

THE BICYCLE GIRLS:  
AMERICAN WHEELWOMEN AND EVERYDAY ACTIVISM  
IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By

Christine Neejer

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

History — Doctor of Philosophy

2016

## **ABSTRACT**

### **THE BICYCLE GIRLS: AMERICAN WHEELWOMEN AND EVERYDAY ACTIVISM IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY**

By

Christine Neejer

When the mass-market bicycle emerged in the late 1880s, women jumped at the chance to ride. Despite its popularity, the historiography of American bicycling is quite limited. Women's bicycling has remained understudied by scholars of women's history, sport history, and nineteenth-century American life. This dissertation responds to these gaps by repositioning women from the margins to the center of bicycling scholarship. It argues that in the 1890s, women used bicycling as the front lines to challenge widespread gender constraints and the testing grounds to put their new political ideologies of empowerment and independence into practice. In small towns and large cities, wheelwomen used their everyday experiences as cyclists as the inspiration and authority to rewrite nineteenth-century norms of athletics, dress, harassment, medicine, work, public space and travel. They viewed recreation and activism as joint projects to embody and enact their visions for individual fulfillment and sociopolitical change, and they successfully used this consumer good to engage in the politics of everyday life in unprecedented ways. Despite powerful opponents and rampant inequalities, wheelwomen used this seemingly apolitical technology as an opportunity to answer the woman question on their own terms, sustain the Woman's Rights Movement during a decade with few major victories, and construct new visions of modern, American womanhood well before the age of suffrage and automobiles.

Copyright by  
CHRISTINE NEEJER  
2016

In loving memory of Marie Neejer  
(1920-2016)

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It has been a long journey to the Ph.D., and I am very grateful to have achieved this goal at Michigan State University. I am deeply indebted to the faculty and staff of the Department of History for their investment in my education.

My dissertation committee has been my anchor throughout this process. Dr. Lisa Fine, my advisor, has been my unwavering advocate since I first set foot on campus. Her dedication to the field of Women's History as both a scholar and teacher are unmatched. Dr. Susan Sleeper-Smith brought the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to life and helped me see what I could add as a historian of women and gender. I am touched by her willingness to support my work and I am inspired by the depth and breadth of her scholarly contributions to the historical profession. Throughout my program, Dr. Helen Veit offered me opportunity after opportunity to take on new challenges, try new things, and think big. As her student, teaching assistant, and research assistant, Dr. Veit always treated me as a colleague while she simultaneously went out of her way to advise me as a student and see me as a whole person. Her kind words stuck with me long after she said them. I am very fortunate to have worked with her on many exciting projects, including *What America Ate*. Lastly, while I have had many incredible professors in my academic career, I have yet to meet any professor as caring, generous and thoughtful as Dr. Michael Stamm. Dr. Stamm has served as a role model for me in numerous ways, including how to cope with the challenges of teaching, how to manage high workloads with grace, and how to structure my daily life as an academic. Most importantly, Dr. Stamm has been a breath of fresh air, championing humility and gratitude over blind ambition and elitism in every conversation.

Along with my committee, I am fortunate to have learned from many fantastic faculty in our department. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Pero Dagbovie. Dr. Dagbovie's introductory historiography seminar has been the foundation of my perspective on this program, this university, and the historical profession as a whole. As I began my program, Dr. Dagbovie's early and enthusiastic support were vital to me; he taught me to think like a historian and to think that I could be a historian regardless of any barriers I faced. His continued support of my project and field of study sustained me throughout my time at Michigan State. I would like to thank Dr. Vanessa Holden and Dr. John Waller for their willingness to advise my independent studies, both of which were tremendously helpful. I would also like to thank Dr. Aminda Smith, Dr. Mark Waddell, Dr. Walter Hawthorne, Dr. Georgina Montgomery, Dr. Safoi Babana-Hampton and Elyse Hanson for their support. I am indebted to the Department of History and the College of Social Science for their financial support, including assistantships, teaching positions, awards, fellowships, and travel to conferences and archives. I would also like to thank the staff and archivists at the Library of Congress, the Lily Library of Indiana University, the Bentley Historical Library of the University of Michigan, and the Frances Willard Memory Library and Archives, especially Janet Olson.

While my path to the Ph.D. ends at Michigan State University, many people have been instrumental in getting me here. This dissertation started as a lowly seminar paper in Dr. Nancy Theriot's class as part of my master's program in Women's and Gender Studies at the University of Louisville. I would have never had the gumption to apply for doctoral programs in history without Dr. Theriot's thoughtful and life-changing advice. I would also like to thank Dr. Diane Pecknold, Dr. Ann Taylor Allen and Dr. Anne Caldwell, whose encouragement and enthusiasm

launched my seminar paper into a thesis and applications for doctoral programs. Regardless of my academic or professional pursuits, I always think of myself as a social worker, and I have the faculty at the University of Vermont to thank for it. My social work skills have been the frame through which I have understood what kind of academic, and person, I want to be. I owe particular thanks to Dr. Susan Roche, Dr. Brenda Solomon and Dianne Monaco in this regard. My journey to the Ph.D. began as an undergraduate at American University, and I would have never had such a rewarding experience without the mentorship of Dr. Mindy Michels. She encouraged me to think big about my life and inspired a sense of confidence and belonging that continues to fuel me.

Outside of my academic and professional life, there have been three core people who have made this dissertation possible. First, the debt I owe to Liz Militano is one I can never repay. Her willingness to care for me as teenager put me on a completely different path in life. My accomplishments offer only a glimpse of how she shaped my life for the better, and I will be forever grateful. Second, this dissertation is dedicated to my grandmother, Marie Neejer. She did not live to see this completed, but her influence on this dissertation is just like her influence in my life — it is everywhere. She taught me to live in service to others, to treat people with compassion and understanding, to celebrate ordinary people, and to appreciate the academic life that she never had the opportunity to pursue. She is the greatest testament that being an intellectual is about passion, curiosity and the love of learning, not degrees and resumes. Third, I could have never completed this program without my partner, Kristen Staley. Kristen's kindness, thoughtfulness, encouragement and humor have sustained me through every up and down and every degree. Like most things in life, this dissertation is meaningful because I can share it with her.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 1: THE TRAILBLAZERS OF WOMEN’S BICYCLING: PROFESSIONAL RACERS, PIONEERS AND WOMEN PHYSICIANS.....	
The Rise and Fall of Women’s Professional Cycling.....	29
Pioneering the Women’s Safety.....	30
“Best of all Tonics”: Women Physicians and Bicycling.....	42
Conclusion.....	53
CHAPTER 2: “FREEDOM’S BATTLE”: BICYCLING, DRESS AND HARASSMENT IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY CITY.....	
Wheelwomen and the Public Culture of Street Harassment.....	75
Respectability and Inconspicuousness as Survival Strategies.....	82
Rational Dress and Resisting Harassment.....	91
The Ramifications of Women’s Cycling Dress.....	97
The Revitalization of the Dress Reform Movement.....	110
Conclusion.....	119
CHAPTER 3: “THE BEST MEDICINE”: WHEELWOMEN, HEALTH AND THE MEDICAL PROFESSION.....	
“The Modern Remedy”: Women’s Health as Bicyclists.....	125
“The Value of Fun”: Male Physicians, Moderation and the Bicycle Question.....	127
Conclusion.....	144
CHAPTER 4: “THE SERVANTS HAVE TAKEN TO WHEELING”: BICYCLE PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION BY WORKING-CLASS WHEELWOMEN.....	
Wheelwomen at Work: Women as Producers in the Bicycling Industry.....	169
Wheelwomen as Entrepreneurs.....	174
Bicycling and Working-Class Employment.....	190
Conclusion.....	199
CHAPTER 5: “NEW PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE”: WOMEN’S BICYCLING NARRATIVES.....	
“A Broad Range of Vision”: Narratives of Bicycling as a Physical, Emotional, and Intellectual Practice.....	215
“Writing & biking & thinking”: Frances Willard’s Cycling Narrative.....	216
Women’s Bicycling and the Suffrage Press.....	243
Conclusion.....	262
	291



CHAPTER 6: CHAPERONES, PRACTICAL INDEPENDENCE, AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE WOMAN’S RIGHTS MOVEMENT.....	294
The Death of the Chaperone.....	299
“Her Own Coachman”: Wheelwomen and Practical Independence.....	311
“The Backbone of the Trade”: Women and the Bicycle Industry.....	319
Conclusion.....	326
CHAPTER 7: “NEW WORLDS TO CONQUER”: WOMEN’S BICYCLING-BASED TRAVEL IN AN AGE OF EMPIRE.....	328
Fanny Workman: Bicycling Toward Empire.....	334
“Something to Conquer, Something to Achieve”: The Bicycling Advice of Marie Ward.....	348
Bicycling, Travel, and the Imperialist Mindset.....	354
Conclusion.....	367
CONCLUSION: A “PHYSICAL MAGNA CARTA” .....	369
APPENDIX.....	375
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	377

## INTRODUCTION

In 1896, an anonymous cyclist penned a history of bicycling for *Munsey's*, a popular magazine. The author concluded, “[t]o men, the bicycle... was merely a new toy, another machine added to the long list of devices they knew in their work and in their play. To women, it was a steed upon which they rode into a new world.”<sup>1</sup> As the *Munsey's* columnist suggested, cycling was far more than a mere object of consumption for women, but an opportunity women used to stake a claim in an era of profound social and political change. At first glance, it seems cyclists, regardless of gender, have only one story to tell: pushing pedals, grabbing handlebars, and the simple act riding. We think of bicycling as a hobby, children’s activity, form of transportation, or a competitive sport, best left in the hands of journalists and lay enthusiasts and of little use to historians. This dissertation poses the following question: What are the scholarly ramifications if historians take women’s bicycling seriously? Bicycling may be a simple physical act, but it adds striking complexities and fresh perspectives to many well-worn scholarly paths of American women’s history.

When the mass-market bicycle emerged in the late 1880s, American women jumped at the chance to ride. Despite its popularity, women have remained on the margins of bicycling historiography. Historians of cycling have largely understood the history of the sport through men’s athletics and innovation. They have limited their discussions of women to isolated chapters, small chapter sections, or footnotes, and some fail to incorporate women at all. While this dissertation aims to respond to this particular gap, efforts to only add women into the historiography of

---

<sup>1</sup> “Woman and the Wheel,” *Munsey's Magazine* 15, no. 2, May 1896, 157-159. Hathitrust. Accessed May 5, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=pst.000068739133;view=1up;seq=9>>

cycling would fail to consider the full scholarly potential of this topic beyond the narrow confines of the existing cycling literature. The rise of women's bicycling the late nineteenth-century was a complex social phenomenon which offers clear connections to broader historiographies of sport, politics, health, the city, dress, women's work, consumerism and travel.

While women did not always ride in the same manner as men, nor share the same ideas about cycling as men, there is overwhelming evidence that women have been part of cycling since the earliest years of the sport. While exact numbers are difficult to surmise, women took part in every period American cycling history. In 1817, German innovator Karl Drais invented the first two-wheeled machine for riding, nicknamed the hobbyhorse, *draisine* or dandyhorse.<sup>2</sup> The rider straddled a wooden plank between two wheels and moved the machine with his feet, mimicking a running motion. Given the great expense and free time it took to ride, most hobbyhorse riders were members of the aristocratic elite. Men rode their expensive machines in gardens and other private, outdoor spaces, although some riders ventured into public parks, attracting attention from curious onlookers.<sup>3</sup> While it did not gain mass popularity, Northeastern cities boasted riding schools and illustrators regularly depicted hobbyhorses in magazines.<sup>4</sup> Wealthy women wanted to join in on this new activity, but a respectable woman straddling any object, including a hobbyhorse, was unthinkable in the 1810s. In 1819, hobbyhorse builder Denis Johnson developed a three wheeled, pedal-powered carriage with front-wheel steering for women.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> Oliver, Smith Hempstone and Donald H. Berkebile, "Wheels and Wheeling: The Smithsonian Cycle Collection," *Smithsonian Studies in History and Technology* 24 (1974): 1-104.

<sup>3</sup> Over and Berkebile, "Wheels and Wheeling," 2-4.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

Wealthy women able to afford such an expensive luxury quickly joined men in rides through private gardens and estates.

After decades of technological innovations and a number of failed models, a French cyclist invented the velocipede in 1863. Still made entirely wood, the velocipede boasted the new technology of pedals connected to the axle of the front wheel and a leather saddle in lieu of a wooden plank. While slow to gain popularity among Americans, including American women, periodicals such as *Harper's* published what was then considered graphic images and descriptions of French women riding velocipedes, including in public races.<sup>6</sup> By 1868 the velocipede, also called the 'boneshaker' due to the uncomfortable ride, was popular among some riders in Europe. The boneshaker gained notoriety in the United States as French circus troupes, including women members, performed tricks on boneshakers in their acts. Historians imagine that male spectators did not see these women as athletes per se, but rather exotic, eye-catching performers.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps foreshadowing the tremendous growth of cycling among women by the end of the century, in 1869 cycling enthusiast J. T. Goddard recalled that upon the development of the three-wheeled model, women "looked on [men's models] with envy and emulation. They have not been satisfied with the tricycle... and have felt it hard that they should be denied the exercise, amusement, risk, dash, and delightful independence, which the bicycle so abundantly afford."<sup>8</sup> The same year, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony learned women were starting to

---

<sup>6</sup> "Velocipede Race in Paris — Sunday Afternoon," *Harper's Weekly*, December 19, 1868, 812. Print. Author's collection.

<sup>7</sup> Over and Berkebile, "Wheels and Wheeling," 3-9.

<sup>8</sup> Goddard, J. T., *The Velocipede: Its History, Varieties, and Practice* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1869), iii, 86. Google Books. Accessed May 10, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=uS9LAAAAYAAJ>>

ride velocipedes and wondered with excitement what the future of cycling could bring to their movement.<sup>9</sup>

By the 1870s, Americans became increasingly interested in the ‘sporting life’ as athletics transformed from casual social events into organized activities aimed to promote competition and health. Athletics became increasingly stratified by class, as wealthy Americans enjoyed horseback riding, hunting, and yachting while working-class men engaged in cheaper sports like boxing.<sup>10</sup> During the 1870s and 1880s, men’s sports, especially among working-class and immigrant men, became increasingly team-based, competitive, highly organized, and violent. Men’s sports also became popular, commercially-driven spectator events, as baseball, football and boxing became increasingly central to men’s lives. Whether a man attended sporting events, read or wrote about them in popular periodicals such as the *National Police Gazette*, or participated in them even in the most casual neighborhood-based games or teams, sports became a major way for men to both define and perform masculinity.<sup>11</sup>

Yet the rise of sporting life in the post-Civil War era is not simply a story of men. Women of all classes took an active role in the booming sporting life. Editors of women’s magazines, such as widely popular *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, encouraged middle- and upper-class women to participate in horseback riding, calisthenics, and walking specifically for exercise. Women also took

---

<sup>9</sup> “VELOCIPEDIAD,” *Revolution* 3, no. 8, February 25, 1869, 121. American Political and Social Movements, 1815-1884. Accessed May 5, 2016. <<http://web.b.ebscohost.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ehost/detail/detail?vid=3&sid=6e63eb19-6fde-4ecb-88f1-5f434eb665c6%40sessionmgr105&hid=128&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3Qt-bGl2ZQ%3d%3d#AN=59821740&db=amp>>

<sup>10</sup> Bulger, Mary A., “American Sportswomen in the 19th Century,” *Journal of Popular Culture* 16 (1982): 1-16.

<sup>11</sup> Bederman, Gail, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). Gorn, Elliott J., *A Brief History of American Sports* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2004). Gorn, Elliott J., *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010). Mangan, J. A. and Roberta Park, *From ‘Fair Sex’ to Feminism: Sport and the Socialization of Women in the Industrial and Post-Industrial Eras* (London: F. Cass, 1987).

an active role as spectators; women filled stands in sporting events.<sup>12</sup> Women's colleges pioneered efforts to normalize, encourage, and instruct young women's athletic endeavors. Believing that health and wellness were key to academic achievement and aiming to discredit popular beliefs that girls were unfit for higher education, women's educational pioneers, such as those at Mount Holyoke, began the first calisthenic programs for women students in the 1830s.<sup>13</sup> By the 1870s, programs at women's colleges grew exponentially, fueling the rise and professionalization of physical education. Colleges began to build entire gymnasiums for women students along with training programs for physical education instructors.<sup>14</sup> Bored with the calisthenic routines of their mothers' generation, in the 1870s women students began to demand and organize programs and clubs for a variety of sports, including field hockey, croquet, horseback riding, tennis, bowling, archery and baseball.<sup>15</sup> In 1892, Smith College gymnastics instructor Senda Berenson Abbott introduced basketball to her students, ushering in a new era of women's collegiate sports.<sup>16</sup>

As women's sports grew in the 1870s, cycling innovators transformed this sport with new technological innovations. Cycling historians generally mark the development of the Ordinary model (also called the penny-farthing or highwheel) as the beginning of modern cycling. The Ordinary, the first model to be called a 'bicycle,' had a large front wheel, small rear wheel and the rider sat at the very top of the large wheel, with the pedals connected to the wheel by an

---

<sup>12</sup> Bulger, "American Sportswomen in the 19th Century," 1-2.

<sup>13</sup> Bulger, "American Sportswomen in the 19th Century," 3.

<sup>14</sup> Verbrugge, Martha H., *Active Bodies: A History of Women's Physical Education in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

<sup>15</sup> Bulger, "American Sportswomen in the 19th Century," 13-14.

<sup>16</sup> Jenkins, Sally, "History of Women's Basketball," Women's National Basketball Association. Web. Assessed April 3, 2016. <[http://origin.wnba.com/about\\_us/jenkins\\_feature.html](http://origin.wnba.com/about_us/jenkins_feature.html)>

axel.<sup>17</sup> The Ordinary was notably tall, with the highest wheel often reaching the rider's shoulder. As such, this model was especially dangerous and difficult to ride, attracting its strongest following among thrill-seeking young men.<sup>18</sup> Yet, as discussed in this dissertation, working-class women like Elsa Von Blumen and Louise Armaindo developed professional racing careers on Ordinaries in the 1880s. Ordinary riders organized themselves into local clubs to promote the sport and host events, including races which fueled a semi-professional and professional class of riders with demanding training schedules, loyal fanbases, and highly publicized races.<sup>19</sup> In 1880, cyclists formed the League of American Wheelman (LAW) to govern and regulate men's clubs and races, and by the 1890s became a powerful voice in national politics.<sup>20</sup> The League of American Wheelman's influence in bicycling reflects the racial politics of the era, as members routinely barred African Americans and immigrant men as well as women of any race or ethnicity from full membership, and LAW leaders repeatedly dismissed women's and African American men's athletic accomplishments.<sup>21</sup>

Outside of professional cyclists who rode the Ordinary, most women who wanted to cycle in the 1870s and 1880s were limited to the tricycle, a heavy, cumbersome model with three equal

---

<sup>17</sup> Over and Berkebile, "Wheels and Wheeling," 7-14.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Longhurst, James, *Bike Battles: The History of Sharing the American Road* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015). Longhurst, James, "The Sidepath Not Taken: Bicycles, Taxes, and the Rhetoric of the Public Good in the 1890s," *Journal of Policy History* 24, no. 4 (2013): 557-586. Taylor, Michael, "The Bicycle Boom and the Bicycle Bloc: Cycling and Politics in the 1890s," *Indiana Magazine of History* 104, no. 3 (September 2008): 213-240.

<sup>21</sup> Balf, Todd, *Major: A Black Athlete, a White Era, and the Fight to Be the World's Fastest Human Being* (New York: Broadway Books, 2009). Ritchie, Andrew, *Major Taylor: The Extraordinary Career of a Champion Bicycle Racer* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1996). Somers, Dale A., "A City on Wheels: The Bicycle Era of New Orleans," *Louisiana History* 8, no. 3 (1967): 219-238.

size wheels and a center saddle. In 1881, Queen Victoria made international headlines by requesting a tricycle for her own use, only fueling women's interest in this new sport. Weighing up 100 pounds, the tricycle was difficult to maneuver and took much more effort to pedal compared to Ordinary models, which were light and designed for speed. Like Ordinaries, tricycles were dangerous, but for different reasons. Because the tricycle was both heavy and wide, breaking systems often malfunctioned or a rider was unable to make a sharp turn. As such, tricycle riders often experienced dangerous accidents on steep, narrow or debris-filled roads.<sup>22</sup> Even though the cost of tricycling made it inaccessible to most working-class and middle-class women, it set the stage for the women's cycling in the 1890s. Tricyclists routinely voiced their frustration at popular images of women cyclists, as men often attributed women's accidents and riding problems to their innate lack of athletic ability. Women responded by critiquing what they saw as a double standard, arguing that any cyclist limited to a tricycle would be unable to keep up with an Ordinary rider no matter their gender. As one tricyclist wondered, "[h]ow long will the 'weaker sex' submit without protest to the doom of propelling three wheels while her brother goes ahead of her with two. The bicycle and tricycle seem to me strikingly symbolized of the position of male and female human beings in the world to-day."<sup>23</sup> Such outrage paved the way for wheelwomen to challenge double standards in the following decade. Women also formed the first cycling clubs as tricyclists in the 1880s, partly in response to an unwelcoming environment among many male

---

<sup>22</sup> Redding, Josephine, "Out-Door Sports of Women," *The Home-Maker* VI, 2, May 1891, 47-52. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed March 4, 2015. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/UMaG3>> Whitehead, Celia B., "Bicycle and Tricycle," *The Woman's Journal* 19, no. 28, July 14, 1888, 220. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 5, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205\\_Volume\\_19\\_Issue\\_28-38](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205_Volume_19_Issue_28-38)>

<sup>23</sup> Whitehead, Celia B., "Bicycle and Tricycle," 220.



cyclists. In 1878, Smith College undergraduates established the first women's collegiate cycling club. By the 1880s, a few Northeastern cities boasted small but visible women's tricycling clubs, providing a framework for women's bicycling clubs in the following decade.<sup>24</sup>

By the late 1880s, many woman began to advocate for a safer, affordable version of the Ordinary and tricycle. Bicycle manufactures also began to recognize the purchasing power of young, active women of the emerging middle-class. In response to growing consumer interest, especially by women, bicycle companies transformed their product at the turn of the decade. In the late 1880s, bicycle companies experimented with a new type of a bicycle which became the modern, safe, mass-produced bicycle. Companies deemed this new model the 'safety' precisely because it was much more reliable and less risky than the Ordinary or tricycle. The safety model boasted numerous revolutionary innovations in cycling technology; it had two equal size wheels, a saddle position hip distance from the ground for easier mounting and dismounting, and the wheels were not pedaled directly, but instead the rear wheel was connected by a chain. In 1889, the Starley Brothers bicycle manufactures invented the 'Psycho Ladies' model, the first mass-produced women's bicycle in the United States. In 1890, Starley introduced the Rover, which had a sloping top tube designed for women's skirts, which can still be found in women's hybrid models today.<sup>25</sup> The safety bicycle was not only easier to ride, but it was much more affordable compared to Ordinaries and tricycles. In 1890, bicycle inventors began testing rubber tires, some of which were inflatable. When bicycle companies replaced the solid rubber or wooden tires with a pneumatic, inflatable tire, the safety became easy to ride, dependable on both urban and rural

---

<sup>24</sup> Bulger, "American Sportswomen in the 19th Century," 8.

<sup>25</sup> Over and Berkebille, "Wheels and Wheeling," 59.

roads, simple to repair, and cheap to build.<sup>26</sup> These improvements set the stage of the explosion of cycling starting in the 1890s.

The safety model catapulted bicycling into a powerful and profitable industry. From 1890 to 1899, there was an 1100% increase in bicycle producers.<sup>27</sup> In 1896, the president of the League of American Wheelman estimated that there were 250 bike factories, 30,000 retailers, 6,300 repair shops and 60,000 workers in ‘sundry’ (accessories) factories, making the American bicycle industry worth approximately 75 million dollars, or over two billion dollars today.<sup>28</sup> By 1899, bicycles and bicycling accessories made up ten percent of all magazine and newspaper advertisements.<sup>29</sup> As bicycles flooded the market, prices dropped and cycling became more accessible to middle- and working-class Americans. In fact, a safety model was more affordable than a horse in most American cities.<sup>30</sup> Bicycle shops pioneered practices of payment plans and sold used models to attract less wealthy customers.<sup>31</sup> Bicycling gained a diverse following among many groups of Americans, especially women. In 1892, only two years after the development of the first safety with pneumatic tires, approximately one-third of all urban cyclists on a given day

---

<sup>26</sup> Smith, *A Social History of the Bicycle*, 14.

<sup>27</sup> Strange, Lisa and Robert S. Brown, “The Bicycle, Women's Rights, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton,” *Women's Studies* 31 (2002): 609-626.

<sup>28</sup> Potter, Isaac B., “The Bicycle Outlook,” *Century Magazine*, September 1896: 789. Google Books. Accessed May 10, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=BJRHAQAAMAAJ>> “The Inflation Calculator,” <[www.http://www.westegg.com/inflation/](http://www.westegg.com/inflation/)> Accessed April 2, 2016.

<sup>29</sup> Petty, Ross, “Women and the Wheel: The Bicycle's Impact on Women,” *Cycle History: Proceedings of the 7th International Cycle History Conference Buffalo, New York, USA*. September 1996 (San Francisco, CA: Rob van der Plas 1996).

<sup>30</sup> Smith, *A Social History of the Bicycle*, 14.

<sup>31</sup> Strange and Brown, “The Bicycle, Women's Rights, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton,” 610.

were women, and women's public presence as cyclists only grew from there.<sup>32</sup> It was rare to see a woman cycling in 1890, but in only five years women's cycling became so popular and commonplace that some journalists viewed it as no longer newsworthy.<sup>33</sup>

As this dissertation will explore, women used bicycling to engage in a variety of important activities in their daily lives, including commuting to work, visiting friends, traveling, and cycling for their health. In big cities and small towns, women developed cycling clubs to support each other, advocate for the sport, and organize riding events. Women also took active roles in the bicycle industry as inventors, factory workers, and in retail positions. Women cyclists became a powerful image in popular culture, with songs, stories, and cartoons depicting women cyclists in both positive and negative ways.<sup>34</sup> The explosion of women's cycling occurred in a decade in which women advocated for exercise and sports and fueled the rise of numerous commercialized sports industries, including golf, tennis, swimming, hiking, field hockey, and basketball.<sup>35</sup> Despite the popularity of bicycling, women often faced tremendous pressure to stop riding from male-dominated institutions, such as the medical profession, and the actual men in their lives. Wheelwomen were forced to contend with physicians who believed their cycling would impede their reproductive ability, parents who viewed cycling as an opportunity for unchecked

---

<sup>32</sup> Mackintosh, Phillip Gordon and Glen Norcliffe, "Men, Women and the Bicycle: Gender and Social Geography of Cycling in the Late-Nineteenth Century," in *Cycling and Society* edited by Dave Horton, Paul Rosen and Peter Cox (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Group, 2007): 153-178, 157.

<sup>33</sup> "Momentary Meditations," *The Pneumatic: A Journal of Cycling Literature and Trade News* V, no. 4, July 1894, no pages. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed May 5, 2015. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/83013/rec/4>>

<sup>34</sup> Marks, Patricia, *Bicycles, Bangs and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1990).

<sup>35</sup> Bulger, "American Sportswomen in the 19th Century," 13-14.

sexual behaviors, and street harassers who aimed to limit women's public presence through violence and intimidation.

Despite the popularity of bicycling, the sport remains an understudied subject of American history. The historiography of bicycling is limited, yet interested scholars can find a solid foundation of inquiry on the subject. Historians and lay enthusiasts have published histories of bicycling as early as 1869.<sup>36</sup> Historians generally credit Sidney Aronson's 1952 essay "The Sociology of the Bicycle" as the first modern scholarly article on the history of bicycling in the United States.<sup>37</sup> Aronson outlines the growth of bicycling in the nineteenth century and ends with its decline upon the arrival of the automobile. From the 1960s to the 1980s, six scholars built upon Aronson's essay by publishing scholarly articles on the history of nineteenth-century bicycling. These articles mirror the growth of sports history as a field of study, inspired by the rise of social history in the 1960s. In these articles, scholars connected bicycling to broader historical changes, such as urbanization and the rise of the tourism industry, discussed methodological challenges, including quantifying the popularity of the sport, and ultimately positioned cycling as a precursor to the automobile.<sup>38</sup> In the 1970s, historians published the first two monographs on bicycling history: Robert Smith's *A Social History of the Bicycle* and Andrew Ritchie's *King of the Road: An*

---

<sup>36</sup> Goddard, J. T., *The Velocipede: Its History, Varieties, and Practice* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1869). Google Books. Accessed May 10, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=uS9LAAAAYAAJ>>

<sup>37</sup> Aronson, Sidney H., "The Sociology of the Bicycle," *Social Forces* 30, no. 3 (1952): 305-312.

<sup>38</sup> Harmond, Richard, "Progress and Flight: An Interpretation of the American Cycle Craze of the 1890s," *Journal of Social History* 5, no. 2 (Winter 1971-1972): 235-257. Helphand, Kenneth, "The Bicycle Kodak," *Environmental Review* 4, no. 3 (1980): 24-33. Rubinstein, David, "Cycling in the 1890's," *Victorian Studies* (1977): 47-71. Rush, Anita, "The Bicycle Boom of the Gay Nineties: A Reassessment," *Material History Bulletin* 18 (1983): 1-12. Somers, Dale A., "A City on Wheels: The Bicycle Era of New Orleans," *Louisiana History* 8, no. 3 (1967): 219-238. Tobin, Gary Allen, "The Bicycle Boom of the 1890s: The Development of Private Transportation and the Birth of Modern Tourists," *Journal of Popular Culture* 7 (1973): 838-847.

*Illustrated History of Cycling*.<sup>39</sup> Both books have been foundational for the study of cycling, because the authors created a standard narrative of the sport's history and, perhaps more importantly, demonstrated that bicycling is a complex subject worthy of monograph-length publications. These articles and monographs have served as the foundation for this historiography and a springboard for recent scholarship on the subject. While bicycling remains on the margins of historical inquiry, a small group of scholars continue to expand and deepen this historiography. Scholars have explored the Good Roads movement, nineteenth-century cyclists' organized efforts to reform and expand American roads.<sup>40</sup> Scholars have also published local and state-wide histories of cycling, helping to expand beyond national and Northeastern narratives, including a particularly successful monograph on nineteenth-century cycling in Wisconsin.<sup>41</sup> Recently, historians Evan Friss and Lorenz Finison have used bicycling to offer new perspectives on the turn-of-the-century city, and Bruce Epperson published the only monograph on the American bicycle industry, connecting this influential industry to broader changes in nineteenth-century business.<sup>42</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> Smith, Robert A., *A Social History of the Bicycle* (New York: American Heritage Press, 1972). Ritchie, Andrew, *King of the Road: An Illustrated History of Cycling*. (London: Ten Speed Press, 1975).

<sup>40</sup> Longhurst, James, *Bike Battles: The History of Sharing the American Road* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015). Longhurst, James, "The Sidepath Not Taken: Bicycles, Taxes, and the Rhetoric of the Public Good in the 1890s," *Journal of Policy History* 24, no. 4 (2013): 557-586. Taylor, Michael, "The Bicycle Boom and the Bicycle Bloc: Cycling and Politics in the 1890s," *Indiana Magazine of History* 104, no. 3 (September 2008): 213-240.

<sup>41</sup> Galt, Jesse J. and Nicholas J. Hoffman, *Wheel Fever: How Wisconsin Became a Great Bicycling State* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 2013). Koelle, Alexandra V., "Pedaling on the Periphery," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 41, 3 (Autumn 2010): 305-326. McCally, Karen, "Bloomers & Bicycles: Health and Fitness in Victorian Rochester," *Rochester History* 2, (Spring 2008): 1-30. Spreng, Ron, "The 1890s Bicycling Craze in the Red River Valley," *Minnesota History* 54, no. 6 (Summer 1995): 268-282.

<sup>42</sup> Epperson, Bruce, *Peddling Bicycles to America: The Rise of an Industry* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2010). Finison, Lorenz J., *Boston's Cycling Craze, 1880-1900* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2014). Friss, Evan, *The Cycling City: Bicycles and Urban America in the 1890s* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2015).

The historiography of bicycling has steadily grown in since Aronson's 1952 essay, yet one issue remains unchecked: scholars' lack of attention to women. In his foundational essay, Aronson acknowledges that "[p]erhaps the bicycle's greatest impact was upon the American woman," yet limits his discussion of women to a single page.<sup>43</sup> Cycling historians have generally followed Aronson's lead, continuing to marginalize women's experiences as cyclists. Historians who have included women have isolated their experiences into separate chapters, chapter sections, or footnotes, and some historians have failed to include any women at all. Like Aronson, many scholars limit their discussion of women to a short section or sweeping sentence lacking an in depth analysis. While Smith also argues that "[t]he most vigorous debates over the influence of the bicycle on health came when women began to ride," he only spends a mere two pages on wheelwomen in his chapter on health.<sup>44</sup> As his title *King of the Road* suggests, Ritchie's analysis centers on men's experiences even though he claims no aspect of bicycling "was more bitterly debated or aroused more passionate feelings than the subject of women and cycling... the topic was continually discussed from almost every angle under the sun."<sup>45</sup> Ritchie discusses wheelwomen only in the designated women's chapter, which makes up nineteen pages of his 181-page monograph. Recent contributions in this field continue to this trend; Friss discusses women only in their designated chapter, and Epperson fails to include any women in his monograph on the nineteenth-century bicycle industry.<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup> Aronson, "The Sociology of the Bicycle," 307

<sup>44</sup> Smith, *A Social History of the Bicycle*, 65.

<sup>45</sup> Ritchie, *King of the Road*, 145

<sup>46</sup> Epperson, Bruce, *Peddling Bicycles to America: The Rise of an Industry* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2010). Friss, Evan, *The Cycling City: Bicycles and Urban America in the 1890s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

While only a small number of women's historians have responded to this gap, their additions have significantly added to this scholarly conversation. In her 1990 monograph *Bicycles, Bangs and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press*, historian Patricia Marks explores men's anxieties of changing gender roles by analyzing turn-of-the-century satirical depictions of women in newspaper cartoons.<sup>47</sup> Ellen Gruber Garvey added to Marks' work with a gender analysis of bicycling advertisements and short stories in magazines.<sup>48</sup> Women's cycling dress has also gained the attention of a few fashion scholars interested in how wheelwomen shaped broader fashion changes of this period.<sup>49</sup> In 2005, historians published two key articles which significantly furthered the incorporation of women into bicycling historiography. Lisa Strange and Robert Brown published "The Bicycle, Women's Rights, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton" in *Women's Studies*, the first and only scholarly article to explore Stanton's ideological stance on bicycling.<sup>50</sup> Dress scholars Sally Helvenston Gray and Michaela C. Peteu also published "'Invention, the Angel of the Nineteenth Century': Patents for Women's Cycling Attire in the 1890s," an innovative article in which they use patents to analyze women's cycling clothing.<sup>51</sup> Only one

---

<sup>47</sup> Marks, Patricia, *Bicycles, Bangs and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press* (Lexington, University of Kentucky, 1990).

<sup>48</sup> Garvey, Ellen Gruber. "Refraining the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women." *American Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (March 1995): 66-101.

<sup>49</sup> Christie-Robin, Julia, Belinda Orzada and Dilia Lopez-Gydosh, "From Bustles to Bloomers: Exploring the Bicycle's Influence on American Women's Fashion, 1880-1914," *The Journal of American Culture* 35, no. 4 (December 2012): 315-331. Fischer, Gayle K., *Pantaloon and Power: A Nineteenth-Century Dress Reform in the United States* (Kent, OH: Kent University Press, 2001). Park, Jihang, "Sport, Dress Reform and the Emancipation of Women in Victorian England: A Reappraisal," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 6, no. 1 (1989): 10-30. Sims, Sally, "The Bicycle, the Bloomer and Dress Reform in the 1890s," in eds. Patricia A. Cunningham and Susan Voso Lab, *Dress and Popular Culture*, 125-146. (Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1991).

<sup>50</sup> Strange, Lisa, and Robert S. Brown, "The Bicycle, Women's Rights, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton" *Women's Studies* 31, no. 5 (2002): 609-626.

<sup>51</sup> Gray, Sally Helvenston, and Michaela C. Peteu, "'Invention, the Angel of the Nineteenth Century': Patents for Women's Cycling Attire in the 1890s," *Dress* 32 (2005): 27-42.

sports scholar, Shelley Lucas, has devoted an entire scholarly article to American women's professional cycling of any era.<sup>52</sup> While these scholars have made strong contributions to cycling historiography, they have only begun to explore the complexities of women's experiences as cyclists.

The historiography of bicycling is not limited American cyclists, and in fact the leading scholars in this field are not from the United States. International scholars offer a much deeper and richer analysis of women in their work on nineteenth-century cycling compared to their American counterparts. Canadian scholars Phillip Gordon Mackintosh and Glen Norcliffe, leading figures in bicycling historiography, having incorporated wheelwomen throughout their monographs and articles on Canadian cycling history, focusing on women's use of cycling for moral reform campaigns.<sup>53</sup> In his 2006 monograph *Cycling in Victorian Ireland*, Brian Griffen provides an excellent example of the rich results when scholars include women throughout their text instead of in isolated chapters.<sup>54</sup> Editors of the International Cycling History Conference annual proceedings have included papers on women's bicycling such as Ross Petty's conference paper "Women and the Wheel."<sup>55</sup> While these papers lack the full analysis of a monograph, they

---

<sup>52</sup> Lucas, Shelley, "Women's Cycle Racing: Enduring Meanings," *Journal of Sport History* 39, no. 2 (Summer 2012): 227-242.

<sup>53</sup> Mackintosh, Phillip Gordon, "Flâneurie on bicycles: acquiescence to women in public in the 1890s," *Canadian Geographer* 50, no. 1 (2006): 17-37. Mackintosh, Phillip Gordon, "'Wheel Within a Wheel' - Frances Willard and the Feminisation of the Bicycle," *International Cycling History Conference. Osceola: Bicycle Books* (1998): 21-28. Mackintosh, Phillip Gordon, "A Bourgeois Geography of Domestic Bicycling: Using Public Spaces Responsibly in Toronto and Niagara-on-the-Lake, 1890-1900," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 20, no. 1/2 (March/June 2007): 126-152. Norcliffe, Glen, *The Ride to Modernity: The Bicycle in Canada, 1869-1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

<sup>54</sup> Griffen, Brian, *Cycling in Victorian Ireland* (Dublin: Nonsuch Publishing, 2006).

<sup>55</sup> Petty, Ross, "Women and the Wheel," *International Cycling History Conference* (Osceola: Bicycle Books, 1996): 112-13.



are quite valuable due to their use of new sources. Sports scholars in Germany and Australia also published scholarly articles on nineteenth-century women's bicycling in their respective countries.<sup>56</sup> Clare S. Simpson is a leading historian of bicycling in New Zealand. She focuses solely on nineteenth-century women's bicycling and connects her work to broader social, political and economic changes of the era. Based on her dissertation, she published "Respectable Identities: New Zealand Nineteenth-Century 'New Women' — On Bicycles!" in *The International Journal of the History of Sport* in 2001 as well as a chapter on professional women cyclists in the edited collection *Cycling and Society*.<sup>57</sup> Mirroring Simpson's work, Shelia Halnon's dissertation on the history of the politics and culture of British wheelwomen provides an in depth analysis unlike any completed by American historians.<sup>58</sup> These works offer a helpful framework to explore American women's experiences as cyclists.

In the 1890s, there was not simply the bicycle girl, but the bicycle girls. Bicycling was a popular and complex activity with an abundance of meanings, experiences, challenges and victories for every individual cyclist. Given this complexity, a study of women's cycling builds upon many historiographies of American life, not simply the limited scholarship on bicycling itself. Despite such connections, women's bicycling remains understudied in broader historiographies.

---

<sup>56</sup> Kinsey, Fiona, "Reading Photographic Portraits of Australian Women Cyclists in the 1890s: From Costume and Cycle Choices to Constructions of Feminine Identity," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 28, no. 8-9 (May-June 2011): 1121-1137. Kinsey, Fiona, "Stamina, Speed and Adventure: Australian Women and Competitive Cycling in the 1890s," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 28 (July 2011): 1375-1387. Muellner, Beth, "The Photographic Enactment of the Early New Woman in 1890s German Women's Bicycling Magazines," *Women in German Yearbook* 22 (2006): 167-188.

<sup>57</sup> Simpson, Clare S., "Respectable Identities: New Zealand Nineteenth-Century 'New Women' — On Bicycles!" *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 18, no. 2 (2001): 54-77. Simpson, Clare S., "Capitalising on Curiosity: Women's Professional Cycle Racing in the Late Nineteenth Century," In *Cycling and Society*, ed. Dave Horton, Peter Cox and Paul Rosen (Hampshire, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007): 47-66.

<sup>58</sup> Halnon, Shelia, "The Lady Cyclist: A Gender Analysis of Women's Cycling Culture in 1890s London," (PhD dissertation, York University, 2009).

Perhaps the most obvious historiographical connection to women's bicycling is broader scholarship in the history of American sport. Yet, sports historians have largely not included bicycling in their work. Leading historians of American sport, Elliot Gorn and Steven Reiss, have set the standard for scholarly sports history, including foundational survey texts and innovative monographs. Yet works such as *A Brief History of American Sports* and *Major Problems in American Sport History* do not include any discussion or documents about bicycling despite the popularity of the sport.<sup>59</sup> Similar surveys and broader works of American sport history fail to consider bicycling.<sup>60</sup> Focused works on sports in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth century similarly do not include cycling.<sup>61</sup> When they do incorporate cycling history, sports historians typically focus on men's cycling and include only a brief mention of women's experiences as cyclists.<sup>62</sup>

Inspired by both the rise of women's history and sports history as well as the social influence of Title IX in women's sports, scholars began to build a small but compelling historiography of women's sports history. Pioneering monographs like Susan Cahn's *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Women's Sports* and Ann Hall's *Feminism and Sport-*

---

<sup>59</sup> Gorn, Elliot, *A Brief History of American Sports* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2004). Reiss, Steven A., *Major Problems in American Sport History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997).

<sup>60</sup> Gems, Gerald R., *The Athletic Crusade: Sport and American Cultural Imperialism* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006). Weiss, Steven A., *The American Sporting Experience: A Historical Anthology of Sport in America* (New York: Leisure Press, 1894). Zirin, Dave, *A People's History of Sports in the United States* (New York: The New Press, 2008). Zirin, Dave, *What's My Name, Fool? Sports and Resistance in the United States* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2005).

<sup>61</sup> Weiss, Steven A., *Sport in Industrial America, 1850-1920* (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013).

<sup>62</sup> Gems, Gerald R., Linda J. Borish and Gertrud Pfister, *Sports in American History: From Colonization to Globalization* (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 2008). Morzek, Donald J., *Sport and American Mentality, 1880-1910* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983). Reiss, Steven A., *City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989).

ing *Bodies* helped frame women's sports as a subject worthy of scholarly inquiry.<sup>63</sup> Monographs, scholarly articles and edited collections generally followed Cahn's focus on twentieth-century women's teams as well as female athletes' experiences of sexism and homophobia.<sup>64</sup> A few scholars explored nineteenth-century Americans women's sports in book chapters or scholarly articles, yet this area remains understudied, and women's sports in this era have gained more attention from historians outside the United States.<sup>65</sup> The history of physical education has gained notable attention among historians, offering the most developed work on women's athletic pursuits before 1900.<sup>66</sup> Similarly, leading scholars Patricia Vertinsky and Barbara Ehrenreich have published the two foundational works offering a feminist critique of physicians' reluctance to support with women's athletics and exercise in the late nineteenth-century.<sup>67</sup> Yet among the few

---

<sup>63</sup> Cahn, Susan K., *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Women's Sports* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998). Hall, Ann M. *Feminism and Sporting Bodies* (Champaign: Human Kinetics Publishers, 1995).

<sup>64</sup> Festle, Mary Jo, *Playing Nice: Politics and Apologies in Women's Sports* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996). Hargreaves, Jennifer, *Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sport* (New York: Routledge, 1994). Messner, Michael A., *Taking the Field: Women, Men, and Sports* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002). Shoebridge, Michele, *Women in Sport: A Select Bibliography* (London and New York: Mansell Publishing Limited, 1987). Simri, Uriel, *A Concise World History of Women's Sports* (Netanya, Israel: Wingate Institute for Physical Education and Sport, 1983).

<sup>65</sup> Anderson, Nancy Fix, *The Sporting Life: Victorian Sports and Games* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2010). Bulger, Mary, "American Sportswomen in the 19th Century," *Journal of Popular Culture*, 16 (1982): 1-16. Collins, Tracy, "Athletic Fashion, Punch, and the Creation of the New Woman," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 43, no. 3 (Fall 2010): 309-335. Costa, Margaret D. and Sharon Ruth Guthrie, *Women and Sport: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1994). Gori, Gigliola and J. A. Mangan, *Sport and the Emancipation of European Women: The Struggle for Self-Fulfillment* (London: Routledge, 2014). Guttmann, Allen, *Women's Sports: A History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991). Howell, Reet, *Her Story in Sport: A Historical Anthology of Women in Sports* (West Point, NY: Leisure Press, 1982). Lenskyj, Helen, *Out on the Field: Gender, Sport, and Sexualities* (Toronto: Women's Press, 2003). Kay, Joyce, "It Wasn't Just Emily Davison! Sport, Suffrage and Society in Edwardian Britain," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 25, no. 10 (September 2008): 1338-1354. Park, Roberta J., "Contesting the Norm: Women and Professional Sports in Late Nineteenth-Century America," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29, no. 5 (April 2012): 730-749.

<sup>66</sup> Verbrugge, Martha H., *Active Bodies: A History of Women's Physical Education in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

<sup>67</sup> Ehrenreich, Barbara, *For Her Own Good: Two Centuries of the Experts Advice to Women* (New York: Anchor Books, 2005). Vertinsky, Patricia, *The Eternally Wounded Woman: Women, Doctors and Exercise in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

histories of women's nineteenth-century sport and exercise, scholars often limit their discussion of bicycling to a brief mention or small section, if they include it all.<sup>68</sup> The historiography of women's sports provide a central backdrop for scholarly work on cycling, but at present women's sports scholars have yet to consider bicycling relevant to their work.

This dissertation is not only a study of sports, but uses the topic to broaden scholarly understanding of another well-studied subject: women's activism and reform efforts from 1870 to 1920. This is an era of long interest to women's historians. Students interested in women's political campaigns such suffrage, temperance, improving working conditions and other efforts are met with a rich historiography attracting new publications every year.<sup>69</sup> In efforts to move this historiography beyond a study of national leaders and Northeastern campaigns, historians such as Rebecca Mead have helped reposition the study of women's suffrage to local-level campaigns in the West, and historian Jennifer Guglielmo has offered compelling work on immigrant women's

---

<sup>68</sup> Lenskyj, Helen, *Out of Bounds: Women, Sport and Sexuality* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1986). Twin, Stephanie L., *Out of the Bleachers: Writings on Women and Sport* (Old Westbury, NY: The Feminist Press, 1979).

<sup>69</sup> Adams, Katherine H.; Keene, Michael L. *Alice Paul and the American Suffrage Campaign* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008). Baker, Paula, "The Domestication of Politics," *The American Historical Review* 89, no. 3 (June 1984): 620-647. Colbert, C. C., *The Other Civil War: American Women in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1999). Cott, Nancy F., *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989). Dubois, Ellen Carol, *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America, 1848-1869* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999). Evans, Sara, *Born for Liberty* (New York: Free Press, 1997). Faulkner, Carol, *Lucretia Mott's Heresy: Abolition and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011). Fitzpatrick, Ellen and Eleanor Flexer, *A Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (New York: Belknap Press, 1996). Ginzberg, Lori D., *Elizabeth Cady Stanton: An American Life* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2010). Kraditor, Aileen S., *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement: 1890-1920* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1981). McMillen, Sally G., *Lucy Stone: An Unapologetic Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015). McMillen, Sally, *Seneca Falls and the Origins of the Women's Rights Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009). Mead, Rebecca, *How the Vote was Won: Woman Suffrage in the Western United States, 1868-1914* (New York: New York University Press, 2006). Muncy, Robin, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform* (Oxford University Press, 1994). Newman, Louise Michele, *White Women's Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). Rupp, Leila J., *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997). Sneider, Allison L., *Suffragists in an Imperial Age: U. S. Expansion and the Woman Question, 1870-1929*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). Tetrault, Lisa, "The Incorporation of American Feminism: Suffragists on the Postbellum Lyceum," *Journal of American History*, 96 (March 2010), 1027-56. Wellman, Judith, *The Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the First Woman's Rights Convention* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2004). Zahniser, J. D. and Amelia R. Fry, *Alice Paul: Claiming Power* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2014).

everyday activism that occurred outside of mainstream women's suffrage and temperance organizations.<sup>70</sup> Despite efforts to broaden the historiography of women's activism in this era, women's historians have yet to fully incorporate women's sport and athletics. There have been very few women's historians studying this era who have bridged gaps between women's activism and athletic pursuits. Patricia Vertinsky and Roberta Park, two pioneering historians of women's athletics, have been two of the few scholars to research nineteenth-century women activists' views on sports.<sup>71</sup>

Similarly, a study of women's bicycling must be positioned within the environment of the cyclists themselves. As such, this dissertation builds upon historiographies of urban history, especially historians who have explored the significant transformation of cities in the late nineteenth century, including the rise of commercial culture and mass consumption along with urbanization and modernization.<sup>72</sup> Environmental historians have also crafted a rich historiography describing how turn-of-the-century city dwellers' increasingly viewed the natural world as a

---

<sup>70</sup> Guglielmo, Jennifer, *Living the Revolution: Italian Women's Resistance and Radicalism in New York City, 1880-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010). Mead, Rebecca, *How the Vote was Won: Woman Suffrage in the Western United States, 1868-1914* (New York: New York University Press, 2006).

<sup>71</sup> Park, Roberta, "All the Freedom of the Boy': Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Nineteenth-Century Architect of Women's Rights" *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 18, no. 1, (2010): 7-26. Vertinsky, Patricia, "A Militant Madonna: Charlotte Perkins Gilman - Feminism and Physical Culture," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 18, no. 1 (2001): 55-72.

<sup>72</sup> Chudacoff, Howard P., *The Age of the Bachelor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000). Kasson, John F., *Amusing the Million: Coney Island at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Hill and Wang, Publishers, 1985). Leach, William R., *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Vintage, 1994). Halttunen, Karen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-class Culture in America, 1830-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986). Nasaw, David, *Going Out: The Rise and Fall of Public Amusements* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999). Rosenzweig, Roy, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

space for respite and rejuvenation from urban life.<sup>73</sup> Led by Kathy Peiss' pioneering work *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York*, women's historians have been particularly interested in the political ramifications of the rise of mass consumption and leisure as the suffrage movement drew to close. Historians have constructed a historiography largely pessimistic regarding the influence of consumption on women's activism. They generally agree that the rise of shopping, movies, amusement parks, and other commercialized leisure subverted the political gains of women's political activism, transformed women's support networks into heteronormative commercial activities, and encouraged women to prioritize individual empowerment through commercial choice, which ultimately undermined women's political consciousness as an oppressed class.<sup>74</sup> This dissertation aims to complicate scholarly understanding of women's activism and consumer culture in new ways.

Building upon numerous historiographies, this dissertation unearths women's passion for bicycling using a wealth of previously disconnected sources. These sources are best understood

---

<sup>73</sup> Cronon, William, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1992). Cronon, William, "The Trouble with Wilderness" in *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995): 69-91. Fiege, Mark, *The Republic of Nature: An Environmental History of the United States* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012). Fisher, Colin, *Urban Green: Nature, Recreation, and the Working Class in Industrial Chicago* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015). Jackson, T. J., *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). Jacoby, Karl, *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

<sup>74</sup> Abelson, Elaine, *When Ladies Go A-Thieving: Middle-Class Shoplifters in the Victorian Department Store* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). Benson, Susan, *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890-1940* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1988). Enstad, Nan, *Ladies of Labor; Girls of Adventure: Working Women, Popular Culture, and Labor Politics at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999). Finnegan, Margaret, *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture and Votes for Women* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999). Levine, Susan, *Labor's True Woman: Carpet Weavers, Industrialization, and Labor Reform in the Gilded Age* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984). Meyerowitz, Joanne, *Women Adrift: Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). Peiss, Kathy, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986). Rabinovitz, Lauren, *For the Love of Pleasure: Women, Movies, and Culture in Turn-of-the-Century Chicago* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1998). Wood, Sharon, E., *The Freedom of the Streets: Work, Citizenship, and Sexuality in a Gilded Age City* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

in four central groups. Many of these sources have been digitized in collections such as ProQuest, Hathitrust, The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs, Google Books, and the Wisconsin Historical Society. This dissertation also features archival materials from the Library of Congress, the Frances Willard House Museum and Archive in Evanston, Illinois, and special collections of Indiana University and the University of Michigan.

First, this dissertation uses a wide array of publications from women's political organizations to explore how women connected their bicycling experiences with broader efforts for political rights and social reform. This dissertation incorporates articles from suffrage newspapers like *The Woman's Journal* and *The Woman's Signal* as well as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union's national newspaper *The Union Signal*. This dissertation also includes speeches and publications from women's rights groups, such as Frances Willard's addresses to the WCTU and Susan B. Anthony's published letters. Second, this dissertation utilizes the wealth of coverage of women's bicycling in newspapers and magazines from the 1890s. This dissertation uses a variety of newspapers, including leading newspapers like the *New York Times* and *Chicago Tribune* as well as newspapers from regional cities and small towns such as *The Evening Press* of Grand Rapids, Michigan and the *Courier-Journal* of Louisville, Kentucky. This dissertation also incorporates magazines, such as *The North American Review*, *Harper's Bazaar*, *Ladies World*, *Vogue*, *The Designer and the Woman's Magazine* and *Godey's Lady's Book*.

Third, this dissertation incorporates materials from the bicycling industry itself. It uses numerous bicycling periodicals, including national magazines like *L.A.W. Bulletin* and *Good Roads*, *Bearings: The Cycling Authority of America*, *The Cycling Gazette*, *The American Cyclist*, and *Wheelman's Gazette* as well as regional bicycling periodicals like *The Michigan Cyclist* and

the Wisconsin-based *The Pneumatic: A Progressive Monthly Paper for Cyclists*. This dissertation also includes bicycling coverage in broader health and athletics magazines such as *Recreation*, *Mind and Body*, *Outing* and *Referee*. Cyclists did not limit their publications to magazines and newspapers, and many wrote advice books, travel guides and memoirs, which are also key sources for this dissertation. This dissertation also incorporates periodicals of interest to bicycle industry insiders and entrepreneurs such as *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review*, *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review*, *Industrial World and Iron Worker*, *American Machinist* and *The Iron Age* as well as bicycle industry documents such as catalogs, advertisements, and factory records. Four, this dissertation explores the medical discourse of women's bicycling through academic and medical journals, physicians' conference papers, and popular journalists who used physicians' opinions in their reporting.

The methodological approach of this dissertation is in part informed by gaps in the historiography of cycling. The most striking problem in the historiography of cycling is the existing literature is either designed for a popular audience of bicycling enthusiasts (such as biographies and photograph collections), and thus lacks an in-depth analysis that locates bicycling within broader historical trends, or it is so theoretical that it is virtually inaccessible to anyone but a small group of scholars. In popular works on bicycling history, authors typically ignore women or provide a vague, celebratory treatment. There is no monograph that provides an in depth scholarly analysis of bicycling that remains accessible to a broader readership, especially while fully incorporating women bicyclists as active participants. As a social historian and a women's historian, this dissertation treats the lived experiences of non-elite actors as worthy of in depth historical scholarship. This dissertation unearths how bicycling fit into the contours of daily life,



especially for groups that historians have traditionally marginalized. While women's history has transformed from a small subtopic to a substantial field of study, there remains more work to be done, especially involving the relationships between activism, sport, and leisure. As a women's historian, my work will not simply add women into the historiography of bicycling, but use women's experiences to rethink multiple historiographies and broader historical trends. This dissertation is particularly influenced by Kathy Peiss' pioneering monograph *Cheap Amusements*, in which she offers the most well-crafted approach to exploring women, leisure, and consumption, with particular attention to class and sexuality. Peiss does not simply argue if the rise of mass consumption in the late nineteenth-century was good or bad for women, but frames women as historical actors who shaped consumer culture on their own terms, and ultimately were both empowered and limited by their creations.

As discussed, this dissertation responds to numerous historiographical gaps in women's history and American history by documenting an activity millions of nineteenth-century women found meaningful and transformative. This dissertation offers a new history of American bicycling which moves women from margin to center. By positioning women as the central historical actors of this story, this dissertation gives voice to women's daily experiences as cyclists. These experiences were much more than just simple fun. In the 1890s, bicycling was a revolutionary form of transformation because unlike walking, carriages, horseback and railroads, it was self-propelled, self-directed, affordable, efficient and not bound to timetables. Women had complex, insightful, and deeply political experiences as they engaged in this new method of moving through public spaces such as city streets, country roads and enjoy short day trips to month-long excursions. Women were not passive recipients of this new technology, and instead used it on

their own terms and for their own purposes. Women used their bicycles, a mere consumer good, as an organizing tool to engage in the politics of everyday life. In small towns and large cities throughout the country, women used bicycling as the front lines to challenge widespread gender constraints and the testing grounds to put their new political ideologies of empowerment into practice; as one wheelwoman described, cycling was “theory in action.”<sup>75</sup> As they developed regular bicycling practices, women used their everyday experiences as cyclists as the inspiration and authority to rewrite nineteenth-century gender norms. Yet, like all social and political transformations, women’s bicycling had a complicated legacy, and some women did limit the revolutionary potential of the sport. Yet despite powerful opponents and rampant inequalities, women ultimately used bicycling construct new visions of modern, American womanhood well before the age of suffrage and automobiles, helping to sustain the Woman’s Rights Movement during a decade with few major victories.

Women used bicycling to engage in the politics of everyday life, and as such women’s bicycling practices were diverse, complex and transformative. Each dissertation chapter offers a window into the women’s bicycling culture in the 1890s. It explores how women thought about bicycling, how bicycling changed them, and how they changed their world as a result.

This dissertation begins with chapter one, “The Trailblazers of Women’s Bicycling: Professional Racers, Pioneers, and Women Physicians.” By daring to ride in the late 1880s, these early wheelwomen challenged convention and set the stage for the massive popularity of women’s bicycling in the following decade. As women’s cycling exploded in popularity, dress quickly became one of the most controversial issues regarding this new sport. In chapter two,

---

<sup>75</sup> Bisland, Mary L., “Woman’s Cycle,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 132, no. 790, April 1896, 385-388. Quote page 386. Hathitrust. Accessed May 3, 2016. <<http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015024384219;view=1up;seq=398>>

“‘Freedom’s Battle’: Bicycling, Dress and Harassment in the Nineteenth-Century City,” I position wheelwomen’s decisions regarding dress as a response to the widespread street harassment they faced as cyclists. Many women responded by developing cycling outfits based on respectability and inconspicuousness, while others wore more radical clothing with the plan to confront their harassers end on. The practical necessity of safe and comfortable cycling clothes brought a stagnant dress reform movement back to life and helped mainstream fashion that once seemed radical, immoral and unnatural.

When women began cycling in the early 1890s, they had to contend with a male-dominated medical professional resultant to support their new sport. As described in chapter three, “‘The Best Medicine’: Wheelwomen, Health and the Medical Profession,” wheelwomen developed regular cycling practices to resist male-normative medical discourse of their bodies and they used cycling as an everyday strategy to transform their health. Women did not wait for physicians’ approval, and instead, male physicians slowly changed their minds when they saw their female patients thrive as cyclists. Physicians responded to this seismic shift by creating a discourse of moderation to medicalize bicycling. In chapter four, “‘The Servants Have Taken to Wheeling’: Bicycle Production and Consumption by Working-Class Wheelwomen,” I document how working-class women were active participants in and creators of bicycling culture, serving key roles as both producers and consumers of the bicycle industry. They used the tools available to them, especially consumer goods, as ammunition in their diverse engagement and deep investment of the politics of everyday life despite unreliable support from their wealthy peers.

Women used a variety of print forums to promote cycling as their passion for the sport grew. Chapter five, “‘New Philosophy of Life’: Women’s Bicycling Narratives” explores how

wheelwomen offered a template for an accessible, yet effective approach to women's activism by politicizing the sensory, embodied, and emotional experiences of cycling. Frances Willard, arguably the most famous wheelwoman of the 1890s, crafted a particular powerful narrative in her cycling memoir *Wheel Within a Wheel*. Like Willard, ordinary women also developed cycling narratives rooted in their physical experiences, inspired by their emotional feedback, and they crafted bicycling as an intellectual practice to create an empowering, women-centered body of bicycling knowledge. In popular periodicals and the suffrage press, women used cycling as a strategy to tap into and feel part of the woman's rights movement networks, building a new path for woman's rights ideology to travel and grow years before major suffrage victories.

Women's bicycling practices became increasingly expansive as the decade progressed, both in the physical ground wheelwomen covered as well as the broader social and political changes they fueled. Chapter six, "Chaperones, Practical Independence and the Transformation of the Woman's Rights Movement," argues that by daring to cycle independently and without a chaperone, women used bicycles to challenge seemingly unshakable limits on women's public lives. Wheelwomen created a new approach to public life that they called practical independence. Inspired by this new framework, wheelwomen were struck by the deep political potential of consumer goods, setting the stage for future public, consumer-based activist strategies in the following decades. In chapter seven, "'New Worlds to Conquer': Women's Bicycling-based Travel in an Age of Empire," I argue that connecting cycling travel and empire helps us think critically about the simplified empowerment thesis so common in bicycling historiography, which implies all women cycling experienced a monolithic sense of empowerment with no cost to others. Ordinary women cyclists were inspired by cycling adventurer Fanny Workman and the advice of

wheelwomen Marie Ward, who understood their own cycling experiences as conquering explorers and imperialist adventurers. As such, for many middle- and upper-class women empire provided the language and the structure of the empowerment and independence of cycling-based travel. In turn, cycling offered women a hands-on experience of empire's privileges.

This dissertation concludes by looking at the big picture of American women's bicycling by connecting wheelwomen's narratives from the 1890s to challenges facing contemporary women cyclists. In asking what can be gained by taking women's bicycling seriously, the consequences of understudying it becomes strikingly clear. Bicycling is a thread that quietly weaves through some of the most important stories of American women's history. It connects the everyday activities of women who never enjoyed elite status or positions of power to the big questions of what it means to be a modern American woman. By recognizing the social and political importance of cycling, this dissertation aims to expand who counts as key actors in American history. Wheelwomen were not on the sidelines. They used the bicycle as a method to shape a period of profound upheaval on their own terms. The result, the modern American woman, was not created by leading activists or intellectuals, but in part by women cyclists who enacted their own visions of empowerment on every ride.

## CHAPTER 1: THE TRAILBLAZERS OF WOMEN'S BICYCLING: PROFESSIONAL RACERS, PIONEERS, AND WOMEN PHYSICIANS

In February, 1889, Madison Square Garden hosted a multi-day sporting event that enthralled New Yorkers. Fans dressed in their favorite athlete's colors and thousands bought tickets, hoping to see their favorite athlete with the winner's medal, which featured a large diamond.<sup>1</sup> Working-class New Yorkers paid forty-cents for the cheapest ticket, while New York celebrities, including athletes and theater stars, splurged on the best seats.<sup>2</sup> Newspapers in New York as well as other major cities published daily coverage for fans who could not attend.<sup>3</sup> Commentators debated each athlete's athletic ability, training schedule, nutrition regime, equipment choices, and coaching staff. More than a few participants waged bets on the outcome despite organizers' attempts to limit gambling. Given the excitement of the party-like atmosphere, some audience members became intoxicated, got into brawls, and claimed their favorite athlete's rivals cheated and took bribes.<sup>4</sup> This event was not a boxing match, baseball game or another popular men's sport. It was a six-day race of women cyclists who built careers as professional racers.

Starting in the late 1880s, three distinct types of trailblazers catapulted women's cycling into a visible, public activity in cities throughout the Northeast and Midwest. First, professional

---

<sup>1</sup> "Bicycle Tournament for Women," *New York Times* (New York, NY), February 10, 1889, 10. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/94680040/abstract/14344CC83995BB580C/1?accountid=12598>>

<sup>2</sup> "LADY BICYCLISTS.: Fourteen Girls Enter a Six Days' Race at Madison Square Garden," *Detroit Free Press* (Detroit, MI), February 12, 1889, 3. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpdetroitfreepress/docview/561992826/abstract/15031EFB79D54CF7PQ/186?accountid=12598>>

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

women cyclists, who were predominately working-class, built their sport as a wage-earning venture. In the final years before the rise of the safety model, professional and semi-professional racers demonstrated women's athleticism to legions of fans of their sport. When the women's safety model emerged in 1889, another group of trailblazers dared to ride not on professional racetracks, but through the streets of their hometowns. By the mid-1890s, women crowned this first generation of female safety riders as 'pioneers' for their courage to be the earliest visible recreational cyclists. Third, women physicians, many of whom were cyclists themselves, took to newspapers and medical journals by storm to offer a new perspective of women's cycling as empirically sound and politically empowering. While the rising numbers of middle-class women failed to support working-class racers, these trailblazing groups served as the first visible marker of women's cycling in the United States, setting the stage for the millions of American women who became cyclists in the 1890s.

### The Rise and Fall of Women's Professional Cycling

The championship race of 1889 featured fifteen of the most celebrated and successful women racers of the period, including Elsa Von Blumen of Rochester, New York, French-Canadian reigning champion Louis Armaindo, and Jessie Oakes, a British cyclist who held the record for fastest mile. During each of day of the event, the cyclists raced non-stop on an one-eighth mile track from three o'clock to six o'clock in the afternoon, and then from eight o'clock to one in the morning, with the a total of eight cycling hours each day.<sup>5</sup> Women took brief naps, ate snacks, and strategized with their coaches in nearby hotels, as there were no women's locker

---

<sup>5</sup> "Bicycle Tournament for Women," 10.

rooms.<sup>6</sup> During breaks, the audience debated each cyclists' skills and offered their predictions: Could Armaindo, known for her regimented strength training, outlast Jessie Oakes, a leaner and faster cyclist? Would Maggie McShane recover from her early fall? Were the champions riding too hard in the first days, giving an underdog the chance to win?

Armaindo took an early lead, but shockingly collapsed from exhaustion on day two. Determined to finish, she took breaks throughout the remaining race days, but was never able to regain her typical racing speed. The young, healthy Lottie Stanley used this opportunity to re-strategize, and she ultimately won the six-day race. Her surprising win was not the end of this exciting event. Race organizers typically set up women's professional races so that the top finishers all received a portion of the profits based on their final ranking. They awarded Lottie Stanley a first place prize of \$50, but she claimed the winner should have received \$250. Given the widespread corruption and lack of oversight in nineteenth-century competitive sports, winner's prizes were often up for debate. Stanley's manager represented her in the dispute, which resulted in a compromise of a \$100 I.O.U. and a new bicycle as well as her \$50 and diamond winner's medal. Stanley's decision to use her manager to contest her prize sparked even more controversy. Some fans thought having a paid manager was necessary for professional athletes, including women cyclists, while others worried that cyclists would pay managers only to contest prize winnings and not promote their client or further the sport.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> "LADY BICYCLISTS.: Fourteen Girls Enter a Six Days' Race at Madison Square Garden," 3.

<sup>7</sup> "It Was a 'Hippodrome,'" *New York Times* (New York, NY), February 19, 1889, 5. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/94663053/abstract/14344C-C83995BB580C/24?accountid=12598>>



This six-day race at Madison Square Garden was one of many events in the popular, exciting world of women's cycling racing in the 1880s. While this event was especially exciting because a number of world champions participated, smaller cities throughout the Northeast and Midwest hosted a variety of women's races featuring professional and semi-professional cyclists as well as amateurs hoping to make a name for themselves and go professional. The first women's cycling race occurred in France in 1869, and Americans were shocked and intrigued when they saw the coverage.<sup>8</sup> In 1879, American spectators attended the first women's cycling race on their own turf.<sup>9</sup> By the 1880s, a small but notable group of working-class women developed racing as an income-earning venture. Many of the most famous and successful professional women cyclist were not new to athletics, and had in fact started their careers as paid sports-women in the now defunct sport of pedestrianism, or long-distance walking events.<sup>10</sup> Top cyclists and up-and-comers trained with the best male coaches of the day.<sup>11</sup> Women's training typically included strict nutrition regimes with low-fat, high-protein meals, cross training in boxing, and cardiovascular exercises like jumping rope, along with specific cycling programs.<sup>12</sup> The women's safety model was introduced in 1889, and as such these professional racers did not ride safety models but rode Ordinaries, the bicycle model which pre-dated the safety. These large,

---

<sup>8</sup> "Velocipede Race in Paris — Sunday Afternoon," *Harper's Weekly*, December 19, 1868, 812. Print. Author's personal copy.

<sup>9</sup> Wells, Michael A., "Ordinary Women: High Wheeling Ladies in Nineteenth Century America," *The Wheelmen* 43, (November 1993): 2-14. Quote page 2.

<sup>10</sup> Wells, "Ordinary Women: High Wheeling Ladies in Nineteenth Century America," 2.

<sup>11</sup> Wells, "Ordinary Women: High Wheeling Ladies in Nineteenth Century America," 5-6.

<sup>12</sup> Darling, Fanny, "Bicycle Racing Transforms Lovely Woman from a Pale Beauty into a Perfect Fright," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, MO), December 5, 1897, 16. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpstlouispostdispatch/docview/579462620/abstract/1B70BC2E376543E3PQ/32?accountid=12598>>

dangerous bicycles featured a tall front wheel and a very small rear wheel which made balancing, turning, and dismounting a difficult skill to master. Women racers dressed in jackets, knickerbockers and cycling boots, not dresses or skirts, to limit their chances of falling or sustaining a serious injury, a common occurrence in this dangerous sport.

Races took a variety of exciting and sometimes strange forms, all to induce locals to buy tickets. Women raced in indoor tracks, such as Madison Square Garden, in multi-day and single-day races. Women entered single races against male athletes as well as other women. In 1882, when Louise Armaindo raced J. S. Price, a male professional cyclist, there were many women in attendance, most of whom wore crimson clothing and waved crimson handkerchiefs — Armaindo's uniform color — to cheer her on. When Armaindo lost, her fans blamed the race organizers for scheduling the event in September, the end of her racing season, knowing she would not be cycling at her best.<sup>13</sup> The following year, Armaindo beat two famous male cyclists, William Woodside of Ireland and William Morgan of Canada, in a long-distance competition, and her earlier loss to Price carried much less weight.<sup>14</sup> Clearly understanding her skill as a cyclist, Woodside and Armaindo came together as a tandem team to break the 24-hour American record, riding 250 miles on a cold, outdoor track.<sup>15</sup>

Women did not only race against other cyclists. In one of her most popular races, the celebrated cyclist Elsa Von Blumen raced a horse in an large outdoor track in Rochester, New

---

<sup>13</sup> "A Bicycle Contest.: Mr. Prince, of Boston, Defeats Mlle. Armaindo, of Montreal," *New York Times* (New York, NY), September 3, 1882, 8. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/94023150/abstract/14344CC83995BB580C/4?accountid=12598>>

<sup>14</sup> Wells, "Ordinary Women: High Wheeling Ladies in Nineteenth Century America," 5.

<sup>15</sup> Wells, "Ordinary Women: High Wheeling Ladies in Nineteenth Century America," 7.

York.<sup>16</sup> Despite such attention-grabbing events, commentators generally took the sport seriously, celebrated women's achievements and highlighted their perseverance. In one particularly grueling six-day race, a journalist noted that Von Blumen had visibly lost weight, her hands were covered in blisters and her joints were swollen, but she finished the race "through the force of indomitable will."<sup>17</sup> Crowds responded by "standing on the chairs and cheering long and loud" when she crossed the finish line.<sup>18</sup> Fans of Von Blumen and Armaindo hoped to see these rivals race each other and end longstanding debates regarding who was the top female cyclist of the era. In 1882, Von Blumen and Armaindo participated in a set of heats against only one another, much to the joy of their fans. With up to \$3,000 of cash prizes for the winner, which would be almost \$75,000 today, organizers and fans alike took the event seriously. Armaindo won the majority of the heats with ease and took home the title. Von Blumen's fans argued it was not Armaindo's athletic ability, but equipment strategy, that got her the win. Armando chose to ride a 50-inch Ordinary, while Von Blumen rode a 48-inch model, a slower, safer model designed for long distance events. Even at her top speeds, Von Blumen was roughly a minute slower than her rival. Von Blumen fans were quick to demand a rematch. When Armaindo easily beat Von Blumen in a fifty-mile race the following month, it seemed Armaindo's championship status was undeniable. But this result did not discourage Von Blumen fans, thousands of whom continued to purchase tickets to see her race throughout the 1880s.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> Wells, "Ordinary Women: High Wheeling Ladies in Nineteenth Century America," 3.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Wells, "Ordinary Women: High Wheeling Ladies in Nineteenth Century America," 5.

It may seem surprising that women's racing could thrive in the 1880s, an era in which women's value rested on their respectability and femininity and there few professional outlets for women athletes. Yet, this in part fueled interest in the sport. As with any sport, both male and female audience members attended women's cycling races for a variety of reasons. Some spectators, especially women, viewed women racers as serious athletes and courageous challengers of gender norms. Women did not force their way into the audience; in fact, many race organizers encouraged women's attendance with the hope that it would improve men's behavior. Many men, but also some women, attended simply for the fun of betting, drinking, and seeing women pants and revealing outfits, something they would have few other opportunities to do. The vast majority of women professional and semi-professional cyclists were working-class, often immigrant women, who saw cycling as a way to earn money in an era when they had few employment opportunities. For example, Helen Baldwin, a working-class woman from Pittsburg, hoped professional cycling would be more profitable than her job as a typist. Kitty Brown built her career from the ground up, giving demonstrations in her Brooklyn neighborhood hoping to gain attention of a coach or race organizer.<sup>20</sup> In the height off her career, Armaindo reached her ultimate goal of having "heaps of fun besides making lots of money."<sup>21</sup> When she wanted a break from her strenuous racing schedule, she performed tricks at circuses to make extra cash.<sup>22</sup>

Working-class women's professional cycling opportunities did not increase in the 1890s, when the safety model emerged and women's cycling became more popular and accepted. In

---

<sup>20</sup> Wells, "Ordinary Women: High Wheeling Ladies in Nineteenth Century America," 8-9

<sup>21</sup> Wells, "Ordinary Women: High Wheeling Ladies in Nineteenth Century America," 5-6.

<sup>22</sup> Wells, "Ordinary Women: High Wheeling Ladies in Nineteenth Century America," 7.

fact, it largely plummeted. Slowly middle- and upper-class wheelwomen started to dominate the sport, and they did not support working-class women who engaged in professional racing. They encouraged working-class women's cycling in broad terms, but not if it fell outside of middle-class riding styles. It took very little time for the mass-market safety model to make all previous bicycle models obsolete, including the Ordinary. The few women who were wealthy enough to ride tricycles quickly abandoned them for the safer, lighter and more enjoyable safety, while young men, the predominate riders of Ordinaries, were excited to try the next big thing in the bicycle world. By the early 1890s, it was rare to see Ordinaries on the street. Male professional cyclists quickly adopted and tweaked safety models for racing, allowing them to go much faster, and not surprisingly, their fan base only grew.<sup>23</sup> On safeties, women racers were more threatening to middle-class wheelwomen, who were working to justify and promote their new cycling practice. Middle- and upper-class women, far from supporting women's professional cycling, largely agreed that the working-class racers would only derail the acceptance of women's cycling, as men would assume racers' dress and riding style were the norm for all wheelwomen. Male cycling advocates also aimed to make cycling respectable. The League of American Wheelman, the most powerful and respected men's cycling organization in the nineteenth-century United States, hoped to build a cycling voter block in their efforts to modernize American roads.<sup>24</sup> As such, middle-class men joined their women peers in denouncing women's racing.

This dramatic shift was clearly reflected in the coverage of women's cycling races. In the 1890s, the popular press transitioned to regular coverage of women's professional racing to sen-

---

<sup>23</sup> Smith, *A Social History of the Bicycle*, 158.

<sup>24</sup> Taylor, Michael, "The Bicycle Boom and the Bicycle Bloc: Cycling and Politics in the 1890s," *Indiana Magazine of History* 104, no. 3 (September 2008): 213-240.

sationalized mockery of the athletes' beauty and morals. In one particularly striking *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* column from 1897, the paper depicts two portraits each of five famous women racers. In before and after photos, journalist Fanny Darling demonstrated how racing transformed beautiful young girls into masculine, unattractive, wide-eyed women, with glaring eyes, unkept hair and aged faces. Darling pitied each woman as a "poor creature" in desperate need of money, assuming that financial need was the only possible explanation for a woman who willingly raced for cash prizes.<sup>25</sup> Darling interviewed a woman who watched one of their races, and she said that once she learned that the women "subject themselves to such tests of endurance for money, I was grieved. It pained me to see them forfeiting health for gain in such a way.... God intended women to be better than horses."<sup>26</sup> In Darling's interview with professional cyclist Lillie Williams, Williams reported that she originally started cycling to treat various medical ailments. When her health improved and she began riding regularly, she saw professional cycling as an alternative to the limited employment options in her Nebraska hometown. Williams made \$1,500 a year as an office worker. Once her cycling career took off, she made three to four thousand dollars from her prize money and appearances. "Quite a difference, you see," she told the disapproving journalist.<sup>27</sup> Even though Darling did not approve of racing, perhaps sensing the changes to come, she could not help but comment that Williams had "an independent air about her that gave

---

<sup>25</sup> Darling, Fanny, "Bicycle Racing Transforms Lovely Woman from a Pale Beauty into a Perfect Fright," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, MO), December 5, 1897, 16. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpstlouispostdispatch/docview/579462620/abstract/1B70BC2E376543E3PQ/32?accountid=12598>>

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

the impression that she could fight for her rights.”<sup>28</sup> *Town Topics*, a social periodical among wealthy New Yorkers, took a similar anti-racing stance. One contributor claimed “[t]he sight of a woman, bedraggled, hot, dusty... with a lot of men, in a wild attempt to ride 100 miles in a day, is not pleasant for gods or man to look upon, and not at all good for the woman.”<sup>29</sup> Describing a recent ten-mile race between two women, the author claimed that the women were “old enough to know better” because “[t]o pump desperately along with humped back, twisted neck and purple face is to make a spectacle disgusting and alarming...Heaven forfend us from a race of racing women.”<sup>30</sup>

As middle-class women derided and discouraged women’s professional racing, middle-class men’s support of these once popular events also plummeted. Men’s cycling periodicals published columns addressing their opposition to women’s professional racing. A controversy regarding a Louisville, Kentucky race provides an example of such coverage. In 1894, a local bike dealer organized a women’s race as part of a promotional event for his shop. Just like in 1880s, the women’s racing outfits consisted of pants, not skirts, and a sensible top. The dealer sold over 10,000 tickets, much to the horror of local middle-class men’s clubs and a critic in *Referee*, a middle-class men’s sporting magazine, who worried the event would link the “hoodlum element” and the wrong “class of people” to their respectable sport, who attended only to see “bloomer-be-

---

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> *Town Topics* 34, July 25, 1895, 18-19. Quote page 18. *Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920*. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/Search/Search-DocDetail.aspx?docref=TownTopicsVol34>>

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

decked females.”<sup>31</sup> The author similarly viewed the working-class women racers as an insult to the sport and middle-class women because they were simply not equipped for professional cycling: “[e]very race run by women works direct injury to the cause of cycling.... when members of the fair sex attempt to ape the lords of creation by competing in cycle race of their own” and offer “[t]he sight of women tearing around a race track awhile, attired in semi-masculine costumes, and robbed of almost all the visible attributes that we commonly associate with womankind, is one to outrage the finest feelings of every true gentleman.”<sup>32</sup>

A year later, in 1895, the League of American Wheelman officially refused to sanction any races which allowed women to enter.<sup>33</sup> In 1896, a California cycling exposition made headlines when numerous bicycle companies removed their exhibits when they learned the organizers sanctioned a professional women’s race as part of the festivities.<sup>34</sup> In 1897, *The Michigan Cyclist* published an editorial column to actively discourage its largely male readers from attending an upcoming women’s race in Grand Rapids. The author argued that the popularity of women’s races a decade ago did not justify supporting them today: “the finer instincts revolt at the thought of woman in this undignified and unwomanlike sport, and the man with a tender heart feels overcome with disgust as he sees a member of the fair sex thrown from her wheel and lying bruised

---

<sup>31</sup> Helca, Berry, “Object to Ladies’ Races,” *Referee* 13, no. 21, September 21, 1894, no pages. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> “By-Laws,” *L.A.W. Bulletin and Good Roads* 21, no. 15, April 12, 1895, 33. Center for Global Research Libraries Digital Delivery System. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://dds-crl-edu.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/crldelivery/4889>>

<sup>34</sup> “BICYCLE DEALERS REMOVE EXHIBITS: Wheelmen, too, Show Their Displeasure ALL DESERT THE PAVILION THE WOMAN’S RACE NOTHING BUT A HIPPODROME Egan and Jangling Are Charged With Extortion by Their Fellow-Cyclists,” *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, CA), Mar 14, 1896, 8. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpsfchronicle/docview/575840305/abstract/9E4CC039334B46CBPQ/24?accountid=12598>>



and unconscious on the track as has been the case in some of them.”<sup>35</sup> By 1898, the New York City chapter of the LAW even banned women from riding in the club’s annual spring century ride, viewing it as an inappropriate form of women’s cycling and too close to a race.<sup>36</sup> Their refusal to support a challenging but non-competitive one-hundred mile ride at a leisurely pace was a far cry from a decade earlier, when men filled large halls and stadiums to watch women professionals race hundreds of miles. *Wheelman’s Gazette*, a popular men’s cycling magazine, was typical in offering strong support of women’s cycling, but journalists celebrated the decline of women’s professional racing: “[t]hank goodness the woman cycle racer is almost a thing of the past. She is un-American, and above all, unwomanly.”<sup>37</sup>

Women’s professional cycling plummeted as a result. There were some women’s professional races in the 1890s, but they were fewer, garnered less coverage, and continually declined throughout the decade. In 1895, Nellie Rhodes, a notable cyclist in the large women’s cycling scene in Washington, D.C., beat the American ten-mile record. In the brief coverage of her race, cycling journalists focused on her decision to wear a respectable skirt, and not the racing pants of 1880s champions, instead of analyzing her athletic skill or the particulars of the race.<sup>38</sup> In 1897, Cleveland hosted what would be one of the last six-day women’s bicycle races. Organizers highlighted the athletic talents of the women and stated that “[p]eople who have never attended a fe-

---

<sup>35</sup> *The Michigan Cyclist*, April 29, 1897, 3, No. 15, 8. Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, EA 175 MC995 MC995. Accessed March 4, 2015. Print.

<sup>36</sup> “Women and Century Runs,” *The LAW Bulletin and Good Roads*, March 25, 1898, 275. Hathitrust. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015012331958?urlappend=%3Bseq=282>>

<sup>37</sup> Burke, Ulila, “Women of the Wheel,” *Wheelman’s Gazette* 8, April 1893, 60-61. Quote page 61. Library of Congress. Accessed March 9, 2015. Print.

<sup>38</sup> *The American Cyclist*, 7, August 30, 1895, 384. Library of Congress. Accessed March 9, 2015. Print.

male bicycle race have no idea the amount of excitement they can create.”<sup>39</sup> Yet the organizers framed the race as part of a larger entertainment festival, not a serious athletic event. They hired wheelwoman and entertainer Annie Sylvester to perform circus-style bicycle tricks alongside concerts and bicycle model expos on each race day.<sup>40</sup> The same year, Michigan organizers hosted a women’s race featuring a particularly challenging course: the wooden track featured 40 to 50 degree rises in the corners, making it incredibly difficult to maneuver. They paid the some of the most accomplished and respected women racers to enter the event. Yet, they also awarded a prize for the racer with the best costume, a striking example of the declining seriousness with which race officials treated even the most celebrated women racers.<sup>41</sup> At a Wisconsin bicycling exposition, important national events in the bicycling industry, organizers offered women racers their own, separated circuit for riding, but they were far from a central event.<sup>42</sup> By the late 1890s, women’s races in major venues became a rarity. Increasingly one looked to the county fair, not Madison Square Garden, to watch a professional women’s race.<sup>43</sup> As this group of trailblazers lost their popularity, influence, and legacy in the sport, another trailblazing group replaced working-class racers’ position as the most visible marker of women’s bicycling in the nation.

---

<sup>39</sup> “WILL BE GOOD.: The Female Bicycle Race. Which Will Begin Next Monday Night,” *Cincinnati Enquirer* (Cincinnati Enquirer, OH), March 1, 1897, 6. ProQuest. Accessed March 9, 2015. <<http://search.proquest.com/proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpcincinnatienquirer/docview/888641568/abstract/9A6961FB2B5D4DB8PQ/123?accountid=12598>>

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> “The Woman’s Race,” *The Michigan Cyclist* 3, no. 15, April 29, 1897, 6. Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, University of Michigan, EA 175 MC995 MC995. Accessed March 4, 2015. Print.

<sup>42</sup> “Have a Circuit of Their Own,” *The Pneumatic: A Journal of Cycling Literature and Trade News* VIII, no. 5, August 1897, no pages. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/83555/rec/7>>

<sup>43</sup> “The Wheeling Woman,” *The Pneumatic: A Journal of Cycling Literature and Trade News* VI, no. 3, June 1895, no pages. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/83254/rec/5>>

## Pioneering the Women's Safety

In 1888, bicycle companies introduced the women's safety to American markets, ushering in the bicycle boom of the 1890s. Women jumped at the chance to ride, yet they were met with a cycling culture, and broader set of social and medical norms, which significantly hampered their enthusiasm. From 1889 to the early 1890s, the first generation of women safety riders paved the way for the broader acceptance of women's cycling. Starting with a popular journalist and cycling enthusiast named Mary Sargent Hopkins, wheelwomen of the 1890s crafted a historical narrative of their sport that anchored on this first generation. Wheelwomen built a narrative in which they celebrated this first generation of women bicyclists, who they called pioneers, because they paved the way for future wheelwomen.

Andrew Ritchie, a British cycling historian, commented that Mary Sargent Hopkins was known for her role in women's rights, temperance and abolition movements in the late nineteenth century.<sup>44</sup> Yet Hopkins did not confront these issues directly in her work. Instead, she focused women's sport and exercise, particularly bicycling. While Hopkins published under her own name, she also referred to herself as "the Merrie Wheeler" [sic] and the "Outdoor Woman," showcasing her primary purpose as the promotion of women's sports and exercise.<sup>45</sup> Hopkins published columns in many highly regarded popular periodicals of the 1880s and 1890s, including in *The New York Times*, *Harper's Bazaar*, *The New England Kitchen Magazine* and *Frank*

---

<sup>44</sup> Ritchie, Andrew, "The Wheelwoman—Search for Copies," January 16, 2010. Accessed April 19, 2011. <<http://andrewritchie.wordpress.com/2010/01/16/the-wheelwoman-search-for-copies>>

<sup>45</sup> Hopkins, Mary Sargent, "How to Ride the Bicycle, and What to Wear," *The New England Kitchen Magazine* 2, no. 1, October 1894, 12-15. Quote page 12. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=QxxIAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA13&dq=%22How+to+Ride+the+Bicycle,+and+What+to+Wear%22&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiArpvq3qXMAhUGbSYKHaqUBIQQ6AEIHTAA#v=onepage&q=%22How%20to%20Ride%20the%20Bicycle%2C%20and%20What%20to%20Wear%22&f=false>>

*Leslie's Popular Monthly*. Hopkins was also well known as the founder and editor of *Wheelwoman*, a popular periodical for women cyclists.<sup>46</sup> Published monthly out of Hopkins' Boston office, *Wheelwoman* was in print from 1895 to 1897.<sup>47</sup> Hopkins aimed to build a career as a columnist and use her success to promote the social changes she wished to inspire.

Hopkins was a leading voice to root the popularity of women's cycling, and women's sport overall, as the direct result of women of previous generations who were the first to engage in such practices. Many men believed that most middle-class women began engaging in sport and exercise either because their doctor approved it or because their doctor specifically prescribed such activities for them. When male journalists covered the rise of women cycling, they often based their reports on these assumptions. The few historians who have explored women's cycling have also followed the assumption that most women began engaging in sport and exercise either because their doctor approved it or because their doctor specifically prescribed such activities for them.<sup>48</sup> It seems as though women waited patiently for men's approval, and began cycling only when they received men's support.

Yet, Hopkins challenged this narrative that framed men as origin of women's cycling and ultimately those who should be thanked for 'convincing' women to start riding. Hopkins specifically contested this narrative of obedience and medicalization throughout the popular press, and

---

<sup>46</sup> As of 2016, the three known print copies of *Wheelwoman* housed by the Library of Congress have been lost. There are no known digitized copies.

<sup>47</sup> "Massachusetts— Boston," *American Newspaper Directory* 32, no. 3, March 1900, 428. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=EE0CAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA1429&dq="American+Newspaper+Directory%22+March+1900&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwihwpal36XMAhXI5yYKHf1RAaEQ6AEIKjAA#v=snippet&q=wheelwoman&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=EE0CAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA1429&dq=)>

<sup>48</sup> Smith, *A Social History of the Bicycle*, 65.

she framed the rise of women's sport and exercise, especially cycling, as a major social shift in women's lives. Rhetoric scholar Sarah Hallenbeck argues popular periodicals provided a particularly useful forum for Hopkins' perspective because they "celebrated innovation and disdained tradition, they encouraged readers to think of their world as a rapidly changing place, within which old expectations and assumptions were constantly being undermined and startling new possibilities were emerging" which greatly "assisted non-medically trained women authors in contesting medical commonplaces."<sup>49</sup> Hopkins used her position as a columnist to remind readers about life before women's cycling. In "Bicycling for Girls: A Word to Mothers," Hopkins expressed her pleasure at the fact that "foolish notions" that girls "must be 'ladylike' even at the expense" of health and fitness "have almost entirely vanished . . . [and as such] [o]ur girls are healthier and happier" than non-cycling women of previous generations.<sup>50</sup> In a *Harper's Bazaar* article, Hopkins similarly acknowledged that "[t]he smiling and wholesome product of sunshine and fresh air known as the outdoor woman could scarcely have been so classified in America ten years ago."<sup>51</sup> Hopkins similarly stated that due to "[t]he joy in temporary freedom from care, the new-found beauty of nature, the steady gain in physical strength, the pleasure found in speed and ease combined," women have taken up cycling in record numbers.<sup>52</sup> Hopkins also reported that

---

<sup>49</sup> Hallenbeck, Sarah, "Riding Out of Bounds: Women Bicyclists' Embodied Medical Authority," *Rhetoric Review* 29, no. 4 (September 2010): 327–345. Quote page 329.

<sup>50</sup> Hopkins, Mary Sargent, "Bicycling for Girls: A Word to Mothers," *The New England Kitchen Magazine* 2, October 1894, 142-143. Quote page 142. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=CuROAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA142&dq=%22Bicycling+for+Girls:+A+Word+to+Mothers%22+new+england+kitchen&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjg8Z7i36XMAhXJbiYKHTy2CEkQ6AEIHTAA#v=onepage&q=%22Bicycling%20for%20Girls%3A%20A%20Word%20to%20Mothers%22%20new%20england%20kitchen&f=false>>

<sup>51</sup> Hopkins, Mary Sargent, "How the Bicycle Has One Its Way Among Women," *Harper's Bazaar* 29, no. 11, May 14, 1896, 244. ProQuest American Periodicals. Accessed May 5, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/125593550/AAA6C30687E24F41PQ/17?accountid=12598>>

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

arguments for women's sport and exercise were "no more mere theory. Its efficacy has been tried and proven by thousands" of women throughout the country.<sup>53</sup>

Hopkins directly challenged the notion that women took up outdoor activities and sports such as cycling because medical authorities supported and promoted it. Instead, she argued that readers should thank the 'pioneer women' for engaging in these activities before they were socially sanctioned—that they paved the way for the current 'outdoor woman,' not physicians or other male authority figures. In "How the bicycle won its way among women," Hopkins outlined the historical process of social acceptance of women's cycling, crafting a narrative that quickly became central to how women thought about their sport. She stated that when the "women's wheel made its first appearance . . . it was looked upon with suspicion by many, with derision by some, and accepted by few."<sup>54</sup> Hopkins argued "[t]he various causes and reasons which have led up to its adoption by women can be traced primarily to the influence of the tricycle."<sup>55</sup> Despite the limitations of the tricycle, in particular its weight, difficulty to control, and high price, Hopkins stated women who were able and willing to start tricycling quickly developed a passion for women's sport and exercise, and they became less willing to confine themselves within the "four walls" of their homes.<sup>56</sup> Hopkins then argued "[t]he few women who were pioneers in cycling lost no opportunity to spread the new gospel of good health to be found awheel."<sup>57</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup> Hopkins, Mary Sargent, "Out-door Papers: The Bicycle," *The New England Kitchen Magazine*, September 1894, 309-310. Quote page 309. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=hm1LAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA309&dq=Out-door+Papers:+The+Bicycle,+The+New+England+Kitchen&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiouLus4aXMAhXJ6yYKHeQSD1gQ6AEIMjAB#v=onepage&q&f=false>>

<sup>54</sup> Hopkins, Mary Sargent, "How the Bicycle Has One Its Way Among Women," 244.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

Hopkins was one of many cycling journalists to celebrate the key role of Mrs. W. E. Smith, who was arguably the first and most influential pioneer. Smith was one of the first documented women to ride a safety bicycle in public. A native of Washington, D.C., Smith's husband was a well-known bicycle manufacturer in the city. Legend claims that Smith demanded her husband create a safety model without the triangle-shaped frame so that women could ride it — it was incredibly difficult for women to mount and dismount a men's frame while wearing skirts. Her husband responded by creating a safety bicycle prototype with a sloping top-tube just for her. She took the prototype on her first ride in the D.C. streets as soon as he finished building it. This story quickly became legend among wheelwomen, who waxed poetic at their sport's origin story. A *New York Times* columnist described how on her first ride, Smith was no longer “restricted, like Eve in her Garden Paradise” and instead she enjoyed bicycling “as the thirsty flower drinks in the summer shower... the first woman's bicycle was constructed — and it was hers.”<sup>58</sup> In Hopkins' history of women's cycling, she similarly featured a large image of Mrs. W. E. Smith, which took up a third of the page. Along with her name under her large photo, Hopkins identified Smith as “*the* pioneer rider.”<sup>59</sup> Due to the promotion of women's cycling by women themselves, “[s]lowly but steadily the wheel found favor in the eyes of women.”<sup>60</sup> Mrs. Reginald

---

<sup>58</sup> “Women and Cycling,” *The New York Times* February 7, 1897, SMS10. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/95473560/abstract/8F-B4A6359D59453APQ/122?accountid=12598>>

<sup>59</sup> Hopkins, Mary Sargent, “How the Bicycle Has One Its Way Among Women,” 244. Italics added.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

de Koven, another respected cycling journalist, also framed Smith's first ride as a the beginning of women's safety cycling.<sup>61</sup>

In *Ladies' World*, Hopkins interviewed Mrs. J. Rush Greene, one of the first New England women to ride. Like many pioneers, Greene learned to ride in Washington, D.C. — a city with one of the first cycling scenes for women. As a cycling novice, she earned the name “pluck and bones” due to her tenacity while learning to ride.<sup>62</sup> She then returned to her native Boston, where she became one of the first visible signs of women's safety riding. Greene worked tirelessly to get her friends to ride, slowly building up one of the most vibrant cycling cities in the country. After only a few years, Greene found that “[t]he very women who were the most voluble then with reasons why the wheel would not be ridden, at least by them, are now loudest in its praise.”<sup>63</sup> Hopkins strongly agreed with Greene. Hopkins argued that the growth of women's cycling was not a mere trend, but a significant and permanent change in women's lives as “once a cyclist meant always a cyclist.”<sup>64</sup> Hopkins consistently argued in her writing that when women engaged in outdoor pursuits, especially cycling, they soon found their physical and mental health, outlook on life, and feeling of self-determination all greatly improved.

Only a few years after Smith's first ride through D.C., wheelwomen worked to ensure that women joining the sport would understand their debt to pioneers. They crafted a particular

---

<sup>61</sup> Koven, Mrs. Reginald de, “Bicycling for Women,” *The Cosmopolitan* 19, no. 4, August 1895, 386. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/docview/124708592/abstract/D9814BCF538A47BCPQ/72?accountid=12598>>

<sup>62</sup> Hopkins, Mary Sargent, “Yesterday and Today,” *Ladies' World* XVII no. 7, July 1896, 10. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Accessed June 6, 2015. Print.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Hopkins, “How the Bicycle Has One Its Way Among Women,” 244.



historical narrative of American bicycling which positioned ordinary women as central to the story. Miss L. C. Davidson, who wrote popular advice columns and book chapters for wheelwomen, often voiced her frustration that the pioneers did not garner the respect they deserved. As Davidson described,

it is almost impossible for those women who have taken up cycling within the last year or two to realize the amount of general suspicion and prejudice from people who looked no further than the surface, which had to be encountered and lived down by the first women who ventured a-wheel. It is thanks to their courage and good sense that their sisters are able to participate without remonstrance in delights which would otherwise never have been theirs.<sup>65</sup>

In fact, even in the earliest years of the safety model, cyclists agreed that “[t]o these pioneers cycling owes much. Ladies who enjoy an unmolested spin upon the highway will think with gratitude of these first lady cyclists.”<sup>66</sup> The pioneer narrative quickly became the dominate way to understand the rise of women’s cycling, not only among cyclists, but in a variety of popular periodicals. Even a fashion columnist celebrated, “what a change has come over the face of this sport. The woman who rides is no longer ‘a brazen hussy,’ she is simply a bicyclist.”<sup>67</sup> She continued that the few pioneers who chose to ride “gave a moral support to all other women,” and now “the number of wheel-women is legion.”<sup>68</sup>

---

<sup>65</sup> Davidson, L. C., “Cycling for Ladies” in Harry Hewitt Griffin’s *Cycles and Cycling* (New York: Stokes, 1890). 87-98. Haithitrust. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001732362>>

<sup>66</sup> Albemarle, William Coutts Keppel, *Cycling* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1889), 452. Haithitrust. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001055160>>

<sup>67</sup> “My Wheel And-I,” *The Designer and the Woman's Magazine*, 2-3, no. 5, September 1895, 57-59. Quote page 57. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/UP8X4>>

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

Washington, D.C. remained a hub for cycling pioneers throughout the late 1880s and early 1890s. City newspapers throughout the country reported on the growing D.C. cycling scene.<sup>69</sup> A journalist for the *Detroit Free Press* noted women's visibility in this growing sport, as "[t]he ladies are the leaders in the throng" and by 1895, tourists could see hundreds of wheelwomen riding through the city on a given afternoon.<sup>70</sup> This journalist again noted the key role of pioneers, who "came out shyly, after dusk, and faced the almost universal, although not always uttered, criticism... But they persevered and so on were proselytizing diligently among the young ladies."<sup>71</sup> D.C. had a few unique features which helped it become a center for women's bicycling. First, it was the home to numerous bicycling factories and innovators, who used D.C. streets as testing grounds for their new models, such as Mrs. Smith's husband. Second, cyclists noted that D.C. streets were cleaner, safer, smother and more clearly marked compared to other American cities, making it an ideal place for cycling.<sup>72</sup> Lastly, some of the first women cyclists in D.C. were also actors in theater troupes, and they used their theater outfits to create cycling customs so they could ride.<sup>73</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup> F. F. H., "THE WHEEL IN WASHINGTON.: A VERITABLE BICYCLE CRAZE AT THE CAPITAL. THE LADIES ARE THE LEADERS IN THE THROG. MEMBERS OF CONGRESS TAKING UP THE PASTIME. Tom Johnson's Experience--A Cycle of Cathay," *Detroit Free Press* (Detroit, MI), November 3, 1895, 11. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpdetroitfreepress/docview/562617187/abstract/15031EFB79D54CF7PQ/62?accountid=12598>>

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> "Women on Bicycles," *The Pneumatic: A Progressive Monthly Paper for Cyclists* 1, no. 1, April 15, 1892, 10. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/turningpoints/search.asp?id=1111>>

<sup>73</sup> F. F. H., "THE WHEEL IN WASHINGTON.: A VERITABLE BICYCLE CRAZE AT THE CAPITAL. THE LADIES ARE THE LEADERS IN THE THROG. MEMBERS OF CONGRESS TAKING UP THE PASTIME. Tom Johnson's Experience--A Cycle of Cathay," 11.

Many women travelled to D.C. to learn to ride and then returned to their hometown to promote the sport. Greene was key to the development of the women's cycling scene in Boston. Starting in 1890, women also brought Washington-based cycling skills to Brooklyn, another city in which women build a thriving cycling scene. Pioneer cyclist and physician Fanny Oakley was the first woman to ride her safety in Brooklyn after she learned in D.C.<sup>74</sup> As early as 1891, over 200 women reported that they cycled daily, all learning from D.C. pioneers. Wheelwomen who established the Providence, Rhode Island cycling community, including riding schools, were similarly influenced by D.C. pioneers. Pioneers were did not only trailblazers for urban cycling. For example, in 1892 Mrs. C. C. Candy of Denver became the first woman to complete a descent of Pike's Peak on her bicycle, setting the stage for a rich tradition of women's mountain biking.<sup>75</sup>

Clubs were also a key way pioneers encouraged the expansion of women's cycling to new cities. Dr. Fanny Oakley and Mrs. W. E. Smith helped establish the first women's cycling club, headquartered in Washington, D.C. in 1888, the same year that the safety model hit stores.<sup>76</sup> Similar to D.C., Chicago wheelwomen credited pioneers, "the first few daring women who ventured out," for their booming cycling scene.<sup>77</sup> Chicago pioneers quickly established clubs to or-

---

<sup>74</sup> Lamberton, Mary Barton, "Out of Door Sports for Girls. Women on the Wheel," 4, no. 3 *The Business Woman's Journal*, 1891, 175-177. Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:article:Gerritsen-GP18\\_Volume\\_3\\_Issue\\_4-29](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:article:Gerritsen-GP18_Volume_3_Issue_4-29)>

<sup>75</sup> Margery, "The Ladies' Mile," *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* X, no. 5 July 29, 1892, 85. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.

<sup>76</sup> Whitehead, Celia B., "Bicycle and Tricycle" *The Woman's Journal* 19, no. 28, July 14, 1888, 220. Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:article:Gerritsen-GP205\\_Volume\\_19\\_Issue\\_28-38](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:article:Gerritsen-GP205_Volume_19_Issue_28-38)> "Washington," *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review* 2, no. 1, August 31, 1888, 38. Hathitrust. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433069078115;view=1up;seq=46>>

<sup>77</sup> "Have Come to Stay. No Doubt About The Permanency of Bloomers in Chicago," *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), October 28, 1894, 35. Chicago Tribune Digital Archive. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://archives.chicagotribune.com/1894/10/28/page/35/article/have-come-to-stay#text>>

ganize a “small army of wheelwomen” so they could cycle through the city within the safety of a group.<sup>78</sup> Mrs. C. W. Dalsen helped to establish Philadelphia’s cycling community by establishing the Fairmount Lady Cyclers club in 1890.<sup>79</sup> Pioneers in Milwaukee also started the first women’s cycling club in 1890, only a few months after they learned how to ride.<sup>80</sup>

Perhaps not surprisingly, some women contested who cyclists crowned as pioneers, implying the importance and respect of the title. In May, 1889, an anonymous author writing simply as “Pioneer” argued that she was the first woman to ride a safety, making the transition from tri-cycle to safety in 1887. In a cycling magazine, she made her claim that she counted as the true pioneer because she began riding a safety in the short period of time before the women’s frame — she learned to ride on a man’s safety frame, and thus before Smith. She claimed that with her husband’s support, she joined a riding school and learned to ride a men’s model. She then stated that she became so well-known that she toured the Northeast to teach other women in cities such as Baltimore and Buffalo.<sup>81</sup> This woman’s identity remains unclear, and her narrative does not clearly reflect those of named pioneers that we know, such as Oakley. While this woman could be a famous pioneer, it is likely that she was not because she chose to remain anonymous. Thus we cannot verify if she actually did ride a man’s safety before Smith took her first spin. Regard-

---

<sup>78</sup> “Have Come to Stay. No Doubt About The Permanency of Bloomers in Chicago,” 35.

<sup>79</sup> “Mrs. C. W. Dalsen, Captain Fairmount Lady Cyclers of Philadelphia,” *Harper’s Weekly* 8, no. 30, August 20, 1890, 671. Harp Week. Accessed May 10, 2016. <<http://app.harpweek.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/IssueImages-View.asp?titleId=HW&volumeId=1890&issueId=0830&page=671>>

<sup>80</sup> “Women Bicycle Riders,” *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* (Milwaukee, WI), August 28, 1892, no page. Nineteenth Century U. S. Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/infomark.-do?action=interpret&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu\\_main&docPage=article&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&docId=GT3003118414&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0&finalAuth=true](http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/infomark.-do?action=interpret&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu_main&docPage=article&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&docId=GT3003118414&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0&finalAuth=true)>

<sup>81</sup> “For the Ladies’ Column,” *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review* 3, no. 2 May 10, 1889, 252. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=XiFYAAAAYAAJ>>

less, her column identifies a key point in the history of women's bicycling. Cycling historians and enthusiasts alike marked the beginning of women's safety cycling with the advent of the women's model. Smith was a pioneer not because she simply rode, but that she rode a women's-specific model. It is highly likely that some women rode a men's safety model, and these women left little print records of their experiences. It is important to note the limits of women's bicycling source material. We know of Smith and other pioneers for two reasons. First, wheelwomen columnists, especially Mary Sargent Hopkins, chose to use them in constructing the history of their sport. Second, Hopkins and others published their work in popular newspapers and magazines that luckily have been saved over the past century.

Hopkins' pioneer narrative was profoundly successful and widely popular among women throughout the 1890s. She crafted a story for women to tell about their beloved sport not shaped by individual men nor broader male-dominated knowledge. Instead, Hopkins offered a woman-centered history of bicycling, rooted in the everyday decisions ordinary women made to engage in the activities they enjoyed. Challenging social convention, women chose to ride believing their public visibility would usher in an era of new gender norms. Pioneers such as Smith and Greene positioned bicycling as an accessible and adaptable consumer technology that women could use as a blank slate, for their own purposes, on their own terms, and under their control. By the early 1890s, women began to develop strategic uses of bicycling to engage in a variety of political pursuits, helping to fuel and shape an era of profound social transformations for women. As Hopkins concluded, it was not "any advice or preaching of physician" or other male authority

figure, but “a few leading and pioneer women, who blazed the way for the multitude to follow, has been the greatest factor in the new order of things.”<sup>82</sup>

### “Best of all Tonics”: Women Physicians and Bicycling

This first generation of pioneering wheelwomen were forced to contend with disapproval from many men in their lives, such as their fathers and husbands, who viewed women’s cycling as unbecoming, dangerous, and unhealthy. The medical profession and the popular press, two powerful, male-dominated institutions, served as the major forums for the circulation of men’s concerns and critiques of women’s cycling. Women cyclists were not passive recipients of the bicycle, nor did they succumb to men’s arguments against their new sport. Within the diverse category of pioneering riders, there was one group who used their professional privileges to circulate what they viewed as more accurate and empowering ideas on bicycling: women physicians. Women physicians, many of whom were cyclists themselves, took to newspapers and medical journals by storm to offer a new perspective of women’s cycling as empirically sound and politically empowering. Using their professional authority and clinical experience, women physicians were a key voice in pioneering the social acceptance of women’s cycling.

Historians, including historians of medicine, have yet to fully explore how nineteenth-century women used bicycling to present a new vision of their bodies as naturally strong and capable, and why women’s bicycling surged in popularity after only a few years on the market. Numerous scholars have studied nineteenth-century physicians’ views of sport, including some who

---

<sup>82</sup> Hopkins, Mary Sargent, “The Outdoor Woman,” *Frank Leslie’s Popular Monthly*, July 1899, 313-316. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=DoJVAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA316&dq=‘The+Outdoor+Woman’+Frank+Leslie’s+Popular+Monthly&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi64Ku656XMAhXEOi-YKHXXDNgQ6AEIHTAA#v=onepage&q=‘The%20Outdoor%20Woman’%20&f=false>>

have explored medical discourse of women's sport and exercise.<sup>83</sup> Similarly, historians of medicine have also crafted key research documenting the professional lives and struggles of women physicians in the turn-of-the-century.<sup>84</sup> Yet, women physicians' views of women's sports remains understudied. Bicycling offers a key glimpse into how women physicians advocated for the newly booming world of sports. Women physicians used their unique position as both outdoor enthusiasts and medical professionals to challenge men's reluctance to support women's sports, especially bicycling. Women physicians helped rewrite nineteenth-century norms of women's bodies by successfully circulating their pro-cycling position in the popular and medical press. They used empirical evidence from their professional training and their daily experience as cyclists as the authority to argue that women's cycling was a healthy and safe pursuit with no danger to the rider's reputation or reproductive abilities.

In 1891, wheelwoman and columnist Mary Barton Lamberton reminded readers there was a time “not so far back in the history of civilization — when the sight of a woman upon a

---

<sup>83</sup> Vertinsky, Patricia A. *The Eternally Wounded Woman: Women, Doctors, and Exercise in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994). Enrenrieck, Barbara and Deirdre English, *For Her Own Good: Two Centuries of the Experts' Advice to Women* (New York, NY: Anchor Books, 2005) Patton, Cynthia Ellen, ““Not a limitless possession’: Health Advice and Readers' Agency in *The Girl's Own Paper*, 1880-1890,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 45, no. 2 (Summer 2012): 111-133.

<sup>84</sup> Kirschmann, Anne Taylor, *A Vital Force: Women in American Homeopathy* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004). Morantz-Sanchez, Regina Markell, *Sympathy and Science: Women Physicians in American Medicine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985). More, Ellen Singer, *Restoring the Balance: Women Physicians and the Profession of Medicine, 1850-1995* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999). More, Ellen S., Elizabeth Fee and Manon Perry (eds.), *Women Physicians and the Cultures of Medicine* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2008). Peck, Ira, *Elizabeth Blackwell: The First Woman Doctor* (Brookfield, CT: Millbrook Press, 2000). Skinner, Carolyn, *Women Physicians and Professional Ethos in Nineteenth-Century America*, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2014. Wells, Susan, *Out of the Dead House: Nineteenth-Century Women Physicians and the Writing of Medicine* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001). Walsh, Mary Roth, “*Doctors Wanted, No Women Need Apply*”: *Sexual Barriers in the Medical Profession, 1835-1975* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).

bicycle would, and did call down storms of wrath upon that woman's head.”<sup>85</sup> Who do we have to thank? Lumberton pointed to a particular pioneer, Fanny Oakley, who she and many other wheelwoman credited for introducing women's cycling into New York City. By bringing cycling to New York, Lamberton argued Oakley positioned the city to serve as the epicenter of the sport, branching out into cities and small towns throughout the Northeast and Midwest. Oakley was not only one of first wheelwomen in New York City, but she was also a physician. As a physician, she used her far-reaching authority to introduce, justify, and further her favorite sport.

Like many pioneers, Oakley first rode a tricycle, but found herself frustrated by the difficulties inherent to riding these large, cumbersome machines. She also experienced ongoing harassment as she rode through her native Brooklyn. When she organized the city's first tricycling club, locals “jeered and pointed” at the group, and called her the president of the “Brooklyn Lunatics Club.”<sup>86</sup> Ignoring naysayers, Oakley refused to stop cycling for the next decade. Oakley laid the foundation of the New York women's cycling scene in two notable ways. First, she quickly became one of the most visible and iconic cyclists in New York City. Second, she used her medical practice as a forum to educate women on cycling and encourage women to ride.<sup>87</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup> Lumberton, Mary Barton, “Out of Door Sports for Girls. Women on the Wheel,” *The Business Woman's Journal* 3, no. 4, 1891. 175-177. Quote page 175. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 8, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP18\\_Volume\\_3\\_Issue\\_4-29](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP18_Volume_3_Issue_4-29)>

<sup>86</sup> “Women and Cycling,” *New York Times* (New York, NY), February 7, 1897, SMS10. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/95473560/abstract/8F-B4A6359D59453APQ/122?accountid=12598>>

<sup>87</sup> “WOMEN, GIRLS, AND BICYCLES: THEY HAVE BEEN TOGETHER LONG ENOUGH TO TEST THE UNION. The Question of Bicycling for Women and Girls No Longer Disputed -- Unanimous Testimony in Favor of the Exercise -- The Dissenting Voice Not Found -- Opinions from Drs. Thomas, Emmet, Bis-sell, Jacobi, and Others -- Bicycling Dress, and Dangers,” *New York Times* (New York, NY), May, 21 1893, 12. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/95079263/abstract/15B9970F855A42A5PQ/79?accountid=12598>>



Her experience as both a pioneer cyclist and physician catapulted her into cycling fame. Journalists, cyclists, and fellow physicians often requested her advice and opinions on controversies and issues related to the sport.

In the 1890s, anti-cycling critics, especially men, used saddles to craft one of most compelling arguments against women's riding. In fact, male physicians often viewed saddles as the most harmful aspect of cycling, believing it would cause anatomic damage that would limit or even end a woman's reproductive ability.<sup>88</sup> The cycling industry tapped into these fears to fuel the profitable saddle market, claiming their new saddle was not only comfortable, but the safer than their risky, ill-advised competitors' saddles.<sup>89</sup> In 1896, Oakley weighed in on this debate with a common sense approach that reflected her wealth of experience as both a cyclist and physician. Because she had been cycling since 1888, she knew from her own experience that many older saddles worked fine, causing no pain or resulting medical problems. She encouraged readers to question her critics, "who perhaps only seek to serve their own ambition for notoriety by pronouncing the saddles now in use a serious obstacle to beneficial results in riding the wheel."<sup>90</sup> Oakley told cyclists to focus on correct posture, sizing, and saddle adjustment, instead of hoping the next new saddle at the local bike shop would be a quick fix.<sup>91</sup> Oakley also used her experience to design her own cycling outfit, which quickly became popular throughout New

---

<sup>88</sup> Garvey, "Reframing the Bicycle," 75. Smith, *A Social History of the Bicycle*, 67-71.

<sup>89</sup> Smith, *A Social History of the Bicycle*, 21.

<sup>90</sup> Oakley, Frances W., "Scientific Saddles," *Harper's Bazaar* 22, 11, March 14, 1896, 227. Accessed May 8, 2016. ProQuest. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/125601654/abstract/BD-ED3D7976854C51PQ/138?accountid=12598>>

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

York.<sup>92</sup> By the end of the 1890s, wheelwomen across the country believed women's bicycling was "common sense, [and thus] it was bound to prevail in the end" precisely due to the continued efforts of Oakley.<sup>93</sup>

Many women physicians followed Oakley's lead, developing regular cycling practices and using their position as physicians to advance the sport. Lucy Hall-Brown was particularly successful in this regard. Hall-Brown was leading woman physician of her era with a diverse medical career. Upon graduating from the University of Michigan, she completed post-graduate studies in New York and Europe, often as the first and only female physician in clinics and training hospitals. She returned to the United States as the supervisor and head physician at large women's prison in Massachusetts.<sup>94</sup> Hall-Brown's efforts to modernize the prison garnered notable attention from the press and politicians alike.<sup>95</sup> She also served as academic chair and resident physician at Vassar during her time in Massachusetts. In the 1890s, Hall-Brown established a successful medical practice with Eliza Mosher, a fellow physician and one of her closest friends.<sup>96</sup>

---

<sup>92</sup> Severance, Alice, "XI. -- Fannie W. Oakey, M.D.," *Godey's Lady's Book* CXXXIII, no. 797, November 1896, 532-535. Hathitrust. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.31951d003195940>>

<sup>93</sup> "Women and Cycling," *New York Times*, SMS10.

<sup>94</sup> "Notable Woman Physician Dead: Dr. Lucy Brown Passes Away After Distinguished Career," *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, CA), August 2, 1907, 3. Accessed May 8, 2016. ProQuest. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/news/docview/251402936/citation/66767EF76CD548DEPQ/6>>

<sup>95</sup> "THE BEST WOMAN'S PRISON: Dr. Lucy Hall-Brown Tells of the Sherburne Institution. BENHAMIN BUTLER'S CHANGE OF HEART Clara Barton's Acceptance of the Superintendency a Noble Act -- One of the Bright Women of Brooklyn," *The New York Times* (New York, NY), March 31, 1895, 30. Accessed May 8, 2016. ProQuest. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/news/docview/95275001/E10A5868D7D4916PQ/2?accountid=12598>>

<sup>96</sup> Park, Roberta and Patricia Vertinsky, *Women, Sport, Society: Further Reflections, Reaffirming Mary Wollstonecraft* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

Hall-Brown's experiences in her practice inspired her to develop new treatment techniques and medical devices, including electric surgical equipment which catapulted her professional success.<sup>97</sup> Hall-Brown then served as the U.S. representative for international medical conferences while actively publishing her medical advice, new surgical methods, and treatment ideas.<sup>98</sup> In 1902, Hall-Brown relocated to Los Angeles for health reasons, and soon developed a close working relationship with Clara Barton. After the catastrophic 1906 earthquake, Hall-Brown voiced her critique of Red Cross leaders' slow response times, and Barton took her complaints seriously.<sup>99</sup>

Throughout her rich professional life, Hall-Brown took every opportunity to promote exercise, especially among women, which she viewed as the single most effective path to health and happiness. Hall-Brown claimed that the best evidence of her pro-cycling stance was the significant improvement in women's health in the late nineteenth-century, and she used her professional authority and medical knowledge to advance her view. She argued that one could most clearly see the benefits of women's athletics, especially cycling, by assessing women's bodies. She claimed that the booming world of women's athletics fueled a new generation of women with a "phenomenal... increase in stature and development."<sup>100</sup> In cities and small towns alike,

---

<sup>97</sup> "Notable Woman Physician Dead: Dr. Lucy Brown Passes Away After Distinguished Career," 3.

<sup>98</sup> Hall-Brown, Lucy, *Such as Report of a Case of Acute Melancholia Treated by Mechanical Vibration: With Illustration and Explanation of the Author's Diagnostic and Treatment Chart* (Journal of Advanced Therapeutics: New York, 1903). Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=hh-gAAAAMAAJ>> Hall-Brown, Lucy, "Whole-wheat Flour the Perfect Food," *New Outlook* 59, 1898, 177-178. Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=u4YxQAAMAAJ>>

<sup>99</sup> Pryor, Elizabeth Brown, *Clara Barton, Professional Angel* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 362.

<sup>100</sup> Hall-Brown, Lucy, "The Wheel as an Aid to Health," *Harper's Bazaar* 29, no. 11 March 14, 1896, 231. Accessed May 8, 2016. ProQuest. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/125596867/abstract/6668A36B52F049DFPQ/61?accountid=12598>>

“[t]all, magnificent daughters who look smilingly down upon their little mammas are everywhere to be seen, and, taken as a whole, the standard of girl health is steadily being elevated.”<sup>101</sup> Hall-Brown argued women’s new physical strength was the direct result of changes in girls’ upbringing. In the 1870s and 1880s, Americans had witnessed a “complete revolution of sentiment” replacing girls’ “strict confinement” to indoor activities, especially playing with dolls, to the co-ed, outdoor play.<sup>102</sup> Hall-Brown emphasized that this ‘revolution’ was not inevitable: “[t]o do away, even in part, with these customs and prejudices has been no easy task... The prudish ‘oh mys!’ have been loud and persistent, and the professional ‘oh dears!’ have been more than an echo.”<sup>103</sup> Hall-Brown noted two of the greatest challengers to women’s cycling — conservatives and male physicians.

Wheelwomen refused to succumb to critics from either group. Hall-Brown argued that when women began cycling, their relationship to and understanding of their bodies transformed. They used their everyday experience to claim the authority to keep cycling, regardless if medical authorities supported them. They offered their success as evidence to change critics’ minds. Hall-Brown described this transition she witnessed among both female friends and patients who started cycling: “when women began to understand the needs of their own organisms, and to bring those disused and unvalued members of their muscles into action” women experienced “a joy born of this new freedom. Derision and croaking availed not; the wind tossed their hair, the sun kissed their cheeks, the blood warmed and reddened in their leaping pulses, and they grew strong

---

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

in body and refreshed in spirit.”<sup>104</sup> As women began to ride, they “gained a decisive victory of good sense over prejudice, of healthy progress over sickly conservatism.”<sup>105</sup> Hall-Brown was one of many women physicians and cyclists who credited the rise of women’s cycling, and women’s sports overall, to women’s decision to keep cycling and change critics’ minds — women did not wait to start riding when they gained men’s approval. She found it “rather amusing to observe the utter incredulity of old-fashioned people” who claimed that cycling was improper and dangerous for women.<sup>106</sup> Hall-Brown argued that the health of women cyclists and their refusal to stop riding was the most powerful antidote to critics. She claimed that a woman cyclist “minds the criticism not a whit. She is well, and to be well is to be happy.”<sup>107</sup> Hall-Brown even saw that women who were reluctant or even against cycling soon changed their minds when they saw the health outcomes of wheelwomen they knew: “its most bitter opposers [are] everyday coming over to the ranks of its advocates.”<sup>108</sup>

As a physician, Hall-Brown promoted a variety of popular sports to women patients, including tennis, swimming, fishing and golf. Yet she believed cycling was the most beneficial of all athletics and sports: “a perfect exercise.”<sup>109</sup> She argued that a patient could develop a cycling practice to fit their particular needs, and thus it was accessible to women across ages and health conditions. For example, a healthy cyclist wishing to challenge herself could try cycling on

---

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

rougher roads or longer distances, while Hall-Brown recommended women with medical issues take shorter rides on smooth roads. She also claimed that one of the key health benefits of cycling was that it required the rider to be outdoors. She repeatedly told patients that cycling gave “the rider access to those best of all tonics, sunshine and fresh air.”<sup>110</sup> Strikingly, Hall-Brown claimed that the most beneficial medical intervention was not a pill, surgery, or device, but the outdoors itself. In her practice, Hall-Brown promoted a “bicycle treatment” to improve or cure a variety of medical issues, including poor digestion, headaches, and insomnia as well as liver and circulation conditions.<sup>111</sup> She also recommended cycling to help patients achieve a healthy weight, improve muscle strength, and cope with stress. Hall-Brown dismissed concerns from anti-cycling physicians who argued the sport led to injuries and diseases by forcing the body in unnatural positions. In fact, many male physicians were particularly concerned that cycling caused permanent back problems from leaning over the handlebars, a condition they called ‘bicycle hump.’<sup>112</sup> Hall-Brown easily dismissed such rumors because she simply never saw it in her practice. She instructed her patients on proper riding technique, including saddle height, handlebar and pedal positioning, and posture. To Hall-Brown, such problems, if they even did exist, were the result of improper advice from physicians, not the sport itself.<sup>113</sup> Throughout her career, she challenged the medical profession and the public alike to see that “the mass of women need have no fear, entering on the new era of things with zest and enjoyment.”<sup>114</sup>

---

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Smith, *A Social History of the Bicycle*, 67-68, 122.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

Harriet Keating also a prominent physician, and she earned a doctorate in science along with her medical degree. Like Oakley and Hall-Brown, she established a successful New York City practice. Keating presented popular lectures in the United States and at international conferences on homeopathic medicine, with particular attention to women's health.<sup>115</sup> Keating was far from radical, and challenged the progressive politics of her female colleagues. She was cautious about the social and political changes she was witnessing in women's lives, and she extended her influence beyond the medical profession. In women's suffrage meetings and professional journals, she voiced her concern that women's advancements fueled social acceptance of women who "shirked the responsibilities of motherhood."<sup>116</sup> Keating also believed that women's increasing mental health issues were due to the fact that "the society woman does more in one day that her grandmother did in a month, and yet she wonders why she is so nervous."<sup>117</sup> She also believed engaged couples should be required to take courses in preparation for married life to preserve the longevity of the institution.<sup>118</sup>

Yet, her conservative politics did not limit her enthusiasm for cycling, nor her passion for encouraging her patients to ride. Keating offers a key example of the political diversity among wheelwomen. Keating worked tirelessly to translate results of medical and scientific studies on cycling to lay readers and patients; she used her medical authority to ensure cyclists of the safety

---

<sup>115</sup> Church, Adaline, "International Homeopathic Congress," *The New England Medical Gazette* 24, 1889, 472-475. Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=azQCAAAAYAAJ>>

<sup>116</sup> "Field Notes," *The Phrenological Journal and Science of Health* 121, April 1908, 136. Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=\\_6zNAAAAMAAJ](https://books.google.com/books?id=_6zNAAAAMAAJ)>

<sup>117</sup> "For Women About Women," *Christian Work: Illustrated Family Newspaper* 57, November 22, 1894, 861. Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=GYFPAAAAYAAJ>>

<sup>118</sup> Fowler, Jessie Allen, *Brain Roofs and Porticos: A Psychological Study of Mind and Character* (New York: Fowler & Wells, 1908). Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=T1o-SAAAAYAAJ>>

and benefits of “[o]ne of the most useful inventions of this century.”<sup>119</sup> In the popular press, Keating educated readers on studies that demonstrated the increased cardiovascular health of cyclists as well as the lack of permanent spinal injuries among recreational cyclists. She voiced her concern that if cyclists breathed too heavy from their mouth, it could irritate their throat and lead to laryngitis or bronchitis. She recommended patients with major medical diseases, such as epilepsy, asthma, or heart disease, ride with great caution if at all. Despite these concerns, Keating highlighted the positive medical outcomes associated with cycling. She discussed studies in which women with a variety of mental health needs, including insomnia and hysteria, benefited from cycling. She encouraged patients struggling with depression to ride, because “bicycle riding drives away melancholy, dissipates the blues, oxygenates the blood, stimulates and refreshes the weary brain... on a properly adjusted wheel, [one] may for the time being forget all care and worry and feel that life is worth living.”<sup>120</sup> Keating also noted the improvement of medical ailments, such as varicose veins, due to the improved circulation from cycling. Like many women physicians, Keating paid particular attention to saddles; she highlighted the few gynecologists who supported women’s cycling, and made numerous recommendations for saddle adjustments, positioning, and specific models to her patients.<sup>121</sup> She also encouraged the bicycling industry to develop women-specific saddles, which by the late 1890s was a highly profitable venture.

Like Lucy Hall-Brown, Keating also believed cycling was the most effective of all the new athletic opportunities for women. Keating believed that unlike other sports, cycling brought

---

<sup>119</sup> Keatinge, Harriette C., “Women and the Bicycle from a Medical Point of View,” *Ladies’ World* XVII, no. 7, July 1896, 21. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Print. Accessed June 6, 2015.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.



“all the body muscles into play.”<sup>122</sup> Also similar to Lucy Hall-Brown, who viewed bicycling as the most effective tonic available to patients, Keating also believed that the significant health improvements gained by cycling could threaten her very livelihood. Yet, speaking on behalf of the medical profession, she approved of this possibility because it would improve national productivity. By 1896, she concluded that bicycling “will no doubt increase the bills of butcher and baker, but lesson those of the doctor. To do good mental and physical work necessitates good health, and as the bicycle is the cheapest and most available method of obtaining exercise and pleasure, we feel that every dollar invested in one adds to the capital of vitality needed for work.”<sup>123</sup>

Dr. Mary Taylor Bissell was a Vassar alumni who, like Hall-Brown, also attended medical school at the University of Michigan.<sup>124</sup> Bissell used her elite education to develop a public presence as an expert of women’s health and athletics. Bissell crafted most of her work for public readership, and her articles appeared in periodicals including *Harper’s Bazaar* and *Popular Science Monthly*.<sup>125</sup> Her books were popular and successful, and for two decades she was a respected medical authority. Designed to educate lay readers, especially women, on anatomy, hygiene, and health, Bissell transformed complicated scientific jargon and medical information into accessible recommendations for everyday women. Bissell covered a variety of practical topics in her

---

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> “Proud Vassar Alumnae: They Congratulate Themselves Upon What They Have Done,” *New York Times* (New York, NY), February 19, 1893, 3. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/news/docview/95066570/9909C1904AEB4865PQ/1?accountid=12598>>

<sup>125</sup> Bissell, Mary Taylor, “Dangers of Over Exercise,” *Harper’s Bazaar* 35, 1, May 1901, A52. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/125024350/2394C23F99304D59PQ/24?accountid=12598>>

publications, all aiming to help women improve their health and wellness. She provided her readers with the knowledge for self-directed, women-centered care and with the ammunition to promote athletics to like-minded women and physicians.<sup>126</sup>

Bissell promoted women's sports, exercise, and all outdoor pursuits as both natural and significantly beneficial to women's health.<sup>127</sup> In *Physical Development and Exercise for Women*, she voiced her particular concern for girls. She worried that girls' increasing educational and domestic responsibilities kept them weak, poorly developed, and susceptible to illness, and Bissell encouraged school athletic programs for girls.<sup>128</sup> Soon after the publication of *Physical Development*, the Woman's Medical College of New York hired Bissell as professor. Discouraged by the lack of high quality hygiene textbooks, she published her own, *A Manual of Hygiene*.<sup>129</sup> "Athletics for City Girls," published in *Popular Science Monthly*, was arguably her most popular work. She directly challenged health reformers and physicians who believed only boys benefited from team sports, exercise and outdoor play.<sup>130</sup> Bissell made a notable effort to combat parents and physicians who were against cycling for girls. She argued that in her professional experi-

---

<sup>126</sup> Bissell, Mary Taylor, *Household Hygiene* (New York: N. D. C. Hodges, 1890). Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=ym\\_zAAAAMAAJ](https://books.google.com/books?id=ym_zAAAAMAAJ)> Bissell, Mary Taylor, "Infant Hygiene," *Christian Union* 39, no. 6, February 7, 1889, 173. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/136758808/86095490F3A24924PQ/1?accountid=12598>>

<sup>127</sup> Skinner, Carolyn, *Women Physicians and Professional Ethos in Nineteenth-Century America* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2014).

<sup>128</sup> Bissell, Mary Taylor, *Physical Development and Exercise for Women* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1891). Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=wsZGPwAACAAJ>>

<sup>129</sup> Bissell, Mary Taylor, *A Manual of Hygiene* (New York: The Baker & Taylor Co., 1894). Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=R9I4EgXt5m4C&dq=%22A+Manual+of+Hygiene%22&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.com/books?id=R9I4EgXt5m4C&dq=%22A+Manual+of+Hygiene%22&source=gbs_navlinks_s)>

<sup>130</sup> Bissell, Mary Taylor, "Athletics for City Girls," *Popular Science Monthly* 46, December 1894, 145-153. Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=TyIDAAAAMBAJ>>

ence, she had “failed to discover a single case of injury or poor health” which directly resulted from cycling.<sup>131</sup> She concluded that because of the widespread health benefits of cycling, “we owe it to our girls to allow no others to interfere,” with the rise of the sport among youth.<sup>132</sup> Yet her sweeping analysis was not limited to young women, as she offered a variety practical advice on fitness for adult women, including those with significant medical problems. Her advice was so practical that exercise science and rehabilitation textbooks still use her lumbar stretch and squat exercises today.<sup>133</sup> Bissell also worked tirelessly to promote women’s athletic clubs. She served as medical director of the popular Berkeley Ladies Athletic Club in New York.<sup>134</sup> One of the most common questions Bissell received from women was how they could start an athletic club in their towns, and Bissell published how-to columns as a response.<sup>135</sup> She also advocated that reformers develop athletic programs specifically to engage girls as well as adult women.<sup>136</sup>

---

<sup>131</sup> Bissell, “Athletics for City Girls,” 149.

<sup>132</sup> Bissell, “Athletics for City Girls,” 150.

<sup>133</sup> Grimsby, Ola and Jim Rivard, *Science, Theory and Clinical Application in Orthopaedic Manual Physical Therapy: Applied Science and Theory, Volume 2* (Taylorsville, UT: The Academy of Graduate Physical Therapy, Inc. 2008), 5.

<sup>134</sup> Newman, Louise Michele, *Men's Ideas/Women's Realities: Popular Science, 1870-1915* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1985).

<sup>135</sup> Bissell, Mary Taylor, “How to Organize a Woman's Athletic Club,” *Christian Union* 41, no. 13, March 27, 1890, 461. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/137115355/D580EFA5D8FF46C8PQ/1?accountid=12598>> Bissell, Mary Taylor, “Physical Attainment,” *Christian Union* 41, no. 14, April 3, 1890, 498. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/137101717/1EEA40D82AD4810PQ/1?accountid=12598>>

<sup>136</sup> Bissell, Mary Taylor, “Athletics for City Girls,” 145-153. Bissell, Mary Taylor, “An Answer to a Question: What Can be Done to Make a Little Girl in Love with Health?” *Outlook* 50, 3, December 8, 1894, 986. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/136945885/A1E1C534718641DFPQ/5?accountid=12598>>

By the end of her career, Bissell also established a prominent medical practice as an internist in New York City.<sup>137</sup>

Along with New York City, Chicago was also home to numerous women physicians who used their public presence and authority to promote women's cycling. In 1896, *Chicago Tribune* journalists interviewed Dr. Susan Bruce and Dr. Julia Holmes Smith, two cycling advocates who shared a successful medical practice.<sup>138</sup> Bruce, trained in Chicago, eventually relocated to Idaho where she made history as the first woman to serve on the Idaho Board of Health and for her leadership organizing a state-wide emergency response to smallpox and influenza outbreaks.<sup>139</sup> Journalists deemed Smith "[o]ne of America's brightest women" due to her leadership organizing the 1884-1885 World Exposition in New Orleans.<sup>140</sup> Smith earned many 'firsts': she was the first woman elected dean of a co-ed medical school, first woman in Illinois on a political ticket, and first female trustee of the University of Illinois. She led diverse activist projects; she coordinated

---

<sup>137</sup> Macy, Mary Sutton, "Medical Women: In History and in Present Day Practice," In Munster, Edward Swift et al. *International Record of Medicine and General Practice Clinics*, 104, August 5, 1916, 257-259. Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=WGA5AQAAMAAJ&pg=PA257&dq=Medical+Women:+In+History+and+in+Present+Day+Practice,"&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjDtdPq7MvMAhXIK-CYKHZjuDdMQ6AEIHDA#v=onepage&q=Medical%20Women%3A%20In%20History%20and%20in%20Present%20Day%20Practice%2C"&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=WGA5AQAAMAAJ&pg=PA257&dq=Medical+Women:+In+History+and+in+Present+Day+Practice,)>

<sup>138</sup> "WHEEL, WOMAN, HEALTH.: BICYCLING MARKS AN ADVANCE IN HER PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Chicago, IL) May 17, 1896, 42. ProQuest. Accessed May 10, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpchicagotribune/docview/175204983/abstract/30E673CFD1C421CPQ/101?accountid=12598>>

<sup>139</sup> Branding, Steven D., *Historic Firsts of Lewiston, Idaho: Unintended Greatness* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2013).

<sup>140</sup> Fairall, Herbert S., *The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, New Orleans, 1884-1885* (Iowa City: Republican Publishing Company, 1885), 376. Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=XvsNAAAAYAAJ>>

medical facilities for poor women, helped establish suffrage publication companies, and served as Susan B. Anthony's personal physician.<sup>141</sup>

In their *Chicago Tribune* interview, Bruce and Smith stated their professional belief that women should develop a cycling practice to improve their health, which they argued was key to “the perfect development of women.”<sup>142</sup> They offered practical cycling advice, such as body positioning and adjustment. For example, they recommended cyclists ride with their backs straight up, and not in a hunched position common among professional cyclists, to ensure their safety and strengthen respiratory organs and overall physique.<sup>143</sup> In fact, they voiced their pride that women, unlike their male patients, were using cycling to improve their health: “[t]he modern girl is a splendidly developed creature, in my opinion, far better formed than modern man, and the wheels have done not a little of this good work.”<sup>144</sup> Bruce and Smith even took the radical position of encouraging women to ride in bifurcated outfits, including bloomers. They believed most women chose the more moderate option of skirts and cycling dresses because bloomers were unfashionable and not worth the inevitable harassment. Yet they encouraged wheelwomen, telling a journalist they believed “a woman should wear bloomers to ride in if she has the courage... [but] riding in the short skirt is all right,” as it was better for women to ride in any clothing than not ride at all.<sup>145</sup> Bruce and Holmes were not the only woman physicians who used the *Chicago*

---

<sup>141</sup> Davidson, Jonathan, “Julia Holmes Smith,” *A Century of Homeopaths: Their Influence on Medicine and Health* (New York: Springer, 2014), 20. Google Books. Accessed May 10, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=SvG7BAAAQBAJ>>

<sup>142</sup> “WHEEL, WOMAN, HEALTH.: BICYCLING MARKS AN ADVANCE IN HER PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT,” 42.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

*Times* to advance acceptance of women's cycling. Their colleague Dr. Isabella Herb, an award-winning anesthesiologist, also told reporters "[a]s a means of physical improvement I am heartily in favor of the wheel, and often prescribe it. Patients need fresh air and exercise."<sup>146</sup>

Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson was another leading Chicago wheelwoman who promoted women's bicycling. Stevenson earned her medical degree at Northwestern, and after graduation, she furthered her studies in Europe, which included training under Charles Darwin. Stevenson's publishing credentials included numerous medical studies as well as a biology textbook used throughout the country. Stevenson was passionate activist; she gained notable attention for challenging white clubwomen's refusal to admit African-Americans as well as her early support for co-ed higher education and woman's suffrage.<sup>147</sup> Due to her professional accomplishments, Stevenson became as the first female member of the American Medical Association.<sup>148</sup>

Stevenson's rich professional and activist work featured a strong commitment to cycling, and she used the popular press and her practice to encourage women cyclists. Stevenson's support of cycling was far beyond her confidence that cycling "is not injurious to any part of the anatomy, as it improves the general health."<sup>149</sup> She eloquently told journalists that "[n]ature is

---

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> Sperry, F. M., "Sarah Hackett Stevenson, M.D." *A Group of Distinguished Physicians and Surgeons of Chicago* (Chicago: J. H. Beers & Co, 1904), 145-148. Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=2co0AQAAMAAJ>>

<sup>148</sup> "SARAH HACKETT STEVENSON IS REPORTED TO BE DYING: Woman Physician the First of Her Sex to Be Honored with Membership in American Medical Association," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Chicago, IL), December 9, 1908, 1. ProQuest. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/docview/173378962/EA313CC5BBA741AEPQ/1?accountid=12598><

<sup>149</sup> "The Benefits of Bicycling," *Good Health* XXXII, no. 10, October 1897, 621. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/UBbX5>>

more beautiful in its physical perfection than art could ever be.”<sup>150</sup> Like other woman physicians, she believed the health benefits of cycling were so profound that it was a threat to her profession. Yet, she continued to encourage cycling among her patients. In an interview, she admitted: “I have been conscientiously recommending bicycling for the last five years, although I realize that the popularity of the sport has greatly reduced doctors’ incomes.”<sup>151</sup> Stevenson also offered a variety of practical advice to wheelwoman, including on proper posture, handlebar height, and accessories to protect cyclists from the sun and wind. Stevenson challenged critics, including male physicians, who discouraged women’s cycling because they thought athletics would make women masculine and unattractive. Stevenson argued that cycling regularly made women ill or weak from lack of exercise stronger and more attractive: “I may say that the lost beauty of so many delicate women may be recovered if they will ride, since this loss is largely in the muscles. Fresh air and good circulation are the best possible cosmetics.... [w]omen look both younger and handsomer since they have learned to ride.”<sup>152</sup>

By the mid-1890s, women physicians served as a central voice to understand the diverse medical, social and political aspects of women’s cycling. Women physicians used their medical authority to promote cycling among their patients in hospitals and their practices. They effectively used the popular press as a forum to disrupt the loud anti-cycling voices and offer practical, encouraging advice to readers. Dr. Charles Townsend, an Obstetrics instructor at Harvard, be-

---

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

came interested in the effects of cycling on women's anatomy and disease outcomes.<sup>153</sup> Strikingly, he looked to a specific group for information on women's cycling: women physicians. In 1895, Townsend developed a survey and sent it to a number of women physicians. He asked his female peers to describe their opinion on the benefits and risks of cycling, the popularity of cycling among their patients, and their cycling patients' overall health. Townsend's questions ranged from the professional ("Would you advise it in any form of uterine disease?") to the personal ("What is your personal experience, if any, which bicycling?")<sup>154</sup> Townsend published his results in the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* and presented his findings at the Obstetrical Society of Boston annual meeting, hoping male physicians could benefit from the expertise of the female physicians which he collected and summarized.<sup>155</sup>

From his study, Townsend found that the vast majority of women physicians supported women's bicycling. The few physicians who had treated patients with cycling injuries believed these injuries were the result of excessive use, and as such these cases did not challenge their overall support of the sport.<sup>156</sup> Townsend highlighted how many respondents promoted cycling as a treatment method. They described numerous patients with uterine diseases who exhibited notable improvement after cycling. Townsend noted a case study of a patient diagnosed with "retroflexion of the uterus and prolapsed ovary with adhesions; dysmenorrhea and pain on walk-

---

<sup>153</sup> "Harvard University Medical Department, Boston, Mass One Hundred and Eleventh Annual Announcement (1893-1894)," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* CXXIX, no. 16, October 19, 1893, 32. Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=uMAEAAAAYAAJ>>

<sup>154</sup> Townsend, Charles W., "Bicycling for Women," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* CXXXII, no. 24, June 13, 1895, 593-595. Quote page 594. Hathitrust. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=pst.32239000861605>>

<sup>155</sup> Townsend, "Bicycling for Women," 593.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.



ing. Learned to ride a bicycle and used it all summer... Rode thirty to forty miles in a day at times.”<sup>157</sup> By the end of the summer, her physician reported “inflammation has entirely subsided, her menstruation causes her very little pain, and she considers herself a perfectly well woman. The [uterine] displacement is still there but not so sharply defined.”<sup>158</sup> Townsend described another case of a “young woman of delicate physique with great dysmenorrhea requiring rest in bed. Use of the bicycle begun last April followed by improvement in general health with menstruation fairly comfortable, not requiring rest in bed.”<sup>159</sup> Far from an outlining example, this striking change mirrored the experience of many patients who experienced significant improvement from cycling, including in their reproductive health. Such clinical results were a direct challenge to male physicians’ long-standing concerns that bicycling could permanently damage women’s reproductive ability.<sup>160</sup>

Women physicians believed that cycling was a particularly powerful treatment option compared to other exercise-based recommendations, especially walking. One physician reported that she had multiple “patients with uterine and ovarian disease, who were unable to take walking exercise have received marked benefit from bicycling.”<sup>161</sup> Upon witnessing such significant changes in her patients, this physician reported, “I have thought to the general tonic of an out-of-door life” and concluded that “all the organs of the body [are] partaking in the good results.”<sup>162</sup>

---

<sup>157</sup> Townsend, “Bicycling for Women,” 594.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> Garvey, “Reframing the Bicycle,” 75.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

These claims also struck at the heart of the strongest argument against women's cycling — the nature of riding a bicycle would cause permeant damage to women's reproductive organs, leaving them unable to bare children, their most important task. Similarly, Townsend also argued that cycling was also so effective because patients were more likely to stick with it; they got more enjoyment out of it, and especially for ill patients, it took their minds off their worries: "[t]he delightful nature of the exercise is of the greatest value. To most women gymnastics is a bore, and so often is walking with no object in view except the exercise. Both of these forms of exercise when prescribed by the physician often accomplish little, as the patient is not taken away from herself. Not so with the bicycle, which breaks up morbid trains of thought, takes the patient away from herself, and in that way benefits every nervous or functional complaint."<sup>163</sup> Townsend's conclusions were easily supported from his interviews: "the bicycle is of great value to the average woman, even to the woman with various forms of uterine disease."<sup>164</sup>

As champions of cycling, women physicians have been an unrecognized yet key force to explain the skyrocketing popularity of women's sports, especially bicycling, in the late nineteenth century. As Townsend's study demonstrates, women physicians were a powerful voice who fueled the social acceptance of women's cycling. As medical authorities, their opinions carried significant weight and helped chip away at even the strongest anti-cycling critics.

---

<sup>163</sup> Townsend, "Bicycling for Women," 595.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid.

## Conclusion

In less than five years, women's cycling transformed into a diverse, modern, and mainstream athletic venture with far-reaching effects on women's lives. In 1888, women's cycling was a spectator sport run by working-class women and their promoters and a private leisure activity among a small number of wealthy tricyclists. By the mid-1890s, bicycling had become one of the most popular recreational activities among American women in cities and small towns throughout the country. This seismic shift did not simply occur because the modern safety bicycle was safer, more affordable, and easier to ride; women were not passive recipients of this technology. The safety bicycle created the potential for its popularity, but it was women themselves who recognized this potential and dared to ride. Three groups of trailblazers created a visible, empowering, and accessible women's cycling culture. First, working-class professional racers offered a powerful symbol of women's athletic potential while promoting an exciting spectator sport. Middle-class pioneers translated the entertainment and athletics of professional racing into the accessible, everyday practice of riding safety models. Women physicians used their professional authority and clinical experience to justify and encourage their fellow cyclists. As the first generation of women cyclists, racers, pioneers, and female physicians created a women-centered cycling infrastructure and culture from scratch. Throughout the 1890s, millions of women developed a wide array of bicycling practices, all built upon the courage and groundbreaking work of these trailblazers.

## CHAPTER 2: “FREEDOM’S BATTLE”:

### BICYCLING, DRESS, AND HARASSMENT IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY CITY

In 1854, thirty years before women flooded the streets on safety bicycles, Susan B. Anthony started to cry as she read a letter. The letter was from her close friend and fellow woman’s rights activist Lucy Stone. In her reply to Stone, Anthony wrote, “[y]our letter caused a bursting of the floods, long pent up, and after a good cry I went straight to Mrs. Stanton and read it to her.”<sup>1</sup> It seems impossible to imagine the Susan B. Anthony of popular memory — stern in presence, unwavering in belief — crying out of grief and frustration. Yet, in the early 1850s, Anthony became so overwhelmed with a particular activist project that she felt she had no alternative but to abandon it entirely. Members of her close-knit social circle, including Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Amelia Bloomer, the Grimke sisters, and Lucy Stone, also found the costs of this project too great to bare. In their letters to each other, they described a sense of relief upon discovering that they all wanted to quit. But they also wrote of sadness, frustration and failure. The project ultimately carried too much risk, even for a group of unconventional women who spent a lifetime taking political and social risks. In this particular project, they did not demand women’s suffrage, religious equality, abolitionism, or temperance. They simply changed clothes. For a brief period before the Civil War, this small group of Northeastern women attempted to start a dress revolution. They wore bifurcated garments, often called Turkish trousers, later known as the derogatory ‘bloomer’ as an insult to Amelia. They viewed socially-mandated dresses as cumbersome, sti-

---

<sup>1</sup> Harper, Ida, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, Vol. 1* (Indianapolis, IN: Hollenbeck Press, 1898), 116. Women and Social Movements in the US, 1600-2000. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://asp6new.alexanderstreet-com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/wam2/wam2.object.details.aspx?dorpid=1002256154>>

fling, and unhealthy. They wore their bifurcated outfits, which consisted of a short, billowing pants, throughout Northeastern cities, most often Rochester, Boston, and Philadelphia. When they wore bifurcated garments in public, they violated the most basic, unspoken ideas about gender, the body, and obscenity in nineteenth-century life.<sup>2</sup>

Within only a few years, they jointly decided to abandon their radical outfits and return to traditional Victorian garb. They made this decision not because they stopped believing in the revolutionary potential of simple, modest dress that allowed them to move as freely as men. There was no political conspiracy that tried to stop them, nor police who arrested them. They ignored preachers who called their outfits unholy, and journalists who called them ugly. But street harassment was the one anti-reform force they could not ignore, and the unending street harassment they faced ultimately led them to return to the dresses they despised. Walking through town, Bloomer, Stone and Anthony were forced to combat threats, intimidation, and physical attacks. Women undoubtedly stared and made comments to one another. But men and boys yelled at them, threw sharp objects at them, and even ran after them in violent mobs. Men's group violence became so commonplace that they developed escape strategies; they would hide in a store, slip out through the back door, and walk home through the alley, forced to avoid the streets for their own safety. Lucy Stone found traveling near impossible due to street harassment. In a letter to Anthony, Stone described, "I go to each new city [and] a horde of boys pursue me and destroy all comfort."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> Fischer, Gayle K. *Pantaloons and Power: A Nineteenth-Century Dress Reform in the United States*. (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2001).

<sup>3</sup> Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, Vol. 1., 115.

These radical women were used to having unpopular ideas, and they put great time into developing compelling arguments to gain support for their political views. But this was a different situation. As Ida Harper, one of Anthony's first biographers, described, "[i]t requires far more heroism to bear jibes and jeers for one's personal appearance than for one's opinions. No pen can describe what these women endured for the two or three years... they suffered a martyrdom which would have made burning at the stake seem comfortable."<sup>4</sup> In her letters, Anthony described how "rude, vulgar" and "brutal" men in Rochester yelled insults and obscenities at her.<sup>5</sup> She enjoyed wearing her alternative bifurcated outfit much more than restrictive Victorian dress, especially due to the frequent bad weather in Rochester and for her daily walks to her office and publisher. She also she wanted to be a role model for other women who were "ruined in health by tight lacing and the weight of their clothing."<sup>6</sup> But street harassment stripped away the empowering potential of dress reform; Anthony described her new outfits as "a physical comfort but a mental crucifixion."<sup>7</sup> After suffering through a particularly difficult experience of harassment, she wrote to Stone, "[o]h, I can not, can not bear it any longer."<sup>8</sup>

When Anthony learned that Stone finally gave up dress reform as a result of unending harassment, she wondered, "[i]f Lucy Stone, with all her power of eloquence, her loveliness of character, who wins all that hear the sound of her voice, can not bear the martyrdom of the dress,

---

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, Vol. 1., 116.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

who can?"<sup>9</sup> Anthony found that harassers followed her from the streets into her political meetings and events, drowning out her ideas and distracting the audience. She realized that her most cherished cause, woman's suffrage, could be hindered by her clothing.<sup>10</sup> With the support of her friends, Anthony packed her Turkish trousers away and returned to traditional dresses.<sup>11</sup>

The dress reform movement remained dormant for roughly thirty-five years.<sup>12</sup> Yet, upon the unveiling of the woman's safety bicycle in the late 1880s, women quickly realized they needed to undertake a complete rethinking of dress so they could ride; long dresses and tight corsets made the movements required for bicycling physically impossible. The generation of women cyclists in the 1890s were born years after Anthony, Bloomer and Stone attempted to revolutionize women's dress in the 1850s. Wheelwomen worked without blueprint in their attempts to find clothing that would allow them to ride safely and comfortably. When wheelwomen needed clothing to ride, they tapped into a movement that street harassment had successfully crushed only a few decades prior. Women cyclists needed to contend with this legacy of harassment while developing clothing for their newfound sport.

---

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> It is unclear if they continued to wear bifurcated garments privately in their own homes.

<sup>12</sup> Fischer, Gayle K., *Pantaloons and Power: A Nineteenth-Century Dress Reform in the United States*. (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2001).

The existing literature on women's cycling dress only scratches the surface of the complex strategies women developed to safely assert themselves into public spaces.<sup>13</sup> Richard Harmond, a leading cycling historian, argued that wheelwomen inadvertently transformed century-long dress norms "[w]ithout planning it," implying that such significant changes occurred without women's input and surely without their influence and leadership.<sup>14</sup> Historian Robert Reigel even argued that wheelwomen's "[i]mproved clothes had in fact played no part in feminine emancipation."<sup>15</sup> Scholars have also argued that women cyclists' prioritization of respectability above all else stifled the revolutionary potential of cycling dress and kept their new outfits within a narrow range of acceptability.<sup>16</sup> Respectability is a necessary framework to understand women cyclists, as maintaining respectability was their central priority. This argument has been helpful in busting the popular bloomer myth, which implied that most women cyclists stopped wearing skirts and switched to bifurcated cycling pants. The vast majority of wheelwomen wore skirts, and only a minority dared to wear bloomers in public despite the advertisements and comic strips

---

<sup>13</sup> In arguably the most cited historical monograph on American cycling, Robert Smith simply argued that "the bicycle costume for women had brought about some desirable changes in women's clothing." He frames the actual clothing, not the women who wore them, as the agents of this change. Other scholars have suggested that women's cycling dress may have fueled some changes in clothing, but it had little lasting influence and failed to disrupt larger social, political, cultural norms. Dress scholar Jihang Park claimed activists for women's suffrage and dress reform maintained such limited ties to sporting women that they largely ignored the political potential of women's athletics to challenge dress norms. Smith, Robert A. *A Social History of the Bicycle: Its Early Life and Times in America*. (New York: American Heritage Press, 1972), 109. Christie-Robin, Julia et al. "From Bustles to Bloomers: Exploring the Bicycle's Influence on American Women's Fashion, 1880-1914," *The Journal of American Culture*, 35, no. 4 (December 2012): 315-331. Park, Jihang, "Sport, Dress Reform and the Emancipation of Women in Victorian England: A Reappraisal," *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 6, no. 1, (1989): 10-30.

<sup>14</sup> Harmond, Richard, "Progress and Flight: An Interpretation of the American Cycle Craze of the 1890s," *Journal of Social History* 5, no. 2 (Winter, 1971-1972): 235-257.

<sup>15</sup> Siegel, Robert E., "Women's Clothes and Women's Rights," *American Quarterly* 15, no. 3 (Autumn 1963): 390-401. Quote page 401.

<sup>16</sup> Hallenbeck, Sarah, "Riding Out of Bounds: Women Bicyclists' Embodied Medical Authority" *Rhetoric Review* 29, no. 4 (September 2010): 327-345. Simpson, Clare S. "Respectable Identities: New Zealand Nineteenth-Century 'New Women' — On Bicycles!" *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 18, no. 2 (2001): 54-77.



that suggested otherwise.<sup>17</sup> Yet scholars often frame respectability as a failure and a missed opportunity — wheelwomen could have changed everything, but instead chose their reputation above revolution. This discourse of ‘missed opportunity’ limits our understanding of why women chose respectability beyond simply their desire to maintain gender norms.<sup>18</sup>

The existing historiographical approaches miss a major factor in women’s cycling dress, women’s cycling, and even women’s experiences in public spaces — street harassment. Just like dress reformers in the 1850s, when women cyclists asserted themselves into streets and parks, they were forced to contend with a widespread, thriving culture of street harassment. As pioneer women’s historian Estelle Freedman has explored, the 1890s was a period of profound broadening of women’s public lives. As workers and consumers, women increasingly explored their cities and towns on their own, disrupting male-dominated spaces at every turn. This fueled a radical shift in popular conceptualizations of women’s public presence. As women began to explore public spaces on their own, they knew “the unescorted woman could be considered fair game for men’s attentions, wanted or unwanted” and they developed a variety of responses to “smash the masher” or resist and respond to harassers.<sup>19</sup> Women demanded their harassers’ arrest, filled courtrooms to support survivors, published how-to guides for women to cope with harassment,

---

<sup>17</sup> Marks, Patricia, *Bicycles, Bangs and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1990), 147-173.

<sup>18</sup> Garvey, Ellen Gruber. "Refraining the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women." *American Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (March 1995): 66-101. Hargreaves, Jennifer. *Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sport*. (New York: Routledge, 1994). Simpson, Clare S. "Respectable Identities: New Zealand Nineteenth-Century 'New Women' — On Bicycles!" *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 18, no. 2 (2001): 54-77. Sims, Sally. "The Bicycle, the Bloomer and Dress Reform in the 1890s." In *Dress and Popular Culture*, by Patricia A. Cunningham and Susan Voso Lab, 125-146. (Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1991).

<sup>19</sup> Freedman, Estelle, *Redefining Rape: Sexual Violence in the Era of Suffrage and Segregation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 194, 191.

established women-only police forces, and encouraged women to take kickboxing classes and even carry weapons for protection.<sup>20</sup>

Just like female pedestrians, wheelwomen also had to develop strategies to combat harassment. Of course, not all men harassed women, and many men, especially relatives and fellow cyclists, protected and defended fellow women from their harassers. Yet, women's experiences of harassment significantly shaped their experience as cyclists, especially in regards to their clothing choices. In fact, wheelwomen needed to develop survival strategies to carve and maintain their public presence. They were in an almost impossible position. They needed to design clothing which would be safe and allow freedom of movement, but also maintain gender norms enough so they could remain inconspicuous and avoid harassers' attention. As one cyclist described, women's cycling outfits needed to be "pleasing alike to both conservatives and radicals... combine perfect proportions, grace, comfort and safety which will neither shock the prudes nor be a mockery."<sup>21</sup> Wheelwomen approached this problem with two schools of thought. Some women believed aiming for respectable dress would make cycling seem approachable and accessible to women. This would encourage more women to ride, and a growing public presence of women cyclists would eventually make their sport socially acceptable and common enough that harassers would target them less. Respectability was far from a monolithic vision nor a way for wheelwomen to preserve their reputation. It instead offered an entry into the world of cycling in public and armor against street harassment, one of the most significant barriers impeding

---

<sup>20</sup> Freedman, *Redefining Rape*, 197-209.

<sup>21</sup> "ABOUT WOMEN: WOMEN BICYCLISTS, ATTENTION! A Handsome Prize for a Costume Design for Bicycling," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, MO), May 12, 1895, 34. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpstlouispostdispatch/docview/579146763/abstract/1B70BC2E376543E3PQ/29?accountid=12598>>

women's enjoyment of their sport. A visible minority of wheelwoman believed respectability would not change their harassers' behaviors. They decided to wear more radical outfits which they called 'rational dress' that featured some form of bifurcated outfit, including bloomers, knickerbockers or a split skirt. They planned to ignore or outrun harassers until eventually these men became used to seeing women wear this new type of clothing in public. In both approaches, wheelwomen's need to respond to harassment shaped their ideas and practices regarding dress, ultimately bringing the stagnant dress reform movement back to life.

### Wheelwomen and the Public Culture of Street Harassment

Historians of cycling have yet to consider women's widespread experiences of street harassment and how these experiences shaped their lives as cyclists. Most scholars have simply not considered it, and a few historians have even suggested that women cyclists rode through streets full of supportive onlookers. Strikingly, Phillip Gordon Mackintosh and Glen Norcliffe, leading figures in bicycling scholarship, paint a picture of the nineteenth-century street as warm and inviting to women cyclists. In their research on women's cycling, they argue that "after encountering public skepticism only briefly [women cyclists] were given free rein of the streets and county roads" and they spent the 1890s "free of care" and could "ride without restriction."<sup>22</sup> When cycling historian Robert Smith noted that bloomers never became widely popular among wheelwomen, he simply noted "[t]he bloomers were gone, but they certainly had been fun while they lasted," failing to consider why women would be so unwilling to wear what he deemed as

---

<sup>22</sup> Mackintosh, Phillip Gordon and Glen Norcliffe, "Flâneurie on Bicycles: Acquiescence to Women in Public in the 1890s," *Canadian Geographer*, 50, no. 1, 17-37. Quote page 17, 34.

the “common sense” option.<sup>23</sup> While this may reflect some women’s experiences, these visions fail to account for women cyclists’ often daily encounters with harassment and how these experiences shaped their cycling practices, specifically regarding dress.

The first women to ride safety bicycles in 1888 and 1889 entered a male-dominated public culture largely unprepared and unwilling to allow them on their turf. As early as 1888, groups of boys in public parks threw debris into women’s bicycle wheels and dived in front of the rider, hoping both to make the cyclist fall and blackmail the cyclist with claims of injury. This occurred so frequently that one journalist deemed many city parks “intolerable” for cyclists.<sup>24</sup> As discussed in chapter one, by the mid-1890s many women cyclists were already calling this first group of cyclists from 1888 and 1889 ‘pioneers,’ partly for their refusal to stop cycling in the face of unending harassment. In 1895, a *Vogue* columnist looked back on the first years of cycling in New York City, and described how “woman on a bicycle was then so rare and so particular a sight as, seemingly, to paralyze the good manners of spectators. Those who rode or drove were conspicuously discourteous when the woman wheeled alone.”<sup>25</sup> These pioneers found that cycling with a male companion encouraged some male onlookers to keep “the rudeness in check,” but was no guarantee, as “crowding the wheelwoman into the gutter was a form of petty persecution freely indulged in, at all times.”<sup>26</sup> Coping with harassment required both physical

---

<sup>23</sup> Smith, *A Social History of the Bicycle*, 109.

<sup>24</sup> “Annoying the Bicycle Riders,” *New York Times* (New York, NY), August 28, 1888, 3. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/94641240/abstract/14344CC83995BB580C/18?accountid=12598>>

<sup>25</sup> “Features: Views by Her: Bicycling in 1889,” *Vogue*, March 14, 1895, 167. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/vogue/docview/904245827/151D8E34153841A9PQ/21?accountid=12598>>

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

and emotional strength, given the difficulty of “rid[ing] over that narrow pebbly gutter on the extreme edge of the road” with the risk of being “closely hemmed in by the vehicles, when a loss of nerve (and handle bar) would have thrown her under the horses’ feet.”<sup>27</sup> Some men tried to physically force women cyclists off the road, while others engaged in verbal harassment to intimidate wheelwomen. Some men would get physically close to the cyclists, “draw up into the road and guffaw their loudest” as wheelwomen rode passed them and “[s]aunterers along the paths would come to the very edge of the road and stare and comment.”<sup>28</sup> The columnist concluded that simply “[e]verything that could make this pioneer rider feel *outré* and unwomanly was said and done.”<sup>29</sup> Highlighting the pioneers’ sensible riding outfits, calm demeanor, and refusal to engage with their harassers, the author contended there was simply “no excuse for such shocking rudeness” and applauded the pioneers for their bravery.<sup>30</sup>

As previously discussed, Dr. Fanny Oakley was a pioneer rider and president of one of the first women’s bicycle clubs in the United States. During her first club rides through New York City, she described how onlookers “jeered and pointed” and referred to the group as the “Brooklyn Lunatic Club.”<sup>31</sup> Not only did women experience harassment while riding, but harassers also made it difficult for women to dismount and walk in their cycling outfits. In an interview, an unnamed female physician who started cycling in 1888, probably Dr. Oakley, described

---

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. Italics in text.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> “Women and Cycling,” *New York Times* (New York, NY), February 7, 1897, SMS10. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/95473560/abstract/8F-B4A6359D59453APQ/122?accountid=12598>>

how she enjoyed running errands on her bicycle. But this meant she had to combat harassment in the stores due to her cycling outfit. She described how as soon as she entered the store, “audible comment [would] greet me,” but she remained hopeful that if more women started cycling the harassment “would soon cease to be noticeable.”<sup>32</sup> In *Outing*, columnist Grace Denison described similar experiences combating harassment as a pioneer cyclist. Denison experienced male onlookers’ “reckless tampering with our lives and limbs” and they yelled “remarks calculated to disturb the equilibrium” of women cyclists.<sup>33</sup> As she came to love the sport, she refused to give in to harassers: “the disapproval of high and low would have discouraged us had we not grown to love our wheels. We lived down, or rather rode down, our enemies.”<sup>34</sup> Her choice of the word ‘enemies’ in describing her harassers signified the seriousness of their behavior and the strength Denison needed to combat it. In many cities, pioneer cyclists were only able to ride during early morning or evening; day rides were simply too dangerous because of unending harassment. In 1894, a journalist looking back at the early years of women’s cycling in Chicago described: “[t]he first few daring women who ventured out, under cover of darkness, clad in the new attire went timidly, and shivered at the small boy’s hoot and the big brother’s derisive jib.”<sup>35</sup>

Women in Milwaukee also rode early in the morning to avoid “the horrid men” who harassed

---

<sup>32</sup> “Ladies Column. Dress Reform for Women,” *Mind and Body* 5, no. 50, April, 1898, 46-47. Quote page 46. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=1O3SAAAAMAAJ&printsec=front-cover&dq=editions:63W5hP3syXAC&hl=en&sa=X&ei=EA1WVbupLMWlwgSRkoDQCA&ved=0CCc-Q6AEwAg#v=onepage&q=bicycle&f=false>>

<sup>33</sup> Denison, Grace, “How We Ride Our Wheels,” *Outing*, 19, October 1891 to March 1892, 52. ProQuest American Periodicals Index. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/docview/137477712/F6A0FAFEEEDD4644PQ/1?accountid=12598>>

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> “Have Come to Stay. No Doubt About The Permanency of Bloomers in Chicago,” *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), October 28, 1894, 35. Chicago Tribune Digital Archive. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://archives.chicagotribune.-com/1894/10/28/page/35/article/have-come-to-stay#text>>

them during the day.<sup>36</sup> Washington, D.C. cyclists similarly chose to ride at night to avoid almost “universal... criticism” they faced during the morning and afternoon.<sup>37</sup>

Women did not take this harassment quietly, and they often wrote letters to the editors of various sporting periodicals to voice their frustration. A contributor to the “Ladies’ Mile,” a women’s cycling column in *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review*, described experiences shared by many wheelwomen. The author expressed her frustration when boys yelled insults like “you’re a beauty” and “you can’t ride” while other men grabbed her body to force her to fall.<sup>38</sup> Adult carriage drivers purposely tried to cut her off and force her into the gutter. She described one particularly traumatic incident in which she had briefly dismounted, and the harassers began to overwhelm her to such an extent that despite her experience, she found herself standing “middle of the street, the center of a growing and jerry crowd, trying to mount my wheel, my nervousness growing with the laughter of the mob... I began dimly to feel as though I were going through a circus act for the amusement of the public.”<sup>39</sup> Wheelwomen’s complaints of harassment were so commonplace that even men’s humor columns recognized the difficulty women cyclists faced while riding. In a joke in *Town Topics*, a character described a girl he saw

---

<sup>36</sup> “Women Bicycle Riders,” *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* (Milwaukee, WI), August 28, 1892, no pages. Nineteenth U. S. Century Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/infomark.do?action=interpret&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu\\_main&docPage=article&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&docId=GT3003118414&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0&finalAuth=true](http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/infomark.do?action=interpret&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu_main&docPage=article&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&docId=GT3003118414&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0&finalAuth=true)>

<sup>37</sup> “THE WHEEL IN WASHINGTON.: A VERITABLE BICYCLE CRAZE AT THE CAPITAL. THE LADIES ARE THE LEADERS IN THE THRONG. MEMBERS OF CONGRESS TAKING UP THE PASTIME. Tom Johnson’s Experience--A Cycle of Cathay,” *Detroit Free Press* (Detroit, MI), November 3, 1895, 11. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpdetroitfreepress/docview/562617187/abstract/15031EFB79D54CF7PQ/62?accountid=12598>>

<sup>38</sup> Margery, “The Ladies’ Mile,” *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* XIV, no. 4, July 13, 1894, 67. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

riding through town in a crimson cycling outfit, which he called “her Red Badge of Courage,” a paralleling the strength she needed to cycle through town with famous the Civil War novel.<sup>40</sup>

Men of all classes participated in street harassment. In another letter to the editor, a woman recounted an incident she witnessed while riding a horse-drawn omnibus, a large wagon that served as public transportation before trolleys. She noticed two women cyclists at an intersection. They were wearing a “neat ‘rational’ costume.”<sup>41</sup> Rational dress was an umbrella term for a variety of cycling costumes that were simpler and safer for riding. Rational dress included shorter skirts, skirts with less material to avoid getting caught in the wheels, bifurcated (or split) skirts, or skirts with a bifurcated trousers underneath. The cyclists gained the attention of the omnibus passengers when they stopped at the intersection. A “well-dressed” male passenger “burst into a torrent of disapproval, calling the dress disgusting, indecent” and demanding the police arrest the cyclists for violating “the public sense of propriety.”<sup>42</sup> Noticing his passenger yelling out the window, the driver turned to the passenger and declared, “[t]hat’s just your ideas. I’d like to know what could be more decent than a woman tidely [sic] dressed... in clothes suitable to what she is doing... I say it’s mean and cowardly to attack those who are acting so sensi-

---

<sup>40</sup> *Town Topics* 35, no. 7, February 13, 1896, 18. *Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920*. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=TownTopicsVol35&type=page&pageref=00000158>>

<sup>41</sup> Western, G., “Cycling: Omnibus Horses,” *Shafts* 4, no. 7, 1896, 99. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP174\\_Volume\\_4\\_Issue\\_7-5&resultNum=1&entries=1&source=config.cfg&queryId=../session/1461515145\\_3391&fromPage=searchResults](http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP174_Volume_4_Issue_7-5&resultNum=1&entries=1&source=config.cfg&queryId=../session/1461515145_3391&fromPage=searchResults)>

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*



ble.”<sup>43</sup> Except for the letter writer, it seemed most passengers barely noticed the interaction, perhaps suggesting that such incidents were commonplace.

Legal authorities rarely intervened to stop harassment or punish men who harassed wheelwomen, even though many wheelwomen reported positive interactions with individual police officers. Yet, when legal authorities recognized the problem of harassment against cyclists, they often blamed women as instigators of harassment. An incident in Minnesota offers a striking example. One day a married couple went on a ride together and the wife wore a bifurcated outfit. Upon noticing her clothing, a young man started to insult and threaten her. Her husband responded by running after the young man. The harasser’s father ran after the husband, and soon the three men started to fight each other in the street. Police arrested all three, and they each received a small fine for the fight. Yet during the proceedings, the judge clarified who was to blame for the incident — the wife. The judge declared that a woman provokes harassment when she “forgets her womanhood... [and] appears in such a dress.”<sup>44</sup> He believed the harasser had due cause to make his disapproval known to her.<sup>45</sup> Upon learning of this case, Frances Russell, a leading women’s rights and dress reform activist, worried how “[s]ometimes it seems as though the ‘bloomers’ of to day [sic] are to be hooted out of sight, like the bloomers of old.”<sup>46</sup> Russell

---

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Russell, Frances E., “Shall Wheelwomen Be Handicapped,” *The Woman's Journal* 26, no. 40, October 5, 1895, 318-319. Quote page 318. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205\\_Volume\\_26\\_Issue\\_40-16](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205_Volume_26_Issue_40-16)>

<sup>45</sup> Russell, “Shall Wheelwomen Be Handicapped,” 318.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

viewed men's harassment as the single greatest and consistent threat to the cause of dress reform throughout the nineteenth century.

Similar to the Minnesota judge, many men viewed harassment as a reasonable response to women who failed to maintain gender norms. Some presented it almost like a contract, in that wheelwomen would not be safe from harassment if they did not hold up their end of the bargain. Many men generally supported women's athletics, but with nonnegotiable limits. As C. H. Crandall wrote for the highly respected *The North American Review*, women's "dress should permit equal freedom of movement and equal health" and "men would gladly encourage women in their natural right to adopt such modifications as would give them greater freedom for exercise."<sup>47</sup> Yet, his acceptance was conditional: "[m]en naturally wish to play, and do play, the greatest deference to womanhood, even in the crowded business life in New York City, but they demand in return that women shall dress so as to suggest unmistakable womanliness."<sup>48</sup> If women did not meet his criteria of femininity, then the unspoken agreement of deference was void and harassment was a natural outcome. In *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, columnist W. D. Wagstaffe offered a similar understanding of the limits of men's acceptance of wheelwomen's dress. Wagstaffe recognized that "questions of how the woman athlete shall dress will be answered only by some courageous souls who will pass through the fire of ridicule... when they assail the conventionalities of a monotonous custom."<sup>49</sup> He acknowledged harassment as a problem, stated quite simply

---

<sup>47</sup> Crandall, C. H., "What Men Think of Women's Dress," *The North American Review*, 161, no. 465, August 1895, 251-254. Quote page 252. JSTOR. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25103572>>

<sup>48</sup> Crandall, "What Men Think of Women's Dress," 252.

<sup>49</sup> Wagstaffe, W. D., "Women as Athletes," *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* XL, no. 4, October, 1895, 437-442. Quote page 441. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/docview/136561932/abstract/3D45CFAAE67B4B7CPQ/12?accountid=12598>>

that “women are not dolls,” and reiterated the benefits of athletics and dress reform for women.<sup>50</sup>

Yet, athletic women who did not maintain his definition of femininity, whatever that may be, were no longer worthy of his support. In fact, openly wrote that they deserved to be harassed: “it is my humble opinion that a woman without some redeeming element of poetry in her nature is like a wax figure, which only a good roasting will melt. That word ‘roasting,’ applied in a flip-pant, slangy sense, is just what a great many of the modern women athletes require.”<sup>51</sup>

Wheelwomen did not accept such ‘roasting’ as inevitable or deserved. For example, a *Recreation* columnist suggested women fight back with ammonia syringes. Typically used to stun dogs, ammonia syringes were small enough so that a wheelwoman could keep one in her pocket or handlebar bag. The columnist recommend them as protection against “loafers,” “brutes” and other men who intimidated and threatened wheelwomen, similar to the use of pepper spray among women today.<sup>52</sup> This columnist was not the only voice in favor of arming women cyclists. That same year, a *New York Times* journalist highlighted an incident to encourage cyclists to carry some kind of protection. Wheelwoman Jeanie Dale was riding home alone at night through a wooded area. She unexpectedly hit a log and was thrown off her bicycle. She quickly realized that a man had made her fall, and he held her by the waist. Knowing she had to protect herself, Dale remembered she had a small bicycle wrench in her pocket. Pretending it was gun,

---

<sup>50</sup> Wagstaffe, “Women as Athletes,” 422.

<sup>51</sup> Wagstaffe, “Women as Athletes,” 439.

<sup>52</sup> *Recreation* 6, no. 1, January, 1897, 52. Hathitrust. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015035141335;view=1up;seq=62>>

she “thrust[ed] it forward, exclaiming in harsh tones: ‘Leave go of me, or I’ll shoot!’”<sup>53</sup> Her attacker let go of her and returned back to the woods. Luckily, Dale’s bicycle was not broken from her fall, and she was able to ride home safely.<sup>54</sup> The journalist offered this as a cautious tale to wheelwomen of New York to be creative and prepared to defend themselves, especially when cycling alone. Following Jeanie Dale’s example, some women began to carry a weapon with them during their rides. Yet this was only one of the numerous strategies women used to combat and cope with the onslaught of harassment they faced. In fact, while some began to carry guns and syringes, others began to consider the possibilities of using clothing as ammunition to fight their harassers and claim public spaces as their own.

### Respectability and Inconspicuousness as Survival Strategies

Wheelwomen wanted to ride through the city streets, country roads, and public parks. They planned weeklong trips, commuting routes to work, and group club rides. If women were to ride, they needed to develop strategies to either avoid, cope with or challenge male harassers. Many women soon came to believe that inconspicuousness was the name of the game — the best way to avoid harassment was to avoid the harassers’ attention. Key to inconspicuousness was maintaining respectability. Men preyed upon women who they felt violated gender norms with their public presence, comportment, riding style, dress or any other feature they deemed unwomanly. Most wheelwomen wanted to maintain norms of respectability in their public presence, just

---

<sup>53</sup> “Saved by a Bicycle Wrench,” *New York Times* (New York, NY), June 22 1897, 1. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/95444209/citation/15B9970F855A42A5PQ/100?accountid=12598>>

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

like many women today. But they did not want to maintain respectability solely to keep their reputation or their peers' approval. Respectability provided an entrance into the public spaces in which they longed to ride, and served as a survival strategy once they entered those spaces. Respectability was far from a monolithic term, and wheelwomen hotly debated their own definitions. Some women radically challenged and rewrote Victorian assumptions regarding respectability, while other women developed more modest alternatives. Yet, women largely agreed that dress constituted the testing grounds to create a public performance of respectability. Wheelwomen soon found themselves unearthing a long forgotten dress reform movement for the practical purpose of cycling in public spaces filled with harassers.

Women were active players, not passive recipients, of this new consumer technology. They did not wait for the bicycle industry to solve their dress problem. Instead, they did it themselves, building a new public presence without a blueprint. Wheelwomen looked to themselves as experts, using their individual experiences as cyclists as the authority for their expertise. Women built a cycling culture that encouraged participants to challenge and combat harassment. As such, women used respectability as an entrance into public spaces, but they did not share an agreed upon definition. For example, a Chicago columnist was reported seeing "a dozen radically different styles" of cycling clothing in the city streets, a comment found in newspapers across the country.<sup>55</sup> One of the most striking themes in the debates regarding women's cycling dress was the diversity of women's ideas and practical applications. Wheelwomen offered a plethora of options across the spectrum of respectability, from a dress which barely left the ground, to a 'divided skirt,' to wearing men's trousers and jerseys. Women actively debated dress in print, in

---

<sup>55</sup> "Have Come to Stay. No Doubt About The Permancy of Bloomers in Chicago," 35.

public meetings and private conversations. As one cycling journalist described, “it is nothing but dress, dress, dress.”<sup>56</sup> Women looked to each other not only to hypothetically solve this problem, but they expected practical results. They encouraged one another to make their own clothes if dress shops and bicycle stores refused to sell outfits they liked, and they shared patterns and ideas.<sup>57</sup> Tailors often refused to make the costumes wheelwomen requested, especially radical, bifurcated costumes, which consequently gave women more power to make clothing that reflected their dress ideals.<sup>58</sup> Women developed a variety of strategies to create cycling clothing as armor against street harassment. These strategies are best understood via two completing schools of thought: respectability and rational dress.

Wheelwomen agreed that changes to women’s dress were necessary, however the debate heated up regarding how much change to make. Most wheelwomen leaned towards a moderate change, using respectability and femininity as their gauges. They believed that women deserved safe, comfortable clothing, and only a modified skirt — not bifurcated pants, which included looser knickerbockers and tighter bloomers and trousers — were necessary to achieve their practical goal of riding in public. Women often wrote letters to editors to serve as a platform for their ideas. In “No trousers at any price,” a letter printed in *The Woman’s Journal*, the author presented

---

<sup>56</sup> Margery, “The Ladies’ Mile,” *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* XIII, no. 7, March 9, 1894, 10. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.

<sup>57</sup> “My Wheel and I,” *The Designer and the Woman’s Magazine* 2-3, no. 5, 1, September 1895, 57-59. Quote page 57. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/UP8X4>> Gray, Sally Helvenston, and Michaela C. Peteu. “‘Invention, the Angel of the Nineteenth Century’: Patents for Women’s Cycling Attire in the 1890s.” *Dress*, 32 (2005): 27-42.

<sup>58</sup> “PEEPS BEHIND THE SCENES: Her Bloomers Didn’t Fit, So She Sued The Tailor SHE MEASURED HERSELF A Professor of Mathematics who Solved a Hitherto Difficult Problem HIS SOLUTION WAS NOT FLAWLESS,” *The National Police Gazette* 65, no. 896, November 3, 1894, 6. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/docview/127644146/abstract/22AF2C16892947F5PQ/98?](http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/docview/127644146/abstract/22AF2C16892947F5PQ/98?accountid=12598)accountid=12598>

a moderate view of women's cycling dress, in which she encouraged wheelwomen to keep using skirts. The author discussed a common fear among conservative women (and men) that bifurcated clothing would make men and women indistinguishable in public.<sup>59</sup> This woman's fear was confirmed during a trip she had recently taken to Europe. When she saw co-ed cycling groups, "it was literally impossible to distinguish one from the other at a little distance — the knickerbockers, cricket shirt, belt, tie and straw hat were the exact counterpart of the male bicyclist's."<sup>60</sup> The author encouraged likeminded women to join her in challenging wheelwomen who "seem to take a delight in copying masculine attire down to the smallest detail."<sup>61</sup>

Women's support for a respectable, moderate dress did not challenge their belief in the revolutionary potential of dress reform. In 1898, a columnist from *Mind and Body*, a health and recreation periodical, interviewed an unnamed female physician who began cycling in 1888. It is likely that Dr. Fanny Oakley, well known cycling pioneer, was the interviewee. In the article, the interviewee described her belief that wheelwomen should wear skirts designed for cycling, but not bloomers. Like many wheelwomen, she found that wearing bifurcated dress in public led to constant "unfavorable comment" and was not worth degrading experience.<sup>62</sup> Yet, her vision of safe, comfortable, function dress was far from conservative. She argued that women can "never

---

<sup>59</sup> Marks, Patricia. *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1990), 3.

<sup>60</sup> "Costumes for Cycling. Away with the Skirt at all Costs," *The Woman's Herald*, October 26, 1893, 570. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4\\_Volume\\_8\\_Issue\\_36-27](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4_Volume_8_Issue_36-27)>

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> "Ladies Column. Dress Reform for Women," *Mind and Body* 5, no. 50, April, 1898, 46-47. Quote page 46. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=1O3SAAAAMAAJ&printsec=front-cover&dq=editions:63W5hP3syXAC&hl=en&sa=X&ei=EA1WVbupLMWlgwSRkoDQCA&ved=0CCc-Q6AEwAg#v=onepage&q=bicycle&f=false>>

attain the same power intellectually and physically as men until they freed themselves from hampering clothes. Men will not submit to uncomfortable fashions in clothing, and consequently do not suffer from the nervous disorders that are produced by the unhygienic and irritating clothes that are worn by women.”<sup>63</sup> Oakley reflected that medical professionals as a whole encouraged dress reform but were cautious about radical bloomers and knickerbockers.

Women’s fashion magazines often provided advice for wheelwomen on what to wear and how to act to maintain their respectability. For example, *The Designer and the Woman's Magazine* advised wheelwomen to remain as inconspicuous as possible with the hope that it would encourage men to be more “courteous” instead of harass them.<sup>64</sup> The columnist instructed wheelwomen to wear a “quieter costume” with a long skirt, mute colors and a simple hat.<sup>65</sup> The columnist suggested that cyclists should avoid chewing gum, showing their ankle, riding a men’s-specific bicycle, or wearing lace, and women ultimately must be “neat and sweet and feminine” even if they are athletic.<sup>66</sup> The author continued that “a disheveled, perspiring woman... with her hair hanging in witch locks and her clothing mud-stained and awry, is far from a prepossessing or respect-commanding object, and if she receives scant courtesy from the other sex it is to a great degree her own fault.”<sup>67</sup> Similar to some male columnists, the author stated that women should expect harassment if they fail to keep their end of the bargain.

---

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> “Some ‘Don’ts’ For Wheelers,” *The Designer and the Woman's Magazine* IX, no. 3, January, 1899, 72. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/UM-sK3>>

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.



Recreational wheelwomen were far from the only cyclists subject to severe scrutiny regarding their dress. As discussed in chapter one, women's professional cycling races were a popular and profitable event in the 1880s and declined in the 1890s. The cyclists' racing outfits often garnered a significant amount of attention. A 1894 race in Louisville, Kentucky gained newspaper coverage throughout the country both before and after the race because women wore racing outfits similar to men's cycling costumes. With a packed attendance of over 10,000, clearly not all spectators approved of their clothing, and many probably attended the race just to see women wear what at the time most Americans considered to be very reveling clothing. A columnist for the sporting periodical *Referee* was one of many who voiced his displeasure at the "bloomer-bedeked females" in "semi-masculine costumes" in which they "ape[d] the lords of creation by competing in a cycle race of their own."<sup>68</sup> Like many columnists, the author approved of women's cycling, but not racing, largely because of the associated racing outfits. Women who engaged in races or other competitions, such as long distance competitions, often served as the marker of respectability for causal enthusiasts. In Long Island, local politicians tore down advertisements of an upcoming women's race which featured the athletes in racing tights, including one local participant, because they did not reflect the "standard of morality" of the town.<sup>69</sup>

While professional cyclists faced the wrath of morality police, some ordinary wheelwomen tried bloomers but returned to a more traditional skirt. This change often occurred once they had the opportunity to purchase a bicycle with a sloping top tube designed for skirts, instead

---

<sup>68</sup> Helca, Barry, "Object to Ladies' Races," *Referee* 13, no. 21, September 21, 1894, no page. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.

<sup>69</sup> "Pictures of Fat Women Pulled Down," *New York Times* (New York, NY), April 7, 1895, 16. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/95344213/abstract/8F-B4A6359D59453APQ/117?accountid=12598>>

of having only men's diamond-shaped frames available. Periodicals like *Town Topics* suggested that many women returned to the dress despite finding bloomers quite comfortable. Instead, they felt obligated to bicycle "without surrendering any of their womanly appearance."<sup>70</sup> Given that they theoretically enjoyed wearing bloomers, their experiences with harassment inevitably fueled their return to skirts. Other women looked to outfits which resembled skirts but had details or hidden features to make them more suitable for riding. Students at Smith College were some of the many women who found a balance between radical bloomers and traditional dress by wearing "divided skirts."<sup>71</sup> These skirts featured some sort of fabric to separate the cyclists' legs, but were either covered by a separate overskirt or designed to look like a traditional skirt and make the fabric in between her legs unnoticeable. Such dress options helped women have better mobility while pedaling, while maintaining their respectability and inconspicuousness in public. While skirts and dresses may seem less revolutionary, the majority of wheelwomen believed this was the most effective strategy to expand their public presence and to chip away at male harassers' control of public spaces.

### Rational Dress and Resisting Harassment

Many women responded to harassment by developing new clothing options that they felt embodied respectably, hoping to be inconspicuous to potential harassers. Not all women took a

---

<sup>70</sup> "Bicycling in '96," *Town Topics* 35, no. 12, March 19, 1896, no page. *Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920*. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=TownTopicsVol35&type=page&pageref=00000285>>

<sup>71</sup> "GOSSIP OF THE CYCLERS: Quiet Follows the Stir of the National Meet -- Indianapolis May Have It Next Year. CYCLING A SMITH COLLEGE FAD College Girls Give Cows the Coast, However -- Chicago Bicycle Tax Declared Illegal -- Stevens's Great Tour Reviewed -- Color Line in West Augurs Trouble," *New York Times* (New York, NY), August 15, 1897, 4. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/docview/95445093/FBCB0205343542A7PQ/1?accountid=12598>>

conservative approach. The October 26, 1893 issue of *The Woman's Herald* provides a striking glimpse of the range of ideas regarding cycling dress. One letter to the editor as described earlier, exclaimed "No trousers at any price."<sup>72</sup> Yet on the same page, another cyclist published her letter titled "Away with the skirt at all costs."<sup>73</sup> In this letter, the author argued that women's bifurcated gymnasium clothes were the best model for women's cycling dress. She stated that every woman she knows struggles while riding in skirts, and believed that women who advocate conservative dresses for cycling that do not separate the rider's legs simply to not reflect the opinions of most wheelwomen. Like many women, this author discussed how skirts were often the cause of accidents and made cycling much more difficult due to the lack of physical mobility. She concluded, "I am fundamentally incapable of understanding why a woman should not clothe her two legs separately, since she is fortunately allowed to clothe her two arms separately."<sup>74</sup> This author represented a vocal minority of women cyclists who demanded more radical alternatives to dress, rewrote the norms of respectability, and aimed to challenge their harassers head on.

An author from *Today's Woman* suggested that rational dress received so much coverage due to controversy, and not because most women actually wore these outfits.<sup>75</sup> Most women did in fact lean toward more moderate cycling clothing. Yet many wheelwomen put more radical ideals of dress into practice, under the umbrella of rational dress. Some women's complaints

---

<sup>72</sup> "Costumes for Cycling. Away with the Skirt at all Costs," 570.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> L.A.M.P., "Cycling for Women," *Today's Woman* 1, no. 25, June 1, 1895, 16. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP181\\_Volume\\_1\\_Issue\\_25-12](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP181_Volume_1_Issue_25-12)>

about other women's clothing provides a glimpse into lives of women who chose to wear divided skirts, knickerbockers, and even bloomers, the most radical option. In *Ladies' World*, a columnist complained that wheelwomen who prioritized comfort above femininity were becoming increasingly common: "we have all seen her" she frustratingly wrote.<sup>76</sup> Her frustration suggests that many more wheelwomen challenged norms of respectability than existing sources can unequivocally prove. Men owned most nineteenth-century cycling periodicals, including *American Cyclist*, *Cycling Life* and *Southern Wheelman*, and made it well known that they found bifurcated cycling outfits, especially bloomers, inappropriate for women and an insult to the sport. Yet, a few magazines, such as *Sporting Life* and *Bearings*, did support more radical changes in women's cycling dress.<sup>77</sup>

Wheelwoman hotly debated the definition of rational dress, rarely agreeing on a monolithic vision of the term. As one wheelwoman described her support for rational dress, she clarified, "[o]f course when I mention 'rational' I do not mean those detestable baggy 'bloomers' that are a gross outrage to taste. No, I mean nice smart knickerbockers decently cut and tailor-made long coat. They *are* the thing."<sup>78</sup> In describing her vision of rational dress, a *New York Times* columnist simply argued that "no dress can be rational."<sup>79</sup> The author argued that the true justifi-

---

<sup>76</sup> Mell, "The Woman Who Doesn't Care How She Looks as Long as She is Comfortable," *Ladies' World* XVII, no. 7, July 1896, 10-11. Quote page 10. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Print. Accessed June 6, 2015.

<sup>77</sup> Margery, "The Ladies' Mile," *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* XII, no. 26 January 5, 1894, 553. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.

<sup>78</sup> Hygieia, "On Cycling," *Today's Woman* 2, no. 37, August 22, 1896, 18. Italics in text. Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP181\\_Volume\\_2\\_Issue\\_37-5](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP181_Volume_2_Issue_37-5)>

<sup>79</sup> "Rational Dress," *New York Times* (New York, NY), November 12, 1882, 8. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/93996198/abstract/14344CC83995B-B580C/83?accountid=12598>>

cation for dresses were “the intent is to make her appear the most unlike the other sex, and to make her assumed hopelessness real.”<sup>80</sup> The author supported a variety of options for dress, including divided skirts, knickerbockers and even trousers.<sup>81</sup> In an annual meeting of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, committees on physical culture and health could not agree on a specific cycling uniform, even though they all generally supported bifurcated dress. Members found it impossible to chose a cycling uniform that would be fitting for all body types.<sup>82</sup>

Reporters highlighted the popularity of rational dress in Great Lakes cities like Chicago, Cleveland, and Buffalo.<sup>83</sup> These cities had notably large cycling scenes, including a robust presence of women cyclists. This suggests that some women might have been more willing to wear radical clothing options if they had the emotional support and practical protection from cycling in larger groups or if women held more influence in the city’s broader cycling community. In fact, journalists discussed Chicago’s cycling scene with great attention. They documented how almost every neighborhood had at least one women’s cycling club. Chicago journalists often celebrated wheelwomen’s bifurcated outfits, like a *Chicago Times* reporter on rational dress, specially bloomers, who asked, “[t]hey were first endured but now embraced — Why not, since they are comfortable, sightly, safe, and convenient?” and claimed that “thousands” of Chicago

---

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> “Since Our Last Issue,” *The Union Signal*, October 31, 1895, 1. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive, Box 10 Oct 1894- Feb 27, 1896. Microfilm. Accessed June 6, 2015.

<sup>83</sup> “Dress for Bicycling Women,” *The Woman's Journal* 26, no. 34, August 24, 1895, 271. Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205\\_Volume\\_26\\_Is-sue\\_34-38](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205_Volume_26_Is-sue_34-38)>

wheelwomen wore them.<sup>84</sup> Another reporter documented the dress of wheelwomen on a busy street one summer evening and noted that 58 of the 73 women — almost 80% — wore some type of bloomer. While these numbers are difficult to verify, it is notable that the journalist claimed “[o]ne thing is evident -- the bloomer has come to stay, and is as much an established fact and a regulation article of dress.”<sup>85</sup>

A columnist for *The Woman's Tribune* similarly encouraged women to take their experiences as cyclists to heart and abandon traditional dress for bifurcated pants:

[u]ntil you have tried them, felt the delicious freedom of movement, the immunity from danger or catching skirts, oh, ye women riders you will not believe in bloomers, but afterwards... you will defy the conservatives, don bifurcated garments, and ride with free use, for the first time in your lives, of those members that Mother Nature has given you.<sup>86</sup>

This author specifically challenged claims that dresses were the natural way to clothe the female body, and instead argued that Victorian clothing restricted, not complimented, women's bodies. Some women also changed their dress to fit the expectations of their environment. When free of harassment, they would change their garb to more radical outfits. For example, a group of wheelwomen in Oregon rode throughout the city in modest cycling skirts. But once they reached the city limits, they took off their skirts, tied them to their bicycles, and rode without care just in

---

<sup>84</sup> “Have Come to Stay. No Doubt About The Permancy of Bloomers in Chicago,” 35.

<sup>85</sup> “The Ladies’ Mile,” *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* XIV no. 23, December 7, 1894, 466. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.

<sup>86</sup> I.E.F., “How to Dress for the Bicycle,” *The Woman's Tribune*, August 3, 1895, 116. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP211.2\\_Volume\\_12\\_Issue\\_29-7&resultNum=1&entries=1&source=config.cfg&queryId=../session/1461517557\\_21997&fromPage=searchResults](http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP211.2_Volume_12_Issue_29-7&resultNum=1&entries=1&source=config.cfg&queryId=../session/1461517557_21997&fromPage=searchResults)>

bloomers. For many women, the open, country roads afforded them far more opportunities to wear the dress of their choosing compared to city streets crowded with harassers.<sup>87</sup>

Journalists often interviewed wheelwomen who dared to wear more radical outfits. Wheelwomen viewed newspapers as a powerful platform to advance their ideals beyond their own networks. In 1892, Angelina Allen gained considerable notoriety for wearing a bathing suit at a beach near her New Jersey home. In 1893, Allen's notoriety grew when she "shock[ed] the good people of Newark" by cycling in "corduroy trousers, which fitted her legs loosely to the knees," "tightly fitted white shirt," yellow belt and cap.<sup>88</sup> Cycling with a male friend, the reporter stated that she "appeared utterly oblivious to the sensation she was causing... which caused hundreds to turn and look at her in astonishment."<sup>89</sup> In her interview, Allen stated "I know that costume of mine is causing no end of talk. I suppose I shall always be a curiosity... Well, I don't care what people say. I have the courage of my convictions, and, being passionately fond of cycling, am not going to give it up just because people are shocked when I appear in trousers."<sup>90</sup> Allen was one of many wheelwomen who was inspired to try a more radical outfit after experiencing an accident or injury due to cycling in skirt. In fact, many women found the courage to try a bifurcated outfit and face harassers head on once they experienced the sheer danger of cycling in a dress. Allen described, "I have learned from bitter experience, for I have been thrown several

---

<sup>87</sup> "Cycle Notes," *Public Opinion* 19, July 1895 - December 1895, 635. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=DAk4AQAAMAAJ>>

<sup>88</sup> "MRS. ALLEN'S BICYCLE SUIT.: Another Sensation Created by a Radical Woman," *St. Louis Post - Dispatch* (St. Louis, MO), October 15, 1893, 12. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpstlouispostdispatch/docview/579127597/abstract/1B70BC2E376543E3PQ/53?accountid=12598>>

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

times.... After suffering severe bruises of the arms, shoulders, and face I resolved to brave all the surprise, scorn and talk of the public rather than give up riding or run the risk of breaking an arm.”<sup>91</sup> Allen specifically challenged the claim that her cycling outfit was immodest, and argued that even harassment was not as dangerous as cycling in a skirt. Allen concluded by claiming that her cycling trousers allowed her to ride with the ease of movement as men.

A year later, *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* interviewed Kate Hoover regarding her cycling costume. Like Allen, Hoover refused to wear a cycling skirt after a particularly dangerous fall. In her decision to switch to bloomers, she prioritized her safety and chose to face the increased harassment she experienced head on. She stated that in bloomers “I can ride faster than they can talk,” a humorous assessment of the serious dangers of cycling in rational dress in streets full of harassers.<sup>92</sup> Similar to other wheelwomen, when Hoover decided to give up the cycling skirt, she found few options to purchase a bifurcated outfit so she made one herself. Despite her willingness to out cycle harassers, even Hoover had her limits. She admitted to the reporter that she had yet to find the courage to enter in a store wearing her bloomers, implying the difficulties of coping with harassment once off her bicycle as well as while riding. While bicycling made women targets for harassment, at times it also provided a method to escape that failed in comparison to walking.<sup>93</sup>

In 1896, Elizabeth Kirby wrote to the *League of American Wheelman's Bulletin and Good Roads*, the periodical of the largest bicycle organization in the United States, specifically

---

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Margery, “The Ladies’ Mile,” *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* XII, no. 3, January 19, 1894, 49. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.



to address women who “lack the courage to stand up for their convictions.”<sup>94</sup> Kirby was the first women in her New Jersey hometown to wear rational dress while cycling. When she learned to cycle, Kirby chose not to wear a skirt despite “bitter disapproval and opposition” from her siblings.<sup>95</sup> She usually wore bloomers with a skirt which attached around her waist while cycling. Kirby described watching women attempt to cycle in long skirts through the streets of Coney Island, but struggle due to the wind and the high probability of accidents from their garments. Kirby stated simply that “bloomers and the neatest and most sensible” option for wheelwomen.<sup>96</sup> Kirby acknowledged the struggles of experiencing harassment while wearing bloomers:

I can fully appreciate and sympathize with that woman who feels that bloomers are the proper garb for wheeling, but shrinks from making herself conspicuous or becoming the mark for low wit and... disagreeable remarks. If you have decided in favor of bloomers, make up your mind not to hear or notice anything of the kind, and you will be astonished at finding how really indifferent you become.<sup>97</sup>

She offered a new vision of womanhood, arguing that “softness, modesty and dignity” were “perfectly compatible with sound judgment, logic, self-reliance and independence, this last mentioned a woman must possess... to ride in bloomers.”<sup>98</sup> Kirby concluded, “let each decide for herself, and be allowed to carry her ideas, without being frowned down as bold, vulgar or unwomanly.”<sup>99</sup> Kirby represented a tough but compelling alternative to harassers; instead of craft-

---

<sup>94</sup> Kirby, Elizabeth, “The Bloomer Girl,” *L.A.W. Bulletin and Good Roads* 23, no. 8, February 21, 1896, 270-271. Quote page 270. Center for Research Libraries Global Resource Network Digital Delivery System. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://dds-crl-edu.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/crldelivery/4889>>

<sup>95</sup> Kirby, “The Bloomer Girl,” 271.

<sup>96</sup> Kirby, “The Bloomer Girl,” 270.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

ing her public presence to remain respectable and hopefully inconspicuous to men, Derby believed the only way to end harassment was to dress as she wished and not respond to her harassers.

Frances Russell, an influential figure in the woman's rights movement and Chairwoman of the Woman's National Council's dress committee, also encouraged women to find courage and protection in each other: "[t]he motive of present is united action, mutual help. No woman is expected to come out alone and take up the cross of conspicuous oddity of dress on all occasions. This might make all timid women, seeing her stared at, feel that they would rather die than follow her example. We must unite to encourage and shield one another."<sup>100</sup> To Russell, women could only face the culture of street harassment through collective action and solidarity. Wheelwomen used their cycling clubs as a forum to explore how to put their ideals of respectability to practice and support one another, just as Russell suggested. Club members often wore a uniform in social events and group rides. Club members hotly debated their uniform because it was a public demonstration as to where they stood on the dress question. The *Milwaukee Journal* reported that a group of women cyclists attempted to start a club but had "all kinds of trouble" deciding on a uniform.<sup>101</sup> After hours of the "stormy work of organization," the women decided not forming a club was better than joining one that violated their individual stances on dress.<sup>102</sup> In

---

<sup>100</sup> "Reform in Woman's Dress," *The Pneumatic: A Journal of Cycling Literature and Trade News* 5, no. 12, March, 1895, no page. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/83013/rec/4>>

<sup>101</sup> "After the Manner of Women," *Milwaukee Journal* (Milwaukee, WI), April 10, 1897, no page. Nineteenth Century U. S. Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu\\_main&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&docId=GT3010299125&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0](http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu_main&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&docId=GT3010299125&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0)>

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

1895, a group of 500 women in California started a bicycle club specifically because they wanted to wear more radical dress and knew they required the support and protection of fellow women. The members specifically wanted to wear the their dress of choice in “broad daylight and noon” instead of acting like “timid maidens” who only dared to ride at night.<sup>103</sup> They realized the “necessity for strength in their somewhat audacious enterprise” and that “union is strength.”<sup>104</sup> Wearing their club uniforms, a bifurcated dress in navy, the club members felt able to “sally forth in squads to meet the gaze of the curious public, valiantly showing the courage of their conviction and their club colors.”<sup>105</sup> Groups of women, especially organized in clubs, provided an extra layer of protection from harassers. Women who shared the same opinions on cycling dress also formed their own auxiliary branches within larger clubs. In Chicago, the well-respected Illinois Cycling Club included an “small army of wheelwomen” who went on rides in more radical outfits separate from other club members who generally wore skirts.<sup>106</sup>

Women who supported rational dress often looked to prominent cyclists and other athletes to further their advocacy. Unlike more conservative women who were uncomfortable with women’s sports, many radical wheelwomen viewed racers and record breakers as an authority on dress. *The American Cyclist*, for example, highlighted how Miss Tangier of Atlanta, a respected cyclist and hiker, credited her accomplishments in both sports to her courage to wear rational

---

<sup>103</sup> “BRAVE BICYCLISTS.: A California Club of Five Hundred Women Don Bloomers,” *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Chicago, IL), March 30, 1895, 16. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpchicagotribune/docview/174987481/abstract/30E673CFD1C421CPQ/37?accountid=12598>>

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> “Have Come to Stay. No Doubt About The Permancy of Bloomers in Chicago,” 35.

dress.<sup>107</sup> *The Wheelman's Gazette* similarly featured Mrs. Chester Wright and Florence Cobby, who in 1892 broke the record for fastest cycling time from San Francisco to San Jose. Both women wore what they called "Arab knee-trousers" while on rural roads, but kept skirts at hand when riding through cities.<sup>108</sup> Similar to Tangier, this pair credited their record with their refusal to wear skirts for the majority of the trip. Similarly, when Anne Porter of Chicago won century races, she credited her bloomers as her method for shaving off her time to outrace her competition.<sup>109</sup> Athletes also highlighted the safety benefits of rational dress. When Mrs. C. C. Candy of Denver became the first woman to cycle down Pikes Peak in the Rocky Mountains, she wore a men's cycling outfit for safety and told reporters that she only had one minor fall because of her smart decision.<sup>110</sup> Celebrated singer and celebrity Pauline Hall made headlines when she wore bloomers during her cycling trip through Egypt, which helped her cope with the heat more efficiently.<sup>111</sup>

Most states had some kind of ordinance which criminalized men and women for wearing clothing that did not reflect their biological sex, and arrests did occur, often under the umbrella

---

<sup>107</sup> "A Southern Cycling Girl," *The American Cyclist* 6, December 14, 1894, 140. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.

<sup>108</sup> Le Garde, Ellen. "Ladies Department," *Wheelman's Gazette* VII, no. 2, February 1892, 26-27. Quote page 26. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.

<sup>109</sup> "Have Come to Stay. No Doubt About The Permancy of Bloomers in Chicago," 35.

<sup>110</sup> Margery, "The Ladies' Mile," *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* X, no. 5, July 29, 1892, 85. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.

<sup>111</sup> *Town Topics* 33, no. 15, April 11, 1895, 14. Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=TownTopicsVol33&type=page&pageref=00000737>>

of indecency, disorderly conduct or disturbing the peace.<sup>112</sup> In 1893, wheelwomen in Florida wrote to the governor for permission to wear trousers while cycling. They were unsure if rational dress violated Florida public indecency laws, and they understandably wanted to avoid arrest as much as possible. A representative from the governor's office told the women they had clerks investigating the matter, and it is unclear if the women rode in trousers without the governor's approval.<sup>113</sup> In 1895, a wheelwoman referred to as Mrs. Adams gained national news coverage when she cycled in what a local police officer deemed men's clothing. While Mrs. Adams was released with a seemingly harmless "judicial reprimand" for trying "to pass as a man," her name still made local papers and bicycling magazines. It is unclear if Mrs. Adams was actually trying to be perceived as man, or if the police wanted to arrest her for her radical cycling dress and used this excuse.<sup>114</sup> Regardless, her name was printed as both a criminal and gender deviant, and one can only imagine the results for her life. In Illinois, police broke up a cyclists' dance and arrested women in rational dress because they were not "suitably dressed for appearing out of doors."<sup>115</sup> The El Paso, Texas city council actually passed an ordinance banning women from wearing divided skirts in public.<sup>116</sup> Rumors about cities across the country passing such laws kept many

---

<sup>112</sup> Parsons, Elsie Worthington Clews, *The Old-fashioned Woman: Primitive Fancies about the Sex* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1913), 169. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=cEw-TAAAAYAAJ>>

<sup>113</sup> Margery, "The Ladies' Mile," *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* XII, no. 8, August 25, 1893, 173. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.

<sup>114</sup> "Mrs. Adams' Little Joke," *The American Cyclist* 6, March 15, 1895, 602. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.

<sup>115</sup> Beatty, William K., "That harbinger of heath and happiness," *The Union Signal* CXXIV, no. 1, Winter 1898, 18-23. Frances Willard House Museum and Archives. Print. Accessed June 6, 2015.

<sup>116</sup> Margery, "The Ladies' Mile," *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* XIII, no. 24, June 15, 1894, 499. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.

wheelwomen worried about the legal ramifications of their clothing choices.<sup>117</sup> Not all legal authorities limited women's riding, and judges and police made headlines when they supported wheelwomen. In 1895, a judge in Little Rock, Arkansas gained great attention in the cycling press for dismissing a case against a wheelwoman who was arrested for wearing bifurcated clothing. Like many cities, women who wore pants outside their homes violated Arkansas public indecency laws. Yet the judge dismissed the case, arguing that women were going to bicycle regardless, so they might as well be comfortable. The judge's nonchalant attitude speaks volumes regarding the changes regarding women's dress in only a few years.<sup>118</sup> Throughout the country, wheelwoman who supported rational dress hoped this case offered a glimpse into a future in which they could bicycle in any outfit of their choosing without legal repercussions.

Wheelwomen who advocated for rational dress recognized the importance of putting their ideas into practice. Given the thriving culture of street harassment, their refusal to succumb to fear was the key to their success. As Helen W. Foster eloquently wrote in a bicycling magazine, the dress question was "simply a matter of personal courage."<sup>119</sup> She continued, "[t]he question for us to decide is, whether we will have the courage of our convictions, and of our own good sense; or whether we will blindly obey custom, however senseless its mandates may be."<sup>120</sup> Fos-

---

<sup>117</sup> "Interesting to State Riders," *The Pneumatic: A Journal of Cycling Literature and Trade News* VI, no. 2, May 1895, no page. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/83254/rec/5>>

<sup>118</sup> "Bloomers are Just the Thing," *The Pneumatic: A Journal of Cycling Literature and Trade News* VI, no. 6, September 1895, no page. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/83254/rec/5>>

<sup>119</sup> Foster, Helen W., "The Ever-blooming Question," *L.A.W. Bulletin and Good Roads* 23, no. 1, January 3, 1896, 4. Center for Research Libraries Global Resource Network Digital Delivery System. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://dds-crl-edu.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/crldelivery/4889>>

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

ter constructed a new vision of womanhood, based not on beauty but intellect. She singled out men and women who used femininity and womanliness to justify which she viewed as oppressive dress: she argued that womanliness “is the weapon with which every step women have made to greater breadth and freedom of life has been opposed.”<sup>121</sup> Not all wheelwomen agreed with Foster’s support of radical dress. Yet in their choice of dress, wheelwomen in both conservative and radical camps refused to accept the widespread culture of harassment and traditional gender norms that kept such cultures in place, limited their freedom to pursue the activities they loved, and stifled their public presence. By daring to bicycle through streets full of harassers, women did not simply demand access to the sport they loved. They also sparked broad, unexpected changes in women’s lives.

### The Ramifications of Women’s Cycling Dress

When wheelwomen challenged the culture of street harassment and developed clothing strategies to ride through male-dominated public spaces, their work had an influence far beyond fellow cyclists. Cycling dress sent shock waves throughout women’s lives, and inspired women to rethink what they wore both on and off the bike. By the mid-1890s, women began wearing their cycling dress for other activities, using their experience as cyclists as the inspiration and courage to demand broader change.

Women quickly began to consider how their cycling dress could improve their lives not just on the saddle, but also at work. Throughout the country, women started campaigns to convince their employers to change company policies and allow rational dress. In 1899, female of-

---

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

fice workers at the Bissell factory in Grand Rapids, Michigan, campaigned for the right to wear their cycling clothing during work hours. Many women already commuted to work on their bicycle, and they wanted to keep their cycling outfits on during the day. When making their case to the Bissell managers, they argued that men wore clothing that could easily be mistaken for cycling outfits, so women should also be able to wear comparable clothing. Despite a well organized campaign, the managers sided against the women and told their cycling employees that they should walk to work. Luckily, one manager refused to strip women of the choice to commute via bicycle, even though he agreed with the ruling barring cycling dress. As a compromise, he established a changing room in the factory. Women were able to still ride to work and had a space to change into an approved work outfit.<sup>122</sup> While this compromise fell short of their demands, women appreciated how the changing room allowed them to continue riding to work and maintain their dress of choice at least while on their bike. The same year, two women who worked as clerks at the Secretary of State's office in Denver began discussing the possibility of wearing their divided skirts, their go-to cycling outfit, into the office. They agreed that their cycling outfits were just as "dressy and neat" as their work outfits, and included the other women

---

<sup>122</sup> "Ban Against It The Bicycle Skirt Forbidden at the Bissell Factory," *The Evening Press* (Grand Rapids, MI), April 27, 1899, 8. America's Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p\\_product=EANX&p\\_theme=ahnp&p\\_nbid=V65B51HMMTQ2MTUx-OTk5Mi44MDYyOTA6MT05OjM1LjguMTEuMw&p\\_action=doc&s\\_lastnonissuequeryname=2&d\\_viewref=search&p\\_queryname=2&p\\_docnum=1&p\\_docref=v2:1231FD919F0C27A4@EANX-123691F0B7C11A10@2414772-123406E664A8EB10@7-12D50B88AB531850@Ban%20Against%20It%20The%20Bicycle%20Skirt%20Forbidden%20at%20the%20Bissell%20Factory.%20The%20Women%20Riders%20Are](http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p_product=EANX&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=V65B51HMMTQ2MTUx-OTk5Mi44MDYyOTA6MT05OjM1LjguMTEuMw&p_action=doc&s_lastnonissuequeryname=2&d_viewref=search&p_queryname=2&p_docnum=1&p_docref=v2:1231FD919F0C27A4@EANX-123691F0B7C11A10@2414772-123406E664A8EB10@7-12D50B88AB531850@Ban%20Against%20It%20The%20Bicycle%20Skirt%20Forbidden%20at%20the%20Bissell%20Factory.%20The%20Women%20Riders%20Are)>



clerks in their discussion.<sup>123</sup> The following morning, five women came to work in divided skirts. Soon after that roughly half of the women clerks — 14 out of 32 — began wearing divided skirts to the office while the rest were “rapidly getting in the swim for dress reform at work.”<sup>124</sup> Notably, a journalist referred to women as leading a “movement” for dress reform, and celebrated them as “advanced” working women.<sup>125</sup>

Women employed as clerks, office workers, and other professions quickly gravitated to cycling dress as a more functional alternative to traditional nineteenth-century garb. In fact, many wheelwomen started to view the bicycle dress as “the new business suit.”<sup>126</sup> As one woman argued in a letter to the editor,

[w]hen the professional or business woman, compelled to be out in all weather, goes through the streets dragging her skirts through the dirt, or making herself miserable by her attempts to carry a bag and umbrella and at the same time hold up her skirts... she is not more womanly, only less sensible than the sister who shortens her skirts... and enjoys the resultant cleanliness and freedom.<sup>127</sup>

---

<sup>123</sup> “Dress Reform Movement Women Clerks in the Colorado Capitol Adopt Bicycle Costumes,” *The Atchison Daily Globe* (Atchison, KS), June 2, 1899, 4. Nineteenth Century U. S. Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://find.galegroup.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/newspaperRetrieve.do?sgHitCountType=None&sort=DateAscend&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&resultListType=RESULT\\_LIST&searchId=R1&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&currentPosition=9&qrySerId=Locale%28en%2C%2C%29%3AFQE%3D%28ti%2CNone%2C21%29Dress+Reform+Movement%24&retrieveFormat=MULTIPAGE\\_DOCUMENT&userGroupName=msu\\_main&inPS=true&contentSet=LTO&&docId=&docLevel=FASCIMILE&workId=&relevancePageBatch=GT3012470327&contentSet=UDVIN&callistoContentSet=UDVIN&docPage=article&hilite=y](http://find.galegroup.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/newspaperRetrieve.do?sgHitCountType=None&sort=DateAscend&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchId=R1&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&currentPosition=9&qrySerId=Locale%28en%2C%2C%29%3AFQE%3D%28ti%2CNone%2C21%29Dress+Reform+Movement%24&retrieveFormat=MULTIPAGE_DOCUMENT&userGroupName=msu_main&inPS=true&contentSet=LTO&&docId=&docLevel=FASCIMILE&workId=&relevancePageBatch=GT3012470327&contentSet=UDVIN&callistoContentSet=UDVIN&docPage=article&hilite=y)>

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> “Health, Beauty and Dress,” *The Woman's Tribune* 12, no. 25, June 22, 1895, 100. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP211.2\\_Volume\\_12\\_Issue\\_25-4&resultNum=20&entries=261&source=config.cfg&queryId=../session/1461520253\\_13317&fromPage=searchResults](http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP211.2_Volume_12_Issue_25-4&resultNum=20&entries=261&source=config.cfg&queryId=../session/1461520253_13317&fromPage=searchResults)>

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

By 1895, the Chicago Correct Dress and Physical Culture Club and women-run companies like Correct Dress Patterns offered affordable patterns for divided skirts and trousers suitable for cycling and the office.<sup>128</sup> Given the popularity of women's cycling in Chicago and Washington, D.C., and the variety of work options for professional women in both cities, it is no surprise that *Scribner's* highlighted how "armies of women clerks in Chicago and Washington who go by wheel to business, show that the exercise within bounds need not impair the spick-and-spanly neatness that marks the bread-winning American girl."<sup>129</sup> In fact, some women suggested that wearing cycling dress off the bike was a sign that the person was hardworking, smart and useful. Some middle-class, professional wheelwomen believed that women who wore the "meaningless drapery" of traditional dress did not need anything more functional because they were not involved in any activities of value:

it serves as an advertisement... that the wearer is backed by sufficient means to be able to afford the idleness or impaired efficiency which the skirt implies.... Think of this, women doctors, preachers, trained nurses, teachers, clerks, housekeepers, and all busy women! Your habitual costume... is society's vulgar brag of economic inequality, of the ability of the wealth absorbers of the community to live without labor.<sup>130</sup>

Women in offices were not the only wage-earners take up cycling dress. In 1895, Chicago police voiced their frustration that their efforts to crack down on prostitution and vice had come up short. When they raided a hotel, female sex workers grabbed their bicycles, quickly changed

---

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Merrington, Marguerite, "Woman and the Bicycle," *Scribner's Magazine* 17, no. 6, June, 1895, 702-704. Quote page 703. Hathitrust. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39076000303664;view=1up;seq=708>>

<sup>130</sup> "WOMEN TALK ABOUT DRESS: Long Skirts and Corsets, Condemned by the National Council. PICKED SHOES AND HIGH HEELS, TOO Loosely-fitting Gowns Advocated -- Frances E. Seavey Tells What Bicycle Girls Should Wear," *New York Times* (New York, NY), February 28, 1895, 13. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com/proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/95234486/abstract/8FB4A6359D59453APQ/128?accountid=12598>>

clothes and rode into the crowds of cyclists, unable to be detected. Some cyclists were shocked to find this “undesirable element” riding through their favorite streets and parks.<sup>131</sup> Police and concerned cyclists were affronted by the reality that sex workers could not be arrested for simply cycling, even if onlookers could guess their “profession” by their “black silk tights and vests that cling to the body like skin.”<sup>132</sup> A journalist claimed that police and prosecutors alike were developing an addition to the citation for “street walking” to also include “solicitation on wheels.”<sup>133</sup>

Unfortunately, some women’s campaigns to reform professional dress were shut down before they could even begin. In 1895, women who worked as teachers in Long Island, New York began cycling to work. When the Board of Trustees discovered the popularity of cycling among the teachers, they banned it outright as an “improper practice” for educators because it “had a tendency to create immorality.”<sup>134</sup> Their justification was that even though the women all wore skirts, cycling encouraged bifurcated dress, which would inevitably lead to trousers. The village Justice of the Peace then passed a law that criminalized women teachers from cycling to and from the school. The teachers were shocked and upset, calling the law “an outrage and an insult.”<sup>135</sup>

---

<sup>131</sup> “Scarlet Women on Wheels,” *Denver Evening Post* (Denver, CO), August 23, 1895, no page. Nineteenth Century U. S. Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/infomark.do?prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu\\_main&version=1.0&type=multipage&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&tabID=T003&docId=GT3016730811&contentSet=LTO&docPage=article](http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/infomark.do?prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu_main&version=1.0&type=multipage&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&tabID=T003&docId=GT3016730811&contentSet=LTO&docPage=article)>

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> “OBJECT TO WOMEN BICYCLISTS: College Point School Trustees Say They Must Not Ride to and from Their Duties,” *New York Times* (New York, NY), June 15, 1895, 1. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/95336834/abstract/15B9970F855A42A5PQ/73?accountid=12598>>

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

Teachers beyond New York also engaged in campaigns to wear cycling dress at school. When Cleveland teachers started wearing bicycle skirts, parents started to complain but teachers pressed the issue as their “inalienable right” to chose their own dress.<sup>136</sup> The superintendent of the school issued an unpopular compromise, allowing bicycle skirts as long as they were not “shorter than is proper.”<sup>137</sup> This vague compromise enraged both sides: parents “were disgusted with [his] weak toleration” and teachers were offended at the implication that they were improper.<sup>138</sup> Interestingly, women throughout Cleveland largely supported the teachers, not the parents, because they found it aggravating that a man placed limitations on women’s dress. The situation was quite different when teachers in a Chicago school began wearing cycling dress to class. Unlike in Cleveland, women held positions in the school board in Chicago. When discussing the controversy, a male member of the school board announced that teachers “should not wear a bicycle skirt the schoolroom any more than she should wear it to a dance or wedding.”<sup>139</sup> Upon hearing his option, the women board members “pounced on him at once” and told him “men had nothing to do with what women wore: if a woman wanted to wear a bicycle skirt to a funeral it was her affair alone... and that men have no right to protest.”<sup>140</sup> In both Cleveland and Chicago,

---

<sup>136</sup> “The Right to Wear Bicycle Skirts in School,” *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), November 23, 1898, 4. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpbaltimoresun/docview/536066115/abstract/839A710901E04E05PQ/53?accountid=12598>>

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

women “buzz[ed] angrily over the impudent attempt of men to dictate what women should wear.”<sup>141</sup>

Along with their employment, bad weather was another central motivation women used to wear cycling dress off the bike. Grand Rapids, Michigan was one of the first cities where women started what they called a ‘Rainy Day Club’ in which they advocated for and actually wore cycling dress during bad weather. Members of the Grand Rapids club also supported cycling outfits as a “working costume” even when the weather was fine.<sup>142</sup> The members specifically called to have the “courage to drop their prejudices,” and used religious justification for rational dress.<sup>143</sup> They argued that God gave them two legs, and therefore it was moral and natural to clothe them separately.<sup>144</sup>

Rainy Day Clubs overlapped in membership and common goals. A striking example of one Rainy Day Club’s work was the 1898 arrest of Maggie White in New York City. While cycling one evening in bloomers, police officer arrested her for “having masqueraded on the Boulevard... in male attire.”<sup>145</sup> According to the police officer, White did not resist arrest, and in fact acted frightened and asked to pick up a skirt on the way to the police station. The officer denied her request, and White spent a night in city jail awaiting her trial the following morning. During the trial, the police officer described White’s clothing in detail. He claimed because she wore

---

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> “Health, Beauty and Dress,” 100.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> “GIRL BICYCLIST IN TROUBLE.: Arrested for Wearing Male Attire, She Was Helped in Court by a Rainy Day Club Candidate,” *New York Times* (New York, NY), July 2, 1898, 7. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/95601198/abstract/5173391988734940PQ/1?accountid=12598>>

tight trousers, a stiff shirt, and tucked her hair under a men's cap, she clearly intended to violate New York law. As the officer provided evidence, a woman in the audience interrupted him. She identified herself as a member of a Rainy Day Club in New York and an "authority on correct attire."<sup>146</sup> She defended White, arguing that White did not resist arrest and clearly learned her lesson from this upsetting ordeal. She encouraged the judge to take into account her expertise as a cyclist and dress reformer, and reiterated the police officer's statement that White wanted to get a skirt as soon as she realized she was in trouble. When allowed to speak, White agreed with the woman; she apologized and assured the judge that would only cycle in skirts from now on. The judge agreed with the women, stating that "a night in the station had sufficiently punished her" and he let her go.<sup>147</sup> It is unclear if the wheelwoman was in the audience by luck or if she planned it. But after White was released, a *New York Times* journalist saw the two women at a nearby restaurant, celebrating her release over ice cream.<sup>148</sup>

Rainy Day club members were not the only women to use their cycling outfits for bad weather. A wheelwoman from Texas was the first of her friends to sew her own rainy day outfit from scratch and watched the "envious appearing eyes of passing ladies."<sup>149</sup> During a particularly bad weather in Boston, women were surprised how well their cycling outfits served as "storm

---

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> Penfield, S. A., "Rainy Day Dress," *The Woman's Tribune* 12, no. 26, June 29, 1895, 104. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP211.2\\_Volume\\_12\\_Is-sue\\_26-4](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP211.2_Volume_12_Is-sue_26-4)>

gowns” and “mudless skirts.”<sup>150</sup> A local cyclist stated that these outfits attracted a lot of attention from other women who struggled during the storm, and seeing the practical, clean and sturdy cycling outfits in action was evidence enough to make one for themselves.<sup>151</sup> Women in Chicago and Philadelphia soon starting wearing their rainy day outfits during winter storms as well, finding new waterproof fabrics especially helpful for snow.<sup>152</sup> In Brooklyn, a women’s cycling club of 150 members encouraged fellow New Yorkers to incorporate rainy day bifurcated skirts, as “the mud-gathering, microbe-agitating, and foot-shakling long skirts must go.”<sup>153</sup> Dr. Christine Lumsden, president of the club, was inspired to use her position as platform for dress reform and rainy day clothing after witnessing a young mother unable to hold her baby and umbrella while caught in the mud during a rainstorm.<sup>154</sup> Women soon found themselves putting on their rainy day outfits even when the weather was fine.<sup>155</sup> While it started as a public venture, some women

---

<sup>150</sup> “The Rainy Day Dress,” *The American Magazine* 4, no. 2, 1892, 69-70. Quote page 69. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP18\\_Volume\\_4\\_Issue\\_2-35](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP18_Volume_4_Issue_2-35)>

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> “Ladies Department,” *The Pneumatic: A Progressive Monthly Paper for Cyclists* IV, no. 6, March, 1894, no page. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/82800/rec/3>> “Mrs. William Durbin, one of the visiting wheelwomen, who comes from a western city, is of the opinion that the general use of the bicycle will result eventually in revolutionizing women’s street attire, says the Philadelphia Inquirer,” *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans, LA), August 16, 1897, 4. Nineteenth Century U. S. Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://infotrac.galegroup.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/itw/info-mark/646/742/24216527w16/purl=rc1\\_NCNP\\_0\\_GT3014580276&dyn=23!nxt\\_83\\_0\\_GT3014580276?sw\\_aep=msu\\_main](http://infotrac.galegroup.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/itw/info-mark/646/742/24216527w16/purl=rc1_NCNP_0_GT3014580276&dyn=23!nxt_83_0_GT3014580276?sw_aep=msu_main)>

<sup>153</sup> “The Wheel and Dress Reform,” *The Woman’s Journal*, July 25, 1896, 239. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205\\_Volume\\_27\\_Issue\\_30-7](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205_Volume_27_Issue_30-7)>

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> “Fashions of the Day,” *Town Topics* 37 no. 2, January 14, 1897, 17. Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=TownTopicsVol37&type=page&pageref=00000036>>

also started wearing cycling dress at home. They found the ease of movement and lighter outfits much more conducive to the physical activities of housework. As one woman described, cycling dress would “halve her exertion and double her strength... when occupied with domestic labor.”<sup>156</sup> Women also adapted their cycling outfits for other athletic pursuits, especially hiking, rowing and running as well as leisurely activities like picking berries.<sup>157</sup> As individual women slowly transitioned their cycling outfits to other situations, they disrupted longstanding cultural norms and mainstreamed outfits which most Americans viewed as immoral, unbecoming, and unnatural only a decade ago.

### The Revitalization of the Dress Reform Movement

In 1895, Frances Russell pondered to fellow WCTU members, “[i]t is interesting to watch ‘freedom’s battle’ on the field of the bicycle.”<sup>158</sup> This ‘battle’ was from from hypothetical. Wheelwomen fought against a particular force, the widespread culture of harassment. Their enemy was in fact men who dominated the public spaces women wished to enter. By the end of the decade, wheelwomen were astonished at their success. Whether they chose to develop inconspicuous conservative outfits to avoid harassers’ attention, or face their harassers head on with

---

<sup>156</sup> “Health, Beauty and Dress,” 100.

<sup>157</sup> “THE BICYCLE AND THE SKIRT: An Innovation which, the Wheel Is Bringing About for Rainy Days,” *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), May 23, 1896, 12. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpbaltimoresun/docview/535692283/abstract/839A710901E04E05PQ/57?accountid=12598>> “NEWPORT WOMEN WITHOUT LEGS.: Short Bicycle Dresses Disapproved at That Resort,” *Cincinnati Enquirer* (Cincinnati, OH), August 21, 1896, 6. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpcincinnatiquirer/docview/895697354/citation/9A6961FB2B5D4DB8PQ/76?accountid=12598>>

<sup>158</sup> Russell, Frances E., “Shall Wheelwomen Be Handicapped,” *The Woman’s Journal* 26, no. 40, October 5, 1895, 318-319. Quote page 318. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP205\\_Volume\\_26\\_Issue\\_40-16&resultNum=1&entries=1&source=config.cfg&queryId=../session/1461521335\\_23061&fromPage=searchResults](http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP205_Volume_26_Issue_40-16&resultNum=1&entries=1&source=config.cfg&queryId=../session/1461521335_23061&fromPage=searchResults)>



rational dress, they started to see themselves as a key force in women's rights activism and celebrated their everyday achievements. They helped fuel mainstream acceptance of a variety of alternatives to the oppressive Victorian dresses they despised, changing the public spaces they cycled through and refusing to succumb to criticism. A columnist declared that "the feminine world has been plunged into the revolutionary throes of dress reform" solely because of the bicycle.<sup>159</sup> This was a strikingly different outcome from the marginalized, radical movement of the 1850s. A *Woman's Journal* columnist perhaps summed up the changes best: "the often derided dress reformer has had her way."<sup>160</sup>

Wheelwomen credited their success to their practical justification for dress reform, instead of discussing only theoretical arguments like their predecessors. Mrs. Reginald de Koven, a columnist from *Cosmopolitan*, spoke for many wheelwomen when arguing "[w]hat years of eloquent preaching from the platforms of woman's suffrage have failed to accomplish, the necessities of this wheel have in a few months brought into practical use."<sup>161</sup> Women's rights activist Ida Trafford Bell similarly celebrated the bicycle as a turning point in women's history: "[o]ur rules and customs were such to blame for this former state of things. Women shut in for generations, even for centuries, in narrowed environments, hot-house atmospheres, bound body and soul... saw their way out through the means of the bicycle; with that instinct even keener than a man's

---

<sup>159</sup> L.A.M.P., "Cycling for Women," 16.

<sup>160</sup> "Bicycling for Girls," *The Woman's Journal* 22, no. 21, August 1, 1891, 243. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP205\\_Volume\\_22\\_Issue\\_31-41&resultNum=1&entries=13&source=config.cfg&queryId=../session/1461521430\\_23990&fromPage=searchResults](http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP205_Volume_22_Issue_31-41&resultNum=1&entries=13&source=config.cfg&queryId=../session/1461521430_23990&fromPage=searchResults)>

<sup>161</sup> Koven, Reginald de, "Bicycling for Women," *The Cosmopolitan* 19, no. 4, August, 1895, 386. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/docview/124708592/abstract/D9814BCF538A47BCPQ/72?accountid=12598>>

judgement they took swift advantage of it”<sup>162</sup> In another column, Bell put it even simpler: “[t]he new woman and the ‘bike.’ They have together solved the dress reform problem.”<sup>163</sup> She continued,

[w]oman has had a fiercer struggle for her right to ride the bicycle than man, for she had more to contend with. Trammeled on every side by custom, convention, sentiment, tradition and dress, it has taken years of persistent, tireless effort, and only now is the world shaking itself free from the tradition that strength in woman is allied to grossness and immorality.<sup>164</sup>

Like other activists, she was shocked by the grassroots, practical dress reform movement: “[a]s to the influence of bicycle upon dress, who would have thought that woman would be emancipated from her skirts through an avenue entirely independent of any of the cults especially organized for the furtherance of reforms?”<sup>165</sup>

Bell was not the only activist to position cycling within the broader history of American women. In *The Union Signal*, the national periodical of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, a columnist declared,

[i]f this is the ‘woman’s century’ then the bicycle may be regarded as the symbol of nineteenth century evolution... One of the most immediate results of its influence as a reformer... is seen in the matter of dress. The advent of the wheel and its repaid rise to the

---

<sup>162</sup> Bell, Ida Trafford, “The Art of Bicycling,” *Ladies’ World* XVII no. 7, July, 1896, 21. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Print. Accessed June 6, 2015.

<sup>163</sup> Bell, Ida, “THE NEW WOMAN AND THE ‘BIKE.’: They Have Together Solved the Dress Reform Problem,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, MO), August 18, 1895, 23. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpstlouispostdispatch/docview/577254935/abstract/1B70BC2E376543E3PQ/86?accountid=12598>>

<sup>164</sup> Ibid.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

top wave of popularity is doing more than half a century of agitation by dress reformers through platoon and press could hope to do.<sup>166</sup>

In writing about the successes of women's reforms, Helen Watterson Moody, like Bell, was shocked in the rise of a dress reform movement without formal organizing:

[t]hen, without any seeming movement, without declaring itself at all, suddenly, like light at the creative fiat, it WAS. And it came, not through any tempest of organization or any whirlwind of enthusiasm, but through the still, small wheels of the bicycle, bringing forth the one thing that was necessary and had been lacking all the time -- reason enough... the desire for pleasure brought at once.<sup>167</sup>

She concluded to her readers, “[g]iven reason enough, you see — specific and immediate need — any reform is inevitable.”<sup>168</sup>

## Conclusion

In 1897, Susan B. Anthony was seventy-seven years old. She never rode a bicycle, as she was already in her seventies when mass-produced safeties entered the market. That year, over forty years after she abandoned the dress reform movement, Susan B. Anthony wrote a column for the largest bicycling periodical in the country. Looking back, she remembered how “[f]ifty years ago, when a few independent women undertook to dock their skirts at the bottom and were laughed at and ridiculed from Maine to Louisiana -- there wasn't any California then -- they soon found that the physical comfort was not equal to the spiritual persecution, so they relapsed into

---

<sup>166</sup> “The Bicycle as a Reformer,” *The Union Signal*, June 13, 1895, 8. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive Box 10 Oct 1894 - Feb 27, 1896. Microfilm. Accessed June 6, 2015.

<sup>167</sup> Moody, Helen Watterson, *The Unquiet Sex* (New York: Scribner, 1898), 80. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=sFZLAAAAMAAJ>>

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

their long skirts again.”<sup>169</sup> She of course meant herself and her friends. She continued, “[t]he dress is an expression of the spirit within, and when that spirit is in bondage, the expression of it can be in no other form than that of bondage, whether it is the Chinese shoe or the unseemly hat, the pinching corset or the trailing skirt. When the spirit is crippled, the body will be crippled.”<sup>170</sup> She argued women have been “the slave of every wind that blows, whether that wind is for... long or short skirts... The woman of today is the creation of the conditions that man has made for her.”<sup>171</sup> Anthony concluded that her only demand was that “woman herself shall have a hand in making such conditions.”<sup>172</sup>

Thanks to the everyday activism of cyclists, Anthony’s wish had come true. In the 1890s, ordinary women transformed a dormant dress reform movement into a practical strategy with remarkable success. Faced with a widespread culture of street harassment, wheelwomen looked to their clothes as a strategy to avoid and combat their harassers so they could pursue their new sport. Some women dared to wear bloomers and other radical clothing, and they faced their harassers head on. Most wheelwomen chose outfits that were respectable and inconspicuous, but they did not choose to ride in skirts just to maintain their femininity or hold on to conservative gender traditions. They strongly believed their outfits offered the most practical and immediate method to demand and sustain a presence in public spaces controlled and policed by male ha-

---

<sup>169</sup> Anthony, Susan, “Woman's Dress,” *Good Roads* 25, January 29, 1897, 122. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=JgcAAAAAMAAJ>>

<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

rassers. By daring to ride in clothing of their choice, wheelwomen demanded a stake in the social norms of dress and street culture that had traditionally limited their public lives.

### CHAPTER 3: "THE BEST MEDICINE":

#### WHEELWOMEN, HEALTH AND THE MEDICAL PROFESSION

In the 1880s, physicians viewed cycling as little more than dangerous pursuit among thrill-seeking young men. They believed cycling warranted little professional consideration or study. Once bicycling companies introduced the safety model, the popularity of cycling catapulted among Americans of all sexes, ages and classes, and especially among women.<sup>1</sup> Cycling historians have repeatedly noted the rise of cycling in the 1890s and its popularity among women. But none have explained how women's cycling became so popular in only a few years with almost no external support or encouragement. In fact, many women's male relatives discouraged them from riding, and male-dominated institutions, especially medicine, were far from supportive when the safety bicycle emerged and women started to ride.

Cycling historians have offered short, simplified summaries of nineteenth-century medical discourse, including physicians' early reluctance to support bicycling, fear of bicycling-specific injuries, and eventual support of leisurely riding.<sup>2</sup> A few leading women's historians have developed approaches to explore how nineteenth-century physicians viewed women's bodies as

---

<sup>1</sup> Smith, *A Social History of the Bicycle*, 76.

<sup>2</sup> Harmond, Richard, "Progress and Flight: An Interpretation of the American Cycle Craze of the 1890s," *Journal of Social History* 5, no. 2 (Winter 1971-1972): 235-257. Smith, Robert A., *A Social History of the Bicycle* (New York: American Heritage Press, 1972). Ritchie, Andrew, *King of the Road: An Illustrated History of Cycling* (London: Ten Speed Press, 1975). Rubinstein, David, "Cycling in the 1890's," *Victorian Studies*, 1977: 47-71. Whorton, James C., "The Hygiene of the Wheel: An Episode in Victorian Sanitary Science," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 52, no. 1 (Spring 1978): 61-88.

inherently weak and thus supported recreational pursuits only with significant limitations.<sup>3</sup> In her excellent analysis of coverage of women's bicycling in short stories and advertising in turn-of-the-century magazines, Ellen Gruber Garvey positions the doctor as a "key figure, monitoring and regulating the doses of riding" like any other prescription under his control and supervision.<sup>4</sup> Sports historians have similarly demonstrated the lasting influence of nineteenth-century conceptions of sporting bodies, and especially women's bodies, as at risk and in need of medical surveillance.<sup>5</sup> Such foundational scholarship in historiographies of sport and medicine provide the backdrop to understand the outcome — physicians' reluctant support of cycling. But scholars leave us with questions regarding specifically how and why physicians crafted their bicycling-specific advice, and what this advice tells us about the broader transformations of this period.

Historians, including historians of nineteenth-century medicine, have yet to fully explore cycling, including how it helped transform women's knowledge of their bodies, and how this lay knowledge shaped the growing medical profession as it crystalized its authority. In fact, scholars who have discussed women's cycling often frame women as passive recipients of social and

---

<sup>3</sup> Vertinsky, Patricia A. *The Eternally Wounded Woman: Women, Doctors, and Exercise in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994). Enrenrieck, Barbara and Deirdre English, *For Her Own Good: Two Centuries of the Experts' Advice to Women* (New York, NY: Anchor Books, 2005) Patton, Cynthia Ellen, "'Not a limitless possession': Health Advice and Readers' Agency in *The Girl's Own Paper*, 1880-1890," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 45, no. 2 (Summer 2012): 111-133.

<sup>4</sup> Garvey, "Reframing the Bicycle," 80.

<sup>5</sup> Costa, Margaret D., and Sharon Ruth Guthrie, eds. *Women and Sport: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1994). Hargreaves, Jennifer, *Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sport*. (New York: Routledge, 1994). Hall, M. Ann, *Feminism and Sporting Bodies* (Champaign: Human Kinetics Publishers, 1995). Cahn, Susan K., *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Women's Sports*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998). Cronin, Mike, "Not Taking the Medicine: Sportsmen and Doctors in Late Nineteenth Century Britain," *Journal of Sport History* 34, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 23-36. Theberge, Nancy, "It's Not About Health, It's About Performance: Sport Medicine, Health and the Culture of Risk in Canadian Sport," in eds. Jennifer Hargreaves and Patricia Vertinsky *Physical Culture, Power and the Body* (London: Routledge, 2007): 176-194. Vertinsky, Patricia, "What is sports medicine?" *Journal of Sport History* 34, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 87-95.

medical changes, rather than actors with influence on their era. For example, one sports scholar argued, “[i]n the face of a cycling craze that involved mass female participation... doctors and other custodians of female morality eventually abandoned their crusade.”<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, this scholar is one of many who fail to recognize women as historical actors with tangible influence. Women’s cycling boomed not because men encouraged or support their cycling. In fact, the rise of women’s cycling resulted from women themselves. Women quickly discovered that cycling offered them physical and emotional reinvigoration, easing and treating a variety of medical problems. Wheelwoman used media outlets including newspapers, popular magazines and the women’s press to present the transformative health effects of cycling and propose their new, empowering framework for understanding women’s bodies. As women harnessed the transformative power of cycling, male physicians were forced to respond to this challenge to their authority. By the end of the decade, physicians reversed their anti-cycling stances. First, instead of seeing cycling as an irrelevant hobby, male physicians viewed it as of paramount concern to their profession, fueling numerous studies, publications, lectures and trainings on the cyclist’s body. Second, they reversed their stance and began to support women’s bicycling. Third, physicians responded to the booming popularity of bicycling by developing tropes of moderation to fuel the medicalization of this new sport.

#### “The Modern Remedy”: Women’s Health as Bicyclists

In 1898, a decade after the invention of the safety bicycle, *Punch* published a revealing joke: The first person exclaimed, “Isn’t it tiresome! I’ve just got a lovely new bicycle, and now

---

<sup>6</sup> Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds: Women, Sport and Sexuality*, 19.



my doctor absolutely forbids me to cycle. What would you advise me to do?” The second person responded simply and unequivocally: “Change your doctor.”<sup>7</sup> As previously described, women physicians pioneered the social acceptance of women’s cycling by using their professional authority to challenge their anti-cycling medical peers. By the mid-1890s, large city streets and rural country roads were full of women cyclists. Cycling scholars often argue that women’s cycling practices did not subvert medical professionals’ authority because riders so often began, continued, and promoted cycling because their doctors had recommended it.<sup>8</sup> Such arguments fail to account for the multifaceted ways everyday wheelwomen challenged medical authorities.

Ordinary women cyclists with no medical training provided evidence from their lived experience to counter medical discourse that framed women’s riding as dangerous or irrelevant to women’s health. They constructed bicycling as a meaningful, empowering health practice that individual women designed for themselves to meet their health needs. They used their everyday experience as cyclists as the authority to challenge anti-cycling critics and demonstrate the untapped athletic potential of their bodies. Wheelwomen experienced significant changes in their bodies as they began to ride. They used this experience as damning evidence against the seemingly unquestionable authority of male physicians, who were reluctant to support women’s cycling. Instead of waiting for their physicians’ approval, wheelwomen’s health care decisions increasingly mirrored the joke in *Punch*; they disrupted medical discourse by constructing a new, empowered narrative of their bodies and by dismantling relationships with physicians who dismissed their lay knowledge. Women cyclists destabilized nineteenth-century notions of women

---

<sup>7</sup> *Recreation* 8, no. 5, May, 1898, 408. Google Books. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=5UIQAAAAYAAJ>>

<sup>8</sup> Garvey, “Reframing the Bicycle,” 80.

as naturally ill, politicized their health, and conceptualized women as strong, healthy and empowered agents who make informed, purposeful health care choices.

In the 1890s, most male physicians believed cycling could permanently harm women and these fears served as a powerful argument against women's involvement in the sport.<sup>9</sup> Many physicians argued that the speed, repetitive motion, posture, and exertion of cycling increased women's susceptibility to a number of existing ailments, such as spine, bone, and muscle deformities, internal organ malfunctions, heart irregularities, gout, kidney stones and mental illnesses.<sup>10</sup> Physicians also feared bicycle-specific diseases, most notably *kypohsis bicyclistarum*, a spinal deformity due to an aggressive riding posture that could be treated with tonics. Physicians also used the potential for accidents as an argument against bicycling. This was not entirely unfounded. Although the safety bicycle decreased accident rates, they were still common due to hazardous city streets, carriage drivers and pedestrians who were not used to having cyclists on the roads, and cyclists unprepared for the speed of bicycling.<sup>11</sup> Male physicians' fear of wheelwomen's injury or potential death was quite powerful due to nineteenth-century notions that women were more innocent and frail than men.

Wheelwomen argued that cycling was no more dangerous than other sports or exercise regimens that had met their doctors' approval.<sup>12</sup> Cyclists used their everyday experience as the

---

<sup>9</sup> Smith, *A Social History of the Bicycle*, 65

<sup>10</sup> Smith, *A Social History of the Bicycle*, 67-71.

<sup>11</sup> McCally, "Bloomers & Bicycles: Health and Fitness in Victorian Rochester," 12.

<sup>12</sup> "Cycling for Ladies," *The Woman's Herald*, April 18, 1891, 404. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 4, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4\\_Volume\\_3\\_Is-sue\\_130-26](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4_Volume_3_Is-sue_130-26)>

authority to challenge powerful medical discourse of cycling as too dangerous for women.

Frances Russell wrote that among her friends, “I personally do not know of a single case where a woman has suffered in health from bicycle exercise.”<sup>13</sup> She not only dismissed anti-cycling arguments because that simply did not reflect her experience, but she also situated herself as a more legitimate authority on her health than medical professionals. A striking example of a challenge to medical professionals occurred in a report from *Today's Woman*, where the author discounted two bicycle-induced illnesses: ‘bicycle face’ and ‘bicycle jaw.’ Male physicians believed these ailments were characterized by severe gum, teeth, mouth and throat erosion from the wind going through a rider’s mouth while cycling. These illnesses may seem ridiculous today, but they were the subject of serious articles in both popular and medical periodicals.<sup>14</sup> One wheelwoman dismissed this argument as outdated and not relevant to the modern woman cyclist; she claimed these so-called diseases belong in “the pathology of the cyclic museum.”<sup>15</sup> She concluded by humorously prescribing her antidote to these diseases: “[t]he best safeguard against this novel disorder we opine to be — constant attention to the well-known advice ‘keep your mouth shut.’”<sup>16</sup> She framed this anti-cycling argument as ludicrous and provided a clear, conversational response for her readers.

---

<sup>13</sup> Russell, Frances, “The Blessed Bicycle,” *The Woman's Journal* 27, no. 9, February 29, 1896, 67. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 4, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205\\_Volume\\_27\\_Issue\\_9-32](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205_Volume_27_Issue_9-32)>

<sup>14</sup> Smith, *A Social History of the Bicycle*, 67-71.

<sup>15</sup> “Bicycling for Women,” *Today's Woman* 1, no. 39, September 7, 1895, 2. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 4, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP181\\_Volume\\_1\\_Issue\\_39-27](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP181_Volume_1_Issue_39-27)>

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

Yet, most anti-cycling medical arguments against women's cycling centered on reproduction. The safety bicycle forced nineteenth-century Americans to confront their fear and repulsion of women straddling an object. Physicians assumed a straddling position could cause serious physical problems for women's reproductive organs, and they believed the vibrations from cycling only increased this risk for women. Many male physicians also believed that a woman's experience straddling any object would encourage her to masturbate, which they viewed as both immoral and medically dangerous.<sup>17</sup> Both of these concerns threatened women's sexual innocence and reproductive potential, the foundation of nineteenth-century womanhood. Due to these concerns, it was the norm for women to practice sports only in a way that avoided straddling, such as riding horses sidesaddle.<sup>18</sup> Wheelwomen could not avoid the straddling issue, even though there were some failed bicycle models that attempted a sidesaddle position.<sup>19</sup> Women had to directly confront the issue of straddling as well as general concerns about the potential health risks of cycling. Wheelwomen responded with a powerful and successful strategy — they using their everyday experience as the most powerful argument against male physicians' concerns.

Wheelwomen took physicians' reproductive concerns head on, again using their everyday experience to disrupt men's narratives of their bodies. Cycling advocates, many of whom were also political activists, highlighted such experiences. Frances Russell was a leading writer and women's rights activist who contributed to the *Revolution* and *The Woman's Journal* and held

---

<sup>17</sup> Garvey, "Reframing the Bicycle," 75.

<sup>18</sup> Gray and Petu, "'Invention, the Angel of the Nineteenth Century': Patents for Women's Cycling Attire in the 1890's" *Dress* 32 (2005): 27-42.

<sup>19</sup> Garvey, "Reframing the Bicycle," 74.

leadership positions in the National Woman Suffrage Association.<sup>20</sup> In one particularly striking column, Russell described a recent letter from an Iowa mother who started to ride. The woman attributed her healthy pregnancy, “painless” childbirth, and strong baby to her cycling practice.<sup>21</sup> She wrote that she had no morning sickness, was able to be active throughout her pregnancy, and delivered a healthy, ten and a half pound boy with no complications. What even made this feat more noteworthy was her stature: she was a small woman, weighing only 100 pounds, and was still able to give birth to such a large baby without any medical intervention. Her doctor described the shockingly quick, easy delivery as “very remarkable... the doctor said that in his practice he had never seen such a case which was not attended with great suffering.”<sup>22</sup> Yet, she was not surprised with her success because she understood her health, including her pregnancy, as in her control. She created her own system of empowering daily practices to maintain her wellness, and she saw “more results from physical training than from medical picturing which we hear so much about.”<sup>23</sup> She advised pregnant women to take on a similar cycling schedule — a daily four to five mile ride at 5am until the eighth month of pregnancy, and then decrease the ride to only one mile per day until the baby is born. She concluded her letter by declaring, “[b]less the bicycle! ...it is the greatest blessing that ever came to us. It is not necessary to return to the sav-

---

<sup>20</sup> Gordon, Ann (ed.), *The Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony: Against an Aristocracy of Sex, 1866 to 1873* (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 2000), 298.

<sup>21</sup> Russell, Frances, “The Blessed Bicycle,” 67.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

age state in order to bear children painlessly. Correct dress, sensible diet and systemic exercise will do it... But these things must be habitual.”<sup>24</sup>

Russell wholeheartedly agreed with this Iowa wheelwoman: “[l]et all good women ‘bless the bicycle.’ ...[it] might lift the ‘curse’ from child-rearing.”<sup>25</sup> In this powerful letter, this anonymous Iowa wheelwoman destabilized the male physicians’ widespread belief that pregnant women were weak and needed to be bedridden. She framed physicians’ care as negative, a ‘savage state,’ and individual doctors as largely unknowledgeable about women’s health needs. She then provided a meaningful way for women to prevent pregnancy complications, a serious health matter that was often deadly or permanently disabling for women, by viewing her lived experience as the most trustworthy authority on her health. She constructed the pregnant woman as strong, sensible and in control of her body and health, key aspects of modern, empowered womanhood. It is not surprising that she described bicycling, the vehicle for such a physical and ideological transformation, as “the best friend our sex ever had.”<sup>26</sup>

While wheelwomen challenged the supposed dangerousness of cycling, they also discussed the health benefits of riding. Wheelwomen took to a variety of newspapers and magazines to make their two-part case. First, they argued cycling helped treat existing medical problems, often more effectively than existing medical interventions. Second, women cyclists described a variety of ailments that improved or could be prevented from cycling. For example, a contributor to *The Woman’s Journal* stated that bicycling “acts like a charm for gout, rheumatism and indi-

---

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

gestion,” cures varicose veins and “and all those petty miseries for which the ‘liver’ is so often made scapegoat.”<sup>27</sup> Another wheelwoman in *The Woman’s Signal* wrote that bicycling cleared women’s skin, cured wrinkles and concluded “all chronic complaints will be benefited by this form of exercise.”<sup>28</sup> In another detailed report in *The Woman’s Signal*, the author depicted bicycling as “[t]he modern remedy.... [for] dyspepsia, torpid liver, incipient consumption, nervous exhaustion, rheumatism, and melancholia.”<sup>29</sup> Some even credited declining tuberculosis rates with women’s regular cycling practices.<sup>30</sup>

Wheelwomen also noted how cycling helped ease workplace injuries, especially for jobs like teaching and retail that required women to stand for long hours at a time. One cyclist highlighted how even short rides improved back issues, one of the most common medical conditions among women workers: “a strong and healthy girl, who, after a long day’s work, has not sufficient energy left to care to do anything but rest, habitually forces herself to mount her machine, knowing that in ten minutes she will feel all right again, and will return after a ten or fifteen miles’ spin as fresh as a daisy.”<sup>31</sup> The author encouraged fellow riders that “[t]he result of giving

---

<sup>27</sup> “Physical Effects of Cycling,” *The Woman’s Journal* 27, no. 30, July 25, 1896, 240. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 4, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205\\_Volume\\_27\\_Issue\\_30-2](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205_Volume_27_Issue_30-2)>

<sup>28</sup> Miller, Fenwick, “Cycling and Good Spirits,” *The Woman’s Signal* 9, no. 236, July 21, 1898, 423. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 4, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP210\\_Volume\\_9\\_Issue\\_236-15](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP210_Volume_9_Issue_236-15)>

<sup>29</sup> Holdsworth, Annie, “A Book of the Hour,” *The Woman’s Signal* 3, no. 74 May 30, 1895, 345. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 4, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP210\\_Volume\\_3\\_Issue\\_74-7](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP210_Volume_3_Issue_74-7)>

<sup>30</sup> “The Bicycle Checks Tuberculosis in Women,” *The Western and Southern Medical Recorder* XXXVII, no. 26, December 26, 1896, 688. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/FDK44>>

<sup>31</sup> *The American Cyclist* IV, no 11, June 15, 1893, No page. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.

in to the feeling of weariness is fatal. Dyspepsia, neuralgia, or other equally unpleasant ailments speedily seize upon the tired frame.”<sup>32</sup> She concluded for workers whose “vocation necessitates almost constant standing, the cycle is a boon, the value of which none but those who have experienced it can estimate.”<sup>33</sup>

Upon demonstrating bicycling as an effective treatment, wheelwomen also showcased how cycling improved overall health and wellness. Cyclists were so passionate about the medical benefits of their sport, it seemed as though they believed it could improve any medical problem. Henry Clyde, a popular cyclist and author, challenged critics who worried that women cyclists overstated their claims. In his popular book *Pleasure-Cycling*, Clyde argued,

[i]n a newspaper anecdote, the lean lady is made to say to the stout one, ‘How delightful that you have a bicycle too! I go every morning because doctor says I shall certainly grow stouter.’ To which the stout lady replies, ‘Perfectly lovely! We’ll go together. I go because the doctor tells me that it will decrease my weight.’ The contradiction is not so absurd as it seems, for the lean dyspeptic, for example, as the exercise gradually strengthens his digestion, will find his flesh and weight increasing, while the fat and hitherto lazy man will certainly reduce himself to a comfortable leanness in the course of a season’s persistent riding.<sup>34</sup>

To cyclists, the genius of their sport was how it responded to the needs of their specific health situations, and that such technology was completely under the rider’s control.

Wheelwomen did not only frame their sport as a hopeful cure for cyclists’ existing health problems, but also attributed their sustained good health to cycling.<sup>35</sup> Wheelwomen believed cy-

---

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Clyde, Henry, *Pleasure-Cycling* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1895). Lily Library, Indiana University. Print. Accessed March 4, 2015.

<sup>35</sup> Russell, “The Blessed Bicycle,” 67.



cling helped women gain strength and achieve a healthy weight, lessening their susceptibility to numerous illnesses.<sup>36</sup> One cyclist described bicycling as an “easy and ready means of gaining that exercise necessary and essential to retain perfect health” and she bicycled frequently for that precise purpose.<sup>37</sup> Alice Stone Blackwell, leader of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and editor of *The Woman's Journal* wholeheartedly agreed: “[t]o many women, bicycling-riding is the straight line from weakness and semi-invalidism to health and vigor.”<sup>38</sup> Many wheelwomen credited this to the dual improvement of strengthening muscles and promoting circulation.<sup>39</sup> Bicycling companies quickly began tapping into wheelwomen’s health successes to further their sales. A description in a catalogue from Columbia, one of the most powerful and profitable American bicycling companies of this era, noted that women believed their models deserved “a high place among the standard necessities of modern life” specifically because of wheelwomen’s “superb health from cycling.”<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> Durandal, “BICYCLE CALVES.: Female Muscular Development Climbing Upstairs Will Produce the Same Physical Effect. Tea a Favorite Tipple With New York Society. Drugstores Conducting a Back-Door Business in Ardent Spirits at Retail,” *Cincinnati Enquirer* (Cincinnati, OH), August 5, 1894, 8. ProQuest. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpcincinnatienquirer/docview/883584566/abstract/9A6961F-B2B5D4DB8PQ/8?accountid=12598>> Harrison, Carrie, “My First Bicycle,” *The Woman's Tribune* 15, no. 20, October 1, 1898, 80. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 4, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP211.2\\_Volume\\_15\\_Issue\\_20-5](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP211.2_Volume_15_Issue_20-5)>

<sup>37</sup> Hygieia, “On Cycling,” *Today's Woman* 2, no. 37, August 22, 1896, 18. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 4, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP181\\_Volume\\_2\\_Issue\\_37-5](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP181_Volume_2_Issue_37-5)>

<sup>38</sup> Blackwell, Alice Stone, “A Woman’s Right— To A Bicycle,” *Ladies' World* XVII, no. 7 July 1896, 2. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Print. Accessed June 6, 2015.

<sup>39</sup> “Dress for Bicycling Women,” *The Woman's Journal* 26, no. 34, August 24, 1895, 271. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 4, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205\\_Volume\\_26\\_Issue\\_34-38](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205_Volume_26_Issue_34-38)>

<sup>40</sup> Columbia and Hartford Bicycles, Catalog no. 25 (Hartford, CT: Columbia Press, 1902). Lily Library, Indiana University. Cycling Mss. Box 6 LMC 2804. Print. Accessed March 4, 2015.

In one woman's testimonial in *The Woman's Herald*, she described the improvements she experienced in her overall wellness as she started to ride regularly, such as losing weight and increasing her strength.<sup>41</sup> After describing her success in mastering her new safety model, she gave examples from her daily life of men who discouraged her to ride and harassed her while riding. She addressed not just these individual men, but the male-normative notions of strength by demanding to know "why is it unladylike for a woman to have muscles?... I'm a lady, and I ride."<sup>42</sup> She directly challenged male-dominated gender norms of health, and crafted a new identity in which her gender, physical strength, and passion for health were not mutually exclusive. Another contributor encouraged novice cyclists that once they developed a regular cycling practice, "you will now find your health very much improved; your muscles developed... your spirits uncontrollable, and you say to yourself, 'I never could have believed cycling would have wrought such a change for the better in me. Why did I never think of trying it before? I must recommend it to all my friends!'"<sup>43</sup>

Women also viewed cycling as a key prevention strategy. By promoting ways everyday women could use to cycling prevent health problems, wheelwomen directly challenged the notion that women were naturally prone to be weak and ill. Cyclists believed that the stress-relieving exercise of cycling would prolong many of the health problems associated with age, and they reported women they knew who were on the verge of "invalidism... [that] have been rescued by

---

<sup>41</sup> "Cycling for Ladies," *The Woman's Herald*, April 18, 1891, 404. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 4, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4\\_Volume\\_3\\_Issue\\_130-26](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4_Volume_3_Issue_130-26)>

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

cycling.”<sup>44</sup> Another cyclist urged mothers to promote cycling among their daughters, as she believed teaching young women to exercise would decrease their susceptibility to certain illnesses.<sup>45</sup>

*The American Cyclist*, a popular bicycling magazine, even published one wheelwoman’s column in which she argued women’s bodies made them more effective cyclists than men:

[i]t is often remarked, and commonly wondered at, that women are relatively better cyclists than men — that in proportion to her general strength as compared to the strength of a man the wheelman is better at long distances, hill-climbing and so on, than the wheelman...Of course she is. Why shouldn’t she be? Every normally fashioned woman is a natural-born cyclist. Nature in planning the female specification surely anticipated the bicycle, but the man’s make-up contains no suggestion of cycling as belonging to the natural order of them.... In the female the bones of the head, arms and whole upper framework are small and light as compared with the male’s, while the pelvic and thigh structure is larger and proportionately heavier... [the] center of gravity is fair lower in the woman’s body than the man’s. She can therefore the better balance and control the machine. Her hips are broader and heavier and her things are larger and shorter, affording concentrate strength for cycling purposes. And to this immensely superior structural qualifications we must add her marvelous capacity for endurance, something whereof there is small understanding but which must be accepted as a concrete fact.<sup>46</sup>

Few women went as far as to argue their superior cycling ability compared to their male counterparts. Yet this particular author, like many fellow wheelwomen, offered her unique version of empowerment fueled by her beloved sport.

Continuing to challenge dominant medical knowledge, women cyclists repeatedly argued that lack of exercise was a common cause of women’s medical problems. They claimed that

---

<sup>44</sup> “Physical Effects of Cycling,” *The Woman's Journal*, July 25, 1896, 240. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 4, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205\\_Volume\\_27\\_Issue\\_30-2](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205_Volume_27_Issue_30-2)>

<sup>45</sup> Holdsworth, Annie, “A Book of the Hour,” 345.

<sup>46</sup> “Woman As Cyclist,” *The American Cyclist* 7, May 31, 1895, 55-56. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.

weakness and disease were not women's natural state but a result of the social limitations on their outdoor life. One anonymous reporter described this sentiment clearly: "[t]he diseases of women take a front place in our social life; but, if looked into, 90 per cent of them are functional ailments, begotten of ennui and lack of opportunity of some means of working off their superfluous muscular, nervous and organic energy... [and] so-called 'nerves.'"<sup>47</sup> This reporter politicized women's health problems as a result of their socio-political status which limited opportunities for recreation. Her use of 'so-called' directly questioned the power of the medical profession to define and regulate women's health. A fashion columnist agreed that cycling "is as a remedy for those disorders that follow in the wake of the sedentary habit that exhibits its greatest curative value."<sup>48</sup> A columnist from *Godey's* also reiterated that "without physical strength no victories can be won...half the illnesses of women in this generation are the direct lack of out-door exercise. She would empty half the infirmaries of their weakling feminine inhabitants and cure them in a few spins about the park."<sup>49</sup>

Women's pro-cycling health arguments disrupted medical discourse that framed women's bodies as naturally ill. Women cyclists understood health problems as a transitory state, not an essential aspect of womanhood, and used their own lives as evidence of the transformative health benefits of their sport. As cyclists, they believed they held the tools to improve their medical ailments through their daily choices; they held the power to treat themselves, not male physicians. As such, wheelwomen repeatedly argued that cycling was a more effective medical intervention

---

<sup>47</sup> "Physical Effects of Cycling," 240.

<sup>48</sup> "Bicycling. The Therapeutic Value of the Wheel. (Concluded)," *The Designer and the Woman's Magazine* IX, no. 5, March 1899, 74-75. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/UN2D0>>

<sup>49</sup> Bisland, "Woman's Cycling," 387.

compared to drugs and techniques available to physicians. For example, one wheelwoman described bicycling as “a tonic better than all the patent medicines in the world,” directly challenging the medical profession’s domination of her health care choices.<sup>50</sup> Another wheelwoman celebrated “[t]he pains and doctors have both gone, where, I don’t know and care less, so long as they have gone and so long as I still have my bicycle and can take my ride everyday. It seems to give me life.”<sup>51</sup> A *Harper’s* columnist agreed: “bicycle the best medicine ever provided... lock up the medicine cabinet and throw away the key.”<sup>52</sup>

One specific debate provides a striking example wheelwomen’s influence in medicine — corsets. By the 1890s, most male physicians had spent years attempting to convince their female patients to stop wearing tight, whalebone corsets. Physicians argued that corsets caused numerous medical problems, and they served no functional purpose: women only wore them for fashion. As the bicycle gained popularity among women, physicians were completely shocked to discover that their female patients who cycled began wearing less restrictive corsets. In 1896, one reporter described, “[w]arnings by medical men against excessive tight lacing are at last being heeded: but in reality the bicycle is responsible for the movement. You can have no idea of the large proportion of our customers who have taken to the wheel. It is decidedly a great majority.

---

<sup>50</sup> “Cycling for Women,” *The Woman’s Herald*, April 20, 1893, 134. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 4, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4\\_Volume\\_8\\_Issue\\_9-24](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4_Volume_8_Issue_9-24)>

<sup>51</sup> E. S., Grace, “Women, Bicycles, and Doctors,” in Robert P. Scott, *Cycling Art: Energy and Locomotion; A Series of Remarks on the Development of Bicycles, Tricycles, and Man-motor Carriages* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1889), 142-143. Google Books. Accessed May 3, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=Kv6MljlmA48C>>

<sup>52</sup> Everett, Edith Townsend, “Bicycling for Women,” *Harper’s Bazaar* 26, no. 24, June 17, 1893, 485. ProQuest. Accessed May 3 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/125612646/abstract/1AA24F50085D4C0BPQ/3?accountid=12598>>

Naturally the exercise has demanded more freedom of respiration and movement.”<sup>53</sup> Some women even stopped wearing them for rides, and they slowly began wearing them less for other activities as well. Physicians were dumbfounded that their female patients had ignored their advice for years, but as soon as they started cycling, women finally had a compelling reason to stop wearing corsets.<sup>54</sup>

Wheelwomen also celebrated cycling as a treatment for mental health problems. They viewed cycling as “nerve and health restorative... [creating] a clearer brain & an altogether happy sense of life” because it “gets to the root of... nervous troubles.”<sup>55</sup> In *The Woman’s Herald*, an author of a letter to the editor offered a personal account of how cycling improved her mental health. She described her time in the saddle as “the most enjoyable hours of my life” and continued “[h]owever great may be the mental strain I am suffering from, I have only to mount my steed... when I find my weariness and headache disappearing.”<sup>56</sup> Another letter writer described that due to the “charms of the wheel” she was “sincerely enjoying life with a renewed zest and energy.”<sup>57</sup> Women also described cycling as an incredibly powerful treatment for insomnia, be-

---

<sup>53</sup> “Woman and Her Waist,” *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), September 5, 1896, 16. Chicago Tribune Digital Archive. Accessed May 3 2016. <<http://archives.chicagotribune.com/1896/09/05/page/16/article/girl-violinist-goes-to-paris>>

<sup>54</sup> Edson, Cyrus, “Health and Beauty,” *The North American Review* 165, 491, October 1897, 509-511. JSTOR. Accessed May 3 2016. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25118903>> “Woman and the Wheel,” *Munsey’s Magazine* 15, 2, May 1896, 157-159. Hathitrust. Accessed May 3 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=pst.000068739133>>

<sup>55</sup> L.A.M.P., “Cycling for Women,” *Today’s Woman*, 1, no. 25, June 1, 1895, 16. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP181\\_Volume\\_1\\_Issue\\_25-12](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP181_Volume_1_Issue_25-12)> Holdsworth, Annie, “A Book of the Hour,” 345.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Hygieia, “On Cycling,” 18.

cause cycling is a “tonic for listless energy and worn out brains.”<sup>58</sup> Nationally-known women also lauded the mental benefits of cycling. Celebrated opera singer Lillian Russell used cycling to help cope with the stresses of her work.<sup>59</sup> In *The Woman’s Tribune*, even Elizabeth Cady Stanton described the bicycling generation as “vigorous of mind” because they dared to exercise when gender norms attempted to keep them indoors and inactive.<sup>60</sup> Josephine Redding, editor of *Vogue*, triumphed the sport to her readers. Redding openly described her struggles with “nervous exhaustion” and “a tendency to paralysis” which she cured herself “by spending several hours a week” on her bicycle.<sup>61</sup> She also encouraged readers by describing her friends who used cycling to improve their mental health, all “cured of insomnia, indigestion, and melancholia by riding a wheel.”<sup>62</sup> Another wheelwoman passionately told a reporter, “[i]f it were not for my bicycle, I would look like a mere worn-out drudge; my bicycle is my life.”<sup>63</sup>

In 1892, a professor of medicine at Drexel noted a curious new trend: “the wheel is defined to be of great benefit to women. It gets them out of doors, gives them a form of exercise

---

<sup>58</sup> Everett, “Bicycling for Women,” 485.

<sup>59</sup> “WHY SHE RIDES A BICYCLE.: Miss Lillian Russell Discourses on Wheeling. A TRANSITION TO TIGHTS. The Prima Donna Doesn't Wear Bloomers, Because She Doesn't Want to Be Conspicuous,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, MO), November 19, 1895, 7. ProQuest. Accessed May 3, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpstlouispostdispatch/docview/579236143/abstract/1B70BC2E376543E3PQ/24?accountid=12598>>

<sup>60</sup> Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, “The Era of the Bicycle,” *The Woman's Tribune* 12, no. 28 July 20, 1895, 112. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP211.2\\_Volume\\_12\\_Issue\\_28-12](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP211.2_Volume_12_Issue_28-12)>

<sup>61</sup> Redding, Josephine, “Out-Door Sports of Women,” *The Home-Maker* VI, no. 2, May 1891, 47-52. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Quote page 49. Accessed May 3, 2016. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/UMaG3>>

<sup>62</sup> Redding, “Out-Door Sports of Women,” 49.

<sup>63</sup> Newspaper clipping pasted into “Letter to Anna from Jessie — June 30, 1892.” Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Cycling folder. Print. Accessed June 6, 2015.

adapted to their needs... [and] does go to the root of their nervous troubles; for we are beginning to realize that these do not, for the most part, have there primal origin in woman's peculiar anatomy and physiology."<sup>64</sup> This brief note summarized a revolution in medical discourse of women's bodies. Physicians were slowly starting to wonder if the diseases that they long believed were a natural and inevitable result of women's weak bodies were in fact not natural or inevitable at all. This revolution did not occur out of thin air, nor it grow from male physicians. It was women cyclists who challenged medical norms about their bodies by cycling regularly and openly, regardless if their physicians approved. As Mary Sargent Hopkins argued, "[p]hysicians were not at first inclined to give the bicycle their unqualified approval, but, surprised and pleased by the effect it produced, they soon began to prescribe it for their patients."<sup>65</sup> Hopkins purposely located the male-dominated medical profession's acceptance of women's cycling as the result of seeing positive changes in women cyclists themselves. Hopkins did not state that women were waiting for men's approval to begin exercising, in fact quite the opposite—women were cycling before the men in their lives accepted it, and it was women's cycling that changed men's stance on the issue. Wheelwomen utilized "a valorization of personal experience," to challenge the medical profession and to fuel the rapid growth of women's sports and exercise.<sup>66</sup> By 1898, a physician summarized this complete reversal:

bicycling by women, like the influenza, took the medical profession by surprise. Physicians, and more especially gynecologists, viewed with a certain amount of alarm the spectacle of numerous fair clients taking to the wheel, and were yet unable to do more

---

<sup>64</sup> Egbert, Seneca, *The Bicycle in its Relation to the Physician Reprinted from the University Medical Magazine* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1892), 5. Lily Library, Indiana University. Print. Accessed March 4, 2015.

<sup>65</sup> Hopkins, Mary Sargent, "How the Bicycle Has One Its Way Among Women," 244.

<sup>66</sup> Hallenbeck, "Riding Out of Bounds: Women Bicyclists' Embodied Medical Authority," 344.



than give general warnings and ill-defined counsel. Gradually, however, as it became evident that women were cycling and meant to cycle, a body of professional opinion grew up and it began to be possible to appreciate the benefits of exercise.<sup>67</sup>

While women physicians had long supported cycling, male physicians slowly began to approve of the sport and even suggesting it to patients.<sup>68</sup> Male physicians were convinced not by new research, advanced training, or professional debates, but by wheelwomen themselves who dared to bicycle without medical approval and use their experience to change the minds of some of the most powerful men in their lives.

#### “The Value of Fun”: Male Physicians, Moderation and the Bicycle Question

Marie E. Ward’s 1896 bicycling guide, *The Common Sense of Bicycling: Bicycling for Ladies*, served as a powerful platform for her desire to challenge Victorian convention and advocate for a new, empowered version of modern womanhood.<sup>69</sup> Ward’s stance was notably progressive, even compared to other women cyclists of the period. Most women bicyclists wore long skirts while riding, despite discomfort and danger, to maintain their respectability.<sup>70</sup> Ward en-

---

<sup>67</sup> Ballantyne, J. W., “Selected Digest. Bicycling and Gynecology,” *International Medical Magazine* VII, no. 7, July 1898, 452-463. Quote page 452. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://tinyurl.-galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/UN4D2>>

<sup>68</sup> “BICYCLING FOR INSANE PERSONS.: Results of Experiments Tried by New York Physicians,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, MO), September 9, 1894, 24. ProQuest. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.-com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpstlouispostdispatch/docview/579125197/abstract/1B70BC2E376543E3PQ/11?accountid=12598>> Benedict, A. L., “Dangers and Benefits of the Bicycle,” *The Century* 54, no. 32, 1897, 471. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=y3gAAAAAYAAJ>> Sturgis, Dinah, “Important Opinions on Bicycling for Women,” *The Woman's Journal*, September 14, 1895, 290-291. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/UMoT6>>

<sup>69</sup> Ward, Marie E., *The Common Sense of Bicycling: Bicycling for Ladies* (New York: Brentano's, 1896). Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=GYs3AAAAMAAJ>>

<sup>70</sup> Simpson, Clare. “Respectable Identities; New Zealand Nineteenth-Century ‘New Women’ - on Bicycles!” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 18, no. 2 (2001): 54-77.

couraged readers to adopt the knickerbocker, a radical yet more functional alternative. Ward outlined what new readers should consider when buying their first bicycle, framing this as an important decision women should have the knowledge to make on their own. She provided detailed information on basic bicycle repair, arguing, “any woman who is able to use a needle or scissors can use other tools as well.”<sup>71</sup> Throughout *The Common Sense of Bicycling*, Ward consistently described women as healthy, independent, and self-determined. It is only in two brief but notable sentences that Ward diverged from these empowering themes. After advising new cyclists to listen to their bodies for any sign of injury, Ward concluded, “[a] physician is the only competent judge of your limitations. Never attempt any new form of exercise without being examined for it.”<sup>72</sup> Strikingly, Ward’s vision of the power of women bicyclists had its limitations, and this limit was their doctor.

*The Common Sense of Bicycling* provides a striking snapshot of one woman’s vision of the political and physical potential of the body during a period of far-reaching change. As previously discussed, pioneering wheelwomen challenged social convention as the first generation of cyclists. Everyday women built about this foundation in both their ideology and practice; they developed regular cycling practices to resist male-normative medical discourse of their bodies and they used cycling as an everyday strategy to transform their health. Wheelwomen did not wait for physicians’ approval, and instead, male physicians slowly changed their minds when they saw their female patients thrive as cyclists. Physicians were forced to respond to this seismic shift — women’s everyday experiences challenged their medical authority. Physicians’ respond-

---

<sup>71</sup> Ward, *The Common Sense of Bicycling*, 54.

<sup>72</sup> Ward, *The Common Sense of Bicycling* 115.

ed by developing a new method to construct the gendered body of the cyclist: moderation. After translating the dangers of bicycling into medical jargon inaccessible to lay riders, physicians operationalized the vague, prescriptive trope of moderation to position themselves as the authority of bicycling. Advocating moderation, a distinct method of power, was particularly successful because it expanded the medical domain into a new and increasingly popular practice of American life.

As late nineteenth-century physicians studied, debated, and wrote about the bicyclist's body, they were engaged in a field that had only recently crystallized into an elite profession. From the colonial era through the Jacksonian period, physicians in the United States were internally divided, unorganized, and poorly regarded by a public that valued lay and domestic medicine. Medical education was brief and often informal, and physicians could do little for patients beyond basic remedies and comforts.<sup>73</sup> Starting in the 1830s, the path to practicing medicine became more competitive. Physicians with formal training became increasingly involved in efforts to professionalize and modernize their field and transition their role from healer to scientist. Young American physicians began training in the Paris Medical School, the hub of observational, scientific medical education in this period, and this fueled significant changes, especially the new use of the disease model, direct observation (instead of interpreting patients' descriptions), increased development of hospitals, and the centralization of knowledge among elite physicians.<sup>74</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup> Starr, Paul, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine: The Rise of a Sovereign Profession and the Making of a Vast Industry* (New York: Basic Books, 1984).

<sup>74</sup> Warner, John Harley, *Against the Spirit of the System: The French Impulse in Nineteen-Century American Medicine* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2003).

Physicians ultimately solidified the cultural authority of medicine throughout scientific innovations and the institutionalization of medical care. Doctors began using new technologies and techniques, in particular physical exams, statistical analysis, instruments, localized pathology, empirical evidence and preventive methods. Home visits significantly declined as physicians investigated internal medical problems in hospital settings and laboratories.<sup>75</sup> Medicine became largely inaccessible to healers or practitioners without a formal education, a purposeful tactic to expunge competition in the medical marketplace, while patients became increasingly unable to take part in the conversation of their care. These developments ultimately “remove[d] knowledge from the reach of lay understanding” and solidified doctors’ ownership of medical information and language.<sup>76</sup>

Physicians’ advocacy of moderation as a method of power was neither natural nor inevitable. It was instead a purposeful strategy to position their emerging profession as the cultural authority on bicycling, an increasingly popular practice by the 1890s. Moderation as a method is best explored as a multi-step process in which physicians engaged. The ultimate goal of this method was to transform bicycling from a dangerous pastime into a healthy practice overseen by the medical profession, with different gendered norms of participation recommended and structured. When bicycling became widely popular in the 1880s and 1890s, physicians were quick to frame the ‘bicycle question’ as an important medical question. Bicycling was drastically different from other forms of sport or recreation, and even comparisons to horseback riding had its limits. Physicians had no blueprint to assess if bicycling was dangerous, healthy, or to understand the

---

<sup>75</sup> Jewson, N. D., “The Disappearance of the Sick-man from Medical Cosmology, 1770-1870,” *Sociology* 10 (1976): 225-244.

<sup>76</sup> Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*, 59.

possible ramifications on the body. Given the absence of empirical data, many physicians thus believed it was their duty to study the bicyclist's body as scientific and medical experts. The collection and quantification of information on the bicyclist's body was the first step in the method of moderation, as physicians used medical frameworks to ask questions, gain knowledge, and thus place the bicyclist's body within the domain of their profession. Physicians who studied bicycling successfully convinced their peers that bicycling was an important area of research for the medical profession, and they constructed the knowledge they accumulated in distinctly medical terms.

Physicians engaged in a variety of scientific and clinical pursuits to study the bicyclist's body, including patient observations, research, empirical studies, attending lectures, and writing case studies. Dr. William Bodenhamer was one of many physicians who believed bicycling should be "employed with a knowledge of its science."<sup>77</sup> Some physicians aimed to understand the bicyclist's body by focusing on specific internal organs or body parts. This practice was central to the professionalization process because data gained via laboratories and medical technology increasingly positioned medical knowledge out of the reach of patients, lay people, and other professions in competition with physicians.<sup>78</sup> For example, in an 1897 study physicians analyzed the urine of eight bicyclists before and after riding to assess if the bicyclists' body was more prone to inflammation of the kidneys.<sup>79</sup> The authors published their findings not for lay or popu-

---

<sup>77</sup> Bodenhamer, William, "Equitation and Bicycling," *International Record of Medicine and General Practice Clinics* 62 (November 2, 1895) 554-559. Quote page 555. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=iN81AQAAMAAJ>>

<sup>78</sup> Jewson, "The Disappearance of the Sick-man from Medical Cosmology, 1770-1870," 238.

<sup>79</sup> "The Bicycle and the Kidneys," *The Medical Age* 15, no. 10 (May 25, 1897): 15. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=9yugAAAAMAAJ>>

lar readers but their professional peers in *The Medical Age*, a medical journal. Two years later, Dr. A. C. Getchell aimed to assess if the bicyclist's body was more prone to heart disease, and thus he compared trained and untrained cyclists to determine if the activity produced dilatation of the heart, hypertrophy of the heart, or impaired the blood vessels.<sup>80</sup> In his article in *The American Gynecological and Obstetrical Journal*, Dr. Charles Herwirsh was pleased to report, "in most cases the use of the bicycle, in moderation, has done good. A study of the pulse rate and number of respirations shows that both are increased in fast riding and on hill climbing."<sup>81</sup> Dr. Herwirsh, like his peers, used scientific inquiry as the foundation for his stance on the bicycling question.

Use of new technologies abounded in medical research on the bicyclist's body. One notable example was a Cincinnati physician who developed a health meter that was powered by two motors and attached to the cyclist's wrist. The health meter printed out the cyclist's "variations of vitality" and other quantifiable measurements for the physician to assess.<sup>82</sup> The health meter literally translated the bicyclist's body into data sets only readable to physicians. Physicians used scientific approaches not only explore the potential risks of bicycling, but also to assess how a bicyclist should ride. In one study, researchers used physics, mathematical formulas, and anatomy to determine if it was safe to bicycle without holding the handlebars, a practice they

---

<sup>80</sup> Getchell, A.C., "Bicycle and its Relation to Heart Disease," *The Medical News* 75, no. 2 (July 8, 1899): 33-37. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=twYAAAAMAAJ>>

<sup>81</sup> Herwirsch, Charles, "The Use of the Bicycle from a Medical Standpoint," *The American Gynecological and Obstetrical Journal* 12 (April 23, 1898): 269-270. Quote page 269. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=1OEhAQAAAMAAJ>>

<sup>82</sup> "The Health Meter Queer Machine That Registers the Benefits of Bicycle Riding," *The Evening Press* (Grand Rapids, MI) July 21, 1897, 2. Accessed May 2, 2016. America's Historical Newspapers. <[http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p\\_product=EANX&p\\_theme=ahnp&p\\_nbid=G4EJ4FD-JMTQ2MjQxODM3Mi4zODA0ODQ6MTo5OjM1LjguMTEuMw&p\\_action=doc&s\\_lastnonissuequeryname=2&d\\_viewref=search&p\\_queryname=2&p\\_docnum=1&p\\_docref=v2:1231FD919F0C27A4@EANX-12363E-F563BFDEE8@2414127-123412C12D294F50@1](http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p_product=EANX&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=G4EJ4FD-JMTQ2MjQxODM3Mi4zODA0ODQ6MTo5OjM1LjguMTEuMw&p_action=doc&s_lastnonissuequeryname=2&d_viewref=search&p_queryname=2&p_docnum=1&p_docref=v2:1231FD919F0C27A4@EANX-12363E-F563BFDEE8@2414127-123412C12D294F50@1)>

observed particularly among young riders. Their research showed that this style of riding was safest at eleven miles per hour and advised cyclists to aim for this particular speed.<sup>83</sup> The authors concluded, “[s]cience has thus come to confirm what practice and experience have determined in this as in so many other matters.”<sup>84</sup> To these authors, the authority over bicyclist’s body was clear, and it was not bicyclists themselves but medical and scientific research. It is striking that scientists allocated significant time and funds to study something that perhaps many lay cyclists would see as an inconsequential behavior among children. Physicians clearly wanted to extend their authority to a diverse range of bicycling practices.

Physicians frequently discussed bicycling in professional forums and shared one another’s research. In his 1894 lecture to the New York Academy of Medicine, Dr. Graeme M. Hammond argued that bicycling effected every organ, and he put this belief into practice via his comprehensive research projects. Hammond recorded detailed descriptions of cyclist’s bodies and histories, including their body measurements, results from heart and lung exams, and experience as cyclists, all to quantify the experience of bicycling in medical terms.<sup>85</sup> Physicians engaged in comprehensive pursuits to both quantify the bicyclist’s body and encourage fellow physicians to consider bicycling as an important era of medical research.

Physicians’ widespread engagement with bicycling as a subject of inquiry not only increased their knowledge of the bicyclist’s body, but also provided them with this knowledge to

---

<sup>83</sup> “Bicycling Without the Use of the Handles,” *The British Medical Journal* 1, no. 2000 (April 29, 1899): 1048. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=JU0BAAAYAAJ>>

<sup>84</sup> “Bicycling Without the Use of Handles,” 1048.

<sup>85</sup> Hammond, Graeme M., “The Influence of the Bicycle in Health and in Disease,” *Transactions of the New York Academy of Medicine* 11 (December 19, 1894), 541-562. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=VrNXAAAAMAAJ>>

present the bicyclist as a body in danger, the next step in the method of moderation. This was not a particularly difficult task. Congested city streets were dangerous for bicyclists, and an injury on a rural road could leave a rider stranded. These dangers were well documented in popular discourse. A humor column in the *St. Paul Daily News* associated bicycling and bodily harm as well: “[y]ou never hear of the heirs of a rich grandfather advising the old gentleman not to try bicycle riding for his health.”<sup>86</sup> Physicians increasingly saw patients with bicycle-specific injuries in their office, and some could not deny the financial implications. As early as 1885, humor and satire magazine *Puck* provided a humorous take on this sentiment: ““there is nothing to be compared with bicycle-riding. It develops and strengthens every muscle in the body. Physicians all over the country recommend it.’ ‘Yes,’ was the reply: ‘I suppose they do, and surgeons also.’”<sup>87</sup> Ten years later, a *Harper’s* reporter indicated that physicians’ stance on bicycling remained complex: “the medical profession shakes its head... I understand that doctors generally disapprove of it as not fitted to the physical constitution of most women. In theory they condemn, but in practice they like it well enough, for it brings them much business in the way of sprains, contusions, bruises, and more serious maladies.”<sup>88</sup> Even though very few physicians were completely opposed to bicycling, both popular periodicals and medical discourse routinely

---

<sup>86</sup> *St. Paul Daily News* (St. Paul, MN) April 15, 1893, 8. Nineteenth Century U. S. Newspapers. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[<sup>87</sup> “A Healthful Exercise,” \*Puck\* 17 no. 427, May 13, 1885, 173. Haithitrust. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=osu.32435052379229>>](http://find.galegroup.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/newspaperRetrieve.do?sgHitCountType=None&sort=DateAscend&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchId=R2&searchType=BasicSearchForm&currentPosition=3&qrySerId=Locale%28en%2C%29%3AFQE%3D%28tx%2CNone%2C32%29%22You+never+hear+of+the+heirs+of%22%24&retrieveFormat=MULTIPAGE_-DOCUMENT&userGroupName=msu_main&inPS=true&contentSet=LTO&&docId=&docLevel=FASCIMILE&workId=&relevancePageBatch=GT3008572083&contentSet=UDVIN&callistoContentSet=UDVIN&docPage=article&hilite=y></a>></p>
</div>
<div data-bbox=)

<sup>88</sup> “Editor’s Study,” *Harper’s Bazaar* 92, December 1895, 316-320. Quote page 318. Accessed May 2, 2016. Archive.org <<https://archive.org/stream/harpersnew092various#page/316/mode/2up>>



framed the bicyclist's body as injured or diseased. Throughout the medical literature, it was common for the bicyclist's body to exhibit strain, heart disease, back injuries, sexual and reproductive problems, increased use of stimulants, and inability to urinate, among many other medical problems.<sup>89</sup>

In summarizing these dangers their in reports, physicians publishing in the mid- to late 1890s repeatedly framed the individual bicyclist/patient (which they now discussed as the one in the same) as unable to assess their own risk or make healthy choices. A New York physician summarized this position clearly: "[t]he bicycle itself is as harmless as a watch, but when entrusted to ignorant or innocent riders it becomes a dangerous instrument."<sup>90</sup> Dr. Getchell similarly concluded his published experiment on bicycling and heart disease by reminding physicians that it would be dangerous to leave "the patient to his own inclinations and possible indiscretions."<sup>91</sup> Dr. C. Gilman Currier's concern was more specific. He believed that bicyclists often lost their ability to recognize when they became short of breath, which led to the "too common penalty [of] heart disease."<sup>92</sup> Constructing the patient as unable or unwilling to engage in healthy behaviors fueled a paternalistic justification of physicians' authority over the bicyclist's body.

Upon expanding their knowledge the bicyclist's body and constructing the patient as unable to participate in the activity of bicycling on their own, physicians then undertook a third step

---

<sup>89</sup> "Bicycling — Pro and Con," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 27, no. 7 (August 15, 1896): 495. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=QFUcAQAAMAAJ>> Getchell, "Bicycle and its Relation to Heart Disease," 37.

<sup>90</sup> "Some of the Dangers of Bicycling," *Buffalo Medical Journal* 52 (June 1897): 867. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=nq0gAQAAMAAJ>>

<sup>91</sup> Getchell, "Bicycle and its Relation to Heart Disease," 37.

<sup>92</sup> Currier, C. Gilman, "Sanitary Science and Practical Hygiene," *International Record of Medicine and General Practice Clinics* 62 (August 24, 1895): 249. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=7tEyAQAAMAAJ>>

in the method of moderation; they reframed the discourse of the bicyclist's body into medical jargon. This strategy had two interconnected purposes: it positioned knowledge of bicycling within the medical domain, and made this knowledge inaccessible to those outside of the profession, including from bicyclists themselves.

Physicians used case studies to create the perception that bicycling and physical trauma were directly related, furthering the construction of the bicyclist's body as a diseased body in need of medical surveillance and treatment. Dr. C. C. Maples reported in his own practice he had seen how "[t]he prize winner in bicycle races of one year is never capable of repeating records in succeeding years, and in a very short time he becomes not the athlete, but the invalid."<sup>93</sup> Maples also viewed the bodies of recreational bicyclists at risk. Using clinical case studies as evidence, he argued that a female patient's ankle deformities were the direct result of ankle strain while cycling, from which she had developed varicose veins.<sup>94</sup> Other physicians similarly described the woman bicyclist's body as rife with reproductive problems, including excessive menstrual bleeding, menstrual pain and even miscarriages.<sup>95</sup>

Physicians also created bicycle-specific diseases that directly aligned the bicyclist's body with unique illnesses requiring further assessment and study. One such disease was 'bicycle-back' or 'bicycle-hump,' a deformity of the spine. Due to the hunched over position of bicycling, physicians believed the bicyclist's spine would curve forwards and create permanent damage.

---

<sup>93</sup> Mapes, C.C. "A Review of the Dangers and Evils of Bicycling," *The Medical Age* 15, no. 21 (November 10, 1897): 643-647. Quote page 645. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=mwYTAAAYAAJ>>

<sup>94</sup> Mapes, "A Review of the Dangers and Evils of Bicycling," 645.

<sup>95</sup> Townsend, Charles W., "Bicycling for Women," *Boston Surgical and Medical Journal* 132, (June 13, 1895): 592. Google Books. Accessed May 5, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=Gso9AQAAAJ>>

Many physicians were concerned not only with the associated pain and walking problems, but that patients' internal organs could be crushed.<sup>96</sup> The symptoms of 'bicycle face,' another bicycle-specific diagnosis, included wild eyes, a protruding jaw, and nerve damage from bicyclists' exposure to winds while riding.<sup>97</sup> Dr. C. E. Fisher described that 'bicycle heart' was "a thing of the living present" due to the strain the bicyclist's body was under.<sup>98</sup> The creation of these diagnostic categories consolidated information about the bicyclist's body, framed them as a result of bicycling, and positioned physicians as the authority for their treatment.

Producing knowledge of the bicyclist's body using specialized medical jargon not only limited patients' access to information on their bodies, but devalued cyclists' own knowledge and monopolized knowledge within the medical profession. As historian Paul Starr has argued, nineteenth-century physicians existed in a medical marketplace in which they had to compete with a variety of medical providers, such as midwives, lay healers, and homeopathic doctors. Physicians developed strategies to monopolize knowledge and to create barriers to this knowledge. These barriers limited their competitors' practices (i.e. licensing exams, clinical training in hospitals,

---

<sup>96</sup> "The Wheel and Health: The Evil Results of Riding a Bicycle Improperly," *The Daily Inter Ocean*, March 8, 1896, 27. Nineteenth Century U. S. Newspapers. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://find.galegroup.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/newspaperRetrieve.do?sgHitCountType=None&sort=DateAscend&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&resultListType=RESULT\\_LIST&searchId=R2&searchType=BasicSearchForm&currentPosition=14&qrySerId=Locale%28en%2C%2C%29%3AFQE%3D%28tx%2CNone%2C22%29%22The+Wheel+and+Health%22%24&retrieveFormat=MULTIPAGE\\_DOCUMENT&userGroupName=msu\\_main&inPS=true&contentSet=LTO&&docId=&docLevel=FASCIMILE&workId=&relevancePageBatch=GT3012024084&contentSet=UDVIN&callistoContentSet=UDVIN&docPage=article&hilite=y](http://find.galegroup.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/newspaperRetrieve.do?sgHitCountType=None&sort=DateAscend&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchId=R2&searchType=BasicSearchForm&currentPosition=14&qrySerId=Locale%28en%2C%2C%29%3AFQE%3D%28tx%2CNone%2C22%29%22The+Wheel+and+Health%22%24&retrieveFormat=MULTIPAGE_DOCUMENT&userGroupName=msu_main&inPS=true&contentSet=LTO&&docId=&docLevel=FASCIMILE&workId=&relevancePageBatch=GT3012024084&contentSet=UDVIN&callistoContentSet=UDVIN&docPage=article&hilite=y)>

<sup>97</sup> Costa, D. Margaret and Guthrie, Sharon R. *Women and Sport: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1994), 70.

<sup>98</sup> Fisher, C. E., *Clinical Reporter* 10, no. 4 (April 1897): 101. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=FrpXAAAAMAAJ>>

use of technology), and ultimately provided a central way physicians transformed medicine into a cultural authority.<sup>99</sup>

Many physicians viewed teachers at bicycle schools as a challenge to their authority. These teachers were typically employees of a bicycle manufacturer who provided lessons to increase interest in bicycling as a whole, and they would have classes for both men and women. Given that bicyclists in the late nineteenth-century were the first generation to take on the bicycle in mass numbers, they had no older family members to teach them how to ride. Thus bicycle schools were popular throughout the country and many bicyclists viewed teachers, some of whom were women, as the central authority on bicycling.<sup>100</sup> Physicians voiced their frustration that lay teachers instructed their patients on what physicians painstakingly argued was a significant health matter. Dr. Mapes, concerned that bicycling could impair women's reproductive ability, wrote to fellow physicians that "it will take a better authority than the bicycle manufacturer to prove to us that bicycle riding is a healthful exercise for women."<sup>101</sup> In devaluing lay knowledge, Mapes aimed to position the medical profession as the legitimate authority on the bicyclist's body. An anonymous physician in *The Medical Age* took this critique even further, calling bicycling school instructors "cheap and vulgar 'help'" who encourage "filthy gossip... erotism and erethism."<sup>102</sup> In a rare mention of socio-economic class in the medical discourse of bicycling, the

---

<sup>99</sup> Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*, 79-141.

<sup>100</sup> Bijker, Wiebe E. *Of Bicycles, Bakelites and Bulbs: Toward a Theory of Sociotechnical Change* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997), 38. "Women as Bicycle Instructors," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, MO), November 29, 1896, 28. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpst-louispostdispatch/docview/579365453/citation/1B70BC2E376543E3PQ/25?accountid=12598>>

<sup>101</sup> Mapes, "A Review of the Dangers and Evils of Bicycling," 646.

<sup>102</sup> "Woman and the Bicycle," *The Medical Age* 15 (January 11, 1897): 16-18. Quote page 18. Haithitrust. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015049424602>>

author equated bicycle clubs with a loss of middle-class respectability. He concluded “better and more refined women do not patronize ‘bicycle schools.’”<sup>103</sup> In both accounts, the physicians framed bicycle school teachers as non-experts and even immoral influences.

With the dangers of the bicyclist’s body engulfed into medical discourse, many physicians concerned with bicycling utilized moderation as a method of cultural authority. Physicians writing about the bicyclist’s body used moderation as the scientific way to engage in this new practice without damaging one’s body, and thus physicians positioned themselves as the cultural authority to translate danger into safety. Physicians frequently and routinely advised patients that bicycling moderately was the solution to mediating the dangers of bicycling on the body with their desire to ride. Upon summarizing physicians’ findings of bicycling injuries, Dr. Currier was one of many physicians who advised his peers that “[l]ack of moderation is the chief danger” and greatest cause of damage to the bicyclist’s body.<sup>104</sup> Dr. E. B. Turner similarly believed that moderation was essential so the bicyclist’s heart could adjust to the strain of riding.<sup>105</sup> An anonymous pediatrician published in *The Medical Age* likewise believed that “medical men ought to insist upon the need of moderation in the use of the bicycle.”<sup>106</sup> The author described how the strain in the bicyclist’s heart does not necessarily decrease when the ride is completed, which could lead to permanent medical damage: “the injury done in a single afternoon may be beyond even the

---

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Currier, “Sanitary Science and Practical Hygiene,” 249.

<sup>105</sup> Turner, E. B., “Health on a Bicycle,” *The American Monthly Review of Reviews* 17, no. 6 (June 1898): 748. Haithitrust. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hn46ar>>

<sup>106</sup> “The Bicycle,” *The Medical Age* 15, no. 10 (May 25, 1897): 318-319. Haithitrust. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hc448d>>

recuperative powers of youth.”<sup>107</sup> Physicians were clear of the implications to the bicyclist’s body if his or her bicycling transgressed the boundaries of moderation even on one mid-day ride. To many physicians, the bicyclist’s reproductive abilities were often at stake when they did not follow their physician’s advice. Dr. William Bodenhamer, a physician from New Rochelle, New York, argued if the bicycle was “abused,” or ridden beyond the requirements he constructed, it would “extinguish the venereal desire” leaving men impotent and women sterile.<sup>108</sup>

Throughout the medical literature, physicians used moderation to construct the boundary between endangering and saving the bicyclist’s body. Yet, moderation as a recommendation was notably vague. As one frustrated physician wrote, “[m]any bicyclers assert that they ride only moderately and yet have no idea what moderation means. To some it may be a two-mile [sic] spin, to others ten miles.”<sup>109</sup> Physicians responded to this potential pitfall of moderation in a distinct way, completing the final step in moderation as a method of power. They operationalized moderation into specific recommendations or prescriptions for an individual patient. This served to solidify the physician’s authority in two distinct ways: physicians positioned themselves as translators of medical knowledge to patients, and it justified physicians’ increased surveillance of the body.

First, because operationalizing moderation meant physicians were putting their own conceptualization into practice, it positioned them as the authority to translate medical jargon and vague terminology into information that would be accessible to patients. For example, Dr.

---

<sup>107</sup> “The Bicycle,” 319.

<sup>108</sup> Bodenhamer, “Equitation and Bicycling,” 555.

<sup>109</sup> “Some of the Dangers of Bicycling,” 867.

Getchell advised physicians that “[i]f the bicycle is prescribed as a therapeutic agent for any trouble including disease of the heart it must be carefully prescribed, and not merely recommended.”<sup>110</sup> Dr. Getchell believed that patients required specific, concrete rules to follow and not vague suggestions. This strategy can be seen not only in medical journals but medical discourse in popular periodicals. Newspaper reporters cited physicians as authorities for basic information on safe bicycling, naturalizing their authoritative role as they operationalized moderation for readers. For example, in the *Washington Bee*, a journalist cited articles from prominent physicians and medical journals to provide a “professional standpoint” on the benefits of “gentle moderate bicycle riding.”<sup>111</sup> The author listed specific recommendations regarding bicycle set-up, including height of handlebars, position of pedals, and when one should breathe from the mouth versus the nose, each in clear, plain language that is cited from medical sources.<sup>112</sup> Readers were also provided a clear sense of the boundaries of moderation and danger. The journalist made clear that long distance rides, and “riding like a jack-knife or indulging in too many spurts... only do harm.”<sup>113</sup> In the *Lancet*, Dr. Strahan did not simply make readers aware of potential injuries from riding beyond moderation, but instead made specific recommendations for saddle sizes. Strahan advised male bicyclists to avoid small or narrow bicycle saddles because the fo-

---

<sup>110</sup> Getchell, “Bicycle and its Relation to Heart Disease,” 37.

<sup>111</sup> “Bicycle Riding and Health,” *Washington Bee*, August 24, 1895, 2. America’s Historical Newspapers. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p\\_product=EANX&p\\_theme=ahnp&p\\_nbid=N46Q47PBMTQ2MjQyMDExNy4zOTkwNjQ6MT05OjM1LjguM-TEuMw&p\\_action=doc&s\\_lastnonissuequeryname=2&d\\_viewref=search&p\\_queryname=2&p\\_docnum=1&p\\_-docref=v2:12B2E340B2C9FFB8@EANX-12C56AAB51E84A20@2413430-12C56AAB69D05C68@1](http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p_product=EANX&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=N46Q47PBMTQ2MjQyMDExNy4zOTkwNjQ6MT05OjM1LjguM-TEuMw&p_action=doc&s_lastnonissuequeryname=2&d_viewref=search&p_queryname=2&p_docnum=1&p_-docref=v2:12B2E340B2C9FFB8@EANX-12C56AAB51E84A20@2413430-12C56AAB69D05C68@1)>

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

cused pressure on their genitals could increase their likelihood of impotence, prostate deformities, and ultimately “render the closing years of life miserable.”<sup>114</sup>

Physicians did not only use moderation to assert their authority as translators of this vague recommendation. Moderation also served to further physicians’ authority because, for male patients deemed weak, ill and for women bicyclists in general, it justified physicians’ increased surveillance of the body. Physicians consistently argued that bicyclists with any medical problems required both increased oversight and increased deference to their physician to ensure they only cycled moderately. To Dr. Turner, the risks of not adhering to one’s physician was clear: “[n]o one who is unsound or delicate should commence to cycle, except under the advice of a competent physician. There are some ailments in which cycling, properly regulated, acts like a charm in restarting health; there are others in which to mount a bicycle would be simple suicide.”<sup>115</sup> To Turner, it is was a physician, and not a bicyclist, who could distinguish between ‘charm’ and ‘suicide’ and thus it was within the physician’s domain to regulate the patient’s bicycling. Turner’s claims became even more strict when discussing the bicyclist’s body and heart disease: “[n]o person... with any organic disease, especially if the heart be affected, should attempt to cycle, except under the direct orders of his physician.”<sup>116</sup> Due to the seriousness of heart disease, Turner made a notable change in his word choice; while the weak should follow their physician’s advice, diseased bodies fall under the physicians’ ‘direct orders.’ These sources sug-

---

<sup>114</sup> Strahan, S.A.K., “On Bicycle Riding and Perineal Pressure. Their Effect on the Young,” *Lancet* (September 20, 1884): 490. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=-TygAAAAMAAJ>>

<sup>115</sup> Turner, “Health on a Bicycle,” 748.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*



gest that physicians more easily justified increased control and surveillance of bodies they read as particularly diseased, as these bodies were already securely placed within the medical domain.

Physicians' beliefs regarding which bodies were in need of extra surveillance was highly gendered. Consistent with both medical and popular discourse of the period, physicians' routinely viewed women's bodies as naturally weaker, more prone to injuries, and ultimately in need of further observation compared to men's bodies. For example, Dr. A. M. Duffield specifically noted that not men but "every lady who rides a wheel so do so under the supervision of a physician... and that a limit to speed and distance should be enforced."<sup>117</sup> To Duffield, women's bodies required not only increased surveillance but policing of their riding practices. Similarly, *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* presented the woman patient considering bicycling as in need of medical assessments before even starting to ride. The anonymous author advised physicians of the attributes they should assess when deciding whether woman patient should ride at all. Upon taking into account her age, weight, and access to safe riding locations, the author advised physicians to then test the patient's balance, digestion, and muscular strength. The author concluded by stating that "the medical opinion of the value of bicycle riding for women should not be given without careful consideration of each individual case, and no definite rule can be laid down which will cover all contingencies."<sup>118</sup> This conclusion prioritized the power of individual physicians; the physician needed to assess and quantify the woman bicyclist's body, police

---

<sup>117</sup> Duffield, A. M. *Clinical Reporter* 10, no. 4 (April 1897): 101-102. Quote page 101. Hathitrust. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015049012720>>

<sup>118</sup> "Woman and the Bicycle," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* 131, no. 10 (September 6, 1894): 247. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=GM09AQAAMAAJ>>

the gateway to bicycling itself, and the physician's assessment trumped all generalizations, medical or popular.

The gendering of the bicyclist's body to further physicians' authority existed not only in medical journals but also popular discourse as well. The popularization of such discourse offers a glimpse into the complicated legacy of women's cycling. While many wheelwomen went to great lengths to challenge physicians' views of their bodies, some women cyclists sided more closely with the medical profession. In the case of Marguerite Lindley, she used the discourse of moderation to justify herself as an authority of women's bicycling. On March 7, 1896, Marguerite Lindley, an avid bicyclist with no reported medical education, presented a lecture to fifty-seven women on bicycling. Similar to the newspaper articles which used physicians as sources to conceptualize moderate riding, Lindley summarized information from medical journals in "plain language" and brought a human skeleton prop to teach women the differences between safe and dangerous bicycling.<sup>119</sup> Given her sources, it is no surprise that Lindley equated moderate and safe riding as the same practice. Paralleling medical discourse, Lindley educated her audience on bicycle-specific diseases such as bicycle-back, promoted moderate riding, and identified specific ailments that resulted from an "overindulgence of riding."<sup>120</sup> Even though she was an avid bicyclist, Lindley repeatedly naturalized the woman bicyclist's body as weak and at risk. She believed it was "women's fate, particularly, to suffer from these physical flaws."<sup>121</sup> She advised women to avoid riding practices that were risky to women's particularly "delicate internal or-

---

<sup>119</sup> "The Evil Results of Riding a Bicycle Improperly," 27.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

gans.”<sup>122</sup> While physicians debated whether bicycling could help men lose weight, Lindley stated that overweight women simply could not handle exercise: “[t]he fleshy woman’s heart has not as much room for freedom of action as her thin neighbor, and her muscle fibers are impeded with fat, rendering them incapable of performing enforced labor... She will find this out to her sorrow... if she tries to reduce her weight by wheeling.”<sup>123</sup>

Even though Lindley routinely used medical authority to justify her own understanding of the bicyclist’s body, she believed women, not their physicians, were responsible for bicycling injuries. She argued that most injuries were the result of “shortcomings of the rider and machine” such as unsafe placement of handlebars or use of incorrect saddles, which were the final decision of the bicyclist.<sup>124</sup> Lindley described how women bicyclists frequently displayed an “ignorance of the anatomical structure, and the rules of hygiene.”<sup>125</sup> Tellingly, Lindley presented women as not only at fault for any bicycling-related injuries, thus relieving their physicians of any responsibility, but also as in need of education and oversight by physicians. In Lindley’s view, women simply did not have the knowledge to ride properly as she understood it. She did not directly state that women should have no say in their bicycling practices. Yet it is clear that she believed women were failing to make the correct decisions on their own, and that the medical profession was the place to turn for knowledge on the bicyclist’s body.

---

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

Perhaps it could be easy to assume physicians' use of moderation was simply 'common sense' or reflected their desire to protect patients from a new, potentially dangerous activity. One can imagine that some well-meaning physicians saw their use of moderation as both. But physicians developed this moderation discourse as a method of power. It is important not only to unpack the process of the advocacy of moderation, but also explore why this method was so powerful compared to other strategies physicians used to achieve professionalization. Moderation as a method was not necessarily more powerful than other strategies, but it was particularly useful for physicians working to transform their field into a cultural authority. By endorsing moderation, physicians medicalized bicycling and conceptualized their profession as the authority on bicycling in popular culture. Moderation was particularly successful because it expanded the medical domain into bicycling, a new and increasingly popular practice of American life. By the turn of the century, bicycling was permanently positioned into medical discourse, and subsequently physicians' authority on bicycling was naturalized in popular culture.

As moderation as a method became increasingly successful, by the late 1890s physicians increasingly used medical metaphors to describe or promote bicycling, positioning the bicyclist's body as a body under their jurisdiction and care. Physicians routinely framed bicycling not as an activity, sport or hobby but a prescription to be doled out like advice or pharmaceuticals. For example, Dr. E. H. Pratt wrote how he "prescribed the bicycle for women repeatedly."<sup>126</sup> Pratt was advised by his own physician that moderate bicycling would help his dyspepsia, and he reported that he was cured upon "follow[ing] the prescription."<sup>127</sup> Dr. Herwirsch of Philadelphia advised

---

<sup>126</sup> Pratt, E. H., *Clinical Reporter* 10, no. 4 (April 1897), 102. Haithitrust. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000060053>>

<sup>127</sup> Herwirsch, "The Use of the Bicycle from a Medical Standpoint," 269.

physicians of a case of two women cured from excessive menstrual pain after they were “ordered bicycles by their physician” and other cases of women patients with chronic constipation who were “cured by the use of the wheel.”<sup>128</sup> When encouraging his peers to promote bicycling as a treatment for dyspepsia, Dr. George S. Brown of Birmingham, Alabama simply wrote, “[t]he therapeutic value of fun is, I think, undisputed.”<sup>129</sup> To Brown, leisure itself had a distinct medical currency.

By the late 1890s, male bicyclists themselves repeatedly located their bodies as bicyclists within the physicians’ domain of expertise. This can be clearly seen in the newspaper of the League of American Wheelman (LAW), the national organizing body of bicycle clubs in the nineteenth century. Mirroring medical journals, LAW reporters often medicalized bicycling and used physicians as authoritative sources for their articles. This is striking considering that the LAW was one of the most powerful and well-respected sources for bicycling knowledge. For example, one 1898 article not only cited Dr. Stables for evidence of the superiority of riding in moderation. The author also medicalized the benefits of frequent bicycling: “[e]xercise is a tonic, and therefore benefit is not to be expected from a single dose.”<sup>130</sup> LAW journalists routinely relied on medical language to describe bicycling or advise specific practices, naturalizing the medicalization of the practice as a whole.

---

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Brown, George S., “A Defense of the Bicycle,” *The Journal of the American Medical Association* 27, no. 9 (August 29, 1896): 501. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=2PZGAQAA-MAAJ>>

<sup>130</sup> “The Physiology of Cycling,” *The L.A.W. Bulletin and Good Roads*, May 13, 1898, 497. Hathitrust. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015012331958;view=1up;seq=8>>

The LAW was notoriously racist and sexist; membership in any LAW-affiliated club was formally limited to white (often nonimmigrant) men.<sup>131</sup> As such, it is not surprising that many journalists for the LAW newspaper were not willing to see women bicyclists as equal to men. LAW members used physicians' moderation discourse to further their own discriminatory policies. In 1898, a conflict arose regarding the spring century (a long distance race covering 100 miles) hosted by Century Wheelman of New York, an LAW-affiliated club. While women bicyclists were welcome to the club's open invitation social rides, women advocated entrance into the more challenging spring century. The Century Wheelman issued an official response barring women from the race. The club leaders used a specific form of evidence to justify their stance: medical discourse of moderation. They did not aim to bar women from bicycling in general, but instead argued that "century runs were hardly the proper kind for this class of riders."<sup>132</sup> The club leaders believed bicycling was "so essential to [women's] physical well-being" but "it should be done in moderation."<sup>133</sup> The journalist reiterated that the club's sexist stance was not an insult to women's "character," but a century race was simply too dangerous for a woman's body.<sup>134</sup> The journalist described that long distance rides would lead to "prolonged nervous and physical strain" because women's bodies "rarely possess the requisite physique to withstand the consequences."<sup>135</sup> The club leaders specifically utilized medical authority to justify and naturalize this

---

<sup>131</sup> Somers, Dale A., "A City on Wheels: The Bicycle Era of New Orleans," *Louisiana History* 8, no. 3 (Summer 1967): 219-238.

<sup>132</sup> "Women and Century Runs," *The LAW Bulletin and Good Roads*, March 25, 1898, 275. Hathitrust. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015012331958;view=1up;seq=8>>

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

stance; the journalist informed readers that women's long distance rides have been "pronounce[d] very harmful to the sex" by "distinguished medical authorities."<sup>136</sup> By 1898, it seems as though a specific physician did not even need to be named. Instead, male bicycling journalists simply cited information to the medical profession as a whole to justify their discrimination against women riders.

In 1896, an anonymous physician wrote in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, one of the most prestigious journals in his rising profession, "[i]f medical men and medical journals ought to interest themselves in the every-day [sic] affairs of life, there is good reason why they should give most serious consideration to this bicycle question."<sup>137</sup> Throughout the late nineteenth century, physicians across the country took this author's advice. Bicycling served as more than a mere area of interest, and physicians such as this *JAMA* author recognized that the 'bicycle question' had a particular value for their profession as a whole. Physicians framed bicycling as a medical question, translated the dangers of bicycling into inaccessible medical jargon, and ultimately operationalized the vague trope of moderation into specific prescriptions for their patients. As the nineteenth century drew to a close, physicians had successfully positioned themselves as the authority of bicycling in both medical and popular discourse.

The fact that patients increasingly looked to their physicians as the authority on bicycling had far greater implications than bicycling itself. In the late nineteenth century, bicycling was a compelling new practice, widely popular but without a blueprint. Physicians quickly identified bicycling as a practice without a past and with a future up for grabs. They recognized the cultural

---

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> "Bicycling — Pro and Con," 384.

power to be gained if their profession became the authority of an activity most Americans viewed as healthy, empowering, and modern. For patients, moderation provided them a concrete way to engage in the new, exciting activity of bicycling without the worry of harming their bodies. For physicians, moderation was a method of power in which they successfully used bicycling to expand and naturalize the reach of their profession into an area of American life previously not understood in medical terms. This significantly furthered and naturalized the scope and power of the medical profession into spaces of leisure.

## Conclusion

In *Outing*, a popular sports magazine, Wheelwoman Grace Dension looked back at the skyrocketing popularity of women's cycling and offered her analysis:

[c]ycling for women has come to stay. It is no use for doctor, lawyer, parson or chief to say 'Thou shalt not' to the woman of to-day [sic], while her conscience approves and her experience proves that her own way is right... But without defying or disputing, or anything but determinately doing, the woman of today sweeps aside the cobwebs of prejudice, with highest self respect... and goes on her narrow way rejoicing.<sup>138</sup>

Dension identified a significant transformation in women's lives — bicycling — and that women themselves were the root of this transformation. She predicted the longevity of women's cycling because of women who ignored male-dominated institutions and justified their authority based on their own experiences. As women began to ride, they experienced transformations in their mental and physical health; they rode to treat and even cure their medical problems, improve

---

<sup>138</sup> Dension, Grace, "How We Ride Our Wheels," *Outing* 19, no. 1, October 1891, 52. ProQuest. Accessed May 5, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/docview/137477712/416E3FF0938D4AA1PQ/1?accountid=12598>>



their mental health, and achieve a state of overall wellness and wellbeing on their own terms and through their own efforts.

Physicians, shocked by the rising rates of cycling, crafted powerful response to serve their own professional interests. At first glance, it is easy to dismiss moderation as common sense or even an enlightened approach given that these physicians gradually decreased their opposition to women's sport. Yet physicians used moderation so successfully because it masked and normalized their position of power through the veil of friendly professional concern.

Wheelwomen's cycling offers a compelling case study on how nineteenth-century women, despite their limited legal rights, crafted the influence to circulate their ideas in supposedly off-limit social institutions such as the media and medicine. Yet the revolutionary potential of cycling on women's health was impeded by physicians, and an analysis of moderation encourages scholars to further unpack the seemingly unexceptional and reasonable uses of power in everyday life. To Marie E. Ward, the bicycle was a unique opportunity for women to become independent, confident, healthy and empowered. Yet, before embarking on this road to modern womanhood, one had to first stop at the doctor's office.

## CHAPTER 4: “THE SERVANTS HAVE TAKEN TO WHEELING”:

### BICYCLE PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION BY WORKING-CLASS WHEELWOMEN

In 1907, three labor reformers published their findings from a multi-year investigation of the working and living conditions of 3,000 female factory workers in Chicago. The reformers uncovered that the young women lived in crowded, dangerous, and dirty apartments. Even though they generally chose the cheapest housing option, the workers spent the majority of their income on rent because their wages were so low. After paying for housing, food, and clothing, the reformers found that few workers had spending money and even fewer (less than 13%) were able to maintain any type of savings. The reformers found that the young women workers with spending money spent their money on three specific items; an extra set of clothes, a sewing machine, and interestingly, a bicycle. Unfortunately, the reformers did not discuss why so many young women factory workers chose to buy bicycles with their limited funds. But, this report provides us a glimpse into the lives of a group of working-class women who went to incredible lengths to engage in this new, exciting and popular form of transportation.<sup>1</sup>

Historians have generally understood the bicycle as a status symbol for wealthy riders or an object of consumption for the emerging middle-class. This is in part logical given the expense of a new bicycle. In the mid- to late 1890s, a new safety model could cost fifty to a few hundred dollars, which converts to over \$1,000 by today’s standards.<sup>2</sup> Yet it is inaccurate to assume these

---

<sup>1</sup> Cadbury, Edward, Matheson, Marie Cecile, Shann, George, *Women’s Work and Wages: A Phase of Life in an Industrial City* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1907), 242. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=ZJA7AAAAMAAJ>>

<sup>2</sup> “The Inflation Calculator,” Accessed April 2, 2016. <<http://www.westegg.com/inflation/>>

high prices made bicycles inaccessible to the working class. In fact, there were many ways for working-class people to ride. A *Chicago Tribune* journalist was one of many who reported that “the bicycle is such an importance feature in all classes of households.”<sup>3</sup> Unlike other rising sports of the period, such as tennis or golf, bicycling was within the reach of many working-class women.<sup>4</sup> During the 1890s, many cities had a thriving market for used bicycles, often through social networks and shared community spaces.<sup>5</sup> The bicycle stores were one of many consumer industries which started implementing layaway programs at this time, allowing working-class shoppers access to higher priced goods via a payment plan.<sup>6</sup> Some cycling clubs even developed co-op programs so young, working-class cyclists could gain access to bicycles even if their parents were unable or refused to buy them one.<sup>7</sup> Companies that sold their products door-to-door often hired working-class women as salespeople, and offered them a bicycle to use or the ability to work up to a free bicycle if they reached their quotas.<sup>8</sup> Many working-class women, just as the

---

<sup>3</sup> “Wheel, Woman and Health: Bicycling Marks an Advance in Her Development,” *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Chicago, IL), May 17, 1896, 42. Accessed April 24, 2016.

<sup>4</sup> “A Blessing to Women,” *The American Cyclist* 7, August 30, 1895, 397. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.

<sup>5</sup> Epperson, *Peddling Bicycles to America*, 105.

<sup>6</sup> “Cycling for Young Women,” *The Woman's Herald*, June 15, 1893, 266. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4\\_Volume\\_8\\_Issue\\_17-18](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4_Volume_8_Issue_17-18)> Smith, *A Social History of the Bicycle*, 35.

<sup>7</sup> “Cycling for Young Women,” 266.

<sup>8</sup> Advertisement. “Earn a Bicycle,” *The Puritan* 3, no. 1, April 1898, 47. Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=ThePuritan&type=page&pageref=00000078>> Advertisement. “No More Hard Times,” *Woman's Work* 11, no. 5, May 1898, 16. Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=WomansWork&type=page&pageref=00000019>>

factory workers in Chicago, prioritized cycling so much that they bought new bicycles with their wages.<sup>9</sup>

For many city dwellers, the first women they saw riding a safety bicycle were not wealthy ladies leisurely pedaling through a park, but working-class women riding for transportation. Working-class women were in fact some of the first and most visible women cyclists in their city. While wealthy women were also cycling in the first years of the sport, they often learned in private spaces, such as on their own property or in riding schools. Working-class women did not have this luxury, and when they gained access to a bicycle, they quickly used it for a number of utilitarian purposes in public spaces.<sup>10</sup> Many wheelwomen credited working-class women as the group who set the stage for the popularity of bicycling across class. In 1894, a *Harper's* columnist declared that “[t]he bicycle, like the suffrage question, has had to work its way up from the masses among us.”<sup>11</sup>

Historians of sport have long been interested in class and race, especially working-class sports. Yet scholars have largely focused on men, and sports historians have used gender to pri-

---

<sup>9</sup> “Women and Bicycling,” *The Pneumatic: A Progressive Monthly Paper for Cyclists* 1, no. 5, August 15, 1892, no page. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/61239/rec/1>>

<sup>10</sup> Abbott, Frances M., “A Comparative View of the Woman Suffrage Movement,” *The North American Review* 166, no. 495, (February 1898): 142-151. JSTOR. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25118951>>

<sup>11</sup> “The Translation of the Bicycle,” *Harper's Bazaar* 27, no. 21, May 26, 1894, 414. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/125595668/abstract/6668A36B52F049DFPQ/30?accountid=12598>>

marily explore working-class masculinity and not women's lives.<sup>12</sup> The historiography of nineteenth-century bicycling reflects these trends, as historians have paid notable attention to working-class male cyclists, highlighting their risky behaviors, athletic achievements, formation of clubs, and the intersections of class with race and ethnicity.<sup>13</sup> Scholarship on American working-class women's participation in sports, especially in the nineteenth-century, remains largely un-

---

<sup>12</sup> Bederman, Gail, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). Cantelon, Hart and Robert Hollands, *Leisure, Sport and Working-Class Cultures* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1998). Gorn, Elloit J., *A Brief History of American Sports* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2004). Gems, Gerland R., *The Athletic Crusade: Sport and American Cultural Imperialism* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006). Hoganson, Kristin, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998). Morzek, Donald J., *Sport and American Mentality, 1880-1910* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983). Reiss, Steven A., *City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports* (Urbana: University of Chicago Press, 1989). Reiss, Steven A., *Major Problems in American Sport History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997). Reiss, Steven A., *Sport in Industrial America, 1850-1920* (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013). Reiss, Steven A., *The American Sporting Experience: A Historical Anthology of Sport in America* (New York: Leisure Press, 1984). Zirin, Dave, *A People's History of Sports in the United States* (New York: The New Press, 2008). Zirin, Dave, *What's my name, fool? : Sports and Resistance in the United States* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2005).

<sup>13</sup> Balf, Todd, *Major: A Black Athlete, a White Era, and the Fight to Be the World's Fastest Human Being* (New York: Random House, 2008). Ferber, Conrad, *Major Taylor: The Inspiring Story of a Black Cyclist and the Men Who Helped Him Achieve Worldwide Fame* (New York: Skyhorse Publishing Company, 2014). Friss, Evan, *The Cycling City: Bicycles and Urban America in the 1890s* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2015). Goodman, David J. "The Bittersweet History of Bicycle Clubs in America," *New York Times*, January 10, 2010: A18. Longhurst, James, "The Sidepath Not Taken: Bicycles, Taxes, and the Rhetoric of the Public Good in the 1890s," *Journal of Policy History* 24, no. 4 (2013): 557-586. Norcliffe, Glen, *The Ride to Modernity: The Bicycle in Canada, 1869-1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001). Ritchie, Andrew, *King of the Road: An Illustrated History of Cycling* (London: Ten Speed Press, 1975). Ritchie, Andrew, *Major Taylor: The Extraordinary Career of a Champion Bicycle Racer* (New York: Bicycle Books, 1998). Smith, Robert A., *A Social History of the Bicycle* (New York: American Heritage Press, 1972). Somers, Dale A., "A City on Wheels: The Bicycle Era of New Orleans," *Louisiana History* 8, no. 3 (1967): 219-238.

derstudied.<sup>14</sup> Few historians of women's sport have treated bicycling as a subject worthy of scholarship, especially among working-class women.<sup>15</sup> There is a rich historiography of American working-class women's leisure and consumption in the late nineteenth and early twenty century, yet these works fail to consider women's sporting lives, including as athletes or spectators.<sup>16</sup> As such, working-class wheelwomen remain absent from the numerous historiographical strains of sport and women's history.

In 2015, pioneering women's sports historian Susan Cahn stated that the most notable gaps in the historiography of women's sports are nineteenth-century women, working-class women, and everyday, non-competitive athletic activities.<sup>17</sup> This chapter responds to these gaps

---

<sup>14</sup> Cahn, Susan K., *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Women's Sports* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998). Clarke, Gill and Barbara Humberstone, *Researching Women and Sport* (London: Macmillan Press, 1997). Festle, Mary Jo, *Playing Nice: Politics and Apologies in Women's Sports* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996). Gragg, Shelby and Susan Shackelford, *Shattering The Glass: The Remarkable History Of Women's Basketball* (New York: The New Press, 2005). Grundy, Pamela, *Learning to Win: Sports, Education, and Social Change in Twentieth-Century North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001). Lenskyj, Helen, *Out of Bounds: Women, Sport and Sexuality* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1986). Lenskyj, Helen, *Out on the Field: Gender, Sport, and Sexualities* (Toronto: Women's Press, 2003). Messner, Michael, *Taking the Field: Women, Men, and Sports* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002). Shoebridge, Michele, *Women in Sport: A Select Bibliography* (London and New York: Mansell Publishing Limited, 1987). Simri, Uriel, *A Concise World History of Women's Sports* (Netanya, Israel: Wingate Institute for Physical Education and Sport, 1993). Twin, Stephanie L., *Out of the Bleachers: Writings on Women and Sport* (Old Westbury, NY: The Feminist Press, 1979). Verbrugge, Martha H., *Active Bodies: A History of Women's Physical Education in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012). Ziegler, Earle, *History and Status of American Physical Education and Educational Sport* (Victoria: Trafford, 2005).

<sup>15</sup> Park, Roberta, "Contesting the Norm: Women and Professional Sports in Late Nineteenth-Century America," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29, no. 5 (April 2012): 730-749. Wells, Michael S., "Ordinary Women: High Wheeling Ladies in Nineteenth Century America," *The Wheelmen* 43 (November 1993): 2-14.

<sup>16</sup> Abelson, Elaine, *When Ladies Go A-Thieving: Middle-class Shoplifters in the Victorian Department Store* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). Benson, Susan, *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890-1940* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1987). Cohen, Elizabeth, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990). Deutsch, Sarah, *Women and the City: Gender, Space, and Power in Boston, 1870-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). Enstad, Nan, *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure: Working Women, Popular Culture, and Labor Politics at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999). Ewen, Elizabeth, *Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars: Life and Culture on the Lower East Side, 1890-1925* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1985). Frank, Dana, *Purchasing Power: Consumer Organizing, Gender, and the Seattle Labor Movement, 1919-1929* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1994).

<sup>17</sup> Cahn Susan, Keynote Speech. *North American Society for Sports History*, May 23, 2015, University of Miami, Miami, Florida.

by asking how working-class women envisioned and used the bicycle to serve their specific interests. Women cyclists did share some broad commonalities across class, such as their use of bicycling for recreation, commuting, and for health purposes. But as this chapter will explore, working-class women found particular meaning and usefulness of bicycling beyond these general benefits, and they took a much more diverse role in the bicycling industry compared to their wealthy counterparts. Working-class women were active participants in and creators of bicycling culture, serving key roles as both producers and consumers of the bicycle industry. From huge factories to neighborhood shops, working-class women were central laborers in the bicycling industry. As strategic consumers in the bicycling industry, working-class women used bicycling as a strategy to challenge the particular constraints they faced as workers, both on and off the job.

#### Wheelwomen at Work: Women as Producers in the Bicycling Industry

Nineteenth-century women were deeply connected to the bicycling industry as consumers. Women bought bicycles and rode them. They also built them. Working-class women made up significant numbers of the bicycling industry workforce, particularly in factories. Labor historians, including those who have used gender to build a rich historiography of turn-of-the-century women's work, have yet to explore women's key roles in this powerful and profitable industry.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, women are nowhere to be found in studies on the American bicycle indus-

---

<sup>18</sup> Baron, Ava, "An 'Other' Side of Gender Antagonism at Work: Men, Boys, and the Remasculinization of Printers' Work, 1830-1920," in *Work Engendered: Toward a New History of American Labor* ed. Ava Baron (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 47-70. Kessler-Harris, Alice, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). Kessler-Harris, Alice, *Gendering Labor History* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 21.

try.<sup>19</sup> Bicycling factories were no better than other factories of the era that have garnered more attention from scholars; like most female factory workers in the 1890s, women completed difficult tasks for low wages, often in dangerous conditions without the benefits of union membership.<sup>20</sup> Acknowledging women's involvement as factory workers sheds a new light on simplistic, consumer-centered frameworks of bicycling. It shows us a different side of the industry; bicycles were not 'freedom machines' for all women, nor were women simply passive consumers of this new industry.

Following the trail of working-class women workers is no easy task for a historian of the nineteenth century. Luckily, bicycling corporations and factories garnered enough public attention to warrant print coverage, and some of the coverage has survived the last century. The Symonds factory provides a striking glimpse into the world of women workers in nineteenth-century bicycling factories. We have documentation of this factory due to the reforms a young, hotshot engineer named Fredrick Taylor. The expansion of the bicycle industry, one of the most powerful and profitable industries in 1890s, coincided other industrial and engineering developments. Frederick Taylor's research and experiments fueled these developments in his efforts to make factories more efficient and profitable using methods he deemed scientific and rational.<sup>21</sup> Early in his career, before publishing *The Principles of Scientific Management* in 1911, Taylor worked as an engineering consultant and manager throughout the Northeast. In 1897, managers of the Symonds Rolling Machine Company of Fitchburg, Massachusetts hired Taylor to system-

---

<sup>19</sup> Epperson, Bruce, *Peddling Bicycles to America: The Rise of an Industry* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2010).

<sup>20</sup> Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States*, 136.

<sup>21</sup> Kanigel, Robert, *The One Best Way: Frederick Winslow Taylor and the Enigma of Efficiency* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005).



atize one particular process in their factory. While most commonly known for their saws, Symonds was also one of the largest producers of bicycle ball bearings. While some corporations only built bicycles, many more factories built a specific bicycle component as part of their diverse line-up of products.<sup>22</sup> This factory employed 120 young women as inspectors for bicycle ball bearings. Management viewed the inspectors' tasks as particularly crucial because it was the final step before the ball bearings were boxed and shipped to customers.<sup>23</sup>

Taylor's work with Symonds provides a glimpse into the challenges facing women workers in the nineteenth-century bicycle industry. Before Taylor, the workers picked up a few ball bearings at a time and examined them in their hands. They were trained to detect four specific types of defects via visual inspection and with a magnet which they held in their opposite hand. Taylor noted that skill and experience required to complete this task; the defects were "so minute as to be invisible to an eye not especially trained in this work."<sup>24</sup> Taylor quickly noticed that because the work "required the closest attention and concentration" many workers developed "nervous tension," even though the job was not physically taxing compared to other forms of factory work.<sup>25</sup>

Upon further observation, Taylor concluded that the inspection process did not encourage efficiency. The young women worked ten and one half hour shifts without regular breaks. Taylor

---

<sup>22</sup> Epperson, Bruce, *Peddling Bicycles to America: The Rise of an Industry* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2010).

<sup>23</sup> Taylor, Frederick Winslow, *The Principles of Scientific Management* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1913), 86. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=HoJMAAAAYAAJ&dq=The+Principles+of+Scientific+Management&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.com/books?id=HoJMAAAAYAAJ&dq=The+Principles+of+Scientific+Management&source=gbs_navlinks_s)>

<sup>24</sup> Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management*, 87.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

argued that this particularly long shift encouraged workers' "idleness" and did not create a distinct difference between work and leisure time.<sup>26</sup> He wanted a regimented time system in which workers would "'work while they work' and 'play while they play,' and not mix the two."<sup>27</sup> Taylor first proposed a shortened workday to ten hours without docking their pay. The workers he interviewed agreed that they could complete their tasks without the extra half hour. But when put up to a vote, the workers unanimously voted against the change. Taylor saw this vote as a statement that they "wanted no innovation of any kind."<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately, he failed to document why the workers were so opposed to this change; it is unclear if he even asked them their reasoning for their position. When the workers refused to vote in favor of the change, within a few months "tact was thrown to the winds."<sup>29</sup> Unknown to the workers, management would never put any of their working conditions up for a vote again. Taylor's team of engineers directed management to shorten the workday down in half hour increments, stopping at an 8 1/2 hour day, regardless of the workers' opinions on the matter.<sup>30</sup>

Taylor then implemented experiments to determine "personal coefficients" of each worker.<sup>31</sup> Designed in university experiments, researchers presented workers with different objects and timed how long it took them to realize which task this object required. Researchers believed that differentiating subjects by response time was a way to separate slow and inefficient workers

---

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management*, 88.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management*, 89.

from workers with innate, “unusually quick powers of perception accompanied by quick responsive action.”<sup>32</sup> Taylor’s researchers operationalized these findings for the Symonds factory. They argued workers with the shortest response time would be the most effective ball bearing inspectors, because they showed their innate ability to work the quickest and with the fewest errors.

Managers’ implementation of Taylor’s research resulted in significant changes in the company. Managers’ new “scientific selection of workers” led them to simply fire ball bearing inspectors with the slowest response times, and even Taylor recognized that putting this policy into practice resulted in the termination of the “most intelligent, hardest working, and most trustworthy girls.”<sup>33</sup> Managers downsized the factory from 120 to a mere 35 ball bearing inspectors. Key to Taylorism, management also developed methods which drastically increased supervision and oversight of their work to lessen chance they could “slight their work without being found out.”<sup>34</sup> Via the process of “over-inspection,” the foreman picked who he believed to be the most “trustworthy” workers and had them re-inspect their work to ensure they were not decreasing their output.<sup>35</sup> Management also developed much more detailed methods to document each worker’s daily output. In this new system, foremen inspected each worker every hour. If a worker was not inspecting at the required rate, a “teacher” or researcher would evaluate the reasons for her unacceptable output and try “to straighten her out.”<sup>36</sup> Using this documentation, the facto-

---

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management*, 90.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management*, 96, 94.

ry started using a new form of payment called “differential piece work” in which their pay was based both her output and the quality of her inspections.<sup>37</sup>

Taylor enthusiastically defended his changes as an improvement in working conditions as well as profitability. Yet Taylorism undermined the shared culture of the ball bearing inspectors. In the previous system, their work stations were close enough so they could talk to each other. Taylor believed this encouraged the workers to pretend they were working instead of focusing on their output. In the new system, work stations were too far apart for them to talk. Taylor instead implemented four “recreation periods” usually lasting about ten minutes each day.<sup>38</sup> The workers were allowed to stand up and leave their work station, but the foreman highly regulated and supervised their conversations and activities. This created far fewer opportunities to discuss topics management deemed unacceptable. Taylor encouraged bonuses for the best workers after a particularly successful day, a new practice for the factory, along with his differential piece work system. Taylor compared the inspectors to children and other “elementary characters,” believing management could only fuel their ambition by daily rewards, not long term benefits such as co-ops or other ways in which they could share the profits or have representation in decision-making.<sup>39</sup> Taylor openly used bonuses and the new pay system to encourage “personal ambition” over “the desire for the general welfare.”<sup>40</sup> Taylor also believed that when management provided small, daily benefits to workers with high output, this would increase their loyalty to management and not her fellow workers. Taylor encouraged management to make each worker “feel that

---

<sup>37</sup> Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management*, 93.

<sup>38</sup> Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management*, 96.

<sup>39</sup> Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management*, 94.

<sup>40</sup> Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management*, 95.

she was the object of especial [sic] care and interest” and that management was her “helper and teacher... she could lean upon.”<sup>41</sup> Upon the end of his reorganization, Taylor argued that his key success was “the most friendly relations... between management and the employees, which rendered labor troubles of any kind or a strike impossible.”<sup>42</sup> The changes Taylor implemented surely helped the factory, and perhaps even resulted in cheaper prices or a better product for customers, including women cyclists. Yet such changes went against the workers’ wishes and undermined their work culture, a practice which soon became common in many factories that employed working-class women despite resistance from the workers themselves.<sup>43</sup>

As Taylor was developing his new systems at Symonds, the managers of the Lozier wheel factories in Thompsonville, Connecticut were restructuring their factory to include more women workers. Executives in the bicycling industry were quickly learning that they could pay women a lower wage compared to men for the same tasks. In the early 1890s, the Lozier foreman were increasingly frustrated with their male employees. The workers were often “shouting or throwing things,” took part in less than respectable social groups such as “baseball nines, or brass hands or drum corps” and were “continually asking for time off.”<sup>44</sup> Mirroring a growing trend in numer-

---

<sup>41</sup> Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management*, 96.

<sup>42</sup> Dorr, Rheta Childe, *What Eight Million Women Want* (Boston, MA: Small, Maynard & Company, 1910), 140. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=t4cEAAAAYAAJ>>

<sup>43</sup> Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*, 46, 48.

<sup>44</sup> “Work in Bicycle Shops,” *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* (Milwaukee, WI), November 26, 1897, 10. Nineteenth Century U. S. Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[180](http://find.galegroup.com/proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/newspaperRetrieve.do?sgHitCountType=None&sort=DateAscend&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchId=R1&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&currentPosition=1&qrySerId=Locale%28en%2C%2C%29%3AFQE%3D%28ti%2CNone%2C23%29%22Work+in+Bicycle+Shops%22%24&retrieveFormat=MULTIPAGE_DOCUMENT&userGroupName=msu_main&inPS=true&contentSet=LT0O&&docId=&docLevel=FASCIMILE&workId=&relevancePageBatch=GT3012889742&contentSet=UDVIN&calistoContentSet=UDVIN&docPage=article&hilite=y></a></p>
</div>
<div data-bbox=)

ous American industries, Loizer factory managers hoped hiring young women would be the perfect solution — women workers meant a better behaved, more reliable workforce who also worked for a lower wage.<sup>45</sup> In 1895, Lozier managers began to slowly transition many of their factory positions to women workers specifically as a profit strategy. By 1897, the factory employed 50 women, which was one third of the total workforce.<sup>46</sup>

Loizer mangers began to incorporate women into positions they deemed “lighter tasks.”<sup>47</sup> They chose specific tasks to ensure the women would not have to complete any “unwomanly work.”<sup>48</sup> This included tasks such as shaving, smoothing and polishing metal components, and cutting threads for screws. While Loizer management did not believe women were physically strong enough to handle wheel building or other heavy tasks, they believed that “[a]s far as mechanical ability goes, the women... show as much aptitude in picking up new work as the men.”<sup>49</sup> Management ensured their tasks were not dangerous or “severe” but just “dirty” and “as easy as much housework done by women.”<sup>50</sup> They offered women employees areas to clean up and change clothes after a shift so that they could “go out into the street as smartly dressed as any of the shop-girls.”<sup>51</sup> Repeatedly, the managers seemed to prioritize maintaining the workers’ femininity rather than improving their work conditions.

---

<sup>45</sup> Kessler-Harris, *Gendering Labor History*, 21.

<sup>46</sup> “Work in Bicycle Shops,” 10.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

Management quickly discovered that the women were particularly adept as inspectors and packers. They attributed women's quick and thorough work to women's bodies, not their skills or talent. Managers asserted that women's smaller hands made it easier for them to work with tiny pieces, such as chain rivets, more quickly and efficiently compared to men. In the packing room, the foreman noticed that young women typically wrapped and packed small components two and a half to three times as fast as male workers, yet women's starting wage was fifty cents less per day than men in the packing room assigned the same tasks. Management justified the difference amongst pay because men employed in the packing room completed a wider array of tasks compared to women. Women could work up to a \$1.50 to \$1.75 per day wage only by meeting higher production quotas. One journalist even suggested "the fairness of paying women less money than is paid men for the same work is, however, open to serious question. Still manufacturers cannot be much blamed when the women are ready and glad to work for the prices offered."<sup>52</sup> The journalist was correct in that women of Thompsonville quickly filled the factory positions open to them.

Newspaper reports of the Loizer factory suggested Thompsonville residents largely supported management's decision to hire women. Local cyclists encouraged Loizer executives to hire women, hoping women's lower wages would translate into more affordable bicycle frames and components. Typical of many industrial towns, Loizer paid women workers a much higher wage compared to domestic service, retail or working in a nearby cotton mill, three of the most common types of employment for working-class women.<sup>53</sup> Journalists claimed the opportunity

---

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Kessler-Harris, *Gendering Labor History*, 22.

for higher wages “explained the readiness of the girls” to work for Loizer.<sup>54</sup> While some were in fact young, single women, many of the women hired were married and working to support their families, sometimes as the sole breadwinner.<sup>55</sup>

Local unions were the only group who vocalized reservations regarding women’s employment at the Loizer factory. They correctly believed Loizer replaced men with young women workers as a cost saving measure; management knew women would work for less and were not organized enough to advocate for higher pay, more time off or improved working conditions. There are no records of any union leaders, including those of bicycle makers unions, who offered women membership. Some union leaders even believed hiring women at Loizer led to “the evil result of taking women away from their homes.”<sup>56</sup> Journalists suggested that Loizer was in part successful in hiring women workers because the unions were less strong in Thompsonville compared to other towns, and that Loizer management would simply not have been able to hire women in areas with a more robust union presence. Male union members scoffed at this trend and encouraged men to only buy union-made bicycle products. Some unions launched education campaigns for members to boycott companies like Loizer who relied on non-union labor. As one union magazine warned, “getting a union labeled bicycle you are getting a wheel on which no girl or convict labor has been employed, and as you would not wish to be compelled to

---

<sup>54</sup> “Work in Bicycle Shops,” 10.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.



complete with this cheap labor, that you should also use your purchasing power in assisting others to fight against further spread of this evil.”<sup>57</sup>

Union members’ disapproval of women workers seemed to have little effect on Lozier. In 1897, Lozier extended this program to their second bicycle factory in Toledo, Ohio. Managers replaced young women in almost every position, including tasks on “milling machines, drill presses and other machines” used to produce bicycle components.<sup>58</sup> Factory management assured the public that “[t]he substitution of girls for men has certainly not been prompted by a desire... of making the female portion of the population self-sustaining, but rather to secure cheaper labor.”<sup>59</sup> The British cycling industry also employed women for the most dangerous, low-paying jobs. Yet some British engineers and laborers voiced their critique of this new trend, believing Lozier had gone too far by paying women to work on the machine shop floors instead of tasks similar to sewing. One British engineer called the employment of women in the metal trades for American bicycle factories as “a species of degradation for women.”<sup>60</sup> A columnist for the *American Machinist*, a periodical aimed at men in the metal and tool industries, defended Lozier against British critics. The columnist positioned Lozier not as an unique innovator, but part of the

---

<sup>57</sup> *Cigar Makers' Official Journal: 1897-1900* (The Union, 1897), 4-5. Google Books. Accessed April 26, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=QfJ8AAAAMAAJ>>

<sup>58</sup> “Women Have Displaced Men in Every Branch of the Machine Shops of a Bicycle Manufacturing Firm Having a Large Plant at Toledo, Ohio,” *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans, LA), September 16, 1897, 4. Nineteenth Century U. S. Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/newspaperRetrieve.do?sgHitCountType=None&sort=DateAscend&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&resultListType=RESULT\\_LIST&searchId=R2&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&currentPosition=1&qrySerId=Locale%28en%2C%2C%29%3AFQE%3D%28ti%2CNone%2C26%29%22Women+Have+Displaced+Men%22%24&retrieveFormat=MULTIPAGE\\_-DOCUMENT&userGroupName=msu\\_main&inPS=true&contentSet=LTO&&docId=&docLevel=FASCIMILE&workId=&relevancePageBatch=GT3014623024&contentSet=UDVIN&callistoContentSet=UDVIN&docPage=article&hilite=y](http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/newspaperRetrieve.do?sgHitCountType=None&sort=DateAscend&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchId=R2&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&currentPosition=1&qrySerId=Locale%28en%2C%2C%29%3AFQE%3D%28ti%2CNone%2C26%29%22Women+Have+Displaced+Men%22%24&retrieveFormat=MULTIPAGE_-DOCUMENT&userGroupName=msu_main&inPS=true&contentSet=LTO&&docId=&docLevel=FASCIMILE&workId=&relevancePageBatch=GT3014623024&contentSet=UDVIN&callistoContentSet=UDVIN&docPage=article&hilite=y)>

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> “Current Topics,” *Cassier's Magazine* 12, no. 6, October 1896, 736. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=sfwyAQAAIAAJ>>

history of women's wage work in the United States: "[a] bicycle factory is not a machine shop; it is simply a factory, and in factories doing similar work women and girls have been employed in this country for generations."<sup>61</sup> The columnist argued that the responsibility lies on management to ensure the women worked in safe and respectable conditions:

[w]hether American women are degraded by such employment or not depends very much on the conditions of their employment... To say that these women are in any way inferior to that of other women who are obligated to earn their living in the same town, either by domestic service, by clerking, or even by teaching.<sup>62</sup>

He concluded, "[w]e do not know how the women and girls employed by Lozier & Co are treated, but that it is possible to treat them in such a way as to involve no degradation of or hardship for them."<sup>63</sup>

Unfortunately, we have few records that present the world of bicycling factory work from the viewpoint of women employees. This makes it difficult to assess if *The American Machinist* columnist's optimistic vision of factory work represented workers' everyday experiences. In 1898, a reporter for *The New York Sun* published a short, but rare and powerful exposé on girls' experiences as laborers in bicycle tire factories. The reporter stated their difficult work required "judgment and deftness."<sup>64</sup> The workers' main task was to build tires from rubber compounds.

---

<sup>61</sup> "Female Labor in Machine Shops," *American Machinist* 20, September 16, 1897, 704. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=kslMAQAIAAJ>>

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> "Female Labor in Machine Shops," 704.

<sup>64</sup> "Women Making Bicycle Tires," *Jackson Daily Citizen* (Jackson, MI), February 12, 1898, 12. America's Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/iw-search/we/Hist-Archive/?p\\_product=EANX&p\\_theme=ahnp&p\\_nbid=X66A52MNMTQ2MTU0OTU0OC40Njc4MzY6MT05Oj-M1LjguMTEuMg&p\\_action=doc&s\\_lastonissuequeryname=2&d\\_viewref=search&p\\_queryname=2&p\\_docnum=1&p\\_docref=v2:123ADBCCC16EFB72@EANX-1240903A31277348@2414333-123F9099EEEE1190@11-1380933AAA4DC934@Women%20Making%20Bicycle%20Tires](http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/iw-search/we/Hist-Archive/?p_product=EANX&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=X66A52MNMTQ2MTU0OTU0OC40Njc4MzY6MT05Oj-M1LjguMTEuMg&p_action=doc&s_lastonissuequeryname=2&d_viewref=search&p_queryname=2&p_docnum=1&p_docref=v2:123ADBCCC16EFB72@EANX-1240903A31277348@2414333-123F9099EEEE1190@11-1380933AAA4DC934@Women%20Making%20Bicycle%20Tires)>

The workers had to keep their hands submerged in the “sticky mixture” to avoid injury.<sup>65</sup> New workers often experienced injuries such as severe cracking and burns on their hands until their skin eventually “hardened.”<sup>66</sup> Developing tougher skin through this type of damage was the only protection factory management offered them. Older girls were more likely to work on metal components of the tires, such as fastening valve stems. According to the report, the few male employees typically completed tasks which factory managers believed required more strength, such as fitting the tires onto heavy wooden rims.<sup>67</sup> Unfortunately, the bicycle factories mirrored the widespread lack of regard for the difficulties of supposed unskilled women’s work.

Making tires and tubes was in fact one of the most common tasks of women factory workers in the bicycle industry. The North American Rubber Company in Western New York was one of many tire factories that included bicycle tires in their product line. In 1896, 45 women worked in this rubber factory out of about 180 employees total. Fifteen of those women employees were under 21 years of age, and one girl was younger than 16.<sup>68</sup> Hartford, Connecticut had a booming cycling scene in the 1890s. Hartford was also home to some of the largest and most profitable cycling factories, including Hartford Rubber Works. In 1892, Albert Pope bought the factory as part of his vertical integration strategy for his company, Pope Manufacturing,

---

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> New York State Bureau of Factory Inspection, *Annual Report on Factory Inspection*, 10 (Albany, NY: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1896), 186, 1060. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=i4BKAAAAMAAJ&dq=editions:BDO5i13Xic0C&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.com/books?id=i4BKAAAAMAAJ&dq=editions:BDO5i13Xic0C&source=gbs_navlinks_s)> New York State Bureau of Factory Inspection, *Annual Report on Factory Inspection*, 12 (Albany, NY: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1898). Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=aag0AQAAAMAAJ>> New York State Bureau of Factory Inspection, *Annual Report on Factory Inspection*, 13 (Albany, NY: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1899). Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=gKg0AQAAAMAAJ>>

which included the highly profitable Columbia bicycle line. Pope employed over 3,000 employees in this bicycle tire factory, including women who made valve stems and bicycle tubes.<sup>69</sup> The Mechanical Fabric Company of Providence, Rhode Island had a sprawling factory where workers made a variety of fabric and rubber products. The company was known for its innovative bicycle tires and tubes, in which workers wove fabric into the rubber to resist wear. Women made up about half of their one-hundred employee workforce.<sup>70</sup>

Women also built the numerous metal components that bicycling technology required. Depending on the factory, women constituted the vast majority or just a small minority of the workforce. In the 1890s, many factories built bicycle components as part of their broader manufacturing lines. Even though these factories did not exclusively build products for the bicycling industry, they were central to the industry as a whole. The Indianapolis Chain and Stamping Works was an example of this type of multi-product factory. By 1898, the Indianapolis Chain and Stamping Works employed 105 men and 205 women factory workers. Using their existing manufacturing process and equipment for metalworking, the company dove into the bicycling industry

---

<sup>69</sup> Miffed, Cleveland, "A Visit to the Hartford Rubber Works," *McClure's Magazine* 8, February 1897, 1-16. Google books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=rZDf39UqC5wC&dq='A+Visit+to+the+Hartford+Rubber+Works.'](https://books.google.com/books?id=rZDf39UqC5wC&dq='A+Visit+to+the+Hartford+Rubber+Works.'&source=gbs_navlinks_s)&source=gbs\_navlinks\_s>

<sup>70</sup> "Mechanical Fabric Co.," *Outing* 34, no. 1, April 1899, 105. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=BptUAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA105&dq=%22Mechanical+Fabric+Co+%22+outing&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiFq\\_LQ2ajMAhVG5CYKHRtQA8MQ6AEIJAA#v=onepage&q=%22Mechanical%20Fabric%20Co%22%20outing&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=BptUAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA105&dq=%22Mechanical+Fabric+Co+%22+outing&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiFq_LQ2ajMAhVG5CYKHRtQA8MQ6AEIJAA#v=onepage&q=%22Mechanical%20Fabric%20Co%22%20outing&f=false)> National Parks Service, "National Register of Historical Places Continuation Sheet, Mechanical Fabric Company." Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://www.nps.gov/nr/feature/places/pdfs/13001059.pdf>> Rockwell, Elisha A. and Palmer, Fanny Purdy, *Second Annual report of the Factory Inspectors, made to the General Assembly at its January Session, 1896* (Providence, RI: E. L. Freeman & Son, State Printers, 1896). Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=cQlhAQAA-MAAJ&dq=Second+Annual+report+of+the+Factory+Inspectors,+made+to+the+General+Assembly+at+its+January+Session,+1896&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.com/books?id=cQlhAQAA-MAAJ&dq=Second+Annual+report+of+the+Factory+Inspectors,+made+to+the+General+Assembly+at+its+January+Session,+1896&source=gbs_navlinks_s)>

by manufacturing bicycle chains.<sup>71</sup> The Niagara Cycle Fittings Company made bicycle components such as pedals. The company employed 59 men and four women, two of whom were under 21. In 1896, factory inspectors noted that workers lacked proper exhaust fans and breaks for meals. In 1898, women constituted about half of the forty employees who made bicycle chains for the Snow Cycle Chain Company in Syracuse, New York.<sup>72</sup>

Bicycle accessories were one of the most profitable and diverse sections of the bicycling industry. Cyclists jumped at the chance to buy the latest saddles and cycling outfits. They bought tools like wrenches and pumps as they learned basic mechanics, and they wanted bags and lanterns for their upcoming cycling trips. Many bicycling companies focused solely on accessories due to the high demand from consumers.<sup>73</sup> Similar to bicycle frames and components, women were also employed to make accessories in factories. Some accessory factories employed hundreds of workers. For example, Gormully & Jeffrey Manufacturing Company employed 51 women and over 600 men in its large Chicago factory. Workers produced a variety of bicycling components, including tires, tool bags, pumps, saddles and seventeen types of bicycle lamps.<sup>74</sup>

---

<sup>71</sup> Indiana Department of Factory Inspection, *Annual Report of the Department of Factory Inspection of the State of Indiana* (Indianapolis, IN: Wm. B Buford, Contractor for State Print and Binding, 1898). Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=xqQXAAAAYAAJ>>

<sup>72</sup> New York State Bureau of Factory Inspection, *Annual Report on Factory Inspection*, 10 (Albany, NY: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1896). New York State Bureau of Factory Inspection, *Annual Report on Factory Inspection*, 12 (Albany, NY: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1898). Google Books. New York State Bureau of Factory Inspection, *Annual Report on Factory Inspection*, 13 (Albany, NY: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1899).

<sup>73</sup> Epperson, *Peddling Bicycles to America*, 20, 45, 75, 85, 105.

<sup>74</sup> Advertisement. "Bicycle Lamps," *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review* X, no. 21, January 13, 1893, 57. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=PvIYAAAAYAAJ>> Advertisement. "G & F Repairer's Pump," *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review* X, no. 3, September 9, 1892, 36. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=PvIYAAAAYAAJ>> Advertisement. "Gormully & Jeffrey Mfg. Co.," *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review* X, no. 20, January 6, 1893, 5. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=PvIYAAAAYAAJ>> State of Illinois, *Reports to the General Assembly of Illinois*, 1 (Springfield, IL: H. W. Rokker, 1897). Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=uKE3AAAAMAAJ&dq=editions:LhTTwK2r2NkC&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.com/books?id=uKE3AAAAMAAJ&dq=editions:LhTTwK2r2NkC&source=gbs_navlinks_s)>

Yet many accessories factories were smaller given their simpler products and smaller product line compared to a factory that built a complete bicycle from scratch. Christy Saddles were one of the most popular bicycle saddles in the 1890s, and they were sold in bike shops throughout the country. The Christy was made out of leather with metal components that attached to the bicycle frame. Ads for the Christy often highlighted its supposed health benefits, including injury and soreness prevention, because of its unique design; the saddle was split into two sections and included a spring system that adjusted as the cyclist rode their bike. During an 1896 inspection of Christy's Jackson, Michigan factory, state officials documented that the factory employed 30 women and 10 men.<sup>75</sup> Similarly, the Automatic Cycle Seat Company was a small but popular saddle company which employed five men and one woman in their Grand Rapids factory.<sup>76</sup>

Women were also the invisible workers behind the diverse and profitable world of cycling clothing. Many nineteenth-century cities boasted massive clothing factories with thousands of female employees. Yet, many women made clothing in small operations that factory inspectors called 'sweat-shops.' This was especially true for cycling clothing. Vinestine and Goldberg's Pennsylvania sweatshop offers an example of this easily overlooked side of the bicycling industry. Vinestine and Goldberg employed five people, including one woman, to sew bicycling pants. Other bicycle clothing companies throughout the Midwest and East Coast hired working-class

---

<sup>75</sup> *Joint Documents of the State of Michigan, Volume 3* (Lansing, MI: Robert Smith & Co., 1896), 87. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=5e5BAQAAMAAJ&dq=%22Christy+saddle%22+factory&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.com/books?id=5e5BAQAAMAAJ&dq=%22Christy+saddle%22+factory&source=gbs_navlinks_s)>

<sup>76</sup> State of Michigan, *Annual Report of Inspection of Factories in Michigan / Made under Direction of the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics* (Lansing, MI: Robert Smith & Co, 1897), 123. Hathitrust. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=njp.32101065175331>>

women to sew from home.<sup>77</sup> In just the few glimpses from factory inspection records, we can see how the bicycle industry did not simply thrive due to women consumers, but was also built on the labor of working-class women; there would have been no bicycles to ride without them.

### Wheelwomen as Entrepreneurs

Women factory workers were the invisible force behind the products that filled bicycle shops, working in the background with little acknowledgement or support. Yet, there were spaces in the bicycle industry in which women were at the forefront and visible to consumers. While a bicycle shop would often be filled with women customers, they would not be on the only women in the store. Women were also key players in the retail end of the bicycling industry. Historians have developed a rich historiography of turn-of-the-century working-class women in retail and sales, including in new commercial spaces like department stores. But no scholars have explored how women in these positions took part in the booming sports industries, especially cycling.<sup>78</sup> Historian Susan Ingalls Lewis, one of the few historians to study nineteenth-century women entrepreneurs, argued that women's business ventures, especially working-class women's efforts, often fall through the cracks of history because they do not fit into men's norms and expectations. Working-class women carved spaces in the bicycle industry to make a living, build upon

---

<sup>77</sup> Advertisement. "Home Work for Families," *Woman's Work* 11, no. 7, July 1898, 9. Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk/proxy1.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=WomansWork&type=page&pageref=00000030>>

<sup>78</sup> Benson, Susan Porter *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890-1940* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986). Enstad, Nan *Ladies of Labor; Girls of Adventure: Working Women, Popular Culture and Labor Politics at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999). Leach, William, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Pantheon, 1993). Meyerowitz, Joanne J., *Women Adrift: Independent Wage-earners in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999). Peiss, Kathy, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1986)

their skills, and discover alternatives to their limited employment options.<sup>79</sup> Throughout the 1890s, predominantly working-class wheelwomen worked as agents, riding school instructors, and in retail and mechanic positions in bicycle shops.

The bicycle industry offers a glimpse into working-class women's entrepreneurial spirit. Cassie Jorgensen offers a striking example of such innovation and persistence. In 1893, Emil and Cassie Jorgensen, a married couple, established a bicycle shop in Chicago. Emil had worked for a bicycle corporation and Cassie, who had experience as a waitress, planned to help with the customers. Typical of bicycle shops today, the couple built and sold new bicycles and accessories as well as offered repair services. After two years experience co-managing the shop, Cassie Jorgensen wondered if "woman ought to manufacture her own wheel" so that "she would be more expert at fixing it if it is broken down."<sup>80</sup> She was also curious if developing frames and parts specific to women could help decrease accidents and the resulting repairs. When new inventory came in for the 1895 riding season, Jorgensen put a few frames and components aside. She began designing prototypes for her own women's-specific bicycle, as she was not pleased with existing women's models. Jorgensen's mechanical skills shined in this project, as she completed the build herself, including filing the frame tubing, brazing frame joints, assembling the crank, adjusting the gearing, and building pedals and the wheel set, all without assistance from her husband, local bicycle mechanics, or representatives from bicycle brands they sold in their shop. Jorgensen originally intended ride the prototype herself for the summer to experiment with her design and make

---

<sup>79</sup> Lewis, Susan Ingalls, *Unexceptional Women: Female Proprietors in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Albany, New York, 1830–1885* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2009).

<sup>80</sup> "SHE MAKES BICYCLES.: A Woman Who is an Expert in This Line of Work," *Detroit Free Press* (Detroit, MI), August 24, 1895, 4. ProQuest. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpdetroitfreepress/docview/562616412/abstract/15031EFB79D54CF7PQ/337?accountid=12598>>



improvements. Yet when Emil put the model on display in their shop, a customer quickly offered \$100 for it, even though it was not for sale. They sold it and Cassie built a second prototype. That summer, she was able to improve her build time, completing an entire model within a week. She also built one model to keep for herself. It is unclear how long Jorgensen built bicycles or if she made a profit. Yet, it was enough for the couple to take a vacation to Lake Michigan, during which she rode a “bicycle of her own manufacture.”<sup>81</sup>

Women were active participants in corporate bicycle sales as well as local shops. Some bicycle companies hired women as ‘bicycle agents’ to promote their specific brand to other riders in their area. Bicycle companies recognized that women’s recommendations had far reaching effects on their sales — a well-versed cyclist could make or break the reputation of a shop or brand. Companies paid agents to ride in popular cycling areas of their town and promote their brand to other cyclists. Agents often made a similar pitch by creating a ruse to get potential customers, often young men, to talk to them. They chose to bicycle in attention-getting outfits to highlight their “fresh and youthful beauty,” such as bifurcated skirts, colorful fabrics, or tailor-made, unique designs.<sup>82</sup> Other bicyclists and pedestrians would move towards them, “the ladies to get a closer view of the costume, the men to get a closer view of the wearer.”<sup>83</sup> Such outfits “never failed to attract the admiring glances of her fellow wheelmen and wheelwomen” and once they made eye contact, the agents easily began a conversation.<sup>84</sup> To further their ability to begin

---

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> “Boomers in Bloomers. Women Peculiarly Successful as Bicycle Agents,” *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, CA), June 9, 1895, 3. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnps-fchronicle/docview/575760560/abstract/5CA8C2C3B8124C35PQ/155?accountid=12598>>

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

conversations with potential customers, some agents would even stop bicycling, dismount, and examine a specific part, acting as though they were having mechanical issues with their bicycle. One agent in New York City was known to look at her pedals until someone offered to help her. Once the young man started to look at her bicycle, she would realize that the issue with her pedal was “just a little rattle” and start her sales pitch, focusing on the enjoyment she experienced while riding.<sup>85</sup> She found that pretending to have a mechanical issue never deterred interested on-lookers, who rarely figured out her scheme.

In fact, many bicycle companies hired working-class, young women as agents specifically to attract male clientele.<sup>86</sup> The agents were particularly successful in using a combination of femininity and sociability to present their knowledge of bicycling in a way that would interest men enough to talk with them without threatening men’s sense of expertise or authority. Bicycle companies typically hired women with significant experience in bicycling, including semi-professionals or professionals, who were usually from working-class backgrounds. Yet, the agents purposely downplayed their knowledge and experience when promoting their brand. The agent with the fake pedal malfunction credited her success to answering questions “politely, but not exactly” because when men felt threatened, they often ended the conversation.<sup>87</sup> When they felt in charge, she noted, they were much more open to her pitch and more likely to become customers. Similarly, Mrs. Harry Kilpatrick, a professional cyclist who once rode from New York City to Chicago, claimed she was a particularly successful agent because she did not “overdo”

---

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> It is difficult to pinpoint precise data on how many women worked as bicycle agents. Given the discreet nature of the position, bicycle companies rarely acknowledged their bicycle agents in any public manner. In fact, we know of bicycle agents because of newspaper reports, not documents from bicycle companies themselves.

<sup>87</sup> “Boomers in Bloomers. Women Peculiarly Successful as Bicycle Agents,” 3.

her sales pitch.<sup>88</sup> She did not carry business cards so her promotion of a specific product would seem genuine and based on her personal experience, not professional knowledge. When customers asked her specific questions about a model, she often gave generalizations instead of demonstrating her expertise. She also diffused her knowledge to male authority figures. For example, when a young man asked her the cost of her bicycle she was paid to sell, she responded that she was “not sure exactly what the wheel costs” but she believed her brother paid brother \$100 for it.<sup>89</sup> Of course, Kilpatrick knew the price; she worked for the company, and she had ridden a similar model over 700 miles from New York to Chicago. She simply told the potential customer that she never enjoyed bicycling until she rode this brand, and soon discovered how “[e]very wheel thus favorably spoken may sell another.”<sup>90</sup> Male cyclists often became frustrated when they realized the women cyclists they spoke with were agents and not genuinely interested in them. One man who had assisted the agent with her pedals told a reporter that due to their conversation, he bought the woman’s favorite brand the following Monday. While riding his new bicycle that week, he saw the agent and waved, but she did not recognize him. He quickly realized that he was “the fish that landed. The lady was out for business and business only.”<sup>91</sup>

Other bicycle companies hired working-class women to visit small towns to promote their brands, including by organizing amateur racing and exposition events for local riders as well as holding their own demonstrations of their riding abilities. The most hidden type of bicy-

---

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

cle agent, and thus whose who left the fewest sources, were those who bicycling companies paid to infiltrate bicycling clubs and tactfully promote their brand to their fellow members. These women worked on commission, and a few particularly successful agents on salary, without other members' knowledge.<sup>92</sup> Sports reporters could only speculate how many women agents existed in a given club, although they acknowledged that some clubs seemed to be "overrun with secret agents."<sup>93</sup> A particularly frustrated reporter complained that there was "no limit to the lines of employment" that women bicyclists would "invade" to make a sale, and they ultimately "beat the men at their own game."<sup>94</sup>

Along with bicycle agents, working-class women also worked as cycling instructors. The cyclists of the late nineteenth century were often the first generation in their families to take up bicycling, and thus they did not have parents or older relatives to teach them. As such, many cyclists took lessons at bicycling schools that were funded in part or in full by a bicycling company looking for new customers. In buildings equipped with an indoor track, experienced instructors taught men and women how to balance, steer, brake and other basic riding skills. Women began enrolling in bicycle schools as early as 1869. Many women found bicycling schools a more welcoming and safe place to learn to ride compared city streets and public parks. By the 1880s, female students increasingly told bicycling schools that they preferred a fellow woman as an instructor. Bicycling companies across the country responded to their students' request and hired

---

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

women cyclists to teach both co-ed and women's only classes.<sup>95</sup> In 1896, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reported that women-led classes were so common that bicycling schools had become a "new field for women."<sup>96</sup>

Women sold bicycles as agents and instructors, but one could also find women like Cassie Jorgensen working in their neighborhood bicycle shops. It is difficult to know exactly how many women worked in bicycle shops. Women's retail work in the bicycle industry left a very small paper trail. Some shop-owners never recorded their employees, while other records indicate women worked at the shop but never described their specific responsibilities. Often shop owners sold bicycles along with other goods, such as in sporting goods stores, hardware stores or just general stores. Luckily some records remain which give scholars a narrow glimpse into the life of a particular shop. For example, from factory inspection records we know that Michael Redlinger owned a small bicycle and lock shop in Freeport, Illinois. He employed two men and one girl under 16 years of age. She might have been related to Redlinger, but there is no record of her working life beyond this one factory inspector's report.<sup>97</sup> Women also worked in larger, urban shops as well. Amos Shirley owned a large bicycle store in New York City. His shop boasted both American and Scottish cycling brands with hundreds of models on the floor. His employees also offered repair and fitting services. In 1898, Shirley employed 60 women in his

---

<sup>95</sup> Margery, "The Ladies' Mile," *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* 101, no. 8, February 24, 1893, 149. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.

<sup>96</sup> "Women as Bicycle Instructors," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, MO), November 29, 1896, 28. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpstlouispostdispatch/docview/579365453/citation/1B70BC2E376543E3PQ/25?accountid=12598>>

<sup>97</sup> *Reports to the General Assembly of Illinois, Volume 1* (Springfield, IL: H. W. Rokker, State Printer and Binder, 1897), 350. Google Books. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=uKE3AAAAMAAJ>>

store, yet their responsibilities in the shop remain unclear.<sup>98</sup> Reporters often celebrated the success of working-class wheelwomen in retail. Minnie Brockway's successful bicycle shop in Milwaukee is a striking example. Her brother started the business, and Brockway took over as owner in 1892 after his death. Brockway's shop carried popular brands of the period, including Columbia and Western Wheel Works. Active in the booming Milwaukee cycling scene, Brockway managed bicycle races and was a sports and travel correspondent for the *New York World*. In an interview in a cycling magazine, the columnist celebrated Brockway's success as proof that "enterprise hasn't any sex."<sup>99</sup>

Bicycle shop owners also hired women for more technical jobs as well as sales and instruction, including as mechanics. It is difficult to pinpoint exactly how many women worked as bicycle mechanics in the 1890s. But journalists in cycling periodicals and newspapers did highlight women's increasing interest in bicycle mechanics. A *Cincinnati Enquirer* columnist was one of many who discussed how "there is no question of the fact that the women are going in for mechanics" including cycling-specific work.<sup>100</sup> Marie Ward, a cycling columnist who wrote a popular guidebook for wheelwomen, was typical in her encouragement of women to learn bicycle repair skills: "any woman who is able to use a needle or scissors can use other tools equally well. It is a very important matter for a bicyclist to be acquainted with all parts of the bicycle, their uses

---

<sup>98</sup> New York State Bureau of Factory Inspection, *Annual Report on Factory Inspection*, 12 (Albany, NY: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1898). Google Books. Accessed March 15, 2015. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=WKg0AQAAMAAJ>>

<sup>99</sup> "The Ladies' Mile," *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* X, no. 13, September 23, 1892, 225. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed April 24, 2016.

<sup>100</sup> "Women Becoming Expert Mechanics," *Cincinnati Enquirer* (Cincinnati, OH), November 1, 1908, B7. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpcincinnatiquirer/docview/897655065/abstract/9A6961FB2B5D4DB8PQ/124?accountid=12598>>

and adjustment.”<sup>101</sup> For many women, learning these skills at home led them to paid work in the bicycle industry. A columnist in *Recreation*, a general sports periodical, even joked how “[t]wenty years ago girls read magazines and did needlework. Now they study road maps and learn to use a monkey wrench.”<sup>102</sup> Even some colleges and extension services offered bicycle mechanic workshops for women members of the school’s cycling club.<sup>103</sup>

Mrs. A. E. Miller, a working-class woman Brooklyn, New York, was one of the most celebrated bicycle mechanics of her era. We know about Miller’s shop due to a newspaper reporter who published a column marveling at her technical skills. Deemed “something of a genius,” Miller first began repairing bicycles on the side, and then established her own repair shop around 1896.<sup>104</sup> Miller viewed her work in the bicycle industry and as a small business owner as more “enjoyable and profitable” compared to other employment options available to young, working-class women in 1890s New York.<sup>105</sup> Popular among both men and women cyclists, Miller was particularly known for her knowledge of “forks, sprockets, handles, pedals, cranks” and her ability to keep her parts well organized and stocked. Her repairs were so successful that locals considered her a “bicycle artisan.”<sup>106</sup> While Miller was more unique in that she owned her own shop,

---

<sup>101</sup> Ward, *The Common Sense of Bicycling*, 112.

<sup>102</sup> “Bicycling,” *Recreation* VI, no. 4, April 1897, 298. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=0EYQAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=editions:xGoN2V33kYAC&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwj\\_rdy-b56jMAhVEQiYKHbquBPw4ChDoAQhAMAc#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=0EYQAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=editions:xGoN2V33kYAC&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwj_rdy-b56jMAhVEQiYKHbquBPw4ChDoAQhAMAc#v=onepage&q&f=false)>

<sup>103</sup> Ibid. “Women Repairing Bicycle,” Montana State University Historical Photographs Collection. Accessed May 14, 2016. <<http://arc.lib.montana.edu/msu-photos/item/135>>

<sup>104</sup> “Lady Bicycle Artisan,” *Cincinnati Enquirer* (Cincinnati, OH), November 22, 1896, 25. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpcincinnatienquirer/docview/895656899/citation/9A6961FB2B5D4DB8PQ/54?accountid=12598>>

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

many more women worked as bicycle mechanics in larger shops or repair business. For example, Morrow & Seabrooke was a bicycle repair business in the small town of Elmira, New York. In 1899, the shop employees four men and 60 women.<sup>107</sup> Unfortunately, reports provide no information regarding the women's working conditions, tasks or wages. Yet, thanks to coverage in the popular press as well as government reports, working-class women's central role in the retail end of the bicycle industry is quite clear. Historians can no longer assume that women's participation in the nineteenth-century bicycle industry was limited to their role as consumers.

### Bicycling and Working-Class Employment

While many working-class women worked in the bicycle industry, thousands more engaged in bicycling as consumers. Working-class wheelwomen were employed in a variety of positions, including in domestic service, factories, the service industry as well as on their family's farms. As strategic consumers in the bicycling industry, working-class women used bicycling as a strategy to challenge the particular constraints they faced as workers, both on and off the job.

Domestic service offers a compelling case study regarding how working-class women used bicycling for political purposes that were largely off the radar of middle-class women activists. Domestic service was one of the most common employment opportunities for working-class women, including immigrants and African-Americans, in the nineteenth century. While it provided much needed wages for working-class families, most women considered domestic service the 'rock bottom' of employment options due to the physically demanding tasks, few breaks,

---

<sup>107</sup> New York State Bureau of Factory Inspection, *Annual Report on Factory Inspection*, 13 (Albany, NY: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1899), 459. Google Books. Accessed April 17, 2015. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=gKg0AQAAMAAJ>>



little say in their work schedule, and an almost complete lack of privacy. Many domestic servants only had a few free hours in an entire week. Domestic servants often had to cope with demanding, rude, and even abusive employers with unpredictable whims, and similar to agricultural workers, servants were left out of many labor reforms of the period. Employers discussed ‘the servant problem’ with vigor. With striking racism and classism, they framed domestic servants as immoral, ignorant, and impossible to control, and routinely justified increased surveillance and punishment for even minor infractions.<sup>108</sup> Domestic servants used bicycling as a method to challenge the power and control of their employers. As cyclists, servants were simply out of their employer’s reach. They used bicycling as a much needed break from the stress and surveillance of servants’ work. Through cycling, domestic servants left the confines of their employers’ home, traveled independently through the city, and gained access to commercial entertainments that provided the relaxation, distractions, and connections to social networks which helped them cope with the demands of the job.

Not surprisingly, domestic servants’ use of bicycling to challenge employers’ control resulted in an anti-cycling backlash among families who employed servants. Many employers believed that the freedom of cycling created unruly and unreliable servants. Employers complained that “the servant girls have taken to wheeling, and in doing so neglect their household duties.”<sup>109</sup>

---

<sup>108</sup> Cobble, Dorothy Sue, *The Other Women’s Movement: Workplace Justice and Social Rights in Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005). Sharpless, Rebecca, *Cooking in Other Women’s Kitchens: Domestic Workers in the South, 1865-1960* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2010). Van Raaphorts, Donna L., *Union Maids Not Wanted: Organizing Domestic Workers, 1870-1940* (New York: Praetor, 1988). Urban, Andrew, “Irish Domestic Servants, ‘Biddy’ and Rebellion in the American Home, 1850–1900,” *Gender & History* 21, no. 2 (August 2009): 263–286.

<sup>109</sup> “Bicycling Servants Barred: Employers Don’t Want Them at Any Price — Walking Girls at a Premium,” *New York Times* (New York, NY) September 19, 1897, 15. Protest Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpdetroitfreepress/docview/562792278/abstract/15031EF-B79D54CF7PQ/2?accountid=12598>>

They believed because servants were so excited to ride after work that “they do their work too quickly, and hence badly, then dash away on their wheels.”<sup>110</sup> Bicycling made it clear that employers’ were not their servants’ top priority. Employers were also appalled that some servants stayed out well past midnight cycling with friends. One woman complained to a journalist that “[t]he girl is late in getting breakfast and dopy waiting on the table” after a long night of riding in the city.<sup>111</sup>

Increasingly frustrated with this new form of independence, many New York City families simply refused to hire servants who were cyclists. Some families reported they were unwilling to hire cyclists “at any price,” as even the lowest wage was not worth an unruly employee who challenged their power.<sup>112</sup> Other families offered a “premium” for “walking girls” — they promised higher wages to servants who guaranteed they would not ride while under their employ, including in employees’ off hours.<sup>113</sup> Families even paid hiring agents, those contracted to find the best candidates for domestic service, extra commission to ensure their new servants did not ride. The ‘walking girl premium’ put domestic servants in a difficult position. They had to choose between their passion for bicycling and their need to make a living. Employers clearly rewarded women with less independence and freedom to travel about the city.<sup>114</sup>

Newspaper accounts do not suggest that most domestic servants were willing to stop riding to ensure their employment. In fact, some servants responded to employers’ demands with

---

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

their own ultimatum. As one reporter documented, “[i]t’s got so nowadays that some of them refuse to take situations where they are forbidden to go out wheeling.”<sup>115</sup> One can assume that some domestic servants did give up cycling to keep their jobs, especially when wages could be higher for a ‘walking girl.’ This is understandable given the limited employment options for women, as they had to ensure their family’s basic needs were met. Yet many domestic servants simply refused to let their employers control their lives outside of work.

Despite their upper-class employers’ distaste for their cycling, domestic servants did have the support of many middle-class women cyclists. In the 1890s, numerous middle-class women who were involved in activist and reform projects, including the promotion of women’s athletics, published columns in support of ‘bicycling servants.’ For example, a *Godey’s Magazine* columnist acknowledged how common it had become to ask potential “[g]overnesses and maids... if they can ride a wheel.”<sup>116</sup> But she argued that the “accomplishment” of a domestic servant’s bicycling ability “greatly enhances their value in a family where there are young girls and children” who enjoy bicycling or need lessons.<sup>117</sup> A Chicago journalist weighed in on the debate by arguing that because cycling was so popular among the wealthy, it was only logical to hire a domestic servant who knew how to cycle so that she could clean and maintain the family’s bicycles as part of her responsibilities.<sup>118</sup> Such cycling advocates viewed the anti-cycling backlash as an

---

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> “Wheel-Whirls,” *Godey’s Magazine*, February 1897, 134, 222. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://books.google.com/books?id=o90RAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA110&lpg=PA110&dq=godey%27s+and+%22WHEEL-WHIRLS%22&source=bl&ots=shwa0RXOzq&sig=lfRUVsb8vXAd8oKq6XuuVvkz-zn4&hl=en&sa=X&ei=Ali-YU8X2KZCwyATe1YKQBQ&ved=0CB0Q6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=%22WHEEL-WHIRLS%22&f=false>>

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

unreasonable demand from passé, out of touch elites. They celebrated working-class women's riding ability and framed it as an asset for this particular type of employment.

Domestic servants and their supporters also had to counter sensationalized accounts of 'bicycling servants' in the press. A *Puck* cartoon titled "The 'New Woman' and Her Bicycle" depicted several demeaning stereotypes of working-class women cyclists, including a domestic servant with the face of a monkey, a typical depiction of Irish-Americans in this era, cycling during her "Sunday out" or her only break for the entire week.<sup>119</sup> Newspaper accounts of immoral and crime-crazed bicycling servants justified employers' anti-cycling views. One striking example was the 1897 arrest and court case of Eva Anderson for bicycle theft. Anderson worked as a lady's maid for Mrs. Florelle Wason, a member of a wealthy New York City family. Anderson was known for her enthusiasm for cycling, and one night she "disappeared" from the Wason home with Mrs. Wason's bicycle.<sup>120</sup> Wason called the police when she realized that both Anderson and her bicycle were missing. Two detectives quickly interviewed Wason and started to search for Anderson throughout the city, assessing each young woman rider against Wason's description of Anderson. The following night, the detectives found Anderson riding the stolen bicycle, arrested her, and set a \$1,000 bail while she awaited trial.<sup>121</sup>

---

<sup>119</sup> "The 'New Woman' and Her Bicycle — There Will Be Several Varieties of Her," *Puck*, June 19, 1895. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Online Catalog. Accessed January 25, 2016. <<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3b49127>>

<sup>120</sup> "A New Kind of 'Fiend': Woman Who Craves Bicycles as Others Do Morphine," *Cincinnati Enquirer* (Cincinnati, OH), October 3, 1897, 22. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpcincinnatienquirer/docview/888732842/abstract/9A6961FB2B5D4DB8PQ/301?accountid=12598>>

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

Interestingly, newspaper reporters and the involved parties medicalized Anderson's crime as the result of her pathological addiction to bicycling. Reporters called her a "new kind of 'fiend'" comparable to drugs, and that she was "the self-confessed victim of 'a habit' that destroys the conscience as effectually as morphine and cocaine destroy the body."<sup>122</sup> They claimed that her desire to ride became so uncontrollable that she stole her employer's bicycle. Anderson also used this reasoning to justify her crime. In court, she told the judge, "I can't live without a wheel... That is why I stole one."<sup>123</sup> While her motivation for such an admission remains unclear, the detectives who found Anderson were quick to frame her crime as pathological. They said they were able to tell Anderson apart from other women cyclists "by the look of profound ecstasy in her face as she pedaled along the street lamps."<sup>124</sup> When making her arrest, the detectives stated that Anderson did not deny her identity or her crime. Anderson in fact "submitted to arrest like one in a dream," acting largely unaware of what was happening to her.<sup>125</sup> Once in prison awaiting trial, reporters framed her lack of access to cycling as similar to someone with a drug addiction going through withdrawal. In fact, they claimed Anderson was in a more difficult situation, as prisoners could easily get drugs smuggled in for them, but "no one will smuggle a bicycle."<sup>126</sup> The day after her arrest, Anderson "suffer[ed] acutely from the craving to ride" and "[t]ears went down her face as she pleaded [to prison officials] to be allowed to scorch one short

---

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

block in order to ‘brace her nerves.’”<sup>127</sup> Even though they could not release her, even for a brief ride, prison officials were “moved to pity” when Anderson cried, “[h]ow can I live without a wheel?”<sup>128</sup> It is unclear what happened to Anderson after her trial, including if she served time in prison. Regardless, highly publicized cases such as Anderson’s theft framed bicycling servants as unpredictable and unstable individuals who required surveillance, fueling employers who were already suspicious of working-class wheelwomen.

Domestic servants were not the only group of working-class women who used bicycling to challenge the constraints they faced as workers. While domestic servants rode to resist their employers, other women workers used bicycling to soothe the difficulties of wage work and maintain their mental and physical health. In cities throughout the Midwest and East Coast, it was fairly common to see groups of working-class women commuting to work on their bicycle. Cyclists and journalists alike voiced their pleasure in seeing female “[c]lerks in stores, typewriters, and the whole great army of employed women rode their wheels to business” in cities throughout the country.<sup>129</sup> Even in smaller cities, such as South Bend, Indiana, working women, many employed as stenographers and office workers, used their bicycle to commute and for all their errands around town.<sup>130</sup> The columnist behind the popular women’s cycling column “The Ladies’ Mile” noted that in “[t]he working-class of Chicago has adopted the wheel quite univer-

---

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> “Woman and the Wheel,” *Munsey's Magazine* 15, no. 2, May 1896, 157-159. Hathitrust. Accessed April 25, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015050611576;view=1up;seq=177>>

<sup>130</sup> “South Bend, Ind,” *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review* 5, no. 16, June 13, 1890, 464. Hathitrust. Accessed April 25, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433069078099>>

sally” and that from 7am to 9am, city intersections were filled with women and girls cycling to work.<sup>131</sup>

Middle-class bicycling columnists’ repeated support of working-class wheelwomen offers historians some the richest glimpses into working-class women’s cycling practices. In fact, working-class cyclists were met with a broader women’s bicycling culture largely supportive of working-class women using the bicycle to commute. They demonstrated their support the numerous columns in popular and bicycling-specific periodicals, in which they encouraged and supported working-class wheelwomen. Many middle-class cyclists used their bicycling practice as part of their activist and reform projects. As such, they viewed the promotion of working-class women’s bicycling as a logical extension of the bicycle’s potential as a tool for social change.

As early as 1890, Lillian Campbell Davidson, a columnist for *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review*, proposed the benefits of cycling for working women. To Davidson, cycling was an effective way working women could maintain their physical and mental well-being, a particularly important task for wage earners: “[m]ore and more women are forced to work for their own living. It is for the woman who toils, even more than for the woman who plays, that cycling as a boon to health.”<sup>132</sup> Davidson believed cycling was especially effective for working women, whose daily schedule was busier and less flexible compared to the ‘woman who play.’ She suggested that working women “cannot spare time for long walks, but half-an-hour awheel will do her more good than she could have gained by a walk which took her three times as long.”<sup>133</sup> To

---

<sup>131</sup> Margery, “The Ladies’ Mile,” *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* XIV no. 23, December 7, 1894, 466. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.

<sup>132</sup> Davidson, Lillian Campbell, “Points for the Ladies,” *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review* 5, May 23, 1890, 367. Google Books. Accessed April 25, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=6fFYAAAAYAAJ>>

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

Davidson, the higher intensity of cycling was well-suited to female factory workers, whose long shifts did not leave time in the day for long, leisurely strolls.

In her *Harper's Bazaar* column, author and passionate cyclist Edith Townsend Everett also believed bicycling had particular benefits for women workers. Everett argued that bicycling was suited “[f]or women whose lives are the busiest and whose minds are severely taxed, either by intellectual labors or the hardest sort of mental arithmetic — making ends meet.”<sup>134</sup> She believed that the stress working-class women experienced was best relieved by bicycling: “no one who starts out for even the briefest ride will bring back the wrinkled brow or tired brain that began the journey with her. All the worrying petty details are left one by one in the blossoming orchards, the fields aglow with golden-rod, or amid the brilliant foliage of autumn.”<sup>135</sup> Everett suggested that working women from poor families could especially benefit from the tours to the country, a popular activity typically limited to wealthier cyclists with free weekends and spending money. Privileged wheelwomen repeatedly highlighted the importance of working women’s access to nature: “[t]he world of tasks is more pleasant to endure, and fuller of compensations. Given a holiday, the average working girl prefers to spend it on her machine, in the sunshine and open air, and thus the city toiler is brought into close communion with the country.”<sup>136</sup> Even

---

<sup>134</sup> Everett, Edith Townsend, “Bicycling for Women,” *Harper's Bazaar* 26, no. 24, June 17, 1893, 485. American Periodicals. Accessed April 25, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/125612646/abstract/1AA24F50085D4C0BPQ/3?accountid=12598>>

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> Bisland, Mary, “Woman’s Cycle,” *Godey's Lady's Book* 132, no. 790, April 1896, 385-388. Hathitrust. Accessed April 25, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433081675633;view=1up;seq=401>>



Elizabeth Cady Stanton believed women laborers were a group that most benefited from cycling.<sup>137</sup>

Only a few years after the invention of the women's safety model, *The American Cyclist*, a leading bicycling magazine, was quick to propose to its readers: "[w]hy has no one pointed out the benefit which women, whose occupations entail much standing, would service from adopting cycling as a means of taking exercise? And yet how many women pass most of their working hours on their feet?"<sup>138</sup> The columnist argued that a typical working-class woman,

after a long day's work, has not sufficient energy left to care to do anything but rest, habitually forces herself to mount her machine, knowing that in ten minutes she will feel all right again, and will return after a ten or fifteen miles' spin as fresh as a daisy. The result of giving in to the feeling of weariness is fatal. Dyspepsia, neuralgia, or other equally unpleasant ailments speedily seize upon the tired frame.... For shop-girls, too, whose vocation necessitates almost constant standing, the cycle is a boon, the value of which none but those who have experienced it can estimate.<sup>139</sup>

Many physicians agreed with *The American Cyclist* columnist. In fact, physicians rarely voiced concerns about the potential damage of cycling to working-class women's bodies. This was quite different from their concerns regarding middle-class women's health, especially regarding fears that bicycling could limit women's reproductive abilities. Inspired by pioneering wheelwomen to change their stances on cycling, by the late 1890s physicians encouraged bicycle shops to develop installment plans specifically so working-class women could enjoy the health benefits of cycling, which they viewed as especially beneficial for women whose work kept them

---

<sup>137</sup> Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, "The Era of the Bicycle," *The Woman's Tribune* 12, no. 28, July 20, 1895, 112. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 25, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP211.2\\_Volume\\_12\\_Issue\\_28-12](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP211.2_Volume_12_Issue_28-12)>

<sup>138</sup> *The American Cyclist* IV, no. 11, June 15, 1893, no page. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

on their feet on day.<sup>140</sup> Physician and columnist A. L. Benedict of *The Century* was particularly concerned with the unmarried, “solidarity female” worker who was forced to cope with workplace stress on her own: “the exhilaration of rapid motion, the accessibility of charming bits of nature, the mastery of time and space, afforded by this steed of steel, more than atone for social companionship.”<sup>141</sup> To Benedict, the bicycling experience created a relationship between the rider and her machine which could offer comfort similar to the companionship of a horse, dog or even relatives. Benedict also believed bicycling had an unique potential to improve the wellness of poor families living in tenement housing. He argued that the upfront investment of a bicycle saved working women money in the long term: a “second-hand wheel can be paid for from the car-fare that would be spent in a year,” saving ten to twenty cents a day.<sup>142</sup> Benedict viewed coming home for lunch as a key benefit for cycling factory workers, because they could eat a more filling, healthy, and cheaper homemade meal, avoiding the costly “dyspepsia-breeding cheap lunch... [which] is twice as expensive as a plain, wholesome meal cooked at home.”<sup>143</sup>

Beyond simply saving lunch money, Benedict believed that the bicycle could lead to the ultimate triumph over tenement life — the ability to live in the city outskirts, or even the suburbs, away from the “noise, dust, and crowding” of the urban slums and commute to work via

---

<sup>140</sup> “Bicycling for Girls,” *The American Cyclist* 3, March 1892, 45. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015. “Physical Effects of Cycling,” *The Woman’s Journal* 27, no. 30, July 25, 1896, 240. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 25, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205\\_Volume\\_27\\_Issue\\_30-2](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205_Volume_27_Issue_30-2)>

<sup>141</sup> Benedict, A. L., “Dangers and Benefits of the Bicycle,” *The Century Magazine* 54, no. 32, 1897, 471. Google Books. Accessed April 25, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=y3gAAAAAYAAJ>>

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

bicycle.<sup>144</sup> Through commuting, he proposed working-class families could leave the “ill-ventilated three-room suite of the tenement, with its utter lack of indoor privacy and outdoor freedom” and relocate to a “five-room cottage a few miles distant, with good ventilation, sanitary plumbing, the possibility of at least a small garden, and the certainty of an atmosphere not only of pure air, but of independence.”<sup>145</sup> The implications of moving a working-class family away from the tenements were immeasurable to both the family and the city itself:

[i]t is no exaggeration to say that the bicycle is making self-respecting households... [of those] who would otherwise become the victims of tenement life, necessarily dependent on the charity of the city physician... and destined to succumb to a progressive pauperism which leads to dependance on one form of charity after another.<sup>146</sup>

Benedict concluded with a utopian vision of middle-class independence even for the poorest female factory worker’s family, if only she started to ride. Middle-class women also highlighted how working-class wheelwomen did not lose their respect by cycling. As well-known columnist Marguerite Merrington argued, “[t]he armies of women clerks in Chicago and Washington who go by wheel to business, show that the exercise within bounds need not impair the spick-and-spanly neatness that marks the bread-winning American girl.”<sup>147</sup>

While urban working-class women flocked to cycling, rural working-class women also began to ride. Cycling enthusiasts noted with delight how quickly women’s cycling was growing in small towns where, just like in cities, women made up a visible and vibrant part of their local

---

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> Merrington, Marguerite, “Woman and the Bicycle,” *Scribner's Magazine* 17, no. 6, June, 1895, 702-704. Quote page 703. Hathitrust. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39076000303664;view=1up;seq=708>>

cycling community.<sup>148</sup> While rural women surely enjoyed the experience of cycling, they took a utilitarian view of this new technology as a revolutionary transportation method. As Josephine Redding described in *Vogue*, “women and girls in farming communities think nothing of wheeling to more or less distant villages and towns” and compared to horses, cycling for errands was “less expensive, quicker for short runs and more independent.”<sup>149</sup> For rural women, access to a bicycle was a life-changing transformation. When their only transportation options were horses, carriages or walking, traveling to town to go shopping was a special, rare, all-day event. With a bicycle, women were able to make these trips much more regularly. If they ran out of something, they did not need to wait weeks or months for it. They also had much more opportunities for social interactions, one of the most prized and longed for activities among farm women; while in town, they visited every store, picked up their mail, and spoke with friends and neighbors. The ability to take more regular trips to town made even the isolated life of many farm women more manageable.<sup>150</sup> A *Harper’s* columnist encouraged readers to understand this significance of cycling as an “essential chapter in the emancipation” of rural women.<sup>151</sup> They used cycling to gain a “vast freedom” via “the knowledge of nature offered, the opportunity of visiting birds and flowers in their shy haunts, of visiting friends far away, dwelling in one town and making an af-

---

<sup>148</sup> “Chalk and Cheese,” *Bearings: The Cycling Authority of America* 5, no. 13, April 29, 1892, no pages. Google Books. Accessed April 25, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=9bg5AQAAMAAJ>>

<sup>149</sup> Redding, Josephine, “Haphazard Jottings: The Bicycle as a Village Developer/Excess of Exports or Imports, and Why They Do Not Indicate...” *Vogue* 16, no. 6, 1900, 84. ProQuest. Accessed April 25, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/vogue/docview/911819641/50F69D30FFEF4167PQ/147?accountid=12598>>

<sup>150</sup> “Kansas Women Cyclists,” *Cincinnati Enquirer* (Cincinnati, OH), May 6, 1899, 4. ProQuest. Accessed April 25, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpcincinnatiquirer/docview/895240274/citation/9A6961FB2B5D4DB8PQ/141?accountid=12598>>

<sup>151</sup> T. W. H., “Women and Men: Life Upon Wheels,” *Harper’s Bazaar* 28, no. 22, June 1, 1895, 434. ProQuest. Accessed April 25, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/125598639/abstract/6668A36B52F049DFPQ/82?accountid=12598>>

ternoon call in another at a distance of twenty miles.”<sup>152</sup> Another wheelwoman agreed that “[t]o women living in the country, and unpossessed of a carriage, there is really no limit to its usefulness. It has, in fact, supplied a want so great that one is inclined to wonder how one’s entire sex got on at all before.”<sup>153</sup> The popularity of women’s cycling in the rural Midwest gained notable attention from journalists across the country. Cincinnati journalist described how “there is a bicycle in nearly every farmhouse, and the women use them more than the men.”<sup>154</sup> In a Wisconsin bicycling magazine, a columnist described how “even when the mud is deepest a Kansas girl can go to town and back before her father can get half way there with a team and wagon” and because of bicycling, rural women had “been emancipated from the shackles of farm life.”<sup>155</sup> Whether in small farming communities in the Midwest or booming cities like New York and Chicago, working-class women used cycling to make concrete improvements in their lives, demand access to public spaces, challenge their employers, and help soothe the challenges of their grueling jobs.

---

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> Davidson, L. C., “Cycling for Ladies” in Harry Hewitt Griffin’s *Cycles and Cycling*. (New York: Stokes, 1890). 87-98. Hathitrust. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001732362>>

<sup>154</sup> “Kansas Women Cyclists,” 4.

<sup>155</sup> Napoleon, Louis, “Observations,” *The Pneumatic: A Journal of Cycling Literature and Trade* X, no. 5, June, 1899, 140. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed April 25, 2016. <<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/75613/show/75430/rec/1>>

## Conclusion

A popular cycling poem, printed in sports periodicals, women's magazines, and city newspapers, highlighted the popularity of bicycling across class. Regardless of one's income, the poet described that owning a bicycle was like having "a pocket full of gold."<sup>156</sup> The poem concludes:

The king has left the counting-house and wisely spent his money.  
The queen and he are bicycling, forgetting bread and honey;  
The maid has bought a wheel, too, and left her handing clothes;  
'Twould take a nimble blackbird now to nip off half her nose.<sup>157</sup>

It would be disingenuous to imply that working-class women carved any substantial power in the bicycling industry. On the production side, men ran companies and some even amassed large fortunes in the bicycling industry. Other men owned their own stores or worked as supervisors in factories. As consumers, working-class women struggled with dangerous jobs, limited spending money and free time. The complexities of working-class women's cycling offers a much needed challenge to the simplified 'freedom machine' thesis of empowerment which dominates nineteenth-century cycling history.

But, recognizing their limited power does not mean that working-class women stayed on the sidelines of bicycling. They were in fact central players in both the background and foreground of the bicycling industry. As factory workers, the quality and speed of their work shaped an industry, helping it become more accessible to middle-class consumers. Women's work in sales and instruction significantly shaped consumer choice. As consumers, working-class women

---

<sup>156</sup> "Sing a Song of Bicycles" *Woman's Life* 1, no. 13, March 7, 1896, 573. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP206\\_Volume\\_1\\_Issue\\_13-7](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP206_Volume_1_Issue_13-7)>

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

crafted new uses of the bicycle to challenge their employers and soothe the difficulties of their work. Cycling historian S. Michael Wells concluded his study of nineteenth-century working-class women's cycling by arguing that it was popular, but "it probably had very little to do with equality, or women's rights."<sup>158</sup> Did working-class women cyclists attend suffrage meetings? With such a minimal paper trail, it is hard to know. Did they use cycling to overtly challenge the class and gender constraints they faced as working-class women? Absolutely. Working-class women were far from passive recipients from this new technology. In fact, cycling is a striking example how nineteenth-century working-class women used the tools available to them, especially consumer goods, as ammunition in their diverse engagement and deep investment of the politics of everyday life.

---

<sup>158</sup> Wells, "Ordinary Women: High Wheeling Ladies in Nineteenth Century America," 13.

## CHAPTER 5: “NEW PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE”: WOMEN’S BICYCLING NARRATIVES

In 1895, after only a few years of cycling, Woman’s Christian Temperance Union President Frances Willard wrote, “I found a whole new philosophy of life in the wooing and the winning of my bicycle.”<sup>1</sup> In an interview that following year, Mrs. J. Rush Greene, a cyclist respected in her era who remains largely forgotten today, said that women’s cycling had “brought a new sensation, a new view of life. It gave a woman an independent, sort of ‘paddle-your-own-canoe’ feeling.”<sup>2</sup> Willard was one of the most famous women of her era, and Greene left little written record beyond a few interviews. Yet, both women offered a complimentary understanding of their new sport. Willard and Greene were two of many nineteenth-century wheelwomen who were inspired to write about cycling as a deeply transformative practice with seismic outcomes for women. To document their lives as cyclists, ordinary women published their personal narratives in the popular periodicals and the suffrage press. In 1895, Frances Willard published her cycling narrative in her memoir, *Wheel Within a Wheel*. These publications offer a window into the constellation of physical, emotional, and intellectual experiences of wheelwomen in the 1890s. In their narratives, wheelwomen challenge us to understand how cycling, a seemingly apolitical recreational pursuit, a mere commercial amusement, could be the catalyst for a new perspective on life itself.

---

<sup>1</sup> Willard, Frances Elizabeth, *Wheel Within a Wheel How I Learned to Ride the Bicycle with Some Reflections Along the Way* (London: Hutchinson & Co, 1895), 25. Google Books <[https://books.google.com/books?id=IYs3AAAA-MAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=IYs3AAAA-MAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false)>

<sup>2</sup> Hopkins, Mary Sargent, “Yesterday and Today,” *Ladies World* XVII, no. 7, July 1896, 10. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Print. Accessed June 6, 2015.



The outcomes the physical, emotional and intellectual experiences of cycling were profound and transformative for women. Women used cycling to not just physically move, but to inspire philosophical movement over the social constructs that inhabited women's lives. Willard, like many wheelwomen, developed a new, empowering and deeply political 'philosophy of life' from cycling. Once off the bike, they used these new perspectives to transform their lives. In *Wheel Within a Wheel*, Frances Willard detailed her journey from novice cyclist to experienced wheelwoman, and it offers us the rare opportunity to see the physical, emotional and intellectual process of a nineteenth-century wheelwoman learning to ride and the resulting personal and political implications. Yet, Willard was far from the only woman with such an empowering cycling experience. Through popular periodicals, we get glimpses of everyday wheelwomen creating thoughtful narratives as they grapple with the far-reaching potential of their new sport. Lastly, suffrage press editors and contributors used wheelwomen's narratives to create a women-centered body of bicycling knowledge and to highlight wheelwomen's accomplishments as evidence of the broad success of their movement. In all three forums, women crafted personal narratives in which they transformed the physical and emotional experiences of cycling into an intellectual framework. As a result, they created an approachable and effective way ordinary women could put new ideas of women's empowerment into practice.

#### "A Broad Range of Vision": Narratives of Bicycling as a Physical, Emotional, and Intellectual Practice

Columnist Annie Holdsworth concluded her article on women's bicycling by writing, "[i]t is only within the last decade that woman has begun to dream of an unfettered body. She

dreamed, and woke a bicyclist.”<sup>3</sup> Holdsworth’s insight is a useful place to start to understand ordinary women’s experiences as cyclists, how their experiences changed them, and the processes they engaged in to make such a change. It is important to keep in mind that the bicycle, like all objects, is neutral. A bicycle did not necessarily have to be an empowering object and create life-changing experiences for women riders. Women could have developed a relationship with this object that was devoid of deeper meaning (and, of course, some did), or this object could have become a tool of oppression, depending on the powerful people and institutions controlling and constructing this practice. But this did not happen. For many women, their bicycle became a beloved object with whom they felt a strong connection. Their experiences on their bikes fueled great changes in their lives, specifically because women chose to use cycling for these purposes. Women did not necessarily plan to have empowering experiences while cycling; life-changing experiences are often unpredictable and hard to plan, and that often makes them life-changing. But women used cycling to explore their lives, ask big questions, rethink the possibilities of their lives. The bicycle was not actor — it did not fall from the heavens, or a factory, and have any automatic effect. As women began to ride, they saw the potential in their new activity, and used it for a variety of purposes. Many of these purposes had far-reaching effects on their lives.

The first step to explore these questions is to understand the complexities of women’s cycling experiences. Bicycling is a physical, emotional, and intellectual pursuit, and riders to tap into these realms at the same time. The cycling experience includes the five senses, such seeing a beautiful landscape, hearing a tire pop, and grabbing the handlebars, as well as other sensations,

---

<sup>3</sup> Holdsworth, Annie, “A Book of the Hour,” *The Woman's Signal*, May 30, 1895, 345. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 3, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP210\\_Volume\\_3\\_Issue\\_74-7](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP210_Volume_3_Issue_74-7)>

such as speed, heat, lightness, pain, thirst, hunger and effort. With these experiences come a variety of emotions, including fear, relief, frustration, confidence, mental clarity, thrill and joy. Historians of the senses have rightly proposed that intersensoriality — an acknowledgment that we experience multiple senses and emotions at the same time — offers us the most rich and nuanced understanding of a particular activity.<sup>4</sup> Wheelwomen experienced a wide range of interwoven sensory and emotional feedback, and they did not simply forget it all when they got off their bikes. Rooted in movements of the body, wheelwomen developed their physical experiences into a political practice. They left their rides with new ideas and fresh perspectives on what their lives could be as well as the possibilities for all women. These new perspectives served as the foundation for their political use of cycling to challenge gender norms in the variety of ways this dissertation uncovers.

In recognizing these complexities, we can begin to see how wheelwomen experienced cycling and how it changed their lives. Greene offers a road map of the three major experiences that centered wheelwomen's activities. First, the actual act of cycling was a new physical experience; as cyclists, nineteenth-century women moved their bodies in unprecedented new ways. Bicycling technology was groundbreaking on two fronts that are easy for twenty-first century Americans to overlook. First, cycling is self-propelled. Wheelwomen marveled at the ease of travel without all of the restrictions and difficulties of relying on animals or railroads; cyclists could go wherever their bodies and machines could take them. Second, cycling is fast. In casual rides just in their neighborhoods — not in races — cyclists found themselves easily riding about

---

<sup>4</sup> Smith, Mark, *Sensing the Past: Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, Tasting, and Touching in History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 118.

four times faster than they walked.<sup>5</sup> This shocked long-held conceptualizations of distance and time to the core. As Greene described, cycling was rife with ‘new sensations.’

Holdsworth’s quote offers an important starting point to understand the process by which women began to cycle and use their practice to expand the possibilities of their lives. Women used a variety of popular periodicals to publicize their empowering and complex experiences as cyclists, including newspapers, fashion magazines, health magazines, gossip columns, and sports periodicals. First and foremost, cycling is a physical experience. It starts with the body.

Holdsworth implied that women had recently begun to imagine a new kind of physical, embodied experience which she described as ‘unfettered,’ or movement that was unrestrained and free. Yet, it was not clear what form this new experience would take. Holdsworth claimed that by becoming bicyclists, women thrust this hope into a new, physical form. It is worth noting Holdsworth’s word choice. She claimed that women “dreamed, and woke a bicyclist.”<sup>6</sup> She did not write that women started bicycling, but that they became bicyclists — the physical act became their new identity. This speaks volumes. For many women, the physical act of cycling became key to their identity and perspective on the world. As previously discussed, cycling is a complex and all-encompassing physical act. It simultaneously engages most if not all of the senses while the cyclist experiences other physical sensations. As the first generation to ride the safety, the first mass-produced bicycle, women in the 1890s were also the first to experience this particular combination of physical experiences. While few women published cycling memoirs like Frances Willard, many wrote to popular periodicals to describe the physical experiences of

---

<sup>5</sup> Kern, Stephen, *University of California Press* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 111.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

cycling. These periodicals offer us a window into how women experienced and made sense of the physical sensations of their new sport.

A thread that weaves through so many of women's cycling narratives is how drastically different cycling felt compared to any existing mode of travel. As both self-propelled and quite fast for nineteenth-century standards, women were struck by the experience. They often compared cycling to traveling by foot and by carriage, the two forms of travel with which they were most familiar and served as key markers in their conceptualization of speed. Wheelwomen framed the physical experience of cycling as far more empowering. In *Godey's Lady's Book*, the most popular women's periodical of the nineteenth-century, prominent journalist Mary Bisland celebrated the physical experience of cycling as "naturally felt in an exquisite freedom of limb and vigorous bodily motions."<sup>7</sup> Bisland compared the freedom of cycling to traditional forms of transportation which "sadly restricted any liberty of action" and forced women to be "passive and dependent," moving "slowly and timidly, like prisoners, lightly but securely shackled."<sup>8</sup> Unlike forms of travel dependent on animals, especially carriages, Bisland celebrated how wheelwomen finally found a form of travel uniquely self-propelled and reliable: "a process of locomotion absolutely at her command... with greater staying powers than a horse, that is all her own."<sup>9</sup> Mrs. J. Rush Greene, the well known cyclist from Boston, similarly saw the bicycle as a long-awaited alternative to horses. She loved cycling because there was "no waiting for the horse to be harnessed, no fear of shying or going lame — a very freedom from everything to vex and an-

---

<sup>7</sup> Bisland, Mary L., "Woman's Cycle," *Godey's Lady's Book* 132, no. 790, April 1896, 385-388. Quote page 386. Hathitrust. Accessed May 3, 2016. <<http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015024384219;view=1up;seq=398>>

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

noy.”<sup>10</sup> Cyclist and *Scribner's* columnist Marguerite Merrington similarly encouraged that women “to whom the horse is a wistful dream, at least may hope to realize a wheel.”<sup>11</sup>

Wheelwomen also compared cycling to a new, revolutionary form of travel: railroads. Elizabeth Robins Pennell was one of the most experienced and respected cycling-based travelers of her era, and her cycling travel memoirs she co-authored with her husband were best sellers.<sup>12</sup> Pennell wrote that from her cycling trip across Europe, despite some difficulties pedaling over the Alps she was convinced that traveling by bicycle was far better than relying on transportation that keeps women dependent: “[a]fter you have cycled you will never again be quite content to sit in a carriage and let some one else drive you... The cycle was invented for the benefit of the independent traveler who wants to see not only big towns, but the country that lies in between, and who does not care to have his goings and comings regulated by the time-table.”<sup>13</sup> In fact, wheelwomen often felt particularly in control of their time when physically riding. Marguerite Merrington loved how as a cyclist “an hour, or even half an hour, may be stolen” from daily responsibilities to ride.<sup>14</sup> Students at Smith College, which boasted a vibrant cycling scene, similarly described bicycling as “to race with Old Time and then in the end to outdo him.”<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> Hopkins, Mary Sargent, “Yesterday and Today,” *Ladies World* XVII, no. 7, July 1896, 10. Print. Accessed June 6, 2015. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive.

<sup>11</sup> Merrington, Marguerite, “Woman and the Bicycle,” *Scribner's Magazine* 17, no. 6 June 1895, 702-704. Quote page 703. Hathitrust. Accessed May 3, 2016. <<http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.319510019199900;view=1up;seq=718>>

<sup>12</sup> Jones, Kimberly Morse, *Elizabeth Robins Pennell, Nineteenth-Century Pioneer of Modern Art Criticism* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015), 26.

<sup>13</sup> “Cycling for Women,” *The American Cyclist*, June 1892, 155. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.

<sup>14</sup> Merrington, “Woman and the Bicycle,” 703.

<sup>15</sup> Moore, Elizabeth Skelding, “Bicycle Riding at Smith College,” 1918. Smith College Archives. Print. Accessed April 2, 2015.

Similarly, cyclists often used flying metaphors to describe their physical experiences. Such rhetorical choices spoke to the shocking speed of cycling and ability to move over terrain. But it also suggested a feeling among many women in that cycling offered a glimpse into the future. The rise and popularity of this new technology inspired much thought among American women as they struggled to imagine what the future could bring. In the *New Bohemian: A Modern Monthly*, author F. W. Hutchins described women's cycling as a rebirth similar to a butterfly. Hutchins described women's experience of self-propelled as a transformation "just as the lowly worm bursts suddenly into winged life, and sails gloriously by us in the sunlight" so do wheelwomen riding through city streets.<sup>16</sup> A *Harper's Bazaar* journalist referred to large group of cyclists in the Manhattan streets as a "swarm" similar to "winged creatures."<sup>17</sup> This journalist said that Elizabeth Barrett Browning's poetry best described the physical feeling of cycling in her lines "we soared to meet the eagles" and "we struck the stars in rising."<sup>18</sup> As these 'swarms' become larger by the day, the journalist wondered, "[w]hen one sees the immensely rapid spread of the two-wheeled vehicle, especially for women, it is hard to conjecture what it may be in another ten or twenty years."<sup>19</sup> In *Godey's Lady's Book*, one wheelwoman said she felt as though she suddenly had grown "light, strong wings."<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> Hutchins, F. W., "The Southern Girl and the Bicycle," *New Bohemian: A Modern Monthly*, 1895, 18-21. Quote page 18. Google Books. Accessed May 3, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=xd4aAAAYAAJ>>

<sup>17</sup> T. W. H., "Women and Men: Life Upon Wheels," *Harper's Bazaar* 28, no. 22, June 1, 1895, 434. ProQuest. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/125598639/abstract/6668A36B52F049DFPQ/82?accountid=12598>>

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Bisland, "Woman's Cycle," 386.

Outside of some cyclists who took lessons in indoor riding schools, cycling was inherently an outdoor activity. The fact that women rode outside cannot be divorced from the physical experience of cycling itself. Whether they cycled through bustling city streets or rural country paths, their environment sparked a wealth of different sensory feedback, all of which they experienced while they moved through this environment. For some cyclists, exposure to the sun and fresh air were a particularly memorable experience from their ride. Similar to Frances Willard, who had a lifelong love of the outdoors, wheelwomen believed that the outdoor experience of cycling reawakened what for many women was a deep but untapped love of the natural world. In his publications on cycling, celebrated cyclist and author Issac Potter wrote that “[a]fter a close study of the question for five years” he felt confident to claim that “use of the bicycle will do more to improve the physical condition of American women... than any other agency yet devised.”<sup>21</sup> Potter argued that this improvement in physical condition was a direct result of exposure to the outdoors. He argued that “the average woman loves to be out of doors” and that when women rarely spend time outside due to their obligations that keep them indoors and not a lack of desire.<sup>22</sup> Potter argued that by bicycling, women had access to the healthy effects of time spent outdoors; now women could enjoy “the exhilarating benefits of contact with the pure air and bright sunlight, which the knowledge of cycling brings within her reach.”<sup>23</sup>

Lucy Hall-Brown, a celebrated physician, offered a similar endorsement of women’s cycling in *Harper’s Bazaar*. Hall-Brown claimed that out of all the newly popular sports, such as

---

<sup>21</sup> Potter, Issac B., “The Bicycle Outlook,” *Century Magazine*, September 1896, 785. ProQuest American Periodicals Index. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/125518321/1303608FC2D84EDCPQ/1?accountid=12598>>

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.



tennis and golf, cycling was the most beneficial for women and it was the most accessible across age and ability: “[o]ld and young, rich and poor, idle and busy, all may alike share its benefits.”<sup>24</sup> She argued that because cycling was “essentially an out-of-door recreation,” women gained sun exposure, and the speed of cycling created a wind and fresh air around them.<sup>25</sup> Through the experience of “the wind tossed their hair, the sun kissed on their cheeks” women gained access to the “best of all tonics, sunshine and fresh air.”<sup>26</sup> Temperance reformer Susan B. Fessenden agreed that “the inspiration of a ride through the racing air, filling the lungs” was a distinct physical experience only access through cycling.<sup>27</sup> Women also discussed how the physical experience of cycling made them hungry and thirsty, experiences they both viewed as a sign of the positive impact of cycling on their bodies. Cyclists at Smith College wrote that upon returning to their dorms after long afternoon rides with friends, they “come back glowing and happy with a zest for dinner and the world.”<sup>28</sup> Mary Bisland of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* agreed that even “[i]f the bicycle is to be valued for nothing else, let us remember that it has been the means of carrying women into the open air.”<sup>29</sup> As early as 1893, only a few years after the rise of the safety, a columnist in *Good Health* described wheelwomen with “her cheeks sunburned” and “strength-

---

<sup>24</sup> Hall-Brown, Lucy, “The Wheel as an Aid to Health,” 29, no. 1, *Harper’s Bazaar*, March 14, 1896, 231. ProQuest. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/125596867/D380ADEAFD-C440A7PQ/1?accountid=12598>>

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Fessenden, Susan S., “The Wheel as a Temperance Help,” *Ladies’ World* XVII, no. 7, July 1896, 19. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Print. Accessed June 6, 2016.

<sup>28</sup> Moore, “Bicycle Riding at Smith College,” 1918.

<sup>29</sup> Bisland, “Woman’s Cycle,” 387.

ened by life in the open air induced by riding.”<sup>30</sup> A *Chicago Tribune* reporter agreed that in life before cycling, “the universal elements, fresh air, earth and water had not been free to woman because of the chains of conventions” which women have directly challenged by cycling.<sup>31</sup> A *Munsey’s Magazine* columnist argued that cycling offered women one of the few benefits enjoyed by previous generations of women: they “their lives in the open air” which as been lost in the industrial age: “[w]hatever good the newer and more brilliant civilization brought, it carried conditions which confined women more and more, taking from their naturalness” and chaining them to life indoors.”<sup>32</sup> Bicycling “whirled women into the open air” and helped to curb the largely indoor life of middle-class Americans.<sup>33</sup> A *Cincinnati Enquirer* journalist agreed that by cycling, women challenged the long-held belief that women “must be protected from the faintest breath of air.”<sup>34</sup>

Like access to the natural world, speed was also a great concern to Americans in the late nineteenth-century. The world seemed to be going much faster than it ever had before. In a single generation, Americans witnessed technology such as the telegraph, railroad, and the bicycle chal-

---

<sup>30</sup> “What Bicycle Riding Has Done,” *Good Health* XXVIII, no. 1, January 1893, 14. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed May 2, 2106. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3HQRg1>>

<sup>31</sup> “BICYCLE RIDING AND WOMEN.: It Is Enabling Them to Escape from the Bondage of Custom,” *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Chicago, IL), June 17, 1895, 4. ProQuest. Accessed May 1, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpchicagotribune/docview/175084280/abstract/30E673CFD1C421CPQ/71?accountid=12598>>

<sup>32</sup> “Woman and the Wheel,” *Munsey’s Magazine* 15, no. 2, May 1896, 157-159. Quote page 157. Hathitrust. Accessed May 2, 2106. <<http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=pst.000068739133;view=1up;seq=285>>

<sup>33</sup> “Woman and the Wheel,” 158.

<sup>34</sup> “THE NEW WOMAN.: Ideals Regarding Women Have Changed,” *Cincinnati Enquirer* (Cincinnati, OH), May 10, 1896, 32. ProQuest. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpcincinnati-enquirer/docview/895703637/abstract/9A6961FB2B5D4DB8PQ/280?accountid=12598>>

lenge and reorient their seemingly unshakable understanding of time, space and distance.<sup>35</sup> What had once been weeks or months away, unreachable or only reachable through an unreliable postal service, was now easily accessible; send a telegram, board a railroad, and ride a bicycle. In his seminal intellectual history of turn-of-the-century American life, historian Stephen Kern argues that the flourishing of speed in the late nineteenth-century fueled the “leveling of traditional hierarchies” and while Americans who loved speed “did not always aim directly at the social structure of the aristocracy, they energized a general cultural challenge to all outmoded hierarchies.”<sup>36</sup> Not surprisingly, speed-loving Americans were drawn to bicycling, as even casual cycling was roughly four times faster than walking.<sup>37</sup> Cyclists quickly found that a destination that had always been a day-long walk across the city was now a quick bike ride away. Cyclists in rural areas used their bicycles to access country roads and paths that had long been limited to carriages; trips to town went from a special occasion to a regular occurrence.

Many Americans were unsure what to think about this new experience of speed. Cyclists and non-cyclists alike heavily debated the ethics and respectability of speed, including how fast was too fast. How fast could a woman ride before overstepping respectability? Kern argues that while Americans were concerned and worried about speed, and many vocalized their opposition to this new way of life, the opposition was a vocal minority. Most Americans were thrilled at the thought of flying through their neighborhoods or pedaling over a rocky, country road. Yet, cyclists did not have a definition of ‘speeding’ or what constituted too much speed. In fact, cyclists

---

<sup>35</sup> Howe, Daniel Walker, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (New York: Oxford, 2009).

<sup>36</sup> Kern, Stephen, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).

<sup>37</sup> Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space*, 111.

hotly debated this very issue. They referred to cyclists who went too fast, including professional racers as well as thrill-seeking enthusiasts, with the insulting term ‘scorchers.’ This insult implied the rider chose risk and thrill over the safety of others; newspaper accounts of cycling accidents often blamed a ‘scorcher’ for cycling unnecessarily fast. Yet, there was no set definition on scorching — journalists and cyclists alike conceptualized a scorcher as if ‘you will know it when you see it.’ For many cyclists, the term scorcher was a marker of race, class, age and gender presentation. An African-American cyclist, immigrant cyclists or a woman wearing cycling pants instead of a skirt were easy candidates to be considered scorchers regardless of their actual speed. For example, a WCTU columnist deemed scorching as part of “immodest apparel,” riding men’s models, “and all other things that lend to lower the standard of womanly modesty.”<sup>38</sup> Journalists in popular newspapers often covered women’s professional racing by describing the unattractiveness of the racers in lieu of serious coverage of their athletic abilities. The *St. Louis Dispatch* even published before and after images of women racers to show how the physical strain of fast riding ruined their “pale beauty” and they became “a perfect fright.”<sup>39</sup> The League of American Wheelman often instigated this stereotype in cycling newspapers. In one LAW poem designed to be humorous, the author referred to women scorchers as a “sorry wreck” and a “rubberneck.”<sup>40</sup> Similarly, Americans understood speed in comparison to other moving objects,

---

<sup>38</sup> “W. C. T. U. and the Bicycle,” *Daily Inter Ocean*, October 13, 1896, 3. Nineteenth Century U. S. Newspapers. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://find.galegroup.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/infomark.do?action=interpret&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu\\_main&docPage=article&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&docId=GT3001628772&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0&finalAuth=true#>](http://find.galegroup.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/infomark.do?action=interpret&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu_main&docPage=article&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&docId=GT3001628772&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0&finalAuth=true#>)>

<sup>39</sup> Darling, Fanny, “Bicycle Racing Transforms Lovely Woman from a Pale Beauty into a Perfect Fright,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, MO), December 5, 1897, 16. ProQuest. Accessed May 3, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpstlouispostdispatch/docview/579462620/abstract/1B70BC2E376543E3PQ/32?accountid=12598>>

<sup>40</sup> “The Scorcher’s Advice,” *Recreation*, 1898, 393. Google Books. Accessed May 3, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=FtyfAAAAMAAJ>>

such as walking or carriage. In a busy city street, a cyclist who impeded city traffic might be called a scorcher out of frustration, and could go unnoticed if the streets were less busy or traffic was moving fast.

For many cyclists, the thrill of speed had a far-reaching effect on their lives regardless of if onlookers called them ‘scorchers.’ Ida Bell was one of many cyclists who argued that the physical and emotional benefits of cycling could be gained at “even at a most moderate rate of speed.”<sup>41</sup> To Bell, cities had become marked by quickly moving women, full of “thousands of women, flying, dashing, reeling, wobbling and sprawling over our streets and parks, mounted upon anything having wheels.”<sup>42</sup> Women’s college campuses were quite similar. One undergraduate at Smith described how “bicycles are everywhere, -- in the busy stream from chapel one is pressed into her neighbors... to make way for some hurrying rider with a rack full of books.”<sup>43</sup>

Columnists who voiced their concern and disapproval of scorchers offer us a glimpse into a world of speed. A contributor in *Town Topics* complained that women who rode centuries (100 mile races) were scorchers because they refused to comply with gender norms. The author stated such cyclists were “proud of having endangered their health and lives” and complained of this new trend even in wealthy resort towns: “[t]he sight of a woman, bedraggled, hot, dusty tearing through a peaceful country with a lot of men, in a wild attempt to ride 100 miles in a day, is not pleasant for gods or man to look upon, and not at all good for the woman. The latest phase of this

---

<sup>41</sup> Bell, Ida, “THE NEW WOMAN AND THE ‘BIKE.’: They Have Together Solved the Dress Reform Problem,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, MO), 23. ProQuest. Accessed May 3, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpstlouispostdispatch/docview/577254935/abstract/1B70BC2E376543E3PQ/86?accountid=12598>>

<sup>42</sup> Bell, Ida, “The Art of Bicycling” *Ladies' World* XVII, no. 7, July 1896, 21. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Print. Accessed June 6, 2016.

<sup>43</sup> Moore, “Bicycle Riding at Smith College,” 1918.

‘scorching’ frenzy is the feminine ‘record breaking’ around the Newport drive.”<sup>44</sup> To the author’s horror, even young socialites were training to out-speed each other, and during a friendly contest, the winner was “was cheered by her friends instead of being spanked and sent to bed supperless.”<sup>45</sup>

As with much prescriptive literature, this naysayer demonstrates how many women defied such criticism and undertook new, thrilling efforts to speed with support and encouragement of their peers. Often detractors and critics wrote many of the sources that survived for researchers, but they still offer a window into the world of both the columnists as well as the subjects of the column. This particular article allows us to imagine young women racing through Newport, cheering each other on and hoping to beat their friends for bragging rights. It shows us their desire for speed regardless of naysayers. In fact, pro-cycling journalist Mary Bisland was one of many who believed women’s “voluntary inclination is for speed.”<sup>46</sup> While wheelwomen may have been theoretically unaccepting of cycling too fast, they were far from afraid of speed itself. In fact, they often seemed conflicted about the boundary between an acceptable and unacceptable speed. For example, a *Godey’s* columnist argued that women experienced the benefits of cycling, especially decreased stress, when “you roll rapidly along” yet she reiterated that the bicycle was “built for easy trips at moderate speed.”<sup>47</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup> *Town Topics* 34, no. 4, July 25, 1895, 9. *Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920*. Accessed May 3, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=TownTopicsVol34&type=page&pageref=00000043>>

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Bisland, “Woman’s Cycle,” 387.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

Key to the experience of riding, as an essentially outdoor activity, was that it required women leave their homes to ride. Wheelwomen often highlighted the refreshing effect of leaving their homes to ride and the resulting change of scenery. In the late nineteenth-century, Americans, especially urban Americans, increasingly viewed rural landscapes as refreshing, healing and sublime. They constructed an idea that seems common sense today, that a ‘change of scenery’ — the landscape one sees and travels through — can change one’s mental state. City-dwelling Americans who had the time and means to leave the city did in droves in efforts to refresh their state of mind and get a break from the chaos and grime of city life.<sup>48</sup> Bicycling tycoon Albert Pope, owner of the popular Columbia bicycle brand, used this rhetoric in his company’s advertisements and catalogs. He repeatedly discussed how women felt empowered when they had a break from their domestic responsibilities and left their homes, and he claimed the bicycle was the best method to improve women’s lives.<sup>49</sup>

For women, leaving their home and neighborhood for rides was especially refreshing given many women’s unending domestic responsibilities. To put it simply, it gave them both a reason and a way to leave the house and get a brief reprieve from their chores and responsibilities. *Harper’s* columnists often argued that among women cyclists, it was a turning point when they “discover[ed] how much there is to live for outside a routine” of indoor work and socializing.<sup>50</sup> Author and journalist Edith Townsend Everett was one of many wheelwomen and reform-

---

<sup>48</sup> Cronon, “The Trouble with Wilderness,” 69-91.

<sup>49</sup> Egbert, Seneca, “The Bicycle in its Relation to the Physician,” *The University Medical Magazine*, November 1892. Lily Library, Indiana University. Print. Accessed March 4, 2015.

<sup>50</sup> “Bicycling Costumes,” *Harper’s Bazaar* 29, 11, March 14, 1896, 208. ProQuest. Accessed May 3, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/125603977/abstract/1AA24F50085D4C0BPQ/4?accountid=12598>>

ers who celebrated how women were using cycling to escape the boredom and isolation of the household: “[c]onfined to the house by the nature of her pursuits, the maid or matron gladly avails herself of the opportunity to get away from the wearisome cares or the sameness of her every-day surroundings, and by a brisk spin soon to be out of sight and sound of the tangles” of daily life, and instead women can gain “brighter hopes in the heath-giving atmosphere of the country.”<sup>51</sup> Celebrated reformer Ida Trafford Bell agreed: “[w]omen shut in for generations, even for centuries, in narrowed environments, hot-house atmospheres, bound body and soul... saw their way out through the means of the bicycle.”<sup>52</sup>

Wheelwomen often described a freedom of body movement unlike they had ever experienced. Ida Trafford Bell argued that this freedom of movement was the foundation of a blossoming “rage for outdoor life” among women cyclists.<sup>53</sup> *Godey’s* columnist Mary Bisland agreed that the women’s new physical movement was the first spark: “[h]er first delight in the wheel was naturally felt in an exquisite freedom of limb and vigorous bodily motions” and this ‘delight’ set the stage to think deeply about how they could use cycling to expand their lives.<sup>54</sup> Dr. Lucy Hall-Brown similarly believed that through cycling, women were finally able to tap into and express “[t]he instinct for movement” which forms in early childhood among boys and girls alike.<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup> Everett, Edith Townsend, “Bicycling for Women,” *Harper’s Bazaar* 26, no. 24, June 17, 1893, 485. ProQuest. Accessed May 3, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/125612646/abstract/1AA24F50085D4C0BPQ/3?accountid=12598>>

<sup>52</sup> Bell, Ida Trafford, “The Art of Bicycling,” *Ladies’ World* XVII, no. 7, July 1896, 21. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Print. Accessed June 6, 2015.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> Bisland, “Woman’s Cycle,” 385.

<sup>55</sup> Hall-Brown, Lucy, “The Wheel as an Aid to Health,” 29, no. 1, *Harper’s Bazaar*, March 14, 1896, 231. ProQuest. Accessed May 3, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/125596867/D380ADEAFDC440A7PQ/1?accountid=12598>>



Temperance leaders hoped that supporting and encouraging cycling would thwart alcohol sales. In the *Ladies' World*, Susan Fessenden believed that the physical experiences of cycling had the power to diminish addiction and urges: “what temptation to resort to artificial stimulants has the person who can enjoy the inspiration of a ride through the racing air, filling the lungs, setting the blood to coursing through the veins, giving life a charm that discounts the devitalizing narcotics and debauching stimulants?”<sup>56</sup> Fessenden believed that the “best thinking is done by the best brain” and cycling helped clear a cyclist’s thoughts, strengthen their resolve and thus develop much stronger ability to resist alcohol and drugs, and this was the foundation of a successful temperance movement.<sup>57</sup> She warned that “saloonists are wise enough to fear, that the new man and the new woman — the outgrowth of the pure blood and better nerves produced clearer brains — will certainly see the incongruity, the sin of licensing for revenue this despoiler of the people.”<sup>58</sup> Education reformers, who often supported temperance campaigns, published their support for the bicycle because they too believed the physical experiences of cycling muted a desire to drink. “Score another point for the bicycle,” a public school reformer declared in a column.<sup>59</sup> Despite some naysayers, temperance women, like most wheelwoman, found the physical experience of cycling revolutionary and unprecedented, setting the stage for the broader transformations of the sport in their lives.

---

<sup>56</sup> Fessenden, Susan S., “The Wheel as a Temperance Help,” *Ladies' World* XVII no 7, July 1896, 19. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive.Print. Accessed June 6, 2015.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> E. E. F., “Men, Women and Things,” *Woman's Voice and Public School Champion* 37, September 14, 1895, 1. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Print. Accessed June 9, 2015. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/UPMT5>>

The physical acts of cycling fueled deep emotional responses among cyclists, the second step in Greene's path. As historian William Reddy reminds us, "[c]entral to the life of individuals, open to deep social influence, emotions are of the highest political significance."<sup>60</sup> The variety of emotions wheelwomen experienced were rich, deep and profoundly political. These emotions were not simply positive, but life-changing. Through their cycling narratives, women described their shock in finding themselves happy and inspired. When describing their cycling emotions, women began to transition their understanding of cycling from something to try, to a once-and-a-while habit, to a necessary component of their everyday life. Lillian Russell, a celebrated opera singer and cycling enthusiast, was one of many wheelwomen who understood cycling as an emotional experience. In an 1895 interview, she told a reporter,

I suppose I like cycling because I do. It rather takes the gloss off our pleasures to analyze them. I don't want to know how many stamens a rose or lily has... I accept the beauty and the fragrance of flowers as entirely satisfactory facts and I fear it would rob them of their poetry... Our emotions are the blossoms of our hearts and I take them and return thanks if they are pleasant. I like bicycling because it makes me feel good. If I am annoyed or cross or am afraid I will be cross I get on my wheel and away we go.<sup>61</sup>

Russell's poetic view of her experience as a cyclist reflected the experience of many ordinary women. As early as 1891, wheelwoman Grace Denison described how quickly a regular solo ride changed her outlook: "[t]hat blissful fact of having ridden home alone makes you amiable to the whole world... You begin to inquire for streets which are not asphalted; to climb little hills... to

---

<sup>60</sup> Reddy, 124.

<sup>61</sup> "Why She Rides a Bicycle," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, MO) November 19, 1895, 7. ProQuest. Print. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpstlouispostdispatch/docview/579236143/abstract/1B70BC2E376543E3PQ/24?accountid=12598>>

put your feet on the rests and coast.”<sup>62</sup> The same year, another wheelwoman encouraged women to learn to ride: “you will now find your health very much improved; your muscles developed (why is it unladylike for a woman to have muscles?), your spirits uncontrollable, and you say to yourself, ‘I never could have believed cycling would have wrought such a change for the better in me.’”<sup>63</sup> In one wheelwoman’s trip up Mount Washington, a difficult ride even by today’s standards, she learned to “all summon use to take our wheel, good roads or bad, and sally forth rejoicing.”<sup>64</sup> Another wheelwomen wrote that after a long ride, she always returned home with “a healthy appetite, a clearer brain, and an altogether happier sense of life... this is to experience the joys of cycling, and in so doing to rejoice that such a good gift as fallen to modern woman as the safety bicycle.”<sup>65</sup>

In their narratives, worried, nervous and stressed women repeatedly described a sense of calm from riding. Edith Townsend Everett was one of many who believed that women “prone to the blues and mental as well as physical fatigue... found the bicycle the best medicine ever pro-

---

<sup>62</sup> Denison, Grace, “How We Ride Our Wheels,” *Outing* 19, October 1891 to March 1892, 52. ProQuest American Periodicals Index. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/docview/137477712/53A2D99B74334B9FPQ/1?accountid=12598>>

<sup>63</sup> “Cycling for Ladies,” *The Woman's Herald*, April 18, 1891, 404. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP205.4\\_Volume\\_3\\_Issue\\_130-26&resultNum=1&entries=14&source=config.cfg&queryId=../session/1460759316\\_24434&fromPage=searchResults](http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP205.4_Volume_3_Issue_130-26&resultNum=1&entries=14&source=config.cfg&queryId=../session/1460759316_24434&fromPage=searchResults)>

<sup>64</sup> E. C., “Bicycling Among the Mountains,” *The Woman's Journal*, July 11, 1896, 220. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP205\\_Volume\\_27\\_Issue\\_28-15&resultNum=1&entries=1&source=config.cfg&queryId=../session/1460759380\\_25341&fromPage=searchResults](http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP205_Volume_27_Issue_28-15&resultNum=1&entries=1&source=config.cfg&queryId=../session/1460759380_25341&fromPage=searchResults)>

<sup>65</sup> L.A.M.P., “Cycling for Woman,” *Today's Woman* 1, no. 25, June 1, 1895, 16. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP181\\_Volume\\_1\\_Issue\\_25-12&fromPage=periodicalRecordRevchron](http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP181_Volume_1_Issue_25-12&fromPage=periodicalRecordRevchron)>

vided,” including working-class women burdened with financial stress.<sup>66</sup> She argued it was the safest and most effective cure for insomnia and a “tonic for listless energy and worn out brains.”<sup>67</sup> Many middle- and upper-class women acknowledged that working women faced particularly brutal stress, but such stress could be soothed through cycling. As one columnist suggested, working women who do “not sufficient energy left to care to do anything but rest, habitually forces herself to mount her machine, knowing that in ten minutes she will feel all right again, and will return after a ten or fifteen miles’ spin as fresh as a daisy. The result of giving in to the feeling of weariness is fatal.”<sup>68</sup>

Women used their empowering emotional experiences to craft compelling arguments in support of their sport. In response to an anti-bicycling letter, Edyth Johnson wrote not simply that she was a cyclist and supportive of the sport, but in fact she described her time in the saddle as “some of the most enjoyable hours of my life.”<sup>69</sup> She concluded, “[h]owever great may be the mental strain I am suffering from, I have only to mount my steed and set off with a map... [and] I find my weariness and headache disappearing.”<sup>70</sup> Pauline Hall, one of the first women to ride a safety in New York City, similarly framed her practice as emotionally satisfying. She told a journalist in 1889 that she “gets more satisfaction out of her wheel than out of any other of her pos-

---

<sup>66</sup> Everett, Edith Townsend, “Bicycling for Women,” *Harper's Bazaar* 26, no. 24, June 17, 1893, 485. ProQuest. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/125612646/abstract/1AA24F50085D4C0BPQ/3?accountid=12598>>

<sup>67</sup> Everett, 485.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Johnson, Edyth, “The Benefits of Cycling for Women,” *The Woman's Herald*, December 24, 1893, 7. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/fulltext/fulltext.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP205.4\\_Volume\\_8\\_Issue\\_217-13&pagenum=1&backto=FULL-REC&fromPage=fullRec](http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/fulltext/fulltext.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP205.4_Volume_8_Issue_217-13&pagenum=1&backto=FULL-REC&fromPage=fullRec)>

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

sessions.”<sup>71</sup> Another working wheelwoman agreed: “[i]f it were not for my bicycle, I would look like a mere worn-out drudge; my bicycle is my life. After an hour’s ride I feel as refreshed as if I had spent a whole vacation in the country.”<sup>72</sup> Another wheelwoman agreed, describing how for a woman cyclist,

[h]er bicycle is her first thought, her sweetest refuge. Once in her saddle, the world of petty cares runs behind her like the road she travels. It is no use on your wheel to ponder over vexing questions and the irritating worries of the day. While you roll rapidly along, a brand new set of nerves and interests is quickened. You must keep your eye on the path and take heed of your surroundings. At every turn of the rubber tires fresh fields and pastures new are revealed, fresh oxygen whips up the blood, and from crown to toe the sinews spring back and forth in obedience to new motions.<sup>73</sup>

This seemingly simple activity quickly became the center of many women’s lives — their ‘first thought,’ highlight of their day, best years of their life, and even ‘my life.’

Many women in fact looked at their bicycle not simple as an object, but as a friend.

Frances Willard was one of many women who named their bicycle (she chose Gladys) while others understood their relationship to their bicycle as a distinctly emotional bond. In 1889, one of the first women to ride a safety called her bicycle her “bosom friend,” a term of particular endearment and intimacy.<sup>74</sup> By 1896, WCTU columnists encouraged women to look to their “mechanical friend” — their bicycle — for extra emotional support if they felt cravings for stimu-

---

<sup>71</sup> Kelly, Florence Fitch, “The Fair Cyclers.” *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* (Milwaukee, WI) July 14, 1889, 11. Nineteenth Century U. S. Newspapers. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://find.galegroup.com/proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/info-mark.do?action=interpret&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu\\_main&docPage=article&search-Type=AdvancedSearchForm&docId=GT3009724640&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0&finalAuth=true](http://find.galegroup.com/proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/info-mark.do?action=interpret&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu_main&docPage=article&search-Type=AdvancedSearchForm&docId=GT3009724640&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0&finalAuth=true)>

<sup>72</sup> Untitled newspaper clipping in Letter, June 30, 1892, Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Print. Accessed June 6, 2015.

<sup>73</sup> Bisland, “Woman’s Cycle,” 386-387.

<sup>74</sup> Pioneer, “For the Ladies’ Column,” *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review* 3, no. 2, May 10, 1889, 252. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=XfFYAAAAYAAJ>>

lants.<sup>75</sup> Another woman declared, “[w]hat good times we have together, my wheel and I!”<sup>76</sup> In a column on women’s bicycling in a suffrage newspaper, Frances Russell made the case that “[t]here is no doubt about it, the spinning wheel turned upside down is the best friend our sex ever had.”<sup>77</sup> Even some physicians agreed that nothing could improve women’s lives like “the pleasant companionship, and the broader outlook that a bicycle can give.”<sup>78</sup> Mary Taft, an outdoors and sports columnist for the *American Woman’s Journal* encouraged women to purchase or make winter cycling clothes, so they they could gain the emotional strength from riding throughout the year: “we must be prepared at all seasons, for the bicycle is a good friend.”<sup>79</sup> A Philadelphia wheelwoman even admitted that she got “more comfort and satisfaction from my wheel” than her husband.<sup>80</sup>

In fact, the enjoyable emotions of cycling often was a key component for women to ride, with the resulting effects: as one columnist reported in the *Woman’s Journal*, “[a] lady will, for the pleasure of the exercise, go out on her wheel when she would otherwise be sitting at home

---

<sup>75</sup> Fessenden, Susan S., “The Wheel as a Temperance Help,” *Ladies’ World* XVII no. 7, July 1896, 19. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Print. Accessed June 6, 2015.

<sup>76</sup> “My Wheel And-I,” *The Designer and the Woman’s Magazine*, September 1895, 57-59. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/UP8X4>>

<sup>77</sup> Russell, Frances Eldridge, “The Blessed Bicycle,” *The Woman’s Journal* 27, no. 9, February 29, 1896, 67. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205\\_Volume\\_27\\_Issue\\_9-32](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205_Volume_27_Issue_9-32)>

<sup>78</sup> Weston, Edward B., “Beauty in a Wheel,” *Chicago Sunday Tribune* (Chicago, IL), July 22, 1894, 25-26. Chicago Tribune Digital Archive. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://archives.chicagotribune.com/1894/07/22/page/25/article/beauty-in-a-wheel>>

<sup>79</sup> Taft, Mary, “Out of door sports for girls. Women cyclists,” *The American Magazine* 6, no. 5, 1893, 239-241. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP18\\_Volume\\_6\\_Issue\\_5-11](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP18_Volume_6_Issue_5-11)>

<sup>80</sup> Margery, “The Ladies’ Mile,” *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* XIV, no. 15, October 12, 1894, 307. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.

wondering why she has a headache for feels so wretched.”<sup>81</sup> Social commentators encouraged women to pursue cycling for pure enjoyment and for the positive emotions they experienced. As one columnist described the rise of women’s cycling: “[i]t was the spinning silver wheels which at last whirled women into the open air, giving them strength, confidence, and a realization that to feel the pulse bounding with enjoyment is in itself a worthy end.”<sup>82</sup> Women without bicycles often longed to ride. As one Milwaukee journalist described, “[t]hese are the days of profound melancholy for the unfortunate woman who doesn’t own a wheel.”<sup>83</sup>

Building upon their transformative physical experiences, and resulting deep emotional connections to cycling, women then built their passion for cycling into an intellectual practice. These intellectual responses varied among women depending on her individual life. Yet there was a distinct variable which runs through wheelwomen’s intellectual narratives. Women challenged the constrictive gender norms of their era with a new, distinctly political sense of expanded possibilities. Using a metaphor from another sport, Greene described this new perspective this so simply, yet so well: women cyclists had a “‘paddle-your-own-canoe’ feeling.”<sup>84</sup> This intellectual practice was the result of the physical experience of cycling as self-propelled, independent, outdoor movement, and the emotional experience of joy, thrill and stress relief. Quite simply,

---

<sup>81</sup> “Dress for Bicycling Women,” *The Woman’s Journal* 26, no. 34, August 24, 1895, 271. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205\\_Volume\\_26\\_Issue\\_34-38](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205_Volume_26_Issue_34-38)>

<sup>82</sup> “Woman and the Wheel,” 158.

<sup>83</sup> “The Fair Sex Enjoy Bicycling” *Milwaukee Journal* (Milwaukee, WI), March 1, 1896, 11. Nineteenth Century U. S. Newspapers. Accessed May 3, 2016. <[http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/infomark.do?action=interpret&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu\\_main&docPage=article&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&docId=GT3013883642&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0&finalAuth=true](http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/infomark.do?action=interpret&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu_main&docPage=article&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&docId=GT3013883642&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0&finalAuth=true)>

<sup>84</sup> Hopkins, Mary Sargent, “Yesterday and Today,” *Ladies World* XVII, no. 7, July 1896, 10. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Print. Accessed June 6, 2015.

these two types of experiences got women thinking. They continued to think about cycling off the bike, and from cycling they found new ways of seeing themselves, and all women in their wider worlds.

After developing a regular riding practice, they found themselves with new perspectives on their own lives, and the potential for women as a whole. Perhaps one *Woman's Journal* columnist said it best: “[w]hat exercise is so cheap, so little trouble? What a broad range of vision it gives to a woman!”<sup>85</sup> Indeed, women throughout the country developed a new ‘vision’ which was quite broad; it was both expanding and expansive. The strongest thread which weaved through women’s new vision from cycling was clear: independence. Repeatedly, women said that building upon the physical experience of cycling and the emotions from the ride, they were profoundly transformed by a new sense of independence. They used the bicycle for independence in concrete ways; they no longer relied on railroad schedules to travel and could explore previously inaccessible neighborhoods, parks or towns. But this new independence was also an intellectual vision and a visible sign of changes in women’s lives. It was a sign of the broader gender upheaval at the time, and the hard work of thousands of reformers and activists towards women’s equality.

Women took to cycling as a self-propelled technology and a emotionally pleasurable activity, and transformed it into something distinctly political. As cyclists, women traversed the streets on their own, finding great physical and emotional joy from this seemingly simple activity. Many women found their time on the saddle to be a life-changing experience, and such trans-

---

<sup>85</sup> “Gossip and Gleanings,” *The Woman's Journal* 25, no. 40, October 6, 1894, 318-319. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlefulltext:Gerritsen-GP205\\_Volume\\_25\\_Issue\\_40-10](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlefulltext:Gerritsen-GP205_Volume_25_Issue_40-10)>



formations were the result of women intellectualizing and politicizing their bicycling narratives. Women used independence as the intellectual framework to understand how cycling changed their individual lives and rethink seemingly unchangeable limits on all American women. In *Godey's*, Mary Bisland described the new vision with particular enthusiasm and clarity. Bisland described the intellectual practice of cycling three striking words: "theory in action."<sup>86</sup> Women repeatedly framed the bicycle as the long-awaited sign that women's activism was slowly transforming social norms. By cycling regularly, women's vision changed: "[o]ne may ride five miles or fifteen, but at the end of one's jaunt the discontent with which drudgery clouds the impressionable mind is superseded by a wholesome calm of philosophy and cheerful resolution. The world of tasks is more pleasant to endure, and fuller of compensations."<sup>87</sup> Indeed, this new vision was so cheerful because it offered women a clear way to practice independence. Bisland believed that this independence was unique to bicycling because, as a self-propelled form of transportation, it was "process of locomotion that is absolutely at her command."<sup>88</sup> Bisland argued that cycling was the first activity where women could actually feel, act and see themselves as equal with men:

Once in the saddle, the rider is on absolute equality with any man, needs no assistance in or out of her seat, and, while she rides at as rapid a gait as her masculine companion... The road is as open to her as to him, and she is dependent on no strength or encouragement but her own. For the first time in the memory of her sex she is an absolutely free agent, and yet a woman still.<sup>89</sup>

---

<sup>86</sup> Bisland, "Woman's Cycle," 387.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Bisland, "Woman's Cycle," 386.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

This experience had life-changing implications for wheelwomen throughout the country.

In fact, Bisland argued that through cycling, “there is something women of every class have learned to prize as a shorter road to freedom than wide, welcoming college doors, or open gateways to the polls.”<sup>90</sup> Shockingly, she viewed cycling as a quicker way to put the ideas of the woman’s rights movement into practice — it was a ‘shorter road to freedom.’ She viewed cycling as a shorter road because it was a revolution in the “thoughts and actions of our worthy female citizen.”<sup>91</sup> She argued that cycling was “the actual medium through which the ‘new’ woman has evolved herself: the truly new woman, who builds her intellectual, after her muscular strength has been developed.”<sup>92</sup> Bisland concluded that the bicycle was the “Pegasus on which the sex will one day ride into the fulfillment of all its dreams.”<sup>93</sup> Another woman columnist agreed that “[t]o glide along at one’s sweet will... [was] to know a new-born spirit of independence.”<sup>94</sup>

Ida Bell similarly discussed how the social acceptance of women’s cycling was not inevitable nor due to men, but the tireless work of women to support fellow cyclists and encourage the sport. Bell argued that

[w]oman has had a fiercer struggle for her right to ride the bicycle than man, for she had more to contend with. Trammeled on every side by custom, convention, sentiment, tradition and dress, it has taken years of persistent, tireless effort, and only now is the world

---

<sup>90</sup> Bisland, “Woman’s Cycle,” 385.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Bisland, “Woman’s Cycle,” 388.

<sup>94</sup> L.A.M.P., “Cycling for Women,” *Today’s Woman*, 1, no. 25, June 1, 1895, 16. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP181\\_Volume\\_1\\_Issue\\_25-12](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP181_Volume_1_Issue_25-12)>

shaking itself free from the tradition that strength in woman is allied to grossness and immorality.<sup>95</sup>

By 'shaking' from traditional gender norms, women used cycling to frame women as "like her brother, strong in her strength, [and] she goes forth to battle with the world and to complete with him in all directions as an equal."<sup>96</sup> Again, women repeatedly saw cycling as a clear opportunity to experience equality with men for the first time.

Edith Townsend Everett went as far as to say that "the woman who has never been on a wheel has missed half her life."<sup>97</sup> Another wheelwomen agreed that "life is all the more worth living since the advent of the bicycle."<sup>98</sup> A woman similarly wrote that "[e]very day is a day of new records and of the revealment [sic] of new possibilities" due to cycling everyday.<sup>99</sup> One journalist argued that while cyclists' clothes had changed to ride, the real change was much deeper:

a new mind and a new body... She is distinctly able to care for herself. A great many of them make their own living — go where they please — when they please. The New Woman is much more independent than her predecessors. She has found new objects in life to take the place of the only one possessed by the woman of a few years ago — the object of matrimony.... She is able to take care of herself. She doesn't have to lean on

---

<sup>95</sup> Bell, Ida, "THE NEW WOMAN AND THE 'BIKE.': They Have Together Solved the Dress Reform Problem," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, MO), August 18, 1895, 23. Accessed May 3, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpcincinnatiquirer/docview/895703637/abstract/9A6961FB2B5D4DB8PQ/280?accountid=12598>>

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Everett, Edith Townsend, "Bicycling for Women," *Harper's Bazaar* 26, no. 24 June 17, 1893, 485. ProQuest. Accessed May 3, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/125612646/abstract/1AA24F50085D4C0BPQ/3?accountid=12598>>

<sup>98</sup> J. T., "The Independent Excursionst," *The Cycling Gazette* 3, no. 21, April 22, 1897, 20. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.

<sup>99</sup> Potter, Issac B., "The Bicycle Outlook," *Century Magazine*, September 1896, 785. ProQuest American Periodicals Index. Accessed May, 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/docview/125518321/2B9B398B38544068PQ/1?accountid=12598>>

anybody.... One remedy has done more than anything else to produce the New Woman... a bicycle.<sup>100</sup>

To this cyclist, wheelwomen had not simply discovered a new sport, but ushered in a new intellectual framework for understanding women's lives rooted in a self-assured independence. Key to this independence was ownership. As Koven described, through bicycling "she will become mistress of herself."<sup>101</sup> In fact, the process of becoming one's own mistress was a foundation of women's new vision of themselves — a vision they created through bicycling.

#### "Writing & biking & thinking": Frances Willard's Cycling Narrative

Frances Willard was born in 1839 in Upstate New York, lived most of her life in Chicago (but traveled extensively) and died in 1898 in her Chicago home. Willard approached activism with what she called 'do everything reform,' meaning that she was involved in a variety of projects throughout her life that she believed would improve women's lives and therefore uplift the nation as a whole. These projects largely centered on bringing women into male-dominated public spaces. She was involved in projects to increase formal educational opportunities for girls, challenge women's limited public role in Protestant churches, and to promote cycling for women and girls.<sup>102</sup> Despite this variety of reform activities, Willard has been largely known for her role

---

<sup>100</sup> "THE NEW WOMAN.: Ideals Regarding Women Have Changed. The Athletic Woman Reigns. Which Makes the Best Wife, the Bicycle Girl or the Delicate, 'Clinging Vine?'" *Cincinnati Enquirer* (Cincinnati, OH) May 10, 1896, 32. ProQuest. Accessed May, 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpcincinnatienquirer/docview/895703637/abstract/9A6961FB2B5D4DB8PQ/280?accountid=12598>>

<sup>101</sup> Koven, Mrs. Reginald de, "Bicycling for Women," *The Cosmopolitan* 19, no. 4, August 1895, 386. ProQuest. Accessed May, 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/docview/124708592/abstract/D9814BCF538A47BCPQ/72?accountid=12598>>

<sup>102</sup> Bordin, Ruth, *Frances Willard: A Biography* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 1986).

in temperance and suffrage movements, and particularly for her leadership in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Willard was a central figure in the temperance movement, an incredibly popular reform effort during the late nineteenth century, and president of the WCTU, which claimed the highest membership over all other women's organizations during the late 1800's.<sup>103</sup> By the 1890's, Willard was a national celebrity; reporters and admirers often referred to as 'Saint Frances' and the 'Queen of Temperance.'<sup>104</sup> Thousands of fans attended her speeches, both popular and suffrage newspapers documented her travels and ideas, and her books were best sellers.

The historiography of Frances Willard exists within the body of work on women's reform movements, particularly temperance. Despite Willard's popularity and influence, Willard has been the subject of only four biographies, all written by her supporters or scholars hoping to revive her legacy.<sup>105</sup> Her analysis of feminist biographies, pioneering women's historian Gerda Lender argues these texts were written by "[c]ollaborators and admirers. They were hagiographic; they were often dull. The great leader was a flawless paragon, and the gains of her movement accrued to her glory."<sup>106</sup> As such, while these biographies offer a necessary account of the wide

---

<sup>103</sup> Bordin, Ruth, "Frances Willard and the Practice of Political Influence," *Hayes Historical Journal* 5, no. 1 (1985): 18-28. Newman, Louise Michelle, *White Women's Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

<sup>104</sup> Bordin, Ruth, *Frances Willard: A Biography*, 5.

<sup>105</sup> Bordin, Ruth, *Frances Willard: A Biography* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 1986). Earhart, Mary, *Frances Willard: From Prayers to Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944). Gordon, Anna A., *The Life of Frances E. Willard* (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1898). Strachey, Ray, *Frances Willard: Her Life and Work* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1913).

<sup>106</sup> Lerner, Gerda, "Where Biographers Fear to Tread," *Women's Review of Books* 4, no. 12 (September 1987): 11-12. Quote page 11.

range of Willard's political activities, the authors offer few details of parts of Willard's life they deemed private.

Ruth Bordin's *Frances Willard: A Biography* is the fourth, most recent and most frequently cited biography of Frances Willard.<sup>107</sup> Bordin offered three reasons she believed Willard's life need a new biographical study: archivists had discovered new primary sources, second wave feminists generally viewed temperance positively (as a success in political mobilization for suffrage), and the development of Women's Studies provided new methodology for academics. Bordin, who was primarily a historian of the temperance movement, stated her principal purpose in writing this biography was to reintroduce both Willard and the temperance movement to young feminists. Bordin argued that negative views of temperance in the mid-twentieth century had led to an unfair treatment of Willard:

Willard's beliefs and contributions, which spanned a wide variety of reform causes, were reduced after her death to a single dimension, temperance, and that dimension of her life's work was repudiated unequivocally by a later generation. The causes to which she made lasting contributions – for example, the vote for women, the public kindergarten, separate correctional institutions for women, Protestant ecumenicism – became part of the permanent fabric of American life.<sup>108</sup>

Bordin followed the pattern of previous Willard biographers and concentrated on reform activities in the public sphere. She argued that Willard's lasting legacy was creating socially sanctioned ways to bring women into public spaces. This specifically occurred through Willard's

---

<sup>107</sup> Bordin, Ruth, *Frances Willard: A Biography* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 1986).

<sup>108</sup> Bordin, *Frances Willard: A Biography*, 6.

leadership of the WCTU, which Bordin argued was “first mass movement of women... [which] enabled women to move widely into public life by 1900.”<sup>109</sup>

Again, Bordin did not explore Willard’s ‘private’ activities and experiences, including Willard’s romantic relationships with women, her emotions and internal conflicts, and of course, her cycling.<sup>110</sup> Bordin was the first Willard biographer to include Willard’s cycling practice, but she discussed it only in a single paragraph. Bordin states that “in the fall of 1893, on the recommendation of her physician, she took up bicycling as a way to regain her health,” her friends taught her how to ride, and she did so regularly until she became ill in 1896.<sup>111</sup> Bordin makes reference to a single *New York Times* article on Willard’s cycling clothing. Bordin makes no connection to this article and the prominent role of rational dress reform and cycling during this period. Bordin concluded this paragraph by vaguely acknowledging that Willard’s book, *A Wheel within a Wheel*, “was a best seller and probably encouraged many a sedentary woman to take up the cycle.”<sup>112</sup> Bordin provides no further analysis or political context. She positions this paragraph in a chapter on Willard’s health problems in her later years. She frames cycling as simply another healthy habit Willard practiced to ward off fatigue and illness, in conjunction with calisthenics and drinking herbal tea. Scholars of women’s rights rhetoric followed Bordin’s lead in their analysis of Willard’s speeches; they added to the historiography of Willard by offering a

---

<sup>109</sup> Bordin, *Frances Willard: A Biography*, xi.

<sup>110</sup> Faderman, Lillian, *To Believe in Women: What Lesbians Have Done for America — A History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999), 31, 54, 138, 208, 354.

<sup>111</sup> Bordin, *Frances Willard: A Biography*, 208

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

deeper text analysis, but remained singularly focused on Willard's public life.<sup>113</sup> While contemporary scholars have not contested Bordin's exclusion of cycling in *Frances Willard: A Biography*, she has been critiqued extensively for failing to incorporate Willard's personal life in her analysis. One reviewer stated Bordin's "desire to make Frances Willard more malleable to present-day activists" was her greatest shortcoming and leaves the reader without a sense of Willard as a "whole person."<sup>114</sup> Bordin's failure to incorporate Willard's cycling not only limits our understanding of her life as a whole, but her keeps work on Willard's activism stagnant and not reflective of Willard's own ideas and practices. In *Frances Willard: A Biography*, Bordin made a very clear statement about what aspects of Willard's life are worthy of scholarship.

By focusing so heavily on Willard's public life, historians not only do not contest the hegemonic public/private dichotomy that has historically devalued women's experiences, but actively reinscribe it: they by in large never explore activities that they deem part of Willard's 'private' life and fail to incorporate them into the larger narrative of her work. The public/private boundary serves as the marker for what parts of Willard's life are worthy of documentation and study. Scholars regulate 'private' activities to footnotes, a single sentence, or left them completely left out of the text. Willard's biographers treat cycling as a leisure activity occurring in the private sphere, and thus they do not acknowledge Willard's cycling as a meaningful and important aspect of her public activism. Regulating cycling to the private sphere is an othering that de-

---

<sup>113</sup> Bizzell, Patricia, "Frances Willard, Phoebe Palmer, and the Ethos of the Methodist Woman Preacher," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (September 2006): 377-398. Leeman, Richard W., *"Do Everything" Reform: The Oratory of Frances E. Willard* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992). Johnson, Nan, *Gender and Rhetorical Space in American Life, 1866-1910* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2002).

<sup>114</sup> Downey, Dennis B., "Review: Frances Willard: A Biography," *Illinois Historical Journal* 81, no. 2 (Summer 1988): 151-152. Quote page 151.



politicizes, devalues and silences a complex activist practice that was quite meaningful to Willard.

Starting in the late 1980s and continuing today, feminist scholars and activists brought a necessary critique of race and class to the study of women's history.<sup>115</sup> Frances Willard provides a clear example of such a change, as women's historians went from acknowledging that Willard's "moral cruelty" illustrated that she was "unable to leave her time" to stating that "it is hard to see Frances Willard as anything but an influential promoter of eugenics" and racism.<sup>116</sup> While recent historians do provide a necessary critique of Willard's racism, they maintain the practice of only including Willard's public activities in their work. They deem any possibilities of Willard's usability beyond this critique as irrelevant. Interestingly, the only scholarly article from a feminist journal that incorporates an analysis of Willard's cycling practice also uses Willard a marker of failure. In "The Bicycle, Women's Rights and Elizabeth Cady Stanton," historians Lisa Strange and Robert Brown make an excellent case in highlighting Stanton's belief in the political potential of the bicycle to challenge the social institutions that limited women's public life. The authors celebrate Stanton as a radical feminist who wanted to disrupt the doctrine of separate spheres. They use Willard as the prime example of a reformer who did not go far enough as Stanton to challenge the public/private dichotomy, including in their conceptualization of cycling. While they argue Stanton "fundamentally shifted the grounds of the debate over cycling," they

---

<sup>115</sup> Mohanty, Chandra Talpade, *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

<sup>116</sup> Athey, Stephanie, "Eugenic Feminisms in Nineteenth-Century America: Reading Race in Victoria Woodhull, Frances Willard, Anna Julia Cooper and Ida B. Wells," *Genders* (2000): no pages. Accessed December 10, 2010. <[http://www.genders.org/g31/g31\\_athey.html](http://www.genders.org/g31/g31_athey.html)> Marilley, Suzanne M., "Frances Willard and the Feminism of Fear," *Feminist Studies* 19, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 123-146. Pixar, William F. "White Women and the Campaign Against Lynching," *Counterpoints* 163 (2001): 487-554.

frame Willard's *Wheel within a Wheel* as a personal memoir with no lasting impact.<sup>117</sup> They do not fully explore the depth of Willard's work, and simply position her as a sign of the troubled legacy of her era.

The body of literature on Frances Willard may leave contemporary scholars with the idea that Willard is irrelevant and useless. This would be an understandable reaction. Willard has been idolized by those invested in temperance, a movement that died years ago; her racial politics give her little creditability in a feminist movement that now prioritizes intersectionality and challenging multiple systems of oppression; and by refusing to incorporate relationships or practices that are regulated to the private sphere (especially cycling), Willard's biographies have been flat, dull and do not explore the complexities of her life. Yet, scholars can learn much from both Willard's life and how historians and activists have studied her without ignoring Willard's complicated legacy and misguided racial ideology. Willard believed cycling had a prominent role to play in her activism and in the social and political changes the woman's rights movement hoped to fuel. Yet historians have failed to explore this key aspect of her philosophy. While Willard wrote in the popular and suffrage press about cycling as a particularly effective form of activism, the most ample evidence can be found in *Wheel within a Wheel*, a text historians have chosen to disregard or frame as an irrelevant personal memoir. As a nationally known woman's rights leader, Willard used her influence and celebrity to encourage women to bicycle. But to Willard, bicycling was not simply a hobby. By politicizing the sensory, embodied, and emotional experiences of cycling, Willard offered a template for an accessible, yet effective approach to women's activism.

---

<sup>117</sup> Strange, Lisa, and Robert S. Brown, "The Bicycle, Women's Rights, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton," *Women's Studies* 31, no. 5 (2002): 609-626. Quote page 622.

On May 18, 1896, Frances Willard wrote the following entry in her journal: “Writing & biking & thinking &c”<sup>118</sup> This simple entry depicts the deep, complex and multifaceted relationship of women and cycling in the 1890s. The path to this journal entry started in the 1880s. Willard, a national celebrity and political leader, was one of millions of American women who took up a regular cycling practice in the late nineteenth-century. Willard began cycling in 1886 on a tricycle, an expensive, cumbersome and large vehicle. The tricycle gained some following among wealthy women for cycling through their gardens and estates; Queen Victoria bought a tricycle in 1881 and some wealthy women across the Atlantic followed her lead. A few women, far ahead of their time, actually rode through streets and even traveled on it, while most tricyclists limited their riding to private gardens and estates. Yet its appeal was quite limited and never got close to the mass popularity of the safety.<sup>119</sup> Willard mostly tricycled on the streets of her neighborhood in Evanston, Illinois. By the early 1890s, her demanding work and travel schedule left her little time for recreational pursuits, including for riding her tricycle.

In 1892, a few years after she stopped tricycling, Willard experienced one of her greatest challenges — grieving the death of her beloved mother, Mary Willard. It had already been a difficult year. Her attempt to fuse temperance into the Populist movement had failed, and she was unsure how best to utilize and grow her political influence. Willard’s mother had long served as her emotional and spiritual rock, and she had always supported Willard’s desire for higher education and to live a public life in politics. Willard’s grief was deep and brutal. She developed health problems and what we today would most likely call depression; she wrote that her “mental and

---

<sup>118</sup> [May 18, 1896, journal 49, page 42] Frances E. Willard Journal Transcription (transcribed by Carolyn DeSwarte Gifford); Accessed May 11, 2016. <<http://willard.archivestree.com/browse-page.php?pageid=664050>>

<sup>119</sup> Smith, *A Social History of the Bicycle*, 43, 98.

physical life were out of balance.”<sup>120</sup> Willard realized she needed a fresh start and a new project; she wrote that she needed “new worlds to conquer, [so] I determined that I would learn the bicycle.”<sup>121</sup> After the death of her mother, Willard began to spend an increasing amount of time in Britain with likeminded women, some of whom, like Isabel Somerset, had already dived into cycling. With encouragement of her friends and the cautious support of her physician, Willard decided to start cycling at age fifty-three. Her teachers were her close friends, who provided the relaxed atmosphere and practical experience to show her how to pedal, balance, steer, and brake.

The process of learning to ride, and developing a regular cycling routine, quickly became about far more than physical health and socializing with friends. Willard soon realized bicycling offered her a space to experience emotions and physical sensations that brought her intellectual clarity and a brighter vision of the purpose of her work. She came to see cycling as a metaphor to understand the challenges of her work as a national figure of the woman’s rights movement. As she wrote in her journal a few years into her cycling years, three of her central and most cherished activities were writing, biking and thinking. Most importantly, these activities were far from separate and in fact greatly influenced each other.

Willard’s use of cycling and her resulting writing about cycling offer one vision into the world of wheelwomen that is both highly unique and incredibly ordinary. Willard lived a life unlike most nineteenth-century women — she traveled the world, was a household name, and led the most popular women’s movement of her time. Yet, she shared a transformative cycling experience mirroring the narratives of women who never gained such lasting fame. Unlike most

---

<sup>120</sup> Willard, *Wheel Within a Wheel*, 11.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

wheelwomen, Willard published a book about her cycling experiences. Titled *Wheel Within a Wheel*, Willard used her narrative of learning to ride as a metaphor and tool to understand her political life—to cope with the challenges of reform work, to stay motivated during difficult times, and to understand the process in a deeper, more fulfilling way. In *Wheel*, along with her other private and public writings about cycling, Willard presented a view of cycling quite similar to Greene. Willard argued that the physical experience of cycling fostered emotions which were highly applicable to activism. Willard believed that cycling, as a process rooted in the body, could provide intellectual reinvigoration and offer key political lessons. She described bicycling as far from an apolitical hobby or a distraction from activism, but instead a way to work through and rethink political ideology and tactics. Willard presented cycling for women as an emotional refuge: a way to soothe the stress of reform work and to rethink such work by starting with the body, working through emotions, and assessing their practical applications for activism.

Willard began *Wheel* by bringing readers back to her childhood and the difficult emotions she grappled with in her teenage years. Willard spent her childhood as a tomboy—to use her words, “running wild,” playing outside in co-ed groups, healthy from the fresh air and sunshine, and going by her lifelong nickname, Frank.<sup>122</sup> When she reached her teens, her supportive but realistic parents told her she needed to act like the young lady she would become regardless of her passion for the outdoors. Willard experienced this as a shocking loss to the life she loved. Looking back, she felt as though she was stripped of her “occupation” and purpose by her parents’ realistic advice.<sup>123</sup> Willard lamented she was “obedient to the limitations thus imposed,

---

<sup>122</sup> Willard, *Wheel Within a Wheel*, 9.

<sup>123</sup> Willard, *Wheel Within a Wheel*, 10.

though in my heart of hearts I felt their unwisdom even more than their injustice. My work then changed from my beloved and breezy outdoor world to the indoor realm of study, teaching, writing, speaking.”<sup>124</sup> Willard’s world changed little after this major transition to a life spent indoors; she spent her early career in higher education until leading the WCTU became her full-time work. Willard’s love for the outdoors and reluctance to accept gender norms — even if she followed them on the surface — stuck with her. Her enthusiasm for the outdoors and grief in losing access to it was a strong undercurrent when she started to ride forty years later. Despite her lifelong passion for educational pursuits, she clearly never forget her “breezy outdoor world.”<sup>125</sup>

For Willard, the process of learning to ride was a profound educational experience, an experience that quickly led her to conceptualize cycling as a “parade-ground of individual thought.”<sup>126</sup> Willard’s learning experience was fairly common compared to other wheelwomen of her day; she learned from friends, built up her confidence, and had one embarrassing but not disastrous fall. Within three months she was regularly riding without her teachers. It can be easy for us to breeze over the difficulty of learning to ride — most Americans learn as children, with parents to teach us and cheap department store models to designed for young, inexperienced riders. For the first generation of women to ride the safety bicycle, they were learning without a blueprint. Some women attended riding schools, popular in most East Coast and Midwest cities, but many more learned from friends and supportive family members who had learned from someone else. The techniques particular to cycling were new to this generation. Cycling involved a com-

---

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> Willard, *Wheel Within a Wheel*, 14.

bination of new skills, such as balance, and the ability to perform multiple skills at once, such as steering while pedaling, and scanning multiple points of view at multiple distances — keeping an eye for close potholes while following an upcoming turn.

One of the strongest themes in Willard's narrative was her realization that the best way to not fall and hurt herself was to keep pedaling, even in tough terrain. While perhaps common sense to cyclists today, especially mountain bikers, the idea that the safest option was not to dismount but to keep riding was a new perspective on motion from a generation used to carriage accidents, fearful horses, and walking through crowded, chaotic city streets. To Willard, this new way to move through terrain was highly applicable to her political life. In *Wheel*, Willard provided helpful advice to novice riders, and translated this advice into women's wider world, which she was always aiming to expand. Willard repeatedly advised her readers that giving into fear was the single greatest mistake a new wheelwoman could make. She offered practical advice, such as encouraging wheelwomen to keep looking forward, not down, so they would have enough time to adjust for upcoming terrain, and to ride through mud puddles instead of stopping to walk through them or veer around them.<sup>127</sup> To Willard, by cycling in such a way — a method of confidence over fear — one could learn far more than how to be a stronger cyclist. Willard argued that by looking such fear in the face and refusing to back down, wheelwomen could translate this emotion into practical action in their broader lives. In advising readers why looking straight ahead is safer than looking at the handlebars, she framed this as a metaphor for intellectual contemplation: "the microscope will never set you free; you must glue your eyes to the tele-

---

<sup>127</sup> Willard, *Wheel Within a Wheel*, 17.

scope... Look up and off and on and out.”<sup>128</sup> The safer riding position — looking forward — was also a message to keep the big picture in mind. For Willard, this big picture was always one of political rights, social reform, and broadening women’s everyday lives.

Throughout *Wheel*, Willard understood this confidence as the foundation of cycling and reform. Willard encouraged cyclists to look fear in the face, but she acknowledged that new riders will probably fall at least once. Willard saw these falls as an opportunity to learn another lesson — not only not being afraid, but not being afraid of judgement from others. Willard argued that confidence was the foundation for a refusal to give in to worries about what others thought of one’s cycling abilities, or lack thereof. To Willard, progress could only occur when forward-thinking women refused to give in to their detractors. Remembering her major fall, she wrote, “[t]hat which caused the many failure I had in learning the bicycle had caused me failures in life; namely, a certain fearful looking for of judgement; a too vivid realization of the uncertainty of everything about me; an underlying doubt... matched and overcome by the determination not to give in to it.”<sup>129</sup> When she took this fall, Willard hurt her arm and knocked her head, experiencing moments of confusion and clarity of purpose. Directly after the fall, her bicycle was “treacherous creature... [and] seemed the embodiment of misfortune and dread.”<sup>130</sup> It represented the troubles of the world; she wondered “how many a fine spirit... has been worn and shredded by the world’s mill.”<sup>131</sup>

---

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Willard, *Wheel Within a Wheel*, 22.

<sup>130</sup> Willard, *Wheel Within a Wheel*, 23-24.

<sup>131</sup> Willard, *Wheel Within a Wheel*, 23.



Willard did not blame her fall on difficult roads, poor teachers or her lack of experience, but rather her emotional approach to cycling. She believed she fell because she gave into fear of judgment and a desire for certainty: “children that we are, we tremble on the brink and fear to launch away.”<sup>132</sup> To Willard, successful cycling was not lack of falling, but refusing to give into fear. Willard simplified the process of learning to ride: “the whole science and practice of the bicycle is ‘in your eye’ and in your will; the rest is mere manipulation.”<sup>133</sup> To Willard, cycling was a process of seeing and emotionally responding to the senses with confidence and mental clarity, and refusing to give into the dread of possible bad rides. She believed coping with the emotions of cycling as the most important, difficult, and useful part of cycling. Willard compared herself to a swimmer traversing choppy waves, yet for cyclists the waves were not the roads as one might expect, but the emotions of riding. Willard argued that cycling was a task in learning to not respond to problems with fear, and to curb negative thoughts so that one could respond more effectively to the unexpected challenges they will face; “the bicycler must learn to take such waves of mental impression... At first she will be upset by the apparition of the smallest poodle, and not until she has attained a wide experience will she hold herself steady in presence.”<sup>134</sup> Willard argued that the best way to develop this practical confidence and refusal to give into fear was simply by cycling more and more. It was only through mental effort that wheelwomen could rethink the “contemplation of disaster” to “movement of the foot on the pedal [as] a concept of vigor,

---

<sup>132</sup> Willard, *Wheel Within a Wheel*, 29.

<sup>133</sup> Willard, *Wheel Within a Wheel*, 23.

<sup>134</sup> Willard, *Wheel Within a Wheel*, 26.

safety, and success.”<sup>135</sup> Willard in fact claimed that of all her friends, the most effective teacher was the woman who stayed behind her while she rode, forcing her rely on herself instead of her friend navigating her route.<sup>136</sup>

Willard assured new cyclists to use caution while riding, but she also evoked a sense of adventure and challenging fear. When she experienced her first fall, riding faster than her friends recommended, her beloved mother lovingly responded, “O Frank! You were always too adventurous.”<sup>137</sup> In the conclusion of *Wheel*, Willard returned to her childhood and her loss of her life outdoors: “the conventions of life had cut me off from what in the freedom of my prairie home had been one of life’s sweetest joys.”<sup>138</sup> She said that her decision to live an indoor, academic life was satisfying but still left her longing. She said she became a cyclist “from a pure natural love of adventure -- a love long hampered and impeded, like a brook that runs underground.”<sup>139</sup>

Willard argued the central project of wheelwomen was refusing to give into fear and nurturing a practical confidence in oneself. Upon reaching this destination, Willard believed women could take this process to understand their broader lives as activists and generally as forward-thinking women trying to imagine the traits of the new, modern American. In perhaps the most striking sentence of the entire book, Willard simply states, “I found a whole new philosophy of life in the wooing and the winning of my bicycle.”<sup>140</sup> Willard’s new ‘philosophy of life’ included

---

<sup>135</sup> Willard, *Wheel Within a Wheel*, 27.

<sup>136</sup> Willard, *Wheel Within a Wheel*, 57.

<sup>137</sup> Willard, *Wheel Within a Wheel*, 72.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> Willard, *Wheel Within a Wheel*, 25.

a few key components. First, Willard argued for an unwavering progress to clear, pre-determined goals, inspired by her realization that the safest way to get through a bad spot was to ride through it: “[y]ou must make up... your mind -- make it up speedily, or you will be cast in yonder mud-puddle... Two things must occupy your thinking powers to the exclusion of every other thing: first, the goal; and second, the momentum” to reach the goal.<sup>141</sup> Second, Willard advised that progress towards goals needed to be forward moving, but only at the right time. As Willard had learned in her reform work, moving too fast before activists were ready could kill a campaign. Similar to cycling, Willard advised building upon new skills instead of jumping in too soon: “[I]earn on a low machine, but ‘fly high’ when you have mastered it... And remember this is as true of the world as of the wheel.”<sup>142</sup> By low, Willard was referring to bicycles destined for easy mount and dismount, but lacked speed. She smartly suggested these models for novice riders, but reminded them to not limit their potential to their first model.

Willard again highlighted the importance of not giving into fear: “we conquer the universe in conquering ourselves. I finally concluded that all failure was from a wobbling will rather than a wobbling wheel. I felt that indeed the will is the wheel of the mind.”<sup>143</sup> Willard again framed the mental challenge of riding as the key project of the sport, and she began to understand her intellect and emotions through cycling metaphors. She encouraged women to use cycling to enter new public spaces, and gain new experiences — one of her greatest hopes was that women

---

<sup>141</sup> Willard, *Wheel Within a Wheel*, 17.

<sup>142</sup> Willard, *Wheel Within a Wheel*, 21.

<sup>143</sup> Willard, *Wheel Within a Wheel*, 26.

would use bicycling to create a ‘wider world’ for themselves, creating cracks in gender norms that restricted women’s movement, such as independent travel.

Willard ultimately developed a cycling practice she described as “mentally adventurous” but “physical cautious.”<sup>144</sup> While she was not taking the longest or most difficult rides, she used her time in the saddle to think deeply about her life as an activist. As Willard rode more and more, she began to see the cycling process as symbolic of her political struggles and successes in life:

I began to feel that myself plus the bicycle equaled myself plus the world, upon whose spinning-wheel we must all learn to ride, or fall into the sluiceways of oblivion and despair. That which made me succeed with the bicycle was precisely what had gained me a measure of success in life -- it was the hardihood of spirit that led me to begin, the persistence of will that held me to my task, and the patience that was willing to begin again when the last stroke had failed.<sup>145</sup>

Willard’s realization of the symbolism of cycling fueled her belief in its possibilities for activism: she began to view the bicycle as “a teacher without pulpit or creed.”<sup>146</sup> To Willard, the bicycle was a distinctly political teacher. Returning to the key experience of riding through tough terrain instead of dismounting, Willard wrote,

[o]ne of the first things I learned was that unless a forward impetus were given within well-defined intervals, away we went into the gutter, rider and steed. And I said to myself; ‘It is the same with all reforms: sometimes they seem to lag, then they barely balance, but they begin to oscillate as if they would lose the track and tumble to side; but all the need is a new impetus at the right moment on the right angle, away they go as merrily as if they had never threatened to stop at all.’<sup>147</sup>

---

<sup>144</sup> Willard, *Wheel Within a Wheel*, 60.

<sup>145</sup> Willard, *Wheel Within a Wheel*, 27.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

Willard was an astute political strategist who understood the importance of playing the long game; she worked for small victories, and she recognized that events seemed to be going in her favor, but the 1890s was a difficult decade for women's activism. Her goals of nation-wide prohibition and women's suffrage remained twenty-five years away. Willard framed cycling as a way to understand playing this long game — during a ride, a cyclist often cannot see the end of a rough patch of road, but the only way to pass through it is to keep momentum, hold on, and pedal through it.

Willard was convinced of the far-reaching ramification of cycling on women's lives. With her fellow wheelwomen, Willard viewed the bicycle as an “uncompromising but fascinated and illimitable capable machine” that would offer a new “impetus... to that blessed ‘woman question’ to which we were both devoted.”<sup>148</sup> Willard celebrated how wheelwomen were challenging dress norms so they could ride safely and comfortably and used exercise to improve their physical and mental health, both projects which are explored in this dissertation. Willard was happily surprised to see women travel via bicycle without a male chaperone, a rarity only a generation ago, and she hoped if women and men rode together they could build more meaningful, egalitarian relationships — she imagined a world in which she heard the phrase “that girl's brother” instead of only “that boy's sister.”<sup>149</sup>

As Willard began taking her first solo rides without her teacher, she was surprised to see all of her skills come together: “I realized that the totality of what I had learned entered into action. Every added increment of power that I had gained in balancing, pedaling, steering, taking

---

<sup>148</sup> Willard, *Wheel Within a Wheel*, 38.

<sup>149</sup> Willard, *Wheel Within a Wheel*, 41.

advantage of the surfaces... was set to my account.”<sup>150</sup> She encouraged readers to see life, including reform work, as a culmination of skills: “[j]ust so, I felt, it had been all my life and will be, doubtless, in all worlds and with us all. The totality of native forces and acquired discipline and expert knowledge stands us in good stead for each crisis that we have to meet. There is a momentum, a cumulative power on which we can count in every new circumstance, as a capitalist counts upon his credit at the bank.”<sup>151</sup>

Willard learned from cycling that there were a variety of ways to implement reform, but practical, everyday efforts were the most effective. She believed it was quite difficult to know which activist strategies at their disposal were most effective for achieving their goals. Willard learned from seeing the empowering effect of bicycling in women’s lives that “[a] reform often advances most rapidly by indirection. An ounce of practice is worth a ton of theory.”<sup>152</sup> What may have seemed to onlookers as an apolitical hobby or commercial amusement to Willard was in fact social change slowly, but effectively, meandering through women’s lives and creating lasting change in a time with few overt political victories.

Willard understood cycling through three major experiences, each of which offered a valuable lesson. In the physical experience of cycling, she learned to pedal through difficult terrain. From the emotions of cycling, she learned to replace fear with confidence. And finally, from the intellectual lessons of cycling, she developed a fresh outlook on activism. By politicizing the

---

<sup>150</sup> Willard, *Wheel Within a Wheel*, 46-47.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Willard, *Wheel Within a Wheel*, 39.

sensory, embodied, and emotional experiences of cycling, Willard created a narrative in which she offered a template for an accessible, yet effective approach to women's activism.

### Women's Bicycling and the Suffrage Press

As discussed in this dissertation, American women jumped at the chance to ride as soon as the mass-market bicycle emerged in the late 1880s. Many women turned to a surprising source to join and participate in cycling: the suffrage press. Editors and contributors of suffrage newspapers discussed women's cycling with notable enthusiasm, offering advice to novice riders, debating dress and riding styles, and celebrating notable cyclists. Newspapers such as *The Woman's Journal*, *The Woman's Herald* and *The Woman's Column* served as a central forum for collaboration and inspiration, serving two goals: to sustain interest in women's activist campaigns during challenging political times and to build ideological networks among likeminded but geographically isolated women. Suffrage press editors and contributors used wheelwomen's narratives as evidence of the broad success of their movement, an important strategy to sustain the movement during a decade with few legislative gains. Women cyclists offered the perfect embodiment of modern, empowered womanhood, and newspaper editors paid particular attention to wheelwomen's narratives in which they offered advice and discussed bicycling clubs to their readers. Suffrage press editors and contributors built a vision of recreation and activism as joint projects for sociopolitical change. In turn, women's cycling offered ordinary readers a practical method to implement women's rights ideology in their everyday lives.

Despite the popularity of cycling for women, it was often an isolated practice. There were not many ways for women to share information, riding tips, or strategies to advocate for

women's cycling beyond their small social groups, neighborhoods, and riding clubs. Wheelwomen in smaller towns or conservative areas often had no access to cycling information or to other women who enjoyed the practice — many learned from men, and then rode alone.<sup>153</sup> As discussed in this dissertation, wheelwoman faced tremendous pressure to stop riding from both the men in their lives as male-dominated institutions such as medicine and the law, both contributing to a hostile public culture. Due to these struggles and women's continued desire to ride, women bicyclists needed a way to connect, share information, and advocate as a group.

The isolation and lack of communication between women cyclists reflected a larger problem for the woman's rights movement during the 1890s. National leaders such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, Clara Bewick Colby and Carrie Chapman Catt, framed their work as a war of words, texts and ideas — they believed that a well-crafted argument was the most powerful strategy to frame women's subordinate political and legal position as both immoral and impractical, bring more women into the movement, and ultimately to organize and engage in action for suffrage and reform issues on a national level.<sup>154</sup> Yet, there were few forums for such idea exchange. Women's rights leaders relied heavily on speeches, and this approach had a number limitations. Many women did not have the time to attend speeches, especially working women and mothers. Activist groups rarely had the technology to record speeches, and thus they depended

---

<sup>153</sup> "Cycling for Ladies," *The Woman's Herald*, April 18, 1891, 404. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 3, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4\\_Volume\\_3\\_Issue\\_130-26](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4_Volume_3_Issue_130-26)>

<sup>154</sup> Solomon, Marsha M., "The Role of the Suffrage Press in the Woman's Rights Movement," in ed. Watson, Martha, *A Voice of their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991): 1-17.



solely on the audience to push their message.<sup>155</sup> The audience was typically full of women who already supported the speaker's cause and were active in local suffrage campaigns. It was unlikely that women undecided or unknowledgeable about women's rights activism attended, even though these were the women that speakers were deliberately trying to engage and inspire.

Along with the challenges of the lecture circuit, many women's rights leaders believed that mainstream newspapers could not be a major forum for respectful, pro-suffrage idea exchange for the movement due to repeated denial of access and fair representation.<sup>156</sup> Anti-suffrage opinion pieces, reports, and cartoons were common and influential in shaping public opinion; and newspapers that were more supportive of women's rights causes printed only a few lines announcing an upcoming speech with no background information about the speaker or her ideas.<sup>157</sup> Geography only worsened such problems for women's rights strategists. State and local-level suffrage groups were often isolated from each other and national organizations, thus limiting recruitment abilities for women living outside of urban centers.<sup>158</sup> This made coordinating state and national actions particularly challenging, such as referendums key to gaining suffrage, because women from different areas of the country did not have easy ways to network, commu-

---

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Jerry, E. Claire, "Clara Bewick Colby and the Woman's Tribune, 1883-1909: The Free Lance Editor as Movement Leader," in ed. Watson, Martha *A Voice of Their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1991): 110-128.

<sup>157</sup> Jerry, "Clara Bewick Colby and the Woman's Tribune," 110-128. Marks, Patricia, *Bicycles, Bangs and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press* (Lexington, University of Kentucky, 1990).

<sup>158</sup> Jerry, "Clara Bewick Colby and the Woman's Tribune," 110-128.

nicate and strategize with each other.<sup>159</sup> Overall, these limitations isolated likeminded women from each other, thwarting attempts to create a national, unified movement.

In response, suffrage activists began to publish their own newspapers in the 1840s. By 1870, Lucy Stone established the dominant suffrage newspaper of the woman's suffrage movement, *The Woman's Journal*, in direct response to the more radical newspaper *The Revolution*.<sup>160</sup> Stone undoubtedly reached her goal to make her newspaper the official 'organ' of the suffrage movement.<sup>161</sup> Published from 1870 to 1890, *The Woman's Journal* was the most long running and profitable suffrage periodical of the nineteenth century. As *The Revolution* struggled and ultimately collapsed due to limited financial backing, Stone ensured *The Woman's Journal* would be "no fly-by-night enterprise, dependent on financial 'angel,' but a real business conducted in the best Boston tradition of family trusts, annuity systems, trusteeships, and sound funding."<sup>162</sup> *The Woman's Journal* promoted the point of view of the American Woman Suffrage Association quite clearly. The paper was "aimed to resurrect the viability of woman suffrage for a great number of conservative, professional women and men by depicting the cause as a gateway to a host of middle-class reforms" and in the end "corrupt you gradually" with moderate, non-abrasive political strategies and tactics.<sup>163</sup> As such, the focus of the paper remained the concerns of the

---

<sup>159</sup> Watson, Martha, *A Voice of their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991).

<sup>160</sup> Masel-Walters, Lynne, "A Burning Cloud by Day: The History and Content of the Woman's Journal," *Journalism History* 3, no. 4 (Winter 1977): 103-110.

<sup>161</sup> Solomon, Marsha M., "The Role of the Suffrage Press in the Woman's Rights Movement," in ed. Martha S. Solomon *A Voice of their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991): 1-17.

<sup>162</sup> Masel-Walters, Lynne, "A Burning Cloud by Day: The History and Content of the Woman's Journal," 104.

<sup>163</sup> Huxman, Susan Schultz, "The Woman's Journal 1870-1890" in ed. Martha Watson *A Voice of their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991): 87-109. Quote page 89.

politically moderate, middle- upper-class woman: suffrage, temperance, property rights, access to higher education and the professions, the promotion of women's clubs.

Stone was far from alone in her success, as *The Woman's Journal* was one of many suffrage newspapers during this period. The 1880s and 1890s were in fact the peak decades of the suffrage press, with over thirty separate newspapers existing for various years of publication and with a diverse range of readers and article subjects.<sup>164</sup> While some were limited to certain geographic regions, the many of the most popular papers had subscribers throughout the country.<sup>165</sup> In 1883, members of the Nebraska Woman Suffrage Association selected Clara Bewick Colby to create and edit a newspaper for their organization. Although the organization soon backed out because they were unable to secure funds, Colby decided to edit and publish *The Woman's Tribune* on her own. Colby wanted the newspaper to educate readers on all aspects of women's rights and promote empowering images of women similar to that of other suffrage newspapers. But, she also paid particular attention to the unique issues of women in the Midwest and frontier regions of the country and highlighted the activism of women's organizations beyond those in the Northeast.<sup>166</sup> Unlike Lucy Stone, Colby never aligned herself with any national-level suffrage organization. Due to this, *The Woman's Tribune* did not espouse a specific organizational rhetoric and policy platforms, but rather served to document the suffrage movement as a whole.<sup>167</sup> This neutrality made Colby "caught in the middle: her newspaper attempted to speak to

---

<sup>164</sup> Jerry, Claire E., "The Role of Newspapers in the Nineteenth-Century Woman's Movement," in ed. Martha Watson *A Voice of their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991): 17-30.

<sup>165</sup> Huxman, "The Woman's Journal 1870-1890," 87-109.

<sup>166</sup> Jerry, "The Role of Newspapers in the Nineteenth-Century Woman's Movement," 17-30.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

two audiences — the activists within the movement as well as the potential suffragist converts among the women on the plains” during a period when “the suffrage movement was characterized by opposing, often vitriolic, factions.”<sup>168</sup> Colby in fact republished articles from both *The Revolution* and *The Woman’s Journal*, without showing a preference for either newspaper. Although Colby never held any leadership roles in national women’s rights organizations, she was quite influential as a newspaper editor. She helped not only reunite factions of the movement, but presented the image of the national women’s movement as unified, organized and successful, making suffrage activism attractive and interesting to undecided women despite ongoing internal conflicts.<sup>169</sup>

Building upon the success of *The Woman’s Journal*, in 1883 Alice Stone Blackwell, with her mother Lucy Stone, established *The Woman’s Column*. *The Woman’s Column* was a supplement to *The Woman’s Journal* and published until 1904. It started as mailer and evolved into a four-page weekly newspaper with short articles, excerpts and editorials.<sup>170</sup> Because editors limited the paper to four pages, *The Woman’s Column* was much cheaper to print than most suffrage papers. As such, it was the most affordable suffrage newspaper for customers (it cost twenty-five to fifty cents when other suffrage papers cost up to three dollars) and was the most widely circulated.<sup>171</sup> When the American Woman Suffrage Association and the National Woman Suffrage As-

---

<sup>168</sup> Lomicky, Carol S., “Frontier Feminism and the Woman’s Tribune: The Journalism of Clara Bewick Colby,” *Journalism History* 28, no. 3 (Fall 2002): 102-112.

<sup>169</sup> Jerry, “The Role of Newspapers in the Nineteenth-Century Woman’s Movement,” 17-30.

<sup>170</sup> Vanderford, Marsha L., “The Woman’s Column: 1888-1904: Extending the Suffrage Community,” in ed. Martha Watson, *A Voice of their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991): 129-153.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

sociation united in 1890, Susan B. Anthony became an editor of *The Women's Column* as well. While *The Woman's Column* reflected the AWSA belief “that society can be improved substantially without violating traditional values or destroying established institutions,” editors typically published a point of view that was more progressive than *The Woman's Journal* but less radical than *The Revolution*.<sup>172</sup> But like *The Revolution*, *The Column* editors focused on political solutions, talking points, and responses to anti-suffrage arguments that required direct confrontation with opposition groups instead of slow gains made by less confrontational methods. Yet unlike *The Revolution*, contributors to *The Woman's Journal* and *The Woman's Column* aimed to expand women's opportunities in social and political institutions without causing radical changes to the institutions themselves.<sup>173</sup>

In the 1890s, women's rights leaders believed suffrage newspapers were one of the most important strategies for their movement.<sup>174</sup> They repeatedly invested their time, money and resources into newspapers because they eliminated many of the limitations of the early movement. Suffrage newspapers provided a national forum for idea exchange; they were an affordable, accessible way to expose women unfamiliar with women's rights and reform to their ideas; and, unlike in mainstream newspapers, the content was completely under their control, so they could provide only the most positive, useful arguments for their cause. Given that historians have conceptualized the 1890s as ‘doldrums’ decade due to the lack of major legislative successes, the suffrage press was vital in “sustaining hopes in a period with little progress. Suffrage journals

---

<sup>172</sup> Vanderford, “The Woman's Column: 1888-1904: Extending the Suffrage Community,” 130.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> Solomon, Marsha M., “The Role of the Suffrage Press in the Woman's Rights Movement,” in ed. Martha Watson *A Voice of their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991): 1-17. Quote page 15.

provided ways to keep members informed, to offer them arguments to use in their own work, and to reinforce their sense of purpose and progress... The very publication of such works gave the movement an image of importance and endurance, which was vital to sustaining a long public campaign.”<sup>175</sup>

The suffrage press did not influence the fight for suffrage alone, but in fact was a forum for a multitude of issues facing women during the 1890s. Readers and writers of the suffrage press discussed all aspects of their lives and developed political rhetoric to understand their everyday struggles within the context of broader citizenship claims. This included personal or leisure activities, many of which contributors and readers viewed as key projects of reform-minded women. Cycling served as the cornerstone for this discussion. As shown through suffrage press coverage of women’s cycling, including columns, letters to the editor, book reviews, and testimonial articles, the suffrage press provided a particularly powerful forum for women, as cyclists, to engage in the women’s rights movement. For suffrage press editors, the success of wheelwomen offered a striking example of the power of women, sustaining their efforts during challenging political times.

Suffrage press editors aimed to create a network of information exchange and dialogue in which women throughout the country could engage.<sup>176</sup> The variety of cycling information and advice editors published offers a striking example of editors putting this function of the suffrage press into practice. In the 1890s, especially in early years of the decade, many women learned the basis of cycling from male relatives. Few resources existed to educate women cyclists on the

---

<sup>175</sup> Solomon, “The Role of the Suffrage Press in the Woman’s Rights Movement,”15.

<sup>176</sup> Solomon, “The Role of the Suffrage Press in the Woman’s Rights Movement,”15-17.

basic and fine points of riding, especially to women in rural areas without cycling clubs to join or bicycle shops to regularly visit. In 1898, one wheelwoman described that when she first became interested in cycling, she had great difficulty finding any information to guide her in purchasing a ladies' model and learning basic skills. She wrote to *The Woman's Tribune* describing how she asked her friends "to recommend some treatise, handbook or guidebook on wheels and wheeling. No one had heard of any, [and] did not believe there was one."<sup>177</sup> Her experience was all too common, and as such information available in the suffrage press was quite valuable for readers involved or interested in cycling.

Editors of suffrage newspapers published a variety of columns to introduce and encourage cycling amongst their readers, using their personal experience as the crux of their contributions. The authors aimed to encourage women to start cycling and improve the skills of experienced cyclists. Contributors to the suffrage press saw this choice not only from the perspective of a consumer, but also through the lens of political action. They viewed becoming a cyclist as an important decision that could improve women's abilities to engage in many aspects of activism and reform work. Throughout their articles, suffrage press authors acknowledged the importance of cycling, and especially encouraging women to start cycling, as more than simply engaging in middle-class consumerism. They believed women's cycling had a unique potential to improve the quality of readers' individual lives as well as challenge and reimagine women's roles in the public sphere. Suffrage press editors frequently published articles that served as guidebooks for women new to activism and reform, such as how to lobby for a referendum or organize a local

---

<sup>177</sup> Harrison, Carrie, "My First Bicycle," *The Woman's Tribune*, October 1, 1898, 80. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 3, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP211.2\\_Volume\\_15\\_Issue\\_20-5](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP211.2_Volume_15_Issue_20-5)>

suffrage organization. Contributors crafted a similar type of guidebook for women to begin and improve their cycling practice. Annie Holdsworth, a prominent journalist and cyclist, summarized her philosophy about cycling journalism as: “[a]fter many trials the rider learned the secret of managing her iron horse; and gives her experience for the benefit of other learners.”<sup>178</sup>

Holdsworth was one of many women’s rights activists in the 1890s who chose to dispense her knowledge about cycling to a distinctly politicized group of women readers through the suffrage press.

Editors focused much of their cycling coverage to novice cyclists. This is understandable given that in the 1890s, thousands of women throughout the country began cycling without any previous experience. Contributors spent considerable space advising readers how to choose and purchase their first bicycle. Readers often used letters to the editor as a communication strategy. Editors frequently published a letter from a reader who requested more information or posed a question, readers sent in their responses, and editors published those responses in the following issues. For example, in 1892, Edith Ward wrote to *The Woman’s Herald* in response to a reader who “appeals for information on the subject of cycling.”<sup>179</sup> Ward described herself as “a cyclist of a year’s standing” who believed that women “proposing to take up one of the finest and most beneficial forms of exercise” need the “advantage of someone else’s experience” to start their

---

<sup>178</sup> Holdsworth, Annie E., “A Book of the Hour,” *The Woman’s Signal*, May 30, 1895, 345. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 3, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP210\\_Volume\\_3\\_Issue\\_74-7](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP210_Volume_3_Issue_74-7)>

<sup>179</sup> Ward, Edith, “Cycling for Women,” *The Woman’s Herald* 7, no. 216, December 17, 1892, 10. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 3, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlefulltext:Gerritsen-GP205.4\\_Volume\\_7\\_Issue\\_216-13:2](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlefulltext:Gerritsen-GP205.4_Volume_7_Issue_216-13:2)>



cycling practice correctly.<sup>180</sup> Ward provided essential tips for new cyclists that many readers perhaps would have not known otherwise. She stated that the choice of one's first bicycle as incredibly important because "a bad selection may result in disgust with the whole business."<sup>181</sup> Ward did not propose a specific model, but provided information women should use in deciding for themselves. She stated that women should review bicycle catalogues and learn the "points" of various makes... and note the advantages claimed for each type of machine."<sup>182</sup> Ward also identified common misconceptions of ladies models: "extreme lightness is not always synonymous with durability and safety, nor low price with cheapness."<sup>183</sup> Ward reminded readers to be aware of their own "weight, age and muscular power" as well as the road conditions of their area.<sup>184</sup> She also recognized that not all women could afford new models, and believed a slightly used model "is often the best to buy" as long as it is "unstrained in essential parts" and the prospective buyer thoroughly examines it before purchasing.<sup>185</sup>

In the following issue of *The Woman's Herald*, another reader published a letter to add more advice to Ward's response. Cyclist Carrie Ferris claimed she was a reliable source of cycling information because "I am not only a bicyclist myself, but possess a brother who has had

---

<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

considerable experience of actual cycle building.”<sup>186</sup> Ferris recommended two specific models for women’s first bicycle, the Starley Brothers’ Ladies Psycho (the first mass produced women’s safety) and the New Howe Safety by the New Howe Machine Company. While Ferris acknowledged “other firms make good machines, but these are the pick of ladies’ machines, and can be relied on to give entire satisfaction.”<sup>187</sup> Ferris was also concerned with balancing the need for key components and keeping one’s bicycle lightweight. She advised a safety model with all the necessary accessories, “break, mud-guards, and dress-guards, should be from 35 to 40 lbs in weight, and should not exceed 42 lbs.”<sup>188</sup> She also recommended riders purchase models with brakes even though “skilled riders use them rarely.”<sup>189</sup> Ferris listed her preferred make and models of pneumatic tires, gears and cranks. One can imagine such detailed information specifically about women’s models would have been incredibly helpful to a reader new to cycling and without any women cyclists or supportive male riders to share such information.

Ferris was not the only cyclist who advised readers on weight of potential models. One anonymous contributor to *The Woman’s Signal* advised readers to “[r]ide a light machine when you can get it.”<sup>190</sup> She also challenged the bicycling industry’s double standards on women’s models: “[t]here is no reason why manufacturers should condemn a woman to ride a bicycle sev-

---

<sup>186</sup> Ferris, Carrie, “Cycling for Women,” *The Woman’s Herald*, December 31, 1892, 10. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 3, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlefulltext:Gerritsen-GP205.4\\_Volume\\_7\\_Issue\\_218-10](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlefulltext:Gerritsen-GP205.4_Volume_7_Issue_218-10)>

<sup>187</sup> Ibid.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid.

<sup>190</sup> “Hints on Cycling,” *The Woman’s Signal*, August 25, 1898, 124-125. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 3, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlefulltext:Gerritsen-GP210\\_Volume\\_10\\_Issue\\_243-12:2](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlefulltext:Gerritsen-GP210_Volume_10_Issue_243-12:2)>

eral pounds heavier than the one they give her physically stronger brother.”<sup>191</sup> This was a very accurate assessment, as most women’s models were significantly heavier than the comparable men’s model. Another cyclist in *The Woman’s Tribune* described the process she went through when deciding to buy her Columbia model. Aiming to make the complicated decision more accessible, she encouraged readers to think of buying a bicycle as akin to choosing a horse. She advised readers that their bicycle should “well-tested pedigree, a high grade record for strength under heavy strain, speed, endurance, and beauty.”<sup>192</sup> Unlike Edith Ward, this author did not recommend buying a used model, but for more sentimental than practical reasons: “if one is to love a wheel, then it must be one’s very own from the beginning.”<sup>193</sup> She also described her visit to the Columbia bicycle factory in Washington, D.C., and reported information she learned from this visit regarding rims, ball bearings, cogs, wheels and other parts and mechanics of the bicycle.<sup>194</sup>

Suffrage press contributors and readers were also interested in the transition from tricycle to bicycle. As previously discussed, women riders had the option to buy either a tricycle or a bicycle before the tricycle eventually died out by the early 1890s. Paralleling the purchasing trend throughout the country, most contributors advised readers to buy bicycles instead of large, cumbersome tricycles. In her letter to the editor, cyclist Edyth Johnson described how “[t]en years ago I rode a tricycle, but found that unless by a good maker the machine was apt to be heavy, and

---

<sup>191</sup> “Hints on Cycling,” 124.

<sup>192</sup> Harrison, “My First Bicycle,” 80.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid.

so two years ago I invested in a lady's bicycle... which has given me some of the most enjoyable hours of my life.”<sup>195</sup> Wheelwoman Carrie Ferris acknowledged the benefits of the tricycle, mostly that “the machine will stand alone without any trouble,” meaning a rider did not have to learn how to ride while balancing, and that “luggage can be more conveniently carried.”<sup>196</sup> Yet, she overwhelmingly believed that women are better off buying a bicycle, not a tricycle. She cited a number of arguments for the safety model, including that it is cheaper, lighter, “falls from a tricycle are more likely to be serious” and the bicycle is a “much easier machine to drive against the wind” compared to the tricycle.<sup>197</sup> Ferris concluded her advice by leaving it up to each woman to decide for themselves, but reminded readers that she “never knew a girl who once acquired the art of bicycling, to return to the three-wheeler.”<sup>198</sup>

In 1893, an anonymous author in *The Woman's Herald* also acknowledged that the significance of the tricycle versus bicycle debate: “[f]or the woman, young or old, who has never ridden, the first important question is whether to ride a bicycle or tricycle.”<sup>199</sup> Like Ferris, this author also believed the only benefits of the tricycle were the ability to ride with luggage. She concluded that while this decision is a “matter of personal prejudice” and is up to each woman, she

---

<sup>195</sup> Johnson, Edyth, “The Benefits of Cycling for Women,” *The Woman's Herald*, December 24, 1893: 7. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 3, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlefulltext:Gerritsen-GP205.4\\_Volume\\_8\\_Issue\\_217-13](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlefulltext:Gerritsen-GP205.4_Volume_8_Issue_217-13)>

<sup>196</sup> Ferris, “Cycling for Women,” 10.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.

<sup>199</sup> “Cycling for Women,” *The Woman's Herald*, April 20, 1893, 134. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 3, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlefulltext:Gerritsen-GP205.4\\_Volume\\_8\\_Issue\\_9-24](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlefulltext:Gerritsen-GP205.4_Volume_8_Issue_9-24)>

concluded, “I myself greatly prefer the two-wheeled machine.”<sup>200</sup> In 1898, Florence Fenwick Miller, editor of *The Woman’s Signal*, was in the minority by still seeing some value in the tricycle, but only for middle-age women. Miller argued that the technology of the tricycle had greatly improved: “[t]ime was when the three-wheeled machine was heavy and cumbersome... [and] the total weight was far in excess of the bicycle. All this is now amended.”<sup>201</sup> Miller described her positive experiences riding the Model K tricycle by Beaston Cycle Company, which included new features such as pneumatic tires and improved steering without weighing more than forty pounds. Recognizing that “[t]here are many forms of exercise open to the young and slim that are not available to the matronly and ‘settled,’” Fenwick encouraged older women that it would be better to ride a tricycle than not ride at all.<sup>202</sup>

Along with advice for purchasing a bicycle, authors provided a wealth of information to help cyclists to develop their riding skills. They acknowledged the particular needs of women cyclists, and again focused on novice riders. Contributors offered tips about speed, encouraging readers to start cycling slowly and build speed as they gained confidence in the saddle. In an interview, Frances Willard advised new cyclists to “‘fly high’ when once you have mastered it.”<sup>203</sup> In Edith Ward’s letter of advice, she recommended new cyclists show restraint in both speed and distance when starting out: “[n]ever try too much at first. Begin by easy rides — a mile or two —

---

<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

<sup>201</sup> Miller, Fenwick, “Cycling and Good Spirits,” *The Woman’s Signal*, July 21, 1898, 459. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 3, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP210\\_Volume\\_9\\_Is-sue\\_235-17](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP210_Volume_9_Is-sue_235-17)>

<sup>202</sup> “Cycling for Women,” 134.

<sup>203</sup> Holdsworth, “A Book of the Hour,” 345.

and lengthen them gradually... More women have been prohibited from cycling owing to having started too far and fast at first than from any other reason.”<sup>204</sup>

Authors also provided advice on set-up and maintenance skills. In “Hints on Cycling,” an anonymous contributor instructed readers on proper bicycle fit and adjustment. She described the “proper position” in which a rider should be able to “sit up easily with the arms not quite at full stretch” and “put the foot under the pedal when the knee is straight.”<sup>205</sup> The author made readers aware that “[t]he greatest pains should be taken to get the saddle and handles into the right position” and offered inch by inch recommendations for saddle and handlebar height.<sup>206</sup> She argued that it was necessary for women “to learn something about the points of your machine” and know how to “[r]epair a puncture before you go on long rides.”<sup>207</sup> She also advised women on proper cleaning techniques to avoid premature rusting, such as ensuring their bikes were “well brushed when dry, and rubbed with a paraffin cloth.”<sup>208</sup> In a hint at her upper-class status, rare in the suffrage press coverage of bicycling, she concluded, “I never find servants clean them satisfactorily, so I generally have to fall back on my own services, and really the exercise does one good.”<sup>209</sup>

---

<sup>204</sup> Ward, Edith, “Cycling for Women,” *The Woman's Herald* 7, no. 216, December 17, 1892, 10. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 3, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlefulltext:Gerritsen-GP205.4\\_Volume\\_7\\_Issue\\_216-13:2](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlefulltext:Gerritsen-GP205.4_Volume_7_Issue_216-13:2)>

<sup>205</sup> “Hints on Cycling,” 124.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid.

Suffrage press editors also published advice on riding skills. In Edith Ward's letter to the editor, she encouraged women to take lessons only if they could ensure a female instructor who would understand their particular needs.<sup>210</sup> A contributor to *The Woman's Signal* recommended that "[b]ack-pedaling should be practiced early" to ensure safe braking, as many women's safety models had brakes on the pedals instead of the handlebars.<sup>211</sup> Florence Fenwick Miller also advised new riders to practice on a "level road, as free from traffic as possible."<sup>212</sup> Women were especially interested in learning practical skills to prevent accidents while cycling. This was far from unreasonable given the high rates of cycling accidents in the 1890s, and women had the extra burden of cycling in dresses and skirts.<sup>213</sup> One experience cyclist warned novices: "[n]o bucking pony or mettled [sic] sorrel ever played you the tricks that a bicycle can."<sup>214</sup> Wheelwomen were forced to contend with the stereotype that they were less capable cyclists compared to men, who often claimed women caused more accidents and slowed down group rides. Women faced notable double standards: women's models were often heavier than the comparable men's models, women had to wear incredibly restricting, heavy and loose clothing, and they faced social pressures to limit their athletic abilities.

Women directly responded to these challenges in the suffrage press. One wheelwoman offered readers her own history with bicycling accidents, hoping to provide context for her falls

---

<sup>210</sup> Ward, "Cycling for Women," 10.

<sup>211</sup> "Hints on Cycling," 124.

<sup>212</sup> Miller, "Cycling and Good Spirits," 459.

<sup>213</sup> "Clippings of Bicycling Accidents," Library of the Prudential Ins. Co. of America, Newark, NJ, Statistician's Department. Surgeon General's Office Library, Section: Statistical No. 262809. Lily Library, Indiana University. Cycling Mss Box 3 LMC 2804. Print. Accessed March 4, 2015.

<sup>214</sup> Harrison, "My First Bicycle," 80.

and challenge this double standard. She described that when she first learned to ride a tricycle, ended up “in the ditch, with the tricycle on top of me and a nice bed of needles underneath.”<sup>215</sup> After this first ride, she reported that her accidents and falls were “few, far between, and unimportant” with the most significant fall the result of her dress caught in the chain.<sup>216</sup> Upon transition to a safety, she “only had about three spills: once when I was learning, again on the greasy streets near town... [and] the last time was over a little stone on an incline which threw me off my balance.”<sup>217</sup> She reassured readers that the last accident “was the worst spill of all” but she “only slightly grazed my knee.”<sup>218</sup> The author contextualized her accidents as rare and resulting from problems that would impede any cyclist; she believed learning how to ride and respond to poor road conditions were experiences shared by all cyclists regardless of gender.

Authors who did not share their personal experiences with falls still provided readers with words of support and encouragement. Annie Holdsworth addressed cycling accidents in her interview with Frances Willard, published in part to promote Willard’s cycling memoir *A Wheel within a Wheel*. Willard advised women cyclists that the key to avoiding falls was to stay calm and confident while riding. From her experience, “[w]hen the wheel of the mind went well, then the rubber wheel hummed.”<sup>219</sup> An anonymous contributor to *The Woman’s Herald* similarly reassured new cyclists that the struggles of learning to ride, including possible falls, would translate

---

<sup>215</sup> “Cycling for Ladies,” *The Woman’s Herald*, April 18, 1891, 404. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 3, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4\\_Volume\\_3\\_Is-sue\\_130-26](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4_Volume_3_Is-sue_130-26)>

<sup>216</sup> Ibid.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid.

<sup>219</sup> Holdsworth, “A Book of the Hour,” 345.



into improved physical health: “[y]ou began by getting very hot and uncomfortable... [but] in a few weeks time you find your things have become very loose, or rather you yourself have become very much thinner.”<sup>220</sup> She also highlighted the changes in confidence that occur after a few weeks practice. She predicted new cyclists will find “your spirits uncontrollable, and you will say to yourself, I never could have believed cycling would have brought such a change in the better for me. Why did I never think of trying it before? I must recommend it to all my friends.”<sup>221</sup>

The suffrage press was an important forum for reform-minded women who were cyclists of all levels of experience. While women cyclists had limited resources and texts to learn and improve their riding, suffrage newspapers provided detailed advice and tips written by women cyclists for the specific benefit of their peers. Cyclists used their own personal experiences to create a women-centered body of knowledge on purchasing a bicycle, riding skills, and responding to accidents. Suffrage press editors aimed to document all aspect of women’s rights activism on local, state and national levels; they did not consider advice covered in women’s magazines aimed at the apolitical housewife (running a household, relationship and parenting advice, etc.) worthy of publication in suffrage papers.<sup>222</sup> By publishing a wealth of practical riding advice to readers, editors clearly viewed women’s cycling as not simply depoliticalized recreation, but an important component of a multi-issue platform for women’s rights.

---

<sup>220</sup> “Cycling for Ladies,” 404.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid.

<sup>222</sup> Solomon, “The Role of the Suffrage Press in the Woman’s Rights Movement,” 15.

Along with providing individual advice, clubs have been a central forum for women to join the sport and improve their skills. In the 1880s, cities were filled with cycling clubs who competed against one another for cash rewards, bragging rights, and medals to attach to their club uniforms. Native-born, white men who established cycling clubs generally did not admit African-American men, immigrant men, or women of any racial or ethnic background. As fundraisers, some clubs even held minstrel shows with entertainers in blackface, an unfortunately common occurrence in vaudeville at the time.<sup>223</sup> As one cyclist described, while the LAW “frowns upon the bloomers, it does not object to repleting its sunken treasury by impersonating the race” they barred from joining.<sup>224</sup>

Club leaders who challenged this practice were often forced to disband because larger cycling associations, including the League of American Wheelman, would refuse their chapter membership and bar them from events.<sup>225</sup> Due to these discriminatory practices, African-American cyclists established their own clubs in many cities across the country, including New York and New Orleans.<sup>226</sup> Women also responded to their exclusion by constructing their own cycling infrastructure, which included clubs. In the 1880s, pioneering wheelwomen formed tricycling clubs, which set the stage for booming rates of bicycling clubs upon the introduction of the safety model. In the 1890s, the number of cycling clubs skyrocketed in large metropolitan areas,

---

<sup>223</sup> “A Benefit Performance,” *The Pneumatic: A Progressive Monthly Paper for Cyclists* 5, no. 1, April 1894, no page. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed May 1, 2016. <<http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/turningpoints/search.asp?id=1111>>

<sup>224</sup> “Boston Bicycle Doings,” *Referee* 13, no. 3, May 18, 1894, no page. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.

<sup>225</sup> Smith, *A Social History of the Bicycle*, 162-163. Somers, “A City on Wheels: The Bicycle Era of New Orleans,” 219-238.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid.

mid-size cities and even small towns as the market flooded with mass-produced, affordable safety bicycles. Like their predecessors, men's clubs "were not much different from most other Victorian social organizations" as club leaders used gender and race to decide who was worthy of membership.<sup>227</sup> Men's clubs generally banned women from membership; women's best bet was that some allowed women to attend a few leisurely rides and social events, such as picnics, designed for members to bring a date. A few progressive clubs granted women a limited membership only if they were related to a male member, usually a brother.

Women responded to these discriminatory practices by establishing their own clubs. Cycling historians credit the Ladies Cycling Club of Washington, D.C. as the first American women's cycling club.<sup>228</sup> By the mid-1890s, many cities included multiple women's cycling clubs, often based on neighborhood as well as race, ethnicity, religion and class; unfortunately, women's clubs often replicated the exclusionary practices of male cyclists.<sup>229</sup> For example, New York City had clubs in most boroughs as well as clubs established by African-American, white, and Jewish wheelwomen, and there is little evidence of multiracial membership in men's or women's clubs.<sup>230</sup> Many women continued to advocate for more equitable membership practices among men's clubs and formed co-ed clubs as well. Yet men's clubs were slow to incorporate women into their ranks. For example, by 1893 the League of American Wheelman reported only

---

<sup>227</sup> Norcliffe, Glen, *The Ride to Modernity: The Bicycle in Canada, 1869-1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 192.

<sup>228</sup> Petty, "Women and the Wheel: The Bicycle's Impact on Women," 112-133

<sup>229</sup> Goodman, David J., "The Bittersweet History of Bicycle Clubs in America," *New York Times* (New York, NY), January 10, 2010, A18. ProQuest. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/docview/1461188513/36CCD26132FE4B94PQ/1?accountid=12598>>

<sup>230</sup> Ibid.

1,162 registered women members out of a total membership of approximately 35,000.<sup>231</sup> Other sources suggest the LAW greatly exaggerated this figure, as many local and state chapters refused to admit any women regardless of national policy.<sup>232</sup> By the middle of the decade, some men's cycling clubs offered limited membership benefits to women, such as through a separate women's auxiliary club.<sup>233</sup> For example, to address local wheelwomen's request for membership, the male leadership of New Orleans' Crescent City Cycle Club created the Olympia Club for women, a strategy designed to harness the advocacy power of women cyclists in the city without making the club co-ed. Regardless of men's stance, women's clubs thrived throughout the country by the late 1890s.

Women's cycling clubs of the 1890s remain understudied in multiple scholarly fields. Cycling historians have overwhelmingly focused on the social activities of co-ed cycling clubs and athletic pursuits of men's racing clubs during this period.<sup>234</sup> Women's historians have yet to fully explore women's cycling clubs, despite the overt connections between these clubs and broader political issues of the period. The suffrage press offers us a window to see women's cycling clubs as not simply recreational groups, but another forum for women's rights activism just like other political organizations of the period. Because cycling clubs were so central to many riders' practice, women who wrote about cycling in suffrage newspapers often discussed cycling clubs. Authors highlighted issues of concern to cycle club members, cyclists and the readers as a

---

<sup>231</sup> Petty, "Women and the Wheel: The Bicycle's Impact on Women," 112-133

<sup>232</sup> "The Wheeling Woman," *The Pneumatic: A Journal of Cycling Literature and Trade News* VI, no. 3, June 1895, no pages. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/83254/rec/5>>

<sup>233</sup> Somers, "A City on Wheels: The Bicycle Era of New Orleans," 219-238.

<sup>234</sup> Examples include Ritchie, 1975; Smith, 1972; Norcliffe, 2001.

whole. The suffrage press editors aimed to document the activities of the women's rights movement, and this was especially key during the challenging political times of the 1890s. As such, editors consistently framed cycling clubs as part of their political narratives, spaces in which women could pursue their political goals.

The suffrage press served as a gateway of information for news about cycling clubs. Editors often published reports about newly forming clubs, furthering awareness of the clubs and applauding women who established them. These reports began soon after the safety model revolutionized women's cycling. As early as 1890, *The Woman's Herald* reported that reform-minded women "with their characteristic capacity for organizing, [sic] have started a number of clubs among those engaged in out-door sports."<sup>235</sup> Another author highlighted the Women's Wheel and Athletic Club of Buffalo, New York, "an institution of some year's standing," and the Ladies' Athletic Club of Lakewood, New Jersey in which incorporated cycling as one of my many out-door activities of group members.<sup>236</sup> When a British wheelwoman was in the process of forming a national-level cycling organization in 1893, *The Woman's Herald* editors published information about the club, including the goals, future activities, and contact information for readers interested in membership or forming a local chapter.<sup>237</sup>

Suffrage press editors believed one of the most valuable roles of their newspapers was to promote empowering images of women and highlight the efforts of wheelwomen to serve as role

---

<sup>235</sup> "Our Sisters Across the Seas," *The Woman's Herald*, January 11, 1890, 137. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 3, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4\\_Volume\\_2\\_Issue\\_63-16](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4_Volume_2_Issue_63-16)>

<sup>236</sup> Ibid.

<sup>237</sup> "Cycling for Women," 134.

models. They particularly crafted narratives for readers who were geographically isolated from women's rights groups and lacked much needed peer support of other like-minded women. Editors portrayed cycling club members as strong, independent women with great achievements, highlighting the popularity of cycling clubs as evidence of women's broad potential for success. For example, one author attributed the growth of women's cycling clubs as a direct result of women's strength and resolve: "[i]f a woman wants anything she generally gets it... [women] are, therefore, likely to have a successful bicycle club because they want one."<sup>238</sup> Suffrage press contributors often paid particular note to cycling club leaders. As early as 1890, only one year after the women's safety hit stores, *The Woman's Herald* noted "bicycling amongst ladies is increasing" in part due to the leadership of Mrs. Vickers, a member of the Potterneton Bicycle Club.<sup>239</sup> Vickers not only led her club to victory in a nineteen-mile race, but also outrode all of the members of a local men's cycling club.<sup>240</sup> Another contributor to the paper celebrated Violet Lorne, a well known cycling journalist, as "one of the recognised [sic] authorities on feminine Cycling [sic] by the English, American and Continental papers."<sup>241</sup> The author appalled how Lorne is "pioneering the way for her less experienced sisters" through her cycling instruction, leadership and publications.<sup>242</sup>

---

<sup>238</sup> Ibid.

<sup>239</sup> "Bicycling," *The Woman's Herald* 3, no. 108, October 25, 1890, 9. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 3, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4\\_Volume\\_3\\_Issue\\_105-15](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4_Volume_3_Issue_105-15)>

<sup>240</sup> Ibid.

<sup>241</sup> "Cycling for Women," 134.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid.

In *The Woman's Signal*, well-known suffrage journalist Sarah Tooley interviewed Miss N. G. Bacon, secretary of the Mowbray House Cycling Association. In this in-depth interview, Tooley celebrated Bacon as a vibrant, health conscious and adventurous New Woman; an up-and-coming leader who was part of a new generation of women necessary to sustain their movement. Tooley introduced Bacon to her readers by describing how “even the most fastidious critics would acknowledge that Miss Bacon forms an agreeable contrast to the simpering, sampler-making maiden of a bygone era.”<sup>243</sup> Like many women cyclists of this era, Bacon described how she originally began cycling by borrowing her brother’s bicycle and then purchased a ladies’ safety model on her own. She quickly joined the Mowbray House Cycling Association and enjoyed multi-day tours of the countryside and various cities. Bacon’s bicycle-based travels were usually a “solitary journey” in which she coordinated her lodging, repaired her bicycle, and navigated her route on her own.<sup>244</sup> Bacon also described her daily rides to maintain her fitness and to enjoy the sport when she did not have time for getaway. Tooley concluded by noting Bacon’s pro-temperance position, mirroring that of the newspaper. Bacon described her work with prominent cyclist and WCTU president Frances Willard (who at this time was vice president of the Mowbray club), self-identified as a “life-abstainer” and stated how she did not use any stimulants for her athletic activities.<sup>245</sup> Tooley celebrated Bacon’s achievements and independence throughout the

---

<sup>243</sup> Tooley, Sarah A., “Through the Air on Wheels,” *The Woman's Signal* 2, no. 37, September 13, 1894, 168. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 3, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP210\\_Volume\\_2\\_Issue\\_37-13](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP210_Volume_2_Issue_37-13)>

<sup>244</sup> Ibid.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid.

article, framing her as an excellent role model for young women and evidence of the vibrancy of the women's rights movement.

To continue positioning women's cycling clubs as an example of women's political skills and successes, suffrage press editors regularly noted a club's involvement in a local or national campaign. Men's cycling clubs, led by the national League of American Wheelman, organized the Good Roads Movement to improve city streets and build more roads to connect rural and urban areas. Historians credit this highly influential political movement as the foundation for the modernization of transportation which solidified in the automobile age.<sup>246</sup> Historians have yet to fully explore the political work between men's and women's cycling clubs. The suffrage press offers a window into these efforts. For example, in 1896 *The Woman's Journal* documented the political influence of wheelwomen in San Francisco. The author reported that the city boasted 3,000 women cyclists, most of whom were members of a cycling club.<sup>247</sup> Like many clubs throughout the country, members of largest men's club in San Francisco, the Wheelman's Municipal League of San Francisco were actively involved in efforts to improve San Francisco roads. They worked to pass legislation to fund road improvements and expansion. *The Woman's Journal* contributor noted how the Wheelman's Municipal League passed a resolution in support of the constitutional amendment for women's suffrage. The author applauded how this resolution was not based on "sentiment" but "practicality" and "good politics."<sup>248</sup> She then described how the

---

<sup>246</sup> Taylor, Michael, "The Bicycle Boom and the Bicycle Bloc: Cycling and Politics in the 1890s," *Indiana Magazine of History* 104, no. 3 (September 2008): 213-240.

<sup>247</sup> "Women and the Bicycle," *The Woman's Journal* 27, no. 39, September 26, 1896, 305. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 3, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205\\_Volume\\_27\\_Is-sue\\_39-29](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205_Volume_27_Is-sue_39-29)>

<sup>248</sup> Ibid.



Wheelman's Municipal League passed this resolution specifically because they believed, if given the right to vote, women cyclists would increase the likelihood of pro-cycling candidates' elected to office. The author stated that women cyclists "desire good, clean streets" just like their male counterparts, but were limited in how effective they could be in such efforts because "[t]hese ladies, of course, have no votes, so all they can do is lend their moral influence to the campaign for better roadways."<sup>249</sup> Typical of suffrage press journalists, the anonymous author challenged the anti-suffrage argument, widespread in the mainstream press and political discourse, that women did not need the right to vote themselves because they could influence male relatives. The author concluded her analysis of the men's resolution by declaring, "truth compels the admission that votes are more effective than moral influence when politics is being done."<sup>250</sup> This author and the men's clubs both believed in the political capital of wheelwomen as a future voting block with significant potential for political change, including through the Good Roads movement.

In their coverage of women's cycling clubs, suffrage press editors paid particular attention to the Mowbray House Cycling Association. This was in part because of the club's celebrity leadership: Lady Henry Somerset (first name Isabel), president of the British Woman's Temperance Association served as president of the club and Frances Willard, president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union served as vice president. Both women were highly regarded leaders of suffrage and temperance activism and their publications, activities, and political stances often made news in suffrage and mainstream newspapers. The leaders of the club were elite, middle-

---

<sup>249</sup> Ibid.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid.

aged women, but they did not ignore the needs of young, working-class cyclists. While prices for the bicycle dropped steadily in the 1890s, many women did not have the money to purchase their own bicycle. Women without a supportive male cyclist in their family often had few options to try riding. Suffrage press columnists discussed efforts among Mowbray Club members to start a women-only bicycle co-op so that women new to cycling or without the funds to afford a new bicycle could purchase affordable memberships and rent bicycles owned by the co-op.<sup>251</sup> President Somerest hoped to provide opportunities for women “who cannot even afford the ten shilings to pay for the use of the learner’s machine,” cheap floor models used by manufacturers and retailers to teach potential customers riding skills.<sup>252</sup> Somerset thought an array of women could benefit from the project. She stated that many girls’ families refused to support their wish to cycle even if they could afford it. Somerset framed the bias of families against girls’ desire to own a bicycle as a distinctly political issue rooted in unchallenged sexism:

This has awakened me to the fact that women and men go through life from an exactly opposite standpoint. In this way I find lads, whose parents are in very lowly positions of life, possess bicycles, whereas the girls of the same family have not one-tenth of the advantages extended to the boys. Boys seem to be more dominant and selfish. They must have their luxuries, their enjoyments, and their privileges. But the girls are taught to sacrifice themselves. And this even in the better-class families.<sup>253</sup>

---

<sup>251</sup> “Cycling for Young Women,” *The Woman’s Herald* 8, no. 17, April 20, 1893, 134. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 3, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4\\_Volume\\_8\\_Issue\\_17-18](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4_Volume_8_Issue_17-18)>

<sup>252</sup> “Cycling for Young Women,” 134.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid.

The author concluded by outlining further plans for the co-op, including renting a cottage for tours and riding lessons. For Somerset, the cycling club was a strategic and overtly political response to the double standard facing women cyclists.<sup>254</sup>

Clubs were a primary way women engaged in cycling in the 1890s, and suffrage press editors made considerable effort to document their importance while crafted their narrative of women's bicycling as an activist project. Contributors to suffrage press newspaper provided information on clubs and celebrated both women's cycling clubs and club leaders. They also directly highlighted the role of cycling clubs and political efforts. Far from mere recreation, suffrage press contributors used women's cycling clubs as evidence of women's success and to promote images of strong, independent and politically engaged women.

Contributors, editors and readers of the suffrage press viewed cycling as much more than a mere hobby, but an important political project. Women used cycling as a strategy to tap into and feel part of the women's rights movement networks, building a new path for women's rights ideology to travel and grow years before major suffrage victories. When contributing to suffrage newspapers, women cyclists wrote powerful testimonials, reports, and interviews to encourage women to start cycling and to commend women already involved in the practice. Authors used the suffrage press to provide much needed resources to women cyclists, offering advice and riding tips that were previously inaccessible to many women. Women cyclists challenged stereotypes of women's inability to ride and denounced the double standards women faced in the cycling world. Contributors of the suffrage press newspapers successfully crafted a narrative in which they argued that cycling was best understood in political terms and within the context of

---

<sup>254</sup> Ibid.

multi-issue platforms, strategies, and ideologies to advance women's rights. While not all women published in or even read suffrage newspapers, it is evident that women contributors in the suffrage press utilized political ideology to inspire, promote and shape their cycling practice.

Cyclists used their own personal experiences to create a women-centered body of knowledge on purchasing a bicycle, riding skills, and responding to accidents. Editors' efforts to conceptualize women in such an empowering way worked not only to celebrate the woman cyclist, but also to provide the audience of suffrage press newspapers a new narrative to rethink their bodies not as a limitation, but as an important vehicle to inspire and enact women's rights ideology in their everyday lives. The suffrage press editors ultimately used bicycling to help sustain their struggling movement during tough times, by framing the sport as an accessible, exciting and deeply political way women could take part in the movement in their daily life.

## Conclusion

By 1896, only seven years after the introduction of women's safety bicycle to American markets, a journalist reporting on the cycling scene in Cincinnati declared that simply "Ideals Regarding Women Have Changed."<sup>255</sup> Of all possible symbols and objects, how did the bicycle become the single object so many women believed best epitomized the transformation they witnessed? By 1895, WCTU members began to refer to the bicycle as "the reformer" because women used it for "physical, mental and moral" change.<sup>256</sup> One member believed that the bicycle

---

<sup>255</sup> "THE NEW WOMAN.: Ideals Regarding Women Have Changed. The Athletic Woman Reigns. Which Makes the Best Wife, the Bicycle Girl or the Delicate, 'Clinging Vine?'" *Cincinnati Enquirer* (Cincinnati, OH), May 10, 1896, 32. ProQuest. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpcincinnati/enquirer/docview/895703637/abstract/9A6961FB2B5D4DB8PQ/280?accountid=12598>>

<sup>256</sup> "The Bicycle as a Reformer," *The Union Signal*, June 13, 1895, 8. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Box 10 Oct 1894- Feb 27, 1896. Microfilm. Accessed June 6, 2015.

was “destined to be no insignificant factor in the development of the ‘new woman.’ If this is the ‘woman’s century’ then the bicycle may be regarded as the symbol of nineteenth century evolution.”<sup>257</sup> Another wheelwoman described it this way: through bicycling woman “will become mistress of herself.”<sup>258</sup> In fact, the process of becoming one’s own mistress was a foundation of women’s new vision of themselves — a vision they created through bicycling narratives. The independence they created through bicycling started with the physical experience, which sparked emotions, and inspired deep intellectual thought. What emerged on the other side were the new ways women thought about themselves — now as their own mistress, that they were running their own lives. Another journalist argued that “[b]icycle riding is preparing woman to sweep away the cobwebs of tradition and superstition, and in the light of wisdom, born of knowledge, teaching her.... [e]ven in a few short years woman has changed... we are entering the age of athleticism — athleticism of the body, mind, and spirit, inaugurated and brought through the means of the bicycle.”<sup>259</sup> In fact, even Susan B. Anthony argued that the bicycle was the most visible sign of women’s progress. While too old to develop a bicycling practice herself, she strongly encouraged women to ride, and celebrated the cycling as a marker of decades of activism. She believed “a girl never looks so independent, so much as if she felt as good as a boy, as on her wheel.”<sup>260</sup>

---

<sup>257</sup> Ibid.

<sup>258</sup> Koven, “Bicycling for Women,” 386.

<sup>259</sup> “BICYCLE RIDING AND WOMEN.: It Is Enabling Them to Escape from the Bondage of Custom,” *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Chicago, IL), June 17, 1895, 4. ProQuest. Accessed May 1, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com/proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpchicagotribune/docview/175084280/abstract/30E673CFD1C421CPQ/71?accountid=12598>>

<sup>260</sup> Harper, Ida, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, vol. 3 (Indianapolis, IN: Hollenbeck Press, 1908), 1293. Women and Social Movements in the US, 1600-2000. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<http://asp6new.alexanderstreet.-com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/wam2/wam2.object.details.aspx?dorpId=1002256153>>

Famous wheelwomen like Frances Willard as well as ordinary women cyclists used personal narratives to transform their new, seemingly apolitical sport. Wheelwomen across the country published personal narratives in newspapers, popular magazines, the suffrage press, and even their own memoirs. Regardless of the format, wheelwomen used their narratives to politicize the physical, emotional and intellectual experiences of cycling. In their narratives, they offered readers a template for an accessible, yet effective approach to women's activism. Women used cycling, as Greene so eloquently described, to 'paddle your own canoe' and as Willard wrote, to create a 'new philosophy of life.'

## CHAPTER 6: CHAPERONES, PRACTICAL INDEPENDENCE, AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE WOMAN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT

In 1898, a columnist for *The North American Review*, a respected intellectual and political magazine, compared the success of women's suffrage efforts throughout the English-speaking world. It had not been a particularly promising decade for American suffrage activists. They gained few legislative and legal victories, and the suffrage cause seemed inconsequential to many women outside of radical political circles. As this pro-suffrage columnist proposed,

[t]he great obstacle to woman suffrage, acknowledged by its friends and foes, is that the majority of women do not want it; and this majority, with seeming inconsistency, seems to be as large among thinking women as among the unthinking. But I do not regard this obstacle as insuperable, for an illogical state of affairs cannot endure forever. That subtle, elusive force known as public opinion is subject to the most sudden changes, and no one can ever tell how small a thing may start it. Sometimes a mechanical invention puts an entirely new phase upon a subject which has been argued about for years.<sup>1</sup>

Just like the popularity discussing of woman's suffrage in the 1890s, the woman's rights movement was one of the first topics women's historians undertook upon establishing this historical field starting in the 1960s. Among the numerous political activities of nineteenth-century women, suffrage has remained one of the most widely researched areas of American women's history with academic and popular presses regularly publishing new books on the subject. Historians have proposed a variety of arguments to understand the trajectory of the woman's suffrage movement, exploring local achievements, coalition-building projects, and the final ratification of the nineteenth amendment as well as the movement's ideological inconsistencies and strategic

---

<sup>1</sup> Abbott, Frances M., "A Comparative View of the Woman Suffrage Movement," *The North American Review* 166, no. 495, February 1898, 142-151. Quote page 146. JSTOR.

blunders.<sup>2</sup> Woven through this rich historiography is the question of how post-Civil War suffrage activists transformed their movement in only a few decades. From the 1880s to 1910s, the woman's suffrage movement blossomed from a radical cause kept alive by a small minority of Northeastern women into a mainstream and influential political force. By the late 1910s, grassroots activists and powerful leaders alike convinced enough of the American public — both women and men — that the woman's vote was respectable, reasonable, and democratic.

Key to this transition was not only ideology and activist strategies, but also the spaces in which women engaged in the cause. Up through the 1880s, pro-suffrage women engaged in the woman's rights movement most often in private spaces. Women read suffrage newspapers and took part in letter writing campaigns, both in their own homes. Some women's clubs hosted formal conversations on political issues, but these discussions also grew organically in casual conversations among likeminded friends and family. Particularly committed women attended public lectures presented by local activists and national leaders, but they remained a passive audience at these events. Only twenty years later, suffrage activism occurred largely in public spaces. Histo-

---

<sup>2</sup> Baker, Paula, "The Domestication of Politics." *The American Historical Review*, 89, no. 3 (June 1984): 620-647. Colbert, C. C., *The Other Civil War: American Women in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1999). Cott, Nancy F., *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989). Dubois, Ellen Carol, *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America, 1848-1869* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999). Evans, Sara, *Born for Liberty* (New York: Free Press, 1997). Faulkner, Carol, *Lucy Stone's Heresy: Abolition and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011). Fitzpatrick, Ellen and Eleanor Flexer, *A Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (New York: Belknap Press, 1996). Ginzberg, Lori D., *Elizabeth Cady Stanton: An American Life* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2010). Kradt, Aileen S., *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement: 1890-1920* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1981). McMillen, Sally G., *Lucy Stone: An Unapologetic Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015). McMillen, Sally, *Seneca Falls and the Origins of the Women's Rights Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009). Mead, Rebecca, *How the Vote was Won: Woman Suffrage in the Western United States, 1868-1914* (New York: New York University Press, 2006). Muncy, Robin, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform* (Oxford University Press, 1994). Newman, Louise Michele, *White Women's Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). Rupp, Leila J., *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997). Sneider, Allison L., *Suffragists in an Imperial Age: U. S. Expansion and the Woman Question, 1870-1929* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). Tetrault, Lisa, "The Incorporation of American Feminism: Suffragists on the Postbellum Lyceum," *Journal of American History*, 96 (March 2010), 1027-56. Wellman, Judith, *The Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the First Woman's Rights Convention* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2004).



rians have repeatedly demonstrated the influence of public events, especially protests and parades, in solidifying the final success of the movement.<sup>3</sup>

While they made the most headlines, protests and parades were not the only visible public sign of the suffrage movement. Campaigns for women's suffrage skyrocketed in an era of profound social and economic change, as consumer capitalism transformed cities into playgrounds and showrooms for mass-produced goods. As historian William Leach has compellingly explored, Americans' individual identity, self-worth, and self-expression blurred with a glorification of consumption. In a single generation, Americans began to link personal success, as well as political progress, with access to and enjoyment of consumer goods. Advertisers and corporate leaders built consumer bases by ensuring Americans that their new, exciting product offered the quickest path to a fulfilling life. Consumption offered an escape from the monotony of office work and dreary city life, problems the growing middle-class was desperate to solve.<sup>4</sup> Social historians and women's historians have explored the dichotomous legacy of mass consumption in turn-of-the-century women's lives by demonstrating how women's new identity as consumers

---

<sup>3</sup> Adams, Katherine H. and Keene, Michael L., *Alice Paul and the American Suffrage Campaign* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008). Cott, Nancy, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987). Hoganson, Kristin, "'As Badly Off as the Filipinos': US Women's Suffragists and the Imperial Issue at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Journal of Women's History* 13, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 9-33. Zahniser, J. D. and Amelia R. Fry, *Alice Paul: Claiming Power* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2014).

<sup>4</sup> Kasson, John F., *Amusing the Million: Coney Island at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Hill and Wang, Publishers, 1985). Leach, William R., *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Vintage, 1994). Halttunen, Karen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-class Culture in America, 1830-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986). Jackson, T. J., *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). Nasaw, David, *Going Out: The Rise and Fall of Public Amusements* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

both empowered their efforts to challenge social norms but co-opted the radical potential of their political activism.<sup>5</sup>

Historian Margaret Finnegan has provided the most in depth exploration of how not just public life, but specifically the rise of consumer culture shaped the woman's rights movement. She argues that woman's suffrage leaders were one of the first political activists to recognize the potential of incorporating consumer culture in their projects, and ultimately did so more successfully than any other movement of this era.<sup>6</sup> Suffrage activists utilized consumer culture in numerous ways to develop a powerful and popular public presence. They transformed shopping, a new hobby among women, into a framework for understanding women's ability to be effective voters. They argued that as shoppers, women knew how to evaluate advertisers' competing claims, make smart financial decisions for their families, and weigh the pros and cons of consumer goods, all skills which mirrored the process of choosing an elected official. Suffrage organizations designed and produced a treasure trove of consumer goods, including clothing, pins, paying cards, valentines, tableware, and toys, all of which "collapsed the differences between commercial and political longings by creating a vision of proud, educated, and stylishly outfitted women citizens."<sup>7</sup> They also borrowed tactics from the recently established advertising profes-

---

<sup>5</sup> Abelson, Elaine, *When Ladies Go A-Thieving: Middle-Class Shoplifters in the Victorian Department Store* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). Enstad, Nan, *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure: Working Women, Popular Culture, and Labor Politics at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999). Benson, Susan, *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890-1940* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1988). Levine, Susan, *Labor's True Woman: Carpet Weavers, Industrialization, and Labor Reform in the Gilded Age* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984). Meyerowitz, Joanne, *Women Adrift: Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). Peiss, Kathy, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986). Rabinovitz, Lauren, *For the Love of Pleasure: Women, Movies, and Culture in Turn-of-the-Century Chicago* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1998).

<sup>6</sup> Finnegan, Margaret, *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture and Votes for Women* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

<sup>7</sup> Finnegan, 69.

sion, creating electric signs, department store window displays, and sandwich-board suffrage advertisements to promote their cause as “modern, worthwhile, and wholly congruent with the celebration of consumer abundance and commodity-centered identity.”<sup>8</sup> Conflating suffrage with consumerism helped normalize the once radical movement and make it exciting and fun, especially for young, middle-class women. Finnegan concludes that “consumer culture — in all its guises — gave suffragists a vocabulary for explaining the world.”<sup>9</sup> With thousands of suffrage activists with money to spend, playing to their interests was a smart business move. As more women began holding suffrage parades in New York City, Macy’s started to sell a complete “parade marching outfit” which included a color-coordinated hat, lantern, pins, flowers and a pennant.<sup>10</sup> By 1912, New York suffragists referred to Macy’s as their headquarters.<sup>11</sup>

In her groundbreaking work, Finnegan offers scholars a framework to unpack the deep connections between consumerism and suffrage. While she incorporates a variety of consumer goods into her work, she does not consider the role of women’s booming participation in athletics in the suffrage movement. While some scholars have noted a causal connection between wheelwomen and a pro-suffrage stance, there has been little effort to deeply explore the relationship between women’s cycling and the vote.<sup>12</sup> As the columnist for *The North American Review* suggested, sometimes it is not seasoned activists or an inspiring book which reinvigorates a

---

<sup>8</sup> Finnegan, 138.

<sup>9</sup> Finnegan, 171.

<sup>10</sup> Finnegan, 69.

<sup>11</sup> Finnegan, 69.

<sup>12</sup> Kay, Joyce, “It Wasn’t Just Emily Davison! Sport, Suffrage and Society in Edwardian Britain,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 25, no. 10 (September 2008): 1338-1354. Strange, Lisa and Robert S. Brown, “The Bicycle, Women’s Rights, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton,” *Women’s Studies*, 31, (2002): 609-626.

movement, but an unforeseen “mechanical invention.”<sup>13</sup> Early twentieth-century suffrage activists undoubtedly used consumerist mentalities, from department store displays to public parades, to transform their movement into a visible and influential public presence. In the 1890s, the bicycle served as the prequel to such public, consumerist strategies. Inspired by a desire to bicycle on their own terms, women used cycling to create an unprecedented public presence they deemed practical independence. Wheelwomen rejuvenated a struggling suffrage movement by presenting their success as a valuable lesson in the political power of consumer goods.

### The Death of the Chaperone

A central project of cycling historians has been to document how nineteenth-century cycling changed public life. Cyclists filled city streets, but they also demanded those streets modernize and expand to serve their new form of transportation. They created the Good Roads movement to improve existing roads, create new streets and paths, and expand state and federal infrastructure to develop highways throughout the country. The Good Roads movement catapulted male cyclists into a powerful voting block with influence in local, state, and even presidential elections.<sup>14</sup> Many women cyclists agreed with Good Roads activism, and some took part in local

---

<sup>13</sup> Abbott, “A Comparative View of the Woman Suffrage Movement,” 146.

<sup>14</sup> Epperson, Bruce, *Peddling Bicycles to America: The Rise of an Industry*, (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2010). Ingram, Darcy, “‘We are no longer freaks’: The Cyclists’ Rights Movement in Montreal,” *Sport History Review* 46, (2015): 126-150. Harmond, Richard, “Progress and Flight: An Interpretation of the American Cycle Craze of the 1890s,” *Journal of Social History* 5, no. 2 (n.d.): 235–57. Longhurst, James, “The Sidepath Not Taken: Bicycles, Taxes, and the Rhetoric of the Public Good in the 1890s,” *Journal of Policy History* 24, no. 4 (2013): 557–86. Ritchie, Andrew, *King of the Road: An Illustrated History of Cycling*, (London: Ten Speed Press, 1975). Rubinstein, David, “Cycling in the 1890s,” *Victorian Studies* (1977): 47–71. Rush, Anita, “The Bicycle Boom of the Gay Nineties: A Reassessment,” *Material History Bulletin* 18 (1983): 1-12. Smith, Robert A., *A Social History of the Bicycle* (New York: American Heritage Press, 1972). Somers, Dale, “A City on Wheels: The Bicycle Era in New Orleans,” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 8, no. 3 (Summer 1967): 219–38. Taylor, Michael, “The Bicycle Boom and the Bicycle Bloc: Cycling and Politics in the 1890s” *Indiana Magazine of History* 104, no. 3 (September 2008): 213-240.

efforts.<sup>15</sup> Yet organizers of this male-dominated movement, who prioritized their influence over elected officials, generally saw little benefit in working with women due to their lack of suffrage.

The Good Roads movement was not only way cyclists used their sport to challenge and rethink public life. Women also recognized the untapped potential of cycling to fuel social and political change. But like many nineteenth-century political projects, women conceptualized bicycling from their own perspective and created change on their own terms, which was often quite different from their male counterparts. There is little scholarly attention as to how nineteenth-century women used bicycling to challenge and restructure their city's physical terrain as well as the social practices that gave this terrain meaning. Throughout the 1890s, wheelwomen believed cycling was a truly transformative method of transportation because they could use it to move through public space independently. Today, it is difficult to imagine not being able to be in public on your own — most American women run errands, meet up with friends for a meal or go on a date without thinking twice about traveling to their destination, such as a movie theater or restaurant, by themselves. In the 1890s, women quickly recognized that the bicycling, a seemingly apolitical consumer project, was in fact a revolutionary new form of transportation because it was cost-effective and self-propelled. Far from passive recipients of this new technology, women chose to use this new consumer good to travel through their hometowns in new ways, independent of the physical and logistical limitations of older transportation. By choosing to cycle independently and without a chaperone, women used this new technology to challenge the social fab-

---

<sup>15</sup> "Bicycling Maids Mend Bad Roads," *The National Police Gazette* 66, no. 927, Jun 8, 1895, 7. ProQuest. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/docview/127631435/E18AAEFC9D584715PQ/1?accountid=12598>> "Woman Sets Us An Example," *Bearings* 5, no. 7, March 18, 1892, no page. Google Books. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=9bg5AQAAMAAJ>>

ric of public life, creating new norm best understood through one wheelwoman's term of practical independence.

One of the most seismic shifts women created through bicycling was something seemingly apolitical and inconsequential — their ability to choose their companions for a ride. In the 1890s, cycling quickly became an exciting and popular among young Americans. Men and women rode through their cities with friends, devoured cycling magazines, and saved their money for the latest accessories. Cycling became a popular group and even dating activity, and like other group activities, a chaperone rode with them. As one reporter noted, “a jolly chaperone, [and] a bicycle” made for the perfect summer date.<sup>16</sup> Yet the reporter cautioned parents, “[t]here must be a chaperone who can ride the wheel” and the chaperone must not be “oblivious to the fact that young people do not always care to be conventional.”<sup>17</sup> This reporter hinted the new social norms emerging from local, youth-driven cycling scenes.

Before the 1890s, single men and women, especially young people, rarely spent any time alone.<sup>18</sup> They would meet, get to know each other, and date all under the strict surveillance of their families. Courtship often consisted of men visiting women in their homes, always remaining under the watchful eye of her parents, writing letters, which parents could easily see, and at-

---

<sup>16</sup> “BICYCLE CHAT ON MANY SUBJECTS: IS IT A NEW DISEASE PARIS PHYSICIANS THINK. RIDING A WHEEL MAKES MANY WOMEN CRUEL RIDE DOWN LADY CYCLISTS To Be Up to Date on the Seashore You Must Ride a Wheel on the Beach-- Popularity of the Tandem So Great This Year That the Demand Cannot Be Supplied-- Much Preferred by Women,” *The Nashville American* (Nashville, TN), June 14, 1897, 7. ProQuest. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/docview/956980760/C629E89647434286PQ/1?accountid=12598>>

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Historians such as Lillian Faderman, Carol Smith-Rosenberg, George Chauncey and Richard Godbeer have produced outstanding scholarship on dating practices among same-sex couples in this era. Unfortunately, I found no sources on dating, romance or sexuality that mentioned same-sex relationships while conducting research for this dissertation.

tending a dance or party riddled with adults. Working-class youth often spent more time socializing in their neighborhoods due to their cramped living conditions, but so did with their family, friends, and extended kinship networks nearby, ensuring someone always had eyes on the couple. When young people did venture into their city or town, if they did not go with their family, they travelled in a peer group who similarly left little opportunities for privacy. Even if an unmarried but committed couple went a date, such as a walk through the park, it was still customary to bring a chaperone along. This not only ensured the couple could not engage in any sexual activity, but demonstrated the propriety of the couple themselves. Regardless of the activity or who joined them on that activity, only in the rarest circumstances would nineteenth-century middle- and upper-class women venture in public alone. Working-class women, such as factory workers and domestic servants, had a long history of walking through their cities to commute to work.<sup>19</sup> Unmarried middle- and upper-class women moved through the city with their family members or with friends and a chaperone, often a male relative. If their activities included planned interactions with men, attending without a chaperone was unthinkable in most middle- and upper-class circles. Married women's options were more varied, but still restrained. Often married women who were respected members of their communities often served as chaperones for single wheelwomen. Yet younger married women, or women lacking privileged positions in their communities, often faced similar restrictions as their single counterparts.

In big cities and small towns, women began to demand a say in their riding companions and they challenged the practice of riding with a chaperone. Women wanted to ride with their

---

<sup>19</sup> Fine, Lisa, *The Souls of the Skyscraper: Female Clerical Workers in Chicago, 1870-1930* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990). Rockman, Seth, *Scraping By: Wage Labor, Slavery, and Survival in Early Baltimore* (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 2009).

female friends, take solo rides, and even ride in co-ed groups. Cycling offered a new challenge for authors of etiquette books and advice columns, because cyclists slowly began using their newfound sport to rethink these seemingly unshakable norms. Etiquette expert John Wesley Hanson was one of many in this profession to view cycling as “an entirely new order of affairs” which created social “conditions which never existed before.”<sup>20</sup> Hanson’s advice to single and married wheelwomen provides a compelling snapshot of this period of social upheaval. In his assessment of new cycling norms, he described how “[t]here appears to be a growing tendency among people of refinement in this country to be more rigid in the matter of chaperones” and agreed that “[t]he unmarried woman who cycles must be chaperoned by a married women.”<sup>21</sup> Hanson framed same-sex riding groups as the best defense against the potential scandal of sexual impropriety of cycling. For unmarried women, he believed “[i]t is not strictly correct for a young lady to ride unaccompanied” but this was a reasonable requirement, because “as everyone rides nowadays, this is an affair easily managed.”<sup>22</sup> He similarly believed that “[n]either must the married woman ride alone. If unable to provide herself with a male escort, she must be followed by a groom or a maid.”<sup>23</sup> Hanson noted how many wealthy women solved this problem by training a female servant to ride for the specific purpose of serving as a chaperone. As an etiquette expert, Hanson was forced to contend with the reality that what made “a wheel most desirable is the fact that men and women enjoy the sport together” and thus “it is inevitable that many difficult ques-

---

<sup>20</sup> Hanson, John Wesley, *Etiquette and Bicycling for 1896* (Chicago: American Publishing House, 1896), 359, 361. Google Books. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=2EIKQAAMAAJ>>

<sup>21</sup> Hanson, 360.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.



tions of conduct should arise out of these circumstances.”<sup>24</sup> Hanson reluctantly acknowledged the reality of co-ed cycling practices, hoping that peer groups would take over the surveillance of traditional chaperones.

By the mid-1890s, it became more common to see groups of young women cycling without an older relative or a servant functioning as a chaperone. Married women who enjoyed cycling regularly hosted formal cycling events, such as a ride through a park, and volunteered to serve as a chaperone for young wheelwomen’s group rides.<sup>25</sup> Yet some wheelwomen, especially young, single women, increasingly began to take impromptu rides regardless if a chaperone was available to join them. In describing the booming cycling scene in Newport, Rhode Island, a reporter noted how “the bicycle seems gradually to be undermining... the sway of the chaperone. It is customary for women to ride together unattended” in informal groups, and there were even “one man or a number of gentlemen” who joined some riding parties.<sup>26</sup> As wheelwomen throughout the country began to challenge chaperones and ride with the group of their choosing, these new social norms attracted the attention of humorists. In fact, attempts to outsmart one’s chaperone became a popular subject in magazine humor columns. In 1897, the sports magazine *Recreation* printed the following fictional dialogue:

‘I thought I saw you riding alone with a gentlemen last evening.’  
‘You did.’

---

<sup>24</sup> Hanson, 361.

<sup>25</sup> *Town Topics* 34, no. 12, September 19, 1895, 6. *Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920*. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=TownTopicsVol34&type=page&pageref=00000142>>

<sup>26</sup> “NEWPORT WOMEN WITHOUT LEGS.: Short Bicycle Dresses Disapproved at That Resort,” *Cincinnati Enquirer* (Cincinnati, Ohio) August 21, 1896, 6. ProQuest. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpcincinnatienquirer/docview/895697354/citation/9A6961FB2B5D4D-B8PQ/76?accountid=12598>>

‘But does your mother let you go bicycling with gentlemen without a chaperone?’  
‘No, indeed.’  
‘But you had none.’  
‘Oh, we had one when we started out, but we punctured her tire to get rid of her.’<sup>27</sup>

It speaks volumes that the editors and publishers of *Recreation* published this joke, which described a young woman pulling a prank on her chaperone so she can ride alone with a man. By presenting this dialogue as a punchline, *Recreation* implied such situations were relatively harmless, and even depicted the young women as fun and resourceful. This joke demonstrates how quickly cyclists were changing the narrative of the chaperone from an unquestionable requirement to maintain one’s reputation to a silly, dated practice.

Women slowly began riding with female friends as well as informal co-ed groups without the surveillance of chaperones or escorts. Some wheelwomen further defied convention by cycling alone. Many women found the logistics of a chaperone impractical for the impromptu nature of cycling. As one cyclist noted, “[n]ot every lady cyclist has father, brother, husband or friend constantly at hand to escort her wherever she likes to go... [and] [c]ompanions of one’s own sex are seldom easy to procure without notice beforehand.”<sup>28</sup> Many women preferred to respect convention and ride with a group. Yet, as they grew more passionate and committed to cycling, women were increasingly unwilling to postpone a ride even if that meant riding alone. Other wheelwomen found the requirement for a chaperone illogical, especially when compared to other sports. One woman described how she enjoyed cycling more than other sports, such as

---

<sup>27</sup> *Recreation* 6, no. 1, January, 1897, 62. Google Books. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=0EYQAAAAYAAJ>>

<sup>28</sup> “Cycling Alone,” *The American Cyclist*, 7, June 28, 1895, no page. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.

rowing and tennis, specifically because it did not require a partner: “the bicycle is always ready when the woman feels like riding. It requires nobody to harness it, and nobody else to go along.”<sup>29</sup> She was one of many wheelwomen who disrupted the chaperone tradition by rethinking it as a mere social convention lacking no practical justification.

Riding alone was far from an easy undertaking, especially considering the widespread harassment women faced as previously discussed several chapters ago. Women had to chip away at the numerous methods men used to control public spaces, and especially spaces of key importance to cyclists. For example, one evening in New York City, a man noticed a woman cycling alone after dark. She had attempted to stay at a local hotel for traveling cyclists, but she was denied admission because she was cycling alone. The man assumed she was married, as the thought of a single woman cycling alone at night was inconceivable to him. He saw little issue that the hotel refused to admit her, and humorously concluded, “[a]nd the lateness of the hour — well! that is her own husband’s affair.”<sup>30</sup> The author hinted at the possibilities of her late night public presence, none of which could be respectable. In fact, newspapers throughout the country noted the new phenomenon of seeing women cycling both alone and at night — two unprecedented sights in urban life. Reporters in cities with large cycling scenes, such as Louisville and Philadelphia, noted how “[o]ne of the odd and curious things is to see women out alone on wheels... as late as 2 or 3 o’clock in the morning... it is a subject of curiosity and speculation as to who

---

<sup>29</sup> “Ladies Department,” *The Pneumatic: A Progressive Monthly Paper for Cyclists* IV, no. 6, March, 1894, no page. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/82800/rec/3>>

<sup>30</sup> “Our Lady Riders,” *Referee* 13, no. 3, May 18, 1894, no page. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.

these young women and girls are who go whizzing by in the lonesome streets... and where they have been where they are going and what causes them to be out at such hours.”<sup>31</sup>

As wheelwomen slowly began to challenge convention and cycle without a chaperone, they faced a new backlash. Conservative politicians, physicians, and journalists, voiced a growing fear that young cyclists were using their newfound freedom to engage in sexual activity. This fear crystalized into a new sexualization of women’s cycling. This backlash built upon long-standing rhetorical strategies of using women’s seemingly uncontrolled sexuality to discredit and shame their growing independence and empowerment. Conservatives increasingly worried that young wheelwomen sought out any form of cycling as a chance to meet men and engage in sexual activities. For example, some conservative columnists claimed that women enrolled in co-ed cycling schools only to meet new sexual partners, and not simply to learn to ride.<sup>32</sup> Humorous stories and jokes often mocked anti-cyclists’ concerns while simultaneously justified them:

Mabel -- How do you manage to keep so many men dangling about you?

Mollie -- Well, besides my natural attractions—a hem! I let them teach me how to ride the bicycle.

Mabel -- But you learned to ride two years ago.

Mollie -- Exactly. There’s where the fun comes in.<sup>33</sup>

In this humorous dialogue, Mollie represents the fears of many conservative critics who worried that young women used cycling solely as an opportunity to meet men. Physicians and other con-

---

<sup>31</sup> “The Bicycle: A Nocturnal Bicycle Girl,” *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), May 30, 1897, A6. ProQuest. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnp/louisvillecourierjournal/docview/1017209583/abstract/A2FA2D68DB824F23PQ/45?accountid=12598>>

<sup>32</sup> *Town Topics* 33 no. 20, May 16, 1895, no page. *Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920*. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=TownTopicsVol33&type=page&pageref=00000867>>

<sup>33</sup> *Town Topics*, 35, no. 21, May 21, 1896, 9. *Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920*. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=TownTopicsVol33&type=page&pageref=00000893>>

servative figures repeatedly voiced their concern that cycling without a chaperone offered young people an unprecedented opportunity for sexual activities that would deteriorate relations between the sexes. Despite his largely positive assessment of cycling, Dr. J. W. Ballantyne was one of many conservative Americans who voiced significant concern that bicycling “has done much to break down the barriers of reserve between young girls and men, to lead to a free and easy *camaraderie*, to the rapid forming of undesirable acquaintanceships, and to consequent immorality, and even to seduction.”<sup>34</sup> Ballantyne feared that many young people took advantage of a wholesome activity to strip away at important social and moral conventions.

Dr. C. C. Mapes, another prominent physician, wholeheartedly agreed with Ballantyne. In 1897, Mapes published his concerns regarding women’s sexuality and cycling in *The Medical Age*. He aimed to educate and warn fellow physicians on the significant threat to sexual propriety that women’s cycling had posed. Mapes built his analysis by using a case study of a large, urban park in Louisville, Kentucky, a city with a booming cycling scene. Within numerous paths and wooden areas, and the park was a popular destination for Louisville’s many cyclists. Mapes stated that young women, including those from respected families, rode to the park not only without a chaperone, and specifically to socialize with men. To Mapes, the Louisville example demonstrated how “the wheel was responsible for more immorality than anything else ever invented. Why, if a woman were to go out with a man in a carriage, or on a horse, or in a street car, and come home at midnight, she would not have a shred of character left. But the girls here come in from the Park [sic] long after twelve o’clock; they go out alone and pick up anyone they please;

---

<sup>34</sup> Ballantyne, J. W., “Selected Digest: Bicycling and Gynecology,” *International Medical Magazine* VII, no. 7, (July 1898): 452-463. Italics in text. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://tinyurl.com/proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/UN4D2>>

nobody knows where they go.”<sup>35</sup> Of course, cyclists’ friends and dates knew their destination and activities, but not their parents. To Mapes, cycling provided an unprecedented avenue for sexual misconduct. He was correct in some respects. Women used bicycling to challenge social norms previously unthinkable through existing transportation methods, including horseback and carriages as well as streetcars. Cyclists met each other in the park, organized rides, developed friendships and romantic relationships, all circumventing traditional norms of formal introductions and parental approval. Mapes warned that cycling fostered a “social freedom” and “seductive tendency” for cyclists to develop friendships on their own, without their parents’ approval, a freedom which normally “would not be tolerated in home and family circles.”<sup>36</sup> Mapes believed that these friendships soon became group rides, in which members of the party purposely planned the route to ensure they had the privacy to engage in sexual activities. He concluded that “the exhilaration of the ride, erotic sensations from the unnatural leg motions, and the convenience of dressing- and wash-rooms in wayside inns provide facilities which are irresistible, and the damage is done.”<sup>37</sup> While wheelwomen undoubtedly needed to respond to conservatives like Mapes with strong counter arguments, his concluding pessimism demonstrates his realization that he was on the losing side.

As the sexualization of women’s independent cycling filled medical journals, the images of the sexualized ‘bicycle girl’ swept through popular culture, including songs, poetry and jokes.

Taking a cue from medical journals, humorists clearly sexualized unchaperoned wheelwomen.

---

<sup>35</sup> Mapes, C. C., “A Review of the Dangers and Evils of Bicycling,” *The Medical Age*, 15, no. 21, (November 10, 1897): 641-648. Quote page 644. Google Books. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=9yugAAAAMAAJ>>

<sup>36</sup> Mapes, “A Review of the Dangers and Evils of Bicycling,” 645.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

Yet, popular depictions of wheelwomen lacked the judgmental, paranoid tone of physicians like Mapes, and reframed women's cyclists as adventurous, fun-loving and modern. For example, a popular poem titled "The Bicycle Girl" concluded with the following stanzas:

When I'm riding in the Park  
And it happens to be dark,  
And I have my darling Charlie at my side,  
Why, I guess it's not amiss  
If I let him have a kiss,  
For it much improves the pleasure of the ride!

And then, what would you think  
If I said we had a drink,  
That is served like Charlie's kisses, rather warm?  
But I'll tell you nothing more--  
Let each girl the fun explore,  
Who is up-to-date and pretty and "good form!"<sup>38</sup>

This poem romanticized a worse case scenario for conservatives like Dr. Mapes. This wheelwomen took a nighttime ride in park to meet a boy, engaged in sexual activity, drank alcohol, and encouraged more young women to 'explore' their whims and desires. Similarly, punchlines often rested on the dual meaning of 'fast' as both the speed of the cyclist and her willingness to engage in sexual activities, such as one popular joke:

B'Jones--Ladies that ride the bicycle will hardly care to try to break any records.  
B'Jinks--What makes you think so?  
B'Jones--Why, you know, they may get the reputation of being awfully fast.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> The Model, "The Bicycle Girl," *Town Topics* 33, no. 4, January 17, 1895, 20. Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=TownTopicsVol33&type=page&pageref=00000458>>

<sup>39</sup> *Town Topics* 33 no. 10, March 7, 1895, 10. Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=TownTopicsVol33&type=page&pageref=00000607>>

To readers of medical journals or humor columns, the days of young couples taking supervised walks or making calls at their parents' home seemed to be over and Dr. Mapes' worst fears had come true. Within only a decade, women had used a seemingly apolitical consumer good to usher in a new era of public life.

### "Her Own Coachman": Wheelwomen and Practical Independence

In 1898, a *Vogue* columnist reflected on the last decade of women's cycling: "it cannot be denied that it has to a great extent revolutionized our existence. Many curious changes in social life may be laid to its credit, not least interesting of which is the elimination of the chaperone."<sup>40</sup> As cyclists, women had finally "managed to shake off the groom," or traverse in public spaces on their own.<sup>41</sup> Throughout the country, wheelwomen's rides took a variety of forms — they rode with female friends, a co-ed group, alone, and even with a date. The common denominator among all of these rides was the notable lack of a formal chaperone. As celebrated cyclist Elizabeth Pennell wrote, "[a]fter you have cycled you will never again be quite content to sit in a carriage and let some one else drive you."<sup>42</sup> Pennell was far from speaking for herself. Male cyclists slowly became used to wheelwomen's public presence, such as one columnist for *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review* who reluctantly recognized that "[t]he plucky woman is ahead in the bicycle race. When she entered the lists the men good-naturedly said: Oh, she'll get tired of this. Bicycling isn't for women and it won't take long for them to find it out.... but how times have

---

<sup>40</sup> Ermyntude, "London," *Vogue* 7, no. 19, 1896, 324. ProQuest. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/vogue/docview/897844000/50F69D30FFEF4167PQ/128?accountid=12598>>

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> "Cycling for Women," *The American Cyclist*, June 1892, 155. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.



changed. Now in all the cities and villages a woman whirls down the street and no attention is given her.”<sup>43</sup> This practice did not become popular overnight, nor was it inevitable. It was the result of woman after woman defying the advice and demands of their parents, authority figures, and long-stranding social traditions to craft a new normal. Through cycling, women created revolutionary new norms of independent travel through public spaces. As they took part in the physical activities of their rides, they also built a new political discourse to understand their public presence, an experience they deemed practical independence.

Women conceptualized their new independence in overtly political terms with immediate relevance to campaigns for woman’s rights, especially suffrage. Ellen Le Garde, a well-known cyclist who published a popular women’s column in the *Wheelman’s Gazette*, was one of the first to consider the remarkable political effectiveness of cycling compared to women’s traditional activist methods. As early as in 1892, Le Garde argued “women speakers been agitating for fifty years the emancipation of the sex by law and statue, and the bicycle has done it without aid from either.”<sup>44</sup> To Le Garde, the physical experience of cycling offered something much more powerful and inspiring than a book or speech: “[t]o own a bicycle and know how to ride, is practical independence for a girl.”<sup>45</sup> Le Garde believed this ‘practical independence’ fostered a philosophical independence as well: “[f]or her to walk out alone might in some communities be considered bad form, but... the bicycle girl is independent enough to do what she thinks right, regardless of ignorant criticism. The girl who daily takes a ten mile spin is very apt to have a mind of her

---

<sup>43</sup> “Woman and the Bicycle,” *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review* 3, no. 18, June 28, 1889, 447. Google Books. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=XfFYAAAAYAAJ>>

<sup>44</sup> Le Garde, Ellen, “The Bicycling Girl,” *Wheelman’s Gazette* VII, no. 5, May 1892, 69. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

own.”<sup>46</sup> Le Garde helped lead this vision of women’s new identity, built on an independent, public presence — the bicycle girls. By 1896, columnist in *Vogue* was one of many women who believed that the experience of cycling with a group of one’s choosing inspired a feeling of political empowerment unlike traditional, passive political activities like reading or listening to a speech. Wheelwomen repeatedly discussed the distinctly political implications of cycling in their city streets. The *Vogue* columnist declared that cycling had “contributed more to the emancipation of our sex than any lectures, newspaper articles or ponderous books could have ever hoped to achieve” because wheelwomen were the first to demand to “without reproach, careen about a public park and through the public streets unattended” and “dispense with either escort or chaperone.”<sup>47</sup>

Author Helen Watterson Moody was similarly surprised to witness the political ramifications of wheelwomen’s practical independence, because it grew out of a consumer good and recreational activity, not a formally organized political structure like women’s clubs or letter writing campaigns. In 1898, Moody argued that the women’s desire to bicycle offered a practical motivation that women’s formal political organizations failed to inspire:

without any seeming movement, without declaring itself at all, suddenly, like light at the creative fiat, it WAS. And it came, not through any tempest of organization or any whirlwind of enthusiasm, but through the still, small wheels of the bicycle, bringing forth the one thing that was necessary and had been lacking all the time -- reason enough... Given reason enough, you see -- specific and immediate need -- any reform is inevitable.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Ermyntrude, “London,” 324.

<sup>48</sup> Moody, Helen Patterson, *The Unquiet Sex*, (New York: Scribner, 1898): 79-80. Google Books. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=sFZLAAAAMAAJ>>

Many wheelwomen agreed with Moody that the bicycle fueled a rejuvenation in women's activism. With a deep desire to ride, women became inspired to challenge stifling gender norms, aiming to develop a daily cycling practice on their own terms. As cyclists, women came to see such a difficult undertaking as possible because the tools they needed to create such a change existed in their everyday life. Women need to create certain social conditions to ride, so they used their bicycling practice to create such conditions. As one columnist in *Cosmopolitan* wrote, "[w]hat years of eloquent preaching from the platforms of woman's suffrage have failed to accomplish, the necessities of this wheel have in a few months brought into practical use."<sup>49</sup> Notable wheelwoman and activist Ida Trafford Bell similarly told her readers in the *Ladies World* that

[o]ur rules and customs were such to blame for this former state of things. Women shut in for generations, even for centuries, in narrowed environments, hot-house atmospheres, bound body and soul... saw their way out through the means of the bicycle... they took swift advantage of it, regardless of the means employed, and as a result we had thousands of women, flying, dashing, reeling, wobbling and sprawling over our streets and parks, mounted upon anything having wheels.<sup>50</sup>

She concluded that "[a]ll of a sudden, like a 'side wind of surprise,' without having a thought or studied the subject either pro or con, women took to bicycling. It became a rage — but not a fad — a rage for outdoor life, freedom of mind and body."<sup>51</sup> Male cyclists were similarly shocked to

---

<sup>49</sup> Koven, Mrs. Reginald de, "Bicycling for Women," *The Cosmopolitan* 19, no. 4, August 1895, 386. ProQuest. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/docview/124708592/abstract/D9814BCF538A47BCPQ/72?accountid=12598>>

<sup>50</sup> Bell, Ida Trafford, "The Art of Bicycling," *Ladies' World* XVII, no. 7. July 1896, 21. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Print. Accessed June 6, 2015.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

discover how, through cycling, woman had “taken a mighty leap toward equality with man.”<sup>52</sup> As one male columnist wrote, “[t]he bicycle will do more than any other agency to place her in her proper sphere of strength and independence. And the women won’t give up the bicycle now that they have found out that it gives them not only a new delight, but also a sense of freedom and self-sufficiency that is delicious as it is novel.”<sup>53</sup> A *Harper’s* columnist similarly recognized the seeming inevitability of wheelwomen’s public presence: “[i]n our streets, to be sure, wherever asphalt is to be found in town, we are always running across people at night who are learning to ride, and we have ceased to be surprised when a woman on the wheel flies by us at anytime.”<sup>54</sup>

As wheelwomen recognized cycling as a new force in women’s activism, they repeatedly contributed this success to the everyday activism of cyclists, and not powerful women’s rights leaders. In 1894, a *Harper’s* columnist framed the rise of women’s cycling as the result of grass-roots politics: “[t]he bicycle, like the suffrage question, has had to work its way up from the masses among us.”<sup>55</sup> Even Frances Willard, president of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Movement, believed the lesson activists could learn from the rise of women’s cycling was clear. In her presidential address, she admitted “our cause gains incalculably more by indirection than

---

<sup>52</sup> “A Minister’s View,” *L.A.W. Bulletin and Good Roads* 21, no. 26, June 28, 1895, 2-3. Quote page 3. Center for Global Research Libraries Digital Delivery System. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://dds-crl-edu.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/crldelivery/4889>>

<sup>53</sup> “A Minister’s View,” 3.

<sup>54</sup> “The Translation of the Bicycle,” *Harper’s Bazaar* 27, no. 21, May 26, 1894, 414. ProQuest. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/125595668/abstract/6668A36B52F049DFPQ/30?accountid=12598>>

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

through any specific effort that we can possibly put forth.”<sup>56</sup> Despite using nontraditional methods, wheelwomen understood their new practical independence as deeply linked with the women’s rights movement. They framed their success in normalizing independent travel through their towns and cities as evidence of women’s political and social progress. Alice Blackwell, leading suffrage activist and publisher of *The Woman’s Journal*, specifically utilized the rhetoric of rights to promote cycling among her readership. She titled her pro-cycling column “A Woman’s Right— To A Bicycle” and argued “[t]he right of a woman to ride a wheel seems so self-evident that it is hard to argue in defense of it — Her right to it seems to me as clear as the sun.”<sup>57</sup> Another columnist for *The Woman’s Journal* celebrated how “every girl who rides her steel horse is a vivid illustration of one of the greatest waves of progress this century, the advancement of women in freedom and opportunity.”<sup>58</sup> Woman’s Christian Temperance Union members claimed that the bicycle was best understood as an agent of reform, not simply a product of mere consumption, and it was “destined to be no insignificant factor in the development of the ‘new woman.’ If this is the ‘woman’s century’ then the bicycle may be regarded as the sym-

---

<sup>56</sup> Willard, Frances, *Minutes of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, at the Twentieth Annual Meeting, Held in Chicago, Illinois, 18-21 October, 1893*, (Chicago: Woman's Temperance Publication Association, 1893), 92. Women and Social Movements in the US, 1600-2000. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://asp6new.alexanderstreet.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/wam2/wam2.object.details.aspx?dorpid=1000637303>>

<sup>57</sup> Blackwell, Alice Stone, “A Woman’s Right— To A Bicycle,” *Ladies' World* XVII, no. 7, July 1896, 2. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Print. Accessed June 6, 2015.

<sup>58</sup> “Bicycling for Girls,” *The Woman's Journal*, August 1, 1891, 243. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 4, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205\\_Volume\\_22\\_Issue\\_31-41](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205_Volume_22_Issue_31-41)>

bol of nineteenth century evolution.”<sup>59</sup> Even Susan B. Anthony agreed that a “girl never looks so independent, so much as if she felt as good as a boy, as on her wheel.”<sup>60</sup>

Ordinary wheelwomen built upon the empowering words of leaders like Anthony and Willard. Instead of ignoring the sexualization of cycling fueled by humor columns and conservative physicians, they directly confronted this rhetoric by framing women’s cycling as part of broader efforts for equality, not sexual access. As leading women’s rights activist Ida Bell argued, “[w]oman has had a fiercer struggle for her right to ride the bicycle than man, for she had more to contend with. Trammeled on every side by custom, convention, sentiment, tradition and dress, it has taken years of persistent, tireless effort, and only now is the world shaking itself free from the tradition that strength in woman is allied to grossness and immorality.”<sup>61</sup> Physicians, family members or etiquette experts never called for men to restrict their riding to chaperoned groups. To nineteenth-century Americans, men’s unlimited access to public space was so natural and self-evident that chaperones for men were unthinkable. As cyclists, women had a practical tool and rhetorical opportunity to challenge inherent double-standard of chaperoning women. As one Wisconsin wheelwoman argued, “[w]e have become used to the learned dissertations on cycling for women, written by erudite doctors and scientists. We look upon them as most people do upon the minister who on Sunday morning tells them how wicked it is to dance. The next

---

<sup>59</sup> “The Bicycle as a Reformer,” *The Union Signal*, June 13, 1895, 8. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Box 10 Oct 1894- Feb 27, 1896. Microfilm. Accessed June 6, 2015.

<sup>60</sup> Harper, Ida, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, vol. 3 (Indianapolis, IN: Hollenbeck Press, 1908). Women and Social Movements in the US, 1600-2000. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://asp6new.alexanderstreet.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/wam2/wam2.object.details.aspx?dorpid=1002256153>>

<sup>61</sup> Bell, Ida, “THE NEW WOMAN AND THE ‘BIKE.’: They Have Together Solved the Dress Reform Problem,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, MO) August 18, 1895, 23. ProQuest. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpstlouispostdispatch/docview/577254935/abstract/1B70BC2E376543E3PQ/86?accountid=12598>>

evening he takes keen delight to filling their card at the ball.”<sup>62</sup> By crafting their practical independence, women carved both physical and ideological spaces for their new, empowering public presence.

Women’s rights activists repeatedly noted how the empowering experience of cycling sustained their political efforts during tough times. Cyclists hoped that “[t]he bicycle promises to put her at the very front of the political procession and to give her an advanced standing in all the other fields of thought and endeavor.”<sup>63</sup> As one suffrage and temperance activist wrote, “I have long known that all reforms wait woman’s emancipation, and, therefore, most devoutly thank God for the bicycle which is rapidly helping forward that much desired consummation.”<sup>64</sup> The sustaining influence of women’s bicycling was not only ideological. For example, in 1896 a group of New York wheelwomen decorated their bicycles with political banners and organized a group ride to a local activist meeting. They believed these leisurely activities improved what might have been a mundane, unproductive meeting, later writing how “[t]he rejuvenating influence of the ‘silent steed’ was doubtless felt in the animated sessions.”<sup>65</sup> Some wheelwomen believed that the experience of cycling independently offered women a rare opportunity to feel like empowered citizens through their leisure activities, even though they remained unable to vote.

---

<sup>62</sup> “Ladies Department,” *The Pneumatic: A Progressive Monthly Paper for Cyclists* 3, no. 6, September 15, 1893, no page. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/82693/rec/2>>

<sup>63</sup> “The Bicycle as a Reformer,” *L.A.W. Bulletin and Good Roads* 21, no. 24, June 14, 1895, 9. Center for Global Research Libraries Digital Delivery System. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://dds-crl-edu.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/crl-delivery/4889>>

<sup>64</sup> Hoffman, Clara C. “Correspondence. Our Two Leaders,” *The Union Signal*, October 3, 1895, 4. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive, Box 10 Oct 1894- Feb 27, 1896. Microfilm. Accessed June 6, 2015.

<sup>65</sup> “News in a Nutshell,” *The Union Signal*, June 18, 1896, 11-12. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Box 11 - March 1896-August 26, 1897. Microfilm. Accessed June 6, 2015.

As one columnist for a bicycling magazine argued, “[w]hile her long struggle for the suffrage and other political privileges has been practically barren of results, she has been entirely successful in establishing her prerogatives in another direction. She may not vote, but she may be healthy and have a good time... Her voice was not wanted in evidence, but her foot has found a place.”<sup>66</sup> The columnist occluded that while “the strong-minded woman” felt little empowerment, “the strong-legged is happy in possession of her rights.”<sup>67</sup> To this author, cycling was an important step towards a full political life. Another cyclist celebrated how now

[e]very lady may now possess her own coach, and, furthermore, she may be her own coachman. Observing ordinary rules of propriety, she may go when and where she will without having to wait the pleasure of Tom or Dick or Harry. She has achieved a social independence and individuality that is as the broadest freedom when compared to her former circumscribed conditions.<sup>68</sup>

This author was one of thousands of women who, through a product of mass-consumption, created a way to ‘be her own coachman’ and feel empowered even though she lacked the political privileges of full citizenship.

#### “The Backbone of the Trade”: Women and the Bicycle Industry

As wheelwomen ignored naysayers to craft a visible, public presence, they simultaneously fueled their central role as influential advocates within the bicycle industry. Wheelwomen worked to develop a broad cycling culture with an infrastructure to ensure their safety and secu-

---

<sup>66</sup> J. T., “For Women Riders,” *The Cycling Gazette* 3, no. 21, April 22, 1897, 20. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> “Women and the Wheel,” *L.A.W. Bulletin and Good Roads* 26, 1897, 405. Hathitrust. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015021322923>>



rity while riding. This infrastructure became especially important as wheelwomen increasingly extended their daily rides to longer cycling trips. Mirroring the bicycle industry as a whole, men dominated most entrepreneurial ventures in cycling tourism, but women did carve two notable roles as traveling advocates and hotel proprietors.

One of the most common complaints among wheelwomen was the lack of bicycling-friendly policies on railroads. Business leaders in the railroad industry as well as local-level conductors were suspicious of the bicycling industry, viewing it as a threat to their domination over American travel, including for short trips. Many cyclists incorporated railroad travel into their travels, especially travel from the city to small towns for rides to the countryside. Wheelwomen experienced an array of problems when they attempted to bring their bicycles with them while traveling by train. Some railroad companies simply banned bicycles completely, while others left it up to the whim of the conductor, which could abruptly end the trip of a cyclist. Railroad companies that did consider bicycles a form of luggage charged what cyclists viewed as exorbitant checking and handling fees.<sup>69</sup> Women traveling without a chaperone, and especially without a male companion, faced unpredictable barriers and discrimination by employees and companies who disagreed with their independence, and women lacked the authority and access to advocate as a man could in these situations. Wheelwomen responded by advocating for more consistent, transparent and bicycle-friendly railroad policies, challenging railroad lines who refused to consider bicycles luggage, demanding clear policies from railroads who left decisions under the con-

---

<sup>69</sup> "Bicycles as Railway Baggage," *The Century* 52, no. 5, September 1896), 788-789. Google Books. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=2AlJAQAAMAAJ>>

ductors' jurisdiction, and proposing reasonable rates. Women's successful advocacy as cyclists highlighted the purchasing power and influence of this new type of traveler.<sup>70</sup>

Along with advocacy for improved traveling policies, women also strengthened their new independence by building an infrastructure to support it. Traveling cyclists rarely camped at night, and instead planned their routes around local hotels and inns. If a daily ride went longer than expected, or if they had some sort of emergency, male cyclists relied on clubhouses and hotels to provide a room and meal for the night. Many hotels would not offer room and board to single women, groups of women travelers, or unmarried couples; often the only single woman in a hotel was a sex worker.<sup>71</sup> Men's clubs routinely refused to admit women members, and as such even a wheelwomen in need could not use their facilities.<sup>72</sup> As such, even if hotels or inns existed, there was no guarantee that a wheelwoman could get a room. Similarly, many hotel owners refused to offer lodging to women in cycling outfits they deemed inappropriate, usually when she wore a short cycling skirt or a bifurcated cycling outfit.<sup>73</sup> Wheelwomen, especially middle- and

---

<sup>70</sup> "A Bicycle Baggage Success," *The Pneumatic: A Journal of Cycling Literature and Trade News* 8, no. 5, August 1897, no page. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/83555/rec/7>>

<sup>71</sup> Clement, Elizabeth Alice, *Love for Sale: Courting, Treating, and Prostitution in New York City, 1900-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

<sup>72</sup> "By-Laws," *L.A.W. Bulletin and Good Roads* XXI no. 15, April 12, 1895, 33. Center for Global Research Libraries Digital Delivery System. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://dds-crl-edu.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/crldelivery/4889>> "By Way of Reason," *The Pneumatic* 9 no. 3, April, 1898, 45-46. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/83840/rec/8>> "Ladies Barred Out. Columbus Cycling Club Inserts the Word 'Male' in its Constitution," *The Cycling Gazette* 3, no. 18, April 1, 1897, 5. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015. "Women and Century Runs," *L.A.W. Bulletin and Good Roads*, 27, 1898, 275. Hathitrust. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015012331958>> Helca, Barry, "Object to Ladies' Races," *Referee* 13, no. 21, September 21, 1894, no page. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015. Reynolds, Joshua, "A Ladies' Division, L.A.W.," *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review* 2, no. 26, February 22, 1889, 480. Hathitrust. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433069078115>>

<sup>73</sup> Moseley, Maurice, "Rational or Cycling Dress," *Womanhood* 1, no. 6, 1899, 483-484. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 4, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP202\\_Volume\\_1\\_Issue\\_6-26](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP202_Volume_1_Issue_6-26)>

upper-class cyclists, often did not want to stay in hotels or “houses of entertainment” run by men because they felt uncomfortable with some of the activities which occurred there, such as gambling, drinking and prostitution.<sup>74</sup>

Wheelwomen travelers had money to spend, and women entrepreneurs recognized this untapped market. Many women entrepreneurs saw this as an opportunity to establish lodging businesses specifically designed for traveling cyclists. Women revived the tradition of stage-coach inns and established a variety of lodging businesses for travelers; inns, hotels, boarding houses and even opened their extra bedroom.<sup>75</sup> They established lodging options that catered to wheelwomen’s desires for safe and respectable travel. The success of such hotels and inns led one reporter to deem the cycling hotel as “a new field for women.”<sup>76</sup> Two Massachusetts wheelwomen made national news when they bicycled to St. Louis, boarded a train to Los Angeles, and finally a ship to Anchorage, Alaska to establish their hotel for women travelers, which they called ‘the Boston.’<sup>77</sup> Such ventures also offered businesswomen a path to independent income in an era when few working-class and rural women had such opportunities.<sup>78</sup> As travel advocates

---

<sup>74</sup> “A New Field for Women,” *The Puritan* 2, no. 6, March 1898, 272. Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=ThePuritan&type=page&pageref=00000054>>

<sup>75</sup> “Will Cycling Revive the Old Stagecoach Inn?” *The Century* 52, no. 5, September 1896, 789-790. Google Books. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=OchZAAAAYAAJ>>

<sup>76</sup> “A New Field for Women,” 272.

<sup>77</sup> “TO THE KLONDIKE BY BICYCLE.: Two North End Girls Expect to Open the Boston Hotel in Gold Region Next Spring,” *Boston Daily Globe* (Boston, MA), September 6, 1897, 5. ProQuest. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorkbostonglobe/docview/498678255/abstract/4ABA3CE1E0394B8BPQ/92?accountid=12598>>

<sup>78</sup> Longhurst, Esther, “How Can I Earn a Living?” *The Woman Worker* IV, 35, March 2, 1910, 762. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/UNy85>>

and hotel proprietors, women led efforts to create structural changes within bicycle culture to secure their public presence in it.

As wheelwomen's public presence grew, they faced mix messages from their male cyclists and leaders of the male-dominated bicycle industry. For example, one member of the League of American Wheelmen commented "[t]hat the wheel tempts women to ride out unaccompanied by men shows what a power factor it is in the emancipation of women, who so seldom take the initiative in the direction of furthering their own independence."<sup>79</sup> A male cyclist in Wisconsin offered his less than supportive perspective that "[i]t is difficult nowadays to find any pursuit followed by men which has not been invaded by women. In bicycling as in everything else, the number of female devotees is rapidly increasing."<sup>80</sup> Leading cycling periodicals mocked what they viewed as women's inferior athletic abilities, blaming accidents, for example, on women's poor cycling skills and not rough roads or heavy women's models.<sup>81</sup> As previously discussed, men's cycling clubs routinely barred women from membership and events due to their gender.<sup>82</sup>

---

<sup>79</sup> *L.A.W. Bulletin and Good Roads* 23, no. 26, June 26, 1896, 923. Center for Global Research Libraries Digital Delivery System. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://dds-crl-edu.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/crldelivery/4889>>

<sup>80</sup> *The Pneumatic* 4, no. 1, October 16, 1893, no pages. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/82800/rec/3>> "Kenosha's Bicycle Reform," *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), August 31, 1899, 6. Chicago Tribune Digital Archive. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://archives.chicagotribune.com/1899/08/31/page/6/article/kenoshas-bicycle-reform>> "The Latest Danger. No trouble to handle men cyclists, but women scorches—" *Referee* 13, no. 18, August 31, 1894, no pages. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.

<sup>81</sup> "By Way of Reason," *The Pneumatic* IX, no. 3, April 1898, 45-46. Wisconsin Historical Society. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/83840/rec/8>> "Clippings of Bicycling Accidents," Library of the Prudential Ins. Co. of America, Newark, NJ, Statistician's Department. Surgeon General's Office Library, Section: Statistical No. 262809. Lily Library, Indiana University. Cycling Mss Box 3 LMC 2804. Print. Accessed March 4, 2015.

<sup>82</sup> "Ladies Barred Out. Columbus Cycling Club Inserts the Word 'Male' in its Constitution," *The Cycling Gazette* 3, no. 18, April 1, 1897, 5. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.

Despite various levels of opposition from male cyclists, women refused to stop riding. By the mid-1890s, members of the bicycle industry, including local shop managers, corporate CEOs, and advertising firms, recognized women's growing purchasing power.<sup>83</sup> After attending a national exposition hosted by the most influential bicycling companies in the country, a reporter noted how "[w]oman has taken her place in the field of cycling, and to-day [sic] all the manufacturers are bending their energies to the producing of wheels suitable to the fair sex.... Formally anything was considered good enough for weak women... Now it is very different. The women are the backbone of the trade."<sup>84</sup> As the bicycle industry became more profitable and more competitive, shops and corporations increasingly viewed women consumers as central to the survival of their businesses.

Bicycle industry leaders knew they had to contend with the sexualization of women's bicycling. They wanted women to feel excited and empowered by cycling because it was good for business. Yet, they needed to position cycling as respectable, not sexual. As such, cycling companies launched powerful campaigns to normalize women's cycling. Their strategy was simple — they reframed cycling from sexual freedom to romance, and the 'fast' wheelwoman trans-

---

<sup>83</sup> Francis, M. C., "THE OUTPUT OF CYCLES: THIS YEAR WILL SEE AMERICA TURN OUT 1,250,000 GENERAL INVASION OF THE FOREIGN MARKETS. NOVELTIES AND IMPROVEMENTS ARE NUMEROUS. The Double Quint is to Be Faster Than Steam or Electricity," *Detroit Free Press* (Detroit, MI), March 15, 1896, 14. ProQuest. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpdetroitfreepress/docview/562638469/abstract/15031EFB79D54CF7PQ/91?accountid=12598>> "Bicycling in '96," *Town Topics* 35, no. 12, March 19, 1896, no page. Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/Search/Search-DocDetail.aspx?docref=TownTopicsVol35>> "WEIGHT IS MODERATE: WHEELS THIS YEAR WILL BE SLIGHTLY HEAVIER. LIGHTWEIGHT CRAZE HAS BECOME A THING OF THE PAST. ENCOURAGEMENT FOR WOMEN WHO RIDE THE YEAR. WHEEL MAKERS ARE GRADUALLY MEETING THEIR WANTS. Detroit's own Chainless Wheel is Among the List," *Detroit Free Press* (Detroit, MI) March 3, 1898, 6. ProQuest. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpdetroitfreepress/docview/562887600/abstract/15031EFB79D54CF7PQ/192?accountid=12598>>

<sup>84</sup> "WOMEN AND CYCLING: Manufacturers Giving Largest Attention to the Ladies," *The Nashville American* (Nashville, TN) February 16, 1898, 8. ProQuest. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnashvilletennessean/docview/928151425/abstract/C1E3373AA12A4427PQ/109?accountid=12598>>

formed into a fun girl to date. By the mid-1890s, cycling companies filled their advertisements with images of happy, young couples riding through parks and pleasant city streets. They structured their bicycle models with his-and-her lines, cycling clothing companies advertised their outfits fashionable and attractive for co-ed rides, and some cycling companies even began selling tandems to attract couples. Bicycling industry leaders worked tirelessly to ensure coverage of their brand and sport, especially products for women.<sup>85</sup> They not only filled newspapers and magazines with advertisements, but also encouraged any periodical with women readers to publish a regular women's cycling column written and edited by experienced wheelwomen.<sup>86</sup> Bicycle industry representatives reassured conservatives that cycling far from encouraged rampant sexuality, but in fact offered a relaxed, fun activity for single people to get to know each other, which often resulted marriages.<sup>87</sup> Surely some wheelwomen must have found the bicycle industry's romanticization of their politically-motivated sport as aggravating and demeaning. Yet, the industry's strategy helped soften and normalize women's independent cycling, whether she rode with friends, a date or by herself.

---

<sup>85</sup> Christie-Robin, Julia, Belinda Orzada, and Dilia Lopez-Gydosh. "From Bustles to Bloomers: Exploring the Bicycle's Influence on American Women's Fashion, 1880-1914." *The Journal of American Culture* 35, no. 4 (December 2012): 315-31. Garvey, Ellen Gruber, "Reframing the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women." *American Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (March 1995): 66-101. Marks, Patricia, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1990). Smith, Robert A. *A Social History of the Bicycle* (New York: American Heritage Press, 1972).

<sup>86</sup> "The Literary Show. Why the Newspapers Have to be Big -- Some Magazine Pictures," *Town Topics* 34, mo. 4, July 25, 1895, 17. *Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920*. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/Search/Search-DocDetail.aspx?docref=TownTopicsVol34>>

<sup>87</sup> "The Bicycle and Matrimony," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY) September 22, 1895, 18. ProQuest. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnp/louisvillecourierjournal/docview/1036985050/abstract/A2FA2D68DB824F23PQ/54?accountid=12598>>

## Conclusion

In 1888, a man witnessed a shocking sight on a St. Louis street corner. He saw a young woman riding what looked to be a safety bicycle. The following year, cycling shops would introduce the women's safety model, ushering in a new era of women's practical independence and political empowerment. The man predicted that the trend would catch on, and soon cities across the country would be filled with women on bicycles. He concluded, "[s]o woman is making her conquest of the planet. She rows. She smokes. She preaches. She hazes. She shoots. And now she has lassoed the iron grasshopper, and has fearlessly mounted it."<sup>88</sup> Unlike many predictions, this man was right. Women were not passive recipients of this new technology, and instead they 'lassoed' it and used it to traverse in public spaces with unprecedented success.

First, women used the bicycle to dismantle longstanding social norms which dictated that respectable women could only traverse their cities and towns with a chaperone or escort. Wheelwomen used their newfound sport to develop and justify a practical independence to move through the public spaces on their own or with a group of their choosing. Americans were shocked to see this sudden change in their cities and towns, and women crafted a new public culture, norms, and expectations of women cycling alone, in peer groups, or even in co-ed groups. Due to wheelwomen's courage and conviction, Americans slowly began to tolerate and eventually accept women's new public presence. Women cyclists and activists alike viewed this transformation as a valuable lesson regarding the limits of traditional political activities in private spaces. Suffragists repeatedly noted that wheelwomen's efforts to ride unaccompanied had far-

---

<sup>88</sup> "Bicycling Women," *Fayetteville Observer* (Fayetteville, NC), March 22, 1888, 1. Nineteenth Century U. S. Newspapers. Accessed May 4, 2016. <[http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/infomark.do?action=interpret&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu\\_main&docPage=article&searchType=Advanced-SearchForm&docId=GT3016363077&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0&finalAuth=true](http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/infomark.do?action=interpret&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu_main&docPage=article&searchType=Advanced-SearchForm&docId=GT3016363077&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0&finalAuth=true)>

reaching ramifications for their movement. It offered a striking lesson that social change was achievable and that the tools for such change existed in the consumer goods that structured everyday life. Wheelwomen in the 1890s were struck by the deep political potential of consumer goods, setting the stage for future public efforts in the following decades.

From the 1880s to 1920, the woman's rights movement transformed from a radical, marginalized cause to a powerful and popular force. The transformation from newspapers and speeches to window displays and parades was neither inevitable or abrupt. Suffrage activists successfully utilized the rising power of consumerism to rebrand their movement as thrilling, modern, fashionable and fun. They used this consumer strategy to thrust themselves in the public eye. Yet, activists could not have had such a public presence without the work of wheelwomen decades prior. In the 1890s, wheelwomen used cycling to create an unprecedented, independent public presence, rewriting longstanding social norms on respectability and access to their towns and cities. Wheelwomen shocked activists, who learned a valuable lesson — everyday consumer goods had a political potential unlike any existing activist strategy. Such a mentality provided the ideological and practical infrastructure for the public, consumerism-based activism in the 1910s. By demanding to ride on their own terms, wheelwomen fostered a new public presence and activist framework, normalizing the presence of unaccompanied women in public and setting the stage for the ultimate success of women's suffrage campaigns.



## CHAPTER 7: “NEW WORLDS TO CONQUER”:

### WOMEN’S BICYCLING-BASED TRAVEL IN AN AGE OF EMPIRE

In 1897, *Harper’s Bazaar* published a full-page illustration featuring a white male and female, mostly likely married, during their cycling trip to Virginia.<sup>1</sup> In the illustration, the male has leaned his bicycle against a tree and flipped his companion’s bicycle upside down to fix her flat tire. The couple are smartly dressed in the latest cycling fashions: cycling-specific jackets, vests, caps, and shoes, knickers for him and a cycling skirt for her. Their tool roll was their only luggage, suggesting that each night they stayed in a hotel and paid for their luggage to be sent ahead of them, common practices among upper-class cycling tourists. While the man fixes the flat, the woman is not the only person watching him. The couple stopped in front of a dilapidated shack, and an African American family, four children and three adults, gather around to watch. Hands in her pockets, the white woman glances suspiciously at the family, while an African American woman pulls up a chair from their home. The family, dressed in ragged clothes, watch the male cyclist with curiosity and amazement. With a bleak landscape and ramshackle barn in the backdrop, the cyclists seem strikingly modern compared to the family, frozen in a timeless state of rural poverty and backwardness. For many of *Harper’s* privileged, Northeastern readers,

---

<sup>1</sup> Rodgers, W. A., “Bicycling in Virginia -- Mending a Punctured Tire on the Road,” *Harper’s Bazaar*, January 16, 1897, 61. Harp Week. Accessed May 2, 2016 <<http://app.harpweek.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/viewarticletext.asp?webhitsfile=hw18970116000010%2Ehtm&xpath=%2FTEI%2E2%5B1%5D%2Ftext%5B1%5D%2Fbody%5B1%5D%2Fdiv1%5B17%5D%2Fdiv2%5B1%5D%2Fdiv3%5B2%5D%2Fp%5B7%5D%2Ffigure%5B2%5D&xml=HW%5C1897%5C18970116%2Exml&titleid=HW&volumeid=1897&issueid=0116&pagerange=0061ad%2D0061ad&restriction=%22Bicycling+in+Virgina+%2D%2D+Meding+a+Punctured+Tire+on+the+Road%22&pageIDs=%7CHW%2D1897%2D01%2D16%2D0061%7C>>

this image was an exciting example of the exotic and strange sights one could encounter traveling by bicycle.

As women expanded their regular cycling practice, many became unsatisfied simply riding through town, and they started to plan bicycle-based vacations. Cycling tourism quickly became a booming market, with guidebooks, clothing, luggage, and inns designed for men and women riding to their destinations.<sup>2</sup> Some cyclists took short day trips and weekend jaunts, others planned month-long summer holidays, and a few even travelled across countries and continents. Wheelwomen in particular discussed their experiences traveling by bicycle with a strikingly modern sense of independence, exploration, and empowerment. For many women with the means and ability, their cycling vacation was a life-changing experience. It offered them a way to challenge to the constraints of nineteenth-century womanhood in their everyday lives.

These trips did not occur in a historical vacuum, unaffected by the broader social, political and economic trends of the period. The era of cycling tourism of the 1890s coincided with the years in which American empire bloomed into fruition. American imperialist ideology and empire-building projects have gained increasing attention among American historians, despite a public reluctant to understand their history through such unflattering contexts.<sup>3</sup> Historians of

---

<sup>2</sup> Tobin, Gary Allan, "The Bicycle Boom of the 1890s: The Development of Private Transportation and the Birth of the Modern Tourist," *Journal of Popular Culture* 7, no. 4 (Spring 1974): 838–49. Dando, Christina E., "Riding the Wheel: Selling American Women Mobility and Geographic Knowledge," *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, 6, no. 2, (2007): 174–210.

<sup>3</sup> Bederman, Gail, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). Briggs, Laura, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U. S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). Immerman, Richard H., *Empire for Liberty: A History of American Imperialism from Benjamin Franklin to Paul Wolfowitz* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010). Kaplan, Amy and Donald E. Pease, *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, (Duke University Press, 1994). McCartney, Paul, *Power and Progress: American National Identity, the War of 1898, and the Rise of American Imperialism* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006). Sneider, Allison L., *Suffragists in an Imperial Age: U. S. Expansion and the Woman Question, 1870–1929* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). Wexler, Laura, *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U. S. Imperialism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

British and American imperialism have been particularly successful in exploring how cultural intimacy helped fuel and justify empire; Americans in the Philippines were horrified by Filipino public toileting norms, and Britons viewed Indians' meals as disgusting mush. For Americans and Britons, witnessing such intimate details of daily life, which seemed so different from Western norms, was indicative of such groups' primitive states and inability to self-govern.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, sports historians have encouraged scholars to think beyond politics and consider how the everyday practices of team-based competitive sports have contributed to empire-building projects across the globe.<sup>5</sup>

As American historians have rethought American exceptionalism, feminist scholars have long struggled to understand why so many nineteenth-century white women working towards gender equality aligned themselves with racism and imperialism. Middle- and upper-class white women reformers and activists often viewed themselves as peers to elite white men and not oppressed groups who also had limited citizenship, such as African Americans, immigrants and poor whites as well as Puerto Ricans and Filipinos. Women's historians have demonstrated how many white leaders of suffrage, temperance, and other women's reform campaigns built alliances

---

<sup>4</sup> Anderson, Warwick. "Excremental Colonialism: Public Health and the Poetics of Pollution." *Critical Inquiry* 21, no. 3 (1995): 640–669. Hall, Catherine and Soyna O. Rose, eds., *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Wexler, Laura, *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U. S. Imperialism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

<sup>5</sup> Gems, Gerald R., *The Athletic Crusade: Sport and American Cultural Imperialism* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006). Pope, Steven W., "Rethinking Sport, Empire and American Exceptionalism," *Sport History Review*, 45 (2015): 71-99.

with native-born white men as a political strategy. They hoped to demonstrate their worthiness as citizens compared to so-called 'savage' groups.<sup>6</sup>

Cycling tourism and American imperialism were not isolated trends, growing without knowledge of one another. Bicycle-based travel grew out of this particular expansionist and imperialist American mindset. In the limited historiography of cycling, scholars have largely focused on men's bicycle-based tourism and domestic travel.<sup>7</sup> Feminist scholars in both history and literature have created a wealth of scholarship of women's nineteenth-century travel. Scholars have been especially interested in the intersections of women's international travel and colonialism as well as the importance of particular types of travel, such as tours of Europe, on women's

---

<sup>6</sup> Briggs, Laura, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U. S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). Chaudhuri, Nupur, and Margaret Strobel, eds., *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992). Hoganson, Kristin. "'As Badly Off as the Filipinos': US Women's Suffragists and the Imperial Issue at the Turn of the Twentieth Century." *Journal of Women's History* 13, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 9-33. Newman, Louise Michele, *White Women's Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). Sneider, Allison L., *Suffragists in an Imperial Age: U. S. Expansion and the Woman Question, 1870-1929* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). Terborg-Penn, Rosalyn, "Enfranchising Women of Color: Woman Suffragists as Agents of Imperialism," ed. Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998): 41-56. Tyrrell, Ian, *Woman's World/Woman's Empire: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880-1930* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

<sup>7</sup> Epperson, Bruce, *Peddling Bicycles to America: The Rise of an Industry* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2010). Hepland, Kenneth, "The Bicycle Kodak," *Environmental Review* 4, no. 3, (1980): 24-33. Koelle, Alexandra V., "Pedaling on the Periphery," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (Autumn 2010): 305-26. Ritchie, Andrew, *King of the Road: An Illustrated History of Cycling* (London: Ten Speed Press), 1975. Rubinstein, David., "Cycling in the 1890s," *Victorian Studies*, 1977, 47-71. Rush, Anita, "The Bicycle Boom of the Gay Nineties: A Reassessment," *Material History Bulletin* 18 (1983): 1-12. Smith, Robert A., *A Social History of the Bicycle* (New York: American Heritage Press, 1972). Tobin, Gary Allan, "The Bicycle Boom of the 1890s: The Development of Private Transportation and the Birth of the Modern Tourist," *Journal of Popular Culture* 7, no. 4 (Spring 1974): 838-49.

broader political ideology, activist networks, and reform work.<sup>8</sup> Scholars have not considered how bicycling can add to these historiographies, despite its popularity as a form of travel among women.

Yet the popularity of cycling tourism, especially among women, is best understood with the context of empire and expansionism of the 1890s. For many middle- and upper-class women, empire provided the language and the structure to experience the empowerment and independence of cycling-based travel. In turn, cycling offered women a hands-on experience of empire's privileges. The unprecedented experiences of traveling by bike — freedom to choose your own route, stop whenever you liked, view scenery and people unlike your own, and ride physically challenging terrain and distances — inspired many wheelwomen to see themselves as active participants in imperialism and expansionism. To prominent wheelwoman Marie Ward, there was “always something to conquer, something to accomplish” when traveling by bicycle; empowerment and empire were interwoven within the joys of cycling.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Birkett, Dea, *Spinsters Abroad: Victorian Lady Explorers* (London: Oxford, 1989). Bison, Beatrice and Gerard Gacon, *In-Between Two Worlds: Narratives by Female Explorers and Travellers 1850-1945* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc, 2009). Blunt, Alison, *Travel, Gender, and Imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1994). Ghose, Indira, *Women Travelers In Colonial India: The Power of the Female Gaze* (Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1998). Hahner, June Edith, *Women Through Women's Eyes: Latin American Women in 19th-century Travel Accounts* (Lanham, MD: SR Books, 1998). Harper, Lila Marz, *Solitary Travelers: Nineteenth-century Women's Travel Narratives and the Scientific Vocation* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2001). Imbarrato, Susan Clair, *Traveling Women: Narrative Visions of Early America* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2006). Mills, Sara, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1991). McEwan, Cheryl, *Gender, Geography and Empire. Victorian Women Travellers in West Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000). Morgan, Susan, *Place Matters: Gendered Geography in Victorian Women's Travel Books About S.E. Asia* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996). Robinson, Jane, *Unsuitable For Ladies: An Anthology of Women Travelers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). Romero, Patricia, *Women's Voices on West Africa* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992). Scribner, Mary Suzanne, *Writing Home: American Women Abroad, 1830-1920* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1997). Siegel, Kristi (ed.), *Gender, Genre, and Identity in Women's Travel Writing* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc, 2004). Steadman, Jennifer Bernhart, *Traveling Economies: American Women's Travel Writing* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2007). Stevenson, Catherine Barnes, *Victorian Women Travel Writers in Africa* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982). Wesley, Marilyn C., *Secret Journeys: The Trope of Women's Travel in American Literature* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1999).

<sup>9</sup> Ward, Marie E., *The Common Sense of Bicycling: Bicycling for Ladies*, (New York: Brentano's, 1896), 3. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=GYs3AAAAMAAJ>>

This discourse of cycling tourism as conquering helps to further our understanding of white women's ease and comfort regarding American imperialism. Bicycling historiography builds upon literature which connects empire with domestic spaces and other forms of travel, particularly trains and ships.<sup>10</sup> Yet bicycling does not easily fit into either category. Many travelers did not go far from their homes, and they brought their homes with them, as could be seen in the popularity of picnic baskets and cycling bags full of household goods. Bicycling was clearly a form of travel, but cycling tourists saw this type of travel as profoundly different from traveling by train, boat, carriage or foot. Unlike trains, boats, and carriages, wheelwomen had much more choice in routes and times. They were also more immersed in the environment through which they traveled; they were forced to ride regardless of the weather, and they left feeling a sense of intimacy with the landscape. Yet, unlike on foot, cyclists could cover much greater distances, often comparable to carriages and even some trains. Bicycling was also different in that one did not need to travel far to feel far away — many Manhattan wheelwomen felt like 'conquers' when they rode to the Bronx.

Connecting cycling travel and empire helps us think critically about the simplified arguments in bicycling historiography, in which scholars have implied that all women cyclists experienced a monolithic sense of empowerment with no cost to others. It asks us to unpack empowerment as a process, not simply a destination or result. Many wheelwomen viewed their individual experiences of empowering travel through the emerging lens of empire and expansion. In

---

<sup>10</sup> Kaplan, Amy and Donald E. Pease, eds., *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993). Kern, Stephen, *The Culture of Time and Space: 1880-1918* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983). Howe, Daniel Walker, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007). Rodgers, Daniel T., *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000). Sneider, Allison L., *Suffragists in an Imperial Age: U. S. Expansion and the Woman Question, 1870-1929* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2008). White, Richard, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2012).

turn, bicycling helped make imperialism an exciting venture for women. It helped women work through how to enact their ideas of independent modern womanhood; a testing ground for modernity. Empire and expansionism gave wheelwomen a language to express their experiences, largely unknown to generations before them. From celebrated explorers to weekend warriors, cycling-based travel offered a variety of women an empowering experience of empire, linking them to projects of elite men despite their unequal legal status.

### Fanny Workman: Bicycling Toward Empire

The women who travelled by bicycle in the 1890s traversed uncharted terrain. While American women had long been traveling in other forms, this generation was the first to do so by bicycle, a strikingly different type of transformation. Bicycling was human-powered, it exposed travelers to the environment around them, and allowed them to cover great distances. Learning how to travel by bicycle was an in-depth process that required acquisition of a range of knowledge. Such knowledge included mechanics (how to repair their bicycle), geography (how to read a map and plan routes) and cultural (how to travel in new places different from home).<sup>11</sup> Such new ventures required not only information, but also role models. Many wheelwomen looked to prominent cycling travelers not only for technical information, but also for inspiration and confidence. Fanny Bullock Workman and Marie Ward provided an approachable and admirable vision of the traveling female cyclist, and they did so by building upon emerging discourse of American empire and expansionism. The result was that the empowered woman traveller was inextricably linked to imperialist discourse.

---

<sup>11</sup> Dando, Christina E., "Riding the Wheel: Selling American Women Mobility and Geographic Knowledge," *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, 6, no. 2, (2007): 174-210.

Sports historian Steven Pope recently asked, “[w]hat happens when we put sport and American empire at the center rather than at the periphery of our gaze?”<sup>12</sup> Fanny Bullock Workman offers a striking answer to Pope’s question. While celebrated in her day, Workman has become a largely forgotten explorer, mountaineer, author, and cyclist. Born in 1863, Workman’s childhood was typical of many wealthy, well-connected families; she attended private schools, travelled to Europe, and married in her early twenties. Her husband, William Workman, was an older and well-established physician. She gave birth to her only surviving child, Rachel, three years after their marriage. Once Rachel turned four, Dr. Workman retired from his practice and they placed Rachel in boarding school. With money, health, and no family constraints, the Workman’s spent the next two decades traveling the world and publishing their adventures for millions of readers.<sup>13</sup>

While existing scholarship on Workman is far from extensive, she has gained the most attention from scholars of mountaineering. Starting in 1899, the Workman’s completed six mountaineering expeditions in the Himalayas. They climbed numerous glaciers and peaks over 20,000 feet. Workman was best known for setting the world altitude record for women mountain climbers when she ascended Pinnacle Peak (22,810 feet) in 1906. Workman documented her travels in eight co-authored books and numerous articles with her husband. She took hundreds of photographs, conducted scientific studies, and observed local cultures. A noted cartographer and geographer, Workman mapped previously unsurveyed mountains in the Himalayas; Dr. Workman openly admitted she was in charge of planning and navigating their trips. Among many of her

---

<sup>12</sup> Pope, 88.

<sup>13</sup> Neejer, Christine, “Fanny Bullock Workman,” *Women in American History: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Hasia R. Diner (New York: Facts on File, 2012).



awards and honorary memberships, in 1905 Workman became the second woman invited to speak at the Royal Geographical Society of England. Workman passionately advocated for women's rights, including suffrage. When her husband photographed her at a peak in the Karakoram Mountains, she held up a newspaper with the headline 'Votes for Women.' This quickly became her most famous image, as it perfectly captured the duality of her well-crafted image as an explorer with her progressive political views. Workman used her extensive travels and resulting publications as a platform to challenge widespread beliefs that women were unfit for strenuous outdoor pursuits or intellectual inquiry and were best suited as mother and wife in the home.<sup>14</sup>

While Workman is best known for mountaineering, she was also an avid cyclist. Before the Workman's began mountaineering in 1899, they undertook extensive cycling excursions. They cycled through Spain, Portugal and Sicily in 1895 and Morocco and Algeria in 1896. From 1897 to 1900, they engaged in their final and longest tour, a bicycle trip across India. They transformed their field notes from each trip into three best-selling books: *Algerian Memories: Bicycle Tour over the Atlas to the Sahara* (1895), *Sketches A-wheel in Modern Iberia* (1897) and *Through Town and Jungle: Fourteen Thousand Miles A-wheel Among the Temples and People of the Indian Plain* (1904).<sup>15</sup> Workman's cycling memoirs, while critiqued by male academics as

---

<sup>14</sup> Colley, Ann C., *Victorians in the Mountains: Sinking the Sublime* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2001). Ellis, Reuben, *Vertical Margins: Mountaineering and the Landscapes of Neoimperialism* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001). Isserman, Maurice and Stewart Weaver, *Fallen Giants: A History of Himalayan Mountaineering from the Age of Empire to the Age of Extremes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008). Pauly, Thomas H., *Game Faces: Five Early American Champions and the Sports They Changed* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008).

<sup>15</sup> Workman, Fanny Bullock, *Algerian Memories: A Bicycle Tour over the Atlas to the Sahara* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1895). Hathitrust. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.31822038215356>> Workman, Fanny Bullock, *Sketches A-wheel in Modern Iberia* (New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1897). Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=0tr0DyZ2B9AC>> Workman, Fanny Bullock, *Through Town and Jungle: Fourteen Thousand Miles A-wheel Among the Temples and People of the Indian Plain* (London: T. F. Unwin, 1907). Hathitrust. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001249684>>

unscientific, were hugely popular among reform-minded wheelwomen. Women crowded into her public lectures and devoured her books and articles, while suffrage organizations celebrated her achievements as a representative of women's untapped physical and intellectual potential.<sup>16</sup>

Historians of mountaineering have long challenged a celebratory approach to their work, and they have rightly highlighted the Workman's self-promotional and fiercely competitive style, exaggerated claims, lackluster research and writing skills, and poor treatment of local guides. Not surprising given their subject matter, mountaineering historians have largely positioned the Workman's cycling trips as mere precursors to their most famous and dangerous exploits on foot.<sup>17</sup> Sport historians, including bicycling historians, as well as scholars of women's history and American empire have paid little attention to Fanny Workman. Yet her years as a cyclist offer an unique opportunity to further understand the connections of women's empowerment and empire-building, and how sport, especially cycling, offered a shared path to such projects.

As a cycling-based traveller, Workman provided a clear vision of women's empowerment, a vision inextricable from empire and expansionism. To Workman, empire was a place for women to learn, to challenge themselves, and to break the monotony of everyday life. She demanded women gain access to the knowledge and adventure empire had to offer, and she offered both to her readers. Workman stated that she had four goals for each cycling trip: documenting the land and architecture; describing local customs and people; highlighting the poor treatment of

---

<sup>16</sup> Colley, Ann C., *Victorians in the Mountains: Sinking the Sublime* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2001). Ellis, Reuben, *Vertical Margins: Mountaineering and the Landscapes of Neoimperialism* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001). Isserman, Maurice and Stewart Weaver, *Fallen Giants: A History of Himalayan Mountaineering from the Age of Empire to the Age of Extremes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008). Pauly, Thomas H., *Game Faces: Five Early American Champions and the Sports They Changed* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008).

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

local women and children; and offering herself as a model of Western women's physical and intellectual abilities.<sup>18</sup>

Workman presented herself not as a typical tourist, but a serious researcher looking to explore and understand what she saw as uncharted terrain. In fact, Workman viewed well-established tourist sites as passé and dull, and aimed to travel to places untouched by commercial tourism. Like many late nineteenth-century travelers from privileged backgrounds, Workman dreamed of discovering natural places unspoiled by the industrialization and urbanization that structured city life.<sup>19</sup> She was described how "[t]he sensation of being a pioneer in these days when every corner of the world is sought out by the tourist is certainly exhilarating."<sup>20</sup> As such, Workman chose areas for cycling tours that she believed had limited Western influence and few American and British tourists. In her writing, she aimed to document these new lands to her English-speaking audience. Workman paid considerable attention to local landscapes, describing landscapes, flowers, trees, rivers, mountains with great detail.

She also spent a great deal of time researching, photographing, and writing about architecture, ruins and other sites of historical interest, with particular attention to remains from ancient civilizations. In fact, most of the photographs in her cycling memoirs showcase historical buildings and deteriorating ruins, such as her detailed descriptions of Gothic and Arabic-inspired architecture in Spain. Workman generally recommended a particular town or area solely such attractions. Her interest is not surprising given popularity of ancient civilizations among elite,

---

<sup>18</sup> Workman, *Through Town and Jungle*, 4.

<sup>19</sup> Cronon, William, "The Trouble with Wilderness," *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995): 69-91.

<sup>20</sup> Workman, *Sketches Awheel*, 123

imperialism-minded Americans in this period.<sup>21</sup> Workman often advised readers that cities lacking architectural importance were simply not worth visiting.<sup>22</sup> Workman looked for “signs of modern progress” wherever she went, but she never hoped to find it.<sup>23</sup> Workman often complained of impassable roads, “primitive” inns, slow railroads, and tasteless food.<sup>24</sup> Yet she wanted to spend her cycling time “passing the frontier” and was frustrated when she found evidence of economic growth, urban infrastructures and tourists traps.<sup>25</sup> She described “modern” Algerian towns as dull and was disappointed by “busy, wide-awake, rapidly growing” Barcelona, where, “modern enterprise rules, [and] the old-time beauty is apt to take flight.”<sup>26</sup> She suggested that American travelers travel to Spain instead of France: “Spain is not so far advanced in civilization but that adventures may still be found without any great amount of seeking.”<sup>27</sup> She similarly recommended Algeria as a more interesting alternative to European travel.<sup>28</sup> Workman did not simply want to travel, but she wanted to go back in time. Workman’s views of white Western superiority could only function if she found evidence of the inferior, undeveloped areas of Southern Europe, Africa and India. When she encountered towns that challenged her assumptions, she simply told visitors to skip those destinations.

---

<sup>21</sup> Tears, T. J. Jackson, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

<sup>22</sup> Workman, *Through Town and Jungle*, 312.

<sup>23</sup> Workman, *Sketches Awheel*, 19.

<sup>24</sup> Workman, *Sketches Awheel*, 1, 6, 22, 49.

<sup>25</sup> Workman, *Sketches Awheel*, 1.

<sup>26</sup> Workman, *Sketches Awheel*, 17.

<sup>27</sup> Workman, *Sketches Awheel*, 6.

<sup>28</sup> Workman, *Algerian Memories*, 216.

Workman described her most enjoyable moments as those when she could appreciate important historical sites or beautiful views without the obstruction of local people. Yet she did hope to document local people and cultures in her books as part of her overall research goals. While she appreciated some kind innkeepers, government officials, and guides, Workman generally viewed locals with disinterest, pity, annoyance, and disgust throughout her cycling travels. Often she was simply not interested, writing only brief notes about them, and maintaining her focus on important historical and natural sites. When local people enter her memoirs, they are often a necessarily evil one most cope with when traveling through these areas. Workman was particularly frustrated at street life, which she viewed as unruly and loud. She hated hearing local music, especially when it kept her up at night.<sup>29</sup> Her description of a sleepless night in El Perelló, Spain during the Easter season was typical in both her frustration and disinterest in the festivities: “[o]ur slumber was disturbed that night not only by the discomfort of our beds, but also by loud, not wholly musical, singing on the street to the accompaniment of clarinet and tambourine.”<sup>30</sup> Even when music was minimal, Workman found the bustling nightlife not only uninteresting, but a detriment to her travels. She needed a full night’s sleep to ensure she could complete a full day’s ride, which was often up to 50 miles per day, and was often awoken by noise at night.<sup>31</sup>

During the day, while attempting to focus on important historical and natural sites, she often noted the widespread poverty among locals. She was sometimes sympathetic when she saw

---

<sup>29</sup> Workman, *Algerian Memories*, 99.

<sup>30</sup> Workman, *Sketches Awheel*, 51.

<sup>31</sup> Workman, *Sketches Awheel*, v, 95-96.

locals who looked sick.<sup>32</sup> Yet she generally voiced her annoyance that poverty was visible in public spaces. She particularly disliked locals' habit begging or asking for work, which she thought ruined local sites and cities for travelers. Workman often framed local men as conniving to for unearned money. She complained about the "gluely [sic] quality" of Indian men, and how multiple men would volunteer for a job that only required one person, all aiming to make money.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, she became frustrated with male tour guides who refused to leave her alone to document a historical site, instead forcing themselves upon her and demanding payment.<sup>34</sup> Beyond her annoyance at beggars and tour guides, Workman most frequently described local men as drunk and dangerous. Workman described Barcelona as "not a pleasant place for a woman to visit with a bicycle on account of the great number of rough mechanics and labourers [sic] at all times on the streets. Still, as for that matter, even in regulation street gown she cannot walk a block alone without being rudely spoken to."<sup>35</sup> Later on her trip through Spain, the Workman's had to stop in a small town to fix a tire. They described the town as "a most squalid place.... With people lying about asleep on improvised straw beds" in the midday.<sup>36</sup> When locals began to notice their bicycles, Workman described how they required protection from the "el-bowing crowd which swarmed around" and even a friendly local man looked "as if a slight provocation might transform his mood [and he is] devoid of all good."<sup>37</sup> Surviving the crowd

---

<sup>32</sup> Workman, *Algerian Memories*, 105.

<sup>33</sup> Workman, *Through Town and Jungle*, 4, 8.

<sup>34</sup> Workman, *Sketches Awheel*, 98, 144.

<sup>35</sup> Workman, *Sketches Awheel*, 19.

<sup>36</sup> Workman, *Sketches Awheel*, 46.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

without harm, Workman prided herself on her willingness to travel in Spain, where most Europeans were afraid to ride “from fear of being attacked by brigands.”<sup>38</sup>

Workman also found the street dangerous due to unruly animals. In Algeria, she carried a whip specifically to protect herself from street dogs, who she blamed locals for failing to control.<sup>39</sup> Throughout Spain, Workman found mules so dangerous that she understood why many cyclists viewed traveling the country as not worth the risk.<sup>40</sup> She argued that uncontrolled animals were often the result of drunk local men, who she viewed as the ultimate danger in traveling abroad. Near Alicante, a Spanish port town, Workman worried about the armed and alcoholic locals, who had a mixture of “Moorish blood” and “the reputation of being the most ill-disposed and revengeful in all of Spain.”<sup>41</sup> When the Workman’s traveling party almost collided with a group of mule-drivers, a common occurrence on rural, narrow paths, the incident quickly escalated and both parties drew knives and guns. While the groups were eventually able to calm down and pass one another, Workman felt she had been “in the face of almost certain death.”<sup>42</sup> It led her to grow tired of the trip: “[t]his sort of adventure was becoming a trifle too frequent to suit our fancy. We had not come to Spain to measure our prowess with that of intoxicated teamsters; we neither aspired to the glory of shooting them nor did we court the notoriety of falling a sacrifice to their brutal passions... we determined to push on, hoping for better things in other

---

<sup>38</sup> Workman, *Sketches Awheel*, 48.

<sup>39</sup> Workman, *Algerian Memories*, 4.

<sup>40</sup> Workman, *Sketches Awheel*, 51.

<sup>41</sup> Workman, *Sketches Awheel*, 72.

<sup>42</sup> Workman, *Sketches Awheel*, 74.

parts.”<sup>43</sup> Workman’s peers sometimes critiqued her for exaggerating the dangers of her trip, so it is unclear if she was in grave danger during this particular incident. Regardless, it clearly demonstrates her views of local people. Workman’s continued trip through the Spanish coast continued to disappoint, all due to what she viewed as unruly locals. She described the coastline as “earthly paradise” yet locals “were so rude and annoying that we hurried through them as fast as possible and were usually favoured [sic] with a parting shower of stones.”<sup>44</sup> Quiet enjoyment of the scenery was impossible, for when the towns were safely passed a shadow of danger was lurking in the air whenever we met with a team or mule.”<sup>45</sup> To Workman, children were no better. Workman was routinely frustrated at children, who often misbehaved when they saw the rare occurrence of not only Americans, but Americans traveling by bicycle. Workman described how children “were very annoying, running after us, screaming and throwing stones.”<sup>46</sup>

Workman’s view of women and girls fell between pity and annoyance. Similar to local men, Workman often described women as backwards, such as “one obese, oily-looking south Spanish woman” who ran an “inferior inn” and conducted business in a “childlike way.”<sup>47</sup> She also described how some Spanish women “stared like cattle” when she rode through town.<sup>48</sup> Yet Workman often highlighted the poor treatment of women and girls. Like many suffragists of her era, she viewed women’s status as a marker of advancement for a nation and she was especially

---

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Workman, *Sketches Awheel*, 77.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Workman, *Sketches Awheel*, 9.

<sup>47</sup> Workman, *Sketches Awheel*, 49.

<sup>48</sup> Workman, *Sketches Awheel*, 236.



critical of marriage norms that she felt forced women into a slave-like position. She highlighted to her readers how Tunisian families arranged marriages for their ten-year-old daughters.<sup>49</sup> When traveling through Kabyle villages in Northern Algeria, Workman critiqued guidebooks that argued Kabyle women enjoyed a much higher status compared to Arab women. Workman described how Kabyle men had one wife purely for economic reasons and “a wife cannot kill her husband, whereas a husband may kill his wife if he deems necessary.”<sup>50</sup> Within Kabyle families the birth of a daughter was far from a celebration and girls rarely received any formal education. Workman concluded that Kabyle women lived lives of “continued drudgery... utterly without hope.”<sup>51</sup> While in Tetouan, Morocco, Workman noted that the only women visible in public were enslaved by elite families. In India, Workman was critical of the fact that women lived like “humble lifeless slaves” and reminded readers of eras in ancient Indian history during which women fought as soldiers alongside men.<sup>52</sup>

During her visit to Hyderabad, Workman engaged in one of her few conversations with actual women. Because Workman only spoke English, French and German, she had limited ability to speak with local women, and it seems as though she made few attempts to genuinely engage her guides and translators. Yet in this instance, she attended a tea with a few elite Indian women who had politically powerful husbands and spoke fluent English. Upon describing the hostess’ ample gold jewelry and colorful silks, Workman stated that this woman “talked very simply, ask-

---

<sup>49</sup> Workman, *Algerian Memories*, 124.

<sup>50</sup> Workman, *Algerian Memories*, 182.

<sup>51</sup> Workman, *Algerian Memories*, 188.

<sup>52</sup> Workman, *Through Town and Jungle*, 304.

ing questions in a childlike manner and appeared to wish to learn as much as possible.”<sup>53</sup> Workman told her readers little of the content of their conversation. Workman claimed that as she was getting ready to leave, the hostess said, “you have told me so much that is new to me, and I should like to see the world as you see it. But that can never be” and “her eyes grew sad as she spoke.”<sup>54</sup> Workman described the Indian women at this tea as “child-women” ignorant of everyone beyond their households and simply the “wives and toys” of ruling men.<sup>55</sup> She described how Indian women “wear their shackles with resignation if not with contentment” and Workman hoped one day men would “realize the great injustice practiced on the weaker sex, and that day of awakening may come.”<sup>56</sup> Workman was mildly sympathetic, but saw Indian women as unable to create change themselves and reliant on men to grant them such freedoms.

Strikingly, despite her critique of marriage practices, Workman framed actual slavery as simply another interesting cultural practice to observe while traveling. Workman championed wealthy men for their humane treatment of enslaved African women: she “admired the bright pretty slaves” and learned how their owner was “a connoisseur and buys only the handsomest.”<sup>57</sup> Workman was assured “the slave girls are treated with great kindness, being cared for like members of the family” which they already assumed due to “their appearance and bearing.”<sup>58</sup> Workman slid into paternalism with ease, offering the reader no challenge to enslavement nor ques-

---

<sup>53</sup> Workman, *Through Town and Jungle*, 124.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Workman, *Through Town and Jungle*, 126.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Workman, *Sketches Awheel*, 122.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

tions to the men themselves. She deemed slavery as simply another exciting adventure to see by bicycle, providing the “[f]eeling as if we had lived through a scene in the Arabian Nights.”<sup>59</sup>

Workman saw few problems presenting herself as a vision of advancement and civilization to those she viewed as backwards locals, and she seemed to relish in their attention and admiration. While riding through a small town near Tortosa, Spain, she described that when they told locals they were American, “they regarded us with very much the same awe-inspired expressions might have been called forth had we been inhabitants of one of the heavenly bodies.”<sup>60</sup> Yet Workman found this admiration only acceptable if they did not bother her, as occurred during her time in nearby Spanish towns of Aragon and Zaragoza. She described how locals had “little idea of cleanliness, modern comfort, and mode of life, but they seem stupid, and evidently come in less contact with the outside world” compared to Spaniards from other provinces.<sup>61</sup> She highlighted their “curiosity and meddlesomeness” including when “men and boys could not keep their hands off our bicycles, ringing the bells, feeling the tyres, [sic] and pressing the saddles as if these vehicles were on exhibition for their particular entertainment and instruction.”<sup>62</sup> Workman clearly wanted local people and architecture to be the ‘entertainment and instruction’ and hated when the roles were reversed.

Workman often presented locals as unhelpful and undependable. Her writing is full of examples of locals with no knowledge of directions, road conditions or nearby inns. Often travel-

---

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Workman, *Sketches Awheel*, 47-48.

<sup>61</sup> Workman, *Sketches Awheel*, 235.

<sup>62</sup> Workman, *Sketches Awheel*, 235-236.

ing without clear maps and guidebooks, Workman hoped that she could rely on locals for assistance. While she probably did get help at times, she presents her experiences as wrought with disappointment. She rarely spoke the local languages, which was a significant barrier. The Workman's did not travel alone, and in fact worked with numerous guides to haul luggage, translate, and provide directions. Yet, Workman found these guides largely useless. She claimed they offered little extra help, could not use a camera and their maps were so vague the Workman's found themselves drawing maps as they traveled.<sup>63</sup> Their lodging plans often fell through due to communication difficulties, and she warned readers when making their own travel plans to remember locals' were untrustworthy.<sup>64</sup> This included government officials, who Workman described as corrupt and disorganized.<sup>65</sup> Stationmasters, elected officials and engineers were often dead ends for information, and postal services remained unreliable throughout her travels.<sup>66</sup> Workman often mentioned how maps from European publishers, although not perfect, were much more reliable than any local knowledge.<sup>67</sup> As Workman wrote, "we determined to face the problem and solve it for ourselves" — a true pioneer.<sup>68</sup> Workman undoubtedly offered a new vision of the confident, exploring modern woman. But she did so at the great cost of demeaning the places and people she met on each trip.

---

<sup>63</sup> Workman, *Algerian Memories*, 18, 28.

<sup>64</sup> Workman, *Algerian Memories*, 59, 144.

<sup>65</sup> Workman, *Sketches Awheel*, 4.

<sup>66</sup> Workman, *Through Town and Jungle*, 174.

<sup>67</sup> Workman, *Algerian Memories*, 28.

<sup>68</sup> Workman, *Sketches Awheel*, xiii.

## “Something to Conquer, Something to Achieve”: The Bicycling Advice of Marie Ward

Fanny Bullock Workman offered a compelling model of the wheelwoman adventurer. Women read her books with great enthusiasm even though very few undertook cycling trips as extensive as Workman’s tours through Europe, Northern Africa, and India. Workman provided the inspiration, and what wheelwomen needed was someone to operationalize the cyclist explorer for more common and accessible forms of cycling travel. Marie E. Ward, a columnist and avid cyclist, responded to this need with her highly successful cycling guide *The Common Sense of Bicycling: Bicycling for Ladies*.<sup>69</sup> Published in 1896, Ward offered an in depth guide to help women dive into cycling. Ward provided necessary information novices required when learning to ride, including how to choose a bicycle, proper dress, physical training, and basic repairs. But Ward provided much more than concrete advice. She offered a new vision of women as courageous, independent and knowledgeable travelers who sought the pleasure and new experiences they deserved. While Workman traveled through colonial outposts, Ward provided language for her readers to understand their experiences as similar to Workman’s global travels, even if they were only going on an afternoon ride or a weekend trip through the countryside. Like Workman, Ward framed the empowered cyclist through visions of empire, expansionism and conquest.

Ward’s vision of the traveling wheelman was a striking departure from nineteenth-century gender norms. As bicycling grew in popularity, women increasingly saw the bicycle as the testing grounds to put their new, progressive ideas of women’s potential into practice. Ward made powerful mechanical and intellectual demands of her readers. Ward described wheelwomen as

---

<sup>69</sup> Ward, Marie E., *The Common Sense of Bicycling: Bicycling for Ladies* (New York: Brentano’s, 1896), 3. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=GYs3AAAAMAAJ>>

empowered and “intelligently self-dependent.”<sup>70</sup> Ward viewed cycling knowledge as foundational to independent cycling travel, she advised readers to “study the means... [and] know each step that will be an advance on the road to progress.”<sup>71</sup> She educated readers on basic but necessary riding skills such as proper pedaling form, braking, balance, posture and riding up hills.

Ward argued the most valuable aspect cycling was the ability to ride independently without reliance on others, including men. This required women to have their own mechanical knowledge of their bicycle. Ward spent considerable time teaching her readers basic bicycle mechanics, such as fixing a flat. Perhaps more importantly, she also encouraged women to see mechanical knowledge as an attainable transition from socially accepted domestic skills: “any woman who is able to use a needle or scissors can use other tools equally well.”<sup>72</sup> Ward familiarized her readers with pumps, wrenches, lube, and screws, offering helpful advice, such methods for cleaning components and adjusting pedals.<sup>73</sup> To Ward, learning bicycle mechanics was not a necessary evil, but an enjoyable skill and easy confidence booster: “[i]t is always a pleasure to do a thing well, whether it is handling a needle or using a screwdriver; and the art of using either successfully is not difficult to acquire.”<sup>74</sup> Ward also encouraged women to set up a workshop in their homes where they could hone their skills, properly store their tools, and work with enough light.<sup>75</sup> For many women, it was a radical departure to learn activities such as fixing a flat and to

---

<sup>70</sup> Ward, ix.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Ward, 112.

<sup>73</sup> Ward, 126, 135.

<sup>74</sup> Ward, 116.

<sup>75</sup> Ward, 140.

set up their spare room as a workshop. They gained access to knowledge traditionally shared only between men and in books written for men. While some wheelwomen surely read other mechanical guides, Ward crafted her advice in an especially approachable way for women cyclists who were perhaps intimidated by cycling guides written for and by men. Ward made even difficult repairs seem attainable: “There are three things to take into consideration when doing repair work: First, finding out what is to be done, then doing it, then seeing that it has been done right.”<sup>76</sup>

Along with tools and parts, Ward argued there was another necessary component of women’s bicycling knowledge: the map. Ward demanded women learn how to read a map, plan a route and develop the confidence to rely on themselves during a ride. She reiterated the importance of careful planning: “[s]tudy the country you are to travel and the road surface, understand your map, know your route.”<sup>77</sup> To Ward, bicycling was much more than pedaling and steering, but obtaining geographical knowledge. She advised readers it was necessary “to know the country traveled, know distance and direction,” understand “use of map and compass, and how to travel without them, finding the direction by the sun or stars... the effect of time and season on the face of nature and to cultivate the senses of the woods.”<sup>78</sup> She believed cyclists must have decent weather prediction skills given the exposed nature of cycling: “[t]o thoroughly enjoy an outing, road, direction, and atmospheric conditions should be studied.”<sup>79</sup> Ward also highlighted

---

<sup>76</sup> Ward, 115.

<sup>77</sup> Ward, 102.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Ward, 104.

the importance of planning a route, especially so the cyclist would not be surprised by abrupt elevation challenges: “[n]ever let a hill get the better of you... Set to work and study it.”<sup>80</sup> Ward encouraged wheelwomen that their own mechanical and geographical knowledge would be far more reliable than asking for help: “[t]rust the map, the watch, and the cyclometer to locate your whereabouts, and do not place too much faith in answers to inquiries.”<sup>81</sup>

To Ward, a wheelwoman’s bicycle knowledge served as evidence of the possibilities of women as a whole. She argued “[t]ools are but the continuation of the individual brain and will power.”<sup>82</sup> She viewed technical skills as an opportunity to demonstrate women’s broader intellectual abilities. In fact, Ward acknowledged “[t]here is much prejudice against athletic exercise for women and girls, many believing that nothing of the kind can be done... Prejudice can be removed only by showing good results.”<sup>83</sup> It was up to wheelwomen to prove their opponents wrong by becoming knowledgeable and independent. Ward ultimately encouraged cyclists to “[t]ake the bicycle out and do as much as you can with it. Part of the fun is conquering difficulties, and each difficulty overcome is an achievement.”<sup>84</sup>

Mechanical and geographic knowledge was the foundation of Ward’s advice. Upon gaining such skills, Ward offered a vision of what women could become. To Ward, wheelwomen were not simply travelers. Ward framed bicycling-based travel as a path to the experience of empire for ordinary women. While women could already travel by train, Ward saw bicycling as a

---

<sup>80</sup> Ward, 68.

<sup>81</sup> Ward, 110-111.

<sup>82</sup> Ward, 171.

<sup>83</sup> Ward, 115.

<sup>84</sup> Ward, 89.



more intimate and self-controlled way to surround oneself in the natural world: “[t]he usefulness of the bicycle begins where that of the railroad ceases, for it connects and opens districts of country that the railroad has not reached.”<sup>85</sup> Ward described bicycling as a vehicle to “beautiful and valuable, but otherwise inaccessible” landscapes.<sup>86</sup> Without the constraints of railway schedules and routes, cyclists were limited “only by time and opportunity.”<sup>87</sup>

The result of new access to the natural world had profound implications for Ward. Quite simply, she believed “it opens up new worlds.”<sup>88</sup> Unlike other forms of travel, cycling was unique in that it required self-directed control over technology. This particularity of cycling was not lost on Ward. She viewed this “absolute freedom of the cyclist” as the most empowering aspect of this new sport.<sup>89</sup> Ward encouraged women’s feelings of control over technology: “[s]eated awheel, the bicyclist feels master of the situation. The bicycle obeys the slightest impulse, moving at will... and as easily under control, as hand or foot.”<sup>90</sup> She reassured worried cyclists how to approach their rides as “master of the conditions” and ultimately “[c]onfidence will come with the knowledge that you are no longer at the mercy of the machine, that it is in your power.”<sup>91</sup> To Ward, control over the bicycle translated to a feeling of ownership of the surrounding terrain. Ward knew cyclists technically did not own the land — and in fact, few women

---

<sup>85</sup> Ward, 2.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Ward, 1.

<sup>89</sup> Ward, 4.

<sup>90</sup> Ward, 189.

<sup>91</sup> Ward, 81, 199.

rarely were landowners in this era — yet this reality was irrelevant. Feelings were the source of a cyclist's empowerment. This sense of ownership thrust women into empire and expansionist discourse, enacting control that they lacked in their lives as 'masters' of their environment. In fact, Ward opened her book by describing the imperialistic experience of empowerment which awaits cycling adventurers, where knowledge of a new landscape far from one's neighborhood translates into feelings of ownership: "[i]n traveling, the country all about soon becomes, as it were, your own domain."<sup>92</sup>

Ward believed as the landscape became a wheelwoman's 'domain,' this new perspective encouraged a fresh, empowered outlook on women's potential:

[r]iding the wheel, our own powers are revealed to us, a new sense is seemingly created. The unobserving are gradually awakened, and the keen observer is thrilled with quick and rare delight. The system is invigorated, the spirit is refreshed, the mind, freed from care, swept of dusty cobwebs, is filled with new and beautiful impresses. You have conquered a new world, and exultingly you take possession of it.<sup>93</sup>

Upon conquering these new words, Ward hoped bicycling would serve as a gateway to a new, empowered womanhood in which personal and political advancement were the highest pursuit. She hoped new wheelwomen would see how "[n]o matter what happens, keep it going, the faster the better... until the going-forward-forever idea seems to have taken possession of you."<sup>94</sup> Helping women see the landscaped they cycled through as their own domain, Ward had high hopes for the ramifications for women and the nation as a whole:

---

<sup>92</sup> Ward, 3.

<sup>93</sup> Ward, 12.

<sup>94</sup> Ward, 82.

[t]he bicycle is an educational factor, subtle and far-reaching, creating the desire for progress, preference for what is better, the striving for the best, broadening the intelligence and intensifying love of home and country. For all that is beautiful is ours -- ours to protect and to cherish. To the many who earnestly wish to be actively at work in the world, the opportunity has come; they need but to come to face with it to solve this problem of something to conquer, something to achieve.<sup>95</sup>

Ward offered encouraging and inspiring words, translating seemingly impossible dreams of travel into obtainable goals for her readers. It is not surprising that many ordinary women, in part inspired by the words and lives of Ward and Workman, began to rethink their bicycle as an opportunity to undertake adventures far beyond their cities and towns.

#### Bicycling, Travel, and the Imperialist Mindset

Workman and Ward helped to inspire a new way for women feel empowered, enact their progressive gender ideology, and experience the independence of bicycle-based travel. Fanny Workman provided a model of the cycling-traveler and female conquerer, and Marie Ward offered a practical and approachable guide so women could operationalize Workman's ideals in their everyday lives. Many ordinary women also wanted to experiencing the joys of 'conquering' new terrain. By the late 1890s, there was a great boom in bicycling-based travel among women, who were profoundly transformed by this new self-propelled form of transportation. The length, location, and duration of wheelwomen's travels varied widely, based on factors including their vacation funds, time to travel, experience cycling, and desired places to visit. Wheelwomen used publications including the popular press, women's-specific magazines and cycling newspapers to encourage women's cycling traveling, document their trips, and offer advice to novice cyclists.

---

<sup>95</sup> Ward, 13.

Wheelwomen built upon Workman and Ward, presenting their own experiences through the lens of conquering explorers and imperialist adventurers.

Press coverage of women's cycling travel was notably positive. Columnists in a variety of periodicals noted the travel accomplishments of women cyclists and they celebrated cyclists' independence. Cycling magazines highlighted wheelwomen's long distance feats, including a brother and sister who rode from Philadelphia to Chicago, and a group of women who cycled from New York City to Washington, D.C. to attend a conference of cycling advocates.<sup>96</sup> A travel magazine also featured Adeline Milner's challenging cycling tour through the Rocky Mountains.<sup>97</sup> Two California wheelwomen gained national press coverage when they undertook an eight-day cycling trip on the Pacific Coast without a male chaperone.<sup>98</sup> In the *Ladies World*, columnist Mary Livermore noted how efficient cycling could be for women interested in studying and observing nature, and camera companies, including Kodak, advertised cameras designed for cyclists.<sup>99</sup>

A columnist in *The Cycling Gazette* was one of many who believed cycling gave everyday women access to the joys of traveling: experiencing a "little journey in the world," which

---

<sup>96</sup> "Chalk and Cheese," *Bearings: The Cycling Authority of America* 5, no. 13, April 29, 1892, no pages. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=9bg5AQAAMAAJ&dq=%22Chalk+and+Cheese%22+bearings&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.com/books?id=9bg5AQAAMAAJ&dq=%22Chalk+and+Cheese%22+bearings&source=gbs_navlinks_s)> "The Ladies' Mile," *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* XII, no. 14, October 6, 1893, 301. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.

<sup>97</sup> Milner, Adeline Amelia, "The Matterhorn of the Rockies," *Travel: An Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 2, no. 5, May 1897, 367-371. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=eDAAtAAAA-MAAJ>>

<sup>98</sup> "TWO WOMEN ON WHEELS.: They Make an Extended Tour in California," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, MO), June 30, 1895, 22. ProQuest. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpst-louispostdispatch/docview/579207374/citation/1B70BC2E376543E3PQ/221?accountid=12598>>

<sup>99</sup> Hepland, Kenneth, "The Bicycle Kodak," *Environmental Review* 4, no. 3, (1980), 24-33. Livermore, Mary, "The Bicycle as an Aid to Study Nature," *Ladies' World* XVII, no. 7, July 1896, no page. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Print. Accessed June 6, 2015.

has been an ungratified longing among thousands of women, can now be made on “every recurring vacation” via cycling.<sup>100</sup> The columnist concluded that “life is all the more worth living since the advent of the bicycle and the evidence of feminine courage had ‘mounteth with occasion’” to travel.<sup>101</sup> Upon offering novice cyclists advice on rural travel, roadside repairs, and cycling in summer weather, a columnist in a women’s fashion magazine concluded, “[w]hen a woman returns from her holiday trip, radiant with health and good spirits, even the nagging critics will be forced, when considering the bicycle, to admit that it is good.”<sup>102</sup> Another wheelwomen agreed, describing her cycling travels as “glid[ing] glide along at one’s sweet will... [with] a new-born spirit of independence.”<sup>103</sup>

Wheelwomen believed publicly documenting their trips was to key to encourage more women to travel by bike and gain their independence. In an era of widespread newspaper and magazine readership, even a brief column in a single newspaper or magazine issue could expose cycling-based travel to many readers. As such, wheelwomen filled their favorite periodicals with their personal travel accounts. Everyday wheelwomen’s travel narratives offer a glimpse into the popularity and ease of imperialist discourse among middle- and upper-class Americans. Wheel-

---

<sup>100</sup> J. T., “The Independent Excursionst,” *The Cycling Gazette* 3, no. 21, April 22, 1897, 20. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> “Thro’ Highway and Byway,” *The Designer and the Woman’s Magazine* 2, no. 3, July 1895, 61-62. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/UP-U6X>>

<sup>103</sup> L.A.M.P., “Cycling for Women,” *Today’s Woman* 1, no. 25, June 1, 1895, 16. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP181\\_Volume\\_1\\_Issue\\_25-12](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP181_Volume_1_Issue_25-12)>

women repeatedly mirrored Workman and Ward, framing themselves as explorers who aimed to see ruins of past civilizations and were forced to deal with backwards, annoying locals.

In the popular recreation magazine *Outing*, Margaret Valentine Le Long published a detailed account of her solo ride from Chicago to San Francisco.<sup>104</sup> Le Long offered wheelwomen helpful advice and was open about her mistakes, including a frightening fall in rural Wyoming. Le Long's language reflected the imperialist influence of Workman and Ward; she described how her friends worried she would experience "starvation, death from thirst, abduction by cowboys, and scalping by Indians" when cycling through the rural plains.<sup>105</sup> She discussed her ride through the Midwest as though she was traveling through a rural, European country, with unrecognizable landscapes and local customs. She described one hotel as "bare" and "tiny" with "[v]isions of beer advertisements, circus posters" and she felt "I certainly was in Holland" and not the United States.<sup>106</sup> Le Long wrote how she had "fifteen years experience in San Francisco restaurants... I considered I had eaten of everything known to civilization... I had always prided myself upon having a thoroughly cosmopolitan stomach."<sup>107</sup> But the meals in rural inns were "a little too much for me."<sup>108</sup> Like Workman, she found locals silly and unhelpful. In one small town, "I was in search of information, for there was none to be had around the hotel. The women only giggled

---

<sup>104</sup> Le Long, Margaret Valentine. "From Chicago to San Francisco Awheel," *Outing* 31, no. 5, February 1898, 492-497. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=aKNUAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA495&dq=From+Chicago+to+San+Francisco+Wheel+outing&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0CDgQ6AEwAWoVChMIsubf-rPMxwIVxO6ACh0HygTu#v=onepage&q&f=false>>

<sup>105</sup> Le Long, 492.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Le Long, 494.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

in answer to my questions; the children hid behind the women, and the men stared.”<sup>109</sup> She highlighted to *Outing* readers how in some farming communities, one could find even middle-aged adults who never learned English.<sup>110</sup> She described the “desolation” of Nebraska as “deserted” and “soddy.”<sup>111</sup> While riding through the state, she met an “old woman with bare feet, and a face like badly tanned leather” who “was feeding some pigs.”<sup>112</sup> Despite Le Long’s snobbishness, the woman noticed Le Long looked tired and invited Le Long into her two-room home for milk and bread.<sup>113</sup> When a local Wyoming family offered Le Long their spare bed after she experienced a particularly bad fall, she noted the family was in “various states of undress,” spoke limited English, and the mattress was full of ticks.<sup>114</sup> Le Long was far from the only wheelwoman to describe rural Americans in such disparaging tones. When Lillian Willis travelled through Northern New York with her husband, they repeatedly noted the backwardness of the locals and the poor cycling infrastructure to their readers. They advised cyclists to stay clear of “men with rough edges” near the Erie Canal and they described their shock in encountering a boy from a rural

---

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Le Long, 495.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Le Long, 497.

Adirondack town who had never heard of Boston.<sup>115</sup> They described the area as “the land of poor roads, the terror of cyclists. Every valley is a ‘vale of tears’ and every hill a ‘wailing place.’”<sup>116</sup>

Lillian Willis was one of many wheelwomen to cycle with her husband. By the late 1890s cycling trips became a popular honeymoon activity for middle-class adventurers.<sup>117</sup> John and Alice Lee Moque’s article describing their honeymoon through Western Britain offers a striking glimpse into the joys of empowering, independent cycling travel, but also how two ordinary cyclists showcased Workman and Ward’s discourse of cyclist as conquer. The Moques proudly identified as a “bohemian couple” with a desire to travel, but lacking a lavish travel budget.<sup>118</sup> Like many middle-class adventurers, they saw additional value in a new activity that was not fully supported by older, conservative Americans. They viewed cycling as the perfect way to spend their honeymoon: “we decided to go; with the determination to see as much as possible, and leave style and high living to those who could better afford it.”<sup>119</sup> Alice Moque challenged male cyclists to question their assumptions of women travelers as impractical. Moque described how

---

<sup>115</sup> Allen, Eric and Lillian Willis, *Following the Tow-path and Through the Adirondacks Awheel* (Boston: N.E.R.G. Publishing Co., 1898). Quotes pages 13, 18. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=28XsyiwysRgC>>

<sup>116</sup> Allen, 44.

<sup>117</sup> “Bicycle Costume,” *The Woman's Column* 7, no. 2, 1894, 2. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.2\\_Volume\\_7\\_Issue\\_34-8](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.2_Volume_7_Issue_34-8)> “LOVE ON A BICYCLE RIDE: Brown's Wife Loved Her Wheel and Another Man THEY LIVED IN ST. LOWS, MO. When they were Married they went on a Honeymoon on their Bicycles COMIC OPERA DETECTIVE WORK,” *The National Police Gazette*, 66, no. 939, August 31, 1895, 6. ProQuest. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/docview/127622551/abstract/5A2A9E44B75A498BPQ/1?accountid=12598>> Follett, Helen, “A Honeymoon on Wheels,” *Outing* 29, no. 1, October 1896, 1. ProQuest American Periodicals Index. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/docview/137470549/B995E9CFAF9D4E21PQ/1?accountid=12598>>

<sup>118</sup> Mosque, Alice Lee, “A Bohemian Couple Wheeling Thro’ Western England,” *Outing* 28, June 1896, 186-191. Quote page 186. ProQuest American Periodicals Index. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://library.la84.org/SportsLibrary/Outing/Volume\\_28/outXXVIII03/outXXVIII03e.pdf](http://library.la84.org/SportsLibrary/Outing/Volume_28/outXXVIII03/outXXVIII03e.pdf)>

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.



she packed only the essentials for their twelve-day journey from Philadelphia to Liverpool on-board a steamship: “[t]he average male believes a woman to be so tied down by the dictates of fashion as to require a lot of baggage. This is not true of the women who bicycle.”<sup>120</sup> The Moques brought only what they could carry in small bags on their bicycles: a change of clothes, toiletries, and a camera. They planned to buy small items as needed along the way, just like cycling travelers today.

Throughout their trip, the Moques repeatedly framed themselves as a striking symbol of imperialism. Mirroring Workman’s accounts of cycling through Europe and Africa, Moque framed locals as backwards, poverty-stricken, and in awe of their advanced technology. Riding through the streets of Liverpool, Moque described how they were “conscious of a pardonable and patriotic pride” as Americans while their “wheels were the center of an admiring crowd” and fueled “the astonishment of the opened-eyed populace.”<sup>121</sup> She also boasted of her new bicycle with the latest features, compared to British cyclists stuck with old models: “[w]e were surprised to note the number of heavy, old-fashioned wheels. From a careful scrutiny of all bicycles encountered, we came to the conclusion that nine-tenths of the English riders use wheels we couldn’t give away at home.”<sup>122</sup> They even mocked what they perceived as local ignorance of cycling. When she asked one British cyclist why he chose to ride an old, heavy model instead of a new, lighter bicycle, he replied, “I wouldn’t ride one of those flimsy affairs; they aren’t safe,

---

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Mosque, “A Bohemian Couple Wheeling Thro’ Western England,” 188.

<sup>122</sup> Mosque, “A Bohemian Couple Wheeling Thro’ Western England,” 189.

you know.”<sup>123</sup> The Moques chuckled at his response. They found it comical that a cyclist could understand so little about new models. They similarly highlighted how not only did they encounter few cyclists, but no women cyclists, which they also viewed as a sign of their native country’s advanced gender politics; women’s bicycling reflected their improving political status and the vitality of the woman’s right movement. Like many American cyclists, every night they stayed in local inns.<sup>124</sup> For the self-described bohemian, adventuring Moques, poor lodging was more interesting and adventurous: “I enjoyed the novelty of low ceilings and uneven stone-paved floors... For the more primitive, the more crude and out of date it was, the more my soul delighted in it. New rooms with modern furnishings can be had always, but these funny old-fashioned chambers will soon — to soon — be things of the past — even in England.”<sup>125</sup> To these middle-class Americans, ramshackle inns were exotic and interesting, and therefore worth the trouble.

Also like Workman, Moque voiced her disappointment at the locals when they failed to interested her. While in Liverpool, they were looking forward to meeting a high-level official from Afghanistan and were disappointed to find just a “very ordinary colored man... whose only regal feature was a large diamond ornament at the side of his headgear.”<sup>126</sup> Given their frustration with locals, like Workman, Moque focused on photographing and documenting sites of interest to American travelers. They photographed medieval churches, Roman walls, and revival architecture, and delighted when they felt “as though the centuries had turned backward.”<sup>127</sup>

---

<sup>123</sup> Mosque, “A Bohemian Couple Wheeling Thro’ Western England,” 188.

<sup>124</sup> Tobin, “The Bicycle Boom of the 1890s,” 838-847.

<sup>125</sup> Mosque, “A Bohemian Couple Wheeling Thro’ Western England,” 191.

<sup>126</sup> Mosque, “A Bohemian Couple Wheeling Thro’ Western England,” 188.

<sup>127</sup> Mosque, “A Bohemian Couple Wheeling Thro’ Western England,” 190.

Tellingly, the Moques even tied American flags to their bicycles. They did not mind that this inspired locals to raise their prices, assuming Americans had more money to spend. They were proud that the flag made them even more visible as Americans, and reminded them of home as they traveled through “foreign lands.”<sup>128</sup>

The Moques were far from the only American couple to take their cycling abroad. John and Elizabeth Robins Pennell routinely published memoirs from their European cycling trips. The Pennells were key pioneers of bicycle-based travel, as they began their tours in the late 1880s, before the invention of the safety. In fact, Elizabeth made her first challenging trips through Europe on a tricycle, but she was quick to replace it with a lighter and more efficient safety as soon as bicycle shops started selling them.<sup>129</sup> Like Workman, Pennell was a staunch suffrage supporter and viewed cycling-based travel as an empowering venture for women.<sup>130</sup> Yet she also shared Workman’s view of locals when she traveled. When cycling through Italy, she was “moved to pity” while watching improvised “half-savage” children with no outlets for organized sports or card games, viewing it as a sad result of their Italian parents’ lazy character

---

<sup>128</sup> Mosque, “A Bohemian Couple Wheeling Thro’ Western England,” 188.

<sup>129</sup> Pennell, Joseph and Elizabeth Robins Pennell, *A Canterbury Pilgrimage* (London, Steeley, 1885). Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=bmdxAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=a+canterbury+pilgrimage&hl=en&sa=X&ei=RKyVVeaNGsiZgwT94b-gBQ&ved=0CB0Q6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false>> Pennell, Joseph and Elizabeth Robins Pennell, *Two Pilgrims’ Progress; from Fair Florence to the Eternal City of Rome* (Boston: Little Brown, 1899). Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=Ubw-AAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Two+pilgrims'+progress;+from+fair+Florence+to+the+eternal+city+of+Rome&hl=en&sa=X&ei=Pa2VVYqOA4eegw-Sq\\_7y4CA&ved=0CCkQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=Two%20pilgrims'%20progress%3B%20from%20fair%20Florence%20to%20the%20eternal%20city%20of%20Rome&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=Ubw-AAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Two+pilgrims'+progress;+from+fair+Florence+to+the+eternal+city+of+Rome&hl=en&sa=X&ei=Pa2VVYqOA4eegw-Sq_7y4CA&ved=0CCkQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=Two%20pilgrims'%20progress%3B%20from%20fair%20Florence%20to%20the%20eternal%20city%20of%20Rome&f=false)>

<sup>130</sup> Pennell, Elizabeth, “A Century of Women’s Rights,” *The Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature* 52, no. 5, November 1890, 617-624. ProQuest American Periodicals Index. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/docview/89765368/A67AF7F4E74143A0PQ/1?accountid=12598>>

traits.<sup>131</sup> Like Workman, she also experienced harassment while traveling. While in France she wondered how “[i]t is a rude world, I think, when the wearer of a cycling suit (even if it be old and worn) cannot go forth to see the town but instantly he is stared at and ridiculed by the townspeople.”<sup>132</sup> She viewed harassment as a result of uncivilized foreigners, failing to consider that wheelwomen also experienced widespread harassment in American cities.

Women’s magazines and cycling periodicals noted numerous wheelwomen who rode through Europe, even if they were not as well-seasoned as the Pennells. Journalists often highlighted wheelwomen who traveled only with their husband or in female groups entirely without a male chaperone.<sup>133</sup> In 1897, Mr. and Mrs. Davidson of New York City spent a year cycling through the Alps. During the trip, Mrs. Davidson claimed she was the first woman to cycle Great St. Bernard Pass, the third highest road pass in the Alps. The cycling press deemed her a modern-day explorer and a “remarkable woman.”<sup>134</sup> In 1892, *Outing* similarly celebrated the courage of five young women who rode through Germany on bicycles. The wheelwomen reflected Workman’s discourse of superiority and patriotism with ease. They noted how they “caused some as-

---

<sup>131</sup> Pennell, Elizabeth, “Sports at the Home of the Carnival,” *Outing* 9, no. 6, March 1887, 580-588. Quote page 583. ProQuest American Periodicals Index. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com/proxy1.cl.msu.edu/docview/137497907/97463536225A4882PQ/1?accountid=12598>> Pennell, Joseph and Elizabeth Robins Pennell, *Over the Alps on a Bicycle* (London, T. F. Unwin, 1898), 62. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=258TAAAYAAJ>>

<sup>132</sup> Pennell, Joseph and Elizabeth Robins Pennell, *Our Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy* (London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1888), 8. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=Yax-CAAAAYAAJ>>

<sup>133</sup> “Cycling Notes,” *The American Magazine*, 7, no. 4 (1894): 177-178. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com/proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP18\\_Volume\\_7\\_Issue\\_4-12](http://gateway.proquest.com/proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP18_Volume_7_Issue_4-12)> Royal, Jack, “Gossip About Lady Cyclers,” *The Pneumatic: A Progressive Monthly Paper for Cyclists* 1, no. 2, May 14, 1892, 1. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/61239/rec/1>>

<sup>134</sup> “A Remarkable Woman,” *The Cycling Gazette* 3, no. 12, February 18, 1897, 23. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2016.

tonishment and aroused people's curiosity, but we expected that" because they assumed many poor Germans had never seen women bicycling.<sup>135</sup> This was not the case, as Germany had a robust women's cycling culture at this time.<sup>136</sup> Similarly, when they stayed at a particular hotel, the proprietor "could hardly understand how we could be touring through Germany on bicycles; but when we said 'Amerikaner' all seemed explained -- Americans dare anything."<sup>137</sup> Grace Denison offered a similar account her cycling trip through Ireland. She focused her report on historic ruins and backwards locals. She found "crowded... old world" Irish cities a new vision to her modern sensibilities: "[i]t seemed such a glaring incongruity, the American and her bicycle, and these hoards of Irish lore."<sup>138</sup>

Reports of cycling-based travel became so popular that large newspapers even sponsored trips for women journalists. Readers loved reading wheelwomen's experiences in foreign, exotic locations and interactions with locals. In 1893, two pairs of wheelwomen rode through Britain on assignment for their newspapers, and in 1898, *The Inter Ocean* sponsored a married couple to bicycle around the world.<sup>139</sup> *The Cycle and Motor World* sponsored their leading female journal-

---

<sup>135</sup> Martha, "We Girls Awheel Through Germany," *Outing* 20, no. 3, June 1892, 298. ProQuest American Periodicals Index. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/docview/137488666/34976F3348F64149PQ/1?accountid=12598>>

<sup>136</sup> Muellner, Beth, "The Photographic Enactment of the Early New Woman in 1890s German Women's Bicycling Magazines," *Women in German Yearbook* 22 (2006): 167-188.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> Denison, Grace E., "Through Erin Awheel," *Outing* 22, July 1893, 311-315. Quote page 311. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=Of4LAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA311&dq=%22Through+Erin+Awheel%22+outing&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0CCMQ6AEwAWoVChMI67ur547mxwIVRdKACH00zgCi#v=snippet&q=erin&f=false>>

<sup>139</sup> Margery, "The Ladies' Mile," *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* XII, no. 14, October 6, 1893, 321. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015. McIlrath, H. Darwin and Mrs. H. Darwin McIlrath, *Around the World on Wheels for the Inter Ocean* (Inter Ocean Publishing Co., 1898). Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=byA-AQAAMAAJ>> *Wheelman's Gazette*, 8 (July 1893): 109-110. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.

ist to ride through Egypt. One day during her trip, an Egyptian man told her he was “electrified at the bare idea of a woman journeying abroad on her machine unaccompanied” and asked what she would do in a rainstorm without a man to protect her.<sup>140</sup> She humorously replied that she would “put on her waterproof,” a common term for a water-resistant cycling jacket, and keep riding.<sup>141</sup> Wheelwomen with larger travel budgets did not need to court spenders, and often funded their own cycling trips beyond the United States and Europe. Actor and singer Pauline Hall made headlines when she cycled through the Middle East, including to the Pyramids, aiming to showcase women’s athletic abilities even in extreme weather and riding conditions.<sup>142</sup>

While most women traveled for leisure, and some as sponsored cyclists, these were not the only reason that inspired women to cycling. Some women began riding as part of their missionary efforts. As many women’s historians have described, in the late nineteenth century white American women took an active role in missionary activities at home and abroad. They viewed such efforts as in line with their religious beliefs as well as their sense of imperialistic duty — they aimed to transform groups they viewed as savage into civilized Christians.<sup>143</sup> The bicycle played a key part in this, as women used cycling to gain more effective access to potential converts. In the United States, women in the Salvation Army and other missionary groups routinely

---

<sup>140</sup> *The Hub*, June 12, 1897, 204. Lily Library, Indiana University. Print. Accessed March 4, 2015.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>142</sup> *Town Topics* 33, no. 15, April 11, 1895, 14. *Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920*. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk/proxy1.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=TownTopicsVol33&type=page&pageref=00000737>>

<sup>143</sup> Chaudhuri, Nupur, and Margaret Strobel, eds. *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1992). Hill, Patricia, *The World Their Household: the American Woman's Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870-1920* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1985). Pascoe, Peggy. *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

used bicycles to cover more ground in the neighborhoods they were assigned to covert.<sup>144</sup>

Methodists actively encouraged women's "wheel-preaching" throughout the rural South.<sup>145</sup> Bicycle-based missionary work was not limited to domestic efforts, and women used cycling as an effective missionary tool, especially in South America and India.<sup>146</sup> Some missionaries used their bicycles not only for travel, but to gain the attention of potential converts. In 1896, a group of cycling missionaries went on a eighteen-day tour of India. When they reached a small town, women missionaries would tell locals they were traveling to promote cycling. Most Indians had limited experience with cycling, and they would gather to learn about the sport. As soon as a crowd formed, the wheelwomen told locals they missed the bicycle portion of the talk, and then began to preach. The missionaries believed this was an effective way to ensure locals actually stayed for their entire sermon, because locals hoped the missionaries would eventually return to their discussion of cycling. Like most missionaries, these wheelwomen assumed they were successful even if they had no evidence of actual conversions.<sup>147</sup> Whether wheelwomen traveled as missionaries, a honeymoon, a cross-country trip or global adventure, they understood their experiences through the lens of conquering explorers and imperialist adventurers. As such, they fur-

---

<sup>144</sup> "Mounted Salvationists," *New York Times* (New York, NY) June 5, 1884, 4. ProQuest Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/94272979/abstract/E5D25084E1EA481DPQ/81?accountid=12598>>

<sup>145</sup> "Gospel Bicycling," *Tennessee Methodist*, August 6, 1896, 1. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/UMXr8>>

<sup>146</sup> Bickerstaph, Josephine G., "Traveling in Parana, Brazil," *Woman's Work* 11, no. 11. 1896, 298-299. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. May 2, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP215\\_Volume\\_11\\_Issue\\_11-24](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP215_Volume_11_Issue_11-24)> Le Garde, Ellen, "Ladies Department," *Wheelman's Gazette* VII, no. 10, August 1892, 166. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.

<sup>147</sup> Allen, E. T. "On a Bicycle in Persia," *Woman's Work* 11, no. 10, 1896, 272-273. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP215\\_Volume\\_11\\_Issue\\_10-19](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP215_Volume_11_Issue_10-19)>

ther implicated bicycling within the complicated legacy fueled by Fanny Workman and Marie Ward.

## Conclusion

In the limited historiography of women's cycling, scholars and popular authors alike often propose a simple, easily digestible, cliché of empowerment. Historians have called the bicycle an "instrument of democracy," a "freedom machine," and that women "rode the bicycle to freedom."<sup>148</sup> For many women, traveling by bicycle was a transformative experience that offered them an unprecedented feeling of independence. Yet, imperialist ideology often informed how they understood their travels, and cycling offered white women a hands-on experience of empire's privileges. Whether women traveled through Northern New York or India, middle- and upper-class white women repeatedly understood their empowering travel experiences through the lenses of empire and expansion, positioning themselves as modern and civilized in opposition to their surroundings. From honeymooners in Virginia to explorers like Fanny Workman, they viewed locals as uncivilized and obnoxious, highlighted natural and historical sites of interest, and lavished in feeling superior to their surroundings. Bicycling, a seemingly innocent and apolitical hobby, helped make imperialism an exciting venture for women cyclists as well as the thousands of women readers who read cycling travel accounts with great enthusiasm. Bicycling positively influenced many women's lives, but in the case of travel, the benefits were to the detriment of marginalized groups. Cycling helped fuel nativist and racist discourse already abun-

---

<sup>148</sup> Aronson, Sidney H., "The Sociology of the Bicycle," *Social Forces* 30, no. 3 (1952): 305- 312. Quote page 308. Macy, Sue, *Wheels of Change: How Women Rode the Bicycle to Freedom (With a Few Flat Tires Along the Way)* (Washington, DC: National Geographic Children's Books, 2011). Smith, *A Social History of the Bicycle*, 111.



dant in many white women's reform circles. This further distanced many wheelwomen from the experiences and needs of women of color and other oppressed groups with whom they shared common political interests.

## CONCLUSION: A “PHYSICAL MAGNA CARTA”

In 1899, a full decade after the invention of the safety bicycle, one Wisconsin cyclist needed only three words to describe women’s bicycling: a “physical Magna Carta.”<sup>1</sup> This cyclist was one of millions who witnessed women use a seemingly apolitical consumer good to transform their lives. Women were not passive recipients of this new technology, and instead used it on their own terms and for their own purposes. Wheelwomen utilized their personal experiences as cyclists to create a women-centered body of knowledge, and they used this knowledge as the inspiration and authority to challenge longstanding limitations on their lives. In small towns and large cities throughout the country, women used bicycling as the front lines to challenge widespread gender constraints and the testing grounds to put their new political ideologies of empowerment and independence into practice.

Trailblazing professional racers, women physicians, and pioneering safety riders created a foundation for women’s bicycling in the late 1880s. By the early 1890s, women directly challenged their lack of support from many individual men as well as male-dominated socio-political institutions. Faced with a widespread culture of street harassment, wheelwomen first looked to their clothes as a strategy to avoid and fight harassment so they could pursue cycling and carve a presence in public spaces that men controlled. As a result, ordinary women revitalized a dormant dress reform movement, fueled by their practical needs as cyclists. Along with individual harassers, women also faced a male-dominated medical professional reluctant to support women’s

---

<sup>1</sup> A Cycling Doctor, “The Effects of Cycling upon Future Generations,” *The Pneumatic X*, no. 7, August 1899, 194-195. Quote page 194. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/84143/rec/9>>

bicycling. Many male physicians viewed the physical requirements of the sport as a threat to women's reproductive abilities, a serious charge in this era. Wheelwomen did not wait for their physicians' approval, but used their own experiences as cyclists to claim authority over their bodies. Physicians were struck that not only was bicycling not harmful, but their patients reported notable improvements in their physical and mental health from bicycling. In response, physicians created a new trope of moderation to expand and naturalize the reach of their profession into this new aspect of daily life. Working-class women also took to bicycling by storm. They were key laborers in the bicycle industry as factory workers, saleswomen, and mechanics. As cyclists, working-class women specifically used bicycling to challenge their employers and soothe the particular difficulties of their work. As women of all classes developed their cycling practices, they published personal narratives in a variety of print platforms, including memoirs as well as articles in newspapers, magazines and the suffrage press. Both famous and ordinary wheelwoman used their narratives to politicize the physical, emotional, and intellectual experiences of cycling. In their narratives, they offered readers a template for an accessible, yet effective approach to women's activism, what Frances Willard called her 'new philosophy of life.'

As the decade progressed, women used the bicycle to dismantle longstanding social norms which dictated that middle- and upper-class women should only traverse their cities and towns with a chaperone. Wheelwomen used their newfound sport to develop and justify a new framework that they deemed practical independence, which they used to justify their desire to move through public spaces on their own. Women activists, especially suffragists, repeatedly noted that wheelwomen's efforts to ride unaccompanied had far-reaching ramifications for their movement. It offered a striking lesson that social change was achievable and that the tools for

such change existed in the consumer goods that structured everyday life. Lastly, wheelwomen expanded their cycling practice beyond their neighborhoods and hometowns through bicycle-based travel. For many women, traveling by bicycle was a transformative experience that offered them an unprecedented feeling of independence. Yet, imperialist ideology often informed how they understood their travels, and cycling offered middle- and upper-class white women a hands-on experience of empire's privileges. Bicycle-based travel, the medical discourse of moderation, women's poor working conditions in bicycle factories, and the fall of women's professional cycling are important reminders of the complicated legacy of the sport.

Wheelwomen in the 1890s offered a powerful example of the deep political potential of consumer goods as organizing tools, setting the stage for future women's activism informed by leisure and consumerism. In an era with few concrete political gains, women used bicycling to rethink their bodies not as a limitation, but as a vehicle to inspire concrete changes in women's lives. Whether they rode across a local park or a continent, wheelwomen built a vision of recreation and activism as joint projects for sociopolitical change. In turn, women's cycling offered ordinary women a practical method to implement women's rights ideology in their everyday lives. Women ultimately used bicycling to help sustain them during tough times, by framing bicycling as an accessible, exciting and deeply political way they could take part in activism in their daily life.

Unearthing and exploring the lives of nineteenth-century wheelwomen aims to expand the historiography of bicycling as well as broader scholarship in women's history and sport history. Yet, recognizing the women's multifaceted bicycling practices also provides much needed context for the serious challenges facing contemporary women cyclists. The bicycle industry

continues to be male-dominated, using what many critics have deemed the thoughtless and male-normative ‘shrink it and pink it’ design strategy for women’s bicycles, accessories and apparel. Bicycle companies regularly create products and advertisements which demean women’s role in the sport.<sup>2</sup> In the past few decades, while professional events such as the Tour de France thrived, sports promoters limited women’s long-distance cycling races due to fears of women urinating in public and assumptions that no corporations would be interested in sponsoring a women’s team.<sup>3</sup> Today, professional and semi-professional women cyclists, like many women athletes, measure their earnings by the amount of debt they accumulate to stay active in the sport. It is telling that cycling governing bodies have simultaneously proposed salary caps for men and a mandatory minimum wage for women.<sup>4</sup>

Amateur wheelwomen also face widespread sexism in the sport, and harassment remains one of the most powerful manifestations of this sexism. Like their predecessors who relied on print publications to share their narratives, encourage fellow cyclists, and demand changes in the sport, contemporary women cyclists have taken to digital media, such as blogs, Twitter, Face-

---

<sup>2</sup> Glass, Aoife, “5 of the Bike Industry’s Worst Sexist Marketing Fails,” Bike Radar, September 17, 2015. Web. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<http://www.bikeradar.com/us/road/gear/article/5-of-the-bike-industrys-worst-sexist-marketing-fails-45249/>> Giddings, Caitlin, “How Sexism is Hurting Cycling,” *Bicycling*, May 18, 2015. Web. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<http://www.bicycling.com/culture/people/how-sexism-hurting-cycling>>

<sup>3</sup> Lucas, Shelley, “Women’s Cycle Racing: Enduring Meanings,” *Journal of Sport History* 39, no. 2 (2012): 227-242.

<sup>4</sup> “Professional Cyclist Cara Gilis,” Strongest Hearts. Web. Accessed October 12, 2014. <<http://www.strongesthearts.org/day-in-the-life-3-professional-cyclist-cara-gillis/>> Authurs-Brennan, Michelle, “Twitter Responds After Peter Kennaugh Tells Pooley ‘No One Knows About Women’s Giro,’” Total Women’s Cycling, April 28, 2016. Web. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<https://totalwomenscycling.com/news/twitter-responds-peter-kennaugh-tells-pooley-no-one-knows-womens-giro-73804/#IZb7U2vkMqhLqkY0.97>> Ball, Jeanine, “The Case for Equal Prize Money in Women’s Cycling,” The Sports Law Canary, October 21, 2014. Web. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<https://sports-lawnews.wordpress.com/2014/10/21/the-case-for-equal-prize-money-in-womens-cycling/>> Clemitson, Suze, “The long, hard road to equal pay for women’s cycling and sport as a whole,” The Guardian Sport Network, March 6, 2014. Web. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<http://www.theguardian.com/sport/100-tours-100-tales/2014/mar/06/equal-pay-womens-sport-cycling-koppenbergcross>>

book and online videos. Women cyclists have made notable efforts to document their personal experiences of harassment and shed light on the reality that street harassment remains one of the most common reasons why women report they do not ride.<sup>5</sup> In fact, bicycling advocacy groups still have to hold workshops training women cyclists how to cope with street harassment and violence.<sup>6</sup>

In 2016, the Women's Bike Messenger Association of Chicago launched a viral video campaign called "Cut the Catcalling" to document and resist the widespread harassment they face on the job. In the video, bike messengers speak directly to the camera and explain the daily onslaught of men's harassment from their point of view. In one particularly striking interview, a messenger lists all of the demeaning words men call her and she responds, "[t]here are no words I can use towards you that are going to make you feel the same way you just made me feel."<sup>7</sup> Just like wheelwomen over a century ago, the interviewees directly challenge the men who impede their ability to ride, refuse to stop bicycling, and acknowledge their harassers' privilege as men in a sport and broader culture that continues to marginalize women's experiences.

The similarities across the history of women's bicycling are striking. Women have been an active part of American bicycling since the earliest years of the sport. By the 1890s, women

---

<sup>5</sup> Chalabi, Moni, "Why Women Don't Cycle," *FiveThirtyEight*, June 16, 2016. Web. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<http://fivethirtyeight.com/datalab/why-women-dont-cycle/>> Giddings, Caitlin, "What It's Like to be a Magnet for On-Bike Harassment," *Bicycling*, September 10, 2015. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<http://www.bicycling.com/culture/etiquette/what-its-like-to-be-a-magnet-for-on-bike-harassment>> Nicole, Maghen, "Harassing Me While I'm Biking Is Still Street Harassment," *Thought Catalog*, August 14, 2014. Web. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<http://thoughtcatalog.com/maghen-nicole/2014/08/harassing-me-while-im-biking-is-still-street-harassment/>> "No Wonder Women Don't Want to Ride Bikes," *Stop Street Harassment*, July 9, 2014. Web. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<http://www.stopstreetharassment.org/2014/07/no-wonder/>>

<sup>6</sup> "Women & Bicycles Tip: Attend Our Workshop on Biking and Street Harassment," *Washington Area Bicycle Association*. Web. Accessed October 12, 2014. <<http://www.waba.org/blog/2014/06/women-bicycles-tip-attend-our-workshop-on-biking-and-street-harassment/>>

<sup>7</sup> Women's Bike Messenger Association, "Cut the Catcalling," Web. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<https://vimeo.com/155497525>>

were not simply passive consumers, but they used the bicycle as a strategy to shape a period of profound upheaval on their own terms. The result, the modern, American woman, was not created by leading activists or intellectuals, but in part by ordinary wheelwomen who never held leadership positions or at times even memberships in political organizations. Today, women cyclists share the joys and challenges of their sport with their historical predecessors; they ride to work, figure out what to wear, fight harassers, improve their health, achieve athletic feats, and travel by bicycle. Perhaps most strikingly, just like in the 1890s, women use cycling to see their everyday life from a different point of view. By failing to fully consider the empowering and deeply political context of women's cycling, feminist scholars and women's historians miss an opportunity to connect the everyday activism of women who never enjoyed elite status or positions of power to the big questions of what it means to be a modern American woman. Such implications go beyond a single sport. Acknowledging and reflecting upon the lives of wheelwomen in the 1890s can encourage scholars to rethink assumptions that leisure and sports were separate from gender politics nor even a simple mirror of them. Instead, women understood recreational activities like bicycling as opportunities to imagine that their daily lives could be better and create strategies to put those ideas into practice. Ultimately, the most powerful way to understand what bicycling meant to nineteenth-century women is by reading their words and taking those words seriously. In 1896, twenty-four years before the ratification of the nineteenth amendment, wheelwoman Mary Bisland argued, "in possession of her bicycle, the daughter of the nineteenth century feels that the declaration of her independence has been proclaimed."<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Bisland, "Woman's Cycle," 385.

## APPENDIX



WHEELWOMEN AT WORK:  
MAPPING WOMEN'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE  
NINETEENTH-CENTURY BICYCLE INDUSTRY

As a 2014-2015 Cultural Heritage Informatics Graduate Fellow, I designed and built a digital humanities project titled “Wheelwomen at Work: Mapping Women’s Involvement in the Nineteenth-Century Bicycle Industry.” At the intersection of sports history, women’s history, and business history, this project showcases one component of my dissertation research for scholars and lay enthusiasts alike. It documents the diverse ways American women engaged in the bicycle industry as inventors, factory workers, saleswomen and mechanics from 1889 to 1900. It can be viewed at [wheelwomenatwork.matrix.msu.edu](http://wheelwomenatwork.matrix.msu.edu).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### DIGITIZED SOURCES

#### America's Historical Newspapers

"Ban Against It The Bicycle Skirt Forbidden at the Bissell Factory," *The Evening Press* (Grand Rapids, MI), April 27, 1899, 8. America's Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p\\_product=EANX&p\\_theme=ahnp&p\\_nbid=V65B51HMMTQ2MTUxOTk5Mi44MDYy-OTA6MTo5OjM1LjguMTEuMw&p\\_action=doc&s\\_lastnonissuequeryname=2&d\\_viewref=search&p\\_queryname=2&p\\_docnum=1&p\\_docref=v2:1231FD919F0C27A4@EANX-123691F0B7C11A10@2414772-123406E664A8EB10@7-12D50B88AB531850@Ban%20Against%20It%20The%20Bicycle%20Skirt%20Forbidden%20at%20the%20Bissell%20Factory.%20The%20Women%20Riders%20Are](http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p_product=EANX&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=V65B51HMMTQ2MTUxOTk5Mi44MDYy-OTA6MTo5OjM1LjguMTEuMw&p_action=doc&s_lastnonissuequeryname=2&d_viewref=search&p_queryname=2&p_docnum=1&p_docref=v2:1231FD919F0C27A4@EANX-123691F0B7C11A10@2414772-123406E664A8EB10@7-12D50B88AB531850@Ban%20Against%20It%20The%20Bicycle%20Skirt%20Forbidden%20at%20the%20Bissell%20Factory.%20The%20Women%20Riders%20Are)>

"Bicycle Riding and Health," *Washington Bee*, August 24, 1895, 2. America's Historical Newspapers. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p\\_product=EANX&p\\_theme=ahnp&p\\_nbid=N46Q47PBMTQ2MjQy-MDExNy4zOTkwNjQ6MTo5OjM1LjguMTEuMw&p\\_action=doc&s\\_lastnonissuequeryname=2&d\\_viewref=search&p\\_queryname=2&p\\_docnum=1&p\\_docref=v2:12B2E340B2C9FFB8@EANX-12C56AAB51E84A20@2413430-12C56AAB69D05C68@1](http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p_product=EANX&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=N46Q47PBMTQ2MjQy-MDExNy4zOTkwNjQ6MTo5OjM1LjguMTEuMw&p_action=doc&s_lastnonissuequeryname=2&d_viewref=search&p_queryname=2&p_docnum=1&p_docref=v2:12B2E340B2C9FFB8@EANX-12C56AAB51E84A20@2413430-12C56AAB69D05C68@1)>

"The Health Meter Queer Machine That Registers the Benefits of Bicycle Riding," *The Evening Press* (Grand Rapids, MI) July 21, 1897, 2. Accessed May 2, 2016. America's Historical Newspapers. <[http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p\\_product=EANX&p\\_theme=ahnp&p\\_nbid=G4EJ4FDJMTQ2MjQxODM3Mi4zO-DA0ODQ6MTo5OjM1LjguMTEuMw&p\\_action=doc&s\\_lastnonissuequeryname=2&d\\_viewref=search&p\\_queryname=2&p\\_docnum=1&p\\_docref=v2:1231FD919F0C27A4@EANX-12363EF563BFDEE8@2414127-123412C12D294F50@1](http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p_product=EANX&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=G4EJ4FDJMTQ2MjQxODM3Mi4zO-DA0ODQ6MTo5OjM1LjguMTEuMw&p_action=doc&s_lastnonissuequeryname=2&d_viewref=search&p_queryname=2&p_docnum=1&p_docref=v2:1231FD919F0C27A4@EANX-12363EF563BFDEE8@2414127-123412C12D294F50@1)>

"Women Making Bicycle Tires," *Jackson Daily Citizen* (Jackson, MI), February 12, 1898, 12. America's Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p\\_product=EANX&p\\_theme=ahnp&p\\_nbid=X66A52MNMTQ2MTU0OTU0OC40N-jc4MzY6MTo5OjM1LjguMTEuMg&p\\_action=doc&s\\_lastnonissuequeryname=2&d\\_viewref=search&p\\_queryname=2&p\\_docnum=1&p\\_docref=v2:123ADBCCC16EFB72@EANX-1240903A31277348@2414333-123F9099EEEE1190@11-1380933AAA4DC934@Women%20Making%20Bicycle%20Tires](http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p_product=EANX&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=X66A52MNMTQ2MTU0OTU0OC40N-jc4MzY6MTo5OjM1LjguMTEuMg&p_action=doc&s_lastnonissuequeryname=2&d_viewref=search&p_queryname=2&p_docnum=1&p_docref=v2:123ADBCCC16EFB72@EANX-1240903A31277348@2414333-123F9099EEEE1190@11-1380933AAA4DC934@Women%20Making%20Bicycle%20Tires)>

American Political and Social Movements, 1815-1884. Accessed May 5, 2016.

“VELOCIPEDIAD,” *Revolution* 3, no. 8, February 25, 1869, 121. American Political and Social Movements, 1815-1884. Accessed May 5, 2016. <<http://web.b.ebscohost.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ehost/detail/detail?vid=3&sid=6e63eb19-6fde-4ecb-88f1-5f434eb665c6%40sessionmgr105&hid=128&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWwhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#AN=59821740&db=amp>>

Archive.org

“Editor’s Study,” *Harper’s Bazaar* 92, December 1895, 316-320. Accessed May 2, 2016. Archive.org <<https://archive.org/stream/harpersnew092various#page/316/mode/2up>>

Center for Global Research Libraries Digital Delivery System

“A Minister's View,” *L.A.W. Bulletin and Good Roads* 21, no. 26, June 28, 1895, 2-3. Center for Global Research Libraries Digital Delivery System. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://dds-crl-edu.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/crldelivery/4889>>

“By-Laws,” *L.A.W. Bulletin and Good Roads* 21, no. 15, April 12, 1895, 33. Center for Global Research Libraries Digital Delivery System. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://dds-crl-edu.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/crldelivery/4889>>

Foster, Helen W., “The Ever-blooming Question,” *L.A.W. Bulletin and Good Roads* 23, no. 1, January 3, 1896, 4. Center for Research Libraries Global Resource Network Digital Delivery System. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://dds-crl-edu.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/crldelivery/4889>>

Kirby, Elizabeth, “The Bloomer Girl,” *L.A.W. Bulletin and Good Roads* 23, no. 8, February 21, 1896, 270-271. Center for Research Libraries Global Resource Network Digital Delivery System. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://dds-crl-edu.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/crldelivery/4889>>

*L.A.W. Bulletin and Good Roads* 23, no. 26, June 26, 1896, 923. Center for Global Research Libraries Digital Delivery System. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://dds-crl-edu.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/crldelivery/4889>>

“The Bicycle as a Reformer,” *L.A.W. Bulletin and Good Roads* 21, no. 24, June 14, 1895, 9. Center for Global Research Libraries Digital Delivery System. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://dds-crl-edu.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/crldelivery/4889>>

#### Chicago Tribune Digital Archive

“Have Come to Stay. No Doubt About The Permanency of Bloomers in Chicago,” *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), October 28, 1894, 35. Chicago Tribune Digital Archive. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://archives.chicagotribune.com/1894/10/28/page/35/article/have-come-to-stay#text>>

“Kenosha’s Bicycle Reform,” *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), August 31, 1899, 6. Chicago Tribune Digital Archive. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://archives.chicagotribune.com/1899/08/31/page/6/article/kenoshas-bicycle-reform>>

Weston, Edward B., “Beauty in a Wheel,” *Chicago Sunday Tribune* (Chicago, IL), July 22, 1894, 25-26. Chicago Tribune Digital Archive. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://archives.chicagotribune.com/1894/07/22/page/25/article/beauty-in-a-wheel>>

“Woman and Her Waist,” *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL) September 5, 1896, 16. Chicago Tribune Digital Archive. Accessed May 3 2016. <<http://archives.chicagotribune.com/1896/09/05/page/16/article/girl-violinist-goes-to-paris>>

#### Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920.

“A New Field for Women,” *The Puritan* 2, no. 6, March 1898, 272. Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=ThePuritan&type=page&pageref=00000054>>

Advertisement. “Earn a Bicycle,” *The Puritan* 3, no. 1, April 1898, 47. Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=ThePuritan&type=page&pageref=00000078>>

Advertisement. “Home Work for Families,” *Woman’s Work* 11, no. 7, July 1898, 9. Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=WomansWork&type=page&pageref=00000030>>

Advertisement. "No More Hard Times," *Woman's Work* 11, no. 5, May 1898, 16. Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=WomansWork&type=page&pageref=00000019>>

"Bicycling in '96," *Town Topics* 35, no. 12, March 19, 1896, no page. Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=TownTopicsVol35&type=page&pageref=00000285>>

"Fashions of the Day," *Town Topics* 37 no. 2, January 14, 1897, 17. Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=TownTopicsVol37&type=page&pageref=00000036>>

"The Literary Show. Why the Newspapers Have to be Big -- Some Magazine Pictures," *Town Topics* 34, no. 4, July 25, 1895, 17. Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/Search/Search-DocDetail.aspx?docref=TownTopicsVol34>>

The Model, "The Bicycle Girl," *Town Topics* 33, no. 4, January 17, 1895, 20. Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=TownTopicsVol33&type=page&pageref=00000458>>

*Town Topics* 33 no. 10, March 7, 1895, 10. Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=TownTopicsVol33&type=page&pageref=00000607>>

*Town Topics* 33, no. 15, April 11, 1895, 14. Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=TownTopicsVol33&type=page&pageref=00000737>>

*Town Topics* 33 no. 20, May 16, 1895, no page. Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=TownTopicsVol33&type=page&pageref=00000867>>

*Town Topics* 34, July 25, 1895, 18-19. Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/Search/Search-DocDetail.aspx?docref=TownTopicsVol34>>

*Town Topics* 34, no. 4, July 25, 1895, 9. Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920. Accessed May 3, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=TownTopicsVol34&type=page&pageref=00000043>>

*Town Topics* 34, no. 12, September 19, 1895, 6. Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=TownTopicsVol34&type=page&pageref=00000142>>

*Town Topics* 35, no. 7, February 13, 1896, 18. Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=TownTopicsVol35&type=page&pageref=00000158>>

*Town Topics*, 35, no. 21, May 21, 1896, 9. Everyday Life and Women in America, 1800-1920. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://www.everydaylife.amdigital.co.uk.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/Image.aspx?docref=TownTopicsVol33&type=page&pageref=00000893>>

## Google Books

Advertisement. "Bicycle Lamps," *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review* X, no. 21, January 13, 1893, 57. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=PvIYAAAAYAAJ>>

Advertisement. "G & F Repairer's Pump," *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review* X, no. 3, September 9, 1892, 36. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=PvIYAAAAYAAJ>>

Advertisement. "Gormully & Jeffrey Mfg. Co.," *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review* X, no. 20, January 6, 1893, 5. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=PvIYAAAAYAAJ>>

Allen, Eric and Lillian Willis, *Following the Tow-path and Through the Adirondacks Awheel* (Boston: N.E.R.G. Publishing Co., 1898). Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=28XsyiwysRgC>>

Anthony, Susan, "Woman's Dress," *Good Roads* 25, January 29, 1897, 122. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=JgcAAAAAMAAJ>>

Benedict, A. L., "Dangers and Benefits of the Bicycle," *The Century* 54, no. 32, 1897, 471. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=y3gAAAAAYAAJ>>

- “Bicycles as Railway Baggage,” *The Century* 52, no. 5, September 1896), 788-789. Google Books. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=2AIJAQAAMAAJ>>
- “Bicycling,” *Recreation* VI, no. 4, April 1897, 298. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=0EYQAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=edition-s:xGoN2V33kYAC&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwj\\_rdyb56jMAhVEQiYKHbquBPw4Ch-DoAQhAMAc#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=0EYQAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=edition-s:xGoN2V33kYAC&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwj_rdyb56jMAhVEQiYKHbquBPw4Ch-DoAQhAMAc#v=onepage&q&f=false)>
- “Bicycling — Pro and Con,” *Journal of the American Medical Association* 27, no. 7 (August 15, 1896): 495. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=QFUcAQAAMAAJ>>
- “Bicycling Without the Use of the Handles,” *The British Medical Journal* 1, no. 2000 (April 29, 1899): 1048. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=JU0BAAAAYAAJ>>
- Bissell, Mary Taylor. *A Manual of Hygiene*. New York: The Baker & Taylor Co., 1894. Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=R9I4EgXt5m4C&dq=%22A+Manual+of+Hygiene%22&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.com/books?id=R9I4EgXt5m4C&dq=%22A+Manual+of+Hygiene%22&source=gbs_navlinks_s)>
- , “Athletics for City Girls,” *Popular Science Monthly* 46, December 1894, 145-153. Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=TyIDAAAAM-BAJ>>
- . *Household Hygiene*. New York: N. D. C. Hodges, 1890. Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=ym\\_zAAAAMAAJ](https://books.google.com/books?id=ym_zAAAAMAAJ)>
- . *Physical Development and Exercise for Women*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1891. Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=wsZGPwAA-CAAJ>>
- Bodenhamer, William, “Equitation and Bicycling,” *International Record of Medicine and General Practice Clinics* 62 (November 2, 1895) 554-559. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=iN81AQAAMAAJ>>
- Brown, George S., “A Defense of the Bicycle,” *The Journal of the American Medical Association* 27, no. 9 (August 29, 1896): 501. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=2PZGAQAAMAAJ>>
- Cadbury, Edward, Matheson, Marie Cecile, Shann, George. *Women’s Work and Wages: A Phase of Life in an Industrial City*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1907. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=ZJA7AAAAMAAJ>>



“Chalk and Cheese,” *Bearings: The Cycling Authority of America* 5, no. 13, April 29, 1892, no pages. Google Books. Accessed April 25, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=9bg5AQAAMAAJ>>

Church, Adaline, “International Homeopathic Congress,” *The New England Medical Gazette* 24, 1889, 472-475. Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=azQCAAAAYAAJ>>

*Cigar Makers' Official Journal: 1897-1900*. The Union, 1897. Google Books. Accessed April 26, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=QfJ8AAAAMAAJ>>

“Current Topics,” *Cassier's Magazine* 12, no. 6, October 1896, 736. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=sfwyAQAAIAAJ>>

Currier, C. Gilman, “Sanitary Science and Practical Hygiene,” *International Record of Medicine and General Practice Clinics* 62 (August 24, 1895): 249. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=7tEyAQAAMAAJ>>

Davidson, Jonathan. “Julia Holmes Smith,” *A Century of Homeopaths: Their Influence on Medicine and Health*. New York: Springer, 2014. Google Books. Accessed May 10, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=SvG7BAAAQBAJ>>

Davidson, Lillian Campbell, “Points for the Ladies,” *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review* 5, May 23, 1890, 367. Google Books. Accessed April 25, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=6fFYAAAAYAAJ>>

Dorr, Rheta Childe. *What Eight Million Women Want*. Boston, MA: Small, Maynard & Company, 1910. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=t4c-EAAAAYAAJ>>

E. S., Grace, “Women, Bicycles, and Doctors,” by Robert P. Scott, *Cycling Art: Energy and Locomotion; A Series of Remarks on the Development of Bicycles, Tricycles, and Man-motor Carriages*, 142-143. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1889. Google Books. Accessed May 3, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=Kv6MljlmA48C>>

Fairall, Herbert S. *The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, New Orleans, 1884-1885*. Iowa City: Republican Publishing Company, 1885. Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=XvsNAAAAYAAJ>>

“Female Labor in Machine Shops,” *American Machinist* 20, September 16, 1897, 704. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=kslMAQAAIAAJ>>

“Field Notes,” *The Phrenological Journal and Science of Health* 121, April 1908, 136. Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=\\_6zNAAAAMAAJ](https://books.google.com/books?id=_6zNAAAAMAAJ)>

Fisher, C. E., *Clinical Reporter* 10, no. 4 (April 1897): 101. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=FrpXAAAAMAAJ>>

“For the Ladies’ Column,” *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review* 3, no. 2 May 10, 1889, 252. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=XfFYAAAAYAAJ>>

“For Women About Women,” *Christian Work: Illustrated Family Newspaper* 57, November 22, 1894, 861. Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=GYFPAAAAYAAJ>>

Fowler, Jessie Allen. *Brain Roofs and Porticos: A Psychological Study of Mind and Character*. New York: Fowler & Wells, 1908. Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=T1oSAAAAYAAJ>>

Getchell, A.C., “Bicycle and its Relation to Heart Disease,” *The Medical News* 75, no. 2 (July 8, 1899): 33-37. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=twtYAAAAMAAJ>>

Goddard, J. T. *The Velocipede: Its History, Varieties, and Practice*. New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1869. Google Books. Accessed May 10, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=uS9LAAAAYAAJ>>

Hall-Brown, Lucy. *Such as Report of a Case of Acute Melancholia Treated by Mechanical Vibration: With Illustration and Explanation of the Author's Diagnostic and Treatment Chart*. Journal of Advanced Therapeutics: New York, 1903. Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=hh-gAAAAMAAJ>>

———, “Whole-wheat Flour the Perfect Food,” *New Outlook* 59, 1898, 177-178. Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=u4YxAQAAMAAJ>>

Hammond, Graeme M., “The Influence of the Bicycle in Health and in Disease,” *Transactions of the New York Academy of Medicine* 11 (December 19, 1894), 541-562. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=VrNXAAAAMAAJ>>

Hanson, John Wesley. *Etiquette and Bicycling for 1896*. Chicago: American Publishing House, 1896. Google Books. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=2EIKAQAAAMAAJ>>

“Harvard University Medical Department, Boston, Mass One Hundred and Eleventh Annual Announcement (1893-1894),” *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* CXXIX, no. 16, October

19, 1893, 32. Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=uMAEAAAAYAAJ>>

Herwirsch, Charles, "The Use of the Bicycle from a Medical Standpoint," *The American Gynecological and Obstetrical Journal* 12 (April 23, 1898): 269-270. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=1OEhAQAAAMAAJ>>

Hopkins, Mary Sargent, "Bicycling for Girls: A Word to Mothers," *The New England Kitchen Magazine* 2, October 1894, 142-143. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=CuROAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA142&dq=%22Bicycling+for+Girls:+A+Word+to+Mothers%22+new+england+kitchen&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ah-UKEwjg8Z7i36XMAhXJbiYKHTy2CEkQ6AEIHTAA#v=onepage&q=%22Bicycling%20for%20Girls%3A%20A%20Word%20to%20Mothers%22%20new%20england%20kitchen&f=false>>

———, "How to Ride the Bicycle, and What to Wear," *The New England Kitchen Magazine* 2, no. 1, October 1894, 12-15. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=QxxIAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA13&dq=%22How+to+Ride+the+Bicycle,+and+What+to+Wear%22&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiArpvq3qXMAhUGbSYKHaq-UBIQQ6AEIHTAA#v=onepage&q=%22How%20to%20Ride%20the%20Bicycle%2C%20and%20What%20to%20Wear%22&f=false>>

———, "Out-door Papers: The Bicycle," *The New England Kitchen Magazine*, September 1894, 309-310. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=hm1LAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA309&dq=Out-door+Papers:+The+Bicycle,+The+New+England+Kitchen&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiouLus4aXMAhXJ6yYKHeQSD1gQ6AEIM-jAB#v=onepage&q&f=false>>

———, "The Horseless Carriage." *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* 48 June 1899, 205-213. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=DoJVAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA205&dq=Mary+Sargent+Hopkins+The+Horseless+Carriage.&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiEvPv53KXMAhXCWSYKHduuCEkQ6AEII-jAB#v=onepage&q=Mary%20Sargent%20Hopkins%20The%20Horseless%20Carriage.&f=false>>

———, "The Outdoor Woman," *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, July 1899, 313-316. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=DoJVAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA316&dq=The+Outdoor+Woman+Frank+Leslie's+Popular+Monthly&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi64Ku656XMAhXEOiYKHXXHDNgQ6AEIHTAA#v=onepage&q=The%20Outdoor%20Woman%20&f=false>>

Hutchins, F. W., "The Southern Girl and the Bicycle," *New Bohemian: A Modern Monthly*, 1895, 18-21. Google Books. Accessed May 3, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=xd4a-AAAAAYAAJ>>

Indiana Department of Factory Inspection. *Annual Report of the Department of Factory Inspection of the State of Indiana*. Indianapolis, IN: Wm. B Buford, Contractor for State Print and Binding, 1898. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=xqQXAAAAYAAJ>>

*Joint Documents of the State of Michigan, Volume 3*. Lansing, MI: Robert Smith & Co., 1896. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=5e5BAQAA-MAAJ&dq=%22Christy+saddle%22+factory&source=gbp\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.com/books?id=5e5BAQAA-MAAJ&dq=%22Christy+saddle%22+factory&source=gbp_navlinks_s)>

"Ladies Column. Dress Reform for Women," *Mind and Body* 5, no. 50, April, 1898, 46-47. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=1O3SAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=editions:63W5hP3syXAC&hl=en&sa=X&ei=EA1WVbupLMWlgwSRkoDQCA&ved=0CCc-Q6AEwAg#v=onepage&q=bicycle&f=false>>

Le Long, Margaret Valentine, "From Chicago to San Francisco Awheel," *Outing* 31, no. 5, February 1898, 492-497. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=aKNUAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA495&dq=From+Chicago+to+San+Francisco+Wheel+outing&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0CDgQ6AEwAWoVChMIsubf-rPMxwIVxO6ACh0HygTu#v=onepage&q&f=false>>

Macy, Mary Sutton, "Medical Women: In History and in Present Day Practice," In Munster, Edward Swift et al. *International Record of Medicine and General Practice Clinics*, 104, August 5, 1916, 257-259. Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=WGA5AQAAMAAJ&pg=PA257&dq=%22Medical+Women:+In+History+and+in+Present+Day+Practice,%22&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjDtdPq7MvMAhXIKCYKHZjuD-dMQ6AEIHDA#v=onepage&q=%22Medical%20Women%3A%20In%20History%20and%20in%20Present%20Day%20Practice%2C%22&f=false>>

Mapes, C. C., "A Review of the Dangers and Evils of Bicycling," *The Medical Age* 15, no. 21 (November 10, 1897): 643-647. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=mwYTAAAAYAAJ>>

"Massachusetts— Boston," *American Newspaper Directory* 32, no. 3, March 1900, 428. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=EE0CAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA1429&dq=%22American+Newspaper+Directory%22+March+1900&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwihwpal36XMAhXI5yYKHf1RAaEQ6AEIKjAA#v=snippet&q=wheelwoman&f=false>>

- McIlrath, H. Darwin and Mrs. H. Darwin McIlrath. *Around the World on Wheels for the Inter Ocean*. Inter Ocean Publishing Co., 1898. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=byA-AQAAMAAJ>>
- “Mechanical Fabric Co.,” *Outing* 34, no. 1, April 1899, 105. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=BptUAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA105&dq=%22Mechanical+Fabric+Co%22+outing&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiFq\\_LQ2ajMAhVG5-CYKHRtQA8MQ6AEIJAA#v=onepage&q=%22Mechanical%20Fabric%20Co%22%20outing&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=BptUAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA105&dq=%22Mechanical+Fabric+Co%22+outing&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiFq_LQ2ajMAhVG5-CYKHRtQA8MQ6AEIJAA#v=onepage&q=%22Mechanical%20Fabric%20Co%22%20outing&f=false)>
- Miffed, Cleveland, “A Visit to the Hartford Rubber Works,” *McClure’s Magazine* 8, February 1897, 1-16. Google books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=rZDf39UqC5wC&dq=“A+Visit+to+the+Hartford+Rubber+Works.”&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.com/books?id=rZDf39UqC5wC&dq=“A+Visit+to+the+Hartford+Rubber+Works.”&source=gbs_navlinks_s)>
- Milner, Adeline Amelia, “The Matterhorn of the Rockies,” *Travel: An Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 2, no. 5, May 1897, 367-371. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=eDAtAAAAMAAJ>>
- Moody, Helen Watterson. *The Unquiet Sex*. New York: Scribner, 1898. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=sF-ZLAAAAMAAJ>>
- New York State Bureau of Factory Inspection. *Annual Report on Factory Inspection*, 10. Albany, NY: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1896. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=i4BKAAAAMAAJ&dq=editions:BDO5i13Xic0C&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.com/books?id=i4BKAAAAMAAJ&dq=editions:BDO5i13Xic0C&source=gbs_navlinks_s)>
- . *Annual Report on Factory Inspection*, 12. Albany, NY: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1898. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=aag0AQAAMAAJ>>
- . *Annual Report on Factory Inspection*, 13. Albany, NY: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1899. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=gKg0AQAAMAAJ>>
- Parsons, Elsie Worthington Clews. *The Old-fashioned Woman: Primitive Fancies about the Sex* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1913). Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=cEwTAAAAYAAJ>>
- Pennell, Joseph and Elizabeth Robins Pennell. *Over the Alps on a Bicycle*. London, T. F. Unwin, 1898. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=258-TAAAAYAAJ>>

———. *Our Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy*. London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1888. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=Yax-CAAAAYAAJ>>

———. *A Canterbury Pilgrimage*. London, Steeley, 1885. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=bmdxAAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=a+canterbury+pilgrimage&hl=en&sa=X&ei=RKyVVeaNGsiZgwT94b-gBQ&ved=0CB0Q6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false>>

Pennell, Joseph and Elizabeth Robins Pennell. *Two Pilgrims' Progress; from Fair Florence to the Eternal City of Rome*. Boston: Little Brown, 1899. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=Ubw-AAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Two+pilgrims'+progress;+from+fair+Florence+to+the+eternal+city+of+Rome&hl=en&sa=X&ei=Pa2VvYqOA4eegwSq\\_7y4CA&ved=0CCkQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=Two%20pilgrims'%20progress%3B%20from%20fair%20Florence%20to%20the%20eternal%20city%20of%20Rome&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=Ubw-AAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Two+pilgrims'+progress;+from+fair+Florence+to+the+eternal+city+of+Rome&hl=en&sa=X&ei=Pa2VvYqOA4eegwSq_7y4CA&ved=0CCkQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=Two%20pilgrims'%20progress%3B%20from%20fair%20Florence%20to%20the%20eternal%20city%20of%20Rome&f=false)>

Pioneer, "For the Ladies' Column," *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review* 3, no. 2, May 10, 1889, 252. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=XfFYAAAAYAAJ>>

Potter, Isaac B., "The Bicycle Outlook," *Century Magazine*, September 1896: 789. Google Books. Accessed May 10, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=BJRHAQAAMAAJ>>

*Recreation* 6, no. 1, January, 1897, 62. Google Books. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=0EYQAAAAYAAJ>>

*Recreation* 8, no. 5, May, 1898, 408. Google Books. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=5UIQAAAAYAAJ>>

*Reports to the General Assembly of Illinois, Volume 1* (Springfield, IL: H. W. Rokker, State Printer and Binder, 1897). Google Books. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=uKE3AAAAMAAJ>>

Rockwell, Elisha A. and Palmer, Fanny Purdy. *Second Annual report of the Factory Inspectors, made to the General Assembly at its January Session, 1896*. Providence, RI: E. L. Freeman & Son, State Printers, 1896. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=cQlhAQAAAMAAJ&dq=Second+Annual+report+of+the+Factory+Inspectors,+made+to+the+General+Assembly+at+its+January+Session,+1896&source=gbs\\_-navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.com/books?id=cQlhAQAAAMAAJ&dq=Second+Annual+report+of+the+Factory+Inspectors,+made+to+the+General+Assembly+at+its+January+Session,+1896&source=gbs_-navlinks_s)>

“Some of the Dangers of Bicycling,” *Buffalo Medical Journal* 52 (June 1897): 867. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=nq0gAQAAMAAJ>>

Sperry, F. M., “Sarah Hackett Stevenson, M.D.” *A Group of Distinguished Physicians and Surgeons of Chicago* (Chicago: J. H. Beers & Co, 1904), 145-148. Google Books. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=2co0AQAAMAAJ>>

State of Illinois. *Reports to the General Assembly of Illinois*, 1. Springfield, IL: H. W. Rokker, 1897. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=uKE3AAAAMAAJ&dq=editions:LhTTwK2r2NkC&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.com/books?id=uKE3AAAAMAAJ&dq=editions:LhTTwK2r2NkC&source=gbs_navlinks_s)>

Strahan, S.A.K., “On Bicycle Riding and Perineal Pressure. Their Effect on the Young,” *Lancet* (September 20, 1884): 490. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=-TygAAAAMAAJ>>

Taylor, Frederick Winslow. *The Principles of Scientific Management*. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1913. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[https://books.google.com/books?id=HoJMAAAAYAAJ&dq=The+Principles+of+Scientific+Management&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.com/books?id=HoJMAAAAYAAJ&dq=The+Principles+of+Scientific+Management&source=gbs_navlinks_s)>

“The Bicycle and the Kidneys,” *The Medical Age* 15, no. 10 (May 25, 1897): 15. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=9yugAAAAMAAJ>>

“The Scorcher’s Advice,” *Recreation*, 1898, 393. Google Books. Accessed May 3, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=FtyfAAAAMAAJ>>

Ward, Marie E. *The Common Sense of Bicycling: Bicycling for Ladies*. New York: Brentano’s, 1896. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=GYs3AAAAMAAJ>>

“Wheel-Whirls,” *Godey’s Magazine*, February 1897, 134, 222. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://books.google.com/books?id=o90RAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA110&lpg=PA110&dq=godey%27s+and+%22WHEEL-WHIRLS%22&source=bl&ots=shwa0RXOzq&sig=lfRUVsb8vXAd8oKq6XuuVkHz-zn4&hl=en&sa=X&ei=AliYU8X2KZCwyATe1YKQBQ&ved=0CB0Q6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=%22WHEEL-WHIRLS%22&f=false>>

“Will Cycling Revive the Old Stagecoach Inn?” *The Century* 52, no. 5, September 1896, 789-790. Google Books. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=OchZAAAAYAAJ>>

Willard, Frances. *Wheel Within a Wheel How I Learned to Ride the Bicycle with Some Reflections Along the Way*. London: Hutchinson & Co, 1895. Google Books <<https://books>>

google.com/books?id=IYs3AAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gb\_s\_ge\_summary\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false>

“Woman and the Bicycle,” *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* 131, no. 10 (September 6, 1894): 247. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=GM09AQAAMAAJ>>

“Woman and the Bicycle,” *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review* 3, no. 18, June 28, 1889, 447. Google Books. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=XfFYAAAAYAAJ>>

“Woman Sets Us An Example,” *Bearings* 5, no. 7, March 18, 1892, no page. Google Books. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=9bg5AQAAMAAJ>>

Workman, Fanny Bullock. *Sketches Awheel in Modern Iberia*. New York: G. P. Putman’s Sons, 1897. Google Books. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=0tr0Dy-Z2B9AC>>

#### Haithitrust

“A Healthful Exercise,” *Puck* 17 no. 427, May 13, 1885, 173. Haithitrust. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=osu.32435052379229>>

Albemarle, William Coutts Keppel. *Cycling*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1889. Haithitrust. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001055160>>

Bisland, Mary L., “Woman’s Cycle,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 132, no. 790, April 1896, 385-388. Hathitrust. Accessed May 3, 2016. <<http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015024384219;view=1up;seq=398>>

“Cycle Notes,” *Public Opinion* 19, July 1895 - December 1895, 635. Google Books. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=DAk4AQAAMAAJ>>

Davidson, L. C., “Cycling for Ladies” in Harry Hewitt Griffin’s *Cycles and Cycling*. (New York: Stokes, 1890). 87-98. Haithitrust. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001732362>>

Duffield, A. M., *Clinical Reporter* 10, no. 4 (April 1897): 101-102. Hathitrust. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015049012720>>



- Merrington, Marguerite, "Woman and the Bicycle," *Scribner's Magazine* 17, no. 6, June, 1895, 702-704. Hathitrust. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39076000303664;view=1up;seq=708>>
- Pratt, E. H., *Clinical Reporter* 10, no. 4 (April 1897), 102. Hathitrust. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000060053>>
- Recreation* 6, no. 1, January, 1897, 52. Hathitrust. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015035141335;view=1up;seq=62>>
- Reynolds, Joshua, "A Ladies' Division, L.A.W.," *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review* 2, no. 26, February 22, 1889, 480. Hathitrust. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433069078115>>
- Severance, Alice, "XI. -- Fannie W. Oakey, M.D.," *Godey's Lady's Book* CXXXIII, no. 797, November 1896, 532-535. Hathitrust. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.31951d003195940>>
- "South Bend, Ind.," *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review* 5, no. 16, June 13, 1890, 464. Hathitrust. Accessed April 25, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433069078099>>
- State of Michigan. *Annual Report of Inspection of Factories in Michigan / Made under Direction of the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics*. Lansing, MI: Robert Smith & Co, 1897. Hathitrust. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=njp.32101065175331>>
- "The Bicycle," *The Medical Age* 15, no. 10 (May 25, 1897): 318-319. Hathitrust. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hc448d>>
- "The Physiology of Cycling," *The L.A.W. Bulletin and Good Roads*, May 13, 1898, 497. Hathitrust. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015012331958;view=1up;seq=8>>
- Townsend, Charles W., "Bicycling for Women," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* CXXXII, no. 24, June 13, 1895, 593-595. Hathitrust. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=pst.32239000861605>>
- Turner, E. B., "Health on a Bicycle," *The American Monthly Review of Reviewers* 17, no. 6 (June 1898): 748. Hathitrust. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.h-n46ar>>

“Washington,” *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review* 2, no. 1, August 31, 1888, 38. Hathitrust. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433069078115;view=1up;seq=46>>

“Woman and the Wheel,” *Munsey's Magazine* 15, no. 2, May 1896, 157-159. Hathitrust. Accessed April 25, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015050611576;view=1up;seq=177>>

“Woman and the Bicycle,” *The Medical Age* 15 (January 11, 1897): 16-18. Hathitrust. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015049424602>>

“Women and Century Runs,” *The LAW Bulletin and Good Roads*, March 25, 1898, 275. Hathitrust. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015012331958?urlappend=%3Bseq=282>>

“Women and the Wheel,” *L.A.W. Bulletin and Good Roads* 26, 1897, 405. Hathitrust. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015021322923>>

“Woman and the Wheel,” *Munsey's Magazine* 15, 2, May 1896, 157-159. Hathitrust. Accessed May 3 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=pst.000068739133>>

“Woman and the Wheel,” *Munsey's Magazine* 15, no. 2, May 1896, 157-159. Hathitrust. Accessed May 5, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=pst.000068739133;view=1up;seq=9>>

“Women and Century Runs,” *The LAW Bulletin and Good Roads*, March 25, 1898, 275. Hathitrust. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015012331958;view=1up;seq=8>>

Workman, Fanny Bullock, *Algerian Memories: A Bicycle Tour over the Atlas to the Sahara* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1895). Hathitrust. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.31822038215356>>

Workman, Fanny Bullock. *Through Town and Jungle; Fourteen Thousand Miles A-wheel Among the Temples and People of the Indian Plain*. London: T. F. Unwin, 1907. Hathitrust. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001249684>>

## Harp Week

“Mrs. C. W. Dalsen, Captain Fairmount Lady Cyclers of Philadelphia,” *Harper's Weekly* 8, no. 30, August 20, 1890, 671. Harp Week. Accessed May 10, 2016. <<http://app.harpweek.->

com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/IssueImagesView.asp?  
titleId=HW&volumeId=1890&issueId=0830&page=671>

Rodgers, W. A., "Bicycling in Virginia -- Mending a Punctured Tire on the Road," *Harper's Bazaar*, January 16, 1897, 61. Harp Week. Accessed May 2, 2016 <<http://app.harpweek.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/viewarticletext.asp?webhitsfile=hw18970116000010%2Ehtm&xpath=%2FTEI%2E2%5B1%5D%2Ftext%5B1%5D%2Fbody%5B1%5D%2Fdiv1%5B17%5D%2Fdiv2%5B1%5D%2Fdiv3%5B2%5D%2Fp%5B7%5D%2Ffigure%5B2%5D&xml=HW%5C1897%5C18970116%2Exml&titleid=HW&volumeid=1897&issueid=0116&pagerange=0061ad%2D0061ad&restriction=%22Bicycling+in+Virgina+%2D%2D+Meding+a+Punctured+Tire+on+the+Road%22&pageIDs=%7CHW%2D1897%2D01%2D16%2D0061%7C>>

## JSTOR

Abbott, Frances M., "A Comparative View of the Woman Suffrage Movement," *The North American Review* 166, no. 495, (February 1898): 142-151. JSTOR. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25118951>>

Crandall, C. H., "What Men Think of Women's Dress," *The North American Review*, 161, no. 465, August 1895, 251-254. JSTOR. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25103572>>

Edson, Cyrus, "Health and Beauty," *The North American Review* 165, 491, October 1897, 509-511. JSTOR. Accessed May 3 2016. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25118903>>

## Montana State University Historical Photographs Collection

"Women Repairing Bicycle," Montana State University Historical Photographs Collection. Accessed May 14, 2016. <<http://arc.lib.montana.edu/msu-photos/item/135>>

## Nineteenth Century Collections Online

Ballantyne, J. W., "Selected Digest. Bicycling and Gynecology," *International Medical Magazine* VII, no. 7, July 1898, 452-463. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/UN4D2>>

- “Bicycling. The Therapeutic Value of the Wheel. (Concluded),” *The Designer and the Woman's Magazine* IX, no. 5, March 1899, 74-75. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/UN2D0>>
- E. E. F., “Men, Women and Things,” *Woman's Voice and Public School Champion* 37, September 14, 1895, 1. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Print. Accessed June 9, 2015. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/UPMT5>>
- “Gospel Bicycling,” *Tennessee Methodist*, August 6, 1896, 1. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/UMXr8>>
- Longhurst, Esther, “How Can I Earn a Living?” *The Woman Worker* IV, 35, March 2, 1910, 762. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/UNy85>>
- “My Wheel And-I,” *The Designer and the Woman's Magazine* 2-3, no. 5, September 1895, 57-59. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/UP8X4>>
- Redding, Josephine, “Out-Door Sports of Women,” *The Home-Maker* VI, 2, May 1891, 47-52. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed March 4, 2015. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/UMaG3>>
- “Some ‘Don'ts’ For Wheelers,” *The Designer and the Woman's Magazine* IX, no. 3, January, 1899, 72. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/UMsK3>>
- Sturgis, Dinah, “Important Opinions on Bicycling for Women,” *The Woman's Journal*, September 14, 1895, 290-291. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/UMoT6>>
- “The Benefits of Bicycling,” *Good Health* XXXII, no. 10, October 1897, 621. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/UBbX5>>
- “The Bicycle Checks Tuberculosis in Women,” *The Western and Southern Medical Recorder* XXXVII, no. 26, December 26, 1896, 688. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/FDK44>>
- “Thro’ Highway and Byway,” *The Designer and the Woman's Magazine* 2, no. 3, July 1895, 61-62. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/tinyurl/UPU6X>>

“What Bicycle Riding Has Done,” *Good Health* XXVIII, no. 1, January 1893, 14. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed May 2, 2106. <<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3HQRg1>>

## Nineteenth Century U. S. Newspapers

“After the Manner of Women,” *Milwaukee Journal* (Milwaukee, WI), April 10, 1897, no page. Nineteenth Century U. S. Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu\\_main&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&docId=GT3010299125&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0](http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu_main&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&docId=GT3010299125&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0)>

“Bicycling Women,” *Fayetteville Observer* (Fayetteville, NC), March 22, 1888, 1. Nineteenth Century U. S. Newspapers. Accessed May 4, 2016. <[http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/infomark.do?action=interpret&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu\\_main&docPage=article&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&docId=GT3016363077&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0&finalAuth=true](http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/infomark.do?action=interpret&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu_main&docPage=article&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&docId=GT3016363077&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0&finalAuth=true)>

“Dress Reform Movement Women Clerks in the Colorado Capitol Adopt Bicycle Costumes,” *The Atchison Daily Globe* (Atchison, KS), June 2, 1899, 4. Nineteenth Century U. S. Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://find.galegroup.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/newspaperRetrieve.do?sgHitCountType=None&sort=DateAscend&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&resultListType=RESULT\\_LIST&searchId=R1&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&currentPosition=9&qry-SerId=Locale%28en%2C%2C%29%3AFQE%3D%28ti%2CNone%2C21%29Dress+Reform+Movement%24&retrieveFormat=MULTIPAGE\\_DOCUMENT&userGroupName=msu\\_main&inPS=true&contentSet=LTO&&docId=&docLevel=FASCIMILE&workId=&relevancePageBatch=GT3012470327&contentSet=UDVIN&callistoContentSet=UDVIN&docPage=article&hilite=y](http://find.galegroup.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/newspaperRetrieve.do?sgHitCountType=None&sort=DateAscend&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchId=R1&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&currentPosition=9&qry-SerId=Locale%28en%2C%2C%29%3AFQE%3D%28ti%2CNone%2C21%29Dress+Reform+Movement%24&retrieveFormat=MULTIPAGE_DOCUMENT&userGroupName=msu_main&inPS=true&contentSet=LTO&&docId=&docLevel=FASCIMILE&workId=&relevancePageBatch=GT3012470327&contentSet=UDVIN&callistoContentSet=UDVIN&docPage=article&hilite=y)>

Kelly, Florence Fitch, “The Fair Cyclers.” *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* (Milwaukee, WI) July 14, 1889, 11. Nineteenth Century U. S. Newspapers. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/infomark.do?action=interpret&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu\\_main&docPage=article&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&docId=GT3009724640&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0&finalAuth=true](http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/infomark.do?action=interpret&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu_main&docPage=article&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&docId=GT3009724640&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0&finalAuth=true)>

“Mrs. William Durbin, one of the visiting wheelwomen, who comes from a western city, is of the opinion that the general use of the bicycle will result eventually in revolutionizing women’s street attire, says the Philadelphia Inquirer,” *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans, LA), August 16, 1897, 4. Nineteenth Century U. S. Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://infotrac.galegroup.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/itw/infomark/646/742/24216527w16/purl=rc1\\_NCN-P\\_0\\_GT3014580276&dyn=23!nxt\\_83\\_0\\_GT3014580276?sw\\_aep=msu\\_main](http://infotrac.galegroup.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/itw/infomark/646/742/24216527w16/purl=rc1_NCN-P_0_GT3014580276&dyn=23!nxt_83_0_GT3014580276?sw_aep=msu_main)>

“Scarlet Women on Wheels,” *Denver Evening Post* (Denver, CO), August 23, 1895, no page. Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/infomark.do?prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu\\_main&version=1.0&type=multipage&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&tabID=T003&docId=GT3016730811&contentSet=LTO&docPage=article](http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/infomark.do?prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu_main&version=1.0&type=multipage&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&tabID=T003&docId=GT3016730811&contentSet=LTO&docPage=article)>

*St. Paul Daily News* (St. Paul, MN) April 15, 1893, 8. Nineteenth Century U. S. Newspapers. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://find.galegroup.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/newspaperRetrieve.do?sgHitCountType=None&sort=DateAscend&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&resultListType=RESULT\\_LIST&searchId=R2&searchType=BasicSearchForm&currentPosition=3&qrySerId=Locale%28en%2C%2C%29%3AFQE%3D%28tx%2CNone%2C32%29%22Y-ou+never+hear+of+the+heirs+of%22%24&retrieveFormat=MULTIPAGE\\_DOCUMENT&userGroupName=msu\\_main&inPS=true&contentSet=LTO&&docId=&docLevel=FASCIMILE&workId=&relevancePageBatch=GT3008572083&contentSet=UDVIN&callistoContentSet=UDVIN&docPage=article&hilite=y](http://find.galegroup.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/newspaperRetrieve.do?sgHitCountType=None&sort=DateAscend&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchId=R2&searchType=BasicSearchForm&currentPosition=3&qrySerId=Locale%28en%2C%2C%29%3AFQE%3D%28tx%2CNone%2C32%29%22Y-ou+never+hear+of+the+heirs+of%22%24&retrieveFormat=MULTIPAGE_DOCUMENT&userGroupName=msu_main&inPS=true&contentSet=LTO&&docId=&docLevel=FASCIMILE&workId=&relevancePageBatch=GT3008572083&contentSet=UDVIN&callistoContentSet=UDVIN&docPage=article&hilite=y)>

“The Fair Sex Enjoy Bicycling” *Milwaukee Journal* (Milwaukee, WI), March 1, 1896, 11. Nineteenth Century U. S. Newspapers. Accessed May 3, 2016. <[http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/infomark.do?action=interpret&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu\\_main&docPage=article&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&docId=GT3013883642&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0&finalAuth=true](http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/infomark.do?action=interpret&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu_main&docPage=article&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&docId=GT3013883642&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0&finalAuth=true)>

“The Wheel and Health: The Evil Results of Riding a Bicycle Improperly,” *The Daily Inter Ocean*, March 8, 1896, 27. Nineteenth Century U. S. Newspapers. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://find.galegroup.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/newspaperRetrieve.do?sgHitCountType=None&sort=DateAscend&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&resultListType=RESULT\\_LIST&searchId=R2&searchType=BasicSearchForm&currentPosition=14&qrySerId=Locale%28en%2C%2C%29%3AFQE%3D%28tx%2CNone%2C22%29%22The+Wheel+and+Health%22%24&retrieveFormat=MULTIPAGE\\_DOCUMENT&userGroupName=msu\\_main&inPS=true&contentSet=LTO&&docId=&docLevel=FASCIMILE&workId=&relevancePageBatch=GT3012024084&contentSet=UDVIN&callistoContentSet=UDVIN&docPage=article&hilite=y](http://find.galegroup.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/newspaperRetrieve.do?sgHitCountType=None&sort=DateAscend&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchId=R2&searchType=BasicSearchForm&currentPosition=14&qrySerId=Locale%28en%2C%2C%29%3AFQE%3D%28tx%2CNone%2C22%29%22The+Wheel+and+Health%22%24&retrieveFormat=MULTIPAGE_DOCUMENT&userGroupName=msu_main&inPS=true&contentSet=LTO&&docId=&docLevel=FASCIMILE&workId=&relevancePageBatch=GT3012024084&contentSet=UDVIN&callistoContentSet=UDVIN&docPage=article&hilite=y)>

“Women Bicycle Riders,” *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* (Milwaukee, WI), August 28, 1892, np. Nineteenth Century U. S. Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/infomark.do?action=interpret&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu\\_main&docPage=article&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&docId=GT3003118414&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0&finalAuth=true](http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/infomark.do?action=interpret&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&userGroupName=msu_main&docPage=article&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&docId=GT3003118414&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0&finalAuth=true)>

“Work in Bicycle Shops,” *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* (Milwaukee, WI), November 26, 1897, 10. Nineteenth Century U. S. Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/newspaperRetrieve.do?sgHitCountType=None&sort=DateAscend&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&resultListType=RESULT\\_LIST&searchId=R1&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&currentPosition=1&qrySerId=Locale%28en%2C%2C%29%3AFQE%3D%28ti%2CNone%2C23%29%22Work+in+Bicycle+Shops%22%24&retrieveFormat=MULTIPAGE\\_DOCUMENT&userGroupName=msu\\_main&inPS=true&contentSet=LTO&&docId=&docLevel=FASCIMILE&workId=&relevancePageBatch=GT3012889742&contentSet=UDVIN&callistoContentSet=UDVIN&docPage=article&hilit=y](http://find.galegroup.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/ncnp/newspaperRetrieve.do?sgHitCountType=None&sort=DateAscend&tabID=T003&prodId=NCNP&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchId=R1&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&currentPosition=1&qrySerId=Locale%28en%2C%2C%29%3AFQE%3D%28ti%2CNone%2C23%29%22Work+in+Bicycle+Shops%22%24&retrieveFormat=MULTIPAGE_DOCUMENT&userGroupName=msu_main&inPS=true&contentSet=LTO&&docId=&docLevel=FASCIMILE&workId=&relevancePageBatch=GT3012889742&contentSet=UDVIN&callistoContentSet=UDVIN&docPage=article&hilit=y)>

#### ProQuest

“A Bicycle Contest.: Mr. Prince, of Boston, Defeats Mlle. Armaindo, of Montreal,” *New York Times* (New York, NY), September 3, 1882, 8. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/94023150/abstract/14344CC83995BB580C/4?accountid=12598>>

“A New Kind of ‘Fiend’: Woman Who Craves Bicycles as Others Do Morphine,” *Cincinnati Enquirer* (Cincinnati, OH), October 3, 1897, 22. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpcincinnatienquirer/docview/888732842/abstract/9A6961FB2B5D4DB8PQ/301?accountid=12598>>

“ABOUT WOMEN: WOMEN BICYCLISTS, ATTENTION! A Handsome Prize for a Costume Design for Bicycling,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, MO), May 12, 1895, 34. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpstlouispostdispatch/docview/579146763/abstract/1B70BC2E376543E3PQ/29?accountid=12598>>

“Annoying the Bicycle Riders,” *New York Times* (New York, NY), August 28, 1888, 3. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/94641240/abstract/14344CC83995BB580C/18?accountid=12598>>

Bell, Ida Trafford, "THE NEW WOMAN AND THE 'BIKE.': They Have Together Solved the Dress Reform Problem," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, MO), August 18, 1895, 23. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpstlouispostdispatch/docview/577254935/abstract/1B70BC2E376543E3PQ/86?accountid=12598>>

"BICYCLE CHAT ON MANY SUBJECTS: IS IT A NEW DISEASE PARIS PHYSICIANS THINK. RIDING A WHEEL MAKES MANY WOMEN CRUEL RIDE DOWN LADY CYCLISTS To Be Up to Date on the Seashore You Must Ride a Wheel on the Beach-- Popularity of the Tandem So Great This Year That the Demand Cannot Be Supplied-- Much Preferred by Women," *The Nashville American* (Nashville, TN), June 14, 1897, 7. ProQuest. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/docview/956980760/C629E89647434286PQ/1?accountid=12598>>

"BICYCLE DEALERS REMOVE EXHIBITS: Wheelmen, too, Show Their Displeasure ALL DESERT THE PAVILION THE WOMAN'S RACE NOTHING BUT A HIPPODROME Egan and Jangling Are Charged With Extortion by Their Fellow-Cyclists," *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, CA), Mar 14, 1896, 8. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpsfchronicle/docview/575840305/abstract/9E4C-C039334B46CBPQ/24?accountid=12598>>

"BICYCLE RIDING AND WOMEN.: It Is Enabling Them to Escape from the Bondage of Custom," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Chicago, IL), June 17, 1895, 4. ProQuest. Accessed May 1, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpchicagotribune/docview/175084280/abstract/30E673CFD1C421CPQ/71?accountid=12598>>

"Bicycle Tournament for Women," *New York Times* (New York, NY), February 10, 1889, 10. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/94680040/abstract/14344CC83995BB580C/1?accountid=12598>>

"BICYCLING FOR INSANE PERSONS.: Results of Experiments Tried by New York Physicians," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, MO), September 9, 1894, 24. ProQuest. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpstlouispostdispatch/docview/579125197/abstract/1B70BC2E376543E3PQ/11?accountid=12598>>

"Bicycling Maids Mend Bad Roads," *The National Police Gazette* 66, no. 927, Jun 8, 1895, 7. ProQuest. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/docview/127631435/E18AAEFC9D584715PQ/1?accountid=12598>>

"Bicycling Servants Barred: Employers Don't Want Them at Any Price — Walking Girls at a Premium," *New York Times* (New York, NY) September 19, 1897, 15. Protest Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpdetroitfreepress/docview/562792278/abstract/15031EFB79D54CF7PQ/2?accountid=12598>>



- Bissell, Mary Taylor, "An Answer to a Question: What Can be Done to Make a Little Girl in Love with Health?" *Outlook* 50, 3, December 8, 1894, 986. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/136945885/A1E1C534718641DFPQ/5?accountid=12598>>
- , "Dangers of Over Exercise," *Harper's Bazaar* 35, 1, May 1901, A52. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/125024350/2394C23F99304D59PQ/24?accountid=12598>>
- , "How to Organize a Woman's Athletic Club," *Christian Union* 41, no. 13, March 27, 1890, 461. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/137115355/D580EFA5D8F-F46C8PQ/1?accountid=12598>>
- , "Infant Hygiene," *Christian Union* 39, no. 6, February 7, 1889, 173. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/136758808/86095490F3A24924PQ/1?accountid=12598>>
- , "Physical Attainment," *Christian Union* 41, no. 14, April 3, 1890, 498. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/137101717/1EEA40D82AD4810PQ/1?accountid=12598>>
- "Boomers in Bloomers. Women Peculiarly Successful as Bicycle Agents," *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, CA), June 9, 1895, 3. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpsfchronicle/docview/575760560/abstract/5CA8C2C3B8124C35PQ/155?accountid=12598>>
- "BRAVE BICYCLISTS.: A California Club of Five Hundred Women Don Bloomers," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Chicago, IL), March 30, 1895, 16. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpchicagotribune/docview/174987481/abstract/30E673CFD1C421CPQ/37?accountid=12598>>
- Darling, Fanny, "Bicycle Racing Transforms Lovely Woman from a Pale Beauty into a Perfect Fright," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, MO), December 5, 1897, 16. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpst-louispostdispatch/docview/579462620/abstract/1B70BC2E376543E3PQ/32?accountid=12598>>
- Denison, Grace, "How We Ride Our Wheels," *Outing*, 19, October 1891 to March 1892, 52. ProQuest American Periodicals Index. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/docview/137477712/F6A0FAFEEEDD4644PQ/1?accountid=12598>>

Durandal, "BICYCLE CALVES.: Female Muscular Development Climbing Upstairs Will Produce the Same Physical Effect. Tea a Favorite Tiptle With New York Society. Drugstores Conducting a Back-Door Business in Ardent Spirits at Retail," *Cincinnati Enquirer* (Cincinnati, OH), August 5, 1894, 8. ProQuest. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpcincinnatienquirer/docview/883584566/abstract/9A6961F-B2B5D4DB8PQ/8?accountid=12598>>

Ermyntrude, "London," *Vogue* 7, no. 19, 1896, 324. ProQuest. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/vogue/docview/897844000/50F69D30FFEF4167PQ/128?accountid=12598>>

Everett, Edith Townsend, "Bicycling for Women," *Harper's Bazaar* 26, no. 24, June 17, 1893, 485. ProQuest. Accessed May 3 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/125612646/abstract/1AA24F50085D4C0BPQ/3?accountid=12598>>

F. F. H., "THE WHEEL IN WASHINGTON.: A VERITABLE BICYCLE CRAZE AT THE CAPITAL. THE LADIES ARE THE LEADERS IN THE THRONG. MEMBERS OF CONGRESS TAKING UP THE PASTIME. Tom Johnson's Experience--A Cycle of Cathay," *Detroit Free Press* (Detroit, MI), November 3, 1895, 11. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpdetroitfreepress/docview/562617187/abstract/15031EFB79D54CF7PQ/62?accountid=12598>>

"Features: Views by Her: Bicycling in 1889," *Vogue*, March 14, 1895, 167. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/vogue/docview/904245827/151D8E34153841A9PQ/21?accountid=12598>>

Follett, Helen, "A Honeymoon on Wheels," *Outing* 29, no. 1, October 1896, 1. ProQuest American Periodicals Index. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/docview/137470549/B995E9CFAF9D4E21PQ/1?accountid=12598>>

Francis, M. C., "THE OUTPUT OF CYCLES: THIS YEAR WILL SEE AMERICA TURN OUT 1,250,000 GENERAL INVASION OF THE FOREIGN MARKETS. NOVELTIES AND IMPROVEMENTS ARE NUMEROUS. The Double Quint is to Be Faster Than Steam or Electricity," *Detroit Free Press* (Detroit, MI), March 15, 1896, 14. ProQuest. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpdetroitfreepress/docview/562638469/abstract/15031EFB79D54CF7PQ/91?accountid=12598>>

"GIRL BICYCLIST IN TROUBLE.: Arrested for Wearing Male Attire, She Was Helped in Court by a Rainy Day Club Candidate," *New York Times* (New York, NY), July 2, 1898, 7. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/95601198/abstract/5173391988734940PQ/1?accountid=12598>>

“GOSSIP OF THE CYCLERS: Quiet Follows the Stir of the National Meet -- Indianapolis May Have It Next Year. CYCLING A SMITH COLLEGE FAD College Girls Give Cows the Coast, However -- Chicago Bicycle Tax Declared Illegal -- Stevens's Great Tour Reviewed -- Color Line in West Augurs Trouble,” *New York Times* (New York, NY), August 15, 1897, 4. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/docview/95445093/FBCB0205343542A7PQ/1?accountid=12598>>

Hall-Brown, Lucy, “The Wheel as an Aid to Health,” *Harper's Bazaar* 29, no. 11 March 14, 1896, 231. Accessed May 8, 2016. ProQuest. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/125596867/abstract/6668A36B52F049DFPQ/61?accountid=12598>>

Hopkins, Mary Sargent, “How the Bicycle Has One Its Way Among Women,” *Harper's Bazaar* 29, no. 11, May 14, 1896, 244. ProQuest American Periodicals. Accessed May 5, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/125593550/AAA6C30687E24F41PQ/17?accountid=12598>>

———, “How the Bicycle Has One Its Way Among Women,” *Harper's Bazaar* 29, no. 11, May 14, 1896, 244. ProQuest American Periodicals. Accessed May 5, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/125593550/AAA6C30687E24F41PQ/17?accountid=12598>>

“It Was a ‘Hippodrome,’” *New York Times* (New York, NY), February 19, 1889, 5. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/94663053/abstract/14344CC83995BB580C/24?accountid=12598>>

“Kansas Women Cyclists,” *Cincinnati Enquirer* (Cincinnati, OH), May 6, 1899, 4. ProQuest. Accessed April 25, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpcincinnati-enquirer/docview/895240274/citation/9A6961FB2B5D4DB8PQ/141?accountid=12598?>>

Koven, Mrs. Reginald de, “Bicycling for Women,” *The Cosmopolitan* 19, no. 4, August 1895, 386. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/docview/124708592/abstract/D9814BCF538A47BCPQ/72?accountid=12598>>

“Lady Bicycle Artisan,” *Cincinnati Enquirer* (Cincinnati, OH), November 22, 1896, 25. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpcincinnati-enquirer/docview/895656899/citation/9A6961FB2B5D4DB8PQ/54?accountid=12598>>

“LADY BICYCLISTS.: Fourteen Girls Enter a Six Days' Race at Madison Square Garden,” *Detroit Free Press* (Detroit, MI), February 12, 1889, 3. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpdetroitfreepress/docview/561992826/abstract/15031EFB79D54CF7PQ/186?accountid=12598>>

“LOVE ON A BICYCLE RIDE: Brown's Wife Loved Her Wheel and Another Man THEY LIVED IN ST. LOWS, MO. When they were Married they went on a Honeymoon on their Bicycles COMIC OPERA DETECTIVE WORK,” *The National Police Gazette*, 66, no. 939, August 31, 1895, 6. ProQuest. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/docview/127622551/abstract/5A2A9E44B75A498BPQ/1?accountid=12598>>

Martha, “We Girls Awheel Through Germany,” *Outing* 20, no. 3, June 1892, 298. ProQuest American Periodicals Index. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/docview/137488666/34976F3348F64149PQ/1?accountid=12598>>

Mosque, Alice Lee, “A Bohemian Couple Wheeling Thro' Western England,” *Outing* 28, June 1896, 186-191. ProQuest American Periodicals Index. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://library.la84.org/SportsLibrary/Outing/Volume\\_28/outXXVIII03/outXXVIII03e.pdf](http://library.la84.org/SportsLibrary/Outing/Volume_28/outXXVIII03/outXXVIII03e.pdf)>

“Mounted Salvationists,” *New York Times* (New York, NY) June 5, 1884, 4. ProQuest Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/94272979/abstract/E5D25084E1EA481DPQ/81?accountid=12598>>

“MRS. ALLEN'S BICYCLE SUIT.: Another Sensation Created by a Radical Woman,” *St. Louis Post - Dispatch* (St. Louis, MO), October 15, 1893, 12. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpstlouispostdispatch/docview/579127597/abstract/1B70BC2E376543E3PQ/53?accountid=12598>>

“NEWPORT WOMEN WITHOUT LEGS.: Short Bicycle Dresses Disapproved at That Resort,” *Cincinnati Enquirer* (Cincinnati, OH), August 21, 1896, 6. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpcincinnatienquirer/docview/895697354/citation/9A6961FB2B5D4DB8PQ/76?accountid=12598>>

“Notable Woman Physician Dead: Dr. Lucy Brown Passes Away After Distinguished Career,” *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, CA), August 2, 1907, 3. Accessed May 8, 2016. ProQuest. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/news/docview/251402936/citation/66767EF76CD548DEPQ/6>>

Oakley, Frances W., “Scientific Saddles,” *Harper's Bazaar* 22, 11, March 14, 1896, 227. Accessed May 8, 2016. ProQuest. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/125601654/abstract/BDED3D7976854C51PQ/138?accountid=12598>>

“OBJECT TO WOMEN BICYCLISTS: College Point School Trustees Say They Must Not Ride to and from Their Duties,” *New York Times* (New York, NY), June 15, 1895, 1. ProQuest.

Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/95336834/abstract/15B9970F855A42A5PQ/73?accountid=12598>>

“PEEPS BEHIND THE SCENES: Her Bloomers Didn't Fit, So She Sued The Tailor SHE MEASURED HERSELF A Professor of Mathematics who Solved a Hitherto Difficult Problem HIS SOLUTION WAS NOT FLAWLESS,” *The National Police Gazette* 65, no. 896, November 3, 1894, 6. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/docview/127644146/abstract/22AF2C16892947F5PQ/98?accountid=12598>>

Pennell, Elizabeth, “A Century of Women's Rights,” *The Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature* 52, no. 5, November 1890, 617-624. ProQuest American Periodicals Index. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/docview/89765368/A67AF7F4E74143A0PQ/1?accountid=12598>>

———, “Sports at the Home of the Carnival,” *Outing* 9, no. 6, March 1887, 580-588. ProQuest American Periodicals Index. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/docview/137497907/97463536225A4882PQ/1?accountid=12598>>

“Pictures of Fat Women Pulled Down,” *New York Times* (New York, NY), April 7, 1895, 16. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/95344213/abstract/8FB4A6359D59453APQ/117?accountid=12598>>

“Proud Vassar Alumnae: They Congratulate Themselves Upon What They Have Done,” *New York Times* (New York, NY), February 19, 1893, 3. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/news/docview/95066570/9909C1904AEB4865PQ/1?accountid=12598>>

“Rational Dress,” *New York Times* (New York, NY), November 12, 1882, 8. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/93996198/abstract/14344CC83995BB580C/83?accountid=12598>>

Redding, Josephine, “Haphazard Jottings: The Bicycle as a Village Developer/Excess of Exports or Imports, and Why They Do Not Indicate...” *Vogue* 16, no. 6, 1900, 84. ProQuest. Accessed April 25, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/vogue/docview/911819641/50F69D30FFE4167PQ/147?accountid=12598>>

“SARAH HACKETT STEVENSON IS REPORTED TO BE DYING: Woman Physician the First of Her Sex to Be Honored with Membership in American Medical Association,” *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Chicago, IL), December 9, 1908, 1. ProQuest. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/docview/173378962/EA313CC5B-BA741AEPQ/1?accountid=12598><

- “Saved by a Bicycle Wrench,” *New York Times* (New York, NY), June 22 1897, 1. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/95444209/citation/15B9970F855A42A5PQ/100?accountid=12598>>
- “SHE MAKES BICYCLES.: A Woman Who is an Expert in This Line of Work,” *Detroit Free Press* (Detroit, MI), August 24, 1895, 4. ProQuest. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpdetroitfreepress/docview/562616412/abstract/15031EFB79D54CF7PQ/337?accountid=12598>>
- T. W. H., “Women and Men: Life Upon Wheels,” *Harper’s Bazaar* 28, no. 22, June 1, 1895, 434. ProQuest. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/american-periodicals/docview/125598639/abstract/6668A36B52F049DFPQ/82?accountid=12598>>
- “The Bicycle: A Nocturnal Bicycle Girl,” *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), May 30, 1897, A6. ProQuest. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnplouisvillecourierjournal/docview/1017209583/abstract/A2FA2D68DB824F23PQ/45?accountid=12598>>
- “The Bicycle and Matrimony,” *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY) September 22, 1895, 18. ProQuest. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnplouisvillecourierjournal/docview/1036985050/abstract/A2FA2D68DB824F23PQ/54?accountid=12598>>
- “THE BICYCLE AND THE SKIRT: An Innovation which, the Wheel Is Bringing About for Rainy Days,” *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), May 23, 1896, 12. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpbaltimoresun/docview/535692283/abstract/839A710901E04E05PQ/57?accountid=12598>>
- “THE NEW WOMAN.: Ideals Regarding Women Have Changed. The Athletic Woman Reigns. Which Makes the Best Wife, the Bicycle Girl or the Delicate, ‘Clinging Vine?’” *Cincinnati Enquirer* (Cincinnati, OH), May 10, 1896, 32. ProQuest. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpcincinnatienquirer/docview/895703637/abstract/9A6961FB2B5D4DB8PQ/280?accountid=12598>>
- “The Right to Wear Bicycle Skirts in School,” *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), November 23, 1898, 4. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpbaltimoresun/docview/536066115/abstract/839A710901E04E05PQ/53?accountid=12598>>
- “The Translation of the Bicycle,” *Harper’s Bazaar* 27, no. 21, May 26, 1894, 414. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/americanperiodicals/docview/125595668/abstract/6668A36B52F049DFPQ/30?accountid=12598>>

“THE WHEEL IN WASHINGTON.: A VERITABLE BICYCLE CRAZE AT THE CAPITAL. THE LADIES ARE THE LEADERS IN THE THRONG. MEMBERS OF CONGRESS TAKING UP THE PASTIME. Tom Johnson's Experience--A Cycle of Cathay,” *Detroit Free Press* (Detroit, MI), November 3, 1895, 11. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpdetroitfreepress/docview/562617187/abstract/15031EFB79D54CF7PQ/62?accountid=12598>>

“TO THE KLONDIKE BY BICYCLE.: Two North End Girls Expect to Open the Boston Hotel in Gold Region Next Spring,” *Boston Daily Globe* (Boston, MA), September 6, 1897, 5. ProQuest. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorkbostonglobe/docview/498678255/abstract/4ABA3CE1E0394B8BPQ/92?accountid=12598>>

“TWO WOMEN ON WHEELS.: They Make an Extended Tour in California,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, MO), June 30, 1895, 22. ProQuest. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpstlouispstdispatch/docview/579207374/citation/1B70BC2E376543E3PQ/221?accountid=12598>>

Wagstaffe, W. D., “Women as Athletes,” *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* XL, no. 4, October, 1895, 437-442. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/docview/136561932/abstract/3D45CFAAE67B4B7CPQ/12?accountid=12598>>

“WEIGHT IS MODERATE: WHEELS THIS YEAR WILL BE SLIGHTLY HEAVIER. LIGHTWEIGHT CRAZE HAS BECOME A THING OF THE PAST. ENCOURAGEMENT FOR WOMEN WHO RIDE THE YEAR. WHEEL MAKERS ARE GRADUALLY MEETING THEIR WANTS. Detroit's own Chainless Wheel is Among the List,” *Detroit Free Press* (Detroit, MI) March 3, 1898, 6. ProQuest. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpdetroitfreepress/docview/562887600/abstract/15031EFB79D54CF7PQ/192?accountid=12598>>

“WHEEL, WOMAN, HEALTH.: BICYCLING MARKS AN ADVANCE IN HER PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT,” *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Chicago, IL) May 17, 1896, 42. ProQuest. Accessed May 10, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpchicagotribune/docview/175204983/abstract/30E673CFD1C421CPQ/101?accountid=12598>>

“Women Becoming Expert Mechanics,” *Cincinnati Enquirer* (Cincinnati, OH), November 1, 1908, B7. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpcincinnatiquirer/docview/897655065/abstract/9A6961FB2B5D4DB8PQ/124?accountid=12598>>

“Women and Cycling,” *The New York Times* February 7, 1897, SMS10. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/95473560/abstract/8FB4A6359D59453APQ/122?accountid=12598>>

“WOMEN AND CYCLING: Manufacturers Giving Largest Attention to the Ladies,” *The Nashville American* (Nashville, TN) February 16, 1898, 8. ProQuest. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnashvilletennessean/docview/928151425/abstract/C1E3373AA12A4427PQ/109?accountid=12598>>

“WOMEN, GIRLS, AND BICYCLES: THEY HAVE BEEN TOGETHER LONG ENOUGH TO TEST THE UNION. The Question of Bicycling for Women and Girls No Longer Disputed -- Unanimous Testimony in Favor of the Exercise -- The Dissenting Voice Not Found -- Opinions from Drs. Thomas, Emmet, Bis-sell, Jacobi, and Others -- Bicycling Dress, and Dangers,” *New York Times* (New York, NY), May, 21 1893, 12. Accessed May 8, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/95079263/abstract/15B9970F855A42A5PQ/79?accountid=12598>>

“WOMEN TALK ABOUT DRESS: Long Skirts and Corsets, Condemned by the National Council. PICKED SHOES AND HIGH HEELS, TOO Loosely-fitting Gowns Advocated -- Frances E. Seavey Tells What Bicycle Girls Should Wear,” *New York Times* (New York, NY), February 28, 1895, 13. ProQuest. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/95234486/abstract/8FB4A6359D59453APQ/128?accountid=12598>>

The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs.

Allen, E. T. “On a Bicycle in Persia,” *Woman's Work* 11, no. 10, 1896, 272-273. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP215\\_Volume\\_11\\_Issue\\_10-19](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP215_Volume_11_Issue_10-19)>

“Bicycle Costume,” *The Woman's Column* 7, no. 2, 1894, 2. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.2\\_Volume\\_7\\_Issue\\_34-8](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.2_Volume_7_Issue_34-8)>

“Bicycling,” *The Woman's Herald* 3, no. 108, October 25, 1890, 9. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 3, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4\\_Volume\\_3\\_Issue\\_105-15](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4_Volume_3_Issue_105-15)>

“Bicycling for Girls,” *The Woman's Journal* 22, no. 21, August 1, 1891, 243. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=documents&id=Gerrit>>



sen-

GP205\_Volume\_22\_Issue\_31-41&resultNum=1&entries=13&source=config.cfg&queryId=../session/1461521430\_23990&fromPage=searchResults>

“Bicycling for Women,” *Today's Woman* 1, no. 39, September 7, 1895, 2. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 4, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP181\\_Volume\\_1\\_Issue\\_39-27](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP181_Volume_1_Issue_39-27)>

Bickerstaph, Josephine G., “Traveling in Parana, Brazil,” *Woman's Work* 11, no. 11. 1896, 298-299. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. May 2, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP215\\_Volume\\_11\\_Issue\\_11-24](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP215_Volume_11_Issue_11-24)>

“Costumes for Cycling. Away with the Skirt at all Costs,” *The Woman's Herald*, October 26, 1893, 570. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4\\_Volume\\_8\\_Issue\\_36-27](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4_Volume_8_Issue_36-27)>

“Cycling for Ladies,” *The Woman's Herald*, April 18, 1891, 404. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 4, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4\\_Volume\\_3\\_Issue\\_130-26](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4_Volume_3_Issue_130-26)>

“Cycling for Women,” *The Woman's Herald*, April 20, 1893, 134. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 4, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4\\_Volume\\_8\\_Issue\\_9-24](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4_Volume_8_Issue_9-24)>

“Cycling for Young Women,” *The Woman's Herald* 8, no. 17, April 20, 1893, 134. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 3, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4\\_Volume\\_8\\_Issue\\_17-18](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4_Volume_8_Issue_17-18)>

“Cycling Notes,” *The American Magazine*, 7, no. 4 (1894): 177-178. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP18\\_Volume\\_7\\_Issue\\_4-12](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP18_Volume_7_Issue_4-12)>

“Dress for Bicycling Women,” *The Woman's Journal* 26, no. 34, August 24, 1895, 271. Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://>

gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205\_Volume\_26\_Issue\_34-38>

E. C., "Bicycling Among the Mountains," *The Woman's Journal*, July 11, 1896, 220. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP205\\_Volume\\_27\\_Issue\\_28-15&resultNum=1&entries=1&source=config.cfg&queryId=../session/1460759380\\_25341&fromPage=searchResults](http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP205_Volume_27_Issue_28-15&resultNum=1&entries=1&source=config.cfg&queryId=../session/1460759380_25341&fromPage=searchResults)>

Ferris, Carrie, "Cycling for Women," *The Woman's Herald*, December 31, 1892, 10. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 3, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlefulltext:Gerritsen-GP205.4\\_Volume\\_7\\_Issue\\_218-10](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlefulltext:Gerritsen-GP205.4_Volume_7_Issue_218-10)>

"Gossip and Gleanings," *The Woman's Journal* 25, no. 40, October 6, 1894, 318-319. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlefulltext:Gerritsen-GP205\\_Volume\\_25\\_Issue\\_40-10](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlefulltext:Gerritsen-GP205_Volume_25_Issue_40-10)>

Harrison, Carrie, "My First Bicycle," *The Woman's Tribune* 15, no. 20, October 1, 1898, 80. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 4, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP211.2\\_Volume\\_15\\_Issue\\_20-5](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP211.2_Volume_15_Issue_20-5)>

"Health, Beauty and Dress," *The Woman's Tribune* 12, no. 25, June 22, 1895, 100. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP211.2\\_Volume\\_12\\_Issue\\_25-4&resultNum=20&entries=261&source=config.cfg&queryId=../session/1461520253\\_13317&fromPage=searchResults](http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP211.2_Volume_12_Issue_25-4&resultNum=20&entries=261&source=config.cfg&queryId=../session/1461520253_13317&fromPage=searchResults)>

"Hints on Cycling," *The Woman's Signal*, August 25, 1898, 124-125. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 3, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlefulltext:Gerritsen-GP210\\_Volume\\_10\\_Issue\\_243-12:2](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlefulltext:Gerritsen-GP210_Volume_10_Issue_243-12:2)>

Holdsworth, Annie, "A Book of the Hour," *The Woman's Signal* 3, no. 74 May 30, 1895, 345. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 4, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP210\\_Volume\\_3\\_Issue\\_74-7](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP210_Volume_3_Issue_74-7)>

- Hygieia, "On Cycling," *Today's Woman* 2, no. 37, August 22, 1896, 18. Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP181\\_Volume\\_2\\_Issue\\_37-5](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP181_Volume_2_Issue_37-5)>
- I. E. F., "How to Dress for the Bicycle," *The Woman's Tribune*, August 3, 1895, 116. The Gerritsen Collection. Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP211.2\\_Volume\\_12\\_Issue\\_29-7&resultNum=1&entries=1&source=config.cfg&queryId=../session/1461517557\\_21997&fromPage=searchResults](http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP211.2_Volume_12_Issue_29-7&resultNum=1&entries=1&source=config.cfg&queryId=../session/1461517557_21997&fromPage=searchResults)>
- Johnson, Edyth, "The Benefits of Cycling for Women," *The Woman's Herald*, December 24, 1893, 7. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/fulltext/fulltext.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP205.4\\_Volume\\_8\\_Issue\\_217-13&pagenum=1&backto=FULLREC&fromPage=fullRec](http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/fulltext/fulltext.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP205.4_Volume_8_Issue_217-13&pagenum=1&backto=FULLREC&fromPage=fullRec)>
- L.A.M.P., "Cycling for Women," *Today's Woman* 1, no. 25, June 1, 1895, 16. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP181\\_Volume\\_1\\_Issue\\_25-12](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP181_Volume_1_Issue_25-12)>
- Lamberton, Mary Barton, "Out of Door Sports for Girls. Women on the Wheel," 4, no. 3 *The Business Woman's Journal*, 1891, 175-177. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP18\\_Volume\\_3\\_Issue\\_4-29](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP18_Volume_3_Issue_4-29)>
- Miller, Fenwick, "Cycling and Good Spirits," *The Woman's Signal* 9, no. 236, July 21, 1898, 423. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 4, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP210\\_Volume\\_9\\_Issue\\_236-15](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP210_Volume_9_Issue_236-15)>
- Moseley, Maurice, "Rational or Cycling Dress," *Womanhood* 1, no. 6, 1899, 483-484. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 4, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP202\\_Volume\\_1\\_Issue\\_6-26](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP202_Volume_1_Issue_6-26)>
- "Our Sisters Across the Seas," *The Woman's Herald*, January 11, 1890, 137. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 3, 2016. <<http://>>

gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205.4\_Volume\_2\_Issue\_63-16>

Penfield, S. A., "Rainy Day Dress," *The Woman's Tribune* 12, no. 26, June 29, 1895, 104. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP211.2\\_Volume\\_12\\_Issue\\_26-4](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP211.2_Volume_12_Issue_26-4)>

"Physical Effects of Cycling," *The Woman's Journal* 27, no. 30, July 25, 1896, 240. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 4, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205\\_Volume\\_27\\_Issue\\_30-2](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205_Volume_27_Issue_30-2)>

Russell, Frances, "The Blessed Bicycle," *The Woman's Journal* 27, no. 9, February 29, 1896, 67. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 4, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205\\_Volume\\_27\\_Issue\\_9-32](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205_Volume_27_Issue_9-32)>

———, "Shall Wheelwomen Be Handicapped," *The Woman's Journal* 26, no. 40, October 5, 1895, 318-319. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205\\_Volume\\_26\\_Issue\\_40-16](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205_Volume_26_Issue_40-16)>

"Sing a Song of Bicycles" *Woman's Life* 1, no. 13, March 7, 1896, 573. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP206\\_Volume\\_1\\_Issue\\_13-7](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP206_Volume_1_Issue_13-7)>

Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, "The Era of the Bicycle," *The Woman's Tribune* 12, no. 28, July 20, 1895, 112. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 25, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP211.2\\_Volume\\_12\\_Issue\\_28-12](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP211.2_Volume_12_Issue_28-12)>

———, "The Era of the Bicycle," *The Woman's Tribune* 12, no. 28 July 20, 1895, 112. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP211.2\\_Volume\\_12\\_Issue\\_28-12](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP211.2_Volume_12_Issue_28-12)>

- Taft, Mary, "Out of door sports for girls. Women cyclists," *The American Magazine* 6, no. 5, 1893, 239-241. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 2, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP18\\_Volume\\_6\\_Issue\\_5-11](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP18_Volume_6_Issue_5-11)>
- "THE BEST WOMAN'S PRISON: Dr. Lucy Hall-Brown Tells of the Sherburne Institution. BENHAMIN BUTLER'S CHANGE OF HEART Clara Barton's Acceptance of the Superintendency a Noble Act -- One of the Bright Women of Brooklyn," *The New York Times* (New York, NY), March 31, 1895, 30. Accessed May 8, 2016. ProQuest. <<http://search.proquest.-com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/news/docview/95275001/E10A5868D7D4916PQ/2?accountid=12598>>
- "The Rainy Day Dress," *The American Magazine* 4, no. 2, 1892, 69-70. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP18\\_Volume\\_4\\_Issue\\_2-35](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP18_Volume_4_Issue_2-35)>
- "The Wheel and Dress Reform," *The Woman's Journal*, July 25, 1896, 239. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205\\_Volume\\_27\\_Issue\\_30-7](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205_Volume_27_Issue_30-7)>
- Tooley, Sarah A., "Through the Air on Wheels," *The Woman's Signal* 2, no. 37, September 13, 1894, 168. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 3, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP210\\_Volume\\_2\\_Issue\\_37-13](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP210_Volume_2_Issue_37-13)>
- Ward, Edith, "Cycling for Women," *The Woman's Herald* 7, no. 216, December 17, 1892, 10. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 3, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlefulltext:Gerritsen-GP205.4\\_Volume\\_7\\_Issue\\_216-13:2](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlefulltext:Gerritsen-GP205.4_Volume_7_Issue_216-13:2)>
- Western, G., "Cycling: Omnibus Horses," *Shafts* 4, no. 7, 1896, 99. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed April 24, 2016. <[http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP174\\_Volume\\_4\\_Issue\\_7-5&result-Num=1&entries=1&source=config.cfg&queryId=../session/1461515145\\_3391&fromPage=searchResults](http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/fullrec/fullrec.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP174_Volume_4_Issue_7-5&result-Num=1&entries=1&source=config.cfg&queryId=../session/1461515145_3391&fromPage=searchResults)>
- Whitehead, Celia B., "Bicycle and Tricycle," *The Woman's Journal* 19, no. 28, July 14, 1888, 220. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 5, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlefulltext:Gerritsen-GP174\\_Volume\\_4\\_Issue\\_7-5&result-Num=1&entries=1&source=config.cfg&queryId=../session/1461515145\\_3391&fromPage=searchResults](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlefulltext:Gerritsen-GP174_Volume_4_Issue_7-5&result-Num=1&entries=1&source=config.cfg&queryId=../session/1461515145_3391&fromPage=searchResults)>

url\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205\_Volume\_19\_Issue\_28-38>

“WHY SHE RIDES A BICYCLE.: Miss Lillian Russell Discourses on Wheeling. A TRANSITION TO TIGHTS. The Prima Donna Doesn't Wear Bloomers, Because She Doesn't Want to Be Conspicuous,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, MO), November 19, 1895, 7. ProQuest. Accessed May 3, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpstlouis-postdispatch/docview/579236143/abstract/1B70BC2E376543E3PQ/24?accountid=12598>>

“WILL BE GOOD.: The Female Bicycle Race. Which Will Begin Next Monday Night,” *Cincinnati Enquirer* (Cincinnati Enquirer, OH), March 1, 1897, 6. ProQuest. Accessed March 9, 2015. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpcincinnatienquirer/docview/888641568/abstract/9A6961FB2B5D4DB8PQ/123?accountid=12598>>

“Women as Bicycle Instructors,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, MO), November 29, 1896, 28. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/hnpstlouispostdispatch/docview/579365453/citation/1B70BC2E376543E3PQ/25?accountid=12598>>

“Women and the Bicycle,” *The Woman's Journal* 27, no. 39, September 26, 1896, 305. The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed May 3, 2016. <[http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft\\_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205\\_Volume\\_27\\_Issue\\_39-29](http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:articlerec:Gerritsen-GP205_Volume_27_Issue_39-29)>

#### Wisconsin Historical Society Digital Collections

“A Benefit Performance,” *The Pneumatic: A Progressive Monthly Paper for Cyclists* 5, no. 1, April 1894, no page. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed May 1, 2016. <<http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/turningpoints/search.asp?id=1111>>

“A Bicycle Baggage Success,” *The Pneumatic: A Journal of Cycling Literature and Trade News* 8, no. 5, August 1897, no page. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/83555/rec/7>>

A Cycling Doctor, “The Effects of Cycling upon Future Generations,” *The Pneumatic* X, no. 7, August 1899, 194-195. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/84143/rec/9>>

- “Bloomers are Just the Thing,” *The Pneumatic: A Journal of Cycling Literature and Trade News* VI, no. 6, September 1895, no page. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/83254/rec/5>>
- “By Way of Reason,” *The Pneumatic* 9 no. 3, April, 1898, 45-46. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/83840/rec/8>>
- “Have a Circuit of Their Own,” *The Pneumatic: A Journal of Cycling Literature and Trade News* VIII, no. 5, August 1897, no page. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/83555/rec/7>>
- “Interesting to State Riders,” *The Pneumatic: A Journal of Cycling Literature and Trade News* VI, no. 2, May 1895, no page. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/83254/rec/5>>
- “Ladies Department,” *The Pneumatic: A Progressive Monthly Paper for Cyclists* 3, no. 6, September 15, 1893, no page. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/82693/rec/2>>
- “Ladies Department,” *The Pneumatic: A Progressive Monthly Paper for Cyclists* 4, no. 6, March, 1894, no page. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/82800/rec/3>>
- “Ladies Department,” *The Pneumatic: A Progressive Monthly Paper for Cyclists* 5, no. 1, April, 1894, no page. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed April 26, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/82800/rec/3>>
- “Momentary Meditations,” *The Pneumatic: A Journal of Cycling Literature and Trade News* V, no. 4, July 1894, no pages. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed May 5, 2015. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/83013/rec/4>>
- Napoleon, Louis, “Observations,” *The Pneumatic: A Journal of Cycling Literature and Trade News* X, no. 5, June, 1899, 140. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed April 25, 2016. <<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/75613/show/75430/rec/1>>
- “Reform in Woman's Dress,” *The Pneumatic: A Journal of Cycling Literature and Trade News* 5, no. 12, March, 1895, no page. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/83013/rec/4>>
- Royal, Jack, “Gossip About Lady Cyclers,” *The Pneumatic: A Progressive Monthly Paper for Cyclists* 1, no. 2, May 14, 1892, 1. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed May 2, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/61239/rec/1>>

*The Pneumatic* 4, no. 1, October 16, 1893, no pages. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/82800/rec/3>>

"The Wheeling Woman," *The Pneumatic: A Journal of Cycling Literature and Trade News* VI, no. 3, June 1895, no pages. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/83254/rec/5>>

"Women and Bicycling," *The Pneumatic: A Progressive Monthly Paper for Cyclists* 1, no. 5, August 15, 1892, no page. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://cdm15932.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tp/id/61239/rec/1>>

"Women on Bicycles," *The Pneumatic: A Progressive Monthly Paper for Cyclists* 1, no. 1, April 15, 1892, 10. Wisconsin Historical Society. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/turningpoints/search.asp?id=1111>>

#### Women and Social Movements in the U. S., 1600-2000

Harper, Ida. *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, Vol. 1*. Indianapolis, IN: Hollenbeck Press, 1898. Women and Social Movements in the U. S., 1600-2000. Accessed April 24, 2016. <<http://asp6new.alexanderstreet.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/wam2/wam2.object.details.aspx?dorpid=1002256154>>

———. *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, vol. 3*. Indianapolis, IN: Hollenbeck Press, 1908. Women and Social Movements in the U. S., 1600-2000. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<http://asp6new.alexanderstreet.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/wam2/wam2.object.details.aspx?dorpid=1002256153>>

Willard, Frances. *Minutes of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, at the Twentieth Annual Meeting, Held in Chicago, Illinois, 18-21 October, 1893*. Chicago: Woman's Temperance Publication Association, 1893. Women and Social Movements in the U. S., 1600-2000. Accessed May 4, 2016. <<http://asp6new.alexanderstreet.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/wam2/wam2.object.details.aspx?dorpid=1000637303>>



## PRINT SOURCES

### Author's Collection

"Velocipede Race in Paris — Sunday Afternoon," *Harper's Weekly*, December 19, 1868, 812. Print. Author's collection.

Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, MI.

*The Michigan Cyclist*, April 29, 1897, 3, No. 15, 8. Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, EA 175 MC995 MC995. Print. Accessed March 4, 2015.

"The Woman's Race," *The Michigan Cyclist* 3, no. 15, April 29, 1897, 6. Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. EA 175 MC995 MC995. Print. Accessed March 4, 2015.

Frances Willard House Museum and Archives, Evanston, IL.

Beatty, William K., "That harbinger of heath and happiness," *The Union Signal* CXXIV, no. 1, Winter 1898, 18-23. Frances Willard House Museum and Archives. Print. Accessed June 6, 2015.

Bell, Ida Trafford, "The Art of Bicycling," *Ladies' World* XVII no. 7, July, 1896, 21. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Print. Accessed June 6, 2015.

Blackwell, Alice Stone, "A Woman's Right— To A Bicycle," *Ladies' World* XVII, no. 7 July 1896, 2. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Print. Accessed June 6, 2015.

Fessenden, Susan S., "The Wheel as a Temperance Help," *Ladies' World* XVII, no. 7, July 1896, 19. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Print. Accessed June 6, 2016.

Hoffman, Clara C. "Correspondence. Our Two Leaders," *The Union Signal*, October 3, 1895, 4. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive, Box 10 Oct 1894- Feb 27, 1896. Microfilm. Accessed June 6, 2015.

Hopkins, Mary Sargent, "Yesterday and Today," *Ladies' World* XVII no. 7, July 1896, 10. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Print. Accessed June 6, 2015.

Keatinge, Harriette C., "Women and the Bicycle from a Medical Point of View," *Ladies' World* XVII, no. 7, July 1896, 21. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Print. Accessed June 6, 2015.

Livermore, Mary, "The Bicycle as an Aid to Study Nature," *Ladies' World* XVII, no. 7, July 1896, no page. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Print. Accessed June 6, 2015.

Mell, "The Woman Who Doesn't Care How She Looks as Long as She is Comfortable," *Ladies' World* XVII, no. 7, July 1896, 10-11. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Print. Accessed June 6, 2015.

"News in a Nutshell," *The Union Signal*, June 18, 1896, 11-12. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Box 11 - March 1896-August 26, 1897. Microfilm. Accessed June 6, 2015.

Newspaper clipping pasted into "Letter to Anna from Jessie — June 30, 1892." Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Cycling folder. Print. Accessed June 6, 2015.

"Since Our Last Issue," *The Union Signal*, October 31, 1895, 1. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive, Box 10 Oct 1894- Feb 27, 1896. Microfilm. Accessed June 6, 2015.

"The Bicycle as a Reformer," *The Union Signal*, June 13, 1895, 8. Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Box 10 Oct 1894- Feb 27, 1896. Microfilm. Accessed June 6, 2015.

Untitled newspaper clipping in Letter, June 30, 1892, Frances Willard House Museum and Archive. Print. Accessed June 6, 2015.

Willard, Frances, E., Journal Transcriptions (transcribed by Carolyn DeSwarte Gifford); Accessed May 11, 2016. <<http://willard.archivestree.com>>

Library of Congress. Washington, DC.

"A Blessing to Women," *The American Cyclist* 7, August 30, 1895, 397. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.

- “A Remarkable Woman,” *The Cycling Gazette* 3, no. 12, February 18, 1897, 23. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2016.
- “A Southern Cycling Girl,” *The American Cyclist* 6, December 14, 1894, 140. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.
- “Bicycling for Girls,” *The American Cyclist* 3, March 1892, 45. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.
- “Boston Bicycle Doings,” *Referee* 13, no. 3, May 18, 1894, no page. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.
- Burke, Ulila, “Women of the Wheel,” *Wheelman's Gazette* 8, April 1893, 60-61. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.
- “Cycling Alone,” *The American Cyclist*, 7, June 28, 1895, no page. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.
- “Cycling for Women,” *The American Cyclist*, June 1892, 155. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.
- Helca, Berry, “Object to Ladies’ Races,” *Referee* 13, no. 21, September 21, 1894, no page. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.
- J. T., “For Women Riders,” *The Cycling Gazette* 3, no. 21, April 22, 1897, 20. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.
- , “The Independent Excursionst,” *The Cycling Gazette* 3, no. 21, April 22, 1897, 20. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.
- “Ladies Barred Out. Columbus Cycling Club Inserts the Word ‘Male’ in its Constitution,” *The Cycling Gazette* 3, no. 18, April 1, 1897, 5. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.
- Le Garde, Ellen, “Ladies Department,” *Wheelman's Gazette* VII, no. 10, August 1892, 166. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.
- , “Ladies Department,” *Wheelman's Gazette* VII, no. 2, February 1892, 26-27. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.
- , “The Bicycling Girl,” *Wheelman's Gazette* VII, no. 5, May 1892, 69. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.

- Margery, "The Ladies' Mile," *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* XIV, no. 15, October 12, 1894, 307. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.
- , "The Ladies' Mile," *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* X, no. 5 July 29, 1892, 85. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.
- , "The Ladies' Mile," *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* 101, no. 8, February 24, 1893, 149. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.
- , "The Ladies' Mile," *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* XII, no. 8, August 25, 1893, 173. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.
- , "The Ladies' Mile," *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* XII, no. 14, October 6, 1893, 321. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.
- , "The Ladies' Mile," *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* XIII, no. 7, March 9, 1894, 10. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.
- , "The Ladies' Mile," *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* XIV no. 23, December 7, 1894, 466. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.
- , "The Ladies' Mile," *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* XII, no. 26 January 5, 1894, 553. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.
- , "The Ladies' Mile," *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* XII, no. 3, January 19, 1894, 49. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.
- , "The Ladies' Mile," *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* XIII, no. 24, June 15, 1894, 499. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.
- , "The Ladies' Mile," *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* XIV, no. 4, July 13, 1894, 67. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.
- "Mrs. Adams' Little Joke," *The American Cyclist* 6, March 15, 1895, 602. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.
- "Our Lady Riders," *Referee* 13, no. 3, May 18, 1894, no page. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.
- The American Cyclist* IV, no 11, June 15, 1893, no page. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.

*The American Cyclist*, 7, August 30, 1895, 384. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.

“The Ladies’ Mile,” *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* X, no. 13, September 23, 1892, 225. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed April 24, 2016.

“The Ladies’ Mile,” *The American Athlete and Cycle Trade Review* XII, no. 14, October 6, 1893, 301. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.

“The Latest Danger. No trouble to handle men cyclists, but women scorchers—” *Referee* 13, no. 18, August 31, 1894, no pages. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.

“The ‘New Woman’ and Her Bicycle — There Will Be Several Varieties of Her,” *Puck*, June 19, 1895. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Online Catalog. Accessed January 25, 2016. <<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3b49127>>

*Wheelman's Gazette*, 8 (July 1893): 109-110. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 9, 2015.

“Woman As Cyclist,” *The American Cyclist* 7, May 31, 1895, 55-56. Library of Congress. Print. Accessed March 10, 2015.

Lily Library, Indiana University. Bloomington, IN.

“Clippings of Bicycling Accidents,” Library of the Prudential Ins. Co. of America, Newark, NJ, Statistician’s Department. Surgeon General’s Office Library, Section: Statistical No. 262809. Lily Library, Indiana University. Cycling Mss Box 3 LMC 2804. Print. Accessed March 4, 2015.

Clyde, Henry, *Pleasure-Cycling*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1895.. Lily Library, Indiana University. Print. Accessed March 4, 2015.

Columbia and Hartford Bicycles, Catalog no. 25. Hartford, CT: Columbia Press, 1902. Lily Library, Indiana University. Cycling Mss. Box 6 LMC 2804. Print. Accessed March 4, 2015.

Egbert, Seneca. *The Bicycle in its Relation to the Physician Reprinted from the University Medical Magazine*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1892. Lily Library, Indiana University. Print. Accessed March 4, 2015.

*The Hub*, June 12, 1897, 204. Lily Library, Indiana University. Print. Accessed March 4, 2015.

Smith College Archives, Northampton, MA.

Moore, Elizabeth Skelding, "Bicycle Riding at Smith College," 1918. Smith College Archives. Print. Accessed April 2, 2015 via email.

## SECONDARY SOURCES

Abelson, Elaine. *When Ladies Go A-Thieving: Middle-Class Shoplifters in the Victorian Department Store*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Adams, Katherine H. and Keene, Michael L. *Alice Paul and the American Suffrage Campaign*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008.

Anderson, Nancy Fix. *The Sporting Life: Victorian Sports and Games*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2010.

Anderson, Warwick, "Excremental Colonialism: Public Health and the Poetics of Pollution." *Critical Inquiry* 21, no. 3 (1995): 640–669.

Aronson, Sidney H., "The Sociology of the Bicycle," *Social Forces* 30, no. 3 (1952): 305-312.

Athey, Stephanie, "Eugenic Feminisms in Nineteenth-Century America: Reading Race in Victoria Woodhull, Frances Willard, Anna Julia Cooper and Ida B. Wells," *Genders* (2000): no pages. Accessed December 10, 2010. <[http://www.genders.org/g31/g31\\_athey.html](http://www.genders.org/g31/g31_athey.html)>

Authurs-Brennan, Michelle, "Twitter Responds After Peter Kannaugh Tells Pooley 'No One Knows About Women's Giro,'" *Total Women's Cycling*, April 28, 2016. Web. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<https://totalwomenscycling.com/news/twitter-responds-peter-kennaugh-tells-pooley-no-one-knows-womens-giro-73804/#IZb7U2vkMqhLqkY0.97>>

Baker, Paula, "The Domestication of Politics," *The American Historical Review* 89, no. 3 (June 1984): 620-647.

Balf, Todd. *Major: A Black Athlete, a White Era, and the Fight to Be the World's Fastest Human Being*. New York: Broadway Books, 2009.

Ball, Jeanine, "The Case for Equal Prize Money in Women's Cycling," *The Sports Law Canary*, October 21, 2014. Web. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<https://sportslawnews.wordpress.com/2014/10/21/the-case-for-equal-prize-money-in-womens-cycling/>>

- Baron, Ava, "An 'Other' Side of Gender Antagonism at Work: Men, Boys, and the Remasculinization of Printers' Work, 1830-1920," in *Work Engendered: Toward a New History of American Labor*, edited by Ava Baron, 47-70. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Bederman, Gail. *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Benson, Susan. *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890-1940*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1988.
- Bijker, Wiebe E. *Of Bicycles, Bakelites and Bulbs: Toward a Theory of Sociotechnical Change*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997.
- Birkett, Dea. *Spinsters Abroad: Victorian Lady Explorers*. London: Oxford, 1989.
- Bizzell, Patricia, "Frances Willard, Phoebe Palmer, and the Ethos of the Methodist Woman Preacher," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (September 2006): 377-398.
- Blunt, Alison,. *Travel, Gender, and Imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa*. New York: The Guilford Press, 1994.
- Bordin, Ruth. *Frances Willard: A Biography*. Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.
- , "Frances Willard and the Practice of Political Influence," *Hayes Historical Journal* 5, no. 1 (1985): 18-28
- Branding, Steven D. *Historic Firsts of Lewiston, Idaho: Unintended Greatness*. Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2013.
- Briggs, Laura. *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Bulger, Mary A., "American Sportswomen in the 19th Century," *Journal of Popular Culture* 16 (1982): 1-16.
- Cahn, Susan K.. *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Women's Sports* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- . Keynote Speech. *North American Society for Sports History*, May 23, 2015, University of Miami, Miami, Florida.
- Cantelon, Hart and Robert Hollands. *Leisure, Sport and Working-Class Cultures*. Toronto: Garamond Press, 1998.



- Chalabi, Moni, "Why Women Don't Cycle," *FiveThirtyEight*, June 16, 2016. Web. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<http://fivethirtyeight.com/datalab/why-women-dont-cycle/>>
- Clarke, Gill and Barbara Humberstone. *Researching Women and Sport*. London: Macmillan Press, 1997.
- Clemiston, Suze, "The long, hard road to equal pay for women's cycling and sport as a whole," *The Guardian Sport Network*, March 6, 2014. Web. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<http://www.theguardian.com/sport/100-tours-100-tales/2014/mar/06/equal-pay-womens-sport-cycling-kopenbergcross>>
- Chaudhuri, Nupur, and Margaret Strobel, editors. *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992.
- Chudacoff, Howard P. *The Age of the Bachelor*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Christie-Robin, Julia, Belinda Orzada and Dilia Lopez-Gydosh, "From Bustles to Bloomers: Exploring the Bicycle's Influence on American Women's Fashion, 1880-1914," *The Journal of American Culture* 35, no. 4 (December 2012): 315-331.
- Clement, Elizabeth Alice. *Love for Sale: Courting, Treating, and Prostitution in New York City, 1900-1945*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.
- Cobble, Dorothy Sue. *The Other Women's Movement: Workplace Justice and Social Rights in Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).
- Cohen, Lizabeth. *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Colbert, C. C. *The Other Civil War: American Women in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1999.
- Colley, Ann C. *Victorians in the Mountains: Sinking the Sublime*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2001.
- Collins, Tracy, "Athletic Fashion, Punch, and the Creation of the New Woman," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 43, no. 3 (Fall 2010): 309-335.
- Costa, Margaret D. and Sharon Ruth Guthrie. *Women and Sport: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1994.
- Cott, Nancy F. *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

- Cronin, Mike, "Not Taking the Medicine: Sportsmen and Doctors in Late Nineteenth Century Britain," *Journal of Sport History* 34, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 23-36.
- Cronon, William. *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1992.
- . "The Trouble with Wilderness" in *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature*, edited by William Cronon, 69-91. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995.
- Dando, Christina E., "Riding the Wheel: Selling American Women Mobility and Geographic Knowledge," *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, 6, no. 2, (2007): 174-210.
- Deutsch, Sarah. *Women and the City: Gender, Space, and Power in Boston, 1870–1940*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Downey, Dennis B., "Review: Frances Willard: A Biography," *Illinois Historical Journal* 81, no. 2 (Summer 1988): 151-152.
- Dubois, Ellen Carol. *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America, 1848-1869*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- Earhart, Mary. *Frances Willard: From Prayers to Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944.
- Ehrenreich, Barbara. *For Her Own Good: Two Centuries of the Experts Advice to Women*. New York: Anchor Books, 2005.
- Ellis, Reuben. *Vertical Margins: Mountaineering and the Landscapes of Neoimperialism*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001.
- Enstad, Nan. *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure: Working Women, Popular Culture, and Labor Politics at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Epperson, Bruce. *Peddling Bicycles to America: The Rise of an Industry*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2010.
- Evans, Sara. *Born for Liberty*. New York: Free Press, 1997.
- Ewen, Elizabeth. *Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars: Life and Culture on the Lower East Side, 1890-1925*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1985.

- Faderman, Lillian. *To Believe in Women: What Lesbians Have Done for America — A History*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999.
- Faulkner, Carol. *Lucretia Mott's Heresy: Abolition and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.
- Ferber, Conrad. *Major Taylor: The Inspiring Story of a Black Cyclist and the Men Who Helped Him Achieve Worldwide Fame*. New York: Skyhorse Publishing Company, 2014.
- Festle, Mary Jo. *Playing Nice: Politics and Apologies in Women's Sports*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.
- Fiege, Mark. *The Republic of Nature: An Environmental History of the United States*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012.
- Fine, Lisa. *The Souls of the Skyscraper: Female Clerical Workers in Chicago, 1870-1930*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990.
- Finnegan, Margaret. *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture and Votes for Women*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Fisher, Colin. *Urban Green: Nature, Recreation, and the Working Class in Industrial Chicago*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015.
- Fischer, Gayle K. *Pantaloons and Power: A Nineteenth-Century Dress Reform in the United States*. Kent, OH: Kent University Press, 2001.
- Finish, Lorenz J. *Boston's Cycling Craze, 1880-1900*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2014.
- Fitzpatrick, Ellen and Eleanor Flexer. *A Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States*. New York: Belknap Press, 1996.
- Frank, Dana. *Purchasing Power: Consumer Organizing, Gender, and the Seattle Labor Movement, 1919-1929*. Cambridge: Harvard University, 1994.
- Freedman, Estelle. *Redefining Rape: Sexual Violence in the Era of Suffrage and Segregation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.
- Friss, Evan. *The Cycling City: Bicycles and Urban America in the 1890s*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015.

- Galt, Jesse J. and Nicholas J. Hoffman. *Wheel Fever: How Wisconsin Became a Great Bicycling State*. Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 2013.
- Garvey, Ellen Gruber, "Refraining the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women." *American Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (March 1995): 66-101.
- Gems, Gerald R. *The Athletic Crusade: Sport and American Cultural Imperialism*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006.
- Gems, Gerald R., Linda J. Borish and Gertrud Pfister. *Sports in American History: From Colonization to Globalization*. Champaign: Human Kinetics, 2008.
- Ghose, Indira. *Women Travelers In Colonial India: The Power of the Female Gaze*. Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Glass, Aoife, "5 of the Bike Industry's Worst Sexist Marketing Fails," *Bike Radar*, September 17, 2015. Web. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<http://www.bikeradar.com/us/road/gear/article/5-of-the-bike-industrys-worst-sexist-marketing-fails-45249/>>
- Giddings, Caitlin, "How Sexism is Hurting Cycling," *Bicycling*, May 18, 2015. Web. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<http://www.bicycling.com/culture/people/how-sexism-hurting-cycling>>
- , "What It's Like to be a Magnet for On-Bike Harassment," *Bicycling*, September 10, 2015. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<http://www.bicycling.com/culture/etiquette/what-its-like-to-be-a-magnet-for-on-bike-harassment>>
- Ginzberg, Lori D. *Elizabeth Cady Stanton: An American Life*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2010.
- Goodman, David J., "The Bittersweet History of Bicycle Clubs in America," *New York Times* (New York, NY), January 10, 2010, A18. ProQuest. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/docview/1461188513/36CCD26132FE4B94PQ/1?accountid=12598>>
- Gori, Gigliola and J. A. Mangan, *Sport and the Emancipation of European Women: The Struggle for Self-Fulfillment*. London: Routledge, 2014.
- Gorn, Elloitt J. *A Brief History of American Sports*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2004.
- . *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010).

- Gragg, Shelby and Susan Shackelford. *Shattering The Glass: The Remarkable History Of Women's Basketball*. New York: The New Press, 2005.
- Gray, Sally Helvenston, and Michaela C. Peteu, “‘Invention, the Angel of the Nineteenth Century’: Patents for Women's Cycling Attire in the 1890s,” *Dress* 32 (2005): 27-42.
- Griffin, Brian. *Cycling in Victorian Ireland*. Dublin: Nonsuch Publishing, 2006.
- Grimsby, Ola and Jim Rivard. *Science, Theory and Clinical Application in Orthopaedic Manual Physical Therapy: Applied Science and Theory, Volume 2*. Taylorsville, UT: The Academy of Graduate Physical Therapy, Inc. 2008.
- Gordon, Ann. *The Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony: Against an Aristocracy of Sex, 1866 to 1873*. New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 2000.
- Gordon, Anna A. *The Life of Frances E. Willard*. Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1898.
- Grundy, Pamela. *Learning to Win: Sports, Education, and Social Change in Twentieth-Century North Carolina*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.
- Guglielmo, Jennifer. *Living the Revolution: Italian Women's Resistance and Radicalism in New York City, 1880-1945*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.
- Guttmann, Allen. *Women's Sports: A History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991.
- Hahner, June Edith. *Women Through Women's Eyes: Latin American Women in 19th-century Travel Accounts*. Lanham, MD: SR Books, 1998.
- Hall, Ann M. *Feminism and Sporting Bodies*. Champaign: Human Kinetics Publishers, 1995.
- Hall, Catherine and Soyna O. Rose, eds., *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Hallenbeck, Sarah, “Riding Out of Bounds: Women Bicyclists' Embodied Medical Authority,” *Rhetoric Review* 29, no. 4 (September 2010): 327–345.
- Halnon, Shelia, “The Lady Cyclist: A Gender Analysis of Women's Cycling Culture in 1890s London,” (PhD dissertation, York University, 2009).
- Halttunen, Karen. *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-class Culture in America, 1830-1870*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.

- Hargreaves, Jennifer. *Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sport*. New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Harmond, Richard, "Progress and Flight: An Interpretation of the American Cycle Craze of the 1890s," *Journal of Social History* 5, no. 2 (Winter 1971-1972): 235-257.
- Harper, Lila Marz. *Solitary Travelers: Nineteenth-century Women's Travel Narratives and the Scientific Vocation*. Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2001.
- Helphand, Kenneth, "The Bicycle Kodak," *Environmental Review* 4, no. 3 (1980): 24-33.
- Hill, Patricia. *The World Their Household: the American Woman's Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870-1920*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1985.
- Hoganson, Kristin, "'As Badly Off as the Filipinos': US Women's Suffragists and the Imperial Issue at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Journal of Women's History* 13, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 9-33.
- . *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American War*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Howe, Daniel Walker. *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848*. New York: Oxford, 2009.
- Howell, Reet. *Her Story in Sport: A Historical Anthology of Women in Sports*. West Point, NY: Leisure Press, 1982.
- Huxman, Susan Schultz, "The Woman's Journal 1870-1890" in *A Voice of their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910*, edited by Martha Watson, 87-109. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991.
- Imbarrato, Susan Clair. *Traveling Women: Narrative Visions of Early America*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2006.
- Immerman, Richard H. *Empire for Liberty: A History of American Imperialism from Benjamin Franklin to Paul Wolfowitz*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010.
- Isserman, Maurice and Stewart Weaver. *Fallen Giants: A History of Himalayan Mountaineering from the Age of Empire to the Age of Extremes*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.
- Jackson, T. J. *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

- Jacoby, Karl. *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Jenkins, Sally, "History of Women's Basketball," Women's National Basketball Association. Web. Assessed April 3, 2016. <[http://origin.wnba.com/about\\_us/jenkins\\_feature.html](http://origin.wnba.com/about_us/jenkins_feature.html)>
- Jerry, E. Claire, "Clara Bewick Colby and the Woman's Tribune, 1883-1909: The Free Lance Editor as Movement Leader," in *A Voice of Their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910*, edited by Martha Watson, 110-128. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1991.
- Johnson, Nan. *Gender and Rhetorical Space in American Life, 1866-1910*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2002.
- Jones, Kimberly Morse. *Elizabeth Robins Pennell, Nineteenth-Century Pioneer of Modern Art Criticism*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015.
- Kanigel, Robert. *The One Best Way: Frederick Winslow Taylor and the Enigma of Efficiency*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005.
- Kaplan, Amy and Donald E. Pease, editors, *Cultures of United States Imperialism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.
- Kasson, John F. *Amusing the Million: Coney Island at the Turn of the Century*. New York: Hill and Wang, Publishers, 1985.
- Kay, Joyce, "It Wasn't Just Emily Davison! Sport, Suffrage and Society in Edwardian Britain," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 25, no. 10 (September 2008): 1338-1354.
- Kern, Stephen. *The Culture of Time and Space: 1880-1918*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983.
- Kessler-Harris, Alice. *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- . *Gendering Labor History* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2007).
- Kinsey, Fiona, "Reading Photographic Portraits of Australian Women Cyclists in the 1890s: From Costume and Cycle Choices to Constructions of Feminine Identity," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 28, no. 8-9 (May-June 2011): 1121-1137.
- , "Stamina, Speed and Adventure: Australian Women and Competitive Cycling in the 1890s," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 28 (July 2011): 1375-1387.

- Kirschmann, Anne Taylor. *A Vital Force: Women in American Homeopathy*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004.
- Kraditor, Aileen S. *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement: 1890-1920*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1981.
- Koelle, Alexandra V., "Pedaling on the Periphery," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 41, 3 (Autumn 2010): 305-326.
- Leeman, Richard W., "*Do Everything*" *Reform: The Oratory of Frances E. Willard* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992).
- Lerner, Gerda, "Where Biographers Fear to Tread," *Women's Review of Books* 4, no. 12 (September 1987): 11-12.
- Lewis, Susan Ingalls. *Unexceptional Women: Female Proprietors in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Albany, New York, 1830-1885*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2009.
- Leach, William R. *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture*. New York: Vintage, 1994.
- Lenskyj, Helen. *Out of Bounds: Women, Sport and Sexuality*. Toronto: Women's Press, 1986.
- . *Out on the Field: Gender, Sport, and Sexualities*. Toronto: Women's Press, 2003.
- Levine, Susan. *Labor's True Woman: Carpet Weavers, Industrialization, and Labor Reform in the Gilded Age*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984.
- Lomicky, Carol S., "Frontier Feminism and the Woman's Tribune: The Journalism of Clara Bewick Colby," *Journalism History* 28, no. 3 (Fall 2002): 102-112.
- Longhust, James. *Bike Battles: The History of Sharing the American Road*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015.
- , "The Sidepath Not Taken: Bicycles, Taxes, and the Rhetoric of the Public Good in the 1890s," *Journal of Policy History* 24, no. 4 (2013): 557-586.
- Lucas, Shelley, "Women's Cycle Racing: Enduring Meanings," *Journal of Sport History* 39, no. 2 (Summer 2012): 227-242.
- Mangan, J. A. and Roberta Park *From 'Fair Sex' to Feminism: Sport and the Socialization of Women in the Industrial and Post-Industrial Eras*. London: F. Cass, 1987.



- Marks, Patricia *Bicycles, Bangs and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1990.
- McCally, Karen, "Bloomers & Bicycles: Health and Fitness in Victorian Rochester," *Rochester History* 2, (Spring 2008): 1-30.
- Mackintosh, Philliop Gordon, "Flâneurie on bicycles: acquiescence to women in public in the 1890s," *Canadian Geographer* 50, no. 1 (2006): 17-37.
- , "A Bourgeois Geography of Domestic Bicycling: Using Public Spaces Responsibly in Toronto and Niagara-on-the-Lake, 1890-1900" *Journal of Historical Sociology* 20, no. 1/2 (March/June 2007): 126-152.
- , "'Wheel Within a Wheel' - Frances Willard and the Feminisation of the Bicycle," *International Cycling History Conference. Osceola: Bicycle Books* (1998): 21-28.
- Mackintosh, Phillip Gordon and Glen Norcliffe, "Men, Women and the Bicycle: Gender and Social Geography of Cycling in the Late-Nineteenth Century," in *Cycling and Society*, edited by Dave Horton, Paul Rosen and Peter Cox, 153-178. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Group, 2007.
- Macy, Sue. *Wheels of Change: How Women Rode the Bicycle to Freedom (With a Few Flat Tires Along the Way)*. Washington, DC: National Geographic Children's Books, 2011.
- Marilley, Suzanne M., "Frances Willard and the Feminism of Fear," *Feminist Studies* 19, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 123-146.
- Masel-Walters, Lynne, "A Burning Cloud by Day: The History and Content of the Woman's Journal," *Journalism History* 3, no. 4 (Winter 1977): 103-110.
- McCartney, Paul *Power and Progress: American National Identity, the War of 1898, and the Rise of American Imperialism*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006.
- McEwan, Cheryl. *Gender, Geography and Empire. Victorian Women Travelers in West Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000.
- McMillen, Sally. *Seneca Falls and the Origins of the Women's Rights Movement*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- . *Lucy Stone: An Unapologetic Life*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Mead, Rebecca. *How the Vote was Won: Woman Suffrage in the Western United States, 1868-1914*. New York: New York University Press, 2006.

- Messner, Michael A. *Taking the Field: Women, Men, and Sports*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002.
- Meyerowitz, Joanne. *Women Adrift: Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1880-1930*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Mills, Sara. *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Mohanty, Chandra Talpade, *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.
- Morantz-Sanchez, Regina Markell. *Sympathy and Science: Women Physicians in American Medicine*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- More, Ellen Singer. *Restoring the Balance: Women Physicians and the Profession of Medicine, 1850-1995*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- More, Ellen S., Elizabeth Fee and Manon Perry. *Women Physicians and the Cultures of Medicine*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2008.
- Morgan, Susan. *Place Matters: Gendered Geography in Victorian Women's Travel Books About S. E. Asia*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996.
- Morzek, Donald J. *Sport and American Mentality, 1880-1910*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983.
- Muellner, Beth, "The Photographic Enactment of the Early New Woman in 1890s German Women's Bicycling Magazines," *Women in German Yearbook* 22 (2006): 167-188.
- Muncy, Robin. *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform*. Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Nasaw, David. *Going Out: The Rise and Fall of Public Amusements*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- National Parks Service, "National Register of Historical Places Continuation Sheet, Mechanical Fabric Company." Accessed April 24, 2016. <<https://www.nps.gov/nr/feature/places/pdfs/13001059.pdf>>
- Neejer, Christine, "Fanny Bullock Workman," In ed. Hasia R. Diner *Women in American History: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Facts on File, 2012).

Newman, Louise Michele. *Men's Ideas/Women's Realities: Popular Science, 1870-1915*. New York: Pergamon Press, 1985.

———. *White Women's Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Nicole, Maghen, "Harassing Me While I'm Biking Is Still Street Harassment," Thought Catalog, August 14, 2014. Web. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<http://thoughtcatalog.com/maghen-nicole/2014/08/harassing-me-while-im-biking-is-still-street-harassment/>>

Norcliffe, Glen. *The Ride to Modernity: The Bicycle in Canada, 1869-1900*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.

"No Wonder Women Don't Want to Ride Bikes," Stop Street Harassment, July 9, 2014. Web. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<http://www.stopstreetharassment.org/2014/07/no-wonder/>>

Oliver, Smith Hempstone and Donald H. Berkebile, "Wheels and Wheeling: The Smithsonian Cycle Collection," *Smithsonian Studies in History and Technology* 24 (1974): 1-104.

Park, Jihang, "Sport, Dress Reform and the Emancipation of Women in Victorian England: A Reappraisal," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 6, no. 1 (1989): 10-30.

Park, Roberta, "'All the Freedom of the Boy': Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Nineteenth-Century Architect of Women's Rights" *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 18, no. 1 (2010): 7-26.

———, "Contesting the Norm: Women and Professional Sports in Late Nineteenth-Century America," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29, no. 5 (April 2012): 730-749.

Park, Roberta and Patricia Vertinsky. *Women, Sport, Society: Further Reflections, Reaffirming Mary Wollstonecraft*. New York: Routledge, 2014.

Pascoe, Peggy. *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Patton, Cynthia Ellen, "'Not a limitless possession': Health Advice and Readers' Agency in *The Girl's Own Paper*, 1880-1890," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 45, no. 2 (Summer 2012): 111-133.

Pauly, Thomas H. *Game Faces: Five Early American Champions and the Sports They Changed*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008.

- Peck, Ira. *Elizabeth Blackwell: The First Woman Doctor*. Brookfield, CT: Millbrook Press, 2000.
- Peiss, Kathy. *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986.
- Petty, Ross, "Women and the Wheel: The Bicycle's Impact on Women," *Cycle History: Proceedings of the 7th International Cycle History Conference Buffalo, New York, USA*. September 1996 (San Francisco, CA: Rob van der Plas 1996).
- Pixar, William F. "White Women and the Campaign Against Lynching," *Counterpoints* 163 (2001): 487-554.
- Potter, Isaac B., "The Bicycle Outlook," *Century Magazine*, September 1896: 789. Google Books. Accessed May 10, 2016. <<https://books.google.com/books?id=BJRHAQAAMAAJ>>
- "Professional Cyclist Cara Gilis," Strongest Hearts. Web. Accessed October 12, 2014. <<http://www.strongesthearts.org/day-in-the-life-3-professional-cyclist-cara-gillis/>>
- Pryor, Elizabeth Brown. *Clara Barton, Professional Angel*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987.
- Rabinovitz, Lauren. *For the Love of Pleasure: Women, Movies, and Culture in Turn-of-the-Century Chicago*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1998.
- Reddy, William M. *The Navigation of Feeling : A Framework for the History of Emotions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Reiss, Steven A. *City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989.
- . *Major Problems in America Sport History*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997.
- . *Sport in Industrial America, 1850-1920*. New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013.
- . *The American Sporting Experience: A Historical Anthology of Sport in America*. New York: Leisure Press, 1984.
- Ritchie, Andrew. *King of the Road: An Illustrated History of Cycling*. London: Ten Speed Press, 1975.
- . *Major Taylor: The Extraordinary Career of a Champion Bicycle Racer*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1996.

- , "The Wheelwoman—Search for Copies," January 16, 2010. Accessed April 19, 2011. <<http://andrewritchie.wordpress.com/2010/01/16/the-wheelwoman-search-for-copies>>
- Robinson, Jane. *Unsuitable For Ladies: An Anthology of Women Travelers*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Rockman, Seth. *Scraping By: Wage Labor, Slavery, and Survival in Early Baltimore*. Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 2009.
- Rodgers, Daniel T. *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000.
- Romero, Patricia. *Women's Voices on West Africa*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- Rosenzweig, Roy. *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Rubinstein, David, "Cycling in the 1890's," *Victorian Studies* (1977): 47-71.
- Rupp, Leila J. *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Rush, Anita, "The Bicycle Boom of the Gay Nineties: A Reassessment," *Material History Bulletin* 18 (1983): 1-12.
- Scribner, Mary Suzanne. *Writing Home: American Women Abroad, 1830-1920*. Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1997.
- Sharpless, Rebecca. *Cooking in Other Women's Kitchens: Domestic Workers in the South, 1865-1960*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2010.
- Shoebridge, Michele. *Women in Sport: A Select Bibliography*. London and New York: Mansell Publishing Limited, 1987.
- Siegel, Kristi. *Gender, Genre, and Identity in Women's Travel Writing*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc, 2004.
- Siegel, Robert E., "Women's Clothes and Women's Rights," *American Quarterly* 15, no. 3 (Autumn 1963): 390-401.

- Simpson, Clare S., "Capitalising on Curiosity: Women's Professional Cycle Racing in the Late Nineteenth Century," edited by Dave Horton, Peter Cox and Paul Rosen, *Cycling and Society* (Hampshire, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007): 47-66.
- , "Respectable Identities: New Zealand Nineteenth-Century 'New Women' — On Bicycles!" *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 18, no. 2 (2001): 54-77.
- Simri, Uriel. *A Concise World History of Women's Sports*. Netanya, Israel: Wingate Institute for Physical Education and Sport, 1983.
- Sims, Sally, "The Bicycle, the Bloomer and Dress Reform in the 1890s," in eds. Patricia A. Cunningham and Susan Voso Lab, *Dress and Popular Culture*, 125-146. (Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1991).
- Skinner, Carolyn. *Women Physicians and Professional Ethos in Nineteenth-Century America*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2014.
- Smith, Mark. *Sensing the Past: Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, Tasting, and Touching in History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.
- Smith, Robert A. *A Social History of the Bicycle*. New York: American Heritage Press, 1972.
- Sneider, Allison L. *Suffragists in an Imperial Age: U.S. Expansion and the Woman Question, 1870-1929*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Solomon, Marsha M., "The Role of the Suffrage Press in the Woman's Rights Movement," in *A Voice of their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910*, edited by Martha Watson, 1-17. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991.
- Somers, Dale A., "A City on Wheels: The Bicycle Era of New Orleans," *Louisiana History* 8, no. 3 (1967): 219-238.
- Spreng, Ron, "The 1890s Bicycling Craze in the Red River Valley," *Minnesota History* 54, no. 6 (Summer 1995): 268-282.
- Steadman, Jennifer Bernhart. *Traveling Economies: American Women's Travel Writing*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2007.
- Stevenson, Catherine Barnes. *Victorian Women Travel Writers in Africa*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982.
- Strachey, Ray. *Frances Willard: Her Life and Work*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1913.

- Strange, Lisa and Robert S. Brown, "The Bicycle, Women's Rights, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton," *Women's Studies* 31 (2002): 609-626.
- Starr, Paul. *The Social Transformation of American Medicine: The Rise of a Sovereign Profession and the Making of a Vast Industry*, New York: Basic Books, 1984.
- Taylor, Michael, "The Bicycle Boom and the Bicycle Bloc: Cycling and Politics in the 1890s," *Indiana Magazine of History* 104, no. 3 (September 2008): 213-240.
- Tears, T. J. Jackson. *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Terborg-Penn, Rosalyn, "Enfranchising Women of Color: Woman Suffragists as Agents of Imperialism," in *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race*, edited by Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhrt, 41-56. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998.
- Tetrault, Lisa, "The Incorporation of American Feminism: Suffragists on the Postbellum Lyceum," *Journal of American History*, 96 (March 2010), 1027-56.
- "The Inflation Calculator," <[www.http://www.westegg.com/inflation/](http://www.westegg.com/inflation/)> Accessed April 2, 2016.
- Theberge, Nancy, "It's Not About Health, It's About Performance: Sport Medicine, Health and the Culture of Risk in Canadian Sport," in *Physical Culture, Power and the Body*, edited by Jennifer Hargreaves and Patricia Vertinsky, 176-194. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Tobin, Gary Allen, "The Bicycle Boom of the 1890s: The Development of Private Transportation and the Birth of Modern Tourists," *Journal of Popular Culture* 7 (1973): 838-847.
- Twin, Stephanie L. *Out of the Bleachers: Writings on Women and Sport*. Old Westbury, NY: The Feminist Press, 1979.
- Tyrrell, Ian. *Woman's World/Woman's Empire: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880-1930*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991.
- Urban, Andrew, "Irish Domestic Servants, 'Biddy' and Rebellion in the American Home, 1850-1900," *Gender & History* 21, no. 2 (August 2009): 263-286.
- Van Raaphorts, Donna L. *Union Maids Not Wanted: Organizing Domestic Workers, 1870-1940*. New York: Praetor, 1988.

- Vanderford, Marsha L., "The Woman's Column: 1888-1904: Extending the Suffrage Community," in *A Voice of their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910*, edited by Martha Watson, 129-153. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1991.
- Verbrugge, Martha H. *Active Bodies: A History of Women's Physical Education in Twentieth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Vertinsky, Patricia, "A Militant Madonna: Charlotte Perkins Gilman - Feminism and Physical Culture," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 18, no. 1 (2001): 55-72.
- . *The Eternally Wounded Woman: Women, Doctors and Exercise in the Late Nineteenth Century*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1994.
- , "What is sports medicine?" *Journal of Sport History* 34, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 87-95.
- Warner, John Harley. *Against the Spirit of the System: The French Impulse in Nineteenth-Century American Medicine*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2003.
- Watson, Martha, *A Voice of their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991).
- Weiss, Steven A., *The American Sporting Experience: A Historical Anthology of Sport in America* (New York: Leisure Press, 1994).
- , *Sport in Industrial America, 1850-1920* (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013).
- Wells, Michael A., "Ordinary Women: High Wheeling Ladies in Nineteenth Century America," *The Wheelmen* 43, (November 1993): 2-14.
- Wells, Susan. *Out of the Dead House: Nineteenth-Century Women Physicians and the Writing of Medicine*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001.
- Wellman, Judith. *The Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the First Woman's Rights Convention*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2004.
- Walsh, Mary Roth. "Doctors Wanted, No Women Need Apply": *Sexual Barriers in the Medical Profession, 1835-1975*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.
- Wesley, Marilyn C. *Secret Journeys: The Trope of Women's Travel in American Literature*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1999.
- Wexler, Laura. *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.



White, Richard, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2012).

Whorton, James C., "The Hygiene of the Wheel: An Episode in Victorian Sanitary Science," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 52, no .1 (Spring 1978): 61-88.

"Women & Bicycles Tip: Attend Our Workshop on Biking and Street Harassment," Washington Area Bicycle Association. Web. Accessed October 12, 2014. <<http://www.waba.org/blog/2014/06/women-bicycles-tip-attend-our-workshop-on-biking-and-street-harassment/>>

Women's Bike Messenger Association, "Cut the Catcalling," Web. Accessed May 6, 2016. <<https://vimeo.com/155497525>>

Wood, Sharon, E. *The Freedom of the Streets: Work, Citizenship, and Sexuality in a Gilded Age City*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005.

Zahniser, J. D. and Amelia R. Fry. *Alice Paul: Claiming Power*. New York, Oxford University Press, 2014.

Ziegler, Earle. *History and Status of American Physical Education and Educational Sport*. Victoria: Trafford, 2005.

Zirin, Dave. *A People's History of Sports in the United States* New York: The New Press, 2008.

———. *What's My Name, Fool? Sports and Resistance in the United States* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2005).