletics, badminton....bowls, cycling....hockey, lawn tennis...swimming, all of which so far have been relatively neglected”.

It is hoped, nevertheless, that this attempt to present an empirically grounded historical narrative exploring the rapid evolution of bicycle sport over a complex thirty-five-year period, its technological development and its cultural and economic history, has achieved its aims.

Beyond a commitment to accurate scholarship and a close attention to primary empirical sources, I have not seen the task of this dissertation to defend one particular methodological or historiographical approach. I stand by the discipline of social history and its ability to throw light on the evolution and development of the sport of cycling, but I believe the field lies open to many other theoretical and critical methods. Other approaches could also have yielded useful results and there is no lack of documentation in the period richly capable of offering up yet further insights and providing future research opportunities.

I appreciate that the selection and arrangement of the evidence presented here carries with it a set of personal, theoretical and narrative assumptions, including the use of a narrative/ chronological approach and the decision to put an examination of evolving technology and its social stimuli into a central place. I hope I have been open in laying these out and recognizing them for what they are.

3. Reviewing the dynamics of social and technological change

a. Agents of change within the sport and industry

Conclusions about the dynamics of historical change in the period have been formed here from the wide-ranging original source material. They have also been informed by the biographies of contemporary participants who had first-hand experience of the sport and business of cycling and were themselves active in the process of historical change. In thinking about the 'relevant social groups' which played their part in a social constructionist sense in affecting the history of the period, it is evident that certain leading personalities can in effect be considered as representatives of those 'relevant social groups', and seen as particularly significant for that reason.

Many of these actors had carved out specialized, contemporary careers for themselves in the emerging sport and industry of cycling, with competition, manufacturing, marketing and journalism as key professions. Some, such as for example Keith-Falconer (amateur racer), John Keen (professional racer), George Lacy Hillier (amateur racer, journalist, editor, official), Harry Etherington (journalist, promoter, publisher), Henry Sturmeay (journalist, editor), A.J. Wilson (journalist) and H.O. Duncan (professional racer, publicist, promoter), whose activities have been examined here for the first time, had defined new kinds of careers in sport. Their sport became their business. As bicycle racers, they had started their involvement with cycling in their early teens and twenties, had ridden the high-wheel bicycle for about ten years or so, and were still only in their forties or fifties when our period closes. Other participants were non-specialist observers, journalists writing for leading newspapers and magazines. Many employees in the sport and industry of cycling changed gear in their careers around the turn of the century to work in the burgeoning motorcycle and automobile industries, which grew alongside the bicycle industry from about 1895 onwards. For engineers, mechanics and journalists, the transition was a logical and convenient one.⁹

The career of one participant, George Lacy Hillier, has been examined in depth here. Hillier was involved with almost every aspect of cycling, as high-wheel racer and championship winner, as journalist and editor, and as N.C.U. and club committee-man. He was a frequent judge at race meetings, a stock broker in the City of London and an

international sports politician; he was an argumentative and passionate proponent of amateurism. Hillier wrote throughout the period, and his *Cycling*, written for the Badminton Library of Sports and Pastimes, is the most important work in English on the 19th century sport. *Cycling* was first published in 1887, and by 1896 had reached a 5th edition (see Chapter 1, Section 2. b., Primary Sources). In his 1887 Introduction, Hillier asserted that there was no sport ‘which has developed more rapidly in the last few years than cycling, nor is there any which has assumed a more assured position in popular favour’.¹⁰ By 1896, Hillier noted that his current historical chapter had been ‘carefully corrected and condensed’ because the sport was ‘growing with such rapidity and spreading so widely.’ Since 1887, he wrote, ‘the Ordinary Bicycle has practically disappeared, and the Safety Bicycle reigns in its stead’.¹¹ He thought that change was accelerating within the sport:

A rapidly developing sport like cycling never stands still, its advance is constant; the records of today are but the average performances of tomorrow. Development follows development, existing standards are swept away, and others are erected in their place... Machines are being invented, developed, remodelled, day by day; the apparently perfect contrivance is but the crude germ of some startling development.¹²

b. The spectacular growth of the bicycle industry and the class penetration of cycling

In the opinion of journalist and industry insider Harry Hewitt Griffin, writing in 1892, cycling had made more spectacular progress than any other emerging sport. ‘The rise, development, and progress of cycling form one of the most interesting chapters in the history of British sport’, he wrote; ‘In the annals of recreative pursuits there is no instance of a new pastime taking so quick and permanent a hold upon the people... Great as has been the advance in athletics, and sports of every kind, cycling has beaten the field in the race for popularity’.¹³

The ‘vast increase’ of the bicycle trade, wrote Griffin elsewhere, ‘is almost unparalleled in British commerce’. Griffin understood that the mid-1890s sport and industry was directly related to and had grown out of the earlier high-wheel sport:

a restricted and rather dangerous sport has, thanks to the development of the safety, and the introduction of the pneumatic tyre, become the most widely followed and popular pastime in the world, and added another to the industries of Great Britain, employing tens of thousands, and giving health, pleasure, and excitement to tens of hundreds of thousands: the 5,000,000 or thereabouts cyclists in the world.¹⁴

Significantly, in 1896, Griffin (like Sturmev in the 1899 *Handbook* discussed in Chapter 9), chose not to mention practical utility as one of the primary achievements of the bicycle, referring to 'sport' and 'the most widely followed and popular *pastime* in the world'.

In the Preface to the 4th edition of his *Cycles and Cycling*, published in 1903, Griffin did report the greatly increased social penetration of the bicycle, noting particularly the reduction of the price of popular models to about £10, even though he still did not emphasize utility cycling. 'Cycling is everyone's pastime', he wrote, 'Every rank in the social scale uses the cycle'. Griffin estimated that there were about 1,200,000 cyclists in Britain, riding machines worth about £15 million; invested capital in the bicycle industry was at least £30 million; annual expenditure on bicycles and related items was between £15 and £20 million.

The comments from Griffin and Hillier came from two significant participants in the British sport who earned part of their livings as journalists. Other journalists, writing in the 'boom' times of the 1890s, also expressed surprise at the wide-ranging social impact of the bicycle. An editorial in *The Times* in 1897 commented on 'the extraordinary development of interest in all forms of athletic sports', including cycling, and noted particularly the crucial role that the press played in disseminating the enthusiasm among the middle-classes:

Not only at the public schools and Universities and among the leisured classes generally, but in every stratum of middle-class society, cricket and football are among the most absorbing interests of life; while cycling matches, foot-racing, and other forms of athleticism count their devotees by hundreds of thousands. The growth of the newspaper press helps to stimulate and spread such interest...every one reads a daily paper, every one can be familiar with the names and the doings of the heroes of sport.¹⁵

The expansion of sport into 'every stratum of middle-class society' was especially remarked here. Class has been particularly considered here as an aspect of cycling, and once again it should be emphasized that although cycling had its educated, upper-middle-class bastions in the 1880s in London, Oxford and Cambridge and in Boston, Chicago and New York clubs, and the exclusionary class definitions of amateurism were at first applied, cycling was a sport which was easily entered by those further down the social

scale, in fact appealed to all classes. The point is made by J.A. Mangan in a new book, that 'the English middle class was to be found in the vanguard of the Victorian and Edwardian 'sports revolution' which in time had such extraordinary global consequences... And a revolution was precisely what it was. It was wholly unlike anything that preceded it: 'sport, in its modern, organized, commercialized and extensive form, was truly an "invention" of the Victorian and Edwardian age'.¹⁶

c. Global expansion

These technological advances and the recreational revolution also occurred in the United States. In the developed world, cycling became universal. The years 1894-98 were a period of an international bicycle "boom", both in the industry and the sport. The *New York Tribune* quoted League of American Wheelmen Racing Board Chairman Mott as saying in an annual report that 'there is no class of games, entertainment, recreation or sport in the civilized world that flourishes to the extent of that furnished by the wise, fostering care of the National Assembly of the League of American Wheelmen'. There had been 'a wonderful growth of bicycle racing', which had become 'the greatest and most popular of outdoor sports'; cycle racing had 'reached a new era', and America 'had become the Mecca of the cycle champions of the world'.¹⁷

Mott gave the following statistics concerning the American sport: 8 million spectators had paid \$3,600,000 to attend 2,912 bicycle race meetings in 1897; 17,316 individual races had been held, competed in by 9,000 cyclists who had won prizes totalling \$1,645,020, and promoters had profited to the tune of \$1,089,180. A year later, in a similar annual report, Mott reported that there were 621 professional cyclists in the United States, and that '20,000 wheelmen engaged in racing either as professionals or amateurs'. Bicycle racing had 'been a financial success for both promoters and racing men'.¹⁸

From the bicycle factories of Coventry and Birmingham in England and St. Etienne in France, and the hundreds of clubs in those two countries, the sport and recreation of cycling was disseminated into the countries of the British Empire and into the technologically developed countries of Europe – Germany, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Czechoslovakia. The American industry, centred in Chicago, Milwaukee and Cleveland

also exported its products and competed in Europe. 'Sport had become extensively institutionalized, codified and commercialized', writes Tranter, 'and had spread beyond a purely local or regional arena into national and even international competition'.¹⁹ I have charted the growth of this competition between Britain, France and the United States throughout the dissertation.

d. Speed and modernity

An essential element of cycling was speed. In 1892, cycling journalist Harry Griffin wrote:

In this high-pressure age, speed in some form or another is the magnet which draws the attention of everyone.....the man, or machine, capable of doing the greatest amount of work in the shortest time is the most successful; even our pleasures must be supped swiftly. Cycling being the fastest form of competition, it draws in its train an army of admirers. The development of speed-rates forms the most interesting chapter in the history of cycling, as it marks the endless onward march of improvement in construction of cycles.

Implicit in the passage quoted above was a strong element of social Darwinism – the struggle for existence was projected onto the social world of cycling.

The lure of speed in the later 1890s, a sometimes fatal attraction in the case of motor-pacing experts, has been described in Chapter 10. Speed and distance records were made only to be broken. This rapid pace of technological change also caused Griffin to question whether the constant breaking of cycling records necessarily meant that the quality of the current competitors was superior. Records were accurately timed and measured, he wrote, but:

the ever-changing conditions prevent the progressive pace of cycle records from marking a commensurate improvement on the part of the riders. Cycles, tyres, and tracks are all getting faster and faster; and it is very doubtful whether the flyers of today are any better – as men – than those of long ago.²⁰

Were riders who broke current records really better as athletes? Or was it simply that machines, facilities and track surfaces were better? The posing of the question was an indication of a modern, analytical approach towards sport, in which all aspects of performance were taken into consideration, especially the hardware.

The question was a legitimate one. Bicycle racing was a sport which was particularly influenced by extra-athletic technological factors - bicycle design, road or track

conditions, whether a race was paced or unpaced, dietary needs in a long race. Griffin's questions about the athletic quality of cyclists correctly recognized the impact that better bicycles, improved track surfaces, specialized training methods, increased professionalization and the large salaries of the top riders sponsored by the industry, had had on the sport by the end of the 1890s. Improving technology was harnessed in the service of increasingly specialized and highly trained athletes. Human athletic potential expressed through the agency of the evolving machine, and better facilities within which competition took place, were the two crucial elements which characterized the sport of cycling in the last quarter of the 19th century.²¹

It was this rationalized and technologized quality of the sport which allows us now to define it as a truly 'modern' sport. These were ideas advanced by sociologist Max Weber (1864 – 1920), whose life coincided with the rise of cycling. For Weber, 'modernity' consisted of increasing specialization, increasing social division of labour, quantification, and in his special sense of the term, rationalization. Weber also discussed the relationship between man and the machine and the forces of mass-production, a relationship which was highlighted for spectators in the dramatic speed of bicycle competitions on the tracks of London, Paris, Berlin and New York in the 1890s, and in the gruelling endurance of bicycle racing on the roads of Europe.²²

Writing again in 1896 as an industry insider, Griffin identified the changes which had occurred in the sport of cycling as an expression of technological modernity, of scientific and industrial progress. 'To compare racing of today with that of 1876 would be to compare modern warfare with the battles between the ancient Britons and the Danes', he wrote: 'In the early stages of both, man had to do the work, science was almost unknown'. But today 'the bicycle racer has his low machine, high geared, air-bound wheels, cemented and banked tracks which have, combined, almost doubled the speed possibilities of a score of years ago'.²³

In his Preface to *Cycles and Cycling*, published in 1903, Griffin emphasized the 'astounding' speed of bicycles, which 'has developed in a wonderful manner – perfectly unbelievable a few years ago. No other sport in the world can show such marvellous progress'.²⁴ To prove his point, Griffin published a chart showing world record speeds on

the track for the years 1880, 1890, 1893, 1897 and 1903, which is included here below as Table A and Table B. Particularly notable are the increases in average speeds: for the 1 mile distance from 21.63 mph in 1880 to 48.13 mph in 1903; for the 1 hour from 19.81 mph in 1880 to 48.49 mph in 1903; for the 24-hour distance from 9.08 mph in 1880 to 26.43 mph in 1903.

A. Time for specific distances:

	1 mile	50 miles	100 miles
1880	2m 46 $\frac{2}{5}$ s [21.63 mph]	2h 51m 35s [17.48 mph]	6h 37m 51s [15.08 mph]
1890	2m 20 $\frac{3}{5}$ s [25.60 mph]	2h 25m 26 $\frac{2}{5}$ s [20.63 mph]	5h 50m 5 $\frac{3}{5}$ s [17.14 mph]
1893	1m 55 $\frac{3}{5}$ s [31.14 mph]	2h 11m 6 $\frac{4}{5}$ s [22.88 mph]	4h 29m 39 $\frac{1}{5}$ s [22.25 mph]
1897	1m 35 $\frac{2}{5}$ s [37.74 mph]	1h 34m 45 $\frac{4}{5}$ s [31.66 mph]	3h 25m 21 $\frac{4}{5}$ s [29.22 mph]
1903	1m 14 $\frac{4}{5}$ s [48.13 mph]	1h 6m 42 $\frac{1}{5}$ s [44.98 mph]	2h 33m 40 $\frac{4}{5}$ s [39.04 mph]

Table 11. A., showing world record times for specific distances on the track at five dates indicated (with speeds in mph). Many of these records were either human- or motor-paced. Source: H.H. Griffin, *Cycles and Cycling*, 1903.

B. Distances for specific time:

	1 hour	6 hours	24 hours
1880	19mi 1420yds [19.81 mph]	100 miles [16.67 mph]	218 miles [9.08 mph]
1890	22mi 620yds [22.35 mph]	100 miles [16.67 mph]	323 miles [13.46 mph]
1893	26mi 107yds [26.06 mph]	126mi 1560yds [21.15 mph]	426mi 440yds [17.76 mph]
1897	32mi 1086yds [32.62 mph]	165mi 1300yds [27.62 mph]	616mi 340yds [25.67 mph]
1903	48mi 862yds [48.49 mph]	222mi 1410yds [37.13 mph]	634mi 774yds [26.43 mph]

Table 11. B., showing world record distances covered within specific times on the track at five dates indicated (with speeds in mph). Many of these records were either human- or motor-paced. Source: H.H. Griffin, *Cycles and Cycling*, 1903]

Significantly for an understanding of the technological nature of these athletic records, the most recent (1897 and 1903) of the increases in speeds and distances were achieved not by cyclists riding alone but with the assistance of pacing, which by 1903 had become routine, efficient and technically complex.²⁵ By 1903, 634 miles had been covered in 24 hours by one rider behind motor-pace. Cyclist and machine worked together to go faster and farther than man had ever travelled before with his own muscle power. The desire for speed to break records in cycling stimulated the production of larger and faster pacing-machines using powerful gasoline engines (see Fig. 11. 3.). Pacing-machines were specialized racing motorcycles, and their progressively more powerful engines contributed to the development of automobile and aviation engine technology. For spectators, the sight of the human athlete 'glued' to the rear wheel of a noisy and smelly petrol-driven pacing-machine careening around a cement track at 60 mph had become, by the early-1900s, a potent symbol of the interconnectness of sport and technology in

modern life, and of the interest in speed and mechanical power which was characteristic of the 1890s (see Fig. 11. 4.). These issues have been fully addressed in Chapter 10.

e. Sport as moral/physical crusade and sport as business

Much has been made here of the moral crusade of amateurism – the desire to keep sport free of the perceived degrading effect of money. This was a driving impulse of the relationship between the sport and the industry. The moral dimension of sport history in this respect differentiates it from the quantitative evaluations of economic history.

A book by the journalists R.J. Mecedry and A.J. Wilson, which went through several editions in the 1890s, held that cycling should be viewed as both ‘an art and a pastime’. Its opening chapter, entitled ‘The Pleasures and Advantages of Cycling’, proposed a wide definition of sport, based on the moral and practical virtues of health, strength and general physical well-being, with ‘the enjoyment of rapid locomotion’ and contact with ‘the beauties of Nature’ as additional attractions:

The pleasures of cycling are so manifest that we hardly know where to begin. To be weak is miserable... Cycling braces up the frame, and makes it strong, hardy and enduring. The rider rejoices in his strength, and exalts in the robust health which enables him to drive the revolving wheel with steady, sure, and unfailing strokes..... The faculty for enjoying rapid locomotion is one which is implanted in the human breast from earliest childhood, and the fact of one’s unaided efforts being the active cause of this locomotion enhances the pleasure derived from it. But these pleasures, though keen in themselves, are subordinate to the concomitant ones derived from the use of the cycle as a vehicle to convey one from place to place for the purpose of beholding what is best and fairest in Nature....²⁶

Sport, defined in this wider sense, was not restricted to the specialized athleticism of maximum speed or endurance, but was about strength, robust health, ‘keen, exquisite pleasure’, and travel and discovery ‘in Nature’, ideals closely linked with the moral values held by proponents of amateurism, which have been the object of a good deal of attention here.

Only for the minority of top amateur specialists and professional cyclists, therefore, was cycling about the compulsion to win races, the application of scientific training, tactical finesse and the strongest/lightest possible machine. In Chapter 10 we have seen how the top levels of professional cyclists were pushed into the public eye and used for commercial purposes in the 1890s. In the most intense marketing of mostly sport-related

products ever undertaken, professional cyclists in the 1890s were used to market cycling to the consuming public. In a strikingly prescient creation of a present-day commercial and social dynamic, the leading performers set 'star' athletic standards. The career of one professional star, Arthur Zimmerman, has been examined in Chapter 8. By the end of the century, bicycle racing at its highest levels had become a truly 'modern' spectator sport, with stars elevated to a heroic status and their athletic achievements challenged only by other dedicated professionals. But thousands of amateur, recreational participants enjoyed the sport on a less demanding level as a test of their own more humble athletic abilities.

Notes to Chapter 11

- ¹ According to Maurice Martin, editor of *Le Véloce-Sport*, writing in 1890, there were approximately 25-30,000 cyclists in France, among whom were only about 500 'coureurs' (racing cyclists). The rules governing racing were tightly controlled by the U.V.F., which forbade multiple-gearing in racing until well into the 20th century, while the T.- C. de F. promoted competitive trials of new technology. See Maurice Martin, *Voyage de Bordeaux à Paris par trois vélocipédistes* (Bordeaux: *Véloce-Sport*, 1890); "Le cyclisme français à la fin du XIXème siècle", in Raymond Henry, *Du Vélocipède au Dérailleur Moderne* (Saint-Etienne, Association des Amis du Musée d'Art et d'Industrie de Saint-Etienne, 1998), pp.22-23; Henri Bosc, "Il y a cent ans: Les précurseurs du cyclotourisme et les premiers récit de voyages – Maurice Martin", in *Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Cycle History* (Saint-Etienne, 1995), pp.120-127.
- ² Maurice Martin, *Grande Enquête Sportive du journal Le Vélo* (Paris: Brocherioux, 1898), quoted in Bosc, see Note 1.
- ³ Maurice Martin, in *Voyage de Bordeaux à Paris* (see Note 1) complained of rowdy scenes at hotels frequented by racers on the nights of important races in France and how he and other tourists had been refused accomodation at certain hotels on the road because racers had recently stayed there and created havoc.
- ⁴ H. Graves, G. Lacy Hillier and Susan, Countess of Malmesbury, *Cycling* (Lawrence and Bullen, London, 1898), quoted in *CTC Gazette*, June 1898.
- ⁵ The recent arrival of a Ph.D. thesis, Christopher Thompson's, "The Third Republic on Wheels: A Social, Cultural and Political History of Bicycling in France from the Nineteenth Century to War War II" (New York University, 1997), has been helpful in this respect, but Thompson does not explore very far the bicycle racing and industrial sources of the 1870s and 1880s. Thomas Burr's recent thesis, "Markets as Producers and Consumers: the French and U.S. National Bicycle Markets, 1875-1910" (Ph. D. thesis, Davis, California, 2005), has been discussed in Chapter 8.
- ⁶ Neil Tranter, *Sport, economy and society in Britain, 1750 – 1914*, "The revolution in sport", p. 13.
- ⁷ G.L. Hillier, *Badminton Cycling*, 1896 edition, Appendix, p.339.
- ⁸ It is fascinating to observe that even today, more than a century after the events discussed in this text, bicycle technology advances with unrestrained curiosity and

inventiveness. Every component of the bicycle is subjected to microscopic examination, new materials are put to use and both fashion and technological change play their part in determining what contemporary bicycles look like. As always, competition (including, today, mountain biking) plays a crucial part in designing and testing the industry's products.

⁹ In general, early motor-cycles and cars were at first viewed as a technological extension of the bicycle. Like the bicycle, they were technologically 'modern' and gave a similar mobility. Unlike the bicycle, they were at first very expensive and highly unreliable. This continuity of perception is especially apparent in the press and in the persons of editors and journalists who made the transition from cycling to motoring. For a brief period in 1901, the weekly *Cycling* changed its name to *Cycling and Motoring* (not 'Motoring' – AR), before reverting to *Cycling*. The history of the Temple Press, publishers of *Cycling*, and its role in the emergence of the car and of the popular specialized press is well told in Arthur C. Armstrong, *Bouverie Street to Bowling Green Lane* (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1946).

People who moved from the bicycle industry to the car industry included, for example, in England, S.F. Edge, Montague Holbein, Allard; in France, Henri Fournier, Peugeot, Adolphe Clément; in the United States, Albert Champion (French/American racer who founded spark-plug company). There were many others. A study of the transferral of personnel, technology, economic organization and manufacturing expertise from the bicycle industry to the young motor-cycle and automobile industries in Britain, France, Germany and the United States is still very much needed. From a manufacturing point of view, the industries appear to have meshed organizationally and geographically. Machine tools used to produce bicycles were in general appropriate for early motor-cycle and car production. The manufacture of larger engines was something new in scale and technique. Gearing systems had been considerably developed during the tricycle boom of the 1880s. Electrical components were a new departure, but built on lighting systems developed for the bicycle in the 1890s, Joseph Lucas being important.

As with the early days of the bicycle, racing played a crucial role in the development of the automobile. Charles Jarrott, *Ten Years of Motors and Motor Racing* (Grant Richards, London, 1906), is particularly informative on the period 1896-1906, and is especially interesting in its accounts of racing on French roads, many of which were the

same roads used for bicycle races in the later 1890s, Bordeaux-Paris, for example. Because the 1903 Paris-Madrid car race caused an unacceptable number of fatal accidents on its first day, the race was banned by the French government. .

From Jarrott's final chapter, 'The Future', the following passage is a vibrant expression of modern (or perhaps 'futurist') ideas:

'If I were asked to state what new element has most greatly influenced the habits, sympathies and characteristics of the people of the world during the past fifty years, I would unhesitatingly reply that it is the science of mechanism, the development of the ingenuity of the human mind and brain in combating the laws of nature and in conquering the stupendous forces which sway and affect the lives of all inhabitants of the globe. The labour of the beast, the manual work of the slave, and the expenditure of human labour, are being swept away. The age of the machine is upon us. The soulless and subservient mechanism is the great power of today and of the future, and in the years to come we shall forget the why and wherefore, we shall forget the conditions under which our forefathers lived, and we shall fail to understand the measure and immensity of the influence on our everyday life of the science of mechanism... Of all the great and far-reaching discoveries in the science of mechanism, that of the self-propelled road vehicle is the greatest. It is safe to say this, because we have as yet merely touched the fringe of this mighty discovery'.

¹⁰ Hillier, *op. cit.*, 1889 edition, p.1.

¹¹ Hillier, *op. cit.*, 1896 edition, p. 110 and Preface, pp.ix and x.

¹² Hillier, *op. cit.*, 1896 edition, Appendix, p.339.

¹³ H.H.Griffin, "Cycling under Three Heads. II – The Sport", *Baily's Magazine*, May and June 1892. Griffin was a journalist and reviewer of bicycle industry products whose experience of the trade went back to its very beginnings. In the early 1870s, he contributed a column, "Bicycling Notes", to *Bazaar, Exchange and Mart* at a time when a specialized cycling press did not yet exist. In the later 1870s and 1880s, he produced an important annual, *Bicycles and Tricycles of the Year*. His *Cycles and Cycling* was published in four editions, 1890, 1893, 1897 and 1903.

¹⁴ H.H. Griffin, "Cycling Twenty Years Ago", *The Cycle Magazine*, April 1896.

¹⁵ *The Times*, 2 Sept. 1897.

¹⁶ J.A. Mangan, ed., *A Sport-Loving Society: Victorian and Edwardian Middle-Class England at Play* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), p.2, quoting Tranter, *Sport, Economy and Society in Britain, 1750 – 1914*, p.16.

¹⁷ “Cycle Racing Today”, *New York Tribune Bicycle Day Supplement*, 22 Feb. 1898.

¹⁸ *Cycle Age and Trade Review*, 16 Feb. 1899. It should be noted, of course, that these ambitious figures were given during a ‘boom’ which was about to collapse.

¹⁹ Tranter, op. cit., Introduction, p. 1

²⁰ Griffin, *ibid.*

²¹ Griffin quoted four 1 mile records between 1876 and 1891 as examples of faster times. They were:

2m 16s - F.J. Osmond, Herne Hill, London, 13 July 1891

2m 35 2/5s - W.A. Rowe, Springfield, USA, 23 Oct. 1885

2m 47 4/5s – I. Keith-Falconer, University Ground, Cambridge, 21 May 1879

3m 10s – I. Keith-Falconer, Lillie Bridge, London, 6 April 1876

In fact, the 1 mile record was to continue to fall through the 1890s as the fashion for pacing gained momentum. The debate here about what constitutes athletic excellence when it is expressed through radical ‘improvements’ in technology continues to this day, most recently about what constitutes an acceptable 1 hour record. The Union Cycliste Internationale has recently, in effect, declared invalid the last 25 years of 1 hour records set on super-streamlined, ‘unacceptable’ bicycles, and turned the clock back to a record established by Eddy Merckx in 1972 on a ‘conventional’ bicycle. Before the UCI ruling, Chris Boardman’s hour record, set in 1996 using the ‘superman’ position, stood at 56.375 kms. Merckx’s 1972 record of 49.431 kms was broken by a mere 10 metres by Chris Boardman in October 2000, when he established a new ‘standard’ bicycle 1 hour record of 49.441 kms.

²² See Max Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973).

²³ H.H. Griffin, “Cycling Twenty Years Ago”, *The Cycle Magazine*, April 1896.

²⁴ H.H. Griffin, *Cycles and Cycling*, London, George Bell and Sons, 4th Edition, 1903.

²⁵ In fact, it had been accepted from about 1890 on that two categories of cycling records had to be recognized, unpaced and paced, and the question was also addressed in road

racing, whether the individual competitor was allowed to be helped by non-competing pacers (see Chapter 9).

²⁶ R.J. Meceddy and A.J. Wilson, *The Art and Pastime of Cycling* (Iliffe and Son, London); 3rd Edition, 1893; Chapter 1, "Pleasures and Advantages of Cycling".

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c. Newspapers and journals

[This bibliography does not attempt to list completely all the publishing details of journals which, in the period covered by this research, included cycling as both sport and recreation either as their primary focus or one of their primary focuses. Those listed here are, therefore, the most prominent and those most used in the research for this dissertation. The exact dates of publication runs, title changes, publishers, etc, are difficult to establish. Dates given here reflect those issues actually seen by the author, rather than the historical run of the periodical as published. A new bibliography of 19th cycling journals is very much needed.]

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**Bicycle Racing and Recreation:
Sport, Technology and Modernity,
1867-1903**

[Appendices and Illustrations]

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- I. i. International - 24 hour records and rides.
 ii. Table showing the increase of speeds of automobiles racing on public roads between 1895 and 1906 (from Charles Jarrott, *Ten Years of Motors and Motor Racing* (London: Grant Richards, 1906).

Key documents relating to the early institutional development of cycling

- J Prospectus of the Bicycle Union, 1878.
- K. Prospectus of the Cyclists' Touring Club, 1883.

L. Letter from Gerard Cobb, President of the Cambridge University Bicycle Club, to the Editor of *Bicycling News*, 24 August 1877.

M. "Bicycling and the Public", Gerard Cobb's letter to the *Daily News*, July 1878.

N. "Amateurs and Professionals", article in *The Field*, 18 October 1879.

O. Editorial from *The Times*, 26 April 1880.

Note on Appendices

- Championships and records

The 1896 edition of F.T.Bidlake, *Cycling* (p.117), contains the following brief note on "Championships and Records", which gives a sense of the complexity of British cycling championships as different kinds of bicycles and tricycles were introduced and superceded in the period under examination:

The first amateur championships of the National Cyclists Union were held in 1878; prior to that date, the Amateur Athletic club having organized a four miles' championship from 1871. The Union was then called the Bicycle Union, and its championships were for ordinary (that is, high-wheel - AR) bicycles. In 1882 a tricycle championship was added, and in the following year two such events were run; whilst from 1884 to 1888 inclusive, the set of championships was 1, 5, 25 and 50 miles for ordinaries, and 1, 5 and 25 miles for tricycles. In 1889, the first safety championships were held, and in 1890 they were all won by R.J.Mecredy on the then novel pneumatic tyre, F.J.Osmond securing the complete set of ordinary [that is, high-wheel - AR] championships. The ordinary falling into disuse as a racing machine, the ordinary championships were abandoned in 1893, the 1892 races being practically uncontested, and the tricycle events were reduced to 1 and 10 miles, and will probably be abandoned. In 1894 pacing was introduced into the longer events, and the time for the fifty miles' race improved immediately by something like half-an-hour. Licensing difficulties have interfered with the championships in the last year or two, some of the best riders of the day being considered unworthy of receiving permits to race as amateurs.

International records are listed here both pre- and post- the foundation of the first international governing body of cycling, the International Cyclists' Association, in 1892/3.

1. Championships and Records

Appendix A

Britain - Amateur Athletic Association (A.A.A.) bicycle championships on the track, 1871 - 79

The first institutionally organized bicycle races in England were held under the auspices of the Amateur Athletic Association, which recognized the popularity of bicycle racing and established a 4 mile amateur championship in 1871. Amateur athletics was already a well established sport with its own championships and bicycle racing fit into its social context very naturally.

(Source for the records below is Viscount Bury and G.L.Hillier, *Cycling*, Badminton Library, 1889).

4 mile Bicycle Championship

1871 (17 Aug.)

Lillie Bridge, London

H. P. Whiting (Amateur Athletic Club)

16m 30s

1872

Lillie Bridge, London

1. F. V. Honeywell (Surrey B.C.), 17m 25s

2. G. C. Kerr

3. J. E. Copland

1873 (3 April)

Lillie Bridge, London

1. H. P. Whiting (Amateur Athletic Club), 14m 37s

2. G. Frith (Putney)

3. R. T. Causton (Surrey B. C.)

1874 (26 March)

Lillie Bridge, London

1. H. P. Whiting (Velosport de Paris), 14m 56s

2. G. Smith (Surrey B. C.)

1875 (23 March)

Lillie Bridge, London

1. H. P. Whiting (Velosport de Paris), 13m 30 2/5s

2. T. Copland

1876

Lillie Bridge, London
Ion Keith-Falconer (Cambridge University Bicycle Club)
13m 16s

1877
Lillie Bridge, London
Wadham Wyndham (London Bicycle Club)
13m 6s

1878
Lillie Bridge, London
R. R. Mackinnon (Brighton Athletic Club)
Walk over, 14m 9 2/5s

1879
Lillie Bridge, London
H. L. Cortis (Wanderers Bicycle Club)
Walk over, 13m 10s

Appendix B

Britain - Bicycle Union and National Cyclists' Union annual bicycle championships on the track, 1878 - 95

Amateur Athletic Club-sponsored bicycle races were abandoned in favour of competition promoted by the newly formed Bicycle Union. Because of the rapidly growing interest in bicycle riding and racing, the Bicycle Union was founded in London in 1878 as the official organization for British amateurs. Its name was changed to the National Cyclists' Union on 14 June 1883, at which time it also absorbed the Tricycle Association.

Racing and record-keeping were vastly complicated and also made much more interesting by the invention, first of the safety bicycle as a rival to the Ordinary, and then by the invention by John Boyd Dunlop of the pneumatic tyre. During the period 1885 to about 1887 a technological and manufacturing war developed. Standard Ordinaries, geared-up Ordinaries and early safeties raced against each other almost on equal terms and could share the same events.

But as the early safeties evolved and quickly became more efficient, and their superiority more and more evident, they were segregated and had their own events. Between 1889 and 1892, the N. C. U. ran concurrent Ordinary and safety championships (where the relative times at the top of competition make a fascinating study), but by 1893, the Ordinary bicycle is gone from the N. C. U. events list, and only a few diehards continued to see it as a serious rival to the safety.

(Source: F.T.Bidlake, *Cycling* (London, Routledge, 1896) and H.H.England, *Cycling Manual* (Temple Press, London, 1920)

1878

2 miles

11 May, Stamford Bridge, London

Ion Keith-Falconer (Cambridge University B. C.)

6m 29s (Humber bicycle)

25 miles

11 May, Stamford Bridge, London

A. A. E. Weir (Oxford University B. C.)

1h 27m 47 2/5s (Humber bicycle)

1879

1 mile

12 June, Stamford Bridge, London

H. L. Cortis (Wanderers B. C.)

2m 59 1/5s (Invincible bicycle)

5 miles

19 June, Stamford Bridge, London

H. L. Cortis (Wanderers B. C.)

15m 27 $\frac{3}{5}$ s (Invincible bicycle)

25 miles

26 June, Stamford Bridge, London

H. L. Cortis (Wanderers B. C.)

1h 24m 4s

50 miles

11 July, Stamford Bridge, Fulham, London

H. L. Cortis (Wanderers B. C.)

2h 56m 1 $\frac{4}{5}$ s (Invincible bicycle)

1880

1 mile

24 June, Stamford Bridge, London

C. E. Liles (London Athletic Club)

2m 55 $\frac{1}{5}$ s (Humber bicycle)

5 miles

24 June, Stamford Bridge, London

H. L. Cortis (Wanders B.C.)

15m 10 $\frac{3}{5}$ s (Invincible bicycle)

25 miles

1 July, Stamford Bridge, London

H. L. Cortis (Wanderers B.C.)

1h 22m 15 $\frac{2}{5}$ s (Invincible bicycle)

50 miles

8 July, Stamford Bridge, London

H. L. Cortis (Wanderers B.C.)

2h 56m 11 $\frac{2}{5}$ s (Invincible bicycle)

1881

1 mile

16 July, Belgrave Grounds, Leicester

George Lacy Hillier (Stanley B. C.)

3m 11 $\frac{3}{5}$ s (Humber bicycle)

5 mile

6 July, Recreation Grounds, Surbiton, Surrey
 George Lacy Hillier (Stanley B. C.)
 15m 39 4/5s (Humber bicycle)

25 miles

16 July, Belgrave Grounds, Leicester
 George Lacy Hillier (Stanley B. C.)
 1h 27m 43 3/5s (Humber bicycle)

50 miles

27 July, Recreation Grounds, Surbiton, Surrey
 George Lacy Hillier (Stanley B. C.)
 2h 50m 50 2/5s (Humber bicycle)

1882

1 mile

8 July, Aston Lower Grounds, Birmingham
 F. Moore (Warstone B. C.)
 2m 47 2/5s (Royal Mail bicycle)

5 miles

22 July, Crystal Palace, London
 J. S. Whatton (Cambridge University B. C.)
 15m 12 4/5s (Invincible bicycle)

25 miles

8 July, Aston Lower Grounds, Birmingham
 F. Moore (Warstone C. C.)
 1h 25m 8 1/5s (Royal Mail bicycle)

50 miles

29 July; Crystal Palace, London
 I. Keith-Falconer (Cambridge University B. C.)
 2h 43m 58 1/5s (Humber bicycle)

1883

1 mile

14 July; Crystal Palace, London
 H. W. Gaskell (Ranleigh Harriers)
 2m 55 2/5s (Club bicycle)

5 miles

7 July; Aston Lower Grounds, Birmingham
 F. Sutton (Edgbaston C. C.)

16m 42 $\frac{2}{5}$ s (Royal Mail bicycle)

25 miles

2 Aug.; Taunton Athletic Grounds, Somerset

C. E. Liles (London Athletic Club)

1h 22m 42 $\frac{3}{5}$ s (Humber bicycle)

50 miles

21 July; Crystal Palace, London

H. F. Wilson (Surrey B. C.)

2h 46m 26 $\frac{3}{5}$ s (Humber bicycle)

1884

1 mile

21 June; Lillie Bridge, London

H. A. Speechly (Chelsea B. C.)

3m 30 $\frac{4}{5}$ s (Invincible bicycle)

5 miles

28 June; Sophia Gardens, Cardiff

R. Chambers (Speedwell B. C.)

15m 36 $\frac{1}{5}$ s (Royal Mail bicycle)

25 miles

26 July; North Durham Track, Newcastle

R. H. English (North Shields B. C.)

1h 22m 20 $\frac{4}{5}$ s (Humber bicycle)

50 miles

19 July; Crystal Palace, London

F. R. Fry (Clifton B. C.)

2h 51m 16 $\frac{3}{5}$ s (Invincible bicycle)

1885

1 mile

13 June; Aston Lower Grounds, Birmingham

Sanders Sellers (Preston C. C.)

2m 47 $\frac{1}{5}$ s (Rudge bicycle)

5 miles,

27 June, Jarrow track, Newcastle

M. V. J. Webber (Vectis B. C.)

14m 22 $\frac{2}{5}$ s (Marriott bicycle)

25 miles

25 July, Aylestone Road Grounds, Leicester

R. H. English (North Shields C. C.)

1h 20m 13s (Humber bicycle)

50 miles

18 July; Crystal Palace, London

R. H. English (North Shields C. C.)

2h 45m 13 ⁴/₅s (Humber bicycle)

1886

1 mile

Jarrow track, Newcastle

P. Furneal (Beretta B. C.)

Humber bicycle

5 miles

Recreation Grounds, Long Eaton

P. Furneal (Beretta B. C.)

Humber bicycle

25 miles

Recreation Grounds, Weston-super-Mare

J. E. Fenlon (Gainsborough B. C.)

Regent bicycle

50 miles

Lillie Bridge, London

J. E. Fenlon (Gainsborough B. C.)

Premier bicycle

1887

1 mile

Aston Lower Grounds, Birmingham

W. A. Ilston (Speedwell B. C.)

Humber bicycle

5 miles

Aston Lower Grounds, Birmingham

W. A. Ilston (Speedwell B. C.)

Humber bicycle

25 miles

Aston Lower Grounds, Birmingham

W. A. Ilston (Speedwell B. C.)

Humber bicycle

50 miles

Aston Lower Grounds, Birmingham

J. H. Adams (Lewisham B. C.)

Humber bicycle

1888

1 mile

Coventry Cricket Grounds, Coventry

H. Synyer (Boulevard C. C.)

Humber bicycle

5 miles

North Shields track, Newcastle

H. Synyer (Boulevard C. C.)

Humber bicycle

25 miles

Worsley track, Grimsby

J. H. Adams (Speedwell B. C.)

Humber bicycle

50 miles

Jarrow track, Newcastle

F. P. Wood (Brixton B. C.)

Humber bicycle

1889

1 mile

Paddington track,

August Lehr (Frankfurt, Germany)

Opel bicycle

5 miles

Paddington track, London

H. Synyer (Boulevard C. C.)

Humber bicycle

25 miles

Paddington track, London

F. J. Osmond (Norwood Safety B. C.)

Humber bicycle

50 miles

Paddington track, London

J. H. Adams (Speedwell B. C.)

B and A bicycle

1890

1 mile Ordinary

Paddington track, London

F. J. Osmond (Brixton Ramblers)

Humber bicycle

5 miles Ordinary

Paddington track, London

F. J. Osmond (Brixton Ramblers)

Humber bicycle

25 miles Ordinary

Paddington track, London

F. J. Osmond (Brixton Ramblers)

Humber bicycle

50 miles Ordinary

Paddington track, London

F. J. Osmond (Brixton Ramblers)

Humber bicycle

1 mile Safety

Paddington track, London

R. J. Mecredy (Dublin University B. C.)

Humber bicycle

5 miles Safety

Paddington track, London

R. J. Mecredy (Dublin University B. C.)

Humber bicycle

25 miles Safety

Paddington track, London

R. J. Mecredy (Dublin University B. C.)

Humber bicycle

50 miles Safety

Paddington track, London

R. J. Mecredy (Dublin University B. C.)

Humber bicycle

1891

1 mile Ordinary
County Ground, Bristol
J. H. Adams (Speedwell B. C.)
B and A bicycle

5 miles Ordinary
County Ground, Bristol
U. L. Lambley (Armoury C. C.)
Rudge bicycle

25 miles Ordinary
County Ground, Bristol
J. H. Adams (Speedwell B. C.)
B and A bicycle

50 miles Ordinary
Paddington track, London
J. H. Adams (Speedwell C. C.)
B and A bicycle

1 mile safety
County Ground, Bristol
P. W. Scheltema-Beduin (Trekvogels and Catford C. C.)
Invincible bicycle

5 miles safety
County Ground, Bristol
A. W. Harris (Leicester B. C.)
Humber bicycle

25 miles safety
County Ground, Bristol
F. J. Osmond (Speedwell B. C.)
Whitworth bicycle

50 miles safety
Paddington track, London
F. J. Osmond (Speedwell B. C.)
Whitworth bicycle

1892

The presence of American star Zimmerman in England, where he was eligible to compete in the National Championships by virtue of his membership in a British club, was a crucial factor in 1892, which elevated these championships to the status of "World Champion-ships" one year before Zimmerman won both events of the official championships in Chicago.

1 mile safety

Leeds Cycling and Athletic Club grounds, Headingley

A. A. Zimmerman (USA; New York Athletic Club and London County Cycling and Athletic Club)

Raleigh bicycle

5 miles safety

Leeds Cycling and Athletic Club grounds, Headingley

A. A. Zimmerman (USA; New York Athletic Club and London County Cycling and Athletic Club)

Raleigh bicycle

25 miles safety

Herne Hill track, London

R. L. Ede (Stoke Newington and North Road C.C.)

Ormonde bicycle

50 miles safety

Paddington track, London

A. A. Zimmerman (USA; New York Athletic Club and London County Cycling and Athletic Club)

Raleigh bicycle

1 mile Ordinary

Herne Hill track, London

J. H. Adams (Speedwell B. C.)

B and A bicycle

25 miles Ordinary

Leeds Cycling and Athletic Club grounds, Headingley

J. H. Adams (Speedwell B. C.)

B and A bicycle

50 miles Ordinary

Herne Hill track, London

J. H. Adams (Speedwell B. C.)

B and A bicycle

1893

1 mile safety

Herne Hill track, London

W. C. Sanger (USA; Telegram C. C.)

Telegraph bicycle

5 miles safety

Herne Hill track, London

A. J. Watson (Polytechnic C. C.)

Raglan bicycle

25 miles safety

Gateshead

J. W. Stocks (Hull Grosvenor C. C.)

Humber bicycle

50 miles safety

Paddington track, London

L. Stroud (Speedwell B. C.)

Humber bicycle

1894

1 mile safety

Aston Lower Grounds, Birmingham

C. Ingeman-Petersen (Denmark; Danish B. C., Copenhagen)

Humber bicycle

5 miles safety

Aston Lower Grounds, Birmingham

J. Green (Northumberland Cycling and Athletic Club)

Elswick bicycle

25 miles safety

Herne Hill track, London

J. Green (Northumberland Cycling and Athletic Club)

Elswick bicycle

50 miles safety

Herne Hill track, London

J. Green (Northumberland Cycling and Athletic Club)

Elswick bicycle

1895

1 mile safety

Fallowfield track, Manchester
 A. J. Watson (Polytechnic C. C.)
 Raglan bicycle

5 miles safety
 Herne Hill track, London
 A. J. Watson (Polytechnic C. C.)
 Raglan bicycle

25 miles safety
 Fallowfield track, Manchester
 E. Scott (Dearne C. C.)
 Raleigh bicycle

50 miles safety
 Herne Hill track, London
 C. G. Wridgway (Anerley B. C.)
 Marriott bicycle

1896

Amateur

1/4 mile
 Newport
 A. Macferson (Blackpool)
 33 2/5s

1 mile
 Wood Green
 P.W.Brown (Polytechnic)
 3m 23 2/5s

5 miles
 Newport
 M.Diakoff (Russia)
 14m 56 1/5s

25 miles
 Wood Green
 M.Diakoff (Russia)
 1h 5m 15 4/5s

50 miles
 Catford
 W.H.Barsley (Polytechnic)
 1h 57m 28 4/5s

Professional

1/4 mile

Newport

J.Green (Catford)

33 1/5s

1 mile

Newport

C.F.Barden (Putney)

2m 30 4/5s

5 miles

Wood Green

J.Green (Northumberland)

15m 19 1/5s

1897

Amateur

1/4 mile

Exeter

J.A.Metcalf (Cardiff)

34 4/5s

1 mile

Aston

T.Summersgill (Leeds)

5m 52 2/5s

5 miles

Aston

E.H.Ainsworth (Rover)

17m 42s

25 miles

Exeter

W.P.Fawcett (Leeds)

1h 3m 42 2/5s

50 miles

Wood Greed

A.J.Cherry (Catford)

1h 53m 45 2/5s

Professional**1/4 mile****Aston****F.W.Chinn (Midland)****33 4/5s****1 mile****Aston****F.W.Chinn (Midland)****4m 24 3/5s****5 miles****Exeter****C.F.Barden (Putney)****14m 3 1/5s**

N. C. U. annual amateur and professional track championships at various distances continue unbroken from this date, until the organization changes its name to the British Cycling Federation. After 1895, both Ordinary bicycle and tricycle track championships were abandoned.

Appendix C

Britain - National Cyclists' Union annual tricycle championships on the track (1882 - 1895)

1882

5 miles

14 Oct.; Crystal Palace, London

C. E. Liles (London Athletic Club)

19m 39 2/5s (Humber tricycle)

1883

1 mile

7 July; Aston Lower Grounds, Birmingham

C. E. Liles (London Athletic Club)

3m 18 1/5s (Humber tricycle)

10 miles

14 July; Crystal Palace, London

C. E. Liles (London Athletic Club)

33m 45s (Humber tricycle)

1884

1 mile

12 July; Crystal Palace, London

C. E. Liles (London Athletic Club)

3m 29 1/5s (Humber tricycle)

5 miles

12 July; Crystal Palace, London

C. E. Liles (London Athletic Club)

17m 30 1/5s (Humber tricycle)

25 miles

21 June; Lillie Bridge, London

C. E. Liles (London Athletic Club)

1h 28m 58s (Humber tricycle)

1885

1 mile

11 July; Crystal Palace, London
 P. Furnival (Beretta C. C.)
 3m 5 2/5s (Humber tricycle)

5 miles
 13 June; Aston Lower Grounds, Birmingham
 R. Cripps (Nottingham B. C.)
 16m 53 1/5s (Humber tricycle)

25 miles
 11 July; Crystal Palace, London
 George Gatehouse (Cambridge University B. C.)
 1h 26m 29 2/5s (Humber tricycle)

1886

1 mile
 Recreation Grounds, Weston-super-Mare
 P. Furnival (Beretta B. C.)
 Humber bicycle

5 miles
 Hampden Park, Glasgow
 F. W. Allard (Cheylesmore B. C.)
 Marlboro tricycle

25 miles
 Alexander Park, London
 R. J. Mecredy (Dublin University B. C.)
 Quadrant tricycle

1887

1 mile
 Aston Lower Grounds, Birmingham
 E. Kiderlen (Delft Stud)
 Humber tricycle

5 miles
 Aston Lower Grounds, Birmingham
 R. J. Mecredy (Dublin University B. C.)
 Quadrant tricycle

25 miles
 Aston Lower Grounds, Birmingham
 F. J. Osmond (Norwood Safety B. C.)

Invincible tricycle

1888

1 mile

Hanson Lane, Halifax
 S. F. Edge (Anerley B. C.)
 Marriott tricycle

5 miles

Paddington, London
 F. J. Osmond (Norwood Safety B. C.)
 Invincible tricycle

25 miles

Coventry Cricket Grounds, Coventry
 F. P. Wood (Brixton B. C.)
 Humber tricycle

1889

1 mile

Paddington, London
 H. H. Sansom (Nottingham B. C.)
 Humber tricycle

5 miles

Paddington, London
 H. H. Sansom (Nottingham B. C.)
 Humber tricycle

25 miles

Paddington, London
 W. G. H. Bramson (Lewisham B. C.)
 Humber tricycle

1890

1 mile

Paddington, London
 K. N. Stadnicki (Irish Champion C. C.)
 Humber tricycle

5 miles

Paddington, London

H. H. Sansom (Catford C. C.)
Humber tricycle

25 miles
Paddington, London
L. Stroud (Oxford University B. C.)

1891
1 mile
County Ground, Bristol
P. W. Scheltema-Beduin (Trekvogels and Catford C. C.)
Humber tricycle

5 miles
County Ground, Bristol
W. G. H. Bramson (Leicester B. C.)
Humber tricycle

25 miles
County Ground, Bristol
L. Stroud (Speedwell B. C.)
Humber tricycle

1892

1 mile
Herne Hill, London
W. Tischbein (Hallescher B. C.)
Humber tricycle

10 miles
Herne Hill, London
F. Bramson (London Cycling and Athletic Club)
Humber tricycle

1893

1 mile
Herne Hill, London
F. Bramson (London Cycling and Athletic Club)
Humber tricycle

10 mile
Herne Hill, London
F. Bramson (London Cycling and Athletic Club)

Humber tricycle

1894

1 mile

Herne Hill, London

J. Rowley (Stanley B. C.)

Humber tricycle

10 miles

Herne Hill, London

J. Rowley (Stanley B. C.)

Humber tricycle

1895

1 mile

Fallowfield, Manchester

George Gatehouse (Chichester C. C.)

Humber tricycle

10 miles

Fallowfield, Manchester

A. F. Ilsley (North Road C. C.)

Osmond tricycle

There were no more tricycle championships on the track after 1895, tricycle racing in Britain subsequently taking place only on the road.

Appendix D

Britain - Oxford v. Cambridge University inter-collegiate cycling competitions, 1874 - 1902

Source for this information is Abrahams and Kerr, *Oxford v. Cambridge, A Record of Inter-University Contests from 1827-1930* (Faber and Faber, 1931); the universities competed for a team prize, indicated after the individual winners.

1874, 18 June

Road race from Oxford to Cambridge, about 80 miles

1. E.A. Mildmay (Cambridge)

Cambridge won

1875, 10 May

Road race from St Albans to near Oxford

1. I. Keith-Falconer (Cambridge), about 52 miles in 4:09:24

Cambridge won

1876, 28 June

Alexandra Park, Oxford

1. W. D'Abzac Crofton (Oxford), 50 miles in 3h 22m 54s

Oxford won

1877, 11 June; Oxford University Athletic Club Ground

2 miles

1. Ion Keith-Falconer (Cambridge)

6m 1s

10 miles

1. Ion Keith-Falconer (Cambridge)

32m 27s

25 miles

1. J. C. Thorpe (Oxford)

1h 30m 34s

Cambridge won

1878, 18 May; Cambridge University Bicycle Club track

2 miles

1. W. D'Abzac Crofton (Oxford)

6m 10 1/5s

10 miles

1. W. D'Abzac Crofton (Oxford)

33m 28 3/5s

25 miles

1. A. A. E. Weir (Oxford)

1h 24m 36s

Oxford won

1879, 18 May; Oxford University Athletic Club ground

2 miles

1. H. R. Reynolds (Oxford)

6m 1 3/5s

10 miles

1. A. A. E. Weir (Oxford)

31m 5 4/5s

25 miles

1. W. L. Ainslie (Oxford)

1h 19m 23 2/5s

Oxford won

1880, 26 May; Cambridge University Bicycle Club track

2 miles

1. C. A. E. Pollock (Cambridge)

5m 56s

10 miles

1. W. L. Ainslie (Oxford)

31m 42s

25 miles

1. G. D. Day (Cambridge)

1h 22m 20 2/5s

Cambridge won

1881, 16 June; Oxford University Athletic Club ground

2 miles

1. G. D. Day (Cambridge)

5m 52s

10 miles

1. D. J. S. Bailey (Cambridge)

30m 48s

25 miles

1. G. D. Day (Cambridge)

1h 21m 40s

Cambridge won

1882, 6 May; Cambridge University Bicycling Club track

2 miles

1. W. F. M. Buckley (Oxford)

5m 52s

10 miles

1. J. S. Whatton (Cambridge)

31m 38s

25 miles

1. G. D. Day (Cambridge)

1h 20m 8s

Cambridge won

1883, 5 June; Oxford University Athletic Club ground

2 miles

1. W. F. M. Buckley (Oxford)

6m 37s

10 miles

1. W. F. M. Buckley (Oxford)

32m 46s

25 miles

1. W. K. Adam (Oxford)
1h 27m 12s

Oxford won

1884, 2 July; Lillie Bridge, London

2 miles

1. J. S. Whatton (Cambridge)
6m 5 $\frac{3}{5}$ s

10 miles

1. J. S. Whatton (Cambridge)
33m 3s

25 miles

1. S. Swann (Cambridge)
1h 23m 6s

Cambridge won

1885 - no contest

1886, 23 June; Oxford University Athletic Club Ground

10 miles

1. G. Gatehouse (Cambridge)
32m 36s

Oxford won

1887, 11 June; Cambridge University Bicycling Club Track

1 mile

Heats won by G. Gatehouse (Cambridge), L. Stroud (Oxford) and W.A.C. Fremantle (Oxford)

4 miles

1. G. Gatehouse (Cambridge)
12m 28 $\frac{3}{5}$ s

15 miles

1. W. J. Turrell (Oxford)
48m 3 $\frac{3}{5}$ s

1888, 21 July; Paddington Recreation Ground

1 mile

Heats won by W.J. Turrell (Oxford), B.W. Crump (Cambridge) and A.B. Harris (Oxford)

4 miles

1. W.J. Turrell (Oxford)

13m 7 4/5s

10 miles

1. W.J. Turrell (Oxford) and W.L. Raynes (Cambridge)

35m 28 4/5s

Oxford won

1889, 18 July; Paddington Recreation Ground

1 mile

Heats won by S.E. Williams (Cambridge), W.L. Raynes (Cambridge) and B.W. Crump (Cambridge)

4 miles

1. S.E. Williams (Cambridge)

12m 50 2/5s

10 miles

1. L. Stroud (Oxford)

32m 14s

Cambridge won

1890, 17 June; Oxford University Athletic Ground

1 mile

Heats won by L. Stroud (Oxford), C.C.B. Bardsley (Oxford) and B.W. Attlee (Cambridge)

4 miles

1. L. Stroud (Oxford)

13m 32 1/5s

10 miles

1. L. Stroud (Oxford)

34m 25s

Oxford won

1891, 30 May; Cambridge University Bicycling Club Track

1 mile

Heats won by S.E. Williams (Cambridge), Hon. G.H. Scott (Cambridge) and P. Armitage (Cambridge)

4 miles

1. Hon. G.H. Scott (Cambridge)

11m 55s

10 miles

1. B.W. Attlee (Cambridge)

Cambridge won

1892, 15 June; Oxford University Athletic Club

1 mile

Heats won by C.W. Alston (Oxford), A.S. Gordon (Oxford) and J.C.W. Herschel (Oxford)

4 miles

1. J.C.W. Herschel (Oxford)

10 miles

1. C.W. Alston (Oxford)

Oxford won

1893, 13 June; Herne Hill Track

1 mile

1. P. Armitage (Cambridge)

2m 55 $\frac{3}{5}$ s

4 miles

1. P. Armitage (Cambridge)

10 miles

1. P. Armitage (Cambridge)

Cambridge won

1894, 13 June; Palmer Park, Reading

1 mile

1. J.W. Blagden (Cambridge)

2m 49 1/5s

4 miles

1. A.C. Nesbitt (Oxford)

11m 26 4/5s

10 miles

1. J.W. Blagden (Cambridge)

1895

No contest

1896, 26 June; North London Track, Wood Green

1 mile

1. L.F. Kenny (Cambridge)

2m 39s

4 miles

1. A.C. Nesbitt (Oxford)

10m 41 1/5s

10 miles

1. F.A.K. Smart (Cambridge)

Cambridge won

1897, 29 June; North London Track, Wood Green

1 mile

1. F.A.K. Smart (Cambridge)

2m 42 1/5s

4 miles

1. L.F. Kenny (Cambridge)

11m 19 1/5s

10 miles

1. F.A.K. Smart (Cambridge)

Cambridge won

1898, 2 July; Sheen House Grounds, Mortlake

1 mile

1. H.B. Fitzherbert (Oxford)
2. 39s

4 miles

1. H.B. Fitzherbert (Oxford)
- 12m 10 2/5s

10 miles

1. P. Engleheart (Cambridge)
- 25m 10 2/5s

Oxford won

1899, 1 July; Sheen House Grounds, Mortlake

1 mile

1. P. Engleheart (Cambridge)

4 miles

1. L.W.B. Martin (Oxford)
- 11m 17 2/5s

10 miles

1. P. Engleheart (Cambridge)

Oxford won

1900, 9 July; Sheen House Grounds, Mortlake

1 mile

1. H.B. Fitzherbert (Oxford)
- 3m 20s

4 miles

1. H.H. Curtis-Bennett (Cambridge)
- 12m 45 2/5s

10 miles

1. L.W.B. Martin (Oxford)

26m 36 4/5s

Cambridge won

1901, 6 July; Sheen House Grounds, Mortlake

1 mile

1. L.W.B. Martin (Oxford)

3m 12 1/5s

4 miles

1. L.W.B. Martin (Oxford)

11m 24 3/5s

10 miles

1. L.W.B. Martin (Oxford)

28m 30s

Cambridge won

1902, 11 July; Crystal Palace, London

1 mile

1. O.L. Prowde (Cambridge)

2m 33 4/5s

4 miles

1. R.F. Brayn (Cambridge)

13m 59 4/5s

10 miles

1. O.L. Prowde (Cambridge)

26m 46s

Cambridge won

Appendix E

International - Professional world sprint championships, 1870 - 1913

1870

Wolverhampton

1. James Moore (GB)

[James Moore, a resident in Paris, 'elected to try conclusions with the racing men of Great Britain'. He crossed the Channel in July, 1870 to compete in the All-Comers Champion Cup. He rode a 43" Meyer Spider using toe pedals. He won his heat in the record time of 4m 20s, but fell when leading Palmer in the final. Sources: *Wolverhampton Chronicle*, 10 Aug. 1870; *Vélocipède Illustré*, 4 Sept. 1870]

1871, 29 May

Aston Cross Grounds, Birmingham (according to Salamon)

1. J.T. Johnson (GB), on an Ariel bicycle

2. J. Palmer (GB)

3. James Moore (GB)

[Source: *Birmingham Daily Post*, 30 May, 1871, for report of heats and 31 May for report of final. Salamon's *Bicycling: Its Rise and Development* confirms date and place.]

1872, 20-21 May

Wolverhampton, Molyneux Grounds

1 mile

1. T. Shelton (GB), 3m 13s

2. John Keen (GB), at 10 yds, on a Keen bicycle

3. J.T. Johnson (GB)

(source: Salamon)

10 mile

Wolverhampton

1. John Keen (GB), with a world record time of 35m 30s

1873

1 mile

Wolverhampton

1. John Keen (GB), 3m 9s, on a Keen bicycle

2. James Moore (GB)

3. T. Shelton (GB)

2 miles

Lyons

1. John Keen (GB)

1874, 6 April

1 mile

Wolverhampton, Molineux Grounds

1. James Moore (GB), on a Garrard bicycle, with World Record time of 3m 2s

(Vélocipède Illustré says 3m 2s)

2. John Keen (GB), at 1.5 metres

3. E. Shelton (GB), at 30 metres

[Duncan, *World on Wheels*, calls it the 'world's mile challenge champion cup'. Salamon calls it 'the race for the championship cup'. *Le Vélocipède Illustré*, 11 April, 1874 calls it 'Course de Championnat du monde', and says 'Ces courses brillantes nous inspirent une réflexion bien simple. Jusqu'à quand les Anglais dameront-ils le pion aux Français, touchant la vélocipède. Trouverons-nous des coureurs véloceman.....pour battre les coursiers d'Outre-Manche. Qui se presentera?' ('These interesting races cause us to ask one simple question. For how much longer will the English riders go on outwitting the French in bicycle racing? Who will come forward to beat these racers from the other side of the Channel?').

10 miles

Lillie Bridge, London

1. John Keen (GB)

50 miles

Wolverhampton

1. John Keen (GB), with a world record time of 3h 9m 21s

1875

Paris

1 mile

1. James Moore (GB), on a Garrard bicycle

10 mile

1. John Keen (GB)

1876

Wolverhampton

1 mile

1. John Keen (GB), on a Keen bicycle

2. Fred Cooper (GB)

50 mile

Lillie Bridge, London (August)

1. John Keen (GB)

1877

Toulouse, France

1. J. Moore (GB), on a Garrard bicycle

100 miles

Lillie Bridge, London (May 7)

1. John Keen (GB)

1878

1 mile

Wolverhampton

1. John Keen (GB), on a Keen bicycle

1879

1 mile

Wolverhampton

1. John Keen (GB), on a Keen bicycle

100 mile

1. John Keen (GB)

1880

1 mile

Wolverhampton

1. John Keen (GB), on a Keen bicycle

1881

1 mile

Leicester

1. Richard Howell (GB)

1882

1 mile

Leicester

1. Richard Howell (GB), on a Rudge bicycle

1883

Leicester

10 miles

1. Fred Wood (GB), on a Rudge bicycle

20 miles

1. Fred Wood (GB), on a Rudge

25 miles

1. Fred Wood (GB), on a Rudge

50 miles

Aylestone Grounds, Leicester (24 March)

1. Frédéric de Civry (F), 3h 13m 14s, first Frenchman to win a title

[This was the first 50 mile championship for a valuable silver cup. First to win 3 times to own it. Run twice a year. All information on these 50 mile championships from *World On Wheels*]

50 miles

Aylestone Grounds, Leicester (4 Aug.)

1. F. Wood (Leicester), 2h 48m 10s

[1883 championships from Robert Phillips, *Things a Cyclist Ought to Know* (1884). This list is included to show the complications of researching the championships in original sources. As will be seen from this list, it is impossible to know what sort of championship Wood had contested.

‘F. Wood holds all the professional championships from 1 to 50 miles (did not start in 100 miles), as will be seen from the following resume of his victories during 1883:-

26 May

Aylestone Grounds, Leicester

25 Mile Match

9 June

Belgrave Grounds, Leicester

20 Mile Championship

7 July

Aylestone Grounds, Leicester

10 Mile Championship

14 July

Belgrave Grounds, Leicester

20 Mile Championship

4 Aug

Aylestone Grounds, Leicester

50 Mile Championship

6 Aug
Aylestone Grounds, Leicester
10 Mile Championship

8 Aug
Wolverhampton
1 Mile Championship

25 Aug
Belgrave Grounds, Leicester
20 Mile Championship

8 Sept
Aylestone Grounds, Leicester
25 Mile Championship']

1884

10 miles
Leicester/Easter Monday
1. Richard Howell (GB)
2. Fred Wood (GB)
3. H.O. Duncan (GB/F)

20 miles
Leicester/Holy Saturday
1. Fred Wood (GB)

25 miles
Leicester/August 2nd
1. T. Battensby (GB)
2. H.O. Duncan (GB)
3. F. de Civry (F)

50 miles
Leicester, Aylestone Grounds, 12 April
1. T. Battensby (GB), 3h 3m 26s

50 miles
Leicester, Aylestone Grounds, 5 July
1. F. Wood (Leicester)

[*Outing and the Wheelman* called the 1 mile race at Springfield, Mass., 17 Sept 1884, a 'world championship', won by John S. Prince (USA) from Richard Howell (GB) with a new world record.]

1885

1 mile

Wolverhampton, 4 April

1. Richard Howell (GB), on a Rudge bicycle
2. H.O. Duncan (GB)
3. F. De Civry (F)

20 miles

Leicester, 3 April

1. =Richard Howell (GB), on a Rudge bicycle
=F.Lees
 3. H.O.Duncan
- [Source: *World On Wheels*, p.319]

50 miles

Leicester, Aylestone Grounds, 4 April

1. H.O. Duncan (GB), on a Rudge bicycle, 3h 17m 14s
2. F. Wood (GB)
3. F. de Civry (F)

50 miles

Leicester, Aylestone Grounds, 1 August

1. H.O. Duncan (GB), 3h 5m 42 3/5s
2. F. Wood (GB)

[*World On Wheels* says, 'Duncan went again to Leicester to race in the world championship and try to win for the second time the title of 50 mile champion. In this famous contest on August 1, Duncan, after a race full of thrills, beat Wood by half a yard....' Once again, the various amateur and 'promateur' races at the September Springfield Tournament, sponsored by the Springfield Bicycle Club, were called and reported as 'world's championships'.]

1886

1 mile

Wolverhampton, 29 April

1. Richard Howell (GB), on a Rudge bicycle
2. H.O. Duncan (GB), on a Rudge bicycle

10 miles

Leicester, 27 April

1. Fred Wood (GB)
2. H.O. Duncan (GB),

20 miles,

Leicester, 17 April

1. Fred Wood (GB)
2. H.O. Duncan (GB)

50 miles

Leicester, Aylestone Grounds, 24 April

1. H.O. Duncan (GB), 2h 49m 35 3/5s, on a Rudge bicycle

[Once again, the various international races at the Springfield Tournament were called and reported in the press as 'world's championships'. H.O. Duncan retired at the end of the season.]

1887

1 mile

Leicester

1. Richard Howell (GB)

50 miles

1. Jules Dubois (F)?

1888

1 mile

Wolverhampton

1. Fred Wood (GB)

3 miles

Buffalo, New York

1. H. Crocker (USA)

[Was Crocker the first American to win a 'world professional' title?]

20 miles

Wolverhampton

1. Fred Wood (GB), on a Rudge bicycle

50 miles

Wolverhampton

1. Fred Wood (GB), on a Rudge bicycle

1889

London

1 mile

1. August Lehr (D), on a Raleigh bicycle
2. Frederick Osmond (GB)

1890

Frankfurt

1 mile

1. August Lehr (D), on a Raleigh bicycle
2. Otto Beyslag (D)

1891

Leicester

1 mile

1. Richard Howell (GB), on a Rudge bicycle

1892

Antwerp

1 mile

1. August Lehr (D), on a Raleigh bicycle

1893

[Chicago, first I.C.A.-sponsored, League of American Wheelmen-organized, amateur world championships. There was no official I.C.A.-sponsored professional championship.]

1894

No official I.C.A.-sponsored professional championship.

1895

Cologne

1. Robert Protin (B)
2. George Banker (USA)
3. E. Huet (B)

[This was the first official, I.C.A.-sponsored professional championship.]

1896

Copenhagen

1. P. Bourillon (F)
2. Charlie Barden (GB)
3. E. Jacquelin (F)

1897

Glasgow

1. Willi Arend (D)

2. Charlie Barden (GB)
3. Nossam

1898

Vienna

1. George Banker (USA)
2. Vehreyen
3. E. Jacquelin (F)

1899

Montreal

1. Major Taylor (USA)
2. Tom Butler (USA)

1900

Paris

1. E. Jacquelin (F)
2. E. Meyers (D)
3. Willi Arend (D)

1901

Berlin

1. T. Ellegaard (Dk)
2. E. Jacquelin (F)

1902

Rome

1. T. Ellegaard (Dk)
2. Meyers

1903

Copenhagen

1. T. Ellegaard (Dk)
2. Willi Arend (D)

1904

London

1. Ivor Lawson (USA)
2. Ellegaard (Dk)

1905

Antwerp

1. G. Poulain (F)
2. T. Ellegaard (Dk)

1906

Geneva

1. T. Ellegaard (Dk)

2. G. Poulain (F)

1907

Paris

1. Emile Friol (F)

2. Mayer

1908

Berlin

1. T. Ellegaard (Dk)

2. G. Poulain (F)

1909

Copenhagen

1. Victor Dupré (F)

2. G. Poulain (F)

1910

Brussels

1. Emile Friol (F)

2. T. Ellegaard (Dk)

1911

Rome

1. T. Ellegaard (Dk)

2. Pouchois (F)

1912

Newark, New Jersey

1. Frank Kramer (USA)

2. Grenda (It)

1913

Leipzig

1. Walter Rutt (D)

2. T. Ellegaard (Dk)

1914 – 1919

No championship because of 1st World War

Appendix F

International - Amateur World Sprint Championships, 1893 – 1913

These are official championships, held first under the auspices of the International Cyclists' Association, and then under the Union Cycliste Internationale.

1893

Chicago

1 mile

1. Arthur A. Zimmerman (USA)
2. J. Johnson (USA)
3. J. P. Bliss (USA)

10 mile

1. Arthur A. Zimmerman (USA)
2. J. P. Bliss (USA)
3. J. Johnson (USA)

1894

Antwerp

1 mile

1. August Lehr (D)
2. Jaap Eden (NL)
3. W. Broadbridge (SA)

10 mile

1. Jaap Eden (NL)
2. J. Green (GB)
3. T. Osborn (GB)

1895

Cologne

1. Jaap Eden (NL)
2. Christian Peterson (Dk)
3. J. Schaaf (D)

1896

Copenhagen

1. H. Reynolds (Ir)
2. E. Schrader (Dk)
3. M. Guillaumet (F)

1897

Glasgow

1. E. Schrader (Dk)
2. J. Fawcett (GB)
3. H. Reynolds (Ir)

1898

Vienna

1. Paul Albert (D)
2. L. Opel (D)
3. Tom Summersgill (GB)

1899

Montreal

1. Tom Summersgill (GB)
2. E. Peabody (USA)
3. J. Caldrow (C)

1900

Paris

1. A. Didier-Nauts (B)
2. J. H. Lake (USA)
3. F. Vasserot (F)

1901

Berlin

1. E. Maitrot (F)
2. E. Vejtruba (Cz)
3. H. Struth (D)

1902

Rome

1. Charles Piard (F)
2. G. Delaborde (F)
3. Orla Nord (Dk)

1903

Copenhagen

1. A. L. Reed (GB)
2. J. S. Benyon (GB)

1904

London

1. M. Hurley (USA)
2. A. L. Reed (GB)
3. J. S. Benyon (GB)

1905

Antwerp

1. J. S. Benyon (GB)
2. H. D. Buck (GB)
3. E. Debongnies (B)

1906

Geneva

1. F. Verri (I)
2. E. Delage (F)
3. D. Rondelli (F)

1907

Paris

1. J. Devoissoux (F)
2. A. Auffray (F)
3. C. Avrillon (F)

1908

Leipzig

1. V. L. Johnson (GB)
2. B. Jones (GB)
3. H. Demangel (B)

1909

Copenhagen

1. Bill Bailey (GB)
2. K. Neumer (D)
3. Maurice Schilles (F)

1910

Brussels

1. Bill Bailey (GB)
2. K. Neumer (D)
3. P. Texler (F)

1911

Rome

1. Bill Bailey (GB)
2. G. Ferroci (I)
3. G. Gasparinetti (I)

1912

Newark, New Jersey

1. Donald McDougall (USA)
2. Kaiser (USA)
3. Diver (USA)

1913

Berlin

1. Bill Bailey (GB)
2. E. F. Ryan (GB)
3. C. Rode (D)

Appendix G

International - 1 mile world records, 1878 - 1904

The hotly contested 1 mile track record was dominated by British and American riders between the 1870s and the turn of the century. Continental riders tended to compete for the 1 km distance. As a test of speed on the track, 1 mile was short and demanding and attracted a lot of publicity.

It is important to distinguish here between standing start, flying start, paced and unpaced and whether the record was made in competition or against time. Records since the early 1890s were paced, in the earlier 1890s by human pace (triplets, quadruplets and quintuplets), and in the later 1890s by steam, electric and gasoline-powered pacing-machines. Paced and unpaced records have to be seen as being two separate categories. During the 1890s, with riders such as Major Taylor, Eddie McDuffie and others paced by increasingly powerful motors, it seems simply to have been a question of going as fast as possible, by whatever means. Speed ruled the moment, and unpaced records did not receive much publicity.

As the record-breaking business become more specialized, it was increasingly dominated by professionals, but I have not tried to separate professionals and amateurs into two categories here, preferring to chart the increase in speed, and treat cycling at this time as an 'open' sport.

Ordinary/high-wheel bicycle

W. P. Blood

Oct. 1875

Lansdowne Road Grounds, Dublin

3m 18s

Record claimed by G. Lacy Hiller in an article, "Cycle Racing", in the *Encyclopedia of Sport*, 1911, who calls it 'the first fairly well authenticated performance over that distance on record'. If this record is valid, then the two following entries are probably American records rather than world records.

H. M. Pope (USA)

19 Oct. 1878

3m 53s (standing start)

G. R. Agassiz (USA)

1878

3m 21s (standing start)

F. T. East

5 Oct. 1878

2m 54³/₄s

I. Keith-Falconer (GB)
1878
2m 52 2/5s

H. L. Cortis (GB)
1878
2m 47 4/5s

R. Edlin (GB)
1878
2m 46 1/2 s

Sanders Sellers (GB)
9 Sept. 1884
2m 39s (standing start)
Hartford, Conn.

R. Howell (GB)
29 Sept. 1885
2m 31 2/5s
Grimsby, England

W. A. Roe (USA)
22 Oct. 1886
2m 29 4/5s (standing start)
Springfield, Mass.

F. J. Osmond (GB)
15 July 1890
2m 28 4/5s
Paddington, England

R. J. McCredy (GB)
1890
2m 26 4/5s (standing start)

W.W.Windle (USA)
15 Sept 1890
2m 25 3/5s
Peoria, Illinois

W. C. Jones
1890
2m 20 3/5s

F. J. Osmond (GB)
13 July 1890
2m 15s

F. J. Osmond (GB)

Paddington Track, London

2m 28 4/5s (ordinary bicycle)

Bartleet, in *Bartleet's Bicycle Book*, calls this the 'permanent' 1 mile record, since few mile records were subsequently attempted on the ordinary bicycle, and I assume the next is on the safety.

Safety bicycle

W. W. Windle (USA)

7 Oct. 1891

2m 15s (standing start)

G. F. Taylor (USA)

4 July 1892

2m 14s (standing start)

Hartford, Conn.

G. F. Taylor (USA)

3 Aug. 1892

2m 11s (standing start)

Springfield, Mass.

Arthur. A. Zimmerman (USA)

9 Sept. 1892.

2m 08 4/5s (flying start)

Springfield, Mass

G. F. Taylor (USA)

9 Sept. 1892

2m 08 1/5s (flying start)

Springfield, Mass.

Arthur. A. Zimmerman (USA)

9 Sept. 1892

2m 06 2/5s (flying start)

Springfield, Mass.

H. C. Tyler (USA)

15 Sept. 1892

2m 08 4/5s (standing start)

Springfield, Mass.

J. S. Johnson (USA)

21 Sept. 1892

2m 4 3/5s

Independence, Iowa

J. S. Johnson (USA)

22 Sept. 1892

Independence, Iowa

1m 56 $\frac{3}{5}$ s (flying start)

In this significant lowering of the mile record, Johnson was paced by trotting horses in sulkies, carrying a canvas wind-guard. He also used an elliptical chainwheel.

W. W. Windle (USA)

7 Oct. 1892

2m 02 $\frac{3}{5}$ s (flying start)

Springfield, Mass.

W. W. Windle (USA)

8 Oct. 1892

2m 05 $\frac{3}{5}$ s (standing start)

Springfield, Mass.

W. W. Windle (USA)

3 Oct. 1893

1m 58 $\frac{1}{5}$ s (flying start)

Springfield, Mass.

W. W. Windle (USA)

13 Oct. 1893

1m 56 $\frac{4}{5}$ s (flying start)

Springfield, Mass.

J. S. Johnson (USA)

8 Nov. 1893

1m 55 $\frac{3}{5}$ s (flying start)

Independence, Iowa

M. F. Dirnberger (USA)

12 Dec. 1893

1m 51s (flying start, paced by running horses)

Birmingham, Alabama

J. P. Bliss (USA)

14 July 1894

1m 54 $\frac{4}{5}$ s (flying start)

Waltham, Mass..

H. C. Tyler (USA)

4 Aug. 1894

1m 53 $\frac{4}{5}$ s (flying start)

Waltham, Mass.

H. C. Tyler (USA)
4 Aug. 1894
1m 57 $\frac{3}{5}$ s (standing start)
Waltham, Mass.

J. P. Bliss (USA)
6 Sept. 1894
1m 52 $\frac{3}{5}$ s (flying start)
Springfield, Mass.

J. S. Johnson (USA)
28 Sept. 1894.
1m 50 $\frac{3}{5}$ s (flying start)
Springfield, Mass.

Otto Zeigler (USA)
16 Oct. 1894
1m 50s (flying start)
Sacramento, California

H. C. Tyler (USA)
27 Oct. 1894
1m 48 $\frac{3}{5}$ s (flying start)
Waltham, Mass.

J. S. Johnson (USA)
21 Nov. 1894
1m 47 $\frac{3}{5}$ s (flying start)
Louisville, Kentucky

M. F. Dimberger (USA)
June 1895
1m 45s (flying start)
Louisville, Kentucky

J. S. Johnson (USA)
21 Oct. 1895
1m 44 $\frac{1}{5}$ s (flying start)
Louisville, Kentucky

A. Gardiner (USA)
11 Nov. 1895
1m 42 $\frac{2}{5}$ s (flying start)
Louisville, Kentucky

P. J. Berlo (USA)
Dec. 1895

1m 40 $\frac{2}{5}$ s (flying start)
New Orleans, Louisiana

W. W. Hamilton (USA)
2 March 1896
1m 39 $\frac{1}{5}$ s (flying start)
Coronado, California

[E. E. Anderson (USA)
9 Aug. 1896
1m 0 $\frac{3}{5}$ s (paced by a train)]

J. Platts-Betts (GB)
15 May 1897
1m 40s (standing start)
Crystal Palace, London

E. A. McDuffie (USA)
14 Aug. 1897
1m 38 $\frac{1}{5}$ s (flying start)
Boston, Mass.

J. Platts-Betts (GB)
19 Aug. 1897
1m 37 $\frac{3}{5}$ s
Crystal Palace, London

J. W. Stocks (GB)
8 Sept. 1897
1m 35 $\frac{2}{5}$ s (flying start)
Crystal Palace, London

E. A. McDuffie (USA)
28 Oct. 1897
1m 35 $\frac{2}{5}$ s (flying start)
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

J. Platt-Betts (GB)
9 May 1898
1m 35s (flying start)
Crystal Palace, London

Edward Taylore (USA)
6 Aug. 1898
1m 32 $\frac{3}{5}$ s (flying start)
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Major Taylor (USA)

12 Nov. 1898
1m 32 3/5s (flying start; paced by teams of quintuplets)
Woodside Park, Philadelphia

Major Taylor (USA)
15 Nov. 1898
1m 32s (flying start; paced by teams of quintuplets)
Woodside Park, Philadelphia

Major Taylor (USA)
15 Nov. 1898
1m 31 4/5s (flying start; paced by teams of quintuplets)
Woodside Park, Philadelphia

E. A. McDuffie (USA)
30 June 1899
1m 31 2/5s (paced by motors for the first time)
New Bedford, Mass.

J. Platts-Betts (GB)
7 July 1899
1m 31 2/5s (flying start)
Crystal Palace, London

H. D. Elkes (USA)
19 July 1899
1m 31s (flying start)
Washington, D.C.

[Charles Murphy (USA)
30 June 1899
57m 80s (62.28 mph)
Maywood, Long Island

In one of the most spectacular rides of a record obsessed period, Murphy rode a measured mile behind a train on a board track which had been laid down between the tracks. This successful act of supreme foolhardiness earned Murphy the title of 'Mile-a-Minute' Murphy, which stuck to him for the rest of his life. Though this was not in any sense of the word a 'normal' mile record, it was a powerful stimulus to other record breakers, and those hungry for publicity, to employ pacing in increasing their speed.]

E. A. McDuffie (USA)
29 July 1899
1m 31s (flying start, paced by motor pacing-machines)
New Bedford, Mass.

E. A. McDuffie (USA)
29 July 1899
1m 28s (flying start, paced by motor pacing-machines)

New Bedford, Mass.

Major Taylor (USA)

3 Aug. 1899

1m 22 $\frac{2}{5}$ s (flying start, riding a chainless bicycle, paced by a steam-driven motorcycle;
39.38 mph)

Garfield Park, Chicago

E. A. McDuffie (USA)

1899

1m 21s (43.68 mph)

Brockton, Mass.

Major Taylor (USA)

15 Nov. 1899

1m 19s (paced by a steam-driven motor-cycle; 45.56 mph)

Garfield Park, Chicago

Harry Elkes (USA)

22 May 1903

1m 14 $\frac{3}{5}$ s (paced)

Philadelphia

Bobby Walthour (USA)

31 May 1904

1m 06 $\frac{1}{5}$ s (paced)

Charles River Park, Cambridge, Mass.

Appendix H

International - 1 hour World Records

i) 1 hour bicycle world records on the track, in kilometres, from 1870 to 1909, as published by *L'Auto*, 16 Sept. 1909, including some additional records inserted by the author.

From 1890 onwards, these speed records were all paced, at first by human-pace and then by motor-pace. Official unpaced hour records, authorized by the International Cyclists' Association after its foundation in 1893, began with Henri Desgrange's 1893 ride of 35.325 kms, culminating in Boardman's 1996 record of 56.375 kms, which still stands.

Date	Rider	Kilometers ridden	Type of bicycle and pacing
1870	Johnson (GB)	21.470	Velocipede
1873	Moore (GB)	22.933	Transitional velocipede
1876	Dodds (GB)	25.508	Ordinary bicycle
1876	Keen (GB)	29.414	Ordinary bicycle (professional)
1877	Shoppee (GB)	26.960	Ordinary bicycle
1878	Weir (GB)	28.542	Ordinary bicycle
1879	Christie (GB)	30.374	Ordinary bicycle
1880	Cortis (GB)	31.896	Ordinary bicycle
1882	Cortis (GB)	32.453	Ordinary bicycle
1882	Cortis (GB)	32.474	Ordinary bicycle
1884	English (GB)	32.699	Ordinary bicycle
1885	Rowe (USA)	33.112	Ordinary bicycle
1886	Rowe (USA)	35.542	Ordinary bicycle
1888	Laurie (GB)	33.910	Solid-tyred safety
1890	Turner (GB)	34.008	Solid-tyred tricycle
1890	Mecredy (GB)	34.601	Pneumatic safety, human-paced
1890	Lloyd (GB)	34.847	"
1890	Parsons (GB)	35.972	"
1891	Ede (GB)	36.682	"
1891	J. Osmond (GB)	38.167	"
1892	Ede (GB)	38.405	"
1892	Fournier (F)	39.323	"
1892	Dubois (F)	39.707	"
1893	E. Osmond (GB)	40.193	"
1893	Stocks (GB)	40.563	"
1893	Meintjes (SA)	41.939	"
1894	A. Linton (GB)	41.949	"
1894	Dubois (F)	43.326	"
1894	Bouhours (F)	44.183	"
1894	A. Linton (GB)	45.445	"

1895	Lesna (F)	45.673	“
1895	Michael (GB)	46.003	“
1895	Bouhours (F)	46.440	“
1895	Stocks (GB)	46.711	“
1896	Chase (GB)	46.944	“
1896	T. Linton (G)	47.258	“
1896	Huret (F)	47.493	“
1896	T. Linton (GB)	48.455	“
1896	T. Linton (GB)	49.894	“
1896	Stocks (GB)	50.390	“
1896	T. Linton (GB)	50.420	“
1897	Stocks (GB)	51.909	“
1897	Stocks (GB)	52.491	“
1898	Ed. Taylore (F)	54.044	Motorized pacing-machine
1898	Elkes (USA)	55.839	“
1899	Ed. Taylore (F)	56.966	“
1899	Bor (F)	58.053	“
1899	Ed. Taylore (F)	58.980	“
1900	Ed. Taylore (F)	62.313	“
1900	Bouhours (F)	62.333	“
1900	Bauge (F)	63.800	“
1900	Bauge (F)	64.350	“
1900	Stinson (USA)	64.673	“
1901	Robl (D)	65.512	“
1901	Dickentmann (NI)	65.621	“
1901	Robl (D)	65.742	“
1901	Robl (D)	67.353	”
1902	T. Linton (GB)	68.410	“
1902	T. Linton (GB)	71.660	“
1902	Robl (D)	72.560	“
1902	T. Linton (GB)	73.355	“
1902	Michael (GB)	75.274	“
1902	Contenet (F)	77.903	“
1903	Contenet (F)	78.360	“
1903	Monroe (USA)	79.050	“
1903	Robl (D)	80.663	“
1903	Dangla (F)	81.108	“
1903	T. Hall (GB)	84.140	“
1903	Dangla (F)	84.577	“
1903	T. Hall (GB)	87.393	“
1904	Bruni (I)	87.579	“
1904	Darragon (F)	87.850	“
1905	Guignard (F)	89.904	“
1905	Robl (D)	91.303	“
1906	Guignard (F)	95.026	“
1908	Wills (GB)	99.057	“
1909	Guignard (F)	101.623	“

ii) Pre-1893 1 hour records

Even before the founding of the International Cyclists' Association in 1892/93, the 1 hour record, like the 1 mile, was hotly contested and prestigious. Listed here are earlier hour records, set on the high-wheel bicycle, tricycles, solid-tired and early pneumatic-tired safety bicycles. International competition was mostly between England and the United States; the French appear not to have been so interested in the hour record in the early period.

Some of these early high-wheel records were set in competition for longer distances. They were not specifically intended to be hour records, and were in fact interpolated from the lap times for those longer distances. Their absolute accuracy cannot, therefore, be guaranteed. All the races listed were amateur events, unless they are specifically described as professional. Right from the beginnings of organized bicycle racing, through the 1870s and 1880s, the hour ride on both the road and the track, was a prominent race, an arduous test of speed and endurance.

High-wheel or Ordinary bicycle records, on solid tires

J. T. Johnson
20 May 1870
13.341 miles / 21.470 km
Aston, Birmingham

J. Moore
May 1873
14.25 miles / 22.933 km

F. L. Dodds, Cambridge University B.C. (GB)
25 March 1876
15.841 miles / 25.494 km
Fenners track, Cambridge (competition, set in a 20 mile scratch race)

John Keen, professional (GB)
8 Dec. 1876
18.277 miles / 29.414 km
Lillie Bridge track, West Brompton, London
This was, I believe, the first professional hour record. Interestingly, Keen's ride was more than 2 miles better than contemporary amateurs.

G. A. Shoppee, Cambridge University B.C. (GB)
May 1877
16.752 miles / 26.960 km (competition, a 25 mile race)
Fenner's track, Cambridge

A. A. Weir, Oxford University B.C. (GB)

19 May 1878
17.733 miles / 28.538 km
Cambridge track, England

John Keen, professional (GB)
4 June 1878
17.807 miles / 28.658 km
Lillie Bridge, London

C. H. F. Christie, Oxford University B.C. (GB)
10 May 1879
18.869 miles / 30.367 km (competition, a 25 mile race)
Oxford track

H. L. Cortis, Wanderers B.C. (GB)
22 Sept. 1880
19.807 miles 1420 yds / 31.877 km
Surbiton track, Surrey, England

H. L. Cortis, Wanderers B.C. (GB)
27 July 1882
20.169 miles / 32.459 km (paced)
Crystal Palace track, London, England
This was the first time that more than 20 miles was ridden in one hour on any kind of cycle. 'I shall never forget the evening - a model one for records - the air vibrating with a very slight mist due to the great heat of the day, not a breath of wind to lift the flags, a cloudless sky, which was anon studded with stars, and a little crowd of men interested in the great rider'. (G.Lacy Hillier, *The Cyclist Year Book*, 1892).

H. L. Cortis, Wanderers B.C. (GB)
2 Aug. 1882
20.185 miles / 32.485 km (paced)
Surbiton track, Surrey, England
In a match race against Ion Keith-Falconer, Cambridge University B.C., Cortis, on a 60" Ordinary bicycle, was paced by several crack racers. The Surbiton track which, although it was advertised as 'acknowledged by all bicyclists to be the fastest in England', was in fact a running track. Lacy Hillier described it as 'flat, square, four-cornered, unbanked, and made of cinder, situated in a field near the railway and sloping considerably, the finishing straight being down hill'.

F. J. Lees, professional (GB)
18 Aug. 1883
20.514 miles / 33.014 km
Belgrave Road track, Leicester, England
Lees' 600 yard (.579 km) beating of Cortis' year-old record was a strong indication of the ongoing rivalry between the two classes of riders, who could not race against each other face to face, but could compete in the common ground of races against the watch.

Lees' 1883 mile record was for several years the fastest mile on a solid-tired ordinary bicycle.

R. H. English, North Shields B.C. (GB)
 11 Sept. 1884
 20.318 miles / 32.699 km (unpaced, in competition)
 Crystal Palace track, London

W. A. Rowe (USA), professional
 19 Oct. 1885
 20.575 miles / 33.112 km (paced)
 Springfield, Mass

W. A. Rowe (USA), professional
 25 Oct. 1886
 22.085 miles / 35.542 km
 Springfield, Mass
 Record contested. This 1886 record was not equalled until 1890 pneumatic record in England, if it is correct.

Percy Furnival, Berretta B.C. (GB)
 22 Sept. 1887
 20.383 miles / 32.803 km (unpaced, in competition)
 Surbiton track, Surrey
 This was the last time that the overall hour record was held by the high-wheel or Ordinary bicycle. The Ordinary record was subsequently broken, but was never again faster than the safety record.

R. Billson (GB)
 22 June 1889
 20.489 miles / 32.974 km (paced)
 Belgrave Road track, Leicester

B. W. Attlee, London County C and A.C. (GB)
 2 Sept. 1891
 21.102 miles / 33.960 km (paced)
 Herne Hill track, London
 This was the last of the Ordinary bicycle hour records.

Tricycle hour records

M. J. Lowndes (GB)
 25 June 1883
 16.293 miles / 26.221 km (in competition, a 50 mile race)
 Crystal Palace, London
 This was the first tricycle hour record.

C. E. Liles (GB)
 21 June 1884
 16.957 miles / 27.289 km (in competition)
 Lillie Bridge, London

George Gatehouse (GB)
 11 June 1885
 17.560 miles / 28.260 km (in competition, a race for the 25 mile tricycle championship)
 Crystal Palace, London

George Gatehouse (GB)
 23 Aug. 1886
 19.886 miles / 32.003 km (paced)
 Long Eaton, Birmingham

George Gatehouse (GB)
 26 Aug. 1886
 20.261 miles / 32.607 km (paced)
 Long Eaton, Nottingham
 This tricycle record was only 100 yds less than the current bicycle record, and a greater distance than any of Cortis' hour rides.

J. B. King (GB)
 13 June 1888
 20.273 miles / 32.626 km (paced)
 Coventry, England

E. B. Turner, Ripley Road Club (GB)
 28th July 1890
 21.128 miles / 34.002 km
 Paddington track, London

A remarkable record made on a solid tired tricycle. Turner's record was the greatest distance covered to date by an amateur on a solid-tired cycle of any type, and in fact was never bettered on a solid-tired bicycle or tricycle. 'Turner has brought pacemaking to the level of an exact science, and never was a man better served than he was on the night in question.... With Turner's performance, the solid tyre reached its zenith'. (G. Lacy Hillier, *The Cyclist Year Book*, 1892).

Solid-tired safety bicycle records

A. P. Englehart (GB)
 27 Aug. 1886
 20.269 miles / 32.619 km
 Coventry, England

Herbert E. Laurie, Speedwell B.C. (GB)

13 Aug. 1888

21.071 miles / 33.910 km

Long Eaton, Nottingham

This was the first time that the safety bicycle was faster than the Ordinary in the hour record. The Ordinary bicycle was on its way to extinction as a serious record-breaking machine.

Pneumatic-tyred safety bicycle records

R. J. Mecredy, Dublin University B.C. (Ir)

29 July 1890

21.500 miles / 34.601 km (paced)

Paddington track, London

Mecredy achieved his record just one day after E.B. Turner's solid-tired tricycle hour record, indeed was assisted by Turner in making it. It was more of a victory for the pneumatic tire than for the athletic capabilities of Mecredy. Hillier: '...the unexploited capacity of the inflated tyre was evidently the reason which enabled a man of Mecredy's calibre to score so heavily'.

R. A. Lloyd, Catford C.C. (GB)

6 Sept. 1890

21.653 miles / 34.847 km (paced)

Paddington track, London

Harry Parsons, Polytechnic C.C. (GB)

17 Sept. 1890

22.352 miles / 35.972 km (paced)

Paddington track, London

R. L. Ede (GB)

14 July 1891

22.793 miles / 36.682 km (paced)

Herne Hill track, London

F. J. Osmond (GB)

15 July 1891

23.716 miles / 38.167 km (paced)

Herne Hill track, London

R. L. Ede (GB)

24 May 1892

23.864 miles / 38.405 km (paced)

Herne Hill, London

Henri Fournier (F)

14 Aug. 1892
24.434 miles / 39.323 km
Buffalo Velodrome, Paris

Jules Dubois (F)
23 Sept. 1892
24 miles 1404 yds / ?? km
Buffalo Velodrome, Paris

iii. Paced 1 hour records from 1893

The following are paced records, set in the constant search for greater speed. Almost all of them were established by professionals. Many of the previously listed records on ordinaries and solid-tired cycles were also paced; this was not considered an unfair advantage.

From 1893 until 1898, hour record attempts were human-paced, first by teams of single cyclists, then by triplets and quadruplets as the demand for increased speed rose. At the peak of the human-pacing fad in the late 1890s, professional riders were paced by quintuplets, sponsored by bicycle manufacturers. Riders would switch from team to team in an attempt to gain maximum speed from these huge pacing-machines. Such teams were extremely expensive to maintain and train however, and were only available to big budget record-breakers.

It soon became obvious that only motor-driven pacing machines were capable of providing convenient, successful pacing. Electric and soon after gasoline-powered motorcycles were developed, providing a much more reliable and predictable shelter. These machines played a significant role in the technological and transportation revolution at the turn of the century.

The story of the paced racing of the late 1890's and early 1900's is one of the most interesting episodes in the history of bicycle racing. Extremely exciting, noisy and dangerous, motor-paced racing on the track quickly became a lucrative, highly popular spectator sport, and the hour record became the ultimate accolade. The speeds realized on the European and American tracks were at first limited only by the difficulties of developing a technically reliable pacing-machine. But the speeds achieved by professional pace-followers shot up rapidly as increasingly powerful machines were quickly developed. The sport was full of dangers for both cyclists and pacers; frequent and ghastly accidents were the result. A front wheel blow-out at 50 mph was not a joke.

But the enormous amounts of money earned by the leading professional champions ensured a constant stream of new talent prepared to take the risks. Both riders and pace-making machines were being generously sponsored by manufacturers who needed urgently to subject their products to arduous tests and also to publicize them. The extraordinary looking pacing-machines were in fact a crucial link in the evolution of modern transportation. They were among the first motorcycles, and the engines of the largest of them became the first airplane engines. Also, many paced riders and pace-

makers, if they lived, went on to become race-car drivers or engineers, pioneer pilots or aviation engineers.

On 30 May 1903, 24 year-old Harry Elkes, an outstanding young pace-follower, was run over and killed by a heavy pacing-machine on the opening day of the new Charles River Track, Cambridge, Mass., in front of a crowd of more than ten thousand people. Elkes was leading comfortably in a 20 mile paced race against William Stinson, Bobby Walthour and James Moran when his rear tire blew out and his back wheel collapsed. Elkes was in fact riding at that very moment at world record speed, having just completed 15 miles in 18m 40s. Elkes did not have a chance. He was struck on the head by one of his rivals' pacing-machines and died without ever regaining consciousness. 'It was a baptism of blood for the record-making course, and the bright, particular star of the record breaking firmament was snuffed out while in the act of setting new figures for the emulation of the riders of the world'. (*Bicycling World*, 8 June 1903).

Elkes was not the only one. In fact, between 1899 and 1928, Wolfgang Gronen (*Geschichte des Radsports*, 1978) estimates that 33 "stayers" and 14 pace-makers were killed on European and American tracks. In spite of the danger, however, paced racing continued. The riders were still prepared to take the risks for the money. Frenchman Paul Guignard, an experienced rider who had been chasing the hour record for several years, achieved the long sought after 100 kph in Munich on 15 Sept 1909, when he set a sensational new hour record of 101.623 km, a record which stood until 1924, when Leon Vanderstuyft achieved the first of his three world records.

However, a terrible accident in Berlin (18 July 1909), when a powerful pace-making machine ran off the track and exploded amidst a crowd of spectators, killing 9 people, led to cycling and government legislation both to limit the power of the pacing machines and to prescribe that the cyclist must be held away from the back of the motor by a certain minimum distance, thus increasing wind resistance and reducing maximum speeds.

L. S. Meintjes (SA)
 July 1893
 24.216 miles / 38.972 km
 Herne Hill track, London

G. Ernest Osmond (GB)
 18 July 1893
 24.975 miles / 40.193 km
 Herne Hill track, London

J. W. Stocks (GB)
 28 Aug. 1893
 25.205 miles / 40.466 km
 Herne Hill track, London

J. W. Stocks (GB)

28 Aug. 1893
25.392 miles / 40.863 km
Herne Hill track, London

L. S. Meintjes (SA)
14 Sept. 1893
26.060 miles / 41.949 km
Springfield, Mass

Arthur Linton (GB)
8 Aug. 1894
26.066 miles / 41.949 km
Buffalo, Paris

Jules Dubois (F)
29 Aug. 1894
26.922 miles / 43.325 km
Bordeaux, France

Emile Bouhours (F)
17 Sept. 1894
27.454 miles / 44.185 km
Bordeaux

Arthur Linton (GB)
9 June 1895
28.238 miles / 45.433 km
Bordeaux track, France

Lucien Lesna (F)
30 June 1895
28.380 miles / 45.673 km
Dijon, France

Jimmy Michael (GB)
1 Sept. 1895
28.585 miles / 46.003 km
Buffalo Vélodrome, Paris

Emile Bouhours (F)
25 Sept. 1895
28.856 miles / 46.440 km
Vélodrome Municipal, Paris

J. W. Stocks (GB)
14 Oct. 1895
29.025 miles / 46.711 km

Wood Green track, London

A. A. Chase (GB)

14 May 1896

29.170 miles / 46.944 km

Wood Green track, London

Tom Linton (GB)

7 May 1896

29.365 miles / 47.258 km

Catford track, London

Constant Huret (F)

12 May 1896

29.511 miles / 47.493 km

Catford track, London

Tom Linton (GB)

19 May 1896

30.108 miles / 48.455 km

Vélodrome Seine, Paris

Tom Linton (GB)

6 July 1896

31.003 miles / 49.894 km

Catford track, London

J. W. Stocks (GB)

3 Oct. 1896

31.311 miles / 50.390 km

Crystal Palace track, London

Tom Linton (GB)

21 Oct. 1896

31.330 miles / 50.420 km

Crystal Palace track, London

J. W. Stocks (GB)

10 June 1897

32.255 miles / 51.907 km

Crystal Palace track, Londo

J. W. Stocks (GB)

30 Sept. 1897

32.617 miles / 52.491 km

Crystal Palace track, London

From 1898 onwards, human pacing with multi-cycles gave way to mechanically driven bicycles and tandems, first steam powered, then electrically driven, and then finally and most successfully gasoline powered.

Edouard Taylore (F)

5 July 1898

33 miles 963 yds (33.582 miles) / 54.044 km

Willow Grove, Philadelphia

(In competition against Tom Linton; see *New York Times*, 6 July 1898)

Emile Bouhours (F)

7 Aug. 1899

34.420 miles / 55.393 km

Crystal Palace track, London

Harry Elkes (USA)

6 Aug. 1898

34.697 miles / 55.839 km

Charles River Park, Cambridge, Mass.

Edouard Taylore (F)

3 Aug. 1899

56.966 km

Parc des Princes, Paris

Paul Bor (F)

8 Sept. 1899

58.053 km

Parc des Princes, Paris

Edouard Taylore (F)

11 Sept. 1899

36.649 miles / 58.980 km

Parc des Princes, Paris

Edouard Taylore

8 April 1900

59.486 km

Parc des Princes, Paris

Edouard Taylor (F)

29 April 1900

38.719 miles / 62.313 km

Parc des Princes, Paris

Emile Bouhours (F)

20 May 1900

38.732 miles / 62.333 km

Parc des Princes, Paris

Alphonse Bauge (F)

3 June, 1900

39.643 miles / 63.800 km

Parc des Princes, Paris

Will C. Stinson (USA)

20 Oct. 1900

Brockton, Mass.

39.827 miles 1456 yds / 64.095 km

Alphonse Bauge (F)

Oct. 1900

39.985 miles / 64.350 km

Paris track

Will C. Stinson (USA)

25 Oct. 1900

40.186 miles / 64.673 km

Brockton, Mass.

From the beginning of 1901 onwards, paced hour record attempts made use of increasingly powerful motorcycles, often with a window shield mounted on them, to reduce wind resistance as much as possible.

Thaddeus Robl (D)

30 June 1901

40.707 miles / 65.512 km

Leipzig, Germany

Piet Dickentmann (NL)

31 Oct. 1901

40.775 miles / 65.621 km

Friedenau, Berlin

Thaddeus Robl (D)

3 Nov. 1901

40.850 miles / 65.742 km

Parc des Princes, Paris

Thaddeus Robl (D)

20 April 1902

41.851 miles / 67.353 km

Parc des Princes, Paris

Tom Linton (GB)

4 May 1902
42.508 miles / 68.410 km
Parc des Princes, Paris

Tom Linton (GB)
11 May 1902
44.528 miles / 71.660 km
Parc des Princes, Paris

Thaddeus Robl (D)
13 May 1902
45.087 miles / 72.560 km
Parc des Princes, Paris

Tom Linton (GB)
22 July 1902
45.581 miles / 73.355 km
Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Tom Linton (GB)
15 Aug. 1902
45.578 miles / 73.350 km
Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Jimmy Michael (GB)
6 Sept. 1902
46.773 miles / 75.274 km
Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Henri Contenet (F)
24 Oct. 1902
46.912 miles / 75.497 km
Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Henri Contenet (F)
30 Oct. 1902
48.408 miles / 77.903 km
Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Henri Contenet (F)
5 July 1903
48.690 miles / 78.360 km
Parc des Princes, Paris

Ben Monroe (USA)
1 Aug. 1903
49.119 miles / 79.050 km

Charles River Park, Cambridge, Mass.

Thaddeus Robl (D)

9 Aug. 1903

50.121 miles / 80.663 km

Hanover, Germany

Paul Dangla (F)

16 Aug. 1903

50.398 miles / 81.108 km

Parc des Princes, Paris

Tommy Hall, Polytechnic C.C. (GB)

13 Sept. 1903

52.282 miles / 84.140 km

Parc des Princes, Paris

Paul Dangla (F)

18 Oct. 1903

52.553 miles / 84.577 km

Parc des Princes, Paris

Tommy Hall (GB)

30 Oct. 1903

54.303 miles / 87.393 km

Parc des Princes, Paris

Eugenio Bruni

27 Oct. 1904

54.419 miles / 87.579 km

Parc des Princes, Paris

Louis Darragon (F)

15 Nov. 1904

54.588 miles / 87.850 km

Parc des Princes, Paris

Paul Guignard (F)

13 April 1905

55.864 miles / 89.904 km

Parc des Princes, Paris

Thaddeus Robl (D)

5 May 1906

56.733 miles / 91.893 km

Milbertshofen, Munich

Paul Guignard (F)

30 July 1906
59.046 miles / 95.026 km
Milbertshofen, Munich

Arthur E. Wills (GB),
17 Aug. 1908
61.551 miles / 99.057 km
Milbertshofen, Munich
Arthur Wills is described elsewhere as 'the midget English pace-follower'.

Paul Guignard (F)
15 Sept. 1909
63.145 miles / 101.623 km
Munich Radrennbahn, Milbertshofen
Paced by the German pace-maker Franz Hofmann, Guignard used a gear of 160 inches in setting this sensational record, and reached the magical total of more than 100 kms in an hour, a record which stood until 1924. He also set a new 100km record of 59m 11s. It also established the new Munich cement track as the fastest in the world.

Leon Vanderstuyft (B)
1 Oct. 1924
66.928 miles / 107.710 km
Montlhéry Racetrack, Paris

J. Brunier
Nov. 1924
69.866 miles / 112.439 km
Montlhéry Racetrack, Paris

Leon Vanderstuyft (B)
10 Oct. 1925
71.518 miles / 115.098 km
Montlhéry Racetrack, Paris
(Paced by Deliege)

J. Brunier
Nov. 1925
Montlhéry Racetrack, Paris
75.159 miles / 120.956

Leon Vanderstuyft (B)
29 Sept. 1928
76.286 miles / 122.771 km
Montléry Racetrack, Paris
(Paced by Lehmann)

iv) Unpaced 1 hour records officially recognized by the I.C.A./U.C.I.

Although the later records listed here fall outside the chronological scope of this history, they have been included to give a sense of improving record times from the beginning of officially certified 1 hour records, and to give a sense of perspective to the 19th century distances.

Henri Desgrange (F) (amateur)

11 May 1893

21.952 miles / 35.325 km

Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Jules Dubois (F)

31 Oct. 1894

23.756 miles / 38.220 km

Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Oscar Van den Eynde (B)

30 July 1897

24.378 miles / 39.240 km

Vélodrome Municipal, Vincennes, Paris

Willie Hamilton (U.S.A.)

9 July 1898

25.378 miles / 40.781 km

Denver, Colorado

Lucien Petit-Breton (F)

24 Aug. 1905

25.528 miles / 41.110 km

Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Marcel Berthet (F) (amateur)

20 June 1907

25.783 miles / 41.520 km

Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Oscar Egg (Ch)

22 Aug. 1912

26.323 miles / 42.122 km

Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Marcel Berthet (F)

7 Aug. 1913

26.560 miles / 42.741 km

Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Oscar Egg (Ch)

21 Aug. 1913

26.980 miles / 43.525 km

Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Marcel Berthet (F)

20 Sept. 1913

27.141 miles / 43.775 km

Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Oscar Egg (Ch)

18 June 1914

27.433 miles / 44.247 km

Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Jan Van Hout (NL)

25 Aug. 1933

27.705 miles / 44.588 km

Roermond

Maurice Richard (F)

29 Aug. 1933

27.763 miles / 44.777 km

Saint-Trond, Belgium

Giuseppe Olmo (I)

31 Oct. 1935

28.006 miles / 45.067 km

Vigorelli, Milan

Maurice Richard (F)

14 Oct. 1936

28.152 miles / 45.375 km

Vigorelli, Milan

Frans Slaats (NL)

29 Sept. 1937

28.251 miles / 45.535 km

Vigorelli, Milan

Maurice Archambaud (F)

3 Nov. 1937

28.428 miles / 45.817 km

Vigorelli, Milan

(Archambaud rode 24 x 7 (48 x 14), a gear of 7.32m)

Fausto Coppi (I)

7 Nov. 1942

28.522 miles / 45.848 km

Vigorelli, Milan

(Coppi rode 52 x 15, a gear of 7.40m and the weight of his bicycle was 8.025 kilos)

Jacques Anquetil (F)

29 June 1956

28.636 miles / 46.159 km

Vigorelli, Milan

(Anquetil rode 52 x 15, a gear of 7.40m and the weight of his bicycle was 6.800 kilos)

Ercole Baldini (I)

19 Sept. 1956

28.814 miles / 46.393 km

Vigorelli, Milan

(Baldini, an amateur, rode 52 x 15, a gear of 7.40m and the weight of his bicycle was 6.450 kilos)

Roger Riviere (F)

18 Sept. 1957

29.143 miles / 46.923 km

Vigorelli, Milan

(The weight of Baldini's bicycle was 6.690 kilos)

Roger Riviere (F)

23 Sept. 1958

29.414 miles / 47.346 km

Vigorelli, Milan

(Riviere rode 53 x 15, a gear of 7.54m and the weight of his bicycle was 6.690 kilos)

(Jacques Anquetil (F)

27 Sept. 1967

29.510 mph / 47.493 km

Vigorelli, Milan

Anquetil's record was rejected by the judges and the U.C.I. because he refused to satisfy newly introduced drug control regulations, leaving the track after the record without giving the required urine sample. This was at an especially delicate moment in the newly emerging stricter attitude towards drug-taking in professional cycling; the British star Tom Simpson had died on Mont Ventoux in the Tour de France on 13 July 1967 and was found to have amphetamines in his blood. See contemporary French press accounts, or René de Latour, "An Hour of Torment", *Sporting Cyclist*, Dec. 1967)

Ferdinand Bracke (B)

30 Oct. 1967

29.505 miles / 48.093 km

Olympic Velodrome, Rome

(Bracke rode 53 x 15, a gear of 7.54m, and the weight of his bicycle was 5.960 kilos)

Ole Ritter (D)

10 Oct. 1968

30.231 miles / 48.653 km

Olympic Velodrome, Mexico City

(Ritter rode 54 x 15, a gear of 7.69m, and the weight of his bicycle was 7.300 kilos)

Eddy Merckx (B)

25 Oct. 1972

30.714 miles / 49.431 km

Olympic Velodrome, Mexico City

(Merckx rode 52 x 14, a gear of 7.93m)

Francesco Moser (I)

19 Jan. 1984

31.570 miles / 50.808 km

Mexico City

(Moser rode 56 X 15, a gear of 8.17m)

Francesco Moser (I)

23 Jan. 1984

31.783 miles / 51.151 km

Mexico City

(Moser rode 57 x 15, a gear of 8.27m)

Graeme Obree (GB)

17 July 1993

32.060 miles / 51.596 km

Hamar, Norway

(Obree rode 52 x 12, a gear of 9.25m)

Chris Boardman (GB)

23 July 1993

32.479 miles / 52.270 km

Bordeaux, France

(Boardman rode 53 x 13, a gear of 7.32m)

(Francesco Moser (I)

14 Jan. 1994

32.211 miles / 51.840 km

Mexico City

Moser rode a gear of 62 x 15. At the age of 42, in a startling comeback from retirement, riding an improved Obree-style bicycle, Moser rode the second fastest hour ever. The ride was good enough to beat his own 1984 record by a small margin, good enough to better Obree's 1993 record, but not quite good enough to beat Boardman. A personal triumph for Moser, but the younger men inevitably have the edge.)

Graham Obree (GB)

27 April 1994

32.754 miles / 52.713 km

Bordeaux, France

(Obree rode a gear of 52 x 12. The weight of his bicycle was about 18 pounds.)

Miguel Indurain (Sp)

2 Sept. 1994

32.957 miles / 53.040 km

Bordeaux, France

(Indurain rode a Pinarello monocoque carbon fibre bicycle with disc wheels. His gear was 59 x 14 (113.7 inches or 8.765 meters), using 190 mm cranks. The weight of the bicycle was 7.280 kg / 16 pounds.)

Tony Rominger (Ch)

22 Oct. 1994

33.450 miles / 53.832 km

Bordeaux, France

(Rominger rode a Colnago steel framed bicycle with disc wheels. His gear was 59 x 14 (113.7 inches or 8.765 meters.)

Tony Rominger (Ch)

5 Nov. 1994

34.363 miles / 55.291 km

Bordeaux, France

(Rominger rode a Colnago steel framed bicycle with disc wheels. His gear was 60 x 14, using 175 mm cranks. The weight of the bicycle was 8 kg / 17.6 pounds)

Chris Boardman (GB)

6 Sept. 1996

56.375 km / 35.037 mph

Manchester, England

(Boardman rode an Eddy Merckx monocoque framed bicycle with a disc wheel on the back and a 5-spoked wheel on the front. His gear was 56 x 13.)

Appendix I

24-hour records and rides

Various events tested the capacity of racing cyclists to cover as much distance as possible in the psychologically challenging 24-hour period. These were contested in three categories of events within which consistent comparative results can be tallied. A brief description of the character of the event precedes the record details. British R.T.T.C. 24 hour time trials, which came later, are not included in this Appendix.

a) North Road 24-hour road rides

These were achieved on some of the best roads available in England, riding around the clock, through the night. Pacing was allowed.

1886	G.P. Mills	227 miles
1887	T. Waterhouse	270.5 miles
1888	M.A. Holbein	266.5 miles
1888	M.A. Holbein	292.5 miles
1889	M.A. Holbein	324 miles
1890	M.A. Holbein	336.5 miles
1891	F.W. Shorland	326 miles
1892	F.W. Shorland	366.5 miles
1893	F.W. Shorland	370 miles
1894	C.C. Fontaine	376 miles

b) Cuca Cocoa Cup (at Herne Hill track)

These were ridden on the track, riding around the clock. Pacing was allowed. Note the significantly greater distances achieved under controlled, track conditions.

1892	F.W. Shorland	413 miles 1615 yds / 666 km
1893	F.W. Shorland	426 miles 440 yds
1894	F.W. Shorland	460 miles 1296 yds
1895	G. Hunt	458 miles 1439 yds

c) Bol d'Or

These events were achieved on the track, with an increasingly scientific level of pacing implemented. The first Bol d'Or was organized in Paris in 1894 by Monsieur Decarn, the director of the weekly cycling paper, *Paris-Pédale*, with a gold cup as the prize. The idea was simple - cover as much distance as possible in 24 hours on the track.

The style of the race changed with time, as pacing machines developed. First tandems, then triplets, then motor-driven tandems were used, before the race settled into its heyday specifically as a human-paced event. Nevertheless, the human pacing in no way lessened the stamina needed to complete the enormous distances covered in this relentless event, or its crowd-pleasing and money-earning potential. Teams of fresh pacers encouraged the exhausted riders to pile up extra kilometers as the race continued through the night. Like all long-distance races, it was a test of strength and endurance as well as of speed. And it was a test not only (obviously enough!) of the athletes, but of the mechanical efficiency of both bicycles and motor-driven pacing machines, without which the great distances could not be achieved.

From 1894 to 1925, the average speed achieved in the Bol d'Or increased from 30.748 kph to 43.129 kph (maintained for a full 24 hours). Many rides of 900+ kilometers were achieved, with the record being Georget's 973.666 km in 1908. The assistance of motor-pacing twice led to totals of more than 1000 km (in 1899 and 1925). Léon Georget's 9 wins in the race (1903, 1907-1913 and 1919) earned him the nickname of "Père Bol d'Or", and are certainly the most outstanding achievements in the race.

After his 936 km ride in 1924, Oscar Egg is reported to have said, "It's madness! I've done everything, the world hour record, road races and Six Day races, but there is nothing in the world to compare to the Bol d'Or!" At the end of his 950 km ride in 1928, the Australian rider Hubert Opperman asked to be allowed to continue in order to complete the 1000 km distance, which he accomplished in 25h 19m 36s, a new world record which is still on the books.

The race was held for the last time at the Vél d'Hiv (the Winter Velodrome) in 1950.

1894

Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Paced by tandems and multicycles

1. Constant Huret (France), 736.946 km (30.706 kph)
2. Charles Meyer (Dk)
3. Gaston Rivierre (F)

1895

Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Paced by tandems and multicycles

1. Constant Huret (F), 829.498 km (34.562 kph)
2. Lewis (GB)
3. Gaston Rivierre (F)

1896

Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Paced by tandems and multicycles

1. Gaston Rivierre (F), 859.12 km (35.796 kph)
2. E. Williams (F)
3. Buffel (F)

1897

Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Paced by tandems and multicycles

1. Lucien Stein (F), 764.826 km (31.867 kph)
2. H. Aries (F)
3. Chevogeon (F)

1898

Vélodrome Barbieux, Roubaix

Paced by tandems and multicycles

1. Constant Huret (F), 852.468 km (35.519 kph)
2. Thaddeus Robl (D)
3. Lucien Stein (F)

1899

Parc des Princes, Paris

Paced by petrol-driven tandems

1. Albert Walters (GB), 1020.977 km (42.54 kph)
2. Marius Thé (F)
3. Maurice Garin (F)

1900

Vincennes

Paced by petrol-driven tandems

1. Matthieu Cordang (F), 956.775 km (39.865 kph)
2. Maurice Garin (F)
3. Thaddeus Robl (D)

1902

Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Paced by motorcycles for part of the event

1. Constant Huret (F), 779.7 km (32.487 kph)
2. Lucien Petit-Breton (F)
3. Josef Fischer (D)

1903

Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Paced by tandems; event interrupted by rain

1. Léon Georget (France), 847.803 km (35.325 kph)
2. A. Jaeck (Ch)
3. R. Muller (Ch)

1904

Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Paced by tandems

1. Lucien Petit-Breton (F), 852 km (35.5 kph)
2. Léon Georget (F)

3. Arthur van der Stuyft (B)

1905

Vélodrome Buffalo and Vél d'Hiv, Paris

Paced by tandems

1. Arthur van der Stuyft (B), 943.666 km (39.319 kph)
2. J. B. Dortignacq (F)
3. Nat Butler (USA)

1906

Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Paced by tandems

1. René Pottier (F), 925.29 km (38.553 kph)
2. Louis Trousselier (F)
3. Léon Georget (F)

1907

Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Paced by tandems

1. Léon Georget (F), 904.42 km (37.684 kph)
2. A. Ringeval (F)
3. F. Lafourcade (F)

1908

Vél d'Hiv, Paris

Paced by tandems

1. Léon Georget (F), 973.666 km (40.569 kph)
2. J. B. Dortignacq (F)
3. F. Lafourcade (F)

1909

Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Paced by tandems

1. Léon Georget (F), 845.7 km (35.237 kph)
2. P. Combes (F)
3. F. Lafourcade (F)

1910

Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Paced by tandems

1. Léon Georget (F), 923.3 km (38.47 kph)
2. F. Lafourcade (F)
3. Franz Suter (Ch)

1911

Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Paced by tandems

1. Léon Georget (F), 915.16 km (38.131 kph)

2. C. Niedergang (F)
3. Henri Cornet (F)

1912

Vél d'Hiv, Paris

Paced by tandems

1. Léon Georget, 951.75 km (39.656 kph)
2. F. Lafourcade (F)
3. E. Eigeldinger (F)

1913

Vél d'Hiv, Paris

Paced by tandems

1. Léon Georget (F), 909.984 km (37.916 kph)
2. M. Godivier (F)
3. Arthur van der Stuyft (B)

1919

Vél d'Hiv, Paris

Paced by tandems

1. Léon Georget (F), 924.68 km (38.528 kph)
2. M. Godivier (F)
3. E. Léonard

1924

Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Paced by tandems

1. Oscar Egg (Ch), 936.325 km (39.013 kph)
2. Paul Duboc (F)
3. Léon Georget (F)

1925

Bordeaux

Paced by human-powered and petrol-driven tandems each alternate hour

1. Honoré Barthélemy (F), 1035.114 km (43.129 kph)
2. J. Deloffre (F)
3. G. Veillet (F)

1927

Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Paced by tandems and triplets

1. Honoré Barthélemy (F), 924.5 km (38.52 kph)
2. Paul Duboc (F)
3. A. Mouton (F)

1928

Vélodrome Buffalo, Paris

Paced by tandems and triplets

1. Hubert Opperman (Aus), 950.06 km (39.585 kph)
2. A. Mouton (F)
3. M. Huot (F)

1950

Vél d'Hiv, Paris

Paced by Dernys

1. Fiorenzo Magni (I), 867.609 km (36.15 kph)
2. R. Valenta (A)
3. A. Le Strat (F)

Appendix I. ii.

Table showing the increase of speeds of automobiles racing on public roads between 1895 and 1906 (from Charles Jarrott, *Ten Years of Motors and Motor Racing* (London: Grant Richards, 1906, pp.291-2).

Date	Race	Distance/miles	Average speed
1895	Paris-Bordeaux-Paris	732	14.91 mph
1896	Paris-Marseilles-Paris	1077	15.9 mph
1897	Marseilles-Nice	145.6	18.8 mph
1897	Paris-Dieppe	106.8	25.3 mph
1897	Paris-Trouville	108	28.3 mph
1898	Marseilles-Nice	147.5	21.4 mph
1898	Course de Perigeux	89.375	24.1 mph
1898	Paris-Bordeaux	358.8	23.5 mph
1898	Paris-Amsterdam-Paris	901.5	27.3 mph
1898	Bordeaux-Biarritz	163	20.9 mph
1898	St. Germain-Vernon-St. Germain	78.75	29.3 mph
1899	Paris-Rouen-Paris	134	30.25 mph
1899	Nice-Castellane-Nice	75	26.1 mph
1899	Pau-Bayonne-Pau	128.75	33.2 mph
1899	Paris-Bordeaux	353	30.2 mph
1899	Spa-Bastogne-Spa	113.1	24.5 mph
1899	Tour de France	1376.9	30.8 mph
1899	Paris-St. Malo	232.5	30.8 mph
1899	Paris-Trouville	109.375	36.8 mph
1899	Paris-Ostend	201	32.5 mph
1899	Paris-Boulogne	143.75	33.5 mph
1899	Bordeaux-Biarritz	163	37.0 mph
1900	Circuit du Sud-Ouest	209.44	43.7 mph
1900	Nice-Marseilles	125.575	36.7 mph
1900	Bordeaux-Perigeux-Bordeaux	198.75	49.4 mph
1900	Paris-Lyons	353.75	38.6 mph
1900	Paris-Toulouse-Paris	838.08	40.2 mph
1901	Grand Prix de Pau	206.25	46.1 mph
1901	Nice-Salon-Nice	225.375	33.3 mph
1901	Paris-Bordeaux	329.78	53.3 mph
1901	Paris-Berlin	691.25	44.4 mph
1902	Circuit du Nord	540.625	45.0 mph
1902	Paris-Vienna	619.375	39.2 mph
1902	Circuit des Ardennes	319.98	54.3 mph
1903	Paris-Madrid (Bordeaux)	342	65.3 mph
1903	Circuit des Ardennes	320.25	54.5 mph
1903	Gordon-Bennett Cup	327.5	49.2 mph
1904	French G-B Trials	331.875	62.1 mph
1904	Gordon-Bennett Cup	309	52.9 mph
1904	Circuit des Ardennes	370.31	57.0 mph
1904	Florio Cup	231.25	72.0 mph
1904	Vanderbilt Cup	284.4	52.2 mph
1905	English G-B Trials	288	48.4 mph

1905	French G-B Trials	343.61	45.3 mph
1905	G-B Cup (France)	343.61	48.8 mph
1905	Circuit des Ardennes	370.32	62.0 mph
1905	Florio Cup	313.32	65.6 mph
1905	Vanderbilt Cup	283	61.6 mph
1906	Cuban Race	217.97	59.9 mph
1906	Grand Prix	774	63.5 mph
1906	Circuit des Ardennes	372.8	66.0 mph
1906	Vanderbilt Cup	297.1	61.3 mph

2. Key documents relating to the early institutional development of cycling

Appendix J

Prospectus of the Bicycle Union, agreed on 17 November 1878

(source: Bicycle Union Minutes, Modern Records Centre, Warwick University)

1. Objects of the Union

The Bicycle Union shall be a means by which bicyclists can co-operate together (by representation) for the following and other purposes:-

- i. To secure a fair and equitable administration of justice as regards the rights of bicyclists on the public roads.
- ii. To watch the course of any legislative proposals in Parliament or elsewhere affecting the interests of the bicycling public, and to make such representations on the subject as the occasion may demand.
- iii. To consider the existing relations between bicyclists and the railway companies, with the view of securing, if possible, some modification of the present tariff for the carriage of bicycles, and greater security in their conveyance.
- iv. To examine the question of bicycle racing in general, and to frame definitions and recommend rules on the subject. To arrange for annual race meetings, at which the Amateur Championship shall be decided.

2. Proposed Constitution of the Union

- i. That the Union shall consist of all such bicycle clubs as may be willing to join it.
- ii. That the method of representation be as follows:- a) Every bicycle club having thirty active members to be entitled to a representative. b) Every club having more than that number to be entitled to an additional representative for every additional complete fifty. c) That clubs with less than thirty members be invited to combine for the purpose of electing a joint representative. d) That the delegate of a club shall not necessarily be a member of the particular club he represents. Provincial clubs can nominate some metropolitan bicyclist to be their representative. But the delegate should be in all cases a member of some bicycle club.
- iii. That the representatives thus selected be called the Council of the Bicycle Union, and it shall be their business to discuss the above mentioned and other matters as occasion may suggest, and to pass resolutions, and take action concerning them.
- iv. That the Council of the Bicycle Union shall elect a secretary, treasurer and executive, whose duty it shall be to carry out and apply the resolutions and orders of the Council.
- v. That the secretary be, if possible, a member of the legal profession.
- vi. That every club joining the Bicycle Union shall contribute annually to the funds of the Union a sum equivalent to a capitation charge on each member of the club, the amount of such charge to be fixed annually by the Council of the Union, such charge for the first year to be one shilling for every member.

Appendix K

Prospectus of the Cyclists' Tourist Club, 1883

This long-winded and verbose "Prospectus" of the Cyclists' Touring Club is worth reading carefully for the insight that it gives into the genesis of the institutionalization of the non-competitive aspects of recreational cycling in the 1880s. It was written in 1883, when the Bicycle Touring Club changed its name to the Cyclists' Touring Club, and was quoted in full in Lacy Hillier's *Badminton Cycling* (1889 edition):

As an essentially conservative nation, it is hardly a matter for surprise that Englishmen should have received with suspicion, which rapidly degenerated into factious opposition, the advent of the bicycle a decade and a half ago. Anything that tends to antagonise with the cherished traditions and old-fashioned habits of the average Britisher, is, by the more unthinking sections of the community, speedily condemned. ... It therefore need hardly be wondered at that a mode of progression hitherto almost unheard of, and which ran counter to all preconceived methods, should have met with disfavour almost as soon as it was introduced. The dogged and unreasonable opposition of one section of society is, however, generally counterbalanced by the equally characteristic determination of a second section to adhere to its opinion...and it fortunately happens that the art of bicycle riding was no exception to the general rule. A few of its persistent adherents remained steadfast in the belief of the capabilities of the new invention, and when by a combination of fortuitous circumstances the wooden-wheeled vehicle of a dozen years since was superseded by the suspension and rubber-tired bicycle (which with countless improvements in detail remains in principle the same machine to the present day), the future of the two-wheeler was assured.

With the establishment of a new pastime or sport, it was not long ere the shrewder of the people became alive to the advantages that followed in its wake. ... Foremost amongst these was the hotel proprietor in the country town, whose receipts had gradually diminished since the octopus-like feelers of the railway had penetrated into the district, and diverted the traffic which formerly brought with it a handsome competence to himself, and to the keeper of each roadside hostelry. Recognizing in the tourist on foot or on horseback a legitimate subject for the extortion of 'backsheesh,' the same generous line of argument was extended to the touring wheelman, who, with hundreds of followers, was scouring the country in every direction in search of the novel, the grand, and the beautiful, whenever opportunity offered.

Nor was this drawback the isolated *bête noire* of the cyclist, for the ill-concealed antipathy, culminating at times in undoubted brutality, of the remainder of the road-using community, who knew little of the capabilities, and less of the advantages, of the new method of locomotion, was a patent and glaring concomitant.

Added to these came the difficulty of obtaining reliable information of the nature of the route ahead - a route that often became treacherously unserviceable - so that...the rider's lot was not a happy one

Commencing with a desultory correspondence in the press which the new sport had called into existence for its own especial interest, a league or brotherhood, called the 'Bicycle Touring Club', was, at the North of England Meet held at Harrogate, Yorkshire, on August 5, 1878, inaugurated.

The leading objects of its programme are:-

- To encourage and facilitate touring in all parts of the world.
- To protect its members against unprovoked assaults.
- To provide riding or touring companions.
- To secure and appoint at fixed and reduced rates hotel headquarters in all parts of the country.
- To enlist the co-operation of a leading wheelman, who should act as a Consul in every town, and who should render to his fellow-members local information of every description.
- To inculcate and encourage an esprit de corps among the followers of the wheel, similar to freemasonry in social life.

When the B.T.C. was formed, some four years and a half ago, the only pedomotive carriage which had approached such perfection as to warrant one in supposing that it would establish itself as a permanent means of locomotion, destined to aid, if not entirely revolutionize, the somewhat tardy movements of mankind, was the bicycle - a machine, as its name implies, of two wheels only; but the pleasures of the new method of transit once partaken of, what wonder was it that the inventive genius of our mechanical experts sought to solve the problem of throwing open the practice of wheeling to every age and temperament, and to the able-bodied among both sexes? The difficulty once surmounted, it was still less a matter for surprise that the safer, if somewhat slower, machine - the tricycle - appealed irresistably to thousands of gentlemen of mature years and methodical habits; to the Clergyman, the Doctor, the Lawyer, and every professional man, any and all of whom would have deemed...that the bestriding of a bicycle added not to their dignity of deportment; and to ladies of lethargic dispositions and retiring proclivities, to whom the art of cycling had hitherto been a sealed and unintelligible volume, beckoning each to share in the blessings, Hygeia, the goddess of our pastime, was waiting to shower broad-cast upon all comers.

Cycling, as a national sport, to be indulged in by every class of the community, from the Queen upon the throne to the plodding artisan, has already taken a tenacious hold upon the sympathies of all unprejudiced people, and it is, perhaps, not too much to say that if the day has not already arrived, it is steadily and surely approaching, when, given a moderate endowment of health and strength, every soul within the confines of civilization, where passable roads are by any means obtainable, may upon some one of the many modifications of the steel steed, in solitude or in company, participate in this health-giving means of locomotion.

These postulates being admitted, it has recently been, by a large majority, decided that the B.T.C. shall adopt a more comprehensive title - that of the Cyclists' Touring Club.

The advantages of membership in it may be roughly summarized thus:-

1. An unattached cyclist, who, until now, has been unable to avail himself of the company of other riders on a tour, may reckon with certainty on getting a companion suitable to his tastes, should he desire one; whilst he will have the satisfaction of knowing that he is one of a large body bound together by the ties of good-fellowship - a body whose sole object is the encouragement of all that is admirable in the art of wheeling.
2. In small towns where there are insufficient riders to form a local club, it is becoming customary to seek admission to the C.T.C., when the members really form a kind of sub-division, and enjoy club privileges without the outlay attendant on belonging to a local club, such as the cost of special uniform for a few only, rent of club rooms, etc, etc.
3. It is par excellence the club for professional men. It not only includes in its roll many of the nobility and gentry in all parts of the land, it is supported by some of the highest dignitaries of the church, by members of the legal, medical, military, and naval professions, and indeed by amateur riders of any and all of the numerous types of cycles now in daily request, who produce credentials showing that they belong to a respectable station in life.
4. Clubmen readily join, not only to receive company on a tour, and guidance and advice from local Consuls, but to avail themselves of the admirable arrangements the Council has made with hotel proprietors throughout the country, whereby any member can calculate with tolerable certainty the cost of any proposed run; and, better than all, can feel assured that at the different towns on his journey he will not only meet with civility and comfort, but he will be charged, at the hotels elected by the C.T.C., so moderate a tariff that he must inevitably save his subscription many times over on a run of only moderate length.

To follow the progress of the club, and inquire how far it has fulfilled its mission, is merely to quote facts historical in the world of wheels. Essentially an utilitarian institution, at the present moment it boasts nearly 23,000 members, 1,030 consuls, and 2,160 hotel head-quarters and recommended inns; while added to this, it has successfully supported claims for redress in the case of its members who have suffered gratuitous insults and unprovoked assaults on the road, and combated the inequitable charges levied for the carriage of the rider's steed by the railway companies. Its feelers have penetrated the Continent, as well encircled our island home, and it may be safely asserted that the time is fast approaching when the rider of the iron horse, in any of its manifold modifications, who has emerged from his novitiate without hearing the the Cyclists' Touring Club will be a living curiosity.

The subscription to its funds is altogether incommensurate with the benefits it confers, and it behoves every lover of our sport to lend it his steadfast patronage.

Appendix L

Letter from Gerard Cobb, President of the Cambridge University Bicycle Club, to the Editor of *Bicycling News*, 24 August 1877

Parts of this letter have been included as especially significant in revealing, at this early date, a liberal official approach towards the possibility of the new sport of cycling as having an 'open' attitude towards amateurism and professionalism. The later development of the sport in the 1880s and 1890s, however, showed a constant tension between, and the increasing polarization of, the amateur and professional components of the sport:

The "Amateur" Question

Sir – The correspondence about the laws of amateur racing with which your columns have been recently filled opens up some very important questions which one would gladly see discussed on the broadest possible basis and in the most impersonal spirit.

If the competitors in a race are to be limited by any definition, it must be for some special purpose. That purpose, it may be presumed, is to ensure a certain fairness or equality in the conditions of racing, so that a competitor who races as an amateur – that is, purely for the love of the thing – may not be taken at a disadvantage by having to compete with those who have the additional stimulus and experience incidental to a professional career.

It must be evident that this purpose can be amply secured by the exclusion of professionals, whom it is easy enough to define, without any further attempt to define the undefineable.

Lord Melbourne being once sore pressed in the House for a definition of an archdeacon, appealed to a learned prelate to rescue him from his difficulty. "An archdeacon," he was informed, with all due gravity, "is a person who performs archidiaconal functions." If I were asked to define a "gentleman-amateur" I am afraid I should not be able to say more than that he is supposed to be a person who gentleman-amateurs.

A professional bicyclist, on the other hand, can be easily described. He is one who makes the machine in any form a distinct source of livelihood to him; and it would be obviously unfair that amateurs should be pitted against such persons in a contest supposed to be confined to amateurs. But I defy any one to explain who or how the

entry of an amateur who happens to have ridden against a professional, or even to be in the habit of riding against professionals, should affect the fair conditions of an amateur race. The fact of his riding against this person or that cannot alter his character as an amateur. It is not the company he races in, it is the motive from which he races which is the real question. So long as he does not make racing a source or professional emolument, he continues to be an amateur in the only sense which it is possible to attach to the word, and in which sense it is employed in all other instances which may be quoted, as, e.g., painting, music, drama, etc. He rides for love, not for gain; and if he competes with professionals to test and stimulate his strength and skill, and competes successfully, so much the more glory to him, and so much the more glory to other amateurs to race with him afterwards.

The present rule in this matter seems to me to be entirely devoid of any rational basis. It is also contrary to obvious precedents. Take, for instance, the closest of all – steeplechasing. Nothing is more common than to see gentleman riders competing with professional jockeys in open races, and yet who ever heard of a gentleman being excluded from an amateur steeplechase on this ground? Still less of one being excluded because he has ridden with a gentleman who had so ridden. Cricket and other similar cases you have alluded to in your excellent article on the subject.

I venture to think also that the rule is exceedingly prejudicial to the cause which all bicyclists ought to have most at heart, viz, the development of the art. We can never be sure that we have got the perfect machine and the perfect rider until competition has been pushed to its utmost in all directions. It is not safe to trust to either one class of rider or the other to elicit this perfection. The amateur standard may be considerably accelerated by being brought into periodical competition with that of those who have the bread-winning stimulus to goad them on, and occasionally, too, the professional standard might be improved by the possibly superior intelligence of the amateur. No comparison of times (which vary according to conditions of ground and weather) can take the place in this matter of a real bona fide race. This is not merely a question for the very small minority of bicyclists who are racers, it is the question of the development and perfection of a machine, which the great bulk of the rising generation will use for ordinary locomotion. I venture to think there is something radically wrong in any rule or definition which tends to limit the scope of competition, and thereby jeopardises progress in an invention destined to be so widely and beneficially employed as the bicycle. I enter, therefore, a threefold protest against the current rule as unreasonable, unusual, and detrimental to the progress of bicycling, and I venture to hope that those who have charge of the amateur championship, in the competition for which the pressure of the rule ultimately culminates, will reconsider it at some convenient opportunity. I have not written this letter as in any sense representing my club, but I may mention that those members of it with whom I have had the opportunity of conversing on the subject – including the Amateur Champion of 1876 – cordially concur in the view here taken.

Your obedient servant,

Gerard Cobb (President of the Cambridge University Bicycle Club)

Appendix M

“Bicycling and the Public”, text of the first of two letters by Gerard Cobb, Chairman of the Bicycle Union and President of the Cambridge University Bicycle Club, published in *Daily News*, and also in *Bicycling Times*, 1 August 1878 (quoted in full)

Sir – As attention has recently been called both in Parliament and in the Press to the dangers arising from bicycling, and to the need of some legislation on the question, perhaps you will kindly allow me space for some remarks on this question.

To ensure a fair treatment of the whole matter, it is desirable at the outset to remove some misconceptions, and supply some omissions in what would seem to be the popular view of the subject.

The statement made by Mr. Salaman, the other day, to the President of the Local Government Board, and which was reported in your issue of the 24th, will have effectually dispelled the notion that the trade of bicycle making is commercially unimportant, and that its restriction would be attended by no serious detriment to industrial prosperity. It is clear that a trade which already represents capital in millions could not be touched without injurious results.

There are, however, other points of possibly greater national importance even than the industrial question which entitle the whole subject to careful consideration; and it is these to which, with your leave, I wish to direct public attention.

In the view of many, bicycling is a mere physical pastime, confined for the most part to a certain class of young men more or less connected with the desk or counter. Even if this view were approximately correct there would still be something to be said for a pursuit which enabled this numerous and important class to substitute fresh air, bracing exercise, and the sight of the country, for a City youth's usual evening programme. But bicycling has far higher and more practical claims to consideration than this. The ease with which a bicycle can be driven, the distance it enables its riders to cover, its speed, the rapidity with which it can be “brought round from the stable” (so to speak) at a moment's notice – all these great advantages, added to its durability and comparative cheapness, render it by far the best form of road-locomotion for all to whom economy, whether of time or money, is an object. As such its use is daily extending among professional men of all classes, especially clergymen and doctors; whilst as the prices of bicycles in second-hand markets gradually get lower, working men are getting more and more to use them for their daily transit to and from their work. To these latter it is really an incalculable boon, for it enables them to live further away from their work, and to substitute for themselves and their families a cheap and healthy home at a moderate distance from their town for the expensive insulubricity of the urban rookery. The social importance of this benefit can hardly be overestimated.

In those classes where its use may be fairly considered a pastime rather than a professional necessity, its popularity is enormously on the increase. At the present time, in my own university, one undergraduate in every five possesses a bicycle, and there are

many members of the Senate, holding university or college office, who have substituted a bicycle ride for the traditional academic 'constitutional'.

As compared with other forms of exercise it has much to commend it from a merely physical point of view. It is a great mistake to suppose, as most non-bicyclists do, that it exercises the legs only. The fact is, there are few forms of athletics, if any, which exercise the body so entirely in every part as bicycling; the reason of this being, that its main work consists in *balancing*, in which (as in skating, rope-dancing, etc) every portion of the body is more or less brought into play. This explains the fact that the process of learning to ride is one involving, in most cases, such excessive fatigue. Its other chief physical merit as an exercise is the rapidity with which the bicyclist is borne through the air, thus procuring for him, even on the stillest and most sultry day, approximately the same effect as if a fresh breeze were blowing; and in the same connection may be mentioned its advantage as enabling him to get a thorough *change of air*, as he passes over many different soils and local conditions of climate, etc, in the course of his ride. It will be readily understood that to students a form of exercise which confers this benefit must be of peculiar value. It is no uncommon thing for our students to go out some twenty or thirty miles by train and bicycle home (or vice versa, according to the direction of the wind), and thus get a thorough change of air and scene in the course of an ordinary afternoon's outing. Physically, therefore, this form of exercise has much to recommend it.

But there are other points about it not to be lost sight of. There are few pastimes which present such frequent opportunities for the exercise of judgement, nerve, and pluck as bicycling. The most skilful rider on the very best machine is continually exposed to obstacles and difficulties such as beset no other form of locomotion. A rough and rutty road; the erratic movements of cows, sheep, and pigs; the ignorance or stupidity, and, I regret to add, in some cases, the churlish spitefulness, of other road travellers, are constantly presenting to him the problem - "Shall I dismount or not?" In solving it the bicyclist starts with the axiom - "Never dismount until you see it is absolutely necessary." For dismounting is easy, and can be done at the last moment; a remount is another matter, which, if surface, gradient, or wind be unfavourable, may be an affair of difficulty, if not of waiting. His postulates are of this kind - "Surely that boy, having turned round at my whistle, will ultimately cease gaping at me, and yield at last to my reiterated entreaty to him to stir up those recumbent sheep, or tighten the string of that ubiquitous pig;" or, again, - "Surely that good-natured-looking farmer in his gig, who is grinning at me in placid recognition, will eventually pull over, leave me my rut, and not strand me on those stones or that mud heap." Such is the bicyclists' problem and its conditions, and its solution will be readily admitted to make full demand on his nerve, skill, and promptitude. If he decide to dismount, the decision and the act must be instantaneous; if the other solution be adopted, the greatest coolness of head and hand is required to effect it in safety. As regards pluck, there are very few bicyclists who cannot recall some spills of a more or less serious kind. I know what spills in the hunting field are like, but these, as a rule, are 'down and feathers' as compared with the collision which the bicyclist sustains with the road surface; it is more like being discharged from a catapult than from a saddle. Every day some rider or other is precipitated to the ground by this ruthless mechanical force, and though the results are, happily, as in the hunting field, seldom serious, yet the shock for some time is very considerable; and yet, after a

few minutes to recover his breath, wipe the dust off, and bind up a scraped shin or cut finger, the bicyclist is ready to mount again as if nothing had happened. Among the moral characteristics which have made us as a nation what we are, few have played so important a part as nerve and pluck, and it is this very need of their exercise which makes bicycling so popular with us, and has, apparently (as in the case of cricket, etc), prevented its taking root on the Continent. It would be nothing short of a national disaster if a pastime which tends to develop these important factors of character, and which is now rapidly assuming national proportions, should be placed at the mercy of repressive local legislation. Local authority is generally in the hands of persons who may, no doubt, have been robust and muscular in their day, but whose age or close business avocations have rendered them for the most part feebly-sinewed and delicately-nerved by the time they arrive at municipal distinction.

One more point to the credit of bicycling remains to be noticed. Attention has been called to its physical and moral recommendations; it also has its *intellectual* value. I do not now allude to the comfort and ease with which its silence enables companions to converse together – in which point it is superior even to walking – but to the opportunity it gives for enlarging our acquaintance with the current condition and past history of our country. Even at first, when claimed by the novelty of the thing, the bicyclist is content to go in this direction and that without any definite object in view, beyond the mere enjoyment of the exercise, he cannot help visiting places and seeing things and persons he would probably never have otherwise seen or heard of. But after this first stage of the bicycling fever is over, the great aim then is to discover objects for a ride, and, considering what a wide area a bicyclist has at his command, even for an ordinary ride, there is never any lack of choice. The selection made, it naturally follows that he tries to read up the main facts which make the object of his ride interesting, and it is this which promises to make the pastime indirectly such a general educator. The accounts of wars and sieges, the lives of local celebrities, the records of old families, handbooks of art, architecture, antiquities, geology, manufacture, etc., which otherwise might have remained sealed books to him, are now periodically studied by the bicyclist for the sake of giving a point and interest to his ride. When it is added that every year more and more bicyclists cross the Channel, and by traversing the roads of France, Belgium, Germany, etc., gain a far more intimate knowledge of foreign life than is attainable by the ordinary railway tourist, it cannot be questioned that the bicycle is destined to play a very important part in the general education of the rising generation.

My object has been to show that bicycling is 1) of commercial importance, 2) of real practical and professional service, and 3) as a pastime has strong physical, moral, and intellectual recommendations. On these three broad grounds it is contended that it is a matter of national importance that it should receive full and fair consideration. In another letter I will endeavour, with your kind permission, to show that no irksome or restrictive regulations are required to make it reasonably compatible with public safety, but that a satisfactory *modus vivendi* can be easily established between bicyclists and the public, without laying any serious burden on either the makers or riders of the bicycle.

Your obedient servant, Gerard C. Cobb,
President of the Cambridge University Bicycle Club, Chairman of the Bicycle Union

Appendix N

Article from *The Field*, 18 October 1879

This is a further article discussing the amateur and professional issue in the late 1870s, which shows a liberal awareness of the evolving distinction between amateur and professional competitors and their role and significance within the new and developing sport of cycling.

'Amateurs and Professionals'

This afternoon Mr. H.L. Cortis, the amateur bicycling champion, and John Keen, the well-known professional, will meet at Stamford Bridge to compete with one another in two races of one mile and five miles respectively. As will be seen from a report in another column, they met in a twenty-mile contest at Wolverhampton on Monday last, when Mr. Cortis won by three yards; and it is announced that the winner of two out of the three races which, on the termination of this afternoon's proceedings, will have taken place between them, is to receive a twenty-five guinea cup, presented, we presume, by the Bicycle Union, under whose auspices the whole matter has been arranged.

It is scarcely a subject for surprise that these meetings should have excited a very great deal of attention, and should have been the fruitful theme of discussion and comment not always complimentary. The precise definition of an amateur, the distinction between amateurs and professionals, and the conditions under which, if at all, these two classes may compete with one another, have always been vexed questions in more than one branch of sport; and it could scarcely be expected that a series of contests, the object of which is virtually to ascertain whether the amateur or the professional champion is the best bicyclist in England, could be carried out without attention being directed to the old subject, and the smouldering fires of the controversy being again fanned into a blaze. Bicycling, indeed, has to some extent introduced us to a fresh phase of the discussion. Matches between amateurs and professionals are, in many departments of sport, no new thing; but it is less common to find a trophy presented as the reward of victory. In the athletic world, indeed, there is a very prevalent idea that it is impossible for a man to knowingly compete against a professional runner without forfeiting his amateur qualification, and that upon this account as much as for any other reason it is necessary to protest against any professional who may be recognized starting in any race for which he has entered under false pretences.

The prizes at athletic sports are, of course, trophies, and not coin of the realm; and we can well understand athletes who entertain the idea to which we have just referred, asking themselves how it comes to pass that bicyclists are allowed to compete for cups and medals against professionals without ceasing to be amateurs. It must be borne in mind, however, that different branches of sport are governed by different rules in this matter, and that it has hitherto been found impossible to lay down any hard-and-fast regulation that shall apply equally to all. Gentlemen compete freely with players at

cricket; money prizes are unhesitatingly accepted at archery meetings, at pigeon matches, and as the rewards of successful skill with the rifle; in none of these cases is it, or can it be, suggested that the line of demarcation between the amateur and the professional has been overstepped.

Bicycle racing is a new form of sport – it is the growth of the last few years; and its exponents must be allowed to make their own rules, and to decide for themselves how far it is desirable for them to go in any given direction. There is only one rule that seems of general application, and that is that in any department of sport in which the two classes are recognized, an amateur may not compete against a professional for a money prize without losing his amateur qualification. We do not know whether we may not add that a similar penalty would in all cases attach to the acceptance of any portion of the gate money. The idea, however, that a man ceases to be an amateur by competing against a professional, or even by running for money, is not one that has always found absolutely universal acquiescence amongst athletes. We heard it suggested a day or two ago that the penalty of loss of qualification should not be enforced in the case of an isolated match for a stake against a professional, but only in those cases in which a man made a living by pedestrianism. The difficulty, if such a lax definition could for a moment be entertained, would of course be to decide what constituted making a living. The suggestion, however, is too absurd to be seriously considered; but it may be instructive to note, as indicative of the different views entertained in different departments of sport, that in the year 1870 it was one of the rules of the Royal Athletic Club, long since defunct, “That this club does not disqualify for competing for stakes or money prizes”, and, if our memory serves us, the reason of this unusual rule was somewhere stated to be that a number of the members of the club were connected with the Turf and objected to a disqualification to which, in their pet pastime, they were unaccustomed. Eight years ago, at a meeting of representatives of the prominent athletic clubs, held for the purpose of forming an athletic association which, unfortunately, was still-born, the representative of the German Gymnastic Society expressed the opinion that neither competing with a professional nor running for money would disqualify a man as an amateur, whilst another club sent a letter indorsing the former portion of this view. These are incidents which are probably now almost forgotten, and it is more than likely that the ideas to which we have just adverted never had any very large number of adherents in the athletic world; but the fact that such opinions were ever publicly expressed on behalf of two influential clubs is sufficient to indicate the great difficulties that beset the subject, and that hamper any attempt to lay down a general definition of what an amateur may or may not do without forfeiting his claim to the title.....

It appears, then, that whilst in many branches of sport a man may compete for money prizes with impunity, it has not always been universally held that by so doing he would forfeit his qualification as an amateur in the athletic world. Judging by present event – and the matches between Mr. Cortis and Keen are not, it must be remembered, the first of their kind – it appears to be held by bicyclists that a competition with a professional for a trophy does not *per se* destroy a man’s claim to rank as an amateur. We despair of ever getting anything like a satisfactory definition of what constitutes an amateur – a definition which shall be applicable to all forms of sport, and which shall be sufficient to provide for all conceivable cases. In default of this, is it not worth while to ask whether the idea which bicyclists seem to have so readily taken up could not

advantageously be pushed a little further? It is quite possible that circumstances might arise when it would be in the highest degree interesting to see a match between some of our leading athletes and some of our first-class professional pedestrians. We do not say that such circumstances exist at the present time, but they might occur; and in such a case there is no natural reason that we can discover why a competition of the nature indicated should not be arranged under the auspices of some controlling authority, such as the London Athletic Club, upon conditions which should allow of amateurs taking part in it without sacrificing their amateur qualification. This is one of those matters in which each branch of sport must be a law unto itself, and bicyclists have set an example which running men and walkers might, at any rate, consider the possibility of following.

Appendix O

An editorial from *The Times*, 26 April 1880

In this Editorial, *The Times* published a prominent and public recognition of the significance of the ongoing debate and a discussion of amateurism and professionalism in the early days of the sport. Briefly, the Editorial comes out in favour of cycling's attempts to apply liberal ideas within the new sport. 'We are glad that some body of athletes has been found bold enough to incur the risk with which bicyclists are now threatened... the fact is that the distinction between an amateur and a professional is becoming more and more an arbitrary one':

There has been a revival this year in the athletic world of an old-standing dispute, which has given rise to abundant controversy, and which has appeared once again in a more troublesome form than ever. The moot point is the distinction between amateurs and professionals, no very hard matter in itself, but one which has been made hard by the ingenuity which has been expended upon it, and by the complex body of rules which have been devised in the interest of certain classes of amateurs and for the exclusion of others who have, perhaps, an equally good claim to the title. Some rule there ought to be and must be if the distinction is to be observed at all. The simple old rule was that the man who taught or practised his art for money was a professional, and that the amateur, as the name seems to imply, was the man who practised it, not for money, but for love. This definition has of late years been objected to. It has been found faulty in both directions, as too narrow and too wide. It would put down from the rank of amateurs some persons whom it has been thought desirable to maintain in it; while it would let in others whose presence would be not welcome to the timid or fastidious taste of the rest. The problem has been to arrange a system of rules which would allow amateurs to receive pay without thereby incurring forfeiture of their rank, and would yet keep up, in some other and more convenient fashion, a distinction between the two orders. It is to the latter point that most attention has been paid. We will give one or two instances of the way in which the problem has been met.

Artisans and mechanics have, by almost general consent, been shut out from the privileged inner circle, and have been counted in every case as professionals. The reason of this rule is at least intelligible. Their muscular practice is held to give them an unfair advantage over more delicately nurtured competitors. To have competed with a professional or against a professional for any tangible prize is also a disqualification for an amateur. Upon what reason or show of reason this rule has been based we cannot profess to say. It has been generally adopted by athletic clubs, but not by all clubs. The Bicycle Union rules do not recognize it, and the question now is whether these rules are to be suffered to stand out as an exception thus far to the rest, or whether they are to be forced into conformity. A mode of compulsion, if compulsion there is to be, can be employed with very telling effect. The bicyclist

who is an amateur in his own club can be treated as a professional by the athletic world outside. He may be forbidden to throw the hammer or to run in a race, or to engage in any contest to which amateurs alone are admitted. Not only is he himself thus liable to be disqualified, but he will disqualify every one who contends with him. A being with so inherent a taint, and with so active a power of tainting others, will be shunned everywhere like a pestilence. It is much if his own set will stand by him; but even if it does, he will be looked shyly upon as often as he ventures outside it, and must expect rebuffs and annoyances when he offers himself as a candidate to take part in an amateur contest.

We are glad that some body of athletes or *quasi* athletes has been found bold enough to incur the risk with which the bicyclists are now threatened. We only wish they had been rebellious at more points, and had disregarded absolutely the vexatious rules which most other clubs have passed on their own account or have submitted to at the dictation of the rest. The fact is that the distinction between an amateur and a professional is becoming more and more an arbitrary one. The amateur is no longer contented with the barren honours of victory. He seeks something more substantial than these as the reward of his hard exertions. If he is not paid in downright cash, as he sometimes is, at least the prizes for which he struggles must have a good money value. The right of competing for them is a species of preserve, which must be kept in close ownership. Any rule which narrows the competition is thus likely to be in favour with those whom it admits. The outsiders, artisans, mechanics, and such like troublesome persons, can have no place found for them. To keep them out is a thing desirable on every account. The *status* of the rest seems better assured and more clear from any doubt which might attach to it, and the prizes are more certain to fall into the right hands. Loud indeed would be the wail over a chased goblet or a pair of silver skulls which a mechanic had been lucky enough to carry off. The whole "pot-hunting" world would be simply so much the poorer, to say nothing of the ridiculous nature of such a defeat, and of the social degradation which the contest would have implied, whatever its result had been. The danger is by no means an imaginary one. English rules do not hold good outside England. Clubs in the United States have not consented to be bound by them, and they persist accordingly in treating men as amateurs who cease to be amateurs when they come over to the country. We can hardly speak gravely about the notion that a blacksmith or a ploughboy is so mighty a man that no gentleman ought to be bound to enter the lists against him. If the view is admitted at all, it must be carried somewhat further than any athletic club has as yet ventured to carry it. If the blacksmith's arms are too strong, the legs of the errand-boy are just as likely to be too swift. He, too, has an unfair advantage from his early training, but we have not heard that he has been held therefore to be for ever disqualified as an amateur. The bicycle rider might even more fairly object to the turner or to the organist, both of whom use in the way of their business the very muscles which tell most in a bicycle race. The tailor or the cobbler, on the other hand, with his unpractised, unstraightened legs, would be most unfairly treated in any race if he were compelled to start at scratch. Some distance must be allowed him to make things fair, if such, indeed, be the purpose for which the new rules have been devised.

Is there no room for compromise between the various interests which have been brought into the field? We can suggest no way by which the man can be passed off as an amateur who, under whatever disguise, pockets money for his athletic performances. On this point there ought never to have been any doubt raised, nor can any rules be thought tolerable which evade it or omit to pronounce upon it. The alarmed pot-hunter is a more fair subject for protection. We urge only that he is not entitled to the praise as well as to the solid pudding. The prizes for which he is anxious may be fenced about with any restrictions which the donor may please to insist upon. No base mechanic arms need be suffered to thrust themselves in here. But where the competition is thus narrowed no title of championship can be earned by any degree of success. The amateur champion must be prepared to meet all comers who have not forfeited their rank by earning money as professionals. To decline a fair challenge is to abandon the title of champion in favour of the challenger. If the blacksmith or the carpenter is really so formidable a fellow that the modern amateur may be excused for being afraid of him, the blacksmith or the carpenter is the real champion. His opponent, or rather his non-opponent, is a mere pretender to an honour which he does not dare even to claim in the open lists. We venture, therefore, as lovers of fair play and of calling things by their right names, to question the correctness of the distinction between amateurs and professionals as it was settled by the chief boating clubs some two years ago, and as it has been substantially recognized since by various other clubs. If the old distinction were observed, it would serve all fair purposes, and there would arise no need of inventing some other in its place. The title of champion, where it has not been gained in an open struggle, is a mere fraud and pretence. It is the title alone for which we are jealous. The gold and silver pots may go for what they are worth to those who are lucky enough to win them on the prescribed terms, and whose ambition is moderate enough to be content with them so won.

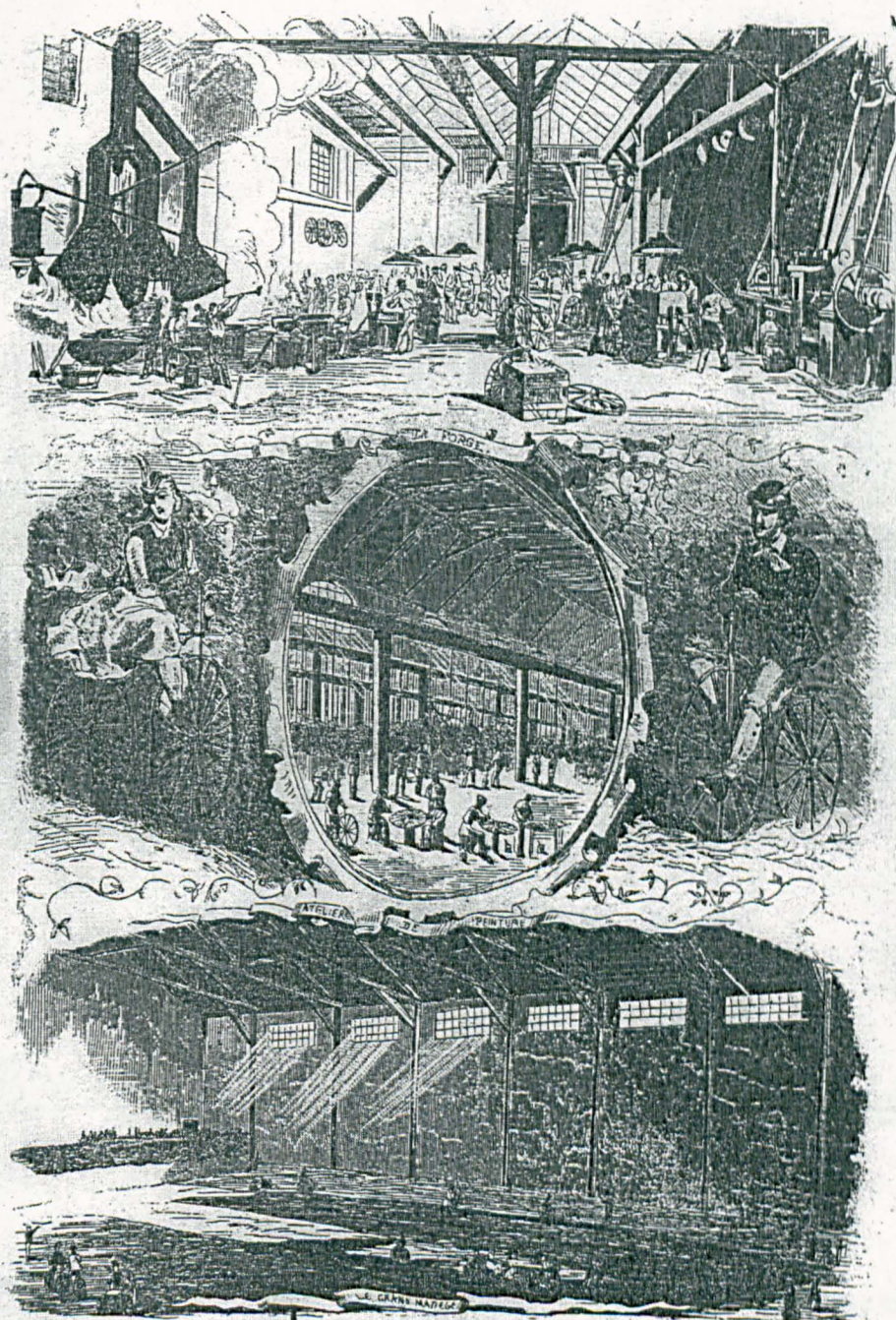
**Bicycle Racing and Recreation:
Sport, Technology and Modernity,
1867-1903**

[Illustrations]

Andrew Ritchie

**Thesis submitted in part fulfilment of the degree of Ph. D.,
Department of Educational and Professional Studies,
Faculty of Education, Strathclyde University, Glasgow**

Revised and resubmitted - April 2009



LES GRANDES INDUSTRIES DE FRANCE.

Compagnie parisienne des vélocipèdes. Forge, atelier de peinture, grand magasin, 27, rue Jean-Goujon, et 15, avenue Daumesnil. — (Voir page 101.)

Fig. 1. 1. By 1869, bicycle manufacture in France was already being undertaken on a modern industrial scale. (Source: *Le Journal Illustré*, 1869, day/month unknown).

THE OLDEST CYCLING PAPER IN THE WORLD

BIKING

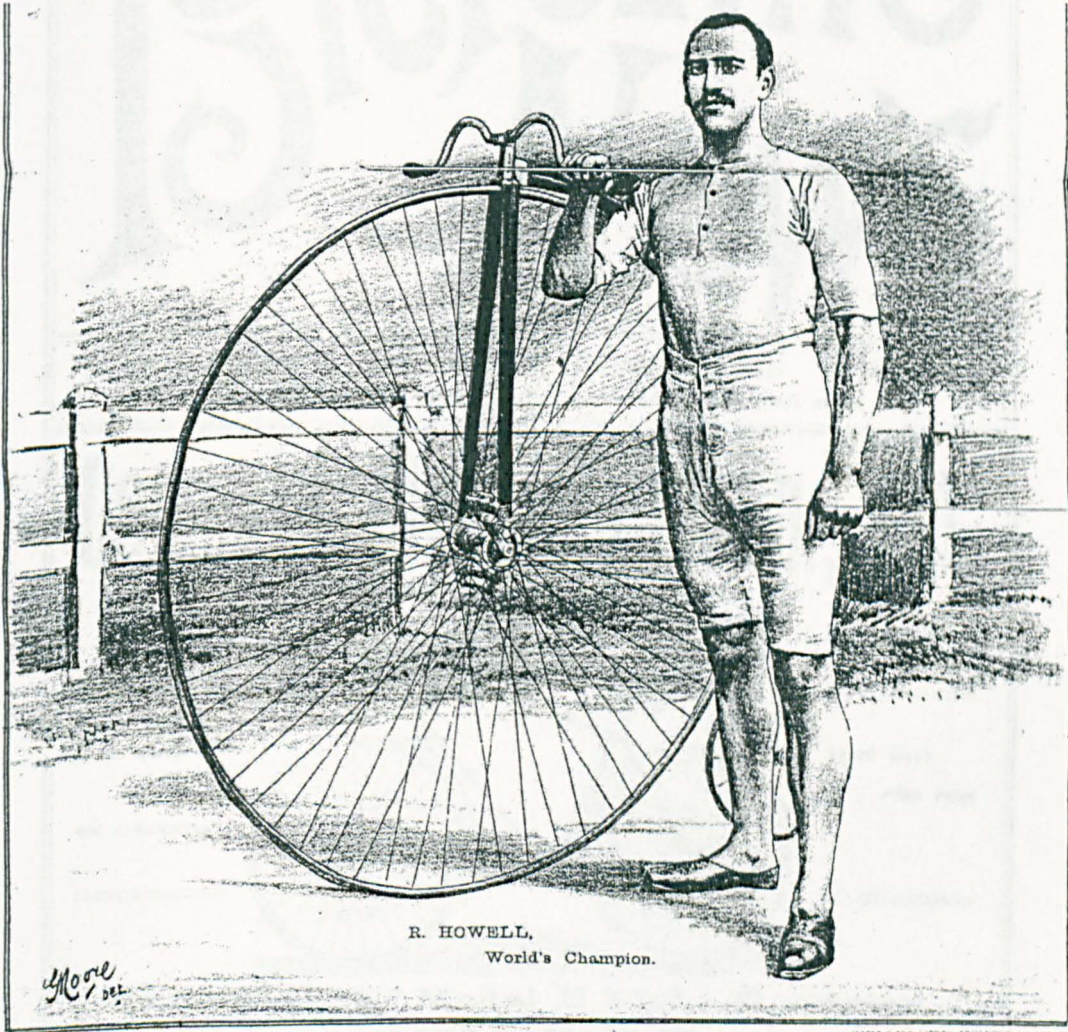


Fig. 1. 2. Professional champion Richard Howell exemplified the athletic and sporting nature of high-wheel bicycle riding in the mid-1880s. Illustration by George Moore. (Source: *Bicycling News*, 11 June 1887).

THE OLDEST CYCLING PAPER IN THE WORLD,

BICYCLING NEWS

No. 801.—Vol. 22.]

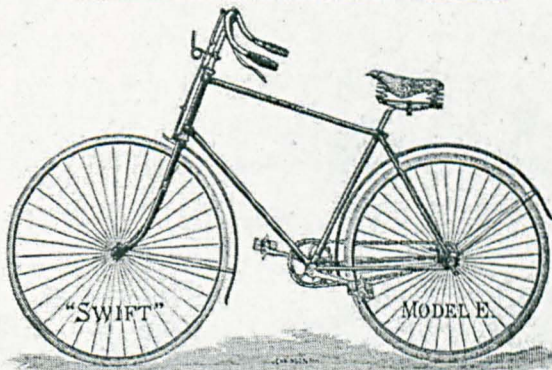
LONDON: SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 20th, 1892.

[ONE PENNY.

Registered for transmission both in the United Kingdom and in places abroad.

Coventry Machinists' Co., Ltd.

PRICE LISTS
POST FREE
ON APPLICATION.



PRICE LISTS
POST FREE

The "SWIFT" Model E Light Roadster.

Weight complete, 1in. Cushion Tyres, 32lbs.

Works: COVENTRY. London: 15 & 16, Holborn Viaduct. Manchester: 9, St. Mary's Gate.

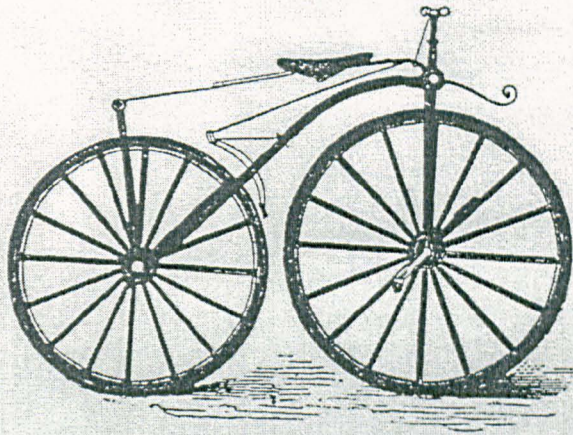
BIRMINGHAM—Swan Buildings, Edmund Street. LIVERPOOL—65, Bold Street. EDINBURGH—U.P. College Buildings. GLASGOW—91, Mitchell Street. DUNDEE—J. Robertson Albert Square. NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE—13, Grainger Street West. BRIGHTON—Pool Valley. EASTBOURNE—Minns & Jefferies, Terminus Road. LEEDS—New Station Street. ABERDEEN—40, School Hill. DUBLIN—21, Bachelor's Walk. HULL—Messrs. Simpson & Co. 70, Prospect St. & 38, Pryme St. BERWICK-ON-TWEED—Town Hall Buildings. MELBOURNE—55 & 56, Elizabeth Street. PARIS 27, Rue du Quatre Septembre. BOSTON (U.S.A.) 239, Columbus Avenue. VIENNA—A. H. Carjel, FRANKFORT—H. Kleyer. ST. PETERSBURG & MOSCOW—J. Block. BRUSSELS—F. Mignot. HOLLAND—P. A. L. de Gruyter, Amsterdam.

SEND FOR PARTICULARS OF GRADUAL PAYMENT SYSTEM.

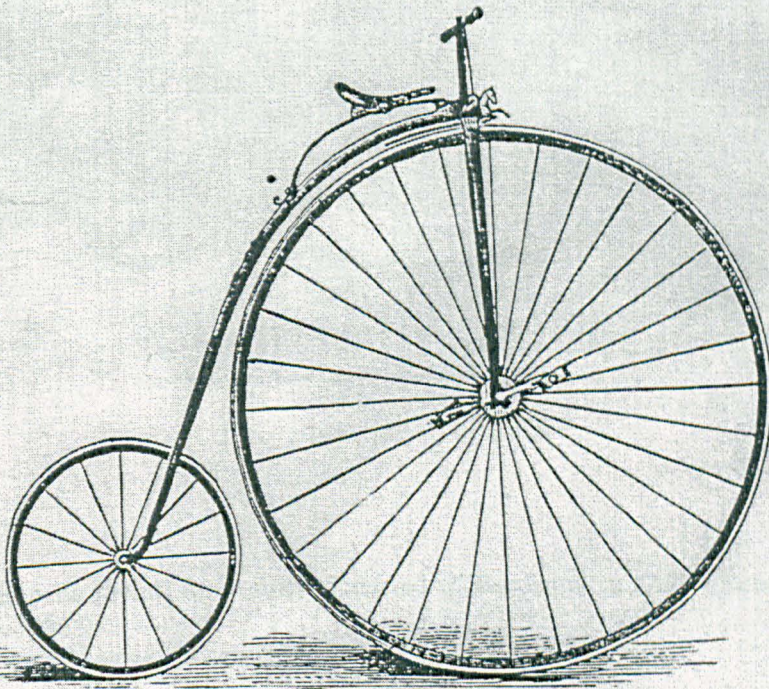
Fig. 1. 3. *Bicycling News*, whose 801st issue from 1892 is pictured here, was founded in 1876 and described itself as 'The Oldest Cycling Paper in the World'. (Source: author's collection).



Fig. 2. 1. 'Athletics at Derby' depicted the kind of general athletic context within which some of the earliest bicycle racing was staged. (Source: *The Illustrated Midland News*, 9 Oct. 1869, courtesy Birmingham Public Library).



THE BICYCLE OF 1869.



THE RACING BICYCLE OF 1874.

Fig. 2. 2. Illustrations of 'the bicycle of 1869' and 'the racing bicycle of 1874', showing design changes in the bicycle in a five-year period. (Source: N. Salamon, *Bicycling: Its Rise and Development*, 1874).



Coutume original des dames au concours de vélocipèdes, à Bordeaux. [d'après le croquis de M. BOUTE-MISSE 1868]

Fig. 2. 3. Velocipede racing for women occurred in Bordeaux in 1868. (Source: *Le Monde Illustré*, 21 Nov. 1868).



SCENE IN A VELOCIPEDE RIDING-SCHOOL, NEW YORK CITY.

Fig. 2. 4. This illustration of a 'Scene in a velocipede riding-school' depicts the indoor environment in which some early bicycle sport occurred in Europe and America. (Source: *Harper's Weekly*, 13 Feb. 1869).

THE NEW TWO-WHEEL VELOCIPEDE.



MESSRS. SNOXELL and SPENCER, VELOCIPEDE and GYMNAS TIC Apparatus Manufac-
turers, having introduced the best PARIS Model of the NEW TWO-WHEEL VELOCIPEDE,
and having made several important improvements thereon, are now prepared to execute orders to any
extent.

The VELOCIPEDES now offered are made of the best materials throughout; they are well
tested, and admit of the greatest speed, with the least exertion, that have yet been offered to the public.
Purchasers can have instruction, by proficient performers, in their large Practice Room, and on that
Velocipede most suitable to the purchaser. Gentlemen are invited to inspect them in use at Messrs.
S. and S.'s Factory and Practice Room, 35, Old-street, St. Luke's.

PRICE LIST.

		£	s.	d.
No. 1, Front or Guide Wheel	32 inches high	10	0	0
No. 2 " " "	36 " " "	11	0	0
No. 3 " " "	40 " " "	12	0	0
No. 4 " " "	48 " " "	14	0	0

THE TRADE SUPPLIED.

ADDRESS:

MESSRS. SNOXELL & SPENCER,
VELOCIPEDE AND GYMNAS TIC APPARATUS MANUFACTURERS,
35, OLD STREET, ST. LUKE'S, E.C.

(Three minutes' walk from Aldersgate Station, Metropolitan Railway.)

Fig. 2. 5. One of the earliest commercial bicycle advertisements, for Snoxell and Spencer's 'new two-wheel velocipede'. (Source: *English Mechanic*, 19 February 1869).

RECREATION SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

GENTLEMAN'S JOURNAL.

No. 6.--PRICE TWOPENCE.]

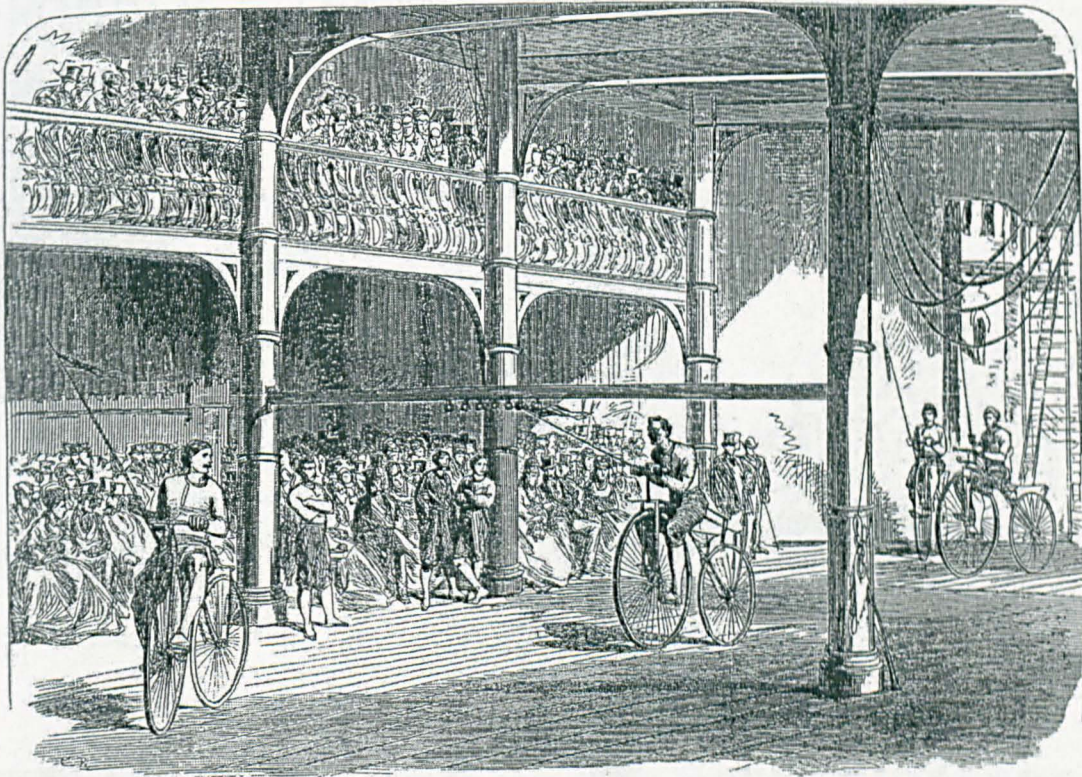
APRIL 1, 1870.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.



HOW TO RIDE A BICYCLE.

Fig. 2. 6. Varieties of velocipede racing and riding were illustrated on the cover of the Recreation Supplement of the *Gentleman's Journal*, 1 April 1870. (Source: courtesy Lorne Shields, Canada).



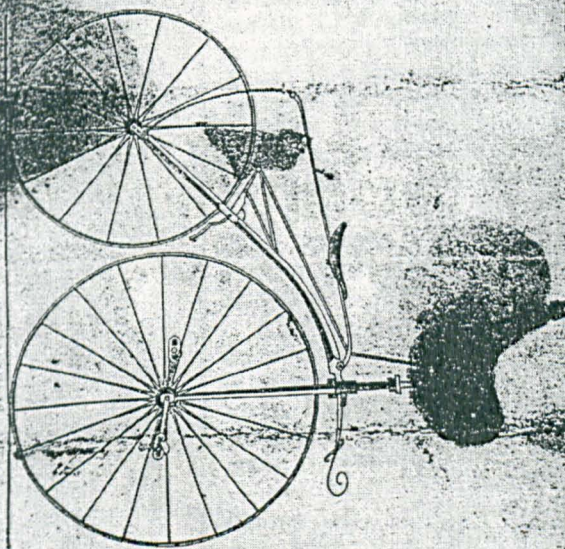
BICYCLE TOURNAMENT AT LIVERPOOL.—SEE PAGE 445.

Fig. 2. 7. The Bicycle Tournament at Liverpool saw the velocipede used in the context of public entertainment, with suggestions of medieval jousting. (Source: *Illustrated London News*, 1 May 1869).

GREAT TRICYCLE RACE
BETWEEN CHESTER & DOCK FERRY

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE RACE WHICH WAS ESTABLISHED BY
THE WOLVERHAMPTON VELOCIPEDE CLUB AND OTHERS


FORDER & TRAVES,
MANUFACTURERS



TO THE
WOLVERHAMPTON
VELOCIPEDE CLUB.

WOLVERHAMPTON
VELOCIPEDE CLUB.

—
RULES.—



PRICE THREEPENCE.

—
WOLVERHAMPTON:
HINDE, PRINTER AND STATIONER, DUDLEY STREET.

Fig. 2. 8. The Wolverhampton Velocipede Club's 1869 'Rules' advertised a sponsorship arrangement with a local manufacturer, Forder and Traves. (Source: courtesy Lorne Shields, Canada).

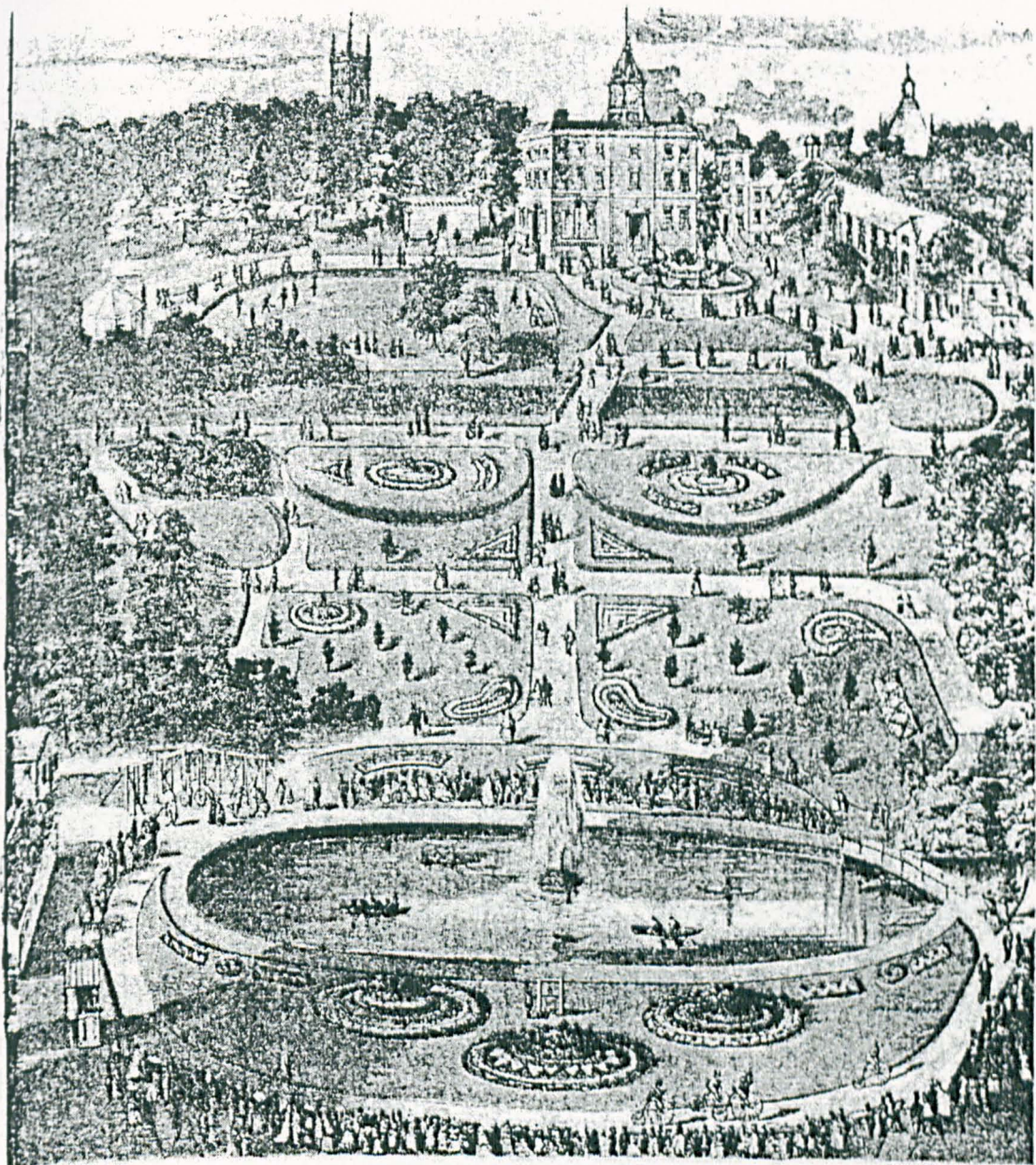
GREAT BICYCLE RACE BETWEEN CHESTER & ROCK FERRY.

This novel event, which was anticipated with great interest by velocipedists and others during the last two or three weeks, came off on Saturday afternoon last, the prize contested for being a handsome silver model bicycle, presented by Mr. W. H. Brown, bicycle manufacturer, Sir Thomas's-buildings. The model has for some time back been exhibited in the window of Mr. Mayer, silversmith, Lord-street. The road selected for the race was between Chester and Rock Ferry—a distance of about 13 miles—and perhaps a thoroughfare better adapted for the purpose could not have been fixed upon in this locality, as it is tolerably level and straight the whole length. At Backford, between three and four miles from Chester, there is a short hill, but after that the ground presents almost a level surface till reaching Bromborough bridge, from which place there is a slight ascent as far as the New Ferry tollbar.

At first there were 19 entries for the race, but only eleven persons started, besides Mr. Brown, who accompanied the competitors the whole way on a bicycle. The following were the entries, with the names of the bicycles and the colour worn by each driver:—

RIDER.	COLOUR OF CAP.	NAME OF BICYCLE.
George Ball	Blue and pink	Knight of the Garter.
A. L. Lane	White, with blue stars	Frasco.
J. Moss Bennett	Red and blue	Knight Templar.
W. E. Potter	Violet	Centaur.
G. M. Jones	Pink	Mandarin.
E. W. Leyland	Yellow and black	Pocahontas.
W. Long	Green	Hermit.
J. S. de Wolfe, jun.	Magenta	Maccaroni.
W. H. de Wolfe	Blue, with white stripes	Gladiator.
George Scott	Chocolate	Parisian.
H. Brown	White and blue	Doctor.
William Hope	Red	Aurora.
L. Notara	Black	Comet.
Henry W. Eaton	Light blue	Mias Julia.
C. Haddon	Red and white	Mensikov.
A. S. Pearson	White	Britannia.
J. C. Cannon	Dark blue	Jupiter.
F. A. Macdonald		Chester.
G. H. Wilson	Light blue	Eclipse.

Fig. 2. 9. The report of the 'Great bicycle race between Chester and Rock Ferry' included a 'start list' containing 'entries, with the names of the bicycles and the colour worn by each driver'. (Source: *Liverpool Mercury*, 5 April 1896).



MOLINEUX PLEASURE GROUNDS WOLVERHAMPTON,

O. E. MCGREGOR, Proprietor.

Reproduced from a poster in the possession of Jim Boulton

Fig. 2. 10. A poster advertising the Molineux Pleasure Ground, Wolverhampton in the early 1870s. Bicycle racing is taking place on the track in the foreground. (Source: Wolverhampton Public Library).

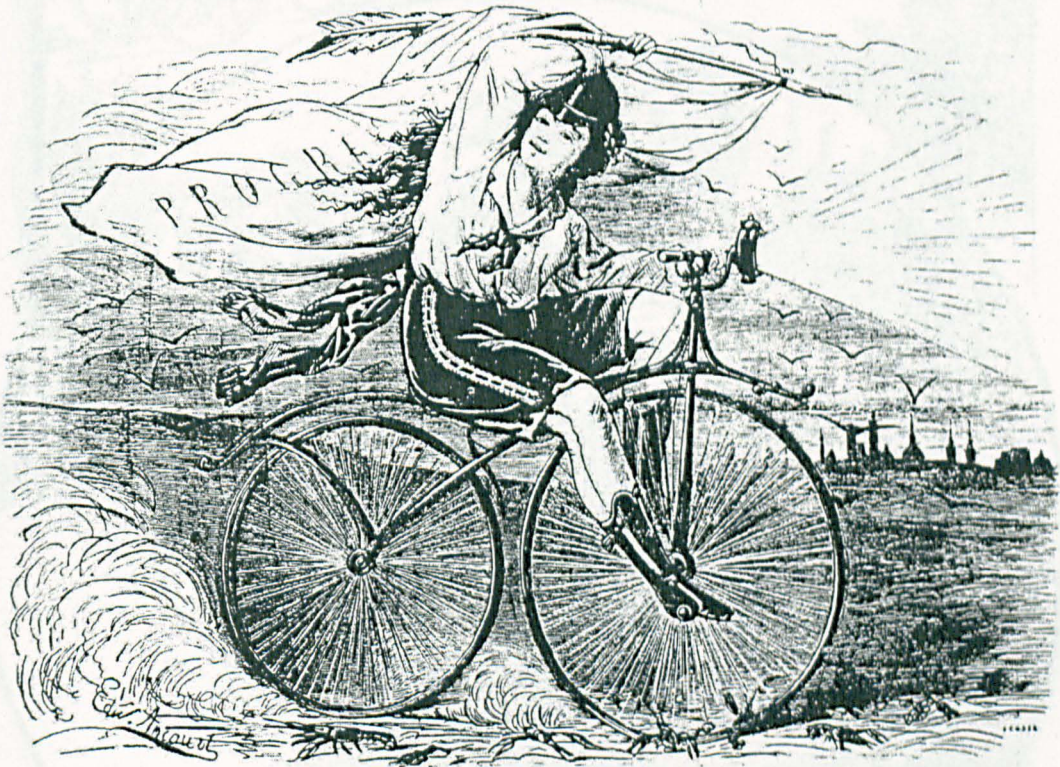


Fig. 2. 11. The masthead of *Le Vélocipède Illustré* in 1869 showed a woman rider who signified and epitomized an image of progress. (Source: *Le Vélocipède Illustré* throughout 1869).

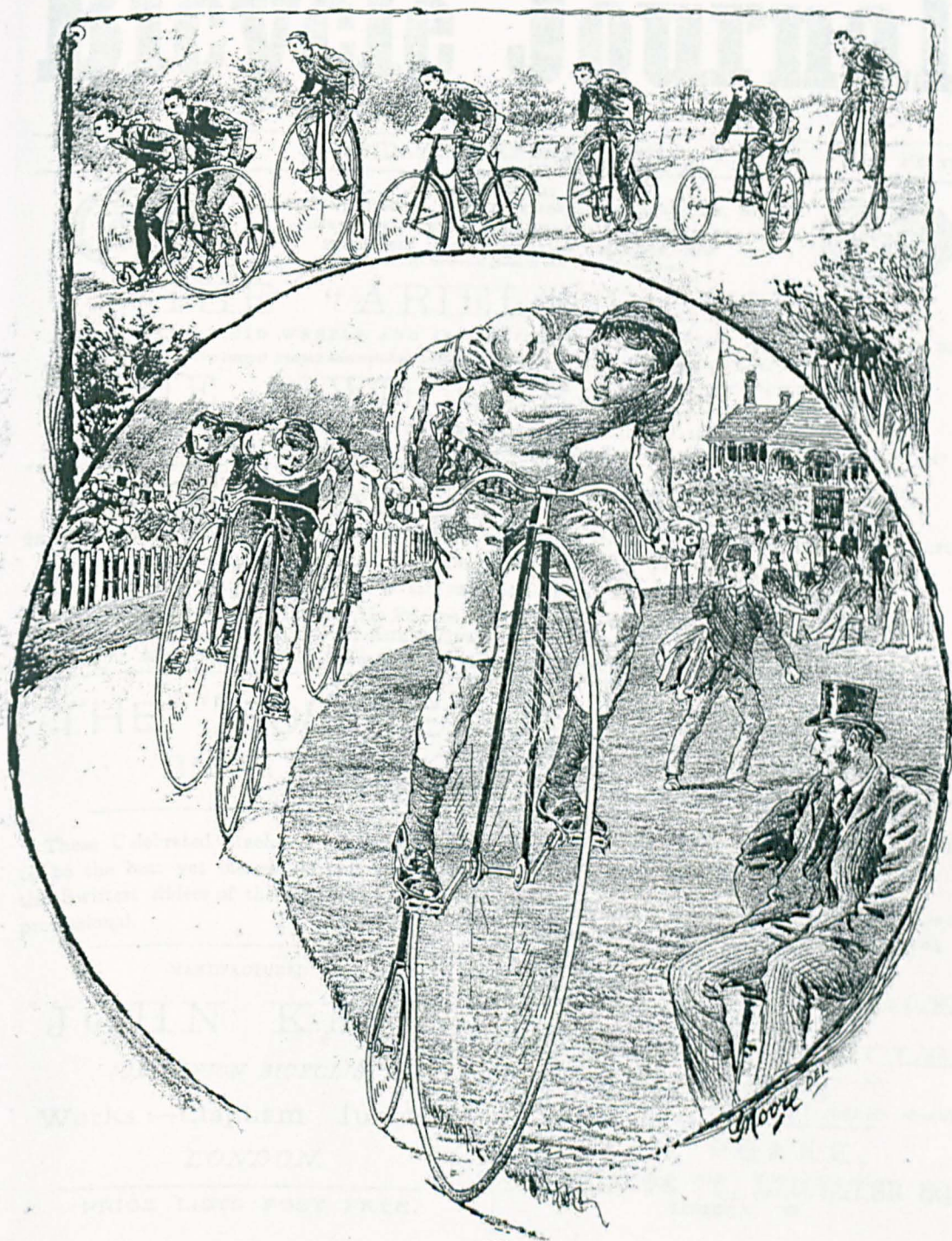


Fig. 3. 1. Sanders Sellers winning a National Cyclists' Union championship race at Aston, Birmingham, 13 June 1885. Illustration by George Moore. (Source: A. J. Wilson, *The Pleasures, Objects and Advantages of Cycling*, 1887).

THE Bicycle Journal.

EDITED BY ALFRED HOWARD.

No. 20.]

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1876.

[ONE PENNY.]



BY ROYAL LETTERS PATENT.
HIGHEST PRIZE MEDAL, LONDON INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION, 1873.
HIGHEST PRIZE MEDAL, PHILADELPHIA EXHIBITION, 1876.
HONOURABLE MENTION BRUSSELS EXHIBITION, 1875.
(Being the highest award given to this class of Exhibits.)



THE "ARIEL" BICYCLE,

FITTED WITH RIGID WHEELS, AND IS SPECIALLY ADAPTED FOR VERY ROUGH ROADS.

"The longest journey accomplished in one day was upon an 'Ariel,' from London to York."—*Field*.

THE "SWIFTSURE" BICYCLE.

Prices of this Machine: 40in. to 50in., £9 12s.; 52in. to 60in., £10 2s.

This machine is made upon the "Spider" principle, the same as adopted by all makers of Bicycles with the exception of the "Ariel" and "Tangent," and is guaranteed equal to those of any makers of higher-priced "Spiders."

THE "TANGENT" BICYCLE.

THE ONLY MACHINE FITTED WITH RIGID WHEELS WITHOUT A LEVER. STEEL BACKBONE AND RIGID FORK.
Racing Machines, weight only 28lb; Road Machines, weight from 35lb to 45lb.

THE PRINCIPAL PARTS OF ALL OUR MACHINES ARE MADE OF THE BEST STEEL.

LONDON RETAIL DEPOT, 11 Princes Street, Leicester Square. AGENT, F. S. PEAKE.
(WHOLESALE AND EXPORT AGENT ONLY), G. E. WRIGHT, 1 New Broad Street, E.C.
Sole Manufacturers and Patentees, HAYNES & JEFFERIS, "Ariel" Works, Coventry.

THE "ECLIPSE" BICYCLE.

These Celebrated Machines are acknowledged to be the best yet introduced, and are used by the Swiftest Riders of the day, both amateur and professional.

MANUFACTURED BY

JOHN KEEN

(CHAMPION BICYCLIST),

Works:—Clapham Junction,
LONDON.

PRICE LISTS POST FREE.

F. S. PEAKE,

London agent for the "Ariel," "Tangent," "Swiftsure," and "Timberlake" BICYCLES.

Agent for Keen's "Eclipse" and Stassen's "Nonpareil."

BICYCLES BOUGHT, SOLD, OR EXCHANGED.

BICYCLES REPAIRED.

BICYCLES ON HIRE.

The Largest Stock of New and Second-hand Bicycles in London

Every Requisite for Bicycles kept in Stock.

Sole London Agent for the

"CORNISH" SADDLE.

Sole Agent for the

"FIELD" TRICYCLE.

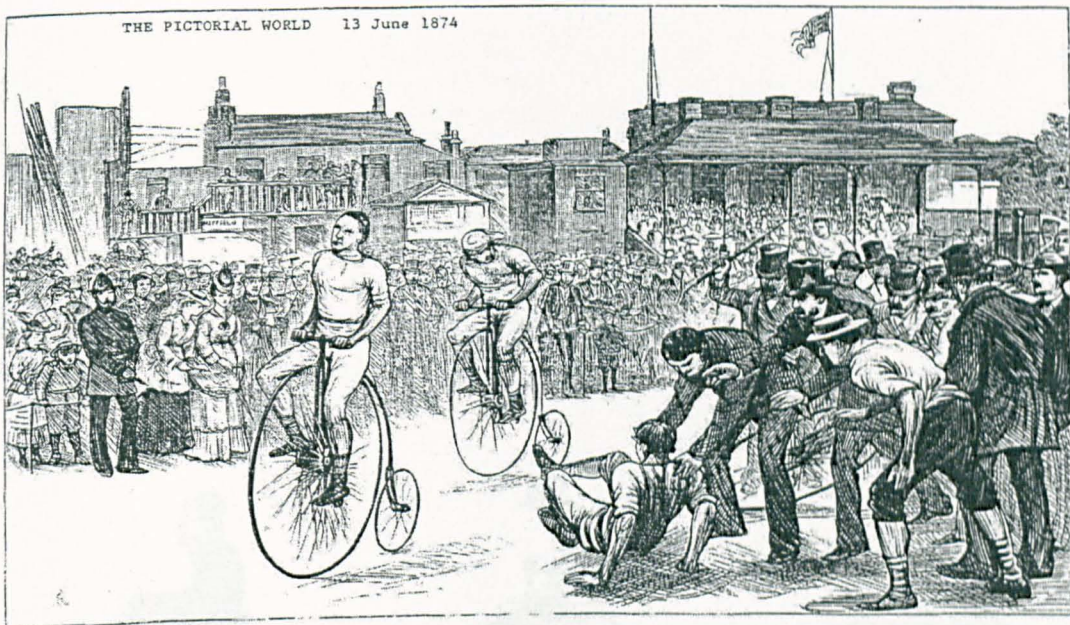
RIDING TAUGHT.

Price Lists Post Free. Second-hand List published Monthly.

F. S. PEAKE,

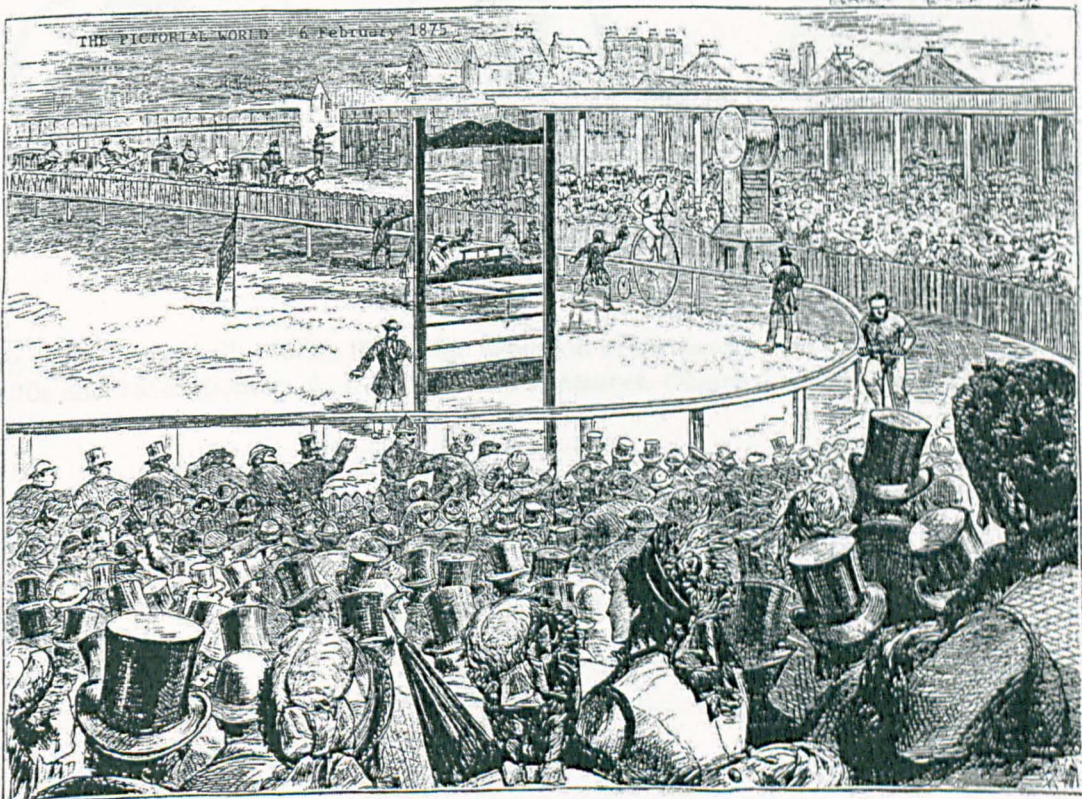
11, PRINCES ST., LEICESTER SQ.,
LONDON, W

Fig. 3. 2. The technological development of the bicycle and the growth of the sport were linked with the rapid emergence of a specialist cycling press. (Source: *Bicycle Journal*, 29 Dec. 1876).



THE PICTORIAL WORLD 13 June 1874

GREAT BICYCLE MEETING AT KENNINGTON OVAL: THE SINGLE RACE—"A CROPPER".



THE PICTORIAL WORLD 6 February 1875

TWENTY-FIVE-MILE BICYCLE-RACE AT LILLIE BRIDGE, BETWEEN THE HON. I. KEITH-FALCONER AND, MR. A. P. WHITING.

Fig. 3. 3. and Fig. 3. 4. Crowds of spectators were depicted at bicycle races in illustrated magazines from the mid-1870s. (Source: *Pictorial World*, 13 June 1874 and 6 Feb. 1875).

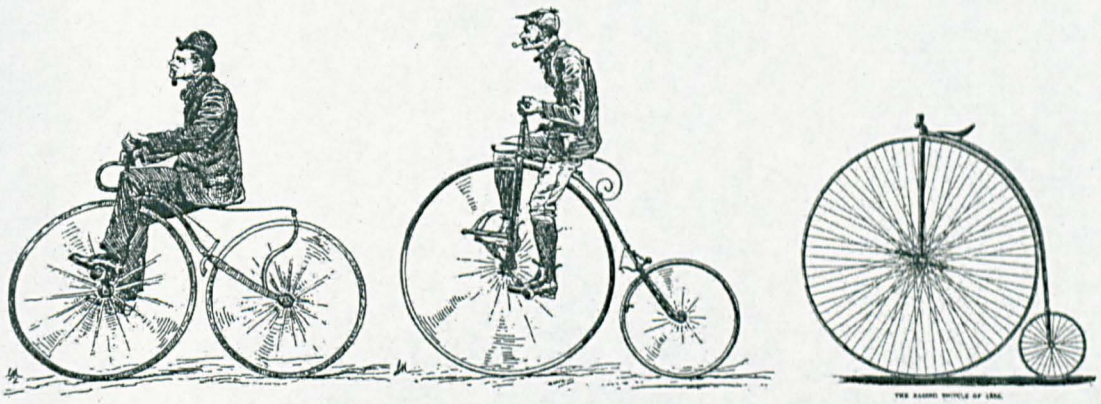
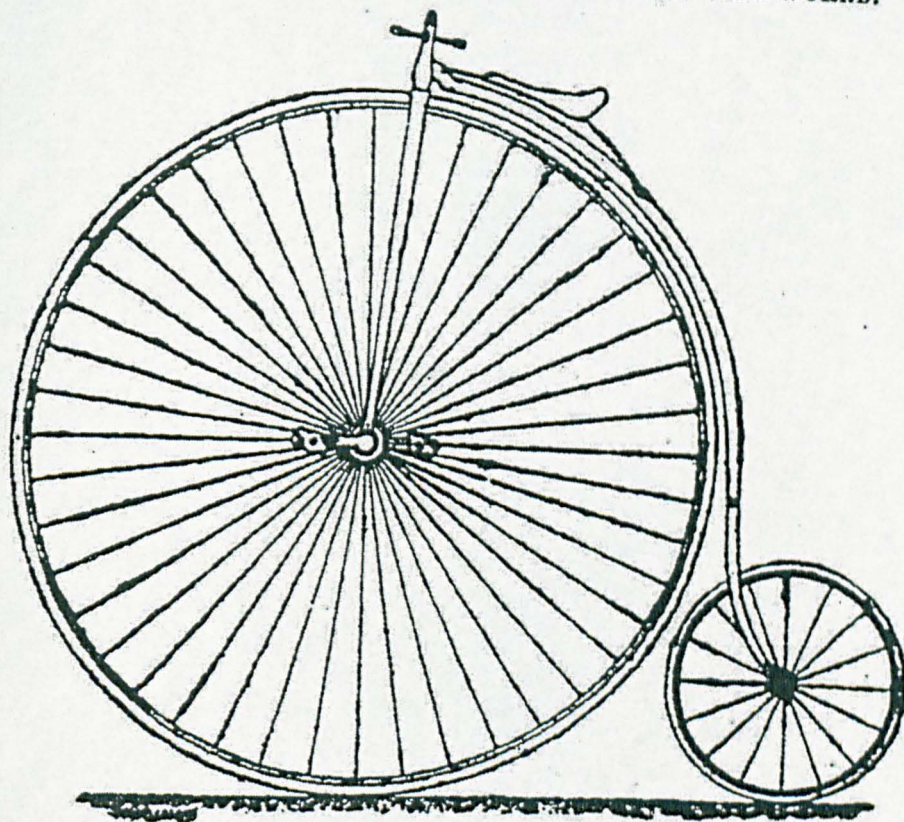


Fig. 3. 5. Changes illustrating the design evolution of the bicycle: from about 1869, the mid-1870s and 1886. (Source: A. J. Wilson, *The Pleasures, Objects and Advantages of Cycling*, 1887).

KEEN'S "ECLIPSE" BICYCLE

Still retains its position as the BEST BICYCLE FOR ALL PURPOSES. Being made of the BEST MATERIAL, combined with superior workmanship and the great practical experience of the maker, a still greater success is anticipated during the coming season. These Machines have accomplished all the FASTEST TIMES at all distances, also the LONGEST JOURNEYS ever ridden. For Speed, Durability, Safety, and Elegance they cannot be equalled.

TESTIMONIALS FROM ALL THE BEST RIDERS IN THE WORLD.



A LARGE STOCK ALWAYS OPEN FOR INSPECTION.
Price Lists post free.

JOHN KEEN,

Champion Bicyclist (late of Surbiton),

Eclipse Bicycle Works,

CLAPHAM JUNCTION, LONDON.

Fig. 3. 6. Advertising for the racing bicycle of the mid-1870s emphasized the virtues of lightness, speed, durability and strength. (Source: A. Howard, *The Bicycle for 1877*, 1877).



Fig. 3. 7. Maker W.H.J. Grout (1839-1915) pictured with a road bicycle of his own manufacture from the mid-1870s. (Source: author's collection).

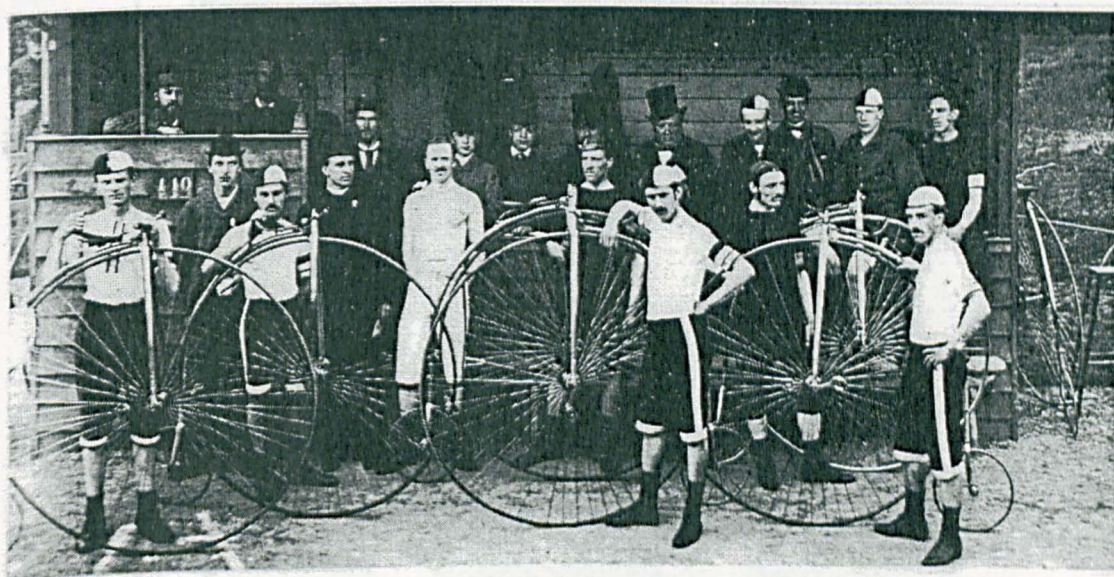


Fig. 3. 8. Cambridge University Bicycle Club members, with Ion Keith-Falconer at centre (in white, without cap), at the Club's own new track in the city. (Source: Cambridge Public Library).



The late Hon. ION G. N. KEITH-FALCONER,
Cambridge U. Bi C.,
Long Distance Record Holder and Tourist.
(From a photo in the "Bicycling Times.")



IMPORTED

ENGLISH BICYCLES.

CUNNINGHAM, HEATH & Co.,

Are now prepared to receive orders for

“Duplex Excelsior,”

“Challenge,”

“Tension.”

AND ALL OTHER MAKES OF STRICTLY FIRST-CLASS MACHINES.

Intending purchasers are directed to send in their orders at once, the demand in England being so much ahead of the supply that it has been found impossible to get orders for FIRST-CLASS machines, of average sizes, filled in less than from two to four weeks from the date of receipt by manufacturers.

By telegraphing per Atlantic Cable, a fortnight can be saved, and C. H. & Co. are now preparing a special code with the manufacturers for that purpose.

C. H. & Co. intend eventually to keep all the first-class machines in stock, but at present, for reasons stated above, they can only supply purchasers in rotation, as their orders have been, or may be received.

Western, Southern and Canadian purchasers are informed that, pending the establishment of Branch Agencies, their orders should be forwarded to C. H. & Co., direct, who will give their favors special attention.

Price lists will be forwarded on receipt of application, with which stamp should be enclosed.

CUNNINGHAM, HEATH & CO.,

IMPORTERS OF ENGLISH BICYCLES,

178 Devonshire Street,

Boston, Mass.

Fig. 4. 1. Cunningham, Heath and Co, was the first company to import English bicycles into the United States. (Source: American Bicycling Journal, 22 Dec. 1877).



Fig. 4. 2. A velocipede rider in New York City, about 1875. The photograph advertized the Martel Family, perhaps a visiting French circus act, or exponents of indoor racing. The bicycle is French, perhaps an Olivier. (Source: author's collection).

BICYCLE RACES,

TO TAKE PLACE ON HUNTINGTON AVENUE, BOSTON,

JULY 4, 1879.

Beginning at 3.30 o'clock, P. M.

First Race.—Open to all comers; distance three miles;—First Prize, \$50; Second Prize, \$35; Third Prize, \$15.

Second Race.—Amateurs; distance one mile; First Prize, gold medal, value \$25; Second Prize, gold medal, value \$20; Third Prize, silver medal, value \$15.

Third Race.—Amateurs; distance one-half mile; First Prize, gold medal, value \$20; Second Prize, gold medal, value \$15; Third Prize, silver medal, value \$10.

Fourth,—a slow Race; distance one-half mile.—Prize, silver medal, value \$5.

All entries are free, and may be made personally or by letter at the office of the Clerk of Committees, City Hall, until 2 o'clock, P. M., Wednesday, July 2d.

COMMITTEE.

JOSIAH S. ROBINSON, *Chairman.*

ALBERT F. LAUTEN.

JAMES J. FLYNN.

JAMES WOOLLEY.

CHARLES HAYDEN.

JOHN E. BLAKEMORE.

JUDGES.

CHARLES E. PRATT, *Chairman.*

JOHN C. SHARP, Jr.

EDWARD SHERWIN.

ALBERT A. POPE.

ELIOT C. CLARKE.

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

RULES OF COMPETITION.

1. The first prize in each of the first three races will be awarded to the winner of the best two in three heats; the second prize to the maker of best time in two of three heats who does not win the first prize; and the third prize to the maker of best time in two of three heats who does not win either the first or second prize. In case of a tie another heat will be accorded the two contestants who are tied.

2. The prizes offered for the first race will be money or its equivalent in silver plate at option of winner.

3. Entries and awards in the second, third and fourth races will be confined strictly to amateurs; and persons entering for these races who are not members of bicycle clubs whose rules of membership exclude professionals, must satisfy the Judges that they are not professionals, either by their own statements in writing or otherwise.

4. A professional bicyclist is one who has ridden a bicycle in public for money, or who has engaged or taught in the art of riding the bicycle, or in any other athletic exercise for money, or who has competed with a professional bicyclist in public or for a prize, knowingly and without protest, (except at a meeting specially sanctioned by a bicycle club whose rules of membership exclude professionals.)

5. Any competitor making a false entry will be disqualified.

6. Choice or change of machine, and choice of costume, are not limited.

7. Each competitor will receive from the Clerk of Committees at the time of entry, a card bearing a number, which must be worn during the race.

8. The drawing for positions in each race will take place at the Judges' stand before the races.

9. A bugle will sound "the assembly" before each heat, when the competitors therein are to answer to their names before the Judges' stand and then prepare to mount; at sound of "boots and saddles" the competitors will come up slowly, mounted evenly abreast, and the start will be effected by the word "GO" from the starter.

10. Any competitor starting before the signal will be put back at the discretion of the starter, and on repeating the offence will be disqualified.

11. Riders must pass on the outside (unless the man passed be dismounted), and must be at least a clear length of the bicycle in front before taking the inside; the inside man must allow room for his competitor to pass on the outside; and in turning no rider shall ride across his inside competitor's track near enough to cause a collision.

12. Any competitor guilty of foul riding will be disqualified.

13. The committee reserve the power of postponing the races if necessary.

14. Any protest against a competitor respecting his qualification as an amateur must be lodged with the Judges before the start is effected; and any protest respecting foul riding or breach of rules must be made to the Judges immediately after the heat is finished.

15. Competitors may dismount during a race at their pleasure, and may run with their bicycles if they wish to; but they must keep to the extreme outside of the path whenever dismounted.

16. The right is reserved to the Judges of refusing or cancelling any entry, if necessary, before the start, of adjudicating any questionable entry, of deciding any other point not provided for, and of making any alteration in the programme that they may deem necessary.

17. The decision of the Judges will in all cases be final.

ORDER OF HEATS.

1. FIRST HALF MILE HEAT.

2. FIRST MILE HEAT.

3. FIRST THREE MILE HEAT.

4. SECOND MILE HEAT.

5. SECOND THREE MILE HEAT.

6. SECOND HALF MILE HEAT.

7. THIRD THREE MILE HEAT.

8. THIRD HALF MILE HEAT.

9. THIRD MILE HEAT.

10. CONTINGENT,—to decide dead heats.

11. SLOW RACE,—ONE HEAT.

All bicyclers are invited to fall in at 3 o'clock, and ride over the course in procession.

During the time of the races no bicycle will be allowed upon the course except those of actual competitors in the heat pending.

Fig. 4. 3. On an advertizing flyer for 4th July bicycle races in Boston in 1879, 'Rules and Regulations' spelled out the structure of competition and the definition of amateurism and professionalism. (Source: Charles Pratt scrapbook, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.).



MR. HARRY ETHERINGTON.—(Temple Bicycle Club).

Fig. 4. 4. Harry Etherington wearing the club cap of the Temple Bicycle Club in 1877 (Source: *Bicycling News*, 29 June 1877).

ADVERTISEMENTS.

The following severe tests fully demonstrate the superiority of the D.H.F. "PREMIER" BICYCLE, and the "FLYING DUTCHMAN," (New Ball Bearing Tricycle) over all others before the public

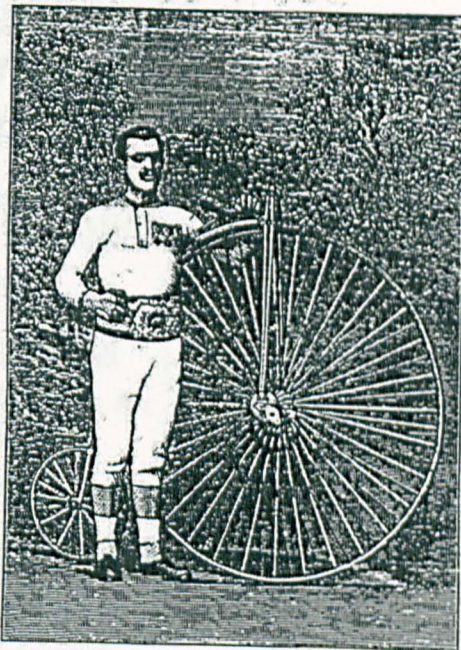
THE GREAT SIX DAYS BICYCLE RACE FOR THE CHAMPIONSHIP OF THE WORLD.

at the Agricultural Hall, Sept. 1st to 7th, was won upon an ordinary 53in. "D.H.F. PREMIER" roadster weighing 35lbs. The first day of the race Waller did the fastest 100 miles on record; time, 6hrs. 27min.

His distance for the first day 262 miles, exceeding the best previous performance of any other man on any other bicycle, by 36 miles, and his own best previous record by 9 miles.

On Friday (after riding 980 miles in four consecutive days) he did 226 miles 1 lap, without a dismount; the greatest distance ever accomplished.

Waller's Grand Total was 1404 miles 6 laps. The original competition in May, was also won by Waller upon the same Bicycle, when his distance for the 6 days was 1172 miles.



THE
100 miles Chamionship of the World

WALTER PHILLIPS, on a 55in. "D.H.F. PREMIER" Racer, beat Cann and 8 other picked men with the greatest ease, never having occasion to dismount to oil, &c., although snow fell heavily almost incessantly during the race.

Price of a 50-in. "D.H.F. PREMIER, £15.

The Fifty Miles Amateur Championship Tricycle Race was won by Mr. Derkinderen, on the "FLYING DUTCHMAN" in 4-hrs. 55-min.

Waller and his "D.H.F." PREMIER.

HILLMAN & HERBERT,
PATENTEES AND MANUFACTURERS,
"PREMIER" WORKS, COVENTRY.

PRICE LISTS ON APPLICATION.

Fig. 4. 5. Manufacturer Hillman and Herbert used the athletic feats of George Waller and others to advertize its bicycles in 1879. (Source: *The Cyclist*, 29 Oct. 1879).

AMUSEMENTS

BICYCLE PARK.
Huntington Avenue and West Newton Street.

Six Days'
BICYCLE RACE!

ENGLAND AND FRANCE
Bid Defiance to the World!

EXCITING CONTESTS
FOR THE
BICYCLAR CHAMPIONSHIP
Of the Universe.

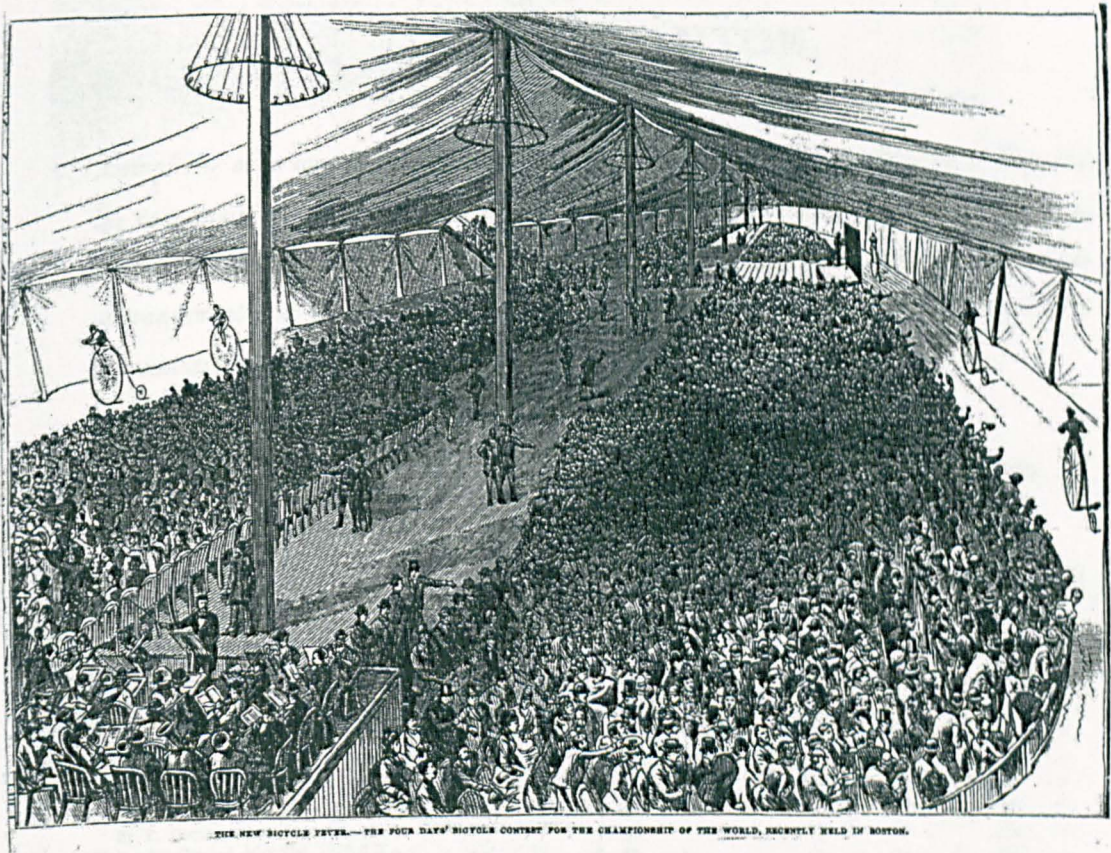
THE ANGLO-FRANCO CHAMPIONS
Will Hold the Arena Against All
Comers, and Give Odds
of
10 Miles in 100,
100 Miles in 1000!

The List of Entries for this Great Event includes
Mr Harry Etherington's
UNRIVALLED ANGLO-FRANCO
TEAM,
AND NUMEROUS
AMERICAN PROFESSIONALS.

\$2000 in Prizes!

The Six Days' Contest will begin on
MONDAY, Nov. 3, at 1 P. M.,
and be continued throughout the week.
Ten Hours Each Day,
without intermission, being devoted to the sport.
Music will be furnished by the AMERICAN BAND.
Admission tickets, 25 cents; reserved seats, 25 cents
extra. Take Columbus avenue or Beacon street
cars. If n3

Fig. 4. 6. A newspaper advertisement boosted the Six Day race contested by Etherington's Anglo-French team in Boston. (Source: *Boston Globe*, 3 Nov. 1879).



THE NEW BICYCLE FEVER.—THE FOUR DAYS' BICYCLES CONTEST FOR THE CHAMPIONSHIP OF THE WORLD, RECENTLY HELD IN BOSTON.

Fig. 4. 7. The 'New Bicycle Fever' was promoted in a huge marquee in Boston. Though showing obvious signs of its temporary nature, this scene from 1879 is strikingly similar in its essential structure to a Six Day race in modern velodromes. (Source: *Frank Leslie's Boys' and Girls' Weekly*, 20 Dec. 1879).

THE CELEBRATED
 "HUMBER" BICYCLE.

DAVID STANTON,

Fifty and One Hundred Mile Bicycle Champion of the World,

Being now on a tour in this country, and being desirous of giving American Bicyclists the opportunity of purchasing the celebrated "Humber" Bicycle, which are used by all first-class riders in England, and acknowledged to be far superior to any other ever made. Arrangements have been made to supply the very best machines, with all the latest improvements, in any size or shape, and finished in the very best style.

Prices, ranging from \$75 to \$110.

N.B.---This price not only includes Spanners, Wrenches, Oil Can, Saddle, etc., but boxing and delivery to steamer without extra charge.

The following Records have been accomplished on these Machines, which are the fastest ever made:

1/4 Mile in	45 Seconds.
1/2 " "	1 Minute, 24 1/2 "
3/4 " "	2 " 7 1/2 "
1 " "	2 " 47 1/2 "

By F. COOPER, Mile Champion of the World, at Cambridge University Ground, May 21st, 1879.

2 Miles in	5 Minutes; 38 Seconds.
------------	------------------------

By Hon. KATE FALCOWER, Amateur Champion of the World, at Cambridge University Ground, May 21st, 1879.

10 Miles in	31 Minutes, 20 Seconds.
24 " "	1 Hour, 20 " 23 "
30 " "	1 " 42 " 24 "
36 " "	2 " 4 " 11 "
40 " "	2 " 17 " 21 "
44 " "	2 " 33 " 26 "
46 " "	2 " 39 " 58 "
50 " "	2 " 54 " 34 1/2 "

By D. STANTON, at Cardiff Grounds, August 9th, 1879.

100 Miles in	6 Hours, 45 Minutes, 00 Seconds.
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By D. STANTON, at Lillie Bridge, October 21, 1876.

All letters or orders for this celebrated Bicycle, to be addressed to

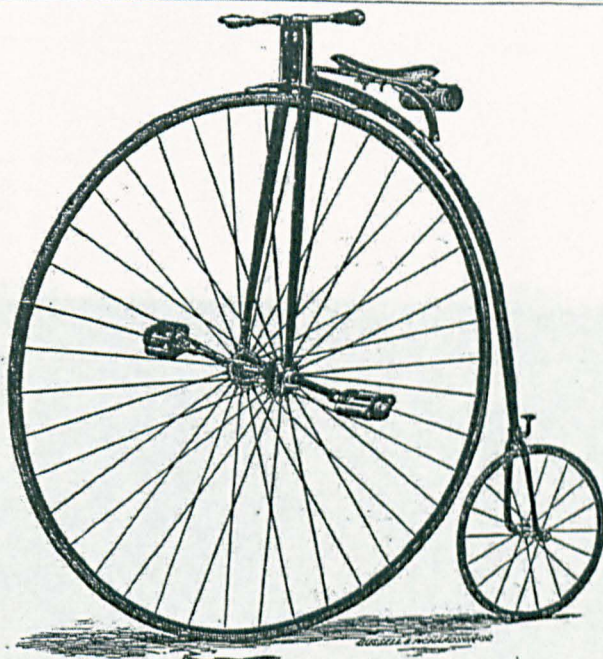
D. STANTON,

Ashland House, New York City.

Fig. 4. 8. An advertising flyer issued by Stanton during his racing tour of the United States with Etherington indicated that Stanton was also acting as agent for the 'Humber' bicycle. (Source: National Archives, Washington, D.C., see footnote 88).

THE COLUMBIA BICYCLE.

THE PIONEER BICYCLE OF AMERICA.—Its graceful model, scientific structure, and superior finish, render it THE MOST PERFECT BICYCLE manufactured. The most skillful mechanics are engaged in its manufacture, with improved machinery and special tools costing thousands of dollars. All the parts are made interchangeable, and the machine is fully warranted. THE COLUMBIA is a first-class roadster, equal in strength and workmanship to any English Bicycle, and superior to nearly all in finish. Any one wanting a good serviceable Bicycle for road riding will find the Columbia all that is claimed for it.



—A complete assortment of—

Alarm Bells, Saddle and Multum-in-Parvo Bags, Cyclometers, Lamps, Leggings, Stockings, Bicycle Shoes, Bicycle Stands,

And all other sundries used by Bicyclists constantly on hand. The following are the Principal Agents for the Columbia Bicycle:

Send 3c. stamp for 24 page Illustrated Catalogue with price list testimonials and full information.

Commodious, Riding School

With competent instructors constantly in attendance.

THE POPE MANFG. CO.

87 SUMMER STREET,

BOSTON, MASS.

LOCALITY.	NAME.	P. O. ADDRESS.
New York, N Y	Western Toy Co	58 Murray Street
Worcester, Mass	Hill & Tolman,	425 Main Street
San Francisco, Cal,	G L Cunningham,	206 Sansome Street
Denver, Col,	E A Rickard,	383 Larimer Street
Washington, D C,	H S Owen,	813 10th St. N W
Pittsburgh, Pa,	H B Thompson,	78 Fourth Ave
Detroit, Mich,	W W Seymour,	Hilsendegan Block
Philadelphia, Pa,	H B Hart,	813 Arch Street
Chicago, Ill,	John M Fairfield,	279 State Street
Amherst, Mass,	George F Fiske,	Amherst, Mass
Biddeford, Me,	R A Fairfield,	Biddeford, Me
Lowell, Mass,	Fred A Fielding,	128 Centre Street
Fitchburg, Mass,	W W Clark,	Fitchburg, Mass
Providence, R I,	E J Churchill,	No 1 P & W Depot
Trenton, N J,	J Y Clark,	Trenton House
Baltimore, Md,	T W Lawford,	10 So Holliday St
Herkimer, N Y,	H M Quackenbush,	Herkimer N Y
Haverhill, Mass,	Bridgman & Gay,	26 Merrimac St
Minneapolis, Minn,	Slafter & Clement,	26 Wash Ave S
New Haven, Conn,	J C Thompson,	93 Orange Street
St Louis, Mo,	Simmons Hardware Co	9th St & Wash Ave
Indianapolis, Ind,	J L Hunt,	126 South Peun St
Cincinnati, Ohio,	Wagoner & Bentley,	139 Longworth St
Cleveland, Ohio	T B Stevens & Bro	Cor Super & Bank
Springfield, Ohio,	Jas Leffell & Co	Springfield, Ohio
Yonkers, N Y	Elliot Mason,	27 South Broadway
Buffalo, N Y,	Geo R Bidwell & Co,	587 Main St
Johantown, Pa,	Wm C Rhodes,	Iron St
Louisville, Ky,	O W Thomas, Jr,	61 West Main St

Fig. 4. 9. The Pope Manufacturing Company moved energetically into the American bicycle market, opening regional distribution outlets and supporting the growth of the sport. (Source: *American Bicycling Journal*, 1 Nov. 1879).

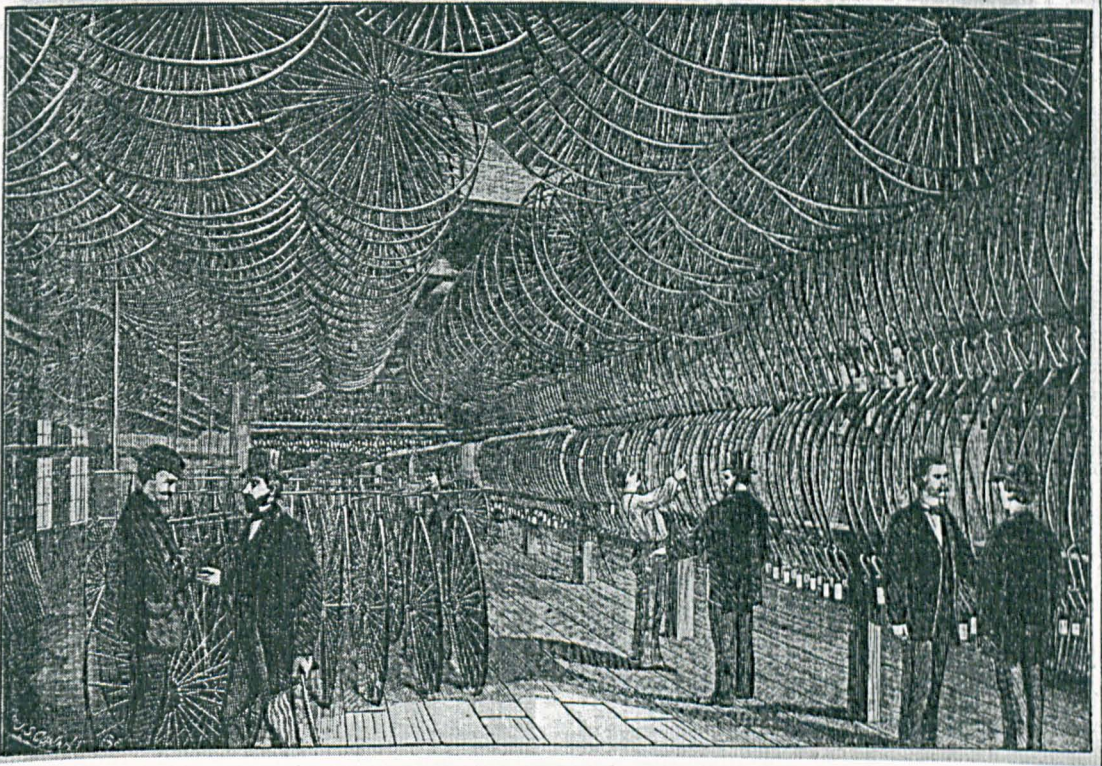


Fig. 4. 10. The scale of Pope's operations is emphasized in this illustration of his bicycle storeroom. (Source: *Bicycling World*, 'A Great American Manufacture', 1 April 1881).

THE Bicycling World

Devoted to the Interests of Bicycling and Tricycling.
Published Weekly. 8 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.

\$2.00 a Year.
5 cents a copy.

BOSTON, 16 OCT., 1885.

Volume XI.
Number 24.

233¹/₁₆ Miles in 23 Hours 51 Minutes.

A. A. McCURDY, _____

_____ **VICTOR BICYCLE,** _____

SEPTEMBER

24 AND 25.

This is the Highest American Record for 24 Hours.

LYNN, MASS., Sept. 28, 1885.

OVERMAN WHEEL CO.:

GENTLEMEN, — In riding your Victor Bicycle 233 ¹/₁₆ miles in 23 hours 51 minutes (total time, including all stops), I am convinced that it is the Easiest Running Bicycle I have ever ridden.

Very truly yours, A. A. McCURDY.

THE WESTON SUPPLY CO. Will on Saturday, the 31st of Oct., remove their Boston Office to their Works, 95 Putnam Avenue, Cambridgeport, Mass.

Fig. 4. 11. The Overman Wheel Co. advertised endurance records and the victories of both 'amateurs' and professionals in the cycling press. (Source: *Bicycling World*, 16 Oct. 1885).

COLUMBIA RECORDS.

The Amateur Bicycle Record of the World. One Mile in **2.38 3-5**
WILLIAM A. ROWE, at St. Louis, Sept. 30.

FASTEST MILE EVER MADE UPON AN AMERICAN MADE BICYCLE.

2.37 by JOHN S. PRINCE, in Mile Handicap, at Springfield, Sept. 8.

CHICAGO,
August 15.

21 to 25 Mile Bicycle Records Broken by
N. H. VAN SICKLEN.

HARTFORD,
September 2, 3.

5 Mile L. A. W. Championship.
By WM. A. ROWE.
3 and 5 Mile Connecticut State Championships.
By L. A. MILLER.
6 First } PRIZES and POSITIONS.
3 Second }
4 Third }

SPRINGFIELD,
September 8, 9, 10.

1 Mile Amateur Handicap Won by WM. A. ROWE from scratch, in 2.41.
BEST AMATEUR RECORD ON SPRINGFIELD TRACK.
Mr. ROWE, on his Columbia Raer, also made a better average than any other American rider, and ahead of all English riders except one.
4 First } PRIZES and POSITIONS.
5 Second }
8 Third }

BINGHAMTON, N. Y.,
September 15.

Every Open Event Taken on Columbia Racers.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.,
September 17.

Four out of Six Open Events Won on COLUMBIAS.
5 Second } PRIZES and POSITIONS.
4 First }

PROVIDENCE,
September 23.

Premier Positions in All Open Bicycle Events Won on COLUMBIAS.
2.39 3-4 by WM. A. ROWE in the Mile Open.
4 First } PRIZES and POSITIONS.
3 Second }

ST. LOUIS,
September 25, 26.

The COLUMBIAS Won as Many Prizes as all other Makes of Machines Combined.
12 First } PRIZES.
4 Second }
5 Third }

Notwithstanding the above excellent result of "Good Men upon Good Bicycles," of more practical value to the 90 and 9 Wheelmen is the fact that the majority of the American Wheelmen purchase Columbia Bicycles and Tricycles, because they are pre-eminently road machines, with an ease of running and durability which have faithfully stood the test of eight years upon every grade of road, and under all supposable conditions.

CATALOGUE FREE.

THE POPE MANUFACTURING COMPANY,

597 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON.

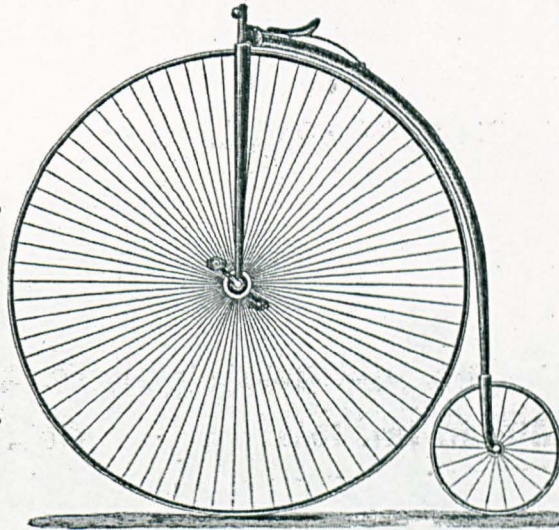
Branch Houses: 12 Warren Street, New York; 115 Wabash Ave., Chicago.

ALFRED MUDGE & SON, PRINTERS, BOSTON.

Fig. 4. 12. Although most of the racing results listed here in 1885 were for amateur events, the Pope Manufacturing Company openly made use of them to advertize its products. (Source: *Bicycling World*, 16 Oct. 1885).

"CLUB" RACER

BUILT
WITH
TANGENT
OR
DIRECT
SPOKES.



THE
MOST RIGID
AND
FASTEST WHEEL
MADE.

RECORDS.

The Two and Five Miles Records of America
were won on a "Club" RACER.

NO PAID RACING MEN.

THE

COVENTRY MACHINISTS' CO.

239 COLUMBUS AVENUE,
BOSTON.

Fig. 4. 13. The Coventry Machinists' Company stressed here that it did not pay riders who broke records, but machines and equipment were frequently supplied to 'amateur' riders. (Source: *Bicycling World*, 11 Sept. 1885).

CYCLISTS AND THE COUNTY COUNCIL

The Roads Improvement Bill has been introduced into the House of Commons. It is a measure which will give to the County Councils the power to make roads and bridges, and to levy a rate for the purpose. It is a measure which will give to the County Councils the power to make roads and bridges, and to levy a rate for the purpose. It is a measure which will give to the County Councils the power to make roads and bridges, and to levy a rate for the purpose.

COUNTY COUNCIL ELECTORS.

ROADS IMPROVEMENT BILL

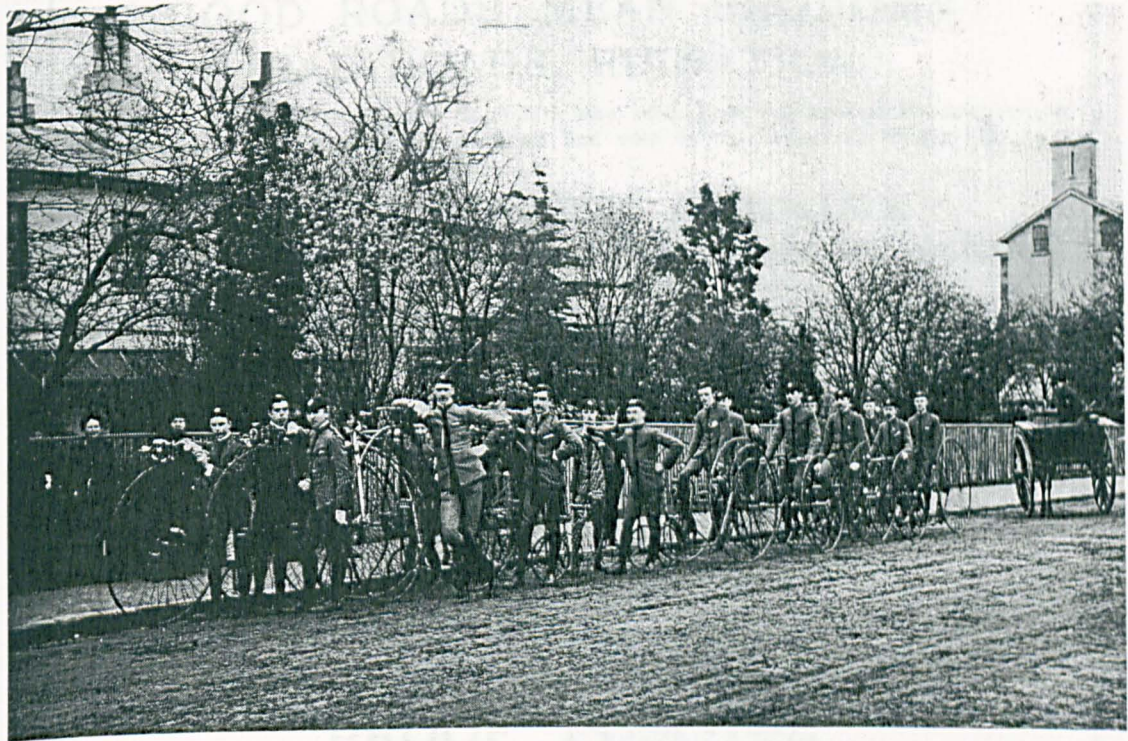


Fig. 5. 1. On the Upper Richmond Road, Putney, a south-west London cycling club demonstrates exemplary behaviour with its members all dressed in the prescribed uniform. (Source: Harrod file, author's collection).

VOTE ONLY FOR

Mr. J. J. ...
 Mr. J. J. ...
 Mr. J. J. ...

Fig. 5. 2. In 1885, the Roads Improvement Bill was discussed in a popular cycling magazine. (Source: ...)

CYCLISTS AND THE COUNTY COUNCIL.

The Roads Improvement Association has issued leaflets, of which the following is a *fac-simile*. Those of our readers who will undertake to distribute them amongst electors can obtain any number of copies from the Hon. Sec. of the R.I.A., 57, Basinghall Street, E.C.



COUNTY COUNCIL ELECTORS.

GOOD ROADS MEAN ECONOMY!
BAD ROADS, RUINATION!

Obtain therefore from every Candidate who seeks your suffrages at the forthcoming Elections a Pledge that he will advocate and vote for the adoption of the Rational and Economical programme of the

ROADS IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION.

This Programme comprises:—

- The use of the best and most durable stone broken to the proper gauge.
- The employment of less material and more skilled labour.
- The laying of coatings of stone in the autumn and early winter.
- The use of a steam roller—at any rate, in populous districts.
- The immediate removal of dust and mud from the surface of the road.
- The erection and efficient maintenance of milestones and finger-posts; and
- An intelligent supervision of the roads upon the lines universally agreed upon by all the best authorities.

By the adoption of this programme

YOUR RATES WILL BE LOWERED

and the comfort of man and beast enhanced.

PROOF POSITIVE

of these assertions is obtainable in the popular and technical Pamphlets on Road Repair issued by the ROADS IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION,* samples of which, together with a supply of this leaflet, will be sent gratis on application.

Secure, then, the promise that this Programme shall be adopted, and

VOTE ONLY FOR THOSE WHO GIVE IT.

* "Our Roads and How to Treat Them—A Word with the British Ratepayer," by "Ab Initio"; "Hints to Country Roadmen," by the same author; and "The Repair and Maintenance of Roads," by W. H. Wheeler, M. Inst. C.E. Published and issued by the Roads Improvement Association, 57, Basinghall Street, London, E.C.

Fig. 5. 2. In 1889, the Roads Improvement Association appealed to cyclists for their support in a popular cycling magazine. (Source: *Bicycling News*, 12 Jan. 1889).

SURBITON RECREATION GROUNDS BICYCLE TRACK,

Acknowledged by all Bicyclists to be the fastest in England.

BICYCLING EXTRAORDINARY!!!

H. L. CORTIS, Esq.,

Having beaten all Professional and Amateur Records on this track from 2 to 10 Miles, will attempt the unparalleled feat of Riding

20 MILES IN AN HOUR

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 2nd,
AT 6 O'CLOCK PUNCTUAL.

The following Gentlemen will accompany him, who will be presented by the Committee of the grounds with

A GOLD MEDAL

On each accomplishing

4 MILES IN 12 MINUTES:

J. GRIFFITH, Surrey B.C. J. HAMILTON, Junr., Druids' B.C.
S. KEMP, Pickwick B.C. G. L. HILLIER, Stanley B.C.
G. E. LILES, Temple B.C.

G. P. COLEMAN, Esq., - - - - Timekeeper.

ENTRANCE TO THE GROUNDS 1s., ENCLOSURE 2s.

LADIES FREE -

Tickets Purchased before the day Half-price, may be obtained of Messrs. BULL & SON, Victoria Road, and at the Institute, 11, Brighton Terrace, Surbiton.

R. M. BONIWELL, Hon. Sec.

BULL & SON, PRINTERS AND BOOKBINDERS SURBITON

Fig. 5. 3. In attempting to establish new speed records in 1880, the champion H. L. Cortis chose one of the best London tracks available to him. (Source: copy of poster in author's collection).

BELGRAVE ROAD GROUNDS, LEICESTER.
WHITSUNTIDE HOLIDAYS.
SATURDAY, MONDAY & TUESDAY,
JUNE, 4TH, 6TH AND 7TH, 1881.
£200 IN PRIZES.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS—SATURDAY.
One Mile Professional Bicycle Race for Championship Belt, value £50 and £15; second prize, £5; third, £3. No Entrance Fee.
One Mile Professional Bicycle Handicap, First Prize, £20; second, £3; third, £2. Entrance Fee, 5s., returned to starters.
MONDAY AND TUESDAY.
One and Three Mile Bicycle Handicap, Amateur, **One Mile Bicycle Race,** (Championship of Leicestershire); 120 Yards and 350 Yards Flat Race Handicap, Amateur; One Mile Steeple Chase Handicap, Amateur; Half-hour Go-as-you-please; Grand Assault-at-arms; Royal Original Clown Cricketers (Gardiner's). Handicapper, Mr. F. G. Walker.
 Entries close May 28th. For forms and particulars address Mr. J. S. Cook, at the Grounds.

LOMBARD BICYCLE CLUB.
THE FIFTH ANNUAL RACE MEETING
 WILL BE HELD AT THE
Private Banks Grounds, Catford Bridge,
 On **SATURDAY, JUNE 25th, 1881,** at 4 o'clock.

One Mile Handicap (Open).
 Three prizes, value 12 guineas, 4 guineas, and 2 guineas.
One Mile Running Handicap (Open).
 Three prizes, value £5, £2, and £1.
Five Miles Invitation Race, Scratch.
 Winners to name an Article to be purchased by the Club, and engraved.
 Handicapping by Bicycle Union.
 Entries, 2/6 each, close June 17th to Hon. Sec., Mr. H. B. Woollett, Bank of England. Entry forms from Bicycle Agents, or Hon. Sec.

LONDON BICYCLE CLUB.
Inter-Club Match with the Oxford University Bicycle Club, Stamford Bridge (L.A.C.) Grounds,
MONDAY, 20th of JUNE, 1881, at 6 p.m.
ADMISSION, ONE SHILLING.
EVENTS:
One Mile (3 heats), Four Miles, Fifteen Miles.

Evening Race Meeting, Stamford Bridge (L.A.C.) Grounds, Wednesday, 22nd June, 1881, at 6 p.m.
 Open Event: Three Miles Amateur Handicap—1st Prize, Gold Medal; 2nd, Silver Medal; 3rd, Silver Medal. Entrance Fee, 2/6.
 Entries must be made on Bicycle Union Entry Forms, and accompanied by the Entrance Fee, or the Entry cannot be received.
 Entries close on 15th June, to the Hon. Sec., E. S. PRICE, "Homaleu," Greenhill, Hampstead.

Midland Counties Bicycle Meet & Monstre Fete
AT LEAMINGTON,
WHIT-MONDAY, JUNE 6th, 1881.

The Fete, which will be held in the Jephson Gardens, will be of a high-class, and include the following attractions:—
SPLENDID REGIMENTAL BAND.
LEONATI—The Bicycle Spiral Ascensionist. The Wonder of the Age.
BALLOON ASCENT by Mr. Adams. **LENO & ELLA.** THE JENNINGS TROUPE, &c., &c., &c.
 Magnificent Display of Fireworks, by Randie, Pyrotechnist to The Queen, Prince of Wales, &c., &c.
A SILVER-PLATED BUGLE has been presented by H. M. Oliver, Esq., to be given to the club which has the largest number in the procession.

LEICESTERSHIRE CRICKET GROUNDS,
AYLESTONE PARK, LEICESTER.
WHITSUNTIDE HOLIDAYS.
 The Company will hold their Annual Amateur
ATHLETIC SPORTS
 On Whit-Monday, June 6th, 1881.

PROGRAMME:
1.—One Mile Amateur Bicycle Handicap.
 1st prize, value £10; 2nd do, value £2; 3rd do., value £1.
2.—220 Yards Flat Handicap, for Youths under 14 Years.
 1st prize, value 30s.; 2nd do., 10s.; 3rd do., 5s.
3.—One Mile Bicycle Handicap, for Youths under 14 Years.
 1st prize, value 30s.; 2nd do., 10s.; 3rd do., 5s.
4.—120 Yards Amateur Flat Handicap.
 1st prize, value £7; 2nd do., £2; 3rd do., £1.
5.—Five Mile Amateur Bicycle Championship Race.
 1st prize, value £4; 2nd do., £2; 3rd do., £1; 4th do., £10.
 GIVEN IN ADDITION TO
A SILVER CHALLENGE CUP, value £10 10s.
 Any competitor winning the event three times the Cup becomes his own property.
 Prizes given value £7 10s. each time the event is run (if not less than eight compete).
 Event Five open to any Amateur resident in Town or County of Leicester.
 Entries close Monday, May 30th. To be made to the Manager at the Ground. Entry Forms sent on application.

EXHIBITION OF
BICYCLES, TRICYCLES & ACCESSORIES
ON TUESDAY WEDNESDAY AND THURSDAY,
the 14th, 15th, and 16th June next.

It has been determined to hold a Special Exhibition of Bicycles, Tricycles and Accessories, in spacious premises belonging to the Universities Co-operative Association, at 92, LONG ACRE, W.C. All the leading Manufacturers have expressed their intention of Exhibiting. It is intended to continue the Exhibition as a permanent one, to enable all interested in the cycling world to be in a position to have an extensive selection of machines, with all the latest improvements, under one roof.
 Admission will be by Tickets, available for the three days, price One Shilling.
 The following leading Amateurs have agreed to act as the Exhibition Committee:
 H. L. CORTIS, Wanderers B.C., Amateur Champion.
 O. P. FISHER, Captain Cambridge University Bicycle Club.
 G. H. F. CHRISTIE, late Captain Dark Blue B.C.
 ROBERT T. CORRIE, Hon. Sec. Bicycle Union.
 W. WIGHTMAN WOOD, University College, Oxford.
 J. W. BENINGFIELD, Captain Pickwick B.C.
 WILLIAM McWILLIAM, Hon. Treasurer Temple B.C.
 Further information will be afforded on application to the Secretary, 92, Long Acre, W.C., or to the Hon. Sec., Mr. McWilliam, 23, Balfour Road, Highbury, N.

RACING NEWS.

OPEN EVENTS ALREADY FIXED.
 27th May—Bury St. Edmunds sports.
 28th May—Greenfield sports, Lancashire.
 29th May—Small Heath Harriers' sports at Aston.
 — June—Blawick B.C. races (3 open).
 2nd June—Dark Blue invitation races at Oxford.
 4th June—Preston (first day) sports.
 4th June—Obley Athletic Festival, one and three mile handicaps.
 6th June—Leighton Buzzard sports, two open events.
 6th June—Sports at Stanley Park, Liverpool.
 6th June—Burton-on-Trent sports, one mile handicap.
 6th June—Preston sports.
 6th June—Taunton races.
 6th June—Bournemouth B. & T. C. Sports. 1 and 3 miles.
 6th June—Pontefract Sports, two miles handicap.
 6th June—Plymouth B.C. races at Plymouth.
 6th June—Shrewsbury sports, one mile handicap.
 7th June—Mansfield C. & F.C. sports.
 7th June—Loughborough sports.
 8th June—Dudley C. & F. C. sports, one mile handicap.
 11th June—Races at West of England Meet at Bristol.

Fig. 5. 4. A variety of different types of forthcoming bicycle racing events was advertised in the pages of a prominent journal in 1881. (Source, *The Cyclist*, 25 May 1881).

PREVIOUS WINNERS OF THE UNION CHAMPIONSHIPS.

1878.		Name.	Club.	h. m. sec.	Date.	Place.
2 Miles Bicycle	..	Hon. Ion K. Falconer	C.U.Bi.C.	0 6 29	May 11	Stamford Bridge.
25 Miles Bicycle	..	A. A. Wier	O.U.Bi.C.	1 27 47	2-5ths May 11	.. " "
1879.						
1 Mile Bicycle	..	H. L. Cortis	Wanderers	0 2 59	1-5th June 12	.. " "
5 Miles Bicycle	..	H. L. Cortis	"	0 15 27	3-5ths June 19	.. " "
25 Miles Bicycle	..	H. L. Cortis	"	1 24 4	June 26	.. " "
50 Miles Bicycle	..	H. L. Cortis	"	2 56 1	4-5ths July 11	.. " "
1880.						
1 Mile Bicycle	..	C. E. Liles	L.A.C.	0 2 55	1-5th June 24	.. " "
5 Miles Bicycle	..	H. L. Cortis	Wanderers	0 15 10	3-5ths June 24	.. " "
25 Miles Bicycle	..	H. L. Cortis	"	1 22 15	2-5ths July 1	.. " "
50 Miles Bicycle	..	H. L. Cortis	"	2 56 11	2-5ths July 8	.. " "
1881						
1 Mile Bicycle	..	G. Lacy Hillier	Stanley	0 3 11	3-5ths July 16	Belgrave Grounds, Leicester.
5 Miles Bicycle	..	G. Lacy Hillier	"	0 15 39	4-5ths July 6	Surbiton.
25 Miles Bicycle	..	G. Lacy Hillier	"	1 27 43	3-5ths July 16	Belgrave Grounds, Leicester.
50 Miles Bicycle	..	G. Lacy Hillier	"	2 50 50	2-5ths July 27	Surbiton.
1882.						
1 Mile Bicycle	..	F. Moore	Warstone	0 2 47	2-5ths July 8	Aston Lower Grounds, Birmingham.
5 Miles Bicycle	..	J. S. Whatton	C.U.Bi.C.	0 15 12	4-5ths July 22	Crystal Palace.
25 Miles Bicycle	..	F. Moore	Warstone	1 25 8	1-5th July 8	Aston Lower Grounds, Birmingham.
50 Miles Bicycle	..	Hon. Ion K. Falconer	C.U.Bi.C.	2 43 58	3-5ths July 29	Crystal Palace.
5 Miles Tricycle	..	C. E. Liles	L.A.C.	0 19 39	2-5ths Oct. 14	.. " "
1883.						
1 Mile Bicycle	..	H. W. Gaskell	Ranelagh H.	0 2 55	2-5ths July 14	.. " "
5 Miles Bicycle	..	F. Sutton	Edgbaston H.	0 16 42	2-5ths July 7	Aston Lower Grounds, Birmingham.
25 Miles Bicycle	..	C. E. Liles	L.A.C.	1 22 42	3-5ths Aug. 2	Taunton.
50 Miles Bicycle	..	H. F. Wilson	Surrey	2 46 26	3-5ths July 21	Crystal Palace.
1 Mile Tricycle	..	C. E. Liles	L.A.C.	0 3 18	1-5th July 7	Aston Lower Grounds, Birmingham.
10 Miles Tricycle	..	C. E. Liles	L.A.C.	0 33 45	July 14	Crystal Palace.
1884.						
1 Mile Bicycle	..	H. A. Speechly	Chelsea	0 3 30	4-5ths June 21	Lillie Bridge Grounds.
5 Miles Bicycle	..	R. Chambers	Speedwell	0 15 36	4-5ths June 28	Cardiff.
25 Miles Bicycle	..				July 26	N'castle-on-Tyne.
50 Miles Bicycle	..	F. R. Fry	Clifton	2 51 16	3-5ths July 19	Crystal Palace.
1 Mile Tricycle	..	C. E. Liles	L.A.C.	0 3 29	1-5th July 12	.. " "
5 Miles Tricycle	..	C. E. Liles	L.A.C.	0 17 30	1-5th July 12	.. " "
25 Miles Tricycle	..	C. E. Liles	L.A.C.	1 28 58	June 21	Lillie Bridge Grounds.

Fig. 5. 5. A National Cyclists' Union amateur championship race programme from 1884 gave official legitimacy to previous championships by listing them in chronological order since the foundation of the Bicycle Union in 1878.. (Source: N.C.U. Championship programme, 26 July 1884, author's collection).

OFFICIALS

NATIONAL CYCLISTS' UNION.

25 MILES AMATEUR
CHAMPIONSHIP RACE MEETING,
North Durham Track, Gateshead-on-Tyne,
SATURDAY, JULY 26, 1884.

Official Programme, 2d.

THE HUMBER OF THE SEASON.

- ❖—
- THE HUMBER, as ridden by R. H. ENGLISH, 5 and 10 miles
Amateur Champion of the North.
- THE HUMBER, as ridden by E. J. WILKINSON.
- THE HUMBER, as ridden by D. DODDS.
- THE HUMBER, as ridden by F. WOOD, Champion of the World.
- THE HUMBER, as ridden by T. BATTENSBY, Ex-Champion of
the World.

AND MOST OF OUR NOTED RIDERS.

SOLE AGENTS FOR HUMBER BICYCLES AND TRICYCLES,

W. NEWTON & Co.,

165, Westgate Road, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and
Prudhoe Street, North Shields.

Fig. 5. 6. The same programme from 1884 advertizes Humber bicycles, although most of the riders named were amateurs. (Source: N.C.U. Championship programme, author's collection).

OFFICIALS.

JUDGE:

G. LACY HILLIER (Stanley and N.C.U.—“Tricyclist,”—Amateur Bicycle and Tricycle Champion at all distances, 1881.)
Gold Ribbon.

UMPIRES:

MAJOR-GENERAL L. R. CHRISTOPHER (Uxbridge and Dist. and N.C.U.); M. D. RUCKER (London and N.C.U.); J. S. WHATON (Cambridge and N.C.U.); ROBERT TODD (London and N.C.U.); H. C. WANSBOROUGH (Weston S. Mare and Bristol L.C.N.C.U.); W. TATTERSFIELD (Leamington and S.W.B.C.); J. WESTON BLAND (Speedwell); H. STURMEY, (Coventry C.C.—“Cyclist”); THOS. COX (Speedwell); H. Etherington (“Wheeling”); F. A. BIRD (Speedwell); C. A. PALMER (Dragon C.C.)
Pink Ribbons.

OFFICIAL TIMEKEEPER TO THE N.C.U.: ASSISTANT TIMEKEEPER:

G. PEMROKE COLEMAN (London & N.C.U.) E. R. SHIPTON (London & N.C.U.)
Grey Ribbons.

STARTER:

J. M. HUBBARD (B.A.C.)
Purple Ribbon.

HANDICAPPER:

W. W. ALEXANDER, (N.C.U.—“Athletic Star.”)
Brown Ribbon.

TELEGRAPH STEWARDS:

F. HOWARD WARNER (Redditch and Dist. C.C.); E. G. WARDEN (Islington W. C.C.); G. A. SHREAD (Handsworth C.C.); G. HOGG (Rugby C.C.)
Navy Blue Ribbons.

STARTERS' STEWARDS:

W. E. ADLARD (N.W.B.C.); H. R. FRANKLIN (Forward B.C.); W. B. BROWN (N.W.B.C.); H. MARSON (Edgbaston C.C.)
Pale Blue Ribbons.

COMPETITOR'S STEWARDS:

J. D. WHITTLES (Leek C.C.); G. W. DAWES (S.B.C.); C. LAMSDALE (Heathfield T.C.); H. M. LORD (Wolverhampton C.C.)
Olive Green Ribbon.

PROGRAMME STEWARDS:

T. S. MAYES (Birchfield B.C.); E. C. SKINNER (Warstone B.C.)
Dark Green Ribbons.

LHP TAKERS:

ALGERNON PROUT (Hornsey and N.C.U.); J. PEARCE DERRINGTON (N.W.B.C.); A. J. LEESON (B.B.C.); H. J. LEAKE (Cheylesmore C.C.); C. DAVIS (Leamington C.C.); W. BROOKE CLARKE (Manchester Southern C.C. and Manchester L.C. N.C.U.); LAWRENCE FLETCHER (Anfield B.C. and Liverpool L.C. N.C.U.); J. MAIDEN (Burslem C.C.)
Light Green Ribbon.

CLERKS OF THE COURSE:

W. J. JENKS (Wolverhampton C.C.); J. D. PRIOR (Birmingham T.C.); F. W. WARWICK (B.B.C.); H. H. FOX (R.M.B. & T.C.); F. C. MOSEDALE (Dragon C.C.); E. DEAKIN (Edgbaston F.C.); J. SIMMS (Forward B.C.); A. H. WOODWARD (Centaur C.C.)
Orange Ribbons.

ENCLOSURE STEWARDS:

J. E. SPINK (Adderley B. & T.C.); J. W. ROBERTS (Dudley C.C.); REV. RANKEN (Malvern C.C.); MARTINEAU (Solihull); A. CHAPMAN (South Suburban); E. EVANS (Small Heath C.C.); W. T. EADES (Centaur C.C.); H. MORLEY (Birmingham T.C.); H. T. BROUGH (B.B.C.); R. PRICE TAYLOR (Handsworth B.C.); W. T. COOK (Leek C.C.); C. H. JOLLY (Wolverhampton T.C.); J. WILSON (Centaur C.C.); E. H. ELKINGTON (Leamington C.C.)
Maize Ribbons

Fig. 5. 7. A list from an N.C.U. championship event in Birmingham in 1885, shows the large number of ‘officials’ considered necessary to legitimize a ‘championship’. (Source: race programme from 13 June 1885, author’s collection).

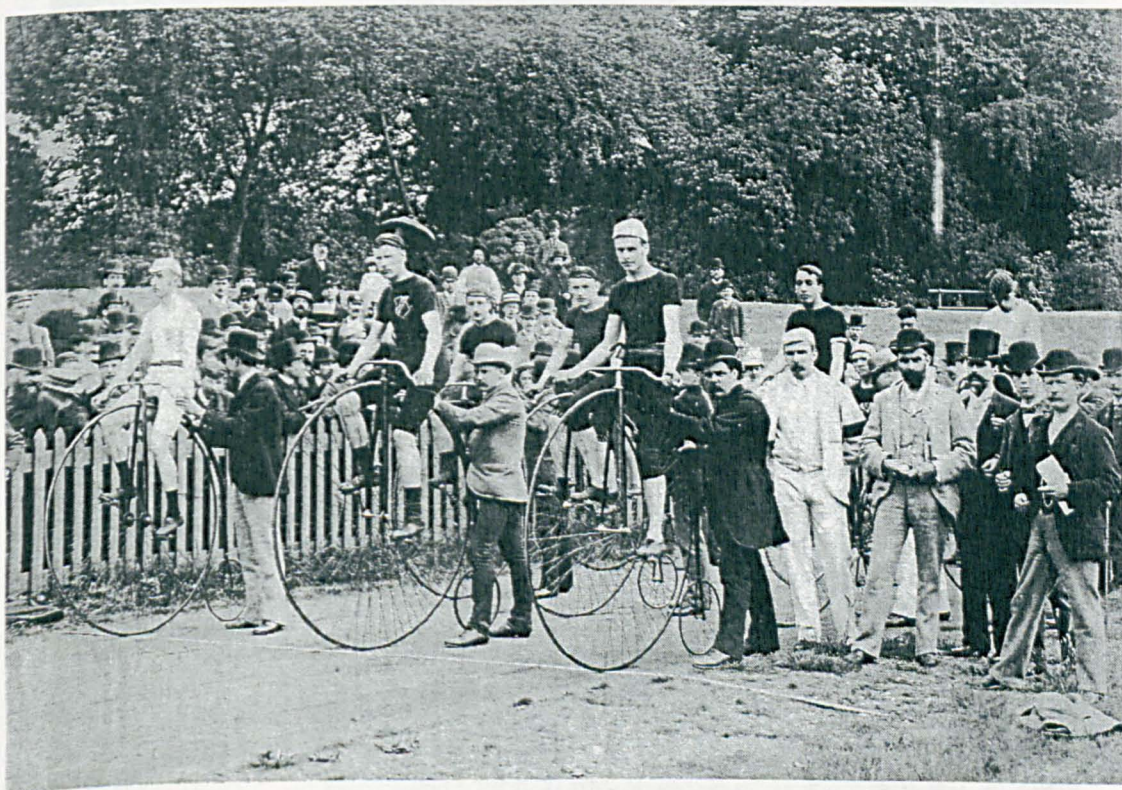


Fig. 5. 8. Track officials can be seen gathered beside competitors in this undated photograph, probably at the start of a championship event from 1885-6 (G. Lacy Hillier in white). (Source: author's collection).

Fig. 5. 9. George Waller, a professional cyclist, in 1885. (Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY.)

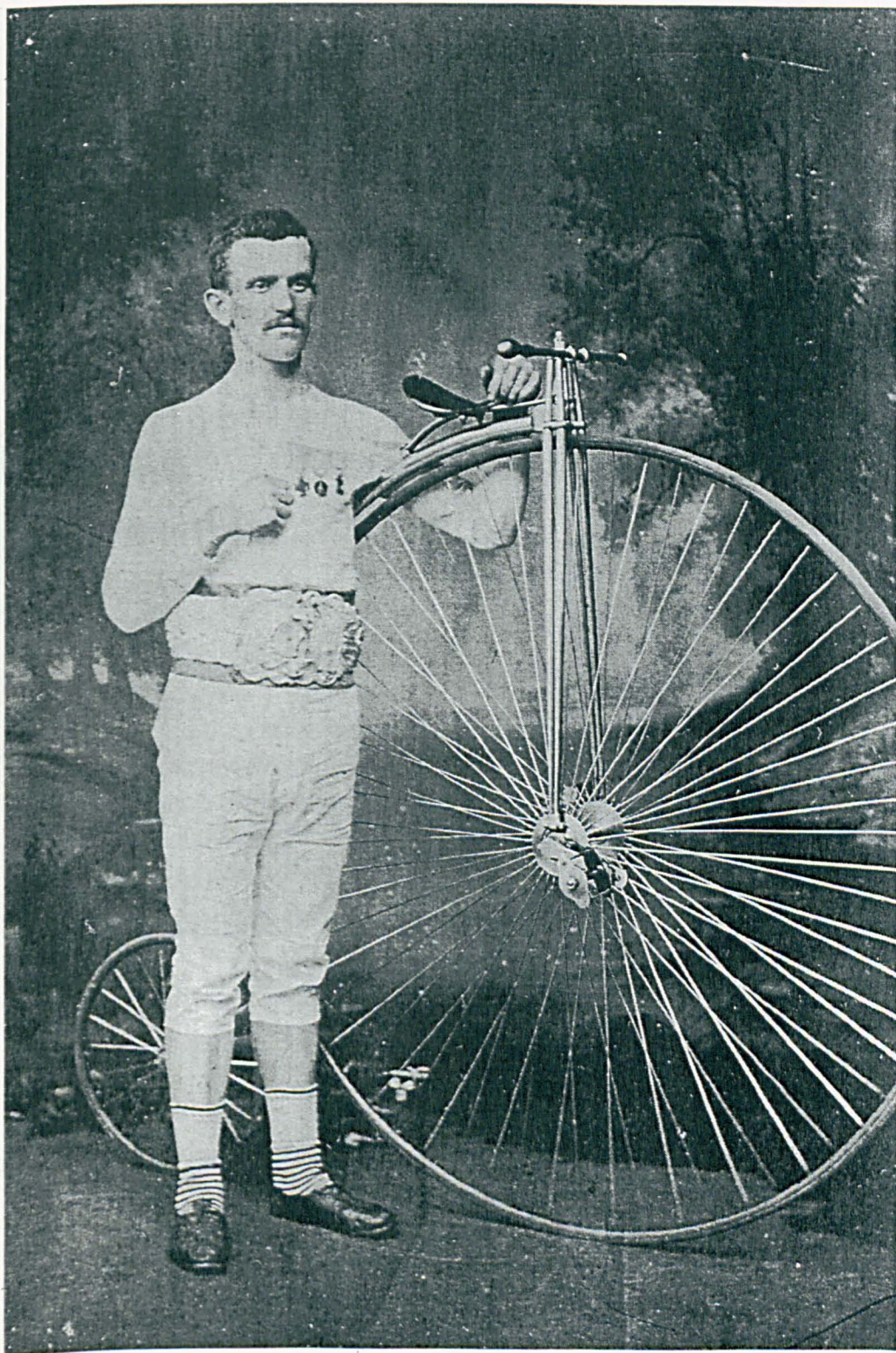
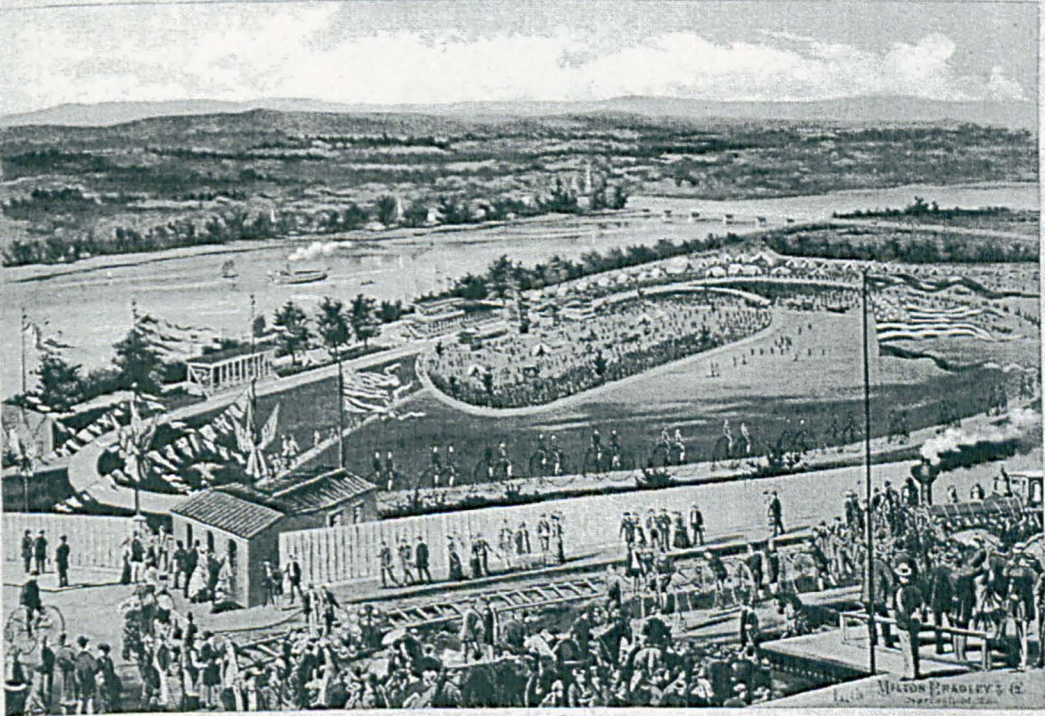


Fig. 5. 9. George Waller, a professional cyclist from Newcastle, wearing his championship belt, c.1880. (Source: Monkwearmouth Station Museum, Sunderland).

SPRINGFIELD BICYCLE CLUB.



BICYCLE CAMP-EXHIBITION & TOURNAMENT.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS. U.S.A. SEPT. 18, 19, 20, 1883.

Fig. 5. 10. The Springfield Tournaments were elaborately choreographed, commercially-driven sporting festivals staged on the outskirts of the city, attended by well-dressed, middle-class spectators. (Source: Springfield poster, John Weiss collection).

Fig. 5. 11. The First Grand International
Sept. 1886, advertised in *Opinion*
(Source: David W. Blodgett, Aug. 1886)

SPRINGFIELD,
SEPTEMBER 14, 15, 16, AND 17, 1886.

GRAND
ONE-MILE RACE
FOR THE
Bicycle Championship of the World!

SPECIAL CONDITIONS
(ADDITIONAL TO A. C. U. RULES).

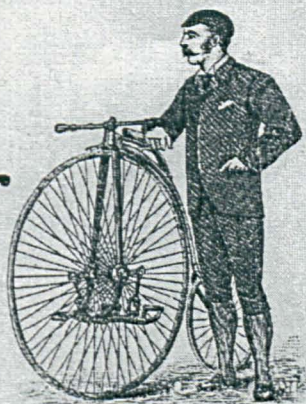
- Contestants must have a Record of 2.45.
- The Race to be run in heats of two men each, the winners of each heat to run to a final heat.
- First Prize to the winner of the final heat, who shall be declared the Champion of the World. Second Prize to the winner of the fastest heat. Both Prizes of equal value.
- Contestants to be the guests of the Club.

For particulars, address **SPRINGFIELD BICYCLE CLUB, Springfield, Mass., U.S.A.**

Fig. 5. 11. The 'Fifth Grand International Tournament' of the Springfield Bicycle Club, 14-17 Sept., 1886, advertized its One-Mile Race as a 'Bicycle Championship of the World'. (Source: *The L.A.W. Bulletin*, 6 Aug. 1886).

THE "FACILE"

SAFETY BICYCLE



LAND'S END TO JOHN-O'-GROATS.

ALL PREVIOUS RECORDS BEATEN.

1880. Blackwell & Harman, 13 days	1882. A. Nixon (Tricycle) 14 days
1881. Jas. Lennox - - 12 „	1883. Jas. Lennox - - 10 „
1882. Keith-Falconer - 13 „	

1884. J. H. ADAMS, 46in. 'Facile,' 6 DAYS
23 HOURS 45 MINUTES.

1884. H. R. GOODWIN, 38in. 'Facile,' 8
DAYS 15 HOURS.

Total distance, 924 Miles. Average per day:
Adams, 132 Miles; Goodwin, 108 Miles.

SOLE MANUFACTURERS:

ELLIS AND CO., LIMITED,

165, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.

(DESCRIPTIVE PAMPHLETS.)

Fig. 6. 1. The 'Facile' was the first of the 'dwarf' safety bicycles to break records and gain acceptance for the safety bicycle in both racing and recreational use. (Source: *Wheeling*, 11 June 1884).

MORGAN'S PATENT
THE STRONGEST
SAFETY



Fig. 6. 2. The 'Kangaroo' (behind) was a chain-driven, small-wheeled ordinary bicycle, seen here racing against a Rover 'safety'. (Source: *Wheel World*, Nov. 1885, artist George Moore).



MORGAN'S PATENT SOLID ROLLER CHAINS

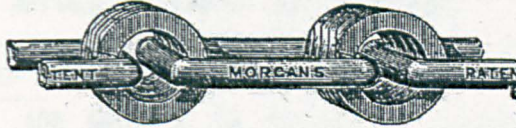
THE STRONGEST, LIGHTEST & BEST CHAIN FOR SAFETY BICYCLES.

WHEELS KEPT IN STOCK.

Certificate of Test from Messrs. Tanguy, Limited:—Finished Bright Chain stood the Test of 2,464 lbs. or 23 cwt.

The Championship of the World was won on a Safety Bicycle with Morgan's Chain at the Aquarium—630 miles in 48 hours. All the leading makers are using it; being endless it allows more freedom and ease of motion, with much less friction than any other kind of Chain in the market. To use any other Chain is to be handicapped, this is the opinion of Champion Riders.

DOES NOT STRETCH.



DOES NOT STRETCH.

SEND FOR SAMPLE AND PRICE TO THE
Sole Agent: FRANK SIMONS, 26, High St., Birmingham.

THE CYCLIST.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

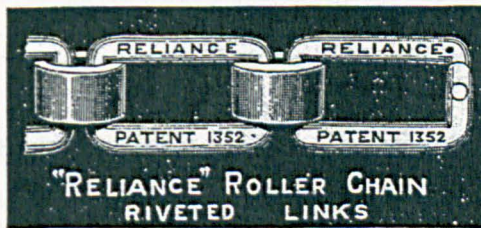
FEBRUARY 2ND, 1887. 25

STANLEY SHOW, 1887.

STAND 102.

THE ACME OF INVENTION.

SOLID LINK.



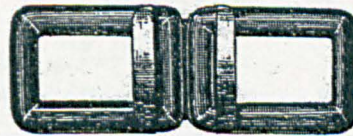
SOLID ROLLER.

Officially tested

"RELIANCE" ROLLER CHAIN
RIVETED LINKS

to 2,800 lbs.

NO JOINT OR RIVET THAT WILL OPEN OR BEND.



APPLEBY'S

PATENT ADJUSTABLE STEEL CHAIN.

Links are made of Solid Steel. For simplicity, adjustability and strength, cannot be excelled.

PERRY & CO., LIMITED, BIRMINGHAM.

Figs. 6. 3 and 6. 4. Chain technology, allowing 'gearing up' to the rear wheel, was the key ingredient in manufacturing successful tricycles and in the emergence of 'dwarf'- and 'Rover'-type 'safety' bicycles. (Source: *The Cyclist*, 19 Aug. 1885 and 2 Feb. 1887).

STARLEY & SUTTON'S "Rover" Safety

**NOW HOLDS THE 50 & 100 MILES WORLD'S ROAD RECORDS
FOR EVERY KIND OF CYCLE.**

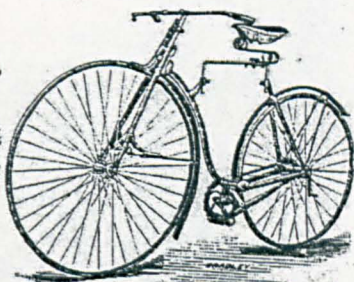
IF YOU HAVE NOT TRIED ONE DO SO AT ONCE.

50 Miles in 3h. 5m. 34s. 100 Miles in 7h. 5m. 16s.

THE BUTTS, COVENTRY, SEPTEMBER 29TH, 1885.
DEAR SIRS.—I am very pleased with the running of the "Rover" Safety, and although I have ridden nearly all the other types of Safeties, I am sure the "Rover" is the fastest machine I have been on. So much so, indeed, am I impressed with this opinion that had it not been for my spring breaking in the recent race I feel sure I should have lowered the record to six and a half hours.

Yours truly, S. GOLDER,
Coventry C.C. and Leamington and S.W. B.C.

Illustrated Price Lists with Testimonials free on application.

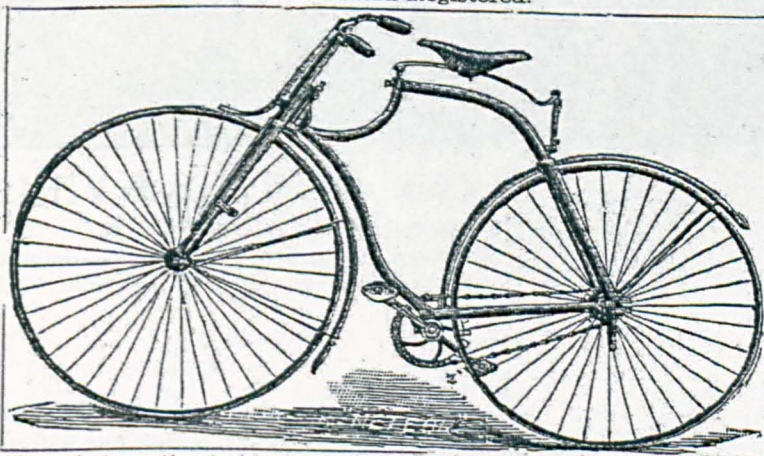


STARLEY & SUTTON, METEOR WORKS,
WEST ORCHARD, COVENTRY.

THE "ROVER" SAFETY

Patented and Registered.

Holds the
World's
Records for
every kind
of Cycle.
Fifty Miles
in 3h. 5m.
The fastest
Cycle ever
made, an
undoubtedly
THE
machine for
this Season.



The Safest
Cycle
ever made.
No
skidding
or
side slipping
on
bad roads
or
greasy sets
Learned in
Ten
Minutes.

Our New Automatic-steering "Meteor" Tricycle now ready for delivery.

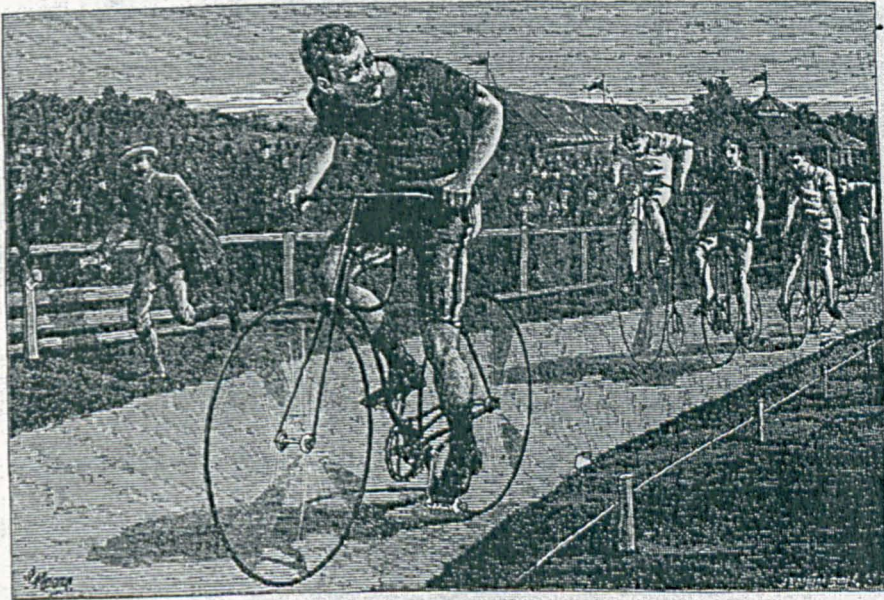
Intending purchasers of Bicycles are cautioned against buying a machine of the "Rover" type simply because it is driven by the back wheel. The "Rover" Safety Bicycle was designed several years before the demand for Safeties arose, and it was our original intention to launch it as a rival to the ordinary Bicycle; but its absolute safety induced us to add the word "Safety" to its name. We say most emphatically that where a machine of this class is built for a safety, without a thorough mechanical knowledge of the most important qualities which constitute its speed, ease, and absolute safety (and which are universally admitted to be the distinguishing features of the "Rover"), nothing but disappointment can result to the rider. We deem it our duty to make these observations as, since we have developed new and important principles in this machine, other makers are endeavouring to foist obsolete patterns upon the public. We have only to add that, had we not discerned principles in the Bicycle which had not been heretofore developed, the "Rover" Safety would never have been made.

SEND FOR LISTS.

Makers: STARLEY & SUTTON, West Orchard, Coventry.

Fig. 6. 5 and Fig. 6. 6. Starley and Sutton's 'Rover' safety bicycle quickly established itself as an alternative, in terms of both safety and speed, to the high-wheel (or 'ordinary') bicycle. (Source: *The Cyclist*, 21 Oct. 1885 and 10 March 1886).

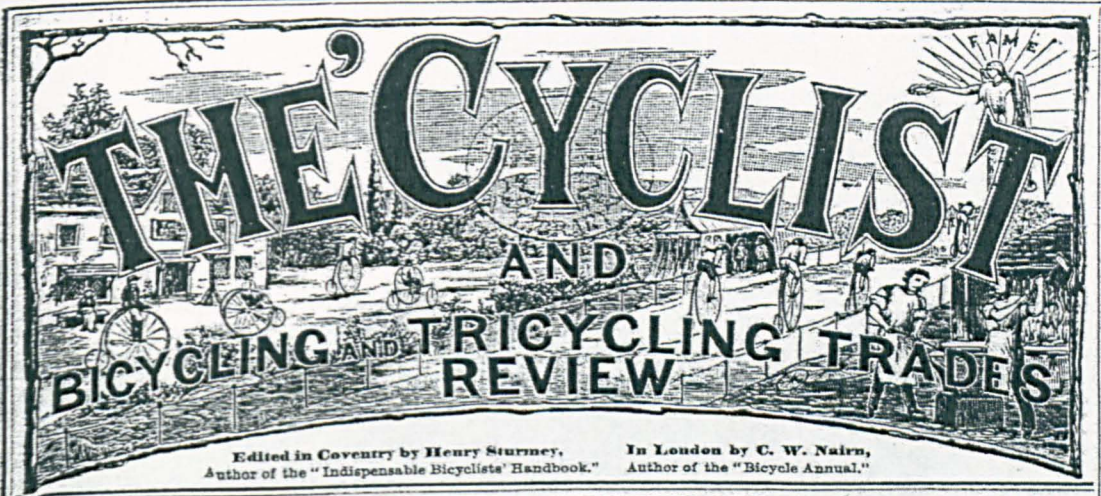
THE 'ROVER' SAFETY.



STARLEY & SUTTON, METEOR WORKS, WEST ORCHARD, COVENTRY.

Send for Price Lists and Testimonials, with list of Prizes, &c.

Fig. 6. 7. In Starley and Sutton advertising, the Rover 'safety' is depicted riding away from other current designs of bicycles at a race meeting. (Source: *Wheeling*, 5 May 1886).



No. 315. Vol. VII.] LONDON & COVENTRY, WEDNESDAY, OCT. 28, 1885. [ONE PENNY.
Registered for transmission both in the United Kingdom and in places abroad.

THE
Kangaroo 100 Mile Road Race

Took place on Tuesday, October 20th, 1885, when the distance was covered by Mr. Hale in the marvellous time of

6hrs. 39min. 5sec.

ECLIPSING ALL PREVIOUS RECORDS

For every kind of Cycle by **26min. 11sec.**

MESSRS. BELDING AND MILTHORPE ALSO BEAT ALL FORMER RECORDS.

Only eleven competitors started, seven of whom covered the 100 Miles under 7 hours 20 minutes, and other three under 7½ hours.

	H.	M.	S.		H.	M.	S.
1st Hale	6	39	5	6th Travers	7	18	58
2nd Belding	6	52	25	7th Barmore	7	19	6
3rd Milthorpe	7	1	19	8th Duncan	7	30	58
4th Fraser	7	6	25	9th Smith	7	36	58
5th Albone	7	9	58	10th King	7	44	46

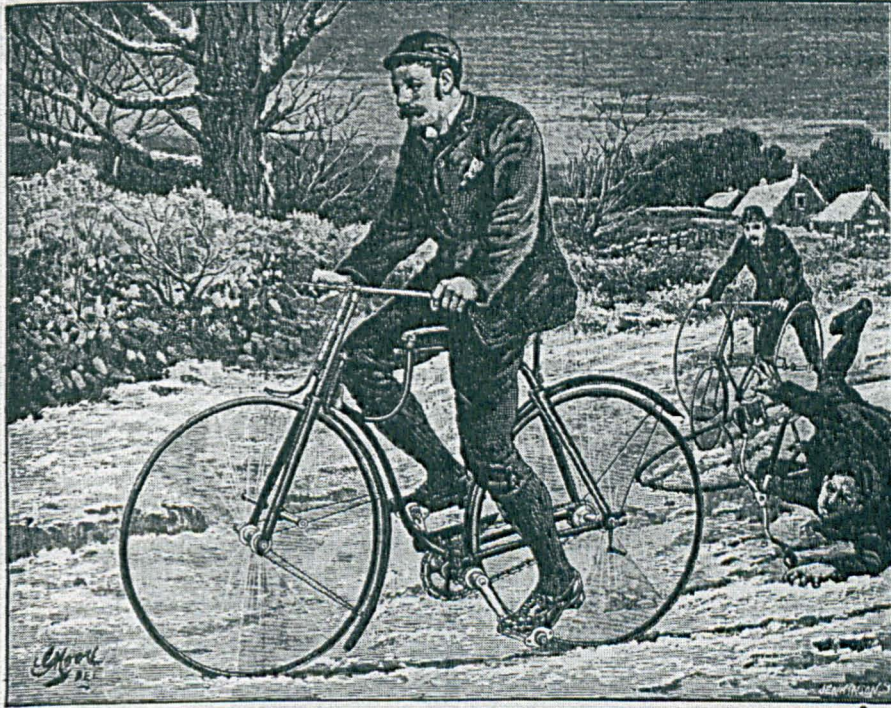
PATENTEES AND SOLE MANUFACTURERS OF THE "KANGAROO"—

HILLMAN, HERBERT AND COOPER

PREMIER WORKS, COVENTRY. 14, HOLBORN VIADUCT, E.C., 5, LISLE ST., LEICESTER SQ., W. LONDON

Fig. 6. 8. A 'Kangaroo' 100 mile road record set by Edward Hale in October 1885 was soon beaten by the 'Rover' safety: rival designs were tested in competition on the road. (Source: *The Cyclist*, 28 Oct. 1885).

*SEE ADVERTISEMENT, PAGE 16.



The "ROVER" SAFETY. Inventors and Sole Makers—STARLEY & SUTTON, Meteor Works. COVENTRY.

SPECIAL SHOW AND TRADE
SUPPLEMENT TO 'THE CYCLIST',
WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 26th, 1887.

Fig. 6. 9. An advertizement from Jan. 1887 showed a club rider successfully navigating mud and snow, while the high-wheeler rider falls and a tricycle rider lags behind. (Source: *The Cyclist*, 26 Jan. 1887).

268 Miles in 24 Hours

IN THE NORTH ROAD C.C. RACE ON SEPTEMBER 3.

This Marvellous Ride was accomplished by Mr. G. P. MILLS on an

"ANFIELD IVEL" TRICYCLE,

Totally eclipsing all other records, and again proving this machine to be the fastest made.

In the above Race the "IVEL" SAFETY was FIRST, and the "IVEL" TRICYCLE SECOND.
The rest nowhere in it.

LOOK OUT FOR THE "IVEL" TANDEM.

At the Kildare Races, on Saturday last, Knight was 1st
and Willis 3rd in the Safety Race, both riding "Ivels."

PRICE LIST AND PARTICULARS FREE ON APPLICATION TO

DAN ALBONE,
"IVEL" CYCLE WORKS, BIGGLESWADE.



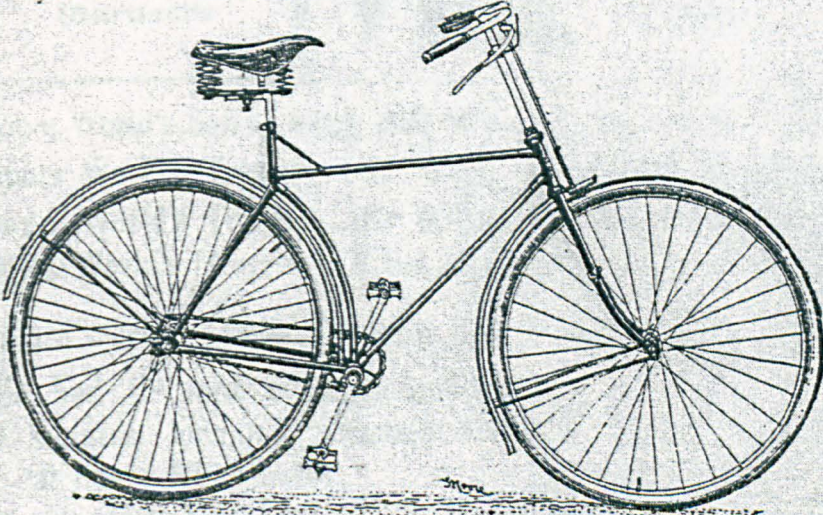
Fig. 6. 10. G. P. Mills was perhaps the most outstanding of the English long-distance road riders who tested the performance qualities of various designs of safety bicycles and tricycles in competition in the late 1880s and early 1890s. (Source: *Wheeling*, 21 Sept. 1887).

AN UNSOLICITED TESTIMONIAL.

"PNEUMATIC AND SIMILAR TYRES BARRED" is the phraseology which covers the whole question, and ensures at least a race.—*Bicycling News*, June 7th.

THE REASON WHY.

Because it is now an acknowledged fact that no Solid or Cushion Tyred Machine can compete with a Pneumatic for speed.



The first **WORLD'S RECORDS** ever credited to Ireland were made by P. P. KILKELLY, Esq., on a

PNEUMATIC SAFETY,

at the College Races, on June 7th. Quarter Mile Grass Record beaten by one second. Five Miles Grass Record beaten by 10½ seconds.

At Birmingham on Whit-Tuesday, on a cinder path, H. E. LAURIE BEAT WORLD'S RECORD by six seconds; and last week, in Scotland, on a wet track, he BROKE SEVENTEEN SCOTCH RECORDS. On both occasions he rode a borrow'd

— PNEUMATIC. —

Scottish Sport, of June 13th, says:—"It is clear that before a year the solid tyre will no longer be fitted to racing machines."

THE PNEUMATIC TYRE & BOOTH'S CYCLE AGENCY, LTD.,

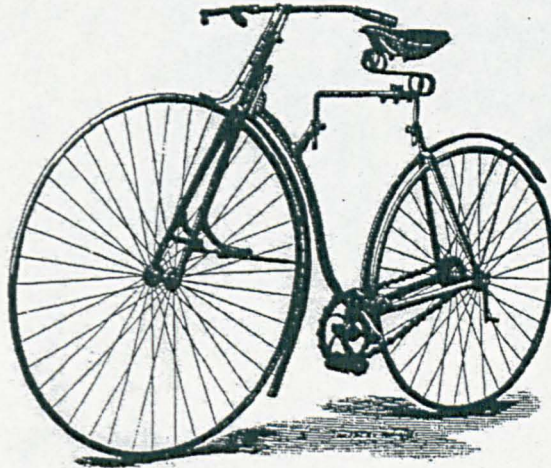
Oriel House, Westland Row, Dublin;

AND

31, GARFIELD STREET, BELFAST.

Fig. 6. 11. An 1890 advertisement for The Pneumatic Tyre and Booth's Cycle Agency emphasized the speed and record potential of the pneumatic tyre. (Source: Mecredy and Wilson, *The Art and Pastime of Cycling*, 2nd ed., 1890).

The "Rover" Safety



— NOW HOLDS THE —

50 MILES ^{AND} 100 MILES
Road Records of the World.

50 MILES IN 3 HRS. 5 MIN.,

By Mr. S. GOLDBER, Leamington and S.W.B.C.; and

100 MILES IN 7 HRS. 5 MIN. 16 SEC.,

By Mr. GEO. SMITH, Merry Rovers T.C.

STARLEY & SUTTON,
"Meteor" Works, West Orchard, Coventry.

*Late 1885 advertisement promoting the Rover
after its record breaking achievements.*

Fig. 6. 13. The 'Rover' safety bicycle established road records in 1885, marking it decisively as not only safe, but also fast. (Source: Pinkerton and Roberts, *A History of Rover Cycles*, p. 38).



Fig. 6. 14. The Du Cros family of Dublin, Ireland epitomized the rise of the 'gentleman amateur' within bicycle racing and were heavily instrumental in proving the pneumatic tyre in competition. Seen here (top to bottom, left to right) are George, Arthur, Harvey (Jr.), William, Alfred, Harvey (Sr.) and Fred Du Cros. (Source: author's collection).

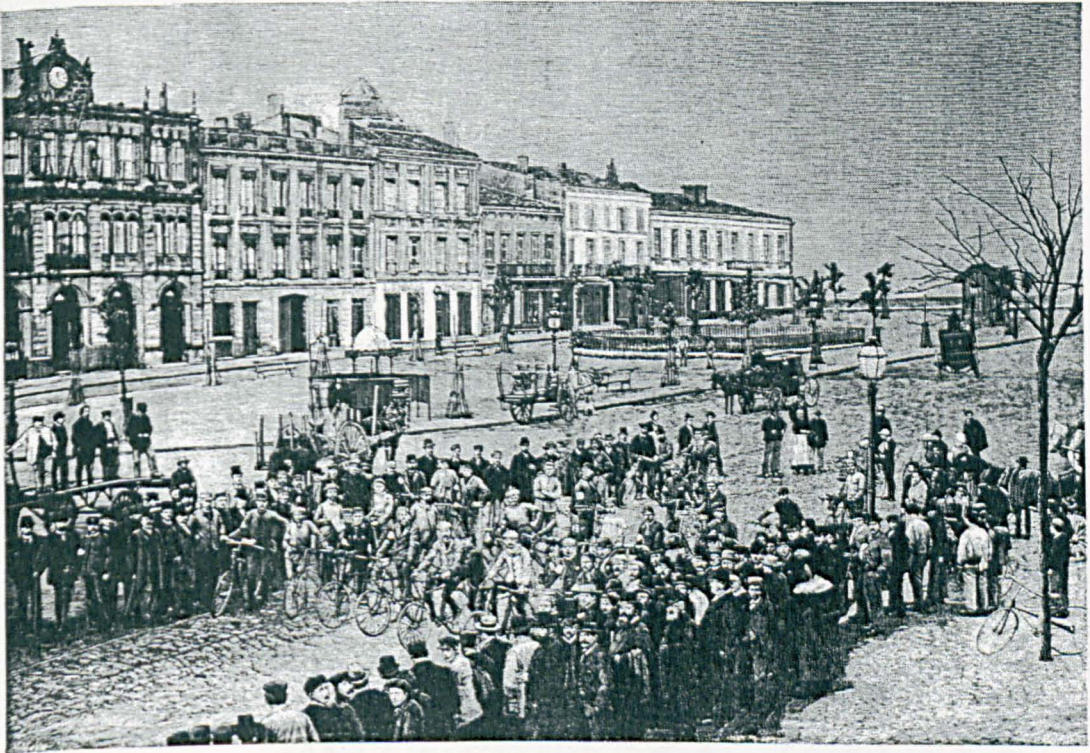


Fig. 7. 1. Competitors in the 1891 Bordeaux - Paris race line up for the early morning start at the Gare de la Bastide. (Source: contemporary engraving, location unknown).



LA GRANDE COURSE NATIONALE PARIS-BREST & Retour

Gagnée sur une Bicyclette "HUMBER"

ATTESTATION DE CHARLES-TERRONT, LE VAINQUEUR

qui a parcouru la distance de 1,200 kilomètres, en 71 heures 37 minutes (soit 3 jours et 3 nuits) sans dormir; battant Jiel-Laval de 8 heures 35 minutes et les autres 209 coureurs de plusieurs jours.

Bayonne, septembre 1891.

Messieurs Humber et C^{ie}, Paris.

Messieurs,

J'ai un devoir à remplir auprès de vous, après la victoire que je viens de remporter sur une bicyclette de votre fabrication dans la Course Paris-Brest et Retour.

Dans cette course si pénible par suite de la longue distance à parcourir, des multiples difficultés et des nombreuses côtes de Bretagne, c'est évidemment à la machine seule que je dois mon triomphe.

Aurais-je aussi facilement gagné cette importante épreuve — battant le deuxième par 8 h. 1/2 — si je n'avais monté une bicyclette « HUMBER » sur laquelle je suis resté trois jours et trois nuits sans dormir, — c'est-à-dire près de 72 heures consécutives, — sans le moindre accident et ayant une entière confiance en ma machine? Je ne le crois pas.

Aussi malgré les offres nombreuses qui me furent faites avant la course par d'autres fabricants, j'ai choisi votre marque à cause non seulement de mon goût personnel mais aussi à cause du règlement du *Petit Journal* qui faisait que les concurrents ne pouvaient changer de machine pendant le parcours, cette dernière étant plombée aux cadres et aux roues.

C'est pourquoi je n'ai pas hésité un seul instant, sachant depuis longtemps que vos machines étaient les mieux perfectionnées et les plus vites et, par conséquent, les plus susceptibles de me faire remporter la victoire.

Je puis vous dire également que j'espère ne jamais monter d'autres machines que les « HUMBER », les meilleures du monde à mon avis.

Permettez-moi enfin de vous remercier pour vos attentions à mon égard pendant cette course qui vous fait tant honneur.

Veuillez agréer mes salutations sincères,

Votre dévoué,

CH. TERRONT,

Vainqueur de la Course Nationale Paris-Brest et Retour.

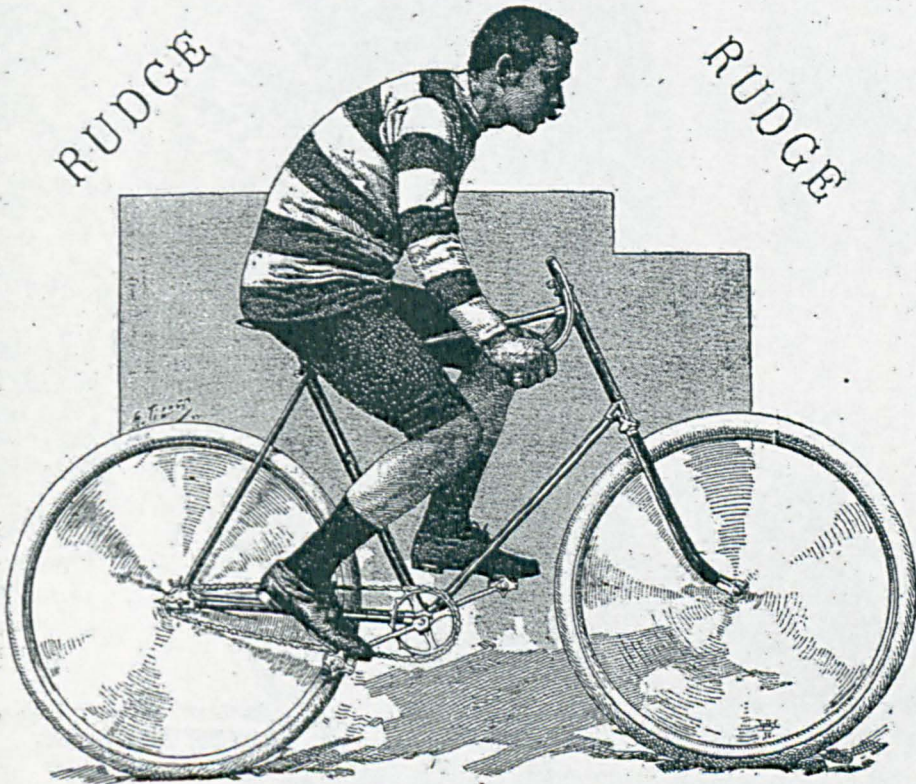
Maison principale pour la France: HUMBER & C^{ie} L^{td}

PARIS — 19, rue du Quatre-Septembre — PARIS

Fig. 7. 2. As agent in Paris for the Humber company, H. O. Duncan managed the victory of his star rider, Charles Terront, to gain maximum publicity for the superior qualities of the Humber bicycle used in the Paris - Brest - Paris race. (Source: *La Bicyclette*, 22 May, 1892).

MATCH DE 1,000 KILOMÈTRES
(TERRONT contre CORRE)

VICTOIRE DE CHARLES TERRONT
SUR SA BICYCLETTE



RECORD DU MONDE.

Charles TERRONT est resté 25 heures et 7 minutes sur sa bicyclette RUDGE sans quitter la selle, parcourant pendant ce temps la distance phénoménale de 653 kilomètres. Il a été obligé de descendre à ce moment par suite d'un accident survenu à son pneumatique Michelin.

Une fois la réparation de son pneumatique achevée, Terront a pu reprendre sa première bicyclette et finir le parcours des 1,000 kilomètres sans le moindre dérangement, en 41 h. 58 m. 52 s. 4/5.

Cette constatation a soulevé l'admiration de tous les cyclistes en général.

« Ne remettez pas à demain ce que vous pouvez faire aujourd'hui », et demandez notre nouveau Catalogue illustré, qui est adressé franco.

RUDGE CYCLE COMPANY, LTD.

H. O. DUNCAN, directeur pour la France.

Prière de mentionner le "VELOCE-SPORT" en écrivant aux Annonceurs.

Fig. 7. 3. Charles Terront's non-stop ride of 653 kms in his 1000 kms match against Jean Corre in Paris in 1893 was typical of the dramatic feats of endurance cycling promoted in the 1890s. (Source: *Le Véloce-Sport*, 16 March 1893).



Charles Terront

H. O. Duncan

Fig. 7. 4. A widely circulated photograph illustrated the modern sport relationship, between manager/promoter, athlete and machine, which was created by Duncan and Terront to establish records and market Rudge bicycles to the consumer. (Source: Duncan and Lafitte, *En Suivant Terront de St. Petersburg à Paris*, 1894).

La meilleure Marque du monde

RUDGE
CYCLE CO. LTD



MAISON PRINCIPALE
POUR LA FRANCE

16, RUE HALÉVY
Paris

H. O. DUNCAN, Directeur

Fig. 7. 5. The suggestion of the publicity put out by Rudge, represented in Paris by Duncan, was that the new, pneumatic-tyred bicycle would have a global impact. (Source: Duncan and Lafitte, *En Suivant Terront de St. Petersburg à Paris*, 1894).

Bordeaux-Paris

14 MAI 1892

DOUBLE VICTOIRE DES MACHINES

Clement.

M. **STÉPHANE** montant une Bicyclette **CLÉMENT**, munie de pneumatiques **DUNLOP** est arrivé **PREMIER** parcourant la distance de 572 kilomètres en 25 heures 37 minutes et battant de 58 minutes le record du célèbre champion anglais **MILLS**.

M. **VIGNEAUX** montant une Bicyclette **CLÉMENT**, munie de pneumatiques **DUNLOP** est arrivé **SECOND** parcourant la distance de 572 kilomètres en 27 heures 18 minutes et battant de 32 minutes le record du célèbre champion anglais **HOLBEIN**.

CLÉMENT & C^{ie}

A. CLÉMENT SUC^R

20, Rue Brunel

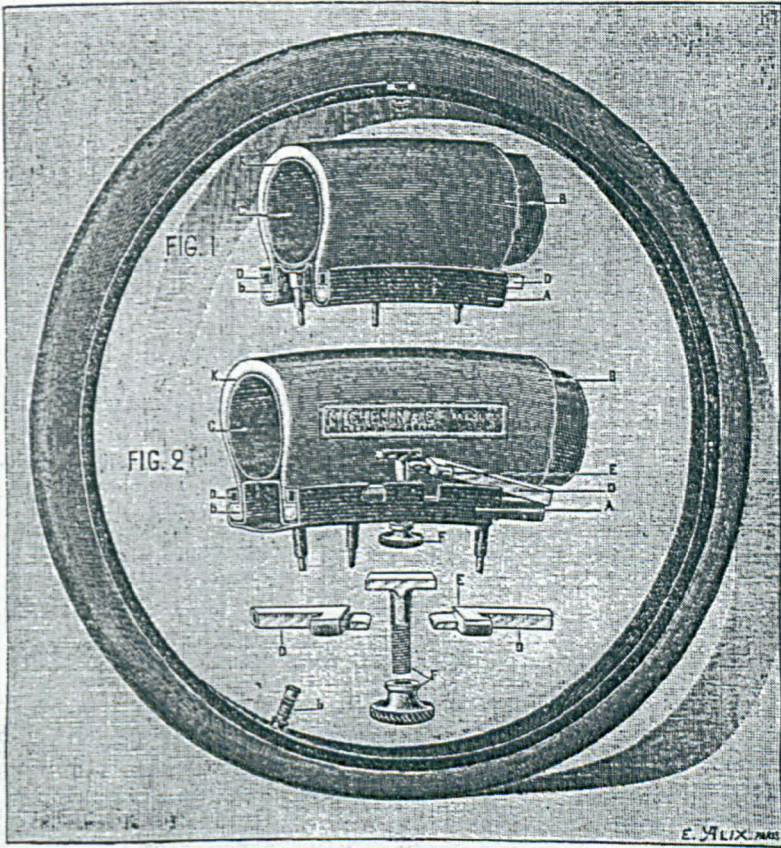
31, Rue du Quatre-Septembre

PARIS

Fig. 7. 6. Tyre and bicycle manufacturers were equally aggressive in using the results of road racing to publicize the superior qualities of their products. (Source: *La Bicyclette*, 22 May 1892).

PNEUMATIQUE MICHELIN ET C^o

A gagné PARIS-BREST avec Ch. Terront



A gagné le LYON-RÉPUBLICAIN avec Allard

Les CINQ PREMIERS de la Course

PARIS-NANTES

montaient des machines munies du

PNEUMATIQUE MICHELIN

qui est le seul

PRATIQUE

pour la route.

Fig. 7. 7. Tyre and bicycle manufacturers were equally aggressive in using the results of road racing to publicize the superior qualities of their products. (Source: *La Bicyclette*, 7 August 1892).



Fig. 7. 8. Public opposition to racing on the road in England put pressure on organizers, such as the North Road Cycling Club, one of whose races is seen here, to place the starts and finishes away from population centres, minimizing the possibility of spectatorship. (Source: author's collection).



CHARACTER SKETCHES.-I.

GEORGE LACY HILLIER.

TEMPLE PRESS, LTD., LONDON, E.C.

Fig. 7. 9. George Lacy Hillier was depicted by artist Percy Kemp in 1897. (Source: *Cycling*, 20 Feb. 1897).



BICYCLING WORLD

DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS OF CYCLING

Published Every Friday at No. 12 Pearl Street

\$1.00 a Year.
5 cents a copy.

BOSTON, 24 JUNE, 1887.

Volume XV.
Number 8.

CLARKSVILLE 100 MILE ROAD RACE.

The Greatest Bicycle Race Ever Run Since Cycling Began.

THE RECORD:

	Name.	Machine Ridden.	Time.
1st,	Robt. A. Neilson,	VICTOR,	6.46.27
2d,	Wm. A. Rhodes,	VICTOR,	6.46.51
3d,	H. G. Crocker,	Columbia,	6.51.27
4th,	S. Hollingsworth,	Columbia.	
5th,	S. G. Whittaker,	Champion,	
	C. W. Ashinger,	Champion,	Dropped out at 20 miles.
	Chas. Frazier,	Star,	Dropped out at 20 miles.
	John Brooks,	Star,	Dropped out at 40 miles.
	A. A. McCurdy,	Star,	Dropped out at 40 miles.

TWO VICTORS entered, taking 1st and 2d Place.

ALSO,

In the great 100 Mile Road Race at Crawfordsville, Ind., June 13, W. A. Rhodes, riding the only VICTOR BICYCLE in the race, took first place, distancing all competitors.

Overman Wheel Co.

MAKERS OF VICTOR BICYCLES, TRICYCLES AND SAFETIES.
182-188 Columbus Avenue, BOSTON.

Illustrated Catalog Free.

Fig. 7. 10. Prominent advertising to 'boom' records set in road races appeared from the late 1880s on, as in this example of the Clarksville Road Race, 'the greatest bicycle race ever run since cycling began'. (Source: *Bicycling World*, 24 June 1887).

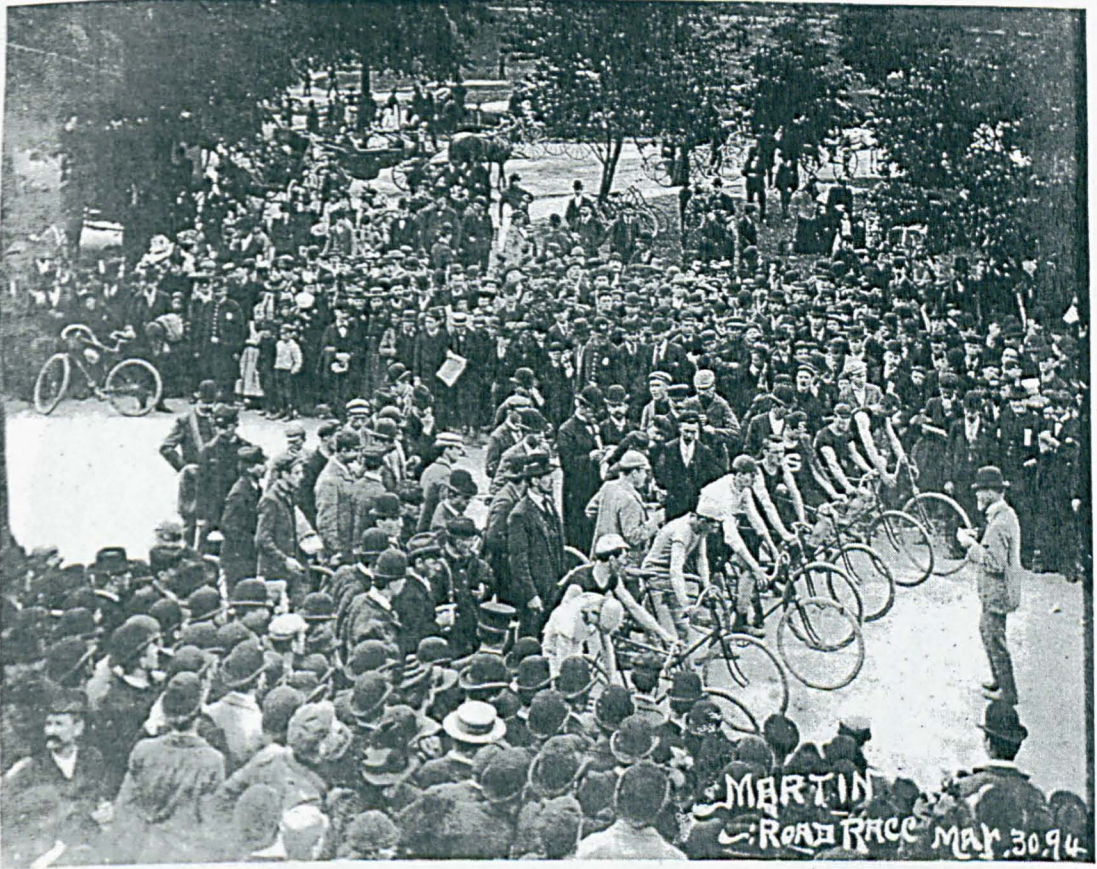


Fig. 7. 11. In contrast to the English race seen in Fig. 7. 8., the Martin Road Race, held in Buffalo, New York in March 1894 attracted 20,000 spectators. Riders were sent off in handicap groups (one of which is seen here) at half-minute intervals; the winner won a piano worth \$650. (Source: Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society, Buffalo, New York).



ROAD RACING.

Fig. 7. 12. Road racing was seen by some people, both inside and outside the sport, as a threat to cycling in Britain, likely to increase legislation directed at the recreational and utility cyclist. (Source: *Bicycling News*, 4 June 1892).

ROAD-RIDERS OF 1890.

No. 4.



EDMUND DANGERFIELD,

Winner of both the 100 Miles Open Scratch Road Races, held last year, by the Bath Road and North Road Cycling Clubs.

Fig. 7. 13. The 'scorcher' as threat: Edmund Dangerfield, the founder of *Cycling* in 1891, is depicted here by artist George Moore as winner of two important 100-mile road races, the Bath Road C.C. and the North Road C.C. events. (Source: *Cycling*, 23 May 1891).

GRAND
INTERNATIONAL
BICYCLE TOURNAMENT!

OF THE

SPRINGFIELD BICYCLE CLUB,

HAMPDEN PARK,

SPRINGFIELD, MASS., SEPT. 16, 17, 18 and 19, 1884.

\$8,000.00 * IN * PRIZES!

REMEMBER THE DATES.

Tuesday, September 16.

Wednesday, September 17.

Thursday, September 18.

Friday, September 19.

GRAND PARADE, WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 17.

Grand Display of Fireworks, Thursday, Sept. 18.

NINE GRAND AND EXCITING RACES EACH DAY.

Fig. 8. 1. The Springfield Bicycle Club succeeded in internationalizing its annual race meetings, attracting British riders in spite of the distance from European competition. (Source: *Bicycling World*, 12 Sept. 1884).

* SPRINGFIELD! *

FIFTH GRAND INTERNATIONAL * TOURNAMENT

OF THE
SPRINGFIELD BICYCLE CLUB

ON THE FAMOUS

Hampden Park, Springfield, Mass., U.S.A., September 14, 15, 16, ^{and} 17, 1886.

GRAND RACE FOR THE WORLD'S CHAMPIONSHIP!

LIST OF RACES.

First Day—Tuesday, September 14.				Third Day—Thursday, September 16.			
EVENTS.	CLASSES.	WHEELS.	CONDITIONS.	EVENTS.	CLASSES.	WHEELS.	CONDITIONS.
1-mile	Amateur	Bicycle	World's Championship—1st heat.	1-mile	Amateur	Bicycle	World's Championship—7th heat.
1-mile	Promateur	Bicycle	Novice.	3-mile	Promateur	Bicycle	Open.
10-mile	Professional	Bicycle	A. C. U. Championship.	10-mile	Professional	Bicycle	Lap.
5-mile		Bicycle	Handicap.	1-mile		Bicycle	Open.
1-mile		Bicycle	World's Championship—2d heat.	1-mile	Amateur	Bicycle	World's Championship—8th heat.
5-mile	Amateur	Bicycle	14.30 Class.	5-mile	Promateur	Bicycle	Open.
1-mile	Promateur	Bicycle	Open.	3-mile	Professional	Bicycle	Open.
5-mile	Professional	Tricycle	Open.	1-mile	Professional	Bicycle	Handicap.
1-mile		Bicycle	World's Championship—3d heat.	1-mile		Bicycle	World's Championship—9th heat.
1-mile	Amateur	Tandem	A. C. U. Championship.	5-mile	Professional	Tricycle	Handicap.

Second Day—Wednesday, September 15.				Fourth Day—Friday, September 17.			
EVENTS.	CLASSES.	WHEELS.	CONDITIONS.	EVENTS.	CLASSES.	WHEELS.	CONDITIONS.
1-mile		Bicycle	World's Championship—4th heat.	1-mile	Amateur	Bicycle	World's Championship—10th heat.
5-mile	Amateur	Bicycle	Lap.	3-mile	Promateur	Bicycle	9.45 Class.
5-mile	Promateur	Bicycle	Handicap.	1-mile	Amateur	Bicycle	Open.
1-mile	Professional	Tricycle	Open.	10-mile	Professional	Bicycle	Lap.
1-mile		Bicycle	World's Championship—5th heat.	1-mile		Bicycle	World's Championship—11th heat.
3-mile	Professional	Bicycle	Lap.	3-mile	Amateur	Bicycle	Handicap.
5-mile	Promateur	Bicycle	Lap.	1-mile	Promateur	Bicycle	9.40 Class.
3-mile	Professional	Bicycle	Handicap.	5-mile	Professional	Bicycle	Open.
1-mile		Bicycle	World's Championship—6th heat.	1-mile		Bicycle	World's Championship—final heat.
1-mile	Amateur	Tricycle	Open.	3-mile		Bicycle	Consolation.

ENTRIES CLOSE SEPTEMBER 7, 1886. All Events have three Prizes, where there are four or more starters. Entry Forms, Blanks, List of Prizes, etc., will be furnished upon application to SANFORD LAWTON, Secretary, Springfield, Mass., U.S.A.

* SPRINGFIELD! *

Fig. 8. 2. In 1886, the Springfield Club ambitiously advertized its 1 mile race as a 'Grand race for the World's Championship'! (Source: *The Cycle*, 20 Aug. 1886).

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY!

RACING MEN

ON

PALMER TYRES.

ENGLAND.

Stroud, Schofield,
 F. J. Osmond, Relph,
 S. F. Edge, C. A. Smith,
 Shorland, Buckle,
 G. E. Osmond, T. W. Good,
 A. E. Good, Bidlake,
 J. G. Newey, Wridgeway,
 etc., etc., etc.

CANADA.

W. Hyslop,
 Marshall Wells,
 Harbottle, Carman, etc.

AMERICA.

Zimmerman, Sanger,
 Windle, Tyler,
 Taylor, Bliss,
 Banker, Wheeler,
 Johnson, Rhodes,
 Dernberger, and practically
 all successful riders in
 America.

SOUTH AFRICA.

L. S. Meintjes,
 Parkes, etc., etc.

Palmer Tyres hold
All World's Records,
From $\frac{1}{4}$ to 27 Miles.
From 1 Hour to 24 Hours.

THE PALMER TYRE, LIMITED,
 Head Office: BIRMINGHAM.

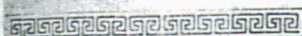
Fig. 8. 3. By 1893, international professionalism within cycling had advanced to the extent that the Palmer Tyre company was sponsoring riders in four countries. (Source: *The Cyclist*, 18 Oct. 1893).

THE BEARINGS.

Chicago Hotels

Have thousands of rooms at
from One Dollar a day
upwards, yearning for
occupants. The charges

Are **NOT** Extortionate!



DON'T LET FALSE REPORTS KEEP YOU AWAY FROM THE

International Races...

AUGUST 7 TO 12.

IT WILL BE

AMERICA VERSUS THE WORLD!

In the first races ever run for the International championships.

\$8,000 TRACK! \$10,000 PRIZE LIST! SEATING FOR 15,000 PEOPLE!

Abundant entertainment will be provided, including free theater, free moonlight excursion on the lake,
and other amusements.

Reception committee will meet all trains and attend to the wants of visitors.



The International Meet will be an event hitherto unapproached! Entertainment Galore!

ENTRIES CLOSE JULY 26

Fig. 8. 4. The first official World Championships in Chicago in 1893 were advertised in Chicago as 'America versus The World!'. (Source: *The Bearings*, 21 July 1893).

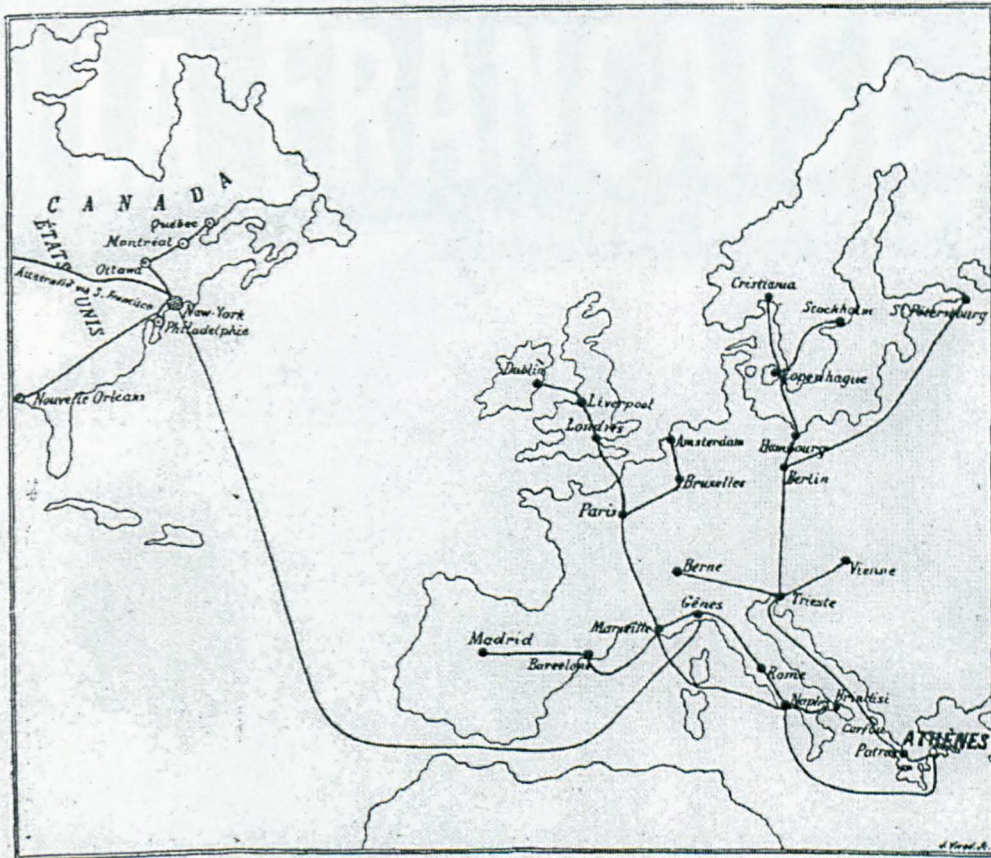


Fig. 8. 5. Arthur Augustus Zimmerman photographed in 1893, the year in which he won the first official 1 mile World Championship. (Source: author's collection).



THE VIEW SOME PEOPLE TAKE OF THE LICENSING SCHEME.

Fig. 8. 6. The National Cyclists' Union is depicted here as a ferocious flying angel with a sword, slashing at a cyclist sheltering on the shoulder of a laurel-wreathed goddess labelled 'Sport'. (Source: *Cycling*, 27 April 1895).



Jeux Olympiques

ATHÈNES

5-15 Avril 1896

L'Agence Th. Cook et Son, de Londres, s'est mise en communication avec les différentes Compagnies de Chemins de fer et de Paquebots dans le but d'obtenir des réductions de prix en faveur tant des concurrents que des simples curieux qui, de toutes les parties du Monde, se rendront en Grèce à l'occasion des Jeux Olympiques.

Fig. 8. 7. The map released by Thomas Cook showing railway and steam-ship routes to the 1896 Olympic Games in Athens, for which special fares could be obtained, can also be seen as a diagrammatic representation of the existing dissemination and global reach of bicycle racing as a sport in 1896. (Source: *Bulletin du Comité International des Jeux Olympiques*, April 1895, p.4).

CYCLES SOCIÉTÉ LA FRANÇAISE MARQUE DIAMANT



Fig. 9. 1. The first Tour de France, held in 1903 and won by Maurice Garin, was a potent modern expression of national pride, athletic endurance and the technological accomplishments of French bicycle manufacturers. Garin covered the six marathon stages, a total of 2,428 kms, in 94 hours 33 minutes, an average speed of more than 25 km/h, spending more than 15 hours in the saddle each day. (Source: author's collection).

9^e Année - N° 411

50 centimes.

4 Août 1906 - Tous les Samedis.

LA VIE
AU

GRAND
AIR

DANS
CE NUMÉRO :

Le Tour de France
La traversée
de Paris à la nage



Fig. 9. 2. By 1906, the Tour de France had become established as an annual celebration of sport and French national and regional pride. The winner, René Pottier, was shown on the cover of the popular weekly, *La Vie au Grand Air*. (Source: *La Vie au Grand Air*, 4 Aug. 1906).



Fig. 9. 3. Super-endurance long-distance bicycle rides between significant geographical locations were undertaken, used in bicycle industry advertizing and popularized in published accounts such as Robert L. Jefferson's *Awheel to Moscow and Back*, published in 1895. (Source: author's collection).

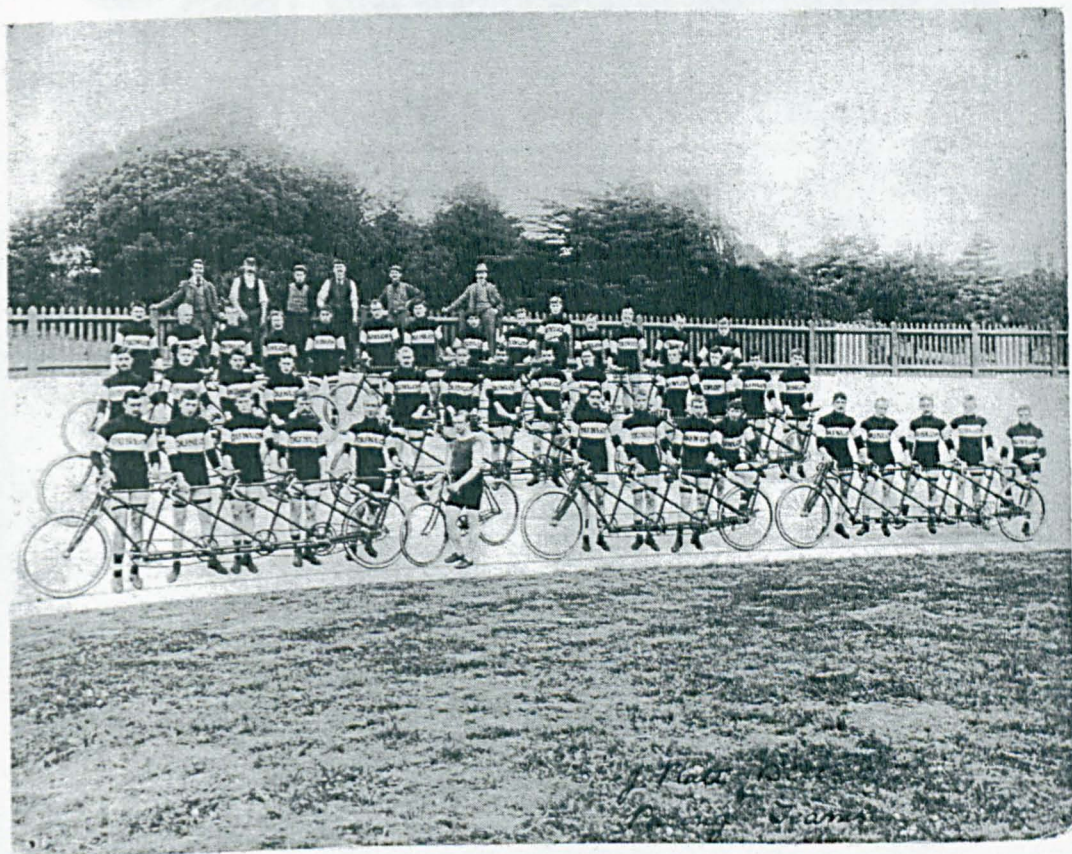


Fig. 9. 4. As the principles of 'pacing' were increasingly understood and applied, individual riders were assisted to greater speeds behind teams of riders on multi-cycles. Riders switched from team to team to maintain their speed, a highly technical manoeuvre. Teams were expensively maintained by leading manufacturers, in this case the Dunlop Company, whose riders are seen here with record-breaker J. Platts-Betts at Herne Hill, London in 1898. (Source: author's collection).

The Wheel

and
CYCLING TRADE REVIEW

P.O. Box 444
3 PUBLISHED
N.Y.

Vol. IV.—No. 6.]

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 4, 1889.

[WHOLE NUMBER, 84.]

"A CHICAGO LADY ON A CHICAGO WHEEL."
THE AMERICAN RAMBLER.



Can be furnished for use of both lady and gentleman if desired.

GORMULLY & JEFFERY MFG. CO.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Largest American Manufacturers.

80-page Catalogue on Application.

MERWIN, HULBERT & CO., New York Agents.

Fig. 10. 1. As the earliest bicycles built specifically for women came on the market, women struggled with inappropriate long skirts. (Source: *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review*, 4 Oct. 1889).

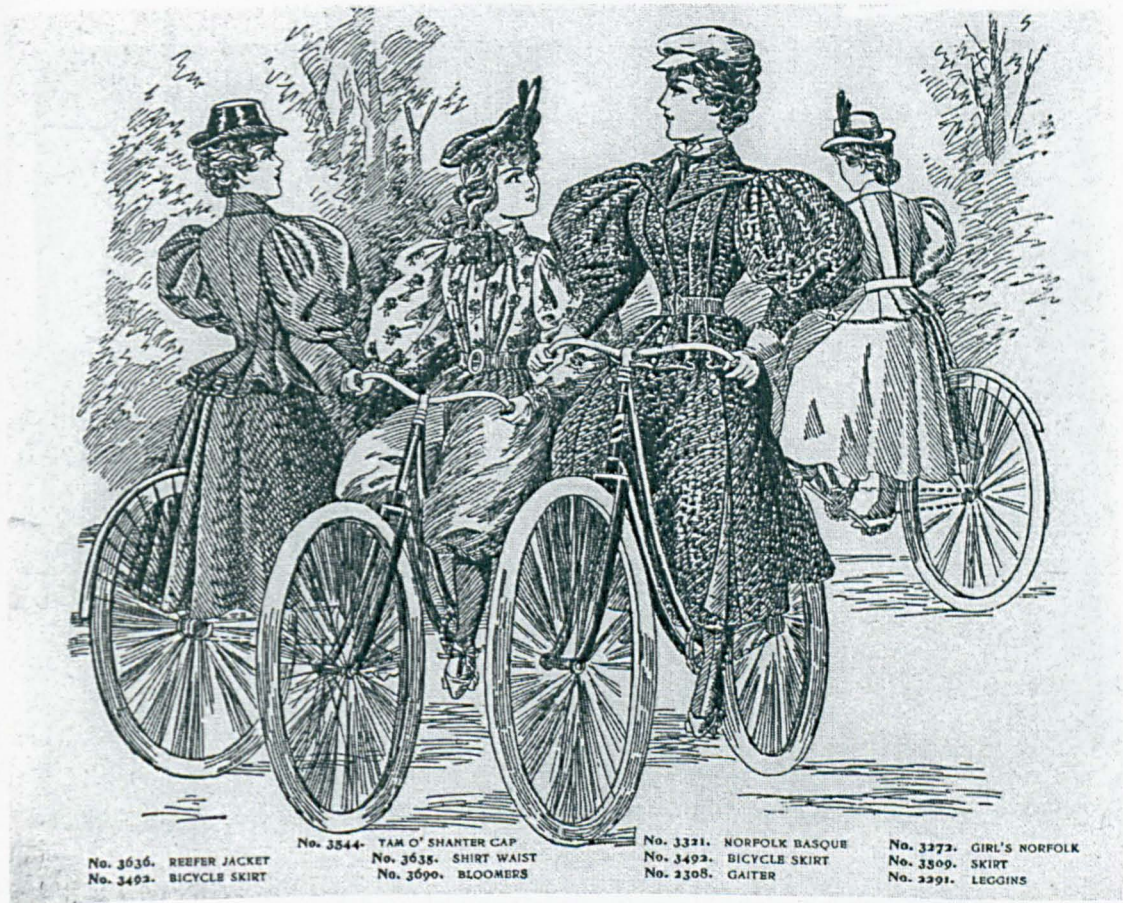


Fig. 10. 2. By the 'boom' of the mid-1890s, however, women had the choice of either fashionable conservative dress, more practical 'bifurcated' skirts or the radical 'bloomers' for their cycling activities. (Source: *Ladies' World - Outing and Bicycle Number* [New York], July 1896).

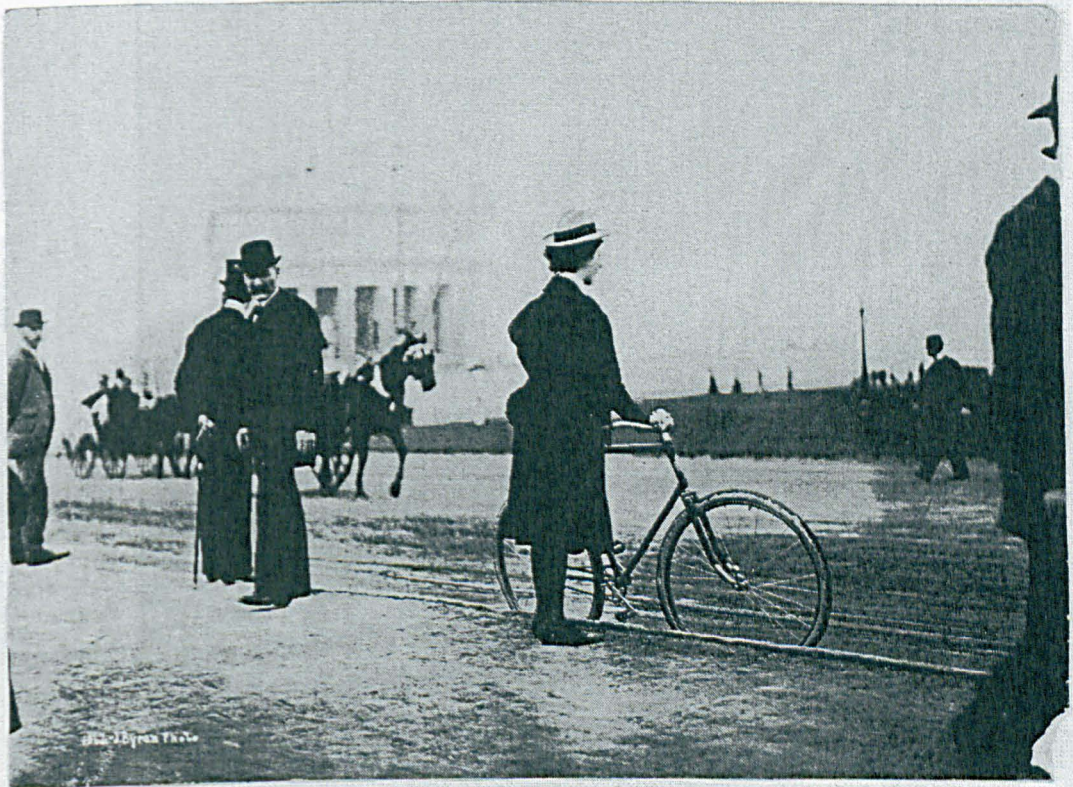


Fig. 10. 3. Situated with a new-found independence in ambiguous urban space, the cycling woman appeared to offer a provocative challenge to accustomed order. (Source: Byron Collection, Museum of the City of New York).

Fig. 10. 4. Although using for women was not a simple high-wheel machine but a more complex machine, Durieux was one of a number of inventors who designed the bicycle for women.



Phot Barenne.

Fig. 10. 4. Although racing for women was little developed in the 19th century, it did occur as a risqué high-wheel music-hall act in the 1880s and particularly in Paris in the late-1890s. Mlle. Dutrieux was one of a handful of serious female competitors. (Source: H.O. Duncan, *Vingt Ans de Cyclisme Pratique*).



Fig. 11. 1. H. L. Cortis (Wanderers Bicycle Club) on the 59" bicycle on which he rode 20 miles 300 yds in one hour at the Crystal Palace track on 27 July 1882 (Source: author's collection).

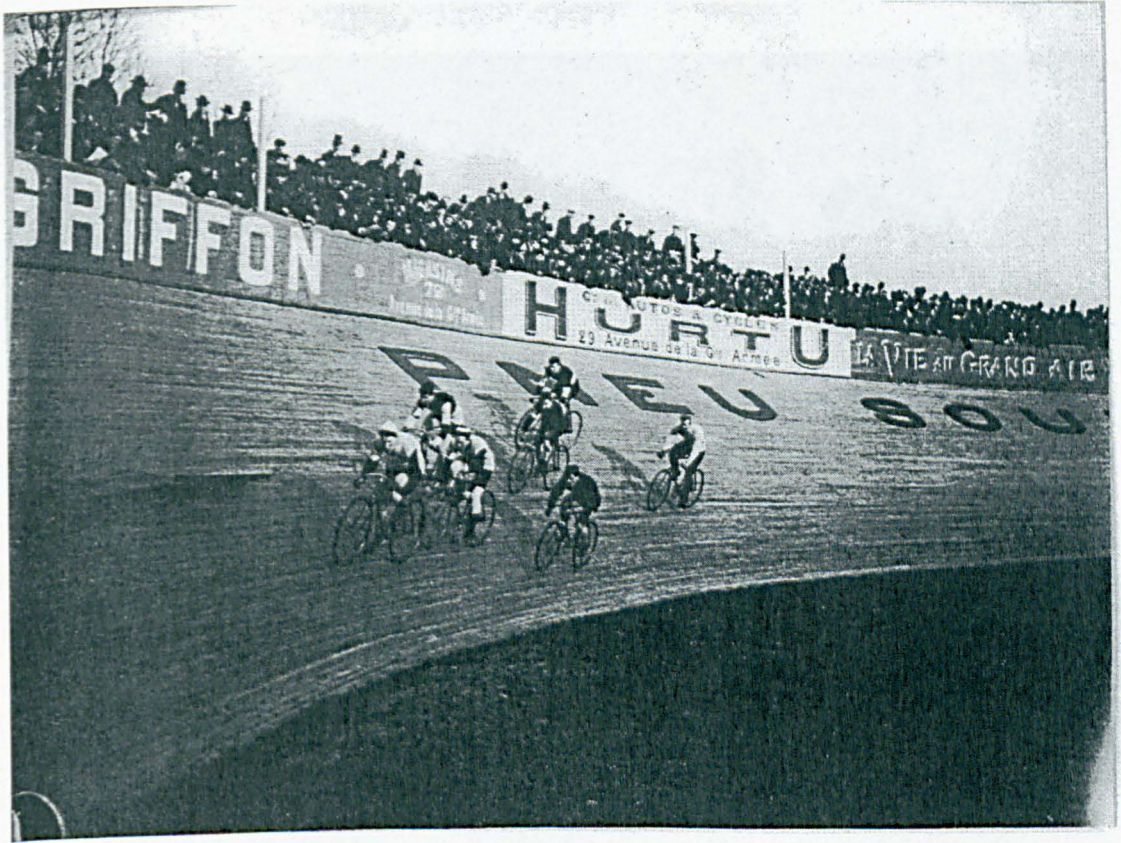


Fig. 11. 2. By 1903, competitors on the banked Parc des Princes track in Paris were watched by thousands of spectators, while the advertizements for 'autos and cycles', tyres and the sporting press announced the arrival of modern sport practices. (Source: Jules Beau, photographer, author's collection).

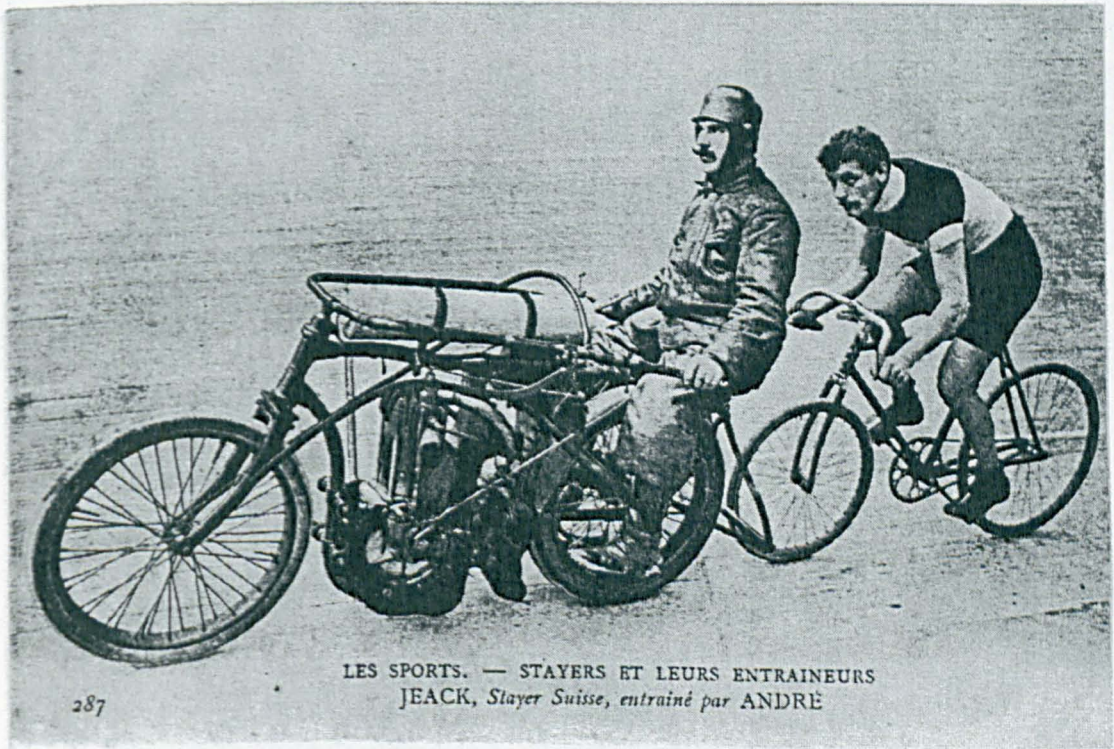


Fig. 11. 3. By 1900, cyclists had achieved previously unheard of speeds, paced by powerful gasoline-powered machines. (Source: author's collection).

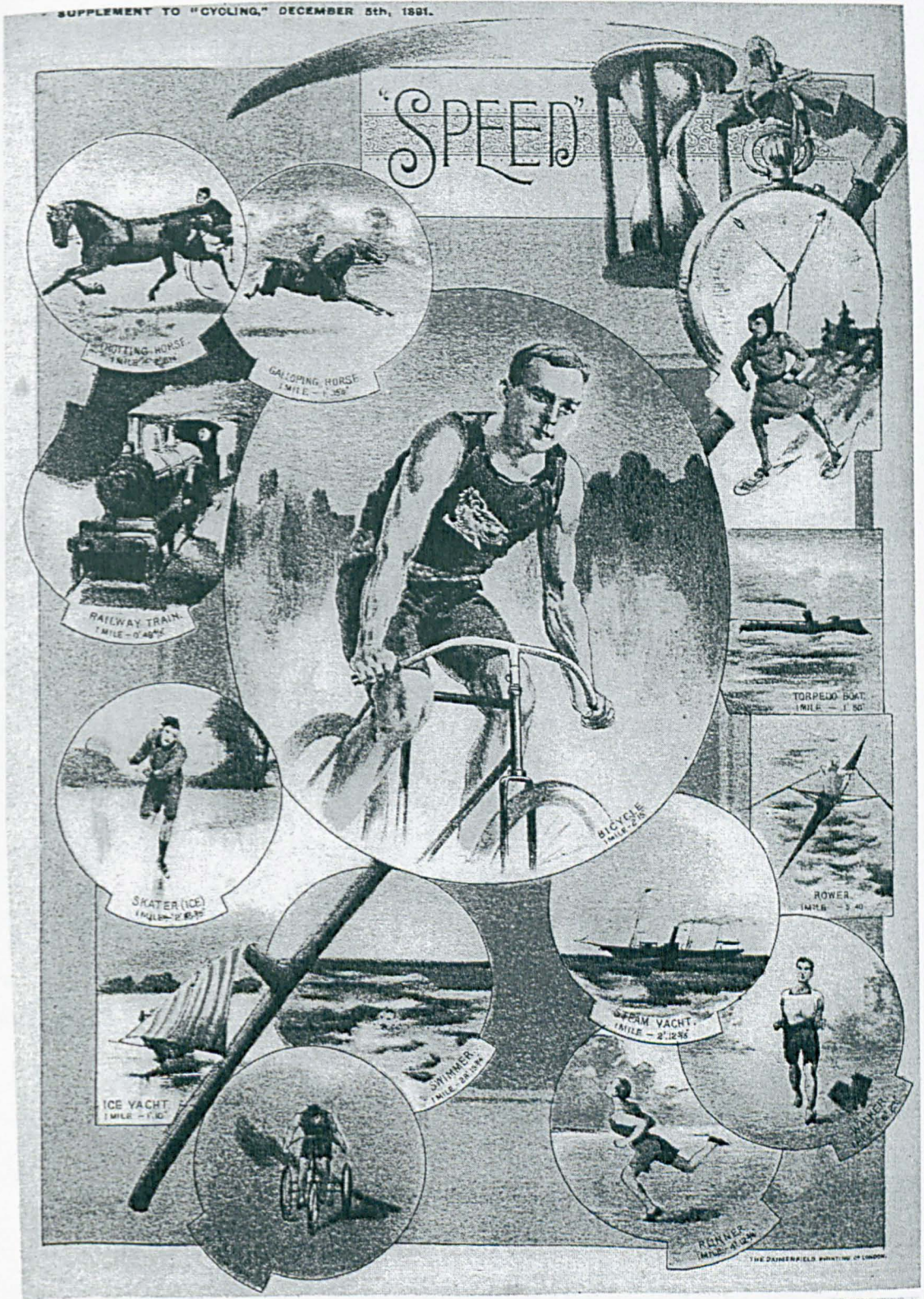


Fig. 11. 4. The racing cyclist was depicted here, in 1891, as the epitome of modern speed, surrounded by other manifestations of modernity – the train, the steam yacht, the galloping horse, the skater and the runner. (Source: *Cycling*, 5 Dec. 1891).