

```

# Linux commands
set prompt = "%c %m>"
set path = (/usr/local/bin /local/bin /bin /usr/bin /usr/X11R6/bin /usr/bin/mh ~$USER ~$USER/bin ~
$USER/bin/X .)
set history = 20

setenv MANPAGER "/usr/bin/less -e"
setenv PAGER "/usr/bin/less -enm"

# used for IDL 5.1
#source /local/rsi/idl_5.1/bin/idl_setup
# use version 7.1
#source /local/rsi/idl71/bin/idl_setup

# use version 8.0
setenv IDL_DIR /local/rsi/idl/idl80/bin/
source /local/rsi/idl/idl80/bin/idl_setup
setenv IDL_PATH \+~/idl:./:~$IDL_DIR/bin:~$IDL_DIR/lib:~$IDL_DIR/examples:~$IDL_DIR/userlib/
Second/OSLO:~$IDL_DIR/userlib/0ld/astro:~$IDL_DIR/userlib/Second/astro
setenv IDL_STARTUP /home/aviso/avi/idl/idl_startup.ib
setenv IDL_DLM_PATH /local/rsi/idl/idl/bin/bin.linux.x86:/home/aviso/avi/idl/ANA

# add support for SSWIDL
setenv SSW /local/ssw
setenv SSW_INSTR "ontology aia hmi eve vso sxt binaries sot nso cds eis ana"
source $SSW/gen/setup/setup.ssw

alias cd 'set old=$cwd; chdir \!*'
alias back 'set back=$old; set old=$cwd; cd $back; unset back;dirs'

alias me cd ~$USER
alias die logout
alias lo logout
alias help man -k
alias ls ls -F
alias l ls
alias ll ls -l
alias f finger
alias fs 'finger | sort | more'
alias ws 'w | sort | more'
alias bin cd ~$USER/bin
alias src cd ~$USER/src
alias h history
alias prot chmod 0600
alias gview ghostview
#alias startx startx -- -bpp 24

setenv IDL_PATH "+~/idl:./:<IDL_DEFAULT>"

# Terminals started from X are not treated as login terminals, so
# .login file is not run.
switch ($TERM)
  case vt100:
    setenv IDL_DEVICE TEK # Tektronix compatible terminal
    breaksw
  case sun:
  case sun-cmd:
  case xterm:
  case xterm-color:
    setenv IDL_DEVICE X # X-Windows compatible terminal
    breaksw
  default:
    setenv IDL_DEVICE NULL # don't know, so disable graphics
    breaksw
endsw

```

of thanks to Dr. John Manahan and his wife, the heroine of this book. The subject of publication was never explicitly discussed between Anastasia and me until after I had signed the contract with Little, Brown, and then, to my astonishment and trepidation, she had already heard the news before I had had a chance to tell her. When I went to Charlottesville, however, to inform Anastasia that several of our conversations were going to be published, she smiled and, for the first time, offered me her hand unbidden. It was a reward I had never expected.

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES

A	The unknown woman/Frau Tschalkovsky/Anna Anderson/Anastasia
A "Interviews"	Interviews of Anastasia at the offices of Curtis J. Mar, summer 1929, in EHF
A "Memoirs"	Edward Fallows's proposed version of Anastasia's "autobiography," with separate designation for "My American Experiences," in EHF
Audlères I	<i>Anastasia, qui êtes-vous?</i>
Audlères II	"L'Inconnue de Berlin"
BA	Serge Botkin Archive
Botkin I	<i>The Real Romanovs</i>
Botkin II	<i>The Woman Who Rose Again</i>
Botkin MS.	"Grand Duchess Anastasia"
EHF	Fallows papers
FA	Gilliard and Savitch, <i>La Fausse Anastasie</i> (The False Anastasia)
FAZ	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>
FOT	Summers and Mangold, <i>The File on the Tsar</i>
Hamburg	Records of the <i>Oberlandesgericht</i>
Horan MS.	"Anastasia?"
IA	Krug von Nidda, trans. Coburn, <i>I Am Anastasia</i> (translation of <i>Ich, Anastasia, erzähle</i>), the 1957 "autobiography" commissioned and approved for publication by Anastasia's attorneys
Lavington Diary	Diary of Faith Lavington, kept at Castle Secon in 1927, transcript (unpaginated) at Hamburg.

records and conversations with the doctors at Dalldorf, EHF; and report of Dr. Karl Bonhoeffer, March 18, 1926, who studied the Dalldorf files and interviewed the nurses before examining A, in EHF and BA.

9. Schwabe report, EHF.
10. Frau Chemnitz (Thea Malinovsky) to Kurt Pastenaci, September 27, 1927, in Rathlef (German 189). Frau Chemnitz was a nurse at the Dalldorf Asylum, where the questioning of A continued.

11. Reich affidavit, EHF.
12. Bonhoeffer report.
13. Protocol of Dr. Wilhelm Völler's visit to Clara Peuthert ("Fräulein P."), April 29, 1927, EHF and Hamburg.
14. Memorandum of Paul Leverkuehn and Kurt Vermehren, October 31, 1938, EHF.
15. Bonhoeffer report, EHF.
16. Reich affidavit, EHF.
17. Redern report, EHF.
18. Police bulletin, IA, 89.
19. Bonhoeffer report, EHF.
20. Hamburg verdict, 31.
21. Fritz Schuricht's protocol of conversations with "Kommissar X," April 29, 1927, EHF.
22. Nogly, 12.
23. Bonhoeffer report, EHF.
24. Redern notes, EHF.

25. Affidavit of Erna Bucholz (nurse), June 29, 1929, EHF. The nurses at the Dalldorf Asylum were interviewed by Dr. Bonhoeffer in March 1926; most had already left statements with Baron Arthur von Kleist in the summer of 1922, as cited. Others given to Edward Fallows.

26. Letter of Frau Chemnitz (Thea Malinovsky) to the *Berliner Nachtausgabe*, March 5, 1927.

27. Bonhoeffer report, EHF.
28. Affidavit of Emilie Barfknecht (nurse), June 12, 1922, EHF.

29. Schwabe report, EHF.

30. Bonhoeffer report, EHF.

31. Chemnitz letter to *Nachtausgabe*.

32. Bucholz affidavit, EHF.

33. Bonhoeffer report.

34. Bonhoeffer report; Schwabe report, EHF.

35. Bonhoeffer report, EHF. The word employed was *Nordlandreise*.

36. Bucholz affidavit, EHF.

37. Barfknecht affidavit, EHF.

38. Hamburg verdict, 30.

39. Bonhoeffer report, EHF.

40. Bucholz affidavit, EHF.

41. Bonhoeffer report, EHF.

42. This was, understandably, one of the most controversial moments of the Anastasia affair — exactly when and to whom A first claimed to be the Tsar's daughter, and which of the daughters, at that. The testimony of Nurse Chemnitz (Malinovsky) on pages 11–12 speaks for itself; for the rest, the nurses only insisted that they had begun to suspect A's identity "before she had received a single visit" from anyone outside the asylum (Bucholz affidavit). It was alleged repeatedly in later years that the nurses themselves first "suggested" to A that she make the claim. There is no evidence to support that contention.

43. Barfknecht affidavit, EHF.

44. Deposition of Dr. Theodor Eitel, May 20, 1959, Hamburg. Eitel treated A during eight months in 1926.

45. Bonhoeffer report, EHF.

46. Bucholz affidavit, EHF.

47. Bonhoeffer report, EHF.

48. Chemnitz letter to *Nachtausgabe*.

49. It has never been established if the magazine in question here was the same one later seen by Clara Peuthert. Nurse Chemnitz (Malinovsky) insisted that the magazine A showed

Peter Kurth

Anastasia, Ein Frauenschicksal . . .

English translation, prepared as affidavit, of above, in EHF

"Summary" of the Schanzkowska affair

Notes of Frau von Rathlef, June 19–July 4, 1925, taken at St. Mary's Hospital, in EHF. All others designated as "loose" and by date where available.

MS.
/Noeggerath
notes

See FA, *passim*.

8. Hamburg (see my Chapter 9).

Testimony of Princess Xenia Georgievna of Russia, given at New York City, March 1959, transcript at Hamburg.

Interview with Ian Lilburn.

Lilburn MS.

Dehn, *The Real Tsaritsa*, 78.

Virubova, *Memoirs of the Russian Court*, 343.

See Rathlef MS.

Buxhoeveden, *The Life and Tragedy of Alexandra Feodorovna*, 342.

FOT, 70.

Ibid., 52.

Vorres, *The Last Grand Duchess*, 254.

Transcribed from endpapers in Trewin, *The House of Special Purpose*.

Ibid., 75.

Bulygin in *The Murder of the Romanovs*, 238–239.

John Terraine, *The Life and Times of Lord Mountbatten* (New York: Holt, Rhinehart, Winston, 1980), 27.

Vorres, 256.

Francis McCullagh, *Prisoner of the Reds* (London: John Murray, 1921), 133.

FOT, 196.

dalldorf

Rathlef notes.

Interview with Prince Frederick Ernest of Saxe-Altenburg. The Netherlands Palace in was used as a city residence by various members of the Prussian royal family, among Empress Alexandra's elder sister, Irene of Prussia. It was A's assumption that if Irene in the city at all she would be here.

Rathlef notes.

A "Memoirs," EHF. In 1932, when interrogated by the police in Hannover, A could recall falling into the water at all. See Hamburg verdict, 28.

Police bulletin, quoted in IA, 89.

Auclères I, 33.

Redern notes. According to the Bonhoeffer report A spoke "an affected Southern German apparently Franconian in origin, possibly Alemannic," but the note is added that "she at pains to conceal her dialect." No other report mentions a German accent of any kind.

The records of the Berlin police, of the Elisabeth Hospital, and of the Dalldorf Asylum appeared along with other documents relating to A's case at the end of World War II. The unit of A's hospitalization is drawn from four sources: Affidavit of Dr. Friedrich Reich, 19, 1929, EHF; notes of Erika von Redern, secretary to Edward Fallows, from the records and the bulletin of the Dalldorf Asylum, May 16, 1929, EHF; report of Captain Solas von Schwabe, June 10, 1922, including his observations from the Elisabeth Hospital

her during the night shift was a "very old" edition of the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* dating from before World War I. Evidently A herself kept the magazine(s) at her bedside.

50. Affidavit of Bertha Walz (nurse), June 17, 1922, EHF.
51. Buchholz affidavit, EHF.
52. Walz affidavit, EHF.
53. Testimony of December 17, 1958, Hamburg; quoted in memorandum of Kurt Vermehren, March 31, 1962.
54. Chemnitz (Malinovsky) to Fallows, April 15, 1929, EHF.
55. Chemnitz letter to *Nachtausgabe*.
56. The scurrilous notion that the Russian Revolution was the work of some "International Jewish Conspiracy" was so widespread in Germany and elsewhere during the 1920s as to require no actual reference in the minds of its adherents. For particulars about the presumed role of the Jews in the murder of the Russian imperial family, see FOT.
57. Correspondence with Fallows, EHF.
58. Rathlef/Noeggerath.
59. Voller protocol of conversation with Clara Peuthert.
60. Rathlef/Noeggerath.
61. Voller protocol, EHF.
62. Schwabe report, EHF.
63. The *Berliner Illustrierte* was dated October 23, 1921 (photocopy in EHF), and recounted the bare outlines of the slaughter of the imperial family at Ekaterinburg, adding that the Tsar's youngest daughter, Grand Duchess Anastasia, was supposed to have escaped. Those who did not accuse the nurses of "suggesting" to A that she claim the identity accused Clara instead. Since Clara left the asylum declaring to have discovered Grand Duchess *Tatiana*, however, it would seem that she acted independently of anything she had read in the magazine.
64. A to Harriet von Rathlef: Report (undated, 1925–1926) of Harriet von Rathlef, BA.
65. Schwabe report.
66. For further information about the Russian emigration to Europe and the monarchist battles, see Robert C. Williams, *Culture in Exile*, the finest and only complete study of the subject in English.
67. Schwabe report, EHF. Captain von Schwabe claimed descent from the Estonian nobility.
68. This phenomenon continued well into the 1930s, providing the basis for the common assumption that A was just one of many "Anastasias." The only claimants who generated any kind of serious attention besides A, however, were Mrs. Marga Boodts, who claimed to be Olga Nicolaievna; Mrs. Eugenia Smith, who claimed to be Anastasia Nicolaievna (see *Life* magazine, October 18, 1963); and the Polish defector Michal Goleniewsky, who claimed to be the Tsarevitch and still enjoys a certain following. For further reading, see FOT, chapter 17.
69. Schwabe report, EHF; statement of Franz Jaenicke, dated "June 1922," EHF; and statement of Jaenicke, February 27, 1956, Hamburg.
70. Statement of Clara Peuthert, June 10, 1922, EHF.
71. The whole account above is taken from Schwabe report, EHF.
72. Schwabe to A, reported by A to Harriet von Rathlef, in Rathlef notes; also in A "Memoirs," EHF.
73. Statement (*Gutachten*) of Sophie Buxhoeveden, Hamburg; also in FA, 34–36.
74. Audères I, 36.
75. Schwabe report, EHF.
76. *Ibid.*
77. Audères I, 36.
78. Protocol (undated) of Baron Arthur von Kleist, attached to the affidavit of Baroness Maria von Kleist, EHF; the Baron's protocols, whose authenticity has been much disputed, are reproduced in FA, 46–51. For the rest of her life A labored under the charge that she had "switched her story around" after Baroness Buxhoeveden's denial of her identity as "Tatiana." Such evidence as there is, however, plainly indicates that at this stage A had no story to switch.
79. Schwabe report, EHF.

80. Arthur von Kleist to director of Dalldorf, March 22, 1922, EHF. Permission for A's release was granted on May 22 by the *Polizeipräsident-Reinickendorf*.

81. Affidavit of Maria von Kleist, June 5, 1929, EHF.
82. *IA*, 96.
83. Maria von Kleist affidavit, EHF.
84. Bonhoeffer report, EHF.
85. Barfknecht affidavit, EHF.

2. "The Story"

1. Audères I, 45. Although one continually hears and reads about the Russian monarchist "hordes" who saw A at the Kleists', neither the Baron, his wife, nor, later, his daughter Gerda ever provided names and exact details. When A later lived with Franz Jaenicke the same phenomenon occurred, i.e., a monarchist "invasion" of Jaenicke's apartment: Jaenicke statement 1956, Hamburg.
2. *IA*, 92.
3. Jaenicke statement 1956, Hamburg.
4. Protocol of Baron von Kleist, EHF.
5. Letter (statement?) of Baron Vassili Lvovitch von der Osten-Sacken Tettenborn, "Berlin, February 1926," Hamburg.
6. Baroness von Kleist affidavit, EHF.
7. Affidavit of Zinaida Tolstoy, May 3, 1929, EHF; Fallows "Entry," April 29, 1929.
8. Baroness von Kleist affidavit, EHF.
9. Testimony of Olly Reim, quoted in the memorandum of Kurt Vermehren, January 31, 1961, Hamburg.
10. Testimony of Gerda von Kleist, November 19, 1965, Hamburg. Transcript prepared by Prince Frederick of Saxe-Altenburg.
11. Baroness von Kleist affidavit, EHF.
12. This was only loosely employed. See Jaenicke statement 1956 and Gerda von Kleist testimony, Hamburg.
13. Jaenicke statement 1956, Hamburg.
14. Gerda von Kleist testimony, Hamburg.
15. Baroness von Kleist affidavit, EHF.
16. The word crops up frequently in conversation with A's friends.
17. English translation in EHF; original (missing) dated May 18, 1923.
18. A used the Russian diminutive, "Verunitchka." A note in pencil (possibly but not necessarily appended by Dr. Schiler) followed the reference to A's speaking Russian: "Suggested to have done so."
19. The special difficulty of reconstructing "The Story" I hope to have made clear in the text. Repeatedly, those who spoke with A about Ekaterinburg and her flight from Russia remarked that she did so only "in a disjointed manner, talking first of one thing and then of another" (Rathlef MS.). Inspector Franz Grünberg, the Berlin police commissioner who managed, after three years, to piece together a fairly intelligible account of A's adventures, still insisted: "I did not get this narrative from her in the above coherent form, but only in rather disconnected fragments over a period of weeks and months. And even then I had to proceed in a most careful way, since in recalling these dreadful experiences she would become indescribably upset and then would break down completely" (Letter of Inspector Franz Grünberg, June 19, 1925, in EHF, hereafter referred to as "Grünberg letter"). In view of this situation and the ceaseless pressure on A's friends to provide a whole and convincing account of her experiences, it is more than likely that some of them attempted to fill in the gaps and thus bound her to a narrative not entirely hers. Her eventual disavowal of every published description of the murder of the Romanovs, her sojourn in Bucharest, and her journey to Berlin may have sprung from confusion, defiance, and resentment as much as anything else, but there is no doubt that during the 1920s she stood by the bare outlines of "The Story" in all its improbability, and as late as May 1982 she remarked to me that she still recalled seeing the body of Alexander Tschaikovsky "in the coffin" in Bucharest. See also Dr. Eitel's report of December 1926: "Regarding the murder and the first stage of the rescue the patient says as good as nothing. To my question, what the flight was like, she gives me a Berlin daily

paper containing an article about her, saying that some of it is true, but much of it is false. She herself cannot yet speak of it" (Eitel report: December 22, 1926, EHF).

53. Rathlef notes.
54. A "Memoirs," EHF.
55. Loose notes of Harriet von Rathlef (December 1925), BA.
56. Protocols of Arthur von Kleist, EHF.
57. Rathlef notes.
58. Quoted in Leverkuhn/Vermehren memorandum, October 31, 1938, EHF. Much is in FA about the boy's ostensible birthdate at the beginning of December 1918, the date being that if A were the Tsar's daughter she would have had to have conceived while still a prisoner with her family at Tobolsk. On balance, there is nothing to include the possibility.
59. Auclères I, 235.
60. This was no more than a rumor, but it found wide currency among the monarchists.
61. Report of Harriet von Rathlef, undated, BA.
62. Rathlef notes.
63. A "Interviews."
64. The "Interviews" with Curtis J. Mar were conducted over a period of two months.
65. Loose notes of Harriet von Rathlef, BA.
66. Many, many attempts, none of them successful or convincing, have been made over the years to identify the Tschaikovsky brothers. These have focused generally on the published lists of the Red guards at the Ipatiev house, on the assumption merely that only one Bolshevik soldier would have been in a position to rescue the Tsar's daughter. A named Alexander to Harriet von Rathlef as being "of medium height," with dark blond hair, a small moustache, and a face "as if carved from stone . . . as if he did not know how to laugh." Serge Tschaikovsky was equally nondescript, while their mother, Maria, was "not tall." And their sister had a rosy, "peasant" face. According to Frau von Rathlef, A did recall seeing Tschaikovsky among the guards at Ekaterinburg, while, according to Edith Fallows, she did: See Fallows memoranda, EHF; and Leverkuhn/Vermehren memorandum, October 1938, EHF. In view of the mysteries, large and small, which attend the true circumstances of the murder of the imperial family, A's various remarks may only be accepted or rejected at face value.
67. Rathlef notes.
68. A "Interviews."
69. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
70. Interview with Tatiana Botkin; also in *Figaro*, January 17, 1958.
71. Tolstoy affidavit, EHF. When, in the 1930s, word spread that Grand Duchess Tatiana surfaced in Poland, A shook her head, saying, "I stood behind her." See testimony of Princess Nina von Osten-Sacken, née von Hoyningen-Huene, quoted in memoranda of A. Rathlef notes.
72. Loose notes of Harriet von Rathlef (December 1925), BA.
73. Rathlef notes.
74. Rathlef MS.
75. Grünberg letter, EHF.
76. Report of Harriet von Rathlef, undated, BA.
77. Rathlef (German 107).
78. Affidavit of Agnes Gallagher, December 22, 1930, EHF. Many fragments of smashed burned jewelry were uncovered by the White army at the "Four Brothers" mineshaft at Ekaterinburg, where the bodies of the Romanovs were ostensibly destroyed. It was possible, under the circumstances, to provide a matching inventory of the remains and the jewelry known to be in the possession of the imperial family.
79. A "Interviews."
80. Grünberg letter, EHF.
81. A "Interviews." A told Harriet von Rathlef that she had always traveled in a first-class apartment, while Serge Tschaikovsky sat elsewhere: Rathlef (German 32).
82. Rathlef (German 32).
83. A "Interviews."
84. Rathlef makes no mention of this, but see IA, 86.

53. Eitel report, EHF.

54. A remark that the Tschaikovsky family always spoke to her in Russian, while conversing among themselves in Polish. See report of Harriet von Rathlef, undated, BA.

55. A "Memoirs."

56. Clara Peuthert to Irene of Prussia, August 23, 1922, Hamburg; also in FA, 52.

57. Schwabe report, EHF.

58. Verdict of the *Landgericht-Hamburg* (the High Court), printed privately, "nicht rechtskräftig."

59. Loose notes of Arthur von Kleist, undated (presumably August 1922), attached to affidavit of Maria von Kleist, EHF.

60. Schüler report, EHF.

61. To list all the published information on the fate of the imperial family and the Sokolov investigation would be next to impossible and is beyond the scope of these notes. For further reading on the subject, see O'Connor, *The Sokolov Investigation*, and, above all, FOT. The lone "eyewitness" to the murder of the imperial family was Paul Medvedev, chief assistant to Yakov Yurovsky, the commandant of the Ipatiev house. All of the other guards who testified for Inspector Sokolov about the circumstances of the assassination based their narratives on hearsay evidence.

62. FOT, 135-136.

63. FOT, 149. The bones recovered at the "Four Brothers" mine were never certified as human.

64. Memorandum of General Michael Constantinovitch Diterichs, April 10, 1919, quoted in memorandum of Carl-August Wollmann, December 30, 1963, Hamburg; also Ian Lilburn to David Clegg, September 5, 1966, in Lilburn's collection.

65. FOT, 103.

66. See Wilton, *The Last Days of the Romanovs*, and Diterichs, *Ubi istvo tsarskoi semi*.

67. Gilliard, *Le Tragique Destin*, 242.

68. FOT, 103.

69. Quoted in FOT, 111.

70. Letter of Alexis Golovin, quoted in *Figaro*, June 8, 1965. According to Golovin, Sokolov himself privately conceded the possibility of the escape of one of the Tsar's daughters, but seemed to have no interest in pursuing the matter further. That the Whites knew about the rumors is evident enough from the suppression of much of the material in the original Sokolov file and the various efforts — which continue to this day — to prove Anastasia's death *specifically*. The common story of her being stabbed to death with bayonets is based on the thirdhand report of Anatoly Yakimov, one of the Red guards at Ekaterinburg, who claimed to have learned about the murder of the imperial family from two other soldiers, who claimed to have watched the crime through a window in the Ipatiev house courtyard: "Of the members of the Tsar's family, only Anastasia was mentioned as having been pierced with bayonets" (see FOT, Wilton, and O'Connor). But why Anastasia? The first reports to filter out of Siberia after the White occupation cited *Tatiana* as the girl who was stabbed during the murder. Colonel Paul Rodzianko, a monarchist officer sent to Ekaterinburg at the request of the Empress's sister Victoria, reported back to London that fourteen bayonet thrusts, "corresponding roughly to the shape of a human body [!]," had been found at "the exact spot" on the floor of the cellar where Grand Duchess Tatiana had died. But when the rumors of Anastasia's escape reached Europe, something else was needed. Thus the identity of the Grand Duchess was switched and the number of stabs increased for good measure to "eighteen." In his excellent and otherwise scrupulous *Romanovs* (New York: The Dial Press, 1981), W. Bruce Lincoln perpetuates this story: "Only slightly wounded, [Anastasia] cried out, more in fear than in pain [?]. Unwilling to bother with reloading their weapons, the guards seized several rifles that stood nearby and calmly bayoneted her to death" (746).

One final example of the Whites' determination to "kill off" the youngest Grand Duchess will suffice. At the "Four Brothers" mineshaft, in June 1919, the Whites uncovered the perfectly preserved corpse of the spaniel "Jemmy," which had been given to Grand Duchess Tatiana by Anna Virubova before the outbreak of World War I. The official explanation was that the dog had been "frozen in ice" at the bottom of the shaft for nearly a year (an absurdity, inasmuch as there was no ice in the shaft for six months out of the year [see FOT 173]). More important, however, is the fact that "Jemmy," overnight, ceased to be described as Tatiana's pet and suddenly became Anastasia's. The story was swiftly concocted that An-

asia had carried the animal down to the cellar on the night of the murder, and the implication is obvious: if the dog was dead, so was the Grand Duchess. No amount of evidence seems able to shake this smart fiction from the heads of otherwise reputable historians.

71. This was Summers's and Mangold's coup, and the chief emphasis of their work. See *FT*, *passim*.

72. FA, 24, and in Wollmann memorandum, December 31, 1963, Hamburg.

73. Testimony of November 19, 1925, Hamburg.

74. Rathlef; IA and FOT all contain representative samples. The largest collection is at Hamburg, with others in EHF. See also the correspondence of Alois Hochleitner with Harriet von Rathlef, BA; and in Rathlef (German 205-212).

75. See as example the statement of Dr. Vladimir Poletycka, May 23, 1929, EHF; and of Anton von Schenk, who saw one of the posters in Russia nearly twenty years later: Testimony July 27, 1965, Hamburg.

76. Testimony of Arthur Rohsé, November 1956, in IA, 69-70.

77. Testimony of General Himitch, March 19, 1958, Hamburg.

78. Julius Holmberg to Harriet von Rathlef, April 20, 1929, EHF.

79. Letter to Prince Frederick of Saxe-Altenburg, October 13, 1952, Hamburg; in FOT 79. S. Bonde had already told this story in 1926. See letter of Herluf Zahle to Serge Botkin, January 24, 1927, BA.

80. Vorres, 177.

81. More than "shame" kept A from approaching the King and Queen. The former Princess Victoria Melita of Edinburgh and Coburg, a sister of Queen Marie, had divorced Emperor Alexander's brother and married Grand Duke Kyril of Russia, who in exile claimed the throne of Emperor. The entire branch became "those Coburgs" in A's mind. See the "questionnaire" prepared in lieu of personal testimony by Herluf Zahle, Danish Minister Plenipotentiary to Berlin, EHF.

82. Loose notes of Harriet von Rathlef (December 1925), BA.

83. See report of Fritz Schuricht, undated (1927), EHF.

84. Paul Ionescu-Voiculescu to Ian Lilburn, July 24, 1968, in Lilburn's collection.

85. Sworn statement of Sario Gregorian, May 4, 1927, in Rathlef (German 233-234).

86. Deposition of Constantine C. Anastasiu, April 8, 1926, BA.

87. Testimony of Lieutenant-Colonel Werner Hassenstein, May 12, 1955, Hamburg.

88. See FOT, *passim*. It is remarkable that throughout her long life and in spite of many attempts to have her expelled from Germany or arrested for fraud, the German government, sooner or later, never failed to come to A's rescue. A letter to Harriet von Rathlef from a Wilhelm Abegg at the Prussian Ministry of the Interior, dated August 29, 1931 (EHF), informs that according to the information the ministry had received, the youngest daughter of the Tsar had indeed escaped Ekaterinburg. A remarked further that the house occupied by the Tschaikovsky family in Bucharest had been situated on a tiny street which (in the protocols of Baron von Kleist) was rendered as "Sventa Vovevoda." An entrance to the imperial German embassy, held by caretakers after 1916, was at Number 56, Sfintii Vovevozi in charest.

89. Letter to Paul Levekuhn, August 27, 1958, Hamburg.

90. Serge Dmitrievitch Botkin to Grand Duke Andrew of Russia, March 7, 1927, Hamburg; see also Rathlef (German 266-268).

91. Affidavit of Ilse-Irene Hoffmann, June 24, 1929, EHF.

92. Rathlef (German 268); also in IA, 216.

To and Fro with the Émigrés

1. Baroness von Kleist affidavit.

2. Quoted in Nogly, 41.

3. Jaenicke statement 1956, Hamburg.

4. Loose notes of Arthur von Kleist, EHF.

5. Baroness von Kleist affidavit, EHF.

6. See IA, 102.

7. Grünberg letter, EHF.

8. See statement of Princess Henry (Irene) of Prussia, in FA, 43; and Grünberg letter, EHF.

9. Grünberg letter, EHF.

10. Irene statement, FA.

11. Jaenicke statement, 1956, Hamburg.

12. Rathlef notes.

13. Rathlef (German 41).

14. Grünberg letter, EHF.

15. Irene statement. To say that there is some question about the extent of Irene's "firm conviction" that A was not her niece is an understatement. Lori von Oertzen, the lady-in-waiting who accompanied Irene to Funkenmühle, later testified that Irene had practically begged A to return with her to Hemmelmark, where, presumably, she hoped to resolve her doubts (see testimony of Eleonore von Oertzen, September 16, 1958, Hamburg). Later on in the decade Irene was deeply anxious to know what other family members thought about A, and before her death in 1953, according to Grand Duke Andrew of Russia, she admitted that she "might have made a mistake and that it probably [was] Anastasia" (see letter of Grand Duke Andrew to Grand Duchess Olga Alexandrovna, February 10, 1955, Hamburg).

16. Prince Frederick of Saxe-Altenburg to Brian Purcell Horan, quoted in Horan MS.

17. Interview with Prince Frederick of Saxe-Altenburg; in FOT, 235.

18. Lillian Zahle to Maria Debagory, January 1, 1927, BA. Mlle. Debagory was the aunt of Tatiana and Gleb Botkin.

19. She was back with Baron von Kleist on October 11 (see Schiler report and protocols of Arthur von Kleist, EHF); A to Jaenicke: Jaenicke statement 1956, Hamburg; Jaenicke to Munich: Notes of Baron von Kleist, EHF.

20. Baroness von Kleist affidavit, EHF.

21. See IA, 111-112.

22. Konrad Wahl to PK, January 30, 1977.

23. Wahl to A, January 20, 1967, left in A's papers.

24. Marie-Louise Hiller, "Mit Frau von Tschaikowsky unter einem Dach," article in the *Berliner Nachtausgabe*, March 21, 1927.

25. Lavington Diary, Hamburg.

26. Rathlef (German 39).

27. IA, 112.

28. A "Memoirs"; Rathlef/Noeggerath.

29. Rathlef notes. A never lost her faith in Rasputin.

30. A "Interviews."

31. A "Memoirs."

32. Rathlef/Noeggerath. "Too dreadful" was A's catchall phrase for anything that upset or displeased her.

33. Jaenicke statement 1956, Hamburg.

34. A "Interviews."

35. Jacoby, *Le Tsar Nicolas II et la révolution*, 381.

36. Protocol of Dr. Wilhelm Völler's conversation with Clara Peuthert, EHF.

37. Notes of Baron von Kleist; Levekuhn/Vermehren memorandum, October 1938, EHF. This story, which is frequently told, was related to me by Prince Frederick of Saxe-Altenburg.

39. Notes of Baron von Kleist, EHF.

40. Notes of Baron von Kleist, EHF; also in Levekuhn/Vermehren memorandum, October 1938, EHF. Zinaida Tolstoy made no mention of the incident in her own affidavit.

41. IA, 99.

42. Statement (in English) of Grand Duchess Olga Alexandrovna, attached to her 1959 deposition, Hamburg; undated, but introduced in evidence during the Berlin trials, and thus written before 1956.

43. Grünberg letter, EHF.

44. Notes of Harriet von Rathlef (December 1925), BA. With this accusation A raised an issue which, many believed, did as much to destroy her chances for recognition as the specter of her missing child. Many are convinced that the lost dossier of Ambassador Zahle (see my chapter 5) contains vital information on the matter: See Zahle "questionnaire," EHF. Interestingly, Baroness Buxhoeveden was the only member of the imperial suite who refused to testify for Inspector Sokolov in Siberia or, later, in Europe. There were awkward attempts to cover for her, the most common being that the Bolsheviks had spared her life at Ekaterinburg.

because they thought she was a foreigner. Says Ian Lilburn: "The even more obviously foreign name of Fräulein Schneider [the Empress's lectrice] did not save the poor woman from being shot."

45. Quoted in a letter of Harriet von Rathlef to Fallows, December 29, 1929, EHF.
46. Letter (statement?) of Baron Osten-Sacken, "February 1926," Hamburg.
47. FA, 38-41. Princess Elisabeth Naryshkin-Kurakin described Sablin as "the fine wretch on an aide-de-camp"; Naryshkin-Kurakin, *Under Three Tsars*, 218.
48. Baroness von Kleist affidavit, EHF; also in *Figaro*, May 24, 1958.
49. Countess Lareinty-Tholozan in *Figaro*, June 30, 1959.
50. Gerda von Kleist testimony, Hamburg.
51. See police *Vermerk*, December 23, 1926, Hamburg.
52. Clara Peuthert to Irene of Prussia, September 24, 1924, Hamburg. A herself had sent appeal to the Princess on August 30 (letter at Hamburg): "Must implore your forgiveness at I did not speak that time at Funkenmühle. Everything came so unexpectedly and you were introduced to me as a strange lady, so that I lost all courage. I entreat you to bring me to my place else, they intend to put me in an asylum or a hospital. Love and kisses, your Anastasia." The members of the Russian imperial family always employed the French spelling of their names when not writing in Russian.
53. Letter to Baron von Kleist, September 21, 1924, Hamburg and EHF.
54. Lori von Oertzen to Baron von Kleist, July 22, 1925, Hamburg and EHF.
55. Rathlef/Noeggerath.
56. Rathlef (German 39).
57. Grünberg letter, EHF.
58. Rathlef notes; Police *Vermerk*, December 23, 1926, Hamburg.
59. Grünberg letter, EHF.
60. The story is discussed briefly in Rathlef; in Botkin I and II; in the *Berliner Nachtausgabe* (April 1927); and in the protocol of Wilhelm Voller of his conversation with Clara Peuthert. The original photograph of A, bearing the penciled inscription, which Clara Peuthert sold to Harriet von Rathlef for thirty marks (Rathlef/Noeggerath), is now in EHF.
61. *New York Times*, February 14, 1928.
62. A "Interviews."
63. Rathlef notes.
64. Affidavit of Cecilie, Crown Princess of Prussia, October 2, 1953, Hamburg.
65. Rathlef notes.
66. Cecilie to Frederick Franz IV, Grand Duke of Mecklenburg, July 1, 1925; quoted in Hamburg verdict.
67. Grünberg letter, EHF.
68. Cecilie affidavit, Hamburg.
69. Grünberg letter, EHF.
70. Grünberg to Fallows, April 28, 1929, EHF.
71. Grünberg letter, EHF.
72. Rathlef and Rathlef notes.
73. Rathlef (English 19).
74. Rathlef meeting with A: Rathlef notes.

The Shadows of the Past

1. Unless specifically noted, all of the material relating to A's first days with Harriet von Rathlef at St. Mary's Hospital is taken from the Rathlef notes.
2. Botkin MS.
3. Testimony of Marie Adèle Amy Smith, December 18, 1965, Hamburg.
4. Smith testimony, Hamburg.
5. Loose notes of Harriet von Rathlef (December 1925), BA.
6. Botkin MS.
7. Curtis J. Mar to Edward Fallows, December 27, 1929, EHF.
8. Lavington Diary, Hamburg.
9. Gitta Müller-Mittler to Fallows, September 5, 1935, EHF.
10. A "Memoirs" ("My American Experiences").
11. Statement of Harriet von Rathlef, undated, BA.

12. Affidavit in lieu of oath ("Eidesstattliche Versicherung") of Harriet von Rathlef, EHF. There are a number of these loose affidavits in the Fallows archive, prepared for possible submission in court.
13. Rathlef to Duke George of Leuchtenberg, April 2, 1927, EHF.
14. Rathlef (German 62).
15. A "Interviews."
16. Rathlef (German 117).
17. Notes of Harriet von Rathlef (December 1925), BA.
18. Rathlef (German 88).
19. Rathlef (German 101, German 30).
20. Notes of Harriet von Rathlef (December 1925), BA.
21. Rathlef (German 137).
22. Notes of Harriet von Rathlef (December 1925), BA.
23. Copies of the reports of Drs. Rudnev ("End of March, 1926"), Nobel ("End of March, 1926"), and Bonhoeffer (March 16, 1926) are held in BA; EHF; Hamburg, and edited in IA. I have cited the IA translations where employed.
24. IA, 162.
25. Rathlef notes.
26. Letter of Dr. Reinhardt to Harriet von Rathlef and Asta Noeggerath (who helped Edward Fallows with his investigation in 1929), April 5, 1929, EHF.
27. This is a total mystery. Fallows obtained copies of the X rays from the Leuchtenberg family in 1929, and had more copies made in Paris that same year. They are no longer in his files. It might be that they vanished with the other documents from the *Amtsgericht Berlin-Mitte* after World War II, but there is no mention of their being submitted in evidence in the Leverkusen/Vermehren memorandum of October 1938. Another set, also missing, had been taken on June 6, 1922, just after A's release from Dalldorf. These were the photographs that allowed Dr. Schiler to conclude: "Earlier, a severe injury of the head took place." See Hamburg verdict and memoranda of counsel.
28. Nobel report, BA and EHF.
29. Bonhoeffer report, BA and EHF. An attempt was made to hypnotize A at Castle Secon on June 28, 1927. It failed miserably. See statement of Dr. E. Ostry in Rathlef (German 254-255).
30. Rathlef (German 91).
31. Vorres, 176. Gilliard appears to have been the one to propagate this "error," which did immeasurable damage. There was, however, a German tutor at the Russian court, a Herr Kleinenberg, right up to the moment of the Revolution. Gilliard's own timetables, now on deposit at the University of Lausanne, demonstrate that Grand Duchess Anastasia had a German lesson every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday from 8 to 9 o'clock in the morning while still at Tobolsk.
32. Statement of Dr. Ludwig Berg, May 10, 1929, EHF.
33. Rathlef (German 176).
34. Lavington Diary, Hamburg.
35. Bonhoeffer report, BA and EHF.
36. Rudnev report, BA and EHF.
37. Nobel report, in IA, 118.
38. A said this to Princess Xenia Georgievna of Russia in 1928; quoted in Horan MS. See also my chapter 9.
39. Nobel report, BA and EHF.
40. Rathlef notes.
41. Affidavit in lieu of oath of Harriet von Rathlef, EHF.
42. A to PK.
43. Bonhoeffer report, BA and EHF.
44. Nobel report, BA and EHF.
45. Rathlef (German 44).
46. Report of Amy Smith, in Rathlef (German 45, English 42).
47. Smith testimony, Hamburg.
48. In her testimony at Hamburg, Miss Smith gave as an example of Count Hardenberg's intransigence the quarrel over the name "Nini." A had said that her mother's sister, Irene of Prussia, had been known as "Nini" in the family. Hardenberg replied that Irene had never

then called "Nini" by the Tsar's children. A's use of the diminutive "Ania" when describing her mother's confidante, Anna Virubova, led Hardenberg to reply not only that "the Christian name is wrong: it should be Anna," but also that Mme. Virubova "was never an intimate friend of the Empress." Later Miss Smith located a copy of Empress Alexandra's correspondence, where, on practically every page, she found some reference to "Ania." Said Miss Smith: "This was the nature of the arguments used against me" (Smith report, Rathlef German 49)).

49. Smith report, Rathlef (German 49–50).

50. Smith testimony, Hamburg.

51. The remainder of the chapter is based on Rathlef notes, except for "*Im Kriege bei uns Hause*": Smith testimony, Hamburg. These were the words A employed to Miss Smith's exact recollection." See also her letter to Baroness Monica von Miltitz, March 10, 1967, in A's papers.

The Family Reacts

1. A "Interviews."

2. Ibid.

3. Smith testimony, Hamburg.

4. For information on the Grand Duke of Hesse's various efforts to secure a separate peace with Russia, see *Die Zeit*, March 27, 1958 ("Weltpolitische Schatten um eine unbekannte Frau"); the memoirs of Sir George Buchanan, *My Mission to Russia* (2 vols., London: Cassel, 1923); Alexandra, *The Letters of the Tsaritsa to the Tsar*, in particular the Empress's letter to her husband of April 17, 1915; IA; and FOT, 236–239.

5. Viktoria Luise, Duchess of Brunswick, *The Kaiser's Daughter* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1977), 101.

6. Cecile affidavit, Hamburg. A's lawyer, Kurt Vermehren, asked the Crown Princess what she had thought when she heard about the Grand Duke of Hesse's Russian journey, and she replied, "We were very elated" — suggesting to Vermehren that she had indeed heard about the trip at the time when it took place, and not later on, when the mission had failed. Interview with Ian Liburn.

7. See Audères I, 217–218; FOT, 238.

8. Interview with Dominique Auclères. Affidavits on this subject are still being collected, for instance, the recent statement of Frau Ingrid Ellen von Pistolors (currently in the possession of Prince Frederick of Saxe-Altenburg). Many people who knew about the Grand Duke's trip, however, including members of Europe's royalty, still prefer not to be named, in the correct assumption that their testimony will be marshaled in support of a woman whom most of them consider to be an impostor.

9. *Die Zeit*, March 27, 1958.

10. *Figaro*, November 26–27, 1966 (from testimony of Princess Marianne of Hesse-Philippsthal).

11. Rathlef (German 50).

12. Statement (undated) of Harriet von Rathlef, BA.

13. The Crown Princess wrote her brother (letter of July 1, 1925, Hamburg), "The case must be followed up."

14. Statement of Harriet von Rathlef, BA; also Rathlef (German 50–51).

15. Vorres, 173.

16. For the best-informed account of Maria Feodorovna's adventures and her life in exile, see Vorres.

17. Interview with Prince Paul Chavchavadze.

18. Philip Whitwell Wilson, "Anastasia?" *North American Review* (January 1929).

19. *New York Times*, December 13, 1924. Grand Duke Nicholas Nicolaievitch carefully avoided any proclamation like his cousin's, and was the far more popular choice for the position of Emperor. His candidacy remained passive, however, up through his death in 1929. A herself thought his selection for the job would be a good joke on Kyril (Rathlef notes).

20. See Williams, *passim*.

21. Alexander, *Always a Grand Duke*, 212.

22. This point was stressed over and over again. See Rathlef (German 17–18). (The Dan-

ish legation in Berlin was not, strictly speaking, an embassy, but a ministry, and Zahle bore the title of Minister to Berlin. I have used the terms *ambassador* and *embassy*, however, for simplicity.)

23. See *Souvenirs d'Alexis Volkov* (Paris: Payot, 1928). No one has ever been able to explain satisfactorily why the Bolsheviks in Siberia would have murdered the imperial family at Ekaterinburg while keeping their servants alive for two more months, actually bothering to transfer them to Perm.

24. The most important evidence on the visits — the notes and other documentation collected by Ambassador Zahle — has been confiscated by the Danish royal family (see page 118). All that remains are the various reports, letters, affidavits, and manuscripts of Harriet von Rathlef. According to Frau von Rathlef, Grand Duchess Olga read the one chapter concerning herself in the first Rathlef manuscript ("Lebt Anastasia?") and reported to Ambassador Zahle that it was "correct in its depiction [of the meetings in Berlin]; but she hadn't read the rest because she had no great command of German" (Rathlef [German 200]).

I have followed Frau von Rathlef's account of the meetings because there is no other choice. For Gilliard's version (which agrees with Frau von Rathlef's on points of time and place but does not enter into conversational detail), see his "very confidential" letter to Count Vladimir Kokovtsov, July 18, 1926, BA; his various letters to Frau von Rathlef and Zahle, all in BA; and FA, 64–68 and 69–78. By the time Gilliard had published his narrative, it had solidified into a kind of gospel, and it is, in my opinion, grossly distorted if not directly false in its claims. (One example: in his letter to Count Kokovtsov, Gilliard had rendered A's response to his ceaseless questioning as "I cannot, I cannot"; while in FA it became "I don't know, I don't know.") In 1964 Grand Duchess Olga's biographer, Ian Vorres, pieced together her rather scattered recollections to form a narrative: Vorres, 173–180. It contributes nothing new to the story and, in its tone and lucidity, bears small resemblance to Olga's formal testimony at Toronto (March 23–24, 1959, Hamburg). Olga died in 1960 and never saw Vorres's finished book. Meantime, Dr. Ludwig Berg, the chaplain at St. Mary's, took the trouble to confirm explicitly Frau von Rathlef's account of the meetings with Alexis Volkov, while Professor Rudnev backed her up when and as he could. As for Ambassador Zahle, he wrote after reading Frau von Rathlef's report: "By and large it agrees with my memories and my notes, and in any case contains nothing which speaks more for the identity . . . than the material I either possess or which has come to my attention" (Zahle to Serge Botkin, November 26, 1926, BA).

Before his death the ambassador prepared a ten-page "questionnaire" (EHF) in lieu of personal testimony, consisting of the questions he said he *would* answer should his government ever give him permission to do so (it did not). It is a fascinating document, because the questions are phrased in such a way that they answer themselves and serve as de facto corroboration of Frau von Rathlef's reports. Finally, Grand Duke Andrew of Russia, after he had studied the case in depth, reported that in his opinion Frau von Rathlef's narrative was not only accurate, but in fact "a minimization of what really took place. . . ." He continued, "Sadly, I must report that everything Gilliard writes to me about the meetings in Berlin deviates very much from the truth." See Andrew correspondence with Serge Botkin, 1926–1929, BA (also in English and German translation in Ian Liburn's collection), in particular the letters of November 30, 1926, and of February 19 and March 8, 1927.

25. Volkov visit taken from Rathlef (German 51–55) and protocol of Harriet von Rathlef (undated, July 1925), BA.

26. Zahle "questionnaire," EHF.

27. General Tatischev was shot by the Bolsheviks in 1918, as was also Klementy Nagorny, the Tsarevitch's attendant. The sailor Derevenko deserted at the outbreak of the Revolution, while the doctor of the same name disappeared during the Civil War. He had been the only member of the imperial suite allowed access to the Ipatiev house in Ekaterinburg.

28. See Christopher, Prince of Greece and Denmark, in the *Saturday Evening Post*, May 26, 1928: "She has always dressed in black since the death of her husband."

29. All direct quotes, pages 101–105, are from Rathlef, *passim*.

30. See affidavit of Tatiana Botkin-Melnik, May 11, 1929, EHF.

31. See statement of Margharita Derfelden, undated (1929–1930), original left in A's papers, copies in EHF.

32. Affidavit in lieu of oath of Harriet von Rathlef, EHF.

33. Virubova, 76.

34. From IA, 141; in FA, 64. This was one of the documents Gilliard destroyed in 1957 (see my chapter 13).
35. Rathlef (German 59).
36. Rathlef (German 59–61); and memorandum of Harriet von Rathlef, November 20, 1926, BA.
37. A critical point. The malformation *hallux valgus* is not uncommon among people who spend a great deal of time on their feet (waitresses are prone to it, for example), but the odds against any particular claimant to the identity of the Tsar's daughter suffering the complaint must be regarded as strong. The similarity of the feet was confirmed again by Grand Duchess Olga in her testimony at Toronto in 1959; Olga testimony, Hamburg.
38. From Rathlef articles in the *Tägliche Rundschau* ("Wie eine Frau vernichtet werden sollte"), October 1927.
39. Rudnev report.
40. Quotes on pages 106–112 are from Rathlef (German 102–103) unless otherwise noted.
41. Statement, undated, of Harriet von Rathlef, BA.
42. Affidavit in lieu of oath of Harriet von Rathlef, EHF.
43. Olga's children were both born after the Revolution and never knew the Tsar's daughter.
44. See letter of Harriet von Rathlef to Serge Botkin, July 29, 1926, BA; and Rathlef (German 109).
45. Affidavit in lieu of oath of Harriet von Rathlef, EHF. The telegram from Grand Duchess Xenia is presumed, perhaps erroneously, to be in the Zahle papers. Duke George of Leuchtenberg wrote Frau von Rathlef in 1927 that "a near relative of the Tsar's family" had told him what the telegram said: "Do not go to Berlin. Recognition in any case out of the question." The Duke, himself a member of the Romanov family, requested that Frau von Rathlef *not* mention the matter, because he and Grand Duke Andrew, who at that time was investigating the affair, "did not want this compromising fact to be made public."
46. Statement of Harriet von Rathlef, November 20, 1926, BA.
47. Affidavit of Serge Rudnev, December 29, 1929, EHF.
48. Rathlef to Leuchtenberg, March 27, 1927, EHF.
49. Affidavit in lieu of oath of Harriet von Rathlef, EHF.
50. "How are things in Berlin?" etc: The originals of Gilliard's letters to Frau von Rathlef are in EHF, and additional correspondence with Zahle in BA.
51. The original letters written in Russian and employing the formal mode of address, were still in A's possession during the 1960s. Olga also gave to A one of her personal photograph albums. Photostats on file in EHF. The translations here are from Botkin, II, 97–98.
52. In IA, 167.
53. Rathlef (German 114).
54. Rathlef (German 51).
55. Testimony of Pierre Gilliard at Wiesbaden, March 29 and March 31, 1958, Hamburg. The truth about the strange collaboration between the Swiss tutor and the former Grand Duke was lost forever when Gilliard destroyed his files on the case after the ruling of the High Court of West Berlin in 1957 (see my chapter 13). Many took the simplest view and assumed that Gilliard had been paid by the Grand Duke of Hesse to fight against A. Certainly the salary of a language professor at the University of Lausanne could not have compensated for the time and travel required over the next three years in the attempt to destroy her. What is not in dispute is that Gilliard, after the Berlin meetings, worked in exclusive cooperation with the Grand Duke.
56. Zahle "questionnaire."
57. Olga wrote Gilliard: "I will never forget the horrible dinner that evening Mme. von Schwabe came to call. How he [Zahle] brooded!" Quoted in Gilliard to Kokovtsov, BA. "A Polish vagabond"; Rathlef to Leuchtenberg, June 16, 1927, EHF.
58. One of the most famous exchanges of the "Anastasia" affair. See Olga testimony, Hamburg.
59. Gilliard's four points: Gilliard to Kokovtsov, BA.
A's inability to answer questions, yet "put in touch with everything concerning the imperial family"; the point cannot be emphasized strongly enough that A was caught in an impossible double-bind here. If any one of her statements about her childhood could be traced to some source, it instantly lost its value as evidence, and if it could not, it could never be verified.

- In FA Gilliard devoted two full chapters to what he called "Frau Tschaikovsky's mistakes." These consisted of about thirty of her "memories," as recorded by Harriet von Rathlef, which Gilliard declared were false. The attempts to contradict him continue successfully to this day, but I gave up the quest myself some time ago, in the belief that no person's childhood recollections may be regarded as objective truths and that they are not to be treated as exhibits. See FOT, 234, on "the malachite room"; and Auclères I, chapter 11, on the "blue regiment" and the samovar at Moghilev. These will serve to demonstrate with what caution Gilliard's affirmations must be received.
60. I have heard the story from many people, among them Prince Frederick of Saxe-Altenburg and Mrs. Edward J. Wynkoop (the former Nancy Leeds).
61. Vorres, 179.
62. Viroubova, 316. Frau von Rathlef wrote: "The Grand Duchess [Olga] said several times that the patient resembled her niece Tatiana more. Herr Gilliard and his wife were of the same opinion. The Grand Duchess even said that she would believe it immediately if anyone told her the patient was her niece Tatiana" (Rathlef [German 112]).
63. Olga testimony, Hamburg.
64. Rathlef to S. Botkin, July 29, 1926, BA.
65. FA, 76; Rathlef (German 116–117).
66. Gilliard testimony, Hamburg, quoted in memorandum of Kurt Vermehren, January 31, 1961. Serge Botkin wrote Grand Duke Andrew on January 19, 1927 (BA): "Nobody took the psychological aspect into account. During their visit they immediately proceeded with an interrogation. In line with her character, the invalid answers an interrogation with silence and withdraws into herself entirely. . . . She simply cannot deal with an 'exam,' which paralyzes and depresses her. . . . I am convinced that if the people who visited her had really understood all this, things would be different."
67. Gilliard to Kokovtsov, BA.
68. Fallows "Entry," March 27, 1929 (EHF); and Fallows's notes on Gleb Botkin's *Woman Who Rose Again* (EHF).
69. Letter of March 16, 1935, taken from Horan MS. Zahle's dossier consisted of fifteen volumes of evidence.
70. *Sunday Times* (London), October 23, 1977. On May 12, 1981, the private secretary to Queen Margrethe wrote me: "In reply to your letter Her Majesty has asked me to tell you that the said reports, made by Mr. Zahle for King Christian X, form part of the Royal Archives which are inaccessible even to writers and scientists; it is, therefore, not possible to grant your request."
71. Quoted in Auclères I, 74.
72. Zahle to Danish Foreign Ministry, December 12, 1928, Hamburg. The letter was released to the Hamburg courts by the Ministry.
73. The original is, of course, in Zahle's papers, with a certified copy in BA. When asked about this document during her testimony at Toronto, Olga claimed ignorance: "If I wrote that letter, I can no longer say what I had in mind with those words, because so far as I was concerned it was established that the claimant was not Anastasia."
74. Testimony of Princess Xenia Georgievna of Russia, given at New York City, March 16–17, 1959, Hamburg.
75. Andrew to Serge Botkin, March 8, 1927, BA (Ian Lilburn's translation).
76. Olga to Princess Olga of Hannover, May 13, 1958, Hamburg.
77. December 4, 1925, Hamburg.
78. Statement of Grand Duchess Olga, attached to her testimony of March 1959, Hamburg.
79. General Spiridovitch informed Tatiana Botkin, the daughter of the imperial family's private physician, about the letter from Olga to Prince Dolgorouky. See letter of Tatiana Botkin (Melnik) to Serge Botkin, October 14, 1926, BA.
80. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
81. Mrs. Edward J. Wynkoop to PK, March 30, 1972.
82. Testimony of Princess Xenia Georgievna of Russia, March 16–17, 1959, Hamburg.
83. Vorres 173, and *passim*, for Olga's marital woes and life in exile.
84. Gilliard to Kokovtsov, BA.
85. Olga to Irene, December 22, 1926 (original English), Hamburg.
86. Vorres, 180.

87. Olga to Mordvinov, March 30, 1927, Hamburg.
88. Interview with Mrs. Edward J. Wynkoop.
89. Andrew to Serge Botkin, March 29, 1928, BA (Ian Lilburn's translation). As Zahle explained it to Prince Frederick of Saxe-Altenburg, Grand Duchess Olga, during the second consultation with the Dowager Empress, was so nervous that she never took her eyes off her embroidery. When Zahle asked the Empress to consider how it would look to the world and to history if everything were not done that could be done to clear up this case, the Empress replied only: "My daughter Olga tells me this woman is not my granddaughter!" (Interview with Prince Frederick of Saxe-Altenburg). And from the Zahle questionnaire: "Did Grand Duchess Olga's behavior [at this meeting] give Excellency Zahle the impression that she was deeply shamed by the contradiction between her behavior after her visit to the claimant in Berlin, when the Grand Duchess took the identity of the claimant with her niece to be *as good as certain*, and her subsequent denial of that identity in the press?" (Emphasis added.)
90. Rathlef to Leuchtenberg, March 27, 1927, EHF.
91. In *Poslednyj Novosti* (Reval), January 15, 1926; also in FA, 61–62. The denial had obviously been timed to coincide with the other issued from Copenhagen.
92. Affidavit of Serge Ostrogorsky, May 21, 1929, EHF.
93. Rathlef (English 107, German 114).
94. Gilliard to Kokovtsov, BA.
95. Rathlef (German 129).
96. Fallows "Entry," March 6, 1938, recording report of Albert F. Coyle, who had just spoken with Grand Duke Andrew in Paris.
97. Notes of Harriet von Rathlef (December 1925), BA.
98. Alexandra Gilliard to Lillian Zahle, December 14, 1925, BA.
99. Fallows "Entry," March 6, 1938 (Coyle report).
100. Notes of Harriet von Rathlef (December 1925), BA.

6. Tanya

1. Rathlef (German 120–121).
2. Information from police reports, quoted in Hamburg verdict and in Nogly; see also the protocol of conversation with "Kommissar X," EHF.
3. See Hamburg verdict, 59–60.
4. Notes of Harriet von Rathlef (December 1925), BA.
5. Notes of Harriet von Rathlef (December 1925), BA. The rumor that A had crossed herself like a Roman Catholic was too convenient for her opponents; it could not be easily dispelled. The controversy continued the following year when A was living at Castle Secon with the Leuchtenberg family. Duke Dmitri of Leuchtenberg heard from the Orthodox priest at Secon that A had made her confession in German at Easter; the same priest informed Duchess Olga of Leuchtenberg that she had confessed in Russian (see testimony of Dmitri, Duke of Leuchtenberg, given at Montreal, March 20–21, 1959; transcript at Hamburg; and Hamburg verdict). Duke Dmitri and his wife, Duchess Catherine, swore that A continued to use the Catholic genuflection, while Dmitri's sister, Duchess Natalie, remembered that it seemed to be "a mixture" of the Catholic and Orthodox forms. According to Natalie, A remarked that after her marriage to Alexander Tschaikovsky she no longer knew to which faith she belonged. The priest at Secon then informed her that in his opinion she could still consider herself a member of the Orthodox Church. "After that," said Natalie, "she showed no signs of hesitation. . . . She was very well acquainted with the Orthodox rites" (see testimony of Natalie, Baroness Meller-Zakomelsky, Hamburg; quoted in memorandum of Kurt Vermeiren, January 31, 1961, Hamburg).
6. Letter of Gertrude Spindler, July 27, 1926; in Rathlef (German 124).
7. Laqueur, 82ff., 118.
8. Nothing at all is known about Schwabe's death or the fate of his wife and daughter.
9. Many believe that Savitch had all along been an agent for the Bolsheviks and that he simply returned to Moscow.
10. A used this term in later life to describe a number of her adversaries.
11. A "Interviews."
12. A "Memoirs."
13. Letter (statement) of Baron Osten-Sacken, dated "February 1926," Hamburg.

14. See Williams, *passim*.
15. Botkin MS.
16. Serge Botkin's "commentary" to the BA archives.
17. Gilliard to Rathlef, February 28, 1926, EHF.
18. FOT, 220.
19. Affidavit of Vera Urvantsov, April 6, 1929, EHF.
20. Rathlef (German 133–134).
21. Frau von Rathlef's Lugano letters (some only in extract) are in BA; also IA, 184–185. See also Rathlef (German 233) and IA, 120, about A and the "English guest" at the Hotel Tivoli.
22. Rathlef (German 138).
23. Affidavit in lieu of oath of Harriet von Rathlef, EHF.
24. IA, 184.
25. The Prince retained his faith in A despite the negative attitude of his niece, Grand Duchess Olga. See Gilliard to Kokovtsov, BA.
26. IA, 184.
27. Osten-Sacken letter, Hamburg.
28. Report of Baron Osten-Sacken to Herluf Zahle, June 29, 1926, BA.
29. Combined from Rathlef letters to Serge Botkin (June 9, 1926) and to Zahle (June 10, 1926), BA.
30. Rathlef to Osten-Sacken, June 9, 1926, BA.
31. Osten-Sacken report to Zahle, BA.
32. Telegram of June 21, 1926, BA.
33. Osten-Sacken report to Zahle, BA.
34. Report of Dr. Theodor Eitel (December 22, 1926), BA and EHF.
35. Letter of Dr. Saathof to Duke George of Leuchtenberg (December 7, 1927), in BA and EHF.
36. Testimony of Dr. Eitel, given at Bad Liebenzell on May 20, 1959, transcript at Hamburg.
37. Saathof letter, BA and EHF.
38. Eitel report, BA and EHF.
39. Affidavit of Nurse Agnes Wasserschleben, July 28, 1929, EHF.
40. IA, 188.
41. Wasserschleben affidavit, EHF.
42. Quoted in letter of Nina von Hoyningen-Huené (later Osten-Sacken) to Paul Pavlovitch von Kügelgen (who edited Frau von Rathlef's book), in Rathlef (German 153).
43. Eitel testimony, Hamburg.
44. Eitel report, BA and EHF.
45. The section on Tatiana Botkin is taken from a number of sources: Botkin (Melnik), *Vospominanya* (authorized English translation, "Memories of the Tsar's Family" in EHF), and *Au temps des tsars*. Concerning her meeting with A, see her affidavit of May 11, 1929, EHF and Hamburg; her letters to her uncle, Serge Botkin, in BA; her articles in *Figaro*, January 16–22, 1958; Auclères I and II; and Horan MS. I have also drawn on my own conversations with Tatiana since 1971.
46. In Horan MS.; also conversations with Tatiana Botkin and emendations by her to my original manuscript.
47. *Au temps des tsars*, 84.
48. Horan MS.
49. *Au temps des tsars*, 81, and emendations by Tatiana Botkin to my manuscript.
50. *Vospominanya*, EHF.
51. Interview with Tatiana Botkin.
52. Interview with Tatiana Botkin.
53. Report of Baron Osten-Sacken to Herluf Zahle, September 9, 1926, BA.
54. Osten-Sacken report to Zahle, BA; and Tatiana Botkin affidavit, EHF.
55. *Figaro*, January 16–17, 1958.
56. Auclères I and II; and interview with Tatiana Botkin.
57. Osten-Sacken report to Zahle, BA.
58. Tatiana Botkin affidavit, EHF.
59. Lillian Zahle to Maria Debagory, September 11, 1926, BA.
60. Serge Botkin to Herluf Zahle, September 14, 1926, BA.

61. Osten-Sacken report to Zahle, BA.
62. Tatiana Botkin affidavit, EHF.
63. Osten-Sacken report to Zahle, BA.
64. Tatiana Botkin to Serge Botkin, September 4/17, 1926, BA.
65. Gilliard to Tatiana Botkin, October 30, 1926, BA.
66. Letter of August 30, 1926, BA; quoted in IA, 197-198.
67. Tatiana to Serge Botkin, September 18, 1926, BA.
68. Interview with Tatiana Botkin; in *Figaro*, January 18, 1958; Tatiana to Serge Botkin, October 14/27, 1926, BA.
69. Tatiana Botkin to Fallows, January 3, 1930; *Figaro*, January 18, 1958; Tatiana to Serge Botkin, October 14/27, 1926, BA. Tatiana wrote me in 1982 that Countess Alexandra Shuvalov, a great friend of the Botkin family, had "immediately" arranged for her to see "some members of the best Russian families. They all seemed disturbed. Ladies had tears in their eyes. But only one gentleman declared later: 'If there is even the slightest possibility that this invalid is our Tsar's daughter, we must help her.'" The gentleman was Serge Rachmaninoff, who, two years later, did provide A with financial and moral support (see my chapter 9).
70. *Figaro*, January 18, 1958.
71. Sokolov, *Enquête judiciaire*, 28.
72. *Figaro*, January 18, 1958.
73. Botkin MS. Peter Botkin pointed out that Tatiana was expecting a child at the time of her meeting with A, and thus "suffering from the hallucinations common to a pregnant woman" (Botkin I, 273).
74. Notes (*Bemerkungen*) of Tatiana Botkin, April 1961, Hamburg.
75. Horan MS.
76. Andrew to Serge Botkin, March 2, 1927, BA (Ian Lilburn's translation).
77. Serge Botkin to Andrew, October 19, 1926, BA (Lilburn's translation).
78. Mathilde had been the mistress not only of Nicholas II, but later of his cousin Grand Duke Serge Mikhailovitch, who was murdered by the Bolsheviks at Alapayevsk along with the Empress's sister Grand Duchess Elisabeth and other members of the Romanov family. The date of the assassination is given as July 17, 1918. Mathilde waited for three years, until she was certain that Serge was dead, before marrying Andrew. Her son, Vladimir (see Part IV), was thought to be Serge's child.
79. An important point, inasmuch as A's adversaries sought to minimize Andrew's qualifications for recognizing or not recognizing the Tsar's daughter. Faith Lavington, the governess at Castle Seon, was informed erroneously that Andrew had not seen the Tsar's children "in donkey's years" — that is, since before World War I — when, in fact, he was one of the last in the family to see them at all. See Lavington Diary, Hamburg.
80. Andrew to Serge Botkin, November 30, 1926, BA.
81. Quoted in Andrew's letter to Serge Botkin, above.
82. Andrew to Serge Botkin, November 30, 1926, BA.
83. See Part IV. Andrew's letters are, for the most part, in BA. Translations submitted at Hamburg. Some of the letters are published in FOT and in Auclères I, with others (mostly Serge Botkin's replies) at Hamburg alone. I have worked from the certified copies submitted at Hamburg and followed Ian Lilburn's English translations where noted.
84. Andrew to Serge Botkin, February 8, 1927.
85. Andrew's provisions for release of his dossier: FOT, 387. Andrew wrote Serge Botkin on February 2, 1927: "Zahle is mistaken somewhat if he thinks I am taking this case lightly. The difficulty has been completely clear to me from the very first, and I am convinced that Zahle himself does not suspect how complicated and confused this case is. . . . The affair does not concern the invalid alone, but a whole network of other circumstances. . . . Unfortunately I cannot reveal even schematically the details of the investigation in a letter; that would be imprudent on my part. But I can assure you that this case is extremely serious and I repeat, much more complicated than Zahle imagines"; BA.
86. Andrew to Serge Botkin, February 26, 1927 (Lilburn translation), BA.
87. Andrew to Serge Botkin, March 2, 1927, BA.
88. Andrew to Tatiana Botkin, May 18, 1927, in Auclères I, 171.

7. "What Have I Done?"

1. Osten-Sacken to Rathlef, November 6, 1926, BA.
2. Rathlef to Osten-Sacken, October 12, 1926, BA. Baron Osten-Sacken had in fact seen A once while she was still at Daldorf: Schwabe report, BA.
3. Zahle to Rathlef, November 12, 1926, BA.
4. Alfred Hugenberg wielded tremendous power in Weimar Germany and probably did more than any other private citizen to influence public opinion in favor of the Nazis.
5. See Rathlef/Noeggerath.
6. Zahle to Rathlef, November 12, 1926, BA.
7. Andrew to Tatiana Botkin, May 18, 1927, Hamburg.
8. Andrew to Serge Botkin, March 14, 1927, BA. See also Andrew's letters of January 23 and March 8, 1927, concerning his conversations with King Christian X and Queen Alexandrine and the children of Prince Waldemar.
9. Serge Botkin to Andrew, February 15, 1927, Hamburg.
10. Dr. Eitel's correspondence with Zahle, Serge Botkin, and others is in BA.
11. Eitel testimony, Hamburg.
12. Osten-Sacken to Zahle, September 1, 1926, BA.
13. Lillian Zahle to Maria Debagory, January 1, 1927, BA.
14. Lillian Zahle to Maria Debagory, January 1, 1927; and to Tatiana Botkin, March 9, 1927, BA.
15. Rathlef to Leuchtenberg, July 4, 1927, EHF.
16. Andrew to Serge Botkin, February 8, 1927, BA.
17. Andrew to Serge Botkin, March 15, 1927, BA.
18. Zahle to Serge Botkin, January 24, 1927, BA.
19. The Dukes of Leuchtenberg were descended from Napoleon Bonaparte's stepson, Eugène de Beauharnais, whose son Maximilian married a daughter of Tsar Nicholas I. As members of the imperial house, the Leuchtenbergs were considered "Romanovs in everything but name," but remained outside the line of succession. See Horan MS. Duke George had also been influenced in A's favor by Zahle.
20. Serge Botkin to Andrew, March 7, 1927, Hamburg.
21. Andrew to Serge Botkin, February 8, 1927 (Lilburn translation), BA.
22. Zahle to Serge Botkin, January 24, 1927, BA.
23. The Grand Duke of Hesse's "investigation" was nothing of the kind, inasmuch as he had no intention other than to find the means to prove A false. The very simple solution of a meeting between the Grand Duke and A seems not to have been even considered in Darmstadt.
24. Serge Botkin to Andrew, January 19, 1927, Hamburg.
25. Frau von Rathlef had no desire to indulge the Grand Duke of Hesse, but Zahle advised her to cooperate — "otherwise Darmstadt will naturally claim that the casts are proof against the invalid" (letter of March 21, 1927, EHF).
26. She had actually signed her statement in 1925, but this was the first time it had been mentioned publicly. Wrote Duke George of Leuchtenberg: "Nothing would surprise me coming from that person. . . . I wonder if her current employer knows that she has written an abusive book in French about her former mistress [Empress Alexandra]": Leuchtenberg to Rathlef, July 16, 1927, EHF.
27. See article in the *Königsberger Allgemeine*, March 7, 1927, reproduced in Rathlef (German 125-127).
28. Andrew to Serge Botkin, March 28, 1927 (Lilburn translation), BA.
29. Zahle to Serge Botkin, January 24, 1927, BA; and Botkin to Andrew, February 15, 1927, Hamburg.
30. It is not clear when and how the meetings between Zahle and the Grand Duke of Hesse were arranged, but Zahle certainly did not hesitate to go when asked.
31. IA, 203-204. The phrase about "the status quo" is in the original German, reproduced in *Ich, Anastasia, erzähle*.
32. Zahle to Andrew, February 15, 1927, BA.
33. See Eitel correspondence, BA.
34. Telegram to Serge Botkin, February 5, 1927, BA.
35. Zahle to Serge Botkin, February 5, 1927, BA.

36. Andrew to Zahle, February 10, 1927, BA.
37. Interview with Prince Frederick of Saxe-Altenburg.
38. Harriet von Rathlef's articles were published in the *Berliner Nachtausgabe* as "Lebt Anastasia?" Clippings in BA and EHF.
39. In 1928 Frau von Rathlef was charged with bribing a police official in Berlin and was acquitted (see *New York Times*, May 15, 1928); the *Nachtausgabe* also later sued the rival *Tägliche Rundschau* over charges about the origin and nature of the "unmasking" (see pages 164–175). That case was dropped.
40. Quoted in Gilbert Guilleminault, ed., *Grandes Enigmes de l'histoire* (Paris: Gautier-Languereau, 1964), 154.
41. Editorial in the *Nachtausgabe*, March 10, 1927.
42. Article in the *Königsberger Allgemeine*, March 7, 1927.
43. Zahle to Tatiana Botkin, March 10, 1927, BA.
44. Andrew wrote Serge Botkin on February 26, 1927 (BA): "Gilliard writes me that he very much regrets it, but he has had to challenge Frau von Rathlef's assertions and conclusions in the newspapers, that is, insofar as they relate to him and to his wife."
45. Letters of March 8 and March 20, 1927, EHF.
46. See FA, 152–163; *L'Illustration*, June 25, 1927; and in the *Berliner Nachtausgabe*, April 1927.
47. See FA, 163–164.
48. Quoted in Nogly, 182.
49. Letter to Kurt Vermehren, undated (June 1958), Hamburg; in Auclères I, 163; see also pp. 158–162 for the analysis of Maurice Delamain, the former president of the French Graphological Society, which also concluded in A's favor.
50. FA, 173.
51. Botkin MS.
52. Interview with Tatiana Botkin.
53. Letter in BA.
54. Andrew to Serge Botkin, March 5, 1927.
55. Tatiana was outraged at the thought that she was to be *paid* to assist A. "Please understand me," Zahle wrote her in his letter of March 10, 1927 (BA), "it is only natural that you, who are obliged to leave your family, should not also suffer financially."
56. Zahle to Tatiana Botkin, March 10, 1927, BA.
57. Zahle to Tatiana Botkin, March 10, 1927, BA.
58. Serge Botkin to Andrew, March 7, 1927, BA.
59. See A "Memoirs."
60. Zahle to Serge Botkin, February 15, 1927, BA.
61. *Wasserschleben* affidavit.
62. Tatiana Botkin affidavit, EHF.
63. Report of Tatiana Botkin, in Rathlef (English 149, German 155).
64. Interviews with Tatiana Botkin; in Auclères I, 99–100 and II; *Figaro*, January 21, 1958; and emendations of Tatiana Botkin to my manuscript.
65. Dominique Auclères, for delicacy's sake, changed the word to *gamin* (urchin), but informed me privately of A's actual remark.
66. See testimony of Natalie, Baroness von Meller-Zakomelsky, Hamburg.
67. Notes of Duke George of Leuchtenberg, EHF.
68. Andrew to Tatiana Botkin, March 12, 1927, Hamburg.
69. Andrew to Serge Botkin, August 4, 1927, BA.
70. Leuchtenberg notes, EHF.
71. Her statement against A is published in FA, 141–142. She refers to A's "vulgar manner" and adds that she had "not a trait, not a gesture to remind one of Grand Duchess Anastasia Nicolaievna." In reality Mme. Hesse, by her own admission, had seen the Tsar's daughter only fleetingly in the years after 1905. The Duke of Leuchtenberg reported: "The widow of General Hesse, the Tsar's former palace commandant, frequently came to visit us. One day she sought out the invalid, whom in general she rejected, and asked her a series of questions which she [A] was unable to answer. Finally she asked: 'Who is Conrad (or Konrad)?' whereupon the invalid, instead of answering, smiled and imitated the movement of hands over a piano.
- "[Mme. Hesse told the Duke]: 'Now today your invalid has really staggered me! Because

- the piano teacher Conrad was known by only a very few people even at Court, his name was scarcely mentioned" (from the Duke of Leuchtenberg's notes, EHF and Rathlef).
72. See testimony of Darya Gordeyev, given at New York City, March 17, 1959; transcript at Hamburg.
 73. *Lavington Diary*, Hamburg.
 74. Gordeyev testimony, Hamburg.
 75. *Wasserschleben* affidavit, EHF.
 76. Natalie, Baroness Meller-Zakomelsky to Brien Horan, in Horan MS.
 77. Serge Botkin to Andrew, April 1, 1927, Hamburg.
 78. Headline in the *Berliner Nachtausgabe* ("Fall Anastasia geklärt!"), March 31, 1927.
 79. Andrew to Serge Botkin, April 4, 1927, BA.
 80. For considerations of length and clarity, I have discussed only the major points of the so-called Schanzkowska Legend. So confused is the evidence on this subject as to make A's other affairs look simple by comparison. There is not a single detail of the "unmasking" that is not in dispute, beginning with the date of Franziska's disappearance from Berlin in 1920 and ending with the allegation nearly fifty years later that Franziska was actually a patient at the lunatic asylum at Herrenprotsch in the late twenties (see my chapter 14). In the course of my research I have met only one royal witness against A — Duke Dmitri of Leuchtenberg — who actually believed the Schanzkowska story.
 81. *Berliner Nachtausgabe*, March 31, 1927.
 82. Serge Botkin to Andrew, April 1, 1927, Hamburg.
 83. Andrew to Serge Botkin, April 4, 1927, BA.
 84. Leuchtenberg's emendations to Rathlef's account, EHF.
 85. Andrew to Serge Botkin, April 4, 1927, BA.
 86. Reported in the *Nachtausgabe*, April 6, 1927.
 87. Andrew to Serge Botkin, April 4, 1927, BA.
 88. Fallows "Entry," March 6, 1938 (containing report of Albert F. Coyle), EHF.
 89. This is the story of the "unmasking" as first reported in the *Nachtausgabe*; over the years, it changed considerably.
 90. According to Frau von Rathlef's attorney, A had been staying with Clara Peuthert during the time in question (see protocol of Dr. Wilhelm Völler of his conversation with Clara, April 29, 1927, EHF).
 91. All of the clothing disappeared after the *Nachtausgabe* ostensibly handed it over to Detective Knopf. That being the case, it will not be necessary to take a detailed inventory of what Dominique Auclères called "Doris Wingender's wardrobe."
 92. Testimony of Doris Rittmann and Louise Fiedler (the Wingender sisters), November 17–18, 1965, Hamburg.
 93. She was declared mad on September 19, 1916, and spent time in and out of the lunatic asylums at Berlin-Schöneberg and Neu-Ruppin.
 94. Rathlef (German 184).
 95. Agatha Grabisch's report of her conversations with Lucke is dated "May 1927," EHF.
 96. Lucke testimony, Hamburg.
 97. Protocol of conversations with "Kommissar X," EHF.
 98. Letter of Darmstadt police to Berlin police, May 20, 1927, Hamburg.
 99. "Kommissar X" protocol, EHF.
 100. Andrew to Serge Botkin, May 13, 1927 (Lilburn translation), BA.
 101. Lucke testimony, Hamburg. The contract with Doris Wingender is reproduced in Rathlef (German, facing page 193).
 102. In the *Nachtausgabe*, April 6, 1927.
 103. Rathlef/Noeggerath.
 104. Rathlef/Noeggerath; also protocols of Gleb Botkin and Wilhelm Völler, May 19 and 21, 1927, EHF.
 105. Leuchtenberg report, in Rathlef (German 179–180).
 106. Letter of Fritz Spengrüber to the *Tägliche Rundschau*, October 4, 1927; in Rathlef (German 187–188).
 107. Leuchtenberg to Rathlef, July 28 and October 2, 1927, EHF.
 108. See Grand Duke Andrew correspondence, BA, in particular his letters to Serge Botkin of August 18, 1927; and to Tatiana Botkin of May 18, 1927, Hamburg.
 109. The confrontation with Felix Schanzkowski is described in Rathlef (German 183),

and in greater detail in "Wie eine Frau," etc. See also Andrew's correspondence with Serge Botkin, BA; the testimony of Duke Dmitri and Duchess Catherine of Leuchtenberg and of Natalie, Baroness Meller-Zakomelsky, Hamburg; and, finally, the affidavit of Felix Schanzkowski, May 9, 1927, EHF; with further information in the protocol of Dr. Wilhelm Völler of May 10, 1927.

110. Botkin MS.
111. Völler protocol, EHF.
112. Unsigned affidavit, copy in EHF.
113. "Wie eine Frau," etc.
114. IA, 217.
115. Affidavit of Felix Schanzkowski, EHF.
116. Rathlef/Noeggerath.
117. Serge Botkin to Andrew, March 7, 1927, Hamburg.
118. See Rathlef-Leuchtenberg correspondence, EHF.
119. Leuchtenberg to Rathlef, June 27, 1927, EHF.
120. Rathlef to Leuchtenberg, June 29, 1927, EHF.
121. "Wie eine Frau," etc.; Völler protocol, EHF.
122. Leuchtenberg to Rathlef, October 12, 1927, EHF.
123. Serge Botkin to Andrew, April 2, 1927, Hamburg.

8. At Castle Secon

1. Quoted in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, April 2, 1958 (from testimony of Felix Dassel).
2. Lavington Diary, Hamburg.
3. See Botkin MS; and Botkin I and II.
4. A "Memoirs."
5. Botkin MS.
6. See Princess Xenia testimony, Hamburg; and Botkin I, 281.
7. Botkin MS.
8. See Leuchtenberg-Rathlef correspondence, EHF.
9. The word *mess* was a favorite of A's all of her life. People, places, and things were all "messes" when they stood in her way.
10. Leuchtenberg to Rathlef, June 8, 1927, EHF.
11. "L'Histoire d'une imposture," *L'Illustration* of June 25, 1927.
12. Felix Dassel to Rathlef, January 6, 1928, EHF. A's literal phrase was *machte schlechte Sachen in die Zeitungen*.
13. A's phrase quoted in Dassel, *Grossfürstin Anastasia lebt!*
14. Rathlef to Leuchtenberg, April 8, 1927, EHF.
15. Leuchtenberg to Rathlef, April 22, 1927, EHF.
16. Botkin MS.

17. See their testimonies at Hamburg. Of the two youngest Leuchtenberg children, Constantine came out against A, while Tamara stood "for" with reservations.

18. *Wasserschleben* affidavit, EHF.

19. Lavington Diary, Hamburg.

20. Automobiles of the Russian court — that is, those bearing the imperial arms — were free of all restriction.

21. Darya had not seen the Tsar's daughter since 1916, and no more "lived" with the Grand Duchesses than the Botkin children had. Like the Borkins, Darya, in Gilliard's words, "never came to the palace." In her Hamburg testimony, moreover, Darya confessed that the similarity between A's eyes and the eyes of the Tsar's daughter had disturbed her.

22. Diary of Vera von Klemen, authorized English translation signed and amended by Vera von Klemen in 1929 for submission as affidavit in court, in EHF.

23. Leuchtenberg to Rathlef, June 19, 1927, EHF.

24. Affidavit in lieu of oath in Harriet von Rathlef, EHF; see also Leuchtenberg to Rathlef, December 23, 1927, EHF.

25. Leuchtenberg to Rathlef, July 7, 1927, EHF.

26. Serge Botkin to Andrew, August 9, 1927, Hamburg.

27. Andrew to Serge Botkin, August 4, 1927, BA.

28. Colonel Mordvinov's account of his meeting with A is in FA, 92–97.

29. Quoted in testimony of Duke Dmitri of Leuchtenberg, Hamburg.
30. Grand Duchess Olga to Colonel Mordvinov, March 30, 1927, Hamburg.
31. See testimony of Prince Felix Yussoupov, July 15, 1959, Hamburg; and Yussoupov, Felix, *En exil* (Paris: Plon, 1954), pp. 113–116.
32. Marie, *A Princess in Exile*, 103–104.
33. Yussoupov to Gilliard, December 10, 1928, in FA, 143–145.
34. FA, 144.
35. Quoted in Audères I, 116.
36. See Yussoupov testimony, Hamburg; and *En exil*.
37. Yussoupov to Andrew, September 19, 1927, Hamburg.
38. See the statement prepared by Major-General Alexander Spiridovitch (offered grandly as an "expert evaluation") of June 30, 1928, in FA, 164–165.
39. Audères I, 130 (from an interview with Kastritsky's daughter, Dr. Kastritsky-Procé).
40. Audères I, 130. At Hamburg Dr. Kastritsky's testimony was ruled "too vague" for serious consideration: FOT, 249.
41. Fallows "Entry," September 19, 1938, EHF.
42. The account of Felix Dassel's meetings with A is taken from his *Grossfürstin Anastasia lebt!* except where noted.
43. Testimony of Felix Dassel, given at Wiesbaden, April 1 and 2, 1958, transcript at Hamburg.
44. *Figaro*, April 2, 1958.
45. Bornemann's statement concerning the meetings at Castle Secon is dated September 18, 1927, in EHF.
46. Dassel testimony, Hamburg.
47. Bornemann statement, EHF.
48. A had already remembered the medallion during Tatiana Botkin's visit to Oberstdorf. See Tatiana Botkin affidavit, EHF.
49. On page 29 of the English translation of Tatiana's *Vospominaniya* (in EHF) the line reads: "They daily visited the hospital dedicated to their names."
50. Bornemann statement, EHF.
51. Lavington Diary, Hamburg.
52. There were further examples of this kind of thing. Dassel recalled the day when the Tsar's daughters had brought their commonplace books to the hospital at Tsarskoe Selo for the wounded officers to sign. In Maria's, on the first page, were inscribed the words: "To the famous Mandrifolie, from Dmitri." When Dassel had the Duke of Leuchtenberg ask A if she knew the significance of "the famous Mandrifolie," she answered simply: "Maria had many nicknames."
53. The next few pages are based on the Lavington Diary, Hamburg.
54. See *Grossfürstin Anastasia lebt!* A declared that the Kodak camera was exactly like the one she had owned in Russia, and when she first used it at Secon she did not need to read the instructions.
55. The remainder of the chapter is drawn from Lavington Diary, Hamburg.

9. "She Was Herself"

1. These were not Gleb's words, but rather the tag attached by the majority of American reporters.
2. *New York Times*, January 2, 1926.
3. *New York Herald Tribune*, February 9, 1928.
4. *Herald Tribune*, February 10, 1928.
5. The feature article in the *New York Times*, dated March 28, 1926, had been written by Bella Cohen (later Spewack) and was based on her conversations at the Mommensen Clinic with Frau von Rathlef and at the Danish embassy with Zahle and Shura Gilliard.
6. Botkin I, 260.
7. The North American Newspaper Alliance was managed by Gleb's friend John Colter, who later became friendly with A.
8. Botkin I, 265; 274.
9. Botkin II, 52.
10. Botkin MS. See also Gleb Botkin's affidavit of July 20, 1938, EHF.

11. Botkin MS., I and II, *passim*.
12. Botkin MS.
13. His accusations against the Romanovs and the Russian monarchists stopped just short of libel, and would undoubtedly have led to civil action had A's opposition dared to bring her case into court. After an especially vitriolic article of Gleb's had appeared in the New York press, Grand Duke Andrew wrote Serge Botkin: "The tone of the last part of the article is absolutely unwarranted. . . . Gleb is no longer relying here on facts, but on notoriously untrue gossip. Has Gleb really not got enough feeling and tact to understand how inappropriate, even harmful, it is for a Russian to sling mud at his own people in the columns of the foreign press? His insinuations against the Grand Duke of Hesse I find equally distasteful. . . . It must not be forgotten that ultimately the recognition of the invalid will depend primarily on Grand Duchess Olga Alexandrovna, but when she hears into whose hands the invalid has fallen she will no longer believe anything — and she will be right, because after this article of Gleb's everyone will lose faith. Can he really not understand such a simple thing, that he is completely ruining the invalid?" (Andrew to Serge Botkin, December 25, 1927) (Lilburn translation), BA.
14. Botkin MS.
15. Botkin II, 129–130. Margharita was the widow of Christopher Derfelden, and an American by birth. Her daughter Maria (Maya) was the first wife of Hugh D. Auchincloss, who later married Janet Bouvier. It was through the Auchinclosses that A came in contact with Hugh's aunt, Annie B. Jennings (see page 210).
16. See Botkin II, 130–141; and testimony of Princess Xenia of Russia, March 16–17, 1959, Hamburg. Xenia, a goddaughter of Empress Alexandra, was born in 1903; her sister, Nina, in 1901, just two days after Grand Duchess Anastasia.
17. Xenia testimony, Hamburg.
18. Interview with Princess Paul Chavchavadze (Princess Nina).
19. Leeds's mother, the former Nancy Stewart, had married Xenia's uncle, Prince Christopher of Greece and Denmark, and became Princess Anastasia after her reception into the Orthodox Church.
20. See New York *Evening Journal*, February 3, 1930.
21. Princess Xenia testimony, Hamburg.
22. Lavington Diary, Hamburg.
23. *Ibid*.
24. See Andrew's correspondence with Serge Botkin, May–December, 1927, BA. On December 8 the Grand Duke finally acknowledged that the trip to New York was not only advisable but essential: "I should tell you of my deep conviction that certain people [in Europe] are bent on destroying her [A]."
25. Lavington Diary, Hamburg.
26. She used the Scots spelling "Gallagher." Her affidavit is dated December 22, 1930, in EHF. See also her letters to Fallows, EHF.
27. Gallagher affidavit, EHF. Since A's first identity certificate had been granted in Berlin, that was where Darmstadt focused its attempts to have it revoked.
28. Gallagher affidavit, EHF.
29. Leuchtenberg to Rathlef, January 29, 1928, EHF.
30. Lavington Diary, Hamburg.
31. There was a great hue and cry among the Russian monarchists after A's passage through Paris became known. After her departure for the United States a number of monarchists claimed that they had tried to see A at the Hôtel du Palais, but, according to Miss Gallagher, no one but Princess Obolensky (page 205) actually endeavored to do so.
32. Leuchtenberg to Rathlef, July 16, 1928, EHF; see also Gallagher affidavit, EHF.
33. Gallagher affidavit, EHF.
34. Prince Vladimir Romanov to Dominique Audlères, quoted without citation in Audlères I, 178.
35. Andrew to Serge Botkin, February 17, 1928, BA; in Audlères I, 178.
36. Andrew to Serge Botkin, February 6, 1928.
37. Gallagher affidavit, EHF.
38. Gallagher affidavit, EHF; and interview with Mrs. Edward J. Wynkoop (Nancy Leeds).
39. Gallagher affidavit, EHF.
40. Quoted in Lavington Diary, Hamburg.

41. Leuchtenberg to Rathlef, February 11, 1928, EHF.
42. Gallagher affidavit, EHF.
43. Eleonore, Grand Duchess of Hesse, to Prince Louis of Hesse, February 15, 1928, Hamburg.
44. Andrew to Gleb Botkin, April 3, 1928; in Botkin II, 217.
45. Andrew to Serge Botkin, February 17, 1928.
46. Andrew to Maria Debagory, February 16, 1928, in Audlères I, 179.
47. Andrew to Serge Botkin, February 17, 1928, BA.
48. Andrew's letter to Olga (Lilburn translation) is dated February 4, 1928, and was first published on February 10, 1960, in *L'Aurore* (Paris). See Part IV.
49. See Botkin II, 157–166. In 1935 Agnes Gallagher sent Fallows a number of newspaper clippings concerning A's arrival. They are now in EHF, but are not clearly identified by date and publication. All of the clippings in question are from the period between February 7 and February 12, 1928.
50. Undated, unattributed article, EHF.
51. Botkin II, 163.
52. *Herald Tribune*, February 9, 1928.
53. *Herald Tribune*, February 8, 1928.
54. Undated, unattributed article, EHF.
55. *Herald Tribune*, February 13, 1928.
56. *Herald Tribune*, February 9, 1928.
57. Gleb quoted Rachmaninoff: "I shall be very frank with you and tell you right now, that I am by no means convinced that she is actually Grand Duchess Anastasia. Hers seems to be one of those stories which are too fantastic to be believed, yet require even more fantastic explanations to be disbelieved. But I am convinced that she is no deliberate impostor. . . . I want to be of help" (Botkin II, 153). Rachmaninoff's sister-in-law, Sophie Satin, wrote me on April 23, 1971, that he "was one of the Russians who supplied some money for her coming to America, [saying] that this claim must be settled, that her presence here might help to learn the truth."
58. Undated, unattributed article, EHF.
59. Botkin II, 161–162.
60. Undated, unattributed article, EHF.
61. Botkin II, 165–166.
62. Undated, unattributed article, EHF.
63. Undated, unattributed article, EHF.
64. Undated, unattributed article, EHF.
65. Botkin II, 165.
66. Gleb Botkin in *Evening World*, July 19, 1928.
67. See articles in the *Herald Tribune*, February 10–11, 1928; and Botkin II, 174.
68. Gallagher affidavit. Miss Jennings was seventy-four at this time and lived at 48 Park Avenue.
69. A "Interviews."
70. Gallagher affidavit, EHF.
71. A "Memoirs" ("My American Experiences").
72. Undated, unattributed article, EHF.
73. *New York American*, February 10, 1928.
74. *New York Mirror*, March 29, 1930.
75. Princess Xenia testimony, Hamburg.
76. BA contains a number of clippings.
77. *Levestia*, February 25, 1928.
78. Alexander, *Once a Grand Duke*, 335–336.
79. See page 229.
80. Alexander, *Once a Grand Duke*, 335.
81. *Literary Digest*, July 7, 1928.
82. For fun, see Donald Ogden Stewart's satire "Introducing Anastasia," in *The New Yorker*, February 25, 1928.
83. Undated, unattributed article, EHF.
84. *New York Times*, February 28, 1928.
85. *Herald Tribune*, February 11, 1928.

86. A "Memoirs" ("My American Experiences"), EHF.
87. See A "Memoirs" ("My American Experiences"). Miss Jennings's gardens at Fairfield, Connecticut, were open to the public.
88. Borkin II, 184.
89. A "Interviews."
90. Derfelden affidavit, EHF.
91. See A "Memoirs." Nicholas Roosevelt took an abiding interest in A's case. See Fallows's "Entries" and letters on this subject in EHF.
92. Derfelden to Annie B. Jennings, May 15, 1930 (? — no year in letter), Hamburg.
93. Princess Xenia testimony, Hamburg.
94. King George I of Greece was the brother of Queen Alexandra and of the Dowager Empress.
95. Affidavit of Princess Xenia Georgievna, February 10, 1958, attached to her Hamburg testimony.
96. FA, 106.
97. Princess Xenia testimony, Hamburg.
98. Princess Xenia testimony, Hamburg.
99. Sophie Satin reported that "she did not take any part in the conversation and was very reserved" (to PK, April 23, 1971).
100. Adele Astaire was a great friend of William Leeds, and was with Leeds during an accidental explosion at the boathouse at Kenwood; A was sure the blast had been meant for her: Interview with Mrs. Edward J. Wynkoop.
101. Letter of Prince Paul Chavchavadze to PK, February 1971 (undated).
102. Interview with Princess Nina.
103. Quoted in Andrew to Serge Borkin, May 6, 1928, BA.
104. Princess Xenia testimony, Hamburg.
105. Mrs. Edward J. Wynkoop to Brien Horan, in Horan MS.
106. Derfelden affidavit, EHF.
107. David Chavchavadze to Brien Horan, in Horan MS.
108. Notes and emendations of Mrs. Edward J. Wynkoop to my manuscript. David Chavchavadze reported A's reply differently as "Because it was the last language we heard before we were all shot." See Horan MS.
109. Derfelden affidavit, EHF.
110. Princess Xenia testimony, Hamburg.
111. Derfelden affidavit, EHF.
112. See Princess Xenia testimony, Hamburg.
113. Derfelden affidavit, EHF.
114. Princess Xenia testimony, Hamburg; also in Auclères I, 185.
115. Princess Xenia affidavit, attached to Hamburg testimony.
116. A to Mrs. Edward J. Wynkoop (in my presence).
117. Xenia to Dominique Auclères, in Auclères I, 183–184.
118. Gleb Borkin to Fallows, June 5, 1928, EHF.
119. A "Memoirs."
120. Gleb Borkin in *Evening World*, July 19, 1928.
121. Princess Xenia testimony, Hamburg.
122. For Gleb Borkin's account of the goings-on at Oyster Bay in August 1928 see Borkin II, 221–280, an account disputed not only by Xenia, but on many points of detail by Edward Fallows (see Fallows notes on *The Woman Who Rose Again*, EHF).
123. Quoted in *Evening World*, July 19, 1928. See also Borkin II, 231.
124. Gleb Borkin in *Evening World*, July 19, 1928.
125. Xenia to Gleb Borkin, July 18, 1928, EHF.
126. Borkin II, 259, and Gleb's correspondence with Fallows in EHF.
127. Xenia to Dominique Auclères, in Auclères I, 184.
128. Gleb Borkin to A, July 12, 1928, EHF. This was the famous "sealed letter" that Gleb alleged Xenia had withheld from A to nefarious purpose (Borkin II, 226). Xenia explained to the contrary that she had only been hoping to spare A further distress. The envelope and Gleb's copy are both in EHF.
129. Xenia to Auclères, in Auclères I, 184.
130. Leuchtenberg to Rathlef, November 8, 1928, EHF.

131. See Princess Xenia testimony, Hamburg; and A "Memoirs" ("My American Experiences").
 132. A to James R. Sheffield, January 4, 1930, EHF and Hamburg.
 133. Affidavit of Edward H. Fallows, March 1, 1938, EHF.
 134. Interview with Mrs. Edward J. Wynkoop.
 135. Clippings in EHF.
 136. *Evening Journal*, July 26 (?), 1930. "Billy Benedict" was just one of the noms de plume (among them "Dolly Madison" and "Cholly Knickerbocker") of the society columnist Maury Paul.
 137. Interview with Mrs. Edward J. Wynkoop.
 138. This is hazy, as Nina herself was on the subject. When I met the Princess in 1971 she declared that she did not believe in A's identity, while arguing consistently in her favor. At the end of the twenties, however, she was widely quoted as being on A's side. See Curtis J. Mar to Fallows, November 21, 1929, EHF.
 139. Mrs. Edward J. Wynkoop to PK, July 7, 1971.
 140. Mar to Fallows, December 10 and 27, 1930, EHF.
- ## 10. Changing Fortunes
1. All of A's signed agreements with Fallows between 1928 and 1940 are in EHF.
 2. See Fallows "Entries," August 1928, EHF.
 3. Gleb Borkin to Andrew, October 24, 1928, EHF.
 4. Borkin II, 265–266.
 5. A "Memoirs" ("My American Experiences").
 6. Borkin II, 275.
 7. A never knew when and how the name "Anna" was chosen, but it seems to have been picked when she was sent back to Germany in 1931.
 8. A "Memoirs" ("My American Experiences").
 9. Borkin II, 276; see also 290–327.
 10. Borkin II, 308.
 11. Borkin II, 204.
 12. Borkin I, 310–311.
 13. Gleb Borkin to Fallows, October 17, 1929, EHF.
 14. Borkin II, 282.
 15. The Copenhagen Statement is reproduced in FA, 9–11. The version issued from Darmstadt also bore the signatures of the Grand Duke of Hesse and his sisters Victoria and Irene.
 16. Nogly, 84; in *Evening Post*, January 14, 1929.
 17. Gleb Borkin to Fallows, October 26, 1928, EHF.
 18. Borkin II, 284–285.
 19. Statement of Edward H. Fallows, October 28, 1928, EHF; also in *New York Times*, October 30, 1928.
 20. Letter of October 18, 1928, in EHF and BA.
 21. Interview with Tatiana Borkin.
 22. Gleb Borkin to Fallows, October 26, 1928, EHF.
 23. See Fallows "Entries," March 1929, EHF.
 24. Tatiana Borkin quoted in Horan MS.
 25. Tatiana Borkin to Fallows, December 8, 1930, EHF.
 26. Borkin II, 286–287.
 27. Borkin II, 287.
 28. See A "Memoirs" ("My American Experiences").
 29. A "Memoirs" ("My American Experiences").
 30. The Grandnor Corporation had actually been formed in August 1928, but was not incorporated until February 9, 1929. All material relating to the corporation is in EHF.
 31. Statement of Edward Fallows, December 5, 1928, EHF.
 32. A "Interviews" ("Tentative for Introduction").
 33. Affidavit of A, December 15, 1928, EHF; in Borkin II, 203.
 34. Kennedy to Fallows, July 3, 1928, EHF.

35. Fallows and Kennedy conversations with Gallop: from Fallows's "Entries" of February 25 and April 11, 1929, EHF.
36. Bank of England to Earl Mountbatten of Burma, April 18, 1958, Hamburg.
37. Vorres, 245.
38. See the testimony of Alexander Kerensky and Prince Lvov in the Russian edition of the Sokolov report; also quoted in the memorandum of Kurt Vermehren, January 31, 1961, Hamburg.
39. Bendendorff, *Last Days at Tsarskoe Selo*, 125.
40. *Observer* and Sampson: in Aulères I, 132–133.
41. A "Interviews."
42. See Botkin II, *passim*; and in particular pp. 201–204; and 99.
43. Interview with Princess Nina.
44. Affidavit of A, August 10, 1938, EHF.
45. See Fallows's "Entries" and letters, EHF; also Ponsonby, Sir Frederick, *Recollections of Three Reigns* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1951).
46. Vorres, 185. For an account of the sale of the Dowager Empress's jewelry collection, see Vorres, 180–185; and Ponsonby, 339. Grand Duchess Olga received forty thousand pounds from the sale, while her elder sister, Xenia, took sixty thousand — something Olga still resented thirty years later: "Xenia took it upon herself to arrange things. I was given to understand that the matter could not concern me very closely because I had a commoner for a husband."
47. Letter of Mme. Nina Semenov-Tian-Chansky to Dominique Aulères, in Aulères I, 131.
48. Interview with Princess Nina; see also memorandum of counsel, Hamburg.
49. Vorres, 180. The Dowager Empress, after several years of chaos, had been granted an annuity of ten thousand pounds by the British royal family.
50. See Botkin II, 201; I have heard A use these words.
51. In *Nicholas and Alexandra*, Robert K. Massie cites a letter from the Empress to the Tsar in 1915 in which she writes that Sir George Buchanan, the British ambassador to Russia, is coming to the palace — "as he brings me again over 100,000 p [pounds] from England." Massie concludes on the basis of this note, "By the end of the war there was nothing left." So it might seem, but this line from the Empress's letters demonstrates by itself that the Tsar's fortune was not brought back to Russia from England in a burst of patriotism at the outbreak of hostilities, as most of the family claimed. It also completely discredits Sir Edward Peacock's contention that there was "never" any money in England. If we knew how much the Tsar had kept there to begin with, it might be possible to determine how much was left at the time of the Revolution, but we don't, and Massie is only guessing that the funds had all been spent. See Massie, 530.
52. Sworn statement of Lili Dehn, September 23, 1955, Hamburg; and in IA, 261–262.
53. See IA, 260; Williams, 348–349; and Fallows's "Entries," letters, and statements, EHF. The money in Berlin later became the nominal object of A's court battles.
54. Statement of Edward Fallows, dated 1936, EHF.
55. Fallows "Entry," October 15, 1935, EHF.
56. Berkman, Edward O., *The Lady and the Law* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1976), 141, 149.
57. Fallows to Paul Leverkuehn, May 12, 1939, EHF.
58. See Fallows "Entries," 1935–1938, EHF.
59. Fallows to Harold Brooks, November 9, 1937, EHF. Brooks's widow later told Fallows that in her opinion Bark had "engineered" the negative attitude of the Grand Duchesses Xenia and Olga toward A. See Fallows "Entry" January 22, 1938, EHF.
60. Fallows "Entry," May 12, 1939, EHF.
61. See the articles in the *New York Times* of July 29 and 30, 1929, concerning the application of Prince Serge Romanovsky (Leuchtenberg), as representative of the Romanov family, to order a search for the Tsar's wealth in the United States.
62. Private correspondence seen by PK.
63. Fallows to A, January 13, 1930, EHF.
64. Fallows to Curtis J. Mar, October 27, 1929, EHF.
65. *Evening Journal*, February 3, 1930.
66. *New York Sunday News*, August 2, 1931.
67. A "Memoirs" ("My American Experiences").

68. A review is in the *New York Times*, June 5, 1928.
69. Unattributed transcript of letter received by Duncan Edwards, "Southport, Connecticut, January, 1960," in the possession of Mrs. Edward J. Wynkoop.
70. Guy Bolton in *Theatre Arts*, May 1956 ("Riddle of Anastasia").
71. Some of her letters, dictated frequently to Miss Jennings and, when not, to Miss Jennings's secretary, are in EHF.
72. A to James R. Sheffield, January 4, 1930, EHF; Hamburg.
73. "My American Experiences," EHF.
74. A "Interviews" ("Tentative for Introduction").
75. See Mar's correspondence with Fallows, EHF.
76. All of her life A kept a collection of photographs of the Russian imperial family, some of which she clipped from newspapers and magazines and others that had been sent to her at random by her friends and, frequently, by "the public." Sydney Gibbes, the English tutor at Tsarskoe Selo, who met A in 1954, remarked: "I did not show her any pictures or photographs of the imperial family as she would probably have recognised them. I understand she had a collection of 2,000 postcards and photographs" (Trewin, *The House of Special Purpose*, 147).
77. A to Sheffield, January 28, 1930, EHF.
78. "My American Experiences."
79. A to Sheffield, January 28, 1930.
80. "My American Experiences."
81. Wilton Lloyd-Smith to Foster M. Kennedy, March 27, 1930. A document was prepared for submission at Hamburg under the heading "*Auszüge der Briefe aus der Amerika-zeit*" ("Extracts from the letters from the American period"). Most, but not all, of the letters cited to the end of the chapter are now in EHF; others in the *Auszüge*.
82. Lloyd-Smith to Fallows, August 22, 1930, EHF.
83. Lloyd-Smith to Sheffield, March 28, 1930, *Auszüge*.
84. "My American Experiences."
85. Annie B. Jennings to Lloyd-Smith, March 25, 1930, *Auszüge*.
86. Duncan Edwards's extract, sent to Mrs. Wynkoop.
87. "My American Experiences."
88. Lloyd-Smith to Fallows, August 22, 1930, EHF.
89. Oliver Jennings to Wilton Lloyd-Smith, April 28, 1930, *Auszüge*.
90. Lloyd-Smith to Fallows, August 22, 1930, EHF.
91. The Baird-Cossley-Bart material is taken from "My American Experiences."
92. *Times* to Lloyd-Smith, June 17, 1930, *Auszüge*.
93. "My American Experiences."
94. Jill and Baird went promptly to Miss Jennings's brothers to demand payment of one thousand dollars for services rendered to "Mrs. Anderson." They were shown the door. "You realize I spent hours talking to that awful woman," said Baird during a meeting with Lloyd-Smith. "That is worth something" — to which Lloyd-Smith replied that it probably wasn't worth arrest for extortion. A transcript of the conversation with Lloyd-Smith is in EHF, dated June 6, 1930.
95. Lloyd-Smith to Fallows, August 22, 1930, EHF.
96. "My American Experiences."
97. Dictated notes of Marguerite Jennings, June 26, 1930, from the files of Wilton Lloyd-Smith, currently in the collection of Mrs. John J. Weber.
98. Gleb Botkin to Fallows, November 20, 1930, EHF.
99. Miss Jennings to Lloyd-Smith, June 11, 1930, *Auszüge*.
100. Report of Adeline Moffat of her conversation with Lloyd-Smith, undated (1931, notes and transcript in EHF). Miss Moffat was a painter from Boston who had formed the "Committee for the Recognition of the Grand Duchess Anastasia" and who became a lifelong friend of A's. It was she who took down A's dictation for "My American Experiences" in 1932.
101. Report to Duncan Edwards, sent to Mrs. Wynkoop.
102. Xenia to A, undated, EHF.
103. Lloyd-Smith to Miss Jennings, July 15, 1930, *Auszüge*.
104. Walter Jennings to Lloyd-Smith, August 2, 1930, *Auszüge*.
105. Lloyd-Smith to Fallows, August 22, 1930, EHF.

106. Lloyd-Smith to Fallows, March 19, 1932, EHF.
107. Transcript of telephone conversation, July 24, 1930, in the collection of Mrs. John J. Weber.
108. "Petition for the Commitment of the Insane," filed with the Supreme Court of New York, July 24, 1930.
109. Lloyd-Smith to Walter Jennings, August 1, 1930, *Auszüge*.
110. See IA, 250.
111. See Fallows to James R. Sheffield, October 23, 1930 (EHF): "I had to wait until my return to New York . . . to learn from yourself the details of this untoward action. . . ."

11. Home Again

1. Frieda Riesenfeld's affidavit is dated January 24, 1932, Hamburg.
2. For A's reception at Ilten, see report of Dr. Hans Willige, November 5, 1938; also letters of Dr. Wahrendorff and Dr. Nieper, EHF and BA.
3. "My American Experiences."
4. See the articles of Dr. Paul Madsack in the *Hannoverscher Anzeiger* (in particular his "Anastasia Tschakowsky in der Kuranstalt Ilten").
5. "My American Experiences."
6. See articles of September 26 and 27, 1931.
7. *New York Times*, September 27, 1931.
8. See his letters and "Entries" for 1930, EHF.
9. Lloyd-Smith to Fallows, May 19, 1930, EHF.
10. See the clippings Fallows kept, in EHF.
11. *New York Mirror*, March 29, 1930.
12. Lloyd-Smith to Fallows, August 9, 1930, EHF.
13. Fallows to Sheffield, November 24, 1930, EHF.
14. *Sunday News*, August 2, 1930.
15. See notes to my chapter 10.
16. The records of A's hospitalization were routinely discarded by the staff at Four Winds. There are, however, several letters to Lloyd-Smith in EHF from the sanatorium's director, Dr. Lambert, along with his report of A's being visited by the Russian émigré George Taube, who had served as an officer on the imperial yacht and who denounced her as a fraud. To right the balance, see the letter to Fallows from the Russian Olga Smirnoff, who worked at Four Winds and who "discovered the falseness of the statements made against [A]. . . . Unfortunately, our Russians discarded the question of her identity, fearing responsibility and other complications" (letter in EHF).
17. Transcript of telephone conversation, August 15, 1931, in the collection of Mrs. John J. Weber.
18. The German general consulate in New York informed Dr. Wahrendorff at Ilten on October 29, 1931: "The application for the passport came through Mr. C. J. Foley [Rachmaninoff's manager, who evidently had taken to working with Lloyd-Smith], whose secretary personally accompanied Miss Anderson to the General Consulate" (letter in EHF). The staff at Four Winds would say only that A had not left the grounds of the sanatorium on August 18, 1931, when the document was signed. See letter to Wahrendorff, February 24, 1932, EHF.
19. A's letters to Fallows, typewritten by her, are in EHF.
20. *New York World Telegram*, January 7, 1933.
21. A's remark repeated frequently in my presence.
22. See Fallows "Entries" for 1938, EHF.
23. Notes of Mrs. Edward J. Wynkoop to PK.
24. "My American Experiences." A did not explain whom she meant by "princes" asking for money.
25. A favorite remark of A's.
26. Willige report, EHF.

12. "Hohe Frau": The Hermit of the Black Forest

1. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
2. The name was made official on October 26, 1957, when the Interior Ministry of Baden-Württemberg granted it to A for the purposes of her lawsuit against the Duchess of Mecklenburg (see my chapter 13).
3. See his affidavit of September 13, 1957, Hamburg.
4. Her abortive trip to Unterlengenhardt (in company of Dominique Auclères) is described in Auclères I, chapter 4 ("A l'assaut du petit Kremlin").
5. Auclères II.
6. Interview with Dominique Auclères.
7. Interview with Mrs. Edward J. Wynkoop.
8. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
9. See *Figaro*, October 3, 1968.
10. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
11. A to Gleb Botkin, January 14, 1966, copy left in A's papers.
12. *Life*, February 14, 1955.
13. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
14. Unpublished manuscript of Baroness Monica von Miltitz, quoted in Horan MS.
15. A to Paul Leverkuehn and Kurt Vermehren, February 14, 1955, left in A's papers.
16. A to Gleb Botkin, February 9, 1957.
17. *Figaro*, August 20, 1960.
18. See *Paris-Match*, November 26, 1960.
19. Interview with Dominique Auclères.
20. Auclères I, 248.
21. Titles in general use. See Auclères I; and *Paris-Match*, January 25, 1958.
22. *Der Spiegel*, March 5, 1967. See also *Spiegel* of May 9, 1956.
23. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
24. A great many of the letters were left in boxes in Unterlengenhardt when A moved to Virginia in 1968. It is not possible to identify all of her correspondents. The letters are now with Ian Lilburn in London.
25. Lyrics copyright by Paul Francis Webster. (1956)
26. Marcelle Maurette in *La Revue de Deux Mondes*, February 15, 1958, pp. 703-715.
27. *New York Evening Post*, December 30, 1954.
28. Maurette, Marcelle, *Anastasia*. English adaptation by Guy Bolton. (New York: Random House, 1955).
29. The Ingrid Bergman film was by no means the end of the "Anastasia" dramatizations. In 1967 Lynn Fontanne came out of retirement to play the Dowager Empress opposite Julie Harris in a Hallmark Hall of Fame television adaptation. At the time of her death in 1981, Natalie Wood was preparing a new film version of the story, while in June 1982 a musical adaptation of the Maurette/Bolton script premiered in Miami as *I, Anastasia*. A new play by Royce Ryton, *I Am Who I Am*, opened in New York in September 1982. Finally, in 1956 Lilli Palmer won the German Federal Film Prize for her portrayal of A in a loosely fictionalized version of the story, called in German *Anastasia*. *Die letzte Zarentochter* and in English *Is Anna Anderson Anastasia?* The film never opened in the United States.
30. Interview with Mrs. Edward J. Wynkoop.
31. Interviews with Ian Lilburn and with Prince Frederick of Saxe-Altenburg.
32. Agreement of June 4, 1954, left in A's papers.
33. Letter of Ulrich von Gienanth to A, undated, left in A's papers.
34. Interview with Ian Lilburn. The chalet, prefabricated, was erected in 1960.
35. Maurette in *La Revue*.
36. Interview with A.
37. Fallows's "Entry," July 4, 1939.
38. Prince Frederick of Saxe-Altenburg to Spes Stahlberg, April 13, 1938, EHF.
39. See Auclères I, 15.
40. Willige affidavit, EHF.
41. See "My American Experiences."
42. Affidavit of Prince Frederick of Saxe-Altenburg, August 1, 1938, EHF and Hamburg.

43. Frederick to Spes Stahlberg, April 13, 1938, EHF.
44. Interview with Prince Frederick.
45. Frederick to Spes Stahlberg, April 13, 1938, EHF.
46. Affidavit of Prince Sigismund of Prussia, July 5, 1938, EHF and Hamburg.
47. Frederick to Spes Stahlberg, April 13, 1938, EHF. Prince Sigismund's questions remained a secret to all but a few insiders until 1976, when details were first published in FOT. Among other things, the Prince had asked A to tell him when they had last met, where that meeting had taken place, and exactly where he, Sigismund, had been lodged at the time. A replied correctly that they had last seen each other at Spala, the Tsar's hunting estate in Poland, in the autumn of 1912, and that Sigismund had been given the room normally reserved for Baron Fredericks, the court chamberlain.
48. Interview with Dominique Auclères.
49. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
50. Interview with Prince Frederick of Saxe-Altenburg.
51. Interview with Ian Lilburn. A ordinarily used the German "Friedrich."
52. Interview with Prince Frederick.
53. See Fallows's notes, December 1932, EHF.
54. See Fallows's "Entries" and letters to Julia and Annette Fallows, EHF; also correspondence in BA.
55. Fallows's correspondence with him is in EHF, along with copies of the cables exchanged at the end of May 1929.
56. See affidavit of Ivan Arapov, October 11, 1938, EHF.
57. Gitta Müller-Mittler to Fallows, September 5, 1935, EHF.
58. See Fallows's notes, EHF.
59. See testimony of Anna Samweber, August 10, 1965, Hamburg.
60. See Fallows's "Entries," 1938, EHF, in particular February 8 and August 7, 1938.
61. Samweber testimony, Hamburg.
62. The article in the *News of the World* was dated September 4, 1932, copies in EHF.
63. The claim was lodged on April 7, 1938. As a German resident, A could not sue in England in the years between 1939 and 1949.
64. Letter to Friedrich Voller, September 22, 1932, EHF.
65. Interviews with Tatiana Botkin and Prince Frederick of Saxe-Altenburg.
66. Samweber testimony, Hamburg.
67. The phrase now became a permanent part of A's repertory.
68. A to Gleb Botkin, February 12–14, 1937; EHF.
69. FOT, 244. These were Cecilie's words. The Crown Princess's recognition of A had been unconditional after their reunions at Schloss Lichtenstein in the early 1950s.
70. Another of Prince Michael Benedict's godmothers was Queen Juliana of the Netherlands.
71. A to PK.
72. See her affidavit of March 10, 1961, Hamburg.
73. Müller-Mittler to Fallows, EHF.
74. IA, 265.
75. Fallows to Julia Fallows, February 9, 1938, EHF.
76. Fallows's "Entry," February 8, 1938, EHF.
77. Annette Fallows to Fallows, April 1938, EHF.
78. Milititz affidavit, Hamburg.
79. See Fallows's "Entries" for October–December, 1935, EHF.
80. Prince Frederick to Spes Stahlberg, April 13, 1938, EHF.
81. A to Fallows, October 25, 1937, EHF.
82. Fallows's visit to Hannover: quotes from Fallows's "Entries" for January 28 and 29 and February 8 and 9, 1938, EHF.
83. Fallows's "Entry," July 1, 1938.
84. When Fallows arrived in Hannover at the end of January 1938, in the company of Albert F. Coyle, his Russian-speaking colleague from New York, A remarked: "Please come with me into the other room. I have something to tell you." She explained that Coyle's presence had embarrassed her deeply, that it was "a disgrace" for her not to speak her mother tongue, and then confided: "I took up a Russian book I had and looked at the words. Suddenly I recognized them and began to read. I was terribly excited. It seemed as if a curtain

had rolled up from before my brain. Soon I am sure I shall be speaking it again." And so she was within several weeks. See Fallows's "Entries" for January and February 1938. Fallows continued: "She asked me to keep quiet about it. . . . I asked if there was not someone in Hannover who might talk with her to refresh her memory; she was very emphatic that there was no one whom she could trust; they would say afterward that she had been *taught* to speak Russian, whereas she only wanted to *practice* and bring back her vocabulary." (See Fallows's "Entry" of February 8, 1938). A's progress was cut short by the attentions of the Nazi government.

85. The notes are in EHF, with Fallows's statement attached.
86. See Fallows's "Entries" for the end of June 1938, EHF.
87. See Fallows's correspondence and "Entries," April–July 1938, EHF.
88. The account of the meeting in Hannover is taken from the statement and notes of Paul Leverkuehn (who was also present at police headquarters), in EHF; and the report of Gleb Botkin, written just two days after the meeting, in EHF.
89. Fallows's "Entry," July 16, 1938, EHF.
90. Fallows to A, October 6, 1938; copy in EHF.
91. Annette Fallows to Fallows, April 29, 1938, EHF.
92. Fallows to Gertrude Madsack, July 18, 1938, EHF.
93. In "My American Experiences."
94. A to Gleb Botkin, August 2, 1965.
95. Quoted in *Piedmont* magazine (supplement to the Charlottesville, Virginia, *Daily Progress*), September 7, 1974.
96. See my chapter 13, page 303.
97. A to Gleb Botkin, March 11, 1947, EHF and Hamburg.
98. In general use; see also *Der Spiegel*, March 5, 1967.
99. *Time*, February 11, 1957.
100. Her affidavit, the first to be submitted at Hamburg, is dated November 5, 1957. See also FOT, 246–247.
101. *Figaro*, February 24, 1958.
102. From Dehn affidavit, Hamburg.

13. The Trials — First Instance

1. A general note on use of sources for the two chapters on the Hamburg trials: the depositions of the witnesses at Hamburg are not drawn up in question-and-answer form, but are rather pieced together as a narrative; frequently the questions asked by the tribunal are not recorded on the final transcripts. For accounts of the actual words used in the courtroom I have relied heavily on the articles in the *Figaro* and in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (henceforth abbreviated as FAZ) as the best-informed coverage of the proceedings; and on my extensive interviews with Prince Frederick, Dominique Auclères, and Ian Lilburn (who was the only person to attend every session of the second trial). Where I have cited the court transcripts I have simply referred to the witnesses' "testimony, Hamburg" by date. A complete listing of Dominique Auclères's articles is available at the offices of the *Figaro* in Paris and in the Horan MS. Her unpublished manuscript (Auclères II) is in the possession of her family. It is unpaginated.
2. The declaration of the Tsar's heirs was issued on September 8, 1933. Countess Brassova had sued as the heir of her son George, who had been killed in a car crash in 1931. The certificate of inheritance was issued on November 24, 1937; see Hamburg verdict.
3. See Hamburg verdict.
4. Letter of February 8, 1938, EHF. The use of the address "Imperial Highness" appears to have been no more than a courtesy.
5. In general use; see FAZ articles, 1964–1967.
6. Fallows to Vermehren, July 15, 1938, EHF.
7. For information on Fallows's activities see his letters and "Entries" from 1929 to 1940, EHF.
8. Fallows's notes, December 1932, EHF.
9. Alfred Fuchs to Fallows, January 13, 1933, EHF.
10. Fallows to Julia Fallows, September 25, 1932, EHF.
11. Fallows to Julia Fallows, August 30, 1932, EHF.

12. Fallows to Gleb Botkin January 16, 1933, EHF.
13. Fallows to Julia Fallows, November 26, 1935, EHF.
14. Grace Leeds to Julia Fallows, October 22, 1939, EHF.
15. Annette Fallows to Gleb Botkin, February 27, 1948, EHF.
16. See Hamburg verdict.
17. See Fallows's "Entry," April 20, 1938, EHF.
18. See letter of Fallows to Thomas J. Watson, July 10, 1939, EHF.
19. Leverkuehn to Fallows, May 24, 1939, EHF.
20. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
21. Alan McHenry to Annette Fallows, June 24, 1952, EHF.
22. Kurt Vermehren to Annette Fallows, August 20, 1954, EHF.
23. Kurt Riezler to Annette Fallows, February 8, 1947, EHF.
24. Memorandum of Kurt Vermehren, January 31, 1961, Hamburg.
25. See FOT, 228-230, and Lilburn MS.
26. Mayer was heard in Berlin on November 8, 1956.
27. Headline in *Newsweek*, February 11, 1957.
28. Lilburn MS.
29. Quoted in Lilburn MS. from verdict of the Berlin High Court.
30. A's petition for the revocation of the certificate of inheritance was withdrawn on October 29, 1957, two weeks exactly after battle was formally lodged at Hamburg. According to Ian Lilburn, Hamburg was chosen "only out of consideration for the Duchess of Mecklenburg, who would not have liked the case to be conducted in her own town." Hans-Hermann Krampf, who represented the Duchess and her codéfendant, Louis of Hesse, practiced in Düsseldorf; the younger attorney, Berenberg-Gossler, was, like Vermehren, based in Hamburg.
31. See Sigismund's affidavit of September 13, 1957, Hamburg. Sigismund, "disinherited" by the Nazis in the 1930s, had left Germany to live in Costa Rica; after the war, he never bothered to obtain formal reinstatement. He had married Prince Frederick's sister, Charlotte Agnes. Their daughter Barbara, born in 1920, was adopted by her grandmother, Princess Irene, who did not, however, sever ties with her son.
32. Lilburn MS.
33. Auclères I, 11.
34. Interview with Dominique Auclères.
35. Auclères II.
36. Headline in the *Figaro*, April 12, 1958.
37. Auclères II; also interview with Dominique Auclères.
38. Interview with Dominique Auclères.
39. Auclères I, 14.
40. Auclères II.
41. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
42. FAZ, May 22, 1958.
43. *Figaro*, January 10, 1958.
44. Auclères I, 14.
45. FAZ, March 31, 1958.
46. See FAZ, May 21 and 23, 1958.
47. Auclères I, 194-195. Gertrude Madsack and A had long been reconciled.
48. Pierre Gilliard's interrogation is reported in Auclères I, 196-200, and in the *Figaro*, March 31 and April 1, 1958. Other references as cited.
49. Auclères II.
50. *Die Zeit*, April 10, 1958.
51. FAZ, April 1, 1958.
52. Auclères II.
53. Auclères I, 200; and II.
54. Dassel's testimony reported in Auclères I, 200-206; and from the court transcript as reported in *Figaro*, April 2 and 3, 1958.
55. Auclères II.
56. FAZ, April 5, 1958.
57. A to Gleb Botkin, February 9, 1957.
58. Auclères II; and I, 230.
59. Auclères II.

60. Quoted in *Figaro*, May 21, 1958.
61. Gibbs had already provided a statement denouncing A for publication in FA (138-140). No mention of that fact was made in his subsequent deposition, nor in the book prepared from his private papers (Trewin, *The House of Special Purpose*), where both statements are reproduced as if there were two claimants in play. Gibbs was heard in London on January 17, 1959 (testimony at Hamburg); see also Trewin, 146-147.
62. Interview with Prince Frederick.
63. Interview with Ian Lilburn. After Krampf's withdrawal from the case in 1959 his colleague, Berenberg-Gossler, was assisted by Krampf's wife.
64. FAZ, April 5, 1958.
65. Auclères II.
66. Auclères I, 227.
67. Doris Wingender's testimony is reported in Auclères I, 226-233; in *Figaro* and FAZ, May 22 and 23, 1958.
68. FAZ, May 22, 1958.
69. FAZ, March 31, 1958.
70. Auclères II; and I, 228.
71. *Figaro*, May 24, 1958.
72. See memorandum of Kurt Vermehren, January 31, 1961, Hamburg.
73. Baroness von Kleist affidavit, EHF.
74. Auclères II.
75. Auclères I, 234.
76. See the letter of Bruno Granditzki to Paul Leverkuehn of June 1958; and his Hamburg testimony of November 24, 1958.
77. Auclères II.
78. Mme. Auclères took on as a personal responsibility the tracking down of the *Premier*. See Auclères I, 150.
79. Police report of October 1, 1958, Hamburg.
80. Vorres, 203, 206.
81. Olga testimony, Hamburg.
82. A's hearing in Unterlenghardt reported in the court's protocol of May 20-24, 1959, Hamburg.
83. Auclères I, 240.
84. Auclères I, 239.
85. Paul Leverkuehn to A, August 23, 1958, Hamburg.
86. The Eyckstedt/Klenke report is dated July 26, 1958, Hamburg.
87. The four other specialists were the Professors Fischer, Curtius, Müller-Hess, and Clauberg. Only Clauberg remained to defend his study after the new evidence was submitted (see my chapter 14).
88. FAZ, April 17, 1964.
89. See Horan MS.
90. Quoted in *Figaro*, April 20, 1964.
91. Auclères I, 243.
92. Lilburn MS. It should be noted that the opposition was as eager to see Zahle's papers released as Vermehren was.
93. Auclères II.
94. Auclères I, 253.
95. Berenberg-Gossler's summation appears in FAZ, May 12, 1961.
96. Verdict of the Landgericht-Hamburg, printed privately (*nicht rechtskräftig*).
97. Auclères I, 259.
98. Verdict of the Landgericht-Hamburg.

14. The Trials — Second Instance

1. FAZ, May 16, 1961.
2. Unpublished manuscript of Monica von Miltitz, quoted in Horan MS.
3. FOT, 256.
4. Quoted in Horan MS.
5. Memorandum of Kurt Vermehren (*Berufungsbegründung*), March 31, 1962, Hamburg.

6. Auclères I, 259.
7. Interview with Prince Frederick.
8. Auclères II.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. A to Gleb Botkin, November 9, 1965.
12. *Sunday Times* (London), March 15, 1964 ("Sorting Out the Tangled House of Romanoff").
13. He was a close friend of Ian Lilburn.
14. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
15. Auclères II.
16. Ian Lilburn to Gleb Botkin, May 1, 1965, copy in Lilburn's collection.
17. Lilburn MS.
18. FAZ, April 9, 1964.
19. FAZ, April 10, 1964.
20. FAZ, April 11, 1964.
21. Auclères II.
22. FAZ, April 10, 1964.
23. FAZ, February 5, 1965.
24. *Die Welt*, April 10, 1964.
25. FAZ, November 19, 1965.
26. FAZ, April 17, 1964.
27. *Figaro*, April 17, 1964.
28. From report of Dr. Reche of December 5, 1959, as reported in *Figaro*, April 17, 1964.
29. *Figaro*, April 17, 1964.
30. *Figaro*, April 20, 1964. Dr. Schwidetzki's letter, dated February 29, 1964, submitted at Hamburg.
31. *Figaro*, April 24, 1964.
32. FAZ, April 24, 1964.
33. Among the school workbooks were two belonging to Grand Duchess Anastasia, each thirty-two pages long, containing her German and Russian lessons, the latter revealing "copious and extensive errors and corrections."
34. Quoted in Wollmann memorandum of March 15, 1965.
35. Becker testimony, Hamburg.
36. *Figaro*, July 22, 1964.
37. Becker testimony, Hamburg.
38. *Figaro*, July 22, 1965; and interview with Dominique Auclères.
39. Rodzianko had testified during the first trial, on January 15, 1959. Deposition at Hamburg.
40. Auclères II.
41. FAZ, February 5, 1965.
42. *Figaro*, February 5, 1965.
43. *Ibid.*, quoted in Horan MS.
44. *Figaro*, February 8, 1965.
45. FAZ, February 5, 1965.
46. FAZ, February 6, 1965. See also Berenberg-Gosslet's memoranda of October 13, 14, and 22, 1964, Hamburg.
47. See *Life*, October 18, 1963.
48. Auclères II.
49. Auclères's article on Smith was coauthored with Nicolas Châtelain, in *Figaro*, October 18 and 19, 1963.
50. FOT, 209.
51. The Hamburg psychiatrist was Professor Bürger-Prinz, whose report — still unsupported by a meeting with A — was submitted on June 14, 1966.
52. See Auclères's articles of June 4 and 8, 1965.
53. Auclères II.
54. Testimony of Rudolf Lacher, January 17–18, 1966, Hamburg (see my pages 349–351).
55. *Figaro*, June 4, 1965.

56. Wollmann memorandum, February 19, 1967, Hamburg.
57. *Figaro*, June 4, 1967.
58. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
59. Auclères II.
60. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
61. FAZ, November 23, 1965.
62. Interviews with Ian Lilburn and Prince Frederick.
63. Quotations are combined from A's letters of March 16, 1966, August 2, 1965, and February 9, 1957.
64. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
65. Lilburn to Gleb Botkin, May 1, 1965.
66. Interviews with Ian Lilburn and Alexander Romanov.
67. This was another of the family's "open secrets." The noted Russian journalist Isaac Don Levine informed by way of example that Mounbatten had arranged for the deposition of the former British vice-consul at Ekaterinburg, Sir Thomas Preston, who testified against the possibility of A's escape. See Vorres, 247–253.
68. FOT, 230.
69. Lilburn to Gleb Botkin, May 1, 1965.
70. Gleb Botkin to A, January 19, 1965.
71. Lilburn to Gleb Botkin, May 1, 1965.
72. See Wollenberg testimony, July 27–28, 1965, Hamburg; *Figaro* and FAZ, July 28, 1965.
73. Wollenberg testimony, Hamburg.
74. FAZ, July 28, 1965.
75. Wollenberg testimony, Hamburg.
76. Lilburn to Alexander Romanov, August 28, 1965.
77. Quoted in *Figaro*, February 9, 1965, from headline in *Bild-Zeitung*.
78. Lilburn to Alexander Romanov, August 28, 1965.
79. Interviews with Ian Lilburn and Dominique Auclères.
80. Lilburn to Alexander Romanov, August 28, 1965.
81. FAZ, July 28, 1965.
82. Lilburn to Alexander Romanov, August 28, 1965.
83. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
84. See Auclères's interview with Heinrich Kleibenzel in *Figaro*, May 12, 1964; and Kleibenzel testimony, July 28, 1965, Hamburg; reported in *Figaro* and FAZ of July 29, 1965.
85. Affidavit of Anton Hornik, May 30, 1963, Hamburg.
86. Lilburn to Alexander Romanov, August 28, 1965.
87. FAZ, July 29, 1965.
88. Quoted in Wollmann memorandum of December 30, 1966.
89. FAZ, July 29, 1965.
90. The court's protocol is dated September 30, 1965. See also *Figaro*, September 22, 1965.
91. Lilburn to Alexander Romanov, October 10, 1965, copy in Lilburn's collection.
92. *Figaro*, September 22, 1965.
93. Lilburn to Alexander Romanov, October 10, 1965.
94. A to Gleb Botkin, September 20, 1965.
95. Lilburn to Alexander Romanov, October 10, 1965.
96. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
97. Lilburn to Alexander Romanov, October 10, 1965.
98. *Figaro*, September 22, 1965.
99. Lilburn to Alexander Romanov, October 10, 1965. The tribunal never did arrange another hearing of A.
100. A to Gleb Botkin, October 18, 1965.
101. A to Gleb Botkin, November 19, 1965.
102. A to Gleb Botkin, undated.
103. Testimony of September 20, 1965, Hamburg.
104. Kyra testimony, Hamburg.
105. *Figaro*, September 23, 1965.
106. Interview with Dominique Auclères.

107. Interview with Prince Frederick.
108. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
109. *Figaro*, September 23, 1965.
110. Gleb Borkin to A., June 17, 1965.
111. Quoted in Wollmann memorandum, February 19, 1967.
112. *Figaro*, June 8, 1965.
113. Auclères's conversation with Galitzin: Auclères II.
114. *Figaro*, September 25, 1965.
115. Galitzin's testimony dated September 24, 1965, Hamburg. Quotes through page 346 from *Figaro*, September 25, 1965.
116. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
117. *Figaro*, September 25, 1965.
118. Auclères II.
119. Prince Galitzin in *Figaro*, October 7, 1965.
120. Interview with Dominique Auclères.
121. Ernest Louis of Hesse to Eleonore, Grand Duchess of Hesse, February 20, 1916, Hamburg.
122. Copies of the Grand Duke's diary submitted at Hamburg and quoted frequently in memoranda of counsel.
123. Alexandra to Nicholas, February 16, 1916; in Alexandra, *Letters of the Tsaritsa to the Tsar*.
124. Alexandra to Nicholas, March 2, 1916 (Russian Old Style); in *Letters of the Tsaritsa to the Tsar*.
125. Interviews with Ian Lilburn and Prince Frederick.
126. *Figaro*, November 23, 1965.
127. Interview with Ian Lilburn. See also *Der Spiegel*, No. 11, March 5, 1967.
128. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
129. Auclères II.
130. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
131. For Doris's deposition, see *Figaro*, December 29, 1965, and Auclères II.
132. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
133. Hearing of Lacher and Bouzek: see their testimonies of January 17 and 18, 1966, Hamburg; *Figaro*, February 5 and 9, 1966; and Auclères II. I have also relied on interviews with Prince Frederick (who was present during the hearings) and with Ian Lilburn and Mme. Auclères (who listened through the doors at Göttingen).
134. Interview with Dominique Auclères.
135. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
136. Lacher testimony, Hamburg.
137. Auclères II.
138. Auclères II.
139. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
140. Auclères II.
141. Auclères II.
142. A to Gleb Borkin, undated (March 1966?).
143. A to Gleb Borkin, September 20, 1965.
144. A to Gleb Borkin, January 14, 1966.
145. A to Gleb Borkin, January 14, 1966.
146. This was a habitual remark of A's.
147. A to Gleb Borkin, August 2, 1965.
148. A to Gleb Borkin, March 16, 1966.
149. A to Gleb Borkin, September 20, 1965.
150. A to Gleb Borkin, January 14, 1966.
151. Testimony of November 18, 1966, Hamburg; see also *Figaro*, November 19, 1966.
152. Auclères II.
153. For Wollmann's summation, see his memoranda of February 15 and 19, 1967, Hamburg. I have relied also on interviews with Ian Lilburn and Dominique Auclères; Auclères II; and *Figaro*, November 26, 1966.
154. Auclères II.
155. *Figaro*, November 28, 1966.

156. Auclères II.
157. Interviews with Ian Lilburn and Dominique Auclères; Auclères II.
158. *Figaro*, March 1, 1967.
159. *Die Welt*, March 1, 1967.
160. *Figaro*, March 1, 1967.
161. *Die Zeit*, March 3, 1967.
162. *Der Spiegel*, March 5, 1967.
163. *Die Welt*, March 2, 1967.
164. Interview with Dominique Auclères.
165. *Die Welt*, March 1, 1967.
166. FAZ, March 1, 1967.
167. Auclères II and interview with Dominique Auclères.
168. *Figaro*, March 1, 1967.

15. Charlottesville

1. *Figaro*, March 10, 1967.
2. Wollmann memorandum, May 29, 1967, Hamburg.
3. Ian Lilburn to Michael Sissons, November 25, 1967, copy in Lilburn's collection.
4. Lilburn to Sissons.
5. From memorandum of Curt von Stackelberg of July 5, 1968, as reported in *Figaro*, July 30, 1968.
6. Ian Lilburn to Andrew Hartsook, February 10, 1970, copy in Lilburn's collection.
7. Hamburg verdict.
8. See memorandum of Curt, Freiherr von Stackelberg, July 5, 1968, in Lilburn's collection.
9. The majority of the witnesses were set to depose about the peace mission of the Grand Duke of Hesse to Russia and about the escape of the Tsar's daughter from Siberia; one of the witnesses to the latter had been the mistress of Peter Ermakov, a leading member of the Ural Regional Soviet in Ekaterinburg. See Stackelberg memorandum.
10. Quoted from Hamburg verdict in the *Neue juristische Wochenschrift*.
11. From memorandum of Stackelberg of July 5, 1968, as reported in *Figaro*, July 30, 1968.
12. Interview with Stackelberg.
13. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
14. A to PK.
15. Prouteau's documentary was tentatively titled *Le Dossier Anastasia* and was scrapped in 1969 when investors' funds dried up.
16. Interview with Prince Frederick.
17. Auclères II.
18. Countess Oppersdorf, born Princess Radziwill, passed through Unterlengenhardt periodically to be of service to A.
19. *Figaro*, September 7, 1967.
20. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
21. Interview with Dominique Auclères.
22. Auclères II.
23. By edict of Tsar Alexander III, only the children and grandchildren of the sovereign bore the title of Grand Duke or Grand Duchess; Vladimir's title is recognized only by those who also recognize his claim to the Russian throne; to others he remains "Prince" Romanov.
24. Auclères II; and interview with Dominique Auclères.
25. Andrew to Olga, February 10, 1955, Hamburg.
26. A to PK.
27. Quoted from Auclères II; also reported in *Figaro*, September 12, 1967.
28. Auclères II.
29. *Figaro*, September 21, 1967.
30. See Horan MS.
31. Gertrude Lamerdin to John E. Manahan, July 13, 1968, copy in Lilburn's collection.
32. Auclères II.
33. Gertrude Lamerdin to John Manahan.

34. A to PK.
35. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
36. Ian Lilburn to Andrew Hartsook, in Lilburn's collection.
37. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
38. *Figaro*, January 23, 1970.
39. Gleb Botkin letter to Prince Frederick, quoted in Lilburn to Andrew Hartsook, in Lilburn's collection.
40. *Washington Post*, August 24, 1968.
41. *Washington Evening Star*, exact date unknown. The article appeared after A's arrival in America on July 13, 1968, and before her meeting with Maria Rasputin on August 12.
42. *Piedmont*, September 7, 1974.
43. *Halifax* (Virginia) *Gazette*, March 25, 1974.
44. *Evening Star*, 1968.
45. Interview with Russell Roberts (with special thanks to Ellen Donlan).
46. Interview with John E. Manahan. Dr. Manahan has saved the invitation.
47. *Evening Star*, 1968.
48. Horan MS.
49. Conversation in PK's presence.
50. *Argosy*, April 1977.
51. *Evening Star*, 1968.
52. *Time*, August 23, 1968.
53. *Washington Post*, August 24, 1968.
54. Maria Rasputin to A, January 6, 1960, left in A's papers.
55. *Evening Star*, August 12, 1968.
56. *Evening Star*, August 13, 1968.
57. John E. Manahan to PK.
58. Charlottesville *Daily Progress*, January 20, 1970.
59. Interview with Mildred Ewell.
60. *Ibid*.
61. A to PK.
62. Prince Frederick to A, October 13, 1969, copy in Lilburn's collection.
63. *Daily Progress*, January 19, 1970.
64. FAZ, January 20, 1970; and interview with Ian Lilburn. In future, Dr. Manahan did not hesitate to sign pictures, cards, and letters for A, employing the Cyrillic letters.
65. Auclères II.
66. *Figaro*, January 20, 1970.
67. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
68. FOT, 217.
69. *Neue juristische Wochenschrift*, 21 (1970): 946–951.
70. Press release of the Bundesgerichtshof (Supreme Court), February–March, 1970.
71. Quoted in *Richmond* (Virginia) *Times-Dispatch*, February 18, 1970.
72. Interviews with Ian Lilburn and with Prince Frederick.
73. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
74. *Daily Progress*, February 18, 1970.
75. *Time*, March 2, 1970.
76. *Times-Dispatch*, February 18, 1970.
77. *Daily Progress*, January 19, 1970.
78. Auclères II.
79. *Los Angeles Times*, November 30, 1976 ("Claimant to a Bloody Legend").
80. *Coppage Family Bulletin*, in private circulation.
81. A to PK.
82. A to PK; see also *Daily Progress*, October 28, 1976.
83. *Los Angeles Times*, November 30, 1976.
84. *Argosy*, April 1977.
85. *Los Angeles Times*, November 30, 1976.
86. *South Boston* (Virginia) *News*, March 26, 1974.
87. *Los Angeles Times*, November 30, 1976; *Transgas*, July–August 1969.
88. *Los Angeles Times*, November 30, 1976.
89. *Argosy*, April 1977.

90. *Los Angeles Times*, November 30, 1976.
91. A to PK.
92. *Daily Progress*, October 28, 1976.
93. John Manahan to PK.
94. *Times-Dispatch*, October 31, 1976.
95. Conversations in PK's presence.
96. ABC interview for *Good Morning America*; edited version broadcast on October 26, 1976.
97. Interview for "In Search of . . . Anastasia," broadcast 1977–1978 in national syndication (Alan Landsburg Productions).
98. ABC interview.
99. *Ibid*.
100. FOT, 259.
101. *Times-Dispatch*, October 31, 1976.
102. A to PK.
103. *Los Angeles Times*, November 30, 1976.
104. *Daily Progress*, August 7, 1979.
105. Conversation in presence of PK.
106. The results of his study were first published in *Quick*, February 24, 1977.
107. FOT, 255. Furtmayr's first report was dated May 17, 1970. See *Figaro* of June 15, 1970.
108. Associated Press dispatch, February 25, 1977.
109. Interviews with Prince Frederick and with Baron von Stackelberg.
110. Auclères II.
111. *Daily Progress*, February 28, 1977. See also *New York Times*, March 2, 1977.
112. Auclères II.
113. Interview with Mildred Ewell.
114. Interview with Ian Lilburn.
115. *Ibid*.
116. *Daily Progress*, September 2, 1978.
117. Interview with Mildred Ewell.
118. Meeting and conversation in PK's presence.
119. Conversations in PK's presence.
120. See *Daily Progress*, June 20, 1981.
121. *Daily Progress*, June 28, 1981.
122. Dominique Auclères died on September 11, 1981; Royce Rytton's *I Am Who I Am* premiered on September 25, 1982; the imperial family was canonized along with some thirty thousand other "martyrs" to Soviet Communism on October 31–November 1, 1981, in New York City. PK gave A a copy of the ikon.
123. A to PK.

For permission to quote from previously copyrighted material, the author gratefully acknowledges the following companies, archives, and individuals:

- ABC Television for quotations from an interview with Anastasia Anderson from the "Good Morning America" program broadcast on the ABC Television Network on October 26, 1976. Used by permission.
- CBS Songs for the song "Anastasia," Lyric by Paul Francis Webster, Music by Alfred Newman. © 1956 Twentieth Century Music Corporation. All rights assigned to CBS Songs, a division of CBS, Inc. International Copyright Secured. All rights reserved. Used by permission.
- Hubert Clauser and Rosemary Jampolsky for quotations from *L'Inconnue de Berlin: Le Vraie Histoire de nos treize années de lutte pour la reconnaissance d'Anastasia*, an unpublished work by Dominique Auclères. Used by permission.
- Éditions Payot for quotations from *La Fausse Anastasia* by Pierre Gilliard. By permission of the publisher.
- Figaro Littéraire for quotations from several articles by Dominique Auclères, which appeared in *Figaro* during the years 1964–1967.

Hachette, Éditeur, for quotations from *Anastasia, qui êtes-vous?* by Dominique Auclères. By permission of the publisher.

Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., for quotations from *The File on the Tsar* by Anthony Summers and Tom Mangold. Copyright © 1976 by Anthony Summers and Tom Mangold. By permission of the publisher.

The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace for access to the papers of Serge Dmitrievitch Botkin.

Brian Horan for quotation from his unpublished work *Anastasia: The Anna Anderson-Anastasia Case*. Used by permission.

The Houghton Library at Harvard University, Tatiana Botkin, and Clara Lloyd-Smith Weber for access to the papers of Edward H. Fallows and for quotations from these documents. Used by permission.

The New York Times for quotations from two articles: "Anastasia's Issue up in Berlin Suit," February 14, 1928; and "Anastasia to Fight for Czar's Fortune," October 30, 1928. © 1928 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

Marina B. Schweitzer for quotations from *The Real Romanovs*, from *The Woman Who Rose Again* by Gleb Botkin, and from his unpublished manuscripts and letters. Used by permission.

Societäts-Verlag, Frankfurt-am-Main, for quotations from *Ich, Anastasia, erzähle* by Roland Krug von Nidda. By permission of the Publisher.

The Washington Post Company for quotations from two articles: "Claimant to Russian Crown: 'Anastasia' Finds Haven in Virginia," July, 1968; and "Maria Sold on Anastasia," August, 1968. Reprinted from the *Washington Star*. Copyright reserved. Used by permission.

Nancy Leeds Wynkoop for quotations from her unpublished letters. Used by permission.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

This list does not attempt to be an exhaustive survey of the literature concerning the last imperial family of Russia, the Revolution, or the mystery of Ekaterinburg. I have included here only those books I have cited frequently in the text and which I think will be most informative and accessible to the reader.

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

There are three major archival sources for a study of the "Anastasia" affair:

(1) The archives of Serge Dmitrievitch Botkin "relating to the case of Mrs. Chaikovski" at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University. The papers were donated by Serge Botkin in 1937 with provision for a fifteen-year seal. The archive consists overwhelmingly of the correspondence of Botkin and his private secretary, Baron Osten-Sacken, with various principals in the "Anastasia" controversy. Of chief value are the letters of Grand Duke Andrew and Tatiana Botkin (Melnik). (The Andrew letters were submitted at Hamburg in translation from the original Russian, and it is from those translations that I have worked.) Also among the Botkin papers there are loose notes of Harriet von Rathlef, letters of Ambassador Zahle and Pierre Gilliard, newspaper clippings, the reports of doctors and nurses attending Anastasia, and, as the catalogue to the archives reports, "various informations and memorandums."

(2) The archives of Edward H. Fallows, Anastasia's attorney from 1928 until his death in 1940. The papers were donated to the Houghton Library at Harvard University by Fallows's daughter, Annette. There is a great deal of duplication between the Fallows and the Botkin archives (copies of the same letters, statements, news clippings, and so on). The Fallows papers consist of thirteen cartons of evidence, among them seven that, at the time when they were donated, betrayed no discernible attempt at organization, and six that contain folders filed alphabetically under the names of one hundred and twenty witnesses and correspondents. The papers contain the original signed affidavits of the witnesses from the period 1925-1940 (documents that had been believed to have been lost during the bombing of Berlin in World War II), Harriet von Rathlef's notes of her conversations with Anastasia at St. Mary's Hospital, Fallows's correspondence, his letters to his wife and daughter, and his daily diary "Entries." Finally, there are the transcripts of the interviews given (in English) by Anastasia at the law offices of Curtis J. Mar in New York City during the summer of 1929, and the various drafts of her proposed "memoirs," based on her dictations and bearing such

working titles as "The Truth about Anastasia" and "Anastasia: Her Own Story." Of these, I have relied most heavily on the interviews and the section of the memoirs entitled "My American Experiences," which bear the unmistakable ring of her own English and are not distorted by Fallows's editorial efforts.

Certain documents in the Fallows archive consist only in Helene Noeggerath's English translation, prepared for Fallows between 1929 and 1939. In such cases, I have taken the liberty of correcting Frau Noeggerath's English grammar and substituting standard usage for her often awkward words and phrases.

(3) The records of the Oberlandesgericht-Hamburg relating to Anastasia's suit for recognition against Barbara, Duchess of Mecklenburg (No. III ZPO 139/67). Copies of all the material submitted in evidence at Hamburg, along with the transcripts of the witnesses' depositions and memoranda of counsel, are currently in the possession of Prince Frederick of Saxe-Altenburg and of Ian Lilburn. Lilburn also holds in safekeeping the papers left behind in Anastasia's house at Unterlengenhardt in the Black Forest.

INDIVIDUAL MANUSCRIPTS

Auclères, Dominique. "L'Inconnue de Berlin: La Vraie Histoire de nos treize années de lutte pour la reconnaissance d'Anastasia." Loaned to me by the author.

Borkin, Gleb. "Grand Duchess Anastasia." Unpaginated, dated "June- July-August, 1927." In the Fallows papers.

Horan, Brian. "Anastasia? The Anna Anderson-Anastasia Case." Loaned to me by the author.

Lilburn, Ian R. Unfiled manuscript, three chapters. In Lilburn's collection.

Rathlef-Keilmann, Harriet von, with Helene Noeggerath. "Summary" of Frau von Rathlef's answer to the Schanzkowska affair. In the Fallows papers.

BOOKS AND ARTICLES

Alexander, Grand Duke of Russia. *Once a Grand Duke* (New York: Garden City, 1932).

—. *Always a Grand Duke* (New York: Garden City, 1932).

Alexandra, Empress of Russia. *Letters of the Tsaritsa to the Tsar* (London: Duckworth, 1923).

Alexandrov, Victor. *The End of the Romanovs* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967).

Auclères, Dominique. *Anastasia, qui êtes-vous?* (Paris: Hachette, 1962).

Benckendorff, Count Paul. *Last Days at Tsarskoe Selo* (London: Heinemann, 1927).

Borkin, Gleb. *The Real Romanovs* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1931).

—. *The Woman Who Rose Again* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1937).

Borkin, Pierre (Peter). *Les Morts sans tombes* (Paris, 1922).

Borkin, Tatiana (Melnik). *Vospominaniya o Tsarskoi Sem'i* (Belgrade: Stefanovitch, 1921). (Authorized English translation in EHF as *Memoires of the Tsar's Family*.)

—. *Au temps des tsars* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1980).

Bulygin, Paul. "The Sorrowful Quest," in *The Murder of the Romanovs* (New York: Robert M. McBride, 1935).

Buxhoeveden, Baroness Sophie. *The Life and Tragedy of Alexandra Feodorovna, Empress of Russia* (New York and London: Longmans, Green, 1928).

—. *Left Behind: Fourteen Months in Siberia during the Revolution* (New York and London: Longmans, Green, 1928).

Bykov, P. M. *The Last Days of Tsardom* (London: Martin Lawrence, 1934).

Castelot, André. "Le Mystère de la grande-duchesse Anastasia," in *Drames et tragédies de l'histoire* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1966).

Christopher, Prince of Greece and Denmark. *Memoirs* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1938).

Cowles, Virginia. *The Last Tsar* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1977).

Crankshaw, Edward. *The Shadow of the Winter Palace* (New York: The Viking Press, 1976).

Dassel, Felix. *Grossfürstin Anastasia Lebt!* (Berlin: Verlagshaus für Volksliteratur und Kunst, 1928). First published (October 1927) in the *Tägliche Rundschau* as "Zarskoje Selo — Schloss Secon: Grossfürstin Anastasia wie ich sie kannte, wie ich sie wiederer kannte."

Decaux, Alain. *L'Enigme Anastasia* (Paris: La Palatine, 1961).

Dehn, Lili. *The Real Tsaritsa* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1922).

Diterikhs, General Mikhail Konstantinovich. *Ubiistvo tsarskoi sem'i i chelnov Doma Romanovskh na Urale*. 2 vols. (Vladivostok: Military Academy, 1922).

Escaich, René. *Anastasia de Russie: La Morte vivante*. (Paris: Platin, 1955).

Gilliard, Pierre. *Le Tragique Destin de Nicolas II et de sa famille: Treize années à la cour de Russie* (Paris: Payot, 1921).

—. *Thirteen Years at the Russian Court* (London: Hutchinson, 1921).

Gilliard, Pierre, and Savitch, Constantine. *La Fausse Anastasie: Histoire d'une prétendue grande-duchesse de Russie* (Paris: Payot, 1929).

Jacoby, Jean. "La Légende," in *Le Tsar Nicolas II et la Révolution* (Paris: A. Fayard, 1931).

Kerensky, Alexander. *The Crucifixion of Liberty* (New York: Day, 1934).

—. "The Road to the Tragedy," in *The Murder of the Romanovs* (New York: Robert M. McBride, 1935).

—. *La Vérité sur le massacre des Romanov* (Paris: Payot, 1936).

Kochan, Miriam. *The Last Days of Imperial Russia* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976).

Krug von Nidda, Roland ("editor"). *Ich, Anastasia, erzähle* (Frankfurt: Scheffler, 1957). In English as *I Am Anastasia*, trans. by Oliver Coburn (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1958).

Kschessinska, Mathilde (Maria Felixovna). *Dancing in Petersburg*, trans. by Arnold Haskell (Garden City: Doubleday, 1961).

Kyrl Vladimirovitch, Grand Duke of Russia. *My Life in Russia's Service — Then and Now* (London: Selwyn and Blount, 1939).

Laqueur, Walter. *Russia and Germany* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965).

Lasies, Joseph. *La Tragédie sibérienne* (Paris: Editions Françaises Illustrées, 1920).

Maria Pavlovna, Grand Duchess of Russia. *A Princess in Exile* (New York: The Viking Press, 1931).

Massie, Robert K. *Nicholas and Alexandra* (New York: Atheneum, 1967).

Massie, Robert K., and Swezey, Marilyn Pfeifer. *The Romanov Family Album* (New York: The Vendome Press, 1982).

Moorehead, Alan. *The Russian Revolution* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958).

Mosolov, A. A. *At the Court of the Last Tsar* (London: Methuen, 1935).

Naryshkin-Kurakin, Princess Elisabeth. *Under Three Tsars* (New York: Dutton, 1931).

Nogly, Hans. *Anastasia: Ein Frauenschicksal wie kein Anderes* (Hamburg: Verlag der Sternbucher, 1957). In English as *Anastasia* (London: Methuen, 1959).

O'Connor, John F. *The Sokolov Investigation* (New York: Robert Speller and Sons, 1971).

Pares, Sir Bernard. *The Fall of the Russian Monarchy* (New York: Vintage Press, 1961).

Preston, Sir Thomas. *Before the Curtain* (London: John Murray, 1950).

Pridham, Vice-Admiral Sir Francis. *Close of a Dynasty*. Foreword by H.I.H. the Grand Duchess Xenia Alexandrovna (London: Allen Wingate, 1956).

Rathlef-Keilmann, Harriet von. *Anastasia, Ein Frauenschicksal als Spiegel der Weltkats-trophe* (Leipzig and Zurich: Grethlein and Co., 1928). In English as *Anastasia: The Survivor of Ekaterinburg* (New York: Payson and Clarke, 1929). First published (Part I) as "Lebt Anastasia?" in the *Berliner Nachtausgabe*, February-March, 1927. Original manuscript in authorized English translation in the Fallows papers, signed and amended by Harriet von Rathlef.

—. "Wie eine Frau vernichtet werden sollte: Die Wahrheit über Anastasia Tschai-kowsky," first published in the *Tägliche Rundschau* (Berlin), September 1927; portions adapted for inclusion in the above *Anastasia* (Privately printed).

Rodzianko, Colonel Paul. *Tattered Banners* (London: Seeley Service, 1939).

St.-Pierre, Michel, Marquis de. "Epilogue: Anastasia," in *Le Drame des Romanov*, vol. 2 (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1969).

Smirnoff, Serge. *Autour de l'assassinat des grands ducs* (Paris: Payot, 1928).

Sokolov, Nicolas. *Enquête judiciaire sur l'assassinat de la famille impériale russe* (Paris: Payot, 1924).

—. *Ubiistvo tsarskoi sem'i* (Berlin: Slovo, 1925).

Spéranski, Valentin. *La Maison à destination spéciale* (Paris: Ferenczi et Fils, 1929).

Spiridovitch, Major-General Alexander. *Les Dernières Armées de la cour de Tsarskoïe-Selo*. 2 vols. (Paris: Payot, 1928).

- Summers, Anthony, and Mangold, Tom. *The File on the Tsar* (New York: Jove/Harcourt Brace Jovanovich edition, 1978).
- Thierry, Jean-Jacques. *Anastasia, La Grande-Duchesse retrouvée* (Paris: Belfond, 1982).
- Tisdall, E. E. P. *Maria Feodorovna: Empress of Russia* (New York: Day, 1958).
- Trewin, J. C. *The House of Special Purpose: An Intimate Portrait of the Last Days of the Russian Imperial Family, Compiled from the Papers of Charles Sydney Gibbs* (New York: Stein and Day, 1975).
- Viroubova, Anna. *Memories of the Russian Court* (New York: Macmillan, 1923).
- Vorres, Ian. *The Last Grand Duchess: Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Olga Alexandrovna* (New York: Scribners, 1965).
- Williams, Robert C. *Culture in Exile: Russian Emigrés in Germany 1888-1941* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972).
- Wilson, Colin. *Rasputin and the Fall of the Romanovs* (New York: Farrar, Strauss, 1964).
- Wilton, Robert. *The Last Days of the Romanovs* (New York: Doran, 1920).

INDEX

- Abt, Franz, 386
- Adolescent Life of Christ, The*, 247
- Ahlefeld, Liliane, 367-368
- Albert, Mr., 224
- Alexander Mikhailovitch, Grand Duke of Russia, 98, 212-213, 229, 338
- Alexander Nikititch, Prince, 247, 334-336
- Alexander Palace, x, 22, 189, 345
- Alexandra, Queen of England, 97, 103, 122, 215
- Alexandra Feodorovna, Empress of Russia, x-xv, 75, 78, 80-81, 101, 117, 138-139, 162, 178, 216, 228, 238, 274, 288, 343, 347, 366, 391, 422n.51
- Alexis Nicolaievitch ("Alyosha"), Tsarevitch, x-xv, 75, 80, 139, 193, 219
- Anastasia ("Fräulein Unbekannt," Frau Tchaikovsky, Mrs. Anderson, etc.): suicide attempt, 3-4, 34, 39, 324
- in Dalldorf Asylum, 5-28
- in von Kleist home, 29-41
- escape from Russia, 33-47, 401n.70
- illness and stays with various émigrés, 48-67
- family memories, 73-84, 183-184, 195-196, 288
- physical description, 78-79, 85, 141-142, 178, 216, 330-331
- psychological disturbances, 85-90, 143-144, 202, 228, 232, 244-246, 249-252, 254-260, 303, 332, 341-342, 352-353, 370-373, 380-381, 389
- family reaction to, 96-124, 222-223, 229-232
- in Switzerland, 130-133
- in Oberstdorf, 133-160
- response to von Rathlef's book on, 149-176
- at Castle Secon, 159-204
- Schankowska affair and, 165-176, 283-284, 304-308, 314, 316-317, 348-349, 415n.80
- journey to U.S., 202, 203-211
- in New York City, 211-215, 226-252
- threat against, 213-214
- in Oyster Bay, 216-225
- personal and family finances, 220-224, 231, 233-240, 245, 295, 428n.30
- return to Europe, 253-260
- in Unterlengenhart, 263-271, 286-288, 315, 334-335, 352-353, 370-372

- Anastasia (*Continued*)
 in Hannover, 279-285
 escape from East Germany, 285-286
 trials (1958-1961), 289-317
 handwriting, 158, 314, 327-329
 trials (1964-1967), 318-358
 anthropological evidence of identity, 325-327, 384-385
 appeal to Federal Supreme Court, 361-365, 376-378, 385
 in Charlottesvile, 370, 372-375, 378-391
 marriage to Jack Manahan, 375-376, 378-391
 physical deterioration, 388-391
Anastasia (film), 268-270, 372
Anastasia: A Woman's Fate as a Mirror of the World Catastrophe, 74
 See also Harriet von Rathlef-Keilmann
 Anderson, Anna, vii-x, 227, 254
 See also Anastasia
 Andreewsky, Maria, 7
 Andreievsky, Captain Stefan, 22, 23, 24
 Andrew Vladimirovitch, Grand Duke of Russia, 119, 122, 123, 146-148, 150-156, 162, 165-166, 168, 170, 184, 185, 186-187, 203, 205, 206-208, 229, 231, 260, 277, 300, 336, 337, 338, 342, 367, 368, 407n.24, 412nn.79, 85, 414n.44, 418n.13
 Anthroposophy, 263, 264
 Arapov, Ivan, 274-275
 Astaire, Adele, 217, 420n.100
 Auchincloss, Hugh D., 418n.15
 Auclères, Dominique, 295-296, 300, 301, 302, 303, 305, 308, 315, 321, 322, 323, 331, 333, 334, 338, 344, 346, 349, 350, 351, 352, 355-357, 361, 366-369, 371, 376-378, 386, 391
 Bachmann family, 61-62
 Backen, Judge, 296, 308-312
 Baird, Irvin, 247-248, 423n.94
 Bank of England, 220, 233-240, 290, 291, 356
 Baoudin, Anna, 339
 Barbara, Duchess of Mecklenburg, 295, 313, 319, 363, 376-377, 428n.30
 Barham, Patte, 374-375
 Baring Brothers, 236
 Bark, Sir Peter, 237-240
 Bährge, Judge, 323, 340-342, 349, 350-352, 355
 Baumgarten, Maria, 180, 182, 183, 188-190, 191-192, 194
 Becker, Dr. Minna, 314, 316, 319, 327-329
 Beloborodov, Alexander, 336
 Benckendorff, Count, 235
 Bendler Bridge, 3
 Berenberg-Gossler, Günther von, 304, 313, 316, 321, 322, 328, 329-332, 337, 338, 339-340, 341, 344-346, 348, 349, 357, 376, 428n.30
Berengaria, 204, 208-209, 210-211, 227
 Berg, Dr. Ludwig, 73, 74, 86-87, 96, 407n.24
 Bergman, Ingrid, 268, 269
Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung, 13, 14, 15, 398n.63
Berliner Nachtausgabe, 131, 150, 156-157, 160, 164, 165-173, 325, 349, 415n.91
 Berlin Welfare Office, 62
 Bernstorff, Count Albrecht, 291
 Beutler, Willy, 326, 329
 Bischoff, Professor Marc, 157, 229, 313
 Biskupsky, General Vassili, 282
 Bock, Dr. Günther, 44
 Bolton, Guy, 241, 270
 Bonde, Count Carl, 45
 Bonhoeffer, Pastor Dietrich, 85
 Bonhoeffer, Dr. Karl, 85-87, 89
 Boone, Pat, 268
 Boris Vladimirovitch, Grand Duke of Russia, ix-x
 Borkowska, Martha, 307
 Bornemann, Otto, 188, 189, 191, 192
 Borkin, Dmitri, 143
 Borkin, Dr. Eugene Sergeevitch, xii, xiv, 83, 101, 129, 137, 138-139, 227
 Borkin, Gleb Evgenievitch, 129, 198-202, 208-211, 214, 215, 220-223, 226-228, 230-232, 236, 249, 266, 267
 281, 284, 286-287, 308, 316, 334, 335-336, 344, 353, 373, 374-376, 418n.13, 420n.128
 Botkin, Peter, 145
 Botkin, Serge Dmitrievitch, 129-130, 131, 133, 139, 141, 143, 145, 146, 147, 149, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155-156, 160, 164, 165, 176, 185, 187, 199, 276, 409n.66
 Botkin, Tatiana Evgenievna ("Tanya"), 137-146, 157, 159-162, 227, 231, 232, 264, 296, 298, 303, 331, 366, 412n.69, 414n.55
 Bouvier, Janet, 418n.15
 Bouzek, Rudolf, 351, 352
 Brassova, Countess, 289, 427n.2
 Brisson, Pierre, 295
 Brooks, Sir Harold, 238
 Brynner, Yul, 269
 Buchanan, Sir George, 422n.51
 Bucholz, Erna, 10
 Bürger-Prinz, Professor, 430n.51
 Buxhoeveden, Baroness Sophie Karlovna ("Isa"), 22, 24-26, 39, 51, 57-58, 229, 298, 336, 403n.44
 Catherine Palace, 138
 Cecilie, Princess of Prussia, German Crown Princess, 64, 96, 278, 342, 406n.6, 426n.69
 Charlotte-Agnes (sister of Prince Frederick), 272, 428n.31
 Charlottesvile, 370, 372-375, 378-391
 Chavchavadze, Nina (Princess Nina of Russia), 202, 217, 224, 418n.16
 Chavchavadze, Prince Paul, 202, 224
 Chemnitz, Thea. See Thea Malinovsky
 Christian X, King of Denmark, 118
 Clauberg, Karl, 324-327
Clothes Make the Woman, 241
 Colter, John, 226
 "Committee for the Recognition of the Grand Duchess Anastasia," 271, 423n.100
 Conrad (piano teacher at Russian court), 414n.71
 Constantine, Grand Duke of Russia, 272
 Copenhagen Statement, 229, 338
 Coppage Family Bulletin, 379
 Cossley-Batt, Jill Lillie, 246-248, 423n.94
 Coyle, Albert F., 282, 426n.84
 Cumberland, Duchess of. See Thyra of Denmark
 Cuxhaven, 253-260
Daily Progress, 387
 Dalldorf Asylum, 3-28
 Darmstadt. See Ernest Louis
 Dassel, Captain Felix, 187-193, 196, 298, 300-303, 307, 417n.52
 Debagory, Maria, 139
 "Declaration of the Russian Imperial Family Concerning the Tschakovsky Affair," 229
 Dehn, Lili, 238, 287-288
 Derevenko (sailor), 101, 407n.27
 Derfelden, Christopher, 418n.15
 Derfelden, Margharita, 202, 214-215, 217, 218, 418n.15
Deutschland, 253, 255
 Dietz, Heinrich, 47
 Dmitri Alexandrovitch, Prince of Russia, 219
 Dmitri Pavlovitch, Grand Duke of Russia, 98, 185, 229
Double Eagle, The, 16, 19, 21
 Douvan, Simon, 274
 Dulceit, Georg, 327-329
 Eitel, Dr. Theodor, 134, 135, 137, 151, 154-155, 159, 309, 399n.19
 Ekaterinburg, xii-xv, 12, 22, 33-34, 35, 41-44, 45, 56, 58, 77, 97, 294, 329-330, 350-351, 399n.19, 400n.46, 402n.88, 407n.23
 Elisabeth Feodorovna, Grand Duchess of Russia, 276, 345, 412n.78
 Elisabeth Hospital, 4, 396n.8
 Elisabeth [Mavriekievna], Grand Duchess of Russia, 82, 272
 Ellerik, Gertrude. See Schanzkowska, Gertrude
 Else, Sister, 135, 137
 Ermakov, Peter, 433n.9

- Ernest Louis, Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, 64, 82, 90, 91-92, 93, 95-96, 115, 118, 128, 148, 151, 153-155, 158, 168-169, 175, 289, 408n.55, 413nn.23,30
 Russian trip (Hessenreise) of, 332, 344, 345, 346-348, 354, 364, 433n.9
Evening Journal, 209, 224
Evening Post, 209
 Ewell, Mildred, 388
 Ewell, Dr. Nathaniel, 388
 Eyckstedt, Baron von, 313
 Fallows, Annette, 284, 291, 292, 293, 307
 Fallows, Edward H., 220-223, 226, 230, 231, 233-235, 238-241, 243, 244, 256, 258, 274-275, 279, 280-283, 285, 290-292, 426n.84
 Fallows, Julia (Mrs. Edward H.), 291
False Anastasia, The, 116, 128, 206, 215, 299-300, 325
Faust, 136
 Feodora, Princess Reuss, 278
 Ferdinand, Prince of Schönaich-Carolath, 354, 376
Figaro, 395-396, 322, 331, 338, 355-356, 361, 367, 427n.1
File on the Tsar, The, 42, 383
 Foley, Charles, 209-210
 Fontanne, Lynn, 425n.29
 Four Winds sanatorium, 250, 252, 255, 257
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 298, 303, 305, 316, 318, 324, 333, 357, 427n.1
 Frederick Ernest, Prince of Saxe-Altenburg, 265, 271-274, 286, 287, 295, 298, 300, 304, 306, 318-322, 332, 334, 335, 340-343, 348, 351, 355, 357-358, 361, 365-368, 370-372, 376, 377, 384, 385, 386-387
 Frederick the Great, 136
From Double Eagle to Red Flag, 146
 Funkenmühle, 50, 51, 63
 Furtmayr, Dr. Moritz, 384-385
- Gabriel-Robinet, Louis, 295
 Galitzin, Prince Dmitri, 344-346
 Gallagher, Agnes, 203-206, 208, 209, 419n.49
 Gallop, J. Arthur, 234
 Garba (chauffeur), 282
 Gatchina, 73
 George, King of Greece, 215
 George V, King of England, 97, 237
 George Mikhailovitch, Grand Duke of Russia, 119, 202
 Gibbs, Sydney, 304, 423n.76, 429n.61
 Gienanth, Baron Ulrich von, 265, 311, 312
 Gilliard, Alexandra Tegleva ("Shura"), 105-108, 110-111, 123-124, 131, 298, 311
 Gilliard, Pierre, 43, 83, 105, 106-108, 111-112, 115-118, 123, 124, 128, 130, 131, 143, 144, 150, 153, 154, 157, 164, 169, 179, 185, 199, 206, 215, 229, 298-300, 302, 311, 336, 408n.55, 409nn.59,62, 414n.44
Good Morning America, 382-383, 384
 Gordeyev, Darya. *See* Darya Hesse
 Grabisch, Agatha, 168-169
 Grandanor corporation, 233, 240, 247, 290, 293, 421n.30
 Grandsitzki, Bruno, 307-308
 Grünberg, Inspector Franz, 50-54, 58, 62-66, 71, 399n.19
 Hannover, 279-285
Hannoverscher Anzeiger, 279
 Hardenberg, Count Kuno, 91, 94, 115, 154, 158, 169, 211, 405n.48
 Harris, Julie, 425n.29
 Hayes, Helen, 269
 Hearst Syndicate, 168, 169
 Helena Petrovna, Princess of Russia, 44
 Hemmelmark, 22, 51
 Henry, Prince of Prussia, 19, 53, 60-61
 Hermine, German Empress, 278
 Hessé, Darya, 163, 182, 416n.21
 Hesse, Duke of. *See* Ernest Louis
 Hesse, Hermann, 263
 Hessé, Maria, 163, 414n.71

- Hessenreise. See* Ernest Louis, Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt
 Heydebrandt, Adele von, 264-265, 266, 309, 312
 Heyden-Rynsch family, 274
 Hoffmann, General Max, 47, 153, 175
 "Hohe Frau." *See* Anastasia
 Holmberg, Julius, 45
 Holtzmann, Fanny, 238-239
 Horan, Brien, 384
 Hugenberg Press, 150
 Hvidøre, Villa, 97, 122, 228
I Am Who I Am, 425n.29
 Ilten. *See* Kuranstalt Ilten
 Ipatiev house, xii-xv, 34-35, 41-43, 294, 332-333, 339-340, 349-351, 401n.61, 407n.27
 Irene, Princess of Prussia, 14, 19, 22, 50-53, 60, 61, 64, 121, 151, 272, 289, 298, 311, 396n.2, 403n.15, 405n.48, 428n.31
Is Anna Anderson Anastasia? 425
Izvestia, 212
 Jaenicke, Franz, 18, 19, 21, 30, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 60
 James (butler), 381
 "Jemmy" (dog), 76, 401n.70
 Jennings, Annie Burr, 210, 211, 213-214, 232, 240-241, 243, 246, 248-250, 256-258, 260, 284, 391, 418n.15, 419n.68
 Jennings, Oliver, 242, 245, 246, 423n.94
 Jennings, Walter, 245, 251, 252, 257, 423n.94
Journal de Genève, 157
 Kapp, Dr. Josef, 63
 Kasrinsky, Dr. Serge, 187, 229
 Katonah, 250, 252, 255, 257
 Keilmann, Harriet. *See* Harriet von Rathlef-Keilmann
 Kennedy, Gilbert F., 234
 Kenwood estate, 202, 216-225
 Kerensky, Alexander, xi, 235, 322, 356
- Kersten, Edward, 376
 Kleibenzel, Heinrich, 338-340
 Kleinenberg, Herr (German tutor at Russian court), 405n.31
 Kleist, Baron Arthur Gustavovitch von, 27-36, 40-41, 48-49, 54-55, 56-57, 59, 60-61, 84, 115, 157, 167, 188, 306
 Kleist, Gerda von, 31, 32, 34, 60, 306-307
 Kleist, Irina von, 306
 Kleist, Baroness Maria von, 27-29, 48-50, 53, 57, 59, 306
 Klemenetz, Vera von, 180, 183, 184, 190-191, 192, 194
 Klenke, W., 313
 Knopf, Martin, 167, 170, 173, 415n.91
 Knorr, Mrs. H. L., 379
 Knorring, Baron Ludwig, 152-153
 Kolya (soldier in White Army), 47
Königsberger Allgemeine, 157
 Krampff, Hans-Hermann, 304, 309, 428n.30
 Krasnov, General, 146
 Kschessinska, Mathilde, 146, 205, 365, 367, 369-370, 412n.78
 Kulikovskiy, Guri, 110
 Kulikovskiy, Colonel Nicholas, 111, 112, 121, 308
 Kulikovskiy, Olga. *See* Olga Alexandrovna
 Kulikovskiy, Tikhon, 110
 Kuranstalt Ilten, 253-260, 271, 274
 Kyra Kyrilovna, Princess of Russia, 342-343
 Kyril Vladimirovitch, Grand Duke of Russia, 16, 82, 98, 126-127, 128, 162, 277, 281-282
 Lacher, Rudolf, xiii, 332-333, 349-351, 363
 Lambert, Dr. (Four Winds sanatorium), 424n.16
 Lamerdin, Gertrude, 265, 310, 311, 334, 352
 Landwehr Canal, 3, 34, 39
Last of the California Rangers, The, 246

- L'Aurore*, 368
 Lavington, Faith, 180-183, 194-196, 197, 204, 308, 319, 353, 412n.79
 Lavrova, Catherine, 274
 Leeds, Nancy, 217, 219, 258
 Leeds, William, 219, 220, 221, 223-224, 225
 Leeds, Xenia (Mrs. William). *See* Xenia Georgievna
 Leontovich, Eugénie, 269
 Lerche, Robert von, 294
 Lermontov (poet), 341
 Leuchtenberg, Catherine, 180, 196, 199, 410n.5
 Leuchtenberg, Dmitri, 180, 308, 410n.5
 Leuchtenberg, Duke George Romanovsky de Beauharnais, 153, 159, 162, 164, 165, 168, 172-173, 174-175, 177, 179-180, 184-185, 188, 189, 193, 197, 204-206, 207, 223, 258, 260, 299, 391, 408n.45, 410n.5, 413n.26
 Leuchtenberg, Natalie, 180, 200, 308, 410n.5
 Leuchtenberg, Nicholas, 162, 168
 Leuchtenberg, Duchess Olga, 159, 163, 166, 171, 178, 180, 197, 204, 410n.5
 Leuchtenberg, Tamara, 195, 196
 Leverkuehn, Paul, 292-295, 300-301, 307, 311, 313, 315
 Levine, Isaac Don, 431n.67
Life magazine, 266, 331
 Lilburn, Ian, 322, 328, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 342, 348, 350-352, 355, 356, 361, 362, 366, 372, 376-377, 384, 386, 387, 404n.44, 428n.30
L'Illustration, 179, 185
 Lindfors, Viveca, 269
 Lisa (maid), 105
 Livadia, 83, 195
 Lloyd-Smith, Wilton, 243-246, 248-252, 256-258, 423n.94
 London *Times*, 247, 248
 Louis, Prince of Hesse, 295, 304, 313, 319
 Louisa of Saxe-Meiningen, 285
- Louis-Ferdinand, Prince of Prussia, 342, 343
 Lucke, Fritz, 167, 168-170, 172
 Lugano, 130-133
 Lukan, Bob, 211
 McGrath, Ray, 387
 Madsack, Gertrude, 279, 281, 282, 284, 298, 353
 Madsack, Irmel, 284
 Madsack, Paul, 279, 284
Malenkaya, 77, 142, 309
 Malinovsky, Thea, 11, 12, 397nn.42, 49
 Manahan, Dr. John E. ("Jack"), 334, 370, 373-376, 378-384, 387-391, 434n.64
 Mangold, Tom, 42, 43, 383
 Mar, Curtis J., 242, 243
 Margrethe II, Queen of Denmark, 118, 409n.70
 Maria Feodorovna, Dowager Empress of Russia, 83, 96-98, 101, 105, 122, 145, 147, 161, 168, 185, 214, 228, 237, 410n.89
 Maria Nicolaievna, Grand Duchess of Russia, x-xv, 75, 138, 139, 190, 192, 275, 288, 367, 391, 417n.52
 Marianne, Princess of Hesse-Philippsthal, 298, 322, 340, 341, 352, 353, 376
 Maria Pavlovna, Grand Duchess of Russia, 185, 229
 Markov, Nicholas Evgenievitch ("Markov II"), 16, 21-22, 24, 26, 56, 126, 127, 128, 153
 Marshall, Judge D. B., 387-388
 Maurette, Marcelle, 268-271
 "Mavra, Aunt." *See* Elisabeth [Mavriekievna]
 Mayer, Hans-Johann, 294, 350
 Mayhoff, Louisa, 265, 310, 334, 365, 370
 Meade, Dr. Richard A., 387
 Mecklenburg, Duchess of. *See* Barbara Medvedev, Paul, 333, 401n.61
 Mekh, Vladimir Vladimirovitch von, 345-346

- Melnik, Constantine, 137
 Melnik, Tatiana. *See* Tatiana Botkin
 Mendelssohn Bank, 238, 289, 290, 295, 363
 Metfried, Prince of Wied, 322
 Meurisse, Paul, 365
 Michael Benedict, Prince of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, 278, 426n.70
 Miliukoff, Alexis, 265, 371, 372
 Mills, Emily Virginia, 379
 Miltitz, Baroness Monica von, 265, 278-280, 310, 334, 342, 353, 357
 Moffat, Adelene, 257, 271, 432n.100
 Mommsen Clinic, 85, 107-130
 Mordvinov, Colonel Anatoly, 120, 122, 185, 298, 364
 "Mountbatten, Lady Lillian." *See* Jill Lillie Cossley-Batt
 Mountbatten of Burma, Louis, Earl, xiv, xv, 335
 Nagorny, Klementy, 100, 407n.27
Nation, The, 213
National Tidende, 114
 Nazi government, 281-285
 Neander, Irene, 340, 341
 Netherlands Palace, 3, 39, 396n.2
News of the World, 276, 291
Newsweek magazine, 294
 New York *Daily Mirror*, 256
 New York *Herald Tribune*, 198, 202, 209
 New York *Sunday News*, 256
 New York *Times*, 195, 198, 213
 Nicholas Nicolaievitch, Grand Duke of Russia, 16, 98, 126, 144-145, 168, 406n.19
 Nicholas II, Tsar of Russia, x-xv, 16, 36, 75, 77, 139, 146, 216, 237-238, 333, 343, 347, 366, 391
 Nieper, Dr., 255
 Nilov, Marianne, 59
 Nina Georgievna. *See* Nina Chavchavadze
 Noack, Paul, 298, 303, 305, 316
 Nobel, Dr. Lothar, 85, 88, 89, 196
North American Review, The, 213
- Oberlandesgericht*, 319
 Oberstdorf, 133-160
 Obolensky, Princess Lili, 205, 418n.31
Observer, The, 236
 Oertzen, Lori von, 403n.15
 Olga Alexandrovna, Grand Duchess of Russia, xiii, 56, 57, 82, 97, 101, 105, 106, 109-114, 115, 116-117, 118-123, 144, 147, 150, 161, 162, 185, 199, 207-208, 222, 229, 230, 235, 236, 289, 298-299, 308-309, 311, 407n.24, 409n.62, 410n.89, 418n.13, 422n.46
 "Olga, Aunt." *See* Olga Nicolaievna
 Olga Nicolaievna, Grand Duchess of Russia, x-xv, 82, 265, 391
 Opening of Navigation, 218
 Oppersdorf, Countess Elisabeth, 366
 Oscar, Prince of Prussia, 53
 Osten-Sacken Tettenborn, Baron Vassili ("Willy") Lvovitch von der, 104, 128-129, 131, 132-134, 136, 139-141, 143-144, 149, 151-152, 333
 Ostrogorsky, Serge, 122-123
 Oyster Bay, 202, 216-225
 Pace, City Sergeant Raymond, 375
 Pagendarm, Judge Kurt, 376-378, 385
 Palmer, Lilli, 425n.29
 Papa-Federov, Admiral, 59
 "Paper Court Committee," 281
 Paris Russian Monarchist Council, 213
 "Paul, Uncle," 337, 338
 Peacock, Sir Edward, 235, 239, 422n.51
 Peterhof, 101
 Petersen, Judge Gustav, 323, 325-327, 330-331, 344-346, 348, 349, 354, 355, 356
 Peuthert, Clara, 12-14, 17-19, 24-25, 26, 27, 40, 41, 48, 51, 52, 54, 55, 60-63
 Post, Marjorie Merriweather, 373
 Preston, Sir Thomas, 431n.67
 "Princess Sunshine," 80, 92
See also Alexandra Feodorovna
 Prouteau, Gilbert, 365, 366, 369-370
 Prusz, Judge, 323, 355

- Queen Victoria*, 103
- Rachmaninoff, Serge, 209, 214, 217, 412n.69, 419n.57
- Rasputin, Grigory, x, 55, 98, 185, 228
- Rasputin, Maria Grigorievna, 374-375
- Rasputin and the Empress*, 238
- Rathlef-Keilmann, Harriet von, 65-67, 71-92, 94, 96, 99-112, 115, 117-118, 121-133, 206, 274-275, 299, 333, 391, 407n.24, 413n.25, 414n.39
- book of, 149-150, 156-157, 160, 168-175, 179-180, 184-185, 242
- Reche, Professor Otto, 314, 316, 319, 324-327
- Reichsbank, 238
- Reisse, Judge, 296-297
- Repnin, Olga. *See* Leuchtenberg, Olga, Duchess of
- Richard, Auguste, 227
- Richard, Hetty, 210, 227
- Riesenfeld, Frieda, 253-254
- Riezler, Dr. Kurt, 291-294
- Riga, 75, 126
- Rittman, Doris. *See* Rosa Doris Win-gender
- Rodzianko, Colonel Paul, 329, 401n.70
- Rote Fahne*, 336
- Rudnev, Dr. Serge Mikhailovitch, 84, 87, 107, 111, 125, 137, 186, 275, 407n.24
- Russian Charity Committee, 25
- Russian Orthodox Church, 56, 391
- Russian Refugee Office, 15, 104, 129, 165, 276, 282
- Ryton, Royce, 425n.29
- Saathof, Dr. H., 133, 134-135, 151
- Sablin, Captain Nicholas Pavlovitch, 59
- St. Ivan convent, 101
- St. Mary's Hospital, 65, 72, 77, 80, 84, 91, 96-106
- Sampson, Anthony, 236
- Samweber, Anna, 277
- Satin, Sophie, 419n.57
- Savitch, Constantine, 125, 126, 127, 128, 158, 410n.9
- Schankowska, Franziska, 165-174, 283-284, 304-308, 314, 316-317, 324, 325, 348-349, 415n.80
- Schankowska, Gertrude [Ellerik], 283, 284, 309
- Schankowska, Maria Juliana, 283, 284
- Schankowski, Felix, 173-174, 176, 200, 283-284
- Schankowski, Valerian, 283, 284
- Scherl-Verlag*, 150, 157, 165, 169, 170, 172
- Schiler, Dr. T. A., 32, 41
- Schmuck, Judge Peter, 251-252
- Schneider, Fräulein (Alexandra's lec-trice), 404n.44
- Schnitzler, Arthur, 296
- Schuricht, Fritz, 169, 309
- Schwabe, Alice von, 18, 41, 115, 121, 128
- Schwabe, Anastasia von, 30, 128
- Schwabe, Captain Nicholas Adolfovitch von, 16-27, 30, 40, 54, 62, 63, 115, 126, 127, 128, 410n.8
- "Schwibsik," xi, 82
- Secon, Castle, 159-204
- Serge Mikhailovitch, Grand Duke of Russia, 412n.78
- Sergeyev, Colonel, 193
- "Shura." *See* Gilliard, Alexandra Teg-leva
- Shuvalov, Countess Alexandra, 412n.69
- Sica, Vittorio de, 365
- 7-*Tage*, 294
- Sigmund, Prince of Prussia, 264, 272-273, 295, 426n.47, 428n.31
- Smirnoff, Olga, 424n.16
- Smith, Amy, 90-92, 94, 96
- Smith, Dave, 380
- Smith, Eugenia, 331
- Sokolov, Inspector Nicholas, xiv, 42, 43, 145, 329, 401n.70
- Sommer, J., 333
- Sonnenschein, Dr. Karl, 65
- Spindler, Gertrude, 127
- Spiridovitch, Major-General Alexander, 120
- Stackelberg, Baron Curt von, 362-365, 376-378, 384, 385

- Standard* (yacht), 59, 75, 117, 138, 211
- Steiner, Rudolf, 263
- Stillachhaus Sanatorium, 133-160
- "Story of a Fraud, The," 179
- Strachey, Lytton, 103
- Summers, Anthony, 42, 43, 383
- "Sunnie Holme," 241
- Supreme Court (German Federal) at Karlsruhe, 361-362, 365, 376-378, 385
- Supreme Monarchist Council, 25, 26, 126
- Tägliche Rundschau*, 172, 196
- Tatiana Nicolaievna ("Tanechka"), Grand Duchess of Russia, x-xv, 23, 36, 76, 82, 391, 401n.70, 409n.62
- Tatischev, General, 100, 407n.27
- Taube, George, 257, 424n.16
- Tegleva, Alexandra. *See* Alexandra Gil-liard
- Thomasius, Miss, 265, 342
- Thyra of Denmark (Duchess of Cum-berland), 96-97, 98
- Time* magazine, 287, 374
- Tivoli, Hotel, 130-133
- Tobolsk, xi-xii, 58, 77, 101, 117, 138, 139, 366
- Today* show, 356
- Tolstoy, Leo, 103
- Tolstoy, Zinaida Sergeievna ("Zina"), 22-25, 30, 34, 36, 56-57, 139
- Tsar's Courier, The*, 136
- Tsarskoe Selo, x, xi, 73, 77, 95, 96, 116, 138, 187-188, 191-192, 195, 218, 332, 345, 347
- Tschaikovsky, Alexander, 34-38, 40, 47, 72, 83, 399n.19, 400n.33
- Tschaikovsky, Alexander (son), 34
- Tschaikovsky, Anastasia. *See* Anastasia Nicolaievna
- Tschaikovsky, Maria, 34, 400n.33
- Tschaikovsky, Serge, 34, 39, 63, 400n.33
- Tschaikovsky, Veronica, 32, 34, 400n.33
- Twentieth-Century Fox, 270
- "Unbekannt, Fräulein," 5-28
- See also* Anastasia
- Unruh, Fritz von, 91, 95
- Unterlenghardt, 263-271, 286-288, 315, 352-353
- Urvantsov, Leo, 127
- Utkin, Paul, 44
- Vermehren, Kurt, 292-295, 301, 303, 310-311, 315-316, 318-319, 406n.6
- Victoria Feodorovna, Grand Duchess of Russia, 82, 128, 289, 342, 401n.70
- Victoria Louisa, Duchess of Brunswick, 95, 96
- Virubova, Anna, 406n.48
- Vladimir ("Vova"), Prince Romanov, 367-370, 412n.78
- Vladimir Kyrilovitch, "Grand Duke" of Russia, 147, 282, 370, 433n.23
- Volkov, Alexis Andreievitch, 99-102, 104, 122, 123, 407n.24
- Völler, Friedrich, 274, 290
- Völler, Dr. Wilhelm, 171, 173, 174
- Vorres, Ian, 122, 308-309, 407n.24
- Wachowiak, Maria, 7
- Wagner, Klaus, 324, 333, 338, 340, 357
- Wahl, Eva, 54
- Wahl, Konrad, 54
- Wahrendorff, Dr. (Kuranstalt Ilten), 424n.18
- Waldemar, Prince of Denmark, 98-99, 102, 132, 150, 151, 168, 226
- Walz, Bertha, 11
- Wasserschleben, Agnes, 135-136, 162, 163, 173, 180, 309, 310
- Weinstein, S. L., 44
- Weintraub, Bertha, 328
- Weizsäcker, Dr. Lucy, 158
- Welt, Die*, 324
- Werkmeister, Judge, 296-307
- Westend Hospital, 53-54, 55, 60
- White Military Command, 43
- Wilhelm, German Kaiser, 201
- William, Prince of Hesse-Philippsthal, 278

- Willige, Dr. Hans, 259-260
 Wingender, Louise, 304, 306, 348
 Wingender, Rosa Doris, 166-167, 170-171, 172, 173, 304-306, 348-349
 Winicke, Dr., 22, 23
 Winter Palace, 366
Woche, Die, 348
 Woitinsky, Basil, 257
 Wollenberg, Erich, 336-338
 Wollmann, Brigitte, 322
 Wollmann, Carl-August, 320-322, 326-329, 330, 332, 334, 337, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 347-357, 361-363, 376
 Wood, Natalie, 425n.29
- Xenia Alexandrovna, Grand Duchess of Russia, 64, 97, 110, 151, 162, 216, 219, 222, 230-231, 236, 238-239, 289, 291, 335, 422n.46
 Xenia Georgievna, Princess of Russia, 119, 121, 202, 203, 211, 215-225, 229, 245, 251, 257-258, 308, 353, 418n.16, 420n.128
- Yakov, 332, 333, 340, 401n.61
 Yurovsky, Commandant Yakov, 332, 333, 340, 401n.61
 Yussoupov, Prince Felix, 185-186, 277, 298, 308
 Yussoupov, Princess Irina, 185, 229, 238, 335
- Zahle, Ambassador Herluf, 99-100, 102-104, 106, 107, 112, 115, 116, 118, 119, 120, 123, 130, 132, 133, 139, 150-160, 165, 168, 175, 234, 236, 260, 276, 292, 300, 403n.44, 407n.24, 408n.57, 410n.89, 412n.85, 413nn.25,30
 Zahle, Lillian, 122, 123, 143, 152, 166
 Zanotti, Madeleine, 154
 Zaroubine, Alexander de, 211
 Zechlin, Professor Egmont, 346-348
Zeit, Die, 299

AFTERWORD

I had just returned home from a meeting with friends on the night of February 12, 1984, when word reached me from Virginia that Anna Anderson Manahan — Anastasia — had died that day in Charlottesville. I had often wondered what “the end of the story” would be like: that is, what would happen when this woman, who had spent so long telling people she was still alive, actually — finally — died. As a matter of fact, the phone rang for days, newsmen came and went, and many stories of varying accuracy, fair-mindedness, and sympathy got into print. I had never believed that Anastasia would be acknowledged officially during her lifetime, or even after it, and I did my best now not to indulge in useless fantasies of vindication and regret. I was left, in the end, with a powerful sense of anticlimax and an enormous stack of clippings for the files.

I saw Anastasia for the last time at the beginning of September 1983, when she and Jack Manahan agreed to appear with me at a press conference in Charlottesville to launch the publication of this book. I had approached the occasion with considerable nervousness, in the first place because I knew that Anastasia’s living conditions had deteriorated radically even from that point of dishevelment, two years before, where I had left them in the narrative; and, secondly, because I knew that she and Jack both had just been released from the hospital at the University of Virginia, Jack following an unlikely attack of Rocky Mountain spotted fever, and Anastasia simply following Jack, since there had seemed no reasonable alternative to hospitalizing her for the duration of Jack’s illness. During this time, however, the Charlottesville Department of Social Services had fi-

nally taken legal action against both of the Manahans, requesting welfare assistance for them on the grounds that their style of living posed a distinct and serious threat to their health. On August 12 the Charlottesville circuit court had appointed for Anastasia a temporary legal guardian, William C. Preston, a well-known city attorney, who, until a final ruling could be issued, was given "the authority to attend to her immediate needs for food, shelter, personal care, and to obtain funds for her support." Jack, in the meantime, was ordered to undergo psychiatric evaluation to see if he was competent to look after Anastasia, on the one hand, and himself, on the other, and the whole case was due to be resolved in October.

I did not learn of these developments until I had already arrived in Charlottesville for the *Anastasia* press conference, but I don't believe our small gesture to publicity posed any threat to Anastasia's health, or even to her composure, for when it was finished she proved to be in excellent spirits, smiling and chatting with her friends on the front lawn of Mildred Ewell's house and actually calling for "music" to complete the mood of relaxed frivolity. She had agreed to the performance in the first place not in order to discuss her claim to identity, but only as a gesture of support for me; it was my hope, at least, that this formal display of solidarity might nip in the bud any plans that had been made to pester Anastasia for interviews, and that the press would be content, as I was, with her tacit endorsement of my work. I was more than content: the night before, after talking with Jack Manahan outside the house on University Circle, I had brought Anastasia her cup of coffee while she sat, as usual, in the front seat of the car.

"Who brings the coffee?" she said. It was already dark, and at the end of her life her eyesight was almost completely gone.

"Peter."

"Peter?"

"Yes." I had never heard her say my name before.

"You have written this book?" Anastasia asked. She had a way of pronouncing the word *book* that spoke only of contempt and always made me nervous, even though I knew that she was publicly "favorable" toward mine.

"Yes. I hear you liked the pictures."

"Yes. This is wonderful. My friends . . . Frau von Rathlef-Keilmann . . . Zahle, the Danish Ambassador . . . Botkin . . . All those who were so dear to me. It is wonderful. Thank you. Wonderful . . ."

We went on to discuss the problems she and Jack had been having with the authorities, and she asked me, in the shy and reluctant way she sometimes had, to forgive her "confusion." Just the day before, at the farm in Scottsville, she had lost her favorite dog. "Poisoned," she said, holding one bony finger to the sky. "This was plain to see." She told me that her husband had been suffering "more than any person can bear," what with hospitals and guardians and court-ordered tests, and then she looked around her at the refuse in the car. She looked down at her thin blue nightgown,

which was all she wore in the summer heat, and she said, very quietly, "I am no human being anymore." But I saw that she was pleased to be called *Hoheit* — "Highness" — even in this squalor, and her soft dismissal, "*Gute Nacht*," was as clean and crisp and dignified a good-bye as I had ever heard from her before.

I was in England two months later, at the end of October, when Anastasia's temporary guardian, Mr. Preston, was assigned the job on a permanent basis. The outcome of the hearing to determine Jack Manahan's competence to look after Anastasia had never really been in doubt, because no one could argue in good conscience that the situation on University Circle was anything but outrageous. "Witnesses testified that doors are left open for days at the unheated Manahan home . . .," the *Daily Progress* reported, "and said Anastasia Manahan spends most of her days sitting in a parked car, frequently screaming at all hours of the day or night." The screaming her neighbors had heard was, in fact, only Anastasia's habitual call for her husband, but it was no less jarring for that, and the serious risk she ran of developing hypothermia could not be ignored by a court of law. And so Preston was awarded the guardianship, while Jack, although "eccentric" enough in the estimation of psychiatrists at the university, was yet deemed competent to care for himself and to watch while another man made decisions for his wife.

The result was a complete disaster, leading to the final and, I think, one of the most touching adventures of Anastasia's life. For weeks she and Jack were engaged in a perpetual game of hide-and-seek with Mr. Preston and a team of visiting nurses, whom Preston had engaged in the hope that Anastasia might receive the care she needed at home, but whom the Manahans evaded daily by running off to the farm in Scottsville. Jack had already tried to explain in court that the main threats to Anastasia's health were "too much heat and other people," and he continued to insist that the only care he and his wife needed was their own. Mildred Ewell saw Anastasia in mid-November and reported that she seemed much like her old self: "She looked spry and was talking up a storm. Her clothes looked nice. She rolled down the truck window and just chatted away. . . . I told her she looked well and she said, 'I'm going to walk by Christmas.'" For all the difficulties Mr. Preston had had with the Manahans, it still came as a surprise when, two days after this encounter, he ordered Anastasia committed to the psychiatric ward at Blue Ridge Hospital, and there were many who understood perfectly when Jack, "absolutely distraught" over his wife's internment, took matters into his own hands and simply stole her away — kidnapped her, in fact, from the main entrance at Blue Ridge, while a dozen of her fellow patients stood at the windows above and waved good-bye. Later Jack justified the abduction by saying that Anastasia had been scheduled to undergo a CAT scan of the head: "I thought about it overnight and decided that absolutely I was going to prevent that from being done. I was