

Frederick Philip Grove: An International Novelist

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The recent discovery, attributable largely to the imaginative and assiduous research of Professor D. O. Spettigue,¹ that the Canadian novelist Frederick Philip Grove (1871?-1948) was, almost certainly, in his earlier, European years, the prolific German translator, novelist, poet and playwright Felix Paul Greve (1879-1910?), presents us with a unique literary phenomenon, the full implications of which are still impossible to grasp. Here we have, apparently, the case of an author not merely writing successfully in two languages, as has Samuel Beckett, or writing successfully in an acquired language, as did Joseph Conrad, but rather of one who had two quite distinct literary careers, one conducted in German in Europe, and the other conducted in English in North America. The purpose of this article is briefly to rehearse the biographical facts, and to explore in a most tentative and elementary way some of the implications of this dual career.

In various autobiographical accounts, which culminated in the autobiography *In Search of Myself* (1946), Grove portrays himself as a Swedish immigrant, the idealistic son of wealthy parents,² who was something of a vagabond and dilettante until his family fortunes failed and he was compelled to seek a living in North America. He claims to have spent his childhood on the parental estate of "Castle Thurow" in the Malmoe-Lund area of Sweden,³ and his youth in Germany where he was educated in a Realschule and then at a famous Realgymnasium in Hamburg. Thereafter, he says, he attended some prominent European universities, studying classical philology and archeology as well as mathematics, science and medicine. He travelled extensively, spending varying periods of time in Paris, Rome, Baiae, Naples, Palermo, Girgenti, Munich, London and several other cities; he went on an expedition to Siberia, and on voyages to the Far East, Africa, Central America and eventually North America. His reputed wealth opened many doors for him, and he became "more or less intimate with such people as Henri de Régnier, Jules Renard, Heredia, Mallarmé and others."⁴ He also came in contact with another group of writers "over which, every now and then, fell the shadow of a figure already irradiated by the sterner possibilities of tragedy — that of Oscar Wilde."⁵ In a personal letter written in 1941, Grove claimed that first among his German friends was Stefan George, and that André Gide was one of his intimates.⁶ Of the many authors he read, the one who seems to have made the most impact upon him was Nietzsche, especially, as he puts it, "the *Unzeitgemaesse Betrachtungen*, *Morgenroete*, *Die Froeliche* [sic] *Wissenschaft*, books which even today I consider as of the greatest importance. For from the beginning I saw that there were two Nietzsches: the Nietzsche before and the Nietzsche after *Zarathustra*."⁷

Although Grove mastered five languages, took up Sanskrit to study comparative philology, read voraciously and did archeological research among the remains of Greek antiquity, the results of these labors in a tangible way were minimal. He was a dreamer rather than a practical man, and his work lacked direction and was being constantly interrupted by his frequent furloughs. In fact, after putting in "a vast amount of work, in several fields," he

decided that he had earned a vacation and sailed to North America. There he found himself stranded when news reached him, in Toronto, that his father had died in bankruptcy. Thus began, if his accounts are accurate on this point, his American career.⁸

The documented and independently verifiable Canadian phase of Grove's life begins in 1912, when he settled as a teacher in rural Manitoba. Ten years passed before his first Canadian book, a volume of nature essays, appeared, followed by another volume of such essays and, in 1925, his first Canadian novel, *Settlers of the Marsh*. At his death, he had published in Canada a total of eight novels, three books of essays, the autobiography and a number of short stories;⁹ his reputation as a major Canadian novelist had become established. Yet, not during his life-time, nor until very recently, did anyone really know who he actually was, where he came from, or what he did before he came to Canada and began a new life under a new name. In 1914 he married Catherine Wiens, who was a teacher in the same school of which Grove was principal. Although the marriage certificate described Grove as a widower, nothing ever was known of that previous marriage, except some vague rumour that he had two sons somewhere in the United States.¹⁰ In Canada, Grove tried his hand at publishing, farming and, briefly, politics, but without much success. He died in 1948, the secret of his past still intact, and himself an enigma to his contemporaries.

Ever since Grove began the process of giving autobiographical accounts of himself various persons have cast doubt upon their veracity, but it was Spettigue who in 1969 first systematically summarized the inconsistencies in these accounts, and suggested that they were either "researched fiction," or gross exaggerations, an attempt on Grove's part at "overreaching himself."¹¹ Spettigue's subsequent researches have, however, led to the conclusion that Grove's accounts, in spite of some exaggerations and attempts to camouflage or omit certain details of his past, are substantially accurate, although his real name was Felix Paul Greve. He was almost certainly not a Swede, but a German who had done a good deal of writing before he emigrated to North America. Since details of Spettigue's findings have not been made available, a very brief and tentative outline of Greve's career, as far as we have been able to ascertain it, is given below.

Felix Paul Berthold Friedrich Greve was born in Radomno on February 14, 1879, of German parents who later separated. The father, Carl Eduard, born in Niendorf in 1847, came from a well-to-do family of land-owning farmers in Niendorf, but he himself became an official in Hamburg.¹² The mother, Johanna Julie Anna Bertha née Reichentrog, some twelve years younger than her husband, also came from a Mecklenburg farming family.¹³ They had another child, a daughter, Henny Frieda Anna Martha, who was born in 1877 in Turow, a village now in the Lutheran parish of Baggen-dorf in East Germany. Presumably, this village was the origin of Grove's "Castle Thurow."

Greve was educated in Hamburg, first at Realschule St. Pauli, from 1886 to 1895, and then, upon graduation, at the Realgymnasium des Johanneums, from which he passed the *Abiturientenexamen* (university entrance) in 1898, winning a scholarship for university education. From the summer semester of 1898 till December, 1900, he attended the University of Bonn; the register of the philology seminar records Greve's name with the remark that

he withdrew from the course on account of illness, but Greve's own explanation was, "Aus Lässigkeit und Verachtung der landesüblichen Karrieren gab ich mein Studium auf, überzeugt, dass ich auf jedem Wege durchs Leben und meine Ziele gelangen werde. Dieser Ueberzeugung bin ich noch heute."¹⁴ While in Bonn, Greve was friendly with a wealthy fellow student, Hermann F. C. Kilian, who later advanced him large sums of money.¹⁵

After leaving Bonn, Greve continued to lead a restless, nomadic life, rather similar to that of his famous contemporary, Rainer Maria Rilke.¹⁶ In March, 1902, he was in Gardone, Riviera, in September in Munich, and in November of the same year, in Berlin.¹⁷ Again like Rilke, who came from an ancestry of peasant proprietors, yet fancied himself as the last scion of a Corinthian noble family, Greve (both as Greve and Grove) created the myth that he came from a very aristocratic family. He lived lavishly and extravagantly, and even as a student, with a yearly income of 3,000 to 4,000 Marks from his parental allowance and scholarship, he was frequently in debt to such persons as tailors and shoe-makers. Although he may have done some tutoring at one time, his main income consisted of his earnings from his translations of English and French books. The money was never enough for a man of his extravagant tastes, and he kept borrowing more and more from Kilian on all sorts of pretexts, once even threatening to commit suicide if Kilian refused him a loan. Also during this time, he was introduced to the Stefan George Circle, and he is mentioned familiarly as F.P.G. in the 1902 correspondence between George and Friedrich Gundolf.¹⁸ In the same year, Greve published a volume of his own poems, in one of which he pays tribute to George as one of "the masters."¹⁹

Meanwhile in Berlin, Greve befriended an architect, borrowed money from him and fell in love with the architect's wife. On funds supplied by Kilian, Greve and his mistress set up house in great style in Palermo. When the funds were depleted, Greve once again turned to the credulous Kilian who, however, this time suspected fraud, and made Greve come down from Dresden to Bonn where he was arrested upon his arrival at the railway station. Greve was tried and on May 29, 1903, was sentenced to one year's imprisonment.²⁰

Immediately upon his release in the summer of the following year, Greve paid a short visit to André Gide in Paris. This was the beginning of their friendship, which appears to have continued until Greve's mysterious disappearance in 1909. Greve translated several of Gide's early works into German, up to *La Porte étroite* (1909),²¹ and corresponded with Gide on a more or less regular basis. An account of their first meeting is provided by Gide in his "Conversation avec un Allemand," a fascinating document shedding much light on Greve's complex and controversial character. At one point during this meeting with Gide, Greve declares: "L'action, c'est cela que je veux; oui, l'action la plus... intense... intense... jusqu'au meurtre." To which Gide replies, "... J'aime mieux *faire agir* que d'agir." Years later, in 1932, Gide would have occasion to recall this exchange.²² At another point Greve says: "Il faut que je vous avertisse, Monsieur Gide, que je mens constamment." The account of his life which Greve gave to Gide contains some exaggerations and certainly some misinformation (for instance, such things as that his father was a very rich industrialist in Mecklenburg or that he was the tenth child of his parents), but it confirms one thing which we know of Grove: that there was in him some deep-felt need to fictionalize

his background. He appears as an Anglophile in dress and manners, telling Gide, as Grove was to say later in Canada, that his mother was British. Some of Grove's other characteristic traits also emerge from the "Conversation," such as his love of elegance, his prodigious capacity for work and his determination to succeed at all costs. When Gide suggested that society would ultimately defeat him, Greve's reply was: "Non. Je suis terriblement fort." Impressed, Gide observes: "Il dit cela sans forfanterie aucune, avec une *simple* conviction." Evidently, so fascinated was Gide by this encounter that he not only recorded it for posterity but also, as George D. Painter notes,²³ modelled the character of Lafcadio in *Les Caves du Vatican* (1914) to a certain degree on Greve.

We have so far been unable to find much documentation of Greve's movements after he left Gide and before he settled in Berlin in 1906 or 1907. The only lead we have is Greve's expressed intention of going to Switzerland, which occurs in his conversation with Gide, and which is confirmed by a letter Greve wrote to the novelist Franz Blei. The letter, dated March 21, 1905, was sent from Wollerau, Canton Schwyz, in Switzerland.²⁴ However, we do not yet have copies of all the surviving correspondence between Greve and Gide, or that between Greve and his publisher, the Insel-Verlag publishing house, although we know that substantial quantities of his correspondence exist in France and East Germany respectively.

By the time Greve settled in Berlin, he had published several volumes of translations, two or three novels, a volume of his own verse, a drama and two critical monographs on Oscar Wilde,²⁵ and he was still in his twenties. He seemed, at least on the surface, to be destined for a successful, if not distinguished, literary career. But his letters to his publisher tell a different story, that of a man desperately struggling to stave off financial ruin; for example, on June 15, 1907, he wrote:

I work under very unhealthy and abnormal circumstances. My work is suffering because I have financial troubles. If I do not feel financially secure I cannot bear the burden for which I am partly to blame and partly I am blameless. As a result, I know, my work suffers in its quality. I cannot remember whether I told you that I had to support my mother and myself since I was sixteen years old. Some of my debts stem from this and it will take me years to pay them off! I need about 4,000 M. annually. As I have to fulfil these old obligations there is not much left of my own income so that sometimes my wife and I have to go hungry. I do not like to talk about it. This may explain to you why I am so often asking for money although I earn a good amount.²⁶

The letter ends with a plea for more work, to have "enough lined up ahead of me to feel secure."

Although his financial worries almost certainly contributed to Greve's decision to end his German career, his abrupt disappearance — his name ceases to appear in Berlin address-books after 1910 — poses something of a mystery. *Kürschners Deutscher Literatur-Kalender* for 1911 lists Greve among those who died in 1910, and other bibliographical dictionaries have since accepted 1910 as the year of Greve's death. However, the basis of the presumption was nothing more substantial than the postal notation on an

undelivered letter (a form for updating one's bibliographical entry) which was returned to the editors of *Kürschmers*. Extensive research conducted by the Senator für Inneres in Berlin at our request failed to unearth any other evidence of Greve's 1910 death. On the contrary, what evidence we have indicates that Greve did not die but fled from Germany in 1909 or shortly after. In a letter to André Gide, dated June 22, 1908, Greve says that in a few months he will be divorced and that he will leave for Norway on July 1 of that year.²⁷ Further, in an article on the Insel-Verlag publishing house, Dr. Friedrich Michael notes the following circumstances of Greve's 1909 disappearance:

One day in 1910, Anton Kippenberg received a letter from Frau Greve: her husband had left a letter behind, apparently to board a steamer for Sweden with no intention, however, of arriving there. She hoped, considering the efforts and achievements of her husband on behalf of the Insel-Verlag, Kippenberg would not desert her in her time of need. On receipt of this letter, Kippenberg despatched a colleague to Berlin who found the "widow" dressed in summer costume. He began to smell a rat. Kippenberg was to learn years later that Greve had been admitted to a New York clinic.²⁸

Although we have not seen Frau Greve's letter to Kippenberg, we have seen Kippenberg's reply which acknowledges the receipt of the telegram and letter about Greve's alleged suicide, and adds, "I would still like to doubt it until I receive authentic news of his death, and hope for you and your husband that he is still alive."²⁹ Kippenberg goes on to say that he was not to blame if Greve was actually dead and that "the real motive for his decision must have been his understanding that he would never be able to pay them [his debts] off." Since Kippenberg's letter is dated September 21, 1909, Frau Else Greve must have written to him in 1909 rather than in 1910. We also know that Greve borrowed 4,000 Marks from Kilian in 1909 for a trip to America to escape from some legal liabilities.³⁰

The major *lacuna* in the outline of Greve's early life, then, apart from such details as the date of his marriage, children, if any, of that marriage and so on, is the period following his disappearance in 1909 and his arrival in Winnipeg, Manitoba, towards the end of 1912. There is a manuscript poem by Grove, dated "Nova Scotia, 1909," which would indicate that he was at that time in eastern Canada. However, he may have, as he indicates in his letter to Gide and as Frau Greve evidently wrote to Kippenberg, toured Scandinavia before emigrating to North America. In 1909, Greve published an essay about his travel in Sweden,³¹ but it does not deal with the Malmoe-Lund area where Grove said he grew up as a child. In any case, as is suggested in all of his autobiographical writings, Grove must have travelled extensively in the United States and Canada before he settled in Manitoba. His knowledge of the places he has described was almost certainly first-hand. The novel *Consider Her Ways* (1947), as well as Grove's own statements on the subject, suggests that he may have visited Venezuela in 1910 or 1911. However, nothing definite can be said, at this stage, of Grove's movements during these three intervening years.

In the light of our present knowledge of Grove's European identity, his Canadian disguise appears almost minimal. He hardly altered his name. His customary signature as a teacher in Manitoba was "Fred Grove," and

Friedrich was of course part of his given name. Eventually he settled on a name with the same initials as his former one, and his friends used to call him "Phil," which is also the nickname for Felix. Except for Anglicising his father's name, he gave the right Christian names of his parents in his application for Canadian citizenship, and only slightly altered their surnames, Greve becoming Grove and Reichentrog becoming Rutherford. He was, it is true, some eight years younger than he said he was, but he observed his birthday on February 14, his actual date of birth. His statement that he was born in a place to the east of the Vistula, on the then Russo-German border, was based on fact. What he said of his education, knowledge of languages and friendship with distinguished European writers was essentially true. He did travel extensively in Europe in the restless manner he has described, although the trip to Siberia and voyages to the Far East and Africa remain to be substantiated. There were, in fact, several allusions to his past in his published writings, correspondence and personal conversations, any one of which, had it been pursued, would probably have given his disguise away, but which escaped critical scrutiny until recent years. For example, in the article "Apologia pro Vita et Opere suo,"³² he says that he has "been writing and publishing for over four decades, though only recently under my own name." To Lorne Pierce, of the Ryerson Press, he wrote: "There are a few other anonymous or pseudonymous publications . . . books published under a mask I do not at present care to divulge."³³ And, to cite one more example, Watson Kirkconnell in an article on Grove credits him with "the first complete edition of Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*,"³⁴ and he now tells us that his article was based on personal conversations with Grove. Although Grove issued a disclaimer in the form of a letter-to-the-editor, it should be noted that Felix Paul Greve was the editor and translator of Swift's *Prosa-Schriften* in four volumes (Berlin, 1909/10).

The discovery of the facts of Grove's early, European life leads, of course, to many interesting speculations and opens up several new fields of research. Why, for example, did Grove adopt his disguise at all? The most obvious reason seems to be that when he settled in Manitoba, on the eve of World War I, anti-German feeling was running high, and it would be to his advantage to claim Swedish, rather than German, birth and Anglo-Swedish ancestry. Moreover, in order to secure entry to Canada or the United States as a landed immigrant, it would be necessary for him to suppress the facts of his criminal conviction and jail term. The surprising thing is really that he chose to adopt such a slight disguise, and that he left so many clues to his previous identity. Presumably it was his pride in himself which led him to retain his own initials, a name so like his own, and an early career so close in essentials to the one he actually led. That his thin disguise was never penetrated in his life-time must have given him a good deal of quiet satisfaction.

Why was the disguise not penetrated earlier? In part no doubt it was because the disguise, although a thin one, was so cleverly kept up. Grove's autobiography is so detailed, so circumstantial, that it has the ring of truth — and when he was questioned about minor inconsistencies in it he invariably replied humbly, admitting that he might be confused and that all this happened long ago. Those who knew him best, and who therefore might have been the most likely to learn the truth, were persons of great probity themselves, and of good manners, who would be the last to wish to pry

into the private affairs of a friend — scholars such as Arthur Phelps, Watson Kirkconnell, Barker Fairley or Carleton Stanley. Mrs. Grove may well have suspected or known the truth — but as far as she was concerned the die was cast, and her reticence to the end of her life is perfectly understandable. As for the rest of us, the most convincing explanation is the most obvious one: no-one had attempted, until Professor Spettigue began it some five years ago, to do research on Grove's life. My own early book on him³⁵ was intended as a purely critical study of his books, and the biographical introduction was inserted only as an afterthought, when Grove offered to lend me the manuscript of his autobiography.

What are the literary consequences of the discovery? For one thing, it sets to rest once and for all rumours to the effect that Grove was not really the sophisticated, erudite *littérateur* that he claimed to be, but rather an untutored charlatan. Grove was no fraud in the conventional sense of that word, and his knowledge of literature and life was far more profound than that of many critics who have deigned to patronize him. Not only did he associate with some of the best minds of his own generation, he translated a staggering number of classics in other languages into German. His translations include Junius's letters, Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, Balzac's novels, Henri Murger's *La Bohème*, La Sage's *Gil Blas*, the complete prose works of Jonathan Swift, most of Oscar Wilde's writings, the *Arabian Nights*, and the works of Meredith, Browning, H. G. Wells, Flaubert and Gide. This is not a complete list, but it shows the range of his interests and his prodigious capacity for work. If we take into account also such scholarly articles as "Flauberts Theorien über das Künstlertum,"³⁶ or his studies of Oscar Wilde, he appears not only as an intellectually alert young man, but also one who was in the mainstream of the literary life of Europe in his time.

It is in this area of the relationship between Grove and the European literature of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century that so much scholarly research obviously now needs to be done. For one thing, there will be much to do, by scholars equally at home in English and German, in relating Grove's Canadian writing with Greve's German writing — the search will be, obviously, for similarities of theme, character, and style. For example, a casual reading of Greve's *Maurermeister Ihles Haus* (Berlin, 1906) suggests that it has much in common with Grove's novels, such as a concern with the conflict between the generations, a combination of social and psychological realism, and a strong influence of naturalism, whereas the German style, as we might expect, seems far more easily idiomatic than does Grove's rather stiff-necked English. Again, it is apparent that scholars will wish to pursue in depth the relationship between Grove and Gide and Grove and George, and to relate Grove's thought to the influences at work in German philosophy in the late nineteenth century.

Above all, what we hope the discovery will lead to is a far more sophisticated, subtle and respectful attitude towards Grove's Canadian writings. The excitement of this biographical chase has, for the last few years, understandably enough preoccupied students of Grove. The time has come to look less at the man and more closely at the work, to see that in novels such as *Our Daily Bread* and *The Master of the Mill* there was at work a very skilled craftsman and a very profound thinker. The German Greve was a prolific translator and a minor creative artist; the Canadian Grove was a major author who deserves to be better known not only in Canada but throughout the world.

¹D. O. Spettigue, "The Grove Enigma Resolved," *Queen's Quarterly*, 79 (Spring, 1972), pp. 1-2.

²In the autobiography, their names are not given; we are simply told that the father was "a land-owner on a fairly large-scale," and the mother, an heiress and an accomplished musician, was the daughter of a Scottish judge. They separated when Grove was still a boy, and from then until her death Grove lived with his mother. However, their names, as given in Grove's application for Canadian citizenship, were Charles Edward and Bertha (née Rutherford) Grove. In the semi-autobiographical novel, *A Search For America* (1927), Branden's father who is also called Charles Edward says: "My father had been a peasant, but a money-maker. We have been calling him a landed proprietor probably to cover the ignominy of our origins; but when he started out, he owned a very small farm." (New Canadian Library Edition, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1971, p. 6.)

³No trace of the family was found in the Malmoe-Lund area; for evidence of Grove's familiarity with the region, see Desmond Pacey, "In Search of Frederick Philip Grove in Sweden," *Journal of Canadian Fiction*, 1:1 (Winter, 1972), pp. 69-74.

⁴*In Search of Myself* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1946), p. 163.

⁵*ibid.*

⁶F.P.G. to Desmond Pacey, January 20, 1941. Gide's name is not directly mentioned in the autobiography, but Grove does refer to a Frenchman who is clearly intended to be Gide. Again, in the "Prologue" to the autobiography, which appeared separately as an article in 1940, there is a further reference apparently to the same Frenchman "who in my early days had been one of my intimates."

⁷*In Search of Myself*, p. 166.

⁸The year of Grove's actual arrival in North America, according to the autobiography, was 1892, and thus the period of his wanderings before he settled in Manitoba would be twenty years. However, in actual telling, the period varies from two to twenty years, during which time he had been "successively a waiter, a book agent, a factory hand, a roust-about on board a lake steamer... and a hobo or itinerant farm labourer in the West" (*In Search of Myself*, p. 181). The period covered in *A Search for America*, which deals with these wanderings, although it is, Grove admits, "to a certain extent fiction," was from August, 1892 to the end of 1893 (vide *In Search of Myself*, p. 181). Assuming that Grove had been in North America for two or three years before he settled in Canada, he must have arrived in this continent sometime in 1909 or 1910. There is no reliable record of his entry to Canada, but it is interesting that of the five trips to Europe he claimed to have made from North America, the last such trip was in 1910, roughly about the time Greve would have arrived in North America for the first time.

⁹Novels: *Settlers of the Marsh* (1925), *A Search for America* (1927), *Our Daily Bread* (1928), *The Yoke of Life* (1930), *Fruits of the Earth* (1933), *Two Generations* (1939), *The Master of the Mill* (1944) and *Consider Her Ways* (1947); essays: *Over Prairie Trails* (1922), *The Turn of the Year* (1923) and *It Needs to Be Said* (1929). A collection of Grove's short stories, *Tales from the Margin* (Desmond Pacey, ed.), was published in 1971.

¹⁰In the autobiography, Grove mentions only two women in his European years: the wife of a professor, identified only as Mrs. Broegler, who initiated him and bore him an illegitimate child, and Kirsten, a young girl who was and remained his romantic ideal, "a revelation of dewy freshness and promise."

¹¹D. O. Spettigue, *Frederick Philip Grove* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1969).

¹²Carl Eduard's father, Joachim Heinrich Wilhelm Greve, was a *Miteigentümer* (joint proprietor) in Niendorf. The Greve family was apparently of respectable loyalist tradition, and can be traced back in Niendorf to 1479. At times as many as five rural holdings belonged to the Greves, and for many decades a member of the family held the office of the *Schulze* (village mayor). The *Miteigentümers* in Niendorf enjoyed special status, for in the 18th century they had bought their lands from the *Gutsherrn* (manor lord), and were thus legally on the same footing with knights and noble land-owners. The history of these farmers leads to the conclusion that they were not only very independent and defended their rights fiercely, but they were also wealthy so that they were able to pursue their law-suits with the manor lord right up to the highest court of law. (We are grateful to Dr. Kloth, Director of the Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek des Bezirkes Schwerin, for this note.)

The *Kirchenbuch* for the year 1877 of the Lutheran parish of Baggendorf records Henny Greve's birth on August 25 in Turow. The entry also shows that at that time Carl Eduard was a *Guspächter* (tenant farmer?). But Felix Paul Greve's records at St. Pauli show his father was a cashier, whereas records at the Johanneum describe him as a *Beamter* (official). (We are grateful to Dr. Gerhard Kutzsch, Director of the Landesarchiv Berlin, for this information.)

¹³Her father, Heinrich Friedrich Wilhelm Reichenrog, was an *Erbpächter* (hereditary tenant), and the land records for Mecklenburg-Schwerin show him renting a small estate in Carlshöhe between 1855 and 1862. (Information from Dr. Kloth.)

¹⁴Felix Paul Greve to Franz Brümmer, March 6, 1907 (enclosure).

¹⁵Hermann F. C. Kilian was the son of the physician, Emili Paul Hermann Kilian of Dresden, and grandson of Hermann Friedrich Killian who was for many years professor of gynecology at Bonn and the founder of the first *Frauenklinik* in that city. Kilian studied natural sciences and trained as a chemist, eventually becoming the

owner of a pharmaceutical firm near Bonn, and is survived by a daughter, Frau Jane Kilian, who recalls from the conversation of her parents that in 1909 Greve borrowed 4,000 Marks from her father for a trip to North America, but he never returned the money and never showed up again.

Kilian's mother was a Scotswoman, daughter of Lord Rutherford-Clark who was a member of the Supreme Court of Scotland. Presumably, she was the original of the woman Grove portrays as his mother in the autobiography, and the "great-uncle Rutherford" (*In Search of Myself*, p. 145), with whom Grove said he had gone on the Siberian expedition, may have been a member of that family. (We are grateful to Dr. Aders of the Stadtarchiv in Bonn for the information and for locating Frau Jane Kilian.)

¹⁶There are some other, although superficial, resemblances between the lives of Greve and Rilke. Greve (as Grove) recalls an expedition to Siberia in language which reminds one of Rilke's enthusiasm for the Siberian landscape. Greve (as Grove) describes an encounter with a group of Kirghiz herdsmen which is somewhat paralleled in Rilke's life in his meeting with the Worpsswede artists who sought to create a native art by living away from cities. Finally, the two English writers, Walter Pater and Oscar Wilde, who appear to have influenced Greve considerably, were the ones in whom Rilke took more than a passing interest. See Eudo C. Mason, *Rilke, Europe, and the English-Speaking World* (Cambridge: University Press, 1961), p. 75.

¹⁷Greve's headquarters at this time was Munich, but his letters indicate that he was almost constantly on the move.

¹⁸*Stefan George-Friedrich Gundolf Briefwechsel*, ed. Robert Boehringer (München und Düsseldorf: Helmut Küpper, 1962), pp. 115, 120. In Munich, Greve was friendly with Karl Wolfskehl, a member of the George Circle who later emigrated to New Zealand. There is a letter from the Dutch poet Albert Verwey to Karl and Hanna Wolfskehl, dated August 3, 1902, in which Verwey mentions receiving from Greve copies of Greve's *Wanderungen, Helena und Damon* and *Lehren und Sprüche von Oskar Wilde* (all three published in Munich in 1902). See *Wolfskehl und Verwey: die Dokumente Ihrer Freundschaft*, ed. Mae Nijland-Verwey (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1968), p. 26.

¹⁹"Den Meistern," in *Wanderungen* (München: Lit., Kunsthandlung, 1902), pp. 51-52. Greve dedicated the volume to "Dem Freunde und Gefährten Hermann F. C. Kilian," and later adopted Kilian's middle initials in his pseudonym, F. C. Gerden.

²⁰The foregoing account of Greve's life is based on his school and university records, and on several newspaper articles of the 1903 trial. However, according to an autobiographical sketch, which Greve sent to the bibliographer Franz Brümmer with his letter of March 6, 1907, he married at the age of twenty-three (1902), and then lived successively in southern Italy, Switzerland, northern France and, from 1906, Berlin. (Copy of Greve's letter to Franz Brümmer courtesy of the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.) In his conversation with Gide in 1904; Greve spoke of his *intention* of marrying his mistress and settling in Switzerland.

There is no mention of this affair in Greve's autobiography, but *A Search for America* does contain a passage which is almost certainly a veiled allusion to it: "I had met her in the heyday of my fortunes in Palermo and attached myself to her orbit for a week or so, following her to Rome, Venice, Vienna, Berlin. Now she was one of those infinitely distant stars which you still see because a few centuries ago they sent out their light on its path, and it keeps on travelling and reaching our globe, although the star that sent it has perhaps long since been extinguished" (New Canadian Library Edition, p. 11). Presumably the woman concerned was the wife of the architect August Endell (1871-1925) of Berlin, whom Greve alludes to as his friend in a letter to R. von Poellnitz, dated November 19, 1902. In the newspaper reports of the 1903 trial, the architect is referred to simply as "E."

²¹In this context it is interesting to note Greve's comments on Ernest Augustus Boyd's *Studies from Ten Literatures* (1925; reprinted Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat, 1968): "His article on Gide makes me very little confident: strangely, he discusses Gide as far as I know him (*La Porte étroite*). Gide's latest work I have not read." (Letter, F.P.G. to Watson Kirkconnell, December 14, 1927.)

²²See *The Journals of André Gide*, trans. Justin O'Brien (London: Secker & Warburg, 1949), III (1928-1939), p. 214.

²³George D. Painter, *André Gide* (London: Arthur Barker, 1951), pp. 105-106.

²⁴Copy of the letter courtesy of the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.

²⁵*Kürschners Deutscher Literatur-Kalender* for 1910 lists the following works by Greve: novels: *Fanny Essler* (1905) and *Mauvermeister Ihles Haus* (1906); verse: *Wanderungen* (1902); drama: *Helena und Damon* (1902) and *Der Heimliche Adel* (1907); essays: *Oscar Wilde* (1903) and *Randarabesken zu Oscar Wilde* (1903); editor: *Hofmanswaldau* (1906); and translator of *Thousand and One Nights* (in twelve vols.) and the works of Oscar Wilde, Browning, Flaubert, Meredith, Balzac, Swift and others.

²⁶A loose translation of the original German is given here. Copy of the letter courtesy of Nationale Forschungs- und Gedenkstätten der Klassischen Deutschen Literatur in Weimar.

²⁷Copy of the letter courtesy of Mme Catherine Gide.

²⁸A loose translation of the original German is given here. See Friedrich Michael, "Verschollene der frühen Insel," *Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel*, Frankfurter Ausgabe, No. 17, Februar 1972, for a fuller account of Greve's relation with the publishing house. Dr. Michael, in a personal letter, dated February 6, 1973, says that his information about Greve came directly from Kippenberg.

²⁹A loose translation of the original German is given here. Copy of the letter courtesy of Nationale Forschungs- und Gedenkstätten der Klassischen Deutschen Literatur in Weimar.

³⁰See note 15 above.

³¹Felix Paul Greve, "Reise in Schweden," *Neue Revue und Morgen*, No. 22/23 (1909), pp. 760-766.

³²Published in *Canadian Forum*, 11 (August, 1931), pp. 420-422.

³³F.P.G. to Lorne Pierce, December 10, 1938.

³⁴W.K., "Frederick Philip Grove," *Canadian Bookman* (April, 1926), p. 110.

³⁵Desmond Pacey, *Frederick Philip Grove* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1945).

³⁶Published in *Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung*, No. 1065 (1904).