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The 1936 Berlin Olympics: From a Spark to a Flame

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The 1936 Berlin Olympics: From a Spark to a Flame

Hannah Dooley

Senior Division

Historical Paper

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The Olympic Games are not merely an event to which every four years the foremost athletes of the world are invited in order to thrill the thousands of spectators with their brilliant performances. They are far more a means of using sport as a binding link between the peoples of the world. The XIth Olympic Games have served this end nobly. Berlin was the meeting place of all peoples, and from there a unity was diffused without which neither peace nor happiness can ever be realized.

-Count Baillet-Latour¹

In a world dim and dismal after the shock of the Great War, a spark began in Western Europe. The small spark started as one of hope and peace, lighting the Olympic torch in the original host city of Olympia. Soon after arriving in the new host city of Berlin, however, it became apparent that this was not a flame of peace. Throughout the games the fire grew, fueled by conflicts of anger and hate. Eventually, with lack of compromise, the fire could no longer be contained and grew into the conflagration that came to be known as the Second World War.

The Spark

The VI Olympic games were supposed to be held in Berlin in 1916, but were cancelled due to the breakout of the First World War. In 1931, the IOC (International Olympic Committee) met to decide where the XI Olympics should be held.² Barcelona was the intended choice.

Unfortunately, the Spanish Civil War had recently broken out, preventing Spain from having the

¹ Organization Committee for the Xith Olympiad Berlin 1936, *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin, 1936 Volume I*, 1936, LA84 digital library collection, LA84 foundation, Los Angeles, CA, 10.

² Allen Guttmann, *The Olympics: A History of the Modern Games* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 53.

honor of hosting. The committee turned to Berlin. The city already had stadiums from when they had been accepted to host fifteen years prior.³ After their defeat in the war, many people thought that this would be an exceptional way to reintroduce Germany to the public eye.⁴ Little did they know that only two short years later, a new figure would take the mantle of the German government. Thus throwing the world into a hectic flame that would turn the lives of millions of people upside down.

This man, fueled by a fire of anger and hate, rose to power under the pretense of being a friend to the nation. By the time anyone noticed the charade, it was too late. He had already seized control of the country and held influence over many people therein. The New York Times stated, upon Hitler being voted in, “Chancellor Hitler, who four years ago was not even a German citizen, [has] dictatorial powers unequaled in any other country, and probably unequaled in history since the days of Genghis Khan. He has more power than Joseph Stalin in Russia, who has a party machine to reckon with; more power than Premier Mussolini of Italy who shares his prerogative with the titular ruler; more than any American President ever dreamed of.”⁵ Most people in the world chose to turn a blind eye to Germany and their political views. Once the IOC chose to have Berlin host the next games, the world was forced to look directly into Hitler and his beliefs.

³ Organization Committee for the Xith Olympiad Berlin 1936, *The XIth*.

⁴ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "United States Holocaust Memorial Museum," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, accessed February 23, 2018, <https://www.ushmm.org/>.

⁵ Fredrick T. Birchall, "German Voters Approve Hitler as Führer," *The New York Times* (New York City, NY), August 19, 1934, Voting, accessed March 26, 2018, <https://learning.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/08/19/aug-19-1934-german-voters-approve-hitler-as-fuhrer/>.

Sports and Politics

Adolf Hitler was one of the biggest advocates of the Olympic games. “The Games, he asserted, would contribute substantially towards furthering understanding among the nations of the world and would promote the development of sport among the German youth, this being in his opinion of vast importance to the welfare of the nation.”⁶ Most German athletes also shared these beliefs. They had national pride, just as the Americans, French, or the Italians did. They were there to represent their country and their beliefs, not Hitler’s hidden ideology.⁷

The main conflicts came when countries chose whether or not they would compete. One major country missing, one that was not even invited to participate, was the Soviet Union. They had their own sports competition known as the Workers’ Olympics.⁸ They were not the only ones that chose not to participate and hold their own Olympics. There were also plans to hold a “People’s Olympiad” in Barcelona that would serve as an Anti-Olympics of sorts. There were about 6,000 competitors from 49 countries that registered to compete in both competitive and non-competitive events. Despite these plans, the eruption of the Spanish civil war caused the flame to flicker out before it could begin.⁹ For the U.S., however, tensions about the games were

⁶ Organization Committee for the Xith Olympiad Berlin 1936, *The XIth*, 47.

⁷ James M. Markham, "Germans look back, gingerly, to the '36 games," *New York Times* (New York City, NY), August 18, 1986, accessed February 23, 2018, <http://www.nytimes.com/1986/08/18/world/germans-look-back-gingerly-to-the-36-games.html>.

⁸ Arnd Kruger and W.J. Murray, *The Nazi Olympics: Sport, Politics, and Appeasement in the 1930s* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois, 2003), vii-viii.

⁹ Rachel Aileen Searcy, "The Olympics That Never Were: The People’s Olympiad," *The Black Table*, last modified February 7, 2014, accessed March 25, 2018, <https://wp.nyu.edu/specialcollections/2014/02/07/the-olympics-that-never-were-the-peoples-olympiad/>.

very high. The head of the AOC (American Olympic Committee), Avery Brundage, strongly suggested that the Americans participate in the games. Whereas Judge Jeremiah T. Mahoney, like 57% of the United States population, wanted nothing to do with the Olympics due to Hitler's anti-semitic and anti-black beliefs and policies. In a book by Harvey Frommer about Olympic controversies he states, "Brundage claimed that the boycott plan was a Jewish-communist conspiracy even though a Gallup poll revealed that 57 percent of the American people favored a boycott."¹⁰ Despite the rumors and calls for a boycott, the American team competed at the games. Other countries that considered resisting Hitler's flames of hate and staying out of the fire all together included: Great Britain, France, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, and the Netherlands. All of them ended up in the heat of the conflict in the end regardless.¹¹

The Games

The Berlin games were the first for many things. They were the first games to be televised¹², as well as the debut of basketball, field handball, and canoeing.¹³ They were also the first games that had a torch relay from the original host city of Olympia, Greece. The course was 3,422 kilometers and took as many runners to complete it. Each person ran one kilometer before handing the torch to the next runner.¹⁴ (See Appendix A) The run was modeled after the original

¹⁰ Harvey Frommer, *Olympic Controversies* (New York City, NY: Franklin Watts, n.d.), 59.

¹¹ David Clay Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936* (New York City, NY: W. W. Norton and Company, 2007), 69-109.

¹² Steve McVoy, "Early Electronic Television: The 1936 Berlin Olympics," Early Television Museum, accessed March 18, 2018, http://www.earlytelevision.org/olympics_1936.html.

¹³ *Olympic.org*, accessed May 12, 2018, <https://www.olympic.org/>.

¹⁴ Organization Committee for the Xith Olympiad Berlin 1936, *The XIth*.

relay run in Athens. The American Holocaust Museum stated, “It perfectly suited Nazi propagandists, who used torchlit parades and rallies to attract Germans, especially youth, to the Nazi movement.”¹⁵ Finally, on August 1, the torch arrived in Berlin to start off the 1936 summer Olympics.

With the flame lit, the games had officially begun. They got off to a gloomy start, a very stark contrast to the last Olympiad, held in sunny Los Angeles.¹⁶ For the first day, and most days thereafter, it was overcast and rainy. Despite the weather, the first day consisted of track and field events, including trials and finals for the 10,000 meter, shot-put, high jump, and javelin throw for women. The shot put was won by Hans Woelke and was the first gold medal ever won by a German athlete.¹⁷ The second was won not long after by Tilly Fleischer in the javelin.¹⁸ Accordingly, the chancellor congratulated both of them publicly, and they were accepted by a roaring crowd. After the first day, Germany, the chancellor especially, was feeling very confident. One German newspaper stated that, “the proud swastika banner [was] the first Olympic victory flag on the Reich sports field to be hoisted. The cordial thanks of the Führer was the visible expression of admiration which the whole stadium gave them, and the pure joy which the Germans felt about this happy event.”¹⁹

¹⁵ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "United States," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

¹⁶ Organization Committee for the Xith Olympiad Berlin 1936, *The XIth*.

¹⁷ *Olympic.org*.

¹⁸ Organization Committee for the Xith Olympiad Berlin 1936, *The XIth*.

¹⁹ Völkischer beobachter, "Unser stolzer Erfolg" [Our Proud Success], *Völkischer Beobachter* (Berlin, Germany), August 3, 1936, accessed March 25, 2018, <https://newseumed.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/HN-1936-00333-berlin-ppr2.jpg>.

The ‘pure joy’ which was felt by the Germans in those first hours was soon squandered when the Americans took to the field. On Sunday, Jesse Owens made his inaugural Olympic run in the 100 meter dash, making it to the quarter finals. Technically, he created a new Olympic record at 10.2 seconds, but, as the Baltimore News Post reported, it was “tossed out”²⁰ on the account of ‘wind assistance.’²¹ At the end of the day, instead of staying to congratulate the rest of the athletes just as he had the Germans, Hitler left, stating that “it looked as if it was going to rain.”²² The New York Times stated that, “...So delighted was Chancellor Hitler by the gallant fight that Long had made that he congratulated him privately just before he himself left the stadium. In fact, his eagerness to receive the youthful German was so great that the Fuehrer condescended to wait until his emissaries had pried Long loose from Owens, with whom he was affectionately walking along the track arm and arm.” He physically separated his ‘perfect race’ from the ‘impure’. He wanted nothing to do with Owens or anyone of color or different religion, and he would go to great lengths in order to avoid them all together.

Monday held more of the same, with Owens blazing past his American teammate Metcalfe. After the race, again, Hitler was nowhere to be seen. Even when the German Karl Hein won gold in the hammer throw, Hitler congratulated him in privacy rather than out in the open.²³ When it was suggested to Hitler that it might be a good idea to accept Owens in public, the

²⁰ Davis J. Walsm, "Owens' Olympic Record Tossed Out," *The Baltimore News-Post* (Baltimore, MD), August 3, 1936, Front Page, accessed May 6, 2018, https://newseumed.org/artifact/owens-world-record-tossed-out/?form_id=6.

²¹ Wolfgang Girardi, *Olympic Games* (New York City, NY: Franklin Watts, n.d.), 43.

²² United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "United States," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

²³ Wolfgang Girardi, *Olympic Games* (New York City, NY: Franklin Watts, n.d.), 44.

dictator shouted his reply, “Do you truly believe that I will allow myself to be photographed shaking hands with a Negro?”²⁴

It was Tuesday, August 3, however, that held the most excitement and it came to be known as ‘Black Tuesday’ by Nazi journalists.²⁵ This was the day that the Americans really showed their prowess. Owens and Robinson took the gold and silver in the 200 meter with Robinson equalling the previous Olympic record and Owens lowering it by .1 seconds.²⁶ It was the long jump that gave the most anxiety. When competing, each contestant gets three jumps. When it was Owens’ turn, he was shown a red card on his first two jumps.²⁷ In order to qualify, Owens would need to jump 23 feet 5.5 inches. Taking the advice of his German rival Lutz Long, Owens allowed himself two feet before jumping²⁸. Miraculously, he made the qualifications by 1/16 of an inch. That afternoon, Owens equalled his previous time in the 200 meters, but again it was not officially recorded because he was “assisted by a stiff breeze.”²⁹ After the spectacular run, Owens again took to the long jump. On his last attempt, Owens jumped 26 feet 5 ¼ inches, whereas Lutz Long was shown a red card allowing Owens to take another gold. Finally, to add insult to Hitler’s injury, in the 800 meters the relatively unknown African-American, Johnny Woodruff, overtook the favored Italian, Mario Lanzi, winning the American team another gold.³⁰

²⁴ Volker Ullrich, *Hitler: Ascent 1889-1939*, trans. Jefferson Chase (Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf, 2016), 564.

²⁵ Organization Committee for the Xith Olympiad Berlin 1936, *The XIth*.

²⁶ Wolfgang Girardi, *Olympic Games* (New York City, NY: Franklin Watts, n.d.), 45.

²⁷ Organization Committee for the Xith Olympiad Berlin 1936, *The XIth*.

²⁸ Jeremy Schaap, *Triumph: The Untold Story of Jesse Owens and Hitler's Olympics* (New York City, NY: Mariner Books, 2008), 203.

²⁹ Organization Committee for the Xith Olympiad Berlin 1936, *The XIth*.

³⁰ *Ibid*.

The rest of the week was a slap in the face to Hitler. By now, Owens had become the darling of the crowd, regardless of what country they were from or their political standings. Owens took his third gold of the week in the 200 meter dash.³¹ There was, however, a surprising victory for Germany in the javelin which was quickly forgotten when the 400 meters was taken by another African American, Archie Williams.³² Following the events Wednesday, Joseph Goebbels stated, “We Germans won one gold medal, and the Americans three, two of them by a Negro. That’s a scandal. White people should be ashamed. But what does that matter over there in that country without culture.”³³ Saturday saw Finland take the 3,000 meters and America take all the medals in the decathlon.³⁴

The week turned out very different from what Hitler was planning. Although Germany had managed to take the gold in boxing, cycling, gymnastics, handball, canoeing, and the equestrian events, there were many other places where Germany struggled despite Hitler’s plans. For example, Hungarian Jews, Miklos Sarkany and Karoly Karpati took gold in Water Polo, and Endre Kabos took gold in freestyle wrestling. Then, the American rowing team, who had been the underdogs, took the gold in their event. Many other competitors were able to edge out the Germans and destroy Hitler’s ‘perfect’ teams.

³¹ Wolfgang Girardi, *Olympic Games* (New York City, NY: Franklin Watts, n.d.), 45.

³² Organization Committee for the Xith Olympiad Berlin 1936, *The XIth*.

³³ Volker Ullrich, *Hitler: Ascent 1889-1939*, trans. Jefferson Chase (Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf, 2016), 564.

³⁴ Girardi, *Olympic Games*, 44.

The Flame

For the two weeks of the Olympiad, Hitler had managed to put on a mask and place a curtain in front of his whole regime. He was hospitable and peaceful. After two weeks of the façade, the mask was torn away. Only two days after the Olympic flame was put out, the head of the Olympic village, Captain Wolfgang Fuerstner, killed himself due to being dismissed from the German military. His only crime was that his grandfather was a Jew.³⁵ Fuerstner was one of Hitler's radical followers. He was an avid supporter of Hitler's beliefs and he was exiled and persecuted because of the beliefs of a family member.³⁶

One of the most ironic things about the ending of the Olympics is that Hitler had planned to have a massive building erected in Berlin, big enough for 400,000 people. He also planned to have the original city of Olympia rebuilt. He had envisioned this as being the stage for many more Olympics for 'pure' people. This stadium would be his grand flame, burning for eternity.³⁷ Instead, his flames were snuffed out and he was cut down by the Allies. His plan for the 1936 Olympics had gone horribly wrong. Instead of having people falling at his feet, wanting to be a part of his grand scheme, he was cut down and humiliated by the Jewish and African-American athletes.

These games set a mark for all future games. For many more Olympics to come, there would be boycotts and bans. There would be games held under flames of peace, and those that

³⁵ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "United States," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

³⁶ Roland Kopp, *Wolfgang Fürstner (1896-1936): Der erste Kommandant des Olympischen Dorfes von 1936 (Militärhistorische Untersuchungen)* (Frankfurt, Germany: Peter Lang Verlag, 2009).

³⁷ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "United States," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

would be held under the blazes of tumult and uncertainty.³⁸ There were games, such as the 1992 Barcelona Olympics, where South Africa was invited to compete after a long ban, and the first time since the 1964 Olympiad that Germany competed under one flag.³⁹ The games have a way of uniting people when politics are driving everyone apart. They are a huge influence on the world, athletic or otherwise, the 1936 games especially. We look back and see this as the first time the world saw Hitler, the first time that sports and politics clashed in such a violent way, tearing the world apart at the seams. In the present day, we can see this as the beginning of the end for Hitler. He stood by the Olympics. Stating quite the opposite of what the world was thinking, he said, "Sporting and chivalrous competition awakens the best human qualities. It does not sever, but on the contrary, unites the opponents in mutual understanding and reciprocal respect. It also helps to strengthen the bonds of peace between the nations. May the Olympic Flame therefore never be extinguished."⁴⁰ This lack of compromise, Hitler's unyielding faith that these games would be everything he hoped and dreamed they would be, ended up failing him. It gave the exact amount of friction to set off the wildfire that was the second world war. With no compromise, the fire grew and ended up consuming the world and taking Hitler down with it. Our society could not be where it is today without these Olympics. This fire melted the world together so that it could be molded into the place it is today.

³⁸ *Olympic.org*.

³⁹ CNN, "CNN 10 - January 11, 2018," video file, 10:00, CNN, January 11, 2018, accessed April 3, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2018/01/10/cnn10/ten-content-thurs/index.html>.

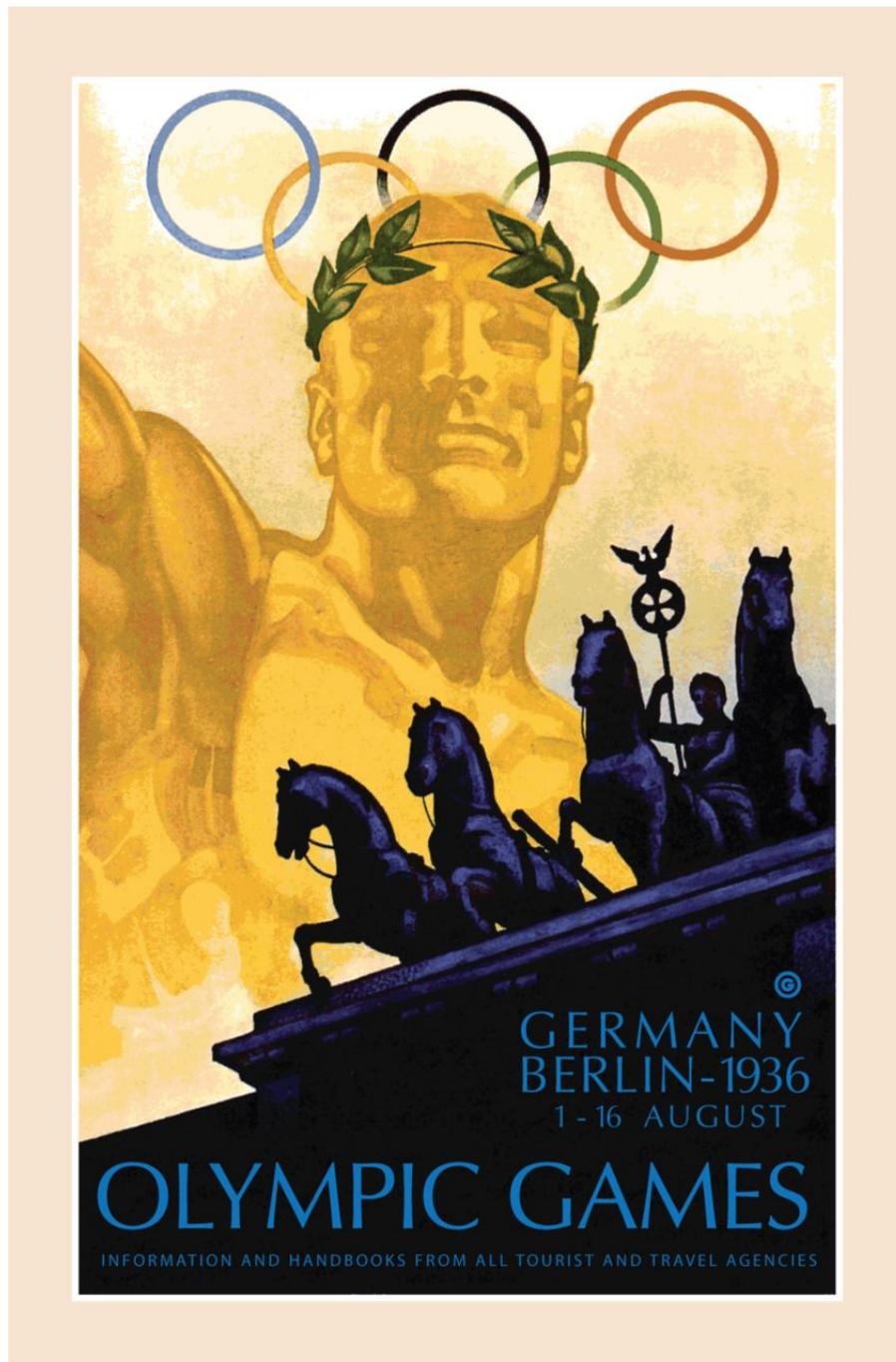
⁴⁰ Organization Committee for the Xith Olympiad Berlin 1936, *The XIth*, 6.

Appendix A

Route of the Torch Relay⁴¹

⁴¹ Olympic.org.

Appendix B



This is a promotional poster used at the Berlin Olympics. Many just like these were hung all over the world. Including all over Berlin in place of Anti-semitic posters.⁴²

⁴² Organization Committee for the Xith Olympiad Berlin 1936, *The XIth*.

Appendix C



The iconic image of Jesse Owens after his first gold medal win. Showing that there were very different beliefs throughout the games as evidenced through all the different salutes seen in this single photograph.⁴³

⁴³ Organization Committee for the Xith Olympiad Berlin 1936, *The XIth*.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Birchall, Fredrick D. "100,000 Hail Hitler; U.S. Athletes Avoid Nazi Salute to Him." *New York Times* (New York City, NY), August 1, 1936, national edition, Front Page, 1.

New York Times article all about the opening ceremonies of the games. It has a few pictures but is mainly just information. It highlights all the major things that happened during the opening ceremonies and how every country entered and what signs or salutes were given and what the American side thought of it. I used this for quotes and also for general information about the opening ceremonies.

Birchall, Fredrick T. "German Voters Approve Hitler as Führer." *The New York Times* (New York City, NY), August 19, 1934, Voting. Accessed March 26, 2018.
<https://learning.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/08/19/aug-19-1934-german-voters-approve-hitler-as-fuhrer/>.

This is an article from New York about Hitler and his rise to the title of chancellor. It gives lots of facts and shows the main feeling of Americans about the new German leader. I used it for basic information and opinion.

The Guardian. "Enabling Act becomes law in Germany." *The Guardian* (New York city, NY), March 24, 1933. Accessed April 3, 2018.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/mar/24/enabling-act-germany-hitler-nazis-1933>.

This is an article that came from when Hitler was first put in as chancellor. It gave main facts and viewpoints of Americans during this time. It gives a lot of basic information and was good when I was looking into how the world felt about Hitler before the games.

The Guardian. "Herr Hitler opens the Berlin Olympics." *The Guardian* (New York City, NY), August 3, 1936. Accessed April 2, 2018.
<https://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2012/aug/03/archive-1936-hitler-opens-berlin-olympic-games>.

This is an article from the U.S. about the opening ceremonies of the games. It gives highlights of what happened in the opening ceremonies and how everyone entered and how they looked or saluted and how everyone reacted. I used it for a few picture reference and for basics.

Markham, James M. "Germans look back, gingerly, to the '36 games." *New York Times* (New York City, NY), August 18, 1986. Accessed February 23, 2018. <http://www.nytimes.com/1986/08/18/world/germans-look-back-gingerly-to-the-36-games.html>.

A newspaper article from the 50th anniversary of the 1936 games. It included points of view of the games from different athletes that competed at the games, including Germans, Americans, French, and more. It was helpful for looking back and seeing how the games affected people.

The New York Times. "Jesse Owen at the Berlin Olympics." *The New York Times* (New York City, NY), August 10, 1936. Accessed March 26, 2018. <http://www.rarenewspapers.com/view/623594>.

This is an article from New York about the winnings of Jesse Owens from his debut qualifying runs all the way to all four of his gold medals. It highlighted all his times and how the crowd accepted him when he won. I used it when writing about him and the events that he participated in.

Olympic.org. Accessed May 12, 2018. <https://www.olympic.org/>.

This is the Olympics official website. It has a lot of information about each and every one of the games since the first modern games in 1920, all the way up to the most recent one in 2018, and more information about all the upcoming games. It was really helpful for basic information as well as some more in depth descriptions of some of the events.

Organization Committee for the Xith Olympiad Berlin 1936. *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin, 1936 Volume I*. 1936. LA84 digital library collection. LA84 foundation, Los Angeles, CA.

The official report of the 1936 games. It has every detail of the Olympic games in it, from wind speeds and weather conditions, to the exact times that were planned out to the second of the opening ceremonies. It was very helpful for everything I needed. It also had a timeline that stretched all the way back to 1931 when Berlin was originally chosen to host, so it was also really helpful for pre-games information. It also had tons of pictures and even music- like the Olympic hymn. It was all around just very, very helpful. I also got my two appendix pictures from here.

Organisationskomitee Fuer die XI. Olympiade Berlin. *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin, 1936 Official Report Volume II*. 1936. Accessed May 6, 2018.
<http://library.la84.org/6oic/OfficialReports/1936/1936v2sum.pdf>.

This is the second volume (and final) volume of the Official Olympic report given by the International Olympic Committee. Whereas the first volume only covered the beginning of the field events, this has every single other event, and the closing ceremonies. I used it for rules and information on all contestants and medal placings, as well as for general information about the events. These two books combined were my most helpful source and a really great find.

Owens, Jesse. *I Have Changed*. Edited by Paul Neimark. New York City, NY: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1972.

This is an autobiography written primarily by Jesse Owens, but was edited and Compiled by Paul Nelmark. Unlike Owens' other autobiography, *Blackthink*, this one is much more personal and includes many letters between Jesse and other officials. It was very helpful to me to look at Jesse Owen's perspective and I would highly recommend it even as just a casual reading book.

Völkischer beobachter. "Unser stolzer Erfolg" [Our Proud Success]. *Völkischer Beobachter* (Berlin, Germany), August 3, 1936. Accessed March 25, 2018.
<https://newseumed.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/HN-1936-00333-berlin-ppr2.jpg>.

This is a newspaper from Berlin, Germany from the first day of the games that I translated. I used it for quotes and for information on how the Germans felt about the games. It was really cool to get an actual press release from Germany to see how they felt about it, unfortunately, I was not able to access anymore newspapers from the week from this particular source.

Walsm, Davis J. "Owens' Olympic Record Tossed Out." *The Baltimore News-Post* (Baltimore, MD), August 3, 1936, Front Page. Accessed May 6, 2018.
https://newseumed.org/artifact/owens-world-record-tossed-out/?form_id=6.

This is an article from the Baltimore News-Post from the opening day of the Olympics, highlighting the fact that Jesse Owens' record was "Tossed Out." With hints that they disagreed.

Secondary Sources:

Buckley, James, Jr. *History's Worst Adolf Hitler*. New York City, NY: Aladdin, 2017.

This is a book that's all about Adolf Hitler and his life. While aimed mostly towards children, this was a very helpful source into Hitler and had a nice section all about the Olympics. It was also nice that, because it was aimed towards a younger generation, it was somewhat easier to understand than some of the other more historically accurate books and articles I read while researching.

CNN. "CNN 10 - January 11, 2018." Video file, 10:00. CNN. January 11, 2018. Accessed April 3, 2018. <https://www.cnn.com/2018/01/10/cnn10/ten-content-thurs/index.html>.

This was a video from January 2018. The clip I used (1:42-3:28) was mainly about the Pyeongchang Olympics this past winter, but had a lot about the effects of other Olympics on the world today. Which was helpful for my last section and the looking back aspect of it all.

Frommer, Harvey. *Olympic Controversies*. New York City, NY: Franklin Watts, n.d.

Book about all the Olympic controversies throughout the history of the Olympics. It was really helpful to look at all the other things that had caused controversy in the Olympics in the past. And to see just what kind of effect the Olympics have on the whole world. I used this for quotes and information for my last section.

Girardi, Wolfgang. *Olympic Games*. New York City, NY: Franklin Watts, n.d.

A book with general descriptions of all the games throughout the years. It had the winners of most of the events and the highlights for all the games from the first modern games all the way until the 1990s. I used this a lot for preliminary research and for quotes in my paper.

Goldblatt, David. *The Games, a global history of the olympics*. New York City, NY: Norton and Company, n.d.

A book with in depth descriptions of all the games throughout the years and the conflicts within them. It focused mainly on the political, as opposed to the actual athletics, and how people reacted to every Olympics. I used this for quotes and for general descriptions.

Grunwald-Spier, Agnes. "The Tragic Fate of Jewish Sporting Heroes in the Holocaust." *Jewish News* (London, England), July 29, 2016. Accessed May 6, 2018.
<http://jewishnews.timesofisrael.com/the-tragic-fate-of-jewish-sporting-heroes-in-the-holocaust/>.

This is an article all about every single Jewish athlete that competed in the Berlin Olympics, and their backgrounds. This was super helpful when it came to the Jews point of view. It was also helpful when I was researching Wolfgang Fuerstner, because it had a section on him as well. It also helped lead me to other people that were important in these games and their roles as well as more sources.

Guttman, Allen. *The Olympics: A History of the Modern Games*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1992.

This is a book all about the History of the games. As the name implies. But not only that, it also has sections all about the most controversial games and games that were boycotted and why they were and how the games are important today and what makes them important. What makes them the grand event that they are today. It was really helpful for basic information, especially that on the topic of boycotts.

History Channel. "This Day in History." The History Channel. Last modified August 9, 2015. Accessed April 2, 2018.
<https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/owens-wins-4th-gold-medal>.

This was an article about the day Jesse Owen won his fourth gold medal in the space of two days. It also talked a bit about Jesse Owens' life and his road to gold and was really good for basic information on him and what he did.

Kopp, Roland. *Wolfgang Fürstner (1896-1936): Der erste Kommandant des Olympischen Dorfes von 1936 (Militärhistorische Untersuchungen)*. Frankfurt, Germany: Peter Lang Verlag, 2009.

This is a biography of Captain Wolfgang Fuerstner (in German) all about his life from the very beginning to his military days all the way to his unfortunate untimely demise in 1936. This was really helpful for all information about the Captain and also gave some helpful insights into the games and how they were run, especially the Olympic village.

Kruger, Arnd, and W.J. Murray. *The Nazi Olympics: Sport, Politics, and Appeasement in the 1930s*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois, 2003.

This is a book that was originally in German, but was published in English (I used the English version) all about every aspect of the Berlin games and what people thought of it and how it came to be, and just every little thing about it. I used it for quotes and for matters of opinion.

Large, David Clay. *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*. New York City, NY: W. W. Norton and Company, 2007.

This is a book that's a basic narrative of the games. It was very helpful in that it gave a different perspective on the games, while still providing lots of helpful information about the people in it and all the events that happened.

McVoy, Steve. "Early Electronic Television: The 1936 Berlin Olympics." Early Television Museum. Accessed March 18, 2018. http://www.earlytelevision.org/olympics_1936.html.

This is a website about early television. It helped me understand the televising of the games including who did it and how. As well as the lives of those who did it and all the accomplishments they had other than this in their life.

Schaap, Jeremy. *Triumph: The Untold Story of Jesse Owens and Hitler's Olympics*. New York City, NY: Mariner Books, 2008.

This is a story about Jesse Owens' coming to the Olympics as well as his time there and his time thereafter. It was a really good source for finding out what the Olympics were like for Owens and him alone. His struggles and personal triumphs that weren't necessarily seen by the public.

Searcy, Rachel Aileen. "The Olympics That Never Were: The People's Olympiad." The Black Table. Last modified February 7, 2014. Accessed March 25, 2018. <https://wp.nyu.edu/specialcollections/2014/02/07/the-olympics-that-never-were-the-peoples-olympiad/>.

This was an article from the University of New York on the people's olympiad- the one that was supposed to be held in Barcelona but never happened. I used it for information on that and also the state of Barcelona during this time.

The Telegraph. "Why Was Jesse Owens Deprived of Presidential Recognition?" *The Telegraph* (London, England), May 27, 2016. Accessed May 6, 2018. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/films/race/how-america-snubbed-jesse-owens/>.

This is a news article from London about how Jesse Owens was snubbed not only by Hitler and the Germans, but by his own home country of the U.S. and how he got no presidential welcome or recognition and how they thought he should've gotten some sort of recognition based on the amazing athletic prowess he showed at the games.

Ullrich, Volker. *Hitler: Ascent 1889-1939*. Translated by Jefferson Chase. Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf, 2016.

This is the biography of Adolf Hitler and his life from 1889-1939. Stopping right before the true breakout of the war. I mainly used one chapter that was all about the games. It was really helpful because it included some key quotes and information I didn't find anywhere else.

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. "United States Holocaust Memorial Museum." United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Accessed February 23, 2018. <https://www.ushmm.org/>.

This website was great for all kinds of information on the games. I learned a lot about the torch run from here as well as the Jewish athletes that participated. It was also helpful for seeing how Hitler treated people during this time and what he did in order to put on his façade at the games. I used many pages from this website and it was very helpful.

Annette Kellerman:

The Modesty Conundrum

Remington Minor

Junior Division

Historical Paper

Paper Length: 2,500 words

Annette Kellerman: The Modesty Conundrum

“It was an Itsy Bitsy Teenie Weenie Yellow Polka Dot Bikini,
That she wore for the first time today.”¹

Brian Hyland belts out that iconic phrase in his song released in 1960. Skimpy swimsuits in the 1960’s were all the norm and rage, but it wasn’t always so. There were many events in previous decades that helped lead to the creation of the bikini. Women of the early 1900’s were held back in many aspects and had great conflicts to face in comparison to the average male. However, showing any skin while at the beach was a conflict that both men and women faced. Public swimming became acceptable in the late 1700’s, but the clothing attire required at the beach had stayed the same for centuries. Hyland’s song may never have been created if not for Annette Kellerman, a certain Australian woman, who decided to stand up for herself and help society evolve and accept an unrecognized compromise in dress code.

‘In the history of western civilisation heroic women have played out their lives — making a statement in myth and history. While some women have emulated men in the much smaller, interesting but less important world of sport, very few have advanced new genres of athletic prowess as did Annette Kellerman. Miss Kellerman was aware — sometimes imprecisely, sometimes with prescience — of her uniqueness as a world-famous athlete-entertainer, and as such realised her historic position in early twentieth-

¹“Itsy Bitsy Teenie Weenie Yellow Polka Dot Bikini Lyrics.” *Bobby Darin - Itsy Bitsy Teenie Weenie Yellow Polka Dot Bikini Lyrics | MetroLyrics*, www.metrolyrics.com/itsy-bitsy-teenie-weenie-yellow-polka-dot-bikini-lyrics-bobby-darin.html.

century Australian and American history. She was an important role model for many young women.²

The study guide related to her autobiographical movie *The Original Mermaid* states, 'Kellerman makes an interesting case study to reflect on the distinction between individual achievers and radicals leading a movement for collective ends, for all women. In dismissing what was considered "proper" and going her own way, was Annette Kellerman a "real" feminist or women's liberationist?'³ Annette Kellerman affected the lives of both men and women in early twentieth century history with regards to swimwear, nudity, equal clothing rights, and physical fitness.

Annette Kellerman was known for swimming in competitions, diving and swimming exhibitions on stages in giant tanks full of water, silent movie acting, and her self-publications. In addition, she is named the inventor of synchronized swimming, and the pioneer of women's swimwear. Her fiasco's in both London and the U.S. is what made her one of the most well-known of names of her time. However, before anyone can understand why she pulled risky and career threatening stunts, they have to comprehend the conflicts and compromises of her early life, events leading up to her arrest, and a background on what life was like in the early 1900's, specifically, the attire women and men were required to wear on the beach.

Clothing Code

Most recreational beaches in the U.S. had police on patrols to make sure modesty was held up to the standards set at that time. During the early twentieth

²Lucas, John. "Making a Statement: Annette Kellerman Advances the Worlds of Swimming, Diving and Entertainment." *Sporting Traditions*, pp. 25–35.

³Nelson, Anitra. "ORIGINAL MERMAID, THE." *Ronin Films*, www.roninfilms.com.au/feature/488/original-mermaid.html.

century, male bathing suits covered their legs down to the knee. The sleeves were no longer than past the shoulder, and they were much easier to move around in when compared to the women's swimwear line. Men had to wear a shirt as no one wanted to see 'gorillas combing the beach.'⁴ Due to a law passed in 1917, men had to wear a shirt and skirt-like trunks, no less than four inches above the knee.⁵ (See Appendix A.) "In 1937, men finally had the right to go topless, when only a year earlier in 1936, the 'no-shirt' movement had generated much controversy, with reported cases of topless men being banned from Atlantic City beaches in New Jersey."⁶

In the late 1800- through the early 1920's, women wore Victorian-era clothing. Meaning that whenever women wished to go to the beach, they required numerous clothing items. The full array included a long-sleeved dress, usually adorned with a sailor's collar, undergarments, customarily black colored stockings, lace-up slippers, and this cumbersome attire was topped off with a sun hat, scarf or bonnet. In most cases, the dress was made out of heavy flannel or worsted wool, which alone would weigh the dress down. In later years the fabric for the swimming dresses was changed slightly, making the fabric lighter. In compensation for lighter fabric, weights were sewn into the hem of the dress to keep it down in the water for modesty purposes. Women would walk much slower coming out of the ocean due to water weighing the dresses down. Once wet, their swimwear could weigh up to twenty-five pounds.⁷ This adverse design of women's swimwear was not suitable for competitive swimmers, and the

⁴"The History of Strict Laws for Wearing Bathing Suits." *The Laws of Bathing Suits*, 2014, www.thermnagency.com/the-laws-of-bathing-suits/.

⁵"THE HISTORY OF MENS SWIMWEAR." *THE HISTORY OF MENS SWIMWEAR*, justrealcasual.blogspot.com/2011/05/history-of-mens-swimwear.html.

⁶"History of Men's Swimwear." *Niwdenapolis*, 1 Jan. 1970, www.niwdenapolis.com/2007/03/history-of-mens-swimwear.html.

⁷the-evolution-of-the-bathing-suit-from-the-1800s-until-today-proves-one-very-important-thing.

material constraint was contentious for anyone who wanted to enjoy any time in the water.

Abnormal Childhood

Annette Kellerman was born on July 6, 1887, in Marrickville, Sydney. Steel braces were placed on her at the age of six, due to a disability in her legs known as Rickets.⁸ Annette took swimming lessons at Cavill's baths in Sydney to help strengthen her legs. After seven years of swimming lessons, Annette's legs had almost become normal, and at fourteen, she was training under Olympian Freddie Lane.⁹ At fifteen, she mastered every swimming stroke known of at that time, and was becoming one of the fastest women in the water.

Beginning in 1902, Annette Kellerman began competitive swimming, and through her years of swimming lessons, she began winning races in record times. This included the ladies' 100 yard and mile championships. The same year her family moved to Melbourne, Victoria. In Melbourne, Annette was enrolled into Mentone Girls' Grammar School. She started to attend and play parts in theatricals, give diving and swimming exhibitions at the Melbourne baths, and swim in a glass tank with fish twice a day performing a mermaid act, all while still being a schoolgirl. The tank at the Melbourne Exhibition Aquarium was the largest glass tank in the world at the time.¹⁰ By the early 1900's, she became the record holder for every single women's world record swimming times. Soon after, the economic decline in Australia soon forced Annette and her father

⁸ Corey, Shana, and Ed Fotheringham. *Mermaid Queen: th Komar, Marlen*. "The Evolution Of The Bathing Suit From The 1800s Until Today Proves One Very Important Thing." *Bustle*, Bustle, 22 Dec. 2017, www.bustle.com/articles/140660-e-Spectacular-True-Story-of-Annette-Kellerman,Who-Swam-Her-Way-to-Fame,-Fortune-&-Swimsuit-History! Scholastic Inc., 2009.

⁹ Kellerman, Annette. *How To Swim*. <https://archive.org/details/howtoswim007649mbp>.

¹⁰ Kellerman, Annette. *How To Swim*. <https://archive.org/details/howtoswim007649mbp>.

travel to London in 1904. Annette began making a name for herself there, as well as becoming the breadwinner for her family.

Making a Splash

To help bring attention (and money) to her family, Annette decided to swim the river Thames, something no woman had done before. The swim went from Putney to Blackwall, 26 miles in all.¹¹ In order for Annette to move freely in the water, she had make changes to her swimsuit. She sewed together a modified black one-piece fitted swimsuit, allowing for more movement. It was sleeveless and the legs came down to her middle thigh. To many people, this was a shocking display of the feminine body. *The Daily Mirror*, a London newspaper, offered her eight guineas a week to continue to swim along the river while they took pictures. Hence she earned the ‘Australian Mermaid’ nickname.¹² A few more races and challenges with other swimmers (mainly men) secured her name in the papers helping her make a name for herself.

Annette was soon asked to perform at London’s Bath Club for the Duke and Duchess of Connaught. However, they would not allow her to wear her men’s styled bathing attire. ‘You can’t possibly appear before their Royal Highnesses exhibiting bare limbs.’¹³ To Annette, the solution was simple. She sewed a pair of silk stockings to the hem of the swimsuit, thus covering her legs.¹⁴ This ingenious compromise of Annette’s’ was deemed acceptable and thus her popularity increased. (See Appendix B.)

July 25, 1905, Annette Kellerman was the second and youngest woman who

¹¹ Gibson, Emily, and Barbara Firth. *The Original Million Dollar Mermaid: the Annette Kellerman Story*. Allen & Unwin, 2006.

¹² Gibson, Emily, and Barbara Firth. *The Original Million Dollar Mermaid: the Annette Kellerman Story*. Allen & Unwin, 2006.

¹³ Gibson, Emily, and Barbara Firth. *The Original Million Dollar Mermaid: the Annette Kellerman Story*. Allen & Unwin, 2006.

¹⁴ Corey, Shana, and Ed Fotheringham. *Mermaid Queen: the Spectacular True Story of Annette Kellerman, Who Swam Her Way to Fame, Fortune & Swimsuit History!* Scholastic Inc., 2009.

tried to swim the English Channel.¹⁵ In one newspaper she's quoted, "Don't talk about the Channel swim. If you want to know, I had to come out because I was sea-sick."¹⁶ After three unsuccessful attempts to cross it, she finally said, "I had the endurance but not the brute strength."¹⁷

She was contracted to perform for a few months at the Hippodrome in London and her performances underwater showcased what she dubbed as Water Ballet, and eventually helped popularize the sport of synchronized swimming. She then took her show throughout Europe. Only one accident interrupted her brilliant performances- this was a severe cut over her forehead contracted in Paris during one of her leaps into the water tank.¹⁸ The wound healed quickly after five stitches had closed the gash, but she always wore a hat or scarf to cover the scar afterwards.¹⁹

As time wore on, Annette realized more and more the unfairness of the swimwear for women versus swimwear for men. This revelation helped lead to her arrest in Boston.

Making Waves in America

In 1906, Annette sailed to the United States to begin working in amusement parks. Her first job was in Chicago, at White City Park, where she performed multiple swimming exhibitions and diving shows daily. From Chicago, she moved on to

¹⁵"Two Crack American Athletes Will Attempt The Most Difficult Aquatic Feat In The World." *The Washigton Times*, 22 July 1906, pp. 39–39.

¹⁶"Half-A-Minute Interviews - Annette Kellerman." *Truth*, 27 Jan. 1906, p. 8.

¹⁷"Australian Dictionary of Biography." *Life Summary - Annette Marie Sarah Kellermann - Australian Dictionary of Biography*, adb.anu.edu.au/lifsummary/kellermann-annette-marie-sarah-6911.

¹⁸"Annette Kellermann." *The Wyalong Star and Temora and Barmedman Advertiser*, 9 Jan. 1906, p. 4.

¹⁹"Annette Kellermann." *The Wyalong Star and Temora and Barmedman Advertiser*, 9 Jan. 1906, p. 4.

Wonderland amusement park in Boston at Revere Beach.²⁰ She was also readying for more long-distance competition swims, and that meant lots of practicing. However, one day when she went to practice, she was arrested by a beach policeman for indecency on Revere Beach, in Boston, Massachusetts and ended up facing a judge. (See Appendix C and D.)

The largest point of conflict between her and the authorities came when Annette Kellerman was sent to the courtroom for indecency. She argued with the judge that her swimming suit was a necessity for her sport. "Swimming is the most wonderful and healthy exercise. Why, every child in America should be taught to swim."²¹ She also said, "I may as well be swimming in chains."²² The judge was very forgiving and realized that this was true, and the suit was for movement. He released her, but only because the two of them came to a compromise. Annette could wear the swimsuit, but only if she wore a full-length robe covering herself until she was about to enter the water's edge. Annette went back to the shore, and the stage, quickly after.

This one-piece suit was the very first milestone for ladies' swimwear. Some saw it as revolutionary, but many ignored it, and continued to wear the older dress-like design. The style soon caught on though, as female swimming was introduced at the 1912 Summer Olympics. Competitors from 17 countries took part, with women from nine countries wearing swimsuits similar to Kellerman's. It was a similar design to the swimwear worn by the men in competition. In 1913, inspired by the breakthrough, the

²⁰ <http://books.publishing.monash.edu/apps/bookworm/view/Race+and+the+Modern+Exotic%3A+Three+%E2%80%98Australian%E2%80%99+Women+on+Global+Display/173/OEBPS/c01.htm>

²¹ Corey, Shana, and Ed Fotheringham. *Mermaid Queen: the Spectacular True Story of Annette Kellerman, Who Swam Her Way to Fame, Fortune & Swimsuit History!* Scholastic Inc., 2009.

²² The Hairpin May 4, 2011. "Bathing Suit Shopping With Annette Kellerman, the Australian Mermaid." *The Hairpin*, 1 Aug. 2017, www.thehairpin.com/2011/05/bathing-suit-shopping-with-annette-kellerman-the-australian-mermaid/.

designer Carl Jantzen made the first functional two-piece swimwear, a close-fitting one-piece with shorts on the bottom and short sleeves on top.²³ By the mid-1920s Vogue magazine was telling its readers that “the newest thing for the sea is a jersey bathing suit as near a maillot as the unwritten law will permit.”²⁴ The one piece swimsuit eventually became more and more popular. These swimming suits became known as the “Annette Kellerman’s”. Models began using the design in photoshoots. The slim design was soon available to everyone. It was very trendy and Annette gathered more popularity.

Artsy or Scandalous

While in New York, Annette was approached by a doctor conducting a research study on women's physical fitness. After a 25 year search for the woman who most closely matched the proportions of the Venus de Milo, Dr. Dudley Sargent, of Harvard University, named Annette the Perfect Woman in 1908.²⁵ She was thereafter compared unceasingly to every female, and she felt had an obligation to uphold the title. Annette Kellerman’s antics and scant care for what society thought, supported her rise to major popularity, especially in her acting career. She starred in many famous films, including *Neptune’s Daughter*. In her underwater movies, she designed and sometimes made her own mermaid costumes. Similar mermaid designs are still used to this day.

Yet another first for society was one of Annette’s longer films starring her as the main role, *A Daughter of the Gods*. There is a scene of her sitting on a branch with her

²³“History of Swimwear.” *Wikipedia*, Wikimedia Foundation, 2 Mar. 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_swimwear.

²⁴“Arrested for Their Bathing Suits.” *Messy Nessy Chic*, 2 July 2013, www.messynessychic.com/2012/06/20/arrested-for-their-bathing-suits/.

²⁵“The Original Million Dollar Mermaid: The Annette Kellerman Story.” *Aquaticsintl.com*, www.aquaticsintl.com/facilities/the-original-million-dollar-mermaid-the-annette-kellerman-story_o.

arms stretched to the sky. Now, this would be ordinary, except Annette was nude. (See Appendix E.) Annette Kellerman was the first person to appear nude in any silent film. No person, male or female, had ever accomplished it before Annette.²⁶ The film was tastefully done, with her hair covering most of the essential female anatomy. The nuances of filming caused this movie to be artistically brilliant, and made it so that it was a family friendly film, not just an exhibition show, although men did indeed enjoy it. This film cost Fox-Brenon-Kellerman Pictures \$1.2 million dollars, an exorbitant amount for those times. (See Appendix F.)

Annette was aware of the lack of physical activity for women, and using her fame, began to give lectures to thousands of women, about how to better their health. She discussed what swimming, in an uninhibited suit, could do for a person's physical health. She proved she wasn't just a sideshow star out for the limelight, but could help to better the lives of women in general. She went so far as to strip to practically nothing at one convention just to show she wasn't "padded" and she was in fact naked underneath her clothing, with no need to wear a corset.²⁷ She published *How to Swim* in 1918, *Physical Beauty: How to Keep It*, in 1919, *Fairy Tales of the South Seas* in 1926, and *My Story*, an unpublished autobiography.²⁸

Annette Kellerman died in Southport, Queensland, Australia on November 6, 1975. She was cremated and her remains were scattered amongst the rocks of the Barrier Reef, something that she had always wanted, to be a part of what she loved so much.²⁹

²⁶"WikiVisually.com." *Annette Kellerman - WikiVisually*, https://wikivisually.com/wiki/Annette_Kellerman.

²⁷"Annette Kellerman's Startling Turn." *Geelong Advertiser*, 10 Dec. 1910, pp. 8–8.

²⁸Gibson, Emily, and Barbara Firth. *The Original Million Dollar Mermaid: the Annette Kellerman Story*. Allen & Unwin, 2006.

²⁹Gibson, Emily, and Barbara Firth. *The Original Million Dollar Mermaid: the Annette Kellerman Story*. Allen & Unwin, 2006.

Happy Medium

'Kellerman's career was helped partly by the fact that swimming was just becoming a popular competitive sport, and partly by its underrepresentation of women – though other women swimmers competed against and followed her. Australian women became internationally recognised in the sport, particularly through Fanny Durack and Mina Wylie's medal wins at the 1912 Olympics in Stockholm – the first Olympic games to include women swimmers. Women swimmers, both at the beach and in competition, faced the dilemmas posed by modesty versus practicality in their attire. Kellerman would exploit these tensions, essentially by throwing Victorian notions of feminine modesty to the winds.'³⁰

If a happy medium could not have been achieved with Annette daring to shrug her shoulders at certain standards with clothing, just imagine how life would be now. Annette will be revered throughout history for having the courage and tenacity to not let her thoughts or ideas be put down. She helped take the contention of modesty, and maneuvered it to become a concession where practicality won out. Her determined strength in the many conflicts she dared to face throughout her life, helps us as 21st century individuals be grateful for the compromises she was able to achieve.

³⁰<http://books.publishing.monash.edu/apps/bookworm/view/Race+and+the+Modern+Exotic%3A+Three+%E2%80%98Australian%E2%80%99+Women+on+Global+Display/173/OEBPS/c01.htm>

Appendix A



According to Lencek and Bosker, in May 1917, the American Association of Park Superintendents published *"Bathing Suit Regulations in The American City. All-white and flesh-colored suits were discouraged as anatomical details were too clear. Nothing below the armpits could be shown on the chest. Men's suits needed a skirt or skirt effect, worn outside the trunks. The leg could not be shorter than 4 inches from the knee and the skirt not shorter than two inches above the bottom of the trunks."*³¹

³¹"THE HISTORY OF MENS SWIMWEAR." *THE HISTORY OF MENS SWIMWEAR*, justrealcasual.blogspot.com/2011/05/history-of-mens-swimwear.html.

Appendix B



32

Enter Annette Kellerman, the first woman to swim across the English Channel. She was arrested in Boston for wearing a form-hugging one piece suit that had neither collars nor buttons, but had all the perks of allowing her to cut through water without getting tangled up in skirts. She took one for the team, and her bold move triggered a change in swimwear fashion.³³

³²Bain News Service. "Miss Annette Kellerman." *Bain Collection*, Victor, 1 Jan. 1970, www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/ggbain/item/2014683563/. Browsed extensively through the Library of Congress's picture collections to find more information and access pictures not normally seen.

³³Komar, Marlen. "The Evolution Of The Bathing Suit From The 1800s Until Today Proves One Very Important Thing." *Bustle*, Bustle, 22 Dec. 2017, www.bustle.com/articles/140660-the-evolution-of-the-bathing-suit-from-the-1800s-until-today-proves-one-very-important-thing.

Appendix C



In Chicago, a woman is being arrested for defying a Chicago edict banning "abbreviated bathing suits" on beaches, 1922.³⁴

³⁴ "Did You Know: In the 1920s, Police Could Arrest Women for Exposing Their Legs in One Piece Bathing Suits?" *Did You Know: In the 1920s, Police Could Arrest Women for Exposing Their Legs in One Piece Bathing Suits?* -, 3 Nov. 2016, www.vintag.es/2016/11/did-you-know-in-1920s-police-could.html.

Appendix D



These days, you can get away with wearing practically anything at the beach, but back in the '20s, it was common for inspectors to roam the beaches ensuring women's swimwear wasn't too short—in many cases, rising no more than six inches above the knee. Here are two suspicious girls having their suit lengths checked in 1922, as captured by the National Photo Company.³⁵

³⁵"30 Vintage Photos of People Having Fun at the Beach." *Mental Floss*, 24 June 2013, <http://mentalfloss.com/article/51323/30-vintage-photos-people-having-fun-beach>.

Appendix E

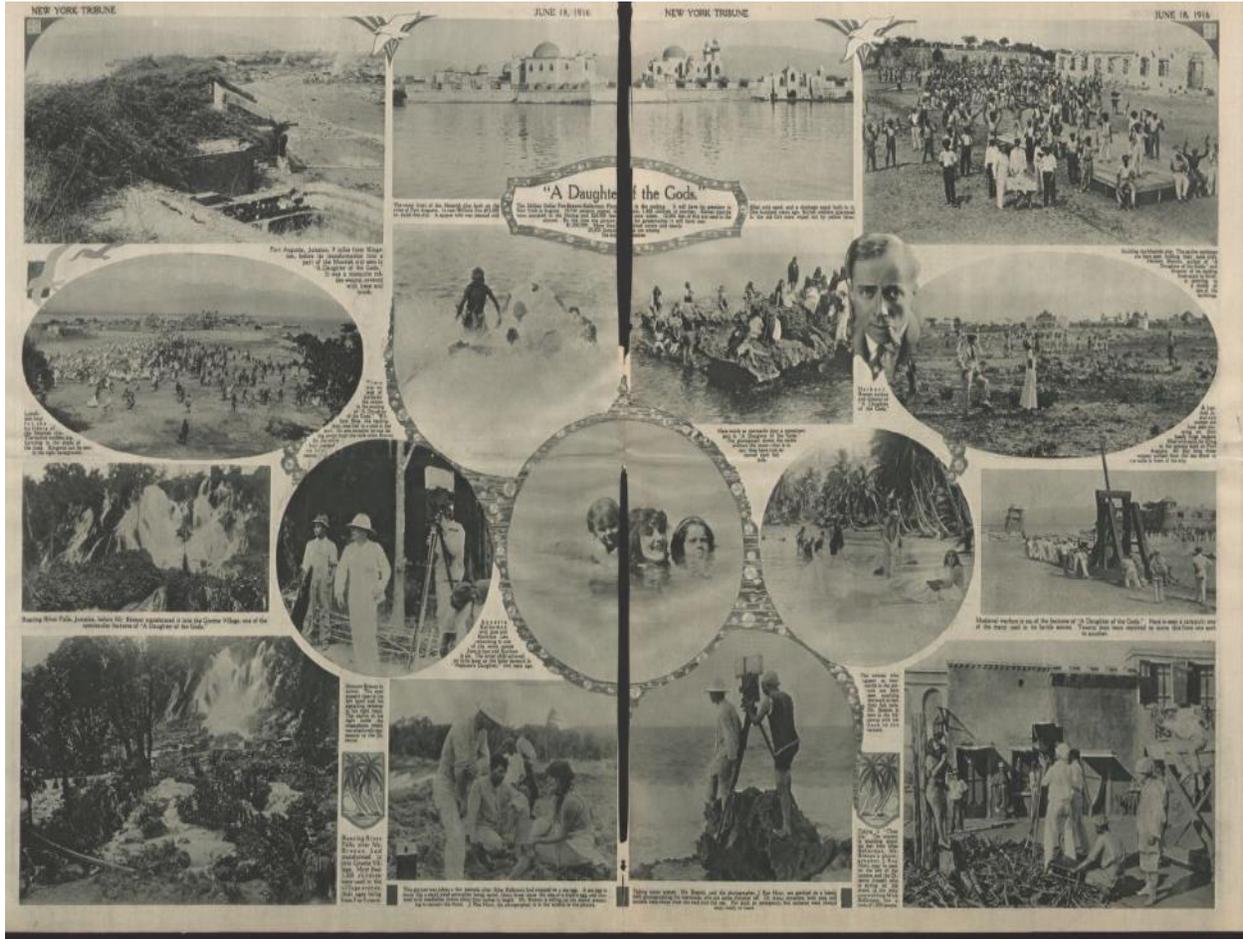


A Daughter of the Gods was a 1916 American silent fantasy drama film written and directed by Herbert Brenon. The film was controversial because of the sequences of what was regarded as superfluous nudity by the character Anita, played by Australian swimming star Annette Kellermann. The scene is regarded as the first complete nude scene by a major star, which occurred during a waterfall sequence, though most of Kellerman's body is covered by her long hair. It was filmed by Fox Film Corporation in Kingston, Jamaica where huge sets were constructed, and directed by Herbert Brenon.

Though stills and publicity photos have survived, the film is now considered lost.³⁶

³⁶"WikiVisually.com." *Annette Kellerman* - WikiVisually, https://wikivisually.com/wiki/Annette_Kellerman.

Appendix F



37

37 "Image 12 of New-York Tribune, June 18, 1916." *The Library of Congress*, www.loc.gov/resource/sn83030214/1916-06-18/ed-1/?sp=12.

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Bain News Service. "Miss Annette Kellerman." *Bain Collection*, Victor, 1 Jan. 1970, www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/ggbain/item/2014683563/.

I browsed extensively through the Library of Congress's picture collections to find more information and access pictures not normally seen of Annette Kellerman. One such picture was used in Appendix B.

Kellerman, Annette. *How To Swim*. <https://archive.org/details/howtoswim007649mbp>.

This was one of the books that I read. However, with this book, Annette Kellerman wrote it herself. It gave personal diagrams of her dives and strokes. It also gave insights of her life.

"Annette Kellerman." *Evening News*, 27 June 1907, pp. 6–6.

This was a newspaper article I found on Annette Kellerman. It comes from a website containing many articles on Annette Kellerman. It was very helpful in determining the little details of Annette Kellerman's life.

"Annette Kellerman's Startling Turn." *Geelong Advertiser*, 10 Dec. 1910, pp. 8–8.

This was a newspaper article that talks about Annette Kellerman. It comes from a website containing many newspaper articles. It was very helpful with little details.

"Annette Kellermann." *The Wyalong Star and Temora and Barmedman Advertiser*, 9 Jan. 1906, p. 4. "Annette Kellerman. - The Wyalong Star and Temora and Barmedman Advertiser (West Wyalong, NSW : 1894 - 1895; 1899 - 1906) - 9 Jan 1906." *Trove*, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/144828300?searchTerm=annette%2Bkellerman&searchLimits=>.

This was a website containing an article about Annette Kellerman. It states what is happening in Annette's life. This was very helpful in determining small details

that could be added into my paper.

“Annette Kellerman Sullivan, 87, 'Million Dollar Mermaid,'.” *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 6 Nov. 1975,
<http://www.nytimes.com/1975/11/06/archives/annette-kellerman-sullivan-87-million-dollar-mermaid-dead-played-55.html>

This was a newspaper article citing the movies she had been in. It also reacted to her death. They had also made comments about her life. It was useful in knowing what movies she had played a part in.

“Australian Girl Is The Most Wonderful Of All Swimmers.” *The San Francisco Call*, 30 July 1905, pp. 17–17.

This newspaper article talks about Annette Kellerman. It talks about her swimming the Thames and creating new records. It was very helpful in determining what Annette Kellerman was like, and her life while in England.

“Boston Globe Archives.” *The Boston Globe Archives*,
<https://secure.pgarchiver.com/boston/results.html?st=advanced&QryTxt=Annette+Kellerman&type=historic&sortBy=RELEVANCE&datetype=0&frommonth=03&fromday=04&fromyear=1872&tomonth=12&today=31&toyear=1979&By=&Title=> .

This was a website where I was able to find multiple newspaper articles on Annette Kellerman. This included her arrest in Boston. This was one of many sites where I found information on her conflict and compromise with the court judge.

“Chronicling America « Library of Congress.” *News about Chronicling America RSS*, William Delmont, chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/.

I used this website extensively to read through hundreds of articles about Annette Kellerman. It gave me many minor and major article entries through many different newspapers that talked about Annette's accomplishments, upcoming performances, and interviews.

“Image 12 of New-York Tribune, June 18, 1916.” *The Library of Congress*,
www.loc.gov/resource/sn83030214/1916-06-18/ed-1/?sp=12.

This was a newspaper article that contained extensive information on one of

Annette Kellerman's movies. It gave a lot of information about the movie *A Daughter of the Gods* and was very helpful. It was also the picture used in Appendix F.

"Lewiston Evening Teller. (Lewiston, Idaho) 1903-1911, June 26, 1906, Page 4, Image 4." *News about Chronicling America* RSS, Teller Pub. Co., <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86091109/1906-06-26/ed-1/seq-4/#date1=1889&index=2&rows=20&words=Annette+Kellerman&searchType=basic&sequence=0&state=&date2=1907&proxtext=annette+kellerman&y=14&x=6&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1>.

This was a site I used to learn information about Annette Kellerman. It gave many details about her, and other such things. It mentioned some of her races and swims. It was very helpful in learning about her life.

"Man Has Flown The English Channel But - Can He Swim It?" *The Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, 5 Sept. 1909, pp. 29–29.

This site mentions Annette Kellerman fleetingly. This newspaper article mentions how far away she was from her goal. It was very helpful in learning about Annette's Channel swim.

"Merely Personal." *The Worker*, 25 Feb. 1909, pp. 19–19.

This was a newspaper article I found that gives information on Annette Kellerman. I found it on a website containing many newspaper articles, many on Annette Kellerman. It was very helpful in determining little details that I might have otherwise missed.

"Miss Kellerman To Come West." *Lewiston Evening Teller*, 15 Aug. 1907, pp. 7–7.

This site had a newspaper article on Annette Kellerman. It mentions many things about her life. It was very helpful in learning about Annette Kellerman.

"Miss Lily Smith, One of England's Prettiest and Most Athletic Suffragettes, Who Will Brave the Treacherous Currents of the Channel to Prove That Woman Is Man's Physical Equal." *South Bend*, 30 Oct. 1913, pp. 2–2.

This website talks about Annette Kellerman briefly. It talks about her channel swim, and why she had to come out. It was very helpful in learning about the

swim.

“Most Perfectly Built Woman.” *Clarence and Richmond Examiner*, 22 Sept. 1910, pp. 6–6.

This was a newspaper article that I had found on Annette Kellerman. It came from a website containing many other articles on her. It was very helpful in giving me little details to put in my paper.

“The Diving Venus.” *Evening Journal*, 9 Apr. 1910, pp. 5–5.

This was a newspaper article about Annette Kellerman. It came from a website full of different newspaper articles on her. It was very helpful in determining small details about Annette Kellerman’s life.

“The Topeka State Journal. (Topeka, Kan.) 1892-1980, August 11, 1906, LAST EDITION, Image 6.” *News about Chronicling America RSS*, F.P. MacLennan, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016014/1906-08-11/ed-1/seq-6/#date1=1889&index=0&rows=20&words=Annette+Kellerman&searchType=basic&sequence=0&state=&date2=1907&proxtext=annette+kellerman&y=14&x=6&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1>.

This site helped me with Annette Kellerman. It gave details about her swims, and other things. It also gave a few details about her early life.

“Two Crack American Athletes Will Attempt The Most Difficult Aquatic Feat In The World.” *The Washigton Times*, 22 July 1906, pp. 39–39.

This is a news article mentioning Annette Kellerman. It talks of her swimming career, and how she was a long-distance swimmer. It was very helpful in learning little known facts about Annette, and her struggle with the English Channel swim.

“WikiVisually.com.” *Annette Kellerman - WikiVisually*, https://wikivisually.com/wiki/Annette_Kellerman.

This site has pictures included and has a bit different information on Annette. I was able to learn more in-depth about the places she lived in as they have additional information listed below the actual article. It was here that I found the picture for Appendix C.

"Woman's Letter." *National Advocate*, 29 May 1909, pp. 2–2.

This was a newspaper article I found containing information on Annette Kellerman. It came from a website containing multiple newspapers containing her name. It was very helpful in determining the little details of Annette Kellerman's life.

"Women Swimmers and Water Athletes." *The Topeka State Journal*, 11 Aug. 1906, pp. 6–6.

This site contained a newspaper article on Annette Kellerman. It mentions her life and her swimming career. It was very helpful in learning about her life.

Secondary Sources

Andreatta, David. "Andreatta: When Boys Swam Nude in Gym Class." *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, Democrat and Chronicle, 23 Sept. 2017, www.democratandchronicle.com/story/news/local/columnists/andreatta/2017/09/22/andreatta-when-boys-swam-nude-gym-class/694542001/.

This was a site I used for learning about swimsuits. In this site it mentions that the boys were not allowed to use swimming suits while swimming in the pool. This is because it was believed the the first swimsuits that were made of wool would clog the filters. This was most likely one of the reasons why the fabric was changed.

Corey, Shana, and Ed Fotheringham. *Mermaid Queen: the Spectacular True Story of Annette Kellerman, Who Swam Her Way to Fame, Fortune & Swimsuit History!* Scholastic Inc., 2009.

This was a book about Annette Kellerman that helped me determine many details that I would have otherwise missed. It was very information filled and really helped me out with writing my paper. It was very helpful and definitely gave me many details and made paper better.

Daugherty, Greg. "The 'Scandalous' Quarter Protest That Wasn't." *Smithsonian.com*, Smithsonian Institution, 9 Feb. 2017, www.smithsonianmag.com/history/scandalous-quarter-protest-wasnt-180962088

This was an article mentioning Annette Kellerman in passing. It mentioned her with reference to her being clad similarly to a supposedly scandalous quarter. It helped with a few details, including that she came from being a famous swimmer to a well-known actress.

developer@themonthly.com.au. "Annette Kellerman & Esther Williams." *The Monthly*, 26 Apr. 2013, www.themonthly.com.au/issue/2013/may/1366950581/shane-maloney/annette-kellerman-esther-williams.

This was a website concerning both Annette Kellerman and Esther Williams. Esther Williams was the woman who acted as Annette Kellerman in one of the movies about Annette. It was useful in helping me distinguish the difference between the two remarkable ladies.

Garratt, Sheryl. "The Burkini Ban: What It Really Means When We Criminalise Clothes." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 24 Aug. 2016, www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/24/the-burkini-ban-what-it-really-means-when-we-criminalise-clothes.

This is an article about women being forced to wear what the public wants. It references Annette Kellerman, stating that she once went through something similar on Revere Beach. It was useful in helping learn that what has happened with Annette Kellerman, is still happening now. It also helped me learn a little more about Annette.

Gibson, Emily, and Barbara Firth. *The Original Million Dollar Mermaid: the Annette Kellerman Story*. Allen & Unwin, 2006.

This was a 230 page book that I read to find information on Annette Kellerman. It gave a full recap of her life, and was very well written. It also was very helpful in giving me details to place in my paper.

Katikati Heritage Museum. "Tauranga Historical Society." *Swimwear in the 1920s*, 1 Jan. 1970, <http://taurangahistorical.blogspot.com/2014/08/swimwear-in-1920s.html>.

This was a site I used for learning about the history of men's swimwear. It gives pictures of men's swimwear that help the descriptions. This was very helpful in learning about the swimsuits.

Komar, Marlen. "The Evolution Of The Bathing Suit From The 1800s Until Today Proves One Very Important Thing." *Bustle*, Bustle, 22 Dec. 2017, www.bustle.com/articles/140660-the-evolution-of-the-bathing-suit-from-the-1800s-until-today-proves-one-very-important-thing.

This was one of the sites that helped clear my idea of the bathing suits during the years. Specifically the late 1800's, and early 1900's. It was very useful for what I had needed the site to do, which was to help me learn more about how women dressed for swimming back then.

Lucas, John. "Making a Statement: Annette Kellerman Advances the Worlds of Swimming, Diving and Entertainment." *Sporting Traditions*, pp. 25–35.

This was a small paper written on Annette Kellerman. It talks about her swimming career and her long distance swims. It also talks about how she created water ballet. It was very helpful in determining the intricate details in the major parts in Annette Kellerman's life.

Marco Amati Marco Amati is a Friend of The Conversation. Associate Professor of International Planning, Centre for Urban Research, RMIT University. "Watered down: What Happened to Australia's River Swimming Tradition?" *The Conversation*, 17 Jan. 2018, <https://theconversation.com/watered-down-what-happened-to-australias-river-swimming-tradition-69728>.

This was an article mentioning her swim in the Yarra. It mentions how she had rejected pantaloons in favor for a one piece bathing suit. This is one of the sites where I received little details like that to place in the paper.

Morton, Ella. "The 'Australian Mermaid' Who Introduced Recreational Swimming to American Women." *Atlas Obscura*, Atlas Obscura, 13 Jan. 2016, www.atlasobscura.com/articles/the-australian-mermaid-who-introduced-recreational-swimming-to-american-women.

This was yet another site about Annette Kellerman's life. It recapped her life's work and main achievements. It was very helpful in piecing together her life, and the main parts in it.

National Foundation for Australian Women and The University of Melbourne.
"Kellermann, Annette Marie Sarah - Woman - The Australian Women's Register."

Australian Women's Register, www.womenaustralia.info/biogs/AWE2216b.htm.

This was another website about Annette Kellerman. It includes a summary of her life. It also has a section of details about her, including books she has written. It was very helpful with determining both aspects of my paper. The main part of her life, and all of the details in it.

Nelson, Anitra. "ORIGINAL MERMAID, THE." *Ronin Films*, www.roninfilms.com.au/feature/488/original-mermaid.html.

This was a PDF found on the Ronin website about the 2002 movie 'The Original Mermaid' that was a documentary about Annette Kellerman's life. I was not able to view the movie itself, but the study guide gave many facts and interesting ideas of feminism. This helped me build my thesis, and helped show the conflicts facing women.

Parkinson, Justin. "Annette Kellerman: Hollywood's First Nude Star." *BBC News*, BBC, 20 Feb. 2016, www.bbc.com/news/magazine-35472490.

This website was an article about Annette Kellerman being Hollywood's first nude star. The article stated the specific movie that she played a nude scene in. This was very helpful concerning details concerning Annette Kellerman's life.

Rb. "Annette Kellerman: Hollywood's First Nude Star Appeared at Revere Beach in 1907." *Revere Beach*, Revere Beach, 21 Feb. 2016, www.reverebeach.com/annette-kellerman-hollywoods-first-nude-star-appeared-at-revere-beach-in-1907/.

This is a website describing Annette Kellerman's acting career. More specifically, how she was the first Hollywood star, male or female, to appear nude in a movie scene. This was very helpful with describing this major piece of her life.

Rb. "This Woman's One-Piece Bathing Suit Got Her Arrested in 1907 Annette Kellerman Dared to Show Her Legs on Revere Beach." *Revere Beach*, Revere Beach, 19 June 2016, www.reverebeach.com/this-womans-one-piece-bathing-suit-got-her-arrested-in-1907-annette-kellerman-dared-to-show-her-legs-on-revere-beach/.

This was a site that described Annette Kellerman's arrest. It gives some quotes from her after the incident, and also described why she was arrested. It was very

helpful with the progression of my paper.

Revolvy, LLC. “Annette%2BKellerman’ on Revolvy.com.” *Trivia Quizzes*, www.revolvy.com/main/index.php?s=Annette%2BKellerman&item_type=topic.

This is a website about Annette Kellerman and what happened while she was alive. It also includes topics related to her, including the history of swimwear. It was very helpful with small details in her life, and also with knowing what was happening in her time.

Skirting the Skirts at the Bathing Beach.

<http://xroads.virginia.edu/~ma04/hess/fashion/inthiscorner3.html>.

This was a website mentioning Annette Kellerman in reference to the swimsuit she advocated. It mentions her arrest and how the swimming suit became popular. This site was very helpful with determining why Annette Kellerman was arrested.

The Hairpin May 4, 2011. “Bathing Suit Shopping With Annette Kellerman, the Australian Mermaid.” *The Hairpin*, 1 Aug. 2017, www.thehairpin.com/2011/05/bathing-suit-shopping-with-annette-kellerman-the-australian-mermaid/.

This is a site describing Annette Kellerman’s life. It includes her beach arrest and what came after. It also gives many details about her that were very helpful to me.

Thomas, Pauline. “The Early Seaside.” *Swimwear in the Early Days - Fashion History Pictures*, http://www.fashion-era.com/early_swimwear.htm.

This was a website I used to help me understand the development of swimwear. This website dates back to the 1813 swimwear line. It was very helpful in explaining what women had to wear back in the 1800’s and 1900’s.

Wei, Jordan Whitney. “Modern Mermaid’: The Woman Who Made Synchronized Swimming a Splash.” *Biography.com*, A&E Networks Television, 14 July 2014, www.biography.com/news/inventor-synchronized-swimming.

This is a website that mentions Annette Kellerman. It mostly focuses on how she swam and how people received the idea of synchronized swimming from her.

This was one of many sites that gave me details about Annette.

Woollacott, Angela. "Monash University EPress." *'Chapter 1: Annette Kellerman: Mermaids and South Sea Islanders' in Race and the Modern Exotic: Three 'Australian' Women on Global Display by Angela Woollacott | EPress, Monash University Publishing,*
books.publishing.monash.edu/apps/bookworm/view/Race+and+the+Modern+Exotic%3A+Three+%E2%80%98Australian%E2%80%99+Women+on+Global+Display/173/OEBPS/c01.htm.

This was a website describing Annette Kellerman's life and her accomplishments. It also delves deeper into details about her life and both her acting and swimming careers. It was very helpful with nearly all the aspects of my paper.

"11 Interesting Facts about Annette Kellerman, Edwardian Swimming Star." *Recollections Blog*, 26 Jan. 2017, <https://recollections.biz/blog/11-facts-annette-kellerman-edwardian-swimming-star/>.

This was a very helpful website that gave me great information. It was mostly details that added very interesting information. It was very helpful in adding small facts to my paper that I would have otherwise missed. I believe that these factoids made my paper more interesting.

"1920s Swimsuits- Women and Men (Parasols Too)." *VintageDancer.com*, 4 Feb. 2018, <https://vintagedancer.com/1920s/1920s-swimsuits/>.

This site was very helpful in showing how swimming suits developed. It shows how the longer dresses were modified to make it easier to swim. It also explains each design, and how practical it was. This site helped add to what happened to the swimwear line after 1907.

"30 Vintage Photos of People Having Fun at the Beach." *Mental Floss*, 24 June 2013, <http://mentalfloss.com/article/51323/30-vintage-photos-people-having-fun-beach>.

This is a website that gives pictures of people at the beach. It shows pictures over many decades. It shows what begins happening to the bathing suit trends. Though it does not explain the trends, they are clear in the pictures. It was very helpful in determining the history of swimwear.

"60 Interesting Facts about Swimsuits." *Interesting Facts*,

www.factretriever.com/swimsuit-facts.

This website gave me facts about swimsuits. These swimsuits also included women's swimsuits as well as the men's. The facts were interesting and helped me understand the swimsuits better.

"Annette Kellerman." *IMDb*, IMDb.com, www.imdb.com/name/nm0445807/.

This is a site I used to learn a basic understanding of Annette Kellerman. I also used it to figure out what movies she had acted in. It was very helpful with many aspects of her acting career.

"Annette Kellerman." *Quotabelle*, www.quotabelle.com/author/annette-kellerman.

This was a website that gave a timeline of Annette Kellerman's life. It marked many of the major events in her life. It also gives quotes directly from Annette herself. It was very helpful with adding quotes that she has said, and also with marking the things that she has done.

"Annette Kellerman Advocated for Practical Female Bathing Suits and Got Arrested for It." *The Lily*, thelily.com/annette-kellerman-advocated-for-practical-female-bathing-suits-and-got-arrested-for-it-1a4d7bbc19b8

This site is an illustrated story about Annette Kellerman's life. It gives the main outline of her lifetime, along with a few highlights about her accomplishments. It was very helpful with small details that I would have otherwise missed.

"ANNETTE KELLERMAN (AUS)." *ANNETTE KELLERMAN (AUS) 1974 Honor Contributor*, [ishof.org/annette-kellerman-\(aus\).html](http://ishof.org/annette-kellerman-(aus).html).

This website for the International Swimming Hall of Fame listed swimming awards Annette had won, as well as showcasing her long distance swims, and movie acclaims.

"Annette Kellerman Search Results." *The New York Times*, The New York Times, <https://query.nytimes.com/search/sitesearch/?action=click&contentCollection®ion=TopBar&WT.nav=searchWidget&module=SearchSubmit&pgtype=Homepage#/annette+kellerman> .

This was a website documentation of newspaper articles that Annette

Kellerman's name is mentioned in. There are quite a few articles with details that helped me fill in gaps in my paper that I had. It was very helpful to me, and helped make my paper better.

"Arrested for Their Bathing Suits." *Messy Nessy Chic*, 2 July 2013, www.messynessychic.com/2012/06/20/arrested-for-their-bathing-suits/.

This website shows pictures of what began to occur after 1907. This website also includes text explaining the pictures. It was very helpful in determining what began to happen after 1907.

"Australian Dictionary of Biography." *Life Summary - Annette Marie Sarah Kellermann - Australian Dictionary of Biography*, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/kellermann-annette-marie-sarah-6911>.

This was one of the main sites I used to truly determine what Annette Kellerman's life contained. It was very helpful to me. It contained not just the main idea of her life. It also included many details that I added into my essay. It was one of the main sites I used to help write my essay.

"Before the Modern Day Bikini: 33 Interesting Vintage Photos That Show Swimwear Fashion of the Early 20th Century." *Before the Modern Day Bikini: 33 Interesting Vintage Photos That Show Swimwear Fashion of the Early 20th Century* ~, 29 Oct. 2014, <http://www.vintag.es/2014/10/swimwear-of-1900s-1910s.html>.

This website helped me understand the early 20th century clothing. Though the pictures are not in chronological order, you can see the differences in the clothing over the years. In the earlier years, you see longer, bulkier dresses, and in the more recent years, you see lighter, more exposing designs.

"Did You Know: In the 1920s, Police Could Arrest Women for Exposing Their Legs in One Piece Bathing Suits?" *Did You Know: In the 1920s, Police Could Arrest Women for Exposing Their Legs in One Piece Bathing Suits?* ~, 3 Nov. 2016, <http://www.vintag.es/2016/11/did-you-know-in-1920s-police-could.html>

This was a website stating that women in the 1920 were still arrested for showing their legs. This happened in Chicago, and this is where the picture for Appendix B was found. This site was very helpful in figuring out that even though Annette Kellerman was arrested, she was not the only one.

“Early 20th Century Men's Swimsuits.” *Maryland Historical Society* ,
blog.mdhs.org/costumes/early-20th-century-mens-swimsuits.

This website was about men’s swimwear in the early 20th century. It gave pictures of the swimwear that were interesting. This was very helpful with learning about the men’s swimwear.

“From Cripple to Star: How Australian-Born Diver Annette Kellerman Became a ‘Pinnacle of Physical Feminine Perfection.’” *The Daily Telegraph*,
www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/from-cripple-to-star-how-australianborn-diver-annette-kellerman-became-a-pinnacle-of-physical-feminine-perfection/news-story/f4a7439e2d3a1cb06998739bd21096c0.

This was a website about how Annette Kellerman was named the perfect woman. It also recaps her life and major points in it. It was very useful in learning about Annette Kellerman’s life.

“Half-A-Minute Interviews - Annette Kellerman.” *Truth* , 27 Jan. 1906, p. 8.
“‘HALF-A-MINUTE’ INTERVIEWS - I.-Annette Kellerman. - Truth (Perth, WA : 1903 - 1931) - 27 Jan 1906.” *Trove*,
<http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/207393937?searchTerm=annette%2Bkellerman&searchLimits=l-decade>.

This was a site that held an article concerning Annette Kellerman. It was an interview about Annette that somebody wrote an article about. It helped with finding little details to add into my paper to make it more interesting.

“History of Bathing Suits.” *VICTORIANA MAGAZINE*,
www.victoriana.com/library/Beach/FashionableBathingSuits.htm.

This was another website that helped me distinguish the attributes of swimsuits back in the early 1900’s. It was very helpful with illustrated pictures to demonstrate exactly what they meant. It helped me with writing about swimsuits back then, and the site was most definitely influential to my writing.

“History of Men's Swimwear.” *Niwdenapolis*, 1 Jan. 1970,
www.niwdenapolis.com/2007/03/history-of-mens-swimwear.html.

I used this site for learning about men’s swimwear. It included the main facts about swimwear throughout the decades. It also gave me little details, explaining

each suit in detail.

“History of Swimwear.” *Wikipedia*, Wikimedia Foundation, 2 Mar. 2018,
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_swimwear.

This website was full of information on swimming suits. It gave a timeline of the swimming eras, and the trends. It gave details on all of the different types of bathing suits. This website was very helpful in determining the history of bathing suits.

“How The Bathing Suit Has Changed In The Past 100 Years.” *Gurl.com*, 7 May 2014,
www.gurl.com/2014/05/07/the-history-of-swimsuits-bathing-suits-fashion/#1.

This website shows pictures of swimming suits over a century long period of time. It shows all of the trends that were occurring in those decades. It was very helpful in determining the history of the swimwear line.

“Impact of the Modern.” *Google Books*,
<http://books.google.com/books?id=tB5VcdRYu8oC&pg=PA270&lpg=PA270&dq=princes%2Bcourt%2Bpleasure%2Bgardens%2Bin%2Bmelbourne&source=bl&ots=FTEfelRcbf&sig=H3K0S6vJ1qem1RrTFzldUO0-KIM&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjJ5pGQteXYAhUBTGMKHYb0AJUQ6AEINzAF#v=onepage&q=princes%20court%20pleasure%20gardens%20in%20melbourne&f=false..>

This site is mentioning the Princess Court in Melbourne. This is a place where Annette used to perform when she was younger. This included things like diving and swimming exhibitions. It was very helpful in determining facts about Annette Kellerman’s early life.

“IT'S A COVERUP.” *Los Angeles Times*, Los Angeles Times,
www.latimes.com/la-ig-swim15apr15-story.html.

This is a website mentioning Annette Kellerman. It mentions her in reference to how she rejected the large, cumbersome swimsuits most women wore. It mentioned how she brought along a new era of swimsuits for women. It was helpful in determining what happened after her conflict with the court’s judge.

“Itsy Bitsy Teenie Weenie Yellow Polka Dot Bikini Lyrics.” *Bobby Darin - Itsy Bitsy Teenie Weenie Yellow Polka Dot Bikini Lyrics | MetroLyrics*, www.metrolyrics.com/itsy-

bitsy-teenie-weenie-yellow-polka-dot-bikini-lyrics-bobby-darin.html.

This was the site that gave me the quote I placed in the very beginning of my paper. The site was useful, and helped me understand what the song meant. It also made me realize that the song might not have been made, therefore neither would have the website, were it not for Annette Kellerman.

“Live Performance Australia.” *Annette Lellerman 1*,
<http://liveperformance.com.au/halloffame/annettekellerman1.html>.

This was a site about Annette Kellerman and her accomplishments. It included main parts in her life, along with a few details. It was very helpful in determining when events in her life happened.

“MARRICKVILLE MERMAID – the Daring, Diving Annette Kellerman.” *Richard Tulloch's LIFE ON THE ROAD*, 25 Apr. 2013,
<https://richardtullochwriter.com/2012/10/21/annette-kellerman/>.

This is a website stating Annette Kellerman's life. It contains details like the movies she has been in and other small facts. It was very helpful with determining Annette Kellerman's life story.

“Mysteries At The Museum.” *Swimmin's Lib*, season 12, episode 1, Travel Channel.

This was the first thing I saw that initially caught my eye to find a person I wanted to write about in the conflict and compromise theme for this year. This episode talked about her swimwear, her arrest at Revere Beach, and listed all the museums where her articles of clothing that made her famous are held on display.

“National Treasures from Australia's Great Libraries.” *Google Books*,
books.google.com/books?id=Wf5brDm38EQC&pg=PA118&lpg=PA118&dq=swimming%2Bdebate%2Bbefore%2Bthe%2B1912%2Bolympics&source=bl&ots=T6xP5C_qI2&sig=0AsTp1HnHOKfCirit7pmGMV60kw&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjGoaCyg-XYAhUS02MKHajaDj8Q6AEIUzAH#v=onepage&q=swimming%20debate%20before%20the%201912%20olympics&f=false.

This was yet another site that helped me learn about what happened after Annette Kellerman showed her legs at Revere Beach. It talks about the 1912

Olympic Games. This includes how women's swimming was added.

"Now and Then." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, www.theguardian.com/observer/osm/story/0,,328531,00.html. LeRoy, Mervyn, director. *Million Dollar Mermaid*. Roadshow Entertainment, 2000.

This was supposedly a biography about Annette Kellerman's life. However, in comparing events in this movie to articles and events in true life, there were extreme disparities. But it was very entertaining and gave us a glimpse into the Mermaid Queen's aquatic adventures.

"Old 1900's Swimsuits." *Early 1900's - Picture Postcards*, <http://cozybeach.com/beach-oldswimsuits.shtml>.

This website helped me understand the change that Annette Kellerman brought. In the website, you see the first set of postcards and the second set. In the first, all of the women have on dresses, the last picture being taken in 1907, the Year Annette Kellerman was arrested. The next set of postcards is after her arrest, and you can see that all of the women are wearing Annette Kellerman's design. It helped me understand that she really did make a difference.

"Surf Cities." *The New York Times*, The New York Times, archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/books/98/08/02/reviews/980802.02fratert.html.

I used this site for learning about swimmers and swimsuits. It mentions Annette Kellerman and her indecency act on Revere Beach. It also mentions what begins to happen afterwards.

"Swimming at the 1912 Stockholm Summer Games." *SR/ Olympic Sports*, www.sports-reference.com/olympics/summer/1912/SWI/.

This was another site that helped me determine the aftermath of what happened at Revere Beach. It talked about how the additions of women's events were added in the 1912 Olympic Games. One of these events included swimming, and most women there were wearing Annette Kellerman's brand of swimsuit.

"Swimming World Presents 'The Audacity of Annette Kellerman.'" *Swimming World News*, 5 June 2017, www.swimmingworldmagazine.com/news/swimming-world-presents-the-audacity-of-annette-kellerman/.

This was an article referencing Annette Kellerman. It also references Olympic swimmers, though none in particular. The article was comparing Annette Kellerman we knew, to the Olympic swimmers nowadays.

“The Evolution of the Bathing Suit.” *The Evolution Of The Bathing Suit Timeline | Preceden*, www.preceden.com/timelines/72038-the-evolution-of-the-bathing-suit.

This is a website explaining the swimming suit history. It includes a timeline explaining the trends and current swimsuits in that time period. It was very helpful in determining the history of the swimming wear line.

“The History of Men's Swimwear.” *Simply Swim UK*, www.simplyswim.com/blogs/blog/the-history-of-men-s-swimwear.

This was a site I used for learning about men’s swimsuits. It dates back to the ancient times, and continues up to the 2000’s. It was very helpful with determining the history of men’s swimwear.

“THE HISTORY OF MENS SWIMWEAR.” *THE HISTORY OF MENS SWIMWEAR*, justrealcasual.blogspot.com/2011/05/history-of-mens-swimwear.html.

This site gave me information on men’s swimwear. It provided many pictures that better explained the swimsuit. It also explained each suit, though not in detail.

“The History of Strict Laws for Wearing Bathing Suits.” *The Laws of Bathing Suits 2014*, <https://www.thermnagency.com/the-laws-of-bathing-suits/>.

This is a website that mentions Annette Kellerman’s arrest. It states that she was not following the proper swimming laws back then. It states that the reason she got arrested was because she showed her legs. It was very helpful with determining why she got arrested.

“The Most Important Photograph in the History of Women's Olympic Participation: Jennie Fletcher and the British 4x100 Freestyle Relay Team at the Stockholm 1912 Games.” *Taylor & Francis Online*, www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17460263.2012.681351?scroll=top&needAccess=true&journalCode=rsih20.

This is a website about the Olympic Games. In it states the first woman to

compete in the swimming category during the Olympics. Annette Kellerman was much like this, in being that she was the first of many things. This site was very helpful in learning about Annette Kellerman.

“The Original Million Dollar Mermaid: The Annette Kellerman Story.” *Aquaticsintl.com*, www.aquaticsintl.com/facilities/the-original-million-dollar-mermaid-the-annette-kellerman-story_o.

This is a website about Annette Kellerman. It gives a basic outline of her life. This also includes her life's work and her major accomplishments. It was very helpful in determining her life's story.

“The Swimsuit.” *Google Books*, books.google.com/books?id=UPg5YQw5qBkC&pg=PT72&lpg=PT72&dq=swimming%2Bdebate%2Bbefore%2Bthe%2B1912%2Bolympics&source=bl&ots=laj_UWKxPN&sig=3FvwwkxLeebeQ-zfcE20pMdSbvK&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjGoaCyq-XYAhUS02MKHajaDj8Q6AEIUDAG#v=onepage&q=swimming%20debate%20before%20the%201912%20olympics&f=false.

This was a site I found about the regulations of swimming suits. It mentioned Annette Kellerman along with her one piece swimsuit. It was helpful with determining what followed after Annette Kellerman's act on Revere Beach.

“What Was Swimming Like 100 Years Ago?” *SwimSwam*, 1 Jan. 2016, <https://swimswam.com/what-was-swimming-like-100-years-ago/>.

This is a site that mentioned Annette Kellerman. It mentions her in reference to her indecency on the beach, and how that changed the swimwear line. It also mentions the 1912 Olympic Games, and how Annette played a part in the swimsuits used by the women during the games.

“Wonderland at Revere Beach.” *Wonderland Amusement Park Revere Beach*, www.celebrateboston.com/revere-beach/wonderland.htm.

This was a website stating what happened to Revere Beach after Annette Kellerman. It had become an amusement park after Annette Kellerman was there. It was very much enjoyed and many people visited it. Although due to financial difficulties, the amusement park on Revere Beach closed.

Nancy Wake: The White Mouse - Heroine of World War II

Anna Burkholder

Junior Division

Historical Paper

Paper Length: 2500 words

Nancy Wake was living a life of leisure when France fell to Germany on June 22, 1940, near the beginning of World War II. Her pleasant life as a wealthy married woman was about to come to an abrupt end. Nancy took her place in the war as she decided to compromise her ease, comfort, and personal safety to serve for the greater cause of freedom.

As the Allies became engaged in the war, many people started participating in sabotage and guerilla warfare behind enemy lines. Nancy was one of these saboteurs. She became a Special Operations Executive (SOE) agent responsible for training, leading, and providing for the needs of 7,000 men, called the Maquis, who served in the French Resistance against German military forces. In doing so, she placed herself in great danger, but always put the needs of others above her own personal safety. John Alsop, one of her American comrades, once said, “You know, that girl would cheerfully risk her own life to save any one of the men here.”¹ Nancy’s efforts were important as they helped the Allies succeed on D-Day and eventually win the war.

The Early Life of Nancy Wake

Nancy Grace Augusta Wake was born on August 30, 1912, to Charles Augustus Wake and Ella Rosieur Wake in Wellington, New Zealand. As Ella finished giving birth to her sixth child, the *tapuhi*, or midwife, pointed out a fold of extra membrane and said, “This is what we call a *kahu* and it means your baby will always be lucky. Wherever she goes, whatever she does, the gods will look after her.”² Although Nancy remembered her mother telling her of her good fortune, growing up she never felt lucky.

¹ Braddon, Russell. *Nancy Wake: SOE’s Greatest Heroine*. 2009 Edition. Stroud, Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2009

² FitzSimons, Peter. *Nancy Wake: A Biography Of Our Greatest War Heroine 1912-2011*. Revised edition. Sydney: HarperCollins Publishers, 2011

Three events and realizations profoundly affected Nancy as a child, allowing her to develop characteristics that benefitted her when she worked against Hitler. The first was when her father left the family. Nancy and her father had an exceptionally strong relationship that no one else, including her mother, experienced. One day, her father left for the United States to help make a movie about the Maori culture, but he never returned. Nancy then realized that if she was not careful of who she trusted, there could be dangerous consequences.

The second realization occurred when her mother began to openly let her daughter know she did not love her. Nancy and her mother often had conflicts, resulting in Nancy never feeling loved. “She was never physically cruel to me or beat me or anything like that, but she gave me no affection, no affection at all,”³ Nancy remembered. She cooked, cleaned, earned her own money, and became very independent. Nancy’s independence made her realize that she was capable of doing difficult tasks on her own.

The third event that profoundly affected her was an experience with her friend, Jenny. Jenny told Nancy an inappropriate rhyme, and to memorize it, she wrote it down. Once her mother, who was strictly religious, found the inappropriate rhyme she dragged Nancy by the ear into the school building, where she demanded that Nancy be punished. As Nancy panicked from the fury of her mother and teacher, she “pointed at the dear friend who had taught [her] the poem in the first place and tried to deflect the blame on to her.”⁴ As Jenny was brought up to be punished too, the hurt in her eyes forever changed Nancy. “‘I swore,’ she recalls, ‘that no matter what, *no matter what*, I would never dob [report a person for wrongdoing] ... again’.”⁵ This experience was a constant reminder not to betray those close to her.

³ FitzSimons, *Nancy Wake*, 10

⁴ FitzSimons, *Nancy Wake*, 19

⁵ Ibid

At the age of 16, Nancy ran away and worked as a nurse for two years. After inheriting money from her aunt, Nancy decided to travel to New York, Paris, and London. She fell in love with Paris and later, with Frenchman Henri Fiocca, whom she married. Nancy worked as a journalist, allowing her to travel to Vienna where she witnessed Nazis whipping the Jews. Nancy once said, “If ever the opportunity arose, I would do everything I could to stop the Nazi movement. My hatred of the Nazis was very very deep.”⁶ Nancy became determined to stop the horror, no matter the cost of the compromise, which included her life of leisure, wealth, safety, and a blissful marriage to the love of her life.⁷

World War II

Following World War I and the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was “in an economically difficult time, [leaving] many Germans bitter and [causing] them to vote for the Nazi party.”⁸ The leader of the Nazi party, Adolf Hitler, “promised to take revenge on the countries that had defeated Germany in the First World War and make Germany the most powerful country in the world.”⁹

“On September 30, 1938 Great Britain, France and Germany signed the Munich Agreement. It gave Germany the right to take over the Sudetenland, a part of Czechoslovakia. The two Allies hoped it would satisfy Hitler and keep them out of the war. The agreement,

⁶ IMDb. *Nancy Wake - Biography*. Accessed December 16, 2017.

⁷ FitzSimons, Peter. "The White Mouse Who Roared." *The Sydney Morning Herald*, August 9, 2011. Accessed May 8, 2018

⁸ "What Were the Causes of World War II?" *History On the Net*. Last Modified May 25, 2017. Accessed February 17, 2018.

⁹ "World War II: The Causes of the War/Axis and Allied Powers/Economic/Problems Before the War." *English Online*. Accessed October 13, 2017.

however, was broken and Hitler not only invaded the Sudetenland but took over all of Czechoslovakia.”¹⁰ After Czechoslovakia, Poland was soon occupied.

In May 1940, Hitler launched Operation Case Yellow, which enabled German troops to cut off Allied units. As “the British and the French saw themselves pushed back by the operation, the British evacuated their BEF or British Expeditionary Force,”¹¹ leaving the French to fight alone. To further the invasion of France, the Germans launched Operation Case Red, which caused the French government to seek peace with the Germans. This decision led to the French military only partially fighting against German troops as they had no interest in fighting a war and increasing their number of casualties. By “June 22nd, France and Germany [had] signed an armistice...”¹² The fall of France had become official.

The occupation of France did not cause the Allies to lose hope. Instead, it inspired them to stop the German troops from advancing. People participated in undercover movements by transporting refugees out of the country, working with the French Resistance, and participating in espionage, sabotage, and guerilla warfare.

One of the most famous groups created during this time was the British SOE. Created by British Prime Minister Winston Churchill on July 16, 1940,¹³ the purpose of the SOE was to “set Europe ablaze,” work with the French Resistance,¹⁴ and “counteract German brutality by means

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ “Fall Of France.” *HistoryNet*. Accessed December 18, 2017.

¹² Ibid

¹³ Morris, Nigel. “History - World Wars: The Special Operations Executive 1940 - 1946.” *BBC*. Last modified February 17, 2011. Accessed November 04, 2017.

¹⁴ Trueman, C. N. “Special Operations Executive.” *History Learning Site*. Last Modified May 18, 2015. Accessed December 18, 2017.

of sabotage and subversion.”¹⁵ As the war went on, individuals from all over Europe participated in the SOE.

Another way French citizens participated in the resistance effort was by forming small local groups called the Maquis. These groups were guerrilla fighters who helped the Allies find the resources they needed to eventually defeat Germany.

The Journey of a Saboteur

Being the wife of a wealthy Frenchman made it easier for Nancy to participate in resistance work without getting caught, owing to the stereotype that wealthy women were unlikely to participate in the resistance efforts. With this sense of security, Nancy asked her husband to get an ambulance that she could use for resistance work. She obtained false identity papers, adding to her sense of security (see Document A). Her work included transporting Dunkirk survivors,¹⁶ Allied soldiers, and Jewish refugees out of France.

As the war continued, Nancy deepened her involvement by paying “exorbitant bribes to prison guards to free those captured by the local authorities and [becoming] a dependable courier for the resistance.”¹⁷ After much resistance work, Nancy became a suspect and was watched by the Gestapo (the German police). She evaded capture by using many identities, earning the name *the White Mouse*.

“By 1943, Wake was No.1 on the Gestapo’s most wanted list, [with] a five million-franc price on her head. It [became] too risky for Wake to stay in France and the Resistance decided

¹⁵ Zim. "Special Operations Executive (SOE)." *History By Zim*. November 12, 2016. Accessed December 18, 2017.

¹⁶ Laville, Sandra. "Resistance Heroine's Last Stand." *The Telegraph*, February 11, 2003. Accessed May 8, 2018.

¹⁷ Bernstein, Adam. "Nancy Wake, 'White Mouse' of World War II, dies at 98." *Washington Post*, August 9, 2011. Accessed September 11, 2017.

she should go back to Britain.”¹⁸ Leaving her husband behind, Nancy escaped to Britain by crossing the Pyrenees. However, due to a German counter-agent working in the same network as Nancy, crossing the Pyrenees proved to be difficult. It took six attempts and included “being imprisoned twice, once in France and once in Spain; jumping from a moving train; being shot at by German soldiers; going several days without food; spending some nights in a sheep pen; and almost freezing to death...”.¹⁹

“When she arrived safely in England, eager to start fighting Hitler, Nancy joined the SOE under the cover of the First Aid Nursing Yeomanry (FANY). [SOE officials] were eager to recruit her, having already heard about her successful Resistance work in France.”²⁰ Nancy Wake became one of 39 women in the French Section of the British SOE, led by Colonel Maurice Buckmaster who “worked with local resistance groups to sabotage the Germans in the occupied territories.”²¹ After a gruelling training with guerrilla warfare and explosives, Nancy was given her mission: train, lead, and obtain provisions for the Maquis. The work of a saboteur had begun.

The Conflict

“It was an extremely tough assignment: a near-sleepless life on the move, often hiding in the forests, travelling from group to group to train Maquis, motivate, plan and co-ordinate,”²² but Nancy, dressed in her uniform (see Document B), was only thinking one thing as she jumped out of the airplane: the requirements for landing without getting injured. After landing, Nancy met

¹⁸ Ward, Paul Stanley. “NZEDGE Legends - Nancy Wake, Resistance Fighter - Warriors.” *NZEDGE*. March 18, 2016. Accessed September 22, 2017.

¹⁹ Atwood, Kathryn J. *Women Heroes of World War II : 26 Stories of Espionage, Sabotage, Resistance, and Rescue*. 1st ed. Women of Action. Chicago, Illinois: Chicago Review Press, Incorporated, 2013.

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ Ward, Paul Stanley. “NZEDGE Legends - Nancy Wake, Resistance Fighter - Warriors.” *NZEDGE*. March 18, 2016. Accessed September 22, 2017.

²² “The White Mouse : Nancy Grace Augusta Wake (Mrs. Forward).” *Digger History*. January 28, 2004. Accessed February 05, 2018.

up with her SOE partner, John Farmer, along with Frenchman Henri Tardivat. From them she learned discouraging news. “[Nancy] had to admit that things were less encouraging than she had hoped. No [Maurice] Southgate [fellow SOE agent] to introduce them to the Maquis: no wireless operator to keep them in contact with London. But she *did* have her bagful of money and their D-Day plans and she was full of confidence.”²³

After her wireless operator, Denis Rake, showed up, Nancy started organizing parachute drops with London, using her code name Helene, and was soon supplied with weapons and explosives. By this time, Nancy and Farmer had over 7,000 men that needed to be turned into a disciplined fighting force and trained with the new weaponry. “‘We were trying to turn them into a really disciplined fighting force,’ Nancy [said], ‘and not just a courageous rabble with guns’.”²⁴ As D-Day approached, the Maquis were ready to perform their tasks with precision.

On June 6, 1944, also known as D-Day, Farmer and the Maquis blew up designated targets that were crucial to stopping the movement of German troops. When she got back to camp after picking up a weapons instructor, Nancy began to feel sorry for herself because she felt as if she had missed all of the fun. However, Nancy “stopped feeling sorry for herself because there was simply so much work to do. Just as Rome had not been built in a day, France could not be blown up in one night.”²⁵ Nancy and her men were blowing up everything from bridges to railway lines to roads. “The immediate focus of the Maquis was to use everything they had to slow down and harass the Hermann Goring Division of the German Army.”²⁶

²³ Braddon, Russell. *Nancy Wake: SOE's Greatest Heroine*. 2009 Edition. Stroud, Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2009

²⁴ FitzSimons, Peter. *Nancy Wake: A Biography Of Our Greatest War Heroine 1912-2011*. Revised edition. Sydney: HarperCollins Publishers, 2011

²⁵ Ibid

²⁶ Ibid

In response to the attacks by the Maquis, just four days after D-day, the Germans intensified attacks aimed at Nancy's group. During the commotion of the next few German raids, ²⁷ Denis Rake hid his wireless set and burned his codes because he was worried the Germans would capture him or confiscate his work. Without the wireless set and codes, Nancy had no way to communicate with London. To solve this problem, Nancy decided she would find another operator who could help contact London.

To follow through on her decision, Nancy had to ride a bicycle to Chateauroux, at least 200 kilometers away from camp. "This plan did not meet with the universal accord of the leaders in the group. Some thought it was simply beyond Nancy's physical capabilities to cycle a round trip of four hundred kilometres over mountainous terrain; others thought it crazy for her to spend that long a time defenseless on a bike, without proper identity papers, amid Germans looking for people just like her."²⁸ It was soon decided Nancy would go since she would have the best chance at succeeding because she was the only woman in her division.

She rode until nightfall, took quick rest in a roadside barn, and then rode again. Nancy tried to focus on anything except how tired she felt. If a German soldier came up to her, Nancy would flirt, and he would eventually let her go without searching her. In just a day and a half in enemy territory, Nancy cycled over 200 kilometers. She found an operator and arranged for a new wireless set to be parachuted into camp, and then got on her bike and began to ride again. "Of all the things she accomplished during the war, Nancy is most proud of this marathon ride, having completed just over four hundred kilometers in seventy-two hours."²⁹

²⁷ "Who is Nancy Wake? Everything You Need to Know." *The Famous People: Childhood, Life Achievements & Timeline*. Accessed September 14, 2017.

²⁸ FitzSimons, Peter. *Nancy Wake: A Biography Of Our Greatest War Heroine 1912-2011*. Revised edition. Sydney: HarperCollins Publishers, 2011

²⁹ Ibid

During this time, Nancy Wake was also participating in many more incursions against the Germans, including “personally [leading] a raid on Gestapo headquarters in Montlucon, and [killing] a sentry with her bare hands to keep him from alerting the guard during a raid on a German gun factory. She [also] had to shoot her way out [of] roadblocks; and execute a German female spy.”³⁰ Henri Tardivat, a comrade of Nancy, “perhaps best characterised the guerrilla chieftain: ‘She is the most feminine woman I know, until the fighting starts. Then, she is like five men’.”³¹

Legacy

When Nancy was relieved of her duties, she went to find Henri, but discovered “that her husband, rather than betray her, had been arrested by the Gestapo, tortured and killed.”³² Nancy would live the rest of her life regretting “her husband’s fate – something she never stopped blaming herself for.”³³ Although Nancy was heartbroken, she eventually was remarried to John Forward in 1957 and settled down. “She was awarded nine medals, [see Document C] including the George Medal from Britain, the Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, the Croix de Guerre (twice), the Medaille de la Resistance from France, the Medal of Freedom with Palm from America and in 2004 the Companion of the Order of Australia.”³⁴ Nancy remained a very respected person after the war (see Document D). Nancy died August 7, 2011, in London at the age of 98 due to a chest infection.

³⁰“The White Mouse : Nancy Grace Augusta Wake (Mrs. Forward).” *Digger History*. January 28, 2004. Accessed February 05, 2018.

³¹ Ibid

³² “Nancy Wake.” *The Economist Magazine*, August 13, 2011. Accessed September 12, 2017.

³³ Russell, Shahan. “Nancy Wake - They Called Her The “White Mouse” - Incredible Allied SOE Agent of World War Two.” *WAR HISTORY ONLINE*. September 21, 2017. Accessed May 09, 2018.

³⁴ “War heroine Nancy Wake honoured by NZ.” *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 28, 2006. Accessed September 28, 2017.

Looking back on her life, Nancy wondered if the *tapuhi's* prediction given to her as a newborn had been fulfilled, seeing as she was one of 27 of the original 39 women from the French Section of the SOE that made it out alive. Whether she had luck or not, Nancy lived her life to the fullest and left a heroic legacy. She taught that, with enough moral courage and strength, women can do anything. But perhaps Nancy is most revered for believing in and living her greatest legacy: freedom is worth fighting for, no matter the cost of the compromise.³⁵

³⁵ Wake, Nancy. Interview by Mick Joffe. "Nancy Wake: The White Mouse." Mick Joffe Caricatures. August 13, 2011.

Appendix

Document A

Picture of Nancy's Fake Identity Card

This picture gives an understanding of what precautions Nancy had to take when she was working with the Resistance in occupied France.

Document B

Picture of Nancy in her FANY uniform

This picture shows how and gives an understanding to why Nancy was able to flirt her way out of any dangerous situation involving the Gestapo or German Nazis officers.

Document C

Picture of Nancy's medals

This picture gives an understanding of how important Nancy's actions during the war were to individual people and the Allies.

Document D

Newspaper article on Nancy Wake

This picture gives an understanding of how much Nancy was respected after she finished fighting in World War II.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Book

Wake, Nancy. *Nancy Wake: The White Mouse*. Sydney, Australia: Pan Macmillan Australia, 2011.

This book is an autobiography written by Nancy Wake on her experiences before, during, and after the war. This source was very helpful on understanding the war from Nancy's perspective. It was also very helpful for clarification on what Nancy thought as she was going through all of the challenges she was presented with.

Broadcast

Advertisement. *Nancy Wake and Harry Potter*. RTE Radio 1. September 2011.

This radio broadcast helped me to understand Nancy's life from her point of view. This source also helped me realize how fearless she was. When asked if she was ever scared, Nancy said "no." It helped me understand that even through hard times, one can be fearless.

Documentary/Film

Docmate. YouTube. July 06, 2010. Accessed September 27, 2017.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=36PtQ3TxZJI>.

This documentary helped me understand how Nancy felt about the war and the tasks she had to perform. I learned that Nancy was too busy to be afraid, because she was being two different people: one person to her friends, and another who was involved in the Resistance.

Interviews

Wake, Nancy. "Nancy Wake: The White Mouse." Interview by Mick Joffe. Mick Joffe Caricatures. August 13, 2011. Accessed September 27, 2017. http://www.mickjoffe.com/Nancy_Wake

This interview of Nancy Wake provided me with new information, such as when she cried as Paris fell at the beginning of the war. It was especially interesting to learn things about Nancy's life from her own point of view.

Newspaper Articles

Australian Associated Press. " War heroine Nancy Wake honoured by NZ." *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 28, 2006. Accessed September 28, 2017. <http://www.smh.com.au/news/World/War-heroine-Nancy-Wake-honoured-by-NZ/2006/04/28/1145861522345.html>.

This newspaper article informed me of one of the medals Nancy Wake received from New Zealand in 2006. It also provide information of how many medals Nancy had received, and how she was the most decorative servicewoman of World War II. This newspaper article helped me to understand the importance of the role Nancy played.

"Mrs. Nancy Wake to oppose Dr. Evatt." *The Canberra Times* (Canberra), March 31, 1951. Accessed September 28, 2017. <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/2825685>

This newspaper article informed me about Nancy being nominated to receive another medal or award for her military service. It also helped me understand that Nancy Wake was a very respected as a military participant and as a private citizen after the war.

Photographs

1945. STUDIO PORTRAIT OF NANCY WAKE, HIGHLY DECORATED WOMAN MEMBER OF THE ALLIED ESCAPE ROUTE ORGANISATION IN OCCUPIED FRANCE 1940 - 1943. FOR HER WORK WITHIN THE FRENCH RESISTANCE SHE WAS KNOWN BY THE GESTAPO AS THE WHITE MOUSE. SHE IS WEARING A BRITISH ARMY UNIFORM, THAT OF THE FIRST AID NURSING YEOMANRY. (DONOR N. FORWARD), France. Personal photograph by author. 1945.

This photograph is a studio portrait of Nancy Wake wearing a British army uniform. This source helped me to understand why people that knew her said that she was very beautiful and very feminine.

1948. Nancy Wake, Australian War Memorial, France. Australian War Memorial. Accessed September 21, 2017. <https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C278679>.

This photograph is a picture of the medals that Nancy Wake was awarded for her tremendous performance during World War II. Because of this source, I was able to more fully understand the worth of her performance and expeditions that she made.

Conradi, Peter. "Nancy the Nazi killer's next target: the big screen." *The Times & The Sunday Times*. August 14, 2011. Accessed September 27, 2017. <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/nancy-the-nazi-killers-next-target-the-big-screen-8r8j6mrjp38>.

This photograph is a picture of Nancy's fake French identification card. This photograph helped me to understand some of the things Nancy had to do in order to avoid capture by the Germans.

Secondary Sources

Books

Atwood, Kathryn J. *Women Heroes of World War II : 26 Stories of Espionage, Sabotage, Resistance, and Rescue*. 1st ed. Women of Action. Chicago, Illinois: Chicago Review Press, Incorporated, 2013.

This book, written by Kathryn J. Atwood, tells the story of Nancy Wake. This book helped me understand how Nancy was recruited, what she went through as she crossed the Pyrenees, and the events that she was involved in as a leader of 7000 Maquis men. This source was helpful because I was specifically able to learn how she got to be part of the French section of the SOE.

Braddon, Russell. *Nancy Wake: SOE's greatest heroine*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: History Press, 2009.

This book is a biography of Nancy Wake written by Russell Braddon. The biography helped me understand, in detail, Nancy's life before the war, how she got involved, what her assignments were during the war, and her life after the war. This source is very helpful because of the amount of detail it included.

FitzSimons, Peter. *Nancy Wake: a biography of our greatest war heroine 1912-2011*. Sydney: HarperCollins Publishers, 2011.

This book is a biography of Nancy Wake written by Peter FitzSimons. The biography helped me understand Nancy's life as a child. I learned that Nancy had a hard life as a child, from being the youngest of her family, her father leaving

them, and her mother being very bitter toward her. These circumstances helped to shape Nancy to become the type of person she was.

Wake, Nancy. *Nancy Wake: The White Mouse*. Sydney, Australia: Pan Macmillan Australia, 2011.

Magazine Articles

"Nancy Wake." *The Economist*, August 13, 2011. Accessed September 12, 2017.
<http://www.economist.com/node/21525845>.

This magazine article from *The Economist* informed me of the personal qualities Nancy had. I learned that she was very strong, loyal, feminine, and fearless. It also helped me understand that Nancy loved the way she was living during the war, even though she was at a constant risk of being captured.

Newspaper Articles

Bernstein, Adam. "Nancy Wake, 'White Mouse' of World War II, dies at 98." *Washington Post*, August 9, 2011. Accessed September 11, 2017.
https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/nancy-wake-white-mouse-of-world-war-ii-dies-at-98/2011/08/08/gIQABvPT5I_story.html?utm_term=.cbe39238c45d.

This obituary on Nancy Wake, written by Adam Bernstein, helped me understand how sly Nancy was. From bluffing her way into journalism to bribing prison guards to set prisoners free, Nancy was known to be very cunning. This also helped me comprehend why she was able to elude capture six times.

FitzSimons, Peter. "The White Mouse Who Roared." *The Sydney Morning Herald*, August 9, 2011. Accessed May 8, 2018
<https://www.smh.com.au/world/the-white-mouse-who-roared-20110808-1ij2o.html>.

This was a newspaper written by Peter FitzSimons. This newspaper helped me understand how Nancy had to gain respect from the 7000 men she was leading. In order to earn their respect, Nancy would challenge them in drinking bouts and showed them, that as a warrior, she was fearless. As Nancy taught them respect, the challenge of leading 7000 men became easier. This newspaper article also showed how Nancy's life after the war was never far from excitement and adventures.

Laville, Sandra. "Resistance Heroine's Last Stand." *The Telegraph*, February 11, 2003. Accessed May 8, 2018.
<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1421652/Resistance-heroines-last-stand.html>.

This source is a newspaper article written by Sandra Laville. This newspaper article helped me understand how recognized Nancy was in London. She was invited to have tea with Prince Charles, Queen Elizabeth, and the Queen Mother. Nancy also has her picture on the wall with other famous guests at the hotel she was staying at. This information was very helpful on giving a better understanding of how people treated like the war heroine she was.

Vitello, Paul. "Nancy Wake, Proud Spy and Nazi Foe, Dies at 98." *The New York Times*, August 13, 2011. Accessed September 13, 2017.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/08/14/world/europe/14wake.html?mcubz=0>.

This newspaper article, written by Paul Vitello, helped me understand that Nancy Wake was a very respected woman who was held in high regard. Because of her outstanding performance during World War II, Nancy was awarded Britain's and the United States's second-highest civilian honor and the highest military honor from France.

Wilsher, Kim. "Farewell to Nancy Wake, the Mouse Who Ran Rings Around the Nazis." *The Guardian*, August 8, 2011. Accessed May 8, 2018.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/aug/08/nancy-wake-white-mouse-gestapo>.

This source is a newspaper article that was written by Kim Wilsher. This source helped me understand how Nancy's life after World War II was never the same. Nancy had a fighting spirit up until her death, causing a few problems with some who verbally disagreed with Nancy's views on the Germans. This source was also very helpful to understand how much of a warrior Nancy was during the war.

Websites

"Biography." IMDb. Accessed December 16, 2017.

<http://www.imdb.com/name/nm1196877/bio>.

This website by IMDb was very helpful in finding quotes. I learned that Nancy regretted not killing more Germans during World War II. I was also informed that Nancy felt bad about killing but had no choice.

Cohen, Jennie. "World War II Resistance Heroine, Savior of Thousands, Dies at 98."

History.com. August 09, 2011. Accessed May 09, 2018.
<https://www.history.com/news/world-war-ii-resistance-heroine-savior-of-thousands-dies-at-98>.

This source was a website article, written by Jennie Cohen. This website helped me understand of how much people appreciated Nancy Wake and what she did during the war. Not only did she receive nine medals from countries around the world, many prestigious benefactors helped pay Nancy's bills in her declining years. This realization gives an understanding of how much people appreciate the work Nancy did during World War II.

"D-Day." History.com. Accessed November 04, 2017. <http://www.history.com/d-day>.
History.com. Accessed November 04, 2017. <http://this-day-in-history/d-day>.

This secondary source by History.com was very informative about D-Day. I learned that D-Day marked the beginning of the end of the Second World War. I also learned that D-Day was the codename for Operation Overlord, which was the largest amphibious military operation in history.

"English Online." World War II | The Causes of the War | Axis and Allied Powers | Economic Problems Before the War. Accessed October 13, 2017.
<http://www.english-online.at/history/world-war-2/causes-of-world-war-2.htm>

In this website article by English Online, I learned the causes and effects of World War II. I also learned the reasons that started the war. This was very helpful because I was able to learn the historical background that Nancy Wake had to fight in.

"Fall Of France." HistoryNet. Accessed December 18, 2017.<http://www.historynet.com/fall-of-france>.

This website by HistoryNet was very helpful in learning more about the war itself. I learned more about the Battle of France, which is also known as the Fall of France. I also learned how Hitler and his troops took over France. This was helpful because it helped me to understand what Nancy Wake was going through as she worked with the French Resistance.

History.com Staff. "Potsdam Conference." History.com. 2009. Accessed October 13, 2017. <http://www.history.com/topics/world-war-ii/potsdam-conference>.

This secondary source by History.com was very critical for me to understand what occurred at the Potsdam Conference where talks about what Germany would have to do after World War II ended. This very helpful because I was able to understand the conflict and compromises Nancy and others had to face after the war.

Morris, Nigel. "History - World Wars: The Special Operations Executive 1940 - 1946." BBC. February 17, 2011. Accessed November 04, 2017. http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwtwo/soe_01.shtml.

This website on BBC by Nigel Morris is very helpful in understanding the SOE. After reading this website article, I learned that SOE agents had to go through gruelling training before actually becoming an agent.

"Nancy Grace Augusta Wake." The Australian War Memorial. Accessed September 18, 2017.

<https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/P332>.

This war memorial was very informative about Nancy's life. I learned more about the details and timeline of her life. The website gave information of how Nancy, slowly but surely, got involved World War II.

"Nancy Wake." *Gale Biography in Context*, Gale, 2011. *Biography in Context*, link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/K1650007974/BIC1?u=pioneer&xid=5458f90f
Accessed 11 Sept. 2017.

This website informed me of Nancy's time in the Resistance. Even though it is very detailed, I learned how Nancy lost her first husband, Henri Fiocca. Even though Nancy was devastated by the execution of her husband, she still did not give up on the war with the Germans. This source also helped me to realize how determined Nancy was to stop the Germans.

"NZEDGE Legends - Nancy Wake, Resistance Fighter - Warriors." NZEDGE. March 18, 2016.
Accessed September 22, 2017.
<http://www.nzedge.com/legends/warriors/nancy-wake/>.

This secondary source sheds light on how Nancy cycled 500 kilometers in 71 hours to replace codes her wireless operator had been forced to destroy. I also better understood the physical, mental, and emotional hardships Nancy felt during the war, especially after she lost her first husband and had many tough missions in front of her, including cycling the 500 kilometers.

Russell, Shahan. "Nancy Wake - They Called Her The "White Mouse" - Incredible Allied SOE Agent of World War Two." WAR HISTORY ONLINE. September 21, 2017.
Accessed May 09, 2018.

<https://www.warhistoryonline.com/instant-articles/mouse-threatened-germans-france.html>.

This source was a website written by Shahan Russell. This source was very helpful when trying to understand how Nancy felt of her husband's death. The article explains how Nancy felt guilty and blamed herself for Henri's death - something she would have to live with forever. This helped me understand more of how the war had a negative effect on Nancy.

"Special Operations Executive (SOE)." History By Zim. November 12, 2016. Accessed December 18, 2017. <http://www.historybyzim.com/2011/06/soe/>.

This source gave me information about how the SOE was involved in World War II. I also learned the contributions of the SOE. This helped me to better understand what the SOE did as Nancy was working with the French Resistance.

"The White Mouse : Nancy Grace Augusta Wake (Mrs. Forward)." The White Mouse; our most decorated female. January 28, 2004. Accessed February 05, 2018. http://diggerhistory.info/pages-heroes/white_mouse.htm

This secondary source was exceptionally helpful. It gave many pieces of information, but the section on Nancy Wake's involvement in the war was the most helpful. It helped me understand specifically and in detail of what Nancy Wake did during the war.

Trueman, C. N. "Special Operations Executive." History Learning Site. May 18, 2015. Accessed December 18, 2017. <http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/world-war-two/resistance-movements/special-operations-executive/>.

This website gave me information about the SOE program and how it came to be.

This helped me understand how the rise of the SOE helped the Allied forces to win World War II.

"United States History." D-Day, the Battle of Normandy. Accessed November 10, 2017.
<http://www.u-s-history.com/pages/h1749.html>.

This website gave me information about when the Battle of Normandy started and ended and what happened during that battle. I learned how Nancy Wake participated in events such as D-Day and the Battle of Normandy.

"What Were the Causes of World War II?" History. May 25, 2017. Accessed February 17, 2018.
<https://www.historyonthenet.com/what-were-the-causes-of-world-war-ii/> .

This website by History on the Net covered the topic of World War II and the events that cause the war to take place. The article gave examples of different events and how they contributed to the start of the war. From this article I learned that some of the causes came from the Treaty of Versailles and the ideas of expansionism. This source helped me develop the introduction or the beginning of my paper.

"Who is Nancy Wake? Everything You Need to Know." Childhood, Life Achievements & Timeline. Accessed September 14, 2017.
<https://www.thefamouspeople.com/profiles/nancy-wake-6975.php>.

This website page by The Famous People was very informative. It gave me facts on Nancy's life, such as where she was born and where she died. Even though this source was not very detailed, it gave me some crucial facts that I needed.