

BOOK REVIEWS

Forward in Faith: History of the Kenya Mennonite Church. A Seventy-Year Journey, 1942-2012. Francis S. Ojwang, ed. Nairobi: Kenya Mennonite Church. 2015. Pp. 287. \$15.

Although never explicitly stated, the thesis of *Forward in Faith* might be that the Kenya Mennonite Church (KMC) has persevered through many conflicts on the way toward becoming a peace church in the Anabaptist-Mennonite tradition. Indeed, the theme of conflict advances the plot, as the chapter titles in the lengthy middle portion of the book (pp. 79-184) indicate: “the church experiences growth while struggling for unity” (chapter 5); “faith and hope amidst tensions” (chapter 6); “patient persistence within challenging relationships” (chapter 7); and, “reconciling relationships and reaching beyond” (chapter 8). Hinting at conflict, Francis Ojwang writes in his preface that “a basic commitment of the editors was to write the truth, in love,” while being “committed to share the story of the church in ways that are seasoned with grace and that are for the encouragement of the church” (2). Referring to Ojwang’s words and touching on the theme of conflict, César García, general secretary of Mennonite World Conference, commends KMC for “not hid[ing] the troubles and failures of the church,” in part because “how reconciliation and forgiveness among leaders were achieved will give interesting lessons to our global church” (4). That García has written a foreword indicates KMC’s commitment to belong to a global community of Anabaptist-related churches that foregrounds the ministry of peacemaking and reconciliation in Christ. In fact, the final chapter states that “the commitment to be reconciled to Christ and one another within Kenya extends to KMC’s commitments to the world-wide church, as well,” and its very title implies that to move “onward in faithfulness as ambassadors of the Gospel of Peace” is to move “forward in faith” (226). Thus the editor has framed the history and the future of KMC by uniting the themes of transforming conflict (reconciliation and peace) and faithfulness.

Yet if the theme of reconciliation predominates, the purpose of the narrative to simply record a story also shines through. After the first two chapters, which set the church within the contexts of Western missions to Africa and the “African religions and cultures” of Kenya (17), the story unfolds chronologically, with section titles tied to spans of time (e.g., 1942-1972). Interspersed with significant events are lists, usually within the main text though sometimes formatted vertically, of the names of founding members and prominent families within each diocese and congregation. In the epilogue, Nelson Okanya refers to “the narrative reading like a sacred text,” while Ojwang calls it an “account of the acts of the Holy Spirit in . . . the Kenya Mennonite Church” (241-242). Although lists of names also feature in the biblical book of Acts, *Forward in Faith* evokes the feeling of other Scriptures in which names predominate, such as 1 and 2 Chronicles. Although it is necessary to record, and thereby honor, the names of important figures, lists

may distract uninitiated readers of this story from its other main track—the signs of God’s grace in the midst of conflict. Moreover, since the appendices of the book, which are so helpful as a quick reference to information, include a comprehensive list of “ordained persons” (pastors, bishops, and deacons, both men and women), the pace of the story might have been quickened and its thesis clarified by omitting some of the lists from the main narrative chapters.

Forward in Faith contributes to the burgeoning body of writing on Christianity in Africa by Africans. Within the Mennonite family of faith, Ojwang notes that this history helps to round out the picture of the church in East Africa, since both the Tanzania Mennonite Church and the Meserete Kristos Church in Ethiopia—churches also included in the Africa volume of the Global Mennonite History Project—already had their own published histories (1).¹ Moving beyond Africa, the title of the epilogue proclaims that “this story is for everyone”—and indeed the text is replete with potential lessons for the global church. For example, in terms of mission and evangelism, the text cites several examples of KMC members drawn from other churches (e.g., Anglicans), but also includes the account of outreach (since 1980) to certain Maasai and Kuria groups that “had no Christian tradition” (241, 201). Since the text refers to the latter as KMC’s “first experience in cross cultural mission,” does this imply that the first Tanzanian Mennonites who left their homes to preach the gospel in Kenya—the “founding” event of KMC—were not missionaries (201)? Is it the “cross cultural” dimension that defines mission, whereas evangelism, the proclamation of the good news of Jesus Christ, is in fact a broader category of ministry? Since “mission” and “evangelism” are popularly synonymous, such questions arising from the historical record can help the church in every place to reexamine its modes of ministry and the dynamic relationships between such ministries. For example, can a church be missional without itself being (re-) evangelized? And where mission is on the wane, does the church lack an awareness of the power and presence of Christ?

Another issue to which the text points pertains to the structure of church unity. Attributing certain tensions within KMC to different understandings of leadership between ethnic communities, the text implies that the church allowed space for groups “to develop as different church communities with cordial relations but different Anabaptist groups” (34, cf. 211-212). This begs further specificity as to the meaning of “cordial relations” and to the existence or extent of collaborative witness between “separate” Anabaptist bodies. In the case of KMC and an erstwhile member body, the charismatic Nakuru Happy Church, partnership takes the form of belonging together on the International Missions Association, a “fellowship of Anabaptist churches from around the world” who are connected to Eastern Mennonite Missions, Salunga, Pennsylvania, and “who are committed to . . . taking the Gospel to the unreached” (187, 236-237, 214). Is the Kenyan church’s journey toward collaborative models of ministry, a unity of sorts, at all instructive to the Mennonite church in North America, which likewise contains contrasting perspectives on both polity and spirituality?

1. See Alemu Checole et al., *Anabaptist Songs in African Hearts: A Global Mennonite History Series—Africa* (Intercourse, Pa.: Good Books, 2006).

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

JOE SAWATZKY

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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ELLY VAN GELDEREN

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

lesbian. The rest of the book focuses on Germantown's experiences as it was scrutinized and ultimately disciplined for its position on accepting such members.

An Increase in Time portrays Germantown's members, regardless of orientation, as earnest Christians who take their Anabaptist faith seriously and would have rather focused on worship, discipleship, fellowship, and peacemaking than trying to explain themselves to church leaders unable or unwilling to listen.

One of the book's strengths is its willingness to hold accountable church leaders who acted out of political expediency (or even personal agendas) rather than love and fairness. One example is Franconia's vote to expel Germantown. Conference and congregational leaders had crafted a "third way" proposal that would have allowed Germantown to remain part of Franconia but not as a full member. Just a few days before it was to be voted on at a delegate assembly, however, conference leaders bowed to negative feedback from some conference members and replaced their own recommendation with a motion to expel Germantown. By a narrow margin, however, delegates refused to take action on the new measure. Yet six months later, Franconia held another vote—by mail—that expelled Germantown from the conference. (James A. Lapp, conference minister at the time, later apologized for his role in the procedural debacle. He and Donella Clemens, who was then Franconia's moderator, authored the foreword but without comment regarding their roles in the expulsion.)

Unfortunately, the book has shortcomings that make it ponderous to read and, sometimes, exasperating to comprehend. A major problem is Lichty's failure to describe how Germantown became a welcoming congregation in the first place. Workers with Mennonite Board of Missions' Student Service Committee helped bring a younger generation to Germantown in the 1970s. Did that include gay believers and seekers? Lichty never says who the first ones were or when and why they started attending. (The first to request membership was a gay man of Lutheran background in the early 1980s.) But imprecise writing in this section makes it possible to infer that MBM was pivotal in introducing gays to the congregation and thus to the church. The lack of clarity and meandering writing in this section, unfortunately, are also prominent elsewhere in the book.

An Increase in Time is hindered in other ways too, such as its overuse of block quotes. In one instance, the seventy-three pages of chapter seven, which covers 1990-2001, include forty-one such quotes, including sixteen block quotes in a span of fifteen pages, with one quote running four pages long. A judicious use of quotations can, of course, enhance the power of a narrative or argument. But the number of block quotes employed in the book undercuts any sense of flow and makes it maddening to read.

Still, *An Increase in Time* needs to be read, not only for its merits but also because the existing literature on the subject is so scant. Despite three decades of conflicts over LGBT Mennonites and church membership, relatively little research and writing has been done on a topic that demands the attention of the church's best and brightest. Lichty has issued a call for scholastic action.

Some of the book's deficiencies are one reason that call needs to be heeded. If Germantown's LGBT stance stemmed from the work of MBM's Student Services Committee—that is, if the congregation lost its church membership because of

something initiated by an official church agency—then the story would require dramatically, even radically, new understandings. Germantown might then no longer be dismissed as an unfaithful renegade but as a denomination-empowered fisher of men and women.

To be fair, Lichty did not set out to write a comprehensive account of the congregation. He does not even call his book a history but “story lines.” There are dynamics needing attention that are beyond the scope of his project, at least as he defined it. Lichty identified several of these: the emergence of the gay rights movement generally; the overarching culture wars; and the merger of the Mennonite Church and General Conference Mennonite Church—all of which coalesced into the events that resulted in Germantown’s expulsion from two Mennonite conferences. Other historical, sociological, missiological, and theological issues could also be examined more thoroughly. For example, critics of Germantown accused Christian proponents of LGBT inclusion of being influenced by humanism, liberalism, and other ills. Yet it seems that these critics, whether they realized it or not, were also influenced by currents from beyond their immediate Mennonite circles, even though such influences so often go unacknowledged. Such questions and issues call for more scholarship. Lichty has stepped into the gap; others must follow.

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Radikal Reformistler: Hıristiyanlıkta Anabaptist Hareket [Radical Reformers: Anabaptist Movement in Christianity]. By Resul Çatalbaş. Ankara: Berikan Yayınevi. 2015. Pp. 393. 25 Turkish Lira.

Turkey, as one of the most influential and developed Muslim-majority countries, operates as a bridge between East and West. Antioch, Nicaea, Constantinople (Istanbul), Cappadocia, Tarsus, and Ephesus are among many historical places where Christianity grew and developed. Even though the Christian population of contemporary Turkey is no more than a quarter million, Christianity is finding a place in academic discussions and public opinion because of historical, theological, and sociocultural relations. During the 1990s, as Turkey bid for European Union membership, many new titles appeared on Christianity and Christian-Muslim relations. Among these publications, works on Protestantism were prominent, and especially books that focused on Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Adventists. Nevertheless, Turkish academic scholarship remained devoid of a comprehensive study on Anabaptist groups. The postdoctoral study of Resul Çatalbaş now fills this gap.

Çatalbaş’s book on the history and growth of Anabaptist groups, *Radikal Reformistler: Hıristiyanlıkta Anabaptist Hareket*, is intended for graduate-level study in Turkish universities and also a wider public interested in religion. During a three-month sojourn in North America, Çatalbaş met and interviewed Amish, Brethren, Mennonites, and Hutterites. Hence, the book combines observation, archival research, interviews, and scholarly exploration. It is the first comprehensive study in Turkish language about the Anabaptist movement.

The book includes an introduction, three chapters, and various appendices. In the introduction, the author surveys the limited works about these Anabaptist groups available in the Turkish language and discusses methodology. Then, he clarifies definitions, such as Old Order and New Order, traditional and modern.

The first chapter describes sixteenth-century religious reform in Europe, the Radical Reformers, and basic beliefs of the Anabaptist movement. He deals with medieval mysticism in Anabaptist origins and focuses on the roles of Michael Sattler and Hans Denck. Strikingly, Çatalbaş underscores how the pressure and persecution imposed on these groups with the goal of diminishing them instead increased their commitment to survival: "when we examine the history, we observe that these pressures did not kill the Anabaptist movement, but let them develop covertly. Hence the pressure, instead of vanishing societies, made them mature" (29). The last part of this chapter deals with the distribution of the Anabaptist groups around the world and the missionary activities of some of them.

The book's second chapter lays out the theology, doctrines, and practices of different Anabaptist groups in the United States today. Çatalbaş investigates essential theologies of the groups and their perspectives about the basic Christian beliefs, and also their prayers, rituals, administrative structures, and churches. When he discusses discipleship, he states that unlike other reform movements, not only faith but also action and practice are crucial to the Anabaptist movement (133). In this respect, Çatalbaş aptly comments that the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5-7) could be seen as defining the practices of the movement (139). Then he explores the thoughts that affect the missionary vision of Anabaptist groups, missionary organizations, and their relationships with other Christians. He also draws connections to groups, including the Baptists and Quakers, that were influenced by Anabaptists. The author considers Anabaptist perceptions about the family, marriage, abortion, birth control, and divorce, as well as the ordination of women, homosexuality, racism, alcohol addiction, and capital punishment. The chapter gives also information about charitable institutions, economic activity, and the media.

The last chapter handles the basic characteristics that constitute the identity of the Anabaptist movement and that provide for the ongoing continuity of the groups. He stresses that these traits differentiate Anabaptists from other Christian groups. In order to give concrete instances, Çatalbaş discusses their perspectives on church-state relations, pacifism as the principle of nonresistance, approaches to technological advances, understandings of education, and the emphasis on distinctive dress. In terms of pacifism, Çatalbaş gives examples to demonstrate that these groups have practiced pacifism not only in words, but also in deeds (298-300). Finally, he discusses the fact that converts from different ethnic backgrounds have influenced the characteristics of these groups.

In the appendices, the author lists the population of Anabaptist groups, and presents interviews with Ben Lapp, Leroy E. Lapp, and Sam Lapp (Amish); Lynford Wenger (Mennonite); and Guy Wampler (Brethren). Other appendices include descriptions of Anabaptist subgroups and photos.

Çatalbaş provides a broad-spectrum picture of the history and formation of the Anabaptist movement during the Protestant Reformation and the differences among four Anabaptist groups (Amish, Mennonites, Hutterites, and Brethren). Readers in Turkey may be especially interested in Çatalbaş's striking point about the roots of the Hutterites. He states that the Stäbler, a Hutterite-precursor group who lived in today's Czech Republic, refused to pay taxes intended to support a war against the Turks in the sixteenth century (78).

In conclusion, Çatalbaş underscores two of the movement's noteworthy religious principles: nonresistance and separation from the world. Last but not least, he discusses the potential common ground of Anabaptists and other religious groups. In this respect he asks following questions: When a Hutterite or an Amish person meets a Muslim, how would he or she react? What type of neighborly relations does a Mennonite have with a Hindu neighbor? Is there any possibility for the Anabaptist movement to move beyond the boundaries of their communities in the future? Those questions reflect the interest of contemporary scholarship in globalization and the impossibility of social isolation.

Bozok Univeristy

KENAN CETINKAYA

Peace Clan: Mennonite Peacemaking in Somalia. By Peter M. Sensenig. Eugene, Ore.: Pickwick Publications. 2016. Pp. 260. \$32.

Near the beginning of his rich study on the multifaceted Mennonite involvement in and connection to Somalia stretching from 1953 to the present, Peter Sensenig pushes back against assumptions that Mennonites have special knowledge or skills that they then proceed to deploy within or apply to particular contexts. "Somalia is not where Mennonites go to do peacemaking," Sensenig rightly insists. "Somalia is where Mennonite learn to be peacemakers, along with their fellow peace clan members" (xxiii). In the pages of this wide-ranging volume (originally a dissertation in theological ethics at Fuller Theological Seminary under the direction of Glen Stassen), Sensenig narrates a history of Mennonite engagement in Somalia, while also examining key missiological and ethical questions that emerged within that history, including: How to understand Islam? How to engage with Muslims? Should Christians sometimes support armed humanitarian intervention? and How do evangelism, development, and peacebuilding relate—are they integrated with one another or are they complementary to or in tension within one another? Sensenig argues that over the course of six decades Mennonites (primarily from North America) have, at their best, operated within and around Somalia as an "inclusive peace-oriented clan" (233) that engages with Somali peacebuilders and Somali believers in Christ, with transformed vision for all emerging from those encounters.

In the first chapter Sensenig tells the story of the Eastern Board of Mennonite Missions and Charities' involvement in Somalia from its inception in 1953 up to the expulsion of Mennonite teachers from the country in 1976, examining how Mennonites seeking a "deeper life" of "surrender" to God's will (7-8) came to

establish schools in Somalia, undertake medical missions, and support small, emergent fellowships of Somali believers. Key moments in this history include the Somali government's decision in 1963 to forbid the teaching of any religion other than Islam and to mandate the instruction of Islam in all schools, including Mennonite schools (and the internal Eastern Board conversations about ongoing involvement in Somalia that decision precipitated); the emergence of small fellowships of Somali believers in Christ in the 1960s; and the nationalization of Mennonite schools in 1972 and the forced departure of Mennonite teachers in 1976. As he tells this story, Sensenig admirably highlights the roles played by women in the Mennonite mission in Somalia, exploring the distinctive mission opportunities they had because they were women and the leadership some of them, like Bertha Beachy, were able to assume within the mission at a time when leadership in their home communities in the U.S. would have been extremely limited.

The second chapter continues the historical narrative up to the humanitarian crisis of 1990. Sensenig frames the story within the broader shift from "quietism" to "activism" within Mennonite circles and within the shifting Somali political context. Here Sensenig discusses the start of Mennonite Central Committee's involvement in Somali in response to mass displacement in the course of Somalia's attempt to reclaim the Ogaden region from Ethiopia and the Eastern Board's establishment of the (still active) Eastleigh Fellowship Center in Nairobi, Kenya, which aimed to serve as a cultural center for displaced Somalis in Kenya and to support faith groups of Somali believers in Christ. Although Sensenig does include a brief excursus about Ahmad Haile, a Somali peacebuilder and convert to Christianity, his study as a whole contains very minimal direct quotations from Somali believers in Christ, presumably because of scant archival material and security challenges limiting the ability to conduct interviews. While this gap is understandable, the absence of Somali Christian voices is nevertheless felt.

Over these first two chapters Sensenig ably traces tensions between the rhetorical assessment of Islam by Mennonite workers and their actual practices. Eastern Board workers followed the lead of other Protestant missionaries of the era operating in predominantly Islamic contexts in describing Muslims as "fanatical," as "sheep having a false shepherd" (61), and in viewing Islam as an "enemy of democracy" (62). Eastern Board workers approvingly cited leading Protestant missionary Samuel Zwemer's description of the Bible as "dynamite" that can "blast the rock of Islam to pieces" (61). Yet Sensenig persuasively demonstrates that "the adversarial tone" of such passages did not fully reflect Mennonite mission practices, which were strongly influenced by and reflected Anglican priest and missiologist Kenneth Cragg's approach of patient presence, an approach in which Christians opened themselves up to learn from Muslims (13). Mennonite worker Bonnie Bergey captures this learning posture that Sensenig views as characterizing Mennonite work in Somalia when she states that "It ended up being crucial for working with Muslims, to be in a kind of posture that wasn't arrogant or condescending. I think it saved me on many occasions, to be a learner" (70).

Sensenig switches approach in the ensuing two chapters, shifting from a primarily historical account to an examination of missiological and ethical issues

emerging from Mennonite engagement in Somalia. In chapter three, Sensenig discusses the shape the church's mission should take within contexts shaped by legacies of colonialism. Sensenig develops this discussion through an examination of different ways that Mennonite agencies came to understand "presence" as a missiological mode. Building on Loren Lybarger's analysis of Mennonite missiological approaches in Muslim contexts, Sensenig argues that while for the for Mennonite workers in Somalia a missiology of presence initially represented a pragmatic response to socio-political realities that prevented overt evangelism, presence developed into a missiological stance characterized by listening to and learning from Somali Muslim neighbors and colleagues. This understanding of presence was reinforced by emerging development and peacebuilding approaches that emphasized listening to and learning from local contexts. Sensenig also observes that a missiology of presence could also sometimes be radicalized to insist that service represented the only valid form of Christian witness; in contrast, Sensenig argues in favor of holding evangelism, development, and peacebuilding together in an integrated whole.

In chapter four Sensenig offers an overview of the debates that played out in the pages of the *Gospel Herald* in the early 1990s about whether or not Mennonites could support U.S. humanitarian military intervention into Somalia. Reviewing the debate and the subsequent aftermath of U.S. intervention, Sensenig comes down firmly against such intervention, arguing that "the burden of proof to justify actions lies heavily with those who advocate military intervention" (130). Sensenig details how "Somalia has been used as a testing ground for the ambitions and worldviews of the global powers, at the expense of thousands of Somali lives," and warns that "before the West purports to learn any lessons from Somalia, we must face the depth of the shame" of the dramatic failures of the UN-led intervention in the country (134).

Over the next three chapters Sensenig describes and analyzes Mennonite peacebuilding efforts from the 1990s onward. In chapter five, Sensenig discusses MCC and Eastern Board support for Somali efforts to mobilize clan identity and revive traditional Somali conflict resolution practices such as *xeer*, including the months-long *Ergada* process to create a forum of elders who could negotiate compensation for deaths. Following John Paul Lederach, Sensenig analyzes these initiatives as examples of "elicitive peacebuilding" that draws on local knowledge and practices. In chapter six, Sensenig argues that peacebuilding resources can be found within Somalia's traditionally "non-anxious" form of Islam. Sensenig cogently contends that effective peacebuilding must draw upon such religious resources. In chapter seven Sensenig turns his attention to Eastern Mennonite University's support for Somali peacebuilding, in particular for the nascent peacebuilding program at the University of Hargeisa in Somaliland, while also examining the role of Somali women in peacebuilding, including a profile of the Somali peacebuilder, Dekha Ibrahim.

Sensenig concludes his final chapter with a reflection on the future of Mennonite engagement with Somalia. While one might be understandably skeptical of the claim made by one Somali Christian that "most of the Somali people know about Mennonites" (223), Sensenig makes a persuasive case that

Mennonites have a positive profile among Somalis much greater than the size of their historical presence in the country would lead one to assume. Yet, as Sensenig also correctly observes, a “good name does not last forever without the constant renewal of relationships (222). Sensenig’s study is driven at least in part by a concern that “the Somali-Mennonite relationship will not survive, because it is too challenging, dangerous, or produces too few results” (75). In addition to being a careful and nuanced historical and missiological treatise, *Peace Clan* is also thus a passionate plea that Mennonites find ways to maintain relationships in Somalia and continue this story despite security and other obstacles.

Mennonite Central Committee

ALAIN EPP WEAVER

Out of Place: Social Exclusion and Mennonite Migrants in Canada. By Luann Good Gingrich. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2016. Pp. 300. \$32.95.

Good Gingrich provides an informative and innovative account of the concept of social exclusion, the policies of Canada’s social welfare system, and the logic of the market, as each relates to Mennonite migrants to southern Ontario from self-contained colonies in Mexico. From the title, one might expect that the book is an examination of Mennonite migrants in Canada and the difficulties that the Old Colony experience adjusting to their new home, but this is not the case. This is not an ethnographic study of these migrants, but its presentation enables one to gain insight to the Old Colony way of life and their adaptations to Canada. Migrants tell their stories, but *Out of Place* does not relate a story of the migrants or the driving forces that push them from Mexico. The Mennonites are a lens through which Good Gingrich examines the success, limitations, and failures of the Canadian system to assist newcomers. None of this is meant as a criticism, but it is important to emphasize that the purpose of the book is to address issues of social exclusion/inclusion at the delivery and policy levels in Ontario based on the experience of Old Colony migrants.

Through a critical examination of the roles of social service providers, the services themselves, and the ways in which migrants access these resources, Good Gingrich sheds light on the ways in which Canadian policy excludes people who wish only to maintain their culture and to continue to live separate from the world. Social policy is inherently biased against such groups (indeed excludes them) because the expectations are that immigrants would desire to acculturate to a new host culture as new Canadians have done for well more than a century. The reasons behind the Old Colony migration to Canada are varied, but for the vast majority, fitting in with local culture is not the goal. Employment, education, housing, English-language literacy, and health care are among the services that Mexican migrants need, but there is little agreement among providers of such services (or among the migrants themselves) as to the order of those needs. Agencies often work at odds with one another and there is little effort to consider how best to assist migrants in a way that addresses the family unit in its entirety. Furthermore, Good Gingrich argues, the decisions made by both migrants and

providers demonstrate clearly the inherent flaws of policies and how Mexican Mennonites, as potential recipients, are often excluded in the process.

There is no question that Mennonites from Mexico are a unique set of migrants. Different from other immigrant groups in myriad ways, they are not (and cannot be) effectively served by current Canadian social policy. Good Gingrich points to the failure of social policy to understand that in Old Colony society, the family is a single economic unit. All members are expected to contribute however they can. This typically means that the mother stays home with small children and older children find jobs rather than attending school; this situation is counter to government expectations, creates difficulty when trying to determine family income, and can create legal difficulties when underage children work. From a purely economic perspective, migrants view children as labor and their education is simply not necessary. Put simply, this view goes against the prevailing market-driven ideology of the Canadian economy, and, at present, there is no mechanism to accommodate that difference.

The strengths of the book are many. One of the more important is the intertwining of the voices of those whom she interviewed in the text. Those excerpts shed light on how service providers, both Mennonite and English, perceive Mexican migrants and how the migrants struggle to answer personal questions and provide the necessary documentation to prove their need. While few service providers made overtly discriminatory comments, it is clear that most have little understanding of the culture of Mennonites from Mexico. Coming from a society that relies on its own for support, and whose standard of living is significantly lower than their neighbors in southern Ontario, Mexican migrants struggle with the rules and procedures, and simply do not understand the system. This is a first introduction to the nuanced concept of social exclusion that Good Gingrich demonstrates throughout the text. As non-conformist “other,” Mexican migrants are at once both excluded from the larger society and choose to be excluded.

The key point that *Out of Place* ponders is what social service providers, who are expected to help migrants make the transition to life in Canada, are to do when those migrants choose to self-exclude themselves from the larger society. At this point, there is no “answer,” for the discussion about being inclusive—understandings are ongoing and have yet to be developed into a policy. The Old Colony migrants are the subject, but these could easily be replaced with other groups such as First Nations, adherents of traditional Islam, and Orthodox Jews, who also seek to preserve their distinctive cultures. Good Gingrich calls for a radical transformation of thinking that enables policy makers to look beyond the differences and create holistic policies that include rather than exclude. Such an embrace of “other” is a challenge for the developers of social policy even in a state as multi-ethnic as Canada. Where do you draw the line, or perhaps more appropriately, establish a middle ground between the rights of individuals to live according to their traditions and the expectations of the state for some basic level of economic, political, and social conformity? How can the needs of those migrants whose culture is at odds with the dominant market-based economic system be addressed? Clearly, there is no simple solution, but Good Gingrich calls for greater

dialogue and understanding, and concludes: “the practical practice of self-imposed social exclusion is necessary to the idea and social reality of social inclusion” (222).

University of Mary Washington

DAWN S. BOWEN

Common Witness: A Story of Ministry Partnership between French and North American Mennonites, 1953-2003. By David Yoder Neufeld. Elkhart, Ind.: Institute of Mennonite Studies. 2016. Pp. 167. \$24.

Immediately after World War II North American Christians began to send missionaries abroad, and some of these went to Europe. Confident, buoyed by their countries' military victories, they typically practiced an evangelism designed to convert lapsed and lost Europeans. Within a few years North American Mennonite Christians also began sending missionaries to Europe where French Mennonites were willing to collaborate with them. The North Americans, who had been conscientious objectors an ocean away from combat, had suffered little from the war; their French brothers and sisters had suffered grievously. The North Americans were eager to serve and open to embrace a vision of mission that would appropriately address the religious and socio-cultural realities of war-torn Europe. The French were ready to work with the North Americans to give expression to this vision of the gospel in their national capital, Paris.

In *Common Witness* David Yoder Neufeld tells the story of fifty years of this collaboration. It is a complex story, but he tells it well, enabling the large narrative to emerge and the main issues to be clear. And he is fortunate to have colorful characters to write about: North American missionary administrators J. D. Graber, John Howard Yoder (Graber's assistant in the early 1960s), and Wilbert Shenk; Pierre Widmer, the most influential French Mennonite leader of his era, and the visionary Anne Sommermeyer; French administrators Ernest Nussbaumer and Victor Dos Santos; and a succession of gifted North American missionaries. Neufeld's characters faced challenges that were tougher than they had anticipated. As they faced these, they needed to work well with each other despite cultural differences, and their mission boards—in France the newly founded Mission Mennonite Française (MMF 1954), and in North America the older Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities (MBM)—needed to collaborate effectively. Especially, both MMF and MBM needed to earn the trustful interest of the French Mennonites, primarily rural folk living in Eastern France, in missionary activities in distant, urban, poly-racial Paris where there was historically no Mennonite church. As I read Neufeld's account three things stood out.

First, the range of achievement of these Franco/American Mennonite collaborators in mission is astonishing. In fifty years they planted three churches in the Paris area, which is not so astonishing. But consider what they did in addition: they defied the intolerance of French culture by pioneering compassionate sheltered workshops for large numbers of developmentally disabled people in Paris, Hautefeuille, and elsewhere; they negotiated with government agencies to secure state subsidies for church-administered programs

for people with disabilities; they provided assistance to thousands of international students (many of them people of color) who had difficulty finding housing, some of whom received accommodation in Mennonite-operated student centers; and throughout they engaged in teaching, dialogue, and missiological thinking that eventually culminated in the work of the Paris Mennonite Center, which moved a growing number of French people to find a theological home in Anabaptism.

Second, the missional style of these French and North American collaborators is distinctive. Throughout they operated humbly, patiently, ready to change course in response to local initiatives, open to wait until the right moment. Further, their approach was holistic, a whole gospel witness so that, as an MMF document of 1967 put it, “preaching in deed may accompany preaching by word.” And most notably, the style of these collaborators was synergistic—French and North Americans in Paris worked together, sustained by mission boards that were convinced that collaboration was not only theologically imperative; it was also practically fruitful.

Third, the French/North American collaborators rarely achieved precisely what they wanted. As missionaries sensitive to the *missio Dei*, they believed that they encountered God who was already at work, and they showed flexibility in adjusting their priorities accordingly.

For example, in Paris in the mid-1950s pioneer missionary Orley Swartzentruber began his ministry with Bible study that led to the founding of a church in Châtenay-Malabry, anticipating that this would lead to dialogue with other Christians about peace and ecclesiology. But it was the vision of Anne Sommermeyer, a founding member of the congregation, that took precedence, leading to work with developmentally handicapped people that gave newly-arrived missionary Robert Witmer ample scope for his exceptional spiritual and entrepreneurial gifts. Sheltered workshops proliferated; theological talk-shops progressed more slowly.

A second example: in 1965 Mennonite Central Committee was interested in founding a peace center in Paris that would encourage conscientious objection in France and foster theological thinking about peace. At MCC’s invitation Marlin Miller visited Paris to explore this possibility. The response of MMF’s constituency to the idea was “lukewarm.” But in 1968 MBM appointed Marlin and Ruthann Miller to Paris (under MMF supervision) not only to engage in peace dialogue but also to learn to know African students and to explore the most effective ways to help them survive in the city’s inhospitable environment. Soon after the Millers left in 1974 Foyer Grebel opened in Paris, a student center jointly administered and funded by MMF and MBM and staffed by their appointees; in this center theological dialogue also would take place—a demanding double assignment that “could make more visible the reality of Christian unity across national and theological boundaries” (Larry Miller) and could also lead to burnout!

A third example: a Mennonite center. There had long been a vision of a center that would foster Anabaptist studies and missional reflection on post-Christendom culture in Europe. Already in 1954, in an article written in Belgium and published in the *MQR*, missionary David Shank had proposed the foundation of such centers in European cities where Mennonites could dialogue with other

Christians in a setting in which Anabaptist history and theological insights were honored. Upon his arrival in Paris in the mid-1950s, Swartzentruber was attracted to the vision. So also were the progenitors and animators of the Foyer Grebel in the 1980s and 1990s in the midst of the intensities and emergencies of student work. Only in 2003, when the second Mennonite church in the Paris region, Église Protestante Mennonite de Villeneuve-le-Comte, left the building in which it had been born, was the Centre Mennonite (under the guidance of Neal and Janie Blough) able to devote itself solely to its primary aim—to “develop, *together with the French Mennonite Conference*, a relevant missiological approach in a highly urbanized and secularized context.” After fifty years, Anabaptist theological reflection and advocacy had its proper place, always in collaboration.

Fourth, even in the one major initiative of these fifty years that was not allowed to develop, collaboration remained a central part of the story. By 1977, Robert and Lois Witmer had become involved in evangelistic efforts in and near Châtenay, during which they became friends of participants in the Catholic charismatic renewal. A Catholic sister invited Bob to lead a Bible study group in her home; soon this group was meeting in the basement of the Châtenay church. Friendships developed and matured; and a vision developed of a “therapeutic village” in which local people with acute social and spiritual needs could experience ministry and support in a setting more attentive than would be possible in a congregation. The Witmers asked for support for the initiative from MBM and the MMF. There ensued a period of intense discernment. Wilbert Shenk for MBM sensed that the proposal for the inter-confessional therapeutic community was “too good not to be implemented”; French Mennonite theologian Claude Baecher was also in favor of it. But there were hesitations from some in the Châtenay congregation, and also among MMF supporters in eastern France. In 1983, to the Witmers’ grief and grievance, MBM decided not to proceed with the vision locally; and by the following year it was clear that it would not be implemented elsewhere in France. The reason was deep in the tradition of the MBM-MMF partnership: collaboration. According to Shenk, whatever MBM might have preferred, the decision “privileged the preference of its partners in an attempt to protect the existing fruits of the partnership’s past efforts while leaving open the possibility for future collaboration.”

This is an important book. All who read it will be grateful to David Yoder Neufeld. As he has demonstrated in an article in the October 2016 issue of *MQR* he is one of the tiny group of emerging authorities on sixteenth-century Anabaptism. In this book he shows his adaptability, his historical craft, and his felicitous writing. The research undergirding *Common Witness* is impressive: Neufeld’s work with the sources—interviews, the French Mennonite periodical *Christ Seul*, the archives of the MMF and MBM, and Robert Witmer’s indispensable private archive—is meticulous. Using these materials, he thinks lucidly, sorts out issues, sees what is significant, and attempts at all times to be fair. At times I wished for Neufeld to engage the French and American Mennonite partners with greater theological depth; and I would have liked to see him adopt a global framework for North American missionary efforts—how did what MBM was doing in France fit in with what it was doing in West Africa or Japan? But Neufeld’s book will not only interest Mennonites; it will also speak to all

Christians who care about innovative forms of mission. The story that Neufeld tells is a bilateral story, a story both French and North American. The theme of co-working that courses through the story is a deep New Testament theme all too rare in mission history. May the Mennonite collaboration recorded in this book provide inspiration, point to precedents, and resonate widely.

Anabaptist Mennonite Biblical Seminary

ALAN KREIDER

False Prophets and Preachers. Henry Gresbeck's Account of the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster. By Christopher S. Mackay. [Early Modern Studies Series, vol. 18] Kirksville, Mo.: Truman State University Press. 2016. Pp. x, 317. \$ 65.

The book reviewed here is a careful, idiomatic English translation of Henry Gresbeck's eyewitness account of the Anabaptist rule in Münster in Westphalia, February 1534-June 1535. Gresbeck's property was confiscated by the Bishop of Münster in the aftermath of his restoration to power in 1535. Christopher Mackay reasons that the probable reason for Gresbeck's account was his hope for the restoration of his property, hence "one would imagine that the work was written sooner rather than later." Mackay refers to his companion volume that edits Gresbeck's Low German text and is likely based on Gresbeck's original manuscript, and is clearly superior to the later manuscripts that C. A. Cornelius used in the prior publication of Gresbeck, *Berichte der Augenzeugen über das münsterische Wiedertäuferreich* (Münster, 1853). Cornelius first exposed the insufficiencies of the history of Münster Anabaptism produced in Hermann von Kerssenbrock's *Anabaptistici Furoris Ennarratio*, completed in 1573, and published in a Latin critical edition in 1900. In 2007 Mackay published an accurate English translation edition of Kerssenbrock, *Narrative of the Münster Madness: The Overthrow of Münster, the Famous Metropolis of Westphalia* (Leiden: Brill). As he observed, Kerssenbrock has had vast significance for the historiography of Münster, was an eyewitness of the events that preceded the Anabaptists coming to power, and preserved pertinent documents that would otherwise have been lost.

Mackay identifies Gresbeck as a carpenter who returned to Münster at the time of the Anabaptist takeover. Gresbeck claimed that he was previously employed as a *Landsknecht* (mercenary), a matter about which Mackay expresses doubt. Gresbeck himself explained his return to Münster as motivated by the need to look after his mother's property. Mackay reasons that since most non-Anabaptist men were either leaving Münster to avoid the Anabaptists, or expelled by them in February 1534, Gresbeck was probably at first sympathetic to the Anabaptists, especially to their ideal of abolishing money and equalizing wealth. He married after his return to Münster; the marriage was to a patrician woman probably left behind in Anabaptist Münster to secure family property. Gresbeck's aversion to the institution of polygamy in July 1534 seems very genuine. Also, as a Münster burgher, his account blames the entire Münster debacle on the "Hollanders and the Frisians." Even for Gresbeck, it was impossible to blame the whole Anabaptist regime in Münster on outsiders—prominent among the "rebaptizers" were

Bernard Knipperdolling, a Münster patrician who was elected burgomaster in February 1534, and "Stutenberent," as he named Bernard Rothmann, the pastor who led the trend to radicalization of the Münster Reformation.

Mackay demonstrates that Gresbeck is not always correct on matters of fact or sequence. From this he concludes that Gresbeck wrote entirely from memory, without the opportunity or disposition to rely on others for "fact checking." Gresbeck's inability to remember the name of John Dusentschuer, whom he referred to as "the limping prophet," is taken as evidence that he had no one with whom to discuss what he was writing. Nevertheless, Mackay can use Gresbeck to correct the narrative of Anabaptist Münster. For instance, he shows that it is highly unlikely that the Haarlem prophet John Mathias was killed exactly on Easter Day 1534. The numerous ecstatic outbreaks that Gresbeck attributes to the Münster Anabaptists, high and low, document the feverish excitement that continued from the beginning to the end of the siege. He shows a great deal of sympathy to the *Landsknechts* who found their way into Münster, presumably normal people ill-suited to survive in an apocalyptic realm.

Although Gresbeck provides striking vignettes of episodes that occurred in Münster under Anabaptist rule, it is easy to understand why Kerssenbroch has had greater influence on the historiography. A great part of Gresbeck's description of events is, incorrectly, depicted as subsequent to Easter 1535, before which King Jan van Leiden had promised divine deliverance for Anabaptist Münster. Since King Jan had promised his subjects that they could behead him if God did not rescue Münster before Easter, this arrangement of the narrative provides Gresbeck with occasion for incessant mockery of King Jan and his inner circle. Gresbeck witnessed, but appeared not to understand, the rivalry between King Jan and Bernard Knipperdolling, the former Anabaptist burgomaster. Clearly, Gresbeck was totally confused by Münster Anabaptist teaching about the relation between Christ and his mother Mary, one of the most distinctive doctrines of the city's religion; indeed, his summary of the "Articles of the Anabaptists" demonstrates his clumsiness with religious doctrine. Gresbeck's resentment against polygamy and the polygamous Anabaptist elite, as well as the striking inequality of suffering in the last days of the siege, is the main theme of the chronicle. Certainly from the summer of 1534 onward he regarded himself as an outsider, disgusted by the "buffoonery" of the "rebaptizers," but compelled to silence for self-protection.

The Gresbeck chronicle reproduces the brutal atmosphere of an early modern siege with little pretense of humanitarian mercies for the besieged. For their part the Münster Anabaptist leadership orchestrated the most extreme anticlericalism, removing saints' names from city gates and streets, referring to church edifices as "stone quarries," and conducting parody masses in which cat's heads and mouse tails were eaten in place of the consecrated host. Recent revision of the history of Anabaptist Münster has questioned whether the Anabaptist rulers had any genuine illusions of world conquest, arguing that they wanted only for the besieging army to go away. However, that may be, Gresbeck provides evidence that repeated declarations that they would soon "march around the world" were an important part of the rhetoric with which Anabaptist Münster's rulers pacified their suffering subjects.

The Gresbeck chronicle provides a good account of the surprise attack on Anabaptist Münster in late June 1525, that led to the fall of the city, and that Gresbeck helped to plan after defecting from the defenders. Other sources verify his important role in the fall of Anabaptist Münster. Although Gresbeck certainly enriches our understanding of what occurred from February 1534 to June 1535, his is the statement of an uninformed and unsympathetic outsider, which needs to be treated with caution.

Queen's University

JAMES M. STAYER

European Mennonites and the Challenge of Modernity over Five Centuries: Contributors, Detractors, and Adapters. Edited by Mark Jantzen, Mary S. Sprunger and John D. Thiesen. North Newton, Kan.: Bethel College. 2016.

This book emerged from a 2010 conference at Bethel College (North Newton, Kansas) titled "Marginal or Mainstream? Anabaptists, Mennonites and Modernity in European Society." Its thesis—if one is to be found in a book with nineteen contributions—is indicated by Thomas A. Brady Jr. in the book's first chapter. The Anabaptists, Brady argues, were not the last spasm of medieval religious logic before the Enlightenment ushered in modernity. Nor were the Mennonites a shining beacon of modern religious plurality in Europe's gathering medieval dusk. Rather, European Mennonites' diffusion, diversity, and ambivalence toward modernity made their encounter with the phenomenon lack a clear trajectory. In other words, the book shows that European Mennonites were often as skeptical about their ability to create a Mennonite metanarrative as they were fickle about the metanarratives of modernity advanced by state and religious actors.

Fittingly, the book is organized in three sections: "Contributors, Detractors, and Adapters." The scheme strikes a balance between focus and elasticity and helps thematically foreshadow the authors' contributions. Of course, "modernity" is a slippery fish and the title begs the question of how the authors collectively define modernity and what it means to contribute, detract, or adapt to it. In the succinct yet detailed introduction, the editors wisely acknowledge that there is no tidy answer to this question. Rather, the aim of the book is to "keep conversations [about modernity] open and dynamic" (xviii).

The "Contributors" section presents a series of chronologically-arranged chapters dealing with specific facets of modernity. Michael Driedger demonstrates how the sixteenth-century Münster Rebellion became a "meme" of modern religious violence. Mary S. Sprunger examines Mennonite economic modernity through a Weberian lens in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. Yme Kuiper tackles Mennonites' political modernity and Dutch patriotism in late-nineteenth-century Friesland. Ernst Hamm looks at Mennonite education and scientific modernity in the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic. Frank Konersmann investigates class formation among Mennonites in the Rhineland Palatinate during the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries. Nataliya Venger examines the nineteenth-century Russian government's anticipated economic and commercial

modernization of the countryside via Mennonite colonization. The final chapters in this section focus on Mennonites in what is now Uzbekistan, which pushes the definition of "Europe" to its geographical limits. One may reasonably ask whether German-speaking Mennonite communities in British North America might also be considered "European," since the distance between the Atlantic coasts is the same as the distance between Berlin and Tashkent. Nevertheless, Dilaram M. Inoyatova outlines Mennonite social and agricultural influences on Central Asia in the nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries, while Walter Ratliff examines late-nineteenth-century Mennonite/Muslim social and economic relations in Khiva, which is a particularly timely topic given twenty-first-century Europe's growing engagement with its eastern neighbors.

Owing to the fact that most of Europe's "detractors" left the continent for the Americas, this section is necessarily less developed than the first. In his well-argued chapter, Brian C. Brewer finds elements of Anabaptist sacramentalism that bridge tradition and modernity by being "non-superstitious but substantive, intellectual but sacramental" (197). Ranier Kobe's contribution describes the thematic similarities between the work of seventeenth-century Danzig/Gdańsk painter Isaac von der Blocke and sixteenth-century Anabaptist artists and writers, but it is not certain whether von der Blocke was actually acquainted with their work. In a tightly-argued chapter that adheres most closely to the "detractors" theme, Mark Jantzen uses Prussia's nineteenth-century Mennonites to illuminate the paradoxical situation of a monarchy acting in ways that were more tolerant toward religious minorities than a liberal state bent of forging a nation in arms. Finally, Johannes Dyck's chapter casts nineteenth-century Russian Mennonite Brethren as "catalytic agents" in the formation of the Russian Baptists. In his brief "Concluding Remarks," Dyck provocatively connects nineteenth-century Mennonites and Russian Baptists to the twentieth-century Reformed Baptist movement, which offered the first organized religious resistance to the Soviet state in the postwar period.

The "Adapters" section is thematically and geographically less well-rounded than the first but contains several fine chapters that closely adhere to the section theme. Troy Osborne's clearly-argued contribution shows how Amsterdam's seventeenth-century Mennonites aided the Dutch Republic's modernizing government by instilling religious discipline that also functioned as civic discipline. Karl Koop's chapter on the myriad confessions of faith formulated by conservative Dutch Mennonites in the eighteenth century poses the question: "might it be possible that, in issuing these confessions of faith, these orthodox Mennonites were unwittingly *promoting* a modern mindset?" (286). He answers "yes" by arguing that the rationalistic form of the confessions were modern, even if their function was anti-modern. More descriptive than argumentative, Marion Kobelt-Groch introduces readers to Antje Brons, a nineteenth-century German Mennonite woman who wrote extensively on modern pedagogy. John D. Thiesen's historiographical contribution outlines the development of work on German Mennonites and Nazism, including the Mennonites' own *Historikerstreit* between Hans-Jürgen Goertz and Diether Götz Lichdi in the late 1970s, and offers suggestions for future research. Jeremy Koop takes up part of Thiesen's challenge in his comparative chapter on the Protestant German theologians Emanuel Hirsch,

Karl Barth, and Benjamin H. Unruh. During the Nazi era, Koop argues that “Barth’s political opposition, Hirsch’s fervent nationalism . . . and Unruh’s complicated and often ironic relationship to his Mennonite theological traditions need to be understood from a theological perspective” (329). His broader conclusion is that German Mennonites’ theological acceptance of Nazism was the result of decades of assimilating Lutheran theology and German nationalism into their belief system. The section concludes with a chapter by James Regier that describes the development and dissolution of the relatively unknown Galician Mennonites during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Two topics that are surprisingly absent from the book concern European Mennonites’ transnational networks and the role of gender vis-à-vis modern governments. In light of the fact that most of the world’s Mennonites have lived outside of Europe for over a century, it would be useful to see a contribution that specifically addresses Mennonite missionary work and migrant networks, which introduced thousands of non-Europeans to European-style modernity. This addition could also help round out the “Detractors” section by informing us of what happened to the most dedicated elements of Mennonite resistance to European modernity. Likewise, Mennonites made some of their most essential decisions as detractors based on masculine concerns about civic and military participation. Such preoccupations had little to say to women, who represented 50 percent of the Mennonite population and who were not granted a full menu of modern rights and responsibilities until the early twentieth century. Nevertheless, the editors must work within the constraints of the conference proceedings and authors must work within the constraints of a single chapter, so these and other omissions are defensible.

The book largely fulfills the editors’ promise. It indicates that Mennonite individuals and communities reacted to European modernity in myriad ways and offers a broad introduction to the diverse history of Mennonites on the continent. It will find a place on the shelves of scholars and students interested in the legacy of the Anabaptist movement and the intersection of modernity and religion in the European context.

German Historical Institute

JOHN EICHER

A People of Two Kingdoms II: Stories of Kansas Mennonites in Politics. By James C. Juhnke. Newton, Kan.: Bethel College. 2016. \$20.

With a strong sense of being a people “apart” from the world, the Mennonites have a history of living in tension with the larger society, including politics. Consisting of primarily rural families, Mennonites have often been loyal Republicans in the Kansas political scene. They shared with the GOP a suspicion of large government, an embrace of “traditional” values that honored faith and family, and a general support of policies such as temperance. However, their support of pacifism, their dislike of overt displays of patriotism, and their commitment to social justice put them at odds with the larger Republican ethos and could ally them with Democrats and even more radical groups when it came to certain issues.

The Mennonites' legacy of cutting across political cleavages forms the basis of James Juhnke's work, *A People of Two Kingdoms II*. A follow up to his 1975 book, *A People of Two Kingdoms*, this work continues the study of Mennonites in Kansas politics primarily since the 1930s. Having assumed, wisely, that the reader may not have read the first *A People of Two Kingdoms*, Juhnke begins with an overview of the issues that had shaped Mennonite life in Kansas since the groups' migration from Russia in the 1870s. Juhnke then uses the Mennonite experience in World War II to highlight the different responses that the largely pacifist tradition had to the Second World War. Some chose to go to Civilian Public Service (CPS) camps, locations that served as the formative experiences for a whole generation of Mennonite leaders. Others resisted, willingly accepting arrest as a form of prophetic witness, while still others wore the uniform of military service.

The remainder of the book tells the story of how Mennonites reconciled the ideals of their faith with the larger political landscape, from the "God and Country" Cold War tensions of the Eisenhower era to the contentious 1960s, and from the realignments of the 1970s to the rise of Evangelical/conservative politics in since the 1980s. Chapters include the stories of Mennonites who entered politics at the state and local level, and individuals who struggled with balancing their beliefs with the demands of constituents who may well have differed with them. Other sections include vignettes of how major issues such as missile defense and the war in Vietnam raged on the campuses of Bethel and Tabor, and in the editorials of denominational periodicals. Since the 1970s, the issues have become even more complicated as Mennonite attitudes on a number of issues placed them increasingly in the liberal Democratic camp while their rural, small-town Kansas heritage tied them firmly to the state's Republican hegemony. In recent decades, politically active Evangelicalism has emerged as a defining feature of state and national politics, placing Mennonites in an awkward position of siding with Evangelicals on some issues but disagreeing sharply on others.

Throughout, Juhnke takes care to go beyond blanket statements and stereotypes. There is no single "Mennonite" approach to these issues and debates over topics ranging from civil rights to abortion illustrate this central, recurring theme throughout the work. He takes care to note the differences between the more mainstream General Conference Mennonites and the more conservative Mennonite Brethren and Church of God in Christ, Mennonite/Holdeman bodies, as well as significant differences of opinion within those bodies.

A respected scholar of Mennonite history with a political legacy of his own, Juhnke is well placed to write a book of this type. Only someone with first-hand experience in Mennonite culture and history could parse through the nuances of the different factions and groups. The various stories are themselves well documented with details that reveal a longstanding familiarity with the persons involved. Juhnke could speak to Kansas politics from an insider perspective as well, providing insights on how the political process worked, at least before the major shifts of the 1990s totally reworked the Sunflower state's political landscape. Moreover, only a scholar who is able to step back with a degree of impartiality in presenting history to wide audiences could translate these divisions and show to

a wide range of readers why these illustrate matters of both Mennonite and larger Kansas politics.

Works of this type walk a fine line between denominational history, denominational hagiography, and scholarly analysis. As part of the Cornelius H. Wedel series, Juhnke's book belongs to a larger body of literature rooted in exploring the Mennonite story. Fortunately, it is not, like so many denominational histories, geared only to the interests of a small cadre of insiders who know the jargon and revel in the internecine barbs of denominational political squabbles. Juhnke takes care to explain, but not necessarily celebrate, the figures he discusses. The result is a sensitive treatment of the individuals, movements, and causes without the fawning admiration that can so often plague works of this type. Readers interested in Kansas politics in general will find this work of great use, if for no other reason than it provides an alternative perspective to what is too often covered over with the broad brush of "red state" religious politics.

That said, *A People of Two Kingdoms II* is still primarily an anthology of personal sketches and vignettes instead of a work of political science or political history. With chapters skipping between short biographies of political careers spliced with issues that appeared in Mennonite journals, the text reads more like a set of encyclopedia entries rather than a single synthesis. Today, religion and politics is a huge topic with a rapidly expanding literature. Juhnke's book is an insightful companion to works such as Darren Dochuck's *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt*; Ferenc Szasz's *Religion in the Modern American West*; Robert Wuthnow's *Red State Religion*; Philip Barlow and Mark Silk's *Religion and Public Life in the Midwest: America's Common Denominator*; or *Kansas Politics and Government, The Clash of Political Cultures*, by Ed Flentje and Joseph Aistrup. Connecting Juhnke's narrative to these contexts of region and faith would benefit both Mennonite scholars and those of Kansas history. However, it is up to the reader to fold in larger contextual discussions on their own as these larger trends are referenced mostly in passing in this work.

As an embodiment of Kansas politics and yet strikingly at odds with it, Mennonite politics is a valuable study, both as a significant subculture in central Kansas and as a foil to better understand how Kansas political cultural has shifted and unfolded. *A People of Two Kingdoms II*, is a welcome contribution to this story, both for those within and outside of the tradition. Those who can place the anecdotes and stories into the larger narrative will be rewarded with insights that deepen our understanding of faith, region, ethnicity, and politics.

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JAY PRICE

BOOK NOTES

Called to Community: The Life Jesus Wants for His People, ed. Charles Moore (Walden, N.Y.: Plough Publishing House, 2016). Pp. 359. \$18.

This collection of short passages on the general theme of Christian community—drawn from the full sweep of church history and an impressive range of ecumenical voices—is divided into four parts, and further divided into

fifty-two topics. Part I focuses on the “call to community”; Part II on “forming community”; Part III on “life in community”; and Part IV on life “beyond the community.” The topical themes are intended to be used as a weekly devotional guide, with biblical texts and discussion questions for each theme included at the conclusion of the volume. Most of the selections in the volume were written by people who have lived in intentional Christian communities. Stanley Hauerwas contributed the introduction. Charles Moore, the compiler of the collection, is a pastor and member of the Bruderhof community.

Forever Summer, Forever Sunday: Peter Gerhard Rempel's Photographs of Mennonites in Russia, 1890-1917. ed. John D. Rempel and Paul Tiessen (St. Jacobs, Ont.: Sand Hills Books, Inc., 1981 [2015]). \$50.

First published in 1981, this re-issued collection of photographs captures the spirit of the cultural “golden age” in South Russia in the decades prior to the Bolshevik Revolution. The volume consists primarily of reproductions of negative glass plates by the studio photographer, Peter Gerhard Rempel (1872-1933), which Rempel brought with him as a refugee to Canada in 1923. The volume opens with a historical introduction by the editors. Interspersed throughout the collection of ninety-three black-and-white photos are excerpts drawn from the diaries of Peter Rempel during the turbulent year of 1923 as well as excerpts taken from letters that Rempel exchanged with his wife, Sarah. The republication, sponsored by the Henderson (Neb.) Mennonite Heritage Museum and Park, includes a new foreword by John Rempel, grandson of Peter Rempel.

Kertin Lundström, *Polemik in den Schriften Melchior Hoffmans: Inszenierungen rhetorischer Streitkultur in der Reformationszeit* (Stockholm: Stockholm University Press, 2015). Pp. 318.

Although he began his theological career as an early supporter of Luther, the radical reformer Melchior Hoffman soon came into sharp and sustained conflict with representatives of the Lutheran and Zwinglian Reformation. Hoffman vigorously defended his understanding of the “true teaching of God” in a variety of contexts and textual forms, including published polemics, correspondence, debates, and biblical commentaries. This book, a revised 2013 dissertation at the University of Stockholm and the Justus-Liebig-University of Giessen, analyzes Hoffman’s writings as a performance within a rhetorical culture of debate. The arguments presented in his writings express a complex cultural interplay between rhetorical norms and traditions on the one hand, and individual creativity on the other. Lundström explores Hoffman’s polemical style drawing on a combination of rhetorical theory and modern methods of communication and performance analysis. For Hoffman and others, polemical speech served as a catalyst for cultural and social change.