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At the Bicycle Races: Global Sporting Culture and National Belonging at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century, 1899-1913

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Abstract: In this article, the authors take three different points within a trans-Atlantic triangle to trace the flow of people, products, and ideas concerned with the sporting culture of the bicycle. We follow the emergence and elaboration of a global culture, casting light on how cycling was experienced across and between spaces, and challenges notions of coherent "nationality and territoriality" in the crucial decade before World War I. We utilize co-authorship as a means of overcoming the parochialism and a certain methodological nationalism that has constrained the history of technology, sport, and mobility. In doing so, the authors respond to the need for historians to pay closer attention to the transnational movements, flows, and circulations that have informed the development of national sporting contexts.

Keywords: Cycling, Sport, Nationalism, France, Colombia, United States

In the late nineteenth century, the bicycle was one of the world's preeminent objects of industrial modernity, celebrated in art, fiction, and newspapers. From Bucaramanga to New York, Shanghai to Paris, millions discovered the radical power of personalized mechanical mobility. This global cycling boom was facilitated by a series of rapid technological innovations originating in the English Midlands. These included the development of a chain drive (1884), the launch of the John Kemp Starley's Rover Bicycle (1885) with its two similar-sized wheels and diamond frame, and the re-discovery of the pneumatic rubber tire (1888). Thanks to the resulting stability and comfort, the modern "safety" bicycle could be found in almost every corner of the world by the mid-1890s. Cycling crystallized and popularized transnational scientific debates over ability, industry, and humanity's increasing integration with machines. As an accelerator of mobility, cycling broadened millions of people's perspectives before the development of widespread motorized transport, playing a fundamental role in forming the modern subject.

In recent years, mobility and transport history, environmental anthropology and sociology, sport history, cultural history, and imperial history have all turned their attention to the epochal transformations that followed the invention of the safety bicycle.[1] Within this

scholarship, two different approaches have explored the role of the bicycle in global history. Harry Oosterhuis has emphasized the need for historians to engage with nationally-specific social and cultural histories of the bicycle to better understand the technology's different trajectories in Europe and the English-speaking world across the twentieth century. By way of contrast, Paul Smethurst, through a synthetic reading of historiography and his own research in Japan and Asia, argues that the bicycle should be viewed as a "continuous form of global everyday technology."[2] In this article, we follow Smethurst's call for a multi-sited, global approach that does not erase the relevance of national and local contexts but challenges their assumed coherence by bringing them into dialogue with global trends. Our multilingual approach moves between languages and cultures to better understand the intersection of the local, national, and global in sport history. By 1900, the bicycle was an "everyday technology" from France to Colombia, the United States to India.[3] Given its global scale, how can historians connect the dots? How do we write global histories of culture and sport if we ourselves remain rooted in our own national historiographies and languages as much as we might try to break free from the methods of our training? To attempt to answer these questions, we endeavor to write what Ruth Oldenziel and Adri Albert de la Bruhèze call a "globally grounded" history of cycling sport culture through the reading of three case studies where the national intersected with the global.[4]

As historians of South America, France, and the United States, we have brought into dialogue our individual expertise that reflects an "interpretive zone" created through discussions held over a number of years.[5] It provides a step towards recognizing the globally transformative advent of cycling as an everyday practice through an approach predicated on a brief and preliminary examination of the transnational experience of cycling sport culture that includes regions hitherto excluded from the historiography, particularly South America. In so doing, we

respond to the need for historians to pay closer attention to "globalizing processes and transnational linkages over time" and to the transnational movements, flows, and circulations that have informed the development of national sporting contexts.[6]

By the end of the nineteenth century, sales of bicycles had soared, thanks largely to a range of technological innovations that made cycling safer and more comfortable. However, the spread of cycling at various national levels was also made possible by, and was largely dependent upon, global trade networks: bicycle manufacturing required rubber from the Amazon, steel from North America and Europe, and roads needed asphalt from Trinidad. At the same time, bicycles were ridden at ever greater speeds and before appreciative crowds of cycling fans in velodromes and along roads from Buenos Aires, Argentina to Christchurch, New Zealand. As historian Matthew Taylor notes, this was an era marked by the internationalization of sporting practice and spectacle facilitated by "the flow of people, rules of play, and associated sporting ideologies and codes of conduct."[7] By the early twentieth century, cycling had well and truly established itself as a form of personal transportation and spectator sport for the masses: it was a global cultural phenomenon.[8]

The global culture of cycling was communicated through the many publications that emerged at this time to promote bicycles, cycling, its related commercial products, associations, and sports events. Historians have long turned to early publications such as *Le Véloce-Sport* (first published in France in 1885), *Cycling* (first published in Britain in 1891 and the forerunner to today's *Cycling Weekly*), and *The Wheel and Cycling Trade Review* (first published in the United States in 1888) as primary source material for histories of cycling. These reviews are undoubtedly crucial to understanding the development of national cycling cultures in the late nineteenth century. Yet, such periodicals and the information they contain often spread beyond

the national borders within which they originated. Indeed, the development of transoceanic steamships and international telegraphy in the late nineteenth century facilitated an increasingly rapid exchange of people, products, and ideas. Maritime space thus constituted, as Simone Müller writes, an alternative modernity that challenged existing notions of "nationality and territoriality."[9]

The cycling press was crucial to this elaboration and circulation of cycling culture. It was here that the rules of cycling were literally written, where it was determined who could (and who could not) ride and under what conditions.[10] It was also here that the first race reports appeared. Race coverage played a vital part in the elaboration, articulation, and celebration of the nascent phenomenon of masculine sport celebrity, particularly as cycling became a globalized professional sport. At the beginning of the twentieth century, and before the dominance of road cycling in Europe following World War II, the velodrome—a cycling track with two straights and curved banking on the ends—was the arena in which sporting celebrity was achieved. Built to promote and exploit mass spectatorship, it also was a space in which national and international heroes were created, their stories filling the pages of the cycling press in a mutually beneficial and circular process of exchange.

Taking three different points within a transatlantic triangle that extends from South America to the shores of France and, from there, to New York, we use the cycling press to trace the circuits of people, products, and ideas concerned with sporting cultures. In so doing, we follow the emergence and elaboration of a global culture, casting light on how cycling was experienced across and between spaces, and challenges notions of a coherent "nationality and territoriality" in the crucial decades before World War I.[11] From the sixteenth century on, the Atlantic constituted a space of exchange that while much studied in relation to histories of

slavery, migration, economy, and culture, merits further study by historians of sport.[12] The Atlantic corresponds to our areas of expertise and we hope that this co-authored article will generate and provoke further work on the global and oceanic histories of sport that move beyond Europe and the Americas. In this article, we analyze three principal locations in which borders, margins, and sport intersected: publication (the cycling review), personhood/embodiment (the professional cyclist), and space/place (the velodrome).

Our journey starts in South America with *El Ciclista*, a Colombian cycling review published in 1899. Its coverage makes clear how cycling existed in dialogue with, and defined itself in contradistinction to European cycling cultures. Our second case study also begins in South America before heading to France and from there to New York and back by focusing on the career and writings of the Franco-Argentine cyclist Lucien or Luciano Mazan (known professionally as Lucien Petit-Breton). Here we witness the negotiation of sporting and national identities associated with international cycling and early sport stardom. In our final case study, we return to New York and examine the Madison Square Garden's Six-Day race of 1913 to understand how U.S. press coverage made sense of the instability of national, ethnic, and racial categories through the phenomenon of an international mass spectatorship event. As our navigation of transatlantic cycling reveals, the emergence of national cycling cultures was dependent on a global culture of cycling from which it could never entirely break free.

Publication: Communicating the Cyclist in *El Ciclista*, 1899

Colombia is often left on the margins of global history, a supplier of coffee, oil and, cocaine and producer of political violence, utopias, and magical realism. *El Ciclista* published in 1899 helps illustrate the global networks that shaped cycling cultures in Colombia and South America at the beginning of the twentieth century.[13] It also shows how much research still

remains to be conducted in local histories of Colombian cycling, and indicates the potential offered by micro-histories when they can draw on available archives. The two issues of *El Ciclista* that survive in the Colombian National Library*,* each consisting of eight pages, were produced in the town of Bucaramanga, towards the border with Venezuela, in June and July 1899. Partisan political conflict was on the rise when Liberal and Conservative armies launched into civil warfare in November the same year. The conflict likely brought the publication of *El Ciclista* to an end. The three years of murderous armed conflict were remembered as the War of a Thousand Days. Several thousand people were killed at the Battle of Palonegro just outside Bucaramanga in May 1900.[14] It is in this troubled context that *El Ciclista* projected cycling as a means through which to bring order, hygiene, and progress to the Colombian countryside and to its slowly expanding towns. Bicycles came from abroad and so too could the cultures that had emerged around the machines in Europe, North America, and elsewhere. How, then, did the rest of the world appear in *El Ciclista* and how did the Colombian review position itself in relation to this recent European import?

The first issue opens with a quote attributed to Madame de Staël, the seventeenth-century French woman of letters and political thinker: "Travelling is the saddest of pleasures." So far, so Eurocentric. Yet a sense of how *El Ciclista's* editor, Ramón Castro, exercised his own judgement and autonomy can be taken from the way he remolded the original ("Travelling is one of the saddest pleasures in life") and his snooty (and anachronistic) comment on de Staël, appended to her quote: "We can clearly see that she never rode a bike!" Not only is he patronizing towards one of France's rare female commentators; he is also undermining the common technique of prefacing a text with an epigrammatic homage to France.[15]

These gestures of intellectual insubordination notwithstanding, Castro's opening editorial was full of deference towards French writers on cycling. He quoted three at length: the monarchist and novelist Alfonso [sic] Daudet ("the bicycle gives our souls a rest and helps us forget our sorrows"); the journalist and cycling enthusiast Louis Baudry de Saunier ("the cyclist is not a God, but he is superior to other human beings"), and the leading physical culturalist Dr. Philippe Tissié ("cyclists are healthier, stronger, and more productive"). Like many other newspaper editors around the world in 1899, Castro liberally took these writers' words, translating them and repurposing them from their original homes in newspapers and books (de Saunier was the author of the bestselling guide *Le cyclisme théorique et pratique* [Cycling theory and practice], first published in 1891). France was situated through these repeated citations as the center of cycling civilization, a model to be imitated. *El Ciclista* also borrowed from these writers' technical tables, and cycling guidance, adapting them for the Bucaramanga and Colombian readerships. And, like the French counterparts for which both de Saunier and Tissié had been writing since the 1880s, *El Ciclista* promoted cycling with a proselytizing zeal. It was presumed, for example, that both men and women would participate. There were engraved images of women cycling, a poem about women cyclists, and editorial comments around the participation of women at cycling events (of which there are four mentions in the sixteen pages). Castro, in using these European authors, engaged in the widespread belief that cycling was psychologically, socially, and physically invigorating in ways that created a new and superior embodied human regardless of nationality. *El Ciclista* reflected Colombia's position as one spoke within globalizing networks.

El Ciclista's presentation of technical material acknowledged the significance of U.S. and British manufacturers to cycling cultures and provided readers with conversion rates between

metric and imperial systems for measuring distances, explanations of what an inch and a league were, and how to calculate the diameter of a bike wheel both in inches and centimeters. Linguistic differences were also played out within the pages of *El Ciclista.* The editor wrote that "English words are very common in cycling and many other games," before going on to propose translations for a range of "*ejercicios velocipédicos*" (velocipedic exercises) that used English terms like *record, race, rider, handicamp* [sic, for handicap] and *starter,* as well as some French ones like *controler* [sic, for *contrôle* or checkpoint] and *entraineur* [sic, for *entraîneur* or pacer]. As Nemesia Hijós has shown in her work on running groups in Buenos Aires, the use of foreign language terms (*pacer, coach, finisher*) can give athletes a sheen of metropole modernity, status, and exclusivity.[16] Such transformations, adaptions, and appropriations of sporting vocabulary across linguistic boundaries help reveal the slippiness and messiness of global networks.

All this did not mean that *El Ciclista* was in hock to the legend of European progress, a product of colonial forms of knowledge. Not at all. It used humor as a form of resistance and appropriation of the new customs and technologies. Two of its jokes were at the expense of Europe:

> Buena performance.
>
> Lo creerás? Pepe, he ido de Madrid a Cadiz junto con el tren: llegó el tren a la primera estación y yo llegué con mi bicicleta y lo mismo en las demás hasta el fin.
>
> - Pero eso es imposible!
>
> - - No, llevaba la bicicleta en el tren.
>
> - - Ah!
>
> ["Good ride!"
>
> "Really? Pepe, I've been from Madrid to Cadiz at the same speed as the train! I reached every station at the same time all the way to the end of the line!"

"But that's impossible!"

"No, I took my bicycle on the train."

"Oh"]

And

- La bicicleta está sustituyendo al caballo en todas partes; no es verdad?

- - Si, nada menos que ayer encontré un pedazo de neumático en las salchichas alemanas.

["The bicycle is replacing the horse everywhere, isn't it?"

"Yes it is, only yesterday I found a bit of rubber tyre in a German sausage."]

These jokes poke fun at the centrality of European places in globalized cycling knowledge. Just like the liberties taken with spelling French and English cycling vocabulary, and with the quotations from de Staël and others, Colombian cycling promoters felt the freedom to put themselves, their bicycles, and their rides at the center of their publications.

Who were these cycling promoters? In contrast to the many detailed works on the history of cycling in the Global North, histories of cycling in Colombia have only sparse details from which to reconstruct the history of the practice before the start of the Vuelta a Colombia in 1951.[17] *El Ciclista* gives us some clues. The names of the members of the Colombian Cycling Circle were listed on the last page of the second issue. These eight men were Colombia's first cycling promoters, and together formed a distant forerunner of the National Cycling Federation, established in Cali in 1938. They were based in four urban centers across the country: the capital Bogotá, the industrial center Medellin, the highland market of Tunja, and Zapatoca in Santander province, 67 km from where *El Ciclista* was printed in Bucaramanga by Ramón W. Castro.

The members were a highly-networked, elite, liberal, modernizing group, anchored in the arts as well as commerce, correlating with Jorge Humberto Ruiz's identification of the social

elites who promoted sports.[18] Their global connections go some way to explaining their promotion of cycling. Ernesto V. Duperly was a Bogotá-based transport enthusiast, road-builder, and, in 1910, the first importer of Cadillac motorcars into Colombia.[19] José Joaquin Pérez (Bogotá) was a journalist and later, in 1923, the first director of the Banco de la República, the national bank. Dr José Manuel Goenaga G. (Bogotá) was a government minister dedicated to promoting trade, and building railways to facilitate commerce. He translated from English a guide to the cultivation of the cacao bean (for making chocolate). His son Juan Goenaga Pérez, was one of the organizers of the National Athletic Games in the 1940s.[20] Alongside Duperly, Pérez and Goenaga, however, we find figures from the arts: the writer and nephew of the liberal president Aquileo Parra, Vicente Parra R.; Gustavo Biester, whose daughter Ines Acevedo Biester was an important mid-twentieth-century sculptor; and Roberto Mac Douall, a poet and novelist who was the son of a Scottish merchant settled in Zipaquirá, hometown of Colombia's first Tour de France winner over a century later, Egan Bernal, and its first leftist president Gustavo Petro.

Outside of the capital we have fewer sources to work with. In Zapatoca the sole member was Roberto J. Diaz, whose poems featured in *El Ciclista.* In Medellin, we have the liberal writer Roberto Botero S. and Mariano Ospina V., a coffee exporter from a celebrated Medellin political and economic dynasty. In Tunja the two members were Alberto and Gabriel Silva. Taken together, we find a well-educated, globally-networked and politically-influential group of movers and shakers. We do not know anything about whether these individuals were themselves leisure cyclists or racers. We can certainly infer, however, that they looked to use cycling as a means to work Colombia deeper into global networks of commerce, culture, and physical activity.

These two issues of *El Ciclista* demonstrate the vitality and energy of cycling promoters far from the global centers of bicycle production and celebrated races. The magazine promoted the adaption of the bicycle to local conditions, at the same time as it aspired towards and reveled in the progress it perceived in European and U.S. cycling. Its pages reveal the tensions of local cycling promotion in places like Bucaramanga, Buenos Aires, and Barranquilla at considerable distance from traditional centers of bicycle knowledge, illuminating the multidimensional ways in which cycling – as a mode of transport, as a sport, and as a lifestyle choice – developed well away from Paris or New York on something approaching its own terms. We can see this in the juxtaposition between local news and landscapes and the lengthy reproductions and adaptations from French and English papers. Stories were told of a globalized cycling community, in contact with its constituent members and in competition for recognition on the ladder of civilization. This was no one-way flow of ideas from the supposed European center to the South American periphery. Indeed, as our next case study demonstrates, this flow operated in more than one direction.

Person: Negotiating the Atlantic Triangle with Lucien Petit-Breton, 1901-08

French cycling reviews in the late nineteenth century often appeared fixated on what was happening across the Channel in Britain rather than across the Atlantic. British bicycle manufacturing success continued to highlight the decline of French industry since the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71), while British riders dominated France's first major road cycling race of the modern era: Bordeaux-Paris (1891).[21] Nevertheless, the French sports press was genuinely curious about and fascinated by the global development of the sport. *L'Auto-Vélo*, the national sports daily later rebaptized *L'Auto*, reported widely on the organization of the sport in Europe, North America, and South America. It even sent one of its own correspondents, V. Laborde, to

Buenos Aires to report at length in 1900 on the conflict in Argentine cycling between the UVA (Unión Velocipédica Argentina) and FCA (Federación Ciclista Argentina), explaining to readers over the space of two pages how the Argentine cycling press and the different European émigré communities had aligned themselves: the *Sud América Ciclista* and what they called the French and Spanish 'colonies' in the capital now largely supported the UVA, while *Ciclista* and the much larger Italian community had rallied to the FCA.[22] Laborde also wrote of the track races at the newly constructed Palermo Velodrome which, throughout January and February, regularly attracted teams of European riders, such as the Belgian and Italian national champions Louis Grogna and Luigi Singrossi, keen to supplement their earnings during the lean European winter months. It is in these reports that the French public first read about 'their' future national champion and two-times Tour de France winner, Lucien Petit-Breton.

Born Lucien Mazan in Plessé, West France in 1882, Petit-Breton emigrated to Buenos Aires in 1890 following his parents' move there two years earlier. He and his family were part of the largest wave of French migration to South America, by far the most popular destination for the French who nonetheless migrated in far fewer numbers than their Italian, Irish, or Spanish counterparts.[23] Once there, most French migrants chose to settle in Buenos Aires where, by the end of the century, they numbered 28,000. By now, the population of the city was approaching one million inhabitants, half of whom had been born abroad.[24] Petit-Breton thus spent his formative years in a city described by Eduardo Archetti as "a kind of cultural Babel, wherein English was the language of commerce and industry, French was the language of culture, and the tongues of daily life were a mixture of Spanish (and Galician), Italian (various dialects) and a mixture of Western and Eastern European languages."[25] However, migrant communities continued to cluster in distinct districts of the city, forming their own cultural support networks.[26]

This “cultural pluralism” played out in the capital’s sporting life, most famously through the development of numerous football clubs in neighboring districts, and also during track cycling events involving visiting European teams and local riders.[27]

There is a certain ambivalence in early reports of Petit-Breton’s professional cycling career in the French cycling press. Paired in a tandem track race with Grogna, Petit-Breton is described as one half of a Franco-Belgian team. In the same article, he is referred to as “our national road champion.”[28] While this is suggestive of Petit-Breton’s membership of the French migrant community, it can also be read as a reference to a burgeoning sense of Argentine national identity constructed in part through national sporting associations and competitions and to which the children of European migrants would lay claim. Its ambivalence is therefore suggestive of a hybrid identity that sets local riders apart from those like Grogna who would return to Europe after only a few weeks of racing. Having dominated both track and road racing in Argentina in the 1901-02 season, winning everything from the Argentine road championship to holding the national record for all distances from one to one hundred kilometers, Petit-Breton returned to France in order to race more regularly against European riders.[29] Throughout the spring of 1902, he was unequivocally referred to as “the Argentine champion” or “the Argentine who races under the name Petit-Breton in order to distinguish himself from the French rider of the same name [Breton].”[30] In his first French road race that year, the prestigious Bordeaux-Paris, his hometown was listed as Buenos Aires.[31] And, throughout its coverage of the 1905 and 1906 editions of the Tour de France, *L’Auto* routinely referred to him as an Argentine rider. This was, in part at least, a marketing ploy designed by race organizers to broaden the appeal of their events and to match the international dimension of the track races held in Buenos Aires and New York. Parisian spectators at the Parc des Princes velodrome could thus watch the Argentine Petit-

Breton compete against the Black American rider Major Taylor over the Easter weekend of 1902 in an event that pitched different forms of North and South American exoticism against each other.[32]

Petit-Breton rapidly established himself within a network of professional track cyclists in Europe. Many of whom would travel to New York each December to take part in the Madison Square Garden's Six-Day Race often on the same transatlantic steamer. Petit-Breton would later recall his "comrades" and the time spent at sea and in New York in their company "with a certain emotion."[33] It was while aboard the transatlantic steamer, a space in which "travellers reworked ideas about themselves and their worlds," that he would shed his Argentine credentials to become simultaneously European and French, in the eyes of the U.S. press that eagerly awaited the riders' arrival.[34] Even here, however, such identities were fluid and usually flags of marketing convenience.

Taking part in every MSG Six-Day Race between 1902 and 1907, Petit-Breton was routinely referred to as French in the U.S press. Indeed, the national identity of riders appears to be a significant point of interest for New York spectators and all teams "are greeted most vociferously by their countrymen" according to a report in *The Sun*.[35] Like Buenos Aires, New York had experienced substantial migration at the end of the nineteenth century. Spectators' interest in the race was often influenced, if not determined, by affiliation to local migrant communities. *The Sun* of New York reported that Petit-Breton was cheered on by French migrants, while the collision which saw the elimination of his teammate, the Italian Vanoni, prompted an invasion of the track by fans and at least one fight, suggesting the febrile atmosphere and rivalries that existed even amongst a crowd of 6,000 at 7.30 in the morning.[36]

For the U.S. press the main interest of riders like Petit-Breton was a means of measuring the talent of U.S. riders. The fluidity of national allegiances, however, and the ability to be something more than the citizen of a single country was never far from the surface. Irish team riders, for example, were often drawn from the Irish immigrant population rather than Ireland.[37] Petit-Breton would have been familiar with the techniques used by the U.S. press and the Italian community in New York to claim his teammate Vanoni as simultaneously American and Italian. The *Washington Times* reported that Vanoni was born in the East Side of New York before moving back to Italy with his parents. His presence "has thrown the residents of little Italy and other Italian quarters of Gotham into a high state of excitement."[38]

While Petit-Breton could ride in New York as a Frenchman in 1906, albeit as half of a Franco-Italian team, he had raced his second Tour de France earlier that year as "the courageous Argentine racer."[39] By now, Petit-Breton had established himself as a prominent racing cyclist in the country of his birth, finishing fifth in the 1905 Tour and fourth in the 1906 edition and winning Paris-Tours that year. In 1907 he won the Tour de France for the first time and was the first rider to win the race consecutively when he repeated the feat in 1908, following which he announced his retirement, setting up his own Peugeot concession in Périgueux and writing periodically for the sports weekly *La Vie au grand air*.

In what proved to be only a temporary retirement, he published a series of autobiographical sketches where he reflected on his career. The first instalment of "*Sur route, sur piste*" [On road and track] in *La Vie au grand air* sets out to disabuse the reader of any lingering suspicions that Petit-Breton was anything other than French. He reveals how his nickname, the Argentine, was thought up by event organizers and repeated by journalists in order to heighten the interest of the events they covered. His Argentine years are referred to as a "long

apprenticeship spent away from my homeland."[40] A few months earlier, in *Comment je cours sur route* [How I race on the road], a short celebration of his road racing career with tips for aspiring riders, Petit-Breton nevertheless evoked the enduring ties that bound him to Argentina and the years spent rubbing shoulders with members of the migrant communities of Buenos Aires. It was here that he developed a love of Italian food that he credited with powering him to success.[41] Moreover, he reported that he was regularly invited to the Argentine consulate in Paris which claimed him as "a son of Argentina" and where he encountered a generosity that was still dear to him.[42] Yet, Petit-Breton, playing on South American stereotypes, also claimed that it was his Latin flair and spontaneity, associated with his informal training in Buenos Aires, that were channeled and sometimes tamed in France and notably through his reading of *La Tête et les jambes* [The Head and the legs] (1897). This best-selling training manual, written by Henri Desgrange, emphasized the need for discipline and method.[43]

Petit-Breton depicted his training as a much-needed injection of Cartesian rationality that honed his performance. Its effect upon Petit-Breton was essentially civilizing, in Norbert Elias' formulation, revealing how Petit-Breton internalized a form of informal French imperialism that J.P. Daughton considers more broadly characteristic of France's relationship to Argentina during the Belle Epoque.[44] Petit-Breton thus felt that he had been transformed and able to achieve his potential by returning to France and imbuing himself with the superior culture of competitive cycling to be found in his home nation. The potential ambiguities of Petit-Breton's national identities remain an aspect of early French cycling history that have yet to be explored as previous historians have taken Petit-Breton's own assertion of Frenchness at face value, but also because much work remains to be done on the instability of national identity reflected in the nascent sporting celebrity of the turn-of-the-century.[45]

Even if France had no trouble in recognizing Petit-Breton the Tour de France winner as one of its own, it is clear that the identity attached to Petit-Breton the cyclist shifted as he moved through the points of the transatlantic triangle. French in Argentina, Argentine in France, European or just foreign in New York, Petit-Breton demonstrates the fluidity of both migrant and sporting identities (confirming and drawing back in time the findings of Scharagrodsky on the Italian/Argentine swimmer Enrico Tiraboschi in the 1920s).[46] Following his death in World War I, where he fought for France, a velodrome was erected in the city of Nantes, not far from Plessé and his final resting place on the Atlantic Coast in Pénestin. Inaugurated in 1924, the Vélodrome Petit-Breton also featured a marble and bronze plaque placed there by the president of the Argentine Cycling Federation, Arnoldo Bernasconi, stating simply "Argentine cyclists to Petit-Breton."[47] Petit-Breton's life makes clear that sporting identities are the result of "an extensive negotiation that is always changing, always being interpreted and reinterpreted, and always contested by various entities," further illustrating the transatlantic economic and cultural links revealed in *El Ciclista*.[48]

Place: Madison Square Garden Six-Day Race, 1913

As the career of Petit-Breton makes clear, there was considerable slippage in terms of national identity and its meanings as mobile professional cyclists navigated the transatlantic sporting world. Likewise, Stijn Knuts and Pascal Delheye have argued that international bicycle racing could solidify identities (in their case, Belgian) at a crucial moment in state formation, just as Manuel Morales has shown for Colombia in the 1950s.[49] With the founding of the British-dominated International Cycling Association in 1892 and its European-successor the Union Cycliste Internationale (UCI) in 1900, bicycle racing established itself as part of a rising tide of globalizing international organizations, institutions, and movements.[50] This internationalism,

however, was also the space through which nationalism and national pride were expressed and solidified in a new scientific language of race and ethnicity rooted in empire.[51]

In the first decade of the twentieth century, anti-immigrant movements were gaining momentum in the United States. Europeans were not just people of different nations but were "race-types" that threatened the supposed Anglo-Saxon and Protestant integrity of the United States. When European immigration to the United States all but stopped with the outbreak of war in 1914, many Americans began to question the benefits of immigration, leading to postwar restrictions that culminated in the 1924 Johnson-Reed Immigration Act that ended mass migration to the United States.[52] Meanwhile, south of the Rio Grande, the ongoing Mexican Revolution (1910-21) was giving rise to the cultural theorizing of José Vasconcelos, and his idea of the mixed "cosmic race" that would defeat Anglo-Saxon imperialists.[53] At New York City's famed Madison Square Garden these fantasies of race and power were lived out and displayed as cyclists from around the world sought to demonstrate the speed and modernity of their bodies.[54] Thus far our spatial scales have shifted between the national, local, and the individual across time. In this section, we zero-in on a single bicycle race in December 1913 to consider what a bicycle race might tell us about this crucial moment when the transnational dynamics of power, race, and national identity were at their high point. The 1913 race is important, then, not for its exceptionality but rather for the ways it marks a culmination of these trends and their relationship to international cycle racing in the decade before World War I.

The six-day bicycle race started with high-wheelers (or 'ordinary') in England in 1879 and grew out of the popularity of the six-day pedestrian race. For the next decade, as a form of cycling competition, it languished behind other disciplines until a Canadian promoter, Thomas Eck, developed the format into a spectacle. The first six-day at Madison Square Garden (MSG)

started on October 19, 1891 with the modern safety-bicycle replacing the ordinary in 1893. Its introduction marked the turning point for the discipline. With increased speeds the track needed steeper banking, the steeper banking increased the speed and therefore danger, which in turn attracted more spectators. By 1896, MSG's new six-day promoter, Patrick T. Powers, had hit on the winning formula of non-stop racing that began Monday morning at 12 am and ended Saturday at 11:59 pm out of respect for the Sabbath. The six-day was moved to December and became a fixture in the end of season circuit. Crucially, as Ari de Wilde has noted, the six-day launched indoor sporting events as sites not only of athletic achievement but "ritualistic consumption" in an age of mass culture. Powers combined the speed, exhaustion, and spectacle of cyclists attempting to cover the most distance in 144 hours with a festival atmosphere that included live music and shorter races within the race. In 1899, due to this excessive festival atmosphere – with petti-criminals and organized crime running gambling rackets – the New York state legislature limited individual athletic performances to twelve-hours a day. This restriction was circumvented by developing the 'Madison' format, where a pair of riders race as a team with one resting while the other continues on the track.[55]

From the start of its ascendency the promoters of the MSG Six-Day emphasized its "star-studded international field" not for amateur athletic achievement like the re-inaugurated Olympics but for the cash that could be earned by promoter and rider alike. As de Wilde convincingly argues, the MSG Six-Day was part of shift in sport from the "classically modern tension with speed in endurance records to an interest in a symbolic spectacle" combined with the "effort of physical prowess befitting a desperate Darwinian, pre-modern world" performed in front of tens of thousands of fans in the heart of the most modern city in the world.[56] The 1913 MSG Six-Day was given blanket coverage by the *Newark Evening Star* with full pages devoted

to the race in the days leading up to its start and continuing throughout and after the event. Beyond typical sports reporting, the newspaper also featured daily commentary from veteran American cyclists Floyd MacFarland and Frank Kramer, along with embedded daily reporting from riders themselves, including the Australian stars Jackie Clark and Alfred Goullet.

A close reading of the coverage found in the *Newark Evening Star* reveals both the racial and national tensions at the heart of this international athletic spectacle at a moment when American identity was hardening around a new and often fractured concept of a white ethnic. At the MSG Six-Day this whiteness was created at the intersection of the domestic and transnational as white settler and "foreign" bodies competed with each other to demonstrate their physical supremacy rooted in masculinity. The international race began with thirty-four cyclists of which only fourteen claimed "America as their birthplace." The rest of the field was made up of riders identified as being born in Australia, Germany, France (including Petit-Breton who had returned to the sport in 1910), Tasmania, Denmark, Italy, Scotland, and Sweden.[57] This list of racers, however, spoke to birthplace and not national identity. The "national" teams of the Six-Day reveal the instability of nationhood in the international sporting world. For instance, the "Italian Team" consisted of Maurice Brocco born in France and Francesco Verri born in Italy, whereas the "Hungarian/Irish Team" was made up of Joe Kopsky born in the United States and Fred O'Keefe born in Tasmania.[58] Before tens of thousands of fans, these national teams were part of a spectacle that brought "a miniature Coney Island into the very heart of Gotham." The cyclists, the shooting-gallery, the candy-puller, the cabaret singers, the comedians, and the fans themselves played a part "in the success of this unusual extravaganza, which is a combination of everything imaginable."[59] In the spectacular setting of MSG, fantasies of masculinity, whiteness, and nation were played out across six days in December 1913.

Despite its international character, the race itself was divided into two competing groups: the "foreign" and "alien" group of cyclists from Europe and the second group made up of cyclists from the former white settler colonies of the United States, Australia, and Tasmania.[60] Although Black American cyclists such as Woody Headspeth and Marshall "Major" Taylor had raced the Six-Days in New York and Europe at the turn-of-the-century, a decade later the 1913 race was a place where a contested whiteness was the dividing line between athletic contestants.[61] At the MSG Six-Day the Australian, Tasmanian, and U.S. riders were brought together in a common whiteness rooted in fantasies of frontier masculinity that contrasted with the "foreign" and "alien" bodies of the Europeans.[62]

Before the race, the European riders decamped to Newark to train at the recently opened Motordome, but given the good weather that December they could also be found training on the local roads. Their hotel was nicknamed "Little Ellis Island" and the initial reports were that they were training hard and in good form, especially the Italian and French teams. At the same time, former champion Floyd MacFarland noted, "you cannot bet with any degree of safety on any of the boys from across the pond being even at the finish," despite the fact that the French team included a two-time Tour de France winner in Petit-Breton.[63] At the start of the race and in the Darwinian struggle of the Six-Day, the Americans wondered if the Europeans would be fit enough to survive to the end. A letter from a fan stated their belief that the "European riders are not prepared to such long grinds as the Australians and the Americans are. Such hard races are not required from the first-class riders or sprinters in Europe."[64] By the middle of the race, however, MacFarland recognized that the Europeans were "fast coming into their own and will soon be starting something," emphasizing not only the performance of the Italians and the French but the German team of Willy Appelhans and Herman Packebusch who were both riding

their first New York Six-Day.[65] By the end of the race, Frank Kramer reported that the "Americans and Australians all praise the European riders and say that they are the best ever brought over here for the big contest." Although the highest placed European team — Brocco and Verri —finished fifth, many of their competitors believed them to be the strongest in the race.[66]

Although the Europeans won the respect of the Australians and Americans for their survival skills over the week, the European teams were also singled out for trickery and pesky riding. Before the start of the race the aging U.S. rider Bobby Walthour announced that he was quitting racing in Europe despite winning the Berlin, Brussels, Reims, Cologne, and Nurnberg races over the 1913 summer circuit because of the "increasing danger associated with motorpacing there when compared to America."[67] MacFarland worried that the Europeans would be too aggressive and dangerous in the Six-Day.[68] And, when the Australian Jackie Clark retired from the race there was "no dishonor", whereas when André Perchicot of the French team quit he was ridiculed for abandoning his partner.[69]

The *Newark Evening News* never explicitly used the language of race. It is, however, implicit throughout its coverage of the Six-Day. The international character of the race was repeatedly referenced, while the riders, themselves, were divided into two clear groups: those from the old world of Europe whose bodily endurance and stamina were questioned and those riders from white settler nations whose masculinity was demonstrable in their honorable riding and ultimate victory in the race itself. When the bell sounded at 11:59pm on Saturday, December 13, the Australian-U.S. Team of Alfred Goullet (Australian) and Joe Fogler (United States) crossed the line having covered 2,741 miles over the six days, setting a new world record. Order was also maintained when the Italian Team was denied third after Fred Hill of one of the U.S.

teams fouled Francesco Verri, "killing the Italian's chances." Notable as well were the immediate accusations in the press that Edward Root, a naturalized U.S citizen born in Sweden, had pulled Goullet to the finish for a pay-off.[70]

The fantasies of white settler superiority and frontier masculinity were maintained through, and therefore dependent upon, cycling's transatlantic triangle. The riders from Australia, Tasmania, and the United States were unthinkingly lumped together by the *Newark Evening Star* despite their different nationalities and placed in opposition to their European competitors, while the constant identification of United States cyclists as "American" was part and parcel of the erasure of other marginal identities like Argentina (for Petit-Breton) and Swedish (for Root). The masking of complex national and frequently transnational sporting identities was a marketing ploy that nevertheless served promoters well on all sides of the Atlantic triangle: within a few days the "human-motors" of the Six-Day were on a ship to France to race the Paris Six-Day that started on January 18, 1914 and continue the circus and fantasies of the bicycle race.[71]

Conclusion

The sport of cycling was a global phenomenon by the beginning of the twentieth century. From the reviews and newspapers devoured by cycling enthusiasts to the stars and the races discussed on their pages, cycling citizens were aware that they were part of this global culture. This is not to say that the global overwrote the national. Rather, the three case studies presented here show, in the words of Taylor, "how rapid connections not only encouraged dialogues between national sporting cultures but helped to create transnational spaces where debates about rules, competitions, and local, national, and global identities could take place."[72] There was,

then, amidst the process of transmission and traversal across the Atlantic, a corresponding process of adaptation.

The study of national sporting histories does not necessarily obscure the global or transnational that lurks within them. The attentive lone scholar, in spite of the restrictions imposed by their own linguistic range, can nonetheless easily discern the evidence of the dialogue that permeates debates, ideas, individual itineraries, and even the very materials through which sport is played. Indeed, as our third case study makes clear, even when sport is mobilized to validate notions of national or racial exception, it frequently does so by mobilizing the global dynamics through which sport operates and in doing so destabilizes national categories. In the process of writing this article the potential gains of co-authorship founded on multilingualism have been revealed to us. The present study illustrates how dialogue between authors and their individual specialisms can reveal more fully the global networks and dimensions that often remain obscured within national sporting histories.

We cannot resist concluding with the cycling metaphor of the peloton, which we think is useful to illustrate the advantages of the research methodology we have adopted here. The three authors each have different methodological and disciplinary strengths, and each set out to conduct research on a clearly-defined aspect of the study: South America using Spanish sources, France using French sources, and the United States using English sources. We thought our three sections would sit neatly alongside one another. When cyclists ride together in a group, however, they are able to travel further, and faster, because each can take a turn at the front whilst the others conserve energy. When researchers move together, they are constantly identifying connections and mobilizing affinities that would not other be apparent – in this case Lucien Petit-Breton's Argentinian past and French competition at the Madison Six-Day Race. By sharing

resources, going back to the team car to fill each other's water bottles, and forging temporary alliances, researchers are able to produce deeper, stronger insights into the global networks of the past whose meanings often escape our simple attempts to understand them. We would even share the prize money, if there was any.

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Cities: The Johannesburg Experience (Eindhoven: Foundation for the History of Technology, 2019).

[2] Harry Oosterhuis, "Cycling, Modernity and National Culture," *Social History* 41 (2016): 233-248; and Paul Smethurst, *The Bicycle: Towards a Global History* (Bassingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 1.

[3] Arnold, *Everyday Technology*.

[4] Oldenziel and Bruhèze, "Cycling in a Global World," 23.

[5] "The interpretive zone" of collaborative research is where "multiple viewpoints are held in dynamic tension as a group seeks to make sense of fieldwork issues and meanings." It is this dynamism that resolves into the production of knowledge, see Wasser, & Bresler, "Working in the interpretive zone: Conceptualizing collaboration in qualitative research teams," *Educational Researcher* 25, no. 5 (1996), 6. South American sports historiography has several recent examples of productive research partnerships and co-authored publications with authors from Spanish-speaking Uruguay, Portuguese-speaking Brazil and France, see Marcelo Moraes e Silva, Cyril Polycarpe, Daniele Cristina Carqueijeiro de Medeiros and Evelise Amgarten Quitzau, "Primeras aventuras deportivas internacionales brasileñas. Una mirada de la prensa sobre los Juegos Olímpicos Sudamericanos de 1907", *Cuadernos del CLAEH,* 40: 114 (2022),67-84.

[6] Matthew Taylor, "Editorial: Sport, Transnationalism, and Global History," *Journal of Global History*, 8, no. 2 (2013): 200; and Naha, "Over the border and the gates? Global and transnational sport," *Sport in Society*, 20, no. 10 (2017): 1348-9.

[7] Taylor, "Editorial…," 201

[8] Smethurst, *Bicycle*, 1; and Oldenziel and de Adri, "Cycling," 24. On bicycle racing in New Zealand in this period, see Michael S. Toohey, "Amateurs, Cash Amateurs and Professionals: A

Social and Cultural History of Bicycle Racing in New Zealand, 1869-1910" (PhD diss., Lincoln University, New Zealand, 2010).

[9] Simone Müller, *Wiring the World: The Social and Cultural Creation of Global Telegraph Networks*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 12.

[10] In this article we pay close attention to the construction of a contested masculine sporting subjectivity. The bicycle, however, was particularly revolutionary for women and from the beginning women raced professionally in all corners of the globe. Space limits have meant that we do not move beyond the male-dominated early era of sport cycling. On women's sport cycling, see M. Ann Hall, *Muscle on Wheels: Louise Armaindo and the High-Wheel Races of Nineteenth Century America* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018); Roger Giles, *Women on the Move: The Forgotten Era of Women's Bicycle Racing* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2018); and Pablo Ariel Scharagrodsky and Matthew Brown, *Nadando contra los corrientes: Lilian Harrison y los cruces a nado en los 1920* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2024).

[11] Müller, *Wiring*…12.

[12] On Atlantic history, see Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso, 1993); Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: The Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (London: Verso, 2000); and David Armitage, "Three Concepts of Atlantic History," in David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 11-27. There have been recent and important shifts to outline the history of sport in the Black Atlantic, see Theresa Runstedtler, "White Anglo-Saxon Hopes and Black Americans' Atlantic Dreams: Jack Johnson and the British Boxing Colour Bar," *Journal of World History* 21, no. 4 (2010): 657-689; Janelle Joseph, *Sport in the Black Atlantic: Cricket, Canada, and the Caribbean Diaspora*

(Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2017); and Michael Gennaro and Brian McGowan, eds., *Sport and Protest in the Black Atlantic* (London: Routledge, 2022).

[13] See Manuel Fontanilla Morales, "Cycling Landscapes and Cultural Representation in Colombia, 1930-1958," (Doctoral thesis, UC San Diego, 2018), Matthew Brown, "Cycling in South America, 1880-1920", *Anuario colombiano de historia social y de la cultura,* 48.1 (2021), 285-325 and Jane Rausch, Diego A. Aldana B., Sinar D. Alvarado F., and Zuly A. Zabala L, *Escarabajos: Un país descubierto a pedalazos* (Bogotá: Banco de la República, 2021)

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[15] *El Ciclista,* Bucaramanga, Colombia, 17 June 1899 and 20 Jul. 1899, dir. Ramon Castro W., held in the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia. All translations by authors.

[16] Nemesia Hijós, *Runners. Una etnografía en una plataforma de entrenamiento de Nike* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Gorla, 2021).

[17] Matt Rendell, *Kings of the Mountains: How Colombia's Cycling Heroes Shaped Their Nation's History* (London: Aurum Press, 2002); Morales, 'Cycling Landscapes'; and Montezuma, *Ciudadanos, calles y ciudades. Las Américas unidas por las ciclovías* (Bogotá: Editorial Universidad del Rosario, 2011).

[18] Jorge Humberto Ruiz Patiño, *La política del sport: Elites y deporte en la construcción de la nación colombiana, 1903–1925* (Bogotá: La Carreta Editores, 2010).

[19] Correa, 'Los Cadillac de Ernesto V. Duperly', (2018), accessed 23/05/2022, https://historiasdelautomovil.co/blogs/news/los-cadillac-de-ernesto-v-duperly-la-primera-empresa-de-transporte-intermunicipal.

[20] *Quien es quien en Colombia,* 717; and Goenaga, Biografía. Banco de la Republica (n.d.), accessed 23/05/2023, https://ddd.uab.cat/pub/1611/1611_a2014n8/1611_a2014n8a7/64122

[21] Dauncey, *French Cycling…*, 53-54.

[22] '"L'Auto-Vélo" à Buenos-Aires', *L'Auto-Vélo*, 8 Dec. 1900, 1-2.

[23] J.P. Daughton, "When Argentina was 'French': rethinking cultural politics and European imperialism in Belle-Epoque Buenos Aires", *Journal of Modern History*, 80 (2018): 843-4; Michael Haines, "French migration to the United States, 1820-1950," *Annales de démographie historique* 1 (2000), 76-9; and Philippe Roudié, "Long Distance Emigration from the Port of Bordeaux, 1865-1920," *Journal of Historical Geography*, 11, no. 3 (1985): 276, 288. For further details of Petit-Breton's life in Argentina, see David Guenel, *Petit-Breton, gentleman cycliste* (Publishroom Factory, 2020).

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[25] Eduardo Archetti, *Masculinities: Football, Polo and the Tango in Argentina* (London: Routledge, 1999), 2.

[26] Abad and Sánchez-Alonso, "A City," 344, 358.

[27] Bailey, "Marriage," 48.

[28] '"L'Auto-Vélo" à Buenos-Aires', *L'Auto-Vélo*, 11 Feb. 1902, 1.

[29] "Sur route, sur piste," *La Vie au grand air*, 16 Jan. 1909, 51.

[30] "Echo des pistes," *L'Auto-Vélo*, 26 March 1902, 1; and "Echo des pistes," *L'Auto-Vélo*, 12 Mar. 1902, 1.

[31] "Bordeaux-Paris," *L'Auto-Vélo*, 25 Jul. 1902, 1.

[32] "Le Grand Prix de Pâques," *L'Auto-Vélo*, 28 Mar. 1902, 1.

[33] "La course de six jours," *La Vie au grand air*, 21 Nov. 1908, 348.

[34] Tamsin Pietsch, "A British sea: Making sense of global space in the late nineteenth century," *Journal of Global History*, 5, no. 3 (2010), 423.

[35] "The Grind of Wheels Begins," *The Sun*, 10 Dec. 1906, 11.

[36] "Smashup Depletes Riders," *The Sun*, 14 Dec. 1906, 10.

[37] "The Grind of Wheels Begins," *The Sun*, 10 Dec. 1906, 11.

[38] "Vanoni an American Despite That Name," *The Washington Times,* 5 Dec. 1906, 10. As the life of Vanoni makes clear migration was also not always a one-way street further upsetting notions of stable national identity in this period, see Francesco Cerase, "Expectations and Reality: A Case Study of Return Migration from the United States to Italy," *The International Migration Review* 8, no. 2 (1974): 245-62.

[39] "Le Tour de France," *La Vie au grand air*, 4 Aug. 1906, 571.

[40] "Sur route, sur piste," *La Vie au grand air,* 9 Jan. 1909, 35.

[41] Petit-Breton, *Comment je cours sur route* (1908), 10.

[42] Petit-Breton, *Comment je cours sur route* (1908), 11-12.

[43] Petit-Breton, *Comment je cours sur route* (1908), 10; and Henri Desgrange, *La Tête et les jambes* (Paris: Imprimerie L. Pochy, 1897).

[44] Daughton, "When Argentina."

[45] Sylvain Ville's study of the boxer Georges Carpentier represents a rare exception here. Sylvain Ville, "Georges Carpentier, naissance d'une célébrité sportive (1894-1926)", *Genèse*, 103 (2016): 49-71.

[46] Scharagrodsky, "Nacionalidad, masculinidad y política en relación con la natación. La prensa argentina y el primer cruce a nado del canal de la Mancha en 1923," *Historia y Sociedad.* 41, (2021): 93-119.

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[48] Billings and Hundley, "Examining identity in sports media," in Hundley & Billings, eds., *Examining Identity in Sports Media* (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2009), 5.

[49] Stijn Knuts and Pascal Delheye, "Borderless Sport? Imagining and Organising Bicycle Racing in Belgium, 1869-1914: Between Transnational Dynamics and National Aspirations," *European Review of History* 21, no. 3 (2014): 379-404; and Morales, "Cycling Landscapes."

[50] Knuts & Delheye, "Borderless," 387.

[51] On the tension and overlap between internationalism, nationalism, race, and empire, see Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 26-31.

[52] For examples of this thinking, see James M. King's *Facing the Twentieth Century: Our Country: Its Power and Peril* (New York: American Union League Society, 1899) and Madison Grant's *The Passing of the Great Race: Or, the Racial Basis of European History* (1916). On nativism and anti-European immigration, see Erika Lee, *America for Americans: A History of Xenophobia in the United States* (New York: Basic Books, 2019), especially chapter 4. On the construction of 'whiteness' in this period, see David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (New York, 1991); and Robert Orsi, "The Religious Boundaries of an Inbetween People: Street Feste and the Problem of the Dark-Skinned Other in Italian Harlem, 1920-1990," *American Quarterly* 44, no. 3 (1992): 317-47.

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[55] Ari de Wilde, "Six-Day Racing Entrepreneurs and the Emergence of the Twentieth Century Arena Sportscape, 1891-1921," *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing* 4, no. 4 (2012): 532-46.

[56] de Wilde, "Six-Day," 540, 547.

[57] "Interesting Data on Riders Entered in Six-Day Battle," *Newark Evening Star*, 3 Dec. 1913, 17.

[58] "Six-Day Bike Teams," *Newark Evening Star,* 5 Dec. 1913, 25.

[59] "Six-Day Race Has Same Old Fascination for Bike Fans," *Newark Evening Star*, 8 Dec. 1913, 15.

[60] "No Gambling or Rowdyism at Race, Promises Powers," *Newark Evening Star*, 6 Dec. 1913, 15; "MacFarland Will Make His Selection Tomorrow," *Newark Evening Star*, 9 Dec. 1913, 15; and "Kramer Gets Opinion of Riders on Finish," *Newark Evening Star*, 12 Dec. 1913, 27.

[61] On Major Taylor, the Six-Day race, and the global politics of white supremacy, see Andrew Ritchie, "The League of American Wheelmen, Major Taylor and the 'Color Question' in the United States in the 1890s," *Culture, Sport, Society* 6, nos. 2-3 (2003): 13-43; and Nathan Cardon, "Cycling on the Color Line: Race, Technology, and Bicycle Mobilities in the Early Jim Crow South, 1887-1905," *Technology and Culture* 62, no. 4 (2021), 989-993.

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[63] "Jackie Clark Looks for Exceedingly Hard Grind," *Newark Evening Star*, 3 Dec. 1913, 17; "Punctures Annoy Riders in Training," *Newark Evening Star,* 4 Dec. 1913, 15; "Too Soon to Pick Winner, Says Sage MacFarland," *Newark Evening News*, 5 Dec. 1913, 25; and "Foreign Cyclists in Great Form," *Newark Evening News*, 5 Dec. 1913, 25.

[64] "Sports Topics of the Hour," *Newark Evening Star*, 10 Dec. 1913, 16.

[65] "MacFarland Will Make His Selection Tomorrow," *Newark Evening Star*, 9 Dec. 1913, 15; and "Goullet is Best Man in Race, Says MacFarland," *Newark Evening Star*, 10 Dec. 1913, 15; and "Goullet and Fogler Are My Selection," *Newark Evening Star* 10 Dec. 1913, 15.

[66] "Kramer Gets Opinion of Riders on Finish," *Newark Evening Star*, 12 Dec. 1913, 27.

[67] "Veteran Bobby Walthour is Back in America to Stay," *Newark Evening Star*, 4 Dec. 1913, 15.

[68] "Too Soon to Pick Winner, Says Sage MacFarland," *Newark Evening News*, 5 Dec. 1913, 25.

[69] "No Dishonor in Quitting Race, Says MacFarland," *Newark Evening Star*, 13 Dec. 1913, 15.

[70] 'Sport Topics of the Hour', *Newark Evening Star*, 15 Dec. 1913, 14; 'Hill Spoiled Race by Fouling Verri, Says Mac', *Newark Evening Star*, 15 Dec., 1913, 15.

[71] On the ship were Goullet, Fogler, Perchicot, Petit-Breton, Appelhans, Packebusch, Brocco, and Verri along with Frank Kramer, Frank Mihlon (a promoter), Floyd MacFarland, and Jackie Clark. 'Goullet and Fogler to Team in Big Paris Grand', *Newark Evening Star*, 15 Dec. 1913, 15.

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[72] Taylor, "Editorial," 206.