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The Evolution of Hanne Wassermann's 'Gymnastik Methode' in Vienna's Golden Autumn

Patricia Vertinsky  and Aishwarya Ramachandran 

School of Kinesiology, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada

ABSTRACT

Hanne Wassermann's contributions to teaching gymnastics and body culture during Vienna's interwar period took place within the rich contexts of ongoing developments in radium research, psychology, physiology and anatomy, and gynecology. This paper explores the movement theories she developed for her classes as well as the ways in which she distinguished her teaching from other renowned female physical culturalists of the time. In *'Tägliche Gymnastik'*, a workbook on daily gymnastics that Hanne co-edited with Jewish gynecologist Oskar Frankl in 1934, and other published and unpublished manuscripts, she described the psychological theories supporting her *'Gymnastik Methode'*—mainly the principles of Gestalt psychology learned from psychologists Karl and Charlotte Bühler at the Vienna Institute of Psychology. She was able to tap into a remarkable network of associates and acquaintances, including celebrated physicians, scientists, movie stars, multi-millionaires, and royalty—and use their influence and status to popularize and begin to commercialize her *'Gymnastik Methode'*, as well as to assist her escape from Vienna following the *Anschluß Österreichs* (Annexation of Austria) and develop a successful career in massage and remedial gymnastics in North America. She took with her copies of *'Tägliche Gymnastik'* and the as yet unpublished *'Methode'* which became important supports to her future livelihood in North America.

KEYWORDS

gymnastics; Vienna;
fitness; Jewish; interwar

In October 2018, the Rare Books section of the University of British Columbia library was offered, for a significant sum, a large and eclectic collection of documents including a valuable set of photographs by Trude Fleischmann, generally recognized in her time as one of Vienna's leading female portrait photographers. What was particularly interesting about these photographs, taken in Vienna during the first heady decades of the twentieth century was their subject—Hanne Wassermann, a rather beautiful, scantily clad young woman demonstrating a variety of exercise poses and routines. The photographs (see [Figure 1](#)) often depicted her on the tips of her toes, holding a rubber ring with swinging and curving movements—movements reminiscent of what Hillel Schwartz has described as the new kinaesthetic of

CONTACT Aishwarya Ramachandran  aishwarya.ramachandran@protonmail.com  School of Kinesiology, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC, Canada.

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Figure 1. Photograph of Hanne Wassermann taken by Trude Fleischmann.²

the twentieth century with its ‘loving accommodation of the force of gravity, fluid movement flowing out of the body center, freedom of invention and natural transitions through many fully expressive positions.’¹

Sorting through the documents that had been carried away in several garbage bags by Wassermann’s New York executors following her death in Vancouver, Canada in 1986,³ it was evident that Hanne Wassermann had been deeply involved in physical culture developments in Vienna during her adult years until her escape from Hitler’s Nazis in 1939.⁴ According to personal letters, bills and advertisements for her gymnastic school, as well as notes and lectures found in the carefully collected remnants of her former life in Vienna, she had promoted a well-organized system of health, beauty, and physical wellbeing for girls and women in her classes through a series of therapeutic ‘daily’ exercises. Documents in sections of the substantial archive include a variety of articles in Austrian newspapers and popular European magazines regarding fitness advocacy and ideas on personal training, sports, and appearance that Wassermann taught, wrote about, and promoted in lectures, class notes and pamphlets. Beauty, she opined in a number of these documents, was not accidental, but required determination, practice, and incentives to follow her carefully designed ‘*Method*’ with its sets of daily exercises. The extensive clientele she built up included numerous well known and wealthy women (and some men) from elite circles in Vienna and other European cities in the years leading up to her flight from Austria to London, and onward to New York, California, and eventually Vancouver, Canada in 1943.

Our purpose in this paper is to examine Hanne Wassermann's considerable contributions to body culture during Vienna's interwar period, a time seen as a crucial yet overlooked period of Viennese modernism which was marked by a particular fascination with the body.⁵ We take a close look at the development of her '*Methode*' (Hanne Wassermann's Method), which she promoted in numerous unpublished and published articles and manuscripts as well as the accompanying '*Tägliche Gymnastik*' (Everyday Gymnastics) pamphlet, which she co-authored with well-known Jewish gynecologist Oskar Frankl in 1934. We situate her efforts within the rich contexts of ongoing developments in radium research, psychology, physiology and anatomy, and gynecology in Vienna during these years and explore the movement theories she adopted and used as well as the ways in which she distinguished herself from other renowned female physical culturalists of the time. We pay special attention to how she was able to tap into a remarkable network of associates and acquaintances—from celebrated physicians and scientists to movie stars to multi-millionaires and royalty, many of them Jewish—and use their influence and status not only to develop, popularize, and indeed commercialize the Wassermann '*Methode*' but eventually to escape Vienna following the *Anschluss* and develop a successful career in massage therapy and remedial gymnastics in Canada.

Hanne Wassermann's Early Life: Vienna's Jewish Community at the Fin de Siècle

Born in Vienna in 1893 to Rudolf and Hedwig Hermann (né Heller), Hanne, or Johanna as she was named by her parents, grew up in a relatively prosperous Jewish community which had been given civic equality by Emperor Franz Joseph in 1867, thus removing former barriers for Jews in the Austro-Hungarian empire to teach and to own property.⁶ 'I will tolerate no *Judenhetze* in my empire,' the Emperor had said, '...I am fully persuaded of the fidelity and loyalty of the Israelites, and they can always count on my protection.'⁷ Indeed, the very structure of the Habsburg monarchy at the time allowed Jews a certain degree of latitude to demonstrate their Jewish identity within the larger culture. In a number of respects, they could be viewed as Austrian by political loyalty, German by cultural affiliation and Jewish in an ethnic sense. At the same time, there was plenty of evidence that anti-Semitism remained part of everyday life in Vienna.⁸ At the turn of the twentieth century the incoming Mayor of the city, Karl Lueger noted with foreboding for the future that 'Jew-baiting is an excellent means of propaganda and getting ahead in politics.'⁹

Hanne's father was an architect, her mother a homemaker, and as a young girl she and her sister appear to have lived among a tolerated and relatively emancipated group of Jews working in a liberal bourgeois German speaking society. Hanne was among the second generation of these Jewish migrants, many of whom dominated the press, the theatre, literature, and art, as well as social organizations. At the turn of the twentieth century for example, seventy-one percent of financiers, sixty-five percent of lawyers, and fifty-nine percent of doctors in Vienna were Jewish,¹⁰ one of whom Hanne would marry in 1914. Indeed, it could be surmised that Hanne

spent her formative and early adult years in what has been called ‘Vienna’s golden autumn’ – described by Hilde Spiel as those magical decades between 1898 and 1933 that spawned a flowering of talent and Jewish regard for German cultural achievements, especially the arts.¹¹ Of course, the fragility of that democracy, the catastrophe of the WWI years and the burdens of the Versailles treaty of 1918, along with its turbulent dissolution between 1930 and 1933 challenge that view.¹² It seems unlikely that Hanne’s father was part of the early Secessionist wave of artists and architects who gained fame following 1897 as the Vienna *Jugendstil*, with the demand that new forms of art might penetrate every corner of life.¹³ Nor is there evidence of a particularly strict Jewish upbringing. While Hanne’s birth registration in the Jewish book was found among her belongings, there is also a baptism document concerning her conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1938 at a church in Vienna’s 8th district (as well as a certificate of membership in the ‘Cenacle Crusade of Prayer’—associated with a Catholic church in Vancouver decades later). Of course, this was hardly surprising due to the urgent mass conversions of many Jews to Christianity in the years leading up to 1938 in a vain attempt to avoid the growing Nazi atrocities toward Jews. With the rise of Austrian nationalism and anti-Semitism during the interwar period, many Viennese Jews, including Hanne, downplayed their Jewishness as they increasingly participated in public life. Indeed, growing numbers of Jewish women actively contributed to both Viennese modernism and to Jewish culture through women’s movements, social work, journalism, literature and the fine arts.¹⁴

Growing Up in Vienna; Hanne’s Early Education

As a girl, Hanne studied at ‘Hermine Brabbées Civic School for Girls’, a private school which offered an education for people pursuing jobs in the commercial or trade sectors rather than for those planning to get a university degree (which, in any case, was not available for women until 1897 in philosophy and 1910 in medicine). From 1912-1914, she enrolled in the K.K. Graphic Arts Teaching and Research Institute (*Graphischen Lehr und Versuchsanstalt*) in Vienna to study portrait photography, freehand drawing, chemistry, commercial/business math, and writing. It was an opportunity that had been newly opened to women in 1908 and Hanne would become part of a trend in which a number of women pursued careers involving photography which, as a relatively new commercial media, had become comparatively easy to enter.¹⁵

Her time at the school overlapped by at least one year with another pupil, Trude Fleischmann, who studied there for three years before becoming an apprentice photo-finisher in the studio of well-known portraitist Dora Kallmus, and following that founding her own studio in 1920. Hanne and Trude became close friends, with Hanne often posing as a model for Trude (including at least one nude photo taken in the early 1920s). When Hanne opened her gymnastic school in the heart of Vienna in 1927, it was Trude who provided the photographs for her publicity materials such as posters and cards. Indeed, the boom in photography paralleled the growth of magazines and artistic portraits and a growing trend in which a number of Jewish women pursued a career in the arts, fashion, gymnastics, and dance.

Trude, for example, became one of Vienna's leading portrait photographers soon after opening her own studio at the age of twenty-five. Her work focused particularly on artistic portraits of female celebrities in opera, music, dance, and theatre, often with an erotic focus. Indeed, her studio became a gathering place for Vienna's cultural elite, and it seems entirely possible that Hanne met some of her prospective wealthy clients at those gatherings.¹⁶

Hanne's Marriage, Widowhood, and Efforts to Make a Living

In July 1914, Hanne married Dr Gustav Wassermann, a gynecologist, and claimed that she assisted him in his job, learning about one of his special interests in post-partum exercises for women.¹⁷ It was a civil marriage, and in one of her unpublished manuscripts entitled simply 'Physical Education', she wrote about how his work stimulated her growing interest in exercise and her regret that she had been kept from regular exercise when young due to a sickly early childhood and a number of serious surgeries. Her marriage, however, lasted only six months. Gustav Wassermann died in early 1915, which, according to Hanne's notes and his death certificate was related to chronic inflammation of the heart muscle. Whether her husband's army experiences contributed to his ill health was not clear. His unexpected and untimely death brought on a situation, Hanne realized, that required her to 'step up her game' and find a job to make a living. Familiar with Vienna's General Hospital she first joined the Radium Institute to work as a nurse where, as Maria Rentetzi has documented, a surprising number of women were involved in radioactivity research.¹⁸

The Radium Institute was led at the time by Dr Guido Holzknecht, a young doctor who had become so interested in Roentgen's discovery of the x-ray in 1895 that he had published a well-received textbook on the potential uses and applications of radiation in managing disease.¹⁹ His clinic at the General Hospital (*Allgemeines Krankenhaus*) of Vienna was one of the largest and most up to date physical and therapeutic laboratories for x-ray experiments and treatment in the world at the time. Once Hanne had gained some experience working there, she offered to help out at the *K.U.K. Reservespital Nr. 1, (Stiftskaserne)* supervised by Professors Haudet and Robinson.²⁰ Due to a shortage of doctors, many of them likely conscripted for WW1 work with the troops, she was needed to assist in the wards while also using the opportunity to learn more about anatomy from Professor Julius Tandler. As Dean of the Medical Faculty at the University of Vienna and head of interwar Vienna's Welfare Office, Tandler was not only a leading anatomist but an architect of the Austrian welfare state promoting family planning and marital therapy (while also advocating a string of eugenic policies). This fascination with pathological anatomy in Viennese culture at the time, notes Alys George, meant that health and hygiene initiatives foregrounded the body with a centrality perhaps unmatched anywhere else at the time, and certainly sustained the growing enthusiasm for gymnastics and body reform.²¹ Hanne would not know then that as a Jew, Tandler felt it necessary to leave Vienna in 1933, fleeing first to China and then to Moscow where he continued his work on public health and hospital reform until his early death in 1936. What she did realise at the time, however, was that working as a nurse where x-ray treatment was involved was likely to injure her health. Exposure

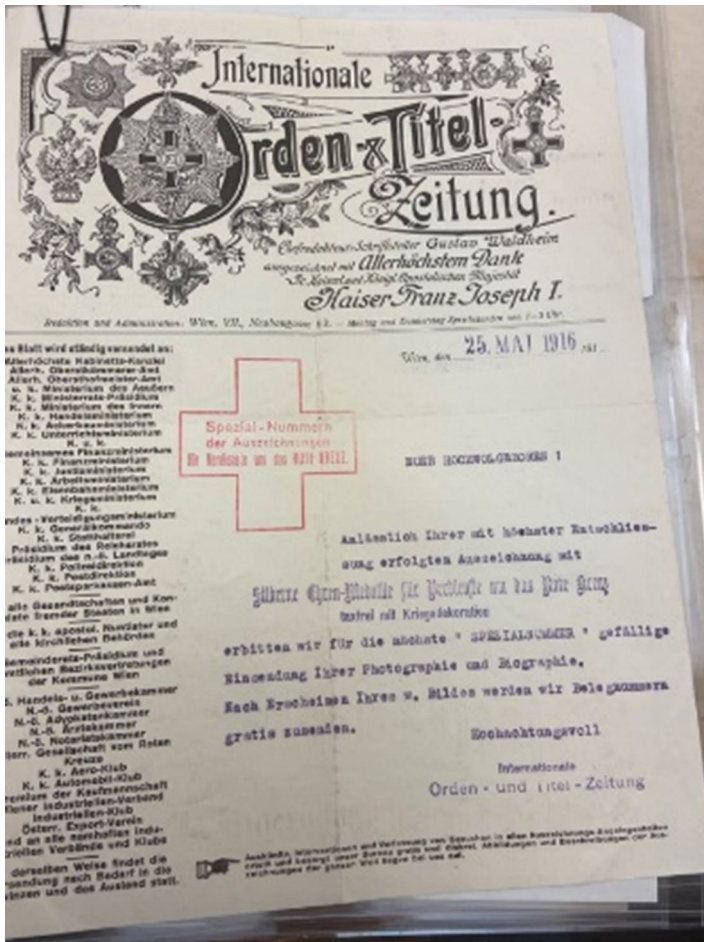


Figure 2. Hanne’s awards for ‘services to the Red Cross.’²⁴

to the medical applications of x-rays (sometimes called ‘the new photography’) was increasingly understood to be problematic, for while therapeutic x-rays became more and more the standard of care for malignancies, they also increased the risks of radiation to technicians as well as patients.²² Indeed Dr. Holznecht at the Radium Institute would die rather horribly from the effects of radiation through skin lesions which developed into carcinomas and caused the loss of his hands. Hanne thus set about finding a new job while participating in a variety of public health initiatives, for which she was rewarded with a medal from the Red Cross Society (see Figure 2). One offer of work in the hospital’s sanitarium needed her to teach Swedish corrective gymnastics to patients, requiring her to take lessons from a ‘Mensendieck’ gymnastics teacher.²³ The experience helped her realize how relatively untrained in exercise systems she was and encouraged her to take the exams newly required by the Viennese State School Ministry for gymnastics teachers, even while insisting that she believed exams were not necessary in the making of a good teacher.

Exercises according to the Mensendieck system, she realized, were recognized as a good foundation for teaching, though she was already developing her own ideas

about the promotion of daily exercises and beauty routines. Once she passed the necessary official exams, she was able to teach gymnastics at several private schools for girls while also taking on private students. It was not long before she was able to open her own school of gymnastics on *Graben 26* in the heart of Vienna, and this initiative was accompanied by the organization of a growing variety of summer school classes in Paris, Berlin, Graz, and especially on the island of Brioni, the Austrian Riviera's playground for European royalty and the ultra-rich. There she mingled with a number of high society and well-endowed women and men, many of whom became pupils in her exercise, gymnastics, and swimming classes, and some of them life-long correspondents.

Hanne Wassermann, the New Modern Woman, and the Foundations of Her 'Methode'

The ideas for Hanne's gymnastic system were deeply embedded within the efflorescence of physical culture systems and approaches popular in Europe in the first decades of the twentieth century. Indeed, a wide variety of physical culture movements reached their peak during these years, in no small measure because of the modernist preoccupation with the body (a preoccupation characterized by the desire to intervene in the body through techniques which could be biological, mechanical and/or behavioral.)²⁵ European systems of gymnastics such as those of Friedrich Ludwig Jahn and Pehr Henrik Ling had already made a profound impact on approaches to physical culture. Jahn, who invented the system of German *Turnen* or German gymnastics in the early nineteenth century, considered his movement system critical in helping mold German manhood with the aim of unifying and strengthening the nation. Ling's Swedish gymnastics' system, also oriented toward national revitalization, was a carefully organized system of therapeutic exercises designed to maintain posture and functional health. Both systems and their derivatives found their way throughout Europe and North America, to be incorporated into school, college and community physical training and physiotherapy schemes in a variety of ways.²⁶

Gymnastic systems, however, were not only purposive; they could also be expressive and the early decades of the twentieth century saw a nudging aside of Ling's remedial gymnastics in a search for expressive movement. This was characterized by a desire for the aesthetic reformation of the body with a special focus upon rhythmic stretching and swinging techniques increasingly popular among women.²⁷ Georg Simmel, for example, saw rhythm as one of the decisive facets of modernity, where the desire to counter neurasthenia gave way to a whole array of reform movements designed to awaken the body's natural rhythms and swinging movements.²⁸ At the heart of this new enthusiasm for expression through gesture, modern dance and rhythmical movement were the ideas of François Delsarte, Émile Jaques-Dalcroze and modern dancers such as Rudolf Laban and Isadora Duncan.

In Vienna, the Wiesenthal sisters, Rosalia Chladek, Gertrud Bodenweiser and others championed their particular approaches to and styles of *Ausdruckstanz* during the 1920s, driven primarily by the desire to distance themselves from the traditional content and aesthetics of classical ballet. Grete Wiesenthal, one of free dance's earliest

proponents, had a 'typically Viennese' style of choreography and performance which bore a particular resemblance to the art and design of the *Jugendstil* movement. Her audiences said they appreciated the sweetness and charm of her rounded, flowing movements. Bodenweiser, who, like many other Jews, was forced into exile in 1938, developed an interdisciplinary style combining gymnastics, classical ballet, acrobatics, jumping, tap dance, and expressive dance with music. Her choreography sought to unify the techniques of Delsarte, Dalcroze, and Laban, and she collaborated with well-known cinematic and stage directors Max Reinhardt and Karlheinz Martin to develop special performances such as the *'Dämon Maschine'*.²⁹ These efforts to reach into physical education and expressive dance and gymnastic practices in varied and lasting ways opened new artistic paths, especially for girls and women, and facilitated bold, and reorganized forms of physical development and expression. As Robin Veder describes the growing movement, 'two modes of embodiment, disciplinary efficiency and emancipatory expressiveness co-existed and were even united within this specific body culture praxis.'³⁰ Intertwined with numerous life reforms around physical culture focused upon fashion, beauty, personal hygiene, diet, as well as new forms of recreation, these new 'practices of self' became widely celebrated as emblems of modernity.

This new modern woman, epitomized by Hanne Wassermann, increasingly sought out dance, gymnastics, expressive and purposive physical activities and sporting opportunities, wore practical (and fashionable) clothing, and demanded greater access to leisure pursuits and public spaces. Hanne was careful to point out to her pupils, however, that while expressive gymnastics could helpfully stimulate movement through simple rhythms, the generation of 'arbitrary images of imagination in the student (sadness, joy, longing, etc.)' might lead to 'neurotic' behaviour. The purpose of gymnastics, according to Hanne, lay in their ability to serve the 'needs of life and the life requirements of man...to be a help and not a luxury'. 'Movement effort', she claimed, was necessary for the 'purposeful actions of life', not to express 'great feelings'. Thus, expressive dance, which she felt 'artificially evoked suggested experiences that lacked any realistic basis', was, 'unpleasantly exhibitionist' as a gymnastic method and resulted in inefficient, non-economical movements.³¹

Purposive Movement: Drawing from the Mensendieck's System of Functional Exercises

Bess Mensendieck's system was a particularly important contribution to early twentieth century Viennese body culture movement and to the foundations of Hanne's *'Methode'*.³² Observing how the study of Classical Greek sculpture helped focus attention upon anatomical structure, Mensendieck decided to study medicine in Paris and Zurich. Simple people living in non-urban settings, she wrote, seemed to have a more natural posture, which she held to be equivalent to those she saw in classical Greek sculptures.³³ She was also fascinated with new studies in electricity which held out the possibility of stimulating muscular activity and unlocking human energy through the use of the machine.³⁴ Indeed electricity's credibility as a therapeutic and energy promoting agent derived from an emerging tradition of professional scientific experimentation including water cure and Galvanic belts or rings.³⁵ Energy

theorists came to view the body as infinitely improvable, hence the idea that it could be altered by applied energy and manipulated through external forces became an increasingly acceptable proposition in fashionable health spas and hydropathic institutes across Europe as well as North America.

Mensendieck's System of Functional Exercises, which she established across Europe as well as in the United States, offered a set of somatic practices designed to help realize the self-determination of women through a subjective method of bodily education.³⁶ Her model for training middle class women's bodies rested on the notion that the body could be understood as a culturally malleable construct within a patriarchal and increasingly urban context. Her system also had a clearly eugenic goal focused upon building up fit mothers for the future. In *'Körperkultur der Frau'*, Mensendieck specifically focused her movement instructions for women upon posture, balance and muscle control.³⁷ 'Thoughts guide movements' was her central principle; hence one needed to visualize each movement before executing it, piece by piece, to create a powerful tool for improving postural habits. In a sense, her system could be seen as a marriage of advocates of muscle with defenders of artistic grace where the goals of muscular efficiency and expressive grace came together to contribute to both dance and physical education.³⁸ These ideas were likely the initial motivational source of Hanne's approach to organizing gymnastics classes, given that she had already studied them for her earlier teaching jobs.

Hanne's 'Methode' Combining Psychology with Gymnastics

One can see, in the materials of Hanne's developing gymnastic method, how her teaching approach was not only shaped by her Mensendieck training but also fashioned by her training and experience in photography, and through the knowledge and skills about anatomy and body function she had learned from medical colleagues during her work in the Vienna hospital and the Radium Institute. Just as in Mensendieck's system, Hanne's lesson notes explained how her system was a 'machine for liberation'—a way to manage bodies damaged by corsets and narrow shoes, poor work posture, bad diet, and lack of exercise - all habits of everyday life which eroded body efficiency.³⁹ 'Slumping and fat equal sloth and stupidity', Mensendieck had complained. 'Grace could be acquired through science.'⁴⁰ Hanne disclosed similar sentiments in her own lesson plans and theoretical discussions of her system, although she did not require her students to pose in the nude. And while she was clear that her own introduction to the teaching of gymnastics began through Mensendieck's physical culture system, Hanne was also keenly aware of some of its detractors in Germany and Austria. Hedwig Hagemann, for example, who had studied at one of Mensendieck's training schools introduced a series of whole-body swinging exercise and dance like movements into her own system that became very popular in Vienna, as well as elsewhere in Europe. Hagemann's particular ambition was to modify Mensendieck's gymnastic system from what she viewed as 'a luxury for well to do women' into a support for ordinary women struggling with the physical strain of daily work. Her approach was to focus upon the whole body rather than singling out specific body parts for attention, and she advocated that women exercise in groups, often in the outdoors and in the nude.

A particular feature of Hagemann's gymnastics was the performance of movements on tiptoe designed to intensify contraction and release rhythms, often performed besides lapping water. It was an approach clearly favored by Hanne who frequently used a rubber ring to great effect in stretching, contraction and release movements in her own teaching.⁴¹ She copyrighted this symbol of her gymnastic system; the picture of a rubber ring, red with a white stripe, was portrayed on posters advertising her classes. It was, she claimed, the ideal object for triggering and controlling those movements that corresponded to the basic gymnastic principles—the law of ballistic movement, the demand for uniform use of the entire muscular apparatus, and the principles of movement coordination. It enabled the student to see 'his own mistakes and experience his own progress' by indicating whether the correct movement was being made. If the student did not follow the rules of movement flow, force-economy, poise, and rhythm, the ring, Hanne claimed, 'would not follow the course through the air which the student desires.'⁴² The circularity of the ring drew from the psychologist Wolfgang Köhler's 'conciseness rule', which stated that 'the organism tends to provide the simplest form in each case. The simplest shape is the circle.'⁴³ Physiologically and anatomically, said Hanne, one could achieve the maximum range of motion by performing circular movements.

In the introduction to an unpublished manuscript outlining her gymnastics method '*Methode Hanne Wassermann: Das erste psychologisch fundierte gymnastische System mit Bewegungskontrolle*' (The Hanne Wassermann Method: The First Psychologically Sound Gymnastic System with Movement Control), Hanne described the theoretical thinking supporting her approach. It was, she said, the first psychologically based gymnastic system with movement control based upon the principles of gestalt psychology which she had learned from her numerous discussions with psychologists Karl and Charlotte Bühler. Her plan to organize her gymnastics classes using the perspectives of experimental psychology built upon her developing relationship with the Böhlers who had arrived in Vienna in 1922 to set up the Vienna Institute of Psychology.⁴⁴ As an officer in the German army during WWI, Karl Bühler had become interested in applied psychology and clinical research leading to a Professorship of Psychology in Dresden before his arrival in Vienna as Head of the Psychological Institute. The Institute, the first to be established in a European university, offered an innovative curriculum of experimentation and research methods in child psychology and social psychology. Psychology, Bühler suggested, must be studied in three ways; through observable behavior, inner experience, and mental products, and he famously coined the notion of an 'aha' experience to describe one's realization of making a new connection among hitherto unrelated thoughts.

At his Institute, Karl's primary focus was on movement, with the suggestion that all movement, including the use of rhythm, should convey a sense of pleasure, incentive, and purpose. This introduced the notion of functional pleasure with the release of tension as a motivating force in human behavior. The ideas emerged in the Böhlers' work on child development, especially their observational studies of children's play.⁴⁵ Karl Bühler's book titled the 'Moral Development of the Child' was a critical appreciation of behaviorism, psychoanalysis, and his own experimental ideas on psychology. Criticizing Freud's preoccupation with the specific content of associations he suggested asking how, rather than what, and emphasized how the

pleasurable nature of human movements was inherent in the process of doing.⁴⁶ In other words, Bühler preferred to consider how people desire to function satisfactorily, and fulfil their creative urges, while Freud viewed human behavior through the lens of overcoming psychological crises.

Reading Hanne's copious notes concerning the development of her theories around body movement and gymnastics, one can sense her growing interest in the Böhlers' ideas regarding child development and their detailed humanistic theory concerning the process of living and the course of human life.⁴⁷ It was Charlotte Bühler's views on how a person ought to live one's life appropriately that especially attracted Hanne, leading to her frequent visits at the Institute in Vienna where both Karl and Charlotte were recording detailed observations of daily life.⁴⁸ Charlotte would later write the preface to one of the first anthologies concerning these observational methods of movement and bodily therapy in 1973, reflecting new social demands for more individual creativity and personal responsibility and encouraging a renaissance of the experience concept.⁴⁹

One can also see the reflection of the Böhlers' views (as well as those of Mensendieck) in Hanne's notes for a Radio broadcast in Prague in 1929. 'Dear listener', said Hanne, 'women, girls, old, young, fat and thin, machines make life easier so you need to use your muscles'.⁵⁰ She went on to provide everyday tips for young women to maintain their health, including how to build muscle; how to burn fat in specific places; exercises for the feet and the problems caused by high heeled shoes; how to improve posture and firm the lower back; and how to walk properly. Health, beauty, sport, hygienic relationships, blood circulation and metabolism were all topics of her many talks, and she frequently emphasized the psychological advantages of daily gymnastics such as better mood and feelings of security and self-worth. 'Daily gymnastics are just like brushing one's teeth', she would say, '...don't give up or others will give up on you!' In '*Tägliche Gymnastik*',⁵¹ Hanne and Oskar Frankl (who had the title of extraordinary professor 'Privatdoz. tit. ao. Prof.' for obstetrics and gynecology at the Medical School of the University of Vienna),⁵² maintained that gymnastics should not be understood as athletics or acrobatics, or even as sport, but simply as a way of life, an honest beauty agent for every-day women. 'Gymnastics should only be done once...namely once a day life-long. They should maintain health, preserve harmonious body dimensions, promote blood circulation, burn off fat, strengthen muscles, promote efficient breathing, and be specially adapted to age'. The best clothing for gymnastic exercises, she continued, 'is the Adam costume - and if naked practice is impossible then a very light thin swim dress should be used'.⁵³ In many ways, her advice was similar to that of Bess Mensendieck, where nudity and a beautiful image of the body were tied to everyday tasks in ordinary life, while women were urged to think scientifically about their bodies as machines of liberation (at least, a liberation appropriate for the times.) It was a view that included the essence and value of gymnastics, the right posture, breathing exercises, walking exercises, exercises for the spine, back and torso muscles, exercises for the back and shoulder, chest muscle exercises and more.

Oskar Frankl, who received his medical degree in 1897, was a renowned Jewish gynecologist and 'Associate Professor' at the University of Vienna (a title he received after converting to Roman Catholicism in 1920). He founded and edited the medical

journal ‘Gynaekologische Rundschau’ (Gynaecological Review) and wrote well over a hundred articles and books—including ‘*Physikalische Heilmethoden in der Gynaekologie*’ (Physical Healing Methods in Gynecology) in 1906. He was also a member of numerous medical societies where he lectured and presented his research, including the ‘Society of Physicians in Vienna’, the ‘Vienna Gynecological Society’ and the ‘German Society of Gynecology.’⁵⁴ With Hitler’s rise in the 1930s, however, and believing he was to be removed from his position as professor and expelled from the university, he committed suicide in Vienna on March 18th, 1938—only a few years after he wrote ‘*Tägliche Gymnastik*’ with Hanne.

Teaching Gymnastics to the Ultra-Wealthy: Hanne Wassermann’s Activities on the Island of Brioni

Hanne made a living teaching gymnastics and figure control to a growing audience of well to do clients at her school in Vienna, and in a variety of other European towns and cities where she could find willing clients. She also led summer schools in Paris, Berlin, Graz and on the island of Brioni in the Adriatic Sea, as well as writing numerous newspaper and magazine articles promoting sport and exercise for women.⁵⁵ ‘Madame Wassermann does her best in her gymnastic exercises that are a suggestive form of art, which she knows how to communicate to her many students’, stated an Italian newspaper advertisement for Hanne’s offerings in Brioni (Figure 3), ‘[She] is a true lady of plastic art and her gymnastic method corrects every posture and modifies every line, bringing grace and elegance.’⁵⁶

The island of Brioni, on what was known at the time as the Austrian Riviera, had become a popular summer playground for wealthy socialites from European cities and the United States, and it offered Hanne an excellent opportunity to enrol a number



Al Polo Club.

Gli appassionati dell'aristocratico sport hanno assistito a delle interessanti partite alle quali hanno partecipato i migliori giocatori d'Europa. Tra i giocatori abbiamo notato un bel gruppo di gentiluomini italiani, indice come questo combattuto sport olimpico anche tra noi ad avere i suoi seguaci. Notiamo il conte Emanuele Castellano, l'ing. Giorgio Valerio, il signor Annunzioli, il barone Levi, il signor Ponticelli, venuti qui

giovane americana ed inglese. Per iniziativa del Polo Club di Brioni, hanno avuto luogo una serie di esercizi a cavallo che hanno procurato delle deliziose ore agli interessati. Insieme ai giochi a cavallo si sono svolti dei giochi a piedi ed in bicicletta che hanno integrato lo spettacolo sportivo.

Notiamo nel *riding race*: 1. Miss Melton, 2. Miss Gannon. - *Hall and Basket*: 1. Barone Levi, Miss Orlow, 2. Von de Bonaux Lyon, Mr. Armstrong. - *Cigarette and Umbrella*: Mrs. Melton, Mr. O'Beirne, Miss Gannon, Mr. Vaughan, Mrs. Lonsa, Miss Armstrong. - *Dance, Dancing Hoops*: M. Devrioux, Miss Alton, Capt. Cirillo, Mr. O'Beirne, Miss Bordenau, Miss Jay. - *Medical chairs*: Mr. Gaimme, Hon. de Bonaux Lyon, Mr. Armstrong. - *Boote race*: Mr. Tronck, Miss Braun, Capt. Cirillo, M. Devrioux.

La signora Va'sades di Vienna.

ISOLA DI BRIONI.

Il sole coi suoi dardi infocati ha fatto convergere nello stabilimento balneare brionese tutte le più belle figure dell'aristocrazia, dell'arte, dello sport. Seducentissime figure di donna in artistici costumi o in magnifici pizama rappresentano tutta la gamma della bellezza femminile. Tra i numerosi villeggianti abbiamo notato: conte e contessa Roveda, marchese Salvago Raggi, duchessa di Gramoni, conte e contessa Antonini, barone e baronessa Levi, com. e signora Cini, conte Giulio Barattieri di S. Pietro che ritrae sulle sue suggestive tele le belle di Brioni, conte Emanuele Castellano, marchese Spinola, conte Luigi Barattieri di S. Pietro, colonnello Todeckini, signore Roll, Piva, Brugnotta, Peretti Ser-

Salvo, cap. Oberza, ten. Sangsler, mrs. e miss Clark, mrs. e miss Boardman, mrs. e miss Flaville, conte Schallenberg, signorine Wanda e Vally Toscanini, Mantovani, Arditi.

Tra le azzurre acque dei Canali di Fasanà, e sulla terrazza dello stabilimento di noi suoi esercizi ginnastici che sono una suggestiva forma d'arte, che ella sa comunicare alle sue numerose allieve. Madame Wassermann è una vera signora dell'arte plastica ed il suo metodo ginnastico corregge ogni postamento e modifica ogni linea, apportandovi grazia ed eleganza.

La signora Faber di Berlino.

La signora Regina Roll di Roma.

La signorina Herty Baum di Vienna.

Figure 3. An Italian newspaper advertises Hanne's gymnastics lessons in Brioni.⁵⁷

of well-known clients there during her summer (and sometimes winter) classes at the Hotel Brioni.⁵⁸ Austrian steel industrialist Paul Kupelweiser from Vienna had developed the island into an exclusive holiday resort and health centre in the early years of the twentieth century after hiring well-known German epidemiologist Robert Koch to eradicate malaria from the region.⁵⁹ 'I had the impression that it would be possible to make this clod of earth healthy, fertile and very beautiful in its vegetation with the help of a little understanding, patience, and of course more money', he was reputed to have said.⁶⁰ Favorable climatic conditions combined with Kupelweiser's visionary project and diligent work helped transform the island into an exclusive health resort and following the introduction of a local steamship line from Pula the number of visitors rose dramatically. With the introduction of *Brioni Insel Zeitung*, a tourist magazine celebrating the pleasures of the Austrian Riviera, the island became a popular destination for health and cultural tourism. With the opening of the first indoor swimming pool with heated sea water in the Adriatic, along with five major hotels and numerous luxury villas, the island attracted the Austro- Hungarian upper classes as well as wealthy international visitors. When Paul Kupelweiser died in Vienna in 1919 following WW1, his son Karl further elevated Brioni's tourist industry by adding exclusive golf courses and polo fields – including a zoo.⁶¹

Many of the celebrities listed by Hanne as clients in her summer school classes at Brioni were regular visitors to the island resort and included Lady Louise Mountbatten, Baron Louis Rothschild (coming from the most prominent Jewish family in Vienna), Princess Helene of Greece and Denmark, Austrian born film actress and inventor Hedy Lamarr, and many others (See [Figure 4](#)).⁶² She became

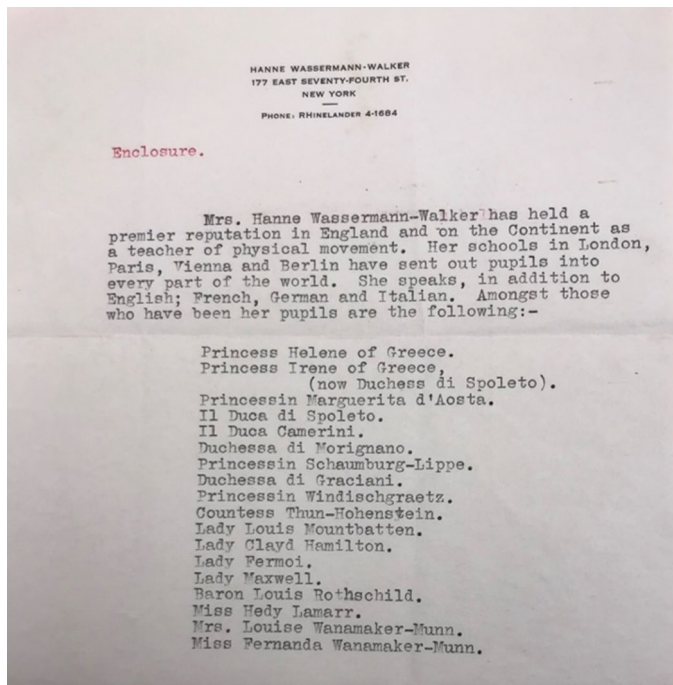


Figure 4. A letter of recommendation circulated listing some of Hanne's wealthy clients.⁶³

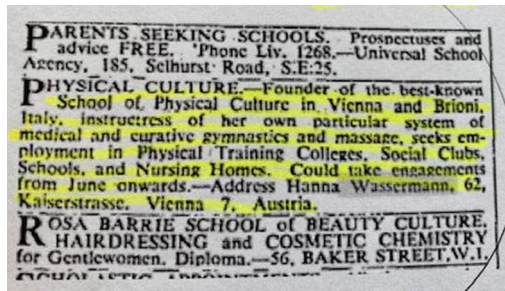


Figure 5. Hanne's advertisement in the London Times (May 19, 1938).⁶⁸

especially friendly with Louise Wanamaker Munn, granddaughter of enormously wealthy Philadelphia businessman John Wanamaker, who was a regular client at her Brioni classes. It was Munn who would become especially instrumental in supporting Hanne's escape from Vienna in 1939 by assisting her with money and letters of recommendation as she sought safety and work in England, the United States and ultimately Canada.

It is idle to speculate what may have happened had the constant process of Jewish emancipation not been abruptly ended with the *Anschluss Österreichs* (Annexation of Austria), says Hilde Spiel in *Vienna's Golden Autumn*. 'Perhaps if Hitler had not crystalized the prejudice and racial intolerance latent among the Austrian population, some acceptable solution could have been found. Jews who were willing to quietly and gradually to merge with the Austrian population might have been able to do so.'⁶⁴ Almost immediately, however, the shouts of '*Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer*' turned into 'death to the Jews' as Austria turned national socialist and Hitler arrived in Vienna to celebrate his victory. Very much the modern woman, an educated and assimilated Jew, Hanne, like many other Jews fearing for their very existence, converted to Catholicism, but was still eventually forced to flee.⁶⁵ Advertising her immediate availability to teach gymnastics in England's female physical education colleges she listed the names of her wealthy clients as references (See Figures 4 and 5).⁶⁶ In 1939, she was allowed to leave Austria for London after lining up for an exit visa, obtaining a criminal record report, and paying a substantial fee.⁶⁷ She took with her copies of her '*Methode*', and '*Tägliche Gymnastik*', both of which would become an important support to her future life and work as gymnastics teacher and massage therapist when she finally arrived in Vancouver, Canada in 1943 at the age of 50.

Notes

1. Hillel Schwartz, 'Torque: The New Kinaesthetic of the Twentieth Century', *Incorporations*, 1992, 71–126.
2. *Hanne Wassermann*, photographs by Trude Fleischmann, n.d., Box 2 File 3 Hanne Wassermann Walker fonds, University of British Columbia Library Rare Books and Special Collections, Vancouver, Canada.
3. At her death her belongings were removed with the permission of her New York executors, Thomas Brunner and Maria Bergson. Although she referred in her will to Maria

- Bergson, the first woman in design to be included in Who's Who in America, as 'her daughter', she died without heirs.
4. Hanne Wassermann-Walker upon her second marriage in 1943.
 5. Alys X. George, *The Naked Truth: Viennese Modernism and the Body* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020). For more on physical activity during the Weimar period, see Dinçkal, Noyan. "Sport Ist Die Körperliche Und Seelische Selbsthygiene Des Arbeitenden Volkes": Arbeit, Leibesübungen Und Rationalisierungskultur in Der Weimarer Republik, *Body Politics: Zeitschrift Für Körpergeschichte* 1(2013), no. 1 (April 17, 2013): 71–97. Dinçkal describes how physical exercises were linked to debates about a 'human economy' during the interwar period, and how physical activity became a 'vital component of population policies aiming at the restitution of the productive capacities of the population'.
 6. By the time Franz Joseph I inherited the Austro-Hungarian empire in 1867 much of Austrian cultural life in Vienna included the product of Jewish talent integrated into the German speaking part of Austria's population and supported by economic and artistic activity.
 7. Edmund De Waal, *The Hare with Amber Eyes: A Hidden Inheritance* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2010), 100-101.
 8. Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews, 1867-1938: A Cultural History* (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1989). Beller suggests that it was the clash within many of the principal cultural figures of their Jewish background and the complexities of Vienna's anti-Semitism that stimulated experimentation in the arts and social sciences. Physical culture was no exception.
 9. De Waal, *The Hare with Amber Eyes*, 100.
 10. Ibid, 91.
 11. Hilde Spiel, *Vienna's Golden Autumn, 1866-1938* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987). At the turn of the 20th century, 9% of Vienna's population were Jewish and there is little evidence of anti-Semitism in Hanne's letters and papers until the rise of Hitler and the expelling of the Jews from Vienna in 1938.
 12. Richard Wetzell, 'The Weimar Republic Reconsidered: Introduction', *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute*, no. 65 (2019), 9–17. Wetzell points out that there is a strange disjuncture in historical writing on the Weimar Republic – on the one hand political histories often tell a dispiriting story of missed opportunities and miscalculations that doomed the Republic to failure from the start. On the other hand, cultural histories of the Republic relate a fascinating story of cultural experimentation in the arts, gender roles and consumer culture. It is important, he says to avoid any one-sided focus.
 13. As a comprehensive 'life-reform movement', *Jugendstil* permeated all aspects of day-to-day life, breaking down the borders between high and low art, and between free art and arts and crafts.
 14. Kerry Wallach, 'Paths of Modernity', in *The Wiley-Blackwell History of Jews and Judaism*, ed. Alan T. Levenson (John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2012), 422–40.
 15. Lisa Silverman, 'Trude Fleischmann', *Jewish Women's Archive* (blog), accessed August 1, 2022, <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/fleischmann-trude>.
 16. Ibid.
 17. The marriage certificate lists Hanne as Jewish but Gustav Wasserman, from *Treibitsch in Mahren* declined to list any religion.
 18. Maria Rentetzi, 'Gender, Politics, and Radioactivity Research in Interwar Vienna: The Case of the Institute for Radium Research', *Isis* 95, no. 3 (2004), 359–93. Between 1910 and 1919 women accounted for sixteen percent of the total number of researchers at the Radium Institute of Vienna; a figure which increased to thirty-eight percent in 1934.
 19. Alexi Assmus, 'Early History of X Rays', *Beam Line* 25, no. 2 (1995), 10–24; H. Dieter Kogelnik, 'The History and Evolution of Radiotherapy and Radiation Oncology in Austria', *International Journal of Radiation Oncology*Biophysics* 35, no. 2 (May 1,

- 1996), 219–226. The discovery of the X-ray has been seen as among the greatest moments in the history of science. Roentgen opened a window on the previously invisible interior of the human body and spawned the development of an entirely new medical specialty—radiology.
20. Maria Rentetzi, 'Designing (for) a New Scientific Discipline: The Location and Architecture of the Institut Für Radiumforschung in Early Twentieth-Century Vienna', *The British Journal for the History of Science* 38, no. 3 (2005), 275–306.
 21. George, *The Naked Truth*.
 22. Matthew Lavine, 'The Early Clinical X-Ray in the United States: Patient Experiences and Public Perceptions', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 67, no. 4 (2012), 587–625. The Institute for Radium Research in Vienna supplied Vienna's general hospital with radium for medical use. The Institute was set up by Carl Kupelweiser, a Viennese lawyer. His biologist son Hans became the first director of the station and the outbreak of WW1 elevated radium to an essential weapon of warfare and industry.
 23. Robin Veder, 'Seeing Your Way to Health: The Visual Pedagogy of Bess Mensendieck's Physical Culture System', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 28, no. 8–9 (2011), 1336–52, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2011.567781>; Robin Veder, 'The Expressive Efficiencies of American Delsarte and Mensendieck Body Culture', *Modernism/Modernity* 17, no. 4 (2010), 819–38. Bess Mensendieck's system first came to initial public attention through her role in teaching at Kaiser Wilhelm XI's court, where he was displeased with the posture of his courtiers. She then developed a network of schools and a series of publications in German, Dutch and English.
 24. *Silver Medal for the Red Cross*, Certificate, 25 May, 1916, Box 3 File 18, Hanne Wassermann Walker fonds, University of British Columbia Library Rare Books and Special Collections, Vancouver, Canada.
 25. Tim Armstrong, *Modernism, Technology, and the Body* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
 26. Suzanne Lundvall and Peter Schantz, 'Physical Activities and their Relation to Physical Education: A 200-year Perspective and Future Challenges', *The Global Journal of Health and Physical Education Pedagogy* 2, no.47 (2014), 1-16, <https://thesportjournal.org/article/physical-activities-and-their-relation-to-physical-education-a-200-year-perspective-and-future-challenges/>.
 27. Massage for example became mainly associated with women in pursuit of shaping the body.
 28. Neurasthenia was a term describing the widespread mental and physical fatigue perceived to be endemic at the turn of the 20th century.
 29. Thomas Kampe, 'Entangled Histories, Part 2: Releasing the de-Generate Body', *Journal of Dance & Somatic Practices* 9, no. 1 (2017), 75–93.
 30. Veder, 'The Expressive Efficiencies', 820.
 31. Hanne Wassermann, *Wassermann Methode* (unpublished). University of British Columbia Library Rare Books and Special Collections.
 32. Bess M. Mensendieck, *The Mensendieck System of Functional Exercises* (Portland, Maine: The Southworth-Anthoensen Press, 1937).
 33. Sander L Gilman, "'Stand Up Straight": Notes Toward a History of Posture', *Journal of Medical Humanities* 35, no. 1 (2014), 57–83; Bess M. Mensendieck, *Körperkultur des Weibes: Praktisch Hygienische und Praktisch Ästhetische Winke* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1907), http://archive.org/details/bub_gb_rd8PAAAYAAJ
 34. A promise of techno-body fantasies that was sustained throughout the 20th century in one form or another. See Carolyn Thomas de la Peña, *The Body Electric: How Strange Machines Built the Modern American* (New York: New York University Press, 2003).
 35. Harvey Green, *Fit for America: Health, Fitness, Sport, and American Society* (Pantheon, 1986), 73.
 36. Bess M. Mensendieck, *Bewegungsprobleme Die Gestaltung Schöner Arme* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1927).

37. Bess M. Mensendieck, *Körperkultur der Frau: Praktisch Hygienische und Praktisch Ästhetische Winke*, 5th ed. (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1912); Bess M. Mensendieck, *Funktionelles Frauenturnen* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1923).
38. Veder, 'The Expressive Efficiencies', 827.
39. Hanne Wassermann, Manuscript draft of *Methode Hanne Wassermann: Das erste psychologisch fundierte gymnastische System mit Bewegungskontrolle*, n.d., Box 1 File 1, Hanne Wassermann Walker fonds, University of British Columbia Library Rare Books and Special Collections, Vancouver, Canada, 12.
40. Carey Dunne, 'The Emperor's New Corsets', *The Baffler*, March 2017, <https://thebaffler.com/salvos/emperors-new-corsets-dunne>.
41. Hagemann declared that the needs of the post WW1 woman required that the 'analytic, dissective approach of Bess Mensendieck dissolve into a synthetic, constructive working method' emphasizing the 'totality of the body in relation to space' rather than the isolated perfection of individual body parts and muscles. See Hedwig Hagemann-Boese, *Über Körper und Seele Der Frau* (Stuttgart, Grethlein & Co, 1927).
42. Hanne Wassermann, Manuscript draft of *Methode Hanne Wassermann: Das erste psychologisch fundierte gymnastische System mit Bewegungskontrolle*, n.d., Box 1 File 1, Hanne Wassermann Walker fonds, University of British Columbia Library Rare Books and Special Collections, Vancouver, Canada, 28.
43. *Ibid*, 8.
44. Karl Buhler's ideas to open psychology to biological perspectives provided a promising beginning for his famous pupil Karl Popper's future attempt to create a mature science linking logic, psychology, and biology.
45. Karl Bühler, *Die Geistige Entwicklung Des Kindes* (Fischer, 1918), 209.
46. Jaan Valsiner, 'The Pleasure of Thinking: A Glimpse into Karl Bühler's Life', in *Thinking in Psychological Science* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 69-95.
47. All life, Hanne suggested, 'is movement of one kind or another', drawing on Bühler's and psychologist Karl Groos's observations of the 'superfluous movements' of animals and children. She criticized Freudian psychoanalysis for failing to prioritize the body, and drew on the German philosopher and psychologist Ludwig Klages' *Lebensphilosophie*, to conclude that movement is an 'end in itself, it is in itself pleasurable'. Hanne Wassermann, Manuscript draft of *Methode Hanne Wassermann: Das erste psychologisch fundierte gymnastische System mit Bewegungskontrolle*, n.d., Box 1 File 1, Hanne Wassermann Walker fonds, University of British Columbia Library Rare Books and Special Collections, Vancouver, Canada.
48. William R. Woodward, "Charlotte Bühler: Scientific Entrepreneur in Developmental, Clinical, and Humanistic Psychology," in *Portraits of Pioneers in Developmental Psychology*, ed. Wade E. Pickren, Donald E. Dewsbury, and Michael Wertheimer, Psychology Press, 2012, 67–87.
49. Charlotte Bühler, *The First Year of Life* (New York: John Day, 1930); Charlotte Bühler, *The Human Course of Life as a Psychological Problem* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1933); Charlotte Bühler, *From Birth to Maturity: An Outline of the Psychological Development of the Child* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1935). Like Hanne, Charlotte Buhler was descended from a Jewish family but was largely assimilated, although that fact would not help her escape from the forced exit of both her and her husband from Vienna in 1938.
50. Hanne Wassermann, Manuscript draft of an untitled radio broadcast, n.d., Box 1 File 9, Hanne Wassermann Walker fonds, University of British Columbia Library Rare Books and Special Collections, Vancouver, Canada.
51. Hanne Wassermann and Oskar Frankl, *Tägliche Gymnastik* (Maudrich, Vienna: Verlag Von Wilhelm, 1934).
52. Herbert Posch, 'Oskar Frankl: Memorial Book for the Victims of National Socialism at the University of Vienna 1938', accessed October 6, 2022, <https://gedenkbuch.univie.ac.at/en/person/oskar-frankl>.

53. Hanne Wassermann, Article draft of *Freiluftgymnastik*, n.d., Box 1 File 9, Hanne Wassermann Walker fonds, University of British Columbia Library Rare Books and Special Collections, Vancouver, Canada.
54. In addition, he was an honorary member of the Belgian Society of Obstetrics and Gynecology, British Congregation of Obstetrics and Gynecology, Royal Academy of Medicine in Ireland and the American Association of Gynecologists and Surgeons. Frankl receiving several awards for his research and clinical efforts—including the German Red Cross Medal. Posch, 'Oskar Frankl'.
55. She published 26 articles in magazines and newspapers between 1926 and 1937, with titles like *Können Sie Schwimmen* (Can you swim?), *Vortraining zum Wintersport* (Pre-training for winter sports), *Sommersport* (Summer Sports), *Freiluftgymnastik* (Outdoor Gymnastics), *Mode und Gymnastik* (Fashion and Gymnastics), *Gymnastik der Hausfrau* (Gymnastics of the Housewife); *Kindergymnastik* (Children's Gymnastics). Hanne Wassermann, Article draft of *Freiluftgymnastik*, n.d., Box 1 File 5, Hanne Wassermann Walker fonds, University of British Columbia Library Rare Books and Special Collections, Vancouver, Canada.
56. *Isola di Brioni*, Italian newspaper article clipping, n.d., Box 1 File 5, Hanne Wassermann Walker fonds, University of British Columbia Library Rare Books and Special Collections, Vancouver, Canada.
57. *Isola di Brioni*, Italian newspaper article clipping, n.d., Box 1 File 5, Hanne Wassermann Walker fonds, University of British Columbia Library Rare Books and Special Collections, Vancouver, Canada.
58. A series of small islands off the coast of Italy, with Brijuni (Brioni) as the most popular.
59. Stella Fatović-Ferenčić, "Brijuni Archipelago: Story of Kupelwieser, Koch, and Cultivation of 14 Islands," *Croatian Medical Journal* 47, no. 3 (June 2006): 369–71.
60. Paul Kupelwieser, The Holiday Paradise of the Belle Epoque. <https://www.dybbasatiemautnermarkhof.com/en/family-chronicle/brioni/brionis-history/>
61. Nataša Urošević, "The Brijuni Islands – Recreating Paradise: Media Representations of an Élite Mediterranean Resort in the First Tourist Magazines," *Journal of Tourism History* 6, no. 2–3 (September 2, 2014): 122–38, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1755182X.2015.1006530>. Following WW2 the island became Yugoslavia's President Tito's summer residence and is now a nature reserve
62. In Hedy Lamarr's letters to Hanne she describes having difficulties with her knees.
63. Hanne Wassermann Walker to Unknown, n.d., Letter of recommendation listing Hanne's wealthy European clients, Box 3 File 18, Hanne Wassermann Walker fonds, University of British Columbia Library Rare Books and Special Collections, Vancouver, Canada. Canada.
64. In 1938 the Jewish population in Vienna numbered 180,000. Spiel, *Vienna's Golden Autumn*, 235.
65. Hanne received a Roman Catholic baptism certificate on April 15, 1938. Her property was confiscated from the shippers' storage warehouse prior to export and the seized items were sold with proceeds going to the Reich.
66. Ad found in the London Times newspaper stating, 'Founder of the best-known school of physical culture in Vienna and Brioni. Instructress of her own particular system of medical and curative gymnastics and massage seeks employment in physical training colleges, social clubs, schools and nursing homes. Could take engagements from June onwards. Hanne Wassermann, 62, Kaiserstrasse, Vienna 7, Austria'.
67. After leaving Vienna it was never Wassermann's intention to remain long in London and her visa was temporary. She had already applied in the US embassy in Naples for an immigration visa which was eventually granted but that quota was filled for the year, so she had to wait for it in London.
68. Katherine Kalsbeek (Head, Rare Books and Special Collections, University of British Columbia) email message to first author, March 14, 2019.

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Notes on Contributors

Patricia Vertinsky is a Professor and Distinguished University Scholar at the University of British Columbia. She is a social and cultural historian working across the fields of women's and gender history with a special interest in physical culture, physical education, and modern dance.

Aishwarya Ramachandran is a PhD Candidate at the University of British Columbia. She is interested in the twentieth century history of the health sciences, physical culture, and the body.

ORCID

Patricia Vertinsky  <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-9253-8091>

Aishwarya Ramachandran  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-1590-741X>