

MENNONITE FEDERAL ELECTORAL BEHAVIOUR ON
THE WEST RESERVE IN MANITOBA, 1887 - 1935

by

Theodore J. H. Dueck

A thesis
presented to the University of Manitoba
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in
The Faculty of Graduate Studies

Winnipeg, Manitoba

(c) Theodore J. H. Dueck, 1987

Permission has been granted to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author (copyright owner) has reserved other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her written permission.

L'autorisation a été accordée à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur (titulaire du droit d'auteur) se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation écrite.

ISBN 0-315-37243-5

**MENNONITE FEDERAL ELECTORAL BEHAVIOUR ON THE WEST
RESERVE IN MANITOBA, 1887 - 1935**

BY

THEODORE J.H. DUECK

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of**

MASTER OF ARTS

© 1987

**Permission has been granted to the LIBRARY OF THE UNIVER-
SITY OF MANITOBA to lend or sell copies of this thesis, to
the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this
thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film, and UNIVERSITY
MICROFILMS to publish an abstract of this thesis.**

**The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the
thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or other-
wise reproduced without the author's written permission.**

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis.

I authorize the University of Manitoba to lend this thesis to other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

Theodore J. H. Dueck

I further authorize the University of Manitoba to reproduce this thesis by photocopying or by other means, in total or in part, at the request of other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

Theodore J. H. Dueck

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is virtually impossible to thank all those who were of assistance in this thesis. Special thanks to Chris Kotecki, PAM; Tim Ross, PAM; Carole White, PAC; Jake Bergen, RMRA; Dick Willis, CEO, Manitoba; and Rick Balasko, office of the Chief Electoral Officer of Canada. Also, thanks go to Jake Peters and Adolf Ens who gave so much of their time contributing to my knowledge of Mennonites on the West Reserve. I am also grateful to Lawrence Klippenstein for his help. Friends and family, too numerous to be named, have been very supportive. Special thanks to Dr. A. H. Gray, my father-in-law, for his encouragement and advice, especially in the computerized aspects of this study. Thanks also to J. B. Tranche-Montagne for his assistance.

I could not have completed this thesis without the immeasurable support and encouragement of my wife, Susan. She made it possible for me to continue when it seemed as though the end would never come. Thank-you Susan.

ABBREVIATIONS

PAM	Provincial Archives of Manitoba
PAC	Public Archives of Canada
RMRA	Rural Municipality of Rhineland Archives

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustrations

Figure

4.1	Percent Voter Turnout.....	48
4.2	Mennonite Eligible and Votes Cast.....	49
4.3	Non-Mennonite Eligible and Votes Cast...	50
4.4	Percent Liberal Preference.....	55
4.5	Percent Conservative Preference.....	56
4.6	AVMF Regression by Participation.....	67

Map

1.1	The West Reserve in Manitoba (Late Nineteenth Century).....	4
D.1	The Federal Electoral District of Selkirk, 1887.....	119
D.2	The Federal Electoral District of Lisgar, 1892.....	120
D.3	The Federal Electoral District of Lisgar, 1908.....	121
D.4	The Federal Electoral District of Lisgar, 1915.....	122
D.5	The Federal Electoral District of Lisgar, 1924.....	123

LIST OF TABLES

3.1	Mennonite Maintenance versus Accommodation.....	22
3.2	Voter Participation and Preference in Selkirk/Lisgar, 1887-1935.....	35
3.3	Participation and Preference in the Ten Mennonite Polling Areas, 1887-1935....	37
4.1	Frequency Distribution of Differences Between EMF and PMF.....	61
C.	Regression Coefficients.....	118

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iv
ABBREVIATIONS v
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS vi
LIST OF TABLES vii

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>page</u>
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. PROBLEM	6
Historiography	7
Ethnic Literature	8
Local History	15
III. METHOD	17
The West Reserve	17
Voting Analysis Methods	21
Ecological Analysis and the Ecological Fallacy	24
Data Collection	29
Summary	45
IV. FINDINGS	47
Electoral Participation	47
Party Preference	54
Ten Polling Areas	60
V. CONCLUSION	76

<u>Appendix</u>	<u>page</u>
A. INTERVIEW WITH ADOLF ENS	80
B. INTERVIEW WITH JAKE PETERS	99
C. TABLE OF REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS	118

D. SELECT MAPS OF SELKIRK/LISGAR, 1887-1924 119

BIBLIOGRAPHY 124

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

In the writing of history, interpretations are usually based on a set of accepted historical facts. The validity of these facts is, ideally at least, established through rigorous testing of sources and corroboration by independent witnesses. There are times, however, when the mere repetition of assertions of learned writers is taken as sufficient proof of a premise.

There are many cases in which the hard facts are difficult to discover. When one speaks of attitudes, perceptions, emotions and beliefs, the objective facts may be surrounded by a nebulous haze of subjectivity. These highly elusive variables are often alluded to in historical writing in a speculative way--persons X and Y behaved in a specific fashion and this may be due to factors A and B or mitigating circumstances C and D.

In the study of electoral behaviour, determining how a particular group voted (or did not vote) can be a useful tool in arriving at general conclusions regarding the attitudes and perceptions of that group to certain issues. This process of extrapolation usually depends on the existence of accurate descriptive data of voting behaviour.

It is important that necessarily qualitative and subjective conclusions be placed on a solid quantitative base. This is not to say that only quantifiable topics ought to be addressed in historical study. Instead, this is an argument for a history where interpretations are based on facts-- where those facts can be measured, they should be, and carefully so. The conclusions reached in such a study will have more credibility than a work wherein the researcher has not bothered to verify his premises. Political activity lends itself to statistical verification very well, and the amount of discussion which is not grounded on solid statistical evidence is therefore somewhat surprising.

Mennonite political behaviour has been the subject of chapters in several books and of many learned articles. The attitudes of Mennonites to the relationship between church and state, active political lobbying and participation in political parties have been discussed at length. Mennonite political involvement at the level of voting in elections is examined, including considerable investigation into official church positions on members participating in civic elections.

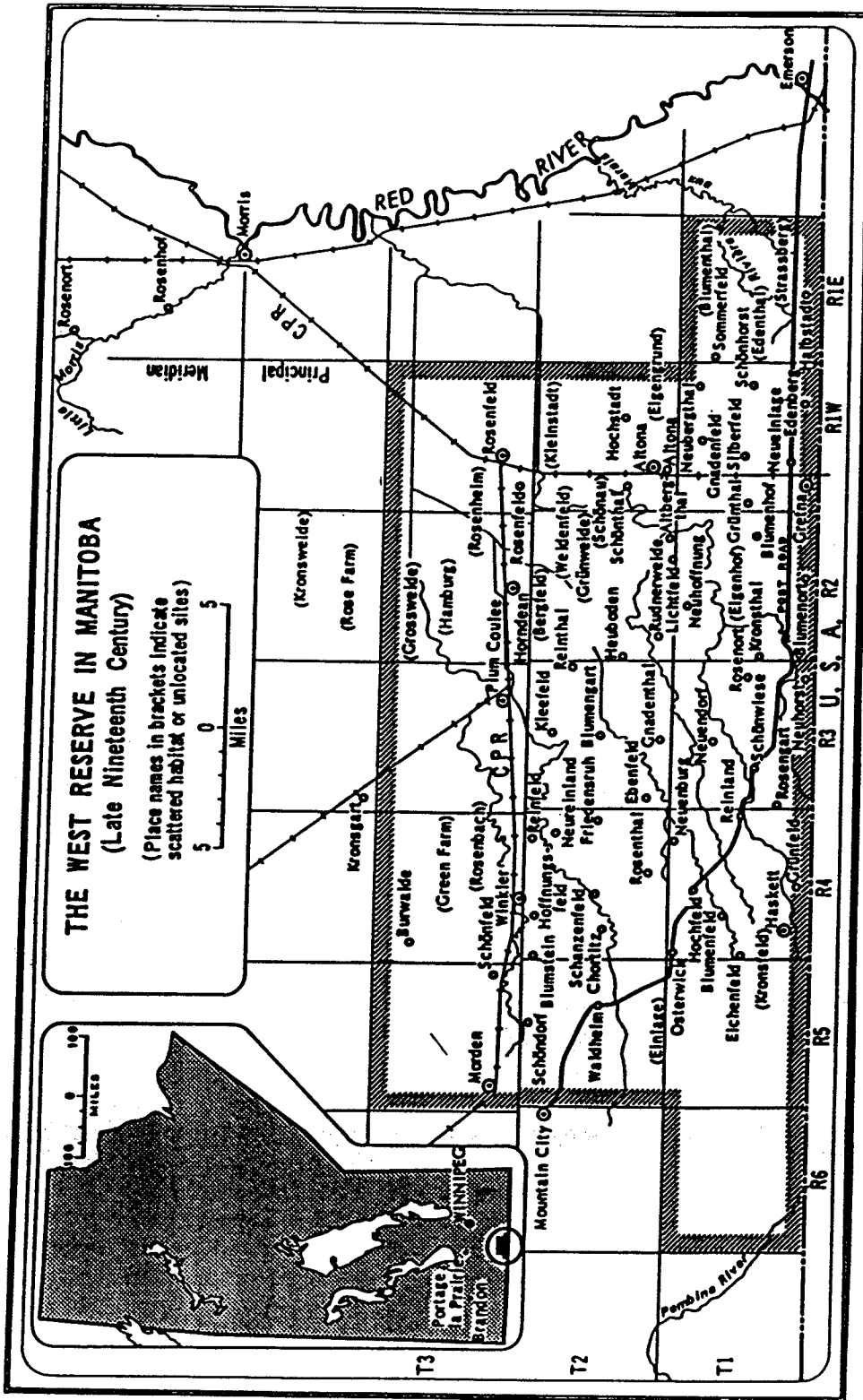
In most cases though, the analysis is almost entirely qualitative, utilizing an impressionistic historical method, and dealing in broad generalizations. The role of Mennonites in the political process at the electoral level in Canada has never been thoroughly investigated in a statisti-

cal manner. This thesis is an attempt to provide an example of how studies of Mennonite voting behaviour can be conducted. It provides a quantitative study of federal political activity in one small geographical area in Southern Manitoba, commonly known as the West Reserve (see Map 1.1), during a period in which Mennonites were, at least in rural areas of the reserve, by far the predominant group.

There are numerous situations in which a study of this sort would be useful. It might provide fairly solid statistical evidence in a discussion of Mennonite acculturation or accommodation to outside society. Trends toward increasing voter turnout could be seen as indicators of a weakening of church control or a relaxation of prohibitions against participation in secular political activities. Interpretations and conclusions regarding Mennonite involvement in politics can be more confidently made if methods similar to those found in this thesis are applied.

It is not sufficient to state, "everyone knows that Mennonites voted for X." What "everyone knows" is, as often as not, wrong. Therefore, a careful examination of twelve federal elections and one federal bye-election on the West Reserve in Manitoba from 1887 to 1935 in which Mennonites were eligible to vote will be undertaken. Through utilizing available statistical political and census data, a more complete history of the West Reserve can be written.

Map 1.1 "The West Reserve in Manitoba (Late 19th Century)"



Source: Frank H. Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920
 (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1974), p. 221.

There can be problems in this type of historical research and they will be discussed. Notwithstanding the difficulties though, a contribution can be made to an important aspect of Mennonite history by a thorough analysis of voting statistics in terms of both percentage voter turnout and party preferences. At the same time, the work undertaken here could provide an example of how future studies could be undertaken for the larger population.

Chapter II

PROBLEM

In the study of Mennonite voting patterns on the West Reserve in Manitoba at the federal level, several questions are apparent: to what extent did Mennonites, at least in the first half century of settlement on the Reserve, participate in the electoral process? If it is found that a significant percentage of the population of the Reserve voted, other questions can be asked. Were there important differences between Mennonites and non-Mennonites in the surrounding area in terms of party preference? Did Mennonites turn out to vote in greater or lesser numbers than their non-Mennonite neighbours? Were there major differences within the Mennonite community as a whole in voter turnout and/or party preference? And, to lend a dynamic element, how did the responses to the above questions change over time?¹ The answers to all of these problems can be determined to a large extent through statistical analysis and, at least for the period from 1887 to 1935,² the answers are contained below.

¹ As Lee Benson points out, much electoral analysis before 1957 has had a static rather than a dynamic approach. See Lee Benson, "Research Problems in American Political Historiography," in Common Frontiers of the Social Sciences, ed. Mirra Komarovsky (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), p. 114.

² 1887 is the first federal election for which there is evidence of Mennonite registered voters on the Reserve.

Of course, myriad additional questions can be asked, but if one is to answer them intelligently, the above problems must first be solved. For example, it would not make sense to write an article on "Why West Reserve Mennonites voted Liberal in Federal Elections from their arrival in Canada until the Diefenbaker Sweep", unless the writer first determined that the majority of eligible Mennonite voters on the West Reserve actually did vote for the Liberal candidate in almost every federal election until 1958.³

HISTORIOGRAPHY

The examination of Mennonite voting patterns can be placed into a considerably broader context of Mennonite historiography and ethnic studies in general. This broader context encompasses a vast range of literature, and only a limited selection will be dealt with here.⁴

³ Benson also addresses this issue in "Research Problems," pp. 182-183.

⁴ Some theses on ethnic electoral behaviour include Paul R. Beaulieu, "The Transfer of Allegiances in Ethnic Politics: A Study of the Voting Behaviour of Franco-Manitobans 1969-1974" (M. A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1976); Elliot Hart Katz, "The Participation of a Cultural Minority in Politics: Jewish Voting Preferences in Seven Oaks and River Heights, 1969 and 1973" (M. A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1980); R. Turenne, "The Minority and the Ballot Box: A Study of the Voting Behaviour of the French Canadians of Manitoba 1888-1967" (M. A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1969); and Roger Epp, "Mennonite Involvement in Federal and Provincial Politics in Saskatchewan, 1905-1945" (B. A. (Honours) thesis, University of Alberta, 1984).

Ethnic Literature

It is not the purpose of this thesis to argue for or against describing the Mennonites of Southern Manitoba as an "ethnic group." However, according to several definitions of ethnicity, it appears that for the purposes of this discussion, Mennonites are an ethnic group and an examination of their voting behaviour thus fits into the field of ethnic voting studies. Milton Gordon, a sociologist, defines an ethnic group as "any group which is defined or set off by race, religion or national origin, or some combination of these origins."⁵ Michael Novak, in a more detailed interpretation, defines an ethnic group as

a group with historical memory, real or imaginary. One belongs to an ethnic group in part voluntarily, in part by choice.... Ethnic memory is not a set of events remembered, but rather a set of instincts, feelings, intimacies, expectations, patterns of emotions and behavior; a sense of reality.⁶

Perhaps Wsevolod Isajiw has the most concise definition. He describes an ethnic group as "an involuntary group of people who share the same culture or to descendants of such people who identify themselves and/or are identified by oth-

⁵ Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in America: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 27, cited by Stuart Rothenberg, Eric Licht, and Frank Newport, Ethnic Voters and National Issues: Coalitions in the 1980s (Washington, D. C.: Free Congress Research and Education Foundation, 1982), p. 2.

⁶ Michael Novak, The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., 1973), p. 56, cited by Rothenberg, Licht and Newport, Ethnic Voters, pp. 2-3.

ers as belonging to the same involuntary group."⁷ If these definitions are accepted as valid, Mennonites of Southern Manitoba, and of North America must be seen as an ethnic entity.

In addition to the studies discussed above, there is a considerable body of ethno-political work available.⁸ Mark Levy and sociologist Michael Kramer illustrate the importance of the ethnic vote in their look at "political clout, political power and how it is and can be wielded by some 65-million Americans termed collectively the ethnics."⁹ They use precinct-level returns to determine the strength of ethnic political solidarity (particularly in six major ethnic groups in the United States).

Few studies, however, are devoted to the question of Mennonite involvement in politics at the electoral level. A wealth of theoretical treatises exist on Mennonite attitudes to the state,¹⁰ but empirical studies are in short supply.

⁷ Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "Definitions of Ethnicity," Ethnicity 1 (July 1974): 122.

⁸ A good select bibliography can be found in Mark R. Levy and Michael S. Kramer, The Ethnic Factor: How America's Minorities Decide Elections (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), pp. 242-244.

⁹ Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁰ For examples, see E. K. Francis, In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites of Manitoba (Altona, Manitoba: D. W. Friesen and Sons, 1955); Harold S. Bender, "Church and State in Mennonite History," Mennonite Quarterly Review 13 (April 1939): 83-103; Hans J. Hillerbrand, "The Anabaptist View of the State," Mennonite Quarterly Review 32 (April 1958): 83-110; John H. Redekop, "Mennonites and

The Kansas Mennonites are the subject of James Juhnke's A People of Two Kingdoms,¹¹ in which the author concludes that "Mennonite voting and interest in politics may have been limited, but it surely took place from the very beginning."¹² Basing his conclusions on documentary and statistical evidence, Juhnke does not, however, ignore that part of the Mennonite community which did not vote. Although those who abstained from electoral activity did not constitute a majority, Juhnke stresses that "the persistence of Mennonite non-voting in regular elections indicated that this minority was a significant element in Mennonite community political behavior."¹³

According to Juhnke, an organization like the Mennonite Central Committee,

standing as it did for the Mennonite positive response to the suffering world, was a kind of political surrogate for Mennonites whose distaste for politics was an ingrained tradition.¹⁴

Politics in Canada and the United States," Journal of Mennonite Studies 1 (1983): 79-105; and Howard J. Kauffman and Leland Harder, Anabaptists: Four Centuries Later (Kitchener, Ontario: Herald Press, 1975), pp. 150 and 151.

¹¹ James C. Juhnke, A People of Two Kingdoms (Newton, Kansas: Faith and Life Press, 1975).

¹² Ibid., p. 33.

¹³ Ibid., p. 124.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 150.

This search for non-political responses to what society at large generally regarded as political problems raises some interesting questions concerning the similarities and differences with Manitoba's West Reserve.

In a more general study of the political behaviour of sectarians similar to Manitoba's Mennonites, Howard Kauffman and Leland Harder statistically verify the wide spectrum of Mennonite political activity in North America, which ranges from non-participation to Mennonites running for political office.¹⁵ Kaufmann and Harder go back to the Anabaptist origins of the Mennonites in addressing the issue of church-state relations. They claim that the Anabaptist forebears

firmly believed that a Christian owes obedience to civil laws and authorities insofar as the prior claims of God are not violated by that obedience. But they also believed that the church and church members are not responsible for policies of the state and ought not to presume to direct them.¹⁶

The result is a conflict in which the political ethic of a religious group incorporates both assent and dissent--a "dualism of holding that God ordained the state with its sword, yet claiming that the state's operation involved non-Christian principles."¹⁷ Although brief, this section by Kauffman

¹⁵ Kauffman and Harder, Anabaptists, pp. 150-169.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 150-151.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 151. Other examples of this view of the state can be found in Robert Kreider, "The Anabaptists and the State," in The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision, ed. Guy F. Hershberger (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1957), pp. 189-193; Harry Loewen, "The Anabaptist View of the World: The Beginning of a Mennonite Continuum?" in Mennonite Images: Historical, Cultural and Literary Es-

and Harder provides a coherent summary of Mennonite attitudes to politics in the 1970s.

John Redekop addresses a similar topic in "Mennonites and Politics in Canada and the United States."¹⁸ In what amounts to a literature review, Redekop laments the shortage of "major works by scholars with a doctorate in Political Science." He points out that despite the large amount of interaction between Mennonites and civil authorities, "the political activities and experiences of North American Mennonites, although extensively described in mainly fragmentary, tangential or 'popular' fashion, constitute probably the least analyzed of the major facets comprising Mennonite life in the two countries."¹⁹

Other aspects of Mennonite life have certainly been described, analyzed and discussed at length.²⁰ Manitoba Mennonites are the subject matter in E. K. Francis' thorough In

says Dealing With Mennonite Issues, ed. Harry Loewen (Winnipeg: Hyperion Press, 1980), pp. 80-89; Hillerbrand, "Anabaptist View," pp. 83-110; and Adolf Ens, "Mennonite Relations with Governments, Western Canada, 1870-1925" (Ph. D. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1978), pp. 6-7.

¹⁸ Redekop, "Mennonites and Politics," pp. 79-105.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 79.

²⁰ See ibid., pp. 79-105; J. Howard Kauffman, "Toward a Sociology of Mennonites," Mennonite Quarterly Review 30 (July 1956): 194-212; Frank H. Epp, Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940: A People's Struggle for Survival (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1982), pp. 608-609 and pp. 613-628, for an idea of the extent of literature available regarding Mennonites.

Search of Utopia, which traces the development of the Mennonites from a religious movement to an ethnic group, examining their migrations, and finally concentrating on the East Reserve and the West Reserve in Manitoba. He discusses political behaviour only tangentially and does not quantitatively verify his conclusions.²¹ The same is true of Frank Epp's two-volume history of the Mennonites in Canada.²² Epp does, however, provide a good, general survey of all groups of Mennonites in Canada, with some discussion of the Manitoba Reserves.

In another fairly broad study, John Warkentin examines the impact of geography on the Mennonite way of life in Southern Manitoba.²³ His treatment of the role of trade centres, the incursion of the secular world into the West Reserve, and the way this has molded modern Mennonite society is particularly interesting. For the purposes of this thesis, one point Warkentin makes is particularly relevant. He inadvertently presents a clue to the marked increase in the level of electoral participation on the West Reserve when he claims that "by 1890 the church leaders were in control of

²¹ Francis, Utopia, pp. 97-98. See also the index references to "Political ideology," "Nationalism," "Elections," "Government," and the ubiquitous "Church and State" in *ibid.*

²² Frank H. Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1974), and Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940.

²³ John H. Warkentin, "The Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba" (Ph. D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1960).

the religious sphere only."²⁴ This indicates that if church leaders were the strongest opponents to electoral activity, a decline in their influence might result in a subsequent increase in Mennonite electoral activity.²⁵

A Ph. D. thesis by Adolf Ens contains a discussion of the historical background to the attitudes of Mennonites to secular government, focusing on Western Canada between 1870 and 1925.²⁶ Ens' thesis traces the development of the Mennonites from a group strongly opposed to political involvement in any civil government to an important source of support for various politicians. He discusses the success of Valentine Winkler in the largely Mennonite riding of Rhineland in the 1915 provincial election, and reports that "several prominent Mennonites applauded this result, some of them even expressing pride in the part played by their people in the 'cleanup of the province.'"²⁷

In addition to being a very useful study of Mennonite relations with government at various levels in Canada, Ens' thesis also provides a good example of what has become part of Mennonite folk history--the widespread belief that Mennonites "vote Liberal."

²⁴ Ibid., p. 86.

²⁵ A similar argument is made by Adolf Ens. Interview with Adolf Ens, Canadian Mennonite Bible College, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 9 December, 1986. See Appendix A.

²⁶ Adolf Ens, "Mennonite Relations".

²⁷ Ibid., p. 377.

The fact that it was the federal Liberal government of William Lyon Mackenzie King which repealed the offending order-in-council barring Mennonite immigration, when the previous Conservative government had refused to do so, ensured that western Mennonites would again be Liberal for at least another generation.²⁸

Interestingly, as will be shown below, the statistics, at least at the federal level, do not exactly correspond with this commonly accepted generalization. In fact, Ens' statement provides a good case for the importance of statistical verification of implicitly quantitative assumptions.

Local History

One other genre of historical writing must be discussed before concluding this literature review. Local history is an important part of the historiography of West Reserve Mennonites. Contributions in this area range from the committee-produced survey²⁹ to the scholarly study. Luckily, there are at least four local histories of various parts of the West Reserve which fall into the latter category.³⁰ Altona and Rhineland are thoroughly researched, well-documented and

²⁸ Ibid., p. 373. Emphasis added.

²⁹ An example is Gnadenhal 1880-1980 (Winkler, Manitoba: Gnadenhal History Book Committee, 1982).

³⁰ See Gerhard J. Ens, The Rural Municipality of Rhineland, 1884-1984 (Altona, Manitoba: R. M. of Rhineland, 1984); Esther Epp-Tiessen, Altona, The Story of a Prairie Town (Altona, Manitoba: D. W. Friesen, 1982); Peter D. Zacharias, Reinland: An Experience in Community (Reinland, Manitoba: Reinland Centennial Committee, 1976); and Zacharias, Footprints of a Pilgrim People: Story of the Blumenort Mennonite Church (Gretna, Manitoba: Blumenort Mennonite Church, 1985).

provide useful descriptions of their subject areas. These studies, together with Zacharias' history of the village of Reinland and his look at the development of the Blumenort Mennonite Church, allow one to understand some of the differences between a few of the main groups of Mennonites on the West Reserve. One common thread in most of the local histories of the area is the gradual acceptance of an ever-increasing amount of influence from the "outside world".

Nowhere in the literature discussed above is the level of Mennonite political activity treated in a systematic, quantitative manner. A body of reliable Mennonite voting behaviour data and analysis is needed. In ethnic historiography we see more and more analyses of the electoral activity of various groups. It is time for the qualitative, impressionistic history of the Mennonites of North America to be augmented with a series of reliable quantitative studies of various aspects of the Mennonite experience.

Chapter III

METHOD

THE WEST RESERVE

The West Reserve in Manitoba was established by Order-in-Council of 25 April 1876. Mennonite settlers first came to the area in 1875 and by 1877, about 2,500 Mennonites had migrated to the Reserve, a tract of seventeen townships³¹ (as shown in Map 1.1). Later, in 1898, the West Reserve was opened to general settlement. Non-Mennonites began to move onto the Reserve and Mennonites started to leave.³² Still, Mennonites continued to comprise a majority of the population, especially in rural areas.³³

Within the overall Mennonite population there were important differences. In order to describe the range of attitudes held by various Mennonite groups, traditionally de-

³¹ Gerhard Ens mistakenly claims in Rhineland that the West Reserve covered twenty-five townships, for a total area of over 500-thousand acres, p. 1.

³² More information on this is available in Francis, Utopia, Epp, Mennonites in Canada: Separate People, especially pp. 211, 227 and a map on p. 221; Gerhard Ens, Rhineland, p. 1; Epp-Tiessen, Altona, pp. 15-17; and Warkentin, "Mennonite Settlements," p. 40 and p. 200.

³³ Canada, Parliament, Census of Canada, 1880-81, vol. 1, pp. 196-199; 1891, vol. 1, pp. 226-231; 1901, vol. 1, pp. 156-157; 1911, vol. 2, pp. 14-15 and pp. 148-149; 1921, vol. 1, pp. 706-707; and 1931, vol. 2, pp. 526-529 and pp. 638-639.

scribed as 'conservative' and 'liberal', James Urry argues that the term 'maintainer' is more accurate than 'conservative' and that so-called 'liberals' would be better described as 'progressives'.³⁴ However, in many contexts, 'progressive' is an even more value-laden concept than 'liberal'. For the purposes of this thesis, Mennonites who were relatively more willing to accommodate to Canadian society are called 'accommodators'.³⁵

Moreover, since Mennonites did not maintain or accommodate absolutely, most were likely to fall somewhere on a broad continuum of maintaining traditional values or accommodating to secular society. Those who clung most tenaciously to the old ways are nearer the maintainer end of the continuum and those who were most willing to accommodate to secular society are nearer the accomodator end. As Urry explains, in Russia

the maintainers learnt(sic) to recognize, isolate and finally to reject certain features of the wider world order. They became skilled in their rejection of a whole corpus of social and technological innovations and learnt to resist external ideas, allegiances and beliefs. The reaction was essentially true to their earlier traditions...and resulted in a turning inwards.³⁶

³⁴ James Urry, "The Transformation and Polarization of the Mennonites in Russia, 1789-1914," paper presented at the 1977 Conference on Russian Mennonite History, Winnipeg, Manitoba, November 1977.

³⁵ Gerhard Ens, Rhineland, p. 117, also uses this term.

³⁶ Urry, "Transformation," p. 4.

Adolf Ens, an instructor at the Canadian Mennonite Bible College in Winnipeg, sees accommodators as

those who attempt to fit in with mainstream Canadian society as rapidly as the inertia of the group settlement will allow. That means that they would, for example, be...open to having their children acquire English as a usable language.³⁷

He suggests that religious factors are involved in these tendencies, especially for the maintainers, and believes that the maintainers

would be far more committed [than would accommodators] to having church leadership determine what kinds of things in Canadian society are acceptable, and what kinds of things are not....they would be less inclined to make independent judgments about what kind of school [their] children should go to, or whether [they] should participate in municipal office, or whether [they] should have commerce with the towns or not.³⁸

Differences between maintainers and accommodators are accordingly less a function of personal attitude than they are of the degree of willingness to allow the church, as a community, to make decisions for the individual. Terminology aside, most discussions of the West Reserve mention various denominational disputes which occurred, at least in part, because of this question of maintenance of tradition and acceptance of aspects of Canadian culture.³⁹

³⁷ Interview with Dr. Adolf Ens, Canadian Mennonite Bible College, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 9 December 1986. (See Appendix A.)

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ All of the local histories mention this to varying degrees, and works like Francis, Utopia, Epp, Mennonites in Canada, Adolf Ens, "Mennonite Relations;" Warkentin, "Mennonite Settlements;" and Henry J. Gerbrandt, Adven-

An attempt was made to scale ecological units polling area by polling area, election by election, in order to study the range of diversity of Mennonites, and map it over time in relation to political behaviour. It was therefore necessary to establish a continuum, with a scale indicating a range from strong maintainer to extreme accommodator--and assign each of the areas to be studied a value on that continuum for each election date.

Various types of qualitative data aid in placing various districts on a maintainer/accommodator continuum.⁴⁰ However, no one has ever assigned precise values to the level of accommodation or maintenance of the various denominational groups on the Reserve, and such values are essential for correlating voter turnout and party preference with tendency to accommodate or maintain. Arbitrary assignments of values on the continuum are unsatisfactory. External corroboration is required.

With this in mind, two Mennonite historians, especially knowledgeable of West Reserve history, were interviewed independently for their impressions of various districts for

ture in Faith: The Background in Europe and the Development in Canada of the Bergthaler Mennonite Church of Manitoba (Altona, Manitoba: D. W. Friesen, 1970), devote considerable attention to the differences between the various factions on the Reserve.

⁴⁰ Among the documentary sources are Francis, Utopia, Epp, Mennonites in Canada, (both volumes); and Gerbrandt, Adventure in Faith. Also see Adolf Ens, "Mennonite Relations"; Warkentin, "Mennonite Settlements"; and all of the local histories of the Reserve.

the period from 1887 to 1935.⁴¹ While initially loath to quantify the level of maintenance or accommodation of the ten cases, eventually both responded and assigned values that were, for the most part, nearly identical⁴² (see Table 3.1). The interviews with each respondent appear in Appendix A and B.

VOTING ANALYSIS METHODS

Generating the numerical series of voting data was a different problem, of course. Various types of methodology can be used in electoral studies. Social scientists who wish to examine voting in relatively recent elections can use the sample survey technique.⁴³ This method was adapted and modified by Lazarsfeld and his associates when they used a panel method of the survey approach to electoral analysis.

⁴¹ Interviews with Dr. Adolf Ens, Canadian Mennonite Bible College, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 5 June 1986, 9 December 1986, and 27 January 1987; and interviews with Jake Peters, University of Manitoba, 4 June 1986 and 4 December 1986.

⁴² Notwithstanding the verbal divergences evident in the transcriptions of the interviews, the numerical values assigned by Ens and Peters to each polling area for each election show remarkably high intercoder reliability (83.6 per cent of their responses were within one point on the seven-point scale). The convergent numerical scales suggest credibility of respondents and validity of the data drawn from such impressionistic sources.

⁴³ Numerous studies describe this technique. One example is Rothenberg, Licht and Newport, Ethnic Voters, pp. 27-31.

Table 3.1
TABLE OF MENNONITE MAINTENANCE VS. ACCOMMODATION

PETERS MENNONITE FACTOR

Continuum

1 = Strongest Maintainer

2 = Strong Maintainer

3 = Less Strong Maintainer

4 = Moderate

5 = Less Strong Accommodator

6 = Strong Accommodator

7 = Strongest Accommodator

LOCATION	YEARS	1887	1891	1896	1900	1902	1904	1908	1911	1917	1921	1925	1926	1930	1935
1 Gretna		NA	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	6
2 Altona		5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
3 Rosenfeld		4	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
4 Plum Coulee		NA	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	5
5 Winkler		6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	7
6 Glen Cross (2-5)		NA	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	5
7 Schanzenfeld (2-4)		NA	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3
8 (2-2)		3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
9 Haskett/Reinland (1-4)		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	5	5	5
10 Rosenheim/Horndean(3-2)		3	4	4	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5

ENS MENNONITE FACTOR

Continuum 1-7 as above

LOCATION	YEARS	1887	1891	1896	1900	1902	1904	1908	1911	1917	1921	1925	1926	1930	1935
1 Gretna		6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
2 Altona		5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
3 Rosenfeld		4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
4 Plum Coulee		5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	4
5 Winkler		4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
6 Glen Cross (2-5)		4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
7 Schanzenfeld (2-4)		2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
8 (2-2)		3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
9 Haskett/Reinland (1-4)		2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
10 Rosenheim/Horndean(3-2)		5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	4

DIFFERENCE (ENS minus PETERS)

e.g. -2 = EMF is 2 lower than PMF

1 = EMF is 1 higher than PMF

LOCATION	YEARS	1887	1891	1896	1900	1902	1904	1908	1911	1917	1921	1925	1926	1930	1935
1 Gretna			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
2 Altona		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3 Rosenfeld		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1
4 Plum Coulee			2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1
5 Winkler		-2	-2	-2	-2	-2	-2	-2	-2	-2	-2	-2	-2	-2	-3
6 Glen Cross (2-5)			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1	-1	-1
7 Schanzenfeld (2-4)			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1	-1	-1	-1
8 (2-2)		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9 Haskett/Reinland (1-4)		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-2	-3	-3	-3
10 Rosenheim/Horndean(3-2)		2	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1

Lazarsfeld's teams, in their studies of Erie County, Ohio and Elmira, New York during the Presidential elections of 1940 and 1948 respectively,⁴⁴ attempted to discover influences on voting behaviour. A randomly selected panel of respondents was repeatedly interviewed during and after the election campaign, a technique flowing from assumptions similar to studies of consumer behaviour. Lazarsfeld and his associates predicted that the voter was like a shopper, vacillating between candidates, highly influenced by mass media and advertising, sometimes making his electoral decision at the final point in the process--the polling booth.

Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes also used the survey method of research in their examination of the period from Truman's victory in 1948 to the re-election of Eisenhower in 1956. They described their approach as starting at the final act, that is,

Taking the individual's voting act as a starting point, we have moved backward in time and outward from political influences to trace the intricate pattern of causality at the polls.⁴⁵

Of course, the attractions of the survey approach are numerous. There are obvious advantages to the researcher in asking questions of specific members of the electorate who

⁴⁴ Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet. The People's Choice, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948); and Bernard Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, Voting (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954).

⁴⁵ Angus Campbell et al., The American Voter (New York and London: John Wiley and Sons, 1960), p. 521.

have been randomly selected. However, in many, if not most historical studies, including this one, it is not feasible to conduct a random survey of voters with experience over a long period. Documentary records--the absence of polling lists recording how each voter voted--preclude the question of individual-level voting data.

Ecological Analysis and the Ecological Fallacy

Historians attempting to study electoral behaviour in secret ballot contexts are almost inevitably bound to ecological analysis in their effort to reach conclusions about the electoral behaviour of a group of individuals. This technique involves the use of aggregate (as opposed to individual-level) data. But debate over the legitimacy of ecological correlation has continued since W. S. Robinson's condemnation of the methodology first appeared in 1950.⁴⁶

Robinson claimed that

In each study which uses ecological correlations, the obvious purpose is to discover something about the behavior of individuals....[and not to discern] correlations between the properties of areas as such.⁴⁷

He compared ecological correlations and individual correlations between colour and illiteracy for the United States, as well as between nativity and illiteracy for the same

⁴⁶ W. S. Robinson, "Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals," American Sociological Review 15 (June 1950): 351-357.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 352.

area. Ecological correlation showed that the jurisdictions that were most negro were also most illiterate. Does it follow that individual black persons have less capacity for learning than whites? Intuitively, we know that the correlation masks other variables. Robinson concluded that "the only reasonable assumption is that an ecological correlation is almost certainly not equal to its corresponding individual correlation."⁴⁸

Argument followed. Herbert Menzel claimed that while Robinson had a point, the value of ecological correlations could not be summarily dismissed. To Menzel,

ecological correlation may retain validity not only where it is argued that the variables correlated are functions of a common cause, but also where it is claimed that one of them is a cause of the other.⁴⁹

He added credence to his argument by citing the hypothetical example of the

ecological correlation of the number of physicians per capita and the infant death rate. This correlation may be expected to be high and negative, and loses none of its significance for the fact that a corresponding individual correlation would be patently impossible.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 357.

⁴⁹ Herbert Menzel, "Comment on Robinson's 'Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals,'" American Sociological Review 15 (October 1950): 674.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

A quarter century later, Robinson's claims were still being addressed. Juan Linz examined the application of ecological analysis and of survey research in a sociological context, which is also relevant to historians troubled by the question of the ecological fallacy. Linz saw ecological analysis as particularly well-suited to historical study,

insofar as it [history] wants to include in its analysis the behavior of the anonymous masses rather than to limit itself to that of the elites who have left us personal documents.⁵¹

Linz believed that ecological research clarifies the influence of identification with a particular party on determining political attitudes. He claimed that

only long-term ecological research can contribute to our knowledge of the problem of continuity and change in politics....Ecological data covering a long time span can give us many cues for the study of the factors that determine traditionalism in a changing society and that are likely to be related to patterns of social integration [and] organizational strength...but are often neglected in survey research.⁵²

Linz was aware of the many problems presented by ecological analysis. He stressed, in a point relevant to this thesis, that the danger in conducting an ecological study over a fairly long period of time is that one

assumes a certain continuity in the composition of the population of the units under analysis, either of the individuals or of some characteristics of the population, if they extend more than one gen-

⁵¹ Juan J. Linz, "Ecological Analysis and Survey Research," in Social Ecology, eds. Mattei Dogan and Stein Rokkan (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1974), pp. 97-98.

⁵² Ibid., pp. 100-101.

eration."⁵³

While the individuals who made up the West Reserve from 1887 to 1935 obviously changed, the composition of the population remained relatively unchanged, at least until the emigration of large groups from the Reserve and the migration of a significant number of Russian Mennonites, Russlaender, to the Reserve.⁵⁴

The best case for the use of ecological analysis is made when Linz suggests that only "long term ecological data would clearly reflect....certain social changes that occur so slowly, almost imperceptibly, that even a panel analysis would not pin them down."⁵⁵

John Shover and John Kushma also believed that Robinson's warnings regarding ecological research were exaggerated.

First, Robinson's criticism has been misapplied in the frequent instances in social science research where the unit of analysis is an aggregate or where the social relationship under investigation is a group level process. Second, under carefully controlled circumstances estimates of individual behavior from aggregate data can be made that sustain consistency over disparate levels of aggregation.⁵⁶

⁵³ Ibid., pp. 102-103.

⁵⁴ Frank H. Epp, Mennonite Exodus: The Rescue and Resettlement of the Russian Mennonites Since the Communist Revolution (Altona, Manitoba: D. W. Friesen, 1962) provides a useful analysis of the Russian Mennonite migration. Adolf Ens, "Mennonite Relations"; Zacharias, Reinland and Gerbrandt, Adventure in Faith contain some discussion of the emigration of maintainer groups from the Reserve.

⁵⁵ Linz, "Ecological Analysis," p. 104.

⁵⁶ John L. Shover and John J. Kushma, "Retrieval of Individ-

Edgar Borgatta and David Jackson pointed out that Robinson's article caused many to hold the mistaken belief that every interpretation making use of aggregated data was incorrect. They argued that with some careful consideration,

it became evident that: (1) while always suspect, aggregate data could suggest findings that exist at the individual level; (2) the analysis of aggregate data could be of interest in itself (3) comparison of different levels of aggregation and individual-level data could provide interesting findings.⁵⁷

The study of the group is important in historical study as well as in the social sciences. Glenn Firebaugh outlines some of the reasons for studying the group as opposed to the individual.

First, group effects are important in their own right; social context no doubt affects human behavior. Second, social scientists must sometimes rely on aggregate data in studying individuals, and the advisability of such a practice hinges on the presence of (real or spurious) group effects.⁵⁸

ual Data from Aggregate Units of Analysis: A Case Study Using Twentieth Century Urban Voting Data," in The History of American Electoral Behavior, eds. Joel H. Silbey, Allan G. Bogue, and William H. Flanigan, Mathematical Social Science Board Series on Quantitative Studies in History (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 338-339.

⁵⁷ Edgar F. Borgatta and David J. Jackson, "Aggregate Data Analysis: An Overview," Sociological Methods and Research 7 (May 1979): 384. Emphasis added.

⁵⁸ Glenn Firebaugh, "Assessing Group Effects: A Comparison of Two Methods," Sociological Methods and Research 7 (May 1979): 384.

The danger of ecological correlation should not be regarded as a deterrent to conducting ecological analyses. Rather, it can be seen as a warning to the historian who attempts to draw too many individual-level conclusions from aggregate data.⁵⁹

Data Collection

The ecological units of the present study are ten Mennonite polling areas in the West Reserve. The reasons for selecting these ten are found in the confusion of the many changes in all other ecological units encountered when one attempts to relate the boundaries of the West Reserve to a federal constituency, and related polling districts to ethnic ecology. The boundaries of the federal electoral riding which contains the West Reserve were determined from various maps and statutes. It appears from the statutes that the polling divisions were identical in both provincial and federal elections.⁶⁰ This does not provide much useful information

⁵⁹ To be sure, there are additional aspects of ecological analysis which are discussed at length in the literature. A good collection of articles on the topic is found in Mattei Dogan and Stein Rokkan, Quantitative Ecological Analysis in the Social Sciences (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1969), in which it appears that many writers are less optimistic about overcoming the problems with ecological fallacy than Menzel.

⁶⁰ The maps can be found in PAM, Map Section, in several locations. Some of the relevant statutes are Statutes of Canada, (1898), 61 Vic., ch. 14, pp. 79-80 (s. 5/ss.a-e); Statutes of Canada (1908), 7-8 Edw. 7, ch. 26, pp. 302-303 (s. 9a/ss. 5 and 9); Statutes of Manitoba, The Election Act of Manitoba (1886), 49 Vic., ch. 29; Statutes of Manitoba, The Election Act of Manitoba, (1891), 54 Vic., ch. 27; Statutes of Manitoba, The Manitoba

because provincial election poll boundaries cannot be found for elections prior to 1925.⁶¹

It was necessary to gain the most accurate description of the inhabitants of the riding possible. The locations of Mennonite and non-Mennonite groups throughout this period are determinable from census breakdowns, according to religion⁶² of inhabitants of villages, towns and rural areas of the Reserve. In addition, the Manitoba Elections Act⁶³ required that the lists of electors for federal elections be based, in part, on municipal election lists, with municipal electors receiving the federal franchise. The municipal lists still in existence cover a good part of the reserve.⁶⁴ An examination of these lists is very useful in arriving at some conclusions about the ethnic composition of any given

Election Act (1901), 1 Edw. 7, ch. 11; and Revised Statutes of Manitoba, The Manitoba Elections Act (1913), 3 Geo. 5, ch. 59. See also the relevant Orders-in-Council, April 9, 1914, including O.C. No. 22718, and April 23, 1914, O.C. No. 22786, Box 58, PAM; O.C. No. 23061, June 15, 1914, Box 59, PAM; and O.C. No. 33851, April 27, 1920, Box 86, PAM.

⁶¹ The provincial voters lists in the Legislative Reading Room in the Provincial Legislature in Winnipeg contain poll boundary descriptions for provincial elections from 1925 past the end of the period covered by this thesis.

⁶² Religion was chosen over country of origin because it appears that Mennonites listed various European countries as their place of origin, while they were consistent in listing religion as 'Mennonite' after 1896. According to Census of Canada, 1931, vol. 1, p. 788, Note 3, Mennonites were listed as Baptists in 1871 and 1881, and "Other" in 1891.

⁶³ Statutes of Manitoba, The Elections Act of Manitoba 1891, 54 Vic., ch. 27 (s. 12, 13, 14 and 26).

area.

Having located ethnic groups within the federal electoral division, the next step was to compile a set of data which contained poll-level election results for each federal election. The Reports of the Chief Electoral Officer of Canada⁶⁵ provided the official data. However, this was often incomplete, especially in the area of poll locations. As a result, it was necessary to check the election results in the Free Press⁶⁶ and the Tribune⁶⁷ for the results of each election to determine where polling stations were situated. Thus, a synthesis which combined the official voting results from the Chief Electoral Officer's Reports, the poll locations and poll names from Winnipeg newspapers was necessary. Two newspapers had to be used for this purpose to

⁶⁴ The extant voters lists are, with the exception of the earliest, held in the Rural Municipality of Rhineland Archives. The one list not at the RMRA is for the Municipality of Douglas, 1885. PAM, GR 174, Box 24, File 3, Unpublished Manitoba Sessional Papers, 1886. The voters' lists for 1887 for Douglas, and for 1910 through 1934 for Rhineland, RMRA, Altona, Manitoba. Gerhard Ens, Rhineland, pp. xi and 253, illustrate the changes in the boundaries of the Rural Municipality now known as Rhineland.

⁶⁵ Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers, 1883, vol. 16, Sessional Paper 77, p. 237; 1887, vol. 17, Sessional Paper 53B, pp. 275-276; 1891, vol. 16, Sessional Paper 27A, pp. 282-283; 1897, vol. 13, Sessional Paper 20, pp. 298-300; 1901, vol. 13, Sessional Paper 36, pp. 6-8; 1905, vol. 14, Sessional Paper 37, pp. 319 and 452-454; 1909, vol. 8, Sessional Paper 18, pp. 347-348; 1912, vol. 11, Sessional Paper 18, pp. 355-356; 1920, vol. 4, Sessional Paper 13, p. 235; and 1922, vol. 5, Sessional Paper 13, p. 358. For elections from 1925 to 1930, see Canada, Parliament, Annual Departmental Reports, 1924-25, vol. 7, "Report of the Chief Electoral Officer, Fifteenth General Election, 1925," p. 364; 1925-26, vol. 4, p. 364; and

provide a test for accuracy.

The federal and provincial statutes are not entirely clear on the definition of polling division boundaries. The federal statutes required that where possible, the same boundaries were to be used as those established in provincial elections up to and including 1906.⁶⁸ After 1908, while voters' lists were to be drawn from provincial lists, county court justices gained responsibility for establishing polling districts.⁶⁹ The relevant Manitoba Acts stated only that electoral divisions were to be divided into polling divisions of two-hundred voters or less.⁷⁰ The details on how boundaries were to be drawn and what the final polling division boundaries were remains unclear.

1929-30, vol. 4, p. 371. Results of the 1935 General Election are found in Canada, Parliament, Chief Electoral Officers Report: 18th General Election, 1935, pp. 440-441.

⁶⁶ Manitoba Daily Free Press, 13 July 1882, p. 8; 25 February 1887, p. 1, and 2 March 1887, p. 1; 7 March 1891, p. 1; 26 June 1896, p. 1; 9 November 1900, p. 2; 19 February 1902, p. 1; 4 November 1904, p. 1, and 9 November 1904, p. 9; 28 October 1908, p. 5; 29 September 1911, p. 1; 18 December 1917, p. 4; 7 December 1921, pp. 13-14; 30 October 1925, p. 10; 15 September 1926, p. 8; 29 July 1930, p. 3; and The Winnipeg Free Press, 15 October 1935, p. 4.

⁶⁷ Winnipeg Daily Tribune (Winnipeg), 1896-1925; Winnipeg Evening Tribune (Winnipeg), 1926-1935, with specific dates almost identical to those for the Free Press. Two cases in which the Tribune was essential were 15 September 1926, p. 6; and 29 July 1930, p. 8.

⁶⁸ Statutes of Canada, (1898) An Act to Repeal the Electoral Franchise Act and to further amend the Dominion Elections Act, 61 Vic., ch. 14, pp. 79-81 (s. 5 and 7).

The numbers and locations of polling stations on the West Reserve varied from election to election. However, ten polling areas were more continuous than the rest, and, coincidentally, were fairly evenly spread out over the Reserve. Five were towns and five were rural. Thus, a reasonable cross-section of the Reserve population is represented in the ten polls. These polling areas were analyzed in considerable detail with regard to both federal electoral behaviour and area residents' level of accommodation to secular society. In summary, the ten polling stations selected for this analysis were chosen for their relative continuity and for their varied locations, which provided a good sample of the various areas of the Reserve.

As has been mentioned, the Mennonites of the West Reserve were a heterogeneous group. The two main sub-groups who migrated to the Reserve were the Fuerstenland-Old Colony and the Bergthaler.⁷¹ E. K. Francis describes a line stretching roughly from Plum Coulee in the north to Kronsthal and Grunthal in the south. Generally, settlers east of that line were Bergthaler and those west of the line were Fuersten-

⁶⁹ Statutes of Canada, (1908), An Act to Amend the Dominion Elections Act, 7-8 Edw. 7, ch. 26, pp. 302-303 (s. 9a/ss. 5 and 9).

⁷⁰ Statutes of Manitoba, (1891), The Elections Act of Manitoba, 54 Vic., ch. 27, (s. 25); and (1903), 3 Edw. 7, ch. 13, pp. 23-24, (s. 5a).

⁷¹ Francis, Utopia, pp. 80-109, contains a good summary of this.

land-Old Colony.⁷² In many respects, the Fuerstenland-Old Colony group tended to fall near the maintainer end of the continuum while the Bergthalers tended to be more accommodating.

In addition to the analysis of ten polling stations within the Reserve, electoral activity in this area and in the remainder of the riding was also compared at the overall aggregate level. For each election, the voter turnout and percent party preference was determined for all of the polls in the riding, both on and off the West Reserve. While the party affiliation of candidates was not listed in the Chief Electoral Officer's reports, newspaper accounts of the election usually included a description of the party with which each candidate was associated. Ballots which had been cast, but rejected by the returning officer or spoiled by the voter were not included in the calculations.

The statistics which were produced for the whole electoral district and the ten polling areas were analyzed for voter turnout (both in actual numbers and as a percentage of registered voters), Liberal party support, Conservative party support and 'other' party support where applicable. Table 3.2 exhibits the result on the aggregate level. Table 3.3 shows the pattern for the ten areas scaled for

⁷² Ibid., pp. 68-70. Among the exceptions are the village of Rosenfeld, which was mainly Fuerstenland-Old Colony and was located east of the line. Further corroboration for the existence of this line can be found in interviews with Adolf Ens and Jake Peters.

Table 3.2

VOTER PARTICIPATION AND PREFERENCE IN
SELKIRK/LISGAR, 1887 - 1935

Federal Election	MENNONITE AREA			NON-MENNO AREA		
	ELIGIBLE VOTERS	VOTES CAST	PER CENT	ELIGIBLE VOTERS	VOTES CAST	PER CENT
1887						
VOTER TURNOUT	1,043	73	7.0	10,728	5,322	49.6
LIBERAL		32	43.8		2,576	48.4
CONSERVATIVE		41	56.2		2,746	51.6
1891						
VOTER TURNOUT	1,406	238	16.9	14,285	6,647	46.5
LIBERAL		89	37.4		3,136	47.2
CONSERVATIVE		149	62.6		3,511	52.8
1896						
VOTER TURNOUT	2,820	407	14.4	12,022	4,853	40.4
LIBERAL		194	47.7		2,463	50.8
CONSERVATIVE		213	52.3		2,390	49.2
1900						
VOTER TURNOUT	2,397	786	32.8	8,822	5,749	65.2
LIBERAL		589	74.9		2,554	44.4
CONSERVATIVE		197	25.1		3,195	55.6
1902						
VOTER TURNOUT	903	738	81.7	7,683	6,632	86.3
LIBERAL		512	69.4		2,858	43.1
CONSERVATIVE		153	20.7		1,493	22.5
POL. REFORM		73	9.9		2,281	34.4
1904						
* VOTER TURNOUT	897	787	87.7	5,410	2,347	43.4
LIBERAL		522	66.3		1,135	48.4
CONSERVATIVE		265	33.7		1,212	51.6
1908						
VOTER TURNOUT	892	736	82.5	3,138	2,689	85.7
LIBERAL		408	49.4		1,252	49.8
CONSERVATIVE		328	50.6		1,437	50.2
1911						
VOTER TURNOUT	1,313	922	70.2	3,037	2,442	80.4
LIBERAL		455	49.4		1,217	49.8
CONSERVATIVE		467	50.6		1,225	50.2

Table 3.2 cont'd.	MENNONITE AREA			NON-MENNO AREA		
	Federal Election	ELIGIBLE VOTERS	VOTES CAST	PER CENT	ELIGIBLE VOTERS	VOTES CAST
1917						
VOTER TURNOUT	351	273	77.8	4,598	3,671	79.8
LAURIER LIBERAL		96	35.2		498	13.6
UNION		177	64.8		3,173	86.4
1921						
VOTER TURNOUT	2,332	1,595	68.4	7,407	6,161	83.2
PROGRESSIVE		644	40.4		3,816	61.9
INDEPENDENT		951	59.6		2,345	38.1
1925						
VOTER TURNOUT	2,370	910	38.4	7,987	4,938	61.8
PROGRESSIVE		338	37.1		2,774	56.2
CONSERVATIVE		572	62.9		2,164	43.8
1926						
VOTER TURNOUT	2,631	1,823	69.3	8,676	6,624	76.3
LIB. PROG.		957	52.5		3,700	55.9
CONSERVATIVE		866	47.5		2,924	44.1
1930						
VOTER TURNOUT	4,474	2,936	65.6	8,743	7,216	82.5
LIB. PROG.		1,450	49.4		3,712	51.4
CONSERVATIVE		1,486	50.6		3,504	48.6
1935						
VOTER TURNOUT	5,653	3,250	57.5	8,759	6,943	79.3
LIBERAL		1,272	39.1		3,701	53.3
CONSERVATIVE		1,830	56.3		2,623	37.8
RECONSTRUCT.		148	4.6		619	8.9

* Eligible Voters is taken as average of 1902 and 1908

Table 3.3

Participation and Preference in the
Ten Predominantly Mennonite Polling Areas,
Selkirk/Lisgar, 1887 - 1935.

Election Year	POLLING AREA	ELIGIBLE VOTERS	VOTES CAST	PER CENT	CONS. VOTE	LIB. VOTE
1887	Gretna	na	na	na	na	na
	Altona	316	43	13.6	26	17
	Rosenfeld	na	na	na	na	na
	Plum Coulee	na	na	na	na	na
	Winkler	158	7	4.4	2	5
	Glen Cross (2-5)	na	na	na	na	na
	Schanzenfeld (2-4)	na	na	na	na	na
	Twp. 2, Range 2 (2-2)	141	7	5.0	5	2
	Haskett/Reinland (1-4)	140	10	7.1	4	6
	Rosenheim/Horndean (3-2)	173	53	30.6	14	39
	TOTALS:	928	120	12.93	51	69
1891	Gretna	203	52	25.6	31	21
	Altona	198	62	31.3	59	3
	Rosenfeld	na	na	na	na	na
	Plum Coulee	202	19	9.4	5	14
	Winkler	na	na	na	na	na
	Glen Cross (2-5)	151	57	37.7	27	30
	Schanzenfeld (2-4)	181	13	7.2	5	8
	Twp. 2, Range 2 (2-2)	169	19	11.2	16	3
	Haskett/Reinland (1-4)	172	12	7.0	4	8
	Rosenheim/Horndean (3-2)	na	na	na	na	na
	TOTALS:	1276	234	18.33	147	87
1896	Gretna	182	72	39.6	48	24
	Altona	246	46	18.7	30	16
	Rosenfeld	169	22	13.0	11	11
	Plum Coulee	212	46	21.7	23	23
	Winkler	429	130	30.3	52	78
	Glen Cross (2-5)	na	na	na	na	na
	Schanzenfeld (2-4)	267	20	7.5	9	11
	Twp. 2, Range 2 (2-2)	174	10	5.7	7	3
	Haskett/Reinland (1-4)	271	11	4.1	6	5
	Rosenheim/Horndean (3-2)	na	na	na	na	na
	TOTALS:	1950	357	18.30	186	171

Table 3.3 cont'd.

Election Year	POLLING AREA	ELIGIBLE VOTERS	VOTES CAST	PER CENT	CONS. VOTE	LIB. VOTE	POL. REFORM
1900	Gretna	181	98	54.1	48	50	
	Altona	193	97	50.3	22	75	
	Rosenfeld	131	73	55.7	5	68	
	Plum Coulee	219	71	32.4	20	51	
	Winkler	244	133	54.5	13	120	
	Glen Cross (2-5)	105	61	58.1	19	42	
	Schanzenfeld (2-4)	191	29	15.2	3	26	
	Twp. 2, Range 2 (2-2)	110	19	17.3	4	15	
	Haskett/Reinland (1-4)	143	7	4.9	0	7	
	Rosenheim/Horndean (3-2)	110	38	34.5	1	37	
	TOTALS:	1627	626	38.47	135	491	
1902	Gretna	165	137	83.0	48	84	5
	Altona	150	123	82.0	7	106	10
	Rosenfeld	70	59	84.3	18	41	0
	Plum Coulee	118	93	78.8	8	58	27
	Winkler	155	134	86.5	30	102	2
	Glen Cross (2-5)	na	na	na	na	na	na
	Schanzenfeld (2-4)	45	27	60.0	12	15	0
	Twp. 2, Range 2 (2-2)	22	17	77.3	0	16	1
	Haskett/Reinland (1-4)	na	na	na	na	na	na
	Rosenheim/Horndean (3-2)*	26	27	na	0	27	0
	TOTALS:	751	617	82.15	123	449	45
1904 **	Gretna	194	156	80.4	56	100	
	Altona	94	79	84.0	32	47	
	Rosenfeld	54	43	79.6	10	33	
	Plum Coulee	124	94	75.8	38	56	
	Winkler	130	114	87.7	22	92	
	Glen Cross (2-5)	74	44	59.5	22	22	
	Schanzenfeld (2-4)	43	26	60.5	1	25	
	Twp. 2, Range 2 (2-2)	18	14	77.8	4	10	
	Haskett/Reinland (1-4)	na	na	na	na	na	
	Rosenheim/Horndean (3-2)	59	29	49.2	6	23	
	TOTALS:	790	599	75.82	191	408	
1908	Gretna	175	136	77.7	50	86	
	Altona	164	142	86.6	79	63	
	Rosenfeld	53	40	75.5	22	18	
	Plum Coulee	139	102	73.4	57	45	
	Winkler	174	155	89.1	43	112	
	Glen Cross (2-5)	na	na	na	na	na	
	Schanzenfeld (2-4)	na	na	na	na	na	
	Twp. 2, Range 2 (2-2)	na	na	na	na	na	
	Haskett/Reinland (1-4)	na	na	na	na	na	
	Rosenheim/Horndean (3-2)	na	na	na	na	na	
	TOTALS:	705	575	81.56	251	324	

Table 3.3 cont'd.

Election Year	POLLING AREA	ELIGIBLE VOTERS	VOTES CAST	PER CENT	CONS. VOTE	LIB. VOTE
1911	Gretna	189	138	73.0	71	67
	Altona	213	164	77.0	92	72
	Rosenfeld	101	76	75.2	33	43
	Plum Coulee	230	147	63.9	73	74
	Winkler	228	160	70.2	66	94
	Glen Cross (2-5)	118	71	60.2	42	29
	Schanzenfeld (2-4)	na	na	na	na	na
	Twp. 2, Range 2 (2-2)	na	na	na	na	na
	Haskett/Reinland (1-4)	na	na	na	na	na
	Rosenheim/Horndean (3-2)	na	na	na	na	na
TOTALS:		1079	756	70.06	377	379

Election Year	POLLING AREA	ELIGIBLE VOTERS	VOTES CAST	PER CENT	UNION VOTE	LAURIER LIBERAL
1917	Gretna	72	60	83.3	46	14
	Altona	12	12	100.0	7	5
	Rosenfeld	23	14	60.9	11	3
	Plum Coulee	35	28	80.0	15	13
	Winkler	64	49	76.6	12	37
	Glen Cross (2-5)	45	31	68.9	26	5
	Schanzenfeld (2-4)	na	na	na	na	na
	Twp. 2, Range 2 (2-2)	na	na	na	na	na
	Haskett/Reinland (1-4)	na	na	na	na	na
	Rosenheim/Horndean (3-2)	na	na	na	na	na
TOTALS:		251	194	77.29	117	77

Election Year	POLLING AREA	ELIGIBLE VOTERS	VOTES CAST	PER CENT	CONS. VOTE	PROG. VOTE	INDPT. VOTE
1921	Gretna	365	269	73.7	na	52	217
	Altona	260	166	63.8	na	36	130
	Rosenfeld	190	107	56.3	na	50	57
	Plum Coulee	225	123	54.7	na	31	92
	Winkler	288	225	78.1	na	82	143
	Glen Cross (2-5)	332	267	80.4	na	136	131
	Schanzenfeld (2-4)	na	na	na	na	na	na
	Twp. 2, Range 2 (2-2)	na	na	na	na	na	na
	Haskett/Reinland (1-4)	154	44	28.6	na	18	26
	Rosenheim/Horndean (3-2)	125	79	63.2	na	45	34
TOTALS:		1939	1280	66.01	0	450	830

Table 3.3 cont'd.

Election Year	POLLING AREA	ELIGIBLE VOTERS	VOTES CAST	PER CENT	CONS. VOTE	PROG. VOTE
1925	Gretna	412	218	52.9	118	100
	Altona	276	115	41.7	79	36
	Rosenfeld	135	54	40.0	21	33
	Plum Coulee	225	170	75.6	133	37
	Winkler	552	186	33.7	94	92
	Glen Cross (2-5)	207	32	15.5	22	10
	Schanzenfeld (2-4)	na	na	na	na	na
	Twp. 2, Range 2 (2-2)	na	na	na	na	na
	Haskett/Reinland (1-4)	372	82	22.0	70	12
	Rosenheim/Horndean (3-2)	191	53	27.7	35	18
TOTALS:		2370	910	38.39	572	338
1926	Gretna	489	324	66.3	179	145
	Altona	408	312	76.5	152	160
	Rosenfeld	187	152	81.3	68	84
	Plum Coulee	357	255	71.4	163	92
	Winkler	462	430	93.1	141	289
	Glen Cross (2-5)	na	na	na	na	na
	Schanzenfeld (2-4)	na	na	na	na	na
	Twp. 2, Range 2 (2-2)	na	na	na	na	na
	Haskett/Reinland (1-4)	320	135	42.2	74	61
	Rosenheim/Horndean (3-2)	137	117	85.4	62	55
TOTALS:		2360	1725	73.09	839	886
1930	Gretna	605	379	62.6	184	195
	Altona	589	351	59.6	190	161
	Rosenfeld	363	273	75.2	123	150
	Plum Coulee	569	412	72.4	259	153
	Winkler	929	580	62.4	210	370
	Glen Cross (2-5)	295	212	71.9	101	111
	Schanzenfeld (2-4)	na	na	na	na	na
	Twp. 2, Range 2 (2-2)	na	na	na	na	na
	Haskett/Reinland (1-4)	638	429	67.2	222	207
	Rosenheim/Horndean (3-2)	261	174	66.7	114	60
TOTALS:		4249	2810	66.13	1403	1407

Table 3.3 cont'd.

Election Year	POLLING AREA	ELIGIBLE VOTERS	VOTES CAST	PER CENT	CONS. VOTE	LIB. VOTE	RECON. VOTE
1935	Gretna	674	408	60.5	195	187	26
	Altona	661	410	62.0	267	105	38
	Rosenfeld	433	294	67.9	166	124	4
	Plum Coulee	743	375	50.5	261	95	19
	Winkler	1188	726	61.1	353	343	30
	Glen Cross (2-5)	362	263	72.7	136	125	2
	Schanzenfeld (2-4)	na	na	na	na	na	na
	Twp. 2, Range 2 (2-2)	na	na	na	na	na	na
	Haskett/Reinland (1-4)	869	431	49.6	225	185	21
	Rosenheim/Horndean (3-2)	413	243	58.8	156	83	5
	TOTALS:	5343	3150	58.95	1759	1247	145

* One more voter than the number eligible to vote voted in this poll.

** As the number of eligible voters is not available, an interpolation was made based on an average from the previous and following elections for each poll.

the Mennonite Factor.

As in any quantitative study of historical data, problems exist, which while not insurmountable, must be recognized and addressed. In this project, while the difficulties did not seem to invalidate the findings, they did force some qualification of the conclusions.

It is impossible to be absolutely certain of the exact geographic area encompassed by each poll in the ten cases due to the uncertainty over poll boundary descriptions. One can surmise that since polls varied both in number and location from one election to the next, poll boundaries changed as well. Also, because complete voter lists could not be found, one cannot be sure that the ecological unit under study is continuous,⁷³ nor can we know that all who were legally eligible to vote were registered to do so.

It is also impossible to determine the percentage of registered voters on the West Reserve who were Mennonite, except by interpolation between census enumerations.⁷⁴ Thus the ten polls chosen as case studies may not encompass exactly the same geographical area in each election and obviously do not describe an identical population from 1887 to 1935.

⁷³ Linz, "Ecological Analysis," pp. 102-103 discusses continuity of data in ecological studies.

⁷⁴ The municipal voters lists discussed above do provide considerable evidence to suggest that Mennonites were well-represented on the lists of eligible voters.

Still, in the aggregate, in the comparisons between West Reserve electoral behaviour and non-Reserve voting, one can be reasonably certain of the data's validity. The West Reserve population consisted primarily of Mennonites, according to census figures and documentary evidence.⁷⁵ At times, Mennonites made up almost half the population of the federal riding of Lisgar,⁷⁶ and the predominantly Mennonite localities are identifiable from the census. Thus, if changes occurred in the relationship between voter turnout in the Reserve areas and voter turnout in the rest of the riding, the changes would be due to Mennonite behaviour, all else remaining equal. The same should also hold true for party preference.

The high percentage of Mennonites in the area suggest that we are, in fact, looking at electoral statistics which include a significant percentage of Mennonites, despite the lack of precise poll boundary descriptions and complete voters' lists for the ten polling areas studied.

If one remembers that this is a study of trends among various groups, the problems with poll boundary descriptions and voters lists is less significant than it would be if the

⁷⁵ Epp, Mennonites in Canada: Separate People, pp. 227-228; Ens, Rhineland, numerous pages; and Canada, Parliament, Census of Canada, 1880-81, vol. 1, pp. 196-199; 1891, vol. 1, pp. 226-231; 1901, vol. 1, pp. 156-157; 1911, vol. 2, pp. 14-15 and pp. 148-149; 1921, vol. 1, pp. 706-707; 1931, vol. 2, pp. 526-527 and pp. 638-639.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

emphasis were on following the behaviour of individuals. It would obviously be ideal to have individual level data, however, in the absence of those data, the material that is available contains sufficient information to support some meaningful conclusions, particularly concerning a possible relationship between ethnicity and voting behaviour.

All the important differences between Mennonites and non-Mennonites in Lisgar are functions of religion and/or ethnicity--that is, the differences can be attributed to the fact that Mennonites are Mennonite and non-Mennonites are not Mennonite. As an example, in the case of the Mennonites, land holding patterns in the period under study are often a function of ethnicity, as are civic government structure and language. Therefore, attributing differences in electoral behaviour between the Reserve and non-Reserve voters to something like language is much the same as attributing the differences to the presence of Mennonites on the Reserve. An observed correlation in this and many other cases might be construed as evidence of a causal relationship, despite the potential dangers of equating correlation with causation.⁷⁷

It is a premise of this study that because the significant differences between Mennonites and other Lisgar residents have to do mainly with the Mennonite Factor, great im-

⁷⁷ H. J. Loether and D. G. McTavish, Descriptive Statistics for Sociologists: An Introduction (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1974), p. 259.

portance will be attached to statistical correlations. Farmers have many common concerns, as do residents of towns. Loether and McTavish claim that in order for a causal interpretation to be put to a correlation, "one needs to know...that the association could not be 'explained away' by other factors."⁷⁸ Ethnicity appears to have been the only significant difference between Mennonites and their neighbours in Lisgar. "Other factors" do not really arise in this study. Additionally, it should be remembered that this thesis examines whether Mennonites voted and how they voted. It is not an attempt to prove, through the use of quantitative evidence, why Mennonites voted or why they voted as they did.

SUMMARY

Two methods are pursued. One determined changes in the Mennonite Factor for ten West Reserve polling areas, using a "panel of experts" approach. Two knowledgeable historians were asked to scale ten polling areas on the West Reserve in terms of the tendency of residents of those areas to maintain traditional values or accommodate to secular society, over the period from 1887 to 1935. When those historians assigned numerical values to the ten polls, results were similar enough to illustrate their validity. The ten polling areas chosen for detailed analysis were the most continuous and represent a mix of rural and town locations.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

The other method was to construct a numerical series documenting participation and preference of the entire riding from 1887 to 1935. All Reserve (Mennonite) polls were compared with all non-Reserve (non-Mennonite) polls in the riding for each federal election during the period, with voter turnout and party preference as the variables under study. Newspapers provided data for determining poll names and locations, while the "Reports of the Chief Electoral Officer" supplied official election results.

While the approximate nature of the data derived from both methods is admittedly less than perfect, the questions asked of the data are equally general.

Chapter IV

FINDINGS

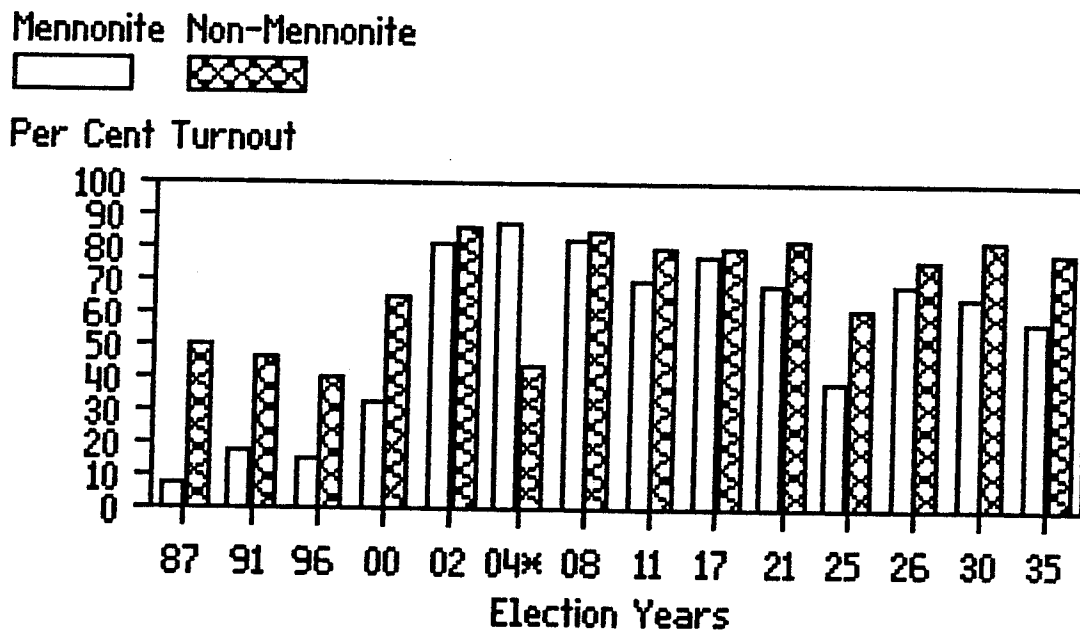
ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION

In the early years, Mennonite voter turnout in the West Reserve was negligible. A quick look at the statistics exhibited in Figures 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3 shows that out of slightly more than one-thousand eligible voters on the Reserve in 1887, only seventy-three appeared at the polls to cast their ballots. This represented only a 7 percent turnout in the Mennonite area of what was then called the Selkirk riding,⁷⁹ as opposed to a near 50 percent turnout in the non-Mennonite areas of Selkirk, where out of nearly eleven-thousand eligible voters, well over five-thousand votes were cast.

However, by the next election in 1891, the Mennonite area voter participation had more than doubled, both in actual numbers and in percent voter turnout, while in the non-Mennonite area, little difference was noted. The number of

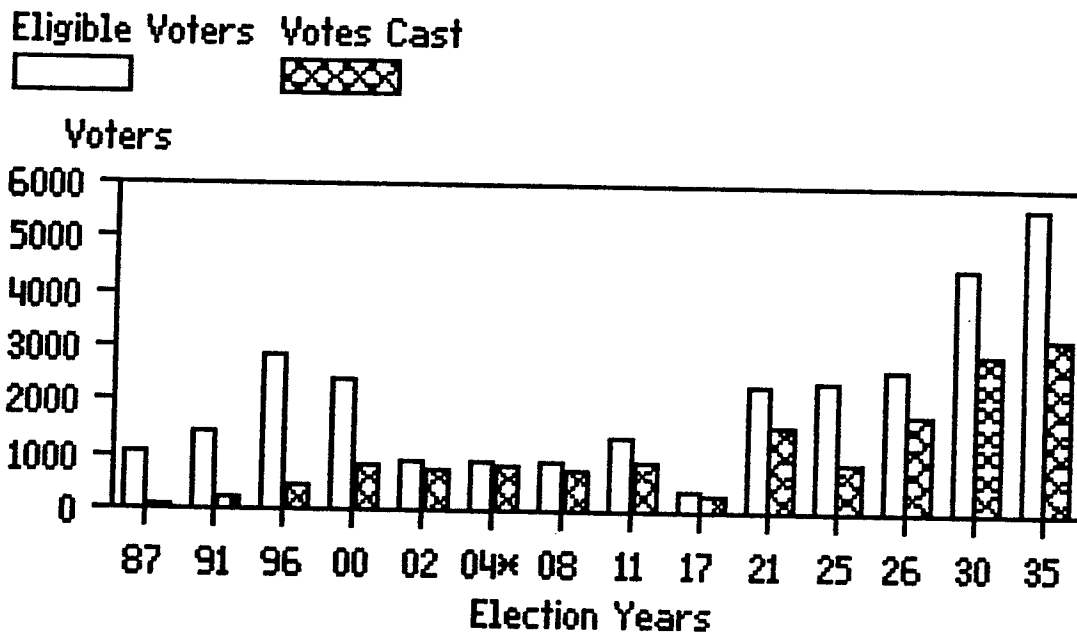
⁷⁹ The area which more or less made up Selkirk in 1887 was later called Lisgar. This change occurred between the elections of 1891 and 1896. That is, the name was Selkirk up to and including 1891, and Lisgar from 1896 to the present. For the sake of clarity, unless referring specifically to pre-1896 elections, the riding will be referred to as Lisgar. See the maps in Appendix D.

Figure 4.1 PERCENT VOTER TURNOUT



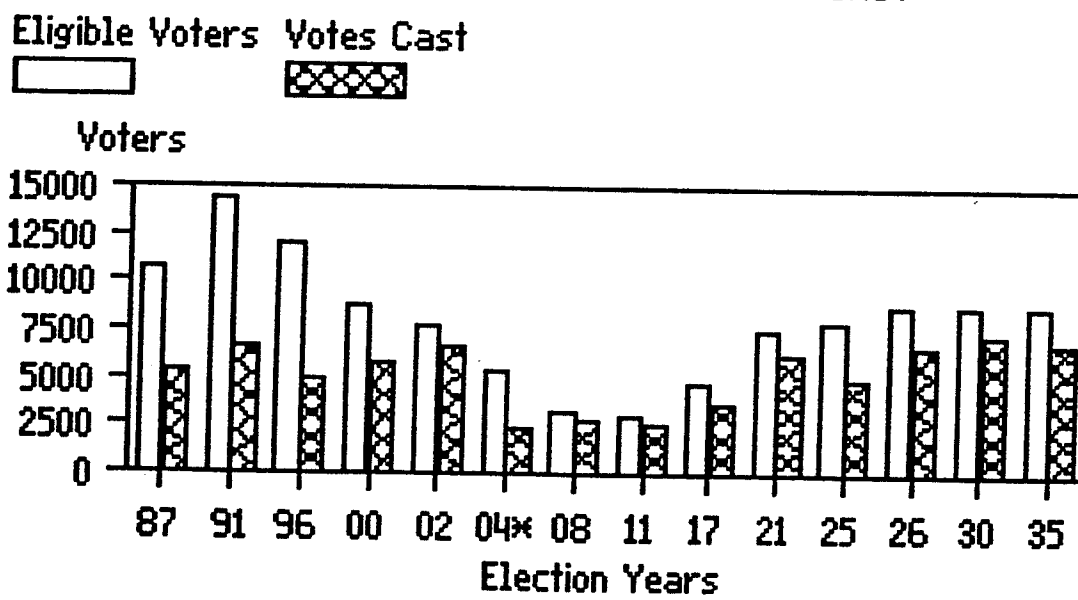
*Elig. interpolated from 1902 & 1908

Figure 4.2 MENN. ELIGIBLE & VOTES CAST



*Elig. interpolated from 1902 & 1908

Figure 4.3
NON-MENNONITE ELIGIBLE AND VOTES CAST



*Elig. interpolated from 1902 & 1908

eligible voters on the Reserve dropped inexplicably⁸⁰ from 2,820 in 1896, to 2,397 in 1900, and still further to 903 in 1902, rising to 1,313 in 1911. While such a decrease in voters in the absence of a decrease in overall population distorts the rising trend in voter turnout when expressed as a percentage of eligible voters, the actual number of voters in the West Reserve either remained nearly the same or increased over that period. At the same time, in the non-Reserve parts of Lisgar, the changes in voter turnout were more haphazard.

The election of 1917 is a good control for this study. Mennonites were specifically disenfranchised for various reasons, principally because of their status as conscientious objectors and their use of the German language.⁸¹

⁸⁰ The reasons for the drop in the number of eligible voters are not immediately apparent. Norman Ward does not offer any clues in The Canadian House of Commons: Representation (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950), and although the provincial franchise was adopted for federal elections, the relevant provincial acts do not supply the answers. See the Statutes of Manitoba, (1900), 63-64 Vic., ch. 11 (s. 6); Statutes of Manitoba, (1901), 1 Edw. 7, ch. 11 (s. 17e); and the Revised Statutes of Manitoba, (1902), 2 Edw. 7, ch. 52 (s. 184/ss. g). It is possible that the necessity of taking a literacy test in some instances kept many non-voters off of the polling lists, but this is only speculation. It may also be seen as a measure of political behaviour of Mennonites that so many were not registered as voters. However, more research is necessary before any meaningful conclusions can be reached.

⁸¹ Statutes of Canada, (1917), The Wartime Elections Act, 7-8 Geo. 5, ch. 39 (s. 2/ss 154(f) and s. 2/ss. e, g and h). For a further description of the disenfranchisement and a good discussion on Mennonite nonresistance during the period of the First World War, see Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920, pp. 371-386. Also see Francis, Uto-

Those Mennonites who managed to get on the voters lists ran the risk of losing their military exemption.

Any person having voted at a dominion election held subsequent to October seventh nineteen seventeen during present war (sic) shall be held ineligible to apply for or be granted on the application of another exemption from combatant military or naval service on conscience grounds.⁸²

Voting results for the 1917 election reveal that the number of eligible voters on the Reserve dropped by almost a thousand, and the number of voters who cast ballots dropped by about 650. In the non-Reserve polls, the number of eligible voters increased by over fifteen-hundred and 1,250 more votes were cast than in the 1911 election.

The enfranchisement of women in the 1921 election is an important factor.⁸³ The number of eligible voters on the West Reserve increased by a thousand over pre-war levels, and the number of votes cast increased by more than six-hun-

pia, pp. 188-190; Gerhard Ens, Rhineland, pp. 117-123; and Epp-Tiessen, Altona, pp. 103-107.

⁸² A. L. Haining to Rev. P. J. Epp, quoted by John Vogt to Rev. Benjamin Ewert, Gretna, Nov. 2, 1917. Also see The Wartime Elections Act, 7-8 Geo. 5, ch. 39 (s. 2, ss. e).

⁸³ Many women had already been enfranchised for the election of 1917. The Wartime Elections Act, 7-8 Geo. 5, ch. 39, (s. 33a), gave the franchise to the mother, widow, sister, daughter of person living or dead serving or having served in the military forces. Obviously, this did not apply to Mennonite women, as any Mennonites who served in the military were excommunicated from the Mennonite church. The election of 1921 was the first election in which Mennonite women were legally entitled to vote in federal elections. See Statutes of Canada (1918) An Act to Confer the Electoral Franchise Upon Women, 8-9 Geo. 5, ch. 20.

dred from 1911. Electoral participation increased in real numbers, even though percent voter turnout dropped from 1911 to 1921 by almost two percentage points.

The number of eligible voters as well as voter turnout more than doubled over the same period in that area of Lisgar not occupied by the Reserve. However, percent voter turnout only increased by under three percentage points, with the result that the difference between the voter turnout on and off the Reserve only amounted to 4.5 percent from 1911 to 1921.

The election of 1925 is a bit of an anomaly in terms of participation. The number of eligible voters increased slightly, while almost seven-hundred less ballots were cast than in the previous election. Thus, voter turnout on the Reserve dropped by 30 percent, while turnout decreased by 21.4 percent at non-Reserve polls in Lisgar. For the non-Reserve polls, the number of eligible voters also increased (by about 580) while the number of votes cast dropped by over twelve-hundred votes.

It is possible that similar factors were responsible for keeping such an unusual amount of voters away from the polling booths on and off the Reserve in that election, because by 1926, voter turnout increased over the 1921 levels by nearly three-hundred on the Reserve and by almost five-hundred in the rest of Lisgar. The trend of ever-increasing

numbers of voters casting their ballots (both on and off the Reserve in Lisgar) then continued uninterrupted through 1935. Percentage figures tended to fluctuate throughout the period, but this was often due more to variations in the number of eligible voters than changes in the number of votes cast.

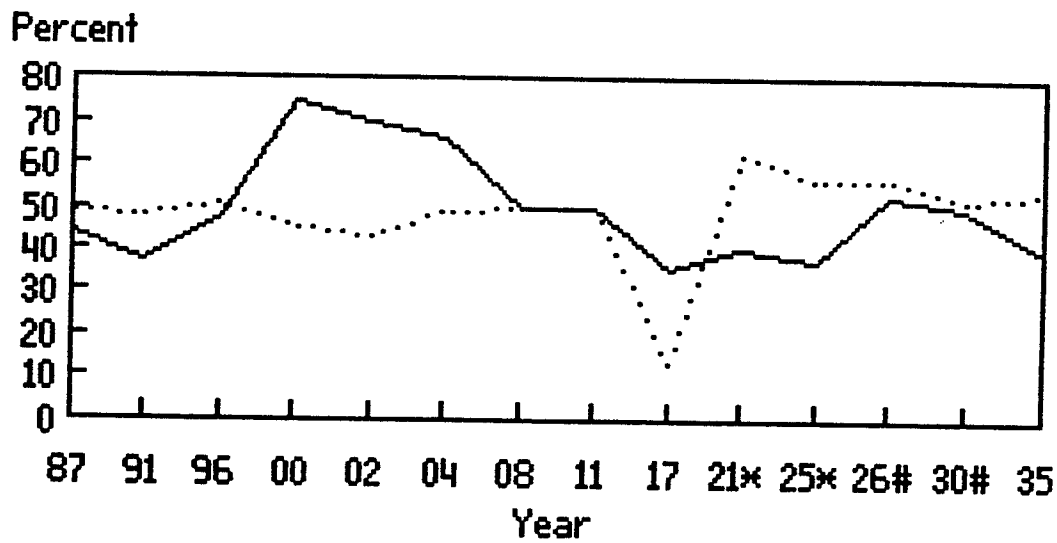
Thus, it is evident that Mennonite participation in the electoral process at the federal level in Canada gradually increased on the West Reserve from 1887 to 1935. Using 1917 as a control, the amount of Mennonite political involvement is fairly clear.

PARTY PREFERENCE

Considering party preferences, (exhibited in Figures 4.4 and 4.5) it is often difficult to discern much of a difference between the Mennonites and the non-Mennonites of Lisgar. The elections of 1896, 1908, 1911, 1926 and 1930, were especially indistinguishable exercises. In these elections, party preference differed by no more than 3.4 percent in (1926) and by as little as four-tenths of one percent (in 1908 and 1911). At other times, for example 1887, 4.6 percent separated the Mennonites and non-Mennonites, with 56.2 percent of the Mennonite vote going to the Conservative candidate and 51.6 percent of the vote outside the Reserve in favour of the Conservative as well.

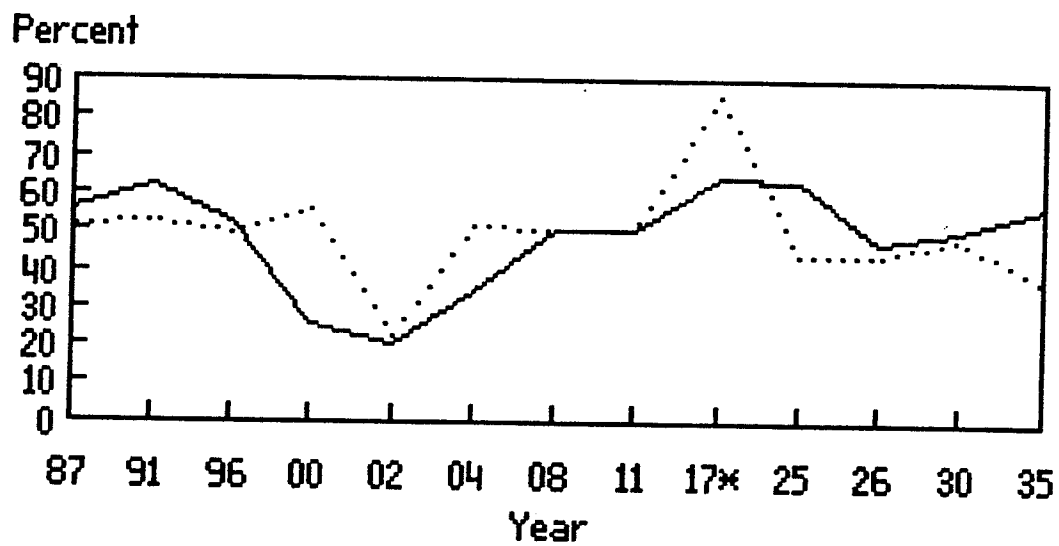
Figure 4.4 PERCENT LIBERAL PREFERENCE

Mennonite Non-Mennonite



*Progressive #Liberal-Progressive

Fig 4.5 PERCENT CONSERVATIVE PREFERENCE
Menonite Non-Menonite



*Union Party

Voters on and off the Reserve in Lisgar gave their support to the same party for six of the thirteen elections from 1887 to 1935 in which Mennonites were eligible to cast ballots; that is, voters in both the Mennonite and non-Mennonite areas voted more than 50 percent in favour of the Conservative party in 1887, 1891, 1908 and 1911. In 1902, the Mennonites gave a majority of their vote to the Liberal candidate and the non-Mennonite part of the Riding supported the Liberal candidate with a plurality. In 1926, the majority of the vote, on and off the Reserve, favoured the Liberal Progressive candidate.

Thus, Mennonite areas did not vote remarkably differently from the non-Mennonite areas of Lisgar. However, Mennonites appear to have been less loyal than non-Mennonites when it came to supporting a political party. Take as an example the Liberal party⁸⁴ vote on the Reserve compared with the rest of the riding. Support for the Liberal party in the non-Mennonite area of Lisgar varied from 43.1 percent of the vote in 1902 to 61.9 percent in 1921. This amounts to a difference of only 18.8 percent of the popular vote.

⁸⁴ In this context, the Liberal party includes the Progressives of 1921 and 1925 and the Liberal Progressives of 1926 and 1930. In each of these elections, there was no official Liberal party candidate, but because the same candidate ran as a Progressive in 1921 and 1925 and as a Liberal Progressive in 1926 and 1930, it seems reasonable to associate the Progressive of 1921 and 1925 with the Liberal Progressives (who can in turn be associated with the Liberal party).

On the Reserve, however, support for the Liberal party fluctuated from a low of just over 37 percent in 1891 and again in 1925 (when the candidate ran under the Progressive banner), to a high of 74.9 percent in 1900, a difference of about 38 percent. This is more than double the popular vote variation off of the Reserve. Of course, these figures do not include the election of 1917, when the Mennonites were not allowed to vote, and the Liberal party was seen by some as the party opposed to the war effort, thereby alienating a considerable number of non-pacifist voters in the non-Mennonite areas of Lisgar.⁸⁵

Popular support for the Liberal party on the Reserve was within 5 percent of the popular vote in non-Reserve polls in Lisgar in six of the thirteen elections from 1887 to 1935 (again excluding 1917). The difference in Liberal support between Reserve and non-Reserve polls was only four-tenths of a percent in 1908 and 1911. Only two percentage points marked the difference between the two in 1930, it was 3.1 percent in 1896, 3.4 percent in 1926, and 4.6 percent separated Mennonite Liberal support from non-Mennonite Liberal support in 1887.

⁸⁵ Laurier and the Liberals were opposed to Borden more on the question of conscription than over the war. However, as Epp points out in Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920, p. 372, Borden feared that the anti-conscription vote would go against him, and instituted the Wartime Elections Act to prevent conscientious objectors from voting. Many Anglo-Canadians believed that by opposing conscription, Laurier was abandoning the soldiers already overseas, thereby hindering the Allied war effort.

All the evidence tends to contradict those who speak of a traditional loyalty of West Reserve Mennonites to the Liberal party. The Mennonites of the West Reserve gave more than fifty percent of their votes to the Liberal party in only five of the thirteen federal elections from 1887 to 1935. The Liberal vote in 1908 on the Reserve stood at 55.4 percent of the total Reserve vote and support for the Liberal Progressive candidate in 1926 rested at a mere 52.5 percent of total Reserve votes cast. This could hardly be termed strong Liberal party support.

In only three elections--1900, 1902 and 1904--could the Mennonites be described as strongly supporting the federal Liberal party candidate in Lisgar. Even here, the Liberal share of popular vote on the Reserve declined steadily from 74.9 percent in 1900, to 69.4 percent in 1902 and 66.3 percent in 1904. It becomes apparent, through careful study of the electoral results, that non-Mennonites (off of the Reserve) in Lisgar, supported the Liberal party at the polls more than did the Mennonites on the Reserve. In fact, the Liberal share of the popular vote off of the Reserve was higher than it was on the Reserve in ten of the thirteen elections in which Mennonites were eligible to cast ballots. 1900, 1902 and 1904 were the only elections in which Mennonites supported the Liberals more strongly than did the non-Mennonites of Lisgar.

TEN POLLING AREAS

Moving from the questions of Mennonite versus non-Mennonite to intra-ethnic issues, the first matter of consideration is the pattern of accommodation and maintenance obtained from the two respondents, Peters and Ens. The results of this assessment were labelled the Peters Mennonite Factor (PMF) and the Ens Mennonite Factor (EMF), with the average of the two being the Average Mennonite Factor (AVMF).⁸⁶ Interestingly, as was mentioned in the previous chapter, the differences between the PMF and EMF are usually slight, in spite of the fact that Ens and Peters arrived at their conclusions independently.

The Frequency Distribution Table of Difference between EMF and PMF (Table 4.1) illustrates that in 120 of the 280 decisions about the ten communities at the time of the fourteen elections, or 42.9 percent of the time, Ens and Peters were in exact agreement locating a community on the seven point scale.⁸⁷ In 234, or 83.6 percent of the instances,

⁸⁶ It should be noted that in the regression analyses carried out on the ten polling areas, the Progressive candidate was classified as a Liberal in 1921 and "Other Party" in 1925. The Liberal-Progressive candidate was "Other Party" in 1926 and 1930. The "Other Party" candidate in 1921 ran as an independent. Even if the Progressive and Liberal Progressive candidate is considered as a Liberal for this analysis, the basic results are the same.

⁸⁷ Note that the four cases in 1887 for which Peters did not supply a value (Gretna, Plum Coulee, Glen Cross (2-5W) and Schanzenfeld (2-4W)) are treated as though they had the same value as they did for the following election. In a later discussion with Peters, he indicated that this

Table 4.1

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION TABLE
OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN EMF AND PMF*

Difference (EMF-PMF)	Frequency	Total	No Diff.	Within 1	Within 2
-3	8	280	120	234	272
-2	28		42.9%	83.6%	97.1%
-1	48				
0	120				
1	66				
2	10				
3	0				
TOTAL	280				

Frequency	Difference (EMF-PMF)	Difference	Frequency	Percent of Total 280
0	3	0	120	42.86%
8	-3	1	114	40.71%
10	2	2	38	13.57%
28	-2	3	8	2.86%
48	-1			
66	1			
120	0			

* Difference between EMF and PMF is the difference between the value suggested by Adolf Ens and that suggested by Jake Peters for each of the ten polling areas for each of the fourteen elections from 1887 to 1935, for a total of 280 discrete units.

The four cases for which Peters did not suggest a value for 1887 are treated as though they had the same value as they had for the following election year. (Peters agreed to this).

would be acceptable. The reason he did not supply numbers for those polls is that population in those areas in 1887 was very limited, if not non-existent.

the two historians were within a value of one in their assignments. For 272, or 97.1 percent of the total 280 cases, the Mennonite Factors of Ens and Peters were within two units of each other.

Jake Peters believes that Gretna residents would have generally been classifiable as fives on the Mennonite Factor continuum, at least until 1935, when he assigned Gretna a six. According to Adolf Ens, Gretna is slightly more accommodating than Peters indicates. Ens sees Gretna as a six on the continuum throughout the entire period.

There is no disagreement over the Mennonite Factor for Altona. Both Ens and Peters assign a value of five to Altona from 1887 to 1935--tending toward accommodation, but not too strongly.

Rosenfeld is also an area of limited disagreement between the two historians. Ens and Peters assigned identical values to the village for the period from 1887 to 1908. They think that Rosenfeld area residents were moderates, tending equally toward maintenance and accommodation. Peters, however, sees a slight move toward accommodation becoming evident from 1911 to 1935, whereas Ens does not.

Another slight difference appears in the Ens and Peters Mennonite Factors for Plum Coulee. Peters believes that the Mennonites in and around Plum Coulee became increasingly accommodating from 1887 to 1935. For Ens, the opposite is the

case. He sees a very gradual decrease in accommodation, with a Mennonite Factor value of five before the First World War becoming a four after the war. Interestingly, both Peters and Ens see World War I as a time of change for the world view of Plum Coulee and area residents, though they disagree on the effects of that war on the Mennonite Factor.⁸⁸

The last of the railway towns in this group is Winkler. Here we see the most consistent disagreement between Peters and Ens. Peters assigns a value which indicates strong accommodation until 1935, for which he assigns his only seven (strongest accommodator). On the other hand, Ens views the Winkler area as containing moderates and gives a Mennonite Factor of four to the polling area throughout the period.

The five rural polling areas are less in dispute. Ens and Peters were either in complete agreement or differed by only a value of one on the continuum with the exception of Haskett/Reinland in Township 1, Range 4 West from 1925 to 1935 and Rosenheim/Horndean (3-2W) in 1887. In these two cases, the Mennonite Factors varied from one to three points.

⁸⁸ Ens indicates that the Mennonites in and around Plum Coulee became less accommodating after the War. Peters, however, believes that the war brought an increasing tendency to accept the larger society, or at least some of its aspects. Their differences in opinion do not, however, result in a statistically significant variation.

Both assigned Glen Cross (2-5W) a Mennonite Factor of four until the 1926 election, when Peters indicates a slight move toward accommodation and Ens continues to see only a moderate four for the area. A similar situation can be found in the Schanzenfeld (2-4W) polling area. Ens and Peters indicate that the residents of this area are strong maintainers by assigning it a two until the 1925 election. Peters believes that there is a slight trend toward accommodation at that point, probably due to the emigration of the strongest maintainers in the region, and consequently assigns a three to Schanzenfeld for the elections of 1925 to 1935. Ens, however, retains the two for all elections of the period.

Peters and Ens are in complete agreement in the polling area of Township 2, Range 2 West (2-2W). Situated in the heart of the West Reserve, this polling area is placed at three on the continuum for the period of 1887 to 1891, and given a value of four for all remaining elections up to and including 1935. The consensus is that the Mennonites of this area were generally fairly weak maintainers until 1891, and moderates from 1896 to the end of the period.

The polling area represented by Haskett and Reinland (1-4W) is populated by strong maintainers. Ens and Peters differ only in their perception of the degree of maintenance, with Peters seeing the Haskett/Reinland Mennonites as falling in the category of strongest maintainers (one on the

continuum) and Ens classing them as strong maintainers (for a value of two). While Ens believes that this strong resistance to accommodation continued from 1887 through 1935 and beyond, Peters once again attaches considerable significance to the emigration of 1925 and the subsequent immigration of Mennonites from Russia. Peters indicates that the Russlaender immigration produced significant changes in the degree of maintenance in the area. He assigns a four to the area for 1925 and a five for 1926 through 1935.

In Rosenheim/Horndean (3-2W), the two Mennonite Factors are again very close. The one important difference between the two is that while Ens' assignments indicate a decrease in tendency to accommodate, Peters' figures reveal an increase in accommodation in the area. Even here, though, Ens and Peters only differ by a Mennonite Factor value of one unit, and fluctuate from indicating a moderate position (four) held in the area to a fairly weak accommodator (five) Mennonite Factor. The slight differences between the two have been de-emphasized by averaging the results of regression analysis with the Peters Mennonite Factor and the Ens Mennonite Factor (see Appendix C). This mean is referred to as the Average Mennonite Factor (AVMF).

Placing expert opinion on a numerical scale thus verified points of agreement, and revealed minimum divergence. Even more important, such a scale facilitates exploration of the differences between Mennonite groups on the West Reserve,

the relationship between the Mennonite Factor and voter turnout, the relationship between Mennonite Factor and party preference and the strength of those relationships.

The results of the statistical investigation were mixed. One hypothesis, the prediction of a positive correlation between the Mennonite Factor and electoral participation was confirmed.

Figure 4.6 shows that, in general, there does appear to have been a fairly strong relationship between the Mennonite Factor and participation. The regression coefficients in Appendix C show a strong positive correlation between accommodation and participation in nearly every election. The communities of strong maintainers were consistently less likely to exhibit high participation.

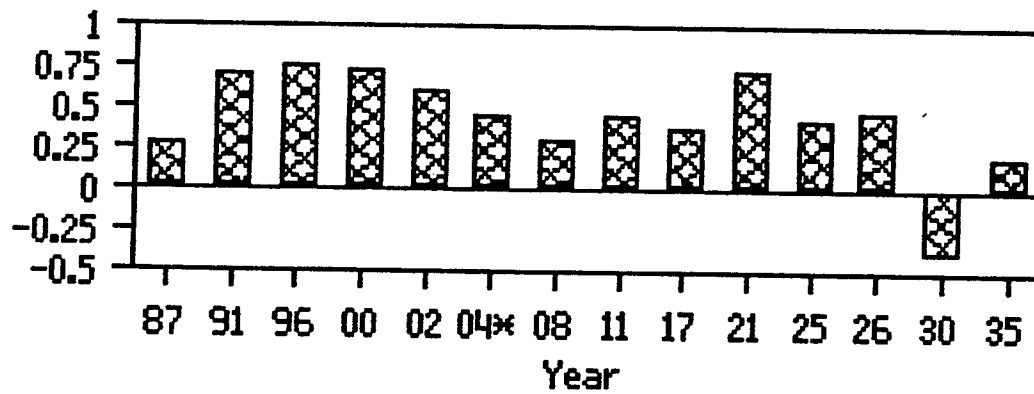
On the other hand, the hypothesis inherited from the conventional wisdom was not confirmed. There is no long-term correlation between ethnicity and party preference when the two findings are inter-related. It is evident that maintainers were less likely to vote in federal elections than were accommodators. Thus, those who actually voted were probably nearer the accommodator end of the Mennonite Factor continuum and it is those accommodators whom we are measuring in attempting to determine a relationship between degree of accommodation and party preference. The populations

Figure 4.6
AVMF# REGRESSION BY PARTICIPATION

AVMF/Participation



Coefficient of AVMF



* Eligible interpolated from 1902 & 1908
AVMF is average of PMF and EMF

See Table of Regression Coefficients in Appendix C.

of the data sets for measuring the relationship between Mennonite Factor and participation are thus quite different from the populations of the data sets for measuring the relationship between degree of accommodation and party preference. In fact, one might argue that the significant portion of the Mennonite population which did vote revealed their similarity to their non-Mennonite neighbours in the relatively even split in party support over the years.

Several major events must, however, be discussed for their relevance to Mennonite behaviour in federal elections during the period in question. The first World War has already been mentioned for its significant impact. Mennonites, as conscientious objectors and speakers of the German language, were not allowed to vote in the 1917 federal election.

According to numerous scholars, this generally did not create undue hardships for the Mennonites of the West Reserve.⁸⁹ As E. K. Francis points out,

It does not seem that the Mennonites were greatly aroused at the slight; many of them were forbidden by their church to participate in elections, while the others probably considered disfranchisement a fair price for military exemption.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Gerhard Ens, Rhineland, pp. 119-123; Epp-Tiessen, Altona, pp. 103-107; Francis, Utopia, p. 190.

⁹⁰ Francis, Utopia, p. 190.

Adolf Ens sums up the major effect of the war on the Mennonite community.

While the Mennonites were dismayed at the outbreak of war, they did little in the way of voicing their objection to the war. They were far more concerned with maintaining their exemption from military service and keeping their young people from voluntarily joining the military service. As early as 1916 the Bergthaler Church served notice that any member who volunteered for active service was automatically excommunicated.⁹¹

They were probably relieved that they did not have to make a decision for or against conscription in the federal election of 1917.⁹²

War was considered almost a function of secular government, which was one reason for Mennonite reluctance to get involved in the political process. Kauffman and Harder claim that Mennonites believed that "practically the only function of the state was to maintain order and, by police or military force, to defend itself from attack."⁹³ World War I was actually beneficial to Mennonites, so long as their conscientious objector status was allowed to remain

⁹¹ Adolf Ens, "Mennonite Relations," p. 281, cited by Gerhard Ens, Rhineland, p. 119.

⁹² The Mennonites were faced with a choice of whether or not to support conscription in World War II. However, many did not vote in that conscription plebiscite on the grounds that conscription would not affect them in any event due to their status as conscientious objectors. See H. S. Voth to the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, 23 April, 1942. MG14, B44, Box 8, File 2, No. 3925, PAM. For the results of the 1942 Conscription plebiscite, see the Winnipeg Free Press, April 29, 1942.

⁹³ Kauffman and Harder, Anabaptists, p. 150. Francis, Utopia, calls this an "ever-recurring theme." See also Adolf Ens, "Mennonite Relations," pp. 6-7 and 137.

intact, in that the price of wheat more than doubled from 1914 to 1918.⁹⁴

Another important issue was the question of schools. This is a topic which has been the subject of a good deal of discussion in Mennonite historiography,⁹⁵ which will not be duplicated here. Two periods are significant for this study. The Manitoba Schools Question of the 1890s represented some difficulties for the Mennonites, but the Laurier-Greenway Compromise resulted in amendments to the Manitoba School Act in 1897, and allowed bilingual instruction in schools under certain conditions.⁹⁶ E. K. Francis claimed that

the compromise obviously implied a limited school autonomy for ethnic minorities on a local level....these changes....had their repercussions upon...ethnic and religious groups, above all the Mennonites, who at the time were the most important minority in Manitoba, second only to the French.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Epp-Tiessen, Altona, p. 107.

⁹⁵ It is safe to say that nearly every book written since World War I about the Mennonites of Manitoba includes some discussion of the ramifications of "The Manitoba Schools Question" and the Manitoba Attendance Act for Mennonites. Some of these include, Francis, Utopia, pp. 168-186; Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920, pp. 333-362; Adolf Ens, "Mennonite Relations," p. 141; Gerhard Ens, Rhineland, pp. 123-126; Zacharias, Reinland, pp. 253-266. This, of course, includes only a sample of the vast body of literature on the subject of school legislation as it affected the Mennonites.

⁹⁶ Francis, Utopia, p. 170.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* His discussion on the entire issue is found in pp. 169-173.

However, Gerhard Ens downplays the importance of the Schools Act, and claims that

the 1890 School Legislation, which restricted public support to non-sectarian public schools, did not represent an educational crisis for Mennonites, since they did not expect financial support for their confessional schools, but only a guarantee of their right to operate their own schools at their own expense.⁹⁸

Federal Liberal popularity surged on the West Reserve in 1900, 1902 and 1904. However, it is beyond the range of this discussion to attribute that increase in Liberal support to any single issue. Countless factors play a role in determining the vote in any election, and while the Laurier-Greenway compromise may have been one variable, it would be too simplistic to claim that the Federal Liberals were rewarded by the Mennonites for their part in the amendments to the 1890 School Legislation.

The other salient point for this thesis is the provincial Attendance Act of 1914, which placed a considerable burden on the Mennonites of the West Reserve. In fact, one would expect that evidence of Mennonite disenchantment with the state might be revealed at the polls. Perhaps this was the case provincially, but at the federal level, the evidence is less conclusive. There really appears to have been no major change in party preference or voter turnout over the period in which the Attendance Act was dominant.

⁹⁸ Gerhard Ens, Rhineland, p. 76.

The lack of a definite impact of the Attendance Act on Mennonite voting behaviour may be linked to another phenomenon--the emigration of the strongest maintainer group to Mexico and South America, and the nearly concurrent immigration of a much more accommodating group from Russia. According to Gerhard Ens, 3,200 Reinlaender Church members went to Mexico between 1922 and 1925 and about 1,000 Sommerfelder Mennonites in Rhineland also emigrated. This represented about 64 percent of all Reinlaenders in Manitoba and about 30 percent of the Sommerfelders.⁹⁹ At roughly the same time, the first of the 445 families who immigrated to the Reserve from Russia arrived.¹⁰⁰ The Russlaender, as the new arrivals were called, are generally believed to have been much more accommodating to society than were the Reinlaender and Sommerfelder Mennonites whom they replaced, and

paradoxically, the Russlaender became Canadian in their hearts sooner than the Kanadier [as the original Reserve settlers were known], though the latter had a 50-year head start. The Canadianization of the Russlaender was held up only by their reluctance to accept English as a primary language.¹⁰¹

Epp goes further on this point when he claims that, speaking in general terms,

⁹⁹ Gerhard Ens, Rhineland, p. 128. The Attendance Act was an important factor in the decision to emigrate.

¹⁰⁰ Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940, pp. 199-209. The figure of 445 families is derived from Table 21 on pp. 208-209. This total was reached by 1937, with the bulk of the immigrants arriving well before that.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

for the early Kanadier especially, the Russlaender were too proud, too aggressive, too enthusiastic about higher education, too anxious to exercise leadership, too ready to compromise with the state, too ready to move to the cities....As far as the Russlaender were concerned, the Kanadier were too withdrawn, too simpleminded, too uncultured, too weak in their High German because of their excessive dependence on Low German, too afraid of schools and education, and too satisfied to follow traditions, social or liturgical, generation after generation without modification and change.¹⁰²

The Kanadier in this case were the more accommodating of the original group of Mennonites on the Reserve, as the maintainers had generally left.

A detailed discussion of the differences and similarities between the Russlaender and the Kanadier is beyond the purview of this discussion. However, the replacement of several thousand strong maintainers with a large number of more accommodating Mennonites might be expected to produce some interesting statistical results in elections. It can be surmised that the Russlaender were more prepared than the Reinlaender and Sommerfelder emigrants to participate in the electoral process.

According to the statistics (see Table 3.2 and Figures 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3) voter turnout in 1925 dropped significantly from pre-war levels. However, in 1921, percent voter turnout was not much different than it had been before the war, and the 1926 and 1930 elections had similar percent voter turnouts. Disaffection with either the Liberal or

¹⁰² Ibid., pp. 243-244. Emphasis added.

Conservative parties is difficult to measure in this critical period because in 1921 and 1925, a Progressive candidate ran in the place of a Liberal candidate. No Conservative candidate ran in the 1921 election, but Robert Rogers ran as an Independent. In 1926, a Liberal Progressive (who had run as a Progressive in the two previous elections) was opposed by a Conservative. A similar situation existed in 1930. It was not until 1935 that the Liberal party proper was once again represented.¹⁰³

It is apparent that the Mennonites did not generally support the Progressive party. An immediate upswing in the support for the Progressive candidate of 1921 and 1925 is apparent after he ran under the Liberal Progressive banner. However, the Liberal party, which had, under William Lyon Mackenzie King, re-opened the doors to Mennonite immigrants in 1922, did not even manage to get 40 percent of the popular vote in the Mennonite area of Lisgar in 1935. In fact, the Liberal candidate was elected as MP in spite of, rather than because of, the Mennonite vote.

The traditional argument that a grateful Mennonite constituency voted for the party which had allowed their "brothers" into the country is thus brought into question.¹⁰⁴ In fact, the opposite appears to be the case.

¹⁰³ In most instances in this thesis, the Progressive and Liberal Progressive candidate was treated as a Liberal, as the same man ran under both banners over the four elections.

Whatever factors were responsible for the strong Mennonite vote for Conservative W. C. Miller, the issue of Liberal party loyalty does not appear to have been dominant.

¹⁰⁴ Adolf Ens, "Mennonite Relations," p. 373, states that "another generation of Mennonites" would continue to vote Liberal as a result of this action.

Chapter V

CONCLUSION

The main prediction of this study has been shown to be partly correct. A strong positive correlation between the tendency of Mennonites to accommodate to society and to participate electorally is evident between 1887 and 1935. However, the statistical evidence reveals that there was little or no relationship between that tendency and party preference. Finally, the notion that West Reserve Mennonites traditionally supported the Liberal party of Canada has been disconfirmed for the period prior to 1935.

The indication, clearly, is that the Mennonite community on the West Reserve in Manitoba became increasingly similar to the non-Mennonite community in the riding of Lisgar in terms of political party preference and participation in federal elections. In fact, it is difficult to discern a consistent pattern of difference between Mennonite and non-Mennonite voters.

Due to the relative similarity in party preference between the two groups, the argument might be made that similar issues affected Mennonites and non-Mennonites alike. Such an argument depends, however, on individual-level statistical data, and no such evidence is available. The data

at hand can only suggest the importance of having the missing information because this data has shown rather clearly that ethnic influences appear to have played a diminishing role in participation and party support. Perhaps this study can contribute to the strength of arguments like the one made by David Smith when he claims that the "Canadianization of the non-English did succeed."¹⁰⁵ The findings outlined above also tend to rebut Peterson's argument that ethnic minorities "tended to vote as separate blocs."¹⁰⁶ The truly separate Mennonite block identified here was the non-voting maintainer part of the West Reserve population. Correlation analysis suggests the ethnic correlation stops there. Accommodation predicts voting, but says little if anything about voter preference.

John Warkentin asserts that, by 1890, church leaders on the Reserve were only in control of religious life. Perhaps the statistical evidence provided above can be seen as further corroboration of sectarian dominance. Credence is also lent to Adolf Ens' claim that the Mennonites evolved from a group strongly opposed to civil political activity to a society which became fairly politically active. However, Ens is also shown to be incorrect in asserting that Mennonites

¹⁰⁵ David E. Smith, "Grits and Tories on the Prairies," in Party Politics in Canada, 4th ed., ed. Hugh G. Thorburn (Scarborough: Prentice Hall, 1979), p. 275.

¹⁰⁶ Thomas E. Peterson, "Ethnic and Class Politics in Manitoba," in Canadian Provincial Politics: The Party Systems of the Ten Provinces, 2nd ed., ed. Martin Robin (Toronto: Prentice-Hall, 1978), p. 65.

"would again be Liberal for at least another generation."¹⁰⁷

Thus, the importance of statistical verification of assumptions has been illustrated. Quantitative evidence lends credence to some assertions and reveals the weaknesses of others. The qualitative nature of Mennonite historiography can, and should be augmented, wherever possible, with verifiable statistical evidence. Fallacies such as the undying Mennonite support of the Liberal party can thus be laid to rest, and a more factual history written.

Juan Linz recognizes the value of ecological data in the study of factors that determine traditionalism.¹⁰⁸ The Mennonites of Manitoba provide a useful example of how group electoral data can reveal a decline in traditional practices. Through a careful analysis of that data, the way is paved for some useful studies of Mennonite assimilation or accommodation as well as of ethnic cohesiveness.

The use of quantitative methods in areas of historiography which are traditionally qualitative (such as Mennonite history) can open a whole new world of investigative possibilities. The findings of this thesis raise questions which must be answered in future studies. The whole area of Manitoba Mennonite political involvement should be statistically analyzed. The results of those analyses could then provide

¹⁰⁷ Adolf Ens, "Mennonite Relations," p. 373.

¹⁰⁸ Linz, "Ecological Analysis," p. 101.

factual bases for research into the qualitative factors responsible for the politicization of the Mennonites of Manitoba.

As this thesis illustrates, commonly held assumptions can be shown to be incorrect through thorough statistical study. A start has been made in the reassessment of Mennonite history, a reassessment based on verifiable, sometimes quantitative research, rather than on the perpetuation of comforting myth.

Appendix A

INTERVIEW WITH ADOLF ENS

9 December, 1986. Canadian Mennonite Bible College, Winnipeg.

The following is an interview with Adolf Ens, an instructor in Mennonite studies at the Canadian Mennonite Bible College. His Ph. D. thesis (Ottawa) deals with Manitoba Mennonite involvement in municipal politics. He lived in Reinland, on the West Reserve, for many years and his experiences of the area are both academic and personal.

Question: I'm talking to Dr. Adolf Ens on the 9th of December. I'm looking at ten polling areas which are fairly continuous from 1887 to 1935. They are Gretna, Altona, Rosenfeld, Plum Coulee, Winkler, Glen Cross, Schanzenfeld, Township 2-Range 2, Haskett/Reinland and Rosenheim/Horndean. I don't know the exact boundaries of these polls, but I want to characterize the towns or villages and the surrounding area as clearly as possible, and arrive at a working definition for the variability of Mennonite small 'c' conservatism in terms of the Mennonite attitudes to Canadian society. For each poll described for every election, it would be good to have it described in terms of the residents' tendencies to 'maintain' or their tendency to 'accommodate' to Canadian

society. I have come up with a continuum, with numbers from one to seven, with 'one' indicating that an area's residents tend to be strong maintainers, and 'seven' indicating a strong tendency toward accommodation. The first question I would like to ask is how you understand the terms 'maintainer' and 'accommodator' in this context.

Answer: I take it you're basically trying to get away from 'conservative' and 'something else'.

Question: That's right, the more value-laden terms.

Answer: Well, accommodators would be those who attempt to fit in with mainstream Canadian society as rapidly as the inertia of the group settlement will allow. That means that they would, for example, be very open to having their children acquire English as a usable language. That they would be relatively free about accommodating in railroad towns for example, even having their children go there. People there would be more ready to consider the possibility of vocations other than farming for their children. There would be a tendency to, if not to want to move on[to] your individual homestead, then at least, not to insist that only the traditional communal--semi-communal--life of a village would be acceptable. There would probably be some religious factors involved in that too, but, I think--on maintainers, I can say that more strongly--that the maintainers would be far more committed to having church leadership determine what

kinds of things in Canadian society are acceptable, and what kinds of things are not. So that, they would be less inclined to want to make independent judgements about what kind of school our children should go to, or whether we should participate in municipal office, or whether we should have commerce with the towns or not. That sort of thing. And I think that is...I would say that is a key way of sorting that out. Less in personal attitude than in the willingness to let the church as a community make the decision.

Q: Sort of an institutional...?

A: In a way, institutional, but it is very strongly personal. In the early years, the group...the Reinlaender/Old Colony Church would be the strongest perhaps on the accommodat...I mean on the maintainer side. And there, it is certainly until 1905 very strongly, the person of Bishop Johann Wiebe, who it seems, was in many ways a statesman and who had, for a good part of that time, a civil counterpart in Isaak Mueller, who seemed to share his ideals. And, in a way it is institution, but in a way it is really the strong personalities of Wiebe and Mueller.

Q: And I guess we'll see later on what areas those men had an effect. Okay, so that's for the maintainers and accommodators. Then, in your opinion, what criteria would one use in assigning the polling stations that I've mentioned...what criteria would you use in determining their values along that continuum, from 1-7?

A: Obviously, with my definition or my, sort of saying how they come to be maintainers or accommodators, I would look first of all at which is the dominant church in that area. You cannot say this block here is exclusively Bergthaler, this is Sommerfelder. It's an interspersed area. But you can find an area which is predominantly Reinlaender or Old Colony, and then you can find an area which is strongly mixed after 1895, (let's say) Sommerfelder and Bergthaler. And, within that mixed area, you would then have villages which are strongly Sommerfelder and villages which are strongly Bergthaler. So that would be one criterion.

Second one would be the integrity of the village. Whether a certain...a large number of people have moved out on[to] their individual homestead or not.

A third one would be when the public school came in. Whether it came in before the compulsory schools were introduced in 1919-1920 or whether they had voluntarily chosen to have a public school ahead of time. And then, there again you would need to split up those communities in which part of a community brought in...voted in a public school, part of the community maintained a private school, where you'd have the division of it. And that again one can find fairly easily by looking at the dates of introduction of public schools.

The relationship to the commercial towns, the railway towns that you have mentioned, I think is an important indicator. How strongly distance was maintained from them and whether you could have a congregation meeting in the town. The Reinlaender/Old Colony would never have a congregation in Winkler or Altona, or one of those places at all.

I suspect that one could find more individualized things in the speed with which people went to non-traditional farming, but I don't know how you can do that for communities. My guess is that the people who experimented with new crops were more accommodating than the ones who did the traditional wheat, oats, barley rotation, maybe with flax thrown in...or the earliness with which they switched technology.

Q: Could you then assign numerical values to or characterize the polls I've chosen, in terms of their maintaining and accommodating?

A: Well, there might be a couple of other things...how they sing in church. As you know, one of the issues was whether four-part harmony singing was okay, and whether not. And, another one would be, the mode of transportation--whether bicycles were permitted or whether you could have a top-bug-gy or not, and whether you could have bells on the horses' harnesses, things like that. Interesting things, but again, I don't know the criteria for that.

Okay, on the rating of these [polling] stations, if we begin with the list's one to five, that is, the railroad towns, I have the feeling that Plum Coulee was probably the one with the highest percentage of non-Mennonite people living in it. I may be wrong in that, but I suspect it was. And, that, therefore it had the greatest diversity. But generally, these five would be...the people living in them, the Mennonites living in them would be strongest on the accommodator side. In fact, the Reinlaender Church forbade people moving into these towns.

Q: What period are we talking about here?

A: Up to 1922, when they started emigrating. So that covers up to there. After that, the Reinlaender Church...by 1925 it was deemed not to exist. Although there were about a third of the members of the Reinlaender [Church] stayed behind, but they were then left to their own decisions with respect to accommodating.

On the other extreme then, the most solidly non-accommodating...what do we call them?...retainer (there it is) would be in that block--townships one and two, ranges three and four--that is the block that includes Haskett/Reinland and up to Rosenort. This block here [refers to map] just south of Winkler, plus, probably 2-1, Township 1, Range 2, which includes Blumenhof and Blumenort. Because that is essentially, the Reinlaender [Church] territory and if you

look on the introduction of compulsory public schools, that is the area that really, for the most part, did not opt to take them at all.

Q: So that area would have tended, then, toward the main-tainer side?

A: They would have strongly...fairly strongly...there were breaks into that. As you know, a number of the villages had stronger sections of people who joined the Bergthaler Church, and later on the Sommerfelder [Church], including all the way into the village of Reinland.

Glen Cross, that's a polling station there, [township] 2-5, that's just on the western fringe. It's not.... You have the vicinity of Morden, you have, in a way, the 'fringe' people there. And, from my recollection, that community would have been a quite mixed one. On the one hand, you have the people who are on the fringe, and who therefore are, sort of individualists and who interact with people who are beyond the Mennonite community. On the other hand, you have some very conservative people there. So I'm not sure how you would characterize that one. If I had to vote, I would go for a 4, not knowing.... Because you have a mixed batch on....

But that is, as you know, later on, after 1936 that was the site of one of the EMMC or Rudnerweide churches. So that, the Sommerfelder people who were there were open to

the much more accommodating thing that came along with the Rudnerweide revival. (I hope you edit this stuff so it doesn't sound as bad as it is--referring to doors banging in background).

Q: No, this is fine. Are there any particular areas...the Reinland area you mentioned earlier, for example, strong leadership of Mueller and Wiebe?

A: Yeah, that would extend...like Mueller lived in Neuhorst, his successors, the Rempels, lived in Blumenort, but they were much more open to accommodation. One of the Rempel guys was his successor for a while. And then, Froese, and Froese lived in Reinland. The Bishops, through 1911, lived in Rosengart--Johann Wiebe and then his son Peter Wiebe--and then their successor Johann Friesen lived in Neuhorst. So that's just slightly north. But it's all...I mean in Neuenburg, not Neuhorst...that's all within that Reinland/Haskett vicinity. That was sort of the heartland of the Old Colony and the Reinlaender Church.

Q: There was a strong tendency towards maintaining traditional lifestyle?

A: Quite strong. In fact, the land holding pattern--that might be another one that one could look at--you know, the Mennonites in the 1870s constructed these villages and took up homestead patent on individual quarter sections, but the land was in fact divided in strips in the Russian pattern,

and was operated that way. That was maintained well past the 1920s in those areas. The pattern of local village government by Schult and so forth, that continued well into the 1940s in some of those villages. I mean, long after the main group of maintainers had gone to Mexico, and relatively new people had come in from Russia in the 1920s. That was maintained.

Q: In which villages would this have been?

A: I know for sure in Reinland and in Neuenburg, probably in Schoenwiese, that these patterns were perpetuated. I think in Reinland, you know these rains (sp?) that were down between the strips [of land], they were plowed down in 1936 or thereabout. They would have been in fairly high because people had always left a strip between their [fields] and the dust would erode from the field(?) and you had to plow them down once you wanted to farm a quarter-section as one piece. That's a relatively late development. I think there was a lot of momentum there to maintain, even after the advocates of maintenance had gone to Mexico.

Q: A sort of inertia...?

A: It may have been that the Mennonites who came there from Russia, that would go all the way from Blumenort through to Osterwick/Hochfeld on the west. They came mostly from a daughter colony of the Old Colony in Russia, Baratoch and Schlachtien (sp?). So they were, in Russia, they were vil-

lagers. They had presumably been of the poorer people, because those daughter colonies were founded in the 1870s. And so, they had not participated in all of the industrialization and, you know, the school advances and so on and so forth, in Russia. As over against the people, for example, who came in the 1920s, to the Whitewater/Boissevain area. Those were Molotschna people who had, in many ways, accommodated much more in Russia already.

Q: What about the M. B. [Mennonite Brethren] influence in the Winkler area?

A: Yes. The M. B. influence, and later on...well, you go to 1935, yeah, okay, so you don't worry about that 1936 thing. The 1936 Rudnerweide revival is important in that, I think it indicates areas where there was an openness for it to happen. And so, the fact that Reinfeld, and Hoffnungsfeld--Reinfeld particularly, and Glen Cross and those areas--were open to revival, I think it suggests already, a softness there of the maintainer attitude, in the 1930s.

The M. B. influence would be north of Winkler more than south of Winkler. I mean, from Burwalde and then into the Hoffnungsfeld area, but, I think, largely in that northern area. And, it's hard to say whether the M. B.s found an openness there, because those people were already marginal. You know, that Morden influence. Or whether there were some family connections.... You might find it useful to look at

Arne Neufeld's M. A. thesis, if you haven't done so, on the origin of the M. B. church in that Burwalde area. I don't know whether he's done the genealogical work, you know, to find out why it caught hold there and didn't in the heartland of the Mennonite community. But the M. B.s were among the first to be willing to have a congregation located in town, or a church building located in town.

Q: When was that?

A: I'm sure, just after the turn of the century. But, at one point when they moved it from Burwalde, you know, they couldn't quite agree on it, so they moved the church building to within two miles of Winkler. But you couldn't quite move it in, because it still wasn't...the time wasn't right for it yet. But, with respect to public school accommodation, they were right there. But that's also...I mean, the Sommerfelder group were in fact initiators in this society, which attempted to ensure that there would be teaching of German and religion in the public schools. They took that initiative. And, the Sommerfelder were, by 1926, the main supporting body of the MEI [Mennonite Educational Institute] in Altona. So, I have at least revised my attitude about the Sommerfelder as being such strong maintainers, because I think in many respects, they were--certainly from 1905, maybe from 1903 onward--quite willing to accommodate in certain areas as well.

Q: Around where would you find that kind of attitude?

A: In the area east and west of Altona, running around probably to Horndean, maybe Plum Coulee.

Q: Following the periphery of the reserve?

A: Well, in a way, but you see, the one area in the Sommerfelder/Bergthal area, where the government had to impose public school district as Sommerfeld. And I'm not sure, but that's of course in your [Township] 1-5, I mean [Township] 1-1 East, which you're not looking at. But, that was a...that appears, at least by that criterion, to have been a pretty strong maintainer community. But in the other schools east and west of Altona/Gretna, they voted fairly early to found public schools. And while they temporarily withdrew when the pressure came on in 1918, they were very quickly forced back into the public school system. And, as I say, by the 1920s, they were the main supporters of the MEI in Altona. And they were the founders, or the initiators of that school commission. They were in with the Bergthal and M. B. people on all of the representations to the government. They were really fairly sophisticated politically, in a way which the Reinlaender group steadfastly maintained non-involvement.

Q: This was the Sommerfelders?

A: The Sommerfelders were in with that.

Q: E. K. Francis mentions a line from, I think it is, Plum Coulee to Gretna, roughly?

A: That's supposedly the boundary. I think it pretty well is. But where people settled, who came from Bergthal colony, and people who came from Chortitza/Fuerstenland...I'm not sure how much difference that makes. Because Rosenfeld village was an Old Colony village, in that sense. And, in the area around Bergfeld, there were a considerable number of the people were also of Old Colony background rather than Bergthal background. So there is a kind of a wedge in that way which is also not Bergthal, and I don't think that there are significant differences in their attitudes.

Q: In their attitudes from their neighbours?

A: From the rest of the Bergthal people. They were, of course, incorporated in Canada into the Bergthal Church very early on.

Q: And you think that those east of that line tended to be more accommodating toward Canadian society in general or not?

A: No, I don't know that area that well. I think one can say, on the school issue they were.

Q: More accommodating?

A: More accommodating than the range 3 [and] 4 block. At least up to the middle of the twenties. But, as you know, you have to look for major changes with the coming of the new Russian immigrants in the 1920s, and the leaving of substantial number[s] of, probably, the strongest conservers or maintainers in the emigration of 1922-26.

Q: You mentioned earlier that the emigration [to Mexico] did not produce as drastic changes as might be expected. Even with the immigration of the Russlaender, there was still a tendency towards maintaining traditional, for example, village patterns.

A: That becomes a mixed bag--the maintainers there. I think very clearly, with respect to language change, the coming of the Russian Mennonites gave a tremendous impetus to German, the maintenance of German. Because they were more set on it almost than the ones who had been here for fifty years already. And so, very quickly, you had teachers in virtually all of the schools in the Mennonite region who had received teacher training in Russia, completely in German, with quickly learn[ing] enough English to be able to teach. But they were the ones who now maintained the Mennonite public schools. But that meant that the German language received a new lease on life. They were keen on living in villages, because they had not yet experienced the individualist style of North America. But with respect to learning English, and broadening the curriculum, and being

eager to participate in democracy, I think they were far, far more ready than the ones who had left. So, it had this two-edged thing there. That's why, after 1922, it's very hard to gauge your maintainer/accommodator pattern.

Q: Because in some ways they were more maintaining and in other ways they were much more accommodating...

A: Exactly.

Q: ...than the ones they replaced?

A: They were very keen on maintaining schools that were Mennonite. Because in Russia, you know, their pattern still had been very much a closed society, virtually closed society, in which they maintained those schools. But they had been using the Russian language there for fifty years as the main language of teaching in the schools and they saw no problem with teaching in English over here. That is, no problem except that teachers had to learn a new language. But they did that very quickly.

Q: So, when you said that the Mennonites from Russia, in the later migration, that those Mennonites had stressed the importance of German, where was German important? In the church, in the home...?

A: And in the school.

Q: And in the school?

A: Because in the school, the law permitted you to teach religion, half an hour of religion in German, outside of the 9:00 to 3:30, or whatever. So all of those villages would have half an hour of German from 8:30 to 9:00 and half an hour of religion, taught in German, from 3:30 to 4:00. And it's not so much the emphasis on it but on the quality. These were people who had learned German very thoroughly. So, in that respect I think...as you know, in that respect they strengthened the "Germanness", or they perpetuated the sense of people being German. And as you know, language can be a boundary maintainer in quite unintended ways. Some people can use language deliberately to keep people from understanding things that are on the radio, but you can also do it where you're very open to the use of English but the fact that this was held in high esteem by the leaders of the community gives you, in a way, your sense of identity. And I can remember, a young nephew of mine (and it's in very recent times) before he went to school, he would identify himself as a German, which to my, by then somewhat sophisticated ear, sounded very strange. I mean I would not call myself a German.

Q: The final question I have then is, from 1887 to 1935, was there a considerable change in attitude toward Canadian society in general on the reserve or was there a specific area where the attitudes changed more radically than others?

A: I would guess that in the five towns, the change would have been a gradual one, but a much more extensive one. I would think that in the village areas, the rural heartland, that you probably had more marked change at the time of the emigration/immigration, and shortly after the introduction of public schools throughout the system. One can't separate those two because they came at the same time, but the introduction of the public school will have made a very, very significant difference. Because, until the people went to Mexico, they really didn't learn civics, or Canadian history, or anything like that. So that, the attitude was still maintained that the Oberschultze or the Obervorsteher is the one who is the buffer between us and the rest of officialdom. And, the commerce that you do is done through either Jewish people, who speak Low German, or through Mennonites, who, while they have fallen from the 'true faith', so to speak, but nevertheless, are still a kind of buffer. And that's where you can deliver your grain in the city or buy your groceries, (or something like that) and in the railroad towns.

But I think that in that heartland, until you had the first generation who had graduated from the public schools, being the shapers of community attitudes, there shouldn't have been a fairly significant shift in that.

Q: When was that?

A: Well, if they went into the public schools for the first time in the early 1920s, they would hit the market beyond your time period.

Q: Did you have anything else that you thought might be relevant?

A: I wish you luck in assigning numbers to these things [polling areas], because it really would be very difficult to do that. I could, from my vantage point of living in Reinland, I could assign a 2 or a 1 to Blumenfeld and Schoenwiese, but then I might assign, you know, if those were 1s, I might assign a 2 to Rosengart, and Reinland, maybe a 3.

Q: And for the area?

A: For the area as a whole I'd put them around 2 maybe. But then you get, from my understanding of places like, one of the towns around Altona, one of the villages around there, you know, I might have given them a 4 or possibly even a 5, but that would be, in that area, I would be guessing more or going by impressions.

Q: Well, I guess this has to be, by the very nature of the question, a very qualitative kind of judgement.

A: And you can of course apply the criteria of public schools, you know, when it was permitted, and of which of the Church groups was it....well, we said that all already,

you don't want to transcribe this once more, so let this part be stricken from the record.(laughs).

Q: Thank-you very much.

A: Okay.

[Please note: Although Dr. Ens did not assign specific values for all areas in this interview, he did so in a subsequent interview on 27 January 1987, Canadian Mennonite Bible College.]

Appendix B

INTERVIEW WITH JAKE PETERS

The following is a transcript of an interview with Jake Peters, (on 4 December, 1986) an historian specializing in Mennonite history with a special interest in the West Reserve in Manitoba.

Question: I'm talking to Jake Peters, on the 4th of December. I'm talking to him about the assignation of various numerical values to the 10 polls which I have chosen and I'm asking him about assigning numerical values which relate to the small 'c' conservatism of each of those polling areas. First of all Jake, I need to arrive at a working definition for the variability of Mennonite small 'c' conservatism in terms of their attitudes to Canadian society. Is there anything that you can tell me regarding Mennonite attitudes in the ten polling areas that I have chosen--those are Gretna, Altona, Rosenfeld, Plum Coulee, Winkler, Glen Cross and the township 2-5, Schanzenfeld [in] township 2-4, township 2-2, Haskett/Reinland which is in township 1-4, and Rosenheim/Horndean which is in township 3-2. Is there anything you can tell me about those ten polls which would enable me to assign numerical values of, or rather, numerical values to their conservatism?

Answer: Well, it's of course different for each of the different polls, but, the Gretna poll for example, you had primarily Mennonites of Bergthal colony background from the Bergthal church in the West Reserve, with a sprinkling of Sommerfelder people in there, and, on the scale of accommodating, you know, mild, less strong and strong accomodators, generally I guess you would have people in that poll I think who would fit somewhere between categories 4 and 7. You know, many of the Bergthal church, Manitoba Bergthaler Church people fitting perhaps in category 6 and many of the Sommerfelder people caught between, or in, categories 4 and 5...and it varied from individual to individual but that indicates direction I think. And then of course, in Gretna, you would also have some non-Mennonites who need to be noted.

In the Altona poll, again there was a fairly significant Bergthaler Church group that one would have, at least if one included communities like Kleinstadt, Hochstadt, the town of Altona...Schoenthal of course was a Sommerfelder centre, you know, and the same kinds of things I said before about the earlier poll [Gretna] I think hold, whether its Sommerfelder or Bergthaler Church people that you're talking about. Is this alright?

Q: This is exactly what I need.

A: Going through on a poll by poll basis?

Q: That's right. So how would you then describe Altona in terms of numerical values?

A: I guess, Altona, I would say, on balance would be a category 5 by the...

Q: A fairly strong tendency toward accommodation?

A: At least a perceptible tendency towards accommodation, rather than the other way. Given that the towns, the townspeople who were of Mennonite background I think tended to be, in large measure, from the Bergthaler church, and the Sommerfelder people, in the town at least, were a minority.

And, poll number three there, the Rosenfeld poll, I find it very difficult to say anything about it other than the fact that you of course had quite a few German Lutherans in the area and that the original village of Rosenfeld was in fact a Chortitza/Fuerstenland village, not a Bergthaler village, but beyond that it's difficult for me to really, really say much on that particular poll.

The Plum Coulee poll, depending on what one all wants to speak of being in there. Would Rosenheim be considered as part of the Plum Coulee poll?

Q: Not usually.

A: No, no, okay, that's Horndean. Oh yeah, right. I see what you're saying. So, it would be Lindenau, Grossweide, and what else in there?

Q: Oh, probably...

A: Hamburg, which isn't on the map here, is right about there, that little dot made earlier [refers to map of West Reserve]...

Q: Which is about 3, 4, 5 miles...

A: About 4 miles from Plum Coulee...

Q: 4 miles from Plum Coulee in a northwesterly direction.

A: Yeah. The Plum Coulee poll, obviously again the people who moved into the town have taken an accommodator stand right there, you know, by virtue of that move you can pretty much say they're category 6s. But some of the smaller communities in the area like some of the Grossweide community was originally largely Sommerfelder, but there was much Mennonite Brethren activity in there. The attitude there changed over time, you know, and it's a continuum that starts before your period [1887] perhaps, and ends later than your period [1935], but, for 1930 you know, they probably would have been a category 5 in Grossweide, and then Hamburg, on the other hand was probably a category 2, because it was predominantly Old Colony people living in Hamburg.

Q: In general, the area?

A: In general, the Plum Coulee area, you know if I.... I'd say in broad strokes, it would probably be a category 5, you

know. But I'm a little bit 'iffy' on that because you have everything in, you know, in the immediately surrounding vicinity, you have Old Colony, you have Bergthaler people and you have M. B. people there.

The Winkler poll ... included of course a considerable M. B. presence, who were strong accommodators, in part, you know, category 6, category 7, definitely tended towards accommodation. They were the first people to really accept the movement into towns without any reservations, they were less bound by rules and regulations in many things; in their outlook, you know, and more inclined generally to accept Canadian practices. You know they established a mission in Winnipeg and 'auller haund' like that. So the Mennonite Brethren presence was definitely accommodator, fairly strong accommodator. You also had Sommerfelder people like Rosenbach. The Rosenbach community, until 1937, was predominantly a Sommerfelder community. And then Greenfarm, there were a lot of Bergthaler Church people in there, Sommerfelders, a sprinkling of Old Colony people in there too, who would have, on balance I think, tended to be category 4s.

Q: So, once again, for the area itself?

A: For the area itself, I would say clearly a category 6. Because the town of Winkler and the rural M. B. presence north and west of Winkler, you know, insofar at least as that was in that poll, and even communities like Hoffnungs-

feld, just southwest of Winkler you know, tended to be fairly strong accommodators by inclination.

Glen Cross...I don't know a great deal about the Glen Cross poll. I know that the village of Waldheim was a mixed community with both Old Colony and Sommerfelder Church people living in Waldheim, that's in section 2-5 is it? Yeah, township 2-5. So, for Waldheim it would be appropriate to say that it's probably a category 3 and much the same kind of thing for Blumstein, you know, it's either a 3 or a 4. There were people who ended up in the M. B. Church with a Blumstein background for example. But still, on balance, a fairly conservative community. But that's talking about the villages I see [on the map] in that particular township...I don't know if they all voted at the Glen Cross poll. Schanzenfeld...

Q: Before we go on to Schanzenfeld, Glen Cross, that poll, if you had to assign a number to it, 3 or 4, those numbers that you had mentioned earlier?

A: Say, I'll go with it on the basis of...okay, there were a lot of Mennonites in the area who settled individually, so if one later wants to use that as a criterion, that certainly suggests somewhat of a maintainer kind of attitude...uh, no, I mean somewhat of an accommodator attitude. The Old Colony regulated type of life just doesn't seem to have been very strongly the norm in that area, like especially with

Waldheim, you know. I would say a 4 is probably as good an assignation as anything.

And then when one gets into the Schanzenfeld poll, which includes villages like, or the township includes villages like Chortitz, Rosenthal, Friedensruh, Reinfeld, (which would probably have made more sense to have its poll in Winkler though). There you're talking about decidedly, I would say, about a category 3. You know, people who inclined, definitely inclined towards the maintainer view of the world already. Predominantly Old Colony people in those villages. I, at least, know of no families in the early days who were not of Chortitz/Fuerstenland background. H. J. Gerbrandt talks about some Schanzenfeldt people who were involved in the Bergthaler Church but I don't accept that it was as significant a phenomenon as what he seems to suggest that it was for Schanzenfeldt. A lot of my own family background is out of Schanzenfeld and they were very conservative (laughs). So, I assigned it a 3? Yeah, it's a 3, and if anything I would say that that area, you know, if I err, it's in the direction it should be a 2 then.

Q: So, definitely a 3, possibly 2?

A: Mm Hmm. [Yes].

Q: Alright. For Section 2-2? Or, maybe if you want, you can keep going in that direction, and go down instead to Haskett/Reinland [refers to map], it's similar...it's up to you.

A: Well, I'll take them the way you've got it here.

Q: Alright.

A: For [township] 2-2, it's predominantly, as a matter of fact, as nearly as I can see, they're all, no.... It's a predominantly Bergthaler settlement area. The village names there are like Weidenfeld, Rome, Bergfeld, Heuboden, Rudnerweide, those are all Bergthaler communities. They were Sommerfelder people by and large. Of course the Bergthaler Church Aeltester lived in Altbergthal...

Q: When was that?

A: Umm, 1890s. But, the area, after the split at least, stayed predominantly with the Sommerfelder Church still. It wasn't, as nearly as I understand it, a terribly ideological sort of area. There were good relations between Bergthaler people and Sommerfelder people. The Church thing didn't pose a stumbling block. You know, I would say it makes sense to talk about them as 4s. Pretty middle of the road kind of.

Q: Much like, then, the people around the Glen Cross area.

A: Yeah. Maybe that would...you sort of lose your train of thought. And when you're doing these analyses you're not comparing enough and you, you know, when you come up with the numbers, I mean I don't have these as hard and fast cat-

egories in my head just yet, you know, after twenty minutes. Maybe it would be helpful to also look at what kind of numbers we have assigned and then re-think some of them at the end of the session.

Yeah, I would say it's certainly similar to what the Waldheim community that I was talking about in the Glen Cross poll was like, and there are other similarities. Many of these villages broke up early, not all of them maintained, and it seems some of them were never even settled as villages. They were community designations, not, you know...[perhaps they named] a school, or something like that.

Q: For the next one, Haskett/Reinland, Township 1-4?

A: That includes Kronsfield, Eichenfeld, Osterwick. There you're talking about...I would speak of that poll as being a 2. You know, it's predominantly Old Colony. The Haskett community, of course, included some non-conformists, as perhaps did Eichenfeld, I'm not sure. But Haskett, at least, was a railway community, and there were some people who were ill at ease with the Old Colony Church there who had had their troubles in Blumenfeld and that kind of thing, and moved down to Haskett. And likewise, in the village of Reinland, you had a Sommerfelder community. So those two sub-communities were inclined to be...well, for Haskett, I would say perhaps, it would be a 5 and for the Sommerfelder

community within Reinland, it would have been a 4. But given that the overall reality is still very much Old Colony, you know Osterwick, Hochfeld, Blumenfeld, Eichenfeld, Gruenfeld...I would say it's a 2. And if one wanted to be argumentative, one could hold out for a 1, I guess. Is that good enough?

Q: That's fine.

A: You know, I'm sorry to say all of these things with fifteen reservations, but (laughs) maybe I am seeing too many trees and not enough forests.

Q: For the final poll, Rosenheim/Horndean, township 3, range 2?

A: Oh, wait, no. Let's go back a little bit to another question. [Township] 3-1 is what that would be. There never was a separate poll for those people, eh?

Q: No.

A: So they would have, in so far as they were considered to be a voting population, they would have been assigned to either the Gretna polls, or in a few instances perhaps, the 2-2 poll, or the Reinland polls. Okay, since that is a fairly strong conservative area, at least then it would make a lot more sense to talk about Reinland, the Reinland poll, as a 1. You know, if you're going to throw communities like Rosengart and Neuhorst and Rosenort and Schoenwiese in

there. Then I would say one would do best to label Reinland a 1. I hadn't thought of the fact that there wasn't.... I was looking at townships, you know.

Q: However, with Haskett and Reinland in the area as well, would you characterize the entire area as a 1, or, with their influence, would you characterize it still a 2?

A: Well, if you throw in communities like Neuenburg and Schoenwiese and Neuhorst and Rosenort and Rosengart, that more than compensates for those countercurrents that you find in the Haskett community and that small Sommerfelder Church group in Reinland. Yeah, to me it makes most sense to talk about it as a 1 then.

And your final poll was Rosenheim/Horndean.

Q: Township 3, Range 2.

A: Umm, hmm [yes]. Well, predominantly Bergthaler settlement. Some former Old Colony...a few Old Colony people settled in the area. Bergthaler, I mean Bergthaler colony. A lot of Sommerfelder people [lived] in the area. Predominantly individual settlement though, not village, you know, the gewanndorf. Probably [the area] could be described as a 5 as well as anything else.

Q: Okay.. That's the polling areas. How much did these values change over time as you see it?

A: For the Gretna poll, it seems to me that the character of the community didn't change a great deal over time. I mean, they were fairly open to some elements of accommodation. I mean, certainly the town dwellers in Gretna, you know, they had staked out their orientation--developing institutions, the MCI for example, in Gretna, or business people located in Gretna. But, the Sommerfelder people in the area, and such Sommerfelder people as lived in the area around Gretna, they, for example, they adopted changes such as incorporation of the Waisenamt, you know 19.., well, that was right in the 1920s, whereas the Bergthaler Church people adopted it in 1907, for their Waisenamt, you know. But that was still where a lot of that kind of thinking came from, you know, out of that area. The Gretna area. You know, I would say that poll didn't change tremendously over time. Where I would find...I guess it's more helpful to look at the polls where I do see significant change.

In the Plum Coulee and also in the Rosenheim/Horndean poll, when you talk about the people settled outside of the towns, you're talking about trends where there are changes that I think affect very much their outlook on the world. Like the M. B. phenomenon in the Grossweide, that Grossweide area north and east of Plum Coulee you know.

Q: Okay, earlier you characterized it as a 5. Would you...when do you think that would have changed, or would the change have occurred before the 5?

A: See, I guess that was a qualified kind of.... Or, let me qualify that further. The towns excepted from what I'm saying now, for the rural people that were farming in Grossweide, Rosenheim, Lindenau and those areas, initially I would have seen them as 3s, and by the year 1951, they were probably, on balance, 6s you know? So there was that kind of change from the early '90s to 1951.

Q: Can you be any more specific about that? Early 1890s they were 3s. When they would have become 4s or 5s? By which election do you suppose they would have been 4s or 5s?

A: Well, say in the periods from 1902 to 1919, you know, they would have been perhaps 4s. In the 1920s, say, they would have.... The '20s, the '30s, the '40s, you know, they would have been, on balance, 5s. Because you're talking about...it's difficult, because you're talking about two views of the world sort of in conflict. There were, at various and sundry points, some fairly unsavoury kinds of attitudinal things toward the other group, whether it be book burnings or you name it (laughs), where all the old Gesangsbuecher were piled on heaps and burned and things like that, you know? It's a question of what were the numbers of people in the community, and did the majority ascribe to this group or to that, and I don't have the numbers for.... By the 1940s, the M. B.s were in the ascendant, clearly the dominant group in the area, I think. So perhaps, in the 1940s, for Grossweide, you could talk about it as a 6 already, I don't know.

Q: And the other one that you talked about was the, (which one?) Rosenheim/Horndean poll. You mentioned that there had been some considerable change in that area.

A: I think it was generally, an increasing acceptance of Canadian society. You know, after a time, the people in that area found public schools weren't that hard to take, so, in the post-1926/27 elections you would find, I think, an increasing openness to Canadian society and a sense of being participants in that society.

Q: So when you assigned them a 5, what period were you speaking of, and would that have changed significantly?

A: I think, again, by the end of your period, it would perhaps be reasonable to talk of them as 6s, you know, whereas, earlier in the period they were 5s and perhaps 4s.

Q: So, say before the nineteenth...before the turn of the twentieth century they had the characteristics of 4s?

A: Yeah.

Q: Then, from, say 1900 to 1930 they were 5s and in 1935 they became 6s.

A: Yeah.

Q: Or they had become 6s. Alright. Are those the main areas of change that you see?

A: Well, there's the other joker in the deck, if you will, of the coming of the Russlaender people and the exodus of the Old Colony people, and that affects especially your, where is it now, your Haskett/Reinland poll, and also your Winkler poll. Those two polls especially were significantly affected by, and to a very limited extent I guess, your Gretna poll, if communities like Blumenort were included in it. But in those two polls, you know, there was a very sharp distinction between the period 1922 and earlier and say 1923 and later. Because the Russlaender people were a lot more open to the Canadian educational system. They were.... They generally wanted to get involved to be what the (how should one say it?)...to learn the language, you know, to be in the mainstream of society, not to be separate that much. I mean, they felt, I think, contented that they were in a Mennonite environment...they liked that. But, in terms of a number assignment, for the Reinland poll, after 1923...given that there are still considerable numbers of Old Colony people there and that many joined the Sommerfelder Church, after 1923 perhaps you could talk of that area as...talk of it as a 4...

Q: Okay.

A: ...on balance. You know....

Q: Winkler area. Prior to this you had mentioned that the Winkler area was, you would consider it to be basically a 6 or a 7.

A: Well, we can't go much farther than that, can we?
(Laughs)

Q: Does that cover the entire period, would you say that with the exception of possibly the first few elections...?

A: Yeah. See, the Winkler area, you had infusions of Rus-slaender people, but you didn't have the town of Winkler and at least those communities to the north, you didn't have a mass exodus out of there. So, it's an infusion of people, but they're coming into a community which is already inclined to accommodate so it doesn't fundamentally alter the character that much perhaps, like it does in the Reinland/Haskett poll.

Q: Alright. Is that basically it in terms of changes?

A: Those are the ones that really grab me, at least.

Q: Okay. What criteria--I should have asked this at the beginning--but what criteria would you use to determine where on that continuum each of these polls fit? What did you base your assumptions on?

A: I take a fairly institutional kind of view of the whole matter. You know, what are their attitudes towards various institutions? For example, municipal government, their own gebietsamt. For the Old Colony, they had...they strongly emphasized having their own gebietsamt you know, in their

own community, that kind of thing. Whereas, other people, the Bergthaler Church people and the Sommerfelder Church people were very open towards participation in municipal government, which was a creation of the higher levels of government. That's one case. I consider things like how did they deal with their waisenamt, you know? And again, you see, the Chortitza-Fuerstenland, the old Colony people retained their waisenamt as an in-group kind of thing, non-incorporated, they even made it a less capitalistic kind of thing by kicking out all the large depositors and keeping it only as a mutual-aid institution, whereas the Bergthaler and Sommerfelder, at different points, incorporated their Waisenaemter, they allowed outside investors to deposit money in their Waisenaemter. That's another consideration. The public school, or public school/private school is a big consideration. And you see differential behaviour, which I think you broadly understand, between the different groups. You know, the Old Colony people on the one hand being very strict about private schools--you had to have a private school, if you sent your children to a public school you were excommunicated. The Sommerfelder, having a little more of the seat-of-the-pants kind of way of dealing with it. You know, if you sent your children to a public school, 'aw, okay, well, you know, alright', but preferably private schools. In theory, they wanted private schools, in practice, they accepted public schools, where the district wanted it. And the Bergthaler people, until the abolition of

the bi-lingual schools, were very gung-ho about public schools.

Q: So, basically then, you see accommodation and 'maintaining' in terms of...

A: No, there's a few other considerations I do have yet.

Q: Besides the institutional?

A: Yeah, I do also consider attitude toward language, attitudes towards town-dwelling, such as the thing that I had mentioned previously about the fire insurance that's suggestive about an attitudinal thing...that by 1907 they were willing to say "we'll insure town properties in the fire insurance." And language, to me, is a bit of a consideration. Maybe that's part of the reason why I've been a little conservative in my own tendency not to want to put people as 1s or 7s sometimes, because, broadly speaking, in the period you're dealing with, all of them wanted to retain German language. There was very little, virtually no English-language church services or that kind of thing that came in in that period. And I do consider language, it's not my major consideration, but it is there as a minor consideration.

Q: Are there any other, or is that it?

A: Well, retention of the village system is another one, and I've referred to that at a number of points as being a significant factor. Where the Old Colony were very strongly

in favour of village retention and, for the Bergthaler, Bergthal group people again it was more, "well, if you do, you do, and if you don't, you don't", kind of, you know. And, that about covers it for me, for what I regard as significant factors.

Q: Okay, thank you very much.

A: You're very welcome.

Appendix C

TABLE OF REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS

DATES	PARTICIPATION			PREFERENCE								
	PMF	EMF	AVMF	LIBERAL			CONSERVATIVE			OTHER PARTY		
	PMF	EMF	AVMF	PMF	EMF	AVMF	PMF	EMF	AVMF	PMF	EMF	AVMF
1887	-.120	.650	.265	.062	.185	.124	-.062	-.185	-.124			
1891	.814	.587	.701	-.604	-.274	-.439	.604	.274	.439			
1896	.706	.779	.743	-.145	-.456	-.301	.145	.456	.301			
1900	.808	.647	.728	-.390	-.640	-.515	.390	.640	.515			
1902	.549	.646	.598	.280	.244	.262	-.287	-.418	-.353	.035	.325	.180
1904	.641	.262	.452	-.398	-.622	-.510	.398	.622	.510			
1908	.886	-.274	.306	.840	.000	.420	-.840	.000	-.420			
1911	.642	.269	.456	.663	-.280	.192	-.663	.280	-.192			
1917	.119	.615	.367	.604	-.165	.220	-.604	.165	-.220			
1921	.753	.699	.726	-.195	-.529	-.362*				.195	.529	.362*
1925	.408	.432	.420				-.583	-.481	-.532	.583	.481	.532#
1926	.517	.423	.470				-.794	-.014	-.404	.794	.014	.404@
1930	-.352	-.386	-.369				-.649	-.050	-.350	.649	.050	.350@
1935	.039	.381	.210	.492	-.101	.196	-.598	-.010	-.304	.139	.356	.248

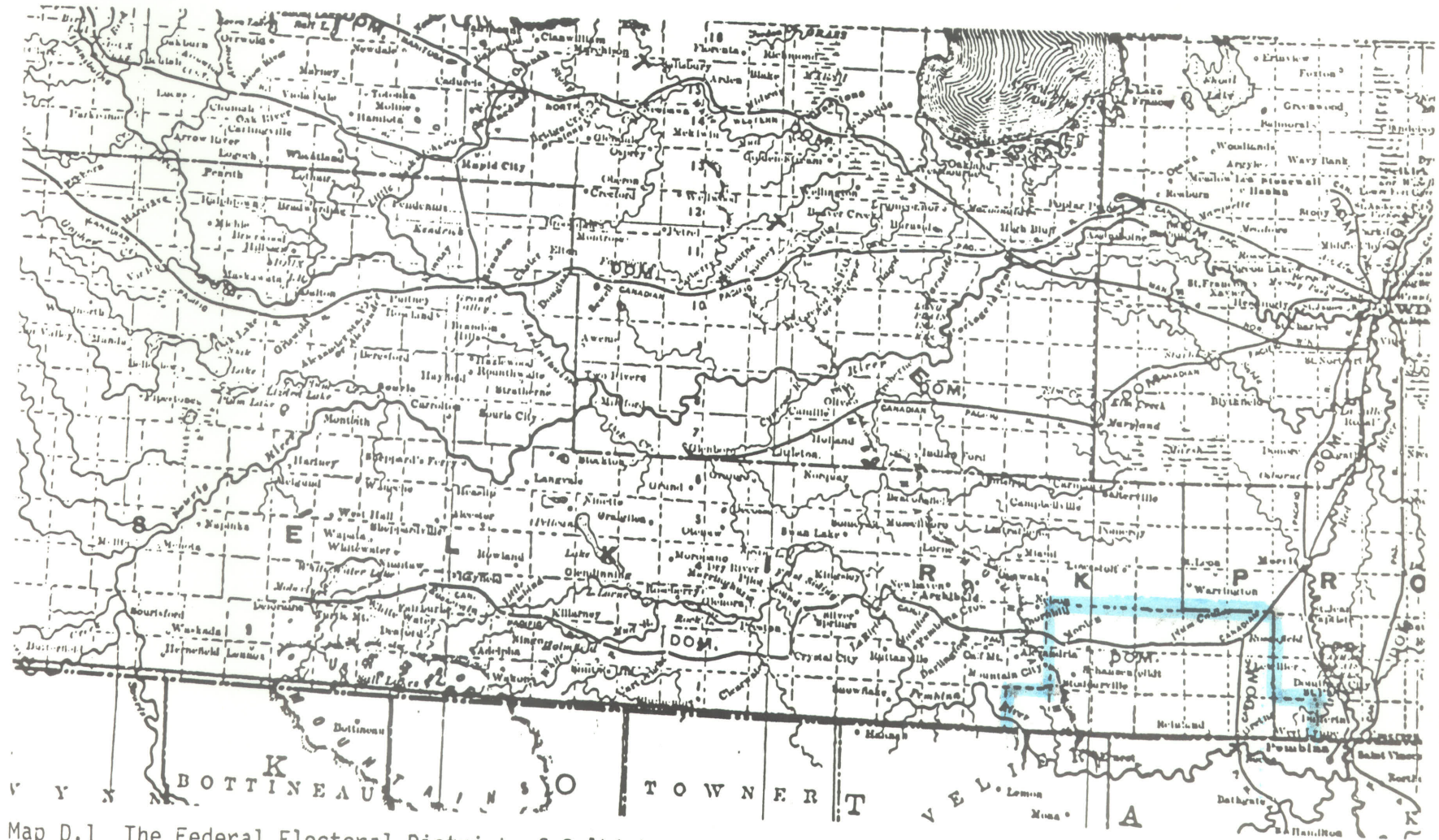
AVMF is the average of the PMF and EMF values computed as follows: $AVMF = (rPMF + rEMF) / 2$.

* It should be noted that for the purposes of regression analysis, the Progressive candidate was classified as a Liberal in 1921, while the Independent candidate was placed in the "Other Party" category for that same election.

For 1925, the "Other Party" candidate was running under the Progressive banner.

@ The Liberal Progressive candidate was considered "Other Party" for the regression analyses of the elections of 1926 and 1930.

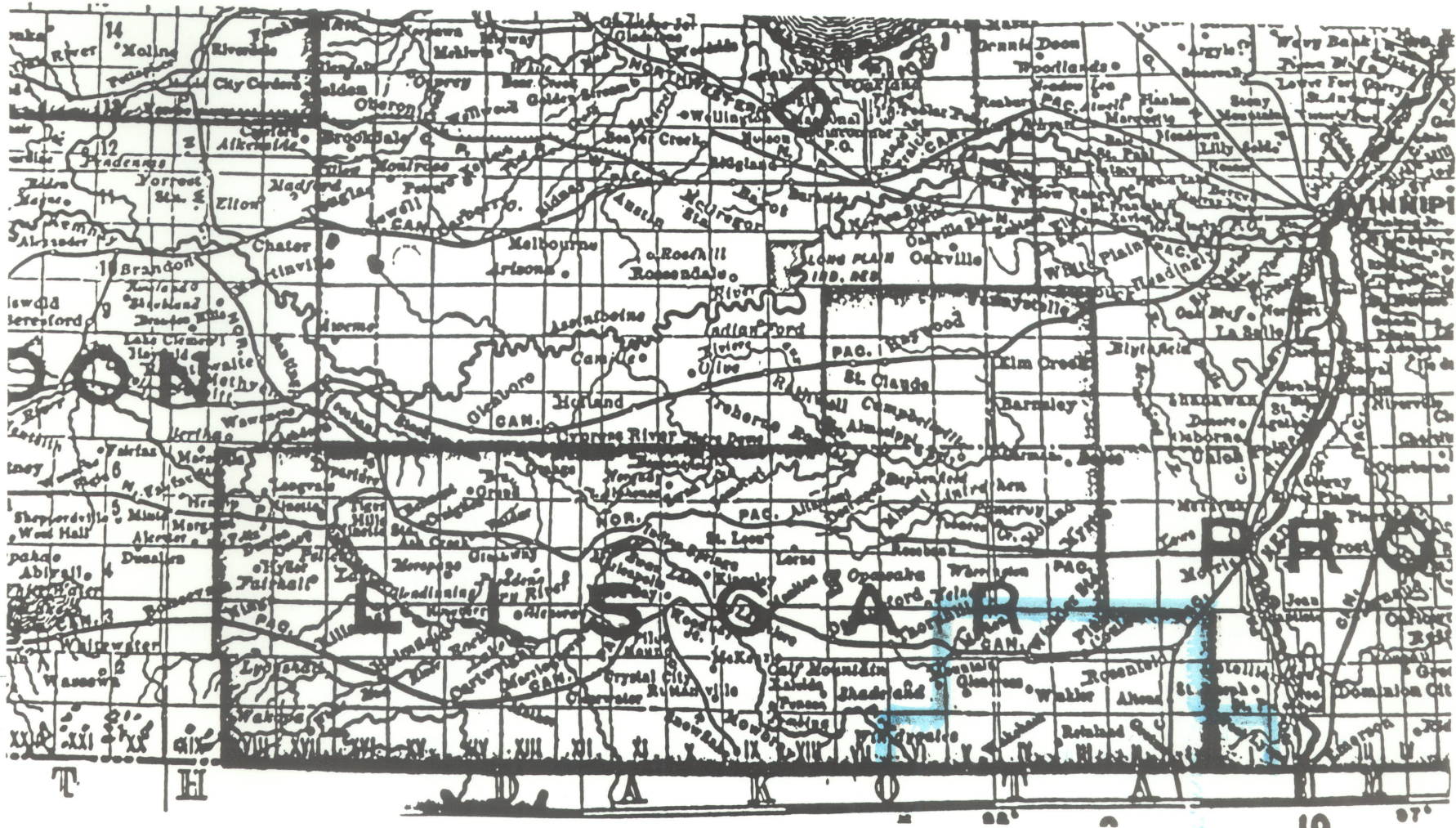
The above distinctions do not significantly affect the findings of the regression analysis.



Map D.1 The Federal Electoral District of Selkirk, 1887

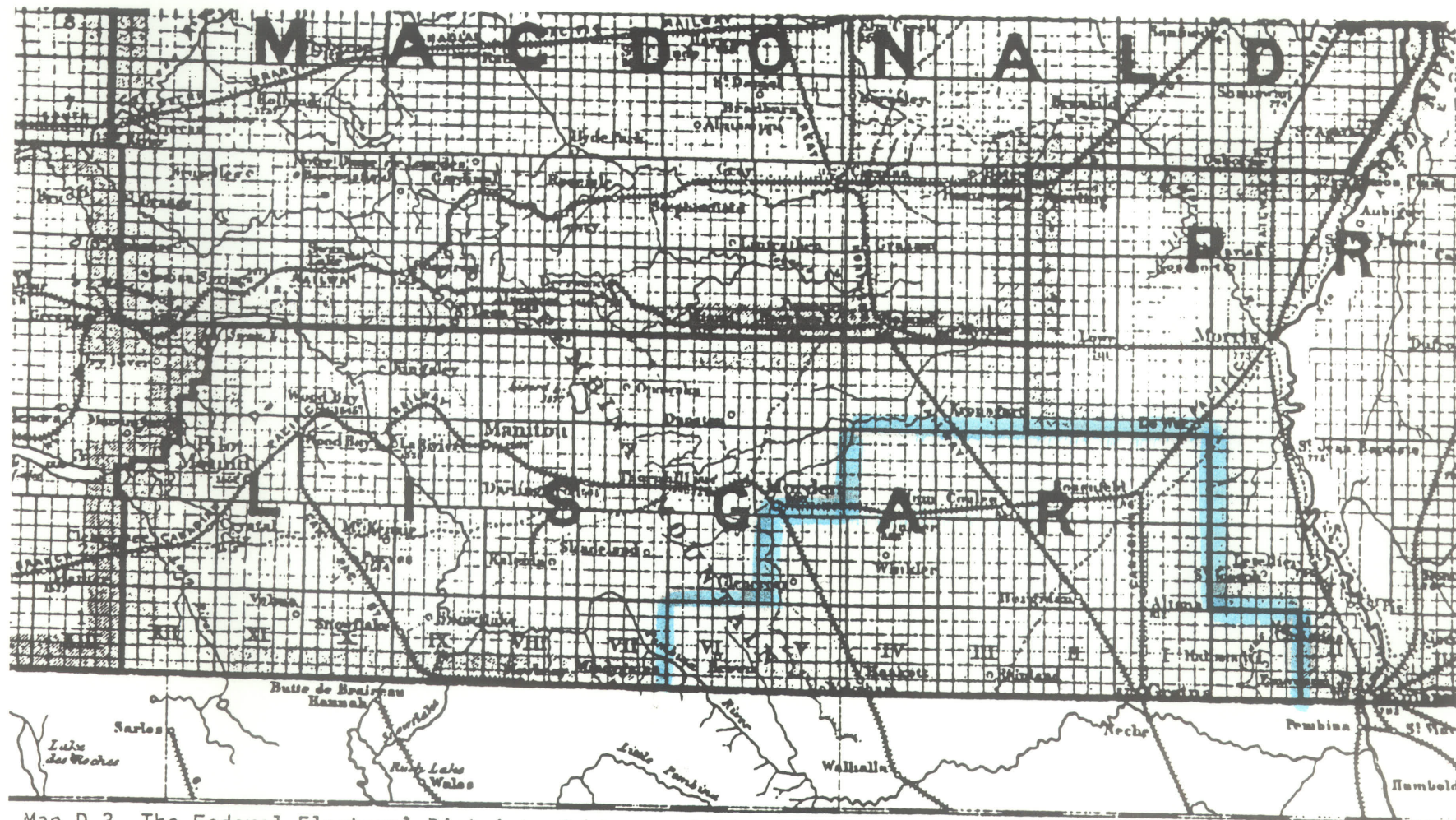
West Reserve Boundary

Credit: Manitoba Archives Map Collection, Neg. No. N6580, Cat. No. H3 614.2 fbed [1887].

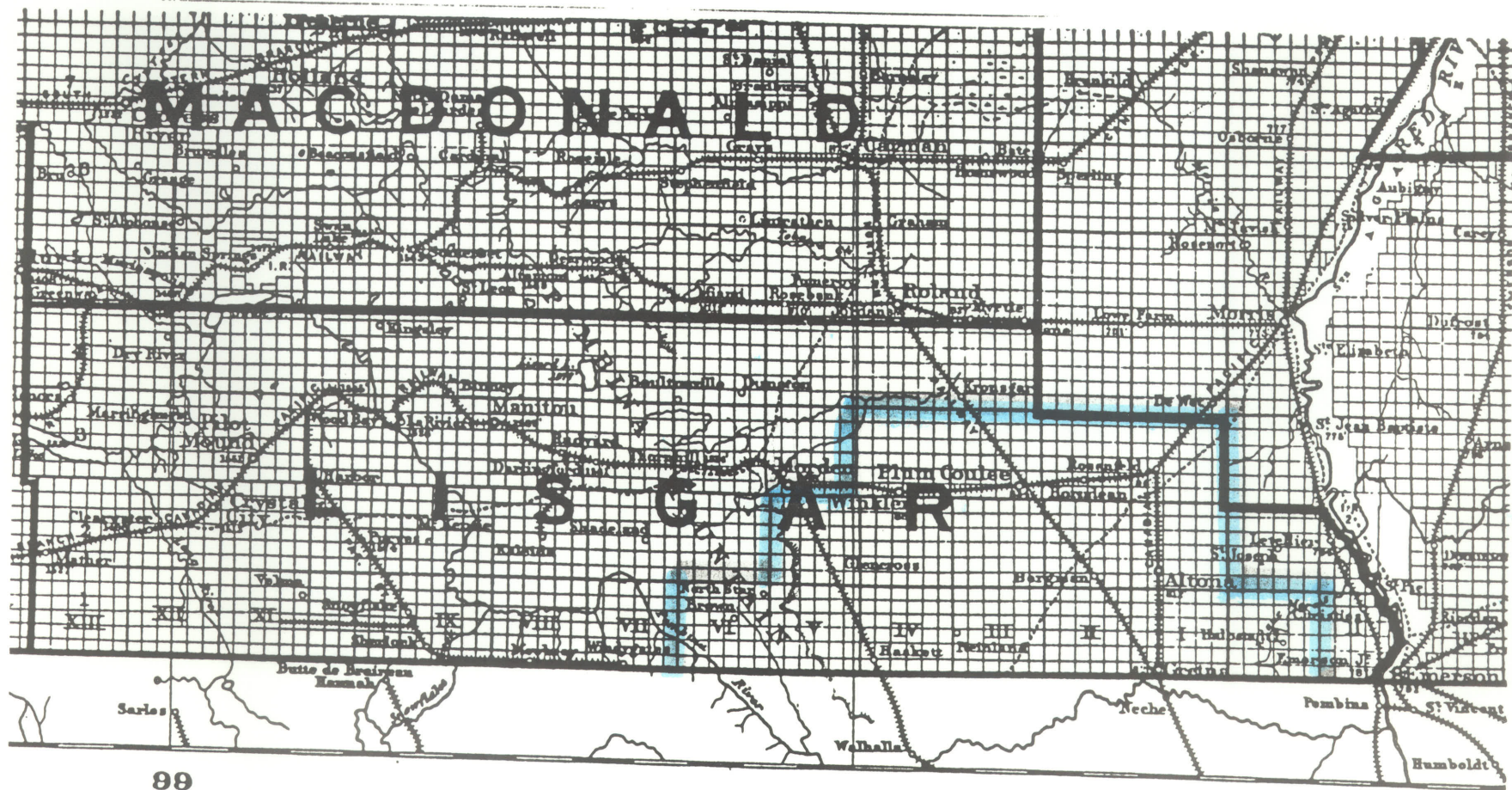


Map D.2 The Federal Electoral District of Lisgar, 1892 : West Reserve Boundary

Credit: Manitoba Archives Map Collection, Neg. No. N6581, Cat. No. H3 614.2 fbed 1892



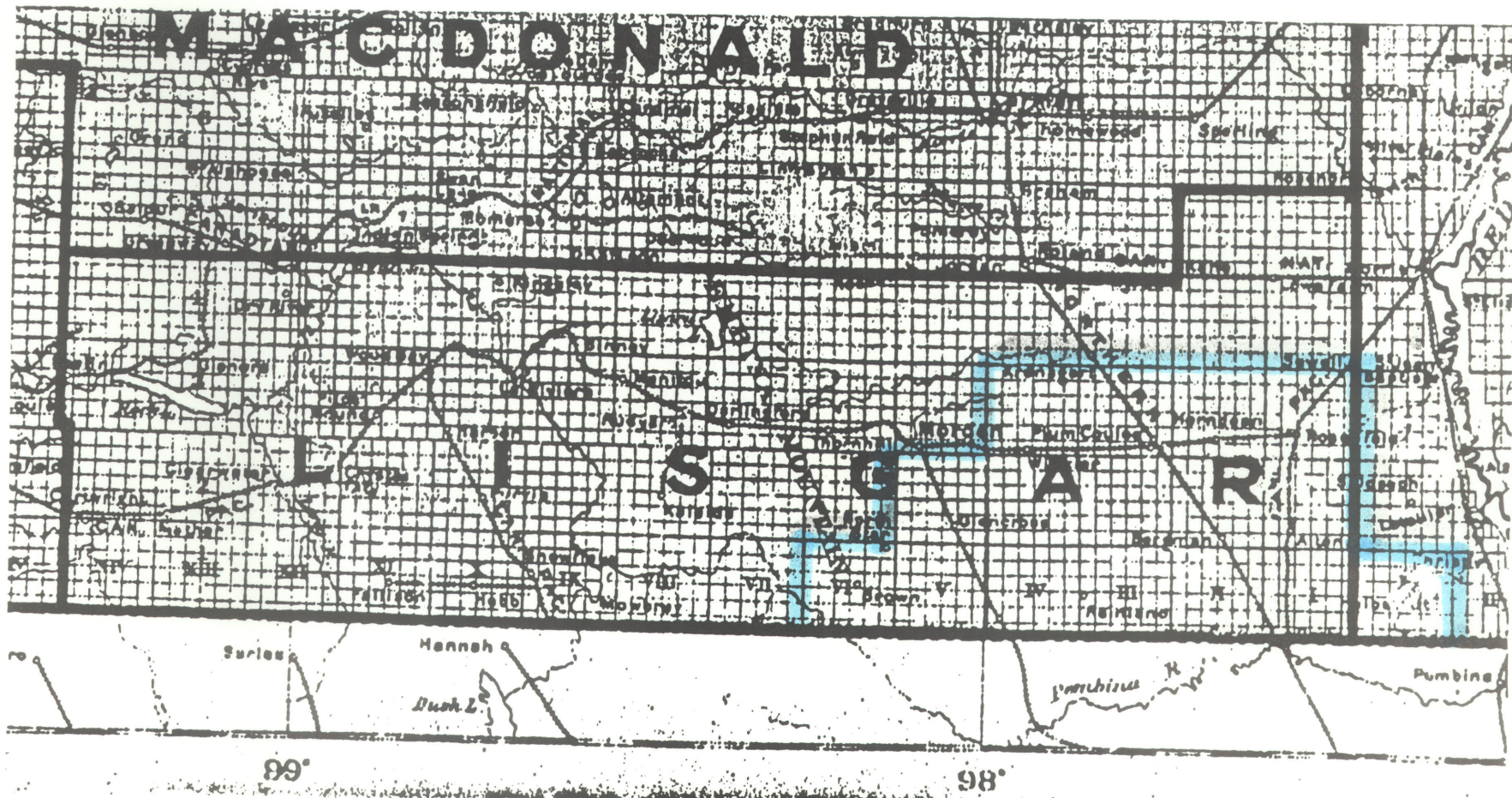
Map D.3 The Federal Electoral District of Lisgar, 1908 : West Reserve Boundary
 Credit: Manitoba Archives Map Collection, Neg. No., N6582, Cat. No. H5 614.2 fbed 1908



99

98

Map D.4 The Federal Electoral District of Lisgar, 1915 : West Reserve Boundary
 Credit: Manitoba Archives Map Collection, Neg. No. N6583, Cat. No. H7 614.3 fbed SERIES 1, 1915



Map D.5 The Federal Electoral District of Lisgar, 1924 : West Reserve Boundary
 Credit: Manitoba Archives Map Collection, Neg. No. N6584, Cat. No. H7 614.3 fbed SERIES 1, 1924

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY MATERIALS:

ARCHIVAL:

Canada. Statistics Canada. "Nominal Return of the Living." 1881, 1891. Microfilm. Dafoe Library, University of Manitoba.

Electoral Map, Selkirk, 1887. Manitoba Archives Map Collection. PAM, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Electoral Maps, Lisgar. 1892, 1908, 1915, 1924. Manitoba Archives Map Collection. PAM, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Manitoba. "Orders in Council." PAM. (No accession number.)

_____. "Sessional Papers." 1870-1910. PAM. See especially box 24, No. 3, 1886: (Voters list, Rural Municipality of Douglas, 1885).

Rural Municipality of Rhineland (and Douglas). "Municipal Voters' Lists." 1887-1935. RMRA, Altona, Manitoba.

H. W. Winkler Papers. MG 14. PAM. See especially B44, Box 14, File 18: (1935 Voters list, Lisgar).

PRINTED SOURCES

Numerous printed primary sources were used. The Census of Canada provided information regarding the demographic makeup of Selkirk/Lisgar. The most useful of the Census material included Census of Canada, 1880-81, vol. 1, pp. 196-199 and p. 405; 1891, vol. 1, pp. 226-231; 1901, vol. 1, pp. 156-157, vol. 4, p. 365; 1911, vol. 2, pp. 14-15 and pp. 148-149, and vol. 1, p. 46; 1921, vol. 1, pp. 490-491 and pp. 706-707; 1931, vol. 1, p. 788, and vol. 2, pp. 526-529 and pp. 638-639.

Various provincial and federal statutes apply to this study. Among these are the Statutes of Manitoba, The Manitoba Elections Act, 1875, 38 Vic. ch. 2, pts. 1 & 2, pp. 27-68; The Election Act of Manitoba, 1886, 49 Vic., ch. 29, pp. 132-219; The Election Act of Manitoba, 1891, 54 Vic., ch. 27, pp. 143-217, and especially (s. 12-14); An Act to Amend "The Manitoba Elections Act," 1894, 57 Vic., ch. 9, p. 15; The Manitoba Elections Act, 1901, 1 Edw. 7, ch. 11, pp. 17-116, especially (s. 16-19); An Act to amend "The Manitoba Elections Act," 1903, 3 Edw. 7, ch. 13, pp. 23-24; An Act to amend "The Manitoba Elections Act," 1904, 3-4 Edw. 7, ch. 13, pp. 24-62; Revised Statutes of Manitoba, The Manitoba Elections Act, 1913, 3 Geo. 5, ch. 59, pp. 867-979; Statutes of Manitoba, An Act to amend "The Manitoba Elections Act," 1916, 6 Geo. 5, ch. 36, p. 105; and An Act to amend "The Manitoba Elections Act," 1929, 19 Geo. 5, ch. 18, p. 77 (s. 2). Among the relevant federal statutes are the Statutes of Canada, Electoral Franchise Act, 1885, 48-49 Vic., ch. 40, pp. 19-53, especially pp. 31-32 (s. 15); An Act to amend the Act respecting the Electoral Franchise and the Dominion Elections Act, 1874, 1886, 49 Vic., ch. 3, pp. 43-58, especially p. 48 (s. 3); An Act further to amend the Revised Statutes, Chapter 5, respecting the Electoral Franchise, 1889, 52 Vic., ch. 9, pp. 1-2 (s. 15); An Act to repeal the Electoral Franchise Act, and to further amend the Dominion Elections Act, 1898, 61 Vic., ch. 14, pp. 79-88, especially pp. 79-82 (s. 5-9); An Act to amend the Dominion Elections Act, 1908, 7-8 Edw. 7, ch. 26, pp. 301-312, especially pp. 302-303 (s. 9a/ss.5 and 9); The Wartime Elections Act, 1917, 7-8 Geo. 5, ch. 39, pp. 355-374, especially (s. 2 and s. 33a); An Act to Confer the Electoral Franchise Upon Women, 1918, 8-9 Geo. 5, ch. 20, pp. 69-70; The Dominion By-Elections Act, 1919, 9-10 Geo. 5, ch. 48, pp. 321-342, especially pp. 321-323, (s. 5 and 7); Dominion Elections Act, 1920, 10-11 Geo. 5, ch. 46, pp. 169-289, especially pp. 179-183, (s. 28, 29 and 32); Dominion Elections Act, 1934, 24-25 Geo. 5, ch. 50, pp. 1033-1146, especially p. 1040, (s. 13); The Dominion Franchise Act, 1934, 24-25 Geo. 5, ch. 51, pp. 1147-1219, especially pp. 1167-1171, (s. 17/schedule B).

Official voting results were obtained from the Chief Electoral Officers Reports in Canada. Parliament. Sessional Papers, 1883, vol. 16, Sessional Paper 77, p. 237 1887, vol. 17, Sessional Paper 53B, pp. 275-276; 1891, vol. 16, Sessional Paper 27A, pp. 282-283; 1897, vol. 13, Sessional Paper 20, pp. 298-300; 1901, vol. 13, Sessional Paper 36, pp. 6-8; 1905, vol. 14, Sessional Paper 37, pp. 319 and 452-454; 1909, vol. 8, Sessional Paper 18, pp. 347-348; 1912, vol. 11, Sessional Paper 18, pp. 355-356; 1920, vol. 4, Sessional Paper 13, p. 235; 1922, vol. 5, Sessional Paper 13, p. 358. Also see Canada. Parliament. Annual Departmental Reports, 1924-25, vol. 7, p. 364; 1925-26, vol. 4, p. 364, 1929-30, vol. 4, p. 371; and the Chief Electoral Officers Report: 18th General Election, 1935, pp. 440-441. These CEO reports were matched with election returns as published in Winnipeg newspapers. These included the Manitoba Daily Free Press, 13 July 1882, p. 8; 25 February 1887, p. 1 and 2 March 1887, p. 1; 7 March 1891, p. 1; 26 June 1896, p. 1; 9 November 1900, p. 2; 19 February 1902, p. 1; 4 November 1904, p. 1 and 9 November 1904, p. 9; 28 October 1908, p. 5; 29 September 1911, p. 1; 18 December 1917, p. 4; 7 December 1921, pp. 13-14; 30 October 1925, p. 10; 15 September 1926, p. 8; 29 July 1930, p. 3; and The Winnipeg Free Press, 15 October 1935, p. 4. The Winnipeg Evening Tribune was also consulted for each election, and proved particularly useful for 15 September 1926, p. 6; and 29 July 1930, p. 8.

NEWSPAPERS:

Chronicle (Morden), 1900, 1902, 1904, 1908, 1911.

Herald (Morden), 1896.

Manitoba Free Press (Winnipeg), 1887-1930.

Monitor (Morden), 1891, 1896.

Southern Manitoba Times (Emerson), 1883-1893.

Times (Morden), 1917, 1921, 1925, 1926, 1930, 1930.

Winnipeg Daily Tribune, 1896-1925.

Winnipeg Evening Tribune, 1926-1935.

Winnipeg Free Press, 1935.

SECONDARY WORKS:

MONOGRAPHS:

Beck, J. Murray. Pendulum of Power: Canada's Federal Elections. Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall, 1968.

- Dawson, C. A. Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada. Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, no. 7. Edited by W. A. Mackintosh and W. L. G. Joerg. Toronto: MacMillan, 1936.
- Ens, Gerhard J. The Rural Municipality of Rhineland, 1884-1984. Altona, Man.: R. M. of Rhineland, 1984.
- Epp, Frank H. Mennonite Exodus: The Rescue and Resettlement of the Russian Mennonites Since the Communist Revolution. Altona, Man.: D. W. Friesen and Sons, 1962.
- _____. Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People. Toronto: MacMillan, 1974.
- _____. Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940: A People's Struggle For Survival. Toronto: MacMillan, 1982.
- Epp-Tiessen, Esther. Altona: The Story of a Prairie Town. Altona, Man.: D. W. Friesen, 1982.
- Francis, E. K. In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites of Manitoba. Altona, Man.: D. W. Friesen and Sons, 1955.
- Friesen, Gerald. The Canadian Prairies: A History. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.
- Gerbrandt, Henry J. Adventure in Faith. Altona, Man.: D. W. Friesen and Sons, 1970.
- Gnadenenthal History Book Committee. Gnadenenthal, 1880-1980. Winkler, Man.: Gnadenenthal History Book Committee, 1982.
- Hershberger, Guy F., ed. The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision. Scottdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1957.
- Juhnke, James C. A People of Two Kingdoms. Newton, Kansas: Faith and Life Press, 1975.
- Kauffman, Howard J., and Harder, Leland. Anabaptists: Four Centuries Later. Kitchener: Herald Press, 1975.
- Keeney, W. E. The Development of Dutch Anabaptist Thought and Practice, 1539-1564. Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1968.
- Loewen, Harry, ed. Mennonite Images: Historical, Cultural and Literary Essays Dealing With Mennonite Issues. Winnipeg: Hyperion Press, 1980.
- Loewen, Royden. Blumenort: A Mennonite Community in Transition, 1874-1982. Steinbach: Blumenort Mennonite Historical Society, 1983.

- Lubell, Samuel. The Future of American Politics. 2nd ed., Revised. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1956.
- Meisel, John. The Canadian General Election of 1957. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962.
- Petkau, Irene Friesen, and Petkau, Peter A. Blumenfeld: Where Land and People Meet. Winkler, Manitoba: Blumenfeld Historical Committee, 1981.
- Rowat, D., ed. Provincial Government and Politics: Comparative Essays. Ottawa: Department of Political Science, Carleton University, 1972.
- Smith, D. Prairie Liberalism: The Liberal Party in Saskatchewan, 1905-1971. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975.
- _____. The Regional Decline of a National Party. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.
- Thorburn, H. G. Party Politics in Canada. 2nd ed. Toronto: Prentice Hall, 1961.
- Van Loon, R. and Whittington, M. S. The Canadian Political System: Environment, Structure and Process. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976.
- Ward, Norman. The Canadian House of Commons: Representation. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950.
- Warkentin, Abe, ed. Reflections on our Heritage: A History of Steinbach and the R. M. of Hanover from 1874. Steinbach: Derksen Printers, 1971.
- Whitaker, Reginald. The Government Party: Organizing and Financing the Liberal Party of Canada, 1930-58. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.
- Zacharias, Peter D. Reinland: An Experience in Community. Reinland: Reinland Centennial Committee, 1976.
- _____. Footprints of a Pilgrim People: Story of the Blumenort Mennonite Church. Gretna: Blumenort Mennonite Church, 1985.

THESES and DISSERTATIONS:

- Backeland, Lucille L. "The Franco-Manitobans: A Study on Cultural Loss." M. A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1971.

- Beaulieu, Paul R. "The Transfer of Electoral Allegiance in Ethnic Politics: A Study of the Voting Behaviour of Franco-Manitobans 1969-1974." M. A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1976.
- Bessant, Kenneth C. "Factors Associated With Political Participation in Eight Southwestern Manitoba Towns." M. A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978.
- Cowan, Elaine M. "The Effect of Ethnicity on Class Position and Upward Mobility in St. Boniface." M. A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1971.
- Ens, Adolf. "Mennonite Relations With Governments, Western Canada, 1870-1925." Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Ottawa, 1978.
- Epp, Roger. "Mennonite Involvement in Federal and Provincial Politics in Saskatchewan, 1905-1945." Honours Thesis, University of Alberta, 1984.
- Katz, Elliot Hart. "The Participation of a Cultural Minority in Politics: Jewish Voting Preferences in Seven Oaks and River Heights, 1969 and 1973." M. A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1980.
- Turenne, R. "The Minority and the Ballot Box: A Study of the Voting Behaviour of the French Canadians of Manitoba 1888-1967." M. A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1969.
- Warkentin, John H. "The Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba." Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1960.
- Willows, Andrew. "The History of the Mennonites: Particularly in Manitoba." M. A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1924.

ARTICLES AND PAPERS:

- Anderson, Alan B. "Introduction: Prairie Ethnic Studies and Research: Review and Assessment." Prairie Forum 7 (Fall 1982): 155-169.
- _____. "Generation Differences in Ethnic Identity Retention in Rural Saskatchewan." Prairie Forum 7 (Fall 1982): 171-195.
- Bender, Harold S. "Church and State in Mennonite History." The Mennonite Quarterly Review 13 (April 1939): 83-103.
- Francis, E. K. "The Nature of the Ethnic Group." American Journal of Sociology LII, 5 (March 1947): 393-400.

- _____. "Mennonite Institutions in Early Manitoba: A Study of Their Origins." Agricultural History 22 (July 1948): 144-155.
- _____. "The Russian Mennonites: From Religious to Ethnic Group." The American Journal of Sociology LIV, 2 (September 1948): 101-107.
- _____. "The Adjustment of a Peasant Group to a Capitalistic Economy: The Manitoba Mennonites." Rural Sociology (n.d.): 218-228.
- Friesen, John W. "Characteristics of Mennonite Identity: A Survey of Mennonite and Non-Mennonite Views." Canadian Ethnic Studies 3 (June 1971): 25-41.
- George, Katherine. "The Mennonites and the Protestant Ethic." Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions. n.d.
- Hillerbrand, Hans J. "The Anabaptist View of the State." The Mennonite Quarterly Review 32 (April 1958): 83-110.
- Isajiw, Wsevolod W. "Definitions of Ethnicity." Ethnicity 1 (July 1974): 111-124.
- Kreider, Robert. "The Anabaptists and the State." In The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision, pp. 180-193. Edited by Guy F. Hershberger. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1957.
- Loewen, Harry. "The Anabaptist View of the World: The Beginning of a Mennonite Continuum?" In Mennonite Images: Historical, Cultural and Literary Essays Dealing With Mennonite Issues, pp. 85-95. Edited by Harry Loewen. Winnipeg: Hyperion Press, 1980.
- McAllister, J. "Ethnic Participation in Canadian Legislatures: The Case of Manitoba." Canadian Ethnic Studies 3 (June 1971).
- Redekop, John H. "Mennonites and Politics in Canada and the United States." Journal of Mennonite Studies 1 (1983): 79-105.
- Sawatzky, H. L. "Viability of Ethnic Group Settlement, with Reference to Mennonites in Manitoba." Canadian Ethnic Studies 2 (December 1970): 147-160.
- Smith, David E. "Grits and Tories on the Prairies." In Party Politics in Canada, 4th ed., pp. 273-289. Edited by Hugh G. Thorburn. Scarborough: Prentice Hall, 1979.

- Toews, John B. "Russian Mennonites in Canada: Some Background Aspects." Canadian Ethnic Studies 2 (December 1970): 117-146.
- Urry, James. "The Transformation and Polarization of the Mennonites in Russia, 1789-1914." Paper presented at the 1977 Conference on Russian Mennonite History, Winnipeg, November, 1977.
- Warkentin, John H. "Western Canada in 1886." In Studies in Canadian Social History. Edited by Michiel Horn and Ronald Sabourin. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974.
- Winearls, Joan. "Federal Electoral Maps of Canada, 1867-1970." The Canadian Cartographer 9 (June 1972): 1-24.

GUIDES TO THE STUDY OF VOTING BEHAVIOUR:

- Anderson, Grace M. "Voting Behaviour and the Ethnic-Religious Variable: A Study of a Federal Election in Hamilton, Ontario." Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science 32 (February 1966): 27-37.
- Aydelotte, William O. "Quantification in History." American Historical Review 71 (April 1966): 803-825.
- _____; Bogue, Allan G.; and Fogel, Robert William, eds. The Dimensions of Quantitative Research in History, Mathematical Social Sciences Board Series on Quantitative Studies in History. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972.
- Benson, Lee. The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York as a Test Case. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961.
- _____. "Research Problems in American Political Historiography." In Common Frontiers of the Social Sciences, pp. 113-183. Edited by Mirra Komarovsky. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957.
- _____. Toward the Scientific Study of History, Selected Essays of Lee Benson. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1972.
- _____; Silbey, Joel H.; and Field, Phyllis F. "Toward a Theory of Stability and Change in American Voting Patterns: New York State, 1792-1970." In The History of American Electoral Behaviour, pp. 78-105. Edited by Joel H. Silbey, Allan G. Bogue, and William H. Flanigan. Mathematical Social Science Board Series on Quantitative Studies in History. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.

- Berelson, Bernard; Lazarsfeld, Paul F.; and McPhee, William N. Voting. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954.
- Borgatta, Edgar F., and Jackson, David J. "Aggregate Data Analysis: An Overview." Sociological Methods and Research 7 (May 1979): 379-383.
- Burdick, Eugene and Brodbeck, Arthur J., eds. American Voting Behaviour. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959.
- Campbell, Angus; Converse, P.; Miller, W. E.; and Stokes, D. E. The American Voter. New York and London: John Wiley and Sons, 1960.
- _____; Gurin, Gerald; and Miller, Warren E. The Voter Decides. Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson, 1954.
- "Conference Report." American Political Science Review 19 (1925): 106. Cited by Richard Jensen, "History and the Political Scientist," in Politics and the Social Sciences, p. 5. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Courtney, J. C., ed. Voting in Canada. Toronto: Prentice-Hall, 1967.
- Cox, Edward Franklin. State and National Voting in Federal Elections, 1910-1970. Hamden, Conn.: The Shoe String Press, 1972.
- Dogan, Mattei, and Rokkan, Stein. Quantitative Ecological Analysis in the Social Sciences. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1969.
- Dollar, Charles M., and Jensen, Richard J. Historian's Guide to Statistics: Quantitative Analysis and Historical Research. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971.
- Drake, Michael. The Quantitative Analysis of Historical Data. Milton Keynes, U. K.: Open University Press, 1974.
- Eldersfeld, Samuel J. "Theory and Method in Voting Behaviour Research." Journal of Politics 13 (February 1951): 70-87.
- Fiedler, Leslie A. "Voting and Voting Studies." In American Voting Behavior, pp. 184-196. Edited by Eugene Burdick and Arthur J. Brodbeck. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959.

- Firebaugh, Glenn. "Assessing Group Effects: A Comparison of Two Methods." Sociological Methods and Research 7 (May 1979): 384-395.
- Flanagan, T. "Ethnic Voting in Alberta Provincial Elections, 1921-1971." Canadian Ethnic Studies 3 (December 1971).
- Floud, Roderick. An Introduction to Quantitative Methods for Historians. 2nd. ed. Great Britain: The Chaucer Press, 1979.
- Goldberg, Arthur S. "Discerning a Causal Pattern Among Data on Voting Behavior." American Political Science Review 60 (December 1966): 913-922.
- Gordon, Milton M. Assimilation in America: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins, p. 27. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964. Cited by Rothenberg, Stuart; Licht, Eric; and Newport, Frank, Ethnic Voters and National Issues: Coalitions in the 1980s, p. 181. Washington, D. C.: Free Congress Research and Education Foundation, 1982.
- Hays, Samuel P. "Politics and Social History: Toward a New Synthesis." In Ordinary People and Everyday Life, Perspectives on the New Social History. pp. 161-179. Edited by James B. Gardner and George Rollie Adams. Nashville, Tennessee: The American Association for State and Local History, 1983.
- Jensen, Richard. "History and the Political Scientist," and "American Election Analysis: A Case History of Methodological Innovation and Diffusion." In Politics and the Social Sciences, pp. 1-28, and pp. 226-243. Edited by Seymour Martin Lipset. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Kleppner, Paul. The Cross of Culture: A Social Analysis of Midwestern Politics, 1850-1900. New York: The Free Press, 1970.
- _____. The Third Electoral System, 1853:1892: Parties, Voters and Political Cultures. North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1979.
- Laponce, J. A. "Nonvoting and Nonvoters: A Typology." Canadian Journal of Political Science (1967).
- Lazarsfeld, Paul F; Berelson, Bernard; and Gaudet, Hazel. The People's Choice. 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948.

- Levy, Mark R., and Kramer, Michael S. The Ethnic Factor: How America's Minorities Decide Elections. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972.
- Linz, Juan J. "Ecological Analysis and Survey Research." In Social Ecology, pp. 91-131. Edited by Mattei Dogan and Stein Rokkan. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1974.
- Lipset, Harry Martin. Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1960.
- Loether, H. J., and McTavish, D. G. Descriptive Statistics for Sociologists: An Introduction. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1974.
- Luebke, Frederick C. Immigrants and Politics: The Germans of Nebraska, 1880-1900. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969.
- Meisel, John and Pacquet, Giles. "Some Quantitative Analyses of Canadian Election Results: An Exercise in the Testing of Hypotheses." Canadian Political Science Association Conference on Statistics, Papers, 1962 and 1963 (1964).
- Menzel, Herbert. "Comment on Robinson's 'Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals.'" American Sociological Review 15 (October 1950): 674.
- Novak, Michael. The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics, p. 56. New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., 1973. Cited by Rothenberg, Stuart; Licht, Eric; and Newport, Frank, Ethnic Voters and National Issues: Coalitions in the 1980s, pp. 2-3. Washington, D. C.: Free Congress Research and Education Foundation, 1982.
- Peterson, Thomas E. "Some Factors in the 1969 NDP Victory in Manitoba." Lakehead University Review (1970): 120-133.
- _____. "Ethnic and Class Politics in Manitoba." In Canadian Provincial Politics: The Party Systems of the Ten Provinces, 2nd ed., pp. 61-119. Edited by Martin Robin. Toronto: Prentice-Hall, 1978.
- Rice, Stuart A. Quantitative Methods in Politics. New York: Knopf, 1928; reprint ed., New York: Russell and Russell, 1969.
- Robinson, W. S. "Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals." American Sociological Review 15 (June 1950): 351-357.

- Rossi, Peter H. "Four Landmarks in Voting Research." In American Voting Behavior, pp. 5-54. Edited by Eugene Burdick and Arthur J. Brodbeck. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959.
- Rothenberg, Stuart; Licht, Eric; and Newport, Frank. Ethnic Voters and National Issues: Coalitions in the 1980s. Washington, D. C.: Free Congress Research and Education Foundation, 1982.
- Scarrow, Howard A. Canada Votes: A Handbook of Federal and Provincial Election Data. New Orleans: The Hauser Press, 1962.
- Shover, John L., and Kushma, John J. "Retrieval of Individual Data from Aggregate Units of Analysis: A Case Study Using Twentieth Century Urban Voting Data." In The History of American Electoral Behavior, pp. 327-339. Edited by Joel H. Silbey, Allan G. Bogue, and William H. Flanigan. Mathematical Social Science Board Series on Quantitative Studies in History. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.
- Swierenga, Robert P. "Ethnocultural Political Analysis: A New Approach to American Ethnic Studies." Journal of American Studies 5 (July 1971).
- Taylor, K. Wayne, and Wiseman, Nelson. "Class and Ethnic Voting in Winnipeg: the case of 1941." Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 14 (1977): 174-187.
- Van Loon, Rick. "Political Participation in Canada: The 1965 Election." Canadian Journal of Political Science 3 (September 1970): 376-399.
- Wiseman, Nelson and Taylor, K. Wayne. "Class and Ethnic Voting in Winnipeg during the Cold War." Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 16 (1979): 60-76.
- Wolfinger, Raymond E. "Some Consequences of Ethnic Politics." In The Electoral Process, pp. 42-54. Edited by M. Kent Jennings and L. Harmon Zeigler. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966.