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**Alice Cholmondeley's *Christine* and the Image  
of Germany in America in 1917\***

The idea of studying the image of one nation in the literature of another found an early proponent in none other than Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, who in addressing the newly-founded *Gesellschaft für ausländische schöne Literatur* in Berlin in 1829, noted that students of a foreign literature can learn to judge their own nation from the image of it presented there.<sup>1</sup> As recently as 1958, however, René Wellek attacked the study of national images as inappropriate for literary research: "It may be all very well to hear what conceptions Frenchmen had about Germany or about England—but is such a study still literary scholarship? . . . It is national psychology, sociology, and, as literary study, nothing else but a revival of the old *Stoffgeschichte*."<sup>2</sup> In 1975 Peter Boerner argued against Wellek that the study of national images is useful and defensible to "understand the emotional and intellectual relations between the people of various nations . . . gain information not only about that nation or national literature but also about the viewer-nation . . . [and] even lead to an improved understanding of the emotional relations between nations."<sup>3</sup> Thus, although Boerner is basically agreeing that this is a kind of national sociology through literature, he maintains that it nonetheless has a value in its own right. But—and here I cannot follow him—he adds: "Since, at least for times past, most references concerning national images are to be encountered in the literary sphere, often it may be preferable to investigate the images of a national *literature* rather than the images of a nation in general."<sup>4</sup> Thus Boerner, too, is hesitant and gives at best a kind of secondary importance to the study of the image of one nation in the literature of another. Unlike both Wellek and Boerner, I submit that literature can play a major role in shaping or reflecting the collective attitude of one society toward another and that research which investigates national images in literature and how and why they function is important and worth the efforts of literary scholars.

The purpose of this study is to inquire into the image of Germany in literature in America in the year 1917, as the United States entered the First World War. At that point, the problems facing the United States were enormous. Woodrow Wilson was in the awkward situation of leading a nation to war within a few months of having won reelection to the presidency as the man who "kept us out of war." Thus the need to fight a war in Europe was complicated by the need to sell the war at home. At least two groups within the United States posed special difficulties because of their real or alleged opposition to the war: the pacifists and the German-Americans. An American propaganda effort at home was developed, and it was effective in welding the nation together in support of the war. President Wilson created the Committee on Public Information, which distributed "patriotic" propaganda to wage war for the minds of men and conquer their convictions.<sup>5</sup> Blackest pictures were painted of, for example, Germany, the Kaiser, and the German national character. Not only public schools but also colleges and universities began to require attendance at war-issues courses. The country turned against all things German, including German language instruction, which was almost eliminated by a combination of public policy and the pressures of social attitudes.<sup>6</sup> The German-language press in America was dealt a crippling blow by censorship legislation.<sup>7</sup>

What scholars have virtually ignored in discussing the American scene during the First World War is the question of the literature of those years and its role in shaping America's attitude toward Germany. Doctoral dissertations directed by Volkmar Sander of New York University have touched peripherally on the question by dealing with the reception of German literature in America during this period.<sup>8</sup> Undeniably, literature from Germany which was read here helped to shape America's image of that country. But other literary works were far more influential, namely the widely-distributed, popular American best sellers which dealt with the German nation. These were surprisingly numerous.

Under the categories "General Nonfiction" and "War Books," Hackett and Burke's *80 Years of Best Sellers*<sup>9</sup> lists as best sellers for the war years not only works about the American war experience, but also studies probing the German nation and the German character, such as *The Land of Deepening Shadow* by D. Thomas Curtin, of 1917, and *My Four Years in Germany* by the American Ambassador to Germany, James W. Gerard, of 1918. The interest in these nonfiction accounts of Germany reflects, in my opinion, a healthy attempt to counterbalance the propagandistic and patriotic materials supported by government agencies, with which the country was being inundated.

The number one best seller in the category "Fiction" in the United States for the year 1917 was H. G. Wells's *Mr. Britling Sees It Through*, a British war novel which had also been the number four best seller for the year before. Aside from the fact that its popularity reflects America's interest in the war, however, it is not of particular interest to my topic, since its subject is not Germany but rather the experience of an

Englishman at the beginning of the war, and one can learn about the image of Germany only peripherally.<sup>10</sup>

Of much greater interest to me is another work, which aroused a great deal of attention at the time but now has been almost totally forgotten, the novel *Christine* by Alice Cholmondeley. I may be open to criticism for attempting to present the image of Germany in literature in America by investigating just one work, but *Christine* is for several reasons an ideal work on which to base such a study. To begin with, the novel's central purpose is to present the reading public with a picture of the German nation and the German national character. In addition, in many instances it copies and repeats what others were saying about the state of affairs in Germany, thus becoming almost a compendium or a reference book for questions of Germany's image. Finally, the work became extremely popular in the United States, and we may with some justification conclude that it did play a role in shaping the image of Germany held by Americans of the period.

*Christine* was an immediate hit when it appeared in 1917. It was the number two best seller for September of that year and number one for October, according to both *Bookman's* lists and *The Publishers' Weekly*. Hackett and Burke list it as number six overall for the year in the category of fiction and, had it appeared earlier than the last week of July, it might have been even higher in the 1917 ratings. Macmillan, the publisher, advertised it as "a new novel by a new author" and reprinted it again and again, twelve times by the end of November, finally turning the rights to it over to Grosset and Dunlap for further reprintings.

Reviews of *Christine* bear witness to the lively interest the work was stimulating. *The New York Times Book Review* published a review on August 5, followed in September and October by no fewer than seven further commentaries concerning the work. Other reviews appeared in magazines and newspapers throughout the country. One of the basic issues dealt with in these reviews was the question of the identity of the author, about whom no information was available. Guesses included Gertrude Atherton, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Owen Wister, and Countess von Arnim, all popular authors of the time.

"Alice Cholmondeley" was in fact a pseudonym used only once by Mary Annette Beauchamp von Arnim, also known as Countess Russell; her standard pen name was "Elizabeth." Undoubtedly, Countess Russell's—or Elizabeth's—and Alice Cholmondeley's status as a long-forgotten author is at least partially a result of difficulties with her name. By the year 1917 the true identity of "Elizabeth" had long been an open secret, but the fact that she was also the author of *Christine* was information which she kept well-guarded until her death in 1941.<sup>11</sup>

Born in Australia in 1866, Elizabeth Russell—as I choose to call her—moved as a young child to England with her family. In 1891 she married Count Henning von Arnim<sup>12</sup> and moved with him to Germany, first to Berlin, and then to his estate near Stettin, on the Baltic coast. Her first work, *Elizabeth and Her German Garden*, published in 1898, became an immediate success, and with it a career in writing had been launched which extended to 1940 and included more than twenty books in all.

After her husband's death in 1910, she left Germany. In 1915 she married Lord Francis Russell, the older brother of Bertrand Russell, but the marriage ended in separation after three turbulent years. At a chalet in Switzerland, where she spent much time between 1912 and 1930, and later at her home on the French Riviera, she became a popular hostess to an extremely interesting group of Europe's intellectual elite: her cousin and friend Katherine Mansfield, H. G. Wells, Hugh Walpole, and many others. Finally forced to flee Europe because of the political situation, she arrived in the United States in September of 1939, where her two oldest daughters had settled. She died in Charleston, South Carolina, in February, 1941.

As a satirist with keen wit, Elizabeth Russell had already taken on the task of describing typical Germans, as she saw them, long before the novel *Christine*. Particularly biting are certain characterizations both in her semi-autobiographical early works, including *Elizabeth and Her German Garden*, *The Solitary Summer*, and *The Adventures of Elizabeth in Rügen*, and also in the novels *The Benefactress*, *The Caravaners*, and *The Pastor's Wife*. As one biographer wrote, ". . . the intentional thrust and directness of her satire upon German life and manners became emphatically pronounced, and . . . gave not the less offence to its victims because the writer was intimately acquainted with the inner life of the country she attacked."<sup>13</sup> Satire directed against the Germans was not her only theme, however. She turns equally against stuffy English society and steps forth as an early proponent of women's rights. Several of her heroines are, in fact, like her, English women who are sympathetic to Germany and try to adjust to living there; and in an unpublished play, the last work Russell wrote before *Christine*, the heroine, who is engaged to a German at the beginning of the First World War, speaks out for international understanding, peace, and brotherhood between the English and German peoples.<sup>14</sup>

Compared to these earlier and more balanced works, *Christine* seems a vicious piece of anti-German propaganda. Russell's immediate reason for writing it was the death of her daughter Felicitas, a sixteen-year-old, who was at boarding school in Germany when the war was declared and could not leave the country. Russell blamed the war for the death of her daughter<sup>15</sup> and may have written this work somewhat in retaliation, hoping to aid the Allies' war effort by doing so.

*Christine* is an epistolary novel.<sup>16</sup> The story as it unfolds through Christine's letters to her mother is as follows: A talented young English girl, Christine, arrives in Berlin the end of May, 1914, to study violin with Adolf Kloster. The letters, dated from then until August of the same year, tell of her lessons, her experiences at a Berlin boardinghouse, her vacation on the Baltic coast, her engagement to Bernd von Instler, a young military officer, activities in Berlin as the war begins, and her attempted flight to Switzerland after England's declaration of war, where she hopes to join her mother. The letters stop abruptly, and we are told by Alice Cholmondeley, the author—or perhaps editor—of the book, supposedly Christine's mother, that Christine died in Stuttgart, on the way to Switzerland.

This external plot, however, is merely the outline around which the content of the work is arranged. The content is a careful analysis of German society throughout many classes and segments of the population: the people on the streets of Berlin; those she meets at the boarding-house; Kloster, representing the artists and intelligentsia; Oberförster Bornsted and his wife, well-to-do country folk with whom Christine stays as she vacations on the Baltic coast; and finally also members of the aristocracy, Bernd von Inster, the officer with whom Christine falls in love, and his aunt and uncle, the Graf and Gräfin Köseritz. Christine's analysis is particularly convincing because of the enthusiasm with which she begins her time in Germany and her studies with Kloster, and because of the eagerness with which she sets out to try to become "an excellent little German" for the sake of her fiancé, as his aunt, the Gräfin, says she should. It is only with great hesitation, and even shocked disbelief, that she gradually begins to see Germany as an aggressive, war-eager, even bloodthirsty nation. This, then, is the message of the book. As Alice Cholmondeley states in her preface to the letters, she is publishing them to provide the world with a better understanding of the German nation:

. . . I feel that these letters, giving a picture of the state of mind of the German public immediately before the war . . . may have a certain value in helping to put together a small corner of the great picture of Germany which it will be necessary to keep clear and naked before us in the future if the world is to be saved.<sup>17</sup>

At this point we have come to what I believe to be the major problem with the novel. Not only is Russell attempting to provide the reader with a ready-made, fairly comprehensive image of Germany; she is also attempting to give her work a false aura of authenticity by presenting it as a documentary, a real collection of letters by a real student in Berlin, intended originally only for her mother. The problem here is one of intellectual honesty. For readers of politically inflammatory documents, such as this one is, will perceive the texts in different ways, depending on whether they think them to be objective eyewitness accounts—such as, in this case, might be expected if the letters were authentic—or, on the other hand, the fictitious concoction of a calculating author.

This important issue was raised repeatedly in reviews of *Christine*, and reviewers' guesses about the true nature of the work went both ways. For example: "It is not often that a collection of letters intended for no eyes but those of a beloved mother turns out to be an amazingly accurate revelation of the real, hidden nature of a great people."<sup>18</sup> Or, on the other side: "The doubt as to the legitimacy of the letters comes when one reads the initial one, which, like all first letters in epistolary novels, retails to the ostensible recipient all the facts the reader needs to know."<sup>19</sup> At least one reviewer was fully aware of the importance of the question about whether the work was fact or fiction:

If the volume is indeed what it purports to be—it is a document as significant as any which the war has yet furnished. . . . If this is not a true history . . . then we can only deplore the wretched taste of an

author who just at this time would dare to confirm our worst suspicions of Germany by an elaborate fiction parading as a document before the fact.<sup>20</sup>

Another writer, correctly discerning that *Christine* is fiction, accuses its author of deviously "feeding the appetite for hatred, supplying in detail and with subtle art the 'confirmation' which it is natural at this date for groveling natures to relish."<sup>21</sup>

Let me give a few examples of what it was about *Christine* that aroused such reaction. The German people are presented here as eager for war, obedient to all authority, rude to foreigners, sexist in their views, and easily persuadable or even controllable by their political leaders. These are all stereotype notions which are not original with *Christine* but which seem to be confirmed by Christine's letters.

Let us begin with the question of Germany's attitude toward war. Although President Wilson had carefully distinguished between the German government, with which the United States was at war, and the German people, to whom he offered respect and conciliation,<sup>22</sup> Christine in her letters insists that the entire German population in 1914 was ready and eager for war. She states: "I'm sure the whole of Germany is the same,—lashed by the few behind the scenes into a fury of aggressive patriotism. They call it patriotism, but it is just blood-lust and loot-lust" (p. 124). Or she finds the people "all disconcerted and uneasy because nothing more has been heard of the Austrian assassination. . . . They are afraid . . . [they may] miss the glorious opportunity for war" (pp. 123-24). Christine's fiancé Bernd, one of two "insiders" who are also critical of the German nation, and who therefore serve as a kind of confirmation for the story Christine tells, reports to her that "Germany is seething . . . with desire to fight . . ." (p. 93). Even Frau Bornsted, speaking with Christine about her unborn child, illustrates the militaristic attitude of the German people: "Please wish that my child may be a boy, so that I shall become the mother of a soldier" (p. 140). Thus the image of Germany presented here is that of a belligerent people, passionately desiring the opportunity to test their arms.

The German people are further characterized as obedient to all authority, unable to think for themselves, and politically maneuverable. For example, Kloster, Christine's teacher, who shares Bernd's ability to criticize the Germans, informs her that for Germans "Obedience is a comfortable thing" (p. 47). Or later, again from Kloster, Christine hears: "*Wir Deutschen* . . . are the easiest people in the world to govern, because we are obedient and inflammable. We have that obedience of mind so convenient to Authority, and we are inflammable because we are greedy" (pp. 55-56). Later Kloster enlightens her on the way Germans are educated to obedience: "All these people . . . have been drilled. . . . [Every man of every class] is drilled into what the authorities find it most convenient that he should think. . . . By the time he comes to his military service his mind is already squeezed into the desired shape" (p. 84). Christine asks Bernd: "'Are you drilled even to your smiles?'"—"To everything," he said. "Including our enthusiasms.

We're like the *claque* at a theatre' " (p. 135). And finally Gräfin Köseritz, taking Christine in hand in her effort to make an excellent little German out of her, becomes herself the prime illustration of German thinking on this matter by stating: "Loyal subjects, true Christians, are alike in their unquestioning trust and obedience to authority" (p. 175). This image of the German people as docile and blindly obedient to authority did not inspire trust and confidence in them among Americans.

Christine also insists that the German people are rude to foreigners, perhaps particularly the English, and both rude and oppressive toward women. She writes: "The Berlin man as he passes mutters the word *Engländerin* as though it were a curse, or says into one's ear . . . 'Ros bif' . . ." (p. 17); or "I was . . . certain that these people [on the street] . . . would have [been polite] . . . if I had been an officer, or with an officer. They grovel if an officer comes along. . . . They were rude simply because I was alone and a woman" (p. 18). The Germans at the boardinghouse subject Christine to scrutiny and questioning at meals until she complains to her mother: ". . . I wish they would leave me alone about the Boer war. I've tried to explain my extreme youth at the time it was going on, but they still appear to hold me directly responsible for it" (p. 28).

For a sample of the sexism in Germany, we learn that Christine is told: "Every lady . . . should have . . . sufficient acquaintance with the three kinds of politics—*Politik*, *Weltpolitik*, and *Realpolitik*, to enable her to . . . listen intelligently to her husband or son when they discuss these matters" (p. 31). Kloster confirms Christine's opinion about the way Germans treat women; Christine reports: "Kloster told me Germans divide women into two classes: those they want to kiss, and those they want to kick . . ." (p. 103). And from a pastor Christine hears the following criticism: "[In the world outside Germany] women emerge from the seclusion God has arranged for them, and rear their heads in shameless competition with men" (p. 122). It is perhaps impossible for the reader of the 1980s to judge how this sounded to the American reader of 1917, as we have come far with women's rights since then, but without a doubt these examples did nothing to better the image of the German people being conveyed.

One of the memorable scenes in *Christine* is the description of the appearance of the Kaiser before crowds of people at the Schloßplatz in Berlin on July 31, an event which, like many others of those days and weeks, is described with great historical accuracy.<sup>23</sup> If one compares published versions of the speech<sup>24</sup> with Christine's report of it, it becomes obvious that Russell had some first-hand source for her information.<sup>25</sup> Christine, having achieved a vantage point on the steps of a monument on the Schloßplatz, is fascinated first of all by a scene which takes place at her elbow. The Gräfin's cousin, an officer who has accompanied her, is pushed against Christine in the tightly-packed crowd by a little boy. "'Oh pardon—aber meine Gnädigste—tausendmal pardon—'" he protests to Christine "in a voice of tremendous solicitude" (p. 209), while at the same instant turning on the little boy,

with his hand flashing to his sword, ready to slash at whoever it was had dared push against him, an officer; and seeing it was a child and therefore not *satisfactionsfähig* as they say, he merely called him an *infame* and *verfluchte Bengel* and smacked his face so hard that he would have been knocked down if there had been room to fall in (pp. 209-10).

Christine, who states that she "by now . . . didn't like" the cousin (p. 210), has noticed such manners among Germans before. On the one hand there is the need to be extremely polite (pp. 176-77) and on the other the brutality toward those of lower rank (p. 44).

Concurrently with the pushing and shoving at Christine's side, the Kaiser's appearance itself is taking place. This event Christine describes as a theatrical, well-staged performance which, combined with the sentimentality of the Germans, a quality she stresses, adds up to a mob persuadable and controllable by its leaders. It is an "enormous crowd," says Christine, "struck quiet, struck into religious awe, crying quietly, men and women like little children gathered to the feet of . . . a heavenly Father" (pp. 215-16). Reading such descriptions, one feels compelled to think of descriptions of Hitler's ability to manipulate the minds and emotions of crowds. And when Russell states that the Kaiser used this speech to "conjure" (p. 215), it seems not far-fetched to think ahead also to Thomas Mann's *Mario und der Zauberer*, in which the magician with his crowd-controlling, mind-bending tricks represents inherent evil possibilities in the political situation of the time. Be that as it may, the Schloßplatz scene is an unforgettable high point in the novel, in which Russell stresses once again many of her points: the gregariousness and unity of the German people, tense and eager for war, and completely submissive to their leaders.

I would like to offer just a few examples in support of my contention that the image of Germany presented in *Christine* reflects and repeats much of what was already being said concerning Germany and the German people in journals and other literature of the period: (1) reports like Christine's of the rudeness of German officers to women on the streets (p. 74, p. 86; see also above, p. 127) can be found in at least one nonfiction account of life in Prussia before the World War I period;<sup>26</sup> (2) Christine is shocked to hear of the high rate of suicide among German children, due presumably to pressures to excel (pp. 93-94), a fact for which several other writers had already condemned the German nation;<sup>27</sup> and (3) one of Christine's examples of the notion of morality of the German people—supposedly what one German does can be wrong, but what the whole German nation does is always right (pp. 53-54)—is taken almost directly from a lecture which had been given in the preceding year by Russell's brother-in-law, Bertrand Russell.<sup>28</sup> Though admittedly he was referring to warring nations in general, the German nation at war is the main topic of his address.

The popularity of *Christine* was due in part to the fact that there was great interest in the German nation at the time it was published. But further, it is a skillfully-written novel, well-managed from exposition, to turning point, to quick-paced plunge from the declaration of war to the



tragic outcome. In addition, this novel displays Russell's wit, humor, and talent as a social satirist.

I would like to urge in conclusion that we take a fresh look at the problem of the image of Germany in literature in America. It behooves us not only to dust off our libraries' old copies of *Christine*, but also to read further into the literature of the twentieth century and ask what happened to the image of Germany as the years moved on through the era of the Weimar Republic and Nazi and World War II times. Let me offer a few remarks concerning such research. This approach leads to a number of different lines of questioning and types of theoretical problems. To begin with, we must realize that there are at least three separate directions possible for investigations in this area.

- (1) One might concentrate on the literature itself, identifying the image of another nation which is conveyed. An important part of this perspective is the question of the intention of the author, as careful readers will hesitate to accept an image presented in a politically-motivated work. Literature which consciously attempts to *shape* our image of another nation is less to be trusted than literature which we see as disinterestedly *reflecting* the author's views. Thus cautious readers and reviewers of *Christine* refused to see in it a statement of the true situation in Germany, questioning the authenticity of the letters and warning against an uncritical adoption of the view of the German nation which the work presents.
- (2) A totally separate aspect in the evaluation of national images in literature must concern itself with the question to what extent a literary work has correctly analyzed the situation in another nation and thus given its readers either a true image or a distortion. In other words, one might investigate the accuracy of the image being presented. One could, for example, look for the author's sources of information, or one might check the image conveyed against images and views held by others. From this point of view, we must concede high marks to *Christine*. For Russell here displays a perspicacity in her treatment of the situation in Germany which perhaps only we as readers of a later generation are able to appreciate. Her insider's view of the situation in Germany gives her a unique position among English writers of her time. We should not overlook the fact that similar perceptions of Germany, the German national character, and the political temperament of the German people during the pre-World War I era can be found in the literature of the German nation itself. There is, for example, repeated criticism of the influence of the military and the resulting *Untertanengeist* which permeated German society—from earlier figures such as Storm and Fontane, to Hauptmann, Musil, and Heinrich Mann. Indeed, many of the sentiments which Russell popularizes for propagandistic purposes are not original with her, but may well have come from sources in German literature to begin with.
- (3) Investigators may be tempted to draw conclusions concerning the views which one nation held of another on the basis of such

research. And yet, valid though this approach might be, it is imperative that we guard against the mistake of defining the image of one nation in the literature of another and then, without further investigation, equating that with generally held views. We must be careful to focus at least as much attention on the question of literary reception as on the literature itself. The widespread reaction of reviewers to *Christine* gives us more information about its reception than is usually available. But other questions remain unanswered. For example, who bought the book and why? Were the attitudes of American readers changed by *Christine* and, if so, just what changes took place? Or what was the reaction of the German-Americans to the novel? It seems inconceivable that they did not know the work at all, although considerable effort on my part has not led to the discovery of a single comment on it in the German-American press.

To return to Goethe, one might argue with him that the German nation could gain a new perspective on itself as it was in the year 1917 by studying its image in *Christine* and in other literary works. But the American nation can also gain new insight into its own attitudes and prejudices by investigating the image of Germany in such a best seller.

There is a story of a child who looked out the window of a railroad car in which he was sitting and into the window of a well-occupied railroad car on the next track. On a smaller scale, the child was experiencing the same perspective we take as we study national images: two separate societies, each fascinated by looking at the other. He remarked to his mother: "Look at the people look at us look at them." We would do well to do just that as we study questions of German-American relations.

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### Notes

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<sup>1</sup> *Goethes Werke*, Weimarer Ausgabe, IV, vol. 46 (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1908), p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> From a lecture delivered in 1958. Reprinted in René Wellek, *Concepts of Criticism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), pp. 284-85.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Boerner, "National Images and Their Place in Literary Research: Germany as Seen by Eighteenth-Century French and English Reading Audiences," *Monatshefte*, 67 (1975), pp. 367-68.

<sup>4</sup> Boerner, p. 366.

<sup>5</sup> This wording was used by George Creel himself, head of the Committee on Public Information. See George Creel, *How We Advertised America* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1920), p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> I analyze this situation in detail in an article "The Teaching of German and the First World War: Public Policies and Social Attitudes," which has not yet been published.

<sup>7</sup> David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980). See especially the Prologue and Chapter 1.

<sup>8</sup> Wolfgang Heinsohn, "The Reception of German Literature in America as Exemplified by the *New York Times*. Part I: 1870-1918," Diss. New York University 1973; Alice Carse, "The Reception of German Literature in America as Exemplified by the *New York Times*. Part II: 1919-1944," Diss. New York University 1973; Eva Schlesinger, "The Reception of German Literature in America as Exemplified by the *Atlantic Monthly* 1919-1944," Diss. New York University 1976.

<sup>9</sup> Alice Payne Hackett and James Henry Burke, *80 Years of Best Sellers, 1895-1975* (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1977), pp. 82-85.

<sup>10</sup> Only one minor character contributes in any way to the image of Germany, the loveable, professional German tutor of Mr. Britling's sons, who is called back to Germany to serve and die in the war.

<sup>11</sup> One reason Elizabeth Russell never admitted having written *Christine* was the fact that she had a daughter who was in Germany during World War I, and who married a German and stayed there. See Leslie de Charms, *Elizabeth of the German Garden* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1959), p. 189. Many of Russell's works appeared not only in England but also in Germany, in English, in the Collection of British and American Authors which was put out by the publisher Tauchnitz. But this one and certain others from the World War I era were not included. As far as I can ascertain, *Christine* has remained unknown in Germany.

<sup>12</sup> Henning August von Arnim, 1851-1910, was the son of Count Harry Karl Kurt Eduard von Arnim, who served as Prussian envoy to the papal court (1864-1871) and German ambassador to France (1872-1874). His maternal grandfather, Prince Wilhelm Heinrich August of Prussia, was a nephew of Frederick the Great. (See de Charms, pp. 37-38.) Not a public figure himself, Henning von Arnim spent his life managing various properties which he had inherited.

<sup>13</sup> Harold Williams, *Modern English Writers: Being a Study of Imaginative Literature 1890-1914*, 3rd ed. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1925), p. 463.

<sup>14</sup> *Ellen in Germany*, a four-act drama. Manuscript in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

<sup>15</sup> de Charms, p. 179. From a letter dated June 7, 1916.

<sup>16</sup> Russell's inspiration for both the basic form and substance of *Christine* is probably the work *Music-Study in Germany: From the Home Correspondence of Amy Fay*, edited by Mrs. Fay Pierce, 18th ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1913), which also consists of letters written home by a music student in Berlin, this time a piano student during the Franco-Prussian War. I cannot prove that Russell was familiar with this work—or when or how she became acquainted with it—but as Macmillan was her publisher, too, it seems not unlikely that she had access to it.

<sup>17</sup> Alice Cholmondeley, *Christine* (New York: Macmillan, 1917). From the Foreword. Subsequent references to this work are given within the body of the text.

<sup>18</sup> *Boston Transcript*, August 29, 1917, p. 6. Quoted in *Book Review Index*, Thirteenth Annual Cumulation, Reviews of 1917 Books (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1918), p. 102.

<sup>19</sup> *Dial*, vol. 63, p. 220, September 13, 1917. Quoted in *Book Review Index*, Thirteenth Annual Cumulation, p. 102.

<sup>20</sup> *Nation*, vol. 105, p. 202, August 23, 1917. Quoted in *Book Review Index*, Thirteenth Annual Cumulation, p. 102.

<sup>21</sup> *New Republic*, vol. 12, p. 277, October 6, 1917. Quoted in *Book Review Index*, Thirteenth Annual Cumulation, p. 102.

<sup>22</sup> Kennedy, p. 54.

<sup>23</sup> It is reported that critics were convinced the author had been an eyewitness (de Charms, p. 161). For historical documentation of the Kaiser's July 31 appearance on the balcony of the Palace, see Emil Ludwig, *Juli 14* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 1929), p. 160; also *The Kaiser and His Court: The Diaries, Notebooks and Letters of Admiral Georg Alexander von Müller*, ed. by Walter Görnitz (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964), p. 10.

<sup>24</sup> I have not yet seen a German version of this speech. The English version, in Christian Gauss, *The German Emperor as Shown in His Public Utterances* (New York: Charles

Scribner's Sons, 1915), pp. 323-24, was translated from the speech as it appeared in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*.

<sup>25</sup> In all likelihood this source was a Fräulein Backe, known to the family as Teppi, who had originally been employed by Russell as a governess and who was in Germany taking Russell's daughter to school at this time. See de Charms, p. 161.

<sup>26</sup> By the American Wife of a Titled German, "How Prussianism Warps Men and Women," *The Independent*, 80 (Oct.-Dec., 1914), pp. 401-03.

<sup>27</sup> Owen Wister, *The Pentecost of Calamity* (New York: Macmillan, 1917), p. 32; D. Thomas Curtin, *The Land of Deepening Shadow* (New York: Doran, 1917), p. 32, p. 36.

<sup>28</sup> Bertrand Russell, *Principles of Social Reconstruction* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1916), p. 108.