Notes

Abbreviations

CMBS-F  Center of Mennonite Brethren Studies, Fresno Pacific University, Fresno, California
CMBS-H  Center of Mennonite Brethren Studies, Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas
CMHSB   California Mennonite Historical Society Bulletin
FMCA    First Mennonite Church in Reedley Archives
GAMEO   Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online
GH      Gospel Herald
MB      Mennonite Brethren
MBBS    Mennonite Brethren Biblical Seminary
MBHSCB  Mennonite Brethren Historical Society of the West Coast Bulletin
MCA-G   Mennonite Church USA Archives, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana
MCA-N   Mennonite Church USA Archives, Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas
MCC-WCO Mennonite Central Committee, West Coast Office
ME      Mennonite Encyclopedia
NASB    New American Standard Bible
PBI     Pacific Bible Institute
RE      Reedley Exponent
TMenn   The Mennonite

Preface

1. McWilliams, California, 3.
2. McWilliams, Southern California, parts 4 and 13.
4. There are numerous accounts of this history of the Mennonites, though the standard survey histories remain C. Henry Smith, Smith’s Story of the Mennonites, and Dyck, An Introduction to Mennonite History.
5. Ernst, “The Emergence of California.”

8. Bellah, “Civil Religion,” 1–21. See also Tuveson, Redeemer Nation, for his compelling analysis of the “redeemer nation” motif through American millennialism, national destiny, and the mythic quality of westward migration.

I use George Marsden’s and David Bebbington’s definition of evangelical. For Marsden, evangelicalism is broadly defined as a group of Christians, usually Protestant, who believe and proclaim such biblical teachings as divinity of Jesus, virgin birth, death, resurrection, and Second Coming to establish his perfect kingdom. Bebbington provides a “quadrilateral of priorities” that marks evangelicalism: biblicism (the Bible is the only acceptable guide to Christian belief), conversionism (one must have experienced a moment of conversion to Christ), crucicentrism (centrality of Christ’s redemptive death on the cross), and activism (evangelism or social action).

Marsden, “The Evangelical Denomination,” vii–xix. In particular, see viii–xvi and his specific mention of Mennonites, viii, xv. Helpful introductions to American evangelicalism include Marsden, Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism; Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture; Dayton and Johnston, The Variety of American Evangelicalism; Noll, American Evangelical Christianity; Hart, Deconstructing Evangelicalism; and Bebbington, Evangelicalism in Modern Britain, 1–3.

9. Loewen, Diaspora. To see the larger Protestant social and religious environment in twentieth-century California, see Ernst with Anderson, Pilgrim Progression, chapters 5 and 6, and Ernst, “The Emergence of California,” 11–52.

10. I am indebted to the following essay for the success and evangelical modification thesis: Gauvreau, “Protestantism Transformed,” 61–63.


13. The Mennonite Church in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century was sometime referred to as the “Old Mennonite Church.” In the early 2000s the Mennonite Church and the General Conference Mennonites merged to form Mennonite Church USA (MCUSA). However, that story is outside the scope of this project.

14. Luthy, The Amish in America, 41–45. The category of denomination remains useful in historical terms for the people, place, and time I am writing on. The category also makes sense for Mennonites, where both leaders and laity self-identified and organized mostly along denominational lines.


16. Juhnke, Vision, Doctrine, War, 49–50. See chapter 1 for the late nineteenth-century context. For General Conference history, see Pannabecker, Open Doors. Kevin Enns-Rempel also provided assistance with this paragraph.

17. For survey histories of Mennonite Brethren history, see Toews, A History of the Mennonite Brethren Church, and Toews, A Pilgrimage of Faith.


20. Ibid., 208.

21. For example, see Loewen, Diaspora, 3–7.

Chapter 1: Going to California


2. Enns-Rempel, “A New Life in the West,” 12; Enns-Rempel, “They Came From Many Places,” 1–2; Enns-Rempel, “Many Roads to the San Joaquin Valley,” 3; Nachtigall, “Mennonite Migration,” 80. There are some minor discrepancies between the numbers of Enns-Rempel and Nachtigall due to methodology and scope of their studies. For a table of their comparisons and a satisfactory explanation of the small differences (between 1.0–2.1 percent), see Enns-Rempel, “They Came From Many Places,” 7.


6. Dyck, “In the California,” 25–28; Smith, *Smith’s Story*, 434–35. Cornelius J. Dyck quoted liberally from his elder’s diary. Johannes’s diary, which ended in Oregon, just before his crossing into California, concluded with the foreboding “there was trouble ahead.” Cornelius commented, “Here ends the diary of my great grandfather which begins again ten years later in Russia . . . He did keep a diary during his stay in America, but on his death bed my father, his grandson, had to take those diaries and burn them before his eyes.” The diary, in the end, was shorn of American content, though in the beginning it never contained Californian content. Dyck, “In the California,” 27.

7. “Joseph Summers,” obituary. Summers appeared to be a popular individual, heavily involved with the Mennonite Church in Elkhart, Indiana.

8. This omission of California, or the American West in general, in American religious history is a complaint of western historians: Maffly-Kipp, “Eastward Ho!,” 127–48; Ernst, “The Emergence of California,” 31–32.


11. Ibid., xii–xiii, 12, 182, 188, 190, 206.


16. Burkholder, “San Marcos Mennonite Church (GCM),” 414; and, Phyllis Claassen,


19. “Brief Historical Data of Immanuel Mennonite Church,” Thirtieth Anniversary, 1910–1940, Los Angeles, Immanuel Mennonite Church, 1940, MLA.CONG.84, Immanuel Mennonite Church, Downey, CA, box 1, Calendars, Programs, Reports, Directories, MCA-N.

20. “Our Church History 1910–1960,” Golden Anniversary 1910–1960 Immanuel Mennonite Church, first and last page, MLA.CONG.84, box 1, Calendars, Programs, Reports, Directories, MCA-N.


Several documents describe this series of events, and there are some discrepancies regarding dates and names. The oldest, a 1925 constitution, reports that mission work began in 1908 at the “Riverside Mission,” and the Whosoever Will Mission, which opened in 1914, was called the “Mennonite Mission Church.” “Introduction and Preamble,” Constitution and Declaration of Faith of Immanuel Mennonite Church of Los Angeles,” adopted April 19, 1925, p. 1, CB553 Living Hope Church Records (Downey, CA), box 4, Constitutions 1925–1976 file, CMBS-F. Although the 1925 constitution is the oldest document, it is the only one to make these claims. Minor differences in the other documents include the start of mission work, which in “Our Church History 1902–1955” occurred on May 4, 1909, and in February 1909 in the membership directories of 1947 and 1948. See “A Brief History of the Immanuel Mennonite Church,” Immanuel Mennonite Church Membership List 1910–1947, back page, and, “A Brief History of the Immanuel Mennonite Church,” Immanuel Mennonite Church Membership List 1910–1948, back page, CB553 Living Hope Church Records (Downey, CA), box 4, Membership Directories 1936–1960 file, CMBS-F.

Another difference: the River Station Mission (only called this in the membership directories of 1947 and 1948) opened in 1910. The constitution of 1944 listed the opening of what was called the River Station Mission on May 4, 1910 (Our Church: Its History and Constitution, adopted Jan. 9, 1944, p. 3, CB553 Living Hope Church Records (Downey, CA), box 4, Constitutions 1925–1976 file, CMBS-F). In “Our Church History 1910–1960,” Golden Anniversary, 1910–1960, Immanuel Mennonite Church, first and last page, the opening is listed as happening on May 8, 1910.

22. This was a common enough practice among Protestants. See Dochuk, From Bible Belt to Sunbelt, chapters 1–2.
30. RE, 12 May 1904. 5.
31. Zech, Historic Reedley, 4; Cha, Koreans in Central California, 50, 76.
34. Reimer, "Banking Was, Still is Bustling," 10B.
38. 50th Jubilee, 1905–1955, 57–58; The Church Alive in its 75th Year, 63–64; Zech, Historic Reedley, 74–75; Nancy Neufeld, "Immanuel began in 25 as Bible School," RE, Oct. 27, 1988. 8L.

40. 50th Jubilee, 1905–1955, 63.
42. This episode is covered in more detail in chapter 2. However, the most thorough coverage of this event remains Harder and Enns-Rempel, "The Henry J. Martens Land Scheme."
46. Enns-Rempel, "Origins of the Pacific District," 1–3. Enns-Rempel argues persuasively that Mennonite Brethren needed increasingly complex structures as they spread over an increasingly large geographic area.
47. Smith, "Religion and Ethnicity in America," 1779.
48. Ibid., 1165–66.
49. Emanuel Stahly, correspondence, Sept. 5, and M. A., correspondence, GH, Sept. 12, 1908, Upland. Other letters from Upland stressing the need for visitors and ministers include H. L. Denlinger, correspondence, GH, Oct. 10, 1908.
52. Dinuba correspondent, correspondence, GH, April 22, 1909.
54. Emanuel Stahly, correspondence, GH, Nov. 11, 1909, Corning.
55. Los Angeles correspondent, correspondence, GH, Jan. 24, 1929; Esther Kreider, correspondence, GH, March 27, 1913, Pasadena.
56. Los Angeles correspondent, correspondence, GH, Jan. 24, 1929.
57. Winton correspondent, correspondence, GH, Sept. 25, 1930; April 9 and Sept. 31, 1931; and Jan. 28, 1932.
58. Ibid.
60. Wenger, The Mennonite Church in America, 121; Harold S. Bender, "Pacific Coast Conference (MC)," ME, vol. 4:103; and John D. Leatherman, Untitled [History of Mennonite Church in Southern California], p. 4. II-15-8 SWMC History Committee, Southwest MC History, MCA-G.
61. Leatherman, Untitled, p. 5, MCA-G.
62. Shetler, Church History of the Pacific Coast, 45–51.
64. Barrett, The Vision and the Reality, 120.
72. Dochak, From Bible Belt to Sunbelt, 79.
7. Smith, *Mennonites in Illinois*, 52–53. These themes were not peculiar to Mennonites. See, for example, Fjellstrom, *Swedish-American Colonization*, 11–12, 59–60, 81, 143.
9. Bender, “Foreword,” vii. He qualifies the statement on page x, noting that others “have had to live ‘for Conscious sake,’” but adds, Mennonites at least have tried to do so “by the Holy Scriptures and the Spirit of God.”
10. Kern County Land Co., *Californien als ein geeigneter Staat zur Etablirung von deutschen Kolonien: Kern County mit seinen fruchtbaren Ebenen und grossen Ansiedlung splatzen: die Kern County Land-Gesellschaft als Besitzerin von bewasserten Landereien, welche sie an deutsche Ansiedler zu verkaufen wünscht*. [California as a Suitable State for the Establishment of German Colonies: Kern County with its Fruitful Flats and Large Settlement Places: The Kern County Land Company, as owner of irrigated estates, which wants to sell them to a German Settler] Bakersfield, CA, 1895, pp. 4–5, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
11. Ibid., 15.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
25. Frank and Mary Smucker, correspondence, GH, Dec. 22, 1910, Upland.


33. Karl Pohl, advertisement, Steinbach Post, June 6, 1923; June 13, 1923; June 20, 1923; and June 27, 1923.


35. J. D. Sherwood, President of Los Molinos Land Co., to Julius Siemens, M239 Julius and Anna Siemens Papers, box 2, Los Molinos Settlement 1910 file, CMBS-F.

36. A. Friesen to Julius Siemens, M239 Julius and Anna Siemens Papers, box 2, Russian Study Commission 1920, CMBS-F.


42. Harder and Enns-Rempel, “The Henry J. Martens Land Scheme,” 202. Some of the research materials for the article can be found at box 2, Martens, Henry J., 1867, CMBS-H.


49. Ibid., 11–15.

50. Two Mennonites described in memoirs their move to California from the North American plains without using sacred imagery. For one the motivation to move was to work as a teacher in a Mennonite community, and for the other, it was the presence of “good land.” Parsons, Exiles of the Steppes, 13; Jantzen, Frank F. Jantzen, 9.


52. Marie Eymann-Marlar, “Marie Eymann-Marlar,” A Treasury of Historical Accounts,
237. Ruth, “‘From the Dust Bowl to California,’” 122, 126–27.
238. Ibid., 127–28.
239. The standard treatment of Russian migration to California is Hardwick, Russian Refuge.
243. The standard treatment of Russian migration to California is Hardwick, Russian Refuge.
245. Neufeld, Jacob’s Journey, 46–47, 71–85. There are no details as to how she raised the money. This book is not a memoir but a story of his parents. Herb was born in Shafter, California.
246. Ibid., 100, 108.
248. Neufeld, Jacob’s Journey, 113, 116. The story of the Mennonite flight to America, from Russia through China, was fictionalized in Martens, River of Glass.
249. Rempel, Memorics, 3, 36. Quote from 44.
250. Ibid., 45ff.
252. Thielmann, Escape to Freedom; Sylvester, From Despair to Deliverance; Block, Escape; Frantz, Water from the Well; Becker, A Bandit of Living; Toews, JB, Auernheimer, Memorics of a Farm Boy, Hefez, Accepting the Challenge.
253. Froese, “‘Where the People Tell no Lies,’” 1–3.

Chapter 3. Urban Dystopia and Divine Nature

7. L. A. Weaver, correspondence, GH, July 22, 1909, Dinuba.
8. Emanuel Stahly, correspondence, GH, Sept. 5, 1908, Corning.
9. B. P. Swartzendruber, field notes, GH, Sept. 5, 1908; M. A., correspondence, GH,
Sept. 12, 1908, Upland; John D. Leatherman, Untitled [History of Mennonite Church in Southern California], p. 2, II-15-8 SWMC History Committee, Southwest MC History, MCA-G.


20. Cornelius and Maria Fiedler, correspondence, Zionsbote, April 24, 1912, Atwater.


22. For an example of the connection between moralism and labor issues, see Anderson, “‘A True Revival of Religion,’” 25–49. For Progressive Era Protestantism in the Bay Area, see Anderson, “Through Fire and Fair.”

23. There was a Mennonite bishop named M. S. Steiner in Ohio who lived from 1866 to 1911; this may be him. Harold S. Bender and Beulah Stauffer Hostetler, ‘Mennonite Church (MC),’ GAMEO, 1989, www.gameo.org/encyclopedia/contents/M_46610ME.html.


25. Ibid. This attitude was not peculiar to the Mennonites. See, for example, the reflection by a Methodist author at mid-century on the treatment of Chinese workers in late nineteenth-century California society: Loofbourow, In Search of God’s Gold, 203–207. There is much scholarly work on Chinese experiences in turn-of-the-century California. See, for example, Saxton, The Indispensable Enemy; Chan, This Bitter-Sweet Soil; Yang, Unbound Feet; and Woo, “Protestant Work.”

26. M. S. Steiner, “The Naked Truth as to San Francisco.”

27. Ibid.


33. Brackbill, “From S. California.”

34. C. U. Widmer, correspondence, TMMn, March 7, 1912, Reedley.

35. RH, Feb. 1913 to April 1914, passim.
37. Ibid., quotes from, 55–56, 63–67.
42. A. R. Kurtz, correspondence, July 24, 1924, GH, Los Angeles.
47. John D. Leatherman, Untitled [History of Mennonite Church in Southern California], p. 1; and Dyck, An Introduction to Mennonite History, 220.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
52. Upland correspondent, correspondence, TMenn, Feb. 25, 1904.
53. TMenn, 1904–1936, passim.
54. Correspondent, correspondence, TMenn, Jan. 14, 1904; Jno. C. Mehl, correspondence, TMenn, April 30, 1908, Upland.
55. Sara C. Sprunger, correspondence, TMenn, Jan. 26, 1905, Cucamonga.
56. TMenn, correspondence, 1904–1936, passim. Specific examples include D. T. Eymann, March 10, 1904; May 13, 1909; M. J. W., April 9, 1914.
60. Mrs. Jacob Sheeter, correspondence, GH, July 30, 1936, Pasadena.
61. McWilliams, Southern California, 98.
63. No author, TMenn, Sept. 1898.
64. A. D. Rosenberger, correspondence, GH, Feb. 20, 1909, Montrose.
65. Peter and Maria Wall, correspondence, Zionsbote, Oct. 1, 1902, Azusa.
66. Enns-Rempel, "The Mennonite Sanitarium," 2, 7–8; Melvin Gingerich, "Meno-
nite Sanitarium (GCM),” ME Supplement, 1108; The Mennonite Sanitarium, promotional material, n.d., 3, vertical file, Mennonite Sanitarium, Alta Loma, CA, MCA-N.
69. Ibid., 37; “Mennonite Sanitarium,” promotional material, n.d., 1, 3, 5, 9, vertical file, Mennonite Sanitarium, Alta Loma, CA, MCA-N.
71. John Hygema, letter, Herald of Truth (12 March 1908), 86. See also Enns-Rempel, “California in their Own Words,” 7–8.
73. John Hygema, correspondence, GH, April 18, 1908, Chico.
76. Dueck, “Images of the City,” 192. Dueck calls this a “puzzle.”
77. May, Screening Out the Past, 3–21.
78. Smith, “Religion and Ethnicity in America,” 1174–76.

Chapter 4. Outsiders from Within

1. Otto Reimer, appended note, Oct. 31, 1979, CB525 Reedley MB Church Records, box 1, Charter 1905 file, CMBS-F. The charter was written on a piece of torn, lined notepaper, complete with jagged edges and unlabeled calculations on the back.
2. Perhaps the most accessible entry into California society and its ethos is Kevin Starr’s multivolume series on California history. In particular, see Endangered Dreams, The Dream Endures, Embattled Dreams, and Golden Dreams. See also Dochuk, From Bible Belt to Sunbelt, and McGirr, Suburban Warriors.
3. Wacker, Heaven Below, is an excellent introduction to American Pentecostalism, a charismatic form of conservative Protestantism often accompanied with such signs of faith as “speaking in tongues” and healing.
4. Dispensationalism argues that in the last days, Christians will be raptured before seven years of tribulation, after which Christ will return, establishing a millennium of peace. Central to dispensationalism is the idea that all history is divided into seven dispensations of time, each governed by a particular covenant with God, and that the global tribulation followed by a millennium with Jesus as King is the final dispensation. See Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture, chapters 4–7; and Boyer, When Time Shall Be No More, chapters 1–3.

13. Ibid.


16. Goertzen, Bethany Church, 14–16.

17. Ibid., 16–17.

18. Ibid., 17. This apparently refers to bringing outsiders into the church building, not membership. No specific individuals or groups were named.

19. No examples of ‘obscure’ references or “psychological” worldview are given.

20. Goertzen, Bethany Church, 18–19. These charges are also found in “Report of the Church Council on the Ministerial Aspect and Development of the Church,” The Ministry of Brother H. G. Wiens, CB510 Bethany MB Church Records (Fresno, CA), box 9, H. G. Wiens Resignation 1949–1950 file, CMBS-F. These documents are not dated, but their placement in this file and their content indicate that they likely date to these events.


23. Goertzen, Bethany Church, 23.


27. Ibid., 137–39.

28. Ibid., 140–42.
29. Ibid., 140–43. Quote from p. 143.
30. Ibid., 144.
31. Ibid., 144–45.
35. Toews, "Fundamentalist Conflict," 258.
42. Minutes, Church Council, Aug. 19, 1954, CB315 Reedley MB Church Records, box 3, Church Council 1953–1954 file, CMBS-F. This is the only complaint I found against the manuscript from California.
44. "Who Are the Mennonites?"; "The Pastor’s Chat."
45. "Who Are the Mennonites?"; "The Pastor’s Chat"; "We Are Proud," editorial, Herald of the First Mennonite Church of Upland, Aug. 1, 1937, 1, Upland, California, First Mennonite Church (Unprocessed). The Herald Newsletter of Upland, CA First Mennonite Church, 1937–44, 45 file, MCA-N.
46. The Mennonites: Principles and Teachings," Directory 1939 First Mennonite Church of Upland, p. 3, vertical file, First Mennonite Church (Upland, CA), MCA-N.
48. Ramon H. Jantz to Shafter High School, Jan. 17, 1957, and Jan. 18, 1958, Cong. Shafter [unprocessed], Correspondence, First Mennonite Church Shafter, MCA-N.

49. Minutes, special meeting, May 14, 1954, Bethel Mennonite Church, Winton, California, MLA.CONG.48. Bethel Mennonite Church, Winton, CA, box 1, Council Minutes Book, MCA-N.


51. Minutes, special meeting, May 14, 1954, Bethel Mennonite Church, Winton, California, MLA.CONG.4a. Bethel Mennonite Church, Winton, CA, box 1, Council Minutes Book, MCA-N.

52. Orlando Schmidt, “A Brief History of the Mennonite Community Church Fresno, California,” n.d.; G. F. Schmidt, “Early History of the Mennonite Community Church of Fresno,” vertical file, Mennonite Community Church (Fresno, CA), MCA-N.

53. “Who Are the Mennonites?” A New Church in Your Community, promotional flyer, p. 2, MLA.CONG.85. Mennonite Community Church (Fresno, CA), box 3, Misc. file, MCA-N.

54. Penner and Frantz, “Through the Years,” 9–10. After difficulties during World War I concerning the use of German, they suspended its use, 21–22.


56. Ibid.


58. Minutes, church business meeting, Sept. 26, 1956, CB530 Heritage Bible Church Records (Bakersfield, CA), box 1, Congregational Meetings Sept. 1956–1959, CMBS-F.

59. “Rosedale M. B. Church Code for Weddings,” CB504 Rosedale Bible Church Records (Bakersfield, CA), box 2, Miscellaneous file, CMBS-F. See similar regulations at Shafter Mennonite Brethren, with additional bans on weddings in dark rooms illuminated by candles and on humorous receptions. “Regulations to be Observed During Wedding Ceremonies,” [approx. 1949, based on placement in file], undated document, CB530 Shafter MB Church Records, box 2, Church Council Minutes, 1940–1949, file, CMBS-F. Issues in Shafter included hair bobbing in the 1930s, weddings in the 1940s, and alcohol in the 1950s. See CB530 Shafter MB Church Records, box 2, Church Council 1931–1959 files, passim, CMBS-F.

60. Minutes, Los Angeles Church and Mission, Aug. 7, 1926, III-5-2 Calvary Mennonite Church, Secretary Book, 1921–30, MCA-G.

61. H. E. Widmer, Bakersfield, California, to Brother Loucks, Dec. 22, 1922, IV-7-1 Executive Office—Mennonite Board of Missions, Correspondence 1908–1945 Los Angeles Mission 1921–1924, MCA-G.

62. Ibid.


64. [S. C. Yoder] Secretary, Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, to J. P. Bontrager, Jan. 24, 1923; J. B. Mishler, Secretary, Pacific Coast Mission Board, to S. C. Yoder, Secretary, Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities Kalona, Iowa, Jan. 31, 1923; Anonymous to D. D. Miller, Middlebury, Indiana, Jan. 24, 1923; [S. C. Yoder] Secretary, Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, to Edward Yoder, Hubbard, Oregon, Jan. 24, 1923; Anonymous to J. B. Mishler, March 12, 1923; [S. C. Yoder] Secretary, Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, to J. P. Bontrager, March 12, 1923; D. H. Bender, President, Hesston College and Bible School, to S. C. Yoder, Secretary, Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities Kalona, Iowa, Nov. 5, 1923, IV-7-1 Executive Office—Mennonite Board of Missions, Correspondence 1908–1945 Los Angeles Mission 1921–1924, MCA-G.
65. J. L. Rutt, Secretary, Local Mission Board of Los Angeles, to "Brother," Dec. 25, 1923; H. R. Schertz, Treasurer, Metamora, Illinois, Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, to Brother Yoder, Jan. 6, 1924; D. H. Bender, President, Hesston College and Bible School, to S. C. Yoder, Secretary, Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities Kalona, Iowa, Jan. 10, 1924; IV-7-1 Executive Office—Mennonite Board of Missions, Correspondence 1908–1945 Los Angeles Mission 1921–1924, MCA-G.
66. J. L. Rutt to "Brother" [likely D. H. Bender], Jan. 14, 1924, IV-7-1 Executive Office—Mennonite Board of Missions, Correspondence 1908–1945 Los Angeles Mission 1921–1924, MCA-G.
67. D. H. Bender, President, Hesston College and Bible School, to S. C. Yoder, Kalona, Iowa, Jan. 28, 1924; J. P. Bontrager to "Brethren," Jan. 29, 1926; D. H. Bender to S. C. Yoder, Feb. 8, 1926; and J. J. Reber et al., Los Angeles congregation, to Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, Aug. 25, 1926, IV-7-1 Executive Office—Mennonite Board of Missions, Correspondence 1908–1945 Los Angeles Mission 1925–1926, MCA-G.
68. S. C. Yoder to Chris Snyder, Aurora, Oregon, Oct. 30, 1925; D. H. Bender to S. C. Yoder, Goshen College, Jan. 11, 1926; J. P. Bontrager to "Brethren," Jan. 29, 1926; S. C. Yoder to Fred Gingerich [Yoder's Cousin], Jan. 7, 1927; [Fred Gingerich] to Sanford [Yoder's Cousin], Jan. 13, 1927; S. C. Yoder, Secretary, to Executive Committees of Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities and Pacific Coast Conference, and Statement of Proposition, Feb. 24, 1927; A. J. Steiner to S. C. Yoder, Goshen, Indiana, Jan. 27, 1930; IV-7-1 Executive Office—Mennonite Board of Missions, Correspondence 1908–1945 Los Angeles Mission 1927–1930, MCA-G.
69. For a detailed account see Leichty, "'Not Going to be a Kicker,'" 3.
70. Minutes, Los Angeles Church and Mission, Jan. 1, 1927, III-5-2 Calvary Mennonite Church, Secretary Book, 1921–30, MCA-G.
71. S. C. Yoder, Secretary, Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, to Fred Gingerich [Yoder's Cousin], Jan. 7, 1927; [Fred Gingerich] to Sanford [Yoder's Cousin], Jan. 13, 1927; S. C. Yoder, Secretary, to Executive Committees of Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities and Pacific Coast Conference, and Statement of Proposition, Feb. 24, 1927; A. J. Steiner to S. C. Yoder, Goshen, Indiana, Jan. 27, 1930; IV-7-1 Executive Office—Mennonite Board of Missions, Correspondence 1908–1945 Los Angeles Mission 1927–1930, MCA-G.
72. Jacob K. Bixler, Elkhart, Indiana [visited Los Angeles for six months then wrote these letters], to S. C. Yoder, June 15 and July 7, 1938, IV-7-1 Executive Office—Mennonite Board of Missions, Correspondence 1908–1945 Los Angeles Mission 1931–1942, MCA-G.
73. Ibid.
74. S. C. Yoder to C. I. Kroph, Hubbard, Oregon, Aug. 31, 1938, IV-7-1 Executive Office—Mennonite Board of Missions, Correspondence 1908–1945 Los Angeles Mission 1931–1942, MCA-G.
75. "Report of the Committee Appointed to Consider the Los Angeles Mission Problems," Aug. 27, 1929; S. C. Yoder, Secretary, to H. K. Stoner, Oakland, California, March 3, 1930; B. P. Swartzendruber to F. J. Gingerich, Sept. 9, 1930, IV-7-1 Executive Office—Mennonite Board of Missions, Correspondence 1908–1945 Los Angeles Mission 1931–1942, MCA-G.
76. Bixler to Yoder, June 15, 1938.
77. Glen Whitaker to S. C. Yoder, Nov. 19, 1940, IV-7-1 Executive Office—Mennonite Board of Missions, Correspondence 1908–1945 Los Angeles Mission 1931–1942, MCA-G.

Chapter 5. New Neighbors
2. "Home Mission," minutes of the First Pacific District Conference of the Mennonite

3. Esau, First Sixty Years of M. B. Missions, 15–16, 498–502, quote from pp. 499–500; A. W. Margaret and Kenneth Friesen, Christion Leader, July 1943, 1, 6; "City Terrace Mission Chapel," n.d., CB517 City Terrace MB Church Records (Los Angeles, CA), History of the City Terrace Mennonite Brethren Church, CMBS-F.


12. Ibid., 25.


15. Harold Schroeder, Pastor, City Terrace Mennonite Brethren Church, to Rev. Waldo Wiebe, June 18, 1956. CB360 Board of Home Missions Records, box 3. Correspondence 1956, CMBS-F.
NOTES TO PAGES 95–99


30. Ibid., 31–32.

31. Ibid., 119–20, quote from 52.


33. John David Zehr, Building a Church Community in the City,” Mennonite Community (Feb. 1953), 18.

34. Ibid., 19–20.


Le Roy Bechler Collection, MCA-G; Erb, Studies in Mennonite City Missions, 132–74.

41. Nelson Kauffman to Ernest Bennett, Memorandum, July 20, 1960; Nelson Kauffman to South Pacific District Mission Board Executive Committee, Sherman Maust Bishop, Calvary Mennonite and Upland Mennonite Church, Memorandum, July 20, 1960;
D. J. Mischler, Personnel Secretary, Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, Elkhart, Indiana, to Jacob Shetler, Ontario, California, Aug. 15, 1960, II-15-19 Southwest Mennonite Conferences—Congregations, Calvary Mennonite Church: Corr. 1955–64, MCA-G.


44. Hertzler, From Germantown to Steinbach, 123.


52. Church Record Book, Jan. to March 1923, CB553 Living Hope Church Records (Downey, CA), box 1, Church Record Book 1914–1924, CMBS-F.
53. Church Record Book, April 1923, CB553 Living Hope Church Records (Downey, CA), box 1, Church Record Book 1914–1924, CMBS-F. Italian Catholics had a “sizeable presence” in the Pacific coastal region; Dolan, The American Catholic Experience, 138.
54. Albert Claassen, mission superintendent, to Members and Friends of the Mennonite Mission Church, Los Angeles, Church Record Book [May 1923], CB553 Living Hope Church Records (Downey, CA), box 1, Church Record Book 1914–1924, CMBS-F.
58. Ibid.
60. Minutes, executive session, Pacific District Conference [General Conference Mennonites], June 10–14, 1959, MLA.II.5 Pacific District Conference File, Pacific District Conference Executive Committee 1949–66, MCA-N.
61. Ibid.
68. Arlene Sitler to Ray Horst, March 7, 1951, and Arlene Sitler to Mary Brown, Home


70. Arlene Sitler, Interim Director, West Fresno County Migrant Project (MCC), Feb. 2, 1951, “The Mennonite Central Committee’s San Joaquin Valley Migrant Project,” pp. 1, 5–9, IX–54 MCC-WCO box 1, MCA-G.


73. H. J., editorial, Migratory Moments, San Jose, California, 1, no. 5 (Aug. 16, 1951): 2, IX–54 MCC-WCO box 1, MCA-G.

74. Arlene Sitler, Interim Director, West Fresno County Migrant Project (MCC), Feb. 2, 1951, “The Mennonite Central Committee’s San Joaquin Valley Migrant Project,” p. 3, IX–54 MCC-WCO box 1, MCA-G.

75. Judy to Mother, July 1958, IX–54 MCC-WCO box 2, Migrant V. S. Unit 1957–58, MCA-G.


Chapter 6. From Sewing Circles to Missionary Societies

3. Braude, “Women’s History Is American Religious History,” 91–92, quote from p. 92; Brereton, “United and Slighted,” 147; See also Lindley, “You Have Stept out of Your Place.”


8. “History from 1913,” in Diamond Jubilee 75 Years of Service, 20–21.

9. 50th Jubilee, 1905–1955, 47.


13. Penner and Frantz, “Through the Years,” 7; Rempel, “‘She Hath Done What She Could’” (1992), 25–27. It was the convention of the time for these women to identify themselves by their husbands’ names. Where their given name is clear, it is used here.


17. Minutes March 2, 1939, CB530 Shafter MB Church Records, microfilm reel 77, frame 1439, CMBS-F.

18. Ibid., frames 1436, 1439–40, CMBS-F.


20. Minutes June 19, 1939 and August 10, 1939, CB530 Shafter MB Church Records, microfilm reel 77, frames 1452, 1454, CMBS-F.

21. Sept. 29, 1918, Church Record Book, p. 37, CB553 Living Hope Church Records (Downey, CA), box 1, Church Record Book 1914–1924, CMBS-F.

22. May 25, 1919, Church Record Book, p. 42, CB553 Living Hope Church Records (Downey, CA), box 1, Church Record Book 1914–1924, CMBS-F.

23. Jan. 15, 1922, Church Record Book, p. 76, CB553 Living Hope Church Records (Downey, CA), box 1, Church Record Book 1914–1924, CMBS-F.


Society,” Annual Meeting Sunday, January 16, 1949, Reports for Year 1948, Immanuel Mennonite Church, p. 9; Ira J. Stevanus, “Report of the Women’s Missionary Society,” p. 9. CB533 Living Hope Church Records (Downey, CA), box 1, Congregational Meetings/Annual Reports, CMBS-F.


27. Minutes, February 15, 1940; March 21, 1940; March 4, 1943; April 1, 1943; June 24, and July 8, 1943. CB510 Bethany MB Church Records (Fresno, CA), box 5, Sewing Circle 1940–46, CMBS-F; and Goertzen, Bethany Church, 3.

28. Minutes, March 21, 1940; June 4, 1942; and December 16, 1943. CB510 Bethany MB Church Records (Fresno, CA), box 5, Sewing Circle 1940–46, CMBS-F.


30. 50th Jubilee, 1905–1955, 47.


34. Annual Church Report, March 1, 1945, to October 11, 1945; October 25, 1945, to October 17, 1946; October 24, 1946, to October 2, 1947; October 16, 1947, to October 7, 1948; October 21, 1948, to October 20, 1949, and October 20, 1950, to October 5, 1950, CB530 Shafter MB Church Records, microfilm reel 77, frames 1407–1408, CMBS-F.

35. Annual Church Report, October 25, 1945, to October 17, 1946. CB530 Shafter MB Church Records, microfilm reel 77, frames 1407–1408, CMBS-F.

36. Annual Church Report, October 24, 1946 to October 2, 1947. CB530 Shafter MB Church Records, microfilm reel 77, frames 1408–1409, CMBS-F.


38. 50th Jubilee, 1905–1955, 47.

40. Waldo Wiebe to Rev. J. B. Toews, Nov. 12, 1948, CB530 Shafter MB Church Records, microfilm reel 77, frame 1387, CMBS-F.
41. J. B. Toews to Rev. Waldo Wiebe, Nov. 18, 1948, CB530 Shafter MB Church Records, microfilm reel 77, frame 1388, CMBS-F.
42. Waldo Wiebe to Rev. J. B. Toews, Nov. 12, 1948, CB530 Shafter MB Church Records, microfilm reel 77, frame 1388, CMBS-F.
44. Minutes, November 3, 18, and December 2, 1948, CB530 Shafter MB Church Records, microfilm reel 77, frame 1388, CMBS-F.
45. Minutes, December 1, 1949, CB530 Shafter MB Church Records, microfilm reel 77, frame 1370, CMBS-F.
46. Martens, “Fifth Anniversary.”
47. Ibid.
49. Ibid., 37–38.
52. Minutes, annual meeting, November 15, 1949, CB590 Women’s Missionary Service Records, Annual Meeting 1948–1959, CMBS-F.
54. Minutes, July 2, 1957; September 26, 1957; December 12, 1957; April 21, 1958; and September 23, 1958, CB511 Butler Avenue MB Church Records (Fresno, CA), box 3, Mary-Martha Circle 1957–1959, CMBS-F.
55. Constitution [1954], CB590 Women’s Missionary Service Records, Constitutions, CMBS-F.
61. Examples of the variety of work are found throughout their minutes, such as minutes, November 9, 1959, CB590 Women’s Missionary Service Records, Annual Meetings 1948–1959, CMBS-F.
63. Sermon, “A Godly Mother,” May 12, 1950, M37 J. B. Toews Papers, box 8, Sermons to Women’s Missionary Societies, CMBS-F.
64. Sermons, n.d., M37 J. B. Toews Papers, box 8, Sermons to Women’s Missionary Societies, CMBS-F.
65. Annual Church Report, 1950, and minutes, Mission Relief Workers, April 6, 1950, Shafter MB Church Records, microfilm roll 77, frames 1412, 1577, CMBS-F.
66. Minutes, Mission Relief Workers, May 18, 1950, CB330 Shafter MB Church Records, microfilm roll 77, frame 1580, CMBS-F.
67. Annual Church Report, 1950, CB330 Shafter MB Church Records, microfilm roll 77, frame 1412, CMBS-F.
74. See also Froese, “Quilts, Bandages and Efficiency,” and Guenther, “Evangelicalism in Mennonite Historiography.” 15–32.
75. Calvary Mennonite Church, bulletin, July 30, 1950, III-3-2 Calvary Mennonite Church, box 3, Calvary Christian Fellowship Church Bulletins, 1950–57, MCA-G.
76. Calvary Mennonite Church, bulletin, Nov. 9, 1952, III-3-2 Calvary Mennonite Church, box 3, Calvary Christian Fellowship Church Bulletins, 1950–57, MCA-G.
77. Calvary Mennonite Church, bulletin, July 29, 1956, III-3-2 Calvary Mennonite Church box 3, Bulletins, 1956, MCA-G. Other sewing circles, such as in Upland, reflected on these themes in their scrapbooks where they sorted through thousands of stamps to raise funds for Japanese missions, as well as producing embroidered quilts and packed relief bundles of diapers, towels and stationary for their service projects. “Dorcas Stitchers Report,” Jan. 1, 1958, Jan. 1, 1959; and Jan. 6, 1960, III-5-1 Mountain View Mennonite Church, Upland, CA, Annual Reports, 1958–1970, MCA-G.
NOTES TO PAGES 130–134

& 8, 1959, p. 28, MLA.CONG.88 First Mennonite Church (Reedley, CA), box 2, Annual Reports 1959–1964, MCA-N.
94. Dec. 1, 1937–Nov. 3, 1943; Nov. 14, 1949; May 15 and June 2, 1950, Minute Book of First Mennonite Sewing Circle, First Mennonite Church (Shafter, CA), (Unprocessed), MCA. There is a break in their records from the early 1940s-late 1950s. Annual Report—First Mennonite Church Upland, 1956, pp. 11–13; Annual Report—First Mennonite Church Upland, 1957, pp. 10, 12; Annual Report—First Mennonite Church Upland, 1959, Upland, CA, Yearbooks, Newsletters, Annual Reports, First Mennonite Church (Upland, CA), (Unprocessed), MCA-N.
98. Limerick, Legacy of Conquest, 18–19.

Chapter 7. Peaceful Patriots

6. Minutes, Church Council, March 10, 1941. Church Council Minutes [Binder], FMCA.
14. Erwin C. Goering, Camp Director CPS No. 31, to Albert M. Gaeddert, Akron, PA., March 2, 1944, IX-6-3 MCC CPS and Other Corr. 1940–45, 31 Director II 1944, MCA-G. For an account of Mennonite “fellows” drinking at a local “beer joint,” see Verney Unruh, Director, CPS Camp No. 31, to Elmer Ediger, MCC, Akron, PA., Oct. 15, 1946, IX-6-3 MCC CPS, 31 Director 1946, MCA-G.


21. Leland Bachman to MCC, Feb. 1, 1943; Paul Kermeit and George Miners to MCC and NSBRO [no date—attached to Bachman correspondence of Feb. 1, 1943]; Leland Bachman to Henry Fast, MCC, Feb. 6, 1943, and Feb. 23, 1943; W. J. Ramseyer, CPS Camp #31, Camino California to Albert Gaeddert, Moundridge, Kansas, March 5, 1943; Henry Fast to W. J. Ramseyer, March 26, 1943; Leland Bachman to Henry Fast, April 3, 1943, IX-6-3 MCC CPS and Other Corr. 1940–45, 31 Director II 1943, MCA-G.


24. Ibid.

25. Esko Loewen to Erwin Goering, June 24, 1943, IX-6-3 MCC CPS and Other Corr. 1940–45, 31 Director 1943, MCA-G.


27. Harold Gaede, CPS Diary 1944, April 4, 1944, M250, CMBS-F.


31. Hiebert et al., "Civilian Public Service," 33; Harold Gaede, CPS Diary 1944, April 6, 1944, M250, CMBS-F.


34. Program of the Fifth Annual Kern County Christian Fellowship Conference Held September 5, 6 and 7, 1942, minute book, pp. 128–29, 130, 132, 135, CB600 Kern County Christian Fellowship Records, CMBS-F.

35. Forsyth, "Motivational Bases."

37. “Spud” to Rev. Toews, Nov. 6, 1945, CB534 Wasco MB Church Records, box 3, Individual Files: Frantz, Roger & Katherine (& Children) 1940–1962, CMBS-F.

38. “Special Meeting of Church Council,” 20 Sept. 1945, Church Council Minutes (Binder), FMCA.

39. “Home Church News,” 1945, pp. 5–7, MLA.CONG.86 box 1, First Mennonite Church, Paso Robles, CA-Newsletters 1945–1967; and bulletin, Jan. 6, 1944, MLA. CONG.86 box 2, First Mennonite Church, Paso Robles, CA-Bulletins 1944. 1945, 1953 (scattered), MCA-N.


41. Minutes, Church Council, Oct. 2, 1944, Church Council Minutes (Binder), FMCA.

42. Minutes, congregational meetings, Aug. 16, 1943, CB508 Dinuba MB Church, microfilm 3, frame 468, CMBS-F; History of the First Mennonite Church, 33–34; Goertzen, Bethany Church, 7–8; A History of the Mennonite Brethren Church, 18; Penner and Frantz, “Through the Years,” 11; Loewen, Reedley First Mennonite Church, 51–52; and Reimer, The Story of the Mennonite Brethren.

43. Minutes, Church Council, Dec. 14, 1941, Church Council Minutes (Binder), FMCA.

44. This rate of compensation was common throughout the congregations. Minutes, congregational meetings, June 8, Sept. 14, 1944, CB510 Bethany MB Church Records (Fresno, CA), box 1, Congregational Meetings 1942–1952, CMBS-F; minutes, Aug. 30, 1944, CB530 Shafter MB Church Records, box 1, Church Business Meetings, 1943–1945, CMBS-F; minutes, Church Council, Oct. 2, 1944, CB525 Reedley MB Church Records, box 3, Church Council 1940–1944, CMBS-F.


46. Minutes, Church Council, Aug. 31, 1944, CB525 Reedley MB Church Records, box 3, Church Council 1940–1944, CMBS-F.

47. Minutes, congregational meeting, Jan. 14, 1946, CB525 Reedley MB Church Records, box 3, Congregational Meetings 1946, CMBS-F.


49. Gaede, “Roots of City Government,” 5A.

50. Ibid., 4A.


53. Langley, “America and the Conscientious Objector,” 46–47.

54. Ibid., 70–71, 77–78, 87–104.

55. Ibid., 8–9.

56. Examples of such testimony can be found in “Exhibit No. 5—Statement taken from petitioner by Mr. J. S. Hemmer, naturalization examiner,” “Exhibit No. 6—Report of inves-


59. Ibid., 7–9.


61. Ibid., 5.

62. Krimmer Mennonite Brethren came from the Crimea, hence the name.


68. P. C. Hiebert to Arthur Jost, March 28, 1955, pp. 1–2, IX-54 MCC-WCO, box 1, MCC-Redley 1955, MCA-G. P. C. Hiebert had played a pivotal role in bringing the Harbin Mennonites to California. See chapter 1.


72. Ibid.
Chapter 8. Socially Active Mennonitism and Mental Health


5. For studies on American Mennonite mental health care, see Neufeld, *If We Can Love* and "The Mennonite Mental Health Story."


10. Elmer W. Ediger to Homes-for-Mentally-Ill Planning and Advisory Committee, report, April 8, 1947, IX-10-4 KVH Records, Minutes and Reports—1946–51, MCA-G.

13. Ibid.
18. Resolutions, 79.
19. Minutes, Committee for Bible Camps, May 9, 1961, CB410 Committee for Bible Camps Records, Minutes—Conference Camping Committee, CMBS-F.
21. Jost to Ediger, Jan. 19, 1948; minutes, General Board, Jan. 29, 1948. Jost also described the struggle with the local community because of “general lack of understanding” and “prejudice.” Arthur Jost, “The Mental Hospital Program of the M.C.C.,” report to General Conference Peace Committee, 1948, April 27, 1948, p. 3. IX-54 MCC-WCO box 3. Reedley Relief Center 1948, MCA-G.
22. Arthur Jost to Elmer Ediger, April 8, 1948, IX-6-3 Mennonite Central Committee Correspondence 1948. Jost, Arthur, MCA-G.
23. Minutes, Kings View Homes Advisory Committee meeting, May 12, 1951, IX-10-4 K VH Records, Minutes and Reports—1946–51, MCA-G.
27. Arthur Jost to MCC Executive Committee Members, Dec. 2, 1949, MCC-WCO, box 2, MCC—West Coast: Correspondence 1949—Arthur Jost, CMBS-F.


35. Starr, Golden Dreams, 42; and Jost, “Kings View Homes,” 5.


40. Arthur Jost to Ray Horst, VS Section MCC, April 17, 1951, MCC-WCO, box 2, MCC—West Coast: Correspondence April—May 1951—Arthur Jost, CMBS-F.

41. “Gold Award Mental,” 299.

42. Conference with Dr. Tallman and Arthur Jost, Jan. 19, 1950, MCC-WCO, box 1, MCC—West Coast—American Friends Service Committee 1950—1951, CMBS-F.

43. Arthur Jost to Frank F. Tallman, M.D., Director, State Department of Mental Hygiene, Sacramento, California, Jan. 3, 1950, MCC-WCO, box 2, MCC—West Coast: Correspondence Jan.—Feb. 1950—Arthur Jost, CMBS-F.


49. “Shall the Mental Hospital Program of the Mennonite Churches Be Extended?” Welfare and Public Relations Newsletter, 1, no. 4 (Oct., 1962): 1. See also Yoder, Kern View Bakersfield, California.


54. Untitled (?), p. 3; Attachment II, Resolution Regarding the Bakersfield Psychiatric Hospital, IX-10-4, Kern View Min. & Rep., 1962—65, MCA-G.

54. Jost, “Private Centers,” 269–70. Mennonite Mental Health Services (MMHS), an arm of MCC, was formed in 1947 out of CPS funds. See Neufeld, “The Mennonite Mental Health Story,” 18.

55. Neufeld, “Mennonite Mental Health Services,” 42.

56. Jost, “Private Centers,” 269–70. Mennonite Mental Health Services (MMHS), an arm of MCC, was formed in 1947 out of CPS funds. See Neufeld, “The Mennonite Mental Health Story,” 18.

57. Neufeld, “Mennonite Mental Health Services,” 42.

58. Jost, “Private Centers,” 269–70. Mennonite Mental Health Services (MMHS), an arm of MCC, was formed in 1947 out of CPS funds. See Neufeld, “The Mennonite Mental Health Story,” 18.


64. Allen H. Erb, of study committee, “Supplement Kings View Homes Study Committee Report,” Nov. 23, 1955, IX-12-1. Mennonite Central Committee Reports, Kings View Advisory Committee, MCA-G.


68. Arthur Laemmelen, Secretary of the Board, minutes of Board of Directors meeting, Dec. 13, 1958, p. 3. IX-10-4. Kings View Homes Records, Minutes and Reports—1958, MCA-G.

69. Arthur Laemmelen, secretary, Kings View Hospital Board of Directors meeting, April 2, 1959, p. 3. IX-10-4. Kings View Homes Records, Minutes and Reports—1959, MCA-G.

70. Ediger, “Influences on the Origin and Development,” 42.


73. Arthur Jost, “Kings View Hospital’s Report to the Meeting of the Mennonite Mental Health Service,” April 29–30, 1969, Book Lane Farm, Hagerstown, Maryland, p. 2. Arthur Laemmelen, Secretary of the Board KVH, “Kings View Hospital Board of Directors
Report to the Mennonite Mental Health Services Meeting," April 29-30, 1969, Book Lane Farm, Hagerstown, Maryland, p. 2, IX-10-4, Kings View Homes Records, Minutes and Reports—1960, MCA-G.

74. Charles A. Davis, M.D., Medical Director, KVH, "Kings View Hospital Annual Report of the Medical Director to the Board of Directors Meeting," Dec. 16, 1960, p. 3, IX-10-4, Kings View Homes Records, Minutes and Reports—1960, MCA-G.

75. Jackson C. Dillon, M.D., "The Medical Director’s Report to the Kings View Homes Advisory Committee," Dec. 5, 1953, IX-12-1 Mennonite Central Committee Reports, Kings View Advisory Committee, MCA-G.

76. Charles A. Davis, M.D., Medical Director, KVH, "Kings View Hospital Annual Report of the Medical Director to the Board of Directors Meeting," Dec. 16, 1960, p. 3, IX-10-4, Kings View Homes Records, Minutes and Reports—1960, MCA-G.

77. Minutes, advisory committee, Aug. 19, 1955, IX-12-1 Mennonite Central Committee Reports, Kings View Advisory Committee, MCA-G.

78. Minutes, KVH Advisory Committee meeting, March 18 and July 30, 1956; Arthur Jost, "Report to the Mennonite Mental Health Committee," Chicago, Ill., March 17, 1950, IX-10-4, KVH Records, Minutes and Reports—1956, MCA-G.

79. Arthur Jost to Delmar Stahly, memo, June 8, 1957, IX-10-4, Correspondence—1957, MCA-G.


81. Minutes, advisory committee, Aug. 19, 1955, IX-12-1 Mennonite Central Committee Reports, Kings View Advisory Committee, MCA-G.

82. Jack [Purves?] to Orie [Miller], Nov. 5, 1957, IX-10-4, Correspondence—1957, MCA-G.

83. Arthur Jost to Allen Erb, Lebanon Community Hospital, Lebanon, Oregon, Nov. 29, 1957, IX-10-4, Correspondence—1957, MCA-G.

84. Ibid.


86. Toews, A History of the Mennonite Brethren Church, 385.


89. Ibid., p. 15M.

90. Ibid., p. 16M.


Chapter 9. Feeding the Hungry

10. “From a Rocking Chair,” 2; Enns-Rempel, “The West Coast Mennonite Relief Sale,” 1. Support continued into the 1920s, as evidenced by letters such as H. J. Krebsiel, correspondence, Jan. 4, 1923, TMenn, Reedley.
13. One-page untitled document to S. E. Eicker, Oct. 21, 1947, IX-54 MCC West Coast Regional Office, Reedley, California, box 3, Reedley Relief Center 1947, MCA-G.
14. Unruh, In the Name of Christ, 331.
16. Ibid.
25. For countries shipped to, see one-page untitled document to S. E. Eicker, Oct. 21, 1947, "From the Reedley Relief Center," and Snyder, "Mennonite Relief Center Reedley, California."
30. Ibid.
35. Memorandum, Arthur Jost to William T. Snyder, Mennonite Aid Section, Nov. 9, 1949, p. 1, MCC-WCO, box 2, MCC–West Coast: Correspondence 1949—Arthur Jost, CMBS-F.
36. Ibid., 2.
37. Minutes, Jan. 26, 1950, MCC-WCO, box 1, Displaced Persons in California, Advisory Committee, CMBS-F.
38. "Voluntary Service on the West Coast," IX-54 MCC-WCO, box 1, MCC Reedley 1950, MCA-G.
40. Isabel Reidle, July 3, 1950, and Margaret Martin, July 3, 1950, IX-54 MCC-WCO, box 1, MCC Reedley 1950, MCA-G.
42. Ibid., 1–2.
44. "Crestline, California Evaluation of Voluntary Service Unit at Crippled Children’s Camp, Aug. 1950," pp. 1–2, IX-54 MCC-WCO, box 1, MCC Reedley 1950, MCA-G.
45. Ibid., 1–2.
46. Arlene Sitler to Ray E. Horst, Jan. 31, 1951, MCC-WCO, box 2, Correspondence—Jost Jan.–March 1951, CMBS-F.
47. Ray E. Horst to Arthur Jost, April 5, 1951, MCC-WCO, box 2, Correspondence—Jost April–May 1951, CMBS-F.
49. Arthur Jost to Orlo Kaufman, VS-MCC, Akron, May 7, 1951, MCC-WCO, box 2, Correspondence—Jost April–May 1951, CMBS-F.
50. Glenn Esh, Acting Director of Relief, MCC, Akron, to Arthur Jost, April 1, 1952, MCC-WCO, box 2, Correspondence 1952—Arthur Jost, CMBS-F.
51. Allen Linscheid to Glenn Esh, April 10, 1952; Glenn Esh, Acting Director of Relief, MCC, Akron, to Arthur Jost, April 1, 1952, MCC-WCO, box 2, Correspondence 1952—Arthur Jost, CMBS-F.
52. Wendell Metzler to Ada King, Aug. 26, 1953, MCC-WCO, box 2, Correspondence 1953—Arthur Jost, CMBS-F.
53. Minutes, Joint Relief Committee meeting, May 6, 1954, MCC-WCO, box 1, MCC West Coast Relief Committee and Relief Sale: Minutes and Reports 1953–1976, CMBS-F.
54. Minutes, Joint Relief Committee meeting, Jan. 22, March 11, and May 12, 1954, MCC-WCO, box 1, MCC West Coast Relief Committee and Relief Sale: Minutes and Reports 1953–1976, CMBS-F.
55. Minutes, relief meeting, Nov. 12, 1957, IX-54 MCC-WCO, box 1, West Coast Relief Committee Minutes 1950–1973, MCA-G.
56. Robert W. Miller to Arthur Jost, Nov. 27, 1957, MCC-WCO, box 2, Correspondence 1957—Arthur Jost, CMBS-F.
57. Arthur Jost to Orie O. Miller, Executive Secretary MCC, May 9, 1957, MCC-WCO, box 2, Correspondence 1957—Arthur Jost, CMBS-F.
59. William T. Snyder to Arthur Jost, July 12, 1957, MCC-WCO, box 2, Correspondence 1957—Arthur Jost, CMBS-F.
60. William T. Snyder to Arthur Jost, Feb. 19, 1958, MCC-WCO, box 2, Correspondence 1958—Arthur Jost, CMBS-F.
62. Snyder to Orie Miller, Memorandum, Dec. 16, 1959, MCC-WCO, box 2, Correspondence 1959—Arthur Jost, CMBS-F.
64. Arthur Jost to Brethren, July 25, 1960, MCC-WCO, box 2, Correspondence 1960—Arthur Jost, CMBS-F.
Chapter 10. Protect and Assimilate

5. Minutes, West Coast Relief Committee, May 25, 1962, MCC-WCO, box 1, MCC West Coast Relief Committee and Relief Sale: Minutes and Reports 1953–1976, CMBS-F.
6. Minutes, West Coast Relief Committee, Nov. 13, 1964, MCC-WCO, box 1, MCC West Coast Relief Committee and Relief Sale: Minutes and Reports 1953–1976, CMBS-F.
8. Minutes, West Coast Relief Committee, March 4, 1966, MCC-WCO, box 1, MCC West Coast Relief Committee and Relief Sale: Minutes and Reports 1953–1976, CMBS-F.
9. Minutes, West Coast Relief Committee, Feb. 16, 1968, MCC-WCO, box 1, MCC West Coast Relief Committee and Relief Sale: Minutes and Reports 1953–1976, CMBS-F.
Wasco," March 8, 1957, CB534 Wasco Bible Church Records, box 1, Congregational Meetings 1957–1960, CMBS-F. It is about ten miles between the towns of Wasco and Shafter.


10. Enns-Rempel, “Making a Home in the City," 214. 219–21. That would not be the end of evangelical influence on seminary development. In the early 1970s, one student at MBBS collected data on Pacific District Conference Mennonite Brethren churches to study church growth through a methodology borrowed from such leading evangelical church growth promoters such as Donald McGavern. See Wiens, "Growth Patterns."


17. Toews, Mennonites in American Society, 80–82.

18. Ibid.


22. Toews, A Pilgrimage of Faith, 175.

23. Pacific Bible Institute, Fresno, California, Catalog 1945–1946, 3.

24. Ibid., 4.

25. Ibid., 7.


27. Pacific Bible Institute, Fresno, California, Catalog 1946–1947.


30. Ibid., 37.


32. Frank C. Peters, President of Tabor College, to B. J. Braun, President of PBI, Oct. 22, 1955; and P. E. Schellenberg, President Tabor College, to S. W. Goossen, Acting President, PBI, Aug. 4, 1947, Fresno Pacific University President’s Records, box 6, Tabor College 1945–1980, CMBS-F.


36. Ibid. On unification see also Arthur J. Wiebe, "Application for Accreditation" [Pacific College], Fall 1962, pp. 2–3; Fresno Pacific University Provost’s Records, box 1, Accreditation Application to CJCA/WASC, CMBS-F.


39. "Special Report to the Board of Education as given to the Executive Committee of the West Coast Area Committee and to the General Chairman, Mr. E. J. Peters," July 18, 1957, pp. 1–2; "Report of PBI of Fresno Submitted to the Executive Committee of the Board of Education," May 5, 1955, pp. 1–2, C240 Board of Education (United States Conference of Mennonite Brethren) Records, box 6, West Coast Committee: Minutes/Reports 1955–1959, CMBS-F.


41. Lando Hiebert to G. W. Peters, PBI, Nov. 18, 1948, Fresno Pacific University President’s Records, box 5, Prospective Faculty: A–R 1947–1952, CMBS-F.


nonite Brethren) Records, box 2, Steering Committee for Coordination: Minutes/Reports 1955–1958, CMBS-F.


49. Ibid., 114–115.

50. McGirr, Suburban Warriors.

52. E. J. Peters Collection, box 1, Board of Education correspondence: MB Biblical Seminary, CMBS-F. Baerg is simply making a suggestion to the board and does not offer here a possible new name.


55. R. M. Baerg, "To the Executive Committee of the Board of Education of the U. S. Area Mennonite Brethren Conference," Fresno, California, May 19–20, 1964, pp. 2, 4, M189 E. J. Peters Collection, box 1, Board of Education correspondence: MB Biblical Seminary, CMBS-F. Baerg is simply making a suggestion to the board and does not offer here a possible new name.


58. Clarence Hiebert, Secretary, Coordinating Board of the USA Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches, to J. H. Quiring, Chairman, Committee of Reference and Counsel, Mennonite Brethren Churches of Canada, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Dec. 10, 1965, M189 E. J. Peters Collection, box 1, Board of Education Correspondence: MB Biblical Seminary, CMBS-F.


60. MBBS 1955–1956 [Catalog], 2.


63. Toews, "Recentering a Denomination," 3.

64. Ibid; Toews, "From Pietism to Secularism," 1–13. I thank Paul Toews for making this paper available to me.
Chapter 12. Labor Tensions

1. Isaak, Our Life and Escape, 67.
2. Dochuk, From Bible Belt to Sunbelt; and Gregory, American Exodus.
5. Ibid., 105, 108, 110.
6. Histories, memoirs, and biographies of this organization include Matthiessen, Sal Si Puedes; Horwitz, La Causa; Day, Forty Acres; Dunne, Delano; Levy, César Chávez; Taylor, Chávez and the Farm Workers; Meister and Loftis, A Long Time Coming; and Wells, Strawberry Fields.
18. Ibid., 2.
22. Ibid., 8.
25. Ibid., 10.
26. Ibid., 10–11.
28. For background, see Snyder, Anabaptist History and Theology. For the Anabaptist vision, see Bender, “The Anabaptist Vision,” 3–24.
29. Beth Sutter’s Labor Study Diary, 1974. May 28, 1974. Hist. Mss. 1-171, box 28, Guy F. Hershberger, 1896–1989, California Labor Concerns, MCA-G. The dating system of this diary is sporadic. Though days that are more precise can be approximated by the content of the diary, the dates used here will be the ones from the diary entries. As the diary covers a period of thirteen days, it is still accurate.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid. I have used the underlining as in the original source.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
37. Beth Sutter’s Labor Study Diary.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
42. The Lupe DeLeon and Neftali Torres report was not in any of the collections I found.
44. Toews, Mennonites in American Society, 238, 256–58.
47. Ibid., 13.
48. Urry, None But Saints.
49. McWilliams, Factories in the Field.
50. Arthur Jost, Administrator West Coast Regional Office (MCC), to William Wiebe,
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2. Driedger, Mennonite Identity, 111.
3. See, for example, Hine, California’s Utopian Colonies; Miller, The Quest for Utopia; Bloom, The American Religion, 181–88; and Frankiel, California’s Spiritual Frontiers.
5. It can be argued that the “ecumenical” nature of evangelicalism was significant to the Mennonite Brethren success in California. See Guenther, “Evangelicalism in Mennonite Historiography,” 35–53.
8. See especially Toews, A Pilgrimage of Faith, 205–328.
9. Urry, None But Saints; Urry, Mennonites, Politics, and Populism.
11. Ibid., 499–504. Quote from p. 500. See the table of the Wüst brethren pre-1860 and note that the vast majority are listed as teacher or merchant, after page 499.
12. Ibid., 578.
14. The classic study of American millennialism is Tuveson, Redeemer Nation.
15. Toews, Mennonites in American Society, 34.

Epilogue. A New Breed of Mennonites

5. Suter, “Embracing the Realities of Diverse Communities,” 89–91. Employed by a biotech company, Ruth Suter was a member of First Mennonite Church of San Francisco, assistant moderator of the Pacific Southwest Mennonite Conference, and vice-chair of the Mennonite Church USA’s Constituency Leaders Council.
6. Ibid., 88.
8. Janzen, Back to the City, 61–64, 87.
25. Peters, “Women of Commitment,” 94–97. This caused some tension with the Women’s Missionary Society (WMS), which met at the same time as the regional conference, when changing the meeting times was met with resistance.