

Riding toward the Civil Society: Bicycle in Nineteenth-Century Estonia

Mikko Kylliäinen

The Finnish Society for the History of Technology
Vihilahdenkatu 17 A 12,
Tampere 33900, Finland
e-mail: kylliainen@gmail.com

Abstract: *The diffusion of the predecessor of the modern bicycle, the velocipede, started in Europe at the end of the 1860s. Around this time the velocipede also arrived in the area populated by Estonians, at the same time as in the neighboring Finland. The popularity of the bicycle started to grow in the 1880s, when the Baltic Germans first started to found bicycle clubs. In Estonia and northern Livonia, the Baltic Germans had the best possible means of acquiring a manufactured bicycle from abroad. However, this was not the only example of cycling culture in the governments of Livonia and Estonia; also the ordinary people had been interested in cycling since the 1880s. Estonians started to form their bicycle clubs in the 1890s, when the sales of bicycles were growing all over the world. Perhaps, the foundation of bicycle clubs can be partly explained also by the political situation in Estonia and Livonia and the national awakening of the Estonians. Similarly to other types of clubs, the bicycle clubs also offered people a chance to discuss social matters and politics. Thus, the civil society was partly built in bicycle clubs, too.*

Keywords: *bicycle, civil society, history of technology, technology diffusion*

Introduction

In contemporary Europe, there are many different cycling cultures. For example, in France and Italy, cycling is considered mostly a competitive sport. In Denmark and the Netherlands, bicycle is an everyday means of transport. Cycling, however, has not been in the focus of professional historians, and in many countries the history of cycling has not been rigorously studied. In Estonia, the most visible forms of cycling nowadays are racing and bicycle touring.

Therefore, books on the history of cycling, published in Estonia, deal mostly with racing (Kask, 1986; Ojamets, 2001; Piisang & Maidlo, 2001; Lääne, 2006).

Newspapers in the European countries and in Estonia sometimes publish popular articles discussing the history of the bicycle. In an article published in the Estonian daily newspaper *Postimees* in autumn 2010, the author claims that “the first bicycles arrived in Estonia probably already in the 1850s, but they did not attract any special attention” (Liloson, 2010). As the author does not tell more about the cyclists or their machines, some questions arise. When was the bicycle or its predecessor introduced in Estonia? Who were the early cyclists? And where did they get access to their machines? The object of this article is to study the introduction of the bicycle in Estonia and its diffusion among Estonians at the end of the 19th century. The use of bicycle among the Baltic Germans will be also studied. An interesting question is whether Estonian cycling history had some unique features compared with, for example, Finland. Even though Estonia and Finland share a lot of similarities in their history, there are perhaps more differences between them. Let us give an example. In 1809, Finland achieved the position of an autonomous Grand Duchy within the Russian Empire. The Grand Duchy, for instance, had had an autonomous acting government since the 1860s, while the Estonians did not have such national political system in the 19th century.

The source material used here are published sources dealing with cycling, such as the statutes of bicycle clubs. Some archive materials have been used as well. The parts of the governments of Livonia and Estonia that were populated by Estonians are mainly represented by Tartu and its surroundings. This area is probably exemplary since Tartu was the intellectual and spiritual centre of the governments of Livonia and Estonia. It is not obvious that the events and developments that took place in Tartu could have happened earlier or differently in other parts of northern Livonia and Estonia.

Dorpat wird immer mehr Weltstadt!

Since the Age of Enlightenment, there have been ideas of constructing a human-powered vehicle (Lessing, 2003; Kylliäinen, 2007a, pp. 7–10). This type of three- and four-wheeled machines were also built, but they remained expensive and clumsy. The first bicycle model which became internationally successful was developed in France during the 1860s. The French contemporaries called the machine *vélocipède*. Its diffusion in Europe started after the *Exposition Universelle* of 1867 in Paris. Based on the examples seen at the exposition,

velocipedes brought home by the visitors, and drawings published in journals, it was possible to construct a copy of the velocipede (Ekström, 2001, pp. 17–19; Green, 2003, pp. 13–14; Kielwein, 2005, p. 7; Lessing, 2006, p. 48). At the end of the year 1868, a small-scale commercial velocipede production was started in England and the Netherlands (Fuchs & Simons, 1977, pp. 19–21; Moed, 2008, pp. 213–215; Green, 2003, pp. 14–17). In 1869, the popularity of the new vehicle was at its highest (Besse & Henry, 2008), and production was started in Sweden and Bohemia (Ekström, 2001, pp. 17–19; Stenqvist, 2006, pp. 19–22; Králik & Vozniak, 1999, pp. 25–27). The velocipede was introduced also in Finland in April 1869 (Kylliäinen, 2008, pp. 29–32).

French velocipedes were ordered to Germany already during the Paris exhibition in 1867. Some of them were displayed in museums, newspapers wrote about them and published drawings describing them (Kielwein, 2005, p. 7; Lessing, 2008, p. 195). During the autumn 1868, a couple of entrepreneurs started to make velocipedes, and in spring 1869 some dozen of manufacturers marketed their products in newspapers. At least 37 German velocipede manufacturers are known from these years (Kielwein, 2006, pp. 2–4). At the end of 1869, some German velocipede makers announced that they had sold hundreds of velocipedes, and in some cases a remarkable share had been ordered from abroad (Kielwein, 2006, p. 5; Matthies, 1993, pp. 45–46).

The Baltic Germans had close relations with Germany, and some German velocipede makers advertised their machines in Baltic German newspapers. At the end of March 1869, Mr Perschmann from Brunswick informed the readers of the newspaper *Dörptsche Zeitung*, which was published in Tartu, of his selling durable and elegant two- and four-wheeled machines, which he had named, exceptionally, *velocimobilen* (*Velocimobilen mit 2 und 4 Rädern...*, 1869). Elegant were also the velocipedes that were offered for the people of Tartu by Mr Hugo Pietsch from Berlin. He thoroughly informed the public about the quality of his machines. Since 1867, the diameter of the front wheel had grown: that of Pietsch's machines was 40 inches. The whole front wheel was constructed of iron and it had rubber tires (*Aus dem Haupt Depot vom...*, 1869). In June 1869, yet another German velocipede manufacturer, Mr Hennings from Berlin, marketed his machines for the people of Tartu. His velocipedes were stable, comfortable, cheap – and elegant, of course (*Neue Erfindung*, 1869).

Before the inhabitants of Tartu made velocipede deals with the German makers, they were astonished by a “forever industrious and inventive citizen Borck” who had been riding his self-made velocipede at the beginning of May. He had probably built it according to the examples that had appeared in German

newspapers. Editor of the *Dörptsche Zeitung* greeted the event with satisfaction: “*Dorpat wird immer mehr Weltstadt!*” (*Vom Dorpater Trödelmarkt*, 1869). In 1869, it seems to have been quite a common practice in different parts of Europe and Northern America that people built velocipedes by themselves after foreign examples (Ekström, 2001, pp. 16–21; Norcliffe, 2001, pp. 90–91; Kylliäinen, 2008, pp. 30–32). In Germany, for example, even booklets on the theme “how to build a velocipede” were published (Kielwein, 2008, p. 23).

Dorpater Velocipedisten-Club

At the beginning of the 1870s, the velocipede fever in Europe was settling. Because of the Franco-Prussian war, the development of the French velocipede industry had halted and the production of the velocipedes was continued in England. Before the war, the velocipede had already changed a lot because of many inventions: most importantly, the diameter of the front wheel had grown so that it was finally between 48 and 60 inches (Kylliäinen, 2007a, pp. 21–24). The end of the 1870s saw a new rise in the popularity of the bicycle. Also, in different parts of the Russian Empire the cyclists started to found clubs and societies. In Riga, a club had been founded already in 1876, and in St Petersburg cyclists formed a club in 1882 (Mähar, 1986, p. 7; Lääne, 2006, p. 10). In the Grand Duchy of Finland, cyclists founded an unofficial club in the capital, Helsinki, in the following year, and its rules were officially approved in 1887 (Kylliäinen, 2007b, p. 56).

During the 19th century, club activities following the German example had become part of the social life of the Baltic Germans (Jansen & Rosenberg, 2005, p. 375; Zetterberg, 2007, pp. 329–331; Woodworth, 2009, p. 103). The founding of different kind of clubs and societies had been especially active in Tartu (Jansen & Rosenberg, 2005, p. 375). In Germany, bicycle clubs were founded already in 1869, but since the late 1870s, more and more clubs became active (Hochmuth, 1991, pp. 45–46). The Baltic-German cyclists in Tartu formed their own club in 1888, when 21 gentlemen signed the statutes of an association that became founded following the example of a club in Riga (von Kieseritzky, 1898, p. 1; Mainla, 2005, p. 570). Ten years later, the chronicle of the club informed the readers that there was a great interest in cycling in the town, and when the club, named *Dorpater Velocipedisten-Club*, assembled for the first training, the number of members was 34. For the training, the club had bought two bicycles from the bicycle maker Leutner in Riga. (von Kieseritzky, 1898, p. 1–4)

Dorpater Velocipedisten-Club organized its first competition in autumn 1889. The

length of the race was 24 versts (25.6 km), and the cyclists were split into two classes: one class was formed of riders using high wheel bicycles, the other class raced on 'safeties'. The clear advantages of the safety, the new low bicycle model with chain gear and rubber tires, were evident in the first competition in Tartu, too. Because of the windy weather the winner of the safety class was six minutes faster than the winner of the high-wheeler class (von Kieseritzky, 1898, p. 5).

In 1890, the club changed its name for the first time, becoming now the *Dorpater Radfahrer-Verein* (von Kieseritzky, 1898, p. 6). During the first years of its existence, the activities of the club became established. The club offered its members guided training, organized competitions, and in 1893 built a velodrome for track racing. In connection with the races, a festive parade called *Corso* was held. Dozens of cyclists, whose vehicles were decorated with flowers, took part in the parade. The club also organized parties, balls, and humor nights for gentlemen. An impressive incident took place in 1892, when Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich of Russia visited the town. In spite of the storm and pouring rain, 20 brave cyclists altogether rode four miles outside the town and saluted the Grand Duke with cheers (von Kieseritzky, 1898, pp. 6–14, 59).

Part of the activities of the club was maintaining communication with other bicycle clubs in the Baltic area. For example, in 1890 the cyclists of Tartu met the cyclists of Riga at a party held in Valga, located on the boundary of the areas populated by Estonians and Latvians. Three years later the Baltic cyclists were invited to meet in Viljandi, where cyclists from Estonian towns of Tallinn, Valga, Pärnu and southern Livonian towns of Riga, Valmiera (Wolmar) and Cēsis (Wenden) had also arrived (von Kieseritzky, 1898, pp. 7–8, 13). According to the extant correspondence of the cyclists' club of Pärnu, the Baltic German cycling clubs seem to have had regular and intensive contacts with each other (*Eingelaufene Papiere etc.*, 1899).

The membership of the *Dorpater Radfahrer-Verein* grew steadily since its foundation. At the end of the first year of activity, there were 68 members, and by the next year the number of members had exceeded one hundred. At the end of the year 1895, the club had 230 members, and when the chronicle of the club was published in 1898, the final statistics from the end of the previous year showed that the number of members had been 287. During the years 1889–1897, altogether 531 persons had been members of the club. The club also kept statistics of the professions of the members. Among the members of the club, there were eight artists or architects, 17 noblemen, 20 professors or docents, 21 teachers, 44 doctors. Best represented were clerks (90), various entrepreneurs (88), civil and military authorities (75), and shopkeepers and merchants (68) (von Kieseritzky, 1899, p. 61).

In 1897, the population of Tartu was around 40,000 inhabitants (Berendsen & Maiste, 2005, p. 118). According to the statistics of the bicycle club founded by the Germans, about 0.7% of the population was members of the club. The first reliable record dealing with the number of cyclists in Tartu is from the years 1905–1906, when the police office in Tartu started the registration of bicycles and automobiles. At the end of the year 1906, there were altogether 515 bicycles and automobiles in the town. Among the general population, the share of bicycle and automobile owners was 1.2% (*Register of bicycles and automobiles, 1905–1916*). Compared to the city of Tampere in Finland, the proportion of cyclists to the general population in Tartu seems to have been nearly half of that in Tampere before the First World War (Mauranen, 2007, pp. 117–121). In spite of the limited number of cyclists, the police considered it necessary to set limitations to cycling. Already in 1890, driving or wheeling a bicycle on pavements became forbidden, and a year later the restriction involved also riding on streets and squares. Fortunately, the Chancellor of the University of Tartu gave permission to ride, in the mornings, in the surroundings of the cathedral ruins on Toomemägi hill (von Kieseritzky, 1898, pp. 4–8). Similar restrictions were introduced in other towns at the same time (*Orts-Statut über das Velocipedfahren auf den Straßen und öffentlichen Plätzen in der Stadt Pernau, 1894*).

In 1897, the proportion of German inhabitants of Tartu was around 16% (Berendsen & Maiste, 2005, p. 128). Not all members of the *Dorpatser Radfahrer-Verein* were German, as there were, obviously, Estonian members. For example, probably not all shopkeepers, merchants and clerks in Tartu were Germans. The chronicle of the club sometimes mentions Estonian family names, especially in the record table of the club (von Kieseritzky, 1898, p. 62). The most successful of the Estonian club members in the field of racing was Carl Rüütel, son of a sausage maker, who competed also in Helsinki, Riga, Warsaw, St Petersburg and Moscow (Mähar, 1986, p. 9). When the cyclists' club in the capital of Finland, *Helsingfors Velocipedklubb*, had its tenth anniversary in 1897, Rüütel and two other cyclists were sent to Helsinki to take part in the international competition. This time, the Finnish cyclists triumphed over the famous Rüütel (Wilskman, 1907, p. 313; von Kieseritzky, 1898, p. 52). The following year, Rüütel had his revenge, when the Finnish cyclists visited Tartu (Wilskman, 1907, p. 316). The cyclists' clubs in Tartu and in Finland cooperated also in other ways. In 1897, the Finnish cyclists founded an association to promote cycling tours. The association sought contact persons from abroad. In Tartu, it had four members, among them apothecary von Kieseritzky, the secretary of the *Radfahrer-Verein* (*Kertomus Suomen Syklistiliiton toiminnasta 1899–1900*, p. 10; Wilskman, 1907, pp. 327–329).

Taara, Wambola, Kalev...

Once in autumn, when the soil was already wet, a man riding a miraculous machine appeared in the inn's courtyard. The front wheel was extremely high with fine wooden spokes, but the back wheel was much smaller. Above the machine, there was a seat resembling a saddle. The man sat in the saddle leaning on the handlebar, dabbling his feet, and the hem of his coat was flaring. There were other people in the inn, and the driver acted arrogantly – he was said to be the tailor of the village. When he left, everybody stood to see him and wonder his speed. (Tuglas, 1940/1960, pp. 43–44, author's translation)

This is how Friedebert Tuglas (1886–1971), one of the most famous Estonian authors, has described the moment when he was a child and saw a bicycle in his home district near Tartu for the first time.

Tuglas's description of the peculiar vehicle dates to around the mid-1890s. The story contains some remarkable facts. First, the bicycle had been obviously self-made or constructed by a village smith, because bicycle factories had used steel spokes for over two decades. Second, the owner of the machine had been a tailor, presumably Estonian. Third, the tailor had arrived from somewhere and he continued his course; and probably he was not just riding for fun.

In Finland, Estonia's northern neighbor, bicycles and cycling became popular among the peasants and handicraftsmen in the 1880s. Thus, not all Finnish cyclists of that time were members of the Swedish-speaking upper class as is often thought. Some Finnish handicraftsmen in the towns even started to make bicycles for sale at the end of the decade (Kylliäinen, 2003, pp. 17–19; 2007b, pp. 68, 76–79). The episode witnessed by the young Friedebert Tuglas is an example of a similar situation in Estonia and Livonia, where the bicycle was also used by different social groups. The noblemen and German burghers were not the only cycling groups, but bicycle was also used by Estonians living in the rural areas.

For the bicycle race which was organized by the *Radfahrer-Verein* in Tartu in 1893, a special class for cyclists who had built their bicycles by themselves was formed. Six Estonians – mostly smiths and locksmiths living in the town's outskirts – participated in the competition. Three of them rode a high-wheel bicycle, while the other three had built a low machine after the model of the chain-driven low safeties. Three fastest riders, as well as the builder of the best machine, got prizes.

The first prize for the fastest ride went to smith Taavet Rähn, who also got the prize for the low bicycle that he had built (von Kieseritzky, 1898, p. 19; Mähar, 1986, p. 8). The organizing committee considered the self-made bicycles quite clumsy, but the following year some self-made bicycles were praised as elegant and light. In 1894, the competition for cyclists driving self-made bicycles brought together 12 contestants (von Kieseritzky, 1898, p. 24).

The bicycle clubs founded by the Baltic Germans were located in towns, and only people living in those towns were allowed to become club members. It is told that the first bicycle club in the countryside was founded because some Estonians living in the country had tried to join the *Radfahrer-Verein* in Tartu (Lääne, 2006, p. 11). Even though the Baltic-German bicycle club in Tartu has been considered to represent more nationalities than the corresponding club in Tallinn (Mähar, 1986, p. 8), the country men were sent back home without membership cards. Annoyed by this, they decided to found their own club in autumn 1896. In the founding meeting, there were 22 cycling enthusiasts present to lay down the statutes of the club (Lääne, 2006, p. 11). The club was called *Saadjärve Jalgratta sõitjate selts* and its statutes were ratified by the governor's office at the end of the same year. According to the statutes, the object of the club was to act as a link between cyclists and promote bicycle as a meaningful and fast vehicle. The club planned also to organize meetings, bicycle tours and competitions (*Põhjuskiri Saadjärve Jalgratta sõitjate seltsile*, 1897, p. 3). The following summer, in 1897, the club built a cycling track from soil, clay and gravel. In Estonia, track racing was the most popular form of bicycle sports in the 1890s (Lääne, 2006, pp. 10–12).

During the latter half of the 19th century, at the surge of national awakening in Estonia, the Estonians started to found their own societies and clubs after the example of the Baltic Germans (Zetterberg, 2007, pp. 428–432). The founding of the societies was active in Tartu and in its surroundings (Jansen & Rosenberg, 2005, p. 375). Thus, in addition to the club of Saadjärve, another cyclists' club was founded in Krüüdneri in southern Estonia. It was called *Kiirus*, 'Speed' in English. In Krüüdneri, even the local Baltic-German baron was so excited of the idea that he gave the society land to build a race track (Mainla, 2005, p. 570; Lääne, 2006, p. 12). Clubs were founded in other parts of Estonia and Livonia as well: the statutes of the Estonian bicycle club of Tartu, *Taara*, were passed in 1898, Narva got its own Estonian bicycle club in 1899 and Pärnu's club *Wambola* was founded in 1900 (*Jurjewi jalgratta sõitjate seltsi "Taara" põhjuskiri*, 1899; *Narwa Eesti jalgratta seltsi põhjuskiri*, 1900; *Pärnu Eesti jalgratta-sõitjate Seltsi "Wambola" põhjuskiri*, 1901; Mainla, 2005, p. 570). In Tallinn, the statutes of the Estonian bicycle club *Kalev* were passed in 1901 (Piisang & Maidlo, 2001, p. 25). Among the organizers of the clubs were, for example, a teacher, a shopkeeper, a miller,

a tailor, a gardener and a brewer, all of who represented quite common trades of craftsmen and lower civil servants (Mähar, 1986, p. 9; Lääne, 2006, pp. 11–12).

The founding of the Estonian bicycle clubs coincided with the rapid increase in the popularity of cycling all over the world (Kuva, 1988, p. 26–28; Matthies, 1993, pp. 86–101; Burr, 2006, pp. 124–128), but, perhaps, it can be explained also by the political situation in Estonia and Livonia. Since the 1880s, the object of the government of the Russian Empire had been the unification of the empire, involving language, administration, laws and education. In Estonia and Livonia, many administrative reforms were carried out: for example, German was replaced by Russian as administrative language, and at the end of the 1880s, Russian became the language of education (Zetterberg, 2007, pp. 450–453). The bicycle club of the Baltic Germans in Tartu, *Dorpater Radfahrer-Verein*, had to change its name to *Jurjewer Radfahrer-Verein*, according to the Russian name of the town, Yuriev (von Kieseritzky, 1898, p. 13). The rules of the Estonian bicycle clubs were printed in three languages: the official version in Russian, and the German and Estonian versions were translations (*Põhjuskiri Saadjärwe Jalgratta sõitjate seltsile*, 1897; *Jurjewi jalgratta sõitjate seltsi “Taara” põhjuskiri*, 1899; *Narwa Eesti jalgratta seltsi põhjuskiri*, 1900; *Pärnu Eesti jalgratta-sõitjate Seltsi “Wambola” põhjuskiri*, 1901).

The aspirations of the government of the Russian Empire, however, did not succeed particularly well, but they rather accelerated the process of national awakening of the Estonians (Zetterberg, 2007, pp. 457–458). This was the time when many choirs, brass bands, volunteer fire brigades, temperance leagues and other societies were founded (Zetterberg, 2007, pp. 428–432). In different kind of clubs, Estonians could work together for a common purpose independent of their education or wealth. They also became experienced in transacting with different officials (Woodworth, 2009, pp. 114–116). At the meetings of the bicycle clubs, the members did not content themselves with discussions dealing with cycling, but the conversations in the clubs also built the civil society: at least in the clubs *Taara* in Tartu and *Kalev* in Tallinn, the members discussed Estonian culture and social matters (Tuglas, 1940/1960, pp. 116–122; Mähar, 1986, p. 9; Piisang & Maidlo, 2001, pp. 24–25). It has been said that the weekly lectures held in *Taara* dealt with all kinds of social, cultural and political questions, but not cycling at all (Rei, 1961/2010, p. 25). Among the members of *Taara*, there were students, and the later leading politician, social democrat Mihkel Martna participated in its activities. Jaan Tõnisson, the leader of the democratic movement in Estonia, was also influential in *Taara* (Rei, 1961/2010, pp. 26–27; Lääne, 2006, pp. 12–13; Zetterberg, 2007, pp. 439–494; Tuomioja, 2010, p. 54). In fact, discussions about politics were actually possible according to the rules: the club statutes of *Taara*,

accepted by General Panteleev, stated that the club organized various meetings and occasions (*Jurjewi jalgratta sõitjate seltsi "Taara" põhjuskiri*, 1899, pp. 14–15). Among the members of *Kalev*, there were many teachers, lawyers, journalists and authors, such as one of the most recognized Estonian authors, Eduard Vilde, who worked in the editorial staff of the reformative newspaper *Teataja* (Piisang & Maidlo, 2001, p. 22; Zetterberg, 2007, p. 461).

Conclusions and comparisons

The introduction of the bicycle in Estonia is greatly similar to the history of cycling in Finland and other European countries. The velocipede was introduced in the governments of Livonia and Estonia at the same time as in Finland, in spring 1869. This marked the first wide-scale cycling fever in Europe, which, however, remained quite short-lived and had settled by the beginning of the 1870s. Cycling became more common in Estonia during the 1880s. In Estonia, the Baltic German cyclists started to found clubs that organized various activities, such as competitions, tours and parties. The founding of the clubs started at the same time as in Estonia's northern neighbor, Finland, in the 1880s (Kylliäinen, 2007b, pp. 56–59).

The first bicycle clubs in Estonia and northern Livonia were founded by the Baltic Germans. The most outstanding cyclists of the 1880s, both in Estonia and Finland, came from a language minority, which nevertheless was influential both politically and economically. In Finland, the image of the late nineteenth-century Finnish cyclist was a student from a wealthy Swedish-speaking family. In Estonia and northern Livonia, the Baltic Germans had the best possibilities to buy a factory-made bicycle from abroad. However, this was not the only example of cycling culture in either of the countries, since the ordinary people had also been interested in cycling since the 1880s. In Finland and Estonia, many peasants and handicraftsman built a bicycle for themselves (Kylliäinen, 2007b, pp. 76–87; Männistö, 2008a, pp. 18–20; 2008b, pp. 19–20).

There are also differences in the cycling tradition of the neighboring countries, Finland and Estonia. In Finland, Finnish- and Swedish-speaking cyclists were members of the same bicycle clubs regardless of language disputes (*Kertomus Suomen Syklistiliiton toiminnasta*, 1900). There were Estonian members, some highly successful in racing, in Baltic German bicycle clubs. The founding of the Estonian bicycle clubs in the 1890s was affected by the national awakening of the Estonians. If there is some special detail characteristic of the Estonian bicycle history, it is the fact that the activities of the bicycle clubs were also

political and the Estonian civil society was constructed also in bicycle clubs. It is told that when the bicycle club *Kalev* was founded in Tallinn, cycling was a considered a good basis for founding a club as Russian authorities viewed it as harmless. The club offered a chance to come together and freely discuss social matters and politics. One founding member of *Kalev* is especially well known, although not for his credits as a cyclist, but for other merits (Piisang & Maidlo, 2001, pp. 20–25). He was Konstantin Päts (1874–1956), the first President of the Republic of Estonia.

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