

FRIEDRICH GERSTÄCKER'S IMAGE OF THE GERMAN IMMIGRANT
IN AMERICA

by
H. Schutz
Brock University, Canada

Most European observers who visited the early United States were unable to grasp the fact that life in America was so different from anything to be found in Europe, that one could not possibly survive as a civilized being anywhere but in the principal cities. Opinions were sometimes arrived at after so short a stay in the country as to be questionable in conveying any accurate conception of American life.

Quite contrary to the opinions expressed in these largely superficial reports about America are the impressions contained in the works of Friedrich Gerstäcker. His views are based on years of actual experience in America, and a substantial part of his work is devoted to correct whatever misconceptions about America there might be in circulation in Germany, whether glowing with enthusiasm or sinister. He brought a great deal of realism to his works, so that his appraisals are much more valid.

He first came to America in 1837 and for the next few years did not hesitate to perform even the meanest jobs with no other aim but to stay above water. He was thus a hunter, a sailor on the riverboats, a stoker at times, working next to all levels of society, from European noblemen, to men like himself, down to the lowliest negro. He worked as a blacksmith,

as a pedlar, then as hotel-manager, and even became a pill-box manufacturer. He sampled most phases of the American way of life and came in contact with many stratas of American society. It should be stated, however, that Gerstäcker's interest in America was restricted mainly to the American Middle West, its people and their natural, undemanding way of life.

Gerstäcker seizes upon the ultimate phenomenon that is America: the melting pot of races--Malays, Chinese, Hawaiians, Mexicans and all Europeans, good and bad, pious and profane, all searching for instant wealth. Needless to say, the Germans who have come to North America are of the greatest interest to him. It is here that we find one of the purposes behind Gerstäcker's works. As was previously stated, he tries to correct the image that America has in Europe. Associated with this is his desire to impart to future immigrants his own experiences. Not enough can he warn against the pitfalls that await the new arrival in the new world, the sharks who prey on their own compatriots, trying to get rich in that way, the land speculators who sell them land far in the interior of the country for fraudulent prices, the German boarding-houses which try to keep the rest of what these poor, naive wretches have left. To these newcomers Gerstäcker offers only this: the certainty, that if they face their new surroundings realistically and if they are willing to work hard, regardless at what occupation, they will eventually be in a better position than they were at home. To any who are not willing to do this he suggests that they stay where they are, for America cannot use

dreamers, theorists and social parasites. He likes to see noblemen working with shovels, but does not like those Germans who start by knowing everything better. In spite of this though, he takes pride in telling the reader that the German does do things better.

Gerstäcker's writings are not profound. He does not set out to be a social critic. Nor is he a philosopher but more of an observer, who narrates what he has personally seen.

American historical statistics show that between the years 1830 and 1849 a total of 1,965,000 immigrants entered the United States.¹ Although the total number of German immigrants never approached the number of Irish immigrants, a good quarter of the total number of immigrants, 510,000, were Germans. Gerstäcker moved among these people and he describes two basic types: the realists, recruited mainly from among the farmers, workers and tradesmen, with a generous sprinkling of members of the Middle Class, as well as some aristocrats; secondly, the idealists, educated members of the Middle Class, poets, theorists, doctors and lawyers, and bankrupt aristocrats. For the latter group Gerstäcker shows very little understanding. Not familiar with reality, they reject the manually active life, the only formula for success in America. Gerstäcker admires the realists, who, unafraid to leave prejudices and privileges behind, seize the opportunities of the moment and seek personal betterment through initiative and hard work at any job. From the outset Gerstäcker finds that the intellectual would be better off, if he stayed at home. Only if he can break with his past, has he any chance to succeed in America.

The first volume of *Nach Amerika* presents a cross-section of the German population and a picture of its living conditions in Germany. The lower levels, the small farmers, are plagued by the despair of seeing their few possessions decrease in number in spite of the hard work, their daily bread being ever more in doubt, without a spark of hope for relief from impending poverty; the artisan as well as the small merchant are being forced out of business in the face of mass production and uncompetitive prices. Intellectuals and government officials, whose salaries do not keep up with the rising cost of living, artists and other idealists yearning for freedom of expression and development, the more realistic among the aristocrats who want to shake off the burdensome bonds of society, good citizens and criminals, speculators and hard workers, the despairing as well as the confident, the timid as well as the bold, out of all conditions and spheres of society all want only one thing out of life

...Ellbogenraum um sich rühren zu können;...
einen Platz..., der ihren Bedürfnissen
Befriedigung verspricht. ²

To all these people "Nach Amerika" are the magic words that mean hope, a future without misery, freedom from restrictions which encroach upon the individual from all sides, freedom from oppressive laws under which everyone is a criminal whose misdeeds have simply not yet been revealed. "Nach Amerika" means leaving behind a Germany where conditions go ever from bad to worse and where diligence and hard work hold no guarantees for the present, let alone for the future. Confident in their own abilities and strength, they courageously set out for America.

However, not only conditions at home induced the people to leave. News of success in America arrived in Europe, and enterprising men seized upon the glittering accounts about America to lure the potential immigrants into their webs, filling their heads with false ideas about the new country. They promised them wages of at least one dollar a day, farms with buildings and herds of livestock, hotels and coffee houses just waiting to be bought by Germans. According to the agents, all of America was waiting with open arms to receive the German immigrants above all others. Gerstäcker has no respect for these "Seelenverkäufer", who send the poor immigrants, floating on misconceptions, into the harsh American world, where they are only disappointed. Everything is different for the new arrivals. No one is there to receive them, as they had been led to believe. There is no work to be found, the money and the food supply are drawing to an end, and the whole world looks black and dreary. The farms turn out to be miserable improvements, the buildings are ramshackle log cabins, the herds of livestock are almost wild. Instead of a dollar a day, the farmers offer five or six dollars a month, and four out of five farmers do not need any help at all. The hotels are wooden sheds, the coffee houses are so in name only; a bar, bottles and glasses give any establishment the right to be called coffee house. The situation leads a German farmer to express what is Gerstäcker's own opinion.

Es ist auch wirklich gar ein böses Ding um die lockenden Beschreibungen, die uns Alles mit überbunten Farben ausmalen und findet man nachher nicht wirklich auch jede Kleinigkeit wie man sie sich gedacht hat, so wird man mürrisch. 3

For the immigrant the first months are the worst. They are the period of transition and Gerstäcker feels that if the individual has courage he will weather it and that only a year later he will realize that in essence he had been told the truth and that it had been his own wishful thinking which had coloured his expectations, especially since one's standards of like and dislike often depend almost entirely on the past and on what has been left behind. Already a year later a new set of values has replaced the old, and although much of the old that was dear has gone, the old sorrows, the pessimism have been replaced by a belief in a bright new future, and the confidence that their work is not in vain. Not all the immigrants of course realize the new advantages and either continue to lead an unhappy life or return to Germany, which they had left for similar reasons. About them Gerstäcker says

...solche Leute gehören auch nicht in den Wald,
sie sind Futter für Bälle und Theater. ⁴

According to Gerstäcker, work is the secret of success in America. Whoever is healthy and willing to work cannot fail to do well. Nor is it dishonourable to work at a different job than the one originally learned. The alternative is hunger and misery. He warns, however, that the immigrant should not seek work with other immigrants, but rather with Americans, since after all, the immigrant employers are themselves only on the way up and are not likely to treat the "greenhorn" fairly. Americans pay better, provide better board and have the added advantage that with them the immigrant should above all gather experience, before he enters upon any form of speculation,

especially in real estate. Most important is that he should seldom heed the counsel of a third party, for he always runs the risk of falling into the hands of those who tend to draw profit from the ignorant. He even has one bitter German give the following advice to a group of new arrivals, that should they ever be in need of counsel

...so vertraut lieber einem Amerikaner als einem Deutschen. Hütet Euch vor ihnen, denn sie sind gegen ihre Landsleute viel schlimmer als gegen alle Anderen, weil diese immer die dümmsten sind.⁵

Gerstäcker feels that this applies to all nationalities, since everyone likes to have confidence in a fellow countryman, whom he self-evidently assumes to be as honest as he is himself.

The shark, of course, seeks primarily his fellow countryman,

...um ihn sobald sich eine Gelegenheit dazu finden sollte, tüchtig übers Ohr zuhauen und hinterher auszulachen.⁶

The confidence-men justify their action by reasoning, that since the immigrants will sooner or later be taken for their money in any case, it is better that a countryman gets it, rather than a stranger. The most self-righteous rationalization is expressed by old Hamann, the New Orleans boardinghouse keeper, who feels that the German riff-raff which comes over

...und mit seiner Oberklugheit immer unser ganzes Amerika verbessern will, nicht eher Verstand bekommt, bis es seinen letzten Groschen an den Mann gebracht hat. Wer also dazu beiträgt, dass das sehr bald geschieht, thut den Leuten nur einen Gefallen und ist ihr wahrer Freund und nach den Grundsätzen handle ich...⁷

About Germans in general Gerstäcker is very disappointed. His impression had been that the Germans were respected. This

he found to be untrue. Taking Cincinnati as an example he finds that the Germans do not stand out either by their cleanliness or their good behaviour. He is especially disgusted with the German public establishments.

Es giebt nichts Traurigeres, Unerquicklicheres auf der weiten Gotteswelt als diese deutschen Wirtshäuser in Amerika. An Schmutz werden sie gewöhnlich nicht einmal von den Irischen übertroffen.⁸

Operated by sharks, who are out to take whatever the immigrant has, they lodge him at exorbitant rates until his money has been spent on food and drink. He is then permitted to stay until most of his possessions are used up. The innkeeper may promise to store his belongings while the poor devil continues to look for work, but most often he will never see his things again. How does he get into the boardinghouse in the first place? "Läufer--kleine Seelenverkäufer", agents working for the hotels, steer the unfortunates into what they believe to be a haven, a little piece of Germany in a foreign land.

The already established immigrants, however, are not the only ones to take advantage of the newcomers. The Yankee too will take the "greenhorn" for what he is worth, with the difference that the Yankee tends to go about it legally, that is to say, through the sale of real estate for instance, where the immigrant buys a cat in the bag at an exorbitant price, whereas the immigrant land lord simply squeezes the sponge dry. Gerstäcker gives us several examples of such sales.

Gerstäcker is opposed to two types of immigrants: the social parasites and the educated. He does not base his distinction between people upon social rank. Since no one in

America pays attention to rank and privileges, he likes to see nothing more, than people of all social levels working side by side, even at the lowest jobs. But in his image of America the parasites and the educated have no place. From among the parasites he presents Hugo, Graf von Böllinghausen und Nistadt, a "Rittmeister" who left Germany because

...der Rittmeister verdiente nicht genug, um den Grafen standesgemäss leben zu lassen. 9

What, however, could the count expect, but to play a very subordinate role in the New World. His attitude is very well expressed when he says,

Sollte ich etwa als Commis in eins dieser Geschäfte treten?--Dingen und Feilschen, wiegen und messen, und mir mit "ehrlichem Fleisse" einen Platz in der Gesellschaft mühsam erringen? --Bah. 10

Instead he prefers to endear himself to American society and make a name for himself in that way, not that he thinks very much of his new "friends", as he is celebrated and passed from one social circle to another. Appropriately enough, in Gerstäcker's eyes at least, he meets his downfall, when, at a gala party which he gave in honour of all his "friends", one of them robs him of all his money. Ruined, there was nothing left for him to do but to work as a fireman on a riverboat.

From the second group Gerstäcker presents two examples: Fridolin Theobald, of whom Gerstäcker says

"Er schwärmt in höheren Regionen."

and "Professor der Ökonomie" Lobenstein. Fridolin, as his name suggests, is a dreamer, a poet, an idealist, who left Germany in order to bless America with his inspirations. He

refuses to admit to himself as well as to others that America requires a practical approach, if life is to be possible. Instead of felling trees to erect necessary buildings and shelters, he encourages the professor's son to hunt for specimens of flora and fauna and even helps the boy to construct a "Lusthaus" in which tea may be served and nature contemplated from the aesthetic point of view. For Gerstäcker Fridolin is a hopeless loss. The professor is another of those impractical Germans. Although he is an economist, it is the failure of his financial ventures in Germany which forced him to save what he could and come to America. As can be expected, never in his life has he felt; "so rath- und thatlos" as when he first stepped upon American soil, and found that the future of his whole family rested upon his shoulders. Nevertheless, Professor Lobenstein

...versprach sich Ausserordentliches von den hier einzuführenden Systemen, wollte den Amerikanern, die nur so oberflächlich ins Blaue hinein arbeiteten, einmal beweisen, wie man eine solche Farm, nach allen Zweigen und Richtungen hin, ausbeuten und verwerthen könne. Er hatte dazu grossartige Pläne. 11

Needless to say, Gerstäcker dislikes this man, who brought a grand-piano into the backwoods, as well as all sorts of farming equipment from Germany, and has the nerve to write a learned thesis about the impractical construction of the American plow. A gentleman farmer, this economist knows everything better. He plans to make the sugar-beet a profitable crop and builds a press to produce syrup. That there is not yet a demand for his product is of no consequence. Purely an experimental farmer, he depends on others to supply him. Ruled by sentiment

he employs Germans, who take advantage of his ignorance and who do a minimum of work for a maximum salary. All the activity around him he supervises in "Schlafrock und Pantoffeln", listens to no advice from his more practical friends, and faces bankruptcy and hunger by the end of the first year. A potential son-in-law prevents a foreclosure on the farm, and the fortunate discovery of coal on the land saves the family. Gerstäcker rescues Lobenstein from ruin only because he began to see the error of his ways as the end was approaching. In the introduction to the story "Europäer in der Wildniss", Gerstäcker tells us that it is the educated European in particular who is given most of all to illusions and dreams. His imagination, fed on romantic descriptions, takes him into situations previously animated by his ideals, out of which he has to drag himself, if that is at all possible for him to do, with blood and tears.

Der gebildete oder halbgebildete Europäer...bringt in sehr häufigen Fällen sogar eine Masse von Plänen mit, die ihn nicht allein zum reichen Mann, sondern das Volk, dem er die Gunst seiner Gegenwart bringt, auch heben und glücklich machen sollen.¹²

Not only are their plans not appreciated, but they themselves are entirely on the wrong track. What is their reaction?

Hol' der Teufel das ganze Amerika...und all die Canaillen dazu, die dicke Bücher zu dessen Lob schreiben. ...arbeiten immer nur arbeiten ist die Losung, und zwar mit den Fäusten. ...Kopfarbeit wird hier gar nicht gerechnet. Holz hacken, Strassen fegen, Bar keeping, Zeitungen herumtragen, Zettel ankleben, Handlanger sein, Fracht aus- und einladen, das sind so die verschiedenen Beschäftigungen, denen die Holzköpfe den Namen ehrliche Arbeit geben.¹³

To these people manual labour is a degradation of the dignity of their social position. In Gerstäcker's works this breed is outnumbered by realistic, active Germans, who do not bewail their miserable state, but who answer the question to sink or to swim? with good humour, untiring optimism and faith. At the bottom though they may be, they are determined to go up. Gerstäcker shows us noblemen, officers, intellectuals shoveling coal, chipping stones, serving at table, acting as porters, even tending cattle. In *Nach Amerika* we meet von Lochhausen, who hopes to get a steady job as street cleaner; the son of a German minister of justice is turning cigars after having been a cook and a coal miner; a former officer paints picture frames; a former law student has finally come to publish a newspaper; a doctor operates a cigarstore; and a former theologian after having been a preacher, a constable, a teacher, a cook on a steamer, is finally a manufacturer of pills.¹⁴ All are happy and all are likely to have other jobs the following month. One could speculate about the reasons for Gerstäcker's fondness of the people mentioned above and call it a self-justification, for he himself had at one time or other worked at most of the jobs mentioned and many more not mentioned here. Directed at the German public, Gerstäcker's message is obvious when he says

Ein armer Mann ist hier auch geachtet, und es kommt nicht auf den Rock an, den ich trage, 15

Gerstäcker appreciates the value of America's open society, where work renders all men equal, at the same time giving everyone the chance to rise above the others, and where no one

asks afterwards what he has been or done. Basically, Gerstäcker rejects social position based on birth and would much rather see a social stratification, if such is necessary, based on personal merit.

Contrary to the West, where it is a rarity that one should meet a fellow countryman and where the visitor is a welcome carrier of news from the homeland, in the East all new arrivals are treated even by their own nationals as "Preisverderber". Gerstäcker does not have a very high opinion of the Germans settled in the eastern cities. He detects a despicable pride in those already somewhat Americanized. Especially when in the presence of Americans, these Germans refuse to address even their friends in German, for fear that they should be unmasked as "Dutchmen". Gerstäcker finds that these Germans adopt the least admirable aspects of American behaviour, such as tobacco-chewing and the associated spitting, which is disgusting to Gerstäcker. Unattainable are the Americans' drive, their consciousness of freedom, their pride in a country which grows and prospers in every way. The Germans, on the other hand, renounce their fatherland at the first opportunity and are ashamed to be recognized as Germans, to the extent that they even shun the German "Wirtshaus" which meant so much to them at home. Void of any political discernment, a toy of the political parties, they swim with the current and can be bought as a block, they are the "Schmach und Schande ihrer Nation".¹⁶ Used to a servile existence, they at first grovel before anyone better dressed than they are.

However, as soon as they are acclimatized and realize that everyone is equal, they assume an overbearing manner towards all those whom they consider educationally or financially inferior, to prove that they are acquainted with their right to consider themselves to be as good as anyone. Judging by these people Gerstäcker shudders to think that it is with these types that Germany wants to found a democratic republic.

Es sind Elemente, trefflich geeignet zum Zerstören, zum Ansturm gegen einen hartnäckigen feindlichen Widerstand, aber zum Aufbau untüchtig, ja gefährlich.¹⁷

In short, "Das Volk ist nicht reif" for democracy.

Editor Rosengarten, of the New Orleans German newspaper, Die Biene, shows how the German press rides the political fence. According to him it tries to bring about

...eine Verschmelzung der beiden Parteien

indicating a complete misunderstanding of the party system. The rest is a pure farce of diluted, unprincipled rationalizations.

Es ist unser Prinzip, in ächt demokratischem Sinne beiden Theilen gerecht zu werden; wir stehen in Fechterstellung, bei zurückgeworfenem Körper mit dem linken Fuss auf der Demokratie, mit dem rechten den Whiggismus nur allerdings leicht berührend, nur danach fühlend, aber jeden Augenblick bereit, uns im Angriff momentan ganz darauf zu werfen und dann nur wieder zum Schutz auf den linken Fuss zurückzufallen.¹⁸

The Germans, he finds, cannot be interested in any form of German literature. Those among them, who understand English or at least pretend to understand it, no longer read German and prefer to piece their news together as best they can out of American newspapers. Those who have just arrived and as yet know no English, do not read at all. Under

those circumstances the German papers have a very small number of subscribers and can consequently not afford to employ German writers. Thus the German press is "ein reines Plünderungssystem", gathering its news and entertainment from any and all sources,

...denn für deutsches literarisches Eigenthum besteht hier nicht der geringste Schutz. 19

The fear of public reaction forces the press to steer clear of any controversial issues, especially slavery.

'Das ist eine Geschichte an der wir uns nicht die Finger verbrennen dürfen. 20

Strictly speaking, the faceless German press has no reasons for existing and is maintained purely out of personal initiative.

It is interesting to note that the Germans in their transition exemplify a paradox. With incomparable tenacity they hang on to their customs and regard anyone with suspicion who would like to change them. Their fathers had done things in a certain manner and it had been good, so why should they change. This conservatism is found particularly among the farmers, as one would expect. By nature petty in their outlook, they suspect everyone of being bent on profiting at their expense. They left Germany because of oppressive decrees and conventions and went to America.

Aber nicht um dort zu lernen, sondern im Gegenteil fest überzeugt, dass sie den Leuten dort zeigen müssen, wie man ackert und sät. 21

They refuse to change their tools and methods, and in their eagerness become a source of amusement to the Americans, who, instead of wearing themselves out by pulling out tree stumps

from dawn to dusk, as the Germans do, let them rot, living a life of minimum exertions. The same conservatism applies to their clothing, so that the attempts of the Germans to lose their identity are of no avail, since they are recognized as soon as they appear. It is the second generation which finally discards the tools and methods of the past and completes the transition. It also disturbs Gerstäcker to see that in a very short time the Germans become just as money conscious as the Americans. A man's name was never enough. His monetary assets always formed his surname.

As condemning as Gerstäcker seems to be towards the Germans in America, he does not really blame them for the way in which they appear. He sees them as apathetic patriots who have little reason to be proud of their fatherland, split into its many principalities. Insecure in their identity as representatives of a nation that is no nation, they try to maintain the wrong values, showing the wrong kind of strength at the wrong time. Plagued by superstitions, self-imposed restrictions and the conventions of their impoverished past, they suddenly find themselves unrestrained, freed from oppressive laws, uncertain of their own abilities, a plaything for any current, responsive to any firm hold. Used to being led, the German becomes

...ein so vortrefflicher Staatsbürger...(den alle anderen fremden Regierungen nicht genug zu rühmen wissen), dass er eben zu nichts weiter zu brauchen ist und eben nur so verbraucht werden muss. 22

This is a main point in Gerstäcker's defence of the Germans, and he cannot stress enough that particular German attribute

"Fleiss". He seems to be trying to rally them to their "Deutschtum" by pointing out to them that "Fleiss" is their chief asset, just as self-assurance and optimism are the assets of the Americans. He is convinced that sooner or later the immigrant will adopt the American way of life and then the combination of the two national characteristics will lead him to make his contribution to American prosperity.

It is a fact that the immigrants contributed to the advance of the frontier. According to Gerstäcker they generally did not act as pioneers since they lacked the skills for dealing with the forests, with firearms or the Indians. Rather, they provided a secondary line of settlement. They gave to the pioneer the capital he needed for the westward movement by buying his farm. It is here that their main contribution has to be sought. Young Hamann, in *Nach Amerika*, feels that it is they who form the backbone of the population, without whose help the various states would already have suffocated in their debts and perished. However, this may be, it must be remembered that Gerstäcker's works are set in the 1837-1842 depression, and that the more thorough cultivation of the land did increase the value of the land, making it capable to support an increasing population, to provide goods for the expanding system of transportation, eventually raising the amount of trade in the Mississippi valley to many times its previous value.²³ Repeatedly Gerstäcker tells us that once he has adapted himself, the German does do things better, more thoroughly. Contrary to the more provisional nature of

American planning, Gerstäcker's descriptions of German farms present the sedentary intentions of their owners.

Sie sehen es schon an den reinlichen massiv errichteten Gebäuden, den steinernen Scheunen, dem ordentlich aufgestellten Ackergeräth, den sorgfältig urbar gemachten Feldern. 24

Gerstäcker himself cannot help bragging that the Germans soon change into a paradise

...was noch vor wenigen Jahren eine öde, trostlose Wildnis gewesen.25

FOOTNOTES

¹ Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945 (Washington, 1949).

² Friedrich Gerstäcker, Ausgewählte Werke, Zweite Volks- und Familienausgabe von Dietrich Theden (Jena: Hermann Costenoble, 1887-1890) Serie I und II. All the references to Gerstäcker's works are made to this edition, unless otherwise stated. Only the titles, sub-titles, date of first publication, volume and page will be listed in the footnotes. Nach Amerika! Ein Volksbuch (1855), I, 171.

³ Aus zwei Welttheilen. Gesammelte Erzählungen (1854), p. 346.

⁴ Ibid., p. 506.

⁵ Streif-und Jagdzüge durch die Vereinigten Staaten Nordamerikas (1844), p. 46.

⁶ Aus zwei Welttheilen, p. 479.

⁷ Nach Amerika!, II, 70.

⁸ Streif-und Jagdzüge, p. 174.

⁹ Aus zwei Welttheilen, p. 331.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 331.

¹¹ Nach Amerika!, II, 178.

¹² Wilde Welt, p. 165 in Gesammelte Schriften, IV, Zweite Serie (Jena: Hermann Costenoble, 1885).

¹³ Nach Amerika!, II, 124.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 134 ff.

- ¹⁵ Aus zwei Welttheilen, p. 355.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., p. 341.
- ¹⁷ Ibid., p. 343
- ¹⁸ Nach Amerika!, II, 112.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., p. 119.
- ²⁰ Ibid., p. 117.
- ²¹ Ibid., p. 150
- ²² Nach Amerika!, I, 218.
- ²³ Nach Amerika!, II, 251.
- ²⁴ Ibid., p. 252. (My underlining)
- ²⁵ F. Gerstäcker, Mississippibilder, ed. Rudolf Menny (Reutlingen: Ensslin und Laibach, 1937), p. 310.

GERMAN-AMERICAN RESEARCH

An analysis of the Pennsylvania Germans by Alice P. Kenney of Cedar Crest College appears in her article "Private Worlds in Middle Colonies: An Introduction to Human Tradition in American History" in New York History (January, 1970).

Glenn G. Gilbert has edited a recent book entitled, The German Language in America, University of Texas Press: Austin and London, 1971 which includes the papers read at the symposium on German dialects in America.