

**Intelligent *Weiblichkeit*:
The Correspondence of Charlotte Schiller and Henry Heron**

by

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in

The Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctorate Studies
(Germanic Studies)

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
(Vancouver)

August 2016

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Abstract

This thesis is dedicated to Charlotte Schiller's (née von Lengefeld, 1766-1826) early correspondence, exchanged with a certain Henry Heron about whom as to present not much has been known. Preliminary archival research was necessary to establish the material basis of this thesis, i.e. dealing with concepts of scholarly editing, or "Editionswissenschaft" (cf. Appendix A), providing first-time full transcriptions of the manuscripts in the holdings of the Goethe- und Schiller-Archive Weimar (cf. Appendix B), as well as tracing back records to gain intelligence of Henry Heron's identity (cf. Appendix C). In the first part, my theoretical approach to Charlotte Schiller and Henry Heron's correspondence, builds on scholarship on gender issues in epistolary culture as provided by Simon Richter, Linda Grasso, Anita Runge, Susanne Kord et al. In my second part, I propose a first-time analysis of Charlotte Schiller's *Wallberg*, a novel only recently published based on the Weimar manuscript holdings. My interpretation will be focused on the use of letters and documents as literary devices, as well as the intertextual allusions to her earlier acquaintance with Henry Heron regarding motifs of migration from Europe to America within the context of the War of Independence.

By revealing the juxtapositions of real-life events and literary imagination in the genres of correspondence and novel, I hope to shed new light onto Charlotte Schiller's literary strategies, and the role and status of women writers in Weimar, Germany, during the period from 1780-1810, at large.

Preface

This thesis is an original, unpublished, independent work by the author, Laura Isakov.

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Acknowledgments

I would like to acknowledge the many people who made completion of this thesis possible. First and foremost, I would like to gratefully acknowledge my thesis supervisor, Gaby Pailer, who provided immeasurable support, training, guidance, and encouragement, the opportunities for archival work and collaboration with related projects. I am grateful to her for the motivation and confidence required to complete this task. Moreover, I would especially like to acknowledge the value of her transcriptions of the correspondence as a basis for my efforts.

I would like to express my gratitude to Bernhard Fischer, Director of the Klassik-Stiftung Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv in Weimar, Germany for permitting the use of his in-progress transcription of Karl Ludwig von Knebel's letters to Charlotte Schiller.

The efforts of Sabine Fischer from the Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach regarding the images of Henry Heron are much appreciated.

I am grateful to Ilinca Iurascu and Katia Bowers, for being members of my thesis committee, and for their support and constructive feedback. Their empathy and encouragement throughout my program have been much appreciated.

In addition, I would like to thank the entirety of the Central, Eastern, and Northern European Studies department at UBC for their instruction, understanding, and support throughout my program.

Dedication

To my mother and grandmother, who, in teaching me to read, opened my eyes to a world of possibility and wonder.

To Aleksander and Irina for their support.

To my husband and children, whose immeasurable patience and understanding regarding the loss of the kitchen table and my time made this possible.

In loving memory of my father.

I. Introduction

"Let all your actions be regulated by that regard to the dignity of the female Character which springs not from any superiority of Birth or Station, not from personal pride or acquired accomplishments but from a conscious rectitude of Conduct - For this advice forgive the presumption of a person who tho but a new Acquaintance, would fain hope not be consider'd as a common one" - Henry Heron¹

This definition of *Weiblichkeit* is written into the *Stammbuch* of Charlotte von Lengefeld (later Charlotte Schiller), dated in Weimar, July 20, 1787, and undersigned by Henry Heron, a personage whose identity has been laying in the dark up until now. It accompanies an excerpt of Thomas Otway's poem "Venice Preserved"². The common assumption in biographical depictions of Charlotte Schiller is that this visiting Scottish naval officer had been in Weimar already a year and was well accepted among her circle of friends³ in Weimar.

Within their correspondence, as preserved in the holdings of the Goethe- and Schiller-archive in Weimar, there is a thread of frank debate regarding the nature of *Weiblichkeit* and concepts of gender. This correspondence extends into a collaboration of the minds in a translation project that demonstrates each individual's thoughts and a

¹ Henry Heron to Charlotte (von Lengefeld) Schiller. *Stammbuch* entry, Weimar, July 20,

² Ibid; See Appendix B.

³ Note that for this thesis I refer to Charlotte Schiller geb. von Lengefeld as Charlotte Schiller or simply Schiller as she is the person of interest; reference to Friedrich Schiller shall involve both of his names. Noting that at the time of her correspondence with Heron her unmarried name was Charlotte von Lengefeld, and later in life, after the ennoblement of her husband, she was officially Charlotte von Schiller, "Charlotte Schiller" serves best as the assumed publishing name as chosen for the recent edition of her literary works by Gaby Pailer.

fellowship of equals. That *Weiblichkeit* is so openly discussed in a male-female correspondence within the "weiblich" medium of the letter and epistolary culture is significant. This correspondence supports Simon Richter's theory of Weimar Heteroclassicism⁴ that is based on the correspondence of like-minded individuals, as Schiller's *Weiblichkeit* is expressed through "a determined, non-renouncing, triumphant feminine agency."⁵ As my research demonstrates, Schiller's correspondence successfully persuades Heron to renounce his previous opinion on the fairer sex. My analysis of the Schiller-Heron correspondence goes beyond Richter's theory to argue that an understanding of Weimar culture during this period is dependent upon an understanding of the strong expressions of *Weiblichkeit* within its intellectual circle. Schiller's later (unpublished) epistolary novel, *Wallberg*⁶, explores different expressions of *Weiblichkeit* and character interactions with epistolary culture. Linda M. Grasso's theory⁷ suggesting that correspondence can be analyzed as literature is further exemplified by the Schiller-Heron correspondence. Remarkably, Charlotte Schiller's later novel *Wallberg* demonstrates that this theory is bi-directional, including fictionally documented

⁴ Simon Richter. "Weimar Heteroclassicism: Wilhelm von Humboldt, Caroline von Wolzogen, and the Aesthetics of Gender." *Publications of the English Goethe Society*, 81.3 (2012), 137-51. DOI 10.1179/0959368312Z.0000000007.

⁵ Richter, "Heteroclassicism," 150.

⁶ This novel remained untitled and unpublished during Charlotte Schiller's lifetime; it was only recently published under the title <*Wallberg*> in the new work edition: Charlotte Schiller, *Literarische Schriften*. Eds. Gaby Pailer, Andrea Dahlman-Resing, and Melanie Kage. In collaboration with Ursula Bär, Florian Gassner, Laura Isakov, Joshua Kroeker, Rebecca Reed, Karen Roy and Zifeng Zhao (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2016) 403-471 (Text) and 843-867 (Commentary).

⁷ Linda M. Grasso. "Reading Published Letter Collections as Literary Texts: Maria Chabot-Georgia O'Keefe Correspondence, 1941-1949 as a Case Study." *Legacy* 25.2 (2008): 239-250.

epistolary content as embedded stories and thus creating the flair of authenticity indicating that correspondence in literature can be perceived as documented letters.

This thesis is dedicated to Schiller's first correspondence with a male outside her family circle as an exemplary case study about the literary nature of eighteenth century personal correspondence⁸. In preparation of my scholarly analysis, it was necessary to visit the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv in Weimar in order to read the letters as only partial and unreliable transcriptions had been published in 19th century editions.⁹ For my own full transcription of these letters (see Appendix B) I was able to use partial draft-transcriptions by Gaby Pailer.

This thesis is based on a number of different theoretical approaches to interrelations of gender concepts and modes of epistolary culture around 1800: as mentioned above, Simon Richter's¹⁰ *Weimar Heteroclassicism*, Linda M. Grasso's theory on correspondence as literary text¹¹ as well as Anita Runge's¹² theory of women's literary practice circa 1800, Rainer Baasner's *Briefkultur im 19. Jahrhundert*¹³, Susanne Kord's¹⁴

⁸ This thesis will contribute to a larger project dedicated to the correspondence of Charlotte Schiller.

⁹ GSA 83/1759 Henry Heron to Charlotte Schiller, GSA 83/1914 Charlotte Schiller to Henry Heron

¹⁰ Simon Richter. "Weimar Heteroclassicism: Wilhelm von Humboldt, Caroline von Wolzogen, and the Aesthetics of Gender." *Publications of the English Goethe Society*, 81.3 (2012), 137-51. DOI 10.1179/0959368312Z.0000000007.

¹¹ Linda M. Grasso. "Reading Published Letter Collections as Literary Texts: Maria Chabot-Georgia O'Keefe Correspondence, 1941-1949 as a Case Study." *Legacy* 25.2 (2008): 239-250.

¹² Anita Runge. *Literarische Praxis von Frauen um 1800. Briefroman, Autobiographie, Märchen*. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1977).

¹³ Rainer Baasner. *Briefkultur im 19. Jahrhundert*. (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1999).

¹⁴ Susanne Kord. *Sich einen Namen machen. Anonymität und weibliche Autorschaft*. (Stuttgarg: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung und Carl Ernst Poeschel Verlag GmbH, 1996).

perspective on anonymity and women authors, and Bodo Plachta's *Editionswissenschaft*¹⁵. Each of these theoretical approaches provides a frame of reference that dovetails with the others in order to reach a comprehensive theoretical framework.

Until recently, Charlotte Schiller has been known primarily for the people she knew. The time-honored emphasis on her connections as credentials for interest is clearly summarized by Pailer:

"Biografiewürdig ist Charlotte indessen schon immer gewesen - aufgrund ihrer Verbindung mit Schiller. Das beginnt mit der Veröffentlichung von *Schillers Leben* durch ihre Schwester Caroline von Wolzogen (geb. von Lengefeld), die Lotte zur treu sorgenden Hausfrau und Mutter macht, sich selbst dagegen als schöngeistige Gesprächspartnerin des männlichen Genies entwirft."¹⁶

Caroline von Wolzogen's interest in this portrayal of her sister was likely a personal desire to increase her own status as an author and literary mind as well as to emphasize the nobility of her late brother-in-law; an emphasis on Charlotte Schiller's role within the sphere of hearth and home served as a social signpost of Friedrich Schiller's ennobled status. Thankfully, the Weimar literary couple's youngest daughter Emilie, married von Gleichen-Rußwurm, collected much of the archival material, and it was she who initiated in the recovery of Charlotte Schiller's persona and writings. Her life and works, imbued with the spirit of the literature and culture of her day have, in recent years, been reformulated in research dedicated to Charlotte Schiller, starting with a multi-faceted UBC research project by Gaby Pailer (since 2007), resulting in a number of articles, a

¹⁵ Bodo Plachta. *Editionswissenschaft: Eine Einführung in Methode und Praxis der Edition neuerer Texte*. (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1997).

¹⁶ Gaby Pailer. "Charlotte Schiller. Literatur und Leben an der Seite eines >Klassikers<." in *Schillers Familie: Beiträge von Michael Davidis, Gaby Pailer und Christine Thöml*. (Deutsche Schillergesellschaft: Marbach am Neckar, 2009).

research monograph (2009), and in the new work edition (2016). This project initiated a new focus on Charlotte Schiller in the Jena Schillerhaus under the direction of Helmut Hühn¹⁷ and the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv Weimar, with an exhibition dedicated to her (2015) and a corresponding publication by Silke Henke and Ariane Ludwig (2015)¹⁸. Yet, only now that Charlotte Schiller's works have been scholarly edited and are available in print¹⁹, further research can be dedicated to her as a historical person of interest on her own merit and as an integral member of the intellectual circle of Weimar.²⁰

This recently recognized role as an author is an addition to the increasing assemblage of women writers under reconsideration in relation to the on-going trend of re-evaluating canon formation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Moreover, further questions regarding the normative masculinity ascribed to the concept of "Weimar Classicism," as women are not yet established as part of the canon, can be answered through the process of acknowledging and analyzing how a woman utilized the media and genre of the letter to communicate her worldview to other participants within the literary and cultural environment of her time. Understanding this will provide deeper insight into the gender dynamics of this time and place.

Richter's analysis of Weimar Classicism, which compares Wilhelm von Humboldt and Charlotte Schiller's elder sister Caroline von Wolzogen (née von Lengefeld),

¹⁷ Helmut Hühn, Ariane Ludwig, Sven Schlotter (Eds.), *"Ich bin im Gebiet der Poesie sehr freiheitsliebend". Bausteine für eine intellektuelle Biographie Charlotte von Schillers.* (Jena: Garamond Verlag, 2015).

¹⁸ Silke Henke and Ariane Ludwig. *"Damit doch jemand im Hause die Feder führt..." Charlotte von Schiller. Eine Biographie in Büchern, ein Leben in Lektüren.* Schätze aus dem Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Band 3. (Weimar: Weimarer Verlagsgesellschaft, 2015).

¹⁹ Charlotte Schiller. *Literarische Schriften.*

²⁰ Richter, "Weimar Heteroclassicism," 139.

provides a key to the gender dynamics that contrasts the widely held conceptions that result primarily from the canonical hyperfocus on Goethe and Friedrich Schiller. Simon Richter has criticized the currently established canon of Weimar Classicism as being incomplete, arguing that it is necessary to "think of Weimar Classicism as a project, a distinctly local and historically discrete cultural phenomenon"²¹ which included women writers in and near Weimar as active and interactive participants. Richter brings critical attention to Humboldt's gender essays, demonstrating that "Wilhelm von Humboldt is one of the earliest gender theorists in a modern sense"²². Wilhelm von Humboldt argued that "the relation between gender and the sexed body" was more complicated than generally conceived, and that this relationship involved a "power identified as 'weiblich' [which] is distinct not in terms of degree (i.e. not 'less' in any conceivable sense), but in kind (*Gattung*) or directionality (*Richtung*)."²³ The power that distinguishes Wolzogen's first novel, *Agnes von Lilien* (1797), argues Richter, "is about *Weiblichkeit* in precisely Humboldt's sense."²⁴ Humboldtian *Weiblichkeit* means a particular strength through active self-awareness or *Selbstthätigkeit* that represents "a determined, non-renouncing, triumphant feminine agency"²⁵. This understanding of *Weiblichkeit* as a power in terms of kind rather than degree is important to understanding the intellectual circle of Weimar which emphasized cerebral equivalence over that of social rank as a social practice of Enlightenment ideals. Although Friedrich Schiller's acceptance into this circle despite his bourgeois origins is an example of this understanding, Richter's theory that the

²¹ Ibid, 139.

²² Ibid, 141.

²³ Ibid, 143.

²⁴ Ibid, 146.

²⁵ Ibid, 150.

intellectual circle of Weimar was not limited to, or necessarily dominated by, Goethe and Friedrich Schiller opens this temporal and spatial context to renewed study. Wolzogen and Humboldt fit the theory, and, looking further into other correspondence, sheds new light on other overlooked examples, including Charlotte Schiller.

This female agency and expression of *Weiblichkeit* owed much to the epistolary culture of the day that increasingly intersected with salon culture and domestic culture as literacy and postal services became more ubiquitous. As Steven Kale summarizes, "salons encouraged socializing between the sexes, brought nobles and bourgeois together, and afforded opportunities for intellectual speculation."²⁶ The sociability of the salon was a balanced arena of public inclusivity and mediated exclusivity and was an integral element in the transition from hereditary aristocracy to the more accessible status of elite as initiated by Enlightenment philosophy.²⁷ The salon was a space wherein "public and private spheres overlapped" with "women at the center of a family's public responsibilities and status concerns"²⁸ in a period of "stable cultural norms defined by feminine attributes."²⁹ In a similar manner, as salons reveal the elite through the subjective interactions of its participants, so do letters reveal the individual in their subjectivity³⁰. Letters, much like salons, navigated a thin line between public and the newly emerging private spaces; private letters were frequently

²⁶ Steven D. Kale. *French salons: high society and political sociability from the Old Regime to the Revolution of 1848*. (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

²⁷ Ibid, 9.

²⁸ Ibid, 12.

²⁹ Ibid, 3.

³⁰ Simon Richter. "The Ins and Outs of Intimacy: Gender, Epistolary Culture, and the Public Sphere." *The German Quarterly*, Vol. 69, No. 2 (Spring, 1996), 112.

"shared or read aloud; they were metonymies for absent and desired authors; they became the basis for new friendships with new and unfamiliar readers. Letters were bound together and made available to house guests; they were frequently published, with or without the author's permission, with or without the discreet removal of private detail."³¹

While salons continued to be the cultural institution of the individual's intellect, letters became the cultural institution of the individual's sentiment; the homosocial aspects³² of this epistolary cultural sense of sentiment and intimacy are most clearly seen in the friendship cult³³. In epistolary novels, letters that expressed personal sentimentality and subjective emotion, as opposed to mere entertaining wit or Pietistic instruction, were considered "real."³⁴ Perhaps because of the emotional vulnerability inherent in expressing one's subjectivity, the genre of epistolary novel and the nature of epistolary culture at large became associated with a woman's genre and with a restricted sense of the *weibliche Stimme*. In spite of the fact that men were still the predominant authors of epistolary novels, epistolary novels were one of the first established channels of feminine and female cultural self-expression. The second half of the eighteenth century emphasized both in fiction and in daily philosophy the expression of "states of consciousness involving a combination of feeling and thinking, whether in balance or at odds"³⁵ that calls to mind the "temporal disposition of the powers resident in a subject vis-à-vis the *Stimmung* of those of another, or of the opposite powers within the same subject"³⁶ that is expressed in Humboldt's gendered aesthetics.

³¹ Ibid, 115.

³² Ibid, 112.

³³ Ibid, 112.

³⁴ Ruth Perry. *Women, Letters, and the Novel*. (New York: AMS Press Inc., 1980).

³⁵ Joe Bray. *The Epistolary Novel: Representations of consciousness*. (London: Routledge, 2003), 90.

³⁶ Richter, "Weimar Heteroclassicism," 144.

Letters had their own unique cultural norms and surrounding culture that both included and discounted gender roles. As Baasner explains, the rules and idiosyncratic variations that formed the contemporary epistolary culture (*Briefkultur*) were not isolated; "Es steht in Verbindung mit anderen Formen der Kommunikation, existiert aber im zeitgenössischen Bewußtsein und im kommunikativen Handeln als selbstständig organisierte und somit eingegrenzte Domäne."³⁷ The physical object of the letter itself offers meaningful communicative details that are difficult to express. The size and type of paper, the watermark, the type of ink, the size and thinness or thickness of the letters, and the amounts of blots on the page - all these physical elements reflect the personality and the choices of the sender to the receiver. These elements also present the reader with a physical visual and tactile aesthetic that is difficult to convey second hand. In a similar fashion to the integral role of *Briefkultur* in daily life, the agency and expression of *Weiblichkeit* connected with other forms of self-presentation most visible in the role of integrating emotional communications, a role that became a "localized domain"³⁸ within literary practice. Sophie von La Roche's *Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim* (1771) and Wolzogen's *Agnes von Lilien* (1793) are two famous examples of anonymously published epistolary novels that, after their success, led to the public recognition of both women authors. Differently to this, four narratives by Charlotte Schiller were published by her husband around 1800,³⁹ but without revealing her authorship during their lifetime. Anita Runge contends that *die weibliche Stimme* is not necessarily linked to the sex of the

³⁷ Baasner, *Briefkultur*, 13.

³⁸ Ibid, 13.

³⁹ Cf. Pailer, *Leben und Schreiben*, 105.

author⁴⁰, most clearly exemplified by the not entirely uncommon use of female pseudonyms by male authors to add "authenticity" to the *weibliche Stimme* of an epistolary novel's protagonist (19). The *weibliche Stimme* may not necessarily be limited to female protagonists of epistolary novels, as the male protagonist in Goethe's famous novel *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (1774) expresses his emotions in a manner coherent with the *weibliche Stimme* in the domestic domain of epistolary culture and expression of inner emotions.

That the *weibliche Stimme* in the intellectual circle later labeled as "Weimar Classicism"⁴¹ was not limited to fictional characters mediated by their male authors connects to Richter's argument about the concept of gender and agency within the intellectual circle of Weimar. Richter's comparison of Wolzogen and Humboldt's writings is one example that supports this theoretical frame; however, Wolzogen's experience was not a singular one. The majority of women participating in these intellectual circles were not openly published authors; this did not mean, however, that their work was not exposed to an audience. However, due to her authorship being publicly known during her lifetime, Wolzogen is an outlier from the experience of the majority of her contemporary female authors. Although useful, exceptional cases limit the application on a more generalized scale. In all scholarly scientific analysis the results must be reproducible for a theory to be verified, and this study supports Richter's theory by providing Charlotte Schiller as an example of a female writer who is more in the majority experience via her heretofore limited and anonymous publication. Reading actual private correspondence

⁴⁰ Runge, *Literarische Praxis*, 12.

⁴¹ As "Weimar Classicism" is a label later ascribed to Weimar-based authors, it is an artificial concept that has been and needs to be questioned.

from the point of view of *Briefnetzwerke* provides insight into the interaction between individuals and provides a newer and deeper understanding of the constellation of minds that forms an updated understanding of gender dichotomy within Weimar culture.

Therefore, the correspondence of Charlotte Schiller and Henry Heron promises to provide a case study of this theory within the restraints of a (at the time non-published) writer and participant in the intellectual circle of Weimar.

This thesis begins with identifying what is known about Charlotte Schiller, Henry Heron, and their relationship with one another. Secondly, I will analyze the content of their correspondence and discuss what the epistolary exchange reveals regarding the nature of their relationship and of interactions in intellectual circles. Then, I will turn to a novel written by Charlotte Schiller, dealing with a family named Wallberg, in which letters play an important role and draw from Heron as a prototype for several male characters. Finally, I will discuss how the correspondence and novel portray *Weiblichkeit* as it pertains to individual and national identity in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Germany.

Unfortunately, secondary sources without citations are not uncommon when it comes to a mysterious personage such as Henry Heron; I noted many references to such secondary sources with regularity in the brief references to him within the Anna Amalia Bibliothek collection of materials on the Schillers. Therefore, I have made every effort to avoid similar errors of assumption by striving to connect as much as possible with archival sources, primarily the corpus of epistolary material between Charlotte Schiller

and Henry Heron (1787)⁴², Charlotte Schiller's *Stammbuch* (July 20, 1787)⁴³, and the diary (*Schreibkalender*) of Court Councillor (*Hofrat*) Karl Ludwig von Knebel (1786-1788)⁴⁴, all of which are held at the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv in Weimar. I consulted these resources both in the original and scanned versions during an archival visit made possible through Gaby Pailer's SSHRC project in December 2015. The National Archives of the United Kingdom, accessible online, were useful in ultimately lifting the veil over Henry Heron's identity.

⁴² GSA 83/1759 Henry Heron to Charlotte Schiller, GSA 83/1914 Charlotte Schiller to Henry Heron.

⁴³ GSA 83/1959.

⁴⁴ Karl Ludwig von Knebel, *Schreibkalender*, GSA 54/363.

II. Historical Persons: Charlotte Schiller and Henry Heron

A handful of books have been written about Charlotte Schiller⁴⁵; many of the books about Johann Wolfgang Goethe or Friedrich Schiller also mention Charlotte Schiller and include at least a passing mention of the Scottish officer Henry Heron, with whom she had an active correspondence over the year of 1787. The *Briefwechsel* between Charlotte Schiller and Henry Heron is interesting as a case study example supporting Richter's argument regarding the nature of gender and agency within the intellectual circle of Weimar in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century; it is also an intriguing narrative of a growing and meaningful relationship based on mutual literary interests and the spirit of collaborative internationalism between the seemingly mismatched pair: an individual belonging to the navy that served as a social representative of the period's military superpower and an individual belonging to the domestic sphere of a linguistic-cultural region striving towards the ideal of nation-statehood. Heron and Schiller seem to have met in February 1787 at a Weimar gathering where they became engrossed in a discussion of English literature⁴⁶. Henry Heron was a participatory visitor during his time in Weimar, and he distinctly left his mark behind. His

⁴⁵ Namely, in addition to portrayals by Düntzer (1856) and Ulrichs (1865), there are two nineteenth century biographies: Karl Fulda. *Leben Charlottens von Schiller, geborene von Lengefeld*. (Berlin: Gebrüder Paetel, 1878) and Hermann Mosapp. *Charlotte von Schiller. Ein Lebens- und Charakterbild*. 2. Aufl. (Stuttgart: Max Kiemann, 1902). One twentieth century biography: Hansjoachim Kiene. *Schillers Lotte. Porträt einer Frau in ihrer Welt*. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1996), and two twenty-first century biographies: Eva Gesine Baur. *"Mein Geschöpf musst du sein." Das Leben der Charlotte Schiller*. 2. Aufl. (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 2005) and Gaby Pailer. *Charlotte Schiller: Leben und Schreiben im klassischen Weimar*. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2009). The most comprehensive source of knowledge about Charlotte Schiller is Gaby Pailer's monograph as well as the commentary section of the work edition *Literarische Schriften*.

⁴⁶ Pailer, *Leben und Schreiben*, 39-40.

exploits in the American War of Independence were intriguing to those with revolutionary ideals. His cosmopolitan international life and German language ability rendered him attractive to locals thirsting for a grander view of the world. The Romantic ideal of natural, undistorted poetry matched well with the Scottish Highland disposition expressed by James Macpherson's *Ossian*⁴⁷. His lectures and conversations about the English language, the American War of Independence, and *Ossian* influenced Weimar at large. Goethe was already a preeminent figure in Weimar and "his growing absorption in *Ossian*"⁴⁸ was also known. As remarked by Pailer:

"Der ‚Ossianismus‘ ist spätestens seit Goethes *Werther* verbreitet - Klopstock, die Dichter des Sturm und Drang und des Hainbundes, Herder sind davon ergriffen -, nicht überraschend also, dass auch in Rudolstadt fleißig übersetzt, die Hochlandstimmung nachempfunden, dem legendären Barden und seinem Helden Fingal nachgedichtet wird"⁴⁹.

As *Werther* was written in 1774, the visit of the Englishmen was not the causation of "Ossianismus," but it is likely that this phenomenon influenced the manner of reception the visitors received by those in Weimar already enthralled by the Highland epic. Charlotte Schiller herself wrote a poem inspired by Macpherson, entitled *Ossians Abschiedsklage*⁵⁰. Through Klopstock's influence the *Ossian* influence extended to Göttingen as well⁵¹. This "Ossianismus" was in all likelihood further extended and rejuvenated from the previous decade as the result of the visiting Scotsman and Heron's interaction with Goethe, Herder, and others in Weimar. Heron and Schiller shared a common interest in serious intellectual growth, and had extensive knowledge of

⁴⁷ Pailer, *Leben und Schreiben*, 51.

⁴⁸ Robertson, 268.

⁴⁹ Pailer, *Leben und Schreiben*, 51.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Robertson, 254-256.

literature, poetry and essays. They talked about literature, each making efforts to speak and write in the other's language, and, by all accounts, spent long hours lost in conversation with one another. As demonstrated in a letter to Fritz von Stein, she had no time for others the entire week of Heron's visit; "Er hat uns viel angenehme Stunden gemacht"⁵². The relatively small collection of letters from Heron to Schiller, therefore, does not do justice to the hours spent together through number, but through content. Similarly, Friedrich and Charlotte Schiller exchanged only few letters once married, the lack of correspondence seems to indicate a fairly close relationship in each other's presence. A metonymic object was not necessary if the actual person could be present; apparently, letters were a necessary means of communication mainly when persons were apart from one another.

A. Charlotte Schiller

Charlotte Schiller has primarily been known as the wife and widow of the famous Friedrich Schiller, who had yet to arrive on the Weimar scene at the time of Heron's stay. Recently, however, a surge of scholarship has brought attention to her poetry, prose and diaries⁵³, lecture notes, drawings and travel journal⁵⁴, and correspondence. The trend of repeatedly mentioning Schiller as someone who knew one of many famous personages (Goethe, Humboldt, Friedrich Schiller, Knebel, Charlotte von Stein, her son Fritz, local nobility, and others) came to an end with the recognition of Charlotte Schiller's individual

⁵²Ibid, 41.

⁵³Schiller, *Literarische Schriften*, (2016).

⁵⁴Silke Henke and Ariane Ludwig. >>*Damit doch jemand im Hause die Feder führt*<< *Charlotte von Schiller. Eine Biographie in Büchern, ein Leben in Lektüren*. Schätze aus dem Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Band 3. (Weimar: Weimarer Verlagsgesellschaft in der Verlagshaus Römerweg GmbH, 2015).

identity. Current researchers have turned the lens around to look at the individual at the centre of a network of more or less famous individuals with a decisive effort to understand Charlotte Schiller herself.

Charlotte Schiller was, in fact, a prolific author. In addition to two unpublished novels that both feature migration processes between Europe and the Americas in the context of revolutionary uproar in the late 18th century⁵⁵, she also wrote five dramas, six contemporary narratives, three historical narratives, over sixty poems, and numerous travel reports, remembrances, and reflections⁵⁶. Themes familiar to many of her narratives include arranged marriage, nuns, separated lovers, the importance of epistolary communication, and strong female characters. Schiller retained her correspondence with many individuals, most of which is held in the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv in Weimar.

Understanding Schiller's familial background helps create a sense of the condition of her daily life that were known to Heron from their social encounters but are not minutely recorded in the letters themselves. In other words, while the *Briefwechsel* partners shared this information, much of it is not in the actual correspondence. This information is useful for communicating the social context behind the letters. Schiller was born on November 22, 1766 to parents within the lower ranks of nobility. She grew up just outside of town in a dwelling called Heißenhof, which her father rented from the Weimar Equerry (*Oberstallmeister*) G.E. Josias von Stein, whose wife, Charlotte, became Charlotte Schiller's lifelong friend⁵⁷. Schiller had a deep love of nature and the outdoors,

⁵⁵ These are: *Wallberg* and *Berwick*, both of which were untitled prior to the recent *Literarische Schriften*.

⁵⁶ Charlotte Schiller. *Literarische Schriften*. Eds. Gaby Pailer, Andrea Dahlman-resing, and Melanie Kage. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2016) 1017.

⁵⁷ Pailer, *Leben*, 18-19.

and was especially close to her father, whose death in October 1775 was extremely difficult for the nine-year-old⁵⁸. Her mother Luise resumed service as lady-in-waiting at the court of Rudolstadt. In September 1784, Schiller's elder sister Caroline entered into a marriage of convenience with Rudolstadt Regent Counsel Friedrich Wilhelm Ludwig von Beulwitz. The young ladies travelled to Switzerland with their mother on a trip financed by von Beulwitz from April 1783 to June 1784 with the goal of improving Charlotte's French in order for her to enter into court service for Duchess Luise in Weimar, a plan animated by her friend Charlotte von Stein⁵⁹. Charlotte Schiller joined her mother at Castle Kochberg in October 1785, visited Weimar, and became acquainted with notable figures, including Goethe⁶⁰.

Charlotte Schiller was an accomplished woman in the true sense of the Enlightenment. In addition to her literary production, Schiller was a practiced artist. Schiller enjoyed drawing and painting aquarelles⁶¹. She enjoyed creating delicate details in intricate sketches, as she wrote later to Goethe, even in drawing her goal was to learn⁶². Schiller attended lectures of literature, history, and philosophy⁶³. She took notes on cards that were kept in a wooden box.⁶⁴ These cards were in three languages - German, French, and English - including both contemporary works and works from

⁵⁸ Ibid, 22.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 22.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 39.

⁶¹ Ernst-Gerhard Güse and Jonas Maatsch, Eds. *Schillers Wohnhaus: mit Beiträgen von Jürgen Beyer, Viola Geyersbach, Ernst-Gerhard Güse, Jochen Klaß und Kristin Knebel*. (Weimar: Klassik Stiftung Weimar, 2009). 62,87. Also in Henke and Ludwig. *Feder führt*, 69-79.

⁶² Henke and Ludwig. *Feder führt*, 78.

⁶³ Ibid, 17.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 19. GSA 83/2134.

antiquity⁶⁵. She translated various works for her own edification, including translating Sophocles' *Aias* from Guillaume Dubois de Rochefort's French translation into German⁶⁶. The continuous learning and many practiced talents of Charlotte Schiller are impressive; however, this focus on continual self-improvement and personal involvement of the arts is consistent with the model of the Rudolstadt court.

The Rudolstadt court greatly influenced Charlotte Schiller's life. From the second half of the eighteenth century onwards, the Rudolstadt court had increasingly come into contact with the intellectual, artistic, administrative, and commercial elite of the bourgeoisie as part of the court's efforts to nurture art and science⁶⁷. Prince Johann Friedrich von Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt initiated the transition from courtly to bourgeois culture that continued into the reign of Prince Ludwig Günther II, who later played a role in the fate of Friedrich Schiller⁶⁸. This shifting of values at the Rudolstadt court towards an egalitarian acceptance of great intellectual minds served as a foundation for the acceptance of Humboldt's gender essays and the participation of local "Weimar-connected women" in intellectual discourse⁶⁹. Schiller's openness with minds of intelligent substance and her later decision to choose love over rank were in accordance with the more liberal minded ideas at play at the Rudolstadt court and in Weimar. Both she and her older sister Caroline were strong women. Caroline was the more famous, or infamous, as she not only was she known to be a published author, but had also divorced and remarried. While Schiller's stories were published anonymously, her writing reveals

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 22. Circa 1788. GSA 83/1635.

⁶⁷ Lutz Unbehaun. *Schillers heimliche Liebe: Der Dichter in Rudolstadt*. Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2009, 15.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 31.

⁶⁹ Richter, "Heteroclassicism," 142.

much about her inner self. Pailer notes, "Starke Frauen stehen im Zentrum aller fünf 'französischen' Erzählungen Charlotte Schillers"⁷⁰. The concept of a strong woman supports the Humboldtian definition of *Weiblichkeit*. This strength of character is further demonstrated in her correspondence with Henry Heron and her literary works, particularly in *Wallberg*, which presents different expressions of *Weiblichkeit* in relation to one another.

B. Henry Heron

Henry Heron is recorded in Weimar documents as being present in the Weimar area for the majority of time between May 1786 and May 1787. He sent Schiller letters from Neuwied in June and from Rotterdam in August of 1787. His last letter, to Knebel, written from Madras in 1788, remains only in Charlotte Schiller's hand copied version. Knebel's diary, or *Schreibkalender*, is a pocket-sized preprinted calendar with writing space⁷¹, and provides some additional information about Heron and his visit. On Sunday, May 20, 1786, Knebel noted he was in Jena and that "Abends Convivium bey [sic] mir. 3 Engländer hier"⁷². Knebel records Heron as "Capt. Heron" in his entry of August 20, 1786⁷³. Fielitz notes correspondence from Goethe to Frau von Stein on May 21, 1786 states, "Die Engländer finden sich hier ganz wohl. Sie haben ein schönes Quartier bei

⁷⁰ Ibid, 107.

⁷¹ Current English in North America usage typically refers to such items as planners; previously these were also referred to as datebooks as well as diaries. Knebel's diary includes weather predictions, horoscope signifiers, and moon-cycle information. Karl Ludwig von Knebel. *Schreibkalender*, 1786. GSA 54/363.

⁷² Karl Ludwig von Knebel. *Schreibkalender*, 1786. GSA 54/363. Also in Wilhelm Fielitz. "Aus Knebels Tagebüchern." *Archiv für Litteraturgeschichte*. Ed. Franz Schnorr von Carolsfeld. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1886, 403-428; 26. Access to the original Knebel diary reveals that Fielitz's transcription for this date is accurate.

⁷³ Ibid, 405; Karl Ludwig von Knebel. *Schreibkalender*, 1786. GSA 54/363.

Griesbach bezogen und scheinen eine gute Sorte Menschen."⁷⁴ On this same day of May 21, 1786, Knebel recorded in his diary that he went "Nachmittag mit den Engländern u. Göthe [sic] nach Burgau spazieren"⁷⁵. During a February 1787 visit in Weimar, Schiller and others met a visiting party from England that included the Scottish officer Henry Heron⁷⁶. Among the visitors were also a certain Mr. Ritchie and Lord Inverary; the latter was said to be the brother of Heron⁷⁷. Knebel records various gatherings with Heron and the other visiting "Englishmen" including the von Imhoff family, Herder, Frau von Stein, Frau von Kalb, and others. Prince Ludwig Friedrich II. von Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt met the visiting Englishmen and wrote in his diary on April 24, 1787, "Gegen Abend besuchten wir den Hr. Hofrath von Beulwitz, wo wir einen Engländer [sic] den Herrn Capitain Heron kennen lernten. Dieser junge Mann hat den gantzen [sic] Amerikanischen Krieg mit beigewohnt [sic]"⁷⁸. In addition to providing lectures on English and literature such as *Ossian*, Heron's prolonged military experience in the American War of Independence⁷⁹ made him an interesting visitor to a German intellectual circle yet to experience or identify with the manifestation of the nation-state. His acquaintanceship with Herder is documented by Schiller, "the other is from an author, that I am sure is your friend, it is from ~~the~~ Herder"⁸⁰. Heron's acceptance into the Weimar circle

⁷⁴ Ibid, 403.

⁷⁵ Karl Ludwig von Knebel. *Schreibkalender*, 1786. GSA 54/363.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 39.

⁷⁷ Pailer, *Leben und Schreiben*, 40. Knebel recorded in his diary that the party of visitors from England includes "Lord Inverary, Mr. Heron, Mr. Ritchie" and including a Capt. Cleve. Verified by Karl Ludwig von Knebel. *Schreibkalender*, 1786. GSA 54/363.

⁷⁸ Lutz Unbehaun. *Schillers heimliche Liebe: Der Dichter in Rudolstadt*. Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2009, 39.

⁷⁹ See Appendix C.

⁸⁰ Charlotte Schiller to Henry Heron. GSA 83/1914.

included acquaintanceships with most everybody who was of importance, yet little about him is verified.

The question of "Who was Henry Heron?" initially appeared a simple question of finding the right footnote or index reference in published research about one of his many friends or acquaintances from Weimar. Initially it seemed his correspondence with Charlotte Schiller was underappreciated because it was either brushed off as a girlish romance and/or as it interrupted the established narrative of Charlotte Schiller as being the boring and *weibliche* widow of the famous Friedrich Schiller. No previous scholarship has verified Heron's identity or thoroughly contextualized his stay in Weimar. My own investigation rendered the result that Henry Heron was a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy of the United Kingdom⁸¹. Based on knowing his regiments, it can be inferred that he did in fact see the majority, if not the entirety, of the American War of Independence. His family connections, however, I have been unable to verify as to now.⁸²

There are two images preserved in German archives attributed to Henry Heron, both of which provide clues to Heron's personality. The first is a *silhouette*, or *Schattenbild / Scherenschnitt*, of Henry Heron with Louise von Imhoff, Karl Ludwig von Knebel, and Sophie von Schardt (1785) and lies in the Goethe-Nationalmuseum; a reproduction of this portrait is published in *Schattenbilder der Goethezeit 55 Tafeln* (1966)⁸³. The reproduction of this particular silhouette is entitled, "Englische [sic]

⁸¹ See Appendix C, Table 2.

⁸² See Appendix C.

⁸³ *Schattenbilder der Goethezeit 55 Tafeln. Nr. 565*. Leipzig: Insel-Bücherei, 1966. The original silhouette was inked and cut by Johann Christian Thomas Starke. This same shadow picture is also reproduced as a two-page spread in Lutz Unbehauen. *Schillers Heimliche Liebe: Der Dichter in Rudolstadt*. Köln: Böhlau, 2009, 118-119.

Konversationsstunde in Weimar"⁸⁴. The fact that Heron was even portrayed spending time in lectures and intellectual discussions suggests that he used much of his personal time for intellectual pursuits. The second portrait is an oil painting on canvas in the holdings of the Deutsche Literaturarchiv Marbach am Neckar; it is reprinted in Unbehaun's *Schillers heimliche Liebe*⁸⁵. The painting came to Marbach as part of the estate of Emilie von Gleichen-Rußwurm; on the back there are handwritten notes, "H. Heron, 1787. Ein Freund von Charlotte von Lengefeld." The overall appearance of Heron is consistent with the *Schattenbild*; Heron's face and nose have similar lines and his hair is styled in the same coiffure. The oil-portrait figure wears a blue military-cut jacket *sans epaulettes* with a high red collar featuring a gold embroidered double bar⁸⁶. This is consistent with the coat of British naval officers of regiments of foot⁸⁷.

Heron's portrait and military uniform provide signifiers of his self-image regarding his military service and his personality. That Heron's portrait features undress, rather than a dress, uniform is of particular interest, as it indicates an effort to leave behind a memento of his appearance from a realistic and practical perspective. This resonates with the later portrait of Charlotte Schiller⁸⁸, as her portrait also shows a distinctive lack of worldly accouterment expected as a portrait characteristically depicted the subject at the grandest allowable display of rank and wealth⁸⁹. Moreover, deciding to

⁸⁴ Ibid, Tafel 43.

⁸⁵ Lutz Unbehaun, *Schillers heimliche Liebe*, 120.

⁸⁶ Portrait of Henry Heron, Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach. Permission was granted to use the image for research purposes but not for reproduction.

⁸⁷ See Appendix C.

⁸⁸ Ludovike Simanowiz. *Charlotte Luise Schiller, geb. von Lengefeld*. Oil on Canvas, 1794. Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach.

⁸⁹ Sabine Fischer. "Auf Augenhöhe? Friedrich und Charlotte Schiller im Portrait." *Jahrbuch der deutschen Schillergesellschaft* 57 (2013), 140-173. I'd like to thank Dr.

have his portrait in undress uniform signifies humility regarding his military rank and honors. This demonstrates a *Stimmung* between these persons in their choices of visual representation of self for posterity that embodies their like-minded emphasis on the intellectual mind over pomp and rank as well as the resolve to act according to these values. The comparison of their oil portraits is one way to identify the *Stimmung* between Schiller and Heron. A second and more detailed study of their *Stimmung* is through analyzing their correspondence.

III. The Correspondence

The correspondence of Schiller and Heron demonstrates the *Stimmung* of two intellectual equals from diverse backgrounds. Their poetry translation project is a lively demonstration of internationalism and collaboration that supports Richter's theory of Weimar Heteroclassicism. The story behind them is revealed in the letters and includes recurring themes, character, incident, setting, and fate. The genuine humour, depth of literary interest, and honest details render this correspondence an aesthetic literary text. Schiller's novel, *Wallberg*, demonstrates in manifold ways the knowledge she gained from Heron and explores the concepts of *Weiblichkeit* and *Stimmung* within the different characters of the work. These various expressions of *Weiblichkeit* reflect on the gender relations within the intellectual circle of Weimar in the late eighteenth century that are consistent with the Schiller-Heron correspondence and the theory of Heteroclassicism. The aesthetics of gender during this time and place have repeatedly conflicted with canonized views of Weimar Classicism. Confirmation of Richter's theory requires further substantiating case studies. In view of the Schiller-Heron correspondence, however, these case studies should not be limited to epistolary exchange restricted within the German-speaking lands so long as one correspondent resided in the Weimar area during this time.

A. Archival Preservation and Collections

The correspondence between Charlotte Schiller and Captain Henry Heron forms part of the collection of Friedrich Schiller's literary estate in the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv in Weimar. From Schiller to Heron there are two "letters" over four pages; I place letters in quotation brackets as these are not the actual letters received by Heron, but

rather her rough copy or concept notes. There are nine letters from Henry Heron to Charlotte Schiller, one from Heron to Knebel (which in 1804 he later shared with Schiller upon her request), and three of the letters included separate attachments of copied out literature or poetry. The first letter is undated from Heron to Schiller and references content of their initial social conversation at the gathering in Weimer; it arrived at Schiller's Rudolstadt address just before her return home.⁹⁰ This immediacy indicates an instant connection between them, a strong desire to further the relationship, and a confidence that reciprocal sentiments had already been received in person prior to the letter's writing. The last letter from Heron directly to Schiller leaves a temporary address; the existing copy of his last letter to Knebel (in Charlotte Schiller's hand) as well does not provide any forwarding address.

In addition to the original letters held in the Goethe-Schiller Archive in Weimar, transcriptions of various letters and excerpts have appeared in different published editions. Düntzer (1856) transcribed Charlotte von Schiller's hand-copied copy of Heron's letter to Knebel (1788) and Charlotte von Schiller's letter to Knebel (3 July 1788). Düntzer's edition is not representative of the exchange between Charlotte and Henry Heron because it was indirectly written to her through Knebel and therefore is of a different character than those written directly; moreover, it is a copy and not the original letter. This means that, in addition to questions of accuracy of copy, the researcher cannot infer any emotion from Heron's penmanship or any clues from the stationary. At the time of this last letter the two were not in an actual relationship with each other due to Heron's obligation of active military service and lack of access to a post office from a ship en

⁹⁰ Pailer, *Leben und Schreiben*, 40.

route to India. Additionally, Düntzer's edition is problematic from a scholarly perspective, as he did not notate crossed out words or even mention to the reader that his transcription was of Charlotte von Schiller's copied version of it. Neither the method nor the date was clarified. Düntzer's edition, therefore, is not presented according to archival or scholarly standards, meaning that it is not a reliable source. Unlike Düntzer, Ulrichs (1865) provides in his *Charlotte von Schiller und ihre Freunde* a transcription of one⁹¹ of Heron's letters to Charlotte Schiller.

Summaries and excerpts of some letters from their correspondence are published in Gaby Pailer's *Charlotte Schiller: Leben und Schreiben im klassischen Weimar*. As previously mentioned, this thesis arose through my involvement as Research Assistant in Pailer's larger SSHRC-Schiller project. Both this thesis and the larger project adhere to set standards and editorial principles relative to the creation of a historical-critical edition for the purposes of further academic research.

B. Literary Aesthetic

Discussing the literary aesthetic of letters requires defining how letters relate to the field of literary studies. The decision to analyze letters, therefore, is dependent upon the relationship between letters and a literary text. Precisely because eighteenth- and nineteenth-century correspondence was not limited to a single moment - the writers often edited and copied out letters, letters were shared among families and friends, letters were read and re-read over asynchronous time - they were created with an understanding of letters as text. It is not surprising, in an age when published collections of letters were

⁹¹ No.5 1787, GSA 83/1914.

increasingly common and epistolary novels still popular, that there existed a general conscious awareness of letters as an aesthetic text as well as an articulation of their thoughts based on the social relationship established with the receiver and potential shared recipients.

Linda Grasso (2008) justifies viewing correspondence as literary text and as literary form. Grasso proposes that "published letter collections, as well as the letters within them, should be considered as literary texts that comprise a discrete literary form; second, we need to devise and apply reading strategies appropriate to that form"⁹². I would add that as we move further from a mundane understanding of the subtext communicated via spatial presentation in handwritten correspondence, the strategies for communicating this information to the reader of a published transcription increase in importance. Grasso demonstrates that "like a novel, an edited letter collection contains setting, characters and plot" with each letter part of "the telling of a larger story"⁹³. It is established that letter writers make clear choices regarding language usage, order and "arrangement of details, and the subjects about which they write" in ways similar to the production of other recognized types of literary works, yet they have yet to be accepted overall as a particular genre outside of the epistolary fiction or collection of letters of a canonized author⁹⁴. However, as letters "involve creative processes. A letter is a form of creation, an exchange, a human interaction"⁹⁵, and a collection of letters creates a larger story in which "the correspondents become the characters, and the drama of their

⁹² Grasso, 239.

⁹³ Ibid, 240.

⁹⁴ Ibid, 244.

⁹⁵ Ibid, 244.

epistolary relationship creates the plot⁹⁶ Grasso argues that letters are in and of themselves a form of literary text.

Although the collection of correspondence between Charlotte Schiller and Henry Heron forms a significantly smaller corpus than that used by Grasso, the theoretical framework used regarding correspondence as literature remains valid. The initial setting is Weimar and Rudolstadt, where Charlotte Schiller remains while Heron later travels along the Rhine and ultimately to the Portuguese island Madeira. The plot is their growing relationship which is suddenly cut short and concludes through the letter shared through their mutual friend, or supporting character, Knebel. The mediation of language is explicitly apparent in this correspondence. Not only do these authoring letter writers translate their ideas and emotions into written words, they take pains to write in the language of the recipient, thereby adding another layer of mediation of ideas via translation not only into words, but also into another language.

a. The Translation Project

An example of this mediation of ideas via translation into words and into, or from, another language is the translation project wherein Schiller and Heron were collaborating to translate Herder's poem *Die Rose* into English⁹⁷. The document's columns lay out Schiller's translation, Heron's improved version, and his explanatory comments. These comments explain the nuances between linguistic expressions relating to the translation. This project mediated a translation, but it also affected each participant's understanding of the poem's meaning in a more in-depth and nuanced manner.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 245.

⁹⁷ See Appendix B: The Translation Document.

The translation project is extraordinary in that in a single document and on a single idea the reader finds both Schiller's and Heron's voices in their own words. Their thinking and their interaction are made visible through Heron's careful organization. The choice of text for the project is significant in itself. The poem *Die Rose* is by their mutual acquaintance Herder. From Schiller's notes are the lines: "I accept in the same time your kindly offering and send you any ~~some~~ Pieces which I have translated. the ones is ~~translated~~ from an French, ... the other is from an author, that I am sure is your friend, it is from ~~the~~ Herder"⁹⁸. This evidences that the choice of *Die Rose* was from Schiller. The content of the poem emphasizes the simultaneous criticism and attraction of the beauty and joy of youth as embodied in the short life of the Queen of Flowers, "die leicht zerfallende Rose"⁹⁹.

An example of where Heron corrects Schiller's translation not from grammar, but from a meaning viewpoint is when the Rose complains "vielleicht schon in der ersten Empfindung ihrer auch hinsinkenden Schönheit"¹⁰⁰. This line is translated in the 1845 English edition as "perhaps already in the first perception of her sinking beauty"¹⁰¹. Given this line and that Schiller was twenty years old and unmarried at the time, it is intriguing that she chose this poem. It indicates a level of self-awareness of her age in relation to contemporary standards of marriage. In this regard, it is interesting that Schiller translates the line as "(already) in first

⁹⁸ GSA 83/1914, Second Letter of Charlotte Schiller to Henry Heron. See Appendix B.

⁹⁹ Johann Gottfried von Herder. "Die Rose." *JohannGottfried v. Herders Sämmtliche Werke. Zur schönen Literatur und Kunft. Dritter Band.* von Herder, Johann Gottfried, Herder, Karoline, and Balde, Jakob. (Stuttgart & Tübingen: J.G. Cotta'scher Verlag, 1852). 230.

¹⁰⁰ Herder, "Die Rose." 230.

¹⁰¹ Johann Gottfried Herder. "The Rose." *Fables and Parables from the German of Lessing, Herder (Krummacher and others).* London: James Burns, 1845. 51.

Sensation from the decaying beauty of herself"¹⁰². Heron edits this line to read "in the first feel of her own decaying Beauty"¹⁰³. The later English translation uses the word "perception," whereas Schiller uses "sensation" and Heron uses "feel" to describe the "Empfindung" of fleeting beauty. While each of these is a legitimate translation of the word, each leaves the reader with a different essence of impression regarding the initial awareness of "decaying Beauty". Schiller's "sensation" indicates that it is sensed by the speaker as well as implying a "sensation" among others in the social meaning. Both cases indicate an event, and both carry a vague and a specific impression that hold significant meaning for a contemporary unmarried twenty-year-old woman. Heron's "feel" is, on the one hand, more tangibly perceptory, implying a sense that can be perceived by touch, such as changes in skin texture/tautness, as compared to the experiential meaning of "sensation." In addition, Heron's use of "feel" is more emotively active, such as stating one's emotions in the statement "I feel...". Heron's verb choice is therefore more scientific in its description of perceived sensory input from both a physiological and psychological viewpoint.

The thread of *Weiblichkeit* is visible in this difference of translation. On the surface, the differences in their translation of this single word coincide with expected gender norms regarding the perception of age and beauty. Consideration of this translation difference in light of Humbolt's definition of *Weiblichkeit* as compared to the definition (see above) of *Weiblichkeit* provided by Heron, however, reveals more. The experience of "sensation" as translated by Schiller leaves a more

¹⁰² GSA 85/1759. See Appendix B: The Translation Project Document.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

powerful imprint than the passive observation of "feeling" as translated by Heron. Heron's definition of *Weiblichkeit* emphasizes the "dignity of the female Character which springs ...from a conscious rectitude of Conduct"¹⁰⁴ indicating either a disconnection from beauty or implying that beauty is affected by the morality of one's behavior. Humboldtian *Weiblichkeit*, though, "posits an ideal human beauty that is different from gendered beauty, but only conceivable by means of gender. Gender is a limit which separates gendered limits in order to approach that which has no limits"¹⁰⁵. Thus, Schiller's concept of "beauty" as part of the intellectual circle of Weimar and the concept of Heron's thinking at this earlier stage of his relationship with Schiller were two different concepts. Understanding this difference in defining "beauty" is critical to understanding the difference between "sensation" and "feel." Schiller's use of "sensation" further evidences the larger scope concept of beauty that cannot be simply visibly seen or physically felt but must be actively "sensed." It indicates a public display or is inclusive of the public sphere. Further, the form of the word in the phrasing "sensation from the decaying beauty of herself"¹⁰⁶ indicates that the source of the sensation is the "decaying beauty" and the origin of this beauty as "of herself." This indicates that the beauty is not an external quality, but rather an encompassing beauty that is part of her very essence, of her identity as the "Queen of Flowers." The language in Schiller's translation, therefore, acknowledges the gendered form of ideal human beauty of both body and mind in its full context of the female social experience. At the same time, the emphasis on "in first sensation from" indicates action from beauty to the queen. The "from" indicates the

¹⁰⁴ Charlotte Schiller's *Stammbuch*; GSA 83/1959.

¹⁰⁵ Richter, "Heteroclassicism," 145.

¹⁰⁶ Schiller, GSA 83/1759.

queen receives the sensation that stems from self-awareness and conscious self-reflection that is an essential element of Humboldtian *Weiblichkeit*. Assuming that Heron accurately transcribed Schiller's capitalization, the word "beauty" has further meaning. Schiller leaves it lower-case, whereas Heron emphasizes its importance by capitalizing it. Heron's translation, "in the first feel of her own decaying Beauty,"¹⁰⁷ indicates being in a moment of sensory emotion and capitalizing "beauty" indicates that the importance is on the quality of beauty rather than on the queen herself. Yet "feel" is more fleeting than "sensation" and does not have the possible extension of social experience that "sensation" carries. A feeling is private, belonging to the domestic sphere and internal monologue. Moreover, the "feel of her own decaying Beauty" emphasizes that the decaying beauty is "her own" by placing the ownership of the beauty in front of the verb "decaying". Schiller's translation emphasizes the active experience stemming from the actively "decaying beauty" that is falling further from the ideal human beauty in the Humboldtian sense. Heron's translation emphasizes the feminine ownership of "Beauty" that can be physically experienced through "feel." Thus, he places more weight on the limits of gendered beauty via youthful female appearance as a singular quality than on his own definition of *Weiblichkeit* as an expression of "a conscious rectitude of Conduct." Therefore, this exchange of translation indicates Heron's reaction to Schiller's expressions of *Weiblichkeit* as they relate to the concept of limitless ideal human beauty.

Although it is easy in the annotated document to identify the places where their translations differ, it is equally important to examine where Heron agrees with, or continues with, Schiller's initial translation. An example of this is when, after

¹⁰⁷ Heron, GSA 83/1759.

complaining, the Rose in the poem is reminded that "was höhere Liebe ist, der Wunsch einer zärtlichen Neigung"¹⁰⁸. What the later English edition of Herder's poem translates as the "wish of fond affection,"¹⁰⁹ Schiller translates as "the desire of a tender inclination"¹¹⁰. Schiller's English is a technically correct translation and the difference in English could be that as the published translation quoted here is from 1845 the difference in time could be responsible for a change in language usage. Of note however, is that Heron does not change Schiller's translation. Heron edits the preposition directly before this phrase to read "but" instead of "as." He also eliminates a comma and accidentally adds an extra "a" to write "of a a tender". However, the words of this phrase themselves are left as Schiller initially translated them. This could be from accuracy of translation or from a shared "tender inclination". The extra "a" is uncharacteristic of Heron's precision and appears to indicate an emotive response on Heron's part.

The second section of the translation project document, "Of Friendship" seems to be what Schiller refers to having translated from French¹¹¹. It appears to be an essay from Michel de Montaigne¹¹². The French origin explains Heron's comments in this section regarding translations of French verbs¹¹³. The poem discusses *Weiblichkeit* in relation to beauty, and the selection of "On Friendship" references an image of nature and *Weiblichkeit* as representative of Friendship. From Schiller's translation it reads, "One has

¹⁰⁸ Herder, "Die Rose." 230.

¹⁰⁹ Herder, "The Rose." 51.

¹¹⁰ GSA 85/1759. See Appendix B: The Translation Project Document.

¹¹¹ Charlotte Schiller to Henry Heron, second letter, GSA83-1914.

¹¹² Michel de Montaigne. Herbert Lüthy, Transl. *Von der Freundschaft. Kleine Bibliothek der Weltweisheit, 8. Revised Reprint.* (Zürich: Manesse Verlag, 1953).

¹¹³ "Remarks." GSA 83/1759. See Appendix B. The Translation Project Document.

represented Friendship under the emblem from a woman that laying one hand to her heart and with the other embracing a leafless [sic] Tree"¹¹⁴. Heron edits this translation to read, "Friendship has been represented under the emblem of a woman laying one hand on her heart and with the other embracing a leafless tree"¹¹⁵. In the "Remarks" column Heron explains his correction of the verb tense based on the French original. Therefore, this difference is of grammatical technicalities rather than a difference in conscious understanding.

The theme of this image of Friendship is later referred to as representative of the true friend being steadfast during periods of adversity. As Schiller translates, "against the adversity of a friend to suffice true in all his disgraces and can turning [sic] back from the Multitude to come and console a being forsaken from Nature - here is what Friendship render'd from all the sensation of Man, the most great and august"¹¹⁶. Here, Schiller places the true friend in opposition to the befriended's adversity with his/her back to "the Multitude." The befriended is in a position "forsaken by Nature" but not by the true friend. In addition, Friendship actively "rendered" or caused existence of this position of solidarity "from all the sensation of man" and is therefore set apart as "the most great and august." Here, Schiller translates Friendship as a continuation of the earlier analogy of the woman with one hand on her heart and the other embracing a leafless tree as opposed to the "sensation of Man." The female "Friendship" is therefore depicted as greater than, rather than subordinate to, the *männlich* sensation. This concept

¹¹⁴ Schiller. "On Friendship." GSA 83/1759. See Appendix B. The Translation Project Document.

¹¹⁵ Heron. "On Friendship." GSA 83/1759. See Appendix B.

¹¹⁶ Schiller. "On Friendship." GSA 83/1759. See Appendix B. The Translation Project Document.

of womanly strength indicates that Schiller has in mind the Humboldtian sense of *Weiblichkeit* in this translation as well.

Heron, on the other hand, translates this part as "against the adversity of a Friend, to remain true in all his disgraces to be able to turn ones back on the Multitude to come and console a being forsaken by ~~Nature~~ Mankind - this renders Friendship of all human feelings the most aimiable and delightfull"¹¹⁷. The phrase "against the adversity of a friend" is the same excepting Heron's capitalization of the word "friend." The other consistency with Schiller is the phrase "true in all his disgraces". Otherwise, Heron translates the rest of this section differently. It is noteworthy that this is another moment where Heron makes a copying mistake and begins to copy Schiller but must cross out the word "Nature" to write his translation as "Mankind."

There is a significant difference between "being forsaken by Nature" and "being forsaken by Mankind". Schiller's "forsaken by Nature" places the forsaken one in the position of the woman representing friendship, as the leafless tree would symbolize Nature and the leaflessness would symbolize the forsaking despite the embrace of friendship. Schiller's translation, therefore, acknowledges a broken relationship that occurs despite close physical proximity and despite the embrace of friendship. As "Nature" can refer equally to the natural world as to the "nature" of human nature, including the realm of gender, Schiller's translation goes further. Being "forsaken by nature" indicates that nature is doing the forsaking and thus the relationship between nature of any kind and the individual is an active one. This imagery extends the concept

¹¹⁷ Heron. "On Friendship." GSA 83/1759. See Appendix B. The Translation Project Document.

of *Weiblichkeit* as a quality that persists in spite of others' refusal to acknowledge it, just as the leafless tree refuses the *Weiblichkeit* of friendship's representative woman. Schiller's imagery, therefore, emphasizes the lack of *Stimmung* between the woman Friendship and Nature despite a genuine embrace. This could signify humankind's proclivity to act against friendship rather than accepting it. It could also signify a woman's nature persisting in a lack of *Stimmung* despite her active efforts to accept and embrace it. Or, it could signify that the *Weiblichkeit* inherently part of all successful friendship persists despite man's refusal to accept his effeminacy and thus the leafless tree is the "sensation of Man" Schiller references later.

In comparison, Heron's translation ignores the complexity of genderedness. Heron's "forsaken by Mankind" puts the forsaken one in the position of the leafless tree and the woman representing friendship is in the act of consoling the tree by embracing it. The line "forsaken by Mankind, this renders Friendship of all human feelings the most amiable and delightfull"¹¹⁸ places Friendship, which is represented by a woman, in opposition to Mankind. While "mankind" can refer to both genders, this does not appear to be thoroughly implied in Heron's translation. Because friendship is limited by the clause "of all human feelings" and ascribed traditionally feminine qualities of being "amiable and delightfull," the femininity of Friendship as represented by a woman is all encompassing. Also, that this womanly feeling is "rendered" from the act of "being forsaken by Mankind," there is an allusion to the Biblical creation of Eve from Adam's rib¹¹⁹. This allusion, however, places womanly feelings as subordinate to man as well as inferring that friendship is created only from the process of others first forsaking an

¹¹⁸ Heron. "On Friendship." GSA 83/1759.

¹¹⁹ Genesis 1:21-23.

individual. This is problematic from both the gender and relational perspectives. It is an issue from a gender perspective because it places the genders in opposition to each other rather than harmonizing with each other. Also, the subordination of feelings as womanly and inferior relates to the concept of gender as *Bestimmung*. As Richter describes, "*Bestimmung* leaves subjects powerless in the face of the fate or law that has destined them one way or another"¹²⁰. The state of *Bestimmung* in Heron's translation is connected to the problematic relational perspective. If one is powerless to destiny then there is no motivation for self-improvement or even self-awareness. The steadfastness of friendship has no place in a world-view shaped by unchangeable destiny. Rather, it would remain a transitory "amiable and delightful" feeling as described. In contrast, Schiller emphasizes friendship as being "rendered" or created by "sensation of Man" indicating that the "sensation" is in opposition to steadfast friendship rather than woman versus man. Thus whereas Heron translates the section as an oppositional dyad of woman versus man, Schiller translates the section as an oppositional dyad of sensationalism versus steadfastness. As can be seen by this example, therefore, Schiller's *Weiblichkeit* is the stronger and more universal concept.

Heron's difficulty with *Weiblichkeit* changed from their interaction. This change is made apparent in his fifth letter (u.d.) that provides another example of translating ideas into words and into another language:

"Unterdeßen aber kann ich mit aller meiner Philosophie das Gefühl nicht ganz unterdrücken daß ich jzt entfernt von Ihnen bin und ~~mich~~ nach wenigen Tage von allen den, die sich in dießem Theil der Welt um mich bekümmern und die ich schäze mich getrennt sehen werde. Trennung ist ja! traurig für allen, die es angeht traurig aber doppelte für den armen Reisender. Sie sind mit Ihren Familie mit den die Ihnen theuer sind umgeben Sie haben

¹²⁰ Richter. "Heteroclassicism," 144.

eine schätzbare Mutter eine liebens-würdige Schwester und andere Vertauterinnen derer Gesellschaft beruhigend und derer Umgang tröstend ist, ich aber meinen unruhigen Gedanken ein Raub, ohne Freunde ohne eine einziges Gespräch dem ich das geringste Wort von meinem vollen Herzen zu-trauen kann, werde bald ein reisender Wanderer niemand gehörend mit keinem verbunden und öd und allein selbst unter den Menschen seyn. Doch in dießer traurigen Lage bin ich nicht ganz von Trost verlassen. Ihre Güthe wird auch hier mein Schutzengel werden ich habe eine kleine schwarze Gefährterinn. sie wird beständig meine Gespielin seyn, ihr ruhige heitere Aussehen wird manche schwermüthige Stunden erleichtern und in der Betrachtung derselben werde ich mich belebt fühlen durch einige der reinen Gedanken die das Urbild beseelen."¹²¹

Here, Heron uses less direct language to express his thoughts about the loneliness of travel. Clearly, the act of writing in German affects his phrasing. However, he gets around to mentioning to Schiller that he has taken the *Schattenbild* portrait of her with him and that this metonymic object is to be his company and his "kleine schwarze Gefährterinn" while he is away. Schiller's steadfast *Weiblichkeit* has won over his previous prejudices. Heron's claim that "Ihre Güthe wird auch hier mein Schutzengel werden" calls to mind the image of the woman representing friendship who has one arm wrapped in an embrace around the leafless tree.¹²² Heron, however, is clearly no longer a leafless tree, because he acknowledges Schiller's *Weiblichkeit* as a positive protective power. The *Weiblichkeit* expressed in Schiller's translation regarding the representative of friendship is compared to a guardian angel. Heron expresses this thought much more clearly at the end of the letter when he lapses into English:

"and now aimeable Charlotte fare-you well. little did I think of making such an acquaintance in a foreign land. my national pride had told me that every thing good and perfect in the fair sex was only to be found not but little till I knew you to make me change my opinion. I am however convinced that my

¹²¹ GSA 83/1759.

¹²² Ibid.

former sentiments were prejudices and that every country has its good and its bad - may the stream of your destiny ever run pure and serene as your own thoughts - to hear your happiness will ever add to mine than be apprised you have no friend to whom your welfare can be more interesting than to your sincere H.Heron."¹²³

Here, Heron connects his prejudice of genders to his "national pride." This is an interesting connection that Schiller explores later in life in her novel *Wallberg*. Both of these sections clearly express Heron's distress at separating from Schiller. The difference in style and in succinctness is clearly connected to language familiarity. And yet, as a reader, it is difficult to discern which of these passages is the more powerful for Schiller's reception. Both sections express Heron's continued reliance on Schiller's goodness to accompany his thoughts. The thought of other women encountered in his life is also present in both passages. The expression of their relationship, however, is quite differently expressed in the different languages. In the English, Schiller is "such an acquaintance" and an "amiable" "friend." In the German, Schiller is his "Schuzengel" and "Gefährterinn." One could surmise that the English, as his native language, more clearly expresses his true feelings for Schiller. On the other hand, it is equally plausible that social conventions and self-regulatory practice are more in effect when using his native language and that the German language section referring to Schiller as his "Angel Protector" and his travelling companion or leader. The differences due to language proficiency affect the letters but do not detract from the aestheticness of the correspondence.

¹²³ Ibid.

According to Stein Haugom Olsen (1981), "aesthetic features constitute a text a literary work of art"¹²⁴. This indicates that not all literary texts are literary works of art. As the textual features of the correspondence have been demonstrated sufficient to classify them as a literary work, the next question is if there are sufficient aesthetic features to classify the collection as art. The sense of aestheticism generally attributed to Weimar Classicism is found within the collection of letters in its sensibility and in the artistic expression within the parts and the collection as a whole.

b. Humor

As in any well-written narrative, the collection of correspondence contains recurring themes. One of these is the humor of humility when expressing oneself in a second language. In his second letter, dated March 16, 1787, Heron ends with a short section in English in which he apologizes, "I must really beg your pardon that I plague you to read my limping german. when I at least could make myself understood in English,"¹²⁵. The concept or draft letter we have of Charlotte Schiller to Henry Heron responds directly to this comment, stating, "truly you are very good to encourage me to writ yet one letter in your language that I write so bad but if you have not told me the truth, I hope you will be punished enough to be obliged to read in second time my limping english. You have served you not justly of this expression then you write the german very well,"¹²⁶.

The repeated drafts of this single sentence reveal much about Schiller's personality and the meaning the relationship had for her. First, the repeated practice to get

¹²⁴ Stein Haugom Olsen. "Literary Aesthetics and Literary Practice." *Mind* ns 90.360 (1981). 522.

¹²⁵ GSA 83/1759.

¹²⁶ Charlotte Schiller to Henry Heron. GSA 83/1759.

the sentence and joke just right in a foreign language indicate time and attention to the letter writing which imply that the response of the receiver was particularly important for her. That she is building upon a comment written to her by Heron demonstrates attention to his words as well as an established pattern of repartee between them. Her ability to achieve this by adding to rather than losing the humor established in the previous letter is the mark of an incredible and talented mind and indicates she knew her efforts would not only be noted, but that the wit and kind regard would be duly appreciated.

We know that Heron received the content of this reply, as this inside joke continues in in his next letter to Schiller, in which he pauses briefly in his German to write it in English:

"seit dem vorigen Sonnabend um zehn Uhr vor Mittage habe ich nichts gethan als dießen Brief angekuckt und meinen vortreflichen klar sehenden Kopf darüber zerkrüppelt. umsonst aber habe ich mich bemühet denn weiter kann ich es nicht bringen als blos Roudolstadt 21 March 1787 zu verstehen Zwar folget etwas das mit englischen buchstaben geschrieben ist welches aber dem Englishen so ähnlich als ich dem Hercul bin--There's a thumper for you - and as I have not told you the truth I hope to be punished enough to be obliged "to read a third time your limping english." --"¹²⁷

Clearly, if Heron can reply to and quote from her repetition of the joke his criticism that her English writing is "as similiar to the English language as he is to Hercules" is a further joke of exaggeration. He implies either that her English is far from proper English as he is from Hercules, or he is praising her English as very good and boasting that he is equally as close to Hercules. It is possible, considering Heron's military experience, that this may be an extension of a joke shared during a previous conversation. The growing exchange of and increase in humor demonstrate an increasing depth of familiarity and trust. Moreover, this type of humor seems to indicate a sense of equality of minds. Heron

¹²⁷ GSA 83/1759.

has no doubt that Schiller will understand his jovial abatement of her language skills to be part of the joke between them rather than a critical opinion of her abilities. His acknowledgment of her joke with the phrase "there's a thumper for you" conveys and evokes a sense of knee-slapping laughter and congenial sense of humor.

The use of humor demonstrates the *Stimmung* between Schiller and Heron to the reader of the collection; it communicates the depth of the shared worldview, personality, interest and wit between them that is revelatory in a male-female correspondence from the time. It is this *Stimmung* that Richter argues was at the true center of Weimar Classicism. The difference between *Bestimmung* and *Stimmung*, as explained by Humboldt, "liegt allein in der Art, wie beide gegenseitig gestimmt sind"¹²⁸. However, whereas Richter claims "We should think of Weimar Classicism ... as a transitory cultural mode, a *Stimmung*, in Humboldt's sense, a fantasy of aesthetic life that was entertained for a decade or so by a number of male and female Weimar participants across a broad range of experiences and activities"¹²⁹, I argue that the correspondence of Schiller and Heron identifies that this *Stimmung* was, in fact, the actual reality for these two letter writers and which they collaboratively translated in their written thoughts and emotions across gender, language, culture, time and space in an aesthetically communicated manner.

c. Social Construction

Initially formulaic but friendly, the tone and style (or arrangement of details) throughout the letters change and build upon previous correspondence and events to express nuanced changes in their relationship with one another. Even with the missing

¹²⁸ Richter, "Heteroclassicism", 144.

¹²⁹ Ibid, 145.

letters of Schiller to Heron the reader can sense these changes. The continuation of the humor conveyed through the use of "limping" demonstrates the purpose of the letter in communicating camaraderie and the relationship between sender and receiver, as well as the circumstances of trans-lingual communication in which the letter was written, all of which signify the "mediated form of expression" as defined by Grasso¹³⁰. The purpose of the letters is the literal building of an initiated relationship - literal in the sense that the relationship is built upon the mediated exchanges expressed in the letters, and literal in the sense of the relationship being built largely on their sharing of literary works such as discussing Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man* (1733-34) and Scottish author James Thomson's *Seasons* (1726-1730). Grasso's assertion that the letter writers make choices of language usage, detail arrangement, and the subjects about which they write in ways similar to these choices in the production of other types of literary works is seen as these choices shift with the changing relationship between the letter writers.

An example of this shift in socially constructed arrangement is identifiable through a comparison of the openings of Heron's first and fifth letters to Schiller. In his first letter, Heron writes to Schiller (March 2, 1787):

"Nun wie geht es mit Ihnen, mit Ihrer Schwester und ihrem Herrn Gemahl, mit Fräulein von Holleben und allen den andern angenehmen Ruddledstädter und Ruddledstädterinnen deren Bekanntschaft ich das Vergnügen in Weimar zu machen hatte. Sind sie alle glücklich nach Hause gekommen und genießen Sie jetzt die Freude die man nirgendwo so völlig als in der ruhigen stillen Heimath antreffen kann..."¹³¹

In his fifth letter, on the other hand, Heron begins:

"Ich hätte gleich nach meiner Rückkunft hier in Jena gern an Sie geschrieben, ich mochte Ihnen etwas aus der Fülle meines Herzens sagen, Gedanken aber drängten

¹³⁰ Grasso, 243.

¹³¹ Henry Heron to Charlotte Schiller, March 2, 1787. GSA 85/1759.

sich auf Gedanken, versperrten allen Ausgang und nach langem Streben fand ich alle Versuche vergebens mich wie ich wünschte auszudrücken--in dießem Zustand aber waren dieße Gedanken mein größter Trost, denn ich fand was sich nicht sagen läßt, läßt sich doch empfinden und ich bedaurte den der sein volles Herz durch Worte entladen kann"¹³²

The difference between the beginnings of these letters establishes a distinct choice in language usage and arrangement of details. Whereas the first letter maintains social formalities of greetings and inquiring of the recipient's health or safe return, the latter chooses to jump immediately to the conveying of personal emotions to the recipient. The language in the first letter is more mundane and predictable; the language of the latter letter demonstrates a higher level of imagination and creativity in the writing that correlates with the increased intimacy between sender and receiver.

As this comparison demonstrates, the stylistic and content differences in letters communicate to the reader a great deal about the relationship between the sender and receiver even when only one side of the correspondence is present. The gaps are filled by the reader's imagination and background knowledge of the persons, time, and place(s) involved. Even uninformed readers, however, can note the difference. The social constructions of formal greetings are recognizable, as is the connection between a lack of such formality as corresponding to an increase in relationship between sender and receiver.

It seems almost instinct to ascribe a higher aesthetic value to the introduction of the later letter over that of the first, so it seems prudent to examine the causation of this ideation and determine if it is an objective or an emotive response. Olsen argues that

¹³² GSA 85/1759.

analysis of literary aesthetic features can be "non-reductive"¹³³ and separate from individual emotion, for "if literature is conceived as a social practice rather than as a collection of texts, then literary aesthetics must change its focus away from the relationship between the individual mind and the individual work to the social practice of which both the reader and the work are elements"¹³⁴. This indicates that while there is an inclination to ascribe higher aesthetic value to the less formulaic letter, the social formula expressed in the first letter does not necessarily render it as less aesthetic. Rather, the expression of this social practice can be done across a scale of aestheticism and does not, in and of itself, necessarily indicate a loss of aestheticism. Letters, by virtue of their role within social practice and the practiced social guidelines by which they were written, embody Olsen's concept as the work (the letter / the collection) is written with the reader (the recipient and indicated other parties) in mind and the literary form within which the ideas are conveyed is itself part of the social practice. By this definition, many letters more accurately fit the definition of literature than other literary forms.

d. Aesthetic

Letters are literary texts in the sense of story as well as from the perspective of literary anthropology. The elements of prose literature that Parker (1920) designates as aesthetic are also found in letters: "character, incident, nature, fate and milieu [sic]"¹³⁵. Parker writes that prose literature "tends to be transparent, sacrificing itself in order that nothing may stand between what it reveals to thought and the imagination" and is therefore "incompletely beautiful. The full meaning and value of the aesthetic are not to

¹³³ Olsen, 523.

¹³⁴ Ibid, 533.

¹³⁵ Dewitt H. Parker. *The Principles of Aesthetics*. (Boston: Silver, Burdett and Co. 1920). 236.

be found there, but rather in poetry, painting, sculpture, music, architecture. Yet prose literature remains art, if incomplete art—a free, personal expression of life, for the sake of contemplation"¹³⁶. Through their correspondence, Schiller and Heron convey enough characteristics to gain a sense of them to fulfill the qualifications of this element. Their individual voice and handwriting, their connection to various other persons in and around Rudolstadt, their sense of humor and literary interests - these comprise two clearly developed and distinct characters within the collection. Incident, states Parker, means action or event that express character or that express their fate, future, or foreshadowing of a life event¹³⁷. This element of "fate" corresponds to the idea of a text's conclusion. The correspondence contains both. The action of their collaboration on translating "The Rose" and the recorded action of Schiller drafting a clever addition to the "limping" joke are two examples of action that expresses character. In addition, expressions of fate are seen in both the letter from Heron giving Schiller his forwarding address and his letter to Knebel, as well as the fact that the letter to Knebel is a copy and the correspondence collection therefore includes Charlotte Schiller's later request from Knebel to lend her the original and her action of having copied and returned it to Knebel. These actions relate to the fate of their relationship and, as Parker insists necessary, it is a fate "independent of any special philosophical view of the world"¹³⁸. In addition, the collection has a clear beginning, middle, and end of the story¹³⁹ and a unity of story¹⁴⁰, indicating that the construction of events formed by the letters as written create a story. Suspense and

¹³⁶ Ibid, 228.

¹³⁷ Ibid, 237.

¹³⁸ Ibid, 238.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, 239.

excitement exist, particularly between Heron's last letter directly to Schiller and the letter he wrote to Knebel. The milieu "is not anything that can be seen or heard or touched; it does not manifest itself to perception, but has to be constructed by a process of inference and synthesis ... a philosophy of life, even, is the inevitable presupposition of every story"¹⁴¹. In this collection of correspondence, the reader finds the constructed synthesis of the Weimar milieu and the philosophy of *Weiblichkeit* according to Humboldt. Typical social boundaries are more fluid through the medium of Weimar society. That there even *is* this correspondence evidences the *Weiblichkeit* and egalitarianism of Weimar. The elements of aesthetic prose are all present in a manner that engages the unintended reader, making the collection an aesthetic literary text in its own right.

Letters as aesthetic literary texts challenge theoretical concepts of authorship. The authorship of this newly defined aesthetic literary text is complex. Because Schiller and Heron are the writers of the letters, they are the collaborative authors. However, authorial credit for the collection is shared with others as well. Schiller initiated the collection and was the first to edit what fragments of her own correspondence remained and expresses authorship through her curation. The second editor, or curatorial author, is her daughter, Emilie. The Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv hold many various correspondences of Charlotte Schiller. As will be demonstrated in the discussion of *Wallberg* below, curation of letters in epistolary novels also add this second layer of authorship framework. Schiller's editorial and authorial curation of her correspondence, and especially holding on to the scrap paper with her notes for response, indicate that this correspondence, and the relationship it was part of, were meaningful to her.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, 243-44.

C. Meaningful Relationship

Perhaps above all else, the collection of correspondence is the testament to a deep and meaningful relationship. From the first letter, Heron asks Schiller "Wie viele Strümpfe stricken Sie täglich und daß die Verbeßerung des Geistes gleich Schritte mit der des Körpers halten möge wie viel Seiten lesen Sie alle Tage aus Marcus Aurelius-?"¹⁴², establishing relationship built upon a holistic understanding of her as an individual by equally weighting concerns over spiritual/mental health and improvement as well as her physical health and practical improvement. Asking how many stockings she is daily knitting in the same sentence as asking about her health and how many pages of *Marcus Aurelius* she has read seems a bit unusual; however, this string of thoughts also demonstrates a certain awkwardness along with familiarity. Heron knows these three activities have meaning to Schiller and that they are acceptable questions within the 'safe' and expected norms for a friendly letter and social conventions.

The letters express the relationship as it blossoms. In his seventh letter, dated June 13, 1787 from Neuwied, Heron writes, "Arme Leute! sie wußten nicht daß ich die ganze Glückseligkeit die für mich in Mainz war schon genoßen hatte. Dort bekam ich Ihren Brief, o meine beste Freundin wie soll ich Ihnen danken für dießen Beweis Ihrer Güte gegen mich? . . . zu wißen daß ich ein Daseyn in Ihrem Andenken habe, ja davon von Ihnen selbst versichert zu seyn!"¹⁴³. In addition to the declaration "o meine beste Freundin," Heron demonstrates that their relationship is an intimate friendship through his other words as well by pitying the others outside their shared correspondence and his radiating joy and gratitude to be "ein Daseyn [sic]" in her thoughts.

¹⁴² GSA 83/1759 First Letter.

¹⁴³ GSA 83/1759, Seventh Letter, June 13, 1787.

Schiller's intellectual life shines through the lines of the correspondence. In Heron's second letter, dated March 16, 1787 from Jena, he writes:

"Nein! ich kann Ihnen nicht verzeihen daß Sie mir in der Englischen Sprache geschrieben haben. freylich Sie drücken sich nicht ganz wie eine gebohrne Engländerin aus: aber Sie schreiben doch auf eine solche Art daß ich mich so viel Mühe gegeben und kaum nach meinem langen Aufenthalt in Deutschland die die Kenntniß von Ihrer Sprache erworben habe die Sie schon von der Meinigen ohne in meinem Lande gewesen zu seyn besitzen auch aber gehörigen Sie einem Geschlecht zu, welches, ich bin überzeugt, das Unserigen in Sachen die allen beyden gemein sind weit übertrifft sobald es sich die Mühe geben will sich anzustrengen. Sehen Sie dies ~~wie~~ wie keinen Compliment an, denn es ist wirklich was ich glaube - "¹⁴⁴.

This praise of Schiller's English became part of the inside joke between them. It also reveals Heron's previously mentioned prejudice against women as intellectual beings. His statement that he "cannot forgive" Schiller for writing to him in English is an expression of wounded pride only partially covered in jest. However, Heron's appraisal of her English abilities was not a superficial compliment; as discussed above, their correspondence included a collaborative translation project of "The Rose"¹⁴⁵ and "Of Friendship" into English: "Ernstlich wenn Sie sich vielleicht bisweilen einen Spaß machen ins Englische zu übersetzen, so schicken Sie mir Ihre Arbeit und ich werde Ihnen erzeigen wo Sie fehler begangen haben und sie Ihnen mit Anmerkungen wieder zurück senden"¹⁴⁶. The amount and type of literature discussed and copied out between the two is indicative of Schiller's extensive reading. Moreover, the lectures mentioned demonstrate that Schiller dedicated significant time to enjoying studious productivity. Heron's later comment, then, that Schiller should "not see this as a compliment, because it is really what I think" is a more straightforward comment. It is more meaningful coming

¹⁴⁴ GSA 85/1759, Second Letter, March 16, 1787.

¹⁴⁵ Please refer to above footnote regarding Herder's authorship of this poem.

¹⁴⁶ GSA 85/1759, Second Letter, March 16, 1787.

after his initial expression of shock, as it indicates a level of unguardedness. Heron's statement regarding Schiller's gender and his conviction that women can be equal to men "if they only make the effort" indicates that he is negotiating the concept of *Weiblichkeit* encountered in Weimar society and through his interactions with Schiller. Heron and Schiller felt more than respect for each other's intellectual abilities, however.

That the relationship between them was meaningful was no secret to their friends and acquaintances. Perhaps the best example of this is an anecdote of an event that happened about a year after Heron's departure:

"Ein Jahr is mittlerweile vergangen seit Herons Besuch in Rudolstadt, Charlotte hat seit dem Brief aus Rotterdam nichts mehr von ihm gehört. Dabei hatte sich die ganze Affäre recht aussichtsreich angelassen und war von der Weimarer Hofgesellschaft humorvoll kommentiert worden. Herzog Carl August höchstselbst hatte in Anspielung auf den Namen des *Captains* einen ausgestopften, in schottische Uniform gekleideten Reiher, schicken lassen - nebst Baumsetzlingen für den Rudolstädter Garten der Lengefelds. Es scheint, dass dieser "Herzensvogel" - wie Lotte ihn im April 1788 in einem Brief an Fritz von Stein bezeichnet - lange Zeit im Steinschen Haus in Weimar sitzt, bis ihr "Brüderchen" ihn ihr zusendet: "Ich wünsche Ihnen einen schönen guten Morgen, gestern konnte ich Ihnen meinen Dank daß Sie mir den Herzensvogel so gut behalten überschickt haben nicht sagen, weil die zeit so kurz war. Er macht uns alle sehr glücklich u. seine liebliche gestalt hat schon manches lachen erpresst."¹⁴⁷.

Heron's reference to Schiller as his *Schutzengel* can be compared to this reference of Schiller calling Heron her *Herzensvogel*. These endearments signify deep friendship and an intimate understanding of each other's inner self. That, later in life, the widowed Charlotte Schiller requests the loan of Heron's last letter from Knebel is further testament to the connection she shared and lost.

¹⁴⁷ Pailer, *Leben und Schreiben*, 43.

IV. Wallberg

Among Charlotte Schiller's many unpublished manuscripts in the holdings of the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv in Weimar, there are two untitled novels, entitled by Gaby Pailer in the recent work edition as <Wallberg> and <Berwick>¹⁴⁸. The manuscript is undated; however, Gaby Pailer places the manuscript as likely from Charlotte Schiller's Weimar years (1799-1805)¹⁴⁹.

Wallberg demonstrates multiple uses of the information about the Americas, England and Scotland Schiller learned from Heron. The setting is interesting given the likely overlap in time with Friedrich Schiller writing his play *Wilhelm Tell* and the beginning of the reign of Napoleon. Additionally, there are two women in the novel whose names begin with the letter "C," as does the novel's author. Frau Wallberg, whose name is Elise, and the later villain's accomplice Isabella do not have "C" names, but their names are both diminutives of the name Elizabeth. In the novel, the protagonist, American-born Clara Belton married Alexander Wallberg. Clara and her small children have left the American Colonies due to the ongoing War of Independence.

The context of the war is significant given the intertextual timeline of production with Friedrich Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*. Both *Wilhelm Tell* and the American War of Independence focus on the resistance against foreign rule. The novel opens with Clara and her children arriving in Plymouth, England to stay with her German in-laws for safety during the war. Clara's husband, Alexander Wallberg, is fighting in the war, but the novel does not specify on what side he is fighting until the end when Alexander returns with the fanfare of his regiment. His homecoming is identified before he is visible

¹⁴⁸ Schiller, *Literarische Schriften*.

¹⁴⁹ Pailer, *Leben und Schreiben*, 118.

in the family garden: "Mutter! Mutter! rief Clara bewegt. Hörst du die Kriegslieder? ... Es sind dieselben die Alexander einst in seinem Regiment lehren ließ. Dieser March war der letzte [sic] den ich in Amerika vernahm!"¹⁵⁰ Here, Clara informs the reader that her husband's regiment is British as the regimental song is heard as the soldiers return home. *Wilhelm Tell* emphasizes the notion of nation, or *Vaterland*, as a common orientation that bridges the class divide. Charlotte Schiller's *Wallberg*, however, emphasizes the notion of family as a common orientation that bridges the differences of national origin.

The strongest example of national origin overcome by family bond is the character of the Scottish highlander ("Bergschotte") Macdonald. Upon Clara's repeated remarking on a portrait she believes to be Frau Wallbert, Frau Wallberg reveals to Clara the back-story of Alexander's sister, Cecilia, who ran off to the Americas with the leader of a religious sect. One evening, the Wallberg's friend Macdonald, tells the family about the woman named Therese, with whom he fell in love during his time in America¹⁵¹. He shows the Wallbergs a letter and Frau Wallberg instantly recognizes Cecilia's handwriting¹⁵². During Frau Wallberg's emotional reaction, Macdonald identifies the small portrait of Cecilia as his Therese¹⁵³. Macdonald is accepted as family and participates in efforts to reunite the Wallbergs. He frequently retells his story to Clara and compares his loss to her life, despite the fact that they believe Alexander to be living amongst them at the time.¹⁵⁴ In these scenes, therefore, the Wallberg family consists of

¹⁵⁰ Schiller, "<Wallberg>". *Literarische Schriften*. 451.

¹⁵¹ Schiller, "<Wallberg>". *Literarische Schriften*. 444.

¹⁵² *Ibid.* 437.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.* 444.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 450.

Germans, Americans, and a Scotsman sharing grief over the lost Cecilia. National origin is lost in shared emotions and shared familial care.

The choice of pseudonym in regards to Cecilia is interesting because a concept draft of this story centers on a Therese as the main character with Latin America and Catholicism as the main context and focus.¹⁵⁵ A focus on Latin America would place the main source of background knowledge as Alexander von Humboldt, the famous geographer. Schiller's choice to abandon this more accessible source of knowledge and focus instead on a connection to her past relationship with Heron may be connected to the Schiller family's copperplate of *The Death of General Warren at the Battle of Bunker's Hill, 17 June, 1775*¹⁵⁶, that Friedrich Schiller received as a present in 1801.¹⁵⁷

Another intertextual reference appears with the character Robert, which is also the name of the antagonist in Friedrich Schiller's *Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre*. The actions of Robert in *Der Verbrecher* lead to Christian Wolf's illegal actions, dishonor and social exclusion. Similarly, *Wallberg's* Robert is the antagonist who destroys the family bond between Clara and everyone else. In *Wallberg*, Alexander returns to his family in England changed by the war and Clara takes on the role of the dutiful wife within her in-laws' household. After time passes, the real Alexander comes home. During the chaos of his arrival, the false Alexander, whose real name is Robert, goes inside and commits suicide, leaving out a pile of documents as explanation. These documents comprise the second part of the novel. Thus, in a manner parallel to *Der Verbrecher*, the reader is

¹⁵⁵ Schiller. *Literarische Schriften*. Kommentar to <Wallberg>. 844.

¹⁵⁶ Original by John Trumbull. Museum of Fine Arts Boston. "Artwork".

¹⁵⁷ Pailer. *Leben und Schreiben*. 119.

presented first with the criminal's crime and fate and then with the story of his life explaining them.

It is through her husband's silence, however, that cause the ultimate demise of Clara. In reaction to the homecoming of her true husband, Clara faints and is quite ill. Alexander explains that he had been wounded and presumed dead, but was rescued by his sister Cecilia. Cecilia nursed her brother back to health and returned with him to England in hopes of reconciling with her parents and a future with Macdonald. The family is reunited and complete as both Alexander and Cecilia are home. The family leaves Clara to rest and focus on their joy of being together again. Alexander does not speak directly with his wife about her experience or her feelings. Unfortunately, the "schmerzlichen Vorwürfen in Claras Brust"¹⁵⁸ continue unaddressed by Alexander and Clara's condition worsens; she dies as a result of Alexander's silence.

The second part of the novel is the voice of Robert through the reproduction of Robert's curated documents. It is particularly noteworthy that the narrator of the novel states "was man unter des Unglücklichen Papieren fand, zeigte ganz seine Stimmung,"¹⁵⁹. Thus the concepts of text as containing and conveying individual voice as well as curation and the editing of the order of information as an element of voice are both expressed in the novel. These reveal his story as half-orphaned bastard of a Scottish nobleman and a former comrade of Alexander. A letter to Clara professing his love for her, his self-judgment and decision to perform a self-execution by suicide is also included. The last line of the novel attaches to the last line of the letter from Robert a statement of Clara's fate, "Ich glaube, ich muß selbst diesen Streit im Innern schlichten,

¹⁵⁸ Schiller, "<Wallberg>". *Literarische Schriften*. 453.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

muß freywillig mich opfern. - Aber auch Clara würde zu Grunde gehen,"¹⁶⁰. Clara's inner emotional state and self-judgment is thus connected to Robert's not only in sentiment, in *Stimmung*, but in the actual text. The physical connection between the characters' shared self-judgment expressed through the placement of Clara's fate as an addendum to this last line of Robert's letter strengthens the expression of their feelings for one another and of belonging but not belonging; in other words, the mannerisms of *Briefkultur* are used in the text to represent the relationship between Clara and Robert in the physical experience of the reader by means of the position of these statements. "Aber auch," meaning "but also" as well as "at the same time," connects Robert's expression of self-sacrifice and that Clara would perish, indicating that Clara's death expressed the same or similar reasoning as Robert's. Cecilia initially left her family out of similar motives but through her *Bildung* of experiential self-discovery and personal growth sharing *Ossian* with Macdonald, Cecilia is able to return to the family having embraced the full sense of her *Weiblichkeit*. Clara, on the other hand, embodies *weiblich* expectations of society without the strength or self-awareness of true *Weiblichkeit*. Therefore, Clara's voice is left in the *weiblich* nature of speech; she remains a receiver of letters and of relational identities placed upon her by others. Without true *Weiblichkeit*, Clara is analogous to the leafless tree "forsaken by Nature" as she cannot be saved from dishonour or social exclusion, from being forsaken by mankind, unless she can be a friend to herself. Clara's inability to form an identity as an independent intellectual being originates in her lack of understanding *Weiblichkeit*. Clara withers and dies from the shame and dishonor of her *Stimmung* with

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, 471.

Robert because an alternative identity is not given to her and she does not have enough strength of *Weiblichkeit* to author one for herself.

The use of epistolary devices serves the novel *Wallberg* well and Charlotte Schiller skillfully includes multiple styles of letters throughout the text, which increases the sense of authenticity and realism. It is precisely the skill with which Charlotte Schiller executes these letters that clarifies the intentional lack of any writing by Clara, even though the protagonists of most epistolary novels are the primary letter writer. Clara does not write a letter; rather, Clara is the primary receiver of letters in this novel. By inverting the relationship between protagonist and letters, Schiller makes a bold statement about their importance. This conscious choice by the author leaves the reader with no intimate internal stream of self-consciousness that is typical of a letter in an epistolary novel.

Although Clara's description of her life in America is in the first person, it is in the form of her speaking a long monologue in response to her mother-in-law's request. Therefore, Clara's identity is primarily reactive, as a receiver of and responder to the words of others. Clara's authorship of her story is oral rather than as a writer, curator, or editor. It occurs as a response to a request and she must produce her story in an immediate moment as compared to a thoughtful process of writing and editing or curation. She shapes her story in social response to her inlaws. Given Clara's education, this seems significant. She shapes her identity solely through speech and through action in relation to others. Clara's definition of character is her social identity as defined by her relationship with others. Clara's identity opposes and compliments the self-constructed identity of Robert, whose identity is authored through the curation and editing of the letters and documents that make up the second half of the novel.

The reader discovers Cecilia's identity through her letters. The first letter is to her parents, held closely by her mother, and presented to the reader to be experienced simultaneously by the reader and Clara. Cecilia writes "Lange trug ich schon den Entschluß in mir, nur die Liebe zur Welt war stärker, als mein Geist seine Fesseln abgeworfen hatte, da fühlte ich was ich thun sollte, was mir übrig blieb. Ich hätte in deiner Nähe dies heilige Leben führen sollen, und mögen..."¹⁶¹ In this part of the letter, Cecilia sounds decisive and makes efforts to claim ownership of the idea to leave the world for a religious life. Cecilia continues, saying she knows her mother would never give permission, so she felt the need to go away to follow this religious life to atone for her previous vanity. However, Cecilia's immaturity is revealed later in the letter when Watson's instigation of these thoughts shows in her narrative: "Ich schämte mich meiner Schwachheit gegen ihn, und so war es möglich, dir mich zu verbergen. - Es ist die letzte Lüge meines Lebens, dadurch daß ich sie dir gestehe, büsse ich sie ab"¹⁶². Her weakness in relation to Watson is what made her feel ashamed. In fact, Cecilia more directly identifies this source of shame than she does in any of her discussion of sins for which she is atoning. Also, Cecilia's genuine love for her parents and family is repeated along with her personal desire to atone for her sins. These indicate that Cecilia's identity at the time of her departure was no longer based on frivolity, but was still based on the opinion of others - in this case, on the opinion of Watson. The letter Macdonald shares with the Wallbergs depicts Cecilia's personal growth. Cecilia writes to Macdonald "Nachdem ich die heiligsten Bande der Natur, der Liebe zerriß, kömmt es mir nicht mehr zu, diese Ansprüche zu machen, zu dem Glück eines solchen Mannes etwas beytragen [sic] zu

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 433.

¹⁶² Ibid.

können"¹⁶³. Cecilia now acknowledges that "the holiest ties of Nature, of Love" are the ties of family. She has moved beyond her frivolous flatterers and beyond her focus of self. Her understanding of a balance relationship as "contributing to the happiness" of another rather than depending on the opinion of another demonstrates significant personal growth. Cecilia now understands the significant importance of family relationships for individual and social identity.

The significance of the written word is visible in the differences between Cecilia and Robert as opposed to Clara. Both Cecilia and Robert are rebellious characters who act out against their socially provided identity and hope for acceptance by the/a family circle. Cecilia and Robert are rebellious and disobedient to social norms and expectations in their efforts to shape their own destiny and write their own story. Clara, on the other hand, is obedient and is pushed into telling her story by others. Alexander's story is told in segments by his mother, his sister, and Clara; his story appears, much like his character, as a function of his absence. The voices that come through most clearly are those of Cecilia and Robert. Cecilia's return squeezes Clara out of her newfound position as daughter in the Wallberg family, and Robert's trickery results in Clara's expulsion from the defining role of dutiful wife. Thus, the permanency and power of written story over oral story is made manifest in the novel.

A. *Weiblichkeit* in *Wallberg*

The female characters Clara and Cecilia create a statement of intelligence and *Weiblichkeit* that depicts Schiller's personal expression of these key concepts in her life.

¹⁶³ Ibid, 444.

This sense of *Weiblichkeit* was eloquently defined by Heron in her *Stammbuch* as letting "all your actions be regulated by that regard to the dignity of the female Character which springs not from any superiority of Birth or Station, not from personal pride or acquired accomplishments but from a conscious rectitude of Conduct"¹⁶⁴. Clara does not hold "superiority of birth or station," but is described as embodying "acquired accomplishments." Clara becomes the center of attention at a family gathering as she astounded her in-laws and their guests because she "betrug sich mit aller der Feinheit einer gebildeten Europäerin ... war in keinem Fache fremd," speaks French and other languages well and is familiar with the most important writers "aus jeder Nation."¹⁶⁵ And yet, emphasizes Schiller, even with all her intelligence and "ernste Bildung," "Sie blieb immer weiblich, und hatte den Anschein das unbedeutende des Lebens eben so wichtig zu nehmen als das bedeutende"¹⁶⁶. Here it is clear that *weiblich* is part of, but not synonymous to, *Weiblichkeit*. Clara seems to embody the ideal intelligent and engaging role of *Weiblichkeit*, yet it is Clara who does not write letters. Clara is the obedient daughter and wife, yet it is Clara who breaks the bonds of marriage (albeit under questionable circumstances and potential innocence). In a sense, Clara represents the mechanical or programmed education without the self-discovery inherent in *Bildung*; Clara's *Weiblichkeit* is, in fact, simply being *weiblich*, as she has no strength of self-identity. Clara gives herself up to Frau Wallberg's hopes¹⁶⁷ and gives herself to obedience as wife to the "returned Alexander" despite her inner tingling sense of doubt. Clara seems

¹⁶⁴ Henry Heron to Charlotte (von Lengefeld) Schiller. *Stammbuch* entry, Weimar, July 20, 1787. GSA 83/1959.

¹⁶⁵ Schiller, "<Wallberg>". *Literarische Schriften*. 406.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 407.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 445.

a social automaton until the end of the story where her *Stimmung* with Robert, the false Alexander, becomes apparent.

This is in contrast to Cecilia, who represents "superiority of Birth or Station" and "personal pride." Cecilia's refined sophistication included a more organic use of 'womanly ways' and a commitment to abandoning social ideals in an effort to pursue a path believed to be of her own choosing. In an odd way, Clara more closely resembles Frau Wallberg than it first appears, as both women received the education that was socially approved at the time of their coming of age. Cecilia, on the other hand, takes chances and makes mistakes; rather than simply following the prescribed path expected of her by society, Cecilia embarks on a true *Bildung*. Clara and Frau Wallberg both view being *weiblich* as being obedient and responsive to society's ideals. They have an incomplete concept of *Weiblichkeit* as they do not include strength of individual character among their qualifying traits. Schiller's particular description of the ideal balance between intelligent *Bildung* and *Weiblichkeit* is further explained through the character Cecilia.

I argue that Charlotte Schiller is contrasting these characters to depict the nuances of how intelligent *Weiblichkeit* is balanced and bounded by the persons and abilities of the present company, and including an inner humility that neither belittles nor calls attention to one's own abilities. As discussed, the ideal human beauty inherent to Humboldtian *Weiblichkeit* was described using gendered beauty but was not limited to gendered physical beauty. An exploration of beauty as it relates to gender and *Weiblichkeit* similar to the translation project with Heron is found in Schiller's novel. Whereas Clara was considered by others to be beautiful only after observing the beauty

and liveliness of her intellect, Cecilia was considered by others to be physically beautiful, but upon observation to lack depth of mind. As Frau Wallberg relates to Clara: "Cecilie gewohnt zu leicht der Schmeicheley ein williges Ohr zu leihen, war immer und immer mehr bemüht ihren eigenen Kreis zu vergrössern, und dieses Streben machte sie kälter gegen ihre Familie"¹⁶⁸ Eventually, Cecilia is seduced by the flattery of Watson and his "sister." Cecilia pretends to agree to marry F. and during the preparations secludes herself in her room as a method of escaping unnoticed and leaving the country. Although Cecilia's vanity turns to penitence, it is only later, when she meets Macdonald, that her *Weiblichkeit* grows into including intelligence over a shared enjoyment of *Ossian*.¹⁶⁹ The choice of this poem for Cecilia's self-discovery and love relationship is significant. *Ossian* in particular held an important role for Schiller. As Helbig notes, in her later undated poem *Ossians Abschieds-Klage* she "nutzt die Gattungsvorgaben des Ossianismus zu einer Reflexion über das ganz eigene Recht poetischer Produktion und Selbstverständigung."¹⁷⁰ Therefore, this poem is a strong signifier for the character of Cecilia. Cecilia's intelligence is different than Clara's. Clara's *Bildung* was a limited self-discovery of the intellect that arose largely from efforts to connect her with the standards of European society despite her American origin; Cecilia's *Bildung* was a self-discovery that grew from her personal search for something beyond her previous pettiness and vanity. Clara's beauty of intellect is still limited by her dependence on the approval of others. Therefore, Alexander's silence regarding her time with Robert leaves her in an ambiguous state. Clara cannot reconcile this independently; she dies because she is

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, 422.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, 439.

¹⁷⁰ Hühn 135.

"forsaken by Mankind" such as the leafless tree in Heron's translation of "On Friendship."¹⁷¹ Cecilia, on the other hand, is like the tender rose; realization of her fading beauty led to her openness to "higher love, the desire of a tender inclination,"¹⁷² that she finds in returning to her family and the arms of Macdonald. Cecilia expresses her intelligent *Weiblichkeit* as a quiet quality in comparison to Clara's being center stage during the family gathering.

Weiblichkeit is also connected to dutiful service. At the time of their correspondence, both Heron and Schiller's futures were overshadowed by civic duty: Charlotte Schiller was, out of filial duty, preparing to enter into court service and Heron was under obligation to compulsory military service. Clara and Cecilia are bound by social and familial duty. Cecilia was tricked and temporarily abandoned her *weiblich* duties as daughter and as the betrothed of F. However, Cecilia takes ownership of her decision and is able to forgive herself. Her return to the family restores her position as filial daughter and opens up the possibility of a future with Macdonald. It also expresses her having matured into a more comprehensive sense of *Weiblichkeit* as she has the strength of character to pursue "a conscious rectitude of Conduct." Clara, on the other hand, is unable to face her husband after recognizing that she was the victim of a scam and is unable to forgive herself, as Clara defines herself entirely through her relationship with others. Because Clara's break from duty was out of dutifulness, Clara is disoriented and her identity is broken. Being "so treu, und doch treulos"¹⁷³ shattered her ability to define herself as the faithful wife. At the same time, Clara cannot shift to identifying

¹⁷¹ GSA 83/1759.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Schiller, "<Wallberg>". *Literarische Schriften*. 453.

herself as an unfaithful wife due to the circumstances and her embedded nature of embodying societal ideals. Therefore, when one of her identifiers is altered she is unable to reconcile her identity because she lacks the inner strength necessary to possess true *Weiblichkeit*.

B. Possible Allusions to Henry Heron in *Wallberg*

Three characters in *Wallberg* can be attributed to Schiller's relationship with Henry Heron: the Scotsman Macdonald, Alexander Wallberg, and Robert the "false Alexander." The Scotsman Macdonald falls in love with Cecilia and spends time with her discussing *Ossian*, which is similar in nature of discussion and growing emotion to Schiller and Heron's relationship. Both Alexander and Robert fought in the American War of Independence, as did Heron. Interestingly, the novel leaves it entirely unclear as to which side of the conflict Alexander and Robert fought on - leaving the reader to question the political statement being made in regards to revolutionary war and was another reason why the exact nature of Heron's service was of such intrigue. Alexander Wallberg and Clara's relationship bears similarities to that of the young Charlotte Schiller and Henry Heron - the male love interest meets the female away from his homeland and while holding military rank. In both cases their separation causes a total breach of communication and, although it is not acknowledged until much later, marks the end of their relationship with one another. Finally, the older and widowed Charlotte Schiller and Heron parallel Clara and the false Alexander, Robert. Clara thinks Robert is her life-long love but he turns out not to be such, just as Charlotte Schiller can recognize that Heron was not her life-partner and work-mate. Yet Clara finds it painful to acknowledge her

love for this non-spouse as her current self-awareness, or developed *Weiblichkeit*, is dependent upon this non-spousal relationship and personal connection.

Heron's influence is seen within the novel *Wallberg*. His communicated knowledge of the American War of Independence as received by Charlotte Schiller shapes the story itself. Her broader knowledge of the world abroad, which began with her Switzerland trip and grew exponentially from her relationship with Heron is depicted in the yearnings both for home and far away in the novel. Silke Henke and Ariane Ludwig of the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv write, "Als Charlotte um 1787 im geselligen Kreis in Weimar den schottischen Offizier Henry Heron kennenlernte, fasste sie zu ihm eine tiefe Zuneigung, Ausdruck und Bestärkung ihrer Sehnsucht nach der Ferne"¹⁷⁴. After her friendship with Heron and receiving letters from far away, Schiller was fascinated by reports of distant sails and sailor heroes¹⁷⁵. Heron's sailor's heart infected her as well as the distance between them. In April 1789 Schiller told her lifelong friend Fritz: "dass der Geist des Welt umseglers Cook auch auf mich gekommen ist, denn ich habe so eine Freude an dem Elemente des Waßers, daß ich den wunsch gar nicht unterdrücken kann, einmal übers Meer zu reisen"¹⁷⁶. Despite her *Sehnsucht*, Schiller had to satisfy herself with travel journals and stories; among these she read the story of Christopher Columbus as well as translating from the Scottish historian William Robertson's *The History of America*¹⁷⁷. From 1787 onwards, Charlotte Schiller read, translated, and was inspired by

¹⁷⁴ Henke and Ludwig, 51.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Charlotte Schiller to Fritz von Stein, 6. April 1789 GSA 122/99 in Henke and Ludwig, 51.

¹⁷⁷ Henke and Ludwig, 52-3.

the literature shared with Heron¹⁷⁸. These same elements of the distant hero, the dangerous journey by sea, letters from a far distance, and using a Scottish/English setting to present her self-understanding, are vividly present in *Wallberg*.

¹⁷⁸ Helbig in Hühn, 129.

VI. Conclusion

The correspondence of Charlotte Schiller and Henry Heron is a rich resource that has previously been under-researched. Analysis of this correspondence demonstrates the increasing *Stimmung*, growing fondness and building of a literary relationship between these individuals.

Application of Wilhelm von Humboldt and Caroline von Wolzogen's concept of *Weiblichkeit* as investigated by Simon Richter to the analysis of the Schiller-Heron correspondence reveals how choices of language in translation correlate with the individuals' negotiated and growingly shared concept of gender. More precisely it seems that Schiller successfully influenced Heron's understanding of *Weiblichkeit* and the intellectual abilities of women. My analysis of the correspondence closely followed Linda Grasso's approach to recognize letter collections and editions as literary texts with narrative and plot elements. One important section of the correspondence concerns a poetry translation project between Heron and Schiller, which most significantly indicates that in a way these two people were not only experiencing, but also writing, their growing personal and literary relationship.

In my final part, the previously unpublished novel *Wallberg* was examined focusing on discussions and implied concepts of *Weiblichkeit* relating some of the novel's structural features (such as embedded documentary and epistolary parts), main characters and motifs. These elements were intertextually analyzed with reference to the Schiller-Heron correspondence. *Wallberg* further illustrates within the text that letters can be read as literary text and that literary text can include fictional documentation through letters. The relationship between letters and literature is therefore extended more completely into

a *Stimmung* between them that indicates potential for the field of literary studies. The Schiller-Heron correspondence and Schiller's later novel *Wallberg* reveal an intellectual friendship crossing gender, social, and national boundaries. As the Schiller-Heron correspondence demonstrates, intelligent *Weiblichkeit* enables unity within diversity by recognizing the complexity of individuals and the concept of a non-gendered ideal human beauty of the mind and "rectitude of conduct"¹⁷⁹.

¹⁷⁹ Henry Heron to Charlotte Schiller. *Stammbuch* entry, Weimar, July 20, 1787. GSA 83/1959

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Appendix A.

Excuse: On Editorial Studies, or "Editionswissenschaft"

For over two centuries, Charlotte Schiller was not taken seriously as a thinker and author. Establishing Schiller as such is relatively new, which increases the importance for any project to take the time to employ thoughtful consideration of the editorial choices made and how these may affect the reception of the project's content. For example, choosing to refer to Charlotte Schiller as Schiller rather than Charlotte acknowledges her in the same manner as is traditional for male authors or modern authors; this choice communicates respect for her works. While this may seem to be an "obvious" decision, it is actually a quite recent practice in academic publishing. Editorial principles have changed from the nineteenth century, necessitating review of editions of transcribed materials and, in many cases, the need to create transcriptions that uphold the scientific method and level of accuracy required by modern historical-critical editions. Nineteenth century principles focused on the reader's understanding. The goal of published editions of correspondence was to convey a sense of the correspondents and their relationship. Even in more scientific texts, citation and source identification were inconsistent at this time. The establishment of a scientific approach to categorization and presentation of archival materials in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries led to an emphasis on historical-critical editions published for academic researchers, an audience for which the editions include explanations of decisions used in the edition, such as rendering spelling errors, capitalization, crossed out words, and so on. Bodo Plachta describes the specific importance of working with the original: "die Erkenntnis, das in Drucken oder

Handschriften überlieferte Werk eines Autors repräsentiere in bedeutsamer und jeweils am Einzelfall zu überprüfender Form die Textgeschichte und ihre dabei entstehenden Verwitterungen"¹⁸⁰. The importance of working with the originals is something that is aesthetically experienced; however, the necessity to return to the original is an essential element of the "*wissenschaft*" in the field; the original requires methodological approach and scientific reasoning to a degree unparalleled even by fascimiles. In addition, it is important to note that to maintain accuracy to the originals, every effort was made to directly transcribe all quotes from the letters in this work as they were in the original including misspellings and grammatical errors.

Editionswissenschaft is an essential goal for first editions from handwriting that seek to be acknowledged as part of canon and is an area of study that can reveal how editorial choices of the past influenced canon formation. Plachta reviews the disciplinary debate that began with Beißner's comment that "Edition ist Interpretation"¹⁸¹. This may have been controversial in 1958; however, current research increasingly accepts this. Rockenberger, for example, identifies that "the relevance of editions for the canon"¹⁸² depends on the editing itself; namely, a scholarly edition is the required entry fee into the ranks of canonization. This entry fee does not grant a direct entry, but rather, Rockenberger details, published scholarly editions open up the door as "the published results of this cooperative practice [distribution, processing, and production including fragmentary transmission] delineate the *basis of different follow-up communications that*

¹⁸⁰ Plachta, *Editionswissenschaft*, 28.

¹⁸¹ Ibid, 35.

¹⁸² Annika Rockenberger. "Textual Scholarship and Canon Formation." *Scholarly Editing and German Literature: Revision, Revaluation, Edition*. Eds. Lydia Jones, Bodo Plachta, Gaby Pailer, and Catherine Karen Roy. (Leiden: Brill, 2015). 273.

are relevant to canon formation"¹⁸³. While both Röcken and Rockenberger agree upon the general expression that to "make" a work a part of a canon is an inaccurate statement, but that a work "becoming" part of a canon is an accurate one, Röcken identifies 'to canonize' "as an *achievement verb*"¹⁸⁴ indicating completed success of the action, whereas Rockenberger views canon formation as "the temporary *causal* consequence of a variety of uncoordinated individual valuation-actions"¹⁸⁵. Röcken, therefore, seems to treat canonization as an action that can be identified only post-act. Canonization cannot be identified until it has revealed its completion. While this viewpoint supports past consensus that women writers were not excluded from the canon, but rather were just simply not part of it, Rockenberger's argument validates canonization as an identifiable series of actions that can be individually influenced to redirect the process towards desired results. Rockenberger's perspective is essential for the scholar working with untranscribed or poorly transcribed manuscripts and for those studying the writing of women previously overlooked by canon formation.

Transcription of handwritten documents entails numerous challenges. Typed text cannot convey the depth of information that handwriting communicates to the receiver. Editorial challenges must be identified and the approach to handling these challenges needs to be consistent throughout the process in order to have a meaningful transcription. Regarding this issue, Bodo Plachta acknowledges that scholarly editing of works entails variations dependent "on the editor's objectives" that "rely on standards which are

¹⁸³ Ibid, 280.

¹⁸⁴ Per Röcken. "'Canonise', 'Canonised', 'Canonisation' etc.: Some Remarks on Terminology." *Scholarly Editing and German Literature: Revision, Revaluation, Edition*. Eds. Lydia Jones, Bodo Plachta, Gaby Pailer, and Catherine Karen Roy. (Leiden: Brill, 2015). 288.

¹⁸⁵ Rockenberger, 280.

determined by respective cultural, theoretical, methodological, practical and even media contexts and thus become transparent and verifiable,"¹⁸⁶. Therefore, it is important to identify one's own editorial objectives as soon as possible in order to ensure that the choices of theory and method as well as other seemingly small practical decisions are made as cohesively as possible. While an edition can, as Plachta writes, seek to reconstruct texts, I know from my experience with scans, facsimiles and original manuscripts also that these themselves require editorial choices - does the editor choose settings which make the text the most legible, show the colour and texture of the page and ink to greatest effect, or minimize the inevitable markings from scanning that emphasize what is ignorable on the original? Each of these options indicates the editor's focus on the scan itself - is it a text, an aesthetic object, or a historical recreation? For the purposes of this thesis, for example, the aestheticism of the letters was not the focus and decisions were made as much as possible to treat the correspondence as historical and literary primary documents in as like manner as possible as has been done with canonized authors of the time. Unfortunately, these categorizations of text, object, and historical recreation are in themselves are an over simplification. As Nutt-Kofoth explains, the space and spatial positioning of words on the page were themselves a layer of text and social signification in the medium of epistolary communication in this era¹⁸⁷. This view is shared by Grasso, who argues that letters are "mediated forms of expression; they are a

¹⁸⁶ Bodo Plachta. "Introduction: How International is Scholarly Editing? A Look at Its History." *Scholarly Editing and German Literature: Revision, Revaluation, Edition*. Eds. Lydia Jones, Bodo Plachta, Gaby Pailer, and Catherine Karen Roy. (Leiden: Brill, 2015). 10.

¹⁸⁷ Rüdiger Nutt-Kofoth. "Space as Sign: Material Aspects of Letters and Diaries and Their Editorial Representation." *Scholarly Editing and German Literature: Revision, Revaluation, Edition*. Eds. Lydia Jones, Bodo Plachta, Gaby Pailer, and Catherine Karen Roy. (Leiden: Brill, 2015). 55-70.

result of a letter writer's translation of ideas into language. How the letter writer enacts that translation is shaped by the purpose of the letter, the relationship of the letter writer to the correspondent, and the circumstances in which the letter is written"¹⁸⁸.

Transcribing the content is easier than to translate the cultural markers of the *Briefkultur* from the letter to the reader's understanding. However, transcribing the handwritten words onto the typed page is an essential first step that makes the correspondence accessible to other scholars.

Space and handwriting convey more than social rank and deference, however. The importance of space in the handwritten letter is particularly apparent in the larger undated letter of Heron's that stands out due to its size and carefully constructed columns "Remarks," "Mine" and "Yours"¹⁸⁹. In this letter, Henry Heron has created a record of their collaborative effort to translate "The Rose"¹⁹⁰ from German into English.¹⁹¹ The "Remarks" column lists, in an orderly and numbered fashion, the notes and explanations regarding Heron's improvements upon Schiller's initial translation. These numbered points are numbered and underlined respectively in the other two columns. Heron squeezes and alters the size and shape of his handwriting so that these columns match up

¹⁸⁸ Linda M. Grasso. "Reading Published Letter Collections as Literary Texts: Maria Chabot-Georgia O'Keefe Correspondence, 1941-1949 as a Case Study." *Legacy* 25.2 (2008). 243.

¹⁸⁹ GSA 83/1759.

¹⁹⁰ The poem *Die Rose* is identified by Gaby Pailer (*Leben und Schreiben*, 41) as the Flower Fable by Johann Gottfried Herder. I was able to verify this by identifying it in both languages. For the German, see Johann Gottfried von Herder. *Johann Gottfried v. Herders Sämmtliche Werke. Zur schönen Literatur und Kunst. Dritter Band.* (Stuttgart & Tübingen: J.G. Cotta'scher Verlag, 1852). 230. For the English translation, see *Fables and Parables from the German of Lessing, Herder (Krummacher and others)*. (London: James Burns, 1845). 51.

¹⁹¹ Please refer to Appendix A. For the purposes of identification within the appendix of this thesis, I have entitled this document "The Translation Project Document" in the appendix.

as closely as possible. Not only does this make transcription of these difficult to produce in a typed digital form, it also makes it incredibly difficult for the reader to have a sense of the effort and time spent on the letter, as well as the aesthetic and usefulness of the document for their partnered project.

Appendix B.

Transcribed Correspondence

GSA83-1914

Briefe von Charlotte von Lengefeld an Henry Heron.

2 Briefe, 4 Bl.

Archivblatt, Kopie:	1. 1787 März 7 2. truly you are very good...
	1 in Bleistift (Archiv)
Erster Brief, egh. datiert:	Rudolstadt the 7th Mart. 1787
1r-1	In Spite of fashions betraying judgements, I take the pen to tell you that your letter Sir, has given me much pleasure, and I take it without doubt. then I think in this matter as you, that if our actions derives from the purity of heart, we must not always regulate our Steps , after mans blind judgements, and from fashion. the voice of my heart says me that I can answer you without to offend the worth of my female character, and I do it also.
1r-2	you inform you very kindly upon my doing. I am well, and enjoy the pleasure of the Solidute, I have heard the Storms bowl, the leafless trees have shud their heads in the wind. I have seen all that from the window of my little peaceable room, with Calm. if the body is well i feel not the influence of time, but in ^{the} Contrary State of feel Case I am very unhappy if the weather is bad. Ossian has given me an agreeable Idea of the wind, and since I pursue thos thoughts with joy. But for the Souls of our departed friend it would not be so joyfull as for us. then thy are I believe in a State more happy as to bee yet so near to a world full grief, and who they have Sufferd So much. then this is the ordinary task of humanity.
1v-1	I have read this morning in Popes Essays of man, you shall also be not wondred at my serious remarques. You have made me much pleasure in Sending me those books, I will render it to you with thousand thanks So soon as I have finished it. You are very good to deprive you of any weeks from so an agreeable Lecture, then I believe that ones could read dayly in the book, and would find always new beauties. the Letter of Elaine pleases me much, and I have been very charmed to understand it so easy.
1v-2	I am sorry to have deprived you from so pretious time, while you have wrote out for me, so much from the Seasons of

	Thomsons, in the same time I am very thankfull of it. I have found any Poems, which I send you here, I believe they will please you.
Zweiter Brief, ohne Datum	2 in Bleistift, Archiv
1r-1	<p>you truly you are very good, in encouraging ^to encourage^ me to writ yet ^yet^ one Letter in your ^a^ language that I write so bad. but if you have not told me the truth, I hope you should be will be punished enough, to be obliged to read a second time my limping english ^english^. you have you have served you ^not justly^ of this expression not justly. then you write the german very well, and I would wish that you could understand my ^writing^ so good, as I can yours also you will not stay long more in our Country... that you have followd my Counsel is g agreeable to hear for me. I have been in the same Case of severent ^several^ authors, and moralists, which, gives good Counsel to the others, without observing it theirsself. then I was almost decouraged, as the Cold and Stormy weather forbided me did forbid, to walk, and to see the beautiful awakned nature,, in her charms. I love much the Spring, Spring, the wintler makes a sad impression of heart and body. But all is changed when the Spring and hope for better times p approached. I believe, while he gives us much remarkeds to make, of our self, self declining nature. there is a passage in ossian that I love much.</p>
1v-1	<p>age is dark and unlovely, it is like the glimmering light of the moon, when it shines through broken Clouds, and the mist is on the hills. I am very obliged to you that you be ^are^ so kind to a augment my collection of English Poems, the last Elegy pleases me much, and will please me more and more, when I understand entirly the sense of it. I read it often, and hope to read I arrive So... at reach, some at completely. to fully succeed soon.</p>
1v-2	<p>I accept in the same time your kindly offering and send you any some Pieces which I have translated. the ones is translated from an French, but I love ^like^ to much theose passage as to ^do^ let it not translate it in a language that I love more. the other is from an author, that I am sure is your friend, it is from the Herder. you shall judge yourself how far I am to be enable</p>

	<p>to render able to made such essays. And I fear almost that it would be an indiscretion, as to private deprive you ^{^of^} from ^{^any^} moments that you shall ^{^could^} surely ^{^surely^} employ better of a better manner.</p>
1v-3	<p>I send you here a Poem, ^{^after my weak judgement^}, from one of our best Poets, that plea pleases me. I would be glad if it would be so is yours. please you in the same.</p>
1v-4	<p>Have you been at weimar again again? I have had any news from there, and I expect with great impatiente a Letters from</p>
2r-0	<p>my friends de Imhof, and Schardt. I have written, on to the last an english letter. but I fear they will have not ^{^not have^} understood me, while I have not ree but at this time I have none answer, and I fear she will not have understand me. while I write so and I fear that I have written so badl that badly that she shall ^{^should^} have not understand me.</p>
2r-1	<p>I continate to read in Pope I have spent already many agreeable times in reading Pope. and so oft I read it, I am still thankfull to you, which provensated me this pleasure.</p>
2v-1	<p>I will I reflect I have reflected many hours, since the arrival of your Letter to punish you Now once more i will task, to made a proof ^{^to made you angry^} with ^{^over^} my writing; i should ^{^would^} be very glad if you should be sure it, then my there were an app..ls oportunity to absen ^{^lonel..d^} made the experience. if your Sex has no even so fair patience, as my own you Kew surely that.. tho if your if your has Sex that your sex has the same faults, which ones repa.. ^{^then which whom^} we other Womens are always amusated; that is pale to have not patience enough;</p>

GSA83-1959

Stammbuch of Charlotte Schiller; entry by Henry Heron

1 Bl.

1r-1	Weimar 20 July 1787
1r-2	O! Woman! lovely Woman! Nature made you for to temper Man We had been brutes without you. _ Angels are painted fair to look like you - There's in you all We can believe of Heaven - amazing brightness, purity & Truth Eternal Joy , and everlasting Love! ---- Otway/
1r-3	Let all your actions be regulated by that regard to the dignity of the female Character which Springs not from any Superiority of Birth or Station, not from personal pride or acaired accomplishments but from a Conscious rectitude of Conduct ---
1r-4	For this advice forgive the presumption of a person who tho but a new Acquaintance, would fain hope not be consider'd as a common one
1r-5	Henry Heron

GSA83-1759

Briefe von Henry Heron an Charlotte von Lengefeld.

35 Bl.

Archivblatt, Kopie:	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. 1787 März 2, Beilage 12. 1787 März 163. 1787 März 274. Perhaps you are thinking...5. Ich hätte gleich nach meiner Rückkunft6. 1787 Mai 127. 1787 Juni 38. 1787 August 2
	<ol style="list-style-type: none">9. An Knebel, Abschrift Charlotte Schiller

1. Brief, 2. März 1787

1. Brief	
Bleistift, Archiv	No. 1, 2. März 1787
1r	<p>Kaum darf ich neigen an sie zu Schonbau denn ich fuhr abends von der Strenge der Deutschen Dankungsart gehört, ja man hat mir gesagt daß ein junges Frauzimmer kann größeres An... begehren kann als einen B... von einem jungen Mann anzunehmen. Danken Sie mir ... für Empfindungen ich haben muß in den ich dießes be..ußt bin und doch mit übe..üthiges Hand --- den Feder zu ...hen daß Sie gnädiges Fräulein dießen Sünde begehren! dir bloße Gedanke macht mir die Herrn zu</p> <p>...</p> <p>genießen wenn ich mir dem Vernunft hätten machen können daß ich eine Gelegenheit Pahren ließe mich nach den Parsonen zu erkündigen in dieser Gesellschaft ich so einle angenehme, freudige Munden zubrachte. ich hätte es mir minerstes smerzeihen können, der Geist der Gleichkültigkeit hätte mir überall unerfolgt ein hätte ich mich dieße glückliche Munden zurückblicken dürfen, denn jede freundevolle Erinnerung an Sie würde mich lng dein Gersicht der menschlichen Pflicht angeklagt haben. Unser Leben ist kürz und oft fliegen dießen Wohlshütes dir ans ... b...trügt daß mir dieße Stunden hinter und runter zubringen - In dießem Gesichtsguerste nein weil bin ich Ihnen und</p>
1v-0	<p>Ihnen ..ten Fraulein Schuleig! In meinem Lande haben wir ein Sgriheowt das lautet unter z..... Atbele soll man das kleinsten ...flen- dies habe ich gethan und habe ich schreibe an Sie: gere möchte ich dir Stfole in gleichgültigen Senses folgen, gene aber wünschte ich mich bi...len für mich sallend ^dankend^. Die</p> <p>Welt ist keinen un..... Reiheterinn, einen sogar sind die Atotheile die Sie füllt oft hüchst unerncht und gegen allen W..stand Laßt uns daher einen gnädiges Fräulein uns mit den Gedanken eines Sie über unseren Hum..ungen Sorgen wird ruft immer quälen diese geneißer aber laßt uns dir Reinigkeit und Richtigkeit unserer Gesinnungen segün-</p>
1v-1	<p>Nun wie geht es mit Ihnen, mit Ihrer Schwester und ihrem Herrn Gemahl, mit Fräulein von Holleben und allen den andern angenehmen Ruddelstädter und Ruddelstädterinnen deren Bekanntschaft ich das Vergnügen in Weimar zu machen hatte. Sind sie alle glücklich nach Hause gekommen und genießen Sie jezt die Freude die man nirgendwo so völlig als in der ruhigen stillen Heimath antreffen kann. --- o gewiß ^die^ süße Hofnung antwortet meinen Frage mit einem lächelnden Ja! und was machen Sie in besonderen mein gnädiges Fräulein, wie stehts um Ihre Leiden und Freuden in dießem traurigen Winther. sind Sie wehmüthig mit der seufzenden Natur oder vielmehr erfreuen Sie sich in der Besizung Ihrer behaglichen Stube wo Sie sich genießen können ungestört</p>

2r-0	durch den brausenden Sturm der draussen saust. Wie viel Strümpfe stricken Sie täglich und daß die Verbeßerung des Geistes gleich Schritte mit der des Körpers halten möge wie viel Seiten lesen Sie alle Tage aus Marcus Aurelius -? Sie haben nicht unrecht daß Sie Ihre Zeit auf diese Art zubringen nützliche Beschäftigung und die Erwerbung angenehmer Kenntniß stimmen sehr gut mit einander ein -
2r-1	Meiner Versprechung zufolge schick ich Ihnen hiermit die Popische Werke, die zwey ersten Bänder und der Anfang des vierten werden sich am meisten für Sie schicken - denn die andern sind grösten Theils nur für Engländer verständig da sie Beziehung auf unsere Sitten, Denkungsart und Begebenheiten die <u>gesch</u> vorgefallen sind zu der Zeit wo Pope noch lebte <u>haben, jene</u> ... aber sind für alle Leute aus allen Nationen geschrieben und müssen jedem gefallen der Verstand oder Gefühl hat - wäre ich nur eines guten Weibs eben so gewiß als Sie Ihres Beyfalls sind! so könnte ich mir sagen „erfreue dich alter Freund dein Glück ist gemacht du kannst jezt bey deinem Kamin ruhig und vergnügt sitzen“ -
2r-2	Sie haben sich so günstig über unsere Literatur geäußert daß ich seit meiner Rückkunft in Jena verschiedene Stücke aus <i>Thomson's Seasons</i> für Sie abgeschrieben habe und ich nehme mir die Freyheit sie Ihnen zu schicken, wie glücklich werde ich mich nicht glauben wenn Sie im Lesen nur halb so viel Vernügen [sic]
2v-0	daran finden als ich gefunden habe in dem ich sie bey den Gedanken abschrieb daß sie Ihnen vielleicht gefallen könnten lesen Sie sie nur fleisig und mit Aufmerksamkeit und wenn ich nach Ruddelstadt komme so sagen Sie mir ob Sie nicht viele Schönheiten darinn bemerken -
2v-1/2	<p>Ich will Sie nicht langes plagen ... w.. muß ich Sie um um die Güthe Bitten mich Herrn und Frau von Beulwitz ... b.. zu mag... Sagen Sie Ihrer Schwester, ich ... mich mit Vergnügen an ihre Gefälligkeit gegen mich und daß ich nicht ...ßen haben daß Sie hat mich ... zu mache ... ^in^ Sie Ihre schonen Gegend känn-</p> <p>Darf ich die Hofnung haben und um ein Paar Zeilen von Ihnen zu erfahren ... Sorgen Sie es sch..t sich nicht - doch!- aber ich sch... Beben Sie wohl glücklich und ...! gnadiges Fräulein - Sage Sie wer, schart dass ... da ich Ihnen Bekanntschaft machte wird wieder in meinen Gedülchtniß sein ange... Stelle behalten und daß ich mit der v... Hoch..chtinig beständig sage werde</p>
2v-3	Ihr ergebenster Diener Jena 2. ⁿ März 787/ H. Heron./

Beilage 1: Heft. Note: This Beilage is copied out onto different paper than the letter. While the letter is on watermarked linen paper, the Beilage is on thinner paper from a factory roll. The sheets are folded in half to make a small booklet and bound together with a light pink ribbon. It is unknown who added the ribbon; however, the layout of the pages indicates that they were clearly folded in half into the booklet for copying and given the writing utensils of the day, this undoubtedly took a significant amount of time.

<p>Beilage 1, Heft 1r</p> <p>Booklet of folded paper and bound with a pink ribbon in the fold</p>	<p>- Lavinia. - a Tale from <u>Thomson's Seasons</u>. _</p> <p>The lovely young Lavinia once had Friends; And Fortune smil'd, deceitfull on her birth, For in her helpless years depriv'd of all, Of every stay, save Innocence and Heaven, She with her widow'd Mother, feeble, old, And poor, liv'd in a cottage, far retir'd Among the windings of a woody Vale; By Solitude and deep surrounding Shades, But more by bashfull Modesty conceal'd. Together thus they shunn'd the cruel scorn Which Virtue, sunk to poverty, wo'd meet From giddy passion and low minded pride: Almost on Nature's common Bounty fed; Like the gay birds that sing them to repose, Content, and careless of to morrow's fare. Her form was fresher than the morning rose, When the dew wets its leaves; unstain'd, and pure,</p> <p style="text-align: right;">As</p>
<p>Beilage, Heft 1v</p>	<p>As is the lilly, or the mountain Snow. The modest virtues mingl'd in her eyes Still on the ground dejected, darting all Their humid beams into the blooming Flowers. Or when the mournfull Tale her Mother told, Of what her faithless fortune promis'd once, Thrill'd in her thought, they, like the dewy star Of evening, shone in tears. A native grace Sat fair proportion'd on her polish'd limbs, Veil'd in a Simple robe, their best attire, Beyond the pomp of dress; for loveliness Needs not the foreign and of Ornament, But is when unadorn'd, adorn'd the most. Thoughtless of Beauty, She was Beauty's Self Recluse amid the close-embow'ring Woods. As in the hollow breast of Arpenine</p>

	<p>Beneath the Shelter of encircling hills, A myrtle rises far from human eye, And breathes its balmy fragrance o'er the Wild; So flourish'd blooming, and unseen by all, The sweet Lavinia; till, at length, compell'd By strong neuhsity's supreme command,</p> <p>wish/</p>
<p>Beilage, Heft 2r</p>	<p>Wish smiling patience in her looks, she went To glean palemons fields. The pride of Swains Palemon was, the generous, and the rich, who led the rural Life in all its joy and elegance, such as Arcadian song Transmits from ancient uncorrupted Times; When tyrant custom had not shackled Man, But free to follow Nature was the mode. He then, his fancy with autumnal scenes Amusing, chac'd beside his reaper train To walk, when poor Lavinia drew his eye; Unconscious of her power, and turning quick With unaffected blushes from his Gaze. he saw her charming, but he saw not half The charms her downcast modesty conceal'd. That very moment Love and chaste desire Sprung in his Bosom, to himself unknown; For still the world prevail'd, and its dread laugh, Which <u>scarce</u> the firm Philosopher can scorn, Shoud his heart own a gleaner in the field. And thus in secret to his Soul he sigh'd. "What/.</p>
<p>Beilage, Heft 2v</p>	<p>What pity! that so delicate a form, "By Beauty kindled, where enlivening Sense "And more than vulgar Goodness seems to dwell "Should be devoted to the rude embrace "Of some indecent Clown! She looks, methinks, "Of old Acasto's line; and to my mind "Recalls that patron of my happy Life, "From whom my liberal Fortune took its rises, "Now to the dust gone down; his houses, lands, "And once fair spreading Family dissolved. ""Tis said that in some lone obscure retreat, "Urg'd by remembrance sad, and decent pride, "Far from those scenes which knew their better days, "His aged widow and his Daughter live, "Whom yet my fruitless search could never find.</p>

	<p>"Romantic wish! would this the daughter were!</p> <p>When, strickt enquiring; from herself he found She was the same, the daughter of his Friend, Of bountifull Acasto; who can speak The mingled passions that surprised his Heart, And thro' his nerves in shivering transport ran? Thou/</p>
Beilage, Heft 3r	<p>Thou blaz'd his smother'd flame, avow'd, and bold; And as he view'd her, ardent, o'er adn o'er, Love, Gratitude, and Pity wept at once. Confus'd, and frighten'd at his sudden tears, Her rising Beauties flush'd a higher bloom, As thus Palemon, passionate, and just, Pour'd out the pious rapture of his Soul.</p> <p>"And art thou then Acasto's dear remains? "She, whom my restless gratitude has sought, "So long in vain? O yes! the very same, "The softened image of my noble Friend, "Alive, his every feature, every look, "More elegantly touch'd. Sweeter than Spring! "Thou sole surviving blossom from the root "That nourish'd up my fortune! Say, ah where, "In what sequester'd desert, hast thou drawn "The kindest aspect of delighted Heaven? "Into such beauty spread, and blown so fair; "Tho' poverty's cold wind, and crushing rain, "Beat keen, and heavy, on thy tender years? "O let me now, into a richer Soil, "Transplant thee safe! Where vernal Suns and showers "Diffuse their warmest, largest influence; "And/</p>
Beilage, Heft 3v	<p>"And of my Garden be the pride and joy! "It ill befits thee, oh it ill befits "Acasto's daughter, his, whose open stores, "Tho' vast, were little to his ampler Heart, "The father of ^^a^ Country, thus to pick "The very refuse of those harvest-fields, "Which from his bounteous Friendship I enjoy. "Then throw that shamefull pittance from thy hand, "But ill apply'd to such a rugg'd task; "The fields, the Master, all, my Fair! are thine; "If to the various blessings which thy house "Has on me lavish'd, thou willst add that bliss,</p>

	<p>"That dearest bliss, the power of blessing thee!"</p> <p>Here ceas'd the Youth: yet still his speaking eye Express'd the Sacred Triumph of his soul, With conscious virtue, gratitude, and Love, Above the vulgar joy divinely rais'd. Nor waited the reply. Won by the charm Of Goodness irresistible, and all In sweet disorder lost, she blush'd consent. The news immediate to her Mother brought, While, pierc'd with anxious thought, she pin'd away The lonely moments for Lavinias fate; Amaz'd/</p>
<p>Beilage, Heft 4r</p>	<p>Amaz'd, and scarce believing what she heard, Joy seiz'd her wither'd veins, and one bright gleam Of setting Life shone on her evening hours: Not less enraptur'd than the happy pair; Who flourish'd long in tender bliss, and rear'd A numerous Offspring, lovely like themselves, And good, the grace of all the country round.</p> <hr/> <p>From Thomson's Spring Ah! happy they! the happiest of their kind! Whom gentle stars unite, and in one fate Their hearts, their fortunes, and their beings blend. 'Tis not the coarser tie of human laws, Unnatural oft, and foreign to the mind, That binds their peace, but hamony itself, Attuning all their passions into Love; Where Friendship full exerts her softest power, Perfect esteem enliven'd by desire Ineffable, and Sympathy of Soul, Thought meeting Thought, and will preventing will, With boundless confidence: for nought but love Can answer love and render bliss secure. Let/</p>
<p>Beilage, Heft 4v</p>	<p>Let him, ingenerous, who, alone intent To bless himself, from sordid parents buys The louthing Virgin, in eternal care, Well-merited, consume his nights and days: Let barbarous Nations, whose inhuman Love Is wild desire, fierce as the Suns they feel; Let eastern Tyrants from the light of Heaven</p>

	<p>Seclude their bossom slaves, meanly possess'd Of a meer, lifeless, violated form: While those whom love scements in holy faith, And equal transport, free as Nature life, Disdaining fear. What is the world to them, Its pomp, its pleasure, and its nonsense all! Who in each other clasp whatever fair High fancy forms, and lavish'd hearts can wish; Something than Beauty dearer, thou'd they look Or in the mind, or mind illumined face; Truth, Goodness, honour, harmony, and Love The richest bounty of indulgent Heaven. Mean-time a smiling Offsjoring rises round, And mingles both their graces. By degrees, The human blossom blows; and every day, Soft as it rolls along, shews some new charm, The fathers lustre, and the Mothers bloom. Then infant reason grows apace, and calls For/</p>
<p>Beilage, Heft 5r</p>	<p>For the kind hand of an assiduous care. Delightful task! to rear the tender thought, To teach the young idea how to shoot, To pour the fresh instruction o'er the mind, To breath th'enlivening Spirit, and to fix The generous purpose in the glosing breast. Oh speak the Joy 'ye, whom the sudden tear Suprizes often, while ye look around; And nothing strikes your eye but sights of bliss, All various Nature Pressing on the heart: An elegant Sufficiency, content, Retirement, rural quiet, Friendship, books, Ease, and alternate labour, useful life, Progressive virtue, and approving Heaven. These are the matchless Joys of virtuous Love And thus their moments fly. The Seasons thus, As ceaseless round a jarring World they roll, Still find them happy; and consenting Spring Sheds her own rosy Garland on their heads: Till evening comes at last, serene and mild; When after the long vernal day of Life, Enamour'd more, as more remembrance swells With many a proof of recollected love, Together down they sink in social sleep; Together free'd, their gentle spirits fly To scenes where Love and Bliss immortail reign.</p>

	<hr style="width: 30%; margin: 0 auto;"/>
Beilage, Heft 5v	From Thomson's Autumn These are thy Blessings Industry! rough power! Whom labour still attends, and sweat, and pain; Yet the kind Source of every gentle art, And all the soft civility of Life: Raiser of human kind! by Nature cast, Naked, and helpless, out amid the Woods And wilds, to rude inclement elements; With various seeds of art deep in the Mound Implemented, and profusely pour'd around Materials infinite; but idle all Still unesrerted, in th'unconscious breast, Slept the lethargic powers, corruption still, Voracious, swallowed what the liberal hand Of bounty scatter'd o'er the savage Year: And Still the sad Barbarian roring, mix'd With beasts of prey; or for his acorn meal Fought the fierce husky Bear; a Shivering Wretch! Aghast, and comfortless, when the bleak North With Winter charg'd, let the mix'd tempest fly, Hail, rain, and Snow, and bitter breathing frost: Then to the Shelter of the Hut he fled; And the wild Season, sordid pin'd away. For home he had not; home is the resort Of Love, of Joy, of Peace and Plenty, where, Supporting and supported, polish'd Friends, And dear realations mingle into Bliss. But this the rugged Savage never felt, Even desolate in crowds; and thus his days Roll'd heavy, dark, and unenjoy'd along: A)
Beilage, Heft 6r	A waste of time! till Industry approach'd, And rous'd him from his miserable Sloth: His faculties unfolded; pointed out, Where lavish Nature the directing hand Of Art demanded: show'd him how to rouse His feeble force by the mechanic powers, To dig the mineral from the vaulted Earth, Or what to turn the piercing rage of Fire, Or what the torrent, and the gather'd blast; Gave the tall ancient forest to his ax; Taught him to chip the wood, and how the stone, Till by degrees the finish'd fabric rose;

	<p>Tore from his limbs the blood-polluted fur, And wrapt them in the woolly vestment warm, Or bright in glossy silk, or flowing lawn; With wholesome viands fill'd his table, pour'd The generous glass around, inspir'd to wake the Life-refining Soul of decent wit: Nor stopp'd at Barren, bare necessity; But still advancing bolder, led him on, To pomp, to pleasure, elegance, and grace; And breathing high ambition thro his Soul, Set Science, wisdom, glory, in his view, And bad him be the Lord of all below.</p> <hr/> <p>From Thomsons Summer Let no presuming inpious railer tax Creative Wisdom, as if ought was form'd In/</p>
<p>Beilage, Heft 6v</p>	<p>In vain, or not for admirable ends. Shall haughty little ignorance pronounce His works unwise, of which the smallest part Exceeds the narrow vision of her mind? As if upon a full proportion'd dome, On swelling columns heav'd, the pride of Art! A eritic fly, whose feeble ray scarce spreads An inch around, with blind presumption bold, Should dare to tax the Structure of the whole. And lives the Man, whose universal eye Has swept at once th'unbounded Scheme of things; Mark'd their dependance so, and firm accord; As (with) with unflinching accent to conclude That <u>This</u> availeth not? Has any seen The mighty Chain of Beings, lessening down From Infinite Perfection to the brink Of dreary nothing, desolate abyss! From which astonish'd thought, recoiling, turns? Till then let zealous praise ascend, And hymns of holy wonder, to that Power, Whose wisdom shines as lovely on our Minds, As on our smiling eyes his Servant-Sun.</p> <hr/> <p>A Humn to close the Seasons These, as they change, Almighty Father these, Are but the varied God. The rolling year.</p>

	<p>Is full of Thee - forth in the pleasing Spring Thy beauty walks, Thy tenderness and love. Wide flush the fields, the softening air is balm; Echo the Mountains round; the forest smiles; And every sense, and every heart is Joy. Then)</p>
<p>Beilage, Heft 7r</p>	<p>Then comes Thy glory in the Summer Months, With ligh and heat refulgent. Then Thy Sun Shoots full perfection thru the swelling year. And oft Thy voice in dreadfull thunder speaks; And oft at dawn, deep noon or falling eve, By Brooks and groves, in hollow wispering gales. Thy bounty shines in Autumn unconfin'd, And spreads a common feast for all that leaves. In winter awfull Thou! with clouds and storms Around Thee thrown, tempest over tempest roll'd, Majestic darkness! on the whirlwind's wing, Riding sublime, Thou bidst the World adore, And humblest Nature with Thy northern blast.</p> <p>Mysterious round! what Skill, what force divine; Deep felt in these appear! a simple train, Yet so delightfull mix'd, with such kind art, Shall unperceiv'd, so softening into Shade; Such beauty and beneficence combin'd; And all so forming a harmonious whole; That, as they still succeed, they ravish still. But wondering oft, with brute unconscious gaze, Man marks not Thee, marks not the mighty hand, That, ever busy, wheels the silent spheres; Works in the secret deep; shoots, steaming, thence The fair profusion that overspreads the Spring: Flings from the Sun direct the flaming day; Feeds every creature; hurls the tempest forth; And, as on earth this gratefull change revolves; With transport touches all the springs of Life.</p> <p>Nature, attend! join every living Soul, Beneath the spacious temple of the Sky, In adoration join; and ardent raise One)</p>
<p>Beilage, Heft 7v</p>	<p>One general Song! To Him ye vocal gales Breathe soft, whose Spirit in your freshness breathes: Oh! talk of HIm in solitary glooms! Where o'er the rock, the scarcely waving pine</p>

	<p>Fills the brown shade with a religious awe. And ye, whose bolder note is heard afar, Who shake th'astonish'd world, lift high to Heaven Th'impetuous song, and say from whom you rage. His praise, ye brooks, attune, ye trembling rills; And let me catch it as I muse along. Ye headlong torrents, refeed, and profound; Ye softer fountains, that lead the humid maze Along the vale; and thou majestic Man, A Secret world of wonders in thyself, Sound His stupendous praise; whose greater voice Or bids you roar, or bids your roarings fall, Soft roll your incense, herbs, ^^^ ^&^ fruits and flowers In mingl'd clouds to Him; whose Sun exalts, Whose breath pærfumes you, and whose pencil paints. Ye forests bend, ye harvests wave to Him; Breathe your still song into the reapers heart As home he goes beneath the joyous moon. Ye that keep watch in Heaven, as Earth asleep Unconscious lies effuse your mildest beams, Ye constellations, while your angels strike, Amid the spangled Sky, the silver Lyre. Great Source of day! best image here below Of thy Creator, ever pouring wide, From world to world, the vital ocean round, On Nature write with every beam His praise. The Thunder rolls: be hush'd the prostrate world; While cloud to cloud returns the solemn hymn. Bleat)</p>
<p>Beilage, Heft 8r</p>	<p>Bleat out afresh, ye hills: ye mossy rocks, Retain the sound: the broad responsive love, Ye valleys, raise; for the Great Shepherd reigns; And ^^^ ^his^ unsuffering kingdom yet will come. Ye woodlands all, awake: a boundless song Burst from the groves ! and when the restless day, Expiring, lays the warbling world asleep, Sweetest of birds! sweet Philomela charm The listening shades, and teach the night His praise. Ye chief, for whom the whole Creation smiles; At once the head, the heart, and tongue of all, Crown the great Hymn ! in swarming Cities vast, Assembled Men, to the deep organ join The long-resounding voice, oft breaking clear, At solemn pauses, thro the swelling bare; And, as each mingling flame increases each,</p>

	<p>In one united ardor rise to Heaven. Or if you reather chuse the rural Shade, And find a fame in every sacred grove; There let the Shepherd's flute, the virgins lay, The prompting Seraph, and the poets lyre, Still sing the God of Seasons as they roll. For me, when I forget the darling theme, Whether the blossom blows, the Summer ray Russets the plain, inspiring Autumn gleams; Or Winter rises in the blackening east; Be any tongue mute, may fancy paint no more, And, dead to Joy, forget my heart to beat! Should/</p>
<p>Beilage, Heft 8v</p>	<p>Should fate command me to the farthest verge Of the green earth, to distant barbarous climes, Rivers unknown to Song; where first the Sun Gilds Indian Mountains, or his setting beam Flames on th'Atlantic Isles; 'tis nought to me: Since God is ever present, ever flet, In the void waste as in the city full; And where He vital spreads there must be joy. When even at last the solemn hour shall come, And wing my mystic flight to future worlds, I chearfull will obey; there with new powers, Will rising wonders Sing: I cannot go Where Universal Love not smiles around, Sustaining all yon orbs and all their Sons; From seeming Evil still educing Good, And Better thence again, and Better still, In infinite progression. _____But I lose Myself in Him, in Light Ineffable! Come then expressive Silence muse His praise</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Wrote out for Fräulein Charlotte von Lengefeld by Henry Heron .</p> <hr/>

GSA 85/1759 Heron
The Translation Project Document

This document is unique in the collection of correspondence. It is a record of how Charlotte Schiller and Henry Heron were working together in a collaborative translation project. Translating from the original German to English would be easier and more comprehensive with both a native German and a native English speaker working together. The amount of time the careful layout of this document required further indicates the amount of time the pair spent working on their translation project.

This document is made of a large sheet of paper that is folded so that the first "page" is on the front and pages 2 and 3 are interior to the fold and lay parallel to each other when the document is opened. These pages are not numbered in the original; however, for ease of discussion I have attributed page numbers following this design. The document does not have lines to delineate the columns but uses blank space to do this; for the purpose of this transcription, however, I have formatted the columns with lines to make them clearer for the reader. Each page has column headings of "Remarks", "Mine", and "Yours" and has the text carefully laid out so that each row of text across all three columns is connected in content. This means, for example, that the Remarks column has smaller handwriting with less space between lines to achieve this organizational effect. Unfortunately, the shifting of size and space that is an element making this letter stand out in a unique fashion is quite difficult to achieve in the formatting of a digital transcription. I have made efforts to render this digital transcription as close to the original as possible.

Note that underlined words are underlined in the original. A difficult thing to transcribe is the numbers used to identify words and sections. When the number is above the line of text I have indicated its placement using [^], i.e. the line is ^{^on top^} here, where the words "on top" would be spatially above the words "is" and "here." For numbers or notation under the line, I have indicated this using the subscripted _^ like this _^ so that it is consistent and visually suggestive.

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Remarks	mine	The Rose Yours
<p>X The english in allmost all cases translate the german in phrases formed with sein by taking the german accusative which governs the verb making it an English nominative and with the different tenses of the verb to be and the participle past of the german verb - ex man nennt mich - I am called <u>The French is in the same manner</u></p> <p>2. in asking a question in the <u>present</u> time we generally use the verb do join'd to an infinitive - ex - "make I .~" "do I make~".. but "make I" is no fault-only- "do I make is more easy and unconstrained.-</p> <p>3. Self is only us'd joind with</p> <p>4. myself - itself - herself - your-self and the like - and in such phrases "he speaks much from^{of} self. That is he is a great egotist spekaing about himself</p> <hr/> <p>4) We use our particles much, such as - singing saying, loving, doing - to make an action done in a mention'd determin'd Tense of "why do I hear you always saying and singing"--when do I hear you? -always-had the time not been mention'd-then-sing + say were proper.-/5. we have not the freedom like the Germans to put a great many qualifying words before a Substantive . _____</p> <p>6) The english also signifies auch in german. --7) Schon, <u>here</u> has only been to make up the verse and has no meaning in the english</p> <p>8) we cannot say the Beauty of you - but your Beauty --9)To tell signifies often in german erzählen - ex he told me a story - er erzählte mir eine Geschichte- when it cannot be translated by erzählen, then have to Tell and to say the same signification _____</p> <p>10) <u>little</u> here in english does not make out the sense and it is but seldom that we can use our adjectives substantively</p> <hr/>	<p>I see all the flowers - <u>around me</u> decay and - die. and yet I am called always the decaying momentary Rose. ungrate - full Man!</p> <p>^{^2^} do not I make my short <u>existence</u> agreeable enough to you? and ^{^3^} even after my death I prepare you a tomb of sweet odours <u>Balsams</u> and medicines <u>full of power</u> --</p> <p>And why <u>do</u> I hear you always Singing <u>and Saying</u> - alas the decaying Rose ^{^5^} easy to be broke _____</p> <p>^{^6^} Thus lamented the queen of flowers upon her Throne^{^^} ^{^7^} in the first feel of ^{^8^} her own decaying Beauty. ---</p> <p>A maid <u>standing(or who stood)</u> by her, heard her <u>lamentation</u> and ^{^9^} said-</p> <p>Be not angry sweet ^{^10^} little Rose and call not <u>Ungratefulness(or ingratitude)</u> what is no other thing. <u>but</u> higher love the desire of a a tender inclination _____</p>	<p>I see all the flowers <u>round by me</u> decay and die, and <u>humor</u> ^{^x^} ones called me always the decaying, momentary Rose - ungratefull Man!</p> <p>^{^2^} make I <u>you</u> not my short <u>being</u> agreeable enough? and ^{^3^} self after my death I prepare you a tomb of sweet odours. <u>Salves</u> and medicines <u>ful force</u> -</p> <p>And why ^{^^}hear I you Always ^{^4^} Sing and say alas the decaying the ^{^5^} easy to breakd Rose. ^{^6^} Also lamented the queen of flowers upon her Throne, (^{^7^} already) in first Sensation from the decaying beauty ^{^8^} of herself</p> <p>A maid <u>stood</u> by her heard her <u>laments</u> and ^{^9^} told --</p> <p>Be not angry sweet ^{^10^} little and call not <u>ingratefullness</u> hWhat is no other thing <u>as</u> higher love, the desire of a tender inclination</p>

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Yours	mine	Remarks
<p>all the flowers we see, die and take the fate of their^{her} Nature but ^{2^}thee <u>her</u> Queen thou ^{3^}lonely we desire and believe worth of immortality- when we sees us <u>dispis'd</u> in our Wishes so let us ^{the}lament <u>with</u> which we lament in thee ourself- Beauty Youth, Joy all that compare we to thee and as they <u>shed</u> their blossoms like thee, so sing and say we always the decaying the <u>easy break ing</u> rose</p>	<p>all the flowers we see, die and take the fate of <u>their</u> Nature but ^{2^}thou ^{1^}<u>their</u> Queen thou ^{3^}alone we desire and believe, worth (or worthy of) Immortality. when we see <u>ourselves</u> <u>deceived</u> ^(or mistaken) in our wishes so <u>allow</u> us the <u>lamentation</u> by which we lament ourselves in thee- Beauty, Youth Joy, all that <u>we compare</u> to thee and as these <u>scatter</u> their blossoms like thee so do we always Sing and say, the decaying Rose, <u>easily broken</u>. -----</p>	<p>1) ihr in singular when speaking of a Woman is <u>her</u> when speaking of inanimate beings is <u>it</u>- ihr in plural is always <u>their</u> 2) thou is Du, Dich is thee) ^{3^}allein is alone, lonely is einsam)</p>

Of Friendship

<p>^{1^}Ones cannot flatter <u>himself</u> to obtain a perfect Friend_ We muss pay without doubts the Tribut of human ^{2^}<u>fragility</u> - but if the heart is good <u>weakness</u> of humor is pardonable It is so sweet to spread a generous Veil ^{4^}<u>o'er</u> the faults of our friends and to ^{5^}<u>embellish</u> th'object of our Affection</p>	<p>^{21^}We cannot flatter <u>ourselves</u> to obtain a perfect friend. We must pay without doubt the tribute of human ^{2^}<u>frailty</u>, but if the heart be good ^{3^}<u>Weaknesses</u> of the mind huour <u>are</u> pardonable It is so sweet to spread a generous veil ^{4^}<u>over</u> the faults of our friends and ^{5^}<u>to please</u> the object of our affection <u>in the most advantageous light</u></p>	<p>^{1^}We might likeways say-(One cannot flatter <u>oneself</u>) but as what follows ge is continued in the first person plural <u>we</u> it is better to begin with it in english - it observe that one must have oneself for relative - <u>he</u> - himself - <u>we</u> <u>ourselves</u> ----- ^{2^}fragility gives one the idea of something easily broke-such as glass-<u>frailty</u> what is imperfect- so you might have said- <u>human imperfectness</u> --- 3)to write weakness here in the plural makes the sense compleativ - the verb must of course be in the plurill ___ 4)o'er is rather a practical word or used in prose to give the period a harmonious turn. 5)embellish here is quite a french idiom, and made use of in the ^{1^}s sentence in english gives the phrase rather a weak and unnatural appearance -</p>
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Page 3, GSA 85/1759 The Translation Project Document

Remarks	mine	Yours
<p>1) 'pouvoir' is in the infinitive – “to be able” in english - but je puis – I am able or I am, -</p> <p>2) see the remark at the beginning with regard to wen- and on - "on ¹ a ² <u>représenté</u> l'amitié ³ - Friendship ³ has ¹ been represented ²</p> <hr/> <p>3) <u>these</u> is plural and the plural of <u>that</u> whose is plural <u>of this</u> observe that we say that or those for an object or objects which is or are distant and <u>this</u> and <u>these</u> for things near hand -</p> <p>*It were better to say here "what is Friendship without being tried by Unhappiness" - because- "what is friendship without ^{un}happiness" is a french declamation signifying not a great deal --</p> <p>5) happiness is Glückseligkeit- and in english belongs more to the mind than to express the being in fortunate circumstances in the world - which is here meant -</p> <hr/> <p>6) "which" is only relative to animals and things - <u>who</u> - to persons. -</p> <hr/> <p>7) It would be better to say_ But to be profes'd of Love enough- than to <u>believe oneself</u> appears as if it was doubtful---8) <u>lut</u> is not an english word but the french lutes __</p> <hr/> <p>9) this is a french false sublime, intended to please the ear without either touching the heart or ^{addressing} <u>supposing</u> ^{the} understanding-</p> <hr/> <p>10) this is likewise a child of the same family - grand es auguste - are effects to applied to heroic ^{actions} <u>feelings</u> is of valour, glory, Patriotism - but friendship being a <u>feeling</u> of the most tender and soft kind ^{is} and only be justly described by suitable epithets _____</p>	<p>how sweet is it ¹ <u>to be able</u> to Serve him profitably <u>to drain from</u> the ground of his heart the confession of <u>want</u> and to contribute <u>to</u> his guiltless pleasures – ² Friendship has been <u>represented</u> under the emblem of a woman <u>laying</u> one hand on her heart and with the other embracing a leafless tree_ How pathetic is ³ <u>this</u> image. What is Friendship without ^{un}happiness what is virtue without proof nothing is more common <u>than</u> to be caref's'd in ⁵ <u>good Fortune</u> – Earth is cover'd with flatterers ⁶ <u>who</u> sell their Friendship <u>to</u> all who will purchase it – but ^{to} ⁷ <u>believe oneself</u> to profess force enough <u>to</u> ⁸ <u>struggle</u> against the adversity of a Friend, <u>to remain</u> true in all his disgraces <u>to be able</u> <u>to turn ones back</u> on the Multitude to come and console a being forsaken <u>by</u> Nature ⁸, <u>Man-kind</u> - <u>this</u> renders Friendship of all human ² <u>feelings</u> the most <u>aimiable and delightfull</u> ---</p>	<p>how sweet its ¹ <u>to can</u> swerve him profitably <u>to deliver of</u> the ground of ^{his} heart the confession of <u>need</u> - and to contribute by his guiltless pleasures ² <u>One</u> has represented Friendship under the emblem from a Woman <u>that</u> laying one hand to her heart and with the other embracing a leafless Tree_ How pathetic is ³ <u>those</u> image What is Friendship with unhappiness what is virtue without proof. nothing is more common <u>as</u> to be caress'd in ⁵ <u>happiness</u> Earth is cover'd with flatterers ⁶ <u>which</u> sells their Friendship <u>on</u> all who will purchase it But ⁷ <u>to believe himself</u> to possess Force enough <u>to</u> ⁸ <u>but</u> against the adversity of a friend to <u>suffice</u> true in all his disgraces <u>and can tounring back</u> from the Multitude to come and console a being forsaken <u>from</u> ⁹ <u>Nature</u>- here is what Friendship render'd <u>from</u> all the <u>sensation of Man</u> the most great and august</p>

Nr.4, o.D., "Jena, Mittwoch frühe"

1r-1	Perhaps you are thinking that I have met your wishes halfway. and you are recjoicing in the idea that you my patience is quite wore out. I hear you Saying, now it is clear that these men are made out of the same clay as we and they are as easily put out of their way with trifles as any Miss among us all - you must not however sing Te deum till you be certain the victory is won - . neither suppose that the weakness of one can be a proof that all are so - I grant you your remark is not altogether without reason. but in the present circumstances I assure you it is of very little strength, then my patience is not wore out but in as full force as ever, tho' I can chaim-ms mint from this as it has never been tried-how could you imagine that your letter, a letter too so flattering for me, could ever appear tiresome or that I could have reason to exert my patience in the enjoyment of a pleasure-
1r-2	schaeben Sie es aber meinen Hochlässigkeit je nicht zu
2v-1	daß ich Ihnen Breif mich eher gemeinschaft habe - Die worigen Wahe besuchte der Herzog die Universität und ich muste mit ihn wieder nach Weimar gehen dort besuchte ich einige Tage mit weil Wergnügen zu und bin nast rin woarijne Sonntag hinn zurück. I would not at present trouble you with this were it not to express my obligation for your last obliging favour. as I think to morrow- am at all weeks after to morrow if no unforeseen accident prevents me I shall have the pleasure of seeing you in person & of expressing tho' very imperfectly the idea I entertain of the ¥Easy condescension you have been so good to shew me-
2v-2	Ihre schöne Gegend weil sich geneiß jzt sicher gut ausanhemmen und ich weoszeihe nicht weil Veerungen in dem Ihnen wird von meinen Beide erzählen, es ist ich wersahne Sie wird sahe umsanihtborne Gegenstand. Denn meine Reise haben mich ein in so ein schlechtes Land als Schottland
3r-1	hagefehaet aber auch muß ich soger ich habe kein krank gesehen das mir so linl und ich ziehe die große kahle Burge meines armen Worterbuches dem schönsten Paradies in Italien vor - doch von dießen naehe wenn neu und schen- indießen bitte ich einen Briefte £Empfahlungne am Ihre Schoenstes und ihren Wissnes Gemahl. Glauben D\$Sie daß ich mit der grösten hochachtung bin -
3r-2	Ihr ergebenster Diener H. Heron Jena Mittwoche frühe

Appendix C

Material Regarding the Question: Who was Henry Heron?

Determining the social and cultural background of Henry Heron included verifying his rank and acclaimed military engagement in the American War of Independence by means of records in The National Archives of the United Kingdom, as naval training and rank shaped the cultural development of British seamen. Rigorous verification is important for validating his identity and his reputed claims in Weimar, and, as will be explained more in depth in later sections, scrutiny is also relevant to his place in the intellectual circle of Weimar and the Rudolstadt court, and to his significance as a visiting foreigner.

A survey of the resources at the Anna Amalia Bibliothek reveals a string of inconsistencies in references to Henry Heron (see Table I). Düntzer¹⁹² and Unbehaun list Heron as English, or at least an English officer, whereas Ulrichs¹⁹³, Kiene¹⁹⁴, and Pailer¹⁹⁵ state that Heron is Scottish. The nineteenth-century publications list his rank as "Capitän" and the twentieth-century publications use the updated German "Kapitän;" the twenty-first-century publications ignore the rank or change it to a phonetically Anglicized variation. In addition, these sources vary in their designation of Heron and Schiller's relationship: Düntzer, Kiene, and Pailer indicate a close relationship, whereas the other

¹⁹² Düntzer, Heinrich, ed. *Briefe von Schiller's Gattin an einen vertrauten Freund*. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1856.

¹⁹³ Ulrichs, Ludwig, Ed. *Charlotte von Schiller und ihre Freunde*. 3 Bde. Stuttgart: Cotta 1860-1865.

¹⁹⁴ Hansjoachim Kiene. *Schillers Lotte: Porträt einer Frau in ihrer Welt*. Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag GmbH, 1984.

¹⁹⁵ Pailer, *Leben und Schreiben*, 39.

publications indicate an acquaintanceship. These discrepancies between publications are all the more intriguing when one considers that they continue to reference the previously published works; in other words, the scholarship continued to build upon itself without noting an inconsistency to the reader. Even this brief survey reveals noteworthy shifts in presentation of the Schiller-Heron correspondence: note that from Conradi-Bleibtreu's 1981 reference of Heron as "Freund Charlotte von Lengefelds,"¹⁹⁶ Kiene's 1984 biography refers to Heron as "Lottes erste, große Liebe."¹⁹⁷ As this difference coincides with the different person of focus (Friedrich Schiller versus Charlotte Schiller), this notable shift in description generates questions about Heron and about the rigor of scholarship regarding him and the meaning of his stay in Weimar.

Table I Survey of Henry Heron as Mentioned in Published Resource Material

Quote	Source	Year Published
"Dieser englische Capitän hatte sich mit dem Lord Inverary und einem Herrn Ritchey in den Jahren 1786 und 1787 zu Jena aufgehalten, wo sie bei Griesbach wohnten. er ist wol der „gar gute“ Engländer, den Charlotte von Lengefeld in Weimar kennen lernte, wie sie am 7. März 1787 an ihren Vetter schreibt, und der ihr Pope's Werke lieh. Heron's Brief an Knebel folgt im Anhang" (27).	Footnote to Knebel's letter to Charlotte Schiller dated July 3, 1788 in Düntzer, <i>Briefe von Schiller's Gattin an einen vertrauten Freund.</i>	1856
"Die Bekanntschaft dieses Schottischen, am herzoglichen Hofe gerne gesehene[n] Officiers (Bd. I. S. 418), hatte Charlotte im Februar 1787 in Weimar gemacht oder erneuert. Er schrieb sich am 20. Februar in ihr Stammbuch	Chapter "1: Capitän Henry Heron" in Ulrichs, <i>Charlotte von Schiller und ihre Freunde.</i>	1865

¹⁹⁶ Ellen Conradi-Bleibtreu. *Die Schillers: Der Dichter und seine Familie: Leben, Lieben, Leiden in einer Epoche der Umwälzungen.* (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1986), 146.

¹⁹⁷ Kiene, 312.

ein. Heron, der in Jena in dem Griesbach'schen Hause wohnte, schrieb zuerst am 2. März und zuletzt am 2. August von Rotterdam, im Begriff sich nach England einzuschiffen, von wo er nach Ostindien ging. Ein Brief aus Madras an Knebel vom April oder Mai 1788 (Briefe von Schillers Gattin S. 557), war sein letztes Lebenszeichen" (141).	Bd 2.	
"Heron, Kapitän, Freund Charlotte von Lengefelds, später Militäraufbahn in Ostindien" (146).	Listed in Personenregister in Conradi-Bleibtreu, Ellen. <i>Im Schatten des Genius: Schillers Familie im Rheinland.</i> Münster: Aschendorffische Buchdruckerei, 1981.	1981
"Heron, schottischer Kapitän, jüngerer Bruder des Lords Inverary, Lottes erste, große Liebe"(312). Also mentioned on pages 27, 28, 29, 30, 70, 72, 109, 121.	Kiene, <i>Schillers Lotte</i>	1984
"Heron, Kapitän, Militärtaufbahn in Ostindien" (199). Also mentioned on pages 63-64.	Listed in Personenregister in Conradi-Bleibtreu, <i>Die Schillers: Der Dichter und seine Familie: Leben, Lieben, Leiden in einer Epoche der Umwälzungen.</i> Münster: Aschendorffische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1986.	1986
Heron, p. 241	Lahnstein, Peter. (Neuausgabe 1990) <i>Schillers Leben: Biographie.</i> München: Paul List Verlag, 1990. Neuausgabe. Print.	1990
Heron, p. 236 under "Personenverzeichnis": "Heron, Henry, Schotte in Weimar, 125 ff., 139". Also mentioned in pages 139-148 in chapter "Volkstedter Sommer"	Werner, Charlotte M. <i>Friedrich Schiller und seine Leidenschaften.</i> Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag DmH, 2004.	2004
"Bei dem Engländer handelt es sich, präziser gesagt, um einen Schotten: Captain Henry Heron, ein Offizier, der bereits im	Pailer, <i>Leben und Schreiben</i>	2009

Amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskrieg gedient haben soll und der zusammen mit seinem älteren Bruder, Lord Invernary, durch Knebel in die Gesellschaft um Frau von Stein eingeführt wird," 39-40.		
"Heron, Henry, englischer Offizier" pages 39, 117, 118, 119, 120, 159, 259. "...verblasste die Erinnerung Charlotte von Lengefelds an den englischen Offizier Henry Heron, der noch im Sommer 1787 in Rudolstadt der Zwanzig-jährigen seine Liebe gestanden ¹⁹⁸ hatte, aber kurz darauf nach Ostindien abkommandiert worden war" (117).	Lutz Unbehaun, <i>Schillers Heimliche Liebe: Der Dichter in Rudolstadt</i> . Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2009.	2009

In order to construct a substantiated identity of Henry Heron it is therefore not only prudent to return to the archival documents, but to verify his identity with corroborating sources from his homeland. No matter how trustworthy the Prince, Goethe, or Knebel were, they only knew what was presented to them. Verifying Heron's identity, rank, and military service is therefore necessary to dispel contradictions between previous scholars and to provide a rigorously established identity for future research. For example, a Scotsman serving in the Royal Navy would potentially be identified as both a Scot and as a British (English) sailor by his foreign acquaintances. However, a Scotsman who served in the American Navy would possibly be similarly identified when in Europe during the period immediately after the war, as recognition of the new nation was not instantaneous on the continent. Given the number of mercenaries and soldiers who switched sides during the American War of Independence, identifying Henry Heron will provide information to add to a clearer understanding of how he fit into Weimar society and to gain increased insight into his intimate friendship with Charlotte Schiller.

¹⁹⁸ As Unbehaun does not provide a footnote or source for this claim and as a written account of a declaration of love is not in the archive materials Unbehaun cites, this claim is surprising and appears unsubstantiated at this time.

a. Identifying Heron

In an effort to identify Henry Heron for this thesis, I initially consulted the public records of Britain through the website of The National Archive which has access to digitized copies of *The London Gazette*, the official publication of the public records during the nineteenth century, as well as access to some wills, probates, and other such documents. A will of Henry Heron from Saint Mary Lambeth, Surrey dated February 16, 1796¹⁹⁹ appeared to be a potential source for identification; upon viewing as much of the document as is possible online, however, permits an analysis of the signature that quickly indicates that this is not the same Henry Heron as the "r" is written entirely differently from the consistent manner of Capt. Henry Heron, as is the angle and curvature of the letter "e," indicating that this is not the same person. The same identifying characters are not a match on a will listed from April 28, 1760 as the "will of Henry Heron, Gentleman of Saint Marylebone, Middlesex"²⁰⁰ A challenge of working with material from The National Archives is that the institution does not hold birth, marriage or death certificates²⁰¹. In order to access these documents, they must be sourced through the parish in which they were created. Without knowledge of Heron's family parish or date of birth it is quite challenging to identify the location of these important identifying documents.

¹⁹⁹ PROB 11/1271/181. The National Archives, accessed online July 2015, <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/D321757#imageViewerLink>

²⁰⁰ PROB 11/855/285. The National Archives, accessed online July 2015, <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/D470573#imageViewerLink>

²⁰¹ The National Archives. "What records we hold." accessed online July 2015, <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/about/visit-us/researching-here/what-records-we-hold/>

b. Heron's Family

Schiller's family and daily life were part of the social landscape of Schiller and Heron's relationship and correspondence; Heron's family, however, not only shaped his opportunities prior to his time in Weimar, but also shaped his welcome into the circles of the Weimar elite. Despite the magnitude of influence of family status and connections on social acceptance and interactions, little is known and even less is verified about Heron's family. Kiene lists Heron in his discussion of Knebel's unsuccessful interest in Charlotte Schiller: "Der Major von Knebel bemühte sich noch immer hartnäckig um das Fräulein von Lengefeld; obwohl er längst die Aussichtslosigkeit seiner Avancen hätte bemerken müssen, war ausgerechnet er es, in dessen Gefolge den Damen zwei Schotten vorgestellt wurden: Lord Invernary und dessen jüngerer Bruder, Kapitän Heron"²⁰². Kiene does not confirm Heron's identity or the first name of his alleged older brother. Kiene simply references a brother, Lord Invernary. As there is no "Invernary" in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, this must be a misspelling and refer to the lord of Inveraray castle in Scotland. The Inveraray estate is historically and currently ruled by the Campbell clan, and the contemporary lord was John, 5th Duke of Argyll (1723-1806), but there is no younger brother listed on the official public family tree, as the public family tree only follows the official inheriting offspring and spouses²⁰³. According to the official family website, he obtained the title and inheritance in 1770²⁰⁴. John the 5th duke was a skilled

²⁰² Hansjoachim Kiene. *Schillers Lotte: Porträt einer Frau in ihrer Welt*. Frankfurt am Main: Droste, 1996, 27.

²⁰³ Inveraray Castle. "Campbell Family Tree." 2016. Accessed June 20, 2016. <http://www.inveraray-castle.com/klan-campbell/the-campbell-family-tree>

²⁰⁴ Inveraray Castle. "Clan Campbell Timeline." Accessed July 5, 2015. <http://www.inveraray-castle.com/klan-campbell-timeline.html>

soldier²⁰⁵ and he was the commanding officer of the 1st Regiment of Foot during the American War of Independence. Personal correspondence with Inveraray castle indicated that no Duke of Argyll ever visited Weimar, Germany, however²⁰⁶. It is possible that the Lord Inveraray was not the ruling duke himself and even not necessarily the heir apparent, but another lord *of* Inveraray; in part due to the many different names a single Scottish or English nobleman carried, identifying Henry Heron's lineage requires further research. Heron's family connections and upbringing affect any analysis of his reception at the Rudolstadt and Weimar Court, as welcoming an aristocratic peer is quite different than giving that same welcome to a person of lesser peerage.

c. Heron's Military Service

Verifying Henry Heron's military record served three purposes: firstly, to provide documented evidence to support his identity; secondly, to document and substantiate the claims made regarding his participation in the American War of Independence; and thirdly, to note that such documentation and verification of claims serves to verify Heron's character as an honest gentleman. One challenge in identifying Captain Henry Heron is that the British public records only list British military and do not include Merchant Marines or private sailing companies. Another issue, as seen in the records of Henry Heron below, is that the changing of regiments and the signing of new commissions potentially altered the rank of the soldier. The translation of rank across languages also has the possibility to further complicate matters; the rank "Capitän"/"Kapitän," for example, in German can refer to a Germanized form of the English

²⁰⁵ Inveraray Castle. "Campbell Family." Accessed July 3, 2015. <http://www.inveraray-castle.com/campbell-family.html>

²⁰⁶ Argyll Estates. Inveraray Castle Archives. Email. Personal correspondence with author. December 22, 2015.

"Captain" or translation of the rank of Lieutenant from French or English into the actual rank equivalent in German²⁰⁷. Since the naval ranks of Captain, Commander, and Lieutenant-Commander are all various forms of *Capitaine* in French, and given that French was the common language in Europe in the day, this makes knowledge of the actual rank difficult to confirm. Although Henry Heron lists his name in English as "Capt. Heron" in his forwarding address in his last direct letter to Charlotte Schiller²⁰⁸, which makes it possible that he was a Captain in the English sense of the word at the time of his stay in Weimar, it is equally probable that he was using the abbreviated universal title *Capitaine* for his letters from abroad. Therefore, as there is no available public record to provide historic documentation of the captaincy of Henry Heron, then unless this captaincy was as a member of a merchant company, as private commissions were not listed in the published public record, it is likely that the use of *Capt.* corresponds with contemporary international norms of naval rank in foreign countries. To make matters even more complicated, although the actual rank of captain was difficult to obtain in the Royal Navy, a Commander (also *capitaine* in French) was the officer in charge of a ship; a Post Captain was also 'Master and Commander' of a vessel²⁰⁹. It was not uncommon for battle-proven First Lieutenants to serve as Commander without this being signified by a rank; regarding this practice, Lewis writes, "every 'promotion' had been bound tight to a definite 'appointment'. No officer had been 'promoted commander' -- i.e. given Commander's rank as such. He had always been 'appointed Commander of' a named

²⁰⁷ Discussion during Überlieferung und Geschlecht: Probleme der Briefedition. Internationaler Workshop Masterstudiengang Editionswissenschaft. Institut für Deutsche und Niederländische Philologie, Freie Universität Berlin, 26-27 Jun. 2015.

²⁰⁸ GSA 83/1759

²⁰⁹ Michael Lewis. *A Social History of the Navy 1793 - 1815*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1960, 193-194.

ship, the operative document being a 'commission to act as Commander of'. In a word, the term 'Commander' signified a post: it was not a *rank*" and this practice continued "up to May 1795"²¹⁰. Lieutenants were directly below the captain and shared the higher end of the ship hierarchy as commissioned officers and the privilege of ship social status of the Quarter-deck, lieutenants enjoyed their own cabins and often dined at table with the captain.²¹¹ While a capable and intelligent man of bourgeois origin could aspire to the rank of lieutenant or the post of a commander, the actual rank of captain was still more or less reserved for the aristocracy. Whether he was a captain or lieutenant, Heron was clearly a commanding officer of the navy with significant experience to enthrall an audience asking about the American War of Independence and establish a worthy reputation amidst the elite in a salon environment. The rank of lieutenant, however, was likely insufficient to gain acceptance within the court of a duke or prince; therefore, Heron's military rank indicates that either his family social rank was significant (as indicated by the statement that his brother was Lord Inveraray) or that the Rudolstadt and Weimar courts were significantly egalitarian.

Official public records of British military promotion and assignment were published by Authority in the official crown publication *The London Gazette*²¹². An entry from the War Office, dated January 20, 1778, lists promotions from the 40th Regiment of Foot, including: "Henry Heron, Gent. to be Ensign, vice John Campbell"²¹³. It is interesting here that Heron is listed as replacing a Campbell as Ensign upon John

²¹⁰ Ibid, 194.

²¹¹ Ibid, 228-240.

²¹² Authority. "A history of The Gazette." *The London Gazette* online. Accessed June 27, 2016. <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/history>

²¹³ Authority. *The London Gazette*, Numb. 11842. January 20, 1778. Accessed June 28, 2016. <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/11842/page/1>

Campbell's promotion to lieutenant²¹⁴, as this is a further documented connection with Inveraray Castle and its family. July 25, 1778 lists Henry Heron as an ensign to be promoted to lieutenant of the 40th Foot²¹⁵.

The 40th Regiment of Foot is an infamous British regiment considered noteworthy in the history of the American War of Independence for both its military fortitude and the diverse origins of its soldiers. The combination of soldiers that included not only Scottish, Irish, British, but also Hessian soldiers provided Heron an opportunity to practice the German language. Heron's membership in this regiment provides a personal background upon which his openness and spirit of internationalism can be understood. The 40th of Foot was instrumental in defeating the Continental Army at the Battle of Brandywine September 11, 1777 as part of the 2nd Brigade under the leadership of General Sir William Howe²¹⁶, 5th Viscount Howe and also participated in the October 1777 Battle of Germantown and the October 1778 Battle of St Lucia in the West Indies.²¹⁷ This information adds to Schiller's later comment in her letter to Knebel²¹⁸ regarding her uncertainty of whether Heron left to the East or West Indies as she would have recalled Heron mentioning both. The reputation of the 40th as extremely disciplined soldiers was in part due to their commanding Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Musgrave, who was stringent about newly arrived recruits for the 40th exercising daily until "perfect in

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Authority. *The London Gazette*, Numb.11894. July 21, 1778. Accessed June 28, 2016. <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/11894/page/1>

²¹⁶ Matthew H. Spring. *With Zeal and with Bayonets Only: The British Army on Campaign in North America, 1775 - 1783*. Ed. Gregory J.W. Urwin. *Volume 19, Campaigns and Commanders Series*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008, 304.

²¹⁷ Spring, *With Zeal*; and David Syrett. *The Royal Navy in American Waters 1775-1783*. Scholar Press: Brookfield, VT, 1989, 92, 113-118.

²¹⁸ Charlotte Schiller to Karl Ludwig von Knebel, March 6, 1804. In: Pailer, *Leben und Schreiben*, 47.

the rudiments of drill"²¹⁹. A difficulty in military history is that the battles are often listed in regards to the highest commanding officer rather than individual regiments; moreover, as a Regiment of Foot was not assigned to a Captain or a ship this further complicates tracing their movements. Even if Heron himself had not seen the Battle of Bunker Hill²²⁰, he undoubtedly fought alongside others who had done so during his battles under Howe. Heron's participation and advancement in such a distinguished regiment supports the respect and awe communicated about his service during the war by those amongst his Weimar circle as well as his jokingly comparing himself to Hercules in a letter to Charlotte Schiller²²¹.

As previously mentioned, units and ranks appear to have been quite fluid in the British military during this time. At some point, Heron joined the 80th Regiment, where he held the rank of half-pay lieutenant until January of 1788²²². Since the 80th Regiment, also known as the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers, was disbanded in 1784²²³, more research is required to identify at what time Heron left the 40th for the 80th, or what he did between 1784 and 1787. The date of unit disbanding and his static rank until 1788 indicates that Heron was not in active military service during this time. Presumably, Heron may have attained a private commission as Captain, which would correspond with

²¹⁹ Spring, *With Zeal*, 118.

²²⁰ Friedrich Schiller received a copperplate print of *The Death of General Warren at the Battle of Bunker's Hill* as a Christmas present from Professor Johann Gotthard Müller of the Stuttgart Academy in 1801. It can be conjectured that this print may have later inspired the widowed Charlotte Schiller's 1804 request for Knebel to lend her Heron's last letter to check his deployment destination.

²²¹ Henry Heron to Charlotte Schiller, GSA 83/1759.

²²² Authority. *The London Gazette* Numb.12959. January 26, 1788. Accessed on June 28, 2016. <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/12959/page/45>

²²³ National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. "British Units at Yorktown." Accessed on July 6, 2016. <https://www.nps.gov/york/learn/historyculture/british-units-at-yorktown.htm>

his personal use of the title Capt. in his forwarding address²²⁴ in August 1787 as well as the lack of British military records listing his commission at that rank, else Heron was using the French *Capitaine* as a commanding naval Lieutenant for the purposes of international correspondence.

Clues to Heron's rank are also in his oil portrait. Although most portraits of British naval officers feature the gold lace around the edge of the collar of a dress uniform²²⁵, undress uniforms did not feature gold lace²²⁶. It should be noted that epaulettes were not part of British naval uniforms until 1795²²⁷. Individuality of dress was the presiding notion of the day; eighteenth-century British officer's uniforms "allowed some variation to suit the individual taste,"²²⁸ thus providing the viewer of an officer or his portrait some insight into his personality. The buttons on the coat clearly have some sort of raised design; however, personal observation of the original oil painting did not reveal what the design is, as this is done in an impressionistic style and does not have the fine detail required to verify if the pattern is, in fact, the anchor and laurels relief on the buttons of Royal Navy uniform coats.

²²⁴ GSA 83/1759

²²⁵ Royal Museums Greenwich, *Collections*, accessed June 25, 2016. URL: <http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections.html#!csearch;collectionReference=subject-90245;authority=subject-90245>; and

<http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections.html#!csearch;searchTerm=captain>

²²⁶ Royal Museums Greenwich, *Research Guide U1*, accessed June 25, 2016.

<http://www.rmg.co.uk/discover/researchers/research-guides/research-guide-u1-uniforms-national-maritime-museum-collection>

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ "Specifications for a British Officer's Uniform in 1770." *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (May 1928), p. 14. The President and Fellows of Harvard College. Accessed July 7, 2016. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3111289>.

In order to understand why Heron stopped his correspondence with Schiller, it is helpful to know what he did after leaving Weimar. Heron's experience in the American War of Independence can be somewhat pieced together through Heron's regiment and gives further detail as to what he may have presented in discussions regarding the war within his circle of friends in Weimar. The lack of post-departure correspondence makes it even more difficult to identify what Heron did after leaving Weimar and why he did not maintain correspondence or return to visit. In *The London Gazette*, in an entry dated January 26, 1788 is the promotion of "Lieutenant Henry Heron, from the Half-Pay of the 80th Regiment to be Lieutenant" in the 76th Regiment²²⁹. None of these military records list Henry Heron as having the rank of Captain. *The London Gazette* later records "Lieutenant Henry Heron to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice David Markham" of the 76th Regiment of Foot; this entry is listed under "Promotions - East India" dated September 8, 1789²³⁰. This, at the very least, answers Charlotte von Schiller's question of Heron's eventual location as expressed in her letter to Knebel dated March 6, 1804, "Aus seinem Brief sah ich auf's neue, daß er wirklich nach Ostindien gegangen ist, worüber ich zweifelhaft war. Ich dachte, hätte auch sein Grab auf dentügerischen westindischen Inseln gefunden, wie der gute Ernst!"²³¹.

Ironically, Heron's having been sent to the East Indies, as opposed to the West Indies, did not play a factor in a more positive outcome. As reported by the War Office on January 19, 1790, Lieutenant Kenneth McRae from the 72nd Regiment was promoted

²²⁹ Authority. *The London Gazette*, Numb. 12959. January 26, 1788. Accessed on June 28, 2016. <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/12959/page/45>

²³⁰ Authority. *The London Gazette*, Numb. 13129, 583-4. Accessed June 28, 2016. <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/13129/page/581>

²³¹ Pailer, *Leben und Schreiben*, 47.

to be Captain-Lieutenant "vice Henry Heron, deceased"²³². Heron's military service is more succinctly expressed in Table 2. Understanding that Heron was in Weimar during 1786 and 1787 during a period of ambiguity in his service record further supports his expressed belief that he would be able to see Charlotte Schiller again²³³.

Table II: Summary of Henry Heron's Military Service Record

Rank	Regiment	Dates	Source
Ensign	40th Regiment of Foot	January 20, 1778 - July 25, 1778	Authority No. 11842
Lieutenant	40th Regiment of Foot	July 25, 1778 - unknown	Authority No. 11894
Half-Pay Lieutenant	80th Regiment of Foot	unknown - January 26, 1788	Authority No. 12959
Lieutenant	76th Regiment	January 26, 1788 - January 19, 1790	Authority No. 12959, Authority No. 13176

Source: *The London Gazette*

Unfortunately, Heron never did return to his circle of friends in Germany. More research is needed into the military encounters of the 76th Regiment in East India during 1789-90 in order to identify more information about Henry Heron's experiences and death. If Heron kept Charlotte Schiller's letters and they are still in existence, this information could prove useful in identifying their current location. At this point, however, it is factually established that when Charlotte Schiller returned Heron's letter to Knebel the second time in March 1804, Henry Heron had already been dead for fourteen years.

²³² Authority. *The London Gazette*, Numb. 13176. February 16, 1790, 34-35. Accessed June 28, 2016. <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/13176/page/105>

²³³ From Henry Heron, Neuwied, June 13, 1787. In: GSA 83/1759.