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Mormon Stereotypes in Nineteenth Century German Literature: The Fiction of Amalie Schoppe and Balduin M Ollhausen

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MORMON STEREOTYPES IN NINETEENTH CENTURY GERMAN LITERATURE:

THE FICTION OF AMALIE SCHOPPE AND

BALDUIN MÖLLHAUSEN

A Thesis

Presented to the

Department of Germanic and Slavic Languages

Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment

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Master of Arts

by

Robert Lee Warthen

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction: The Stereotype of the Mormon in American and German Western Literature


This passage describes the temple ceremony by which a convert was initiated into the mysterious cult of Mormonism by its fanatic prophet and founder, Joseph Smith. The novel it was taken from is unique, because it was the first work of fiction ever published about the Mormons. It was written by Amalie Schoppe in Germany contemporary with the Nauvoo period in Mormon history, and published only two years after their founder's death and a year before Mormon pioneers trekked into the Salt Lake Valley. It is highly fictionalized and distinctly foreign, but has a tone reminiscent of the treatment of Mormonism familiar to students of American writing of a later period.

¹
The same holds true for this passage set in polygamous Utah in 1858 and first published in 1861:

Heisse Tränen rollten über ihre bleichen Wangen. . . . "Ich, seine vor Gott und den Menschen rechtmäßig angetraute Gattin, ich, die an weiter nichts dachte, als ihm das Leben zu versüßen, ich mußte es dulden, daß er, heidnischen Gebräuchen huldigend, noch eine zweite Frau durch die Bande der Kirche an sich fesselte!" rief sie glühend vor Scham und Zorn aus. . . . "Getäuscht, betrogen, schändlich betrogen, wie soviele meines Geschlechts die in blindem Vertrauen ihren Gatten hierher nachfolgten! Betrogen und erhöhnt, und mir bleibt nur die Schande, oder der Tod in der Wüste!"²

This melodramatic depiction of a poor deceived damsel forced to choose between the shame of polygamous marriage and death in the desert went through at least four editions between 1864 and 1935. Its author, Balduin Möllhausen, wrote over one hundred volumes of Western fiction. These two passages are examples of the appearance of Mormonism as a theme in German fiction of the American West.

The American West in German Fiction

Though the fact that novels about the American West were written by German authors may come as a surprise to many Americans, in fact, Westerns, or as some scholars of German literature have termed them, "exotic" or "transatlantic adventure" novels,³ were immensely popular in Germany. Several scholars have chronicled the development of this genre in Germany.⁴

This literature seems to have been a primary vehicle for the Germans' conception of America. Popular printed
literature and modern movies and television have also fed the long-term fascination of the German mind with the American Wild West. Most Germans will admit that they played cowboys and Indians as children; six shooters and tomahawks are available in most German toy stores, and they are only an indication of this wide-spread fascination.

The struggle to civilize an untamed wilderness and lawless frontier seems very early to have captured the German imagination. Grounded in a traditional interest in travel to exotic countries extending back to the medieval epics, Germany's literary interest turned to America by the late eighteenth century. One of the earliest popular novels on the theme was Sophie von La Roche's *Erscheinungen am See Oneida* (1798), inspired by the experiences of her son, a soldier who had returned from serving George III in the American Revolution.\(^5\) Influential at this early stage was Chateaubriand's *Atala* (1801) and the publication in 1826 of James Fenimore Cooper's translated works, which paved the way for the outpourings of Charles Sealsfield, Friedrich Gerstäcker, Friedrich Armand Strubberg, Balduin Möllnhausen, Karl May, and other lesser known but likewise prolific German writers. Reading Westerns became a kind of escape of immense popularity.\(^6\) According to Dee Ashliman, Western adventure stories constituted a very substantial portion of Germany's popular literature, with sales of Karl May's works alone reaching over 25,000,000 copies, including
those published in this century. Balduin Möllhausen's works fill 178 volumes, and he is said to have been the most widely read German novelist of the 1860's and 1870's. With poor bibliographic control and few statistics available it is difficult to establish how many other Westerns were sold in the legitimate book trade, not to mention the millions of dime novel type Hefte that were produced.

Along with the popular trend came certain ideas, motifs, and stereotypes. It is not clear when considering individual motifs where each had its origin, but most can be traced, and oftentimes a motif considered distinctly American is actually a projection of some European ideal onto American life, a projection which had little basis in reality, though it came to be so commonplace as to be taken for granted. A good example is the idea of the Indian as a noble savage, survivor of a golden age, innocent, upright, and superior in lifestyle to degenerate civilized man. This is actually a myth of Graeco-Roman origin. Other stereotypes readily spring to mind: the hardy pioneer who determinedly built with his calloused hands a comfortable refuge in the midst of the wilderness, the ruthless gunslinger, the heroic lawman of uncompromising integrity, the painted saloon girl with the heart of gold, the greedy banker, the comical drunk, the brave cavalryman--the list goes on and on, and must also include that strange outcast, the Mormon.
It is not too surprising that Mormons should appear as characters in nineteenth century German writing, considering the volume of popular writing using the American West as its theme. The two writers whose writings are excerpted above are examples of several Germans who depicted Mormons in their writings.

**Mormon Stereotypes in American Literature**

Students of American literature have documented in fiction and fictionalized travel accounts a stereotyping which greatly affected Americans' conceptions of Mormons, and subsequently, American society's attitude toward and treatment of the Mormons.

It is not the intention of this thesis to defend Mormonism. However, a conclusion common to all these analysts was that although the many American religious movements have inspired much writing which provides an interesting and valuable commentary on American life, Mormonism, despite its dramatic history, was not such an inspiration to nineteenth century writers. This was in spite of the fact that "one might search the records of world history for a migration more grandiloquently prompted, for a settlement more dramatically directed. . . ." Neal Lambert has observed that more serious writings did not undertake such a theme. The reason:
Any writer who tries to render the epic of the Mormon movement must, in a sense, be able to redo in fiction what God has already done in history; and that is pretty heavy competition for any writer. But further (and this may be most difficult of all) the writer must also be able to redo what God has done in individual hearts; and as all will agree, the elusive, private, and subjective nature of the religious experience makes it one of the most difficult to grasp with words and render for public observation.  

Perhaps a more realistic view is that Mormonism was the center of such controversy, and reports were so contradictory that the true nature of the movement surfaced only years after the events. In the meantime, the sensational aspects of the movement became very good subject matter for the writers of less serious fiction and generated a legend that became accepted as true. This distorted image, particularly with regard to polygamy and other spectacular and unusual practices, remained strong in America into the twentieth century, even after the Mormon Church expanded missionary work and public relations efforts to eradicate it.  

Scholars, particular Mormon scholars, of the American treatment of Mormons, would agree that almost all the writing about them has been historically inaccurate or even absurd, despite the potentiality of Mormonism as a great theme.  

Ray Allen Billington tells us that villains are easy to identify because they must be unsavory and cruel, and their behavior must be savage. This allows virtuous civilization
to bestow on them the fate that they deserve. The Mormons are included in this rogues' gallery, although they are

villains who bore such faint resemblance to real life that their behavior could never be questioned, . . . all of them lecherous sex fiends seeking innocent virgins (usually the hero's sister) for their harems. . . .13

The dramatic history of Mormonism with its charismatic founder, persecutions, revolutionary doctrines, novel social experiments, theocratic government, polygamy, and dramatic migration to desolate Western regions, are themes which led quickly to legend and popular romance. Curiosity must have also been aroused by the strict moral preachers and political enemies who spoke against them. Mormonism, claims Hock,

aroused the curiosity of many . . . writers, who have delved into its records and brought to light unhappy far-off things, which have been used as the background for a considerable body of imaginative writing.14

Lambert likewise concludes that such ideas, "p olygamy, secret rites, blood atonement, priestly orders--all such have made the Mormon slip easily into a stereotype for slick fiction and gross comedy."15 These writings are typified by conventionality: repetitious themes, standard plots, and stock characters.16 Arrington and Haupt describe them as "abominable as works of literature, and utterly untrustworthy in conveying to the reader anything like an accurate or worthwhile account. . . ."17

There seem to have been two motives behind the production of such works. In America, as in Europe, historical and
adventure romances were much in vogue, furnishing their readers with a literature of escape, full of "emotionalism and sentimentalism, a half-savage rioting in color and superlatives and fantastic fancies."18

The second motive was the desire for social reform. The middle decades of the century were times of social turmoil both in America and Germany, and many authors were intent on defining and reforming some brand of social evil. Mormonism, with its sensational beliefs and practices, particularly polygamy, provided an easy target for such reformers. As writers on American literature have pointed out, Mormonism was nearly as great a cause for concern as slavery in the 1850's. These stories were the vehicle of sensationalist propaganda aimed at shocking readers not only into avoidance of the sect but also to direct legislative and military intervention into Mormon affairs. The announced intention of these anti-Mormon books was

> to attack Mormonism, in the name of Christianity and humanity, as "the blot that has made you a by-word to the citizens of the old world, a libel on your manhood, an insult to the mother that cradled you in her arms, and a curse to your wives and daughters," . . . an "alien" culture, professing beliefs and following practices which were unaccept-able to the arbiters of American society.19

The effect of these writers should not be underesti-mated. Whether they wrote escape literature or were reformers, they perpetuated certain absolutes and stereotypes which had a profound effect on the public
conception of Mormonism. Arrington and Haupt say that "non-Mormon fiction writers and their myths were more potent in molding public opinion than were the realities the Mormons continued to reassert. . . ." Public opinion influenced official national policy against the Mormons to such an extent that an army was sent to sack Salt Lake City. The institution of polygamy was eventually destroyed by the passage of laws forbidding its practice and allowing government confiscation of the Mormon Church's extensive property in Utah and other territories. The success of these writers in fueling hostility toward the Mormons points up the importance of studying this writing.

Stereotypes in German Westerns

Students of the Western genre in German literature, in contrast to writers on Western American literature, have not explored its treatment of Mormonism to any great degree. In a recent book, Land of Savagery, Land of Promise: The European Image of the American Frontier in the Nineteenth Century, Ray Allen Billington mentions the Mormons' role as frontier villains in German and other European fiction.

Preston A. Barba mentions Balduin Möllhausen's encounters with the Mormons. In brief summaries of each of Möllhausen's books Barba notes his use of Mormons as characters, particularly in Das Mormonenmädchen, of which he says:
This has always been one of Möllhausen's most popular novels, due in part to the interesting story, but probably more due to the great mass of material which the novel presented about a sect which had drawn upon itself the attention of Europe as well as America.24

In his chapter dealing with the European writer and the American West, Richard Cracroft mentions Möllhausen's and Karl May's use of the Mormon motif.25 In his M.A. thesis Cracroft gives a more extensive treatment of May's works, and also refers to Möllhausen's *Das Mormonenmädchen*, which was contained in May's personal library.26 Cracroft concludes that May's Mormon was either the cunning devilish type portrayed by Zane Grey or the butt of jokes between May's heroes.27

Perhaps the most substantial contributor on the theme of Mormons in German literature is Dee L. Ashliman. In his dissertation, "The American West in Nineteenth-Century German Literature," Ashliman devotes a chapter to frontier religion, observing that the Germans' deep-seated interest in religion was manifest in German writings about the American West and that they commented on the irreligion of the frontiersmen.28 Western religion "was a markedly different phenomenon than European observers, accustomed to one or two state churches, had experienced in the Old World."29 They criticized the multiplicity of religious sects. Of these, Ashliman observes, the frontier church that attracted the most attention was the Mormon Church.
In his dissertation, Ashliman briefly summarizes Möllhausen's two Mormon novels, *Das Mormonenmädchen* and *Der Fanatiker*, and mentions Karl May's use of Mormon villains. The same material also appears in three bibliographical essays published earlier. In these he mentions a cycle of poems by Sidonie Grünwald-Zerkovitz entitled *Die Lieder der Mormonin* and a passing allusion to Mormons in Theodore Fontane's *Irrungen Wirrungen*. In his dissertation, Ashliman also devotes three pages to Martin Greif's novella *Die Mormonen in Dublin*, which he considers the most literarily interesting treatment of Mormons in the German language.

Leonard Arrington and Jon Haupt, in an article dealing with hostility toward Mormons in American writing, outline the types of recurring motifs and the reasons for them. Included is also a "List of 'Mormon' Novels and Tales of Adventure Published in the Nineteenth Century" in which also appears Schoppe's *Der Prophet*. In 1973 Arrington addressed the literature section of the Mormon Arts Festival on the theme, "Mormonism: Views from Without and Within." In this talk, he reiterated many of his earlier points and emphasized that only two works of prose fiction about the Mormons were published during Joseph Smith's lifetime, one of these being Schoppe's novel. The theme of propagandistic fiction is again touched on in Arrington and Haupt, "The Missouri and Illinois Mormons in Anti-Bellum Fiction," but they do not mention any German writers.
Hermann Wiedenroth addresses the subject in connection with Karl May's writings in "Die beiläufige Rolle der 'Jüngstentages Heiligen' im Erzählwerk Karl Mays." Wiedenroth claims that the development of Mormonism was meticulously followed by the Germans and that at least fifteen books were published which deal exclusively with the Mormons. In addition numerous travel accounts were published which devote a chapter or more to the topic. Wiedenroth sees this publishing output as a result of the fascination with polygamy. Karl May's information did not come from the Mormons, who had a few followers in Dresden, his home city, nor even from the four books in his library which treated Mormonism, but rather from articles in the popular press. May mentioned the Mormons in five of his books, but only in Felsenburg, where a major villain was a Mormon, was there extensive reference to them. Wiedenroth concludes that May's use of Mormonism was cosmetic and that, despite the information available to him, May did not describe or even understand the quintessence of Mormonism or life in Utah.

Searching the tomes of German bibliography yields little result. They index mostly American writing on the theme. It seems that most of the discussion of Mormons in German fiction has come from Mormon scholars: Ashliman, Cracroft, Arrington and Haupt. The best sources are American.
Since little has been written about Mormons in German literature, the question arises as to how they were characterized in the German Western. Following the model of Cooper and others, the heroes of American literature seemingly were adopted into and form an integral part of the western genre as it appeared in Germany, usually presenting the same flavor as their American counterparts, but occasionally developing a uniquely German twist, such as the phenomenon that if one investigated the past of a truly excellent frontiersman, one would discover a German immigrant.38

My hypothesis is that German writers of the nineteenth century followed their American counterparts in presenting a stereotyped portrayal of Mormons, a portrayal analogous to that which has been documented in American literature. I will show that the immense popularity of the Western genre carried the same stereotypes over into German fiction.

This thesis will be demonstrated in the writings of two authors: Amalie Schoppe, the writer of the first work on Mormons in German literature, and the once immensely popular Balduin Möllhausen, who wrote with first-hand knowledge but succumbed to the popular stereotypes of Mormons.

I analyzed and probed to find Mormon characters. I then matched their characterizations to seven stereotypes suggested by Arrington and Haupt in American literature: (1) the drunken, abusive husband, (2) the white slave
procurer, (3) the seducer, (4) the sinister secret society, (5) the sinful, fallen city, (6) the lustful Turk, and (7) the cruel, lustful Southern slaveholder image transferred to the Mormon polygamist.39

Of course other German authors have written about the Mormons. Most notable is, of course, Karl May. He became the object of a whole Western cult, and is considered by some to have been a greater influence "than any other German writer between Goethe and Thomas Mann."40 May, whose extravagant but untrue claims as to the authenticity of his stories was the object of a great deal of criticism in his day, especially after his past as a confidence man was discovered. In the 1930's, the validity of studying his works became the subject of intense scholarly debates.41 The popularity of his novels, which are real spellbinders, written in terse, first-person prose, continues to the present day and supports an independent publishing house and a Karl May Society. So much popularity and controversy has led to a considerable amount of biographical and scholarly writing about him, including the Wiedenroth article already mentioned.42 Wiedenroth's analysis of Mormons in May's work is quite complete and little more need be said on the subject except that May's incidental descriptions of Mormons fit Arrington and Haupt's "seducer" and "sinful, fallen city" stereotypes.43
Friedrich Gerstäcker dealt with the Mormons in at least one of his tales. It is possible that one of the other numerous authors of German Westerns such as Charles Sealsfield, Friedrich Strubberg, or Otto Rupius may have mentioned them. The sub-literature, the German equivalents of dime novels and pulps called Kolportage and sold door to door or in kiosks, was read by millions, must certainly have seized on the theme. Additionally, many such pieces were serialized in popular weekly papers such as Die Gartenlaube. This material is beyond the scope of this study. An investigation of the two somewhat more accessible authors gives an overview of the kind of treatment Mormons received in literature and should be sufficient to establish whether or not the Mormon stereotypes created by American authors found their counterparts in German literature.
NOTES


6 Ashliman, Diss., p. 42.

7 Ibid., p. 217.


10 Neal Lambert, "Saints, Sinners and Scribes: A Look at Mormons in Fiction," Utah Historical Quarterly, 36 (1968), 64.


14 Hock, p. 2.

15 Lambert, p. 64.

16 Hock, pp. 2, 12.

17 "Intolerable Zion: The Image of Mormonism in Nineteenth Century American Literature," Western Humanities Review, 22 (1968), 244.


19 Arrington and Haupt, "Intolerable Zion," p. 243.

20 Ibid., p. 244.


22 Billington, p. 152.

23 Barba, pp. 43, 50, 53-54.

24 Ibid., pp. 85, 92, 94-96, 116-17.


27 Ibid., p. 115.


29 Ibid., p. 191.

30 Ibid., pp. 196-201.


37 E.g., Chad J. Flake, A Mormon Bibliography 1830-1930 (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1978).

38 Cracroft, Thesis, pp. 73-75.


41 Heinz Stolte, Der Volksschriftsteller Karl May (Bamberg: Karl-May-Verlag, 1979), p. vii.


43 Arrington and Haupt, "Intolerable Zion," pp. 246-47.

CHAPTER TWO

Amalie Schoppe: Stereotypes in the Nauvoo Period

Amalie Schoppe's novel Der Prophet was published in Jena in 1846.\(^1\) According to Mormon bibliographer, Dale Morgan, this was the earliest literary work completely about the Mormons.\(^2\) The novel, comprising three octavo volumes, 596 pages in all, was one of approximately two hundred of Schoppe's literary contributions, most of which dealt with historical or adventure themes, many of which were set in the new world.

Schoppe's rather simplistic and Biedermeier writings seemed directed mostly towards an audience of women and youth. Extremely popular, Schoppe's manuscripts always found a ready market.\(^3\) She herself had no illusions about the quality of her work.\(^4\) Kinder critics have said that she was a writer of Unterhaltungsliteratur, for entertainment, but lacked depth, though she never descended to the lowest level.\(^5\) The less kind have called her fifth-rate.\(^6\) Her writing is the kind of trivial literature that is primitive but widely read.\(^7\) Such writing tends to be sentimental and melodramatic and is prone to stereotyped characters.

Most outlines of German literature grant Schoppe only a line or two, if any, and these mainly because she made possible the philosopher and playwright Friedrich Hebbel's

19
move to Hamburg and his early education by arranging for his financial support, food and lodging. It is probably safe to assume that *Der Prophet* enjoyed a wide audience among readers of this genre of escape fiction, and undoubtedly it must have had an impact on its readers' conceptions of Mormons and Mormonism.

**Earliest Appearance of Mormon Characters**

Although Schoppe wrote the earliest fictional work completely about Mormons, Mormons do appear in a minor role in one book published prior to *Der Prophet*. Mormon characters are used in the 1843 romance *Monsieur Violet: His Travels and Adventures Among the Snake Indians and Wild Tribes of the Great Western Prairies*, a rambling narrative by Captain Frederick Marryat, a retired British naval captain who, being a devoted Tory, depicts American democracy in a bad light and describes Mormons in this context. The next fictional works about Mormons do not begin to appear until seven years after the publication of *Der Prophet*. Four early best-selling novels were published in the United States beginning in 1853. Arrington and Haupt assert that these novels "set the pattern, so far as theme and characterization, for most of the anti-Mormon novels and stories which followed. It is notable, however, that Schoppe characterized the Mormons almost the same way several years earlier in
a foreign country, as will be shown. It may be concluded that such Mormon stereotypes were prevalent even before the publication of the popular American feminine novels of the 1850's described by Arrington and Haupt, that these novels were only the vehicles to spread ideas that were already in circulation. Certainly there were other unfriendly written accounts in existence, beginning as early as E. D. Howe's *Mormonism Unvailed* [sic] of 1834. A number of newspaper accounts were also being published early and spreading early distortions. Possibly most important was the frontier gossip and legend that circulated and no doubt found its way back to the more civilized areas of America and even overseas.

**Schoppe's Sources**

This is not to say that Amalie Schoppe's intent was to malign the Mormons by the way she characterized them. Her reading undoubtedly influenced her. Striving for knowledge of all things in the world so broad as to be encyclopedic seems to have been one of Schoppe's passions. She was interested in every subject and contributed in her own way as author and magazine publisher to the same movement for broad knowledge for everyone that led to the publication of encyclopedias for the general public, *Konversationslexika*, at this time in Germany.
Actual Mormon proselyting in Germany was minimal prior to 1852, though there was a brief attempt in Hamburg, Schoppe's home city, in 1840.\textsuperscript{12} A tract was published in Germany in 1842, though it is improbable that it could have fallen into Schoppe's hands.\textsuperscript{13}

Possibly the best clue to her sources was given by Schoppe herself in the closing lines of Der Prophet:

\begin{quote}
Nur zu Anfang dieses Jahres ist der Secte wieder häufiger in den amerikanischen Zeitungen Erwähnung geschehen, indem die Anhänger derselben die Absicht kund gegeben haben sollen, dem Westen in Masse zuziehen und in Californien ein neues großes Mormonenreich begründen zu wollen (III, 185).
\end{quote}

This indicates that Schoppe had some access, at least second hand, to events reported in American newspapers. Such communication must likewise have been the source of her conceptions of Mormonism. It is not unthinkable that German newspapers might also have repeated such accounts, particularly since in England, much closer to home, missionary efforts were proceeding apace.\textsuperscript{14}

It may be conjectured that Schoppe drew more from her imagination than from any other source. When writing her fanciful tales, it was customary for Schoppe to seize on a kernel of fact. Her background and personality contributed to her unusual method of writing. The product of an unhappy childhood and failed marriage, she was forced to write just to exist, but once her need for an income was met and surpassed, her writing became a mania.\textsuperscript{15} For example, one
year she wrote eleven volumes in addition to editing two
magazines. She sometimes wrote fourteen hours a day.16

Ihr Schreiben wurde zur tiefsten Leidenschaft, zum
Triebzwang, den sie selber zuzeiten als quälend,
als eine Dämonie ihrer Natur empfand, der aber
andererseits rauschhafte Euphorie war und als
solche sie befähigte, die trübe, gebrochene, tra-
gische Wirklichkeit des eigenen Schicksals in einer
Sphäre schöpferischer Phantasie aufzuheben,
gleichsam außer Geltung zu setzen.17

Heinz Stolte says that her mind was constantly occupied
with her writing, "Auch darf man wohl von ihr behaupten, daß
sie immer arbeitete, selbst dann wenn sie müßig zu gehen
schieng. In connection with this urge to write was a
fantasy so intense that Schoppe was unable to see factual
situations other than through the filter of her own
affectations: "Die Intensität ihres literarischen
Phantasielebens machte sie oft unfähig, Tatbestände anders
zu sehen, als ihr eigener Affekt sie ihr erscheinen ließ."19

In view of such an intense fantasy, coupled with a
mania to write, she seems to have been able to turn almost
any bit of experience or knowledge into grist for her
mill. Stolte sees the narrative "Clementine," published as
one of the sketches in her Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben in
kleinen Bildern, as a masquerade for a rather accurate auto-
biography. In it Schoppe writes of herself:

Das Auffallendste an ihr war gewiß immer die
Produktivität, die wirklich ins Unglaubliche ging;
es wurde ihr alles Stoff; ein ausgesprochenes
Wort, eine wahrgenommene Situation wurden gleich
den Bilde mit fest gezeichneten Umrissen in ihr und
sie ruhte nicht eher, bis sie es in den gehörigen
Rahmen gebracht hatte, was mit unglaublicher Schnelle und Leichtigkeit geschah.20

Thus, Schoppe apparently possessed the talent to take a bit of information about Mormonism such as would appear in a newspaper account or in a Konversationslexikon21 and elaborate it into a three-volume novel.

Interestingly enough, there are some indications in Der Prophet that Schoppe's sources were incorrect or incomplete. For example, she placed the center of state government in Vandalia, Illinois, from which it had been moved in 1840, the same year that the Mormons moved to Nauvoo, and the Missouri seat of government in St. Louis, where it had not been since the inception of statehood. This whole region is repeatedly referred to as the Northeast, although it was at that period of history the Northwest and remains to this day, even in the most Western geographical perspective, the Midwest. She interprets the English word "creek" as "lake" rather than as a "stream." Her prose is full of other faintly disturbing anomalies. For example, the state governors are addressed as English lords. Congress intercedes in state affairs by replacing the governor, when actually Thomas Ford (not Francis) was elected governor in 1842.22 Governor Boggs is given the nice, if plain, forename John rather than Lilburn W., as it was historically. The fact that she used these governors' last names indicates that she knew the surnames but was forced to invent their given
names. Also interesting is "Hieram" as the name of one of Joseph Smith's henchmen, since it is quite close to the actual name of his brother, Hyrum. Several examples give some inkling as to the accuracy of some of her historical sources. She has a good description of Nauvoo and its environs, for example:

Im Mittelpunkt dieser, nach einem großartigen Zuschnitte angelegten Stadt . . . erhebt sich ein wahrhaft prachtvolles Gebäude, ein Meisterstück des Geschmacks und der Baukunst, der sogenannte Mormonentempel. Nauvoo, in der Grafschaft Hancock, im Staate Illinois belegen, verdankt seine Entstehung einer der vielen Religionssecten . . . (I, 60-61).


Her exposition of the founding and growth of Mormonism, which I deal with later, also leads to interesting speculation as to her sources, as does a thorough explanation of Mormon beliefs, couched in the words of the chief character of Der Prophet, Joe Smith.

As interesting as any speculation regarding possible sources may be, (they must have been few), at some indeterminable point fact blurs into realistic fiction and from there into complete fantasy. Certainly there is nothing to be accomplished by criticizing Schoppe's narrative inventiveness, since it probably never was
intended to portray events with historical accuracy. The descriptions and ideas of Mormonism were seemingly only the occasion for a leap into fantasy; few would have taken any of it too seriously. Exotic places and peoples are always a popular theme. Such a work runs the danger, however, of being taken seriously by those with no other acquaintance with Mormonism, and readers' perceptions are likely to be influenced by it, perhaps unconsciously.

One is left to wonder what Schoppe might have done had she known about Joseph Smith's teachings on polygamy, which were known as early as 1840 but were not publicized at all until 1843. They were never mentioned by Schoppe and presumably were not known to her at the time of writing, though she did characterize "Joe Smith" as a philanderer.

Joe Smith as the Seducer

The point of this investigation of Der Prophet is to establish whether and to what extent Arrington and Haupt's seven stereotypes of Mormons existed in this early German novel. Whatever Schoppe's source material or inspiration might have been, these stereotypes were found to exist in Der Prophet.

The first and most obvious of the stereotypes that Schoppe employs fits very well Arrington and Haupt's image of the seducer. He is the "'captivating libertine'. . . . Through the use of potions, mesmerism, impersonation, phony
weddings, and endless varieties of sham, the seducer worked his vile way into the innocent . . . household."24 This is a good description of the character of Joe Smith, the novel's central character. Schoppe also briefly alluded to Joe as a lustful Turk and to his henchman, Hieram, as a white slave procurer, two others of Arrington and Haupt's stereotypes,25 although these are not well developed. Finally, Schoppe's description of the rites and actions of the Mormon cult showed it to have secret oaths that bound its cruel followers to carry out evil or traitorous deeds, falling into the stereotype of the "sinister secret society."26

As the title Der Prophet indicates, Joe Smith is the central character of the story. Schoppe paints, at times, a picture of a man who is lewd, immoral, hypocritical, and a murderous megalomaniac, and at other times she paints Joe as an organizer, colonizer and gentleman. Also, on one hand he is shown to be a solitary recluse, while on the other hand he is quite social. His character is never really consistent.

Joe Smith's character is developed in five stages. First is a long narrative exposition of Mormon history and practices, in which Joe plays the central part. Second is a dialogue between Joe and Arnold, the young hero of the story, in which Joe attempts to win Arnold's friendship by securing him a government position as county surveyor. When
Arnold candidly explains that Joe's position as self-proclaimed prophet disturbs him, Joe launches into a philosophical explanation of his true belief (Deism), and the reason for the deception (mankind was not mature enough to accept a better philosophy, Christianity was in decay, and the new Mormonism builds good citizens). Third, Joe's character is revealed in a despicable plot which he hatches to make a match between the pure Arnold and the corrupt Marie, his shallow mistress, whom he holds out as his daughter and whom he is ready to cast aside. Fourth, the written confessions of Dina, Joe's servant and former lover, another long narrative, give Joe's true background as a fugitive and charlatan. Fifth, once Arnold escapes from Nauvoo and brings Joe's true intentions to the attention of Governor Boggs, Joe's plans for military conquest are set in motion, revealing his true intention to seize power.

In each of these stages, Schoppe shows in sequence what could be interpreted as different sides of Joe's character, or as a revelation of his true character which is hidden beneath an impressive facade. At first, the reader is sympathetic with Joe, who seems to have many commendable qualities and ideas, but as the stages develop, Joe appears progressively worse until he becomes an object of contempt. Yet in a surprise ending he is revealed as Arnold's father. The reader is never quite sure how to deal with this chameleon. This is consistent with the stereotype of the
"seducer." Schoppe's Joe Smith is truly a "captivating libertine." Most of the people are deceived by him. It takes a truly pure, noble, innocent hero to unmask this villain and save the world from his Machiavellian plots.

The Facade

Before moving to a more detailed investigation of Schoppe's five stages in the vilification of Joe, it is enlightening to look at the face he shows to the world. Joe is handsome and well preserved at the age of 48, although his vanity prevents him from revealing his true age (I, 146-47). As a young man, his figure was heroic, tall, noble, proud, with regular features and shining dark eyes (II, 103). On his deathbed, his beauty is still striking:

Arnold konnte ... nicht umhin, die außerordentliche Schönheit der Gesichtszüge desselben zu bewundern: es war das Haupt des Apolls von Belvedere, welches vor ihm da lag; reinere, edlere Formen hatte er nie erblickt (III, 177).

Though a charlatan, Joe is a man of good sense and experience, and his statutes show judgment and wisdom (I, 67). His conversations show him to be a man of education, social grace, and hospitality, a real gentleman. He owns a large library covering many subjects (I, 103). He admits that he is a fraud, yet sees his new religion as a vehicle to a better life for the masses and continues to build it in the face of ridicule (I, 90-91). By channeling fanaticism, he is able to accomplish great feats (I, 57; III, 40-43).
Another characteristic that surely aroused instant sympathy in the intended audience is the fact that Joe is a German. Americans were viewed as coarse, uneducated, uncouth and materialistic. On the other hand, Germans were seen as possessing a high degree of education and intelligence and were the best settlers and frontiersmen. In German adventures the hero nearly always seems to have some German background or influence to ennoble him. Ashliman sees the reason for this as the need to provide a hero who is a romantic individual with whom the reader can identify.

Arnold, the hero, is also a German. Flora Boggs, the love interest, turns out to have a German mother (III, 8). But it comes as quite a shock to learn that the founder of Mormonism is also a German:

Der junge Deutsche . . . erstaunte nicht wenig, als er fast alle classischen deutschen Werke, und sowohl schönwissenschaftliche als gelehnte, in fast allen Wissenschaften fand. Er hatte bis zu in nicht einmal gewußt, daß Joe Smith deutsch sprechen verstand, denn, wie es in Nordamerika Sitte ist, hatte er nur englisch mit ihm geredet; diese Masse von deutschen Werken bewies ihm aber, daß der Prophet ein Freund und Bewunderer seiner vaterländischen Literatur seyn müsse; denn zu welchem sonstigen Zwecke hätte er sich damit umringen sollen, als um sie zu lesen? . . .

"Sie lesen auch deutsch, wie ich sehe, Sir?" fragte ihn Arnold.
Thus, reader sympathy and identification with Joe is established early in the story.

Finally, for all his bad qualities, Schoppe intimates that Joe is struggling inwardly with his better self, that he is an admirable person who has fallen into evil ways. This is evidenced by Joe's unabated attraction to Arnold and his admiration for Arnold's incorruptible integrity (II, 174). The reader is later told that Joe is, with certain modifications, of the same stamp as Arnold (III, 88). Of the true state of his mind, he says to Arnold:


At a crucial moment, Schoppe reveals Joe's inner struggle between good and evil (III, 95-96). Unfortunately, the bad in Joe wins out.

The main theme of Der Prophet is the triumph of good over evil, a sort of melodrama in which Joe is shown by degrees to be the most evil sort of hypocrite, rather than the spiritual leader and gentleman he holds himself out to be.

Joe Founds Mormonism

In the first long narrative exposition, Schoppe reveals Joe's recent history as founder of the Mormons. In this section, which is about 10 pages long (I, 61-72), she seems to draw extensively on factual sources. Joe is an American,
as far as anybody knows, and an adventurer of unknown origin. He is living with his daughter, Marie, in Ohio, as a complete recluse who only comes out of his house to enter a grotto where observers suppose he is praying. His only human contact besides Marie is Hieram, a silent type, also of unknown origin, who delivers his supplies, though he is never admitted into the house.

When questioned by the curious, Hieram replies with silence and says he knows no more than anyone else, but later he acts as if he were bound by an oath. Later Hieram tells a few trusted confidants that Joe is a prophet sent by God to topple existing religions, that Joe has been commanded to build a temple, and that, after years of fasting and prayer, God has given Joe a revelation in the form of a Bible bound in gold.

After repeated urging, believers are allowed an introduction to Joe to kiss the seam of his cloak. They are captivated by Joe's power and are soon initiated into a cult by an elaborate ceremony. Schoppe describes Joe as taking advantage of the credulity of these simple people by working on their fantasy (I, 66).

Joe sets himself up as law giver and soon finds himself in trouble with Ohio authorities. He tells the people that God has commanded them to move to Nauvoo, Illinois, and there they carve a city out of the wilderness. Because the people must spend every fifth working day on Joe's projects,
the temple and other public buildings are soon finished. Nauvoo is to be the first part of a promised great kingdom. Joe is so successful in his plans that the temple, in which he also lives, is finished in two years. He now has a steadily increasing following of as many as 30,000 fanatics, over which he possesses absolute power:

[N]ur blinde Werkzeuge zur Ausführung seines Willens und seiner Pläne können ihm dienen und dazu paßt nichts so gut als eben diese Fanatiker. . . . Er hat sie durch den Fanatismus, den er ihnen einzuflößen verstand, mit Demantketten an sich gefesselt und sich zum Herrn ihres Gewissens und ihres Leibes zugleich gemacht (III, 36-37).

Besides the city and its populace, Joe, as Lieutenant General of the militia, controls a Nauvoo Legion of 1500 soldiers and a well-stocked arsenal. He also has a force of personal bodyguards, the Danites. At the point that the narrative ends, Joe has become a military and political force to be reckoned with (I, 70).

Joe's Philosophy

After this background narrative, Arnold, the hero of the story, enters. Now Joe's character begins to be developed through Arnold's eyes by way of his relationship with Joe, rather than by narrative exposition, and the whole plot centers on this relationship. For some unexplained reason, Joe finds himself irresistibly drawn to the young German. This attraction, which continues as a theme throughout, is explained in the revelation late in the story.
that unknown to either, Arnold is Joe's son by his abandoned wife; hence this is a natural urge.

Arnold, who has lived in Nauvoo for three years except for vacations among his Indian friends, and continues there despite his break with Mormonism, is repulsed by Joe's special attention. Arnold mistrusts Joe. Arnold suspects him of being a liar and a hypocrite, of using religion to achieve his own purposes. He thinks that Joe's true aim in playing the role of a prophet is to become a dictator (I, 75). Arnold, suspecting ulterior motives, rejects Joe's offer of a good position as County Surveyor, thinking that Joe intends to get Arnold in his debt. Joe graciously ignores this rebuff and asks why Arnold is rejecting his offer.

This little disagreement leads to the second stage in Joe's characterization. Here the reader sees his rise to power through Joe's own eyes. After Arnold rejects him, they have a conversation in which Joe reveals his true philosophy to Arnold:

"[W]as war es dann, was all' mein Bemühren, Ihnen näher zu treten, zu Schanden machte?"

--"Ihr Prophetenthum, Sir," versetzte Arnold mit fester Stimme. . . .

--"Sie halten mich also für irreligiös," wandte Joe sich fragend an Arnold, "und nebenbei für einen Heuchler, weil ich eine Rolle spiele, die Sie und vielleicht noch viele Andere nicht begreifen?" . . . .

--"Es ist wahr, ich habe mit dem Dogma, mit Allem, was in der Religion Menschensatzung ist, seit lange und für immer gebrochen. Früh schon lüftete mein Verstand die geheimnißvolle Knospe des

Arnold then inquires why Joe has decided to tear down the temple of faith and rebuild it in the form of an absurd and ridiculous cult:

"Weshalb, ich frage Sie im Angesichte Gottes, weshalb, wenn Sie die Wahrheit erkannt hatten, verheimlichten Sie sie vor Denen, die Ihnen ihr Vertrauen schenkten? Weshalb stürzten Sie den einen Baal vom Altare, um einen andern an seine Stelle zu setzen?" (I, 87).

Joe's reply is that the masses cannot do without it. Joe refers to Thomas Paine, whom he considers the pure Deist, who has demonstrated that the masses are not yet ready for the great truth. Joe, like Thomas Paine, has come to the conclusion that he has been preaching Deism to deaf ears, that instead of appealing to intellect, he has to treat his followers like children, showing them the stick while giving them a toy to play with in order to keep them satisfied.

The old pacifier, Christianity, needs to be replaced with Mormonism because the ages have worn it out; it is too split and weak, and the time has come to tear down the old building and replace it with a new one. Because of his great understanding of human nature, Joe sees himself called as a healer, placing himself in the service of mankind.
Arnold's reply is to question Joe's ability to harvest the fruit of life from the tree of deception. At this point, Joe admits that Mormonism is a lie:

"Sie nennen mein Prophetentum eine Lüge, den Mormonismus einen Betrug, junger Mann," versetzte Smith, ohne zornig zu werden; "wohlan, ich gebe zu, daß Sie darin Recht haben . . ." (I, 91).

Joe, however, says that his only intention is to better mankind and to make them happier. In their original condition, they are captives of materialism and reject the finer things of life; the Sunday evangelism of so-called revealed religion is belied by lust for wealth, even to the extent of criminality on other days:


Joe's conviction that Christianity has failed has led him to erect a new one:


Joe considers his new religion a success. The masses are grasping for the new spiritual sustenance. As a result, truly pious, fervant, sanctifying prayers now ascend from the newly built altars and have their effect on the outward lives of the people. Joe observes:

To Arnold's contention that another means might have led to this same result, Joe replies that if Arnold can find one he will himself join the cause:

"und reüssiren Sie, so werde ich mit eigener Hand meinen Mormontempel umreißen und mich zu Ihrem Schüler, zu Ihrem Bewunderer machen" (I, 94).

To this Arnold has no reply, and the conversation ends. Yet Joe's logic fails to convince Arnold, who refuses to believe that any good can come from deception, and only grows to distrust Joe more. He grows even stronger in his opposition of Joe as he observes the troop training, which leads him to believe that Joe's position as prophet is only a cover for his military ambitions. This suspicion is further confirmed by Joe's great secrecy; fearful of betrayal, he reveals his plans to no one. No one knows anything about his domestic life because he has no social contacts whatever (I, 98).

Taken at face value, Joe's conversation with Arnold reveals him to have some good qualities; for example Joe expresses his liking of openness and honesty. He refuses to be hurt by Arnold's accusations and ignores his challenges. He reveals himself to be an educated man, an admirer of Thomas Paine, and a man of great plans and ambitions. He is building his new religion in the face of ridicule and possesses great knowledge of human nature, which he plans to use for the good of mankind, as a surgeon might operate on a sick humanity (I, 90). He admits that Mormonism is a fraud, but claims he perpetrates it only because it would make
people better and happier. In his desire to give the people something new, fresh and exciting, he has succeeded, and his followers are faithful, industrious, moral and law-abiding. After their conversation Joe behaves in a friendly manner toward Arnold and invites him to a further exchange of ideas.

By the use of this conversation, Schoppe reveals that Joe is an educated, thinking man. At the same time, however, she reveals Joe's dishonesty in establishing this fanatical new sect, which he can manipulate to gain political control, as a solution to the failure of Christianity.

An Attempted Seduction Fails

Schoppe next slowly unravels a fiendish scheme by Joe to involve Arnold with his mistress, Marie, whom he holds out to the world as his daughter. This is the third stage in Schoppe's characterization of Joe. Arnold only becomes fully aware of the scheme much later when he learns that Joe has been suing Governor Boggs of Missouri for the hand of his beautiful daughter, Flora:

"Dies erklärt mir Alles, was mir bisher noch in dem Benehmen Joe Smiths gegen mich räthselhaft war. . . . Er hatte Lady Flora gesehen, ihr Anblick sein Herz in Liebe entzündet; er wollte sie, da er auf keine andere Weise zu ihrem Besitze gelangen konnte, zu seiner Gemahlin machen, und um das zu können, mußte er seine frühere Geliebte, ein zwar schönes, aber höchst geistloses und unbedeutendes Geschöpf, mit guter Manier los zu werden suchen. Mir war die
Ehre zugedacht, dieser Marie meinen Namen zu geben, und allein aus diesem Grunde nahm er mich in sein Haus, ließ mich wochenlang mit ihr allein, in der Hoffnung, daß ihre Schönheit mich betören und ich blindlings mich in ein Liebesverhältniß stürzen würde . . . " (III, 9-10).

To set the scheme in motion, Joe invites Arnold to his apartment in the temple. Instead of being charmed by Marie's loveliness, Arnold is put off by her contemptuous treatment of Dina, a servant who is suffering in the last stages of tuberculosis (I, 113-15). Arnold is forced into playing the role of a gallant, which helps Joe to set his trap. Marie's only attraction, besides outward beauty, is her musical and artistic talent, though she will not allow anyone to be in the same room in which she performs or paints, and in the end it turns out that Dina's talents were actually being exploited by Marie to deceive Arnold (II, 157). To encourage the attraction, Joe leaves his household in Arnold's care while he is gone on business (I, 127), but Arnold's conduct remains above reproach. In this way, Joe's devilish plot is foiled.

At this point in the story, Joe's reason for such outrageous conduct is revealed. In his hypocrisy, Joe dares not reveal Marie's true status to the community of believers, nor can he casually dismiss her once he has grown tired of her. Thus Schoppe reveals Joe's true moral character:

Joe Smith, ein Mann von der regsten Sinnlichkeit und dem begehrliehsten Herzen, konnte
without a relationship of such kind cannot live; but like the enjoyment, she loved him the switch and soon after a short time was he the most beautiful woman overeager, as well as to her undisturbed possessions gained was (I, 165).

His nature as a philanderer is suspected and later discovered by Arnold, but never by Marie, because she falls into the snare and falls in love with Arnold, never suspecting Joe's duplicity. Schoppe compares him to a rattlesnake (I, 190). After Joe returns from his trip he shows his hypocrisy by pretending to be wounded when Marie confesses her love for Arnold. He then accedes to her desires as if he wished for her whatever would make her happy (II, 172). Actually, Joe would have murdered Marie except that he had sworn never to commit a crime unless there were no other means to accomplish his purpose (I, 168). He leads Marie to believe that he has graciously forgiven her and takes the blame for her falling in love because he foolishly left the two of them alone while trusting in her vows of faithfulness (I, 175-77). Later he callously orders Hieram to take her into the wilderness and murder her (II, 179-87).

After the incident with Marie, Arnold, who has become very suspicious of Joe, makes it his goal to unmask Joe as a false prophet. Joe, who is normally able to deal with people easily and destroy or discard them, has a more difficult time dealing with Arnold because Arnold's motives are so pure and idealistic. Because of this, Joe even has moments when his scheming causes pains to his normally
hardened conscience (II, 88-89). The Marie episode brings to light Joe's true nature as a master of flattery and manipulation.

**Joe's True History**

A fourth stage in the characterization of Joe takes the form of another narrative (II, 92-160). Arnold comes into possession of the diaries and letters of Dina, Joe's ailing servant. Arnold reads them, Joe finds out, and all pretenses between them are then dropped. Joe's evil actions become overt. Dina, like Arnold, provides a foil because her goodness offsets the evil in Joe. A long-suffering tubercular who had been the victim of Joe's machinations, she was driven mad but regained her sanity to become his much-abused servant until her death. She bears her suffering as penance for her sins. She is the only one who knew Joe's true history. She turns her writings over to Arnold, realizing that Arnold is her last hope for the truth to become known. Upon her death, which soon follows, Arnold is allowed to read them.

Arnold is horrified at the tale of crime and horror that these papers contain. Dina, as a young girl who lived sheltered away from the world with her misanthropic father, called for a physician when the old man became critically ill. Joe, then called Adalbert Braun, was a dashing young physician. He was able to save her father, but became
attracted to the naive girl and easily overcame her resistance. Their indiscretions were discovered by Dina's father, who threatened the lovers with an axe. Unknown to Dina, Joe dispatched her father and, after hiding Dina in a cave, returned to the scene the next day to sit in on the murder autopsy. He was relieved to find that the old man would soon have died anyway from his diseased internal organs. Dina, who had been sworn to silence, was taken to a distant hut occupied by one of Joe's patients; there she awaited the birth of Joe's child. While living in isolation she accidently made two alarming discoveries: she read about her father's murder in a newspaper which had been used to pack supplies; then from a letter dropped by Joe she discovered that he was married and had a son. She became insane and killed her child. Joe, when he discovered it, disposed of the child's body and they escaped to America. When Dina recovered her sanity she had no recollection of her deed, but Joe cruelly revealed the details to her in order to make her his slave. His soul was so hardened that he could look unflinchingly at Dina's suffering.

In America Joe took up with Hieram, who was also enslaved by Joe because Joe knew of his criminal past. After failing at other occupations, Joe began playing the role of prophet; hence the need for secrecy as to his own morally degenerate personal life. Dina was silently outraged as Joe and his mistresses engaged in all types of
frivolity and secretly ridiculed those who piously revered him as their spiritual leader.

**Joe's Defeat**

Thus Arnold discovers all of Joe's despicable treachery, and vows aloud to avenge poor Dina. This leads to a showdown between Arnold and Joe and to the final plot which consists of the escape of Arnold, Joe's conquest, defeat, and death. In these final scenes of intrigue and adventure, Joe is painted even blacker. Once the battle lines are drawn, the struggle commences and, of course, in the end good triumphs over evil. This is the fifth stage in Schoppe's characterization of Joe.

In this portion of the story (II, 164-71), Joe overhears Arnold's vow to avenge Dina. Joe walks into Arnold's room and demands Dina's papers, threatening him with a dagger. Arnold refuses and holds Joe hostage until he is outside Nauvoo. Joe offers to join forces with Arnold so that they can conquer the area together, but Arnold suspects this stratagem. Actually Joe would have destroyed Arnold despite his attraction to the young German. After Arnold's refusal, Joe vows that he must die, but Arnold escapes and goes to St. Louis where he befriends Governor Boggs and informs him fully of the state of events in Illinois.
Boggs, who is well-acquainted with Joe, the suitor of his young daughter, Flora, sees the need for immediate action and solicits help from Congress. They decline to send troops but replace Governor Carlin, Joe's dupe, with Governor Ford. In the meantime, Joe renews by letter his suit for Flora and offers to join forces with Boggs to create an invincible power block. In the same letter Joe accuses Arnold of seducing his daughter, Marie. Joe promises to go to any lengths to punish Arnold, the snake he nourished at his breast (III, 33). Boggs is not beguiled.

Meanwhile, Joe is using every device to whip up his fanatics in Nauvoo: fasting, pilgrimages, eloquent speeches and prayers on the altar in front of the golden book (III, 40). Joe tells his followers that he has had frightening signs and visions, but that God will stand by them if only they will stay firm in the faith and face danger without fear. His deception of the raw, ignorant rabble includes elaborate vicarious baptismal ceremonies in which great heroes from the past such as Caesar, Alexander the Great, Washington and Napoleon are received into the cult. Their spirits can then intercede for their Mormon brothers in case of need (III, 41). Joe lets it be known that he feels called to dictatorship, and he will be judge and avenger of the enemies of Mormonism. Only the sickness of his commanding general stays him from unleashing his lightning.
In an assassination attempt, Joe's henchmen are not successful in killing Boggs or Arnold, but Flora's music teacher is unintentionally killed. This humble gentleman turns out to be poor Dina's long lost brother, George. Boggs comments that it is strange and horrible that
dieser Tiger von Nauvoo beide Geschwister gleichsamen mit einem Griffe mordete, daß beide ihm zum Opfer fallen mußten und das, ohne daß er ihre Verwandtschaft ahnen konnte, ja ohne daß er einmal den Tod dieses armen George intendirte . . . (III, 59).
The villainous Mormon assassins are able to escape with the help of Mormon sympathizers, awakening a public outcry against suspected secret adherants of the cult (III, 62).
Arnold is dispatched to warn the new Governor of Illinois of the state of events. After consulting with him the Governor develops a plan to force Joe into open insubordination. Four constables are dispatched to Nauvoo to bring Joe to Vandalia. In Nauvoo they are greeted by jeering mobs of armed Mormons. Joe appears impressive in full general's uniform and tells them that he will obey their orders, though secretly he has no intention of giving himself up to the enemy. Meanwhile he gives a meaningful glance as signal to the crowd, who threaten the constables with an enraged cry that they will not let their prophet be taken prisoner. Joe, who has not spoken a word, then asks the crowd for silence and tells the constables to leave and report the
happenings there, and he warns them not to venture into the lion's den again (III, 71).

On his return from Illinois to St. Louis, Arnold is captured and taken to Joe, where he faints from the rough treatment. Upon opening Arnold's shirt so that he can breathe easier, Joe discovers a medallion around Arnold's neck with the portrait of his mother, whom Joe recognizes as his abandoned wife. Joe comes to the electrifying realization that Arnold is his abandoned son; hence his unexplainable attraction to the young man. Joe experiences a moment of pride in his son and compassion for him. Without revealing his secret, Joe again offers Arnold a stake in the Mormon enterprise, but Arnold refuses, saying he can never make a pact with untruth and greed: he totally rejects Joe. Joe still does not reveal his true identity but frees Arnold, saying that only God can see into a person's heart (III, 85-94).

Schoppe breaks here from the depiction of Joe as a repulsive megalomaniac to show that he is suffering from an inner struggle:

Sein Gesicht war bleich, seine Haltung gebrochen, seine Mienen verriethen den heftigen inneren Kampf.

nomenlose Qual! Mit Allem, was noch gut, noch unentweiht in ihm war, strebte er diesem Sohne entgegen . . . (III, 95-96).

Yet the bad side of Joe's nature quickly wins out, and as Schoppe says,

Joe Smith war bald nach Arnolds Entfernung ganz wieder der Mann von früher. Er schämte sich fast der Schwäche, in die ihn die Entdeckung, daß Arnold sein Sohn sei, für eine kurze Zeit versetzt hatte, ja sogar der Empfindungen, die er diesem entgegengetragen, und freute sich, daß er stark genug gewesen war, ihm gegenüber sein Geheimniß zu bewahren (III, 107).

At this point Joe seems utterly without redeeming qualities. His every courtesy, his every kind expression are only a facade for the scheming evil hidden behind it.

Joe is filled with raging jealousy at reports that Arnold and Flora are in love and swears to overcome all obstacles to possess her. His passion for Flora strangles his natural inclinations toward his son Arnold, and raw passion and deadly hate take over his soul (III, 119). Hieram quickly captures St. Louis and imprisons Boggs. Joe's siege of Vandalia also brings fast results, and as soon as the city is secured he goes to St. Louis to inform Boggs that the price of freedom is his daughter. Boggs' fatherly heart is fearful that Flora will soon fall to Joe's seduction. But virtue triumphs, and Joe's flattery, threats, and lies, including one as to Arnold's demise, only result in Flora's expression of love for Arnold and the desire to be released so that she can die on his grave. In this
classic melodrama scene, Flora's suffering only kindles the villain's passion. Her obedience to Joe's will is to be the condition of her father's freedom (III, 147). Of course, Arnold arrives on the scene just in time with his Sioux Indian friends to free the damsel in distress, and Joe is imprisoned.

Despite his seemingly hopeless situation, Joe's self-confidence is rekindled through a plot by Joe's surviving henchmen to break him out of jail. But his friends are killed in the attempt, and Joe is critically wounded. He has one last wish:


Arnold enters to find Joe lying on his deathbed. Joe tenderly reveals his identity, which comes as a great shock to Arnold. Joe admits that he swindled Arnold's mother out of her inheritance, leaving them in utter poverty though born to nobility. Joe attempts to make good by bequeathing all his vast riches, acquired by fraud and usury, to Arnold, who of course refuses them (III, 129). This tender, repentant moment is spoiled by Joe's ridicule of the last rites. He says that his only God is his own ego, his only law to make himself as happy as possible, and with this comment he expires (III, 180).
Schoppe typifies Joe as "Der, welcher in seiner zustörenden Selbstsucht die ihm geweihte Liebe edler, heiliger Herzen verrathen und mit Füßen getreten hatte . . ." (III, 183-84). He dies unmourned by those whose love he desired.

In Schoppe's characterization of Joe, she follows, throughout, the stereotype of the seducer. His actions are predictable, as are the revelations about his past. Though he is possessed of various noble qualities, these are simply his seductive front, which hides the evil inside. The whole story really centers around his attempted seduction of the noble Arnold and the innocent Flora, and shows the evil his duplicity has brought into the life of poor Dina. On a broader scale, his lies have perverted a whole religious society to his ends of ambition and power.

Other Stereotypes in Der Prophet

The Lustful Turk, the White Slave Procuer

Looking back at Arrington and Haupt's stereotypes, we see that two others of the stereotypes they cite are found in Joe's story. The stereotype of the "lustful Turk," for example, is that of a debauched Pasha and his lascivious harem filled with voluptuous houris, beauties like flowers to be plucked, enjoyed, and carelessly discarded. This stereotype usually carries over to descriptions of polygamy, but occurs here, in a novel with no intimation of
polygamous practices among the Mormons at this early date, as if by coincidence, in a single reference to Joe's lecherous habits. In speaking of the background of Marie, Joe's cast-off mistress, Schoppe evokes the lustful Turk metaphor:

Ihr Vater war in England Kunstreiter gewesen; von ihm weggelaufen, hatte sie sich bei einer vagieren-den Schauspielertruppe, die nach Amerika ging, engagirt und war bei dieser von Hieram aufgespürt worden, der sich eben wieder nach einer neuen Sultanin für den Propheten umthat (II, 183).

The role played by Hieram in this passage brings out the other stereotype, that of the white slave procurer. Arrington and Haupt note that Mormon missionaries were often accused by rival ministers of engaging in the recruitment of girls for their harems. Hieram does all sorts of recruiting, including the first converts (I, 63). He returns to Ireland, his homeland, to carry out Joe's purposes, despite the fact that he is a fugitive from Irish justice (II, 187).

The Sinister Society of Mormonism

A major and fascinating theme of the novel, while subordinate to the development of Joe Smith as a seducer, is that of Mormonism itself. Schoppe characterizes its followers as ignorant, deluded fanatics, while expressing admiration for its rapid growth and spectacular achievements. Her treatment of Mormonism falls easily into another stereotype, catalogued by Arrington and Haupt as the
"sinister secret society." According to them, writers on Mormonism, knowing about the Mormons' secret ceremonies and covenants, attributed to them evil practices and beliefs often wrongly ascribed to the Masons, the Ku Klux Klan and other such oath-bound groups and figuring prominently in popular tales of the era.

The Mormon believers described by Schoppe are not a pleasant lot. Hieram's description of Joe's life of secrecy, his calling as a great prophet and possession of the golden Bible, is enough to convince these gullible individuals: "Dies war genug und mehr als genug, die leichtgläubige Menge für die neue Lehre . . . zu entflammen" (I, 64). Fired by their fanaticism, they follow Joe's every command and leave their homes to build a new city in the wilderness (I, 68-69). The growth is phenomenal, "selten hat sich wohl je eine andere Religionssecte so schnell ausgebreitet, als der Mormonismus" (I, 70). The prophet learns that spreading his believers out, though he concentrates his power in Nauvoo, is a good tactic:

[Er begünstigte] einzelne Niederlassungen in benachbarten Staaten aus dem Grunde . . . weil ihm allemal dadurch eine Menge Proselyten zugeführt wurde. Die Erfahrung hatte ihn gelehrt, daß er da, wo sich nur eine Mormonfamilie angesiedelt hatte, bald auf mehr Anhänger rechnen konnte. . . . Es muß zugegeben werden, daß die Mormons sich vor allen andern Ansiedlern durch Fleiß, Frömmigkeit, Reinlichkeit und Geschicklichkeit auszeichneten, daß der Anblick ihrer Farms der lachendste war und für Musterwirthschaften gelten konnten; dies bewog die Nachbarn bald, Umgang mit ihnen zu suchen und
da nichts so ansteckend ist, als der Fanatismus, so konnte es nicht an Proselyten fehlen (II, 201-202).

These Mormon fanatics are willing to go to any lengths for their "ridiculous" beliefs:

[W]ohin der Prophet kam, durfte er auf Beihilfe aller Art rechnen, namentlich auf Spione, die willig ihr Leben dafür auf's Spiel setzten, einer Sache zu dienen, die sie als die ihrige ansahen, und den Plänen eines Mannes, der in ihren Augen ein Heiliger, ja, der verheißene Messias war (III, 119).

Schoppe also gives the reason for the success of Mormon proselyting efforts:

[N]ichts ist ansteckender als Fanatismus und selbst der unsinnigste Cultus, wenn er nur mit Eifer von seinen ersten Anhängern geübt wird, wenn nur mystische Gebräuche mit ihm verbunden sind, wird überall, wo er auftritt, Zulauf haben. Es ergeht damit, wie mit der Quacksalberei: der ärgste Charlatan findet bei der großen Masse weit mehr Glauben, als der allergeschickteste Heilkünstler (III, 118).

Thus Schoppe creates a mystery-bound secret society populated by deluded fanatics who are willing to perform any deed for their leader, even the sacrifice of their lives.

Aside from Joe Smith and Hieram, the only personal glimpse Schoppe gives of individual Mormons is of John Adams, his wife, and their son, Joram. They are as sinister and unfriendly as one can imagine participants in a secret society to be. Old John Adams is Joe's personal servant and gardner. He is an unfriendly man with a short temper, and his face has a "mürrischen und finstern Ausdruck . . . " (I, 101). His wife is equally unpleasant. She is described as "dieses fast colossale Weib, mit dem rothen,

Most unpleasant of all, however, is their son Joram, who works as clandestine henchman for Joe Smith. His is a look of "giftger Bosheit" (III, 35). He evokes this reaction:

"In meinem ganzen Leben ist mir noch eine solche Galgenphysiognamie nicht vorgekommen! Das Blut erfriert einem in den Adern beim Anblick dieses Menschen" (III, 36).

This was with good reason: Joram, along with Hieram, attempts to assassinate Arnold and Governor Boggs (III, 45), remains silent at his trial (III, 56), and escapes from prison, leaving a dead guard behind (III, 60-62). He later is killed in the attempt to free Joe Smith (III, 173).

The rites of this sinister secret society are also revealed. The purpose of these rites is to initiate and bind the fanatical followers. Such rites are also used to whip the Mormons into a frenzy against the rightful authorities, whom they perceive to be their enemies. Joe Smith knows how to use such rites skillfully in order to achieve his goals.

The initiate to Mormonism has to prepare himself for the ceremony by strict fasting and prayer. He is taken before the temple altar, which is decorated with greenery but not with flowers, and upon which lies the gold book covered by a glass bell, and beside which burn two gigantic candles
on golden candelabra. The silent room is filled with numbing fragrances, some of which are probably narcotic. The prophet, standing on the topmost step of the altar, dressed in a splendid white flowing robe, pierces the initiate's soul with his searching gaze, then commences prayers in an unknown tongue, kneeling at the altar. After this ceremony is finished, the initiate is led into another room where he is instructed in the new teachings. If he passes his catechism, he is led back to the altar, where he kneels and repeats an oath. He then is given a consecrating kiss from the prophet and is received into the covenant of the Mormons (I, 64-66).

In the temple is also to be found the symbol of Mormonism, twelve great wooden oxen which bear a colossal font in which not only newborn children, but also adults are baptized. A person can become a Mormon without his knowledge and without professing the faith because an actual member can do him the honor of being baptized in his name. This good deed can even be extended to the dead, "und so ist diese Ehre, lange nach ihrem Tode, Washington und Jafferis [sic] zu Theil geworden" (I, 72).

Through fasting, prayer, burning of incense and candles, and moving speeches, all playing on the people's fear of destruction, the prophet, in time of danger, is able to whip up fanaticism. Once fears have reached their highest, he is able to announce that God has heard their
pleas. To this is added the baptismal ceremony, whereby the spirits of long dead heroes are added to their numbers in order to call these spirits to their aid (III, 39-41). The result is to forge the Mormon city into a hostile armed camp which stands firmly behind their leader (III, 72-73). Through use of these ceremonies, the zealous Mormons are quickly able to quickly conquer the surrounding territories, which was the intention of their leader (III, 120, 130).

Conclusion

So we have in this popular German novel one major example of a Mormon stereotype, the seducer, in the form of Joe Smith, the founder of Mormonism, who is the central character. The whole plot revolves around the struggle of noble Arnold against villainous Joe. Joe is shown to be a person who outwardly seems a great leader, educated, intelligent and able to work great deeds by channeling the powers of his fanatic followers, while inwardly he is immoral, degraded, blasphemous, and determined to become dictator of the region. He tries repeatedly to win noble Arnold to his side, tries to delude him into an ignoble match with his mistress, but, despite all efforts, Arnold remains incorruptible. Joe even tries to kill Arnold, but is himself defeated. Even on his deathbed he remains unreconciled to Arnold and to God because he is unable to renounce the evil that controlled him.
Further examples of stereotyped characters are the allusion to Joe as the "lustful Turk" and Hieram as his "white slave procurer." These are much less developed than the "seducer" character. Both appear in later literature about the Mormons on both sides of the Atlantic and are stereotypes catalogued by students of Mormons in fiction. It is notable, however, that in Der Prophet the women are not taken into polygamy; instead their purpose is to satisfy Joe's insatiable personal lusts.

Another of Arrington and Haupt's stereotypes, of Mormonism as the "sinister secret society," is well developed in Der Prophet. In the story, its rites and beliefs are able to bind its fanatical adherants and motivate them to commit crimes in the name of Mormonism.

It is difficult to determine what impact these characterizations might have made on readers of Der Prophet. Taken together, they make a definite statement about Mormonism, its founder and its adherents. Written at a time when Schoppe's popularity was firmly established, it undoubtedly circulated to what was a large audience for the time. Its publication came at a time when literacy was rising rapidly, and the demand for such writing was growing to fill the vacuum. Its main purpose, as with all of Schoppe's fiction, was to provide the public a much-needed escape literature. It is not possible to establish that Der Prophet had any direct effect in shaping policy, as its
American counterparts in fiction arguably did. More likely, German audiences probably considered Mormons, as Schoppe portrayed them, to be another aberration of immoderate American democracy.\textsuperscript{37} Taken in the context of the totality of writing about Mormonism which became available in Germany, it undoubtedly made a contribution to the negative public perception of Mormonism.

The influence of *Der Prophet* on the German Western adventures that were to follow it is also difficult to determine. Although Schoppe's characterizations fit well with the stereotypes which appear in the anti-Mormon fiction that follows her work, several reasons prevent the conclusion that she immediately set a trend.

First, Schoppe herself never dealt with the Mormon theme again, although she wrote several other novels with an American setting. Second, Schoppe's reputation as a writer of trivial and juvenile literature did not make her work the kind that writers with more serious ambitions would want to emulate.\textsuperscript{38} Third, I have found no evidence that any fiction, serious or trivial, about Mormons was published soon after *Der Prophet*.

Conversely, although publication of *Der Prophet* may not have immediately spawned more fiction about the Mormons, it made an early contribution to a movement which began with translations of Cooper's works, with which Schoppe was familiar, and which flowered into the extremely popular
school of German transatlantic fiction writing of which Möllhausen, also a writer about Mormons, is a prime example. Schoppe's book may well have influenced Möllhausen and other German writers by establishing the stereotypes in fiction. Furthermore, the stereotypes which appear in her novel are consistent with representations of Mormons in many current factual accounts. In any case, her characterizations fit well into the stereotypes which were to become central to most of the large body of anti-Mormon fiction which was to follow her, both in Europe and in the United States.
NOTES

1 Parenthetical references in the text of this chapter are to Amalie Schoppe, Der Prophet: Historischer Roman aus der Neuzeit Nordamerikas (Jena: Friedrich Luden, 1846).


4 Ibid., p. 239.


9 Arrington and Haupt, "Intolerable Zion: The Image of Mormonism in Nineteenth Century American Literature," Western Humanities Review, 22 (1968), 244.


11 Schleucher, p. 263.


13 Ibid., pp. 3-4.

15 Schleucher, p. 243.
16 Stolte, p. 171.
17 Schleucher, p. 243.
18 Stolte, p. 158.
19 Ibid., p. 170.
20 Ibid., p. 158.
23 Ibid., pp. 101-110.
24 Arrington and Haupt, "Intolerable Zion," p. 246.
25 Ibid., pp. 246, 247.
26 Ibid., p. 247.
27 Ibid., p. 246.
29 Ibid., pp. 186-89.
30 Ibid., p. 189.
31 Arrington and Haupt, "Intolerable Zion," p. 247.
32 Ibid., p. 246.
33 Ibid., p. 247.
34 Schleucher, p. 238.
36 Ibid., p. 269.

38 Schleuer, pp. 239-44.

39 Preston A. Barba, Cooper in Germany, Indiana Univ. Studies, No. 21 (Bloomington: Indiana Univ., 1914), pp. 64, 68.
CHAPTER THREE

Balduin Möllhausen: The True Western Adventurer
Succumbs to the Stereotypes

Balduin Möllhausen's life and writings present an interesting contrast to Amalia Schoppe's. Like her, he was a prolific and popular writer. His works fill 178 volumes,¹ and his adventure tales were so successful that he became the most popular German writer of the 1860's and 1870's.² In contrast to Schoppe, fortune smiled on Möllhausen. Good friends, financial stability, and benefactors made it possible for him to travel abroad and made his life and writings optimistic and exuberant.³ By contrast, Schoppe's unhappy life and stormy personal relationships give her work a certain sense of gloom.⁴ Unlike in Schoppe's works, which only dealt with the Mormon theme one time, it appears several times in Möllhausen's writing.

More importantly, while Schoppe wrote from imagination, Möllhausen drew from experience. He made three extensive trips to frontier America and could speak with authority. Even at an advanced age the "old trapper" enjoyed donning his buckskins and spinning one of his yarns.⁵ Nevertheless, his views of Mormonism became colored by popular conceptions and his descriptions of it, especially in his later Mormon novels, were often stereotyped.
A German on the Frontier

Since Möllhausen's true adventures form the source of his fiction, a brief biographical sketch seems appropriate before examining his writings. The extent to which his fiction is influenced by experience is indicated in the preface to his first novel, Der HalbIndianer:

Während eines langjährigen Aufenthaltes an den Grenzen der Civilisation und in abgelegenen Wildnissen häuft sich nämlich der Stoff so sehr, daß man ihn füglich nicht in den Reisewerken verwenden kann, ohne deren Character wesentlich zu verändern. . . .

Dergleichen auftauchende Bilder in ein Ganzes zusammenzufügen, war in den nachfolgenden Blättern meine Aufgabe. . . .

The places and people he describes are largely real. Sometimes he does not even bother to fictionalize names of real people. His novels are meant to be an expression of experienced adventures, or adventure tales he heard from mountain men and plainsmen; hence they sound authentic.

Too poor to attend the university, young Möllhausen came to America after a brief but successful military career. After roaming the Great Lakes and Illinois, he chanced on a scientific expedition to the Rocky Mountains led by "the Gypsy Prince," Prince Wilhelm, Duke of Württemberg. The duke took the greenhorn on, but probably regretted it later because Möllhausen's constant bouts with the fever slowed their progress. Möllhausen and the duke travelled alone on their return from Fort Laramie.
Möllhausen began writing a diary, developing a skill which later became the basis of his fame.\(^{10}\) Scrapes with Indians, fever, lack of forage and finally winter snows hampered their progress until their situation became desperate. Miraculously, on November 25, 1851, the stagecoach came by with room for one passenger. They drew lots, Möllhausen lost and was left behind to guard their possessions.

Rescuers never arrived. They were probably waylaid by hostile Indians. Möllhausen was left alone to fight fever, hunger, wolves, and hostile Indians until he was rescued by friendly Oto Indians. He lived and travelled with them for five weeks until he reached an outpost of civilization at Bellvue, near present-day Omaha. Here he made numerous acquaintances and considered settling, until April, when a letter arrived from Duke Paul who was in New Orleans.\(^{11}\)

Needless to say, these experiences provided Möllhausen with plenty of material in later years. His rambles through Illinois must have led to some exposure to Mormonism, since the Mormons had only recently left that area because of persecution, but Möllhausen does not mention them. He did, however, come into contact with Mormons at least twice while on the Nebraska plains, and nearly became a guide for a group of them who were heading west.\(^{12}\)

As if his rescue from the high plains in midwinter were not fortune enough, another chain of events occurred to
young Balduin's benefit. Möllhausen's enquiries to Angelrodt, the German consul at St. Louis, as to Duke Paul's whereabouts resulted not only in their reunion, but in entrustment of a shipment of zoological specimens to Möllhausen's care to be delivered to Professor Lichtenstein, founder of the Berlin Zoo.

After his return to Berlin in the fall of 1852, he was introduced by Lichtenstein to the aging Alexander von Humboldt, who became his benefactor. Möllhausen later married a member of Humboldt's household, Carolina Seifert, daughter of Humboldt's secretary and travelling companion. Humboldt introduced him to King Friedrich Wilhelm IV. Möllhausen became a great favorite of the king, who in 1855 created for him the sinecure of custodian of the royal libraries in Potsdam, freeing him to devote his life to travelling and writing.

Möllhausen spent a short time after his return to Berlin studying drawing, but with Humboldt's encouragement, and provided with plenty of money and recommendations from his new friends, Möllhausen returned to New York in May, 1853. He soon secured an assignment with an expedition under Lieutenant Amiel W. Whipple, which was then gearing up to explore a railroad route along the 35th parallel from Fort Smith, Arkansas, to Los Angeles via Albuquerque. Möllhausen acted as topographer and naturalist, recording his impressions in the form of sketches and a diary.
During nine months in the field, Möllhausen came into contact with Indian, Mexican and American cultures. Among those he met were Mormons making their way to Salt Lake. After a stay in Old Albuquerque of over a month, an arduous journey over the terra incognita between the New Mexican settlements and the Colorado, and an uneventful march across southern California to Los Angeles, the expedition disbanded.

Möllhausen returned by sea to Washington via San Francisco and the Isthmus of Panama, where he completed his sketches and his report. He was in Berlin again by late 1854, and the following year prepared for publication his Tagebuch einer Reise vom Mississippi nach den Küsten der Südsee.

After his return from the Whipple expedition, Möllhausen apparently became quite a popular speaker. Because of his scientific contributions, the king granted him the Order of the Red Eagle, fourth class. Möllhausen was not quite ready to settle down, however. He had "dreams of nothing but of the happiness to be attached once more to an American expedition." With Humboldt's help, Möllhausen received an invitation to join a survey under Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives to determine the navigability of the Colorado River in June, 1857.

Möllhausen joined the expedition at San Francisco after an ocean voyage by way of Liverpool, New York, Washington and Panama. The expedition split into three groups and
reassembled at Fort Yuma. Möllhausen's group travelled by steamer to San Pedro, then overland via Los Angeles, San Fernando Mission and Fort Tejon to Yuma. The objective was to conduct a hydrographic survey to the head of navigation, and then to proceed upstream mapping the tributaries of the Colorado and the canyon country. Möllhausen was to aid in collecting scientific specimens and to illustrate the final report.

Impending hostilities between the United States and the Mormons, however, cast a pall over Möllhausen's excitement. Since he was a foreigner whom the Mormons had no desire to endanger, he was given fair warning early on the trip:

Schon in Pueblo de Los Angeles erging an mich durch einige Mormonen die Aufforderung, mich als Ausländer von der Expedition zu trennen, wenn mir mein Leben lieb sei.

By the time the expedition was ready to depart from Fort Yuma, it became clear that its purpose was not to be entirely scientific. Ives received dispatches informing him of the outbreak of the Mormon War. In response to reports of Mormon crimes bordering on treason, President Buchanan ordered federal troops to Utah to force compliance with federal control and to compel replacement of Governor Brigham Young, who was also president of the Latter-day Saint church. Though bloodshed was averted by negotiations later that spring, at the time there was fear that the expedition was in great danger. The new goal of the
expedition was to determine the feasibility of transporting troops and materiel up the Colorado to the mouth of the Virgin River. Army control of such a route would also cut off a possible Mormon escape route.\textsuperscript{27}

The trip upriver in a tiny steamer through friendly Mohave Indian country proved safe enough, and Möllhausen had many interesting experiences.\textsuperscript{28} The expedition found the river unnavigable above Black Canyon and the terrain too broken to continue far overland, so they returned downriver to intercept the pack train following with their supplies. When they entered Mohave territory, they found that Mormons had incited them and the expedition was in terror of being killed by Mormons or scalped by Indians.\textsuperscript{29} Their curiosity was aroused by seeing tracks of white men. Later the steamer was hailed by a white man who claimed to be fleeing from the Mormons, but whom the party suspected to be a Mormon spy.\textsuperscript{30} Miller identified this man as Thales Haskell, who, with Jacob Hamblin and two others, had been sent by President Young to spy on the expedition.\textsuperscript{31}

The expedition was able to meet up safely with their supply train, and with fresh supplies they set off to explore the south rim of the Grand Canyon. Following Whipple's route, they then continued on through Hopi and Zuni country to Albuquerque, where the expedition disbanded. Möllhausen and other scientist members then crossed the plains to Leavenworth, Kansas, where he and a companion
boarded a steamer to Cleveland via St. Louis. On September 1, 1858, Möllhausen left America, never to return.32

**Travel Accounts Give Way to Fiction**

Back in Germany at last, Möllhausen finished his reports and took up painting. In 1861, in recognition of his *Reisen in die Felsengebirge Nordamerikas*, Möllhausen was made Knight of the Imperial Austrian Order of Franz Josef. His picturesque personality and storytelling skill made him a favorite, and at his friends' urging he began publishing short fictional pieces in *Die Gartenlaube*, a popular periodical. His aunt, Adelheid von Falkenstein, encouraged him to write his first novel, *Der Halbindianer.*33 Its success launched his long writing career which lasted until his death in 1905 at the age of eighty.34

No less a figure than Theodore Fontane took occasion to comment on Möllhausen's fictional style. In the introduction to *Leuchtturm am Michigan und andere Erzählungen* (1853), he writes:

>[D]ie Charactere, die seine Phantasie schafft, [sind] weder von einer besonderen Mannigfaltigkeit, noch von besonderer Tiefe... Alle seine Figuren sind ihm vielmehr nur Träger seiner Geschichte... Möllhausen ist Erzähler pur sang, und weil er es ist, ist er in einem seltenen Grade populär. Er unterhält, er spannt, er befriedigt.35

His great narrative talent seems to compensate for his lack of skill at characterization. In point of form, some have considered Möllhausen's novels the best of the exotic novel
genre. He has the "sustained ability to tell a fast-paced, exciting tale." And this skill proved to be irresistible to his readers. Though his works contain a great deal of authentic cultural and ethnographic detail, Möllhausen knew how to subordinate such material to his plot.

The weakness in his style, as Fontane intimates, is his characterization. Though Preston A. Barba, in his effusive praise of Möllhausen's style, seems to overlook this weakness, other scholars have noted that his characters are either black or white, with no intermediate shades of gray; his heroes are paragons of virtue, and his villains have no redeeming qualities. This is particularly true in regard to Indians and Mormons. His characterizations of Mormons, as will be shown, also fit the models of Mormon stereotypes set up by Arrington and Haupt.

Möllhausen's characterization of Mormons undoubtedly arose from his own experiences and from the stories he heard about them. Though he was very near, Möllhausen himself never went to Utah, but he met ample Mormons in his travels, and apparently heard some gruesome tales about them. It is interesting to note that his earlier accounts of them seem fairly objective in tone, but his bad experiences with the Ives Expedition during the Mormon War seem to have turned him against them. His fictional works also show a progression: from a not completely unpraiseworthy group in
Mormons in Möllhausen's Travel Accounts

Before turning to Möllhausen's fictional works, let us take a brief look at his two travel narratives, Tagebuch einer Reise nach den Küsten der Südsee (later retitled Wanderungen durch die Prairien und Wüsten), and Reisen durch die Felsenengebirge Nord-Amerikas, which reveal his thinking about Mormons and demonstrate that even his factual accounts stereotyped them.

Möllhausen's travel accounts are not diaries in the strict sense of the word. Peter A. Fritzell says:

Möllhausen is not primarily interested in rudimentary facts and incipient events. He is more interested in developed situations—landscapes, Indian villages, and tales of the western past, for example. . . .

These accounts read more like a Cooper novel, and show a continuous struggle between description and narration. They make interesting reading because his descriptions are most picturesque. He takes plenty of time to reflect, evaluate, and philosophize about what he is seeing. Best of all, he repeats the stories told around their evening camp-fires as the expedition members and colorful guides relate their experiences. These accounts include his own past experiences, as he retells them to his travel companions. Fritzell says,
One finds . . . that Möllhausen has diversified his so-called "diary" by building into the narrative proper a series of illustrative short stories or tales, seeking either historical or imaginative corroboration for the picture he is drawing of the West.44

Thus, his travel accounts may themselves be viewed, in a sense, as fictional works.

Möllhausen's first encounter with Mormons is recounted in a campfire tale of his trip across the Nebraska plains with Duke Paul. As he and the duke lie on the grass discussing their plans and observing an approaching buffalo herd, a troop of white riders approaches:

"Als sie unserer ansichtig wurden, lenkten sie auf uns zu, begrüßten uns freundlich und theilten uns mit, daß sie Mormonen seien, und sich auf der Reise vom großen Salzsee . . . nach dem Missouri befänden" (Reisen, I, 190).

Later on the same trip, though recounted on another occasion, Möllhausen gets better acquainted with some Mormons:


Möllhausen decides not to accompany the Mormons because a letter arrives from Duke Paul in New Orleans with letters of credit for the voyage.

Apparently Möllhausen learned a great deal about the Mormons from this encounter, because he used it as the basis for an aside in his Tagebuch on the Mormons which was inspired by the expedition's passing by the Mormon settlements in southern California on the San Bernardino River. Möllhausen indicates that he also had access to the reports of Captain Howard Stanley and Captain Gunnison. He notes that "das Gouvernement der Vereinigten Staaten gegen diese eigenthümliche Sekt mit größter Nachsicht und gewohnter Liberalität verfährt" (Wanderungen, 433). He also notes the difficulty of getting at the truth in the political conflicts between Salt Lake and Washington (Wanderungen, 433).

Dee Ashliman has criticized this account for being unsympathetic in tone. With the possible exception of the footnote mentioned, Möllhausen's tone remains, in fact,
quite objective. There is no editorializing here. This is in contrast to later accounts of Mormons in *Reisen in die Felsengebirge Nord-Amerikas* and, of course, to his fictional writings.

After a description of the Salt Lake valley, Möllhausen writes a bit about Mormon beliefs:

> Der Glaube dieser Sekte nun, die mit so ungeheuren Anstrengungen und Opfern darauf hinarbeitet, ihre Religion über den ganzen Erdball zu verbreiten, ist begründet auf der unerschütterlichen Überzeugung, daß alle christlichen Sekten auf Wegen wandeln, die nicht zum Himmelreiche führen, und daß dieses nur den Anhängern der "Melchisedek-Priesterschaft" zu Theil werden könne (*Wanderungen* 434).

He goes on to speak of the revelation of golden tablets to Joseph Smith by an angel containing miraculous writings which Joseph Smith was given the power to translate. He speaks of the divine consecration of Joseph Smith to be a member of the "Melchisedek-Priesterschaft," to appoint apostles to preach among the nations of the earth, and to found the "Kirche Jesu Christi der neuen Heiligen" (*Wanderungen* 434). He mentions, as well, the belief in the divinity of the Bible, the scriptural value of the *Book of Mormon*, belief in miracles, healing by the laying on of hands, and the form of worship with singing, preaching and instrumental music (*Wanderungen* 434).

Möllhausen does not put undue emphasis on polygamy. Even if he did, it would only be natural for him to devote attention to the aspect of Mormonism which raised the
greatest curiosity. He says that the practice, denied by
the Mormons in Illinois, came to be openly practiced:

Selbst die Prediger erklären öffentlich von der
Kanzel, daß es ihnen frei stände, sich 1000
Weiber zu nehmen, wenn es ihnen beliebte, und sie
fordern Jeden auf, aus der Bibel das Gegenteil zu
beweisen. . . . Sie behaupten sogar, daß Jesus
Christus drei Frauen gehabt habe, nämliche Maria,
Martha und die andere Maria, die er liebte, und
daß er alle auf der Hochzeit zu Kana geheirathet
habe. . . . Solche Ehe halten die Mormonen für
eine durchaus tugendhafte und ehrenvolle. . . .
Ueberhaupt erklären die Mormonen solche Ehebünd-
nisse für fester und bindender, als die aller
anderen Religionen und Sekten, um so mehr, als
nach ihrem Dafürhalten das künftige Leben . . . in
enger Beziehung mit den ehelichen Verhältnissen in
dieser Welt steht . . . und der Grad der Seligkeit
des [Mannes] hängt mit von der Zahl der Frauen ab,
die ihm auf Erden angehört haben.—Jeder Gedanke
an Sinnlichkeit, als Grund zu solchen Bündnissen,
will streng verworfen, indem das Hauptaugenmerk
Aller ist, so schnell wie möglich eine heilige
Generation zu gründen, die das Königreich des
Herrn auf Erden bauen soll (Wanderungen 435).

The president of the church is the only one authorized
to permit and dissolve marriages, so he maintains great
power over the people. If a woman has been passed over or
neglected, he must find her a husband, and may compel a
suitable man to marry her to save her soul. He says that
observers insist that sisterly affection prevails among the
wives of a polygamous household, and a cheerfulness
bordering on boisterousness (Wanderungen 436).

Möllhausen relates that missionaries are sent abroad
in crowds to propagate the doctrine, and converts are
constantly pouring into Salt Lake City. He mentions the
Perpetual Immigration Fund, set aside to assist convert immigrants (Wanderungen 436). He says that the settlements on the San Bernardino River have been set up to aid travelers on their way to Salt Lake, allowing them to avoid the arduous journey over the prairies and mountains by coming by sea via Panama and San Diego (Wanderungen 438).

The brief and stormy history of Mormonism is retold. After two years of peace in the town of Zion on the Missouri frontier, the population of the "Provinz Jackson" gathered and drove them out (Wanderungen 437). Despite daily increase in their numbers they were then expelled from Clay County and fled to temporary refuge in Nauvoo, Illinois, where they built a town and a magnificent temple. Their peace was not to last:

Bei der Eigenthümlichkeit ihrer Religion war es vorherzusehen, daß sie nicht lange mit ihren Nachbarn in Frieden würden leben können, und im Jahre 1841 bis 42 gab die Vielweiberei, deren Existenz damals erst ruchbar geworden war, den ersten Anstoß zu Anfeindungen. Immer neue Verbrechen, vom Diebstahl bis zum Mord, wurden (ob mit Recht oder Unrecht, ist nicht erwiesen) den Mormonen zur Last gelegt, bis endlich die Feindseligkeiten wieder ausbrachen, und damit endigten, daß der Prophet Joseph und sein Bruder Hyrum erschossen und Nauvoo niedergebrannt wurde (Wanderungen 437).

Guided by Brigham Young, the Mormons passed to the upper Missouri and settled twenty miles above the mouth of the Platte River, while sending out hunters to explore the country:
Im Jahre 1847 begaben sich 143 ihrer Männer vom Missouri aus auf den Weg gegen Westen; ihnen folgte in kleinen Abtheilungen die ganze Gemeinde nach, und so erreichten sie denn endlich nach einer mühevollen Fahrt den großen Salzsee, wo sie ihr Reich zu gründen beschlossen (Wanderungen 437).

The consecrated land brought forth a prosperous settlement, despite disease and famine, and Brigham Young has reigned over it since (Wanderungen 437).

Möllhausen writes with a great degree of respect about the Mormon endeavor:


This respect carries over, albeit somewhat grudgingly, into Möllhausen's later novels, the same which characterize Mormons as ruthless fanatics, for example:

[D]ie Mormonen, nachdem sie weiter nördlich am großen Salzsee ihre heilige Stadt angelegt hatten, [zerstreuten] sich auch über die eben genannten Territorien [Utah Valley] . . . und nicht nur Farm auf Farm errichteteten, sondern auch zur Anlegung von größeren Städten schritten und auf diese Weise den Boden für die nachfolgenden und fast täglich eintreffenden Brüder ihrer jungen Gemeinde ebneten.
So far, up until the end of Möllhausen's second American odyssey, we see little in his work that shows any bias against Mormons. His attitude changes radically, however, in accounts of his encounters with them during his third trip, the Ives Expedition to the Colorado.

At the time of this trip, 1857-1858, all the territory from San Bernardino north to Salt Lake was Mormon country. The Colorado River expedition set out to explore the area from the mouth of the river in the Gulf of California to the mouth of the Virgin River, which was the limit of Mormon settlement (Reisen I, 380). Möllhausen writes that the Mormons had their eye on the Colorado Valley area as a possible area for settlement and as an easier route to the sea and had even petitioned the government for permission to explore it (Reisen I, 114). However, as already has been mentioned, the growing hostilities culminating in the invasion of federal troops in 1858 led instead to army explorations to determine the feasibility of using the route for troops and supplies.47 The warning Möllhausen had from the Mormons in Los Angeles to leave the expedition (Reisen I, 115) seems to have turned him against them, as did, no doubt, the low opinions that his travelling companions held of them (Reisen I, 154).

Möllhausen gave evidence of his feelings about the Mormons in his account of the expedition's first contact with
them. Upon observing the tracks of horses ridden by experienced whites, Möllhausen says:

Unsere ersten Gedanken fielen natürlich auf die Mormonen, und für nur zu wahrscheinlich hielten wir es, daß, während wir uns in Black Canon befanden, einige Emissaire dieser fanatischen Secte an uns vorbeigezogen seien, um in unserem Rücken die Indianer zum Aufstand zu bewegen (Reisen I, 396).

This is the first instance of Möllhausen's bringing into conjunction the ideas of fanaticism and Mormonism. Later, as will be seen, the two become nearly synonymous in his writing.

Möllhausen relates that sometime after sighting the tracks, their boat was hailed by a white man on the shore who enquires as to the mood of the Indians thereabouts. He tells them that he is travelling that route because the better road via San Bernardino has become unsafe, since Mormons have stirred up the Indians. He denies that he is a Mormon, but confesses that he lived among them for several years but has fled because they are intolerant of non-believers in their midst, especially since the developments between them and the United States. Möllhausen is skeptical, and relates his impressions of the man:

Trotz der schönen Redensarten, die der Mensch vortrug, zweifelte doch Niemand, daß wir einen Spion vor uns hatten. . . . So viel Schläuheit er auch zeigte und es vorsichtig vermied, sich durch ein unbedachtes Wort zu verrathen, so entgingen uns doch nicht die Blicke eines tief gewurzelten Hasses, mit denen er uns, wenn er sich unbeachtet glaubte, betrachtete, und die vollkommen im
Einklange standen mit seinen großen weißen Zähnen, die er während des Sprechens fortwährend wie ein fletschender Wolf zeigte (Reisen I, 398).

The spy spends the night in camp among the nervous explorers and is set across the river the following morning:

[E]r nahm weder Abschied, noch dankte er für die empfangene Gastfreundschaft, und wahrscheinlich fluchte er uns noch in seinem Herzen. Doch auch von unserer Seite folgten ihm gerade keine Segenswünsche. . . .

Uns Allen war es übrigens bekannt, welche Gabe die Mormonen besitzten, die Eingeborenen für ihre Pläne zu gewinnen, und eben so, daß sie unter den damaligen Verhältnissen kein Mittel scheuen würden, um in den Besitz unseres Dampfbootes und unserer Papiere zu gelangen (Reisen I 399-400).

These passages show the deep distrust that Möllhausen had come to feel for Mormons. His account expresses his feelings of anger and fear toward them by the use of his simile comparing the Mormon's large teeth with the fangs of a wolf and his use of such terms and phrases as "Schlaueheit" and "Blick eines tief gewurzelten Hasses." He points out the spy's failure to thank the party for their hospitality. His feelings toward the Mormons have set, and he is rarely again able to describe them, most particularly as fictional characters, without reference to their criminality, fanatism, veiled hate, or other unsavory characteristics. Henceforth all his Mormons are characterized in such a way that they may be catalogued into one or the other of Arrington and Haupt's stereotypes.

Interestingly enough, this Mormon spy related his side of the encounter. David H. Miller has identified the man as
Thales H. Haskell.\textsuperscript{48} Haskell wrote the following in an autobiography of his mission to the Indians:

The news of an army being sent into Utah to manage our affairs caused us much excitement and worry. . . . Brother [Jacob] Hamblin requested that I try . . . to get information as to what the purpose of the expedition was. This was my first real experience at espionage. . . . I posed as a renegade from Utah. . . .

I found the outfit to be in charge of a man named Ives who had been sent out by the government to map that area and to find out if an army could be taken into southern Utah by waterway if it were needed to subjugate the Mormons. I appeared as innocent as I could and listened to their horrible stories about the Mormons and what they intended to do to them. . . .

I soon overtook my companions and told them all. Jacob was very much worried.\textsuperscript{49}

The juxtaposition of Möllhausen's and Haskell's accounts of the same incident shows the unfairness by both parties of carrying such a bias and the need to try to understand all points of view. This need also should extend to the creation of fictional characters. Haskell's account reveals him to have been a novice at deceit. Rather than a sly wolf shooting hate-filled glances, he seems to have been more nervous than the expedition members. His courage in walking into the enemy camp seems admirable. It is understandable, however, that Möllhausen's rampant imagination, when faced with unknown danger, would have transformed this humble missionary and scout into a rabid fanatic. Möllhausen also comments on Mormon missionary attempts among the Indians. He notes that baptism of the natives
brought an Indian so much ridicule from other tribe members that the Mormons ought to give up the practice (Reisen I, 362). Their Indian guide relates such an occasion through their translator:

Beide schienen aus dem Lachen nicht herauskommen zu können, als sie uns umständlich die Scene beschrieben, in welcher die neuen Anhänger des Mormonenthums von ihren Bekehrern mit dem Kopfe im fließenden Wasser untergetaucht worden waren (Reisen I, 362).

This incident later becomes fictionalized in Das Mormonenmädchen (386-92).

Mormons in Möllhausen's Fiction

Turning to Möllhausen's fictional works, we find that these experiences with the Mormons provided material for four of his novels. Möllhausen's first three novels form a trilogy: Der Halb indianer, Erzählung aus dem westlichen Nordamerika (1861); Der Flüchtling, Erzählung aus Neu-Mexico und dem angrenzenden Indianergebiet; im Anschluß an den "Halb indianer" (1861); and Der Majordomo, Roman aus dem südlichen Kalifornien und Neu-Mexico im Anschluß an den "Halb indianer" und "Flüchtling" (1863). A Utah episode and a minor Mormon character appear in Der Halb indianer. In Der Majordomo, San Bernardino Mormons play a minor role. Mormonism as the secret society, and Mormons in roles that can be cataloged into various stereotypes are central in Das Mormonenmädchen (1864) and Der Fanatiker (1883). These
two novels are built around an exposition of Mormonism's supposed practice of deceiving innocent girls into becoming polygamous wives.50

The Stereotypes First Appear: Der Halbindianer

The plot of Der Halbindianer is a long, rambling, convoluted one that takes the reader through four volumes of adventure and intrigue. Suffice it to say that it is the story of a halfbreed, who, believing himself rejected by his father, a plantation owner, joins himself to a small group of California-bound emigrants which includes his beloved, a young German girl. Meanwhile his father is desperately trying to contact him but is hindered by a foursome of swindlers. They have an contact among the Mormons, Joel, who arranges for his murderous, drunken Utah Indian accomplices to ambush the emigrants and kidnap sweet Franziska. Buschmark, one of the swindlers, plans to become a Mormon convert and marry Franziska.

The Salt Lake scenes are paradoxical. They present a charmingly realistic scene of life and customs among the Mormons, yet in the midst of it a sinister plot is being hatched. After describing with admiration the industry and settlements of the Mormons, Möllhausen depicts a Sunday afternoon social gathering attended by the Mormon community on the lawn in front of the house of Brigham Young, the Mormon prophet:
Ehrbar schritt dort ein junger Mormone mit seinen beiden Frauen einher, die sich zärtlich auf seine Arme lehnten . . . ihn nach folgte ein älterer Glaubensgenosse, der es vorzog, keiner seiner Frauen den Arm zu reichen, weil die Zahl derselben schon bis auf sechzehn angewachsen war, und er, um nicht Eifersucht zu erregen, auch sechzehn Arme hätte haben müssen; hier wieder wanderten Arm in Arm zwei Freunde, deren Frauen und Kinder, ein ganzes Heer bildend, ihnen lustig schnatternd voraufzogen . . .

Nach kurzer Zeit war die Versammlung zu einer ganz bedeutenden angewachsen, und schien der Frohsinn und die Gespräschigkeit ganz in demselben Grade zugenommen zu haben . . . Die Kinder fanden es selbstverständlich viel zu langweilig zwischen den erwachsenen Personen . . . und eilten abseits einem Haufen toender Kameraden zu . . .

Nicht weniger fröhlich . . . ging es in und vor dem Hause des Propheten zu. Da wurde gelacht und gescherzt, gesellschaftliche Spiele aufgeführt und Pfänder ausgelöst, gesungen und politisiert . . .

Eine alte Jungfrau . . . hatte den Propheten gestellt und drang in denselben, ihr durch Befehl einen Gatten zu verschaffen . . . Ein junger wohlhabender Mormone . . . suchte sich im Gedränge zu verbergen, weil er eben nur drei Frauen hatte.

[To the strangers in their midst], "Guten Abend, Freund Buschmark! Guten Abend, Freund Harrison! . . . hoffe Euch bald als Brüder begrüßen zu dürfen!" (HI III, 63-67).

One wonders how this delightful scene of Salt Lake City could ever be sinister and evil, yet an abominable plan to murder and kidnap is being plotted between the Mormon, Joel, and the swindlers. The villains are afraid of causing a stir among the citizens of Salt Lake, but Joel tells them not to worry:

"Was die Nachricht über ein Massacre betrifft . . . so braucht Ihr Euch darüber nicht zu beunruhigen. Massacres der Emigranten durch die Utahs sind nichts Neues in diesen Regionen, und daß es nur immer die 'Gentiles' oder Nichtmormonen
trifft, die abgeschlachtet werden, ist reiner Zufall," fügte er mit seinem gewöhnlichen hämischen Lachen hinzu (HI III, 73).

Joel allays Buschmark's fears about how he will be accepted after his contemplated absence and mysterious return with his kidnap victim:

"Ihr werdet Euch über den Empfang wundern, der Euch zu Theil wird, wenn Ihr mit Eurem deutschen Herzlieb hier eintrefft, um Euch zugleich taufen und trauen zu lassen" (HI III, 74).

Hence, through Joel's words, Möllhausen shows the state of affairs in Salt Lake City. Massacres of gentiles are not bad news, and the addition of a proselyte, no matter what his background, calls for celebration. This is the "sinful, fallen city," full of "Mormon crimes against man and nature," as Arrington and Haupt have described the stereotype.51 The "evil doings of oath-bound societies and terrible doctrines of organized vengence" are centralized at this place.52 To further underscore the depravity of this society, Möllhausen has the prophet give his blessing to the horrible conspiracy:

Zuletzt gelangten sie auch zu dem Propheten, den sie von ihrer beabsichtigten Reise in Kenntniß setzten, und der sich hochlichst zufrieden damit erklärte . . . (HI III, 83).

He says,

"[S]chont nicht das Leben der 'Gentiles'; wenn sie fallen, dann ist es ein Sühnopfer mehr, welches unsern in 'Nauvoo' gemeuchelten Vättern und Brüdern gebracht wird" (HI III, 84).
This evil conspiracy, approved as it is by the highest authority of the Mormon state, the prophet himself, shows that the Mormon city is really sinful and criminal, despite its delightfully innocent and friendly exterior.

The abduction plot leads to the second Mormon stereotype that appears in Halbindianer, that of the "white slave procurer." Arrington and Haupt note that it is an old legend which came to be applied to the Mormons:

Legends as far back as the Middle Ages had told of the kidnapping of innocent girls by political and military leaders, who took them to secret hiding places and held them for their personal gratification. These stock stories were applied to the Mormons in order to discredit their proselyting activities.53

Buschmark plans to abduct and marry Franziska (HI III, 74), after which he plans to be baptized a Mormon and take an important role in the Mormon community (HI III, 68). His plans demonstrate the stereotype. Furthermore, he has the special blessing of the prophet:

"[E]s wird Euch im Himmel hoch angerechnet werden, meine theuren Brüder und Freunde . . . wenn Ihr die Seele eines jungen Mädchens vom ewigen Unter- gange rettet und in die heilige Gemeinschaft der Mormonen führt, und besonders Euch, geliebter Buschmark, weil Ihr durch Eure ehehliche Verbindung mit demselben die Aufnahme in die Zahl der 'Heiligen der letzten Tage' vermittelt" (HI III, 83).

Fortunately for the heroine, her brave halfbreed protector keeps her safe through many harrowing escapes. Buschmark meets his end when his accomplice, Harrison,
double-crosses him by stealing his money and pushing him off a cliff after the emigrants have escaped (HI III, 262-64).

Ironically, the Mormon, Joel, does not really fit the stereotypes, although he is called a fanatic and is a conspirator with Buschmark and Harrison. He does not fill any of the roles normally associated with the Mormon villain, but is simply a hired criminal who pays the Indians in liquor to massacre the band of emigrants (HI III, 72). He is tough and cruel (HI III, 107), but colorful, strongly reminiscent of the actual historical figure, Porter Rockwell. He does not really fit into the social gathering scene, and there is no indication, other than the statement that his fanaticism was excited by the prophet's words (HI III, 84), that he professes any particular Mormon beliefs, nor is there any indication that he is a polygamist.

More Stereotypes: Der Majordomo

Though Mormons play a limited role in Der Halbindianer, there is enough about them to show two stereotypes, the "sinful, fallen city" and "the white slave procurer." Surprisingly, its sequel shows a greater number of the stereotypes, although its references to Mormons are very brief. In one of the subplots of Der Majordomo, an adventure tale set in Southern California, the hero's beloved Inez is to be abducted by the culprits. They plan to escape toward Salt Lake City posing as Mormon proselytes and join
some San Bernardino Mormons who are gathering back to their holy city in the face of invasion during the Mormon War. They also leave open the possibility of abandoning their hosts and riding to Mexico once they are safe in the desert (MD 96). In developing this plot, Möllhausen touches on three of the Arrington and Haupt stereotypes: the "sinful, fallen city," the "sinister, secret society," and the "white slave procurer."55

The first of the stereotypes in Der Majordomo is that of Salt Lake City as a refuge for criminals. One of the culprits remarks that the Mormons will be glad to have them:

Sie würden uns mit Freuden gestatten, sie zu begleiten und unser Geheimnis bewahren; denn es ist ihnen sehr um Proselyten zu tun (MD 96).

The origin of their converts is not of any great importance to them:

[S]ie hielten es nicht der Mühe für wert, nach der Vergangenheit von Leuten zu forschen, die für die Zwecke, denen sie dienen sollten, unter allen Umständen gut genug waren (MD 268).

The fact that evil directives go out from Salt Lake, that it controls the fanatical Mormons everywhere throughout the West, is also clear. They gather to their evil city to go to war against a nation which refuses to tolerate them any longer:

Infolgedessen war von Brigham Young, dem geistlichen und weltlichen Oberhaupt des Mormonenstaates, an alle noch außerhalb der Grenzen lebenden Glaubensgenossen der Befehl erteilt worden, sich schleunigst nach der heiligen Stadt
zu begeben und dort nach besten Kräften mit zur Verteidigung ihrer Religion und ihrer Institutionen beizutragen (MD 263-64).

The evil doings of a "sinister, secret society" with its "terrible doctrines of organized vengeance" also find their place in Der Majordomo. The Mormon members are described as "wild und verwegen darei:schauen:ie Burschen" (MD 266), and as the "finsteren Mormonen . . . erfüllt von blindem Fanatismus" (MD 269). Those still remaining in the San Bernardino colony are also sinister people:

Leute, die in ihrem blinden Fanatismus allen Nicht-mormonen oder sogenannten "Gentiles," die sie durchwegs als ihre Feinde betrachteten, gefährlich werden konnten, wenn sich die Gelegenheit dazu bot, und sich noch weniger ein Gewissen daraus machten, bei ihrem Abzuge sich noch dieses oder jenes Pferd oder Rind, vielleicht auch noch wertvolle Sachen, die scheinbar herrenlos waren, anzueignen und mit in die Wüste zu führen (MD 264).

They are religious criminals, whose fanatical paranoia allows them to justify their misdeeds against all who do not believe as they do.

Such people are, of course, not adverse to a little kidnapping. Hence the Mormon marauders may be classified as "white slave procurers," who have little objection to their new friends' abduction of Inez, the rancher's daughter.

Despite his depiction of Mormons as a sinister, secret society, Möllhausen has an interesting statement to make in connection with them which is really a criticism of an even more evil institution of the day, slavery:

This passage is an interesting critique of American hypocrisy. While they cannot tolerate polygamy, a commandment to the Mormons, the Americans can accept slavery as a system ordained by God. In American writing, abolitionist zeal was transferred from an attack on slavery to an attack on polygamy, which they considered to be a similar institution. By contrast, Möllhausen here and in his previous books refrains from an attack on polygamy, though this passage would have been the perfect opportunity. One senses that at this time in his writing career Möllhausen realizes that intolerance toward polygamy is really unjustified because polygamy is motivated by sincere religious belief.

All About Mormon Villains: Das Mormonenmädchen

Möllhausen's next novel, however, is an attack on polygamy. Das Mormonenmädchen, more than any other of Möllhausen's novels, resembles its American counterparts in its treatment of Mormonism. The procurement of an innocent victim for the purpose of polygamy builds its central theme. It is a good example of "the white slave procurer," as Arrington and Haupt have described, stock stories about
"engaging in the recruitment of girls for the harems of their leaders . . . applied to Mormons in order to discredit their proselyting activities."58

Herta Jansen is being brought to Utah to be married to a polygamist by a group of Mormons who have kept her in ignorance about polygamy. The truth about the loss of her sister, who has risked her life to escape polygamous marriage, is kept from her by a favorite uncle, Jansen, and a cruel, ambitious young Mormon leader, Elliot, who desires her fortune as well as her virtue. After many daring exploits, she is rescued by her admirer, Weatherton, a young navy lieutenant. In the course of the story, statements are made about the Mormon church and its center, Salt Lake City, which lend themselves to classification in Arrington and Haupt's stereotypes. The Mormon characters, to a great extent, also lend themselves to such classifications.

The Mormon church as a "sinister, secret society" is an important theme. In a lengthy introduction to the novel, Möllhausen repeats the same observations about the history, beliefs and practices of Mormonism that he made in his Tagebuch (MM 7-13). In his fiction, however, he casts these practices in a very negative light.

In Das Mormonenmädchen, the secretive Mormons are up to a number of intrigues, including the abduction of Herta, arms running, destruction of army wagon trains in the guise of Indians, false imprisonment and attempted execution of
Weatherton, attempted appropriation of Helga's inheritance by plural marriage, and a similar plot to disinherit her from her sister's legacy by substituting an imposter as a false heir.

There are various reasons why the Mormons engage in such deceptions. First, their fanaticism drives them to believe that since theirs is the only true religion, they can do no wrong (MM 75). In this belief they are wildly fanatical. They are


In Das Mormonenmädchen the word "fanatic" almost becomes synonymous with "Mormon" (MM 152). Their enemies are perceived as persecutors of the true religion, "wie einst das Volk Israel von seinen Widersachern heimgesucht wurde" (MM 123). They would rather fight and die than subject themselves to Gentile influences (MM 155-56).

Belief is not the only reason for their actions, however, though it always justifies them. Their unbridled passions, "die entfesselten Leidenschaften der Menschen" (MM 422), also are responsible for their misdeeds. Commenting on forced polygamy, for example, a betrayed wife says,
"Unter dem Deckmantel der Religion, unter sündhafter Hinweisung auf alte heidnische Gebräuche wurde schnöder Verrat an mir und meinem Kinde geübt!" (MM 431-32).

The thought of robbing a young girl of her true love and taking her into polygamy in the name of the glorification of the New Zion produces the effect of "wildem Enthusiasmus, Grausamkeit und eine ungewöhnliche Willenskraft" (MM 252).

A third reason for engaging in deception is the hope of gain. An apostle sums this up in the plan to get Herta's inheritance through polygamous marriage:

"Da es im Interesse unserer Kirche wie unserer Politik liegt, die Gewalt, die durch Reichtum ... begründet wird, in [unseren] Händen zu wissen, fordert [der Prophet], daß die Nichte unseres treuen Bruders Jansen unserm Bruder Elliot ... angesiegelt werde" (MM 289).

The Mormons will use any method to get money for their purposes, and see to it that their faithful followers will get their rewards not only in heaven, but also in this world (MM 289).

Such evil plans are always hatched in secret meetings. For example, in New York the Mormon leaders and their agents meet in a restaurant, but are very secretive and conduct their discussions in Swedish so as not to be overheard and understood (MM 72). They prove to be difficult to shadow, prefer to stay completely out of sight, and employ their own spies (MM 112-115). Even at home in Utah the Mormons display no finer feelings and will not enter a discussion
which can be "exposed to the winds" (MM 153). They do not indulge themselves in frivolity; their demeanor is grim and forbodes trouble:

Die Männer waren ernst und in sich gekehrt . . . [;] beseelt von dem grimmigsten Hassesprachen sie nur wenig und dann noch meist im flüsternden Tone zueinander (MM 153).

The exception to this behavior is when their leaders stir them up, and then the fury and fanaticism take over (MM 155-60). A more "sinister secret society" can hardly be imagined.

Möllhausen also uses the image of Salt Lake City as the "sinful, fallen city." Although he praises the planning and industriousness of the Mormons in taming their desert wilderness (MM 148-50), he sees Salt Lake City as the power center from which flow the commands which must be followed (MM 152). They see this place as holy:

Im Kampfe gegen die Elemente, gegen Hunger und Elend wendete sich unsere geachtete und vertriebene Gemeinde dem Westen zu . . . bis der Herr ihr die Stelle bezeichnete, wo er sein heiliges Zion, seinen Tempel gegründet haben wollte" (MM 155).

The Mormons see their land as specially blessed, and refuse to submit themselves to the authority of the United States. They declare that they would rather see their land in smoking ruins than accept an authority outside their religion. They are "'die Herren des gelobten Landes, in das uns die Hand des Erlösers führte'" (MM 155).
Salt Lake City is much to be admired, and, as Elliot demonstrates, those Mormons who must live outside it are eager for an opportunity to live there. Having served at Fort Utah on the Timpanogos River, he is only too glad to move up in the world. He is told by a Mormon apostle,

"Wie unsere Stadt der Mittelpunkt ist, um den sich die Heiligen der letzten Tage ansiedeln, so soll sie auch der Mittelpunkt des Glanzes und des Reichtums sein" (MM 290).

He is told to expect a command soon to move there with his ill-gotten gains, just as soon as he has secured Herta's fortune by forcing her into polygamous marriage (MM 290).

The Mormon polygamist image is also developed in Das Mormonenmädchen. Editha, Herta's sister, comments on polygamy:

"[E]s steht geschrieben in dem Glaubensbekenntnis der Mormonen; es ist nicht nur gestattet, sondern sogar auch von oben herab geboten" (MM 432).

She observes the decay in her husband's morality:

"[E]r war gut, er war edel, er war fromm; was aber ist aus ihm geworden?" (MM 431). Actually, he has become worse than a polygamist; since his decline he has become a thief and a murderer (MM 300). Nor do women seem to thrive under polygamy. They seem to become mere chattels to be bargained away and lose all spirit and independence:

Ihrem Gatten begegneten beide mit Ergebenheit und zutraulicher Freundlichkeit, doch vermößte man in ihren Augen den zärtlichen Ausdruck, der einem liebewarmen Herzen entspringt. Es waltete kein Zweifel, sie erblickten in allen ihren Obliegenheiten göttliche Anordnungen, und fanden in
der gehorsamen, treuen Pflichterfüllung ihre innere Zufriedenheit (MM 153-54).

Yet it seems almost that Möllhausen's criticism is not so much of the the institution of polygamy itself as of the use of force against women who refuse to submit to it of their own free will. He softens the shock when Herta learns the truth about it by Jansen's statement:

"[Ich handelte] nur so, wie ich glaubte vor Euch und vor Gott verantworten zu können. . . . [N]ach Tausenden zählend die Familien, in denen die Frauen . . . sich zu den Glücklichsten ihres Geschlechtes auf dem ganzen Erdball rechnen" (MM 435).

He explains to Editha that she has had the misfortune of coming into contact with members of the Mormon community who are not typical, who deceived them both (MM 435).

Though his descriptions of polygamy do not go to the extremes of American fiction described by Arrington and Haupt, they do partially fit the pattern of the "cruel, lustful southern slave holder."59 The polygamous husbands are not shown to be so abusive. We have no scenes of wife beating. But there is the escapee pursued with vengeance (MM 15-28), and the happy home broken by the entrance of a second wife (MM 431-32). There are also examples of women being treated like property before marriage (MM 290), though there is no crass bartering of women like livestock, as Arrington and Haupt describe.60

Jansen, Herta's uncle; Elliot, her prospective husband; and Holmsten, her brother-in-law are the main villains,
although Jansen's character evolves as he mellows under Herta's influence. All are involved in her abduction. The latter two also try to deceive Jansen and Herta into thinking Holmsten's son was rescued from the sandstorm that they believe killed him and his mother. By doing so, they hope to steal the young child's inheritance. Their main function is as the "white slave procurer," to deceive Herta into a polygamous marriage, each for his own purposes.

Yet Jansen wants Herta mainly because of his beliefs:

"Sie ist das letzte Erbteil meines armen Bruders; sie soll, sie muß dem allein seligmachenden Glauben erhalten werden, um die Schuld ihrer ... Schwester zu sühnen" (MM 75).

Jansen will use any method to get Herta into a polygamous marriage (MM 290). At times he is wildly fanatic, "sein Gesicht erhielt durch den erwachenden Fanatismus einen unheimlich wilden Ausdruck" (MM 77), or "seine Zähne rieben heftig aufeinander vor fanatischer Wildheit" (MM 123-24).

But although he is fully involved in the abduction of Herta, he seems to be motivated by a sincere if fanatical belief in the rightness of what he is doing. He comments to Herta that

"die Güter dieser Welt sind vergänglich. ... Die Stützen des irdischen Glücks und des ewigen Seelenheils ... beruhen auf den patriarchalischen, auf den von Gott selbst eingesetzten Bestimmungen ... " (MM 324).

The idea that he is not criminally motivated is further strengthened by a change that comes over Jansen when he
believes Herta's contentions that Lieutenant Weatherton is innocent of spying and tries to help him (MM 351) and when he discovers Elliot's and Holmsten's plot to steal his grandson's inheritance (MM 444). For Herta's sake and to preserve her in the only true faith, he goes to Weatherton, her beloved, on two occasions to ask him to become a Mormon (MM 356, 538). Many adventures later, he realizes that true love must prevail and consents to her return to the beliefs of her parents and reunion with Weatherton (MM 538).

Elliot, however, remains despicable to the end. The thirty-year-old commander of Fort Utah is described thus:

Der Ausdruck seiner Züge hatte für jeden, der ihn zum ersten Male sah, etwas Abstoßendes und verriet eine unbeugsame Willenskraft, die, wenn es den eigenen wie religiösen Zwecken galt, in die rücksichtslose Starrheit ausartete, denjenigen aber, die er haßte, gefährlich wurde... [N]ie blickte er demjenigen, an den er seine Worte richtete, gerade in die Augen. Selbst seinen Frauen gegenüber beobachtete er stets ein finsteres, verschlossenes Wesen (MM 154).

To this man Herta is to be married. Elliot hides from her the fact that he already has two wives (MM 257). By this plan, he is to receive Herta's half of the family fortune (MM 289). Furthermore, he conspires with Herta's brother-in-law, Holmsten, to pass off one of his sons as Herta's nephew to deprive her of half of Editha's estate, which he and Holmsten plan to split (MM 278).

Even worse, Elliot is aware of Herta's true love for Weatherton, whom he holds captive, and plans to use her love
as a lever by which he can force her into marriage in exchange for Weatherton's freedom (MM 255). His hate and jealousy grow so strong that he plots innocent Weatherton's death by planning to have him shot in an escape attempt which he arranges (MM 338-50, 380-86). Fortunately, Weatherton makes good the escape (MM 393-419).

Like Elliot, Holmsten remains evil to the death. The first glimpse of him comes in the chase scene, when his wife with her baby are escaping through the desert rather than face polygamy. Holmsten's grim, uncaring attitude is shocking (MM 25-26). With Elliot, he hatches the plan to rob Herta of the estate that would have passed to her by substituting Elliot's child for his dead son. When the crooked administrator of the estate gets wind of it and tries to cut himself in, Holmsten murders him and then tries to cover up by accusing Weatherton's friends (MM 531-32).

In addition to these three villains, there are others equally notorious and deceitful, but less fully developed. These include Abraham, the Mormon's agent and spy in New York; the fanatical apostle who constantly preaches while carrying out his intrigues; Corbillion, a closet Mormon, a spinster who is Herta's governess and has come to Utah to catch a husband; Rynolds, the devious lawyer whose only thought is personal gain; and an untrustworthy Mormon Indian scout named Labataille. All of them belong to that sinister
society, the Mormons, and all of them plot to destroy poor Herta, the heroine.

Ashliman notes that critics have considered Das Mormonenmädchen one of Möllhausen's best efforts.62 Hermann Ethe, one of Möllhausen's contemporaries, called it "überhaupt eines der gelungensten Erzeugnisse unserer modernen Romanliteratur."63 Das Mormonenmädchen certainly is a thrilling and masterfully woven intrigue. Möllhausen's settings are remarkably accurate both historically and geographically. The villains, however, true to Möllhausen's form, show little development, with the exception of Jansen. They are the same as those Mormons described by Arrington and Haupt in American fiction of the period as "didactic stereotypes, and any resemblance between them and actual Mormons . . . was purely coincidental."64

More Villains: Der Fanatiker

The same analysis holds true for the characters in Der Fanatiker,65 Möllhausen's other novel with a Mormon theme. This is a thrilling chase and kidnap tale set in Utah and Norway. Its plot is even more intricate and involved than that of Das Mormonenmädchen. Olaf, the undiscovered witness of a massacre of Gentiles by Mormon Danites, writes an anonymous letter to effect the release of an old trapper, Jerim, who has been falsely accused of the crime. Olaf is aided by Karen, a fellow Norwegian emigrant. He then
returns to his homeland. Karen, an opponent of Mormonism, has raised her niece Helga sheltered from its teachings. But since Helga is now at a marriagable age, her father, Brandvold, intends to force her into marriage with polygamous apostle Dowlas.

Aided by Jerim, the women escape over the mountains, with Dowlas and the Danites in pursuit. After a showdown and reconciliation with Brandvold, the three travel to Norway. Brandvold agrees to let Helga choose between him and Karen, who intends to remain in Norway. But his missionary spies follow the women everywhere. Helga remeets and falls in love with Olaf, who rescues her from Brandvold's final attempt to kidnap her and force her to return to Utah aboard an emigrant ship. Karen also is reunited with Jörns, her fiance of twenty years before, after they discover that Brandvold's lies had kept them apart. She had believed Jörns to be dead, and he had believed Karen to be a convert to Mormonism.

The characterizations of Mormons and Mormonism in Der Fanatiker are similar to those in Das Mormonenmädchen. Brandvold, whose role is similar to that of Jansen's, is even more fanatical in his views and only relents in freeing Helga when threats of disclosure of his criminal activities force him to (F 383-94). He has deep-set eyes that glow with sinister fanatical fire (F 53). Karen says of him:
"Du bist Fanatiker, duldest keine andere Religion neben der von verblendeten und die sträflichen Leidenschaften der Menschen ausbeutenden Propheten geschaffen" (P 53).

Since he is so fanatical, Brandvold will use any means however criminal to achieve his ends:

[Er neigte] täglich mehr zu dem Grundsätze hin, daß bei dem Trachten, dem einzigen göttlich wahren Glauben eine reine Seele zu erhalten, über die Wahl der Mittel nicht gerechnet werden dürfe (P 164).

His crimes include deception of Helga's mother into marrying him without revealing that he was a Mormon, or that they were bound for Utah; polygamy; robbery of a family heirloom; attempts to get at Helga's inheritance through polygamous marriage; deceit in not revealing to Karen the truth about her fiance; false accusation and trial of Jerim and others; attempted kidnapping; spying; lying; and the deception of poor Mormon converts.

The character of apostle Dowlas is a combination of the Mormon characters in Das Mormonenmädchen, and Billot, the Danite chief, is very similar to Elliot. One scene which appears early in the story fairly well reveals their characters. They discuss their ambush, reminiscent of the Mountain Meadows massacre, of the party of eighteen men passing north of Salt Lake on their way to the goldfields:

"Ich sage Ihnen, Dowlas, das war ein so feiner Streich, wie nur je ein gegen die Heiden einge-leitetes Unternehmen geglückt ist," hob der Jüngere, ein mittelgroßer Mann von anscheinend
schwächerlichem Körperbau mit einem gallichten, mongolisch geschnittenen Gesicht an...

"Mögen sie verflucht sein," antwortete Dowlas, eine stattliche Erscheinung, "mögen sie, wie hier im kleinen, auf dem ganzen Erdball mit Feuer und Schwert ausgerottet werden" (F 8).

Later they both pursue Karen and Helga in attempting to force her to marry Dowlas, and Billot shoots a young friend and admirer of Helga's who guides them across the difficult terrain. This they see as justifiable, since the boy was a traitor to Mormonism (F 128). In the end, both meet with justice, Billot in the form of Jerim's bullet (F 132), and Dowlas in the form of a murder conviction (F 359).

Mormonism as a "sinister secret society" and Salt Lake as a "sinful, fallen city" are also themes in Der Fanatiker. The same type of secret plotting appears as in Das Mormonenmädchen. This time an oath is referred to. Billot, the chief of the "Verbindung geheimer Mormonenpolizisten" (F 10), the Danites, refers to it when he orders an attack:

"[E]ntkommt auch nur einer seiner Genossen, so fällt die Verantwortlichkeit dafür auf Euch zurück! Denkt an euren Eid--denkt an eure Frauen und Kinder-nieder mit den verfluchten Heiden" (F 132).

To its believers, any crime is acceptable in the name of this religion, even to the execution of innocent men, and Salt Lake is the last place where a man can get a fair trial (F 99). As old Jerim, the trapper, observes, "Zu viel lernte ich von den Mormonen kennen, um nicht hinter jedem Mormonenschwur eine Teufelei zu wittern" (F 108).
Der Fanatiker does not really add anything new to the Mormon themes of Das Mormonenmädchen, with the exception of its depiction of proselyting abroad. This theme is not one of girl-napping, but fits more into Arrington and Haupt's "seducer" category. In a narrative, Karen tells how Brandvold returns from America and marries Helga's mother, a young widow. Only when she is aboard the ship does she discover that Brandvold is a Mormon and that she is bound for a bitter fate as a Mormon wife. She and Karen take steps to protect her fortune and her children from evil Mormonism, but she never recovers from the blow that the discovery causes her and she dies embittered (F 280-88).

No better fate awaits the recent converts. Each year a Mormon ship returns to Norway's shores to take away a rich load of new converts, numbering perhaps nine hundred to one thousand (F 171). The success of the missionaries in spreading the doctrine is not so much ascribable to their power of persuasion as to the attraction that polygamy has to frivolous youth and to spinsters. Moreover, it is the simpletons whom it deceives (F 152). There is little strength in the scattered Mormon colonies locally, and the Norwegians have little use for the missionaries. Jörn says,

"Die Mormonen haben schon mehr Unheil in manche glückliche Familie gebracht, als überhaupt die Leute ahnen. . . . Mit Feuer und Schwert sollten sie vertrieben werden, wenn sie kommen, um ihren heillosen Samen auszustreuen" (F 152).
Others feel compassion for the poor deceived converts to this American sect (F 433). One of Möllhausen's final observations is that Mormonism has surely reached the end of its heyday (F 433).

Conclusion

In *Das Mormonenmädchen* and *Der Fanatiker*, both later works, Möllhausen's characterizations of Mormons are considerably more fictionalized than in his early trilogy, when his method of writing was to weave personal ethnological and social observations not covered in his diaries into a fictional narrative (HI "Einleitung," I, 1). In the introduction to *Das Mormonenmädchen*, Möllhausen claims to have the same goal in mind, "Mich leitete der Wunsch, das unterhaltende Element mit dem belehrenden zu verbinden" (MM 13). He claims to bear no malice toward the Mormons, in spite of his bad experiences with them on the Colorado expedition. His characters are supposed to be taken from true life, which was easy for him since he knew them personally. But, in contrast to his previous works, which used real names, he says these characters are untraceable because their names have been changed (MM 14).

More has been changed than the names. Möllhausen has given us a rogues' gallery of Mormons. Depravity in the name of religion becomes even more commonplace as each succeeding page paints the villains darker. Obviously, these
characters are not modeled after real life as Möllhausen claims, as in some of his previous works. They serve an entirely different purpose than to give us true-life glimpses of the American frontier. In the same introduction to Das Mormonenmädchen, Möllhausen reveals that purpose:

Wenn Charactere, in denen sich alle unedlen Leidenschaften vertreten finden, als Hauptfiguren in Romanen erscheinen dürfen, sollte da die Natur, mit allem, was sie belebt, nicht auch eingehend behandelt werden dürfen? Das Ehrfurcht Gebietende und Grausige der Natur empfinden wir mit andächtiger Verehrung und tiefem Schrecken, weil wir das menschliche Geschick wie ein schwaches Rohr davon erdrückt zu sehen fürchten; das Lächeln der Natur dagegen dringt innig zum Herzen, weil es einen erhabenen Gegensatz bildet zu den empörten Leidenschaften der Menschen (MM 13).

Just as it is necessary to show the contrasting forces of nature, it is necessary to show men's evil passions. It is only by contrast to them that the human heart may be gladdened by virtue. These Mormon villains are foils to set off the goodness of Möllhausen's heroes and heroines.

Because the Mormons are chosen for this purpose in Das Mormonenmädchen and Der Fanatiker, they are not realistic in the same way as those in the social gathering scene in Der Halbinderianer. The former are the personification of human vice and deception, while the latter are just a happy group taking a relaxing afternoon off, an ethnographic reality. The latter are more consistent than the villains with Möllhausen's realistic geographic descriptions of the Mormons' prosperous farms and cities in the wilderness.
Since Mormon beliefs and practices are so out of tune with the social conventions of his readership's time and place they may be used to provide the necessary foils for Möllhausen's heroes seemingly without sacrificing authenticity. Somebody has to provide the villains, and frontier choices are not unlimited. Besides Mormons there are Indians, Mexicans, Yankees, assorted squatters, back-woodsmen, and other rabble for the author to choose from. But Mormons provided such an interesting alternative! This is especially true since Möllhausen had a close scrape with them. Once imagination rather than experience took over, the characters that Möllhausen created lost their realism. They began to fit more or less into stereotypes similar to those in American fiction.
NOTES


3 Ibid., pp. 57-71.


5 Barba, p. 64.


8 Barba, pp. 38-39.

9 Miller, p. 44.

10 Ibid., pp. 39-40.

11 Ibid., pp. 44-76.


13 Barba, pp. 43-44.

14 Ibid., p. 51.

15 Ibid., pp. 45-46.
16 Miller, pp. 88-137.
17 Barba, p. 50.
18 Miller, p. 138.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid., pp. 138-39


22 Miller, p. 140.
23 Ibid., p. 158.


25 Miller, Diss., p. 157.
26 Möllhausen, Reisen, I, 115.
28 Möllhausen, Reisen, I, 115.
30 Möllhausen, Reisen, I, 398.
32 Miller, Diss., 191-211.
33 Barba, pp. 57-58.
34 Ibid., pp. 70-71.

35 Theodore Fontane, introd., Der Leuchtturm am Michigan und andere Erzählungen, by Balduin Möllhausen (Stuttgart: Spemann, 1883), quoted in Barba, p. 78.

36 Barba, p. 73.


39 Ashliman, p. 220; Miller, Diss., p. 11.


43 Ibid.

44 Ibid., p. xiv.

45 Ashliman, p. 218.


48 Ibid., p. 20.


51 Arrington and Haupt, p. 247.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid., p. 246.


55 Arrington and Haupt, pp. 246-47.

56 Ibid., p. 247.

57 Ibid., p. 248.

58 Ibid., p. 246.

59 Ibid., p. 248.

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid., p. 246.

62 Ashliman, Diss., p. 197.


64 Arrington and Haupt, p. 245.


66 Arrington and Haupt, p. 246.

67 Billington, pp. 151-73.
CHAPTER FOUR

Conclusion: Mormon Stereotypes in Germany

I began this study with the question as to whether or not the seven stereotypes of Mormons in American literature, as listed by Arrington and Haupt, had counterparts in German fiction. I examined the works of popular writers Amalie Schoppe and Baldwin Möllhausen to see if their Mormon characters were stereotyped in the same way. Implicit in this question is an assumption that Arrington and Haupt's listing of stereotypes is accurate and adequate. In most ways it seems to be for both literatures. However, a division of many Mormon stereotypes into just seven distinct categories, especially when there is such a wealth of characters, is somewhat problematic. However, the seven stereotypes, taken as a whole, probably present a fairly good synthesis of literary stereotyping.

Some Classification Differences

In the analysis of Schoppe's, and, incidentally, May's narrative descriptions, however, I found no clear line between the sinister, secret society and the sinful, fallen city. My assumption in beginning this study was that the sinful, fallen city image was that of an evil power structure centered in Nauvoo or Salt Lake City. I saw this
power structure as controlling the lives of fanatically 
obeident subjects who would unquestioningly carry out any 
command. While this image of Nauvoo is prevalent in Der 
Prophet, the authority structure image is blurred with the 
"seducer" image in the characterization of Joe Smith, who is 
the sole authority. In Möllhausen's novels there is also a 
blurring between the power center and the organizational 
structure subject to it, and a mingling with the idea of the 
"sinister, secret society." Independent actions of 
characters, not governed by the central authority but rather 
by their personal ethics and beliefs, seems to belong more 
to the "society" image, as do descriptions of religious 
beliefs and practices.

Möllhausen's description of polygamy and polygamists 
(Schoppe's novel does not contain references to polygamy) 
lies somewhere between an Uncle Tom's Cabin approach and 
that of the "white slave procurer." While his two latest 
Mormon novels both deal with the theme of a young girl's 
harrowing escape from polygamy, despite the efforts of a 
fanatical Mormon father figure to stop her, in both cases 
his approach is far from transplanted abolitionism. 
Möllhausen sees polygamy as a part of Mormon belief, one 
accepted by all faithful members of the Mormon community, 
and not a form of slavery. In all cases his girls want to 
escape from polygamy because they are not sufficiently 
indoctrinated into a practice which is suddenly forced on
them against their own free will, a surprise for which they are ill-prepared. There is some indication that he believes that polygamous households can be harmonious.2

It is also a challenge to differentiate between the "seducer" and the "white slave procurer," since the latter is likely to operate by seduction. Schoppe's prophet fits the seducer image perfectly. Möllhausen's villains, however, work through a whole range of deceptions and crimes.3 As often as not, kidnapping of the heroine is the goal, but sometimes it is theft or embezzlement.

Some characterizations appear in the German novels that suggest additional classifications of stereotypes not mentioned by Arrington and Haupt. May's characterizations, and to an extent Möllhausen's, suggest a common criminal who is disguised as a Mormon, or perhaps works for the Mormons, but owes them no religious allegiance because he has little or no belief in their doctrine. Joel and Buschmark in Der HalbIndianer and Rynolds in Das Mormonenmädchen are examples in Möllhausen's works. In Der Prophet, Schoppe creates such a character in Hieram.

**Purpose of the Stereotypes: To Entertain, Not Reform**

Problems of classification aside, it seems that the answer to the question as to whether the same stereotypes are manifested in German literature as in American must be "partially." The German novels contain no examples of the
"drunken, abusive husband" stereotype which Arrington and Haupt see as a spin-off of the temperance movement. Neither does the "lustful Turk" appear, except for a seemingly chance Turkish reference, as noted in Der Prophet. The "cruel, lustful southern slave holder" character, as has been pointed out, is much more subdued in the German works.

Most likely the images which do not appear, or are subdued, show that German writers had a different purpose for their characterization. As has been stated, Americans wrote on Mormonism for two purposes, to entertain and to reform. Apparently German writers of fiction about Mormons were not reformers. Their work shows an absence of the characterizations used by reformers: the drunken, abusive husband of the temperance writer, the cruel slaveholder of the abolitionist, and the lustful Turk of the Christian moralizer. Instead, the stereotypes that appear are those necessary to set an exciting plot in motion, to set off the struggle between hero and villain so beloved in the genre of exotic escape literature.

Notably, the role of the Mormon in German literature is to play the part of the villain in exotic escape literature. Villains serve a purpose in literature; they are devils in human form against whom good must struggle, a type of character not found in the classical literature which developed in the sixteenth century.4 They evolved from
both the concept of the Senecal man and from Machiavelli's philosophy of expediency.\(^5\)

Ray Allen Billington has observed that the writers of European fiction drew some of their villains from true life, but most, including the Mormon villains, "bore such faint resemblance to real life that their behavior could never be questioned."\(^6\) Whichever of the two groups they belonged to,

villains were also easy to identify, for they must pass only two tests: they must be sufficiently unsavory and cruel to deserve the fate sure to await them on the last page, and they must symbolize primitivism by their savage behavior, thus allowing civilization to triumph over Nature in every penny dreadful.\(^7\)

Certainly the Mormon villains filled these criteria. They contrast to the hero and plainsman, who came "bearing civilization's banner high as they marched against the evils of primitivism..."\(^8\) Mormon characters are always despicable, their behavior and customs rude and primitive, and their motivation either fanaticism or greed.

Reasons for Villainizing Mormons

There are at least two reasons why Mormons were singled out as villains, despite the fact that their strict moral code appeared to be one of the more civilizing influences on the American frontier. Despite some rather odd customs such as polygamy, communal economic structures, and belief in a divinely guided leadership, their success at taming and
civilizing the wilderness seems generally conceded. Certainly it is by Schoppe and Möllhausen.

The first reason for the Mormons' consignment to the "evil" side of the ledger has to do with the general perceptions of Mormonism in America and the reasons that Americans persecuted them. Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton have noted that recent scholars have hesitated to view Mormon persecution in simple terms. Few other religious groups, no matter how strange their views, seem to have awakened such wrath. Arrington and other scholars see the answer in the fact that, for Mormons, religion meant more than beliefs,

but also an eschatology, an economic philosophy, and a goal of community building that inevitably meant political and economic tension with their neighbors.

Mormons refused to break up and scatter like other faiths did, and since their spiritual convictions and practical community goals were inconsistent with American pluralism, extermination or expulsion were inevitable.

Specifically, the Mormons' radical views on the gathering of Zion, consecration, millenial politics, and new revelation soon aroused the ire of Protestant ministers who resented the proliferation of new sects and tagged them as fanatics. The Mormons agreed that they were different, and called themselves a "peculiar people."
Such differences were not, however, sufficient to spark mass violence. James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard suggest some others. Communalism, which gave Mormons considerable strength through group solidarity, threatened the established merchants and tradesmen. The Mormons quickly bought up property and established businesses that grasped a large portion of the trade. This solidarity also carried over into the political sphere, and caused their neighbors to fear political domination, particularly in view of Mormon predictions of the imminent establishment of a millenial kingdom from which the Latter-day Saints would rule the world. Their overzealous boasting of a divine right to the land brought condemnation, not only from their neighbors, but from their own leaders. The Mormons' views on Indians and slaves caused great consternation among the Missouri slaveholders and led to bloodshed. The only solution to the confrontation between the Mormon community and its neighbors over economic and political issues was mass exodus. The Mormons themselves accepted persecution as the lot of the Saints of God, a visible proof that they were the chosen people.

Although mob violence ceased after the Mormon exodus to Utah, the press continued to malign them. Once the practice of polygamy became known, it became the major grievance. Arrington and Bitton say that
the idea that polygamy was the main reason for the opposition did not ring true to the Mormons, who remembered New York and Ohio and Missouri and Illinois and Iowa.\textsuperscript{17}

Reports about Mormonism were not limited to America. The opposite was true. Hermann Wiedenroth observes that the development of Mormonism was closely followed in Germany:

\begin{quote}
Die Entwicklung des Mormonentums wurde in Deutschland, im Rahmen des Möglichen, penibel erfolgt—bis 1895 erschienen wenigstens 15 deutschsprachige Bücher, die sich ausschließlich mit den "Heiligen der letzten Tage" beschäftigen; hinzu kommen zahllose Reiseberichte, in denen ganze Kapitel, oder doch längere Abschnitte, den Mormonen gewidmet sind, und fast jede Zeitschrift brachte irgendwann irgendwelche Berichte—und Gerüchte—aus Utah.\textsuperscript{18}
\end{quote}

Wiedenroth mentions rumors from Utah. Perhaps the writing of the time was based more on rumor than on fact. Whether in America or Europe, Mormonism's detractors were many and vocal.

Unfortunately for the Mormons, there were few in Germany to speak on their behalf since there were only a few Mormons there, and the relationship between the Mormon missions and the government was usually tense.\textsuperscript{19} Most German observers seem to have accepted the American biases against the Mormons at face value, though there are exceptions.\textsuperscript{20}

The second reason for the vilification of Mormons in German literature has to do with a general perception in Germany of all minority religions as being aberrations of true worship. Of this Billington says,
To Europeans accustomed to established churches with well-ordered practices and unquestioned orthodoxy there was little of true religion in the emotionalism of western worship.  

To members of ancient state religions the idea of upstart sects was anathema. It was precisely the lack of tolerance for them in Europe that caused any number of its own minority religions and utopian communities to flee to the freedom of the frontier.

And there were certainly a great many different religions present on the frontier, "a dozen or more might be represented in somewhat equal proportions within a single community. . . ." European visitors were quick to criticize the multiplicity of religions on the frontier.

The earliest German exotic novelists began to describe these sects and to ascribe ulterior motives to their leaders. Billington comments:

The so-called ministers . . . were described as misguided illiterates who found preaching easier than work, or as depraved scoundrels capitalizing on the gullibility of their congregations. . . . [W]esterners sincerely sought God's guidance and were generous in supporting churches, but . . . they were misled by their corrupt and misinformed clergy. . . . With such guidance, the congregations surrendered completely to practices that bore faint resemblance to proper worship. As the spirit gripped them during worship they succumbed to animalistic emotionalism . . . showing every symptom of madness. . . . [R]eaders were even more disturbed by accounts of the physical excesses of the frontiersmen under sway of religious emotionalism. . . . They had succumbed to Nature and Satan until they were no longer worthy of the company of civilized men.
Such were the perceptions of the novelists who wrote about the American sects; the sects were perversions of true religion, service had been supplanted by emotional orgies, and all for the benefit of preachers who were only disguised as servants of God in order to make money from their congregations.

This image of frontier religions, as Dee Ashliman shows by numerous examples, was already well established by the works of travel writers and exotic novelists by the late 1840's and 1850's. It was natural for writers to look at Mormons in the same light as the other American sects and to ascribe to their leaders the same motives. The curious Mormon beliefs could only add to their suspicions. They might have concluded that Mormons were the most abominable of all the American sects. If the preachers of other sects had provided villains, the Mormon leaders could provide arch-villains, and their centralized theocracy could provide the basis for Machiavellian plots.

It must be concluded, then, that Mormons must be consigned to the "bad guys" because of the way they were perceived by popular opinion and the press in America both before and after their exodus to Utah, which was reflected in Germany, and because of German perceptions of frontier religions generally. This is unfortunate, because the Mormon community, for all its unorthodox beliefs and practices, was a powerful force which tamed and civilized
vast areas of the American West, and this conquest would have made marvelous material for both serious and popular writing.

The Effect of the Stereotypes in Germany

The final question to be resolved is whether or not popular literature influenced the treatment of Mormons in Germany as it did in the United States. Clearly Mormons were treated very badly in Germany. The history of Mormonism in Germany is replete with instances of imprisonment and banishment of missionaries, and denial of permission for Mormons to publish, proselyte, or assemble.27 Historians have provided little or no explanation of the reasons for such persecution. Gilbert W. Scharffs comments only that

[orders for expulsion were made on civil rather than religious charges, for the latter would have been contrary to German laws which guaranteed freedom of religious belief and expression. Both Lutheran and Catholic Churches were state institutions in Germany and as such were vested with unusual political powers.28

As Mormon proselyting efforts intensified, polygamy and other issues connected with Mormonism caused its growth to become a concern to the authorities.

Yet the average German had only vague knowledge about the Mormons. They remained to most people an obscure polygamous American sect, as indicated in an oblique reference in Fontane's Irrungen Wirrungen, when Frau Dörr and Frau
Nimptsch discuss young Lene's male visitor Franke, a member of a religious group whose name escapes Frau Nimptsch:

"Herr du meine Güte," sagte Frau Dörr. "Er wird doch nich . . . Jott, wie heissen sie doch, die so viele Frauen haben, immer gleich sechs oder sieben und manche noch mehr . . . Ich weiß nich, was sie mit so viele machen."

Es war ein Thema, wie geschaffen für Frau Dörr. Aber die Nimptsch beruhigte die Freundin und sagte: "Nein, liebe Dörr, es is doch anders. Ich hab' erst auch so was gedacht, aber da hat er gelacht und gesagt: 'I bewahr, Frau Nimptsch. Ich bin Junggesell. Und wenn ich mich verheirate, da denk' ich mir, eine ist gerade genug.'"

"Na, da fällt mir ein Stein vom Herzen," sagte die Dörr. 29

This reference is indicative of the state of popular knowledge about the Mormons in the 1800's--an American sect caught up in heathen practices and espousing a doctrine repugnant to Christianity.

The apparent widespread ignorance about Mormons demonstrates that, in contrast to the American situation, there was no strong public opinion at work to influence state actions against Mormonism in Germany, nor were there significant attempts by writers of fiction to influence public opinion against them. In Germany fiction was a reflection of, not an influence on, public opinion. Certainly Schoppe's insipid novel is not calculated to inspire righteous indignation. Möllhausen's works are written as tales of intrigue and adventure, though he moves in position from an observer to a critic, as his dislike of Mormons seems to grow. Wiedenroth characterizes May's
opinion as typical of the time, "ein redlicher, wenn auch erheblich zu oberflächlichler Einwand gegen die 'Jüngstentages Heiligen.'"\(^{30}\)

This is not to say that fiction writing never influenced public opinion in Germany. There is a notable example of the effect of fiction writing on a different American issue shaping public opinion in Germany. Anti-slavery feeling in Germany, and with it condemnation of a society that could allow it, became intense after the translation and publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which was extremely widely read in Germany.\(^{31}\)

The novels which were written in America to evoke a similar response to polygamy\(^{32}\) were not translated into German, nor did they have any German counterparts. Since there were no such polemical novels in Germany, and since the entertaining works which mentioned them did not awaken any public outcry against the Mormons, another explanation must be found for the intense persecution which they suffered there.

One explanation is that the persecution of Mormons seems to have originated with the authorities in Germany. By contrast, state action in America came later as a result of intense pressure from public opinion. Such state action seems remarkable, in a way, especially because of the traditional American values and constitutional protection of religious rights. However, in Germany the antipathy of the
authorities was grounded in the complex relationships between church and state, relationships which were themselves in a state of upheaval. Anyone not a member of the locally dominant church might suffer. During the years just prior to unification one political faction even considered Catholicism to be un-German. The Catholics responded by asserting rights to religious freedom and state support. Yet persecution of Mormons in Catholic Bavaria was no less intense.

Another explanation for persecution of the Mormons in Germany is that vituperative attacks from the pulpit and in writing were made against the "sects," which were viewed as a threat to the "people's" churches, and such views by the clergy were highly regarded in Germany. The state churches played a much greater role in German society than the splintered denominations did in America because they were concerned not only with the religious and moral well-being of the people, but also provided and administered most of the nation's schools, hospitals and welfare institutions.

The pastors related tales of the mistreatment of emigrants to Utah combined with impassioned pleas to the state authorities to banish Mormons missionaries and return their victims to the true fold. These pleas did not fall on deaf ears. The police, who were responsible not only for the "preservation of public peace, security and order," but for the general public welfare, responded by arresting
and banishing Mormons for breach of the peace and other more creative charges better than any the Spanish Inquisition might have dreamt up. The Mormons could do little to defend themselves because their activities were so regulated and limited, and because most of their converts emigrated. By 1900 there were still only 1605 Mormons in all of Germany.

The answer, then, to the question as to whether or not popular literature influenced the treatment of Mormons in Germany is that it did, but not to the extent that it influenced their treatment in America, where it guided public opinion to the point that legislative action was taken against them. Other potent forces seem to have been at work in Germany. State action to prevent the growth of Mormonism was called for by the clergy and its supporters, and because of the relationship between church and state the government could respond by intensively restricting Mormon activities.

Popular fiction must certainly have had its greatest influence on attitudes; thus affecting relationships between individuals. Fiction probably provided at least as much information about Mormons as did the press and the state churches. Most Germans would have responded to Mormons as does Karen, in Der Fanatiker, when she says, "Verschone mich . . . mit Vorstellungen, die ich als Blasphemie bezeichnen muß."
NOTES

1 Leonard J. Arrington and Jon Haupt, "Intolerable Zion: The Image of Mormonism in Nineteenth Century American Literature," Western Humanities Review, 22 (1968), 244.


5 Ibid.


7 Ibid.

8 Ibid., p. 153.


10 Ibid.

11 Ibid., pp. 62-63.


13 Ibid., p. 83.

14 Ibid., pp. 82-83.

15 Arrington and Bitton, p. 63.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid., p. 63.
18 Wiedenroth, pp. 126-27.


21 Billington, p. 184.


23 Ashliman, pp. 193, 207.

24 Ibid., pp. 206-211.

25 Billington, pp. 184-86.

26 Ashliman, pp. 207-210, cites numerous examples from writers including Moritz Busch (1857); Carl, Graf von Gортz (1852); Friedrich Künberger (1855); and Friedrich Strubberg (1858).

27 Scharffs, pp. 1-51.

28 Ibid., p. 52.

29 Theodore Fontane, Irrungen Wirrungen (1888; rpt. Frankfurt am Main, Berlin: Ullstein, 1966), p. 120.

30 Wiedenroth, p. 131.


32 Arrington and Haupt, p. 244.


34 Ibid., p. 105.

35 Scharffs, pp. 37-38, 43.


39 Scharffs, p. 37.

40 Ibid., p. 51.

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MORMON STEREOTYPES IN NINETEENTH CENTURY GERMAN LITERATURE:
THE FICTION OF AMALIE SCHOPPE AND
BALDUIN MÖLLHAUSEN

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ABSTRACT

Leonard J. Arrington and Jon Haupt have identified seven stereotypes of Mormons in nineteenth century American fiction which influenced public opinion about them, ultimately resulting in anti-Mormon legislation. Since westerns were also extremely popular in Germany, the writings of two popular German novelists of the eighteen hundreds, Amalie Schoppe and Balduin Möllhausen, were analyzed to determine whether their Mormon characters are similarly stereotyped. Mormon stereotypes associated with adventure writing were found in the works of both authors, but not those associated with polemical novels. It was concluded that their writing still had an adverse effect on public opinion, though the state churches also influenced anti-Mormon policy in Germany.

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