

Such questions—and a host of others—can arise from the reading of particular church histories heretofore hidden from the church universal. With the publication of this history, the Kenya Mennonite Church's experience too has become a mirror into which other members of the global church might gaze and see something of themselves—and move forward in faith.

Mennonite Mission Network

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Pennsylvania Dutch: The Story of an American Language. By Mark L. Loudon. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 2016. Pp. 473. \$59.95.

The Pennsylvania Dutch language is one of a small number of minority languages that is not threatened with extinction. In this book, Mark Loudon tells the fascinating history of this language and its speakers, and its relationship with Standard German, used in the religious services of many of the Amish and Mennonite sects. The book is divided into seven chapters. The first defines Pennsylvania Dutch, the second and third provide its early history, and the fourth and fifth the later history. The sixth chapter argues that Amish and Mennonite sectarians are now the main preservers of the language, and the seventh reinforces that point. The book is written for a general audience and assumes no prior knowledge of linguistics.

In the first chapter, Loudon discusses controversies surrounding the names "Dutch" and "German" in relation to the Pennsylvania Dutch people. Loudon explains clearly why *Dutch* is to be preferred over *German*. The term *Dutch* is less formal than the Latin-derived *German* and it shows that "their identity [is] distinct from that of other Americans of German descent" (2). Connected to this, Loudon makes a case for calling Pennsylvania Dutch a language, rather than a dialect, to "underscore th[is] autonomy" (12). The roots of many speakers are from the German Palatinate, and Loudon provides a comparison of current Palatine German, Standard German, and Pennsylvania Dutch. English is another major influence on Pennsylvania Dutch. Current speakers are mainly Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites, although they were only a small percentage of the eighteenth-century immigrant cohort. In the early period, some African-Americans and Roma (She-Kener) living in southeastern Pennsylvania also spoke Pennsylvania Dutch. The use of Pennsylvania Dutch has decreased for the non-sectarians, following a pattern similar to that of other minority languages in the United States (52), where later waves of immigrants have not rejuvenated the language.

Loudon outlines the history of Pennsylvania Dutch in colorful detail from 1683 to 1800 and then to 1860. In the second chapter, the differences between the two groups of Pennsylvania Dutch speakers, sectarian and nonsectarian, are further explained—for example, their attitudes toward (English) education, taxes, and farming. In the third chapter, he argues that the first half of the nineteenth century was crucial for the creation of a unique culture and identity. Although there were

mass immigrations of German speakers, these newcomers went to Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Illinois, and farther west, and even south. The chapter shows how already in the nineteenth century contemporaries recognized the Pennsylvania Dutch culture as "unique in language, customs, and outlook" (120). Economic success and isolation contributed to this development. The chapter then chronicles the push by many (Lutheran) German speakers in Pennsylvania to anglicize and the interesting relationship of sectarians with Standard German (153).

The fourth chapter reveals that the last half of the nineteenth century "brought huge changes to the external circumstances" (179) of Pennsylvania Dutch speakers. In this period, the majority of speakers were nonsectarian. Increasing education, industrialization, and professionalization, however, caused these speakers to shift to English. Although these changes were happening, there was also an "upsurge in literary output" (236) of Pennsylvania Dutch. The fifth chapter moves us to the twentieth century and picks up on how this increased literary output made Pennsylvania Dutch more visible to Americans outside of their community and how Pennsylvania Dutch was ridiculed for not being proper German and seen as a version of "Dutchified English" (247). Loudon also considers the effects of the anti-German sentiments due to the two world wars. Although the use of German became prohibited in many areas, Loudon argues that the shift to English had begun beforehand and that it affected Pennsylvania Dutch less. Pennsylvania Dutch "speakers had little to fear in the way of harassment in their home communities" (260). The last part of the chapter gives examples of how novels have depicted Pennsylvania Dutch as well as linguistic works by members of the Pennsylvania Dutch community and those outside, though not by the sectarians who "were conspicuously absent" (298).

In the sixth chapter, Loudon continues the story of Pennsylvania Dutch in the twentieth century with a focus on Pennsylvania Dutch among sectarians. He argues that sectarians effectively kept the language alive. "The maintenance of German for religious purposes correlates with the continued use of [Pennsylvania Dutch]" (331). Loudon notes the loss of the dative case in sectarian Pennsylvania Dutch around 1910, possibly due to English influence. This chapter also outlines differences in Pennsylvania Dutch among Mennonites and Amish in various regions, such as Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and other states. It also includes sketches of the use of understatement (e.g., *addlich warm* "pretty warm" instead of *hees* "hot," so as to avoid comparison to hell). "For both sectarians and nonsectarians, [Pennsylvania Dutch] has been at the center of a group identity" (353), but Loudon argues that nonsectarians did not need to maintain the same boundaries between themselves and the outside world that the sectarians did. In chapter 7, entitled "An American Story," he speculates that the success of sects such as the Amish "is due to a number of circumstances that are particular to American society" (356), with the key being that Pennsylvania Dutch is a rural and spiritual language. The chapter ends by drawing some parallels to other minority languages that have thrived, such as Yiddish in Orthodox Jewish communities.

This book must have been many years in the making. It uses a wealth of sources, pamphlets, letters, poems, and newspaper articles. It is a great resource, especially with many texts in Pennsylvania Dutch (followed by a translation).

Louden clearly loves the language and its speakers. For readers who would like to see the texts used in the book, or listen to audio recordings, or to have a list of further resources, there is an extremely helpful companion website at <http://padutch.net>.

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An Increase in Time: Story Lines of Germantown Mennonite Church and Its Historic Trust, 1683-2005. By Richard J. Lichty. Elkhart, Ind.: Institute of Mennonite Studies. 2016. Pp. 416. \$24.

If mutual understanding is key to achieving peace, then the fact that Mennonites are in conflict over LGBT Christians in the church should not be surprising. Richard Lichty's new book about Germantown Mennonite Church, *An Increase in Time*, starkly illustrates these misunderstandings. Lichty, who pastored the congregation from 1997 to 2004, tells of his interactions with a Mennonite Church official when Germantown was under siege in the 1990s because it had gay and lesbian members. According to *An Increase in Time*, the official constantly referred to gay men as promiscuous, no matter Lichty's repeated attempts to lift up the couples in his congregation and elsewhere who were in long-term, monogamous, covenanted relationships. That a church leader automatically accepted popular stereotypes and dismissed a pastor's witness is insulting. Compounding such comments was the refusal of conference leaders to respond to Germantown's many invitations to come and see congregational life and faith for themselves, a pattern of non-response that Lichty documents. In another case, a Germantown member asked leaders of Eastern District, of which Germantown was a part, how many of them had read anything written from a perspective of inclusion. Only one person had. Eastern District expelled Germantown soon afterward, in 2002, five years after Franconia Mennonite Conference had done so.

Lichty has given the wider church a much-needed resource, albeit a flawed and incomplete one, for fostering understanding. *An Increase in Time* is parts historical survey, memoir, apologia, and essay collection about the first and oldest Mennonite congregation in the New World. The first five chapters, spanning 125 pages, are essentially prologue, describing Germantown's life on the geographic, religious, and cultural edge of the broader American Mennonite fellowship from 1683 to the 1970s. By the mid-nineteenth century, Lichty posits, congregational members, with their business and civic activities in an urban environment, "may have felt more comfortable relating to their Episcopalian and Presbyterian neighbors than to their rural Mennonite cousins" (82). Germantown's Mennonite identity ebbed and flowed, and the congregation almost closed on several occasions.

Starting in the 1960s, however, the congregation began to reestablish its historical and theological moorings, with significant support from the Mennonite Church and General Conference Mennonite Church. That led to intentional community outreach efforts, which grew the congregation, infused it with vitality, and attracted new attendees, including (presumably) some who were gay or