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HELEN
of Serbia

LÖWENSTEIN
A Family Album

HEINRICH
Borwin

Heinrich Borwin, Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin 1885 – 1942

by Richard Jay Hutto

His Highness Duke Heinrich “Henry” Borwin was born with an impressive title but given scant resources of support. He was consigned to a life of deprivation seeking security not only by three marriages but also by the toil of his own hands. Few royal dukes have official records identifying them as “cowpuncher,” “coal stoker” and “automobile salesman” as did he. His father, Duke Paul Friederich (1852-1923), was the second son of Grand Duke Friedrich Franz II (1823-1883) while his mother, Princess Marie zu Windisch-Grätz (1856-1929), was herself a daughter of Luise, Duchess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin (1824-1859), a sister of that same Grand Duke Friedrich Franz II. Thus Henry’s parents were first cousins. Luise’s father, Paul Friederich, reportedly also had four children by his mistress, Countess Catharina de Hauke. She was the sister of Julie de Hauke, who was the progenitor of the Battenberg/Mountbatten line, which still occupies the thrones of Great Britain and Spain.¹

Duke Henry’s mother would eventually distinguish herself as a noted archeologist and anthropologist. Although Henry’s father, a general in the Mecklenburg cavalry, was Lutheran, as was his family, the Windisch-Grätzes were Catholic and the father agreed his children would be reared in that faith. On 21 April 1884, Duke Paul Frederick renounced his and his sons’ succession rights in favor of his younger brothers and their sons who would take precedence over them.²

His father was said to have been considering dis-inheriting him entirely although, in the end, he relented and allowed him only a very modest allowance. In 1887, six years after his marriage, Duke Paul, too, converted to Roman Catholicism.³ Thus his entire line was precluded from succession. However, if the uncles and male cousins became extinct, Duke Paul Frederick’s line could then succeed so long as the successor converted to Protestantism.⁴ They lived economically in Venice where they were friends with Cardinal Sarto (later Pope Pius X) who viewed himself as their spiritual adviser after the succession sacrifice they made for their religion. Duke Paul’s half-brother, Duke Heinrich (1876-1934), married in 1901 Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands

and received an annual allowance from the Dutch government. They were the parents of Queen Juliana.

Always short of money, the family angered Duke Paul’s nephew, the very wealthy Grand Duke Friederich Franz IV, because of their spending. Henry’s mother separated from her husband in 1900 (but did not divorce) because of his spending habits. In 1906 the duke and his wife were placed in a financial guardianship because of their “extravagance.” From that date the family was forced

to submit all their expenses to Master of the Horse von Stenglin, the frugal controller of the royal household.⁵ The head of house was then 24 while his uncle was 54, and, “Duke Paul is of the independent sort, and owing to his extensive travels, has ceased to regard, as he recently expressed it, the German Kaiser ‘as the most illustrious contemporary of the Almighty and little Franz as his archangel’...The Duke also spends considerable money and is regarded by his model nephew as improvident.”⁶ Displeased at his limitations, the duke threatened to move to Russia.

The couple had three children who lived to adulthood and two who did not. The first was Duke Paul Friederich the younger (1882-1904) who was admitted into the German Imperial Army as an infant by Emperor Wilhelm I.⁷ The son later transferred to

the German Imperial Navy and visited the U.S. on Naval maneuvers in 1902.⁸ He died, unmarried, in Kiel at the age of 22, in questionable circumstances. One source said he broke his neck and “met with a violent death in a strange and mysterious fashion...while skylarking after dinner one night” at his villa in Kiel.⁹ Other sources hinted at suicide by hanging from a chandelier.

The next child was Duchess Marie Antoinette (1884-1944). Her father’s sister was the formidable “Miechen,” the wife of Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich of Russia and known as the “grandest of the grand duchesses.” She formed an alternate court in the later years of the reign of her nephew, Tsar Nicholas II, and she had great marital hopes for her niece. Marie Antoinette and her brother had their public status enhanced in 1905 when their cousin, Duchess Cecilie, married the Crown Prince of Germany. The next year Marie Antoinette was seriously mooted by Kaiser Wilhelm II as a bride





Duke Paul Friedrich and Duchess Marie

for King Alfonso XIII of Spain. It was said that their old family friend, Pope Pius X,¹⁰ was extremely eager that she should become the queen of Spain. She was conspicuously placed in the young king's path when he visited Berlin but nothing developed. He would instead marry the next year the Kaiser's first cousin, Princess Victoria Eugenie of Battenberg.

Always desperate for funds despite her pleas to her cousin, Grand Duke Friederich Francis IV, Marie Antoinette never married and would eventually be forced to sell her mother's collected artifacts in small numbers in order to stay afloat. She lived mainly at Bled with her lady-in-waiting, Baroness Antonia Pilars de Pillar (who had served her mother as a court lady), with whom she served in several military hospitals as Red Cross volunteers. After the war the two women traveled through Europe and the duchess died in 1944 in Bled.

Henry's and Marie Antoinette's mother took up archeology in 1905 when she was forty-eight. She was probably emulating her mother's brother, Prince Ernst zu Windisch-Grätz, the first excavator in Vače and discoverer of a famed bronze situla now in the National Museum of Slovenia. After 1906 excavations of the cemetery in Vinica, Slovenia, the duchess went to Hallstatt in 1907 where she and her team unearthed 45 graves in four weeks. Officials at the Vienna Imperial and Royal Court Museum refused to issue her an excavation permit until Emperor Franz Joseph personally intervened and instructed the permit to be granted. Kaiser Wilhelm II, an archeology enthusiast, also endorsed her work. The then chief state archeologist was displeased and commented negatively about her but others praised her efforts. She spent much of her money unearthing and collecting valuable iron age artifacts from Sticna, Magdalenska Gora, and Vinica, which she took to her home, Schloss Wagensperg, in Carniola (now Bogenšperk Castle, Slovenia).

When the Habsburg Empire fell in 1918, state authorities confiscated the entire collection as well as her property located in the Kingdom of the Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes. The collections were sent to the newly created National Museum in Ljubljana. The



*The three surviving children of Prince Paul and Princess Marie:
Paul Friedrich (1882-1904),
Maria Antonia (1884-1944) and
Heinrich Borwin (1885-1942).
There was also an elder daughter
Marie Luise (1883-1887).*

impoverished Duchess died in 1929 only weeks before the confiscation of her collections was revoked by King Alexander I whose kingdom was renamed Yugoslavia. Her family, the Windisch-Grätzes, abandoned their castle in 1943 when its furnishings were completely looted and destroyed and it was turned into a military hospital. In 1957 it was taken over by the Jesuits and in 1972 a long-term reconstruction effort was launched.

After her mother's death, Duchess Marie Antoinette, with the permission of King Alexander, offered the entire collection – over 20,000 artifacts - for sale abroad and a professional catalogue was prepared. Officials at Harvard's Peabody Museum of Archeology and Ethnology sought to purchase the entire collection but they were not willing to pay the price of \$150,000 set by the daughter. Oxford's Ashmolean Museum acquired some of the artifacts from Vače and by 1934 the Peabody Museum began buying almost the entire collection in installments, noting that, "Nothing like it has ever come before to our country and never will again...the Mecklenburg Collection in the Peabody Museum is the largest comprehensive archaeological collection of European cultural goods in the USA."¹¹ That was not a modest accomplishment for a self-taught amateur archaeologist.

The surviving son, Heinrich Borwin "Henry," was born 16 December 1885 in Venice. He held a commission as a lieutenant in the 3rd Regiment of Prussia Hussars and in the 2nd Regiment of Mecklenburg Dragoons. He "managed to pile up debts of such a colossal amount"¹³ even after he was placed under a financial guardianship in 1908 after "squandering the family fortune. In the future Duke Heinrich will be permitted to dispose of only a small allowance."¹³ As a result, he was eventually forced to give up his military commissions as a bankrupt. As a younger son of a family of extremely modest fortune, his only choice had been the military but that, too, was taken away from him. It would be necessary for him to make his own way and he, "scoured the continent trying various enterprises to make his small allowance meet his needs."¹⁴

Seizing on the popular practice of finding a wealthy American wife, Henry would, in fact, marry on 15 June 1911 at the registry office in Dover, England, a 53 year-old bride while he was only 26 – not only less than half her age but younger than two of her four children. He supposedly met her after having a flirtation with her daughter.¹⁵ The bride was Elizabeth Bleeker Tibbits Pratt, born in Albany, New York, on 27 January 1860. Her father, Brigadier General George W. Pratt, was killed in the Battle of Manassas during the American Civil War and her grandfather, U.S. Congressman Zadock Pratt, owned the largest tannery business in the U.S. and was the founder of Prattsburg, New York. Immediately after their marriage the couple went to France where a religious wedding ceremony was held in the private chapel of her chateau.



Elizabeth Bleeker Tibbits Pratt - Duke Henry's first wife. She was 56, he was 26.

While her family was certainly prosperous, her first husband was very wealthy. She had married in New York City on 21 April 1881, Amédée de Gasquet-James (1846-1903), a New Orleans-born businessman who appropriated his mother's title (to which he was not entitled) supposedly as a "papal nobleman" and called himself Count de Gasquet-James. As the *New York Times* noted, "The James family possesses no inherited title. However, when one lives abroad, it is well, perhaps, to assume or to revive past glories."¹⁶ The couple spent much of their early married years abroad although all four of their children were born in the U.S. When her husband died at their chateau in Dinard, France, in 1903 he left an estate of one and one-half million dollars (almost \$50 million in today's equivalent). His will was straightforward, roughly dividing his fortune into one-half (his European assets) for his widow and one-half (his American assets) for their children, three of whom had also married titled husbands. His widow was given La Belle Issue, their chateau at Dinard, as well as two other residences and a Paris apartment. She was to receive all his European securities as well as, "all my jewels and diamonds and those of my mother." His "American fortune," as he wrote, was to be divided among their four children, and his widow was to, "put this fortune into the hands of one of the big trust companies (American)."

Not satisfied, however, since her late husband was an American citizen she argued that the will, drawn and probated in France, was invalid and her husband died intestate; therefore she should inherit everything.

Years of legal challenges and cross-suits ensued in the U.S., French, and English courts. Her children, aware that she was spending a great deal of money on behalf of her new husband, sought a legal accounting. They prevailed in the lower court, lost in their appeal, then had a higher court reinstate the original judgment in their favor. Elizabeth moved to Austria and declared herself a citizen there, shortly thereafter receiving additional funds at her mother's death. Because Austria was then at war with the U.S., Congress denied her access to those funds as they did other American wives who had married spouses who were at war with the U.S. Cross-suits continued well into 1924 when the heirs were still fighting over an unmarried aunt's estate of twelve million dollars.¹⁷

Duke Henry's new bride was delighted to present herself as a duchess as well as to call attention to her close family relation to the Crown Princess of Germany as well as the consort of Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands. Elizabeth's marriage to Duke Henry was unequal and therefore not recognized by the Mecklenburg-Schwerin family who sought to have it annulled in a civil action which a tribunal in Mecklenburg-Schwerin approved in April 1913. Although Elizabeth brought several different suits to have the marriage recognized, her husband accepted his disappointment and their divorce was granted in 1913. After their divorce he, "went to South America, worked his way northwards through Mexico, and across the border of the Western cattle country, where he won renown for his dashing life as a cowpuncher."¹⁸ The would-be duchess died at Elsholz Castle in 1929.

Duke Henry was then said to be, "a prominent figure in German aristocratic circles, and also hobnobs with rich Americans visiting Germany from time to time. As recently as last week he was motoring with Mr. and Mrs. Peter D. Martin of New York and San Francisco and stayed with them at Bad Nauheim."¹⁹ The duke did not have far to look for his next wife.

Natalie Emilie "Lily" Oelrichs, born at Cheyenne, Wyoming, on 12 October 1880, was a daughter of the wealthy and very social Blanche and Charles Oelrichs from a German shipping line fortune who were on Ward McAllister's first list of the prominent "400" in New York City. Lily's mother was a daughter of Chevalier Charles F. de Loosey, the Austrian Consul General in New York. Lily's cousin, Elinor Douglas Wise, married in 1913 the 8th (and last) Duc de Richelieu, son of the American-born H.S.H. Princess Alice of Monaco (Elinor's mother and Lily's grandmothers were sisters).

Lily first married in fashionable Newport on 25 July 1902. Her groom was Peter Donahue Martin of San Francisco, a well-known millionaire polo player. Four hundred guests attended. "At the insistence of the bride numerous townspeople with whom she has



Henry's second wife. She and her first husband befriended Duke Henry who followed them to San Francisco

been acquainted for a number of years have received invitation to the church ceremony."²⁰ The night before the wedding a lavish dinner was given by the bride's aunt, "Tessie," Mrs. Hermann Oelrichs, at her palatial home, Rosecliff.²¹ She "had enormous Nevada mining wealth and was a law unto herself."²² Among the guests was the bride's mother's sister, Emily, wife of sugar magnate Theodore Havemeyer who often financially supported his wife's family. Lily was often reported to have inherited five million dollars.

A newspaper report of their wedding was subtitled, "Two Vast Fortunes United." His gift to his bride was a diamond tiara valued at \$50,000.²³ The bride's only sister, Blanche, was maid of honor. She later became famous as the writer "Michael Strange." Her second husband would be the famed actor John Barrymore ("the great profile") and their daughter the actress Diana Barrymore. Married three times, she spent the last ten years of her life as the partner of Margaret Wise Brown, a children's book author with whom she lived in Gracie Square.²⁴

Perhaps as a result of head injuries during his polo-playing years, Peter Martin was reported to be increasingly ill. In 1913, while living in Paris, he suffered, "from severe mental trouble, but the doctor states he is progressing favorably."²⁵ Months later, he was, "under treatment at the Newport Hospital for more than two months, but there is no change for the better in his condition."²⁶ He then entered the Neurological Institute for treatment.

Lily's sister, Michael Strange, wrote of those events:

"...at a great ball in my sister's house in Paris, given in honor of the young Duchess [Marie] Antoinette of Mecklenburg-Schwerin,...Peter, in the midst of banks of spring flowers, orchestra music and dancing couples suddenly lost his mind and had to be led to his room and put to bed. After this stroke of horror, until his death the following year, he was cared for like a little child, receiving from my sister during those tragic months, every devotion."²⁷

Perhaps it was at this ball in Paris given for Duke Henry's sister that he first became a close friend of the young Martin couple. What is certain is that he followed them back to San Francisco where he was their guest at a formal luncheon given in his honor at the St. Francis Hotel. It was reported that he "arrived with nothing to mark his rank, and traveling in a democratic fashion...

While the Duke was unheralded here, he was not traveling incognito."²⁸ In 1915 he was a house guest of the Martins when he visited the Panama Pacific International Exposition.²⁹ At one point he was said to be an automobile salesman in San Francisco.³⁰

Lily's husband died on 3 April 1915 in Santa Barbara, California, having never recovered his sanity, leaving his beautiful widow his fortune. Within months, she and the duke went to New York City to be married, "in circumstances clouded with mystery." In 1916 he published his memoirs, "a spirited narrative of a stowaway trip across the Atlantic in the stoke hold of a neutral liner in which Duke Henry succeeded in reaching his fatherland at the outbreak of the war." Referring to his coal stoking duties onboard, he called his memoirs, "His Highness, the Stoker."

He was reported to have returned to Germany to fight as a simple soldier having long ago lost his military commissions. Lily's sister wrote of him,

"I did not care much for my brother-in-law, nor was my esteem increased when I heard that he was in the habit of smashing his orderly in the face on the slightest provocation. However, Borwin, in San Francisco with my sister, now insisted upon getting back to his regiment. So they came on to New York and Lily dressed him up as a stoker, smuggled him on board somehow, and saw him off, herself dressed in an old jacket and skirt, a handkerchief over her head... It seemed that her mind and heart dwelt in a haze of illusions, principal amongst them being the belief that from the war, the Emperor of Germany would emerge victorious."³²

"After all their adventures, however, the romance soon faded and, again in circumstances clouded with mystery, the Duke and Duchess separated."³³ "They lived apart in various European resorts for the next four years and then were divorced under circumstances that never became public."³⁴ Their divorce was finalized in Berlin



Lily, Duke Henry's second wife. After their divorce, she was reportedly engaged to the Marquis de Ricci but that marriage did not take place.

on 4 June 1921 when there were rumors that he had physically abused her.

After the divorce, Lily traveled under the pseudonym "Duchess of Stargard"³⁵ and "lived in virtual seclusion." "She went into retirement after the divorce, then suddenly reappeared in social circles."³⁶ There were reports in 1923 that she was to marry again, this time to the Marquis de Ricci.³⁷ She appeared in Berlin,

"from the seclusion she has been maintaining since her disappearance last spring and her subsequent discovery by friends at a shabby nursing home. Still maintaining her incognito – the Duchess of Stargard – she took a suite at one of the most fashionable hotels here [Berlin], after telling the proprietress of the small pension where she lived that she was going to Paris. Her friends say, however, that she will remain at the hotel three months, at the end of which she is to add a new chapter of her romances among the European nobility."³⁸

And who was this supposed new groom? He was "the Marquis de Ricci, an Italian nobleman with whom her name has been linked both in Europe and America, which both have visited recently. The Marquis also is at the hotel to establish the year's residence officially required to qualify for his divorce from his Italian wife, whom he cannot divorce at home without papal dispensation."³⁹



Duke Heinrich Borwin's sister, Duchess Maria Antoinette, as a nurse during the World War.

For whatever reason, the marriage did not take place. In 1927, as “the Duchess of Mecklenburg,” Lily attended the San Francisco wedding of her son, Charles Oelrichs Martin, to Caroline Louise Madison.⁴⁰ She lived her last year at the Hotel Richelieu in San Francisco where she died of pneumonia on 23 February 1931. The duchess was, “once a brilliant social figure in San Francisco, New York, Newport and Europe...The duchess, noted as one of the most beautiful women of her day, was ill only a short time. Several weeks ago she contracted a cold which later developed into pneumonia. A consultation of specialists failed to aid her and she died in her sleep with only a faithful maid in attendance.”⁴¹ She was buried with her first husband in Holy Cross Catholic Cemetery in Colma, California, beneath a tombstone that reads,



Karola

Karola von Alers (1882-1974), Duke Henry's third wife.

“Natalie Mecklenburg 1880 – 1931.” She had changed her will to disinherit her only living son “for lack of filial respect” and left her fortune to her parents and sister.

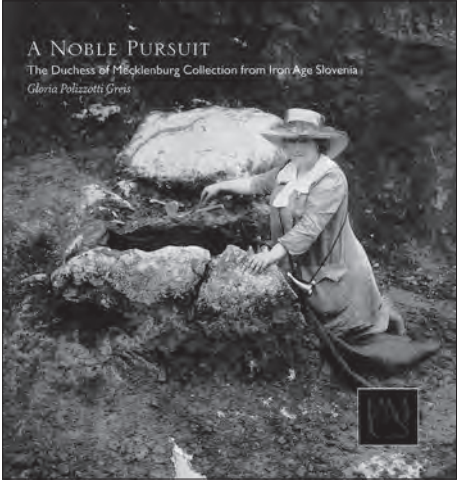
Duke Henry married for a third and final time. Although she was German and noble, she was divorced and the marriage was considered morganatic. Her name was Karola von Alers (1882-1974) who in 1905 married Wladimir Alexandrovitch Schmitz, a millionaire Russian-German diplomat who, from 1908 to 1912, built Hasenwinkel Castle in northwest Mecklenburg. He “owned a yacht on the Cote d’Azur, fast cars and racehorses. In 1919, she [Karola] became famous as the best German carriage driver.”⁴² In 1921 she divorced Schmitz and three months later married in Rome Duke Henry of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. She had a daughter, Tanja, in 1907 by her first husband but she and the duke had no children. In February 1934 they hosted a ball at Budapest’s Danube Palace Hotel to honor Wilhelmina, the Queen of the Netherlands, and her husband, Henry’s uncle, who would die only five months later. Among the attendees was the Regent of Hungary, Miklós Horthy⁴³, who was photographed sitting next to Henry’s wife. As Henry had no money, one can assume that she paid for the ball.

Duke Henry died in Fejér, Hungary, on 3 November 1942, and was buried there at Saint Michael’s Catholic Church. When his sister, the last sibling, died two years later there were no descendants from any of their branch of the family although there were some from Elizabeth Pratt’s first marriage to Amédée de Gasquet-James and from Lily’s first marriage to Peter Donahue Martin.



The memoirs of Duke Henry [1917]; His Highness - The Coal Trimmer. The war journey home of Duke Heinrich Borwin of Mecklenburg.

Notes

- 1 There is only limited evidence of this relationship and some genealogists argue against it.
 - 2 Huberty, Michel; Alain Giraud; F.B. Magdelaine. *L'Allemagne Dynastique, Tome VI: Bade-Mecklembourg*, pp 233, 239.
 - 3 "Catholic News," *New Zealand Tablet*, 26 Aug 1887, p 31.
 - 4 "Mulltum in Parvo," *Otago Witness*. 16 Sep 1882, p 6.
 - 5 "European Intelligence in News and Comment," *The New York Times*. 8 Apr 1906, p 7; "Guardian for Royal Duke," *The New York Times*, 7 Mar 1906, p 3.
 - 6 "A German Sovereign Disciplines his Uncle," *The New York Times*, 8 Apr 1907, p 3.
 - 7 "Mail News." *Otago Witness*. 16 Sep 1882, p 14.
 - 8 "Another German Naval Prince Will Visit America." *The New York Times*. 15 Jun 1902, p 18.
 - 9 *The Washington Post*, 25 Apr 1908, p 6.
 - 10 He was beatified in 1951 and canonized in 1954 by Pope Pius XII.
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- 11 Naturhistorisches Museum Wien, 2024. https://www.nhm-wien.ac.at/hallstatt/en/burial_site/discovery/important_excavators/duchess_of_mecklenburg; accessed 8 Nov 2024. A collection book, *A Noble Pursuit: The Duchess of Mecklenburg Collection from Iron Age Slovenia*, by Gloria Polizzotti Greis, was published by the Peabody Museum in 2016.
 - 12 *The Washington Post*, 24 Apr 1908, p 6.
 - 13 *The New York Times*, 24 Apr 1908, p 1.
 - 14 *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 18 Nov 1923, p 33.
 - 15 "U.S. Duchess of Mystery is to Marry Again," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 18 Nov 1923, p 33.
 - 16 *The New York Times*, 19 Jul 1903.
 - 17 "Will Settle For Million," *The Times Herald*, 18 Dec 1924. p.. 16.
 - 18 *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 18 Nov 1923, p 33.
 - 19 *The New York Times*, 12 Oct 1912.
 - 20 *The New York Tribune*, 24 Jul 1902; p, 1. Lily's niece was Marjorie Oelrichs (1908-1937), wife of society band leader Eddy Duchin (1909-1951) and mother of Peter Duchin.
 - 21 *The New York Tribune*, 24 Jul 1902, p 1.
 - 22 Jerry E. Patterson, *The First Four Hundred*, Rizzoli, 2000; p, 136. Tessie and her sister, Virginia (who married William K. Vanderbilt, Jr), were daughters of Comstock load millionaire James G Fair, US Senator from Nevada.
 - 23 *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 24 Jul 1902, p 17.
 - 24 Among her books were *Goodnight Moon* and *The Runaway Bunny*. She has been called "the laureate of the nursery."
 - 25 *The New York Times*, 6 Jul 1913.
 - 26 *The New York Times*, 31 Oct 1913.
 - 27 Michael Strange, *Who Tells Me True*, Charles Scribner, 1940; pp 117-118.
 - 28 *The New York Times*, 8 May 1914.
 - 29 *The New York Times*, 24 Feb 1931; p 21.
 - 30 *The New York Times*, 24 Feb 1931; p 21.
 - 31 "Romance Links Royalty and California," *Los Angeles Herald*, 15 Dec 1916, p 1. The article incorrectly states that the duke first met Lily on an Arizona ranch after she was widowed.
 - 32 Michael Strange, *Who Tells Me True*, Charles Scribner, 1940; p 134.
 - 33 "U.S. Duchess of Mystery is to Marry Again" ... p33
 - 34 *Riverside (CA) Daily Press*, 24 Feb 1931, p 1.
 - 35 *Brooklyn Eagle*, 24 Feb 1931; p 17.
 - 36 *Riverside (CA) Daily Press*, 24 Feb 1931, p 1.
 - 37 "Looks Like a Marquis for Former Lily Oelrichs – That and Trouble," *New York Daily News*, 3 Dec 1922; p 134. Lily's first cousin, Hermann Oelrichs, Jr, married in 1925 Dorothy Heydel whose next husband was Prince Ferdinand of Liechtenstein.
 - 38 U.S. Duchess of Mystery is to Marry Again" ... p 33
 - 39 U.S. Duchess of Mystery is to Marry Again" ... p 33
It is unclear which possible Ricci groom was intended. In 1845 the Italian minister to Sardinia was the Marquis de Ricci. The family is now based in Montepulciano where they are vintners.
 - 40 *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, 23 Jan 1927, p36.
 - 41 *Riverside (CA) Daily Press*, 24 Feb 1931, p 1.
 - 42 https://chamisso--forum-blogspot-com.translate.goog/2013/04/?_x_tr_sch=http&_x_tr_sl=de&_x_tr_tl=en&_x_tr_hl=en&_x_tr_pto=sc.
 - 43 Patrick Leigh Fermor – 'Between the Woods and the Water' and 'Dashing for the Post: The Letters of Patrick Leigh Fermor' locations in Budapest and Romania, p 29; <https://www.scribd.com/document/366047416/Patrick-Leigh-Fermor-Between-the-Woods-and-the-Water-and-Dashing-for-the-Post-The-Letters-of-Patrick-Leigh-Fermor-locations-in-Budapest-and-Rom>
- "Rick Hutto's new book about an American woman who fought the Nazis and mentored Queen Geraldine of the Albanians is "The Countess and The Nazis: An American Family's Private War", and can be found at: www.TheCountess.net