VICTOR/VICTORIA:
BICYCLES, ADVERTISING, AND THE LIMITS OF
HETERONORMATIVITY:
WILL H. BRADLEY’S GRAPHIC DESIGNS FOR OVERMAN WHEEL CO.

by
Talia S. Coutin

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in American Material Culture

Fall 2016

© 2016 Talia Coutin
All Rights Reserved
VICTOR/VICTORIA:
BICYCLES, ADVERTISING, AND THE LIMITS OF
HETERONORMATIVITY:

WILL H. BRADLEY’S GRAPHIC DESIGNS FOR OVERMAN WHEEL CO.

by

Talia S. Coutin

Approved:

__________________________________________________________
Margaret Stetz, Ph.D.
Professor in charge of thesis on behalf of the Advisory Committee

Approved:

__________________________________________________________
J. Ritchie Garrison, Ph.D.
Director of the Winterthur Program in American Material Culture

Approved:

__________________________________________________________
George H. Watson, Ph.D.
Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences

Approved:

__________________________________________________________
Ann L. Ardis, Ph.D.
Senior Vice Provost for Graduate and Professional Education
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The following individuals helped make this peripatetic journey possible. I am deeply indebted to my advisor, Dr. Margaret Stetz, an academic rock star, who came onboard this project with boundless enthusiasm. Whether Margaret was curating an exhibition in Liverpool or drafting a proposal for a conference panel, she always found time to review my work, provide insightful feedback, and encourage me to “keep on pedaling.” Our interactions were predicated on the assumption of goodwill. She is brilliant and compassionate and generous, and the kind of person I strive to emulate. Thank you.

My gratitude extends to Dr. J. Ritchie Garrison, Greg Landrey, Rosemary Krill, and the rest of the faculty in the Winterthur Program in American Material Culture (WPAMC), who gave me the gift of studying here. Thank you. Special thanks to Staci Steinberger for introducing me to the wonderful and weird world of material culture studies, and for our years of friendship. Thank you. For their financial support of my research, I am grateful to Lois F. McNeil; Morrison & Fenella Heckscher; Mrs. George M. Kaufman; Philip Jones, Dr. Sandra Jones, and the Ephemera Society of America; and the Society of Winterthur Fellows. Thank you. For their help at every stage of the process and wizardry at finding things, I am grateful to Emily Guthrie and Lauri Perkins at Winterthur Library; Alexander Johnston and Mark Samuels Lasner at Morris Library, University of Delaware. Thank you. For their camaraderie, encouragement, and patience, my gratitude
extends to my boss and colleagues at Hagley: Max Moeller, Alice Hanes, and Vicki Wasserman. Thank you.

I am extraordinarily lucky to have a sister who doubles as my best friend and doles out advice with humor and wit. Thank you Sarai. And to my ever-patient partner, my comrade in all things bicycle, paper, and especially bicycles on paper: Thank you Austin. Your love and support mean everything.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

|||
---|---|---|---|---|
LIST OF FIGURES | vi |
ABSTRACT | viii |
Chapter
| 1 | INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| 2 | MAKING BICYCLES | 12 |
| 3 | MARKETING BICYCLES | 17 |
| | Lithography | 17 |
| | Bicycles in Print | 18 |
| 4 | BICYCLES AND BIFURCATED GARMENTS | 23 |
| 5 | WILL H. BRADLEY’S GRAPHIC ADVERTISEMENTS | 31 |
| 6 | CONCLUSION | 47 |
FIGURES | 51 |
BIBLIOGRAPHY | 63 |
Appendix
| A | PERMISSIONS TO PUBLISH | 69 |
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Victor bicycle, from the 1885 trade catalog. *Victor Bicycles & Tricycles.* Boston: Overman Wheel Company, 1885, 1. Courtesy Hagley Museum and Library. .........................................................51

Figure 2 The Victor, from the 1896 trade catalog. *Overman Wheel Company, Makers of Victor Bicycles.* Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts: Overman Wheel Company, 1896, [2]. Image in the Public Domain, hosted on hathitrust.org. Original at University of Michigan. ..................52

Figure 3 The Victoria, from the 1896 trade catalog. *Overman Wheel Company, Makers of Victor Bicycles.* Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts: Overman Wheel Company, 1896, [3]. Image in the Public Domain, hosted on hathitrust.org. Original at University of Michigan.............53

Figure 4 *Bicycling Outfits.* Published in *The Delineator.* New York: E. Butterick, August 1894. Courtesy Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection.................................................................54

Figure 5 *Peacock.* Ad for Victor Bicycles. Will H. Bradley for the Overman Wheel Company. Published in *Scribner’s Magazine.* New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, February 1896, 21. Courtesy Gordon A. Pfeiffer Collection, Morris Library, University of Delaware. ..........55

Figure 6 *A Dream of John Ball,* written by William Morris with illustrations by Edward Burne-Jones. Hammersmith: Kelmscott Press, 1892. Courtesy Mark Samuels Lasner Collection ...................................................56

Figure 7 *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, now newly imprinted,* by Geoffrey Chaucer, with illustrations by Edward Burne-Jones and William Morris. Hammersmith: Kelmscott Press, 1896. Courtesy Mark Samuels Lasner Collection ...................................................57


Figure 11  *The Springfield Bicycle Club Tournament, September First, Second & Third*. Will H. Bradley for the Springfield Bicycle Club. Color lithograph on paper. 1896. No known restrictions on publication. Courtesy of Library of Congress. ..........................................................61

Figure 12  *The Simpson Chain [La Chaîne Simpson]*. Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec for Simpsons. Color lithograph on paper. 1896. Image in the Public Domain, hosted on Wikipedia Commons.................................62
ABSTRACT

The 1890s safety bicycle was a gendered object with disparate demands on posture and speed, space and power. With a focus on Will H. Bradley’s graphic designs for the Overman Wheel Company, the quintessential American bicycle firm and maker of the popular Victor bicycles for men and Victoria bicycles for “ladies,” this thesis examines bicycle advertising along with the bicycles advertised – tangible proofs both visually defined and materially constituted. Bradley’s graphic art for the Overman Wheel Company tantalized female consumers with promises of self-autonomy and independence by purchasing and riding the Victoria bicycle. Although the ads pushed against the parameters of heteronormativity in a lavish, bohemian style, they also placated social concerns over women’s emergent political and economic power in the late nineteenth century. The visual rhetoric of Bradley’s ads and the material realities of Victoria bicycles ultimately neutralized the discursive practice of women’s bicycle riding.
Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

“What we need is something stronger, something with more color – something lurid,” mused the celebrated humorist of Hartford, Connecticut in 1884. “The old forms of profanity were of no real use in learning the bicycle.”¹ Mark Twain’s frustrations with his Columbia Expert high wheeler, a machine that stood 5 feet 5 inches tall,² pinpoints a critical reason for the bicycle’s failure to take off in America during the 1880s: user unfriendliness. In the heyday of the high wheeler, from 1878-1889, the bicycle was a luxury item with a limited reach.

Cyclists of the 1880s – usually young, white, male, and affluent – rode the high wheeler for recreation or sport. The first high wheeler made and sold in America, the Columbia made by the Pope Manufacturing Company, cost $90 in 1878, the equivalent of $2230 in 2015 dollars.³ Owning a high wheeler signaled membership in a social elite – it distinguished the American gentleman from the general public – while riding it flaunted one’s physical prowess. Made of tubular steel and solid rubber tires, the high


² Mark Twain's Bicycle, made by Pope Manufacturing Company, 1883; iron, rubber, paint; owned by the Connecticut Historical Society, 1921.4.0 Gift of Franklin Whitmore, http://emuseum.chs.org/emuseum/view/objects/aspect/search$0040/7/title-asc?stafle:flow=de2f6d7-18e5-4ba2-a07b-db0336a354e2.

wheeler went by several other names: bicycle, ordinary, and penny-farthing.\textsuperscript{4} Difficult to mount and dismount, the high wheeler, with its height, heavy weight, and tendency to throw its rider over the handlebars in a “header” at the slightest bump in the road’s surface, had shortcomings that severely restricted its ridership [Figure 1]. These factors made the high wheeler impractical for utilitarian use. The high wheeler symbolized a robust masculinity for men of means, an attractive antidote for men who felt enervated by sedentary lifestyles and emasculated by women’s rising levels of higher education and professionalization.

The safety bicycle of the 1890s catalyzed bicycle usage in groups left out of the high wheeler caucus, and in doing so, revolutionized autonomous travel across America’s cities.\textsuperscript{5} Powered by crank arms connected to the rear sprocket through a chain-gear drive, the safety featured two equal-sized wheels, a lowered center of gravity, diamond-shaped frame, and after 1888, pneumatic tires. The size and ratio between the sprockets determined the level of variation in gearing.\textsuperscript{6} These technical improvements decreased the discomfort of bicycle riding, increased ease and efficiency,

\textsuperscript{4} The name “penny-farthing” derives from British slang for its resemblance to British currency, while “high wheeler” describes its appearance. While Americans today might be familiar with the term “penny-farthing” due to its resurgence in pop culture through television shows like \textit{Portlandia} and imagery like on Trader Joe’s packaging, nineteenth-century Americans would more frequently refer to this type of bicycle as “the ordinary,” or more simply, “bicycle.” To distinguish between bicycles of different eras, I use the term “high wheeler” when referring to this type of bicycle.

\textsuperscript{5} Evan Friss, \textit{The Cycling City: Bicycles and Urban America in the 1890s} (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 11-35.

\textsuperscript{6} For a history of bicycle technology organized by the mechanical function of its parts (e.g. transmission method or braking), see Tony Hadland and Hans-Erhard Lessing, \textit{Bicycle Design: An Illustrated History} (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2014). For the evolution of the safety bicycle, see especially pages 155-184.
and reduced headers and other kinds of crashes. The safety bicycle successfully addressed the perception of danger associated with the high wheeler; the very word “safety” reinforced branding efforts by the safety’s makers and promoters. Cyclists of the 1890s could independently travel faster and farther than ever before.

The safety also outperformed the high wheeler in the perception of its accessibility. Whereas the high wheeler was a “plaything for the elite,” the safety bike became the “poor man’s horse.” By 1892, the cumulative effect of these technological advances on the pneumatic-tire safety bicycle produced what a contemporary scholar describes as the “paragon of mechanical perfection.” The industry standardized the production of bicycles, lowering production costs, consumer prices, and product weight. Whereas the average new bicycle in 1890 weighed forty-two pounds and cost $120, the average bicycle in 1895 weighed twenty-two pounds and cost $45. The development of a second-hand market by the early 1890s also pushed prices downward and boosted consumer access.

The popularity of the safety sparked the 1890s bicycle boom, and numbers tell part of that story. From 1891-1900, American manufacturers produced between 5,500,000 and 8,000,000 bicycles for domestic and international markets, an increase of 1,900 to 2,800 percent from the previous decade. Affiliated industries also

7 Bruce Epperson, *Peddling Bicycles to America*, 56.


10 Evan Friss, *The Cycling City*, 32.
experienced massive growth. Isaac Potter, President of the League of American Wheelmen (LAW), painted a rosy portrait of the industry in 1896:

Take into account 250 factories, 24 tire makers, and 600 concerns dealing in bicycle sundries, all representing a combined investment of $75 million, and the bicycle question seems to gain proportions. Add the number and value of repair-shops, race-tracks, and club-houses, and the aggregate jumps again. Consider the fact that this country contains about 30,000 retail bicycle-dealers and about 60,000 persons employed in the ‘sundry’ factories, and that these numbers are every day growing apace…¹¹

The bicycle industry was exceptional for its growth during the depression of 1893-96, booming even in the smaller cities of the Midwest.¹² Between four and five million wheelmen and women, as cyclists were called, rode bicycles in America at the peak of the boom in 1897 when America’s population, as determined by government census, numbered seventy million.¹³

For bicycle evangelists and their believers, the safety bicycle promised to strengthen muscles and minds, reduce noise and pollution, and advance a variety of social causes; bicycle devotees embraced the safety bicycle as the panacea to the


¹² See Michael Taylor, “The Bicycle Boom and the Bicycle Bloc: Cycling and Politics in the 1890s,” *Indiana Magazine of History* 104, no. 3 (2008): 213-240. Although Taylor credits the bicycle industry’s success on its reputation as an “honest industry” (221) at a time of wink-and-handshake closed-door deals rather than brilliant marketing tactics, both Taylor and Petty point to the remarkable nature of the industry for its expansion in the mid-1890s.

¹³ Evan Friss, *The Cycling City*, 37.
problems of modernity. Writing for the *Cosmopolitan* in 1895, Mrs. Reginald de Koven typified the exuberance and hopefulness affixed to the safety:

Invention, the angel of the nineteenth century, has abolished space, shattered time, and now with this wonderful machine, the bicycle, is making a determined onslaught upon sickness and old age, despondency, idleness with its resulting crime, and all the ills which mortal flesh is heir to.

The safety bicycle attacked urbanized pollution and poverty in equal measure, according to the bicycle evangelists, while giving riders the autonomy to create their own schedules. Furthermore, the safety bicycle opened up a wide world beyond the metropolis. Atop the safety, the cyclist “slips past farm and cottage, through woods and along the banks of streams, with almost the ease and freedom of a bird… [The safety] puts the poor man on a level with the rich, enabling him to ‘sing the song of the open road’ as freely as the millionaire…” From the writer’s vantage point, society could not abandon the bicycle “without turning the social progress of the world backward.”

Although many of the “rosy prognostications” about the bicycle’s impact ultimately failed to deliver, according to historian Evan Friss, the bicycle boom of the 1890s “was one of those rare moments in history when a single, new piece of technology seemed to offer the chance for a complete reconceptualization of urban life.” Cyclists’ demands for greater infrastructure led to paved streets, connected

14 Evan Friss, *The Cycling City*, 1-10.


roads, and parking facilities. Maps and guidebooks redrew urban and rural topographies through a bicycle-tinged lens. Cycling news reports and features were splashed across the pages of the mainstream media and in over fifty cycling-specific publications by 1896.\(^{19}\) Indoor cycling academies provided instruction on how to ride a bicycle and perform basic maintenance, while cycling clubs spread the “camaraderie of the wheel” by organizing group tours. During the boom, the bicycle starred in plays, pageants, poems, and parades. Businesses, including inns, pubs, stores, and restaurants, sought the wheel-friendly stamp of approval from cycling clubs and advocacy groups. Within a few short years, it had become obvious to “almost anyone living in the 1890s” that safety bicycles “had invaded America’s cities.”\(^{20}\)

As a social and cultural phenomenon, the bicycle boom reified hierarchies that it simultaneously appeared to undermine. Gary Allan Tobin’s scholarship on the 1890s boom recognized the extent to which class-consciousness – in particular a desire by the middle and upper classes to escape the “psychic and moral void of the city”\(^{21}\) – steered bicycle tourists out of the city and into the countryside. This form of travel and leisure was contingent upon a network of transportation options – what contemporary urban planners call multimodalism – so that cycle tourists did not need to “rough it” and undertake the entire journey by bike or sleep outdoors. Railroads saved cyclists from slogging through bad weather, poor roads, and fatigue, while guidebooks directed them

\(^{19}\) Evan Friss, *The Cycling City*, 20.


toward “wheel-friendly” inns. In 1896, nearly 7000 hotels across the country held certificates of endorsement from LAW. Likewise, the roster for LAW membership reflected the ways in which nineteenth-century society was fragmented. Members of LAW, one of the nation’s most powerful lobbying organizations in the mid-1890s, by and large belonged to the middle and upper classes. After Southern states pushed through a resolution barring racial and ethnic minorities at the 1894 convention in Louisville, members of LAW were also exclusively white. Scholars have more recently examined the racialized practices of the lobbying organization, and more broadly, how marginalized groups effected, and were affected by the safety bicycle boom of the 1890s. Lorenz Finison’s scholarship, for example, explores the ways in which race and racism influenced the development of Boston’s bicycling community in the 1890s.

By manufacturing the drop-frame bicycle, also called a step-through, bicycle firms modified and marketed a consumer product that had been gender-coded male to women. Designed to accommodate long skirts and promote modest behavior, a “lady’s wheel” typically featured a diagonally-sloped top tube – or, as in the case of the Overman Wheel Company’s Victoria model, removed the top tube altogether. Modifying the design of the bicycle form in and of itself failed to satisfy concerns over propriety; opposition to women’s cycling ranged from medical warnings that bicycles

---

22 Gary Allan Tobin, “The Bicycle Boom of the 1890s,” 844.

23 Gary Allan Tobin, “The Bicycle Boom of the 1890s,” 840.


would harm reproductive health to social fears that bicycles would taint women’s sexual purity. Women’s bicycles needed persuasive advertising to encourage consumption and engender social tolerance.26

While the safety bicycle subsumed narratives of “feminist emancipation, utopian socialism, and cultural resistance” in the popular imagination, it also received praise for its “seemingly natural ability to affirm some of the most dominant norms of the era.”27 How did the safety bicycle sustain – produce, even – such conflicting, antagonistic, and paradoxical realities? In the interest of selling bicycles to middle-class white women, advertisers posed social risks as social benefits, argues the scholar Ellen Gruber Garvey. Religious, moral, and medical objections to women’s cycling fell out of favor. Furthermore, advertisers sold the idea that a happy marriage would follow the purchase of a shiny new bicycle, and that reinvigorated white wheelwomen would birth healthy babies, thereby addressing the worries of eugenicists.28

My approach to material culture engages feminist and queer theory to investigate the ways in which bicycles and bicycle advertising instantiated heteronormativity in the late Victorian era. The theory of heteronormativity grew out of second-wave feminism and gay liberation struggles of the 1970s and 1980s. Scholars of

26 “[S]ince the safety, though apparently nongendered, was understood to be masculine, women’s riding had to be made socially acceptable to sell safety bicycles to a larger market [that included women].” See Ellen Gruber Garvey, “Reframing the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women,” American Quarterly 47, no. 1 (1995): 69.


28 Ellen Gruber Garvey, “Reframing the Bicycle.”
gender and queer studies, and activists agitating for social change, have deployed and developed the term into a conceptual tool ever since. It is frequently associated with heterosexism and homophobia, and as such, unscrambling the terms will serve to elucidate key differences. Heterosexism, an ideology that “degrades and punishes any alternative, nonheterosexual constellations of relationships, identities, and behaviors… breeds homophobia,” which turns fear into hatred, and often leads to abuse and violence.  

Heteronormativity, on the other hand, manifests itself with greater subtlety, but its presence is pervasive and totalizing. Stevi Jackson contends that heteronormativity implicates both sexuality and gender, an argument advanced by several other contemporary scholars in gender and queer studies. Not only does heteronormativity demand a heterosexual sexual orientation but also compliance with a “package of socially constructed traditional gender identifications and expressions.”

Not only does it dictate a “normative sexual practice but also a normal way of life.”

The gender binary and gender nonconformity, two aspects of heteronormativity, are at the center of this study. The writer Kris Nelson explains the gender binary as a rigid system separating “man” from “woman” that sanctions the performance of masculinity


for men and femininity for women. Performing gender contrary to social expectations and standards – acts of gender nonconformity – threatens heteronormativity.32

Culture, historian Kenneth Ames claims, is neither rational, nor coherent, nor understandable. Stitching together evidence in the production of historical narrative is an exercise in sifting through an irrational universe of human choices. But looking at the “tangible proofs” produced – the material evidence of human productivity – offers a way to construct historical narratives, however polyvalent they may be.33 With a razor-sharp focus on Will H. Bradley’s graphic designs for the Overman Wheel Company, the quintessential bicycle firm of the Gilded Age that produced the Victor bicycle for men [Figure 2] and the Victoria bicycle for women [Figure 3], this thesis examines bicycle advertising along with the bicycles advertised – tangible proofs both visually defined and materially constituted. Bradley’s bicycle graphics, with several of his designed images repeated in different formats, reached consumers as graphics for booklets, catalogues, and program guides; ads in magazines and on their back covers; and posters in storefronts or hoardings. These graphic designs tapped into a reservoir of avant-garde imagery in order to promote the consumption of high-end ladies’ bicycles. These graphic designs also circulated as fine art prints, sold by the artist himself out of his studio. Bradley’s commercial artwork, commissioned by large companies like

32 The writer Kris Nelson expands the definition of heteronormativity to include the gender binary, patriarchal gender roles, monogamy, and white supremacy. See Kris Nelson, “What is Heteronormativity – And How Does it Apply to Your Feminism? Here Are 4 Examples,” Everyday Feminism (blog), July 24, 2015, http://everydayfeminism.com/2015/07/what-is-heteronormativity/.

Overman, achieved “high art” recognition both in his time and our own. These images operated in multiple spheres – as fine art and commercial advertising – and through their multiple formats, extended their influence that much further.

Although product designers reached the apex of invention with the diamond-frame, rear-driven, pneumatic-tire safety bicycle in the 1890s, women’s safety bicycles differed fundamentally from men’s bicycles. Structurally weaker, clumsier, and slower, these machines remained classified as recreational vehicles. Bradley’s graphic art for the Overman Wheel Company tantalized female consumers with promises of self-autonomy and independence by purchasing and riding the Victoria bicycle. While the ads pushed against the parameters of heteronormativity in a lavish, bohemian style, they also placated social concerns over women’s emergent political and economic power in the late nineteenth century. The 1890s safety bicycle was a gendered object with disparate demands on speed and space, posture and power. Atop a ladies’ safety bicycle, women across the socioeconomic spectrum experienced a measure of freedom in the form of mobility. Yet the visual rhetoric of Bradley’s ads and the material realities of Victoria bicycles neutralized the discursive practice of women’s bicycle riding. Atop the Victoria, women could travel neither very far nor very fast. Slow and unsteady, female cyclists on their Victorias could be easily dismissed as road nuisances rather than serious commuters.
Chapter 2

MAKING BICYCLES

The Pope Manufacturing Company jumpstarted the industrial production of bicycles in the United States, though the first bicycles sold by the company were English imports. Founded by Albert A. Pope, the Hartford-based company became the first to manufacture high wheelers on a commercial scale in America and placed the Columbia high wheeler on the market in 1878.\textsuperscript{34}

A mere thirty miles from Hartford, Connecticut, Albert H. Overman founded the Overman Wheel Company in Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts. Overman’s high wheeler debuted to great fanfare in 1885. \textit{The Bicycling World}, a weekly “devoted to the interest of bicycling and tricycling” and published in Boston, praised the Overman’s high wheeler as “a first-class American bicycle. This is rare fruitage among us, and introduces competition, that is always the life of trade.”\textsuperscript{35} Weldless steel tubing imported from England formed the backbone, forks, and handlebars.\textsuperscript{36}

\textsuperscript{34} Bruce Epperson specifies that Pope was the first to engage in the large-scale manufacture of ordinaries in America, though it is uncertain whether he was the first to make them. Epperson speculates that R.H. Hodgson of Newton, Massachusetts produced a small number of high wheelers as early as 1878. See Bruce Epperson, \textit{Peddling Bicycles to America}, 29.

\textsuperscript{35} “Notes by the Way,” \textit{The Bicycling World}, June 26, 1885, 184.

\textsuperscript{36} \textit{Victor Bicycles & Tricycles} (Boston: Overman Wheel Company, 1885), 5.
The large-scale manufacture of bicycles depended on the interchangeability of its parts, something that the Overman Company hyped as the hallmark of its production line and bicycle products. “If the parts are not made interchangeable... the machine when repaired will be a PATCHED-UP AFFAIR [all-capitalization in the original], and the rider’s pocket will need to be patched.”\textsuperscript{37} Pope also emphasized the interchangeability of their parts. But Overman insisted that “there is not more than one make of bicycles in the world besides the Victor, which is made interchangeable.”\textsuperscript{38} Furthermore, according to a self-aggrandizing supplement in the \textit{National Magazine}, Overman boasted: “There is but one factory in the world where the entire bicycle is made [from start to finish], and ours is that factory.”\textsuperscript{39}

In the early 1880s, Pope dominated the market for the production of high wheelers in America by amassing an arsenal of patents that covered key components of cycle technology.\textsuperscript{40} Few firms broke out of Pope’s grip, stunting the growth of the American market in comparison with the robust British or French cycle trades. Gormully and Jeffery of Chicago, and Overman, were among the few to fight Pope’s

\begin{footnotes}
\item[37] \textit{Victor Bicycles & Tricycles} (1885), 16.
\item[38] \textit{Victor Bicycles} (Boston: Overman Wheel Company, 1890), 11.
\item[40] David V. Herlihy, \textit{Bicycle}, 229.
\end{footnotes}
lawsuits over alleged patent infringements. The rivalry between Albert A. Pope and Albert H. Overman, both with eponymous companies, was personal, fierce, and legendary. As a reporter for *Bicycling World* observed, “Both men cordially hated each other.”

Unsatisfied with public insults and one-upmanship, the bicycle tycoons waged war in court. Bicycle historian Bruce Epperson charges Pope with throwing the bicycle industry into a “protracted warfare [from 1879 to 1892] that destroyed many firms, almost wiped out his own, and could well have strangled the entire cycling industry while it still lay in the cradle.”

The Supreme Court of the United States finally put a halt to Pope’s monopolization schemes with its 1892 ruling in the case *Pope Mfg Co. v. Gormully.*

While Pope Manufacturing mass-produced the country’s first high wheelers, the Overman Wheel Company manufactured the country’s first safeties. Overman brought an American-made safety to market for the first time in 1887, modeled after British rear-driven safeties introduced at the Stanley Show in London with the added “valuable improvement” of the “now well-known “Victor ‘Spring Fork.”” All major bicycle makers at the 1885 Stanley Show had displayed the newest innovations in cycle

42 Bruce Epperson, *Peddling Bicycles to America,* 35.

43 For more on the legal and economic history of the Pope Manufacturing Company, see Bruce Epperson, *Peddling Bicycles to America,* especially 34-54.

technology with rear-driven safeties.\textsuperscript{45} John Kemp Starley’s Rover safety incorporated principles of tricycle engineering, bringing the rider closer to ground and into proper alignment. This created an aerodynamic vehicle capable of traveling at faster speeds than the high wheeler. \textsuperscript{46} Starley’s second iteration of the Rover from 1885 replicated Thomas Humber’s direct mechanism for steering from the 1884 Humber safety, a design feature that would become a universal standard.\textsuperscript{47} Once Overman and Pope realized the technical and commercial merits of the rear-driven safety and began their manufacture, few imagined how quickly safeties would supplant high wheelers on city streets and country roads.

Purchasing a Columbia, Victor, or Victoria epitomized the social phenomenon of conspicuous consumption. Both Pope and Overman initially refused to sell their bicycles through department stores, considering such a practice anathema to projecting the aura of luxury that each firm sought. Instead, each firm sold its bicycles through networks of agents, dealers, and shops. Pope kept quiet over its 1890 acquisition of the Hartford Cycle Company, which sold lower-priced bicycles, due to apprehensiveness over losing the cachet of the Columbia brand.\textsuperscript{48} When Pope did finally divulge its

\textsuperscript{45} Tony Hadland and Hans-Erhard Lessing, \textit{Bicycle Design}, 160.

\textsuperscript{46} David V. Herlihy, \textit{Bicycle}, 235-236.

\textsuperscript{47} Tony Hadland and Hans-Erhard Lessing, \textit{Bicycle Design}, 162.
acquisition of Hartford Cycles in its 1895 catalog, it assured consumers that Hartfords “are made by skilled exerts trained in the splendid school of Columbia construction and still under our supervision.” Prices for Pope’s star Columbia bicycle topped out at $100 in 1895, while the adult-sized Hartfords cost $60. By 1894, the downward trajectory of prices for bicycles became difficult to ignore and Overman also purchased a line of lower-priced bicycles. The focus remained, however, on the company’s crown jewels – the Victor and Victoria bicycles. Graphic advertisements targeted the upper- and upper-middle classes, as well as aspiring parvenus to those lifestyles.


Chapter 3
MARKETING BICYCLES

Lithography

Serendipity led Alois Senefelder, a playwright in Munich, to discover a printmaking process in 1798 that utilized oil’s chemical resistance to water. Senefelder patented his process and published a book, *A Complete Course of Lithography*, which Rudolph Ackermann translated into English in 1819. In his preface, Ackermann proclaimed, “By means of [lithography] the Painter, the Sculptor, and the Architect, are enabled to hand down to posterity as many facsimiles of their original Sketches as they please… [T]here is scarcely any department of art or business, in which Lithography will not be found of the most extensive utility.”

A planographic printing process, lithography relies on chemical, rather than physical, interactions, and obviates the more laborious steps involved in relief and intaglio printmaking. Using a greasy crayon, the lithographer draws an image directly onto a slab of limestone called a litho stone. Washing the stone with nitric acid lightly “etches” the non-designed portions of the stone and accentuates the stone’s hydrophilic, or water-loving, qualities. Gum arabic is applied next. When the lithographer dampens

---


51 As Richard Benson points out, the word “etch,” when used as a verb in the discussion of lithography, is confusing because no physical alterations to the surface occur in the
the litho stone with water, the non-designed portions of the limestone wet out, while the designed portion of the litho stone repels the water. The lithographer then applies ink onto the stone slab. This time, the designed, greasy part of the stone receives the ink, and the wet, ungreased area of the stone repels the ink. Lastly, the lithographer or printer places paper onto the litho stone and runs them through the printing press together.

With its low costs, high yields, and quick production, lithography transformed the printing industry. Furthermore, two technological advances to lithography in the late nineteenth century revolutionized the possibilities for advertising: color and rotary presses. In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, producing one color lithographic print required multiple litho stones, each with a different color register, that were superimposed to create an array of tones and hues. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, metal plates made of zinc had supplanted litho stones. Together with steam-powered rotary presses, metal plates expedited the printing process and cut costs even further.

**Bicycles in Print**

Wheelmen and women appeared everywhere in print during the bicycle boom, especially on products that had nothing to do with bicycling. They graced posters and postcards, magazine covers and cigarette labels, sheet music and card decks, advertising bicycling, if not a particular bicycle brand. Magazines hired artists of renown like Childe Hassam (1859-1935) and Charles Dana Gibson (1867-1944) to produce planographic process; rather, the change induced is entirely chemical. See Richard Benson, *The Printed Picture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2008), 50.
illustrations for cycling-related stories, while American and European manufacturing firms hired graphic artists such as Jules Chéret (1836-1932), Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (1864-1901), Alphonse Mucha (1860-1939), and Edward Penfield (1866-1925) to design loud and colorful posters. Creating and strengthening brand identity meant that companies poured money and effort into advertising like never before. Austin Charles Bates, a pioneering adman of the time, estimated that American bicycle firms spent more than $1 billion in 1897. “And yet it paid,” he wrote. “Everyone was bicycle crazy... There were bicycle girls, and bicycle plays and bicycle songs in those bicycle days.”

Innovations in mass marketing that precipitated the bicycle boom of the 1890s included promotion, advertising, and market segmentation. To promote their brands, companies supplied champions with their bikes. British manufacturer Raleigh, for example, gave bicycles to the record-breaking American racer Arthur Zimmerman and used his likeness in several print advertisements. Strategies of inundation often worked. Ads for bicycles accounted for 10% of both newspaper and magazine advertising in the mid-1890s, according to one study. The marketing scholar Ross


53 Ross D. Petty, “Peddling the Bicycle in the 1890s,” 32-46.

54 This practice blurred the boundaries between amateur and professional racing, attracting the ire of racing officials. In 1893 the British National Cyclists’ Union barred Zimmerman from competing in the U.K.

Petty points to the strong correlation between money spent on ads and rising sales of bicycles, despite the recession. Monarch Bicycles, a company based in Chicago, spent a few thousand dollars on advertising and sold 5000 bicycles in 1893. In 1895, the company spent $500,000 on advertising and sold 50,000 bikes. Market segmentation involved creating and positioning ads to target distinct groups based on the rider’s specialized type of use, class, or gender. Ads for racing bicycles, for example, emphasized swiftness, while bicycles for women stressed style.

Both Pope and Overman produced a smorgasbord of advertising materials in print, including brochures, booklets, calendars, paper dolls, holiday cards, posters, and trade catalogs. The Pope Manufacturing Company held a poster competition in 1896 to elevate its advertising “to the foremost position.” Competitions benefited companies threefold: by discovering new talent, creating buzz and publicity, and obtaining free labor from artists, since all entries became the company’s property. The volume and quality of the entries left company heads exuberant: Nearly 400 artists submitted over 600 designs. An exhibition of selected posters toured the country, from as far north as Boston, to as far south as New Orleans, and west to San Francisco. The Washington, Ross D. Petty, “Peddling the Bicycle in the 1890s,” 34.

Ross D. Petty, “Peddling the Bicycle in the 1890s,” 42.


Exhibition of Columbia Bicycle Art Poster Designs, 9.

The exhibition toured cities mostly in the Northeastern corridor, including Boston, New York, Brooklyn (not yet a borough of New York City), Philadelphia, Baltimore,
D.C.-based *Morning Times* gushed, “The cycling craze will have to give way for a week to the poster craze, and riders will have to give way to students of art and poster enthusiasts, for the great Columbian bicycle poster show has come to town.”62 Pope claimed that more than 15,000 visitors in Boston saw the exhibition in its first week. Most of the artworks consisted of watercolors hung against a maroon backdrop. The paintings suited “the fancy of the connoisseur and the poor uneducated mortal alike,” the *Times* opined. “Many of the designs are of the strangely weird and fantastic style which has made Aubrey Beardsley famous, while others are of the pattern that pleases the eye of the inartistic individual who delights in graceful figures with exquisite tone and coloring.”63 A headline from the same paper on April 21, 1896 shouted: “Poster Art on a Bicycle. Maze of Curves and a Sea of Color at the Show. [Aubrey] Beardsley out-Beardsleyed and Rainbows Run Riot in the Six Hundred Designs.”64 Twenty-five-year-old Maxfield Parrish won First Prize, for which Pope rewarded him with $250 and a Columbia bicycle.65 Parrish’s winning entry depicted a cheery young lady, hair and scarf flying, riding a bicycle through rolling hills not unlike the artist’s native Delaware Valley.

Washington, D.C., Providence, Rochester, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Denver, New Orleans, and San Francisco.


65 *Exhibition of Columbia Bicycle Art Poster Designs*, 5.
As we shall see in Chapter 5, Parrish’s friend Will H. Bradley developed a distinct style in his graphic advertisements for the Overman Wheel Company that appeared to position the female cyclist as helming her own destiny, but embedded her within a heteronormative matrix.
Chapter 4

BICYCLES AND BIFURCATED GARMENTS

Long skirts had long inhibited women’s movement. Variations of pants for women, including bloomers and the Turkish trousers that served as their model, appealed to a wide range of mid-nineteenth century believers in women’s dress reform, including women’s rights activists, hydropathists, and utopian religious communities. Amelia Bloomer’s debut of her eponymous garment of loosely fitting pants tightened at the ankles sparked vehement outcry in the mid-nineteenth century. Bloomer defended her preference for functional dress with an appeal to rationality: “We only wore [the bloomer] because we found it comfortable, convenient, safe, and tidy – with no thought for introducing a fashion, but with the wish that every woman would throw off the burden of clothes that was dragging her life out.”66 While the bloomer did not take off at mid-century, it reemerged in the 1890s as the interests of suffrage activists, dress reformers, and women’s cycling proponents coalesced. Mrs. Reginald de Koven credited the bicycle for reviving the bloomer, a viewpoint that was widely shared in the print media. In her 1895 piece for Cosmopolitan, she exclaimed: “What years of

elloquent 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.”

Despite the exuberance with which reformers embraced the bicycle as the harbinger of dress reform, several factors impeded the widespread adoption of bifurcated garments by women in the Western hemisphere. First, replacing skirts with pants would have aided in women’s physical mobility, igniting fears over their attendant social mobility and the loss of male privilege and power. The American suffrage activist Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1902) elevated the activity of women’s pants-wearing beyond the sphere of comfort and common sense, and agitated for bloomers especially among the bicycling class. Stanton published two essays in 1895 and 1896 in the weekly periodical the *American Wheelman*, lauded as “the most representative paper in the cycling world,” in which she treated the right of women to bicycle as a matter of political and religious significance. Stanton heralded the bicycle as an agent of dress reform and believed that women’s bicycling would shatter barriers barring women’s entry into politics. What a “shock to sensitive souls,” she wrote with characteristic


68 The *Bookseller and Newsman*, a periodical dedicated to published media, continued: “The success of *The American Wheelman* has been great, but it has been deserved. It is alone in its class…” *The Bookseller* observed how the growth of the bicycle periodical naturally followed the growth of the bicycle industry in the 1890s: “The growth of the paper has been phenomenal, but not more so, than the stupendous movement in the bicycle business.” It also described the *Wheelman* as having “a very tasty cover that immediately attracts attention, and the next special number, which will be the annual Woman’s Edition, will be published next month.” See *The Bookseller and Newsman*, April 1896.

snark, for society to discover that women were also “bifurcated animal[s].” For Stanton, the bicycle held revolutionary potential; it could render tight corsets and trailing skirts obsolete.

Fashion, however, posed a serious – and according to certain historical and contemporary sources, an insurmountable – barrier for bloomers. “If the Bloomer dress had come from a Paris milliner, it would have been welcomed in Boston, New York and Philadelphia,” a reporter for the Arena speculated in 1893. Although bloomers exploded in popularity as part of proper cycling habiliment in the fashion-forward advertisements and magazine fiction of the 1890s [Figure 4], the costume historian Patricia Campbell Warner cautions against extrapolating from their prevalence in print: “That [bicycle bloomers] existed cannot be denied; that [they were] worn much is another story entirely.” According to one fashionista of the time, there was regional variation in sartorial practices. Women in the Western United States, “always fond of novelties,” were “loathe to relinquish” the bicycle bloomer, observed Adelia K. Brainerd, a columnist for Harper’s Bazaar in 1896. Women on the Atlantic seaboard preferred shortened skirts to bloomers. “[J]ust one reason for the failure of bloomers,” Brainerd continued, “but that one is all-sufficient. They are safe; they are comfortable;


they are modest, despite criticisms to the contrary; pretty and becoming most emphatically they are not, and this has been their death-blow.” 74

Apparel scholars Julia Christie-Robin, Belinda T. Orzada, and Dilia López-Gydosh considered the impact of the safety bicycle on American women’s dress habits. They integrated their study of photographs and fashion plates of female cyclists from 1880 through 1914 into the extant scholarly literature, which they organized into two camps, “advocates” and “opponents.” The “advocates” argued that the bicycle emancipated women from the domestic sphere and acted as a catalyst for women’s dress reform. “Opponents,” on the other hand, disputed the notion that the bicycle demanded drastic sartorial changes, arguing that most women cyclists of the 1890s rode in skirts only marginally differentiated for the purpose of bicycling. 75 In their final analysis, the authors found that “historians, particularly those with a limited knowledge of dress or fashion history, have exaggerated the bicycle’s influence on fashionable dress styles”: Bloomers did not replace skirts; bicycle corsets did not supplant conventional corsets. 76 Warner similarly concludes that women’s widespread reluctance to wear bloomers led to their demise at the turn-of-the-century. 77 Some women wore bloomers underneath shortened skirts while riding, “thereby negating much of the effect, and the


effectiveness, of trousers.” Bloomers elicited such revulsion, ridicule, and dismay for women who wore them while riding that to wear them off the bicycle was considered an affront to common decency. While scholars have already established how the fear of being unfashionable deterred women from wearing pants, the extent to which public scrutiny governed, disciplined, and punished sartorial choices has been largely overlooked.

In 1897 the syndicated columnist Eliza Archard Conner, who wrote The New Woman column, defended a schoolteacher accused of teaching her pupils while dressed in bloomers. Conner maintained that the teacher’s reputation was impugned and job threatened on a baseless charge:

A young lady teacher in New York city [sic] rode to school on her bicycle, as she did occasionally. This time, however, she could not immediately find the key to the teachers’ dressing room. At the same time she heard an uproar among the boys in her classroom. She hurried to quell it, not remembering in her haste that she was still wearing her bicycle dress. It was not a bloomersuit. It had the conventional skirt women wear on the wheel. But her appearance in the room raised a howl among the hoodlum boys. “Bloomers! Take ‘em off!” roared the young savages, and in a moment there was something very like a mob. She stood her ground pluckily, however, and restored order. The hoodlum boys went away and reported that she had taught school in bloomersuit, which story there was not a word of truth in. It was carried to the masculine principal, however. He inquired into it and learned exactly the straight of it. But this broad minded [sic], chivalrous and wise male man, instead of defending his teacher, sent word to the city superintendent asking if he should dismiss her.


Violence against women for transgressing the boundaries of heteronormativity was real. In the era of the mass spectacle, the threat posed by mob rule acted as a powerful deterrent, especially for women. When a waitress arrived to work at a Manhattan restaurant in bloomers, a crowd gathered and called for a boycott.\textsuperscript{80} In another episode, an “absentminded new woman of Brooklyn” walked around town after a jaunt on her bicycle dressed in bloomers, until a group of boys “brought her to her senses, and she fled to the protection of a hotel.”\textsuperscript{81} In Arkansas City, Kansas, an unruly Fourth of July crowd lobbed “cannon crackers and other missiles” at a girl dressed in red, white, and blue bloomers, knocking her off her bicycle. “Mob law is always to be deprecated,” the reporter reasoned, “but it cannot be expected that there shall be no limit to public patience.”\textsuperscript{82}

Cities that lacked specific ordinances barring women from wearing bifurcated garments in public used catchall charges of disorderly conduct as a mechanism of suppression. On the evening of July 16, 1895, a police officer arrested Hattie Strage for disorderly conduct for cycling the fashionable boulevards of Southside Chicago wearing


a black jacket and “flesh-colored tights.”

A judge fined her $25, the equivalent of $718 in 2015, adjusted for inflation.

Maggie White also experienced arrest for the crime of offensive clothing while bicycling, “having masqueraded on the Boulevard on [June 30, 1898] in male attire.”

White wore a stiff shirt, cutaway coat, trousers, and a man’s cap. She was incarcerated for one night after her arrest. In a repentant tone at her hearing, she described her actions as a poor joke and promised never to repeat the offensive behavior. Her contrition apparently won over the judge, and he dropped the charges.

Despite the cultural fascination with bloomers in the 1890s and voluminous amount of text and imagery devoted to the subject, most Americans despised bifurcated garments for women, both on and off the bicycle, because they signified gender nonconformity and muddled the gender binary. Women wearing bloomers invited not only ridicule, but also harassment, legal penalties, and violence. Frumpiness alone cannot account for the vitriol unleashed at women in bloomers. Women who wore bifurcated garments were accused of usurping masculinity and destroying their own femininity in the process. That women who wanted to exercise their bodies might also agitate to exercise other rights concerned the bicycle industry, prompting advertising campaigns to articulate clear-cut differences in what the bicycle could deliver for


different user groups. Disentangling the bicycle from its association with more radical bedfellows – women’s suffrage and sartorial agency – became the operative strategy of the Overman Wheel Company to sell the Victoria bicycle within a heteronormative system.
Chapter 5

WILL H. BRADLEY’S GRAPHIC ADVERTISEMENTS

Alleviating social anxieties over women’s cycling in his graphic designs for the Overman Wheel Company was central to Will H. Bradley’s task of aestheticizing both activity and product – bicycling with the Victor brand. Bradley developed a signature style that synthesized medievalist themes from English Pre-Raphaelitism with the vertiginous forms of European Art Nouveau. Although millions of American women took to “wheeling” during the safety bicycle boom of the 1890s, women’s bicycling remained problematic. The ads for which Bradley created these images provided “constant visual reassurance that women could ride the bicycle with grace and even modesty… [B]icycling women could be both decorative and decorous.”

A “cult of japonisme” blossomed within European and American avant-garde circles during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, influencing artistic movements from Impressionism to Aestheticism. Artists such as James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834-1903), Aubrey Beardsley (1872-1898), Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (1864-1901), and Will H. Bradley (1868-1962), appropriated and experimented with Japanese themes and techniques, especially the manifestations of medieval court life and heightened drama of ukiyo-e woodblock prints. Toulouse-Lautrec’s familiar poster advertisement

86 Ellen Gruber Garvey, “Reframing the Bicycle,” 70.

for a Parisian cabaret performer epitomizes a French interpretation of Japanese dramatic cropping. The poster, *Divan Japonais* from 1893, depicts a singer whose head is cut out from the frame. The signature long, black gloves operate as the signifier for the singer, Yvette Guilbert, but allow the central female figure, the café concert dancer Jane Avril, to command center stage in the image. Critic Edouard Dujardin, cropped at the far-right side of the image, sits next to Avril, watching her watch Guilbert. Through carefully choreographed gazes and compositional posturing, Toulouse-Lautrec’s poster celebrates Avril, one of the first performers to commission promotional posters from the artist, and the café itself.

Bradley’s graphic designs for the Overman Wheel Company transformed advertisements for bicycles into medievalist fantasies through his use of dramatic cropping and Arts-and-Crafts-style borders. An 1896 advertisement, *Peacock*, first reproduced as a black-and-white magazine advertisement for American audiences [Figure 5] and as a color poster for the Italian market, exemplifies Bradley’s signature style. The black-and-white advertisement appeared in several American magazines, including the February 1896 issues of *Vogue* and *Harper’s Monthly*. Gatta-Olivetti of

---


89 While Café du Divan Japonais commissioned this particular poster, Ruth E. Iskin has noted that “little attention has been paid to the fact that Avril was the one who selected Lautrec to design the posters that made her famous.” See Ruth Iskin, “Toulouse-Lautrec, Jane Avril, and the Iconography of the Female Print Connoisseur in Posters,” *The Poster: Art, Advertising, Design, and Collecting, 1860s-1900s* (Hanover, N.H., Dartmouth College Press, 2014), 79-123, but especially 88.

90 To distinguish between multiple ads designed by Bradley for the Overman Wheel Company with the title, *Victor Bicycles*, I will refer to this image as *Peacock*. The first rider’s sleeves resemble the feathers of that bird.
Turin distributed a poster-sized version of Bradley’s design in Italy, 62 9/16 x 38 15/16 in. (158.9 x 99 cm.), removing Bradley’s signature and replacing it with “IST. ITAL. D’ARTI GRAFICHE-BERGAMO.” With few differences, the American magazine ad and the Italian poster advertised the bicycle as a decorative object used to enhance beauty rather than as a vehicle for transportation or the harbinger of political freedom.

If the accompanying text did not explicitly identify this as an ad for Victor bicycles, Bradley’s visual image could be mistaken for the frontispiece of any number of publications from the Kelmscott Press, the private press established by the chief British exponent of the Arts and Crafts movement, William Morris. The leaf-and-berry border and neo-Gothic typeface of the ad hybridizes William Morris’s factotum and border for A Dream of John Ball [Figure 6], published 1892, with Morris’s masterpiece, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer [Figure 7], published in 1896. While Bradley might have viewed A Dream of John Ball on a visit to the Boston Public Library in the summer of 1895, he certainly saw the frontispiece for The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, for he published and printed it in his own publications and designs at least twice in the mid-1890s.

---


92 Differences between the American ad and the Italian poster include size, color, substitutions of pattern in the riders’ clothing, the removal of Bradley’s signature in the Italian poster, and the addition of Italian text. The Metropolitan Museum of Art owns a color version/the Italian poster. The poster was inaccessible for an in-person examination.

93 The Boston Public Library acquired several Kelmscott Press publications prior to Bradley’s 1895 visit: A Dream of John Ball on July 1, 1893; The Golden Legend, published 1892, acquired December 1, 1892; Gothic Architecture: A lecture for the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, published 1893, acquired March 6, 1894; and Utopia,
style, but also reproduces it anew. In paying homage to Morrisian design principles in *Peacock*, Bradley strengthens the connection between Morris’s Kelmscott Press, founded in 1891, and his own Wayside Press, established in 1894. With the Wayside Press, Bradley sought to “make something attractive out of the ordinary.” Bradley published Morris’s essay, “Gossip about an Old House on the Upper Thames, and Two Views of Same,” in the June 1896 issue of *Bradley: His Book*, Bradley’s decorative art and literary magazine. The association between the two honors the graphic artist as a modern-day craftsman, but also performs the function of elevating Bradley into the Oxford-educated Morris’s coterie of poets, intellectuals, and Pre-Raphaelite painters.

The arrangement of the figures in ascending size from the front to the back of the picture plane creates linear perspective, a dominant feature of Western art, but a compositional device taken from *ukiyo-e* prints isolates and decontextualizes these figures, who are pinned against a solid backdrop. In the Italian poster, a color lithograph, a flutter of yellow interrupts the otherwise solid green background. Spatial ambiguity and visual flatness consign the riders of these images, whether in the color lithograph or in the black-and-white ad, to stationary positions. An identical olive green-yellow-orange-black-and-white color scheme appears in another Bradley design published 1893, acquired July 12, 1894. (Sean Casey, email with the author, February 11, 2015). Bradley includes the very frontispiece for *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, designed by Edward Burne-Jones with borders and initials by William Morris, in an advertising booklet for the Mittineague Paper Company published sometime before 1897. Moreover, Bradley published this frontispiece in *Bradley: His Book*. See “A Page from Chaucer,” *Bradley, His Book* 1, no. 2 (1896): 26. For more on Bradley’s visit to the Barton Collection at the Boston Public Library, see Robert Koch, *Will H. Bradley: American Artist in Print: A Collector’s Guide* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 2002), 60.

for Overman, given the title *The Knickerbockers* [Figure 8] by Bradley because of the female rider’s bicycle bloomer costume. In this advertisement from 1895, which Bradley produced initially as a poster and reproduced as magazine advertisements, the dramatic cropping removed the rider’s shoulders, arms, hands, legs, and bicycle from view, throwing the viewer into the rider’s immediate space. Bradley’s zooming and cropping in *The Knickerbockers* excises most of the very subject for sale. Fragmentary views of the head tube, headset, stem, and handlebars in this ad form a visual synecdoche – parts that stand in for the whole.

Another ad, *Victor Bicycles – They Cost More to Build Than Any Other* [Figure 9], which served as the backcover ad for the May 1896 issue of *Harper’s Monthly* – repeats these techniques of zooming and cropping, pictorial occlusion and fragmentation. The ad sketches in white the contours of two gigot-clad female riders and the fragments of their bicycles against an inked background. So closely zoomed in and cropped is this image that the rider in the foreground fills more than half of the pictorial space. The handlebars and stem act again as a visual synecdoche for the bicycle. Through pictorial engineering, the advertisement undercuts the bicycle’s capacity to transport its female riders. Instead, the designed image suspends the riders in time and place, rendering them as static *objets d’art*.

Untethered from real-world constraints of gravity, the figures in *Peacock* float through the picture plane as though riding a carousel. The placidity of the riders, and the

---

95 Bradley sold this color lithograph, a long poster, 40 9/16 by 13 1/8 in. (102.8 by 33.4 cm.) in dimensions, for one dollar. He advertised its sale in *Bradley: His Book*, and also sold copies at art fairs and exhibitions, such as the 1896 Art & Crafts Exhibition in Boston. See *Bradley: His Book*, May 1896, xxii. The design was also used as an ad in magazines.
spatial ambiguity produced by the flatness surrounding them, suggests that their bicycle riding requires little physical exertion and involves no forward momentum – and certainly no unladylike sweating, sexual stimulation, or muscular development that might offend against conventional class-based standards of respectable femininity. The giant thistles surround the riders, obstructing their speed and containing their movements. Like the High Art Maidens from a painting by the British Pre-Raphaelite artist, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, the representation of female cyclists in *Peacock* complicates interpretations that equate avant-garde aesthetics with progressive politics.96

In Bradley’s images, costumes for the female figures display a spectrum of nineteenth-century cycling attire for women in order to appeal to consumer fantasies widely without alienating particular constituencies. Bradley’s designs tread carefully when introducing the controversial subject of bifurcated garments for women, with their representations of bloomers in *The Knickerbockers* and bifurcated skirts in *Victor/Victoria* [Figure 10]. In the majority of Bradley’s ads for Overman, however, the female riders wear non-provocative skirts. Even the extravagant Aesthetic gowns of the *Peacock* ad, albeit unconventional, fall within the parameters of late-nineteenth-century heteronormative standards. Showcasing both flamboyant and traditional clothing for female cyclists reflects how “the discourse of consumption constituted by the advertising, articles, and fiction within the developing mass-market magazine of the

---

96 The High Art Maiden was “limp and languid, unable to stand up, she was draped over sofas or propped up against mantelpieces. Her occupations included gazing at a lily or teapot or staring with ‘sightless’ eyes out of the picture… Her dress was unconventional… She appeared to have stepped out of Art into Life.” See Anne Anderson, “Life into art and art into life: visualizing the aesthetic woman or ‘high art maiden’ of the Victorian ‘renaissance,’” *Women’s History Review* 10, no. 3 (2001): 443.
1890s subsumed both feminist and conservative views in the interest of sales.” By asserting “a version of women’s bicycling that reframed its apparent social risks as benefits,” Bradley’s posters and Overman’s bicycles reassured consumers, whether male or female, that women’s cycling “would not disrupt the social order.”\textsuperscript{97}

The riders of \textit{Peacock} sport an Aesthetic interpretation of medieval clothing: flowing dresses with sleeves full and gathered at the wrists rather than at the shoulders, as turn-of-the-century fashion would advise. While not explicitly salacious, the perspective shows the curves of three women riders’ bodies in profile. The bohemian clothing resembles neither the bicycle haute couture glamorized in ladies’ periodicals but infrequently worn \textbf{[Figure 4]}, nor the more simplified skirts shortened for riding that women were instructed to wear, and more commonly did wear. In this way, Bradley’s figures quite literally skirt the edges of nineteenth-century norms of respectability and femininity without ever challenging them directly.

To present herself properly to the world, a lady cyclist needed apparel to conceal her body and obscure her movements. According to an 1892 advice handbook, \textit{The Bicycle, its Selection, Riding and Care}, suitable attire consisted of skirts made of four full yards of fabric with hemlines two inches from the ground. The handbook encouraged the female cyclist to sit upright with her skirt draped over the back of the saddle. With a properly full skirt, “the movement of the feet and the limbs is not noticeable to any extent, and the saddle is almost completely hidden from view.”\textsuperscript{98} A popular pattern-cutting magazine offered a solution to the problem of a female cyclist’s

\textsuperscript{97} Ellen Gruber Garvey, “Reframing the Bicycle,” 66-67, 84.

\textsuperscript{98} Lewis F. Korns, \textit{The Bicycle, its Selection, Riding and Care} (Chicago: [Publisher not identified], 1892), 24-25.
“exposed” rear: A peplum attachment, a smaller skirt worn on top of the rider’s clothing, was designed to conceal the contours of a woman’s bottom on a saddle.99 John J. Dougherty offered a different solution in the form of an attachment to the bicycle rather than to the rider’s clothing. In 1897 Dougherty registered a patent for an “Ornamental Screen for Ladies’ Bicycle-Saddles,” designed to “give the bicycle a dressy appearance and to shield to a certain extent the form of the rider.”100

The wheel guard, depicted on the bicycle farthest from the viewer in Peacock, consisted of a lattice made from wires or cords that covered the rear wheel with the intention of preventing skirts from catching in the spokes. “Ladies’ wheels are equipped with both wheel and dress guards, the latter covering the chain and sprockets,” explained Henry Clyde in Pleasure-Cycling, an 1895 advice manual sponsored by Pope Manufacturing. Like Overman, Pope considered wheel guards and dress guards, also called chain guards, essential components – not additional sundries – for the ladies’ Columbia models. “The use of wheel guards on men’s wheels is not now common. If you have them, keep them at home for use in a possible emergency,” otherwise they “are a useless and weighty encumbrance.”101 While not entirely useless, wheel guards and chain guards nevertheless failed to reliably thwart the dangers of a skirt-and-spoke or a skirt-and-chain entanglement. Between 1894 and 1898 inventors registered 96


patents for ladies’ bicycle attachments, many of them modifications to improve wheel and dress/chain guards, and 69 patents for cycling attire, in response to these challenges.\textsuperscript{102}

The proliferation of patents for wheel and dress/chain guards indicates that they provided psychosocial reassurance more effectively than they provided physical safeguards. While bloomers and trousers met the conditions of functionality for women’s cycling, they failed to pass social muster. Patents to improve skirt functionality for cycling reveal the supremacy of the skirt over the centuries – “solid and immutable as if it were carved in stone.”\textsuperscript{103} The prescriptive literature of the Gilded Age demanded that propriety trump pragmatism and safety for bicycle-riding women; the material and visual culture that manufactured, marketed, and sold the bicycles and their sundries to women complied with these directives.

While French bicycle brands inserted erotic visual content into their ads, Bradley’s ads for Overman sensualized the imagery far more subtly. In \textit{Peacock}, the coyness of the first rider’s gaze aimed away from her direction of travel but directly toward the viewer electrifies the image with an erotic charge. A giant thistle caresses the first rider from the front and left sides, hinting at the sexual nature of touch. In both \textit{The Knickerbockers} and the Italian version of \textit{Peacock}, color imbues the imagery with symbolic resonance. Earlier in the nineteenth century, the Pre-Raphaelites had reclaimed red hair from the perceived ugliness of working-class status and Celtic

\textsuperscript{102} Sally Helvenston Gray & Mihaela C. Peteu, “Women’s Cycling Attire in the 1890s,” 85.

\textsuperscript{103} Sally Helvenston Gray & Mihaela C. Peteu, “Women’s Cycling Attire in the 1890s,” 95.
identity. Through their art and poetry, the Pre-Raphaelites, and their descendants, the Aesthetes, elevated redheadedness to a marker of rarefied beauty and sensuality. All three female figures in the Italian version of *Peacock*, and the solitary rider in the color version of *The Knickerbockers*, have red hair. The rebuke of British cultural imperialism by the Pre-Raphaelites gets muddled in the translation to an American or Italian context, so that Bradley’s riders appear as apolitical beauties, redheaded Ladies of Shalott on bicycles.

* * *

On September 18, 1883 the Springfield Bicycle Club hosted its first three-day tournament and exhibition in Springfield, Massachusetts. This annual event aimed to become the most impressive and sensational tournament in the United States; the press, both cycling-specific and general, fueled Springfield’s success with its generous coverage. That the Springfield Bicycle Club did “more to popularize bicycling in America than any other one agency, not excepting the [League of American Wheelmen]” was “indisputable,” declared the *Springfield Wheelmen’s Gazette*, the region’s leading cycling periodical.⁰⁴ Profiling the competitors in advance, announcing the prizes,⁰⁵ posting the new records, and providing play-by-play coverage of the races


⁰⁵ Prizes included medals, money, bicycles and even promotional products by the Pope and Overman companies. For the 1883 tournament, the Pope Manufacturing Company offered a Columbia prize cup, valued at $1000, for the first-place winner of the twenty-mile. The Overman Wheel Company offered a Victor Rotary Tricycle, worth $500, to the winner of the five-mile tricycle race. See “Programme of Springfield Meet,” *Outing, a Journal of Recreation*, September 1883, 472.
themselves—no detail was spared. A reporter for *Outing* described Springfield as a
town shut down during those three days except for activities related to the tournament,
hyperbolically asserting that all of the town’s 33,000 inhabitants attended.106 *Sporting
Life* named the 1885 tournament “the greatest…in the history of the world. Never
before was held a tournament at which there was such a repeated wholesale slaughter of
records.”107 The tournament only grew in popularity during the 1890s bicycle boom.
“Nothing short of a calamity will keep [the crowds] away,” the *New York Times*
declared with regard to the 1895 tournament. “This has always been the case, and it is
quite reasonable to suppose that this year’s brilliant programme [sic] will make history
repeat itself.”108

The bicycle acts upon the human body in Bradley’s 1896 poster for the
Springfield Bicycle Club tournament and exhibition *[Figure 12]*. It constructs a
particular notion of masculinity by associating the rider of it with muscle, force,
endurance, and most especially, speed. By representing the hunched cycling posture, the
putative position of victory in competitive cycling, Bradley’s Springfield poster conveys
the thrill—and power—of speed, to be exercised and enjoyed by men. Fine artists,
graphic designers, racers, photojournalists, and marketing and advertising professionals
helped to perpetuate this visual trope. Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec’s advertisement for
Simpson Chains of England *[Figure 13]* depicts the French champion Constant Huret

106 Howard P. Merrill, “One Man’s Work for Cycling,” *Outing, an Illustrated Monthly
Magazine of Recreation*, October 1888, 32.

107 “Amongst our Exchanges,” *Sporting Life*, as quoted in *Springfield Wheelmen's
Gazette*, October 1885, 103.

speeding through laps at the velodrome, crouched on his bike, back arched, hands
gripping handlebars, nearing a takeover of the tandem bicycle right before him.

Gentlemen in bowties and bowler hats watch the race while a band in marching regalia
plays at the center of the velodrome. In the Springfield Bicycle Club poster, the meeting
of white and green through spatter lithography at the bottom-right corner (and to a
lesser extent, at the bottom-left) activates the space by creating the illusion of speed.
The male riders bow so far downward and forward that their heads hover just above the
handlebars.

The design and marketing of safety bicycles during the 1890s boom presented
new ways of riding – specifically “scorching,” where riders hunch forward, streamlining
their bodies and reducing aerodynamic drag. Racers adopted the scorching position to
increase their speeds. The Springfield poster portrays male racers scorching, an activity
considered transgressive for women to participate in; scorching signified speed, and
speed signified power. Mrs. Powell, the 1896 winner of the MacRobertson Ladies Road
Race held in Melbourne, assumed a rare, semi-scorching pose for her portrait, published
in the Australian newspaper Free Lance. Most women, including other competitive
cyclists, refrained from posing for photographs in a scorching position.109 Powell’s
choice of bicycle – a diamond frame safety – was equally conspicuous and
unconventional. Since only a handful of companies manufactured and marketed
“ladies’” diamond frame bicycles, female cyclists would use men’s diamond frames for

109 Fiona Kinsey, “Reading Photographic Portraits of Australian Women Cyclists in the
1890s: From Costume and Cycle Choices to Constructions of Feminine Identity,” The
competitive cycling. The only context in which women’s use of diamond frames could be sanctioned by the industry, and to which the public acquiesced sometimes, was women’s competitive cycling. Within the limited context of women’s competitive cycling, scorching women could escape censure – but only fleetingly.

In a test of endurance, Tessie Reynolds of Brighton, England set a record in 1893 for completing 120 miles in 8 hours and 38 minutes on a men’s safety bicycle. “Nothing is more calculated to give cycling for women a set-back [sic] than this racing,” grumbled Cycling, an English illustrated weekly, as it decried, “above all, the sight of a young girl tearing her heart out along the highway, cheered on by a crew of male pacemakers.” While Cycling denounced Reynolds’s knickerbocker costume for its “most unnecessary masculine nature and scantiness,” others in the cycling press praised Reynolds’s athletic achievement, but most especially, her outfit. “Miss Reynolds’ [sic] costume is undoubtedly the cycling costume of the future,” opined Violet Lorne, the “ladies’ page” editor for Bicycling News. George Lacy Hillier, editor

110 Few manufacturers produced the diamond frame safety bicycle for women. Among the companies that did were the Keating Wheel Company of Holyoke, Massachusetts and the Eclipse Bicycle Company of Elmira, New York. Owen Manufacturing Company of New London, Connecticut produced a convertible model to make it “feasible for a woman wearing bloomers to ride a diamond frame in the country. When in town, she can remove the top bar and ride in a skirt either of two forms, a single or double tube drop frame.” See unnumbered page ad in The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review, Feb 21, 1896.


of the same publication, expressed delight at the heartening coverage Reynolds’s feat received from unexpected sources, and he defended the “rational” habit for women cyclists:

Plenty of varying opinions have been expressed concerning the ride of this young lady of 16, but that the *Lady’s Pictorial* – some of the correspondents of which are always shrieking for the legislative elimination of the cyclist – should not only publish Miss Reynolds’s [sic] portrait, but actually give her performance a commendatory notice, is so amazing that I am daily looking out for blue rain. Miss Reynold’s [sic], I am well assured, is but the forerunner of a big movement – the stormy petrel heralding the storm of revolt against the petticoat… The woman who went bathing in a ball gown, or hunting in a tea gown, would be deemed an imbecile… Miss Reynolds sets an example, and so long as a lady can ride well and mount gracefully I see no objection at all to the adoption by her of a suitable, eminently rational, and particularly safe costume, which relieves her once and for all of the flapping and dangerous skirt…

Perhaps anticipating a hailstorm of criticism, Tessie Reynolds positioned her public identity as a negotiation between radical and conventional gender ideologies. She posed for her portrait wearing knickerbockers. But she substituted her men’s Premier, the bicycle with which she had set her distance-endurance record, for a ladies’ drop-frame, and sat upright.

Despite the standards of propriety imposed upon women, or perhaps because of it, women’s competitive racing experienced a surge in popularity between 1896 and 1898, at the height of the bicycle boom. One of the first competitions to document the inclusion of female cyclists occurred in 1868, an 83-mile race from Paris to Rouen,

where between four and twelve women competed against dozens of male competitors.\textsuperscript{114} Women’s road and track racing in America, Australia, Canada, Great Britain, and Western Europe developed episodically throughout the 1880s and 1890s.\textsuperscript{115}

Although some of the earliest races allowed men and women to compete against each other, by the 1890s, most competition organizers segregated the events by gender. The International Cycling Union began to sanction women’s competitive cycling under its auspices in 1893. But even then, the most ardent supporters of women’s professional racing came from progressives committed to advancing dress reform and social equality. “[F]ew spectators seem to have taken women’s racing seriously, and the tensions between spectator groups were debated endlessly in the major cycling magazines;” titillation and contentiousness characterized the general public’s relationship with women’s competitive cycling. For late nineteenth-century mass audiences, the “prolonged exposure of women’s bodies” presented a “titillating novelty.” Track races held in large velodromes offered spectators a panoptic vantage point that kept the cyclist within steady view.\textsuperscript{116}

\textsuperscript{114} Clare S. Simpson, “Capitalising on Curiosity: Women’s Professional Cycle Racing in the Late-Nineteenth Century,” in \textit{Cycling and Society}, ed. Dave Horton, Paul Rosen, and Peter Cox (Aldershot, England; Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2007), 50. Discrepancies exist in the eyewitness reports of the “first” race and within the scholarship on the history of women’s competitive cycling. According to Ross D. Petty, for example, the first women’s bicycle race took place in Bordeaux, France on November 1, 1868, and the Paris-to-Rouen race occurred the following year. See Ross D. Petty, “Women and the Wheel,” 121.

\textsuperscript{115} Clare S. Simpson, “Capitalising on Curiosity,” 50.

\textsuperscript{116} Clare S. Simpson, “Capitalising on Curiosity,” 51-53.
Given the contentiousness of women’s competitive cycling, manufacturers and vendors were ambivalent using women’s racing to market their bicycles to consumers.\textsuperscript{117} Two years after implementing racial restrictions that barred African American and Chinese cyclists from club membership, the LAW blacklisted racetracks that permitted women’s races.\textsuperscript{118} Ultimately, women’s foray into the velodrome or the road race came “at a cost: their display brought ridicule and threats, public criticism and, in the interests of their safety, a ban on women’s racing that persisted for half a century.”\textsuperscript{119}

\textsuperscript{117} Clare S. Simpson, “Capitalising on Curiosity,” 59.

\textsuperscript{118} Ross D. Petty, “Women and the Wheel, 122.

\textsuperscript{119} Clare S. Simpson, “Capitalising on Curiosity,” 62.
Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

All mankind is a-wheel apparently and a person on nothing but legs feels like a strange animal. A mighty army of wheels streams from the brick wilderness below Central Park and speeds over the asphalt. In the cool of the evening it returns with swaying and flashing of myriad lamps. The bicycle crowd has completely subjugated the street. The glittering wheels dominate it from end to end. The cafes and dining rooms of the apartment hotels are occupied mainly by people in bicycle clothes. Even the billboards have surrendered. They advertise wheels and lamps and times and patent saddles with the flaming vehemence of circus art. Even when they do condescend to still advertise a patent medicine, you are sure to confront a lithograph of a young person in bloomers… Down at the Circle where stands the patient Columbus, the stores are crowded with bicycles goods. There are innumerable repair shops. Everything is bicycle.\(^{120}\)

Stephen Crane’s fascination with the bicycle boom, although mixed with a degree of disdain, likely resonated with equally smitten New Yorkers in 1896. Perhaps Crane had in mind a lithograph by Will H. Bradley advertising Victor and Victoria bicycles when he wrote his tongue-in-cheek vignette.\(^{121}\) Few could deny that safety bicycles had conquered the billboards, businesses, and boulevards of the city. That the bicycle would vanish from the metropolis by the turn-of-the-century seemed a remote possibility that even fewer could have foretold.


\(^{121}\) Will H. Bradley designed illustrations and decorations for Stephen Crane’s volume of poetry, War is Kind, published by Frederick A. Stokes Company in 1899.
On December 27, 1897, the Overman Wheel Company filed for bankruptcy. The company ceased operations at the Chicopee Falls factory and closed its branch stores, leaving 1500 factory workers and thousands of retail workers in branch stores across the country without jobs. High prices and personal rivalries led to the company’s demise, hazarded a reporter for the New York Times. The Overman Wheel Company’s “embarrassment was regarded in the cycle trade world as very significant,” reported the Times. To survive the oversaturated bicycle market of the late 1890s, bicycle companies would need to “reduce the price of their wheels to a popular figure.” After restructuring its debt, the company reopened the Chicopee Falls factory in January of 1898. “The Overmans were good neighbors, and the news of the failure was a shock to us all,” sympathized the head of another bicycle firm. “The opinion is general that the company will be on its feet again in a few days.” But the company struggled. In 1899, Victor bicycles made in 1898 sold for just $28 at sporting goods stores. The Overman Wheel Company did not survive into the twentieth century, and it was not alone. In 1899, the largest surviving bicycle firms, which produced roughly sixty percent of the nation’s bicycle output, merged into the American Bicycle Company. The trust, which included the Pope Manufacturing Company, also struggled; by 1902, it too had collapsed.

123 “In the Cycling World… The Overman Failure,” New York Tribune, December 29, 1897.
125 See Bruce Epperson, Peddling Bicycles to America, especially pages 178-182.
This thesis has explored the intransigency of heteronormativity in bicycle design and advertising. Will H. Bradley’s bicycle advertisements for the Overman Wheel Company from the 1890s epitomize the process by which gender-based ideologies were mobilized within systems of representation, creating definitions and meanings that reinforced “discursive and institutional practices… [wherein] woman/femininity and man/masculinity are produced, renegotiated and fixed in relative hierarchies.”

The Victoria, a luxury bicycle riddled with mechanical problems in its very design, never achieved the same vehicular status as its companion, the Victor. For women to ride a Victor instead of Victoria meant a serious transgression of prescribed boundaries with social, spatial, and even legal consequences. In late nineteenth-century America, codes of heteronormative respectability governed the types of bicycles used and the ways in which cyclists used them, determining the speed of cyclists and the spaces they occupied. Fast female cyclists disrupted the expectations of heteronormativity. While they were a spectacle to see on the racetrack, they became the objects of scorn in the public arena. Conversely, slow female cyclists complied with heteronormative standards of decency, but their bicycling was interpreted as an activity of leisure rather than a legitimate mode of transportation.

Taken altogether, the rhetoric of the images and the materiality of the bicycles demonstrate how “technology is never neutral, space is never empty, and mobility is never disconnected from power.”


127 Zachary Mooradian Furness, One Less Car, 11.
sporting good did not occur organically, by chance, or by accident; rather, the very process that defined the safety bicycle as a gendered and heteronormative object in the early 1890s qualified its users as recreational, commuters, or racers. At the same time that the sport of bicycle racing grew in popularity, the commuter bicycle lost its place on the road. Victoria’s lack of structural integrity and slowness in an era that increasingly privileged speed as a condition for territory rendered her riders deferential road users, and their rights to occupy space meaningless.
FIGURES

Figure 1  Victor bicycle, from the 1885 trade catalog. *Victor Bicycles & Tricycles*. Boston: Overman Wheel Company, 1885, 1. Courtesy Hagley Museum and Library.
Figure 4  *Bicycling Outfits.* Published in *The Delineator.* New York: E. Butterick, August 1894. Courtesy Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection.
Figure 5  *Peacock.* Ad for Victor Bicycles. Will H. Bradley for the Overman Wheel Company. Published in *Scribner’s Magazine.* New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, February 1896, 21. Courtesy Gordon A. Pfeiffer Collection, Morris Library, University of Delaware.
Figure 6  *A Dream of John Ball*, written by William Morris with illustrations by Edward Burne-Jones. Hammersmith: Kelmscott Press, 1892. Courtesy Mark Samuels Lasner Collection.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary


---. “Bicycling for Women.” Cosmopolitan, August 1895.


Korns, Lewis F. The Bicycle, its Selection, Riding and Care. Chicago: [Publisher not identified], 1892.

Merrill, Howard P. “One Man’s Work for Cycling.” Outing, an Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation, October 1888.


The Bookseller and Newsman. April 1896.


The True Republican. “Words of Approval.” February 27, 1892.


Secondary


Appendix A

PERMISSIONS TO PUBLISH
Talia Coutin  
Lois F. McNeil Fellow  
Winterthur Program in American Material Culture  
Academic Programs Department  
Winterthur Museum, Library, & Garden  
Winterthur, DE 19735

Permission is granted to reproduce the images listed below in *Victor/Victoria: Bicycles, Advertising, and the Limits of Heteronormativity: Will H. Bradley's Graphic Designs for Overman Wheel Company*, by Talia S. Coutin to be submitted to the University of Delaware as a 2016 thesis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accession or Call Number</th>
<th>Book or Object</th>
<th>Reproduction to be made from</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
                           Order#16L103 |
                           1) Vol. 1, no. 1, May 1896, "The Knickerbockers." | Digital scan  
                           Order#16L104 |

The credit line to be used with each picture is:


Please provide a complimentary copy of the publication. It is understood that this thesis will be submitted to UMI, and that UMI may sell, on demand, for scholarly purposes, single copies of your dissertation, which includes the images described above. Permission is hereby granted for that purpose. Please note use restrictions below.

Lauri Perkins  
Rights and Reproductions  
Library and Academic Programs

June 29, 2016
Talia Coutin  
Lois F. McNeil Fellow  
Winterthur Program in American Material Culture  
Academic Programs Department  
Winterthur Museum, Library, & Garden  
Winterthur, DE 19735  

July 8, 2016

Permission is granted to reproduce the images listed below in *Victor/Victoria Bicycles, Advertising, and the Limits of Heteronormativity: Will H. Bradley’s Graphic Designs for Overman Wheel Company*, by Talia S. Coutin to be submitted to the University of Delaware as a 2016 thesis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accession or Call Number</th>
<th>Book or Object</th>
<th>Reproduction to be made from</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
1) July 1896, Cover.  
2) July 1896, page 12. | Digital scan  
Order# 16L114 |
1) August 1894, “Bicycling Costumes.” | Digital scan  
Order# 16L115 |

The credit line to be used with each picture is:


Please provide a complimentary copy of the publication. It is understood that this thesis will be submitted to UMI, and that UMI may sell, on demand, for scholarly purposes, single copies of your dissertation, which includes the images described above. Permission is hereby granted for that purpose. Please note use restrictions below.

Lauri Perkins  
Rights and Reproductions  
Library and Academic Programs
Photographic Use Contract
For Winterthur Library Collections

1. This permission is for the use of the photographic materials listed on the front of this page. Only photographic materials supplied by the Winterthur Library of library collections are permitted to be reproduced.

2. Failure to pay the required fees for reproduction means that permission has not been granted.

3. The reproduction must not be cropped, bled off the page, printed on color stock, nor have anything be superimposed on the image. Each image must be reproduced unaltered and in its entirety unless approved in advance in writing by Library Photo Services. When a detail is used, the word DETAIL must appear in the credit line.

4. The full credit line exactly as supplied on the front of this page must appear in immediate proximity to the image or in the section devoted to photographic credits. No abbreviations are permitted. In the case of films, television, or filmstrips, the credit line must be included in the credits.

5. All negatives, internegatives and color transparencies remain the property of the Winterthur Library. An overdue fee is charged for every month beyond the initial three-month period that these materials are in the possession of the borrower. A charge equal to the replacement cost will be levied for each damaged transparency.

6. This permission is valid only for the individual, company, or institution to which it is specifically issued and may not be transferred, assigned, sold, or otherwise disposed of without written permission.

7. When used for promotional purposes, references to the Winterthur Library, outside of the copyright notice, if any, are not permitted unless particularly applied for and granted in writing.

8. Photographic materials shall not be used to show or imply that the Winterthur Library endorses any commercial product or enterprise, concurs with the opinions expressed in, or confirms the accuracy of any text used with the said materials.

9. Black-and-white photographs for reproduction are sold outright and are not returnable.

10. The permission hereby granted terminates immediately upon publication.

11. Any breach of these terms and conditions may result, at the sole discretion of the Winterthur Library, in the revocation of permission to reproduce with the right to seek other remedies, including damages.

Rev 3/08
Hello Talia,

I would be happy to grant permission on behalf of the University of Delaware Library for you to reproduce these five images in your master's thesis. Please use the following for of acknowledgment for your citations:

Gordon A. Pfeiffer Collection  
Special Collections, University of Delaware Library  
Newark, Delaware

Sincerely,

Tim Murray

On Mon, Jun 27, 2016 at 3:49 PM, Talia Coutin <ts.coutin@gmail.com> wrote:

Dear Tim Murray, Librarian and Head, Special Collections Department:

I am writing to formally request permission to publish the following images, designed by Will H. Bradley (1868-1962), in my master's thesis at the University of Delaware. The images are from the Gordon A. Pfeiffer Collection. To the immediate right are the file names as they appeared in the scans prepared by Alexander Johnston, Senior Assistant Librarian, except for the last two.

There are 5 requests total:

1. In Purple and White, image reproduced from Les Maitres de l'Affiche (1896-1900) (MaitreAffiche.tif)

2. Victor Bicycles - They cost more to build than any other, from Harper's Magazine, May 1896, p. 130 (HarpersMay1896.tif)

3. Victor Bicycles (ScribnersFeb1896.tif)

4. Victor Bicycles, in red and white

5. Victoria Bicycles / Ladies who wish the best invariably select a Victoria

Thank you!
Talia

Talia S. Coutin

"Let us realize the arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice." — Dr. MLK, Jr.
Of course. Just cite as the source "Mark Samuels Lasner Collection, University of Delaware Library"

I am delighted to hear that the thesis is done. Would you be able to give Special Collections a printed copy, to go with the Bradley collection?

Best, Mark

Mark Samuels Lasner
Senior Research Fellow
University of Delaware Library
181 S. College Avenue
Newark, DE 19717
(302) 831-3250
marks1@udel.edu

On Jul 11, 2016, at 12:36 PM, Talia Coutin <ts.coutin@gmail.com> wrote:

Dear Mark Samuels Lasner,

I am writing to formally request permission to publish the following images from your collection in my master's thesis. Could you please confirm that the bibliographic information is accurate? The two images are attached.


Thank you kindly!

best,
Talia

—
Talia S. Coutin

"Let us realize the arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice." ~ Dr. MLK, Jr.

<Dream of John Ball.jpg>
<Works of Chaucer.jpg>