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## **"Of the Most Ignorant Stupid Sort of Their Own Nation": Perceptions of the Pennsylvania Germans in the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries**

The purpose of this essay is to trace the development of the current perceptions and stereotypes associated with the Pennsylvania Germans (also known as the Pennsylvania Dutch<sup>1</sup>) and their linguistic varieties. In the first part I will present language attitudes gleaned from a variety of historical texts. In the second part the present-day attitudinal patterns found in six multi-generational families living in central Pennsylvania will be described. I will argue that while some of the early assumptions about the language varieties of the Pennsylvania Germans have changed over time, a large number of the present stereotypes were formed soon after the arrival of the first German-speaking immigrants in Pennsylvania and the adjacent areas.

The study of both the development and the current nature of cultural attitudes and stereotypes is of great importance for our understanding of recent linguistic developments among the Pennsylvania Germans. In particular, the nonsectarian Pennsylvania Germans are a case in point: Their adoption of, and widespread belief in, the stereotype of the "dumb Dutchman" (which, as the historical examination will show, originated in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania society at large) has led to a shift from Pennsylvania German to English as native language and will ultimately result in language death within this subgroup. This linguistic development in turn has given rise to a revival of Pennsylvania German culture and its role as a conveyor of identity and solidarity.

### **Early language attitudes**

The quotations presented below are taken from seven texts by as many different authors, ranging in time from 1750 to 1829:

1750-54:       Gottlieb Mittelberger, *Journey to Pennsylvania in the Year 1750 and Return to Germany in the Year 1754*, trans. Carl Theo. Eben (Philadelphia: McVey, 1898).

1753:       Benjamin Franklin, "To Richard Jackson, 5 May 1753," *The Writings*

of *Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Albert Henry Smyth (New York: MacMillan, 1907), 3:133-41.

- 1764-65: Lord Adam Gordon, "Journal of an Officer Who Travelled in America and the West Indies in 1764 and 1765," *Travels in the American Colonies*, ed. Newton D. Mereness (New York: Antiquarian, 1961), 365-453.
- 1789: Benjamin Rush, *An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania*, ed. Theodore E. Schmauk (Lancaster, PA: Pennsylvania German Society, 1910).
- 1793-98: Médéric-Louis-Elie Moreau de Saint-Méry, *American Journey, 1793-1798*, ed. and trans. Kenneth Roberts and Anna M. Roberts (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1947).
- 1822: Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New-England and New-York*, vol. 3 (New Haven, CT: Dwight, 1822).
- 1829: Jonas Heinrich Gudehus, "Journey to America," trans. Larry M. Neff, *Ebbes fer Alle—Ebber Ebbes fer Dich/Something for Everyone—Something for You: Essays in Memoriam Albert Franklin Buffington*, Publications of The Pennsylvania German Society, vol. 14 (Breinigsville, PA: Pennsylvania German Society, 1980), 183-329.

The genres to which the seven texts belong are as varied as travel report (Mittelberger, Gordon, Saint-Méry, Dwight), personal letter (Franklin), and scholarly report (Rush). The authors' geographical origins include North America (Franklin, Rush, Dwight), Scotland (Gordon), Martinique (Saint-Méry), and Germany (more specifically, Württemberg [in Mittelberger's case] and Braunschweig [in Gudehus's case]). The purposes for which the texts were written are as contrasting as Mittelberger's appeal to his fellow countrymen to abstain from emigration to Pennsylvania and Rush's rather positive account of the German population in his home state, designed to acquaint the young American nation with its citizens of German ancestry.

The two major languages spoken in Pennsylvania during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were English and German. Many German immigrants and their descendants acquired a competence in English in addition to their native knowledge of German. The German they spoke was not Standard German in the modern sense, but a dialect known as Pennsylvania German, which represents a leveled variety based on a number of Southern German dialects, most prominently on the various forms of *Pfälzisch*, the dialect of the Palatinate. According to Mittelberger,

[t]he principal language and the law of the land [was] English.<sup>2</sup>



Gudehus reports that

these people must also constantly speak the English language, since they have doings daily with so many who either understand no word of German or do not want to speak it.<sup>3</sup>

The German authors, among them most prominently the northerner Gudehus, frequently allude to the fact that Pennsylvania German is quite distinct from their own variety of German, not only because it contains some English interference but also because of dialectal differences:

The most eye-opening and grisliest was to me the miserable so-called high German language here, mixed with many English parts, and containing coarse and heavy expressions never heard in my fatherland. . . .<sup>4</sup>

The language of these Germans, however, is generally with very few exceptions of individual persons only a miserable mixture of the pitiful Palatine and Swabian German and English without these persons' knowing it.<sup>5</sup>

The texts abound with references to the decline of Pennsylvania German:

Here too [in Oley, Pennsylvania] I made the discovery, as I had been doing in general up to now as far as I had come, that the German language is near its decline, which distressed me; here too one hears only the Word of God from the pulpit still in the German language; in colloquial use it is gone long already. . . .<sup>6</sup>

. . . at times several of the oldest citizens had mentioned that it wasn't right that they should let the German schools close and let the language of the Germans who had built this city exclusively completely decline. . . .<sup>7</sup>

Their own language they spoke with increasing imperfection, and the English they scarcely spoke at all.<sup>8</sup>

The early authors intuitively felt that this decline was linked with the speakers' negative language attitudes. The texts repeatedly mention the fact that some German-speaking immigrants were ashamed of their native language:

There were many Germans there, he said, who were ashamed of their mother tongue and wanted to speak no German word.<sup>9</sup>

Although Germans and descendants of Germans live here exclusively, nevertheless the many guests there were ashamed to speak with me when

they observed that I understood no English and they looked at me over their shoulders.<sup>10</sup>

In the cities, especially in the port cities, the transformation from German to English proceeds with rapid steps. Whoever can quack a little English there is ashamed of the German and no longer wants to speak it. The educated among the Germans, especially those who were born in Germany but found their fortune and well-being in America, are the most opposed to their mother tongue, do not want to speak it at all anymore, indeed not seldom are they ashamed of their background. Even children exhibit a very great resistance to everything that is German.<sup>11</sup>

Many times the authors emphasize a lack of education among the German-speaking immigrants:

... by far the majority live in the deepest ignorance, which must be ascribed to the want of sufficient preachers and schoolmasters, the inhabitants lacking the means for their support.<sup>12</sup>

... but with all their freedom they are still slaves of their narrowness and lack of knowledge in everything that is not local and practical.<sup>13</sup>

... for it appears scandalous to them [the Americans of non-German origin] to receive any kind of instruction from the stupid German as they call him.<sup>14</sup>

It has been said, that the Germans are deficient in learning; and that in consequence of their want of more general and extensive education, they are much addicted to superstition. ...<sup>15</sup>

The famous quotation from Benjamin Franklin's letter is no exception in painting the picture of the "dumb Dutchman":

Those who come hither are generally of the most ignorant stupid sort of their own Nation. ...<sup>16</sup>

Nevertheless, two of the authors acknowledge that lack of education does not necessarily imply lack of intelligence: According to Mittelberger,

[i]t is a surprising fact that young people who were born in this new land, are very clever, docile and skilful. ...<sup>17</sup>

And Moreau de Saint-Méry explicitly attests to the German-speaking indentured servants' intelligence:



The people from the Palatinate are the most highly sought because of their faithfulness and intelligence.<sup>18</sup>

These positive remarks, however, are the exception rather than the rule. With regard to wealth, the Pennsylvania Germans are in some instances also perceived rather negatively, as can be seen from the following quotation from Rush:

They brought but little property with them.<sup>19</sup>

On the other hand, some travelers—especially those from Germany—comment on the economic success some immigrants have had in the New World, as the following example of an innkeeper in Philadelphia shows:

This tavernkeeper Schröder with his wife, a native of the Palatinate, emigrated to America only several years ago and were at the time not able to pay their passage, but rather each had to do service three years long; then they worked into the fourth year for themselves and through it got so much together that they bought this nice hotel and now live in a very happy status. There is really no land on the whole earth where most of the craftsmen and every other worker—if he is not a spendthrift and a lazybones—can get status and wealth easier than in the United States of North America, if he emigrates there in his youth when he is still able to strip off the German skin and to pull on an American. Of this I found very many examples in Philadelphia.<sup>20</sup>

The texts abound with allusions to the Pennsylvania Germans' honesty:

As merchants they are candid and punctual. The bank of North America has witnessed, from its first institution, their fidelity to all their pecuniary engagements.<sup>21</sup>

The people from the Palatinate are the most highly sought because of their faithfulness and intelligence.<sup>22</sup>

People are far more sincere and generous than in Germany.<sup>23</sup>

The last quotation leads to the next character trait frequently attributed to the German immigrants: They are perceived to be of great generosity, usually combined with open hospitality:

... if I had more often taken advantage of the open hospitality of the American farmers which is the native custom there with all travelers, especially those who travel by foot.<sup>24</sup>

In Pennsylvania one might travel about a whole year without spending a

penny; for it is customary in this country that, when one comes with his horse to a house, the traveler is asked if he wishes to have something to eat, whereupon the stranger is served with a piece of cold meat which has been left over from dinner; in addition to this he is provided with fine bread, butter and cheese, also with plenty to drink. If one wishes to stay over night, he and his horse are harbored free of charge. If any one comes to a house at meal-time, he is asked to take his seat at the table and to take pot-luck.<sup>25</sup>

... but they are not strangers to the virtue of hospitality. The hungry or benighted traveller, is always sure to find a hearty welcome under their roofs.<sup>26</sup>

At the same time, the authors unanimously characterize the Pennsylvania Germans as frugal and economical people:

The German farmers live frugally in their families, with respect to diet, furniture and apparel.<sup>27</sup>

This character trait, together with the observation that the Pennsylvania Germans were quite successful farmers, prompted Benjamin Franklin to make the following statement in favor of further admission of German-speaking immigrants, despite his general skepticism:

I say, I am not against the Admission of Germans in general, for they have their Virtues. Their Industry and Frugality are exemplary. They are excellent Husbandmen; and contribute greatly to the Improvement of a Country.<sup>28</sup>

Here, Franklin points to the reason for the Pennsylvania Germans' professional success: their industry and diligence. This quality is probably one of the most frequently mentioned in the texts:

German workers, but only tradesmen, are eminently attractive there and are sought after, because a good German can get more done than three of the best native Americans.<sup>29</sup>

German day laborers, menservants and maids are preferred if they understand cooking well or possess other skills too; they are preferred to all others on account of their work and their diligence and make their fortune most easily.<sup>30</sup>

There are several large Towns and Villages, well inhabited and very industrious, particularly Lancaster and Bristol. . . .<sup>31</sup>

Only two authors comment favorably on the religiousness and the strong morals found among the Pennsylvania Germans:



All the different sects among them are particularly attentive to the religious education of their children, and to the establishment and support of the Christian Religion.<sup>32</sup>

A small collection of these, at Germantown in the southwestern corner of Columbia, have been mentioned to me by authority which I cannot dispute as a very worthy and respectable body of plain people, distinguished for their industry, good order, sound morals, and attachment to religion.<sup>33</sup>

Others complain about a lack of devoutness, especially among the rural population:

Nevertheless, there is a great confusion on account of the many religious denominations and sects; for especially in the rural districts it is very ill kept. The holidays and apostle-days are not observed at all.<sup>34</sup>

These shortcomings in religious life presumably result in a whole array of bad manners and lax morals, among them card-playing, drunkenness, swearing, fighting, and perjury:

Since the times of unrestrained freedom, however, laxity and coarseness of morals prevail in the United States of North America, and the chief cause of it is only the lack of appropriate religious instruction in churches and schools.<sup>35</sup>

The vice of drunkenness I found nowhere as terrible and to such a degree as there, especially among the lower class of people.<sup>36</sup>

Wanton cursing and swearing I found worse nowhere as in many regions of Pennsylvania among the German country folk; they excel in it by far more than even the German sailors.<sup>37</sup>

... low vices are unhappily prevalent among them. Fathers have not very unfrequently been seen at the gambling table with their sons, endeavoring to win money from each other, swearing at each other, charging each other with cheating and lying, and both at very late hours intoxicated.<sup>38</sup>

Before such a frolic or vendue begins there is especially much talk about who wants to fight at the same, for that is their chief pleasure, when two men of equal strength physically wrestle, scuffle, push, step on, press out each other's eyes, etc.<sup>39</sup>

Deceptions and false oaths are the order of the day; and trust and faith have come almost completely into disuse.<sup>40</sup>

## Present-day language attitudes<sup>41</sup>

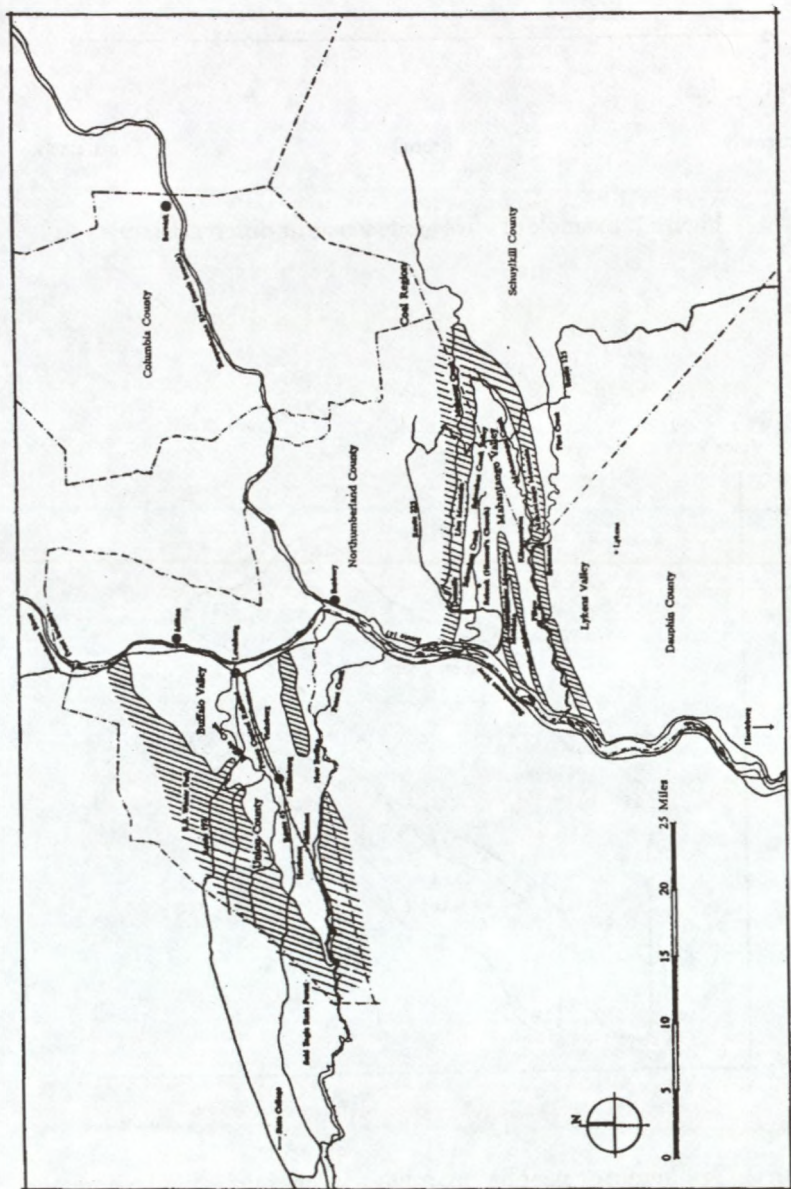
Between October 1989 and May 1990, I interviewed fifty informants living in the Mahantango and Buffalo Valleys in central Pennsylvania, at the northern edge of the Pennsylvania German area (see map). The informants were members of six multi-generational families: three nonsectarian (i.e., Lutheran and Reformed), two sectarian (Old Order Mennonite and New Order Amish) and one non-Pennsylvania German family. The informants ranged in age from five to eighty-three years and in their language competence from bilingual in Pennsylvania German and English to monolingual English. Along with the systematic gathering of phonological data and information on language use, the informants were administered a matched-guise test, the results of which enabled me to draw some conclusions about their language attitudes.

In this test the informants listened to nine language samples, each of which was approximately one minute in length. All samples were taken from pilot interviews and dealt with the topic of growing up in Pennsylvania Dutch Country. After they had listened to a sample, the informants were asked to answer twenty-one questions on a five-grade semantic differential scale (see figure 1). The questions consisted of the following polar character traits:

1. well educated—poorly educated
2. intelligent—dumb
3. professional—laborer
4. is in charge of things—has little authority
5. has a lot of money—has little money
6. honest—insincere
7. dependable—not dependable
8. generous—stingy
9. friendly and likeable—unfriendly and unlikeable
10. good sense of humor—no sense of humor
11. self-confident—unsure of self
12. hard-working—lazy
13. reserved—flashy
14. modest—boastful
15. stubborn—easy-going
16. comes from a city—comes from a rural area
17. non-religious—religious
18. progressive/open-minded—traditional/conservative
19. easy to understand—difficult to understand
20. I'd like to speak like this speaker myself—  
I wouldn't like to speak like this speaker myself
21. I meet such speakers often—I meet such speakers rarely

Thus each informant gave me a comprehensive character profile of the speakers





Areas of fieldwork in central Pennsylvania

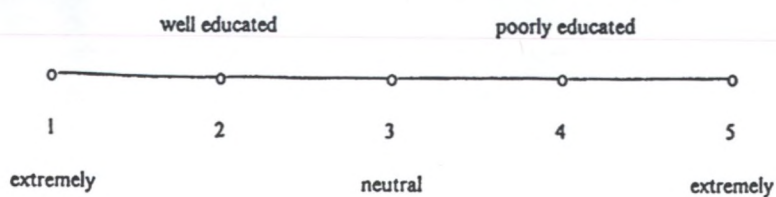


Figure 1. Example of a five-grade semantic differential scale

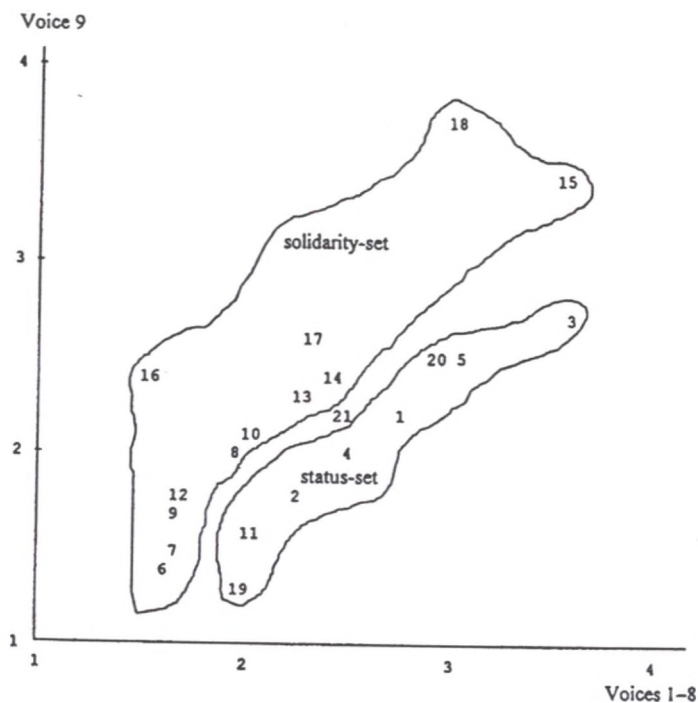


Figure 2. Continuum of questions according to their sources for the ethnically marked voices (1-8) and the regional standard of English (voice 9)



of each of the nine samples he or she heard. What the informants did not know, however, was that in reality they listened to four different speakers only. Each speaker delivered one sample in Pennsylvania German and one in English with a Pennsylvania German accent. In addition, one of them, a minister, also used regional standard English. As a result, I was able to compare the character profile the speakers received when speaking one variety with that attributed to them when they used another.

The following results are based on the comparison of the eight "dutchified" voices (Pennsylvania German and Pennsylvania German English; voices 1-8) with the regional standard (voice 9). Both a factor analysis and a somewhat less formalized method showed that the questions can be grouped into a status-stressing and a solidarity-stressing set (see figure 2). The status set comprises eight questions dealing with education (1), intellectual ability (2), professional status (3), power (4), wealth (5), self-confidence (11), intelligibility (19), and identification with the speaker (20). The guiding theme of these categories is social success. The solidarity set, on the other hand, includes character traits such as honesty (6), dependability (7), generosity (8), friendliness (9), humor (10), diligence (12), reserve (13), modesty (14), stubbornness (15), rural origin (16), religiousness (17), and conservatism (18). Only question 21 (familiarity) could not unambiguously be added to one or the other group.

In the opinion of all the informants taken together, the speaker using regional standard is associated with having high social status. His foremost character trait is professionalism, followed by intelligibility, good education, authority, wealth, intelligence, and self-confidence. The informant group as a whole stated that this is the way they would like to speak themselves.

On the other hand, the speakers of the ethnically marked varieties are most clearly associated with coming from a rural area, conservatism, and religiousness. In addition, they are perceived to be characterized by a good sense of humor, friendliness, diligence, generosity, modesty, reserve, a certain degree of stubbornness, dependability, and honesty—all character traits belonging to the solidarity—stressing set of questions.

Thus, while the results confirm the current widespread perception of Pennsylvania Germans as honest, quiet and likeable people—the kind of folks with whom one likes to be friends—the stereotype of the "dumb Dutchman" is also reflected in the data. This stereotype, however, consists of more characteristics than just being unintelligent. Speakers marked by ethnic features are first of all associated with being laborers, poorly educated, lacking authority, and having little money. Only then are they perceived to be unintelligent and self-conscious.

It is the oldest generation of the nonsectarian Pennsylvania Germans, i.e., the last generation alive to have Pennsylvania German as their first language, that proved to look down upon their own culture the most. This negative cultural attitude manifested itself in a negative language attitude and led to this generation's unanimous shift to English as a first language for their children beginning in the 1930s. The following statement by a younger member of the nonsectarian group summarizes the reasons for this shift, which has had such far-reaching consequences for the future (non)maintenance of Pennsylvania German among the nonsectarians:



Our parents didn't want us to have a Pennsylvania German accent in our English. They didn't want us to have a hard time at school as they did.

This rejection of one's own culture has been less prevalent among the sectarians, for whom the religious aspect of their culture is far more important than being Pennsylvania German. Likewise, the stereotype of the "dumb Dutchman" is less prevalent among the non-Pennsylvania German informants, and also in the younger generations of the nonsectarians.

For the latter, Pennsylvania German is associated with establishing familiarity, its role as a medium to relive childhood memories, its usefulness as a secret language within the family, and its being a vehicle of expression of ethnic pride. Numerous remarks during the interviews, as well as widespread attempts at language revival (as documented by Pennsylvania German newspaper columns, annual church services, *Versammlinge*, skits, radio and TV programs, and evening classes), show that those nonsectarian generations that do not have native competence in Pennsylvania German display a very positive attitude toward their ethnic culture and language. The younger nonsectarians express their regret of the loss of their linguistic identity by high marks for ethnically marked speakers for the solidarity-set questions, i.e., on an emotional dimension. In fact, there are certain indications that the members of the second generation with English as their native language, who have practically no competence in Pennsylvania German, express their ethnic identity by deliberately marking their English with some of the Pennsylvania German features so familiar in the speech of their grandparents and parents.

As Lois Huffines has shown, the public afterlife of Pennsylvania German is twofold.<sup>42</sup> While a number of nonsectarian supporters try to revive or at least maintain the language within their own group, Pennsylvania German English is used in a variety of commercial settings to attract attention and to achieve humor. These include "Dutch" restaurants adorned with quaint, historically and geographically completely inaccurate windmills, the use of Pennsylvania German folk art on diner place mats, and the grossly exaggerated collections of "ferhoodled English."

In all of the above instances, symbols of the sectarians and the nonsectarians are usually mixed indiscriminately. Through its use in commercialism, the stereotype of the ignorant, naive, and quaint Pennsylvania German persists. The desired effect, however, can only be achieved because mainstream society views Pennsylvania German culture and language as non-threatening to Anglo-American culture.

## Synthesis and Conclusion

Altogether, a comparison between attitudes expressed toward members of the Pennsylvania German culture and their languages over the last three and a half centuries reveals a remarkable stability. Since their formation in the years right after the arrival of the first immigrants from German-speaking areas, both positive and negative attitudes have clung to this cultural group with tremendous tenacity.

Although a decline of German was underway in Pennsylvania in the time of the



historical texts (see above: Gudehus, Dwight) and some of the authors implicitly predict the death of the immigrant varieties, Pennsylvania German is still very much alive today. Because of the high birthrate among the sectarians, it is, in fact, growing in number of speakers. However, in defense of the authors we have to acknowledge the fact that the division into sectarian and nonsectarian groups is much more clear-cut today than it was at their own time and that their predictions of the loss of Pennsylvania German among the nonsectarians eventually, even though not until the most recent decades, proved right. Today, most people think of the Amish and Mennonites as the prototype of the Pennsylvania Germans.

The old perception of Pennsylvania German being an inferior dialect of German (on account of being an unprestigious southern variety heavily intermixed with English elements) has developed into the current view of its being no "real" language, having "no grammar," and being "neither German nor English." While this attitude toward the ethnic language variety itself appears to be quite common to most ethnic subgroups involved (nonsectarians, sectarians, and non-Pennsylvania Germans), the more general perception of Pennsylvania German culture has developed in a far more diverse way. Thus, the notion of being ashamed of one's mother tongue has given way to ethnic pride and cultural revival attempts in today's nonsectarian group. This process, however, could not take place until Pennsylvania German was at the brink of being lost as a native language in the latter half of the twentieth century. This development is a good example of attitudinal patterns being reversed by language shift. In the sectarian society, on the other hand, the use of Pennsylvania German in the home domain keeps it alive and renders an emotional or nostalgic relationship to this variety unnecessary.

Despite the recent positive perceptions of Pennsylvania German ethnicity among the younger nonsectarians, the view expressed by some of the authors that the Pennsylvania Germans lack intelligence and education persists to the present day in the stereotype of the "dumb Dutchman." Strangely enough, this negative perception is now, as we have seen, exploited by commercialism by means of "Dutch humor" aimed at the surrounding mainstream society. However, just like the aforementioned phenomenon of a growing need for ethnic identity at the moment of death of the ethnic language, this apparent contradiction is in line with the historical development of the attitudinal patterns, which even among the old commentators were extremely diverse and sometimes contradictory. It is therefore fitting that the non-Pennsylvania German informants considered the Pennsylvania Germans' competence in another language apart from English as a sign of intelligence.

Likewise, the old texts differ in their assessment of wealth and economic success among the Pennsylvania Germans. While those immigrants who struggled for their livelihood as farmers were perceived as poor, others came to be regarded as successful businessmen (cf. Gudehus' example of an innkeeper in Philadelphia). Since the present-day Pennsylvania Germans are generally thought to be rural folks—typically laborers and small farmers (such as the Amish and Mennonites)—they are usually not considered to be wealthy. Those descendants of German immigrants who have moved upward on the social ladder often left the area and are therefore not perceived as Pennsylvania Germans. This process seems to be accelerating as the younger



generations of the nonsectarians flock to colleges and universities, becoming socially and geographically more mobile.

Honesty and diligence, both of which were repeatedly associated with the Germans in America by the early authors, are seen as positive character traits in today's Pennsylvania Germans. The widespread early characterization of Pennsylvania Germans being hospitable toward travelers has widened to a general perception of generosity. Together with other emotionally-oriented items, such as dependability, friendliness, humor, reserve, modesty, stubbornness, rural origin, and conservatism, they form the solidarity dimension, on which Pennsylvania Germans typically receive higher marks than outsiders. The only factor in which opinions have changed is religiousness. While several authors complained about the lack of devoutness and the decline of morals, today's informants attribute a high level of religiousness to the Pennsylvania Germans, not only to the sectarians, but also to the nonsectarians. The association of the German immigrants with lax morals has given way to a sense of religious piety and conservatism among today's Pennsylvania Germans.

The study of the development of attitudinal patterns associated with the Pennsylvania Germans harbors two important results. First, it shows how stable linguistic and cultural attitudes can be. Many of today's perceptions can be traced back to the earliest days of German-speaking immigrants in Pennsylvania. Second, it is an important tool in our assessment of the linguistic development of the various Pennsylvania German subgroups. As the case of the nonsectarians shows, there is a close interdependence between linguistic developments and language attitude. Negative perceptions spilling over from the surrounding mainstream society caused this group to shift from Pennsylvania German to English as native language, thus bringing about language death in this subgroup. This, however, is not the end of the cycle. As a direct reaction, the attitudinal patterns in the younger generations have been modified, manifesting themselves in a whole array of recent cultural revival attempts. The linguistic results of this development remain yet to be seen.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the origin of the name "Pennsylvania Dutch" and its originally derogatory connotations, see Don Yoder, "Palatine, Hessian, Dutchman: Three Images of the German in America," in *Ebber fer Alle—Ebber Ebber fer Dich/Something for Everyone—Something for You: Essays in Memoriam Albert Franklin Buffington*, Publications of The Pennsylvania German Society, vol. 14 (Breinigsville, PA: Pennsylvania



German Society, 1980), 105-29, which also includes many historical comments on the Pennsylvania Germans.

<sup>2</sup> Mittelberger, *Journey*, 49.

<sup>3</sup> Gudehus, "Journey," 209.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 298-99.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 219.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 238.

<sup>8</sup> Dwight, *Travels*, 122.

<sup>9</sup> Gudehus, "Journey," 208.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 236.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 299.

<sup>12</sup> Mittelberger, *Journey*, 62.

<sup>13</sup> Gudehus, "Journey," 278.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 306.

<sup>15</sup> Rush, *Account*, 87-88.

<sup>16</sup> Franklin, "To Richard Jackson," 139.

<sup>17</sup> Mittelberger, *Journey*, 56.

<sup>18</sup> Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Journey*, 294.

<sup>19</sup> Rush, *Account*, 44.

<sup>20</sup> Gudehus, "Journey," 213.

<sup>21</sup> Rush, *Account*, 76-77.

<sup>22</sup> Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Journey*, 294.

<sup>23</sup> Mittelberger, *Journey*, 113.

<sup>24</sup> Gudehus, "Journey," 250.

<sup>25</sup> Mittelberger, *Journey*, 97.

<sup>26</sup> Rush, *Account*, 85-86.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 62.

<sup>28</sup> Franklin, "To Richard Jackson," 141.

<sup>29</sup> Gudehus, "Journey," 215.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 277.

<sup>31</sup> Gordon, "Journal," 411.

<sup>32</sup> Rush, *Account*, 78.

<sup>33</sup> Dwight, *Travels*, 375-76.

<sup>34</sup> Mittelberger, *Journey*, 106.

<sup>35</sup> Gudehus, "Journey," 260.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 296.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 295.

<sup>38</sup> Dwight, *Travels*, 119.

<sup>39</sup> Gudehus, "Journey," 292-93.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 294.

<sup>41</sup> A more detailed interpretation of the present-day data can be found in chapter 4 of Achim Kopp, *The Phonology of Pennsylvania German English as Evidence of Language Maintenance and Shift* (London: Associated University Presses, 1999); also see Kopp "The Matched-Guise Technique in Practice: Measuring Language Attitudes within the Pennsylvania German Speech Community," in *The German Language in America, 1683-1991*, ed. Joseph C. Salmons (Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, 1993), 264-83.

<sup>42</sup> Marion Lois Huffines, "Pennsylvania German in Public Life," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 34 (1990): 117-25.

