NAME OF AUTHOR . Roger A. Elmes

TITLE OF THESIS . Some Determinants of Voting Blocs in the Assembly of Lower Canada 1820-37

UNIVERSITY .... Carleton

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED .... MA

Permission is hereby granted to THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

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

(Signed)

PERMANENT ADDRESS:

12279-24 Ave.
Surrey
B.C.

DATED ....................... 1972
SOME DETERMINANTS OF VOTING BLOCS
IN THE ASSEMBLY OF LOWER CANADA, 1820-1837

by

Roger D. Elmes

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Institute of Canadian Studies
Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
6 July, 1972
The undersigned recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies acceptance of the thesis
"Some Determinants of Voting Blocs in the Assembly of Lower Canada, 1820-1837"
submitted by Roger D. Elmes, B.A.,
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Thesis Supervisor,

Director, Institute of Canadian Studies

Carleton University

July 8, 1972
TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT .................................. ii

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION .......................... 1

CHAPTER 2
THE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL VIEW ......... 7

CHAPTER 3
PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA .. 68

CHAPTER 4
CONCLUSIONS ............................ 117

BIBLIOGRAPHY ............................ 127

APPENDICES
APPENDIX A BIOGRAPHIES OF MEMBERS .......... 142
APPENDIX B TABLES
APPENDIX C VOTING BLOCS
APPENDIX D METHODOLOGY
Abstract

This thesis had its genesis in a research paper prepared for Fernand Ouellet at Carleton University in the spring of 1969. The paper, while it dealt only with the Fourteenth Parliament (1831-34) of Lower Canada, raised some doubts about the conventional wisdom on the determinants of voting blocs in the Assembly of Lower Canada. This thesis which covers the five parliaments from 1820 to 1837 confirms some of those doubts and is of interest to Canadian historians because of the methodology employed. Conventional methodology would probably have reproduced the conventional wisdom put forward by those on one side of the debate. Instead it has been shown that neither side is entirely right nor entirely wrong but that both sides have made serious errors.

The current debate is outlined in chapter two. The third chapter shows that a series of determinants were influential at varying degrees at different times. However, the only strong determinant operating consistently throughout the period was a combination of ethnic origin and religious affiliation.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION
I therefore availed myself of this favourable opportunity to collect information, and to make myself acquainted with the present state of Canada. Everything was of an interesting nature; for although the province belonged to the British Government, yet the majority of the people were totally different from those I had been accustomed to see; their manners, customs, language, and religion were all new to me, and I found myself at once upon a strange soil and among a foreign people.¹

John Lambert writing in the early 1800's on the phenomenon that in the jargon of the sociologist would be termed cultural shock struck upon a fundamental fact of political life in Lower Canada. There were two distinct races, nations or ethnic groups in the bosom of a single state. No matter how we manipulate, re-interpret, apologize for or proliferate royal commissions about, that fundamental fact remains. Although at some future date bonne entente may replace symbiosis for the present and for the period covered by this thesis the symbiosis remains. From 1820 to 1837 this dichotomy, these two ways of life produced the symbiosis which festered within the political system and finally erupted in the Rebellion of 1837.

This thesis will show that the prime determinants of political conflict in one segment of that political system was a combination of the ethnic origin and religious

affiliation of the political actors.

Though written in 1814 the following despatch from Governor Sir George Prevost can be applied in large part, as this thesis shows, to the period 1820–1837:

The divisions in the House of Assembly have become national in character; on one side the English minority, with whom the official class is allied, on the other the Canadian majority backed by the mass of the people. The heat engendered by this party strife passes from the House of Assembly to its constituents. The whole country is now divided into two parties, one the party of administration, the other that of the people. This appearance of opposition on the part of the French Catholic excites the anger of the baser part of the English population, who treat their French fellow subjects in a manner which is highly insulting to a people conscious of its loyalty. The more the Canadians wish to enjoy their constitution, the more they are accused of being unworthy of confidence by those English leaders whose political programme is based on the belief that the French Canadians are disloyal to their King.²

The criteria for the choice of 1837 as the terminal year of this study are obvious while those for the first year can be illustrated in part by two quotations from Papineau. The first is in the form of a eulogy in 1820 on the death of George III:

George III, a sovereign respected for his moral qualities and his devotion to his duties, succeeded Louis XV, a prince justly despised for his debauches, for his lack of attention to the needs of the people, and for his senseless profligality to his favourites and mistresses. Since that epoch the reign of law has succeeded to that of violence; since that day the treasure, the fleet, and the armies of Great Britain have been employed to provide us with an effective protection against all foreign danger; since

² As quoted in ibid, p. 58.
that day her best laws have become ours, while our faith, our property and the laws by which they were governed have been conserved; soon afterwards the privileges of her free constitution were granted us, infallible guarantees of our domestic prosperity if it is observed. Now religious tolerance; trial by jury, the wisest guarantee which has ever been established for the protection of innocence; security against arbitrary imprisonment, thanks to the privilege of habeas corpus; equal protection guaranteed by law to the person, honour and property of citizens; the right to obey only laws made by us and adopted by our representatives—all these advantages have become our birthright, and will be, I hope, the lasting heritage of our posterity. In order to conserve them we should act like British subjects and free men.\(^3\)

Ten years later Papineau's views on the efficacy and justice of the administration of the parliamentary government bestowed by the Constitutional Act of 1791 were presented in a letter to John Neilson, supposedly his British lieutenant in the Patriotes. The cold reality of the day to day administration of the Constitution had cooled his ardour:

You are disposed to believe that the government can be pushed into the right path and will follow it passably well; I am disposed to believe that it goes from bad to worse. You complain loudly of the men who have led it; ab hoc et ab hac you are right: you have drawn on the public, which still keeps on when you wish to stop yourself. You believe that debased men are no longer dangerous; that they will govern well because they no longer dare to do evil. The majority does not see that. It see flagrant abuses which have not all been corrected, while their unpunished authors preserve the same principles as before, that is to say, the absence of all principle, indifference to the public welfare, the same ardour for conserving in their odious coterie the accumulation of offices which they have monopolized, the same means of vengeance

that they have so unscrupulously enjoyed, the same certainty of impunity so long as their phalanx is not broken. I cannot desist. The country is still the prey of determined and dangerous enemies, and the English ministry is more disposed to sustain them than to guide itself by the rules of justice towards us...4

This dramatic change of attitude, delineated by these two quotations, is illustrative of the political conflict within the Assembly. The radical shift which occurs between these two isolated excerpts makes 1820 a logical starting point.

1820 also saw the opening of a crucial parliament in the history of Lower Canada and of a crucial era in the economic development of the province. 1820 was the beginning of the end of the period of a long downward swing in prices culminating in the abortive Union project of 1822.5 The 1820's were witness to a series of agricultural crises, the overpopulation of the seigneuries6 and the massive growth of the liberal professions.7

---


5 Fernand Ouellet, Histoire économique et sociale du Québec, 1760-1850, (Montréal:Fides, 1966), Chaps. 8-10.

6 Ibid, Chaps. 11-12.

7 From 1820-24 the liberal professions doubled in size. From 1823-38 while the French-Canadian population increased 42% the liberal professionals increased by 85%. Cf. ibid, pp. 310, 371-72.
The 1830's saw an enlarged Assembly with a higher percentage of French-Canadian members. The continued frustrations of the Patriotes resulted in the frenetic, repetitive but politically important 92 Resolutions. The crucial elections of 1834 produced a significantly different Assembly which rejected Lord John Russell's Ten Resolutions of March 1837. Ultimately the frustrations of this period broke their bonds in the Rebellions of 1837 and 1838 to which Lord Durham offered his famous reply.

---

8 From 1792-1829 the electoral map of Lower Canada remained unaltered. The province contained 27 electoral districts, each having two members with the exception of Bedford, Gaspé, Orléans and William Henry, each of which had one. The Montréal and Québec districts each had three ridings giving them at total representation of 12.

In 1829 the Assembly passed an Act to redistribute the seats. Six new counties were established in the Eastern Townships in response to the cries of the British inhabitants for proper representation. At the same time the large French-Canadian districts were divided into two resulting in a total of 84 members. As the census of 1831 illustrates 33 of the 40 counties contained a majority of French-Canadians.

9 For a more complete account of the period see any of the books listed in the historiographical section of the bibliography.
CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL VIEW
I expected to find a contest between a government and a people: I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single state: I found a struggle, not of principles but of races; and I perceived that it would be idle to attempt any amelioration of laws or institutions until we could first succeed in terminating the deadly animosity that now separates the inhabitants of Lower Canada into the hostile divisions of French and English.¹

Durham, 1839.

Durham's exposition of the causes of the rebellions in Lower Canada triggered a debate which continues to this day.² Although the debate has been extensive and intensive it has resolved nothing as will become apparent from a critical survey of Canadian historiography from Christie and Groulx to Creighton and Ouellet.

It should be noted at the outset that the oft-quoted passage cited above does not truly represent the breadth of Durham's view nor his depth of understanding. Conceeding that "temporary and local causes have, no doubt, to a certain extent" caused both ethnic groups to co-operate in the Assembly where the representatives "of a large proportion of the purely English population, have been found constantly voting with the majority of the Assembly against what is called the British party", Durham went on to point out that "the national hostility has not assumed its permanent influence till of late years, nor has


² The significance which the present Government of Canada gives to this debate will become apparent to the general population when the Auditor-General submits his final audit of the B and B Commission.
it exhibited itself every where at once."³ Appearing first in areas such as Quebec and Montreal where inter-group relationships were more common it spread eventually to the other areas of the province until "the insurrection of 1837 completed the division".⁴

Durham firmly believed that the conflict was one between two radically different races rather than one between classes. As evidence he offered the controversy and debate surrounding the establishing of Registry Offices and the commuting of feudal tenures.⁵ Durham did not use the term "class" in the sociological sense of the word, nor was his use of the word consistent. Although he stated that:

The circumstances of a new and unsettled country, the operation of the French laws of inheritance, and the absence of any means of accumulation, by commerce or manufactures, have produced a remarkable equality of properties and conditions,⁶

he did admit that the notaries and doctors wielded "a power over the mass which [he did not believe] that the educated class of any other portion of the world"⁷ possessed. At the same time, however, Durham stressed that the professionals were of

⁶ Ibid, p.28.
"exactly the same class" as the habitants; "that the most perfect equality always marks their intercourse, and the superior in education is separated by no barriers of manners, or pride, or distinct interests from singularly ignorant peasantry by which he is surrounded."\(^8\)

Durham, although offering several reasons for the difference between the two races, believed that "the superior political and practical intelligence of the English cannot be, for a moment, disputed."\(^9\) It was, therefore, impossible "that a race which felt itself thus superior in political activity and intelligence, should submit with patience to the rule of a majority which it could not respect".\(^10\)

The only point which Durham admitted was open to debate was "at what time and from what particular cause the hostility between such a majority and such a minority, which was sure sooner or later to break out, actually became of paramount importance".\(^11\) Durham concluded that it was probably the abortive Union of 1822, aggravated by disagreement between the two ethnic groups over "internal improvements" and "the old and defective laws, which operated as a bar to the alienation of land, and to the formation of associations for commercial purposes."\(^12\)

---

8 Ibid.
9 Ibid, p.35.
10 Ibid, p.36.
11 Ibid.
Robert Christie, first elected as MLA for Gaspé in 1827, was a contemporary of Durham and Papineau. His renown as a parliamentarian is based principally upon his repeated expulsions from the House at the hands of the patriotes and his equally repetitive re-election by the faithful electors of Gaspé. Considering this experience his History of the Late Province of Lower Canada is not overly biased. In large part this is due to Christie's intent to produce a chronicle. There are, however, several places where Christie offered his own interpretation and analysis of events. Like Durham he placed the change in relations around the beginning of the 1820's, and like Durham he attributed the change to racial animosity:

party spirit, springing chiefly from distinctions of national origin, and fomented by appeals to prejudices from it, had started and risen to an alarming degree, and faction also was at work to undermine and paralyze the government.

In Christie's view the beginnings of what we would now term separatism could be seen as early as 1821:

The notion of a speedy nationality or national existence, and independency of Great Britain by the inhabitants of French descent in Canada, had taken possession of almost every mind; its achievement, as they deemed it, being of easy and early accomplishment, depending but upon their own pleasure, and a simultaneous effort by the masses; an unhappy delusion, encouraged by the demagogues and speculative politicians of the hour, and in which they universally indulged.

15 *Tbid*. 
Applying Ouellet's analysis of the conflict as being between those "in" and those "out" of the lucrative government sinecures the probable reason for Christie's disenchantment when writing this volume of his History in 1848 becomes apparent:

Sedition in the inverted spirit of the times, had become a virtue and loyalty anything but that; and, indeed, the government, itself, has since sanctioned the doctrine, rewarding, as the better cause, agitation and disloyalty, with the richest gifts at its disposal, treating with neglect, and ingratitude, those who, in the time of its need, stood to their allegiance and defended it, -- casting off old and faithful servants, to make room for others formerly hostile to and in open array against it, with a faithlessness, injustice, and, in some instances, cruelty, which no political expedience or conciliatory policy can possibly justify or palliate.

As an "old and faithful servant" not in receipt of "the richest gifts" it was difficult for Christie to write a completely disinterested chronicle.

In discussing the Canada Trade Act and the proposed Union of 1822, Christie adopted an interpretation later espoused by Creighton. The racial animosity was not animosity per se but rather a reaction to the "ascendancy which the population of French descent maintained under the existing constitution, in the legislature of the province, ... as opposed to and prejudicial to improvement, and to the introduction of


british enterprise and capital."\textsuperscript{18}

By the time of publishing his third volume Christie seemed to have mellowed somewhat. The conflict he still viewed as racial in origin when describing the events of 1833:

... it was now but too evident that the races, of british and french origin, in the province, were at issue, the former for maintaining the constitution inviolate [with minor reforms] ... the latter for subverting it. Great acerbity of feeling prevailed from these different views, and it was evident that a crisis and collision, at no distant period, must be the result.\textsuperscript{19}

In concert with Durham, Christie believed that social class or occupational group had little to do with the conflict. Indeed there was no solidarity of the workers during the period. Instead "a feeling of hostility between the labouring classes of those origins in Quebec and Montreal, prevailed ....\textsuperscript{20} Indeed in Christie's view it was the lack of class which contributed in large measure to failure of the Legislative Council which "had nothing aristocratic in its composition, nor were its members generally of the character or standing, to elevate the body in the confidence and esteem of the country".\textsuperscript{21}

François-Xavier Garneau is for Michael Brunet the only French-Canadian historian "who partly realized what had been the consequences of the British Conquest for the Canadiens as

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{18} Ibid, pp.384-5.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Ibid, v.3, p.514.
\item \textsuperscript{20} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{21} Ibid, p.391.
\end{itemize}
a people" and who unlike Groulx and Chapais did not adopt "with only a few slight differences the historical interpretation of the American and English-Canadian scholars." Garneau viewed history "as a rigorous analytical science" in which "causation and fact are equal parts of the historian's concern; both must be placed before the tribunal of criticism and reason in the manner of Vico's New Science." At the same time it is, however, history with a purpose and his "Histoire begins and concludes with a call to will to survive, and to struggle on the highest terms." The struggle is, of course, to survive as a people and as a race and these two concepts, race and struggle, are integral aspects of Garneau's work:

Il y a quelque chose de touchant et de noble tout à la fois à défendre sa nationalité, héritage sacré qu'aucun peuple, quelque dégradé qu'il fut, n'a jamais répudié. Jamais plus grande et plus sainte cause n'a inspiré un coeur haut placé, et n'a mérité la sympathie des esprits généreux.

For Garneau this holy racial struggle over the proposed union in 1822 was in part caused by greed and this served to make the struggle more one-sided:

De tout temps l'union des Canadas avait été la pensée secrète du parti anglais de Montréal

---

22 Michel Brunet, "The British Conquest: Canadian Social Scientists and the Fate of the Canadiens", CHR June 1959, pp.94-5.


25 Ibid.
The struggle was in Garneau's view, and it should be remembered that he was writing for an audience threatened with political extinction after the Union Act of 1840, a struggle to the finish in which "le parti anglais le plus exclusif avait toujours voulu l'union des Canada; comme on sait, afin de noyer la population canadienne-française." The French-Canadians would be reduced by the proposed Union "presque à l'état de l'Irlandais catholique". Although Garneau never admits that both sides were motivated by avarice he hints at this in quoting from a speech delivered by Papineau in the House of Assembly in 1835:

On nous dit: Soyons frères! Oui, soyons-le. Mais vous voulez tout avoir, le pouvoir, les places et l'or. C'est cette injustice que nous ne pouvons souffrir. 

27 Ibid, p.68.
Does Garneau's "grande et sainte cause" then become no more than an economically motivated (one hesitates to say determined) struggle between Ouellet's "ins" and "outs"? Garneau's reaction to Lord Aylmer's claim in 1835 to have appointed more French-Canadians to positions of influence would suggest that this is the case:

Mais la partialité avait été si grande avant lui, et l'abus était encore si enraciné que s'il était vrai qu'il eût donné quatre-vingts places aux Canadiens, qui formaient les trois quarts de la populations, il en avait aussi accordé soixante-deux aux Anglais, qui faisaient l'autre quarte, et que les traitements et les émoluments attachés à ces soixante-deux offices excédaient de beaucoup ceux des quatre-vingts.\(^{30}\)

Thus in Garneau one can find mention of economic factors as sources of conflict but one must agree with Pritchard that political, moral and social causation per se are absent. It is, however, clear that Garneau viewed the conflict as racial in origin and that motivated by the desire to preserve the French fact his patriotism is "such that it impregnates his whole work with a special character, for it may be said that he was a patriot before being an historian, and, perhaps, that he became an historian because he was a patriot".\(^{31}\)

It is surprising that Brunet would not place alongside Garneau the work of T.P. Bédard. Writing shortly after Garneau published the first edition of his Histoire, Bédard adopted the

\(^{30}\) Ibid, p.27.

\(^{31}\) Pritchard "F.-X. Garneau", p.291. Pritchard suggests that there is also no economic causation in Garneau.
same nationalistic "call to will to survive and to struggle on the highest terms".\textsuperscript{33}

En effet, au contact d'une nationalité plus nombreuse et qui nous était hostile, nous avons senti le besoin de serrer nos rangs; ... et, fiers de notre origine, ayant la conscience de nos droits, fidèles à notre culte et à nos mœurs, en dépit de toutes les prévisions contraires et de tous les obstacles nous avons conservé, 'nos institutions, notre langue et nos lois.'\textsuperscript{34}

As with Garneau, the concept of race is an integral part of Bédard's interpretation. Indeed the spectre of racism is evident from the beginning of Bédard's Histoire: "Le choix du président de l'assemblée [première] mit aussitôt en évidence l'antagonisme des deux races".\textsuperscript{35} The canadiens who co-operated with the anglais were for Bédard "déserteurs de la cause nationale" and in the general election of 1820 "non seulement furent rejetés mais encore maltraités par les électeurs, tant l'indignation était grande et répondue partout".\textsuperscript{36} Those who did desert the nationalistic cause were motivated by "les sentiments de servilisme"\textsuperscript{37}, by fear of pecuniary loss because in 1834 there was:

... un grand nombre de situations lucratives [qui] étaient vacantes par suite des nombreuses

\textsuperscript{33} Pritchard, "Thought of Garneau", p.282.
\textsuperscript{34} T.-P. Bédard, Histoire de cinquante ans (1791-1841), (Québec: Léger Brousseau, 1869), p.419.
\textsuperscript{35} Ibid, p.2.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid, p.185.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid, p.6.
destinations qui avaient eu lieu récemment,
et plusieurs députés, alléchés par la per-
spective souriante d'être les élus de
l'exécutif, n'osaient se montrer trop sévères
dans leurs actes législatifs.38

For Bédard too, the constitutional problem is not the principal
determinant. It is cited only once39 while the work is preg-
nant with references to race as a causal force.40 The effect
of racism is implicit even in his single reference to the
constitutional problem:

...cette persistance des représentants du
bureau colonial à nommer au conseil législa-
tif ceux qu'il croyait-le plus dévoué à ses
intérêts, et le plus antipathiques à l'assemblée,
entretienait l'antagonisme entre le conseil et
les communes qui, dans un gouvernement constitu-
tionel, doivent se prêter un mutuel secours.41

Thomas Chapais agreed essentially with Garneau's mission
of patriotism and with Garneau's obsession with survivance.
He was, however, not willing to accept Garneau's failure to
bring out clearly the providential mission of the church.42
Chapais found it difficult to explain why Garneau never per-
ceived the potential strength of "religious unity... the
greatest force and benefit which any nation can enjoy since it

40 Cf. for example Ibid, pp.211-2, 253, 255, 257, 261, 263,
274, 277, 315, 318, 369-70, 392.
41 Ibid, p.200.
42 Saunders, "French-Canadian Survival", p.29.
unites our souls in an unbreakable bond." 43 There is also
greater emphasis placed by Chapais on the "vive indignation
dans les cercles ecclésiastiques" 44 as a result of the hostile
attitude of the Patriots:

Dès 1831, le parti populaire, entraîné par ses chefs dans plusieurs entreprises excessives, était donc menacé de perdre l'appui moral du clergé, qui ne tournerait point le dos à la cause nationale, mais qui demanderait à d'autres influences, à d'autres moyens, à une tactique moins aventureuse, l'amélioration de la situation politique. 45

Chapais was not faced with the same problems of survival as Garneau. Hence his means to achieve Garneau's ends were pinned on the policies of statesmen like Lafontaine, Cartier and Laurier: whole-hearted co-operation with English-Canadians which would ensure both a greater field for action and survival. He discarded as ineffective the policy of withdrawal and opposition implicit in Garneau's work: 46

... il nous paraît de toute évidence que M. Papineau et son parti auraient dû profiter des dispositions bienveillantes de ce gouverneur éclairé. [Lord Gosford in October 1836]. Si au patriotisme ardent qui les animait ils avaient joint la clairvoyance et le sens exact des réalités, ils auraient à ce moment —

43 Quoted in Ibid, p.29.

44 Thomas Chapais, Cours d'histoire du Canada, (Montréal: Valiquette, 1919), v.3, p.255.


c'était encore possible -- inauguré une factique de ferme temporisation, de concessions partielles, consenties en échange de la reconnaissance de certains franchises, de certains privilèges, de certain pouvoirs parlementaires jusque là contestés. 47

The solution lay not in confrontation but in conciliation and co-operation with the British. Chapais, if he were writing the following today would probably be classified as a vendu:

En pratiquant avec intelligence et à propos le système du do ut des, ils auraient sans commotions, sans conflits désastreux, sans troubles civils, sans effusion de sang, obtenu la jouissance du véritable régime parlementaire, dont trop longtemps notre province n'avait connu que l'apparence. 48

To Brunet, Chapais is simply one of a line of French-Canadian historians who have "in general, adopted with only a few slight differences the historical interpretation of the American and English-Canadian scholars" and thus a member of "the French-Canadian upper classes [who] have been engaged, since the Conquest, in a process of assimilation to English Canada". 49 The advocacy of conciliation becomes, then, assimilation.

For Chapais the conflict was not, at least in its early stages, racial in character:

Toute ces causes de mécontentement découlaient d'une cause primordiale et capitale, à défaut

---

47 Chapais, Cours d'histoire, v.4, p.101.
48 Ibid.
49 Brunet, "The Fate of the Canadiens", pp.94-95.
de contrôle efficace par la législature sur
l'emploi des deniers publics et sur l'admini-
stration des affaires provinciales. 50

The same problem, writes Chapais, existed in the rest of British
North America. It was a problem of "ins" and "outs" and a
question of the lack of "responsible government":

 Là aussi on voyait des chambres populaires
aux prises des conseils législatifs trop
exclusivement recrutés dans une classe, des
conseils exécutifs sans responsabilité, et
des coteries de fonctionnaires acharnés à
maintenir leur domination et à défendre
leurs prébendes. 51

Both Garneau and Chapais noted the split in the Patriots by
1836 with the emergence of "le parti de Québec". But for
Chapais it is, of course, simply "la rupture ... dans la
majorité". 52 The rupture produced a situation where "deux
politiques se trouvaient en présence, celle de l'intransigeance
et celle de la conciliation", 53 with Chapais supporting the
latter. As events proceeded through 1836 "le conflit politique
paraissait se compliquer malheureusement d'un conflit national". 54
At this point Chapais suddenly but perceptibly alters his inter-
pretation and suggests that "il avait pris cet aspect surtout
depuis deux ou trois ans". 55

50 Chapais, Cours d'histoire, v.4, p.106.
52 Ibid, p.75.
53 Ibid, p.76.
54 Ibid, p.120.
55 Ibid.
Chapais criticized Papineau severely for his intransigence "en présence d'un gouverneur comme lord Gosford, d'un secrétaire colonial comme lord Glenelg, d'un leader libéral comme lord John Russell, d'un parlement réformiste comme celui qui était issu de la grande crise politique de 1832".56 The solution lay in the hands of Papineau but he refused to seize it:

En politque on ne doit jamais s'acharner à l'impossible. Il faut d'abord viser au possible d'aujourd'hui, en tenant ses regards fixés et sa volonté tendue vers le possible de demain. Le possible de demain, je devrais dire le probable de demain, en 1836, d'était le gouvernement responsable."57

Although the nationaliste school might disagree in part with Chapais' historical interpretation they would probably all concur that he was a typical turn of the century Canadian Senator.

L'Abbé Lionel Groulx provides a departure from each of the historians discussed thus far. In fact his position is occupied essentially by one ultra-racist, namely himself.58 Unlike Chapais, Groulx "finds salvation and survival for the French Canadian to lie along the path of survival through withdrawal, of particularism defined through conflict".59

57 Ibid, p.121.
58 This is not to deny the very racist interpretation of the neo-nationaliste school which formed around Groulx.
L'originalité et la variété des races voulues par la Providence, quoiqu'en pensent nos petits assimilateurs de culture primaire, demeurent nécessaires pour perpétuer la beauté du monde, et, par l'échange de services, prolonger ici-bas, entre les peuples, l'agonie de la fraternité.\textsuperscript{60}

In addition, the missionary-like struggle, although aided "par la Providence", is difficult and unceasing:

Et nous apprendrons -- ce qui ne sera pas sans profit dans le péril actuel -- que les champions de la cause française ne doivent qu'à eux-mêmes d'avoir pu maintenir en ce pays le principe du dualisme national. Si le conquérant a pu quelquefois et dans des documents solennels reconnaître à la race française son droit de vivre, ce droit, le plus souvent ... il l'a nié et violemment combattu.\textsuperscript{61}

Thus \textit{les anglais} who have "violemment combattu" become very clearly with Groulx, the enemy in the "luttes constitutionnelles". Chapais becomes one of "nos petits assimilateurs de culture primaire". Groulx unlike Garneau and Chapais saw no end to the conflict, which with Groulx becomes not merely a necessary means to an end but rather a virtue:

... nous nous rappelons que le duel des races dure déjà en ce pays depuis bientôt deux cents ans. Pendant que tant d'autres ont abdiqué, mettant leur honneur à s'anéantir dans l'uni-... formité anglo-saxonne, nous, en marge de tous, nous avons affirmé sans rélance notre prétention à la survivance et à l'autonomie.... En attendant, nous allons donc ramasser nos énergies pour la lutte suprême. Résignons-nous, san murmurs et sans illusions, aux luttes inévitables.\textsuperscript{62}

\textsuperscript{60} Lionel Groulx, \textit{Nos luttes constitutionnelles}, (Montréal: Devoir, 1915), \textit{V}, p.21.

\textsuperscript{61} \textit{Tbid}, \textit{V}, p.1.

\textsuperscript{62} \textit{Tbid}, \textit{V}, p.20.
Legitimized murder in the form of officially sanctioned hanging is a common symbol used by Groulx as for example in describing the Act of Union:

Non, ce n'était plus l'étranglement hypocrite par le lacet de fil de soie; c'était la corde du gibet que brutallement on nous passait au cou.62

Les anglais become not only the enemy but also the official, although self-appointed, hangman. The aim becomes extermination by one mass, public hanging. The evocative images perceived by readers of Groulx present a clear and unequivocal contrast to the co-operative dualism envisaged and advocated by Chapais.

Groulx in his attempt to recreate or to crystallize the French-Canadian nation became more than an ultra-racist. His writing was "an act of faith and hope in national survival. Through the voice of the historian, it was the cry of a whole race refusing to give in, refusing to die."63

Groulx attracted around him what Saunders has described as "an ardent, very vocal and very loyal minority group".64 Gérard Filteau is one of those disciples. More rational and less racist than Groulx, Filteau nonetheless viewed the conflict essentially as one between two races. But the racial conflict has been


64 Saunders,"History and French-Canadian Survival", p.33.
was most evident in the battle which "les Canadiens avaient combattu contre les Bureaucrates et de mauvais gouverneurs et administrateurs". The solution was constitutional and economic in nature:

...ils [les Canadiens] ne voulaient que demeurer des citoyens britanniques mais avec liberté de parler français et de perpetuer leur culture, leur idéal, et pour cela, ils réclamaient les indépendances sociale, politique et économique nécessaires à cet irrédentisme.

Grant them responsible government and their problems would be solved.

After Russell's response in 1837 to the Ninety-two Resolutions the battleground changed; "ce ne serait plus une affaire entre deux groupes de coloniaux, mais entre les Canadiens et la Métropole". Filteau thus suggested a significant departure from Groulx's interpretation, even though, at root the conflict, for Filteau, was until its final stages, racial in character.

The first significant modern English-Canadian interpretation appeared in 1914 with the publication of the third volume of Shortt and Doughty's Canada and Its Provinces. Duncan McArthur in the chapter on French-Canadian Nationalism found that the real and fundamental causes of the political crisis were most evident during the administration of Sir George Prevost:

66 Ibid, p.52.
67 Ibid, pp.33-34.
68 Ibid, p.57.
The expressions of party opinion in 1814 were natural and unconscious. In later years attention was diverted to the means by which party purposes were to be secured and to the particular form in which party issues were to be clothed in order to appeal to the public both in Canada and in Britain. The basic issues in the rebellion situation were essentially nationalistic and racial. The mere conjunction in one political system of two widely different instincts, religious, political, commercial, inevitably induced dissension. 69

Both races through their ignorance and unwillingness or inability to listen to or to understand the other contributed to the conflict:

The determination of intolerant Britons to insist on a divinely ordained distinction between the rights of the victors and the vanquished found a counterpart in the French-Canadian habit of regarding Englishmen as interlopers plotting the destruction of a peaceful and inoffensive people. Bigotry, coercion, a concerted and much-vaunted superiority, compelled the majority to combine for self-defence. The feud of races was already started; time added only to the bitterness of the strife. 70

Although Prevost, his successors and the "government party" exhibited "a sneering disdain of the ignorant and misguided French advocates and habitants who composed the assembly", 71 McArthur, unlike many later English-Canadian historians, viewed the Canadiens as "a vigorous, peaceful and loyal people" oppressed

---


70 Ibid.

71 Ibid, p.279.
by a colonial policy based on "the divine right of the conqueror, the sanctity of prerogative and of special privilege".72

For McArthur, French-Canadian nationalism of the pre-rebellion period, while not the holy grail of Groulx, was nonetheless something which should be viewed in a sympathetic but realistic way:

[It] is neither the vulgar and cowardly abuse of an enlightened and capable governor, nor yet the dignified, disinterested defence of constitutional liberties. French-Canadian nationalism was bent on the perpetuation of the cherished ideals of the French-Canadian race, and on capturing, to this end, the reins of government in Lower Canada.73

Many English-Canadian historians who followed would not be so uncritical.

Stanley Ryerson the first exponent of a class interpretation of Canadian history has been largely ignored by other professional Canadian historians,74 in large part because of the reception accorded one of his first works at the hands of Donald Creighton. Original research, Creighton sarcastically suggests:

...would certainly have been laborious; and its results would probably have been extremely disconcerting for Mr. Ryerson. As it turned out, however, Mr. Ryerson was able to avoid the

---

72 Ibid, p.299.
73 Ibid, p.304.
74 Cf. for example Stanley Mealing, "The Concept of Social Class and the Interpretation of Canadian History", CHR, v.46 (1965), pp.201-218, where Ryerson merits apparently only an oblique reference: "A very few attempts have been made to write Canadian history in terms of class conflict. They have received, and would appear to have deserved, a rather chilly reception".
temptation of research, ... and being, therefore, relatively uninhibited by documentary evidence, he was able to speak freely about his subject.\footnote{75}

To Ryerson, the dependance of other French-Canadian historians on the concept of race was not sufficient:

It cannot provide the explanation for the dynamic of social change either within the community, or on the scale of relations among peoples. Attempts at explanation solely in terms of nation or race end up in a reactionary mysticism whose unfailing (if facit) premise is the alleged innate superiority of the exponent's own race or nation.\footnote{76}

No single determinant will produce a particular type of behaviour for an entire nation in Ryerson's view. Shortly after the granting of elective institutions in Lower Canada, therefore, "both the \underline{\text{national}} question and the \underline{\text{class}} question had made their presence felt."\footnote{77}

But even these two determinants will not satisfactorily explain the events of 1815-1867. Ryerson, as he apparently mellows with age, broadens his view to embrace several determinants:

The interaction of world context and local-colonial experience; of changes in the means and relations of production and the position of the colonial communities; of social, class factors and national identities: all of this finds expression in the labor and collective

\footnote{75 Donald Creighton, review of 1837 - The Birth of Canadian Democracy, (Toronto: Francis White, 1937) in \textit{CHR, V. 19} (1938), p.73.}

\footnote{76 Stanley Ryerson, Unequal Union: Confederation and the Roots of Conflict in the Canadas, 1815-1873, (Toronto: Progress Books, 1968), p.19.}

\footnote{77 \textit{Ibid}, p.14. The italics are Ryerson's.
effort, the conflict and struggle and compromise that per ade the lives of the inhabitants of British North America in the years between the War of 1812 and the enactment of Confederation.78

The expression of this view is illustrated by Ryerson's analysis of the Constitutional Act of 1791 as answering "the requirements of the local ruling merchant-landlord group and of the mercantile imperialists in Britain", while not corresponding "to the needs of the local industrialists, or of the masses of settlers, censitaires, professionals and urban working people".79 The half century of struggle which followed becomes, for Ryerson "the political expression of the contradiction between an expanding native capitalist industry and the restrictive bonds of merchant-colonial rule."80

Class, however, still plays a major role in Ryerson's interpretation. Contrasting with his views on the half century of struggle is his interpretation of a specific incident in that struggle; the split in the Patriotes over the 92 resolutions in 1834:

The right wing represented in the main the Lower Canadian liberal bourgeoisie: like their counterparts in Upper Canada, as the struggle sharpened they broke with the petty-bourgeois revolutionary democrats and, despite protestations of democratic sentiments, gravitated increasingly to the side

78 Ibid, p.20.
79 Ibid, p.42.
80 Ibid.
of the forces of colonial counter-revolution.\textsuperscript{81} Ryerson, thus, stands alone as the only Canadian historian to have applied a Marxist interpretation, albeit in a somewhat haphazard and sparsely documented manner, to the history of Lower Canada.

It is necessary to examine, in passing, the work of André Siegfried. Although concerned mainly with examining the Race Question in Canada around 1906, as "the Tocqueville of Canada"\textsuperscript{82} he is important as one of the few outside observers to produce a penetrating analysis of the relationships between the two founding races.

Siegfried viewed the Canadian problem "in the first place, and above all [as] a racial problem".\textsuperscript{83} There is much of Garneau, Bédard and Groulx in Siegfried's pride of the survival of the French fact in Canada:

Great Britain conquered our French possession in the New World, but she failed either to annihilate or to assimilate the colonists whom we left behind ... their numbers have swollen until they constitute to-day a people of 1,650,000 souls, upholding proudly, under the alien rule they have loyally accepted, their creed, their language, and their traditions. Their special domain, their impregnable stronghold, is the province of Quebec...\textsuperscript{84}

\textsuperscript{81} Ibid, p.53.


\textsuperscript{83} Siegfried, Race Question, p.14.

\textsuperscript{84} Ibid.
Although, as a secularist, anti-clerical, he did not sympathize with Groulx's and Chapais' advocacy of clerical influence in the fight for survival, he did recognize its role:

Therefore it was that the Church, profoundly convinced that to keep the race French was to keep it Catholic, came to look upon isolation as the chief safeguard for a racial individuality threatened on all sides by the advance of the New World.\(^{85}\)

He also recognized the success of Groulx's policy of survival through withdrawal:

... the Catholic Church has done everything in its power to lessen the contact of the two races. The development of the French Canadians may have suffered from this division, but to it is due in great degree the astonishing persistence of their distinctive individuality.\(^{86}\)

Siegfried recognized the efficacy of Chapais' programme of co-operation as practised by "the Liberal party under Laurier, the party of entente and diplomacy, which avoids imprudent words and too audacious affirmations, but which enables the French race to participate in the government of the country".\(^{87}\)

But he went beyond Chapais and treated his readers to a prelibation of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism:

Let them only give up their hope of making Canada a French country, and endeavour instead, on the one hand to permeate the whole land with their spirit, and on the other to establish

\(^{85}\) Ibid, p.25.


\(^{87}\) Ibid, p.179.
themselves strongly and for all time in the province of Quebec, swelling outwards towards the west, the northwest and the north. 88

Donald Creighton looms high on the horizon of Canadian historiography. His influence has been pervasive. Historians of Lower Canada are indebted to him for two innovative and related trends in interpretation. One is the introduction of social class as a tool of analysis for it is Creighton who:

... bien qu'il ne soit pas toujours très explicit, est l'exception qui confonne la règle énoncée par S.R. Mealing à l'effet que les historiens canadiens n'ont pas fait de la notion de classe sociale un de leurs outils importants. 89

The other is to use economic history and specifically the staple approach as "un instrument d'analyse partielle du social". 90

At first Creighton tends to combine three different concepts: civilization, race and class. In his view "two different civilizations as well as two races were in conflict; peasants and lawyers faced capitalists and progressive statesmen". 91

In this analysis of the struggle for control of the finances of

88 Ibid, p.185. It should be noted that the "swelling out" recommended today is composed primarily of cultural and linguistic expansion and is only peripherally concerned with physical expansion.


90 Fernand Ouellet as quoted in Ibid, p.23, n.74.

Lower Canada, Creighton saw very basic differences between the two races as a result of the influence of their respective civilizations upon them:

It was a contest between ... two ages of economic and social development, between the France which the political revolution had destroyed and the English which the industrial revolution had created.\(^{92}\)

At the same time it was a contest between two radically different classes:

A peasant and professional community, unambitious, parsimonious, and unmoved by the lush economic possibilities of a new land, was confronted by a governing class whose deepest instincts were towards improvement, expansion and prosperity.\(^{93}\)

While at this point Creighton manages to keep these three concepts distinct it is in his view the interaction of the three which made the collision so violent.

Two years later Creighton had refined his views somewhat. The prime determinants now become civilization and class. The effect of race is played down and Durham's use of the concept is repudiated in no uncertain terms:

When Lord Durham found in race a primum mobile external to the facts, he became a victim to the monotheistic determinism common to most philosophers of history. Race, as a universal, automatically operating constant, is a myth. There were two races and two religions in Quebec in 1763,

\(^{92}\) Ibid, p.57.

\(^{93}\) Ibid.
but there was no rebellion until 1837.\textsuperscript{94} Causation must be sought elsewhere because North American "has proved tolerant of religions and races, when those races have accepted its social uniformity and bowed to the materialistic gospel of its inhabitants".\textsuperscript{95}

For Creighton one of the causes was still the competition between two different civilizations but in place of British civilization he now suggested American culture. After 1821 as political pressure increased:

... the antagonism deep and irremediable, between the spirit of colonial France and colonial America, was now at length completely revealed. The American culture, expressed by merchants and frontiersmen, was in the ascendant; and as the tide closed in around them, the French Canadians realized its menacing significance and were driven into violence and hysteria.\textsuperscript{96}

The concept of class is, thus, more clearly defined as occupational group and in the immigration of the "miserable sutlers and traders" from the Thirteen Colonies during and after the American Revolution can be found "the pure, distilled spirit of British American commercialism dropped into the tepid colonial society of the St. Lawrence".\textsuperscript{97} As long as the fur trade dominated the horizon and large scale immigration failed


\textsuperscript{95} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{96} Ibid, p.51.

\textsuperscript{97} Ibid, pp.43-44.
to materialize, this commercial class was indifferent to the cultural aspects of the St. Lawrence culture, intermarrying with French Canadians and acquiring seigniories. Their campaign was directed against both the military and governing classes as well as the colonial society of the St. Lawrence.

As Ouellet has, however, suggested one of Creighton's greatest contributions to the interpretation of Canadian history is his use of economic history and specifically the staple approach as "un instrument d'analyse partielle du social". For Creighton "the period from 1783 to 1821 witnessed the first great economic revolution in Canada" with the immigration of U.E.L.'s early in the period and later great immigrations of the 1820's and 30's from Scotland and Northern Ireland. In addition the entire structure of the staple trade switched from the St. Lawrence to Hudson's Bay. This economic revolution had profound social effects and:

... by 1821 the issue was joined between a peasant community producing for consumption and led by lawyers and priests, and a frontier community producing for export and led by a business class whose primary interest was trade.

This revolution also had profound political implications as it significantly altered political alignments:

The governors of the 'teens and early 'twenties turned to the traders as the French Canadians turned away from them; and the commercial class,

---

98 Cf. above note 90.
99 Creighton, "Commercial Class", p.46.
100 Ibid, p.48.
along with the bureaucrats, judges and French Canadian landowners, became intrenched in the Legislative and Executive Councils as it was extruded from the Assembly. 101

In 1937 Creighton published the first edition of The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence. Here he detailed the failure of a dream and attributed that failure in no small measure to the action or lack of action of the French-Canadian. The conflict was not, in Creighton's view, to be found in "the ethnological distinctions which can be summed up in the word race" but in the "historical differences which are compacted in the word nationality". 102

The new political alignment which appeared in the 1800's saw the Assembly split over the Gaols Bill "not as Frenchmen against Englishmen, but as farmers and professional men against merchants". 103 But, as Creighton pointed out the social structure of Lower Canada had significantly altered:

As the old generation of French-Canadian merchants and bourgeois died off, the society turned inward upon itself and poured its brains and energy into the professions, the church, the petty trades and agriculture. 104

Thus the French-Canadians were slowly removed by attrition from the commercial group. The new English commercial group was not

101 Ibid, p.49.
103 Ibid, p.155.
exasperated by the different religion or the different language
"of this spineless and unadventurous generation" of French-
Canadians but by "its complete failure to conquer and exploit
the country in the approved American way". 105 For Creighton
the conflict became "a battle between the new commercialism and
the stiffened feudalism of the St. Lawrence". 106 Later, writing
of the conflict as one between commerce and agriculture, Creigh-
ton is no longer sure which is new and which is old for it now
becomes a conflict "between the directors of the old commer-
cial state and the inhabitants of the new agricultural Canada". 107
"New" and "old" are not value-free terms for Creighton and one
must ask why there is such evident internal contradiction.
The failure of the dream of the commercial empire is to Creigh-
ton as it is for many Canadians one of the tragic events of
Canadian history. As tragedy it requires a villain and the
villain must be, in Creighton's view "those who thought in
terms of rural and parochial interests and who instinctively
distrusted centralization and control". 108 As Dubuc has writ-
ten of Creighton:

... it seems that his purpose was to demonstrate
a particular thesis, that is: the superiority
of the bourgeoisie, of the entrepreneurs over all

105 Ibid, p.159.
other classes of society. This means that all other groups of society were interpreted in terms of inferior groups and it was expected that the inferiors be overcome by the superiors.\footnote{109}

That the latter were not successful seems to be, for Creighton, the central tragedy of Canadian history.

In a paper presented to the Canadian Historical Association in 1937 Gérard Parizeau presented an important view which went beyond Creighton and led forward towards Ouellet. Recognizing the effect of the collèges "d’ou sortaient des générations de prêtres et de professionnels — médecines, avocats, notaires — dont le nombre malheureusement croissant encombrait les cadres restreints des professions",\footnote{110} Parizeau suggested that conflict was more than one of races because "à l’opposition des races s’ajoutaient ... l’opposition des classes et celle des intérêts".\footnote{111}

In Parizeau’s view the majority of both the French and English-Canadians were "des gens qui tirent leur entière subsistance de la terre".\footnote{112} The conflict arose, according to his analysis, between the professionals and the commercial group.

\footnote{109 Alfred Dubuc, "Problems in the Study of the Stratification of the Canadian Society from 1760 to 1840", CHAR (1965), p.25.}

\footnote{110 Gérard Parizeau, "Aperçu de la situation économique dans le Bas-Canada vers 1837", CHAR, (1937), p.53.}

\footnote{111 \textit{Ibid}, p.52.}

\footnote{112 \textit{Ibid}.}
Aligned with the professionals, however, were the French-Canadians engaged in "le commerce intérieur [qui] consiste à vendre les effets venant de l'étranger achetés dans le pays, ou à trafiquer ici sur les produits du pays". The English on the other hand were engaged in le commerce extérieure, 

... et comme le tout-puissant Conseil législatif accueille les plus importants d'entre eux, ils dirigent à la fois la vie économique et la vie politique du Bas-Canada, malgré la formidable force d'inertie que présente le groupe français à certaines de leurs initiatives.

Parizeau also pointed in a small way to the statistical analysis of the economy which Ouellet would later employ.

With Parizeau's brief but penetrating analysis we have an alternative to the nationalist school and to the Laurentian school. Parizeau introduced a blend, where "si les classes s'opposent les unes aux autres, les groupes ethniques s'affrontent, et parfois même les intérêts de classe font place aux intérêts de groupe".

Hugh Gillis, on the other hand, seems to have followed Creighton closely. In his Democracy in the Canadas, "the rebellion in Lower Canada [is] traced to the differences that had existed between the old colonists and British mercantile interests

113 Ibid, p.62.
114 Ibid.
115 Ibid, p.54.
116 Parizeau does not however make adequate use of the time series nor does he relate economic changes to social changes as Ouellet does. Ibid, pp.55-71.
ever since the cession of the colony".118 This same split could be seen in the social environment of the province after the war of 1812:

The claims to equality put forward by the French as a result of their contribution to victory met a firm rebuff from the British-Canadians. Flushed by the set-back which America had suffered, the merchants thought to rebuild their shattered empire and to make Montreal the commercial centre of the New World. They would not, however, grant the right of the old colonists to share in this adventure.119

The result of this policy was social inequality. For Gillis the perception of this inequality of living standards between the merchants and the old colonists "was, perhaps, one of the persuasive factors which drove the Lower Canadians to active opposition".120

While agreeing with Creighton that the French-Canadians were differently motivated than the English and that the former "had little sympathy for the commercial aspirations of the British",121 Gillis does not give the same primacy to these differences.

Admitting the importance of the constitutional issue, Gillis, nonetheless, like Creighton, suggests that the "foundations of rebellion in Canada are to be found in the agitated

120 Ibid, p.133.
121 Ibid, p.135.
social environment."\(^{122}\) Like Creighton, he repudiated Durham's concentration on racial cleavage and suggested that the basic cleavage arose "from the simple and straightforward class division imposed upon the populace",\(^{123}\) from the struggle between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'.\(^{124}\)

Gilles also adopted Creighton's interpretation of the effect of economic changes in the 1830's which "widened the gulf between the old and the new Canadians".\(^ {125}\)

Chester Martin has not had a lasting impact on Canadian historiography. His unmitigated pride in "Parliamentary self-government by a process of evolution [which] was the crowning achievement of the second empire"\(^ {126}\) may be the reason for this. Responsible government "the historic 'principle' which was to bind these warring factions into a party"\(^ {127}\) was Martin's panacea for racial conflict:

It is a curious commentary upon racial segregation in Canada that the recovery

\(^{122}\) Ibid, p.135.

\(^{123}\) Ibid, p.161.

\(^{124}\) Ibid, p.162.


\(^{127}\) Ibid, p.140.
of those special rights and privileges which distinguish French Canada above every other element in the nation took place under the closest association, the only complete integration, the two historic races of Canada have ever experienced -- the legislative union of Lower and Upper Canada. And it is a fair corollary of that reflection that those rights and privileges were retrieved by political action after British models of parliamentary government. In that sense the most distinctive achievement of the French race on this continent would seem to be found not before the cession of 1763 but after it: not before 1800, nor before 1840, but in that teeming laboratory of constructive statesmanship, the troubled years of the Canadian union.128

The dichotomy of views between the nationalist school and Martin need no elaboration.

Like Creighton and Gilles of the commercial empire or Laurentian school, Martin believed that "as representation in the Assembly passed to the notary and the doctor rather than to the seigneur, the concentration of privilege in the Executive Council combined all the qualities likely to antagonize a primitive and sensitive people".129 Filteau, he felt was wrong in that "the Canadian risings never assumed the aspect of resistance against the repressive designs of an imperial policy".130 Martin agreed, instead with Creighton that "colonial government generated a contest between two rival sets of interest within each province".131

128 Ibid, p.60.
130 Ibid, p.75.
131 Ibid, p.87.
A.R.M. Lower is the one English-Canadian historian who leaves himself open to the charge of preaching racism and assimilation. If his work is read superficially this is the impression one obtains. It becomes apparent on closer study that he is the English-Canadian Chapais rather than the counterpart to Groulx. Although many of his views on French-Canadians would seem incorrect, biased and archaic today, Lower believed with Chapais that the future lay in uniting in mutual loyalty to the Canadian experiment. The memory of the Conquest and its divisive effects will remain "until the great day comes when each, abandoning their respective colonialisms, shall have lost themselves in a common Canadianism".

Lower's prejudices, or perhaps his frustrations, become apparent when he tries to describe the differences in the two ways of life. This seems to prompt him to put forward the rather naive suggestion, since he could not understand them

132 Cf. for example his remark in his 1943 address to the Canadian Historical Association in A.R.M. Lower, "Two Ways of Life: The Primary Antithesis of Canadian History", CHAR (1943), reprinted in Carl Berger (intro.) Approaches to Canadian History, (Toronto: U of T Press, 1967), p.17: The question forces itself, "Who has created the French race in America?" I make bold to say that the English industrialist has created about three-quarters of it.

133 Ibid, p.18.

that "all French Canadians are, as it were, the same French Canadian".\textsuperscript{135} Like the rest of the commercial empire school he recognized that "the business man does not walk among the French as a god".\textsuperscript{136} But Lower did not take the next step along with the disciples of the Laurentian school. Class differences were not, for Lower, a determinant:

In Lower Canada, there are three distinct aspects of the struggle leading up to the Rebellion...: the racial cleavage, with which may be included the economic cleavage between static and dynamic conceptions of society, the clash of personalities, and the constitutional struggle. The racial cleavage gives driving power to the other two.\textsuperscript{137}

For Martin and Lower the most important events in their own lives seem to be the various steps in the peaceful evolution from Colony to Nation. There is for both the tremendous, almost naive, faith in the ability of parliamentary institutions to solve the indigenous Canadian problems:

To the majority of the French ... the way to salvation seemed to lead not through revolution but through compromise, acceptance of the English regime, and use of the weapons of constitutionalism which the English had obligingly furnished. After all it was not the metropolis that was the enemy; the enemy were within, they were few, though powerful, and could be fought.\textsuperscript{138}

\textsuperscript{135} Ibid, p.8.
\textsuperscript{136} Ibid, p.12.
\textsuperscript{138} Ibid, pp.229-30.
S.D. Clark in his *Movements of Political Protest in Canada* set out to prove that Canada underwent the same frontier experience as the United States and that the true democratic spirit was thus engendered in Canadian politics.139 This did not mean that Canadians reacted in the same way as Americans, but it did mean the frontier thesis must be taken into account.140

Like Creighton, Clark cited the early co-operation of the two classes, habitant and merchant and of the two races. Although he chose a different date, like Creighton, he posited economic changes as the causes of political realignment.141 Clark saw the change soon after the American Revolution when the real economic division became "not one between landlord and feudal tenant but one between merchant and farmer, and it was this division which underlay largely the political conflicts of the period".142 But had the "struggle developed free of the trammels of a feudalistic order of privilege, ethnic lines of division of the population would have been much more tightly drawn...".143 The effect of the dependence of the seigneurial and clerical groups on the state transformed:

---


140 *Ibid*, p.5.


143 *Ibid*.
... what otherwise would have been a clear-cut struggle between two economic interests -- agriculture and commerce -- and two national groups into an effort to secure a fundamental reorganization of the whole economic, political and social order of French Canada.\textsuperscript{144}

To Clark the frontier in Lower Canada did not function in quite the same way as in Turner's American mid-west. But on the periphery of French-Canadian society it could be seen at work from 1794-1812:

Whether this area be called a frontier, or given some other name, what is clear is that here forces were at work tending towards the disintegration of the traditional society of French Canada and its integration into the larger American continental system.\textsuperscript{145}

Clark viewed 1834 as an important turning point in the political development of Lower Canada:

\ldots the break of the Papineau party with Neilson and the moderate reformers had marked the beginnings of a fundamental change in the nature of political alignments in the colony. Before 1834 the reform cause had attracted a good deal of support from British mercantile classes in the community who had even more reason than the habitants to dislike the narrow, anti-commercial clique which dominated in the councils of the local government.

The shift of the constitutional reformers in the colony to a position of opposition to Papineau emphasized the French nationalist character of the Papineau movement and gave strength paradoxically to radical tendencies within it. Compromise became more difficult when alignments developed in terms of ethnic differences.\textsuperscript{146}

\textsuperscript{144} \textit{Ibid}, pp.205-206.


\textsuperscript{146} \textit{Ibid}, p.284.
Having suggested the primacy of ethnicity Clark then goes on to suggest that the conflict did not become ethnic in character due to a number of factors. First it became "more urban lower class in character" as migration from rural areas produced "a landless class of Canadians sufficiently large to create a stir in local politics especially at election time". At the same time the population of the Upper St. Lawrence had never been absorbed like that of the Quebec area into the social structure of the old regime. Upper St. Lawrence possessed, therefore, the characteristics of a frontier community and "like the political radicalism of the frontier, the political radicalism of the upper St. Lawrence region was thus forced in a separatist direction". Had the French-Canadians of the area been left to themselves they "would have turned away from their ethnic heritage and sought a solution to their problems in the construction of a form of society essentially on the American model". They were joined, however, by the Irish of Montreal. Events were thus transformed in Lower Canada as they are transformed by Clark:

Increasing identification with the reform cause of the Irish population in Montreal and of the American population in the Eastern

147 Ibid, p.326.
149 Ibid, p.324.
150 Unlike the woman who stretches the girdle to fit the fact, Clark stretches the fact to fit the interpretation. For similar criticism cf. W.L. Morton's review of Clark in CHR v.41(1960), p.244.
Townships arrested any tendency there may have been for political alignments to form along the lines of ethnic division and gave emphasis to the essentially frontier character of the Lower Canadian reform movement. Indeed, after about 1835, the Papineau party could no longer be thought of as a parti canadien. Rather, in its appeal to a population which had no great voice in the management of economic and political affairs, it had become a party of the disenfranchised, of the unprivileged and underprivileged.151

It must be noted that even if we concede that Clark has proved the effectiveness of the frontier thesis in interpreting the history of Lower Canada, it is a perverted frontier thesis barely recognizable as the brilliant interpretive tool suggested by Frederick Jackson Turner in the 1890's.152

Helen Taft Manning once wrote that "the real offence of the Assembly of Lower Canada was that it was French, and insisted on remaining so, without any regard for the representation of British settlers in the province".153 Twenty years later her opinion of the French-Canadian had significantly improved but the penetration and depth of her analysis had not changed one whit.

In her Revolt of French Canada Manning described the contest from 1800-1835:

151 Clark, Movements of Political Protest, p.329.
152 Cf. Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History", Annual Report AHA, 1893. Although Turner's thesis has admittedly been called into some question this does not deny that for some 30 or 40 years it opened many new avenues of research and provided significant new insights. It is unlikely that the same will be said of Clark.
... between a comparatively small number of educated French Canadians, who found a few allies among the English-speaking residents of Quebec -- John Neilson and Andrew Stewart were the most conspicuous -- and a much more diversified lot of Britons in Canada and the mother country: officials, merchants, and members of the Colonial Office Staff, Governors and Secretaires de l'Etat supported first one side and then the other. The best ally of the French Canadians, while they waged their battle along strictly constitutional lines, was the British House of Commons.154

In what was essentially a chronological account, Manning never delved below the surface. Considering that Creighton had supplied some useful tools a quarter of a century before she wrote, this is surprising and disappointing in a volume dedicated to a specific topic. Although there is a greater exploration of the rift in the Patriote party,155 to which Manning attributes its ultimate failure, there is on the whole no new knowledge or insight to be gained from reading Manning.

Michel Brunet stands very close to but is not a member of the nationaliste school. He does feel, however, that the social scientists, including historians, have been more concerned with defending the status quo156 than with accurately analyzing French-Canadian society:


156 Michel Brunet, "The British Conquest: Canadian Social Scientists and the Fate of the Canadiens", CHR, v.XL (1959), p.84.
Empty words about democracy, self-government, bonne entente, and the riches which a bilingual and bicultural state is supposed to enjoy have too often deceived the social scientists of Canada. They have first the obligation to analyse the facts without troubling themselves with the vested interests they will hurt or the unfavourable reactions of the influential people they will scandalize.157

According to Brunet, English-Canadian historians have singularly failed to understand the meaning of the Conquest to French-Canadian society. Brunet's views on Kingsford apply equally well to the other English-Canadian historians he discussed in a paper delivered in Creighton's stronghold in 1958:

with the over-confidence and naïveté of a Victorian imperialist convinced that the British Empire, in taking its share of the white man's burden, had a mission to civilize the backward Canadiens, he stated: "It is plain that whatever be the ethnological character of the French Canadians, that it has been under the British government that they have attained to the force and power they possess, and have moulded themselves to the type they present. The political liberty they have enjoyed has enabled them thus to increase in number and prosperity".158

These ideas become "part of an oral tradition which is carried uncritically from one generation to the next ... [even in academic circles] where young scholars let themselves be directed into the well-worn tracks of their teachers".159 Hence twentieth century historians and social scientists are no more realistic, in Brunet's view, than Parkman, Kingsford and other

---

157 _Tbid_, p.98.
158 _Tbid_, p.88.
159 _Tbid_, pp.88-89.
nineteenth century historians. 160

Nor did French-Canadian historians escape Brunet's approbrium for they have, with the exception of Garneau:

... adopted with only a few slight differences the historical interpretation of the American and English-Canadian scholars ... [This fact] indicates that the French-Canadian upper classes have been engaged, since the Conquest, in a process of assimilation to English Canada. 161

Indeed Brunet repudiated the work of the nationaliste school along with the churchmen and lawyer-politicians who "have endeavoured to persuade themselves that the challenge of the British occupation has even contributed to the strength of French Canada". 162

Social scientists have failed, writes Brunet, because "a true and fruitful partnership between French and English Canadians cannot be based upon a common misunderstanding of Canadian history and Canadian society". 163 What, then, is the proper interpretation? The central event in French-Canadian history is for Brunet the Conquest which resulted in the loss by the French-Canadians of "la maîtrise de leurs destinées" 164

161 Ibid, pp.94-95.
162 Ibid, p.96.
163 Ibid, pp.97-98.
and thus left French Canada open to "la colonisation britannique [qui] donna naissance à une autre nation".\textsuperscript{165} As a result of this birth "il n'y aurait pas de reconquête pour les Canadiens vaincus, conquis et occupés".\textsuperscript{166} For the Canadiens of 1760 the Conquest was "un simple changement dans la succession au trône [et] six générations plus tard, plusieurs de leurs descendants partagent encore la même naïveté".\textsuperscript{167}

In Brunet's view there would be no reconquest because the bourgeoisie, which he defines as "cette élite de riches négociants et hommes d'affaires, de seigneurs, de militaires et d'administrateurs qui formait les cadres naturels et indispensables de la société coloniale avant 1760"\textsuperscript{168} was removed from their role either by returning to France or by changes in the economic structures. The failure to recognize this fact has produced the common misunderstanding and sanctimonious platitudes. Only when:

\[
\ldots \text{tous les historiens, tous les sociologues et tous les économistes canadiens-français auront constaté que l'absence d'une classe d'entrepreneurs constitue le fait capital de l'histoire du Canada français, ils auront fait un pas de géant dans l'explication de la société canadienne-française contemporaine.}\textsuperscript{169}
\]

\textsuperscript{165} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{166} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{167} Ibid, p.47.
\textsuperscript{168} Ibid, p.55.
\textsuperscript{169} Michel Brunet, Canadians et Canadiens, (Montreal: Fides, 1955), p.111.
As might be expected all French-Canadian historians have not accepted Brunet's *nouvelle interprétation*. Jacques Monet can be classed as a member of the Chapais school in his interpretation of the history of Lower Canada. He repudiated the nationaliste school as exemplified by Groulx and which preached with a militant, idealistic strain "the autonomy of French Canada, and saw the key to its survival and cultural development in the isolation of a territory on which the French would be undisputed masters".¹⁷⁰ Monet found Chapais' doctrine of co-operation "broader-minded and more practical"¹⁷¹ since "cooperation does more good than intransigeant opposition".¹⁷²

Monet, like Groulx, stated, however, that "the Canadiens naturally grew to identify their nationality with their Church, indeed to see in it one of the main barriers against national assimilation, one of the major determinants of the values dear to all of them".¹⁷³ Moreover, he also agrees with the nationaliste schools almost mystical faith in "the struggle". For French Canada to be a distinct nation:

...it would be enough for the Canadiens to possess a living and active corporate will. "To have done great things together in the past", Renan explained in his lecture of 1882, "to wish to do more of them, these are the essential conditions for being a people". In our North American context,


¹⁷¹ *Ibid*.


the French-Canadians have done great things together.174

Mason Wade falls somewhere between the two poles of the nationaliste school and the Laurentian thesis as modified by Ouellet. Wade characterized French-English relations between the Conquest and 1793 as exhibiting a tolerant attitude.175 The period from 1791 to 1834 he characterized as the struggle for survival.176 After 1793 the tolerant attitude toward the French Canadians was replaced:

... by a fear of everything French, whether Continental or Canadian. As Britain struggled for its life against revolutionary, republican, and imperial France for the next twenty years, an ethnic tension hither to unknown in Canada was created...177

This tension was created not by the French-Canadians but by the Loyalists who had been rewarded with offices in Canada:

Their fear of everything French, based upon their traditional hatred of French 'papists' and their bitter suspicion of French intrigues among the American republicans who had stripped them of their old homes and possessions, became almost hysterical.178


176 Ibid, Chapter 3.

177 Ibid, p.93.

178 Ibid.
By 1815, however, an era of political truce had begun as a result of the common effort in the War of 1812. The new Canadianism produced by this common effort "was to be demonstrated in the years to come by a collaboration of members of both ethnic groups in favour of Canadian self-government and against British misrule". This new spirit did not end the constitutional struggle between the assembly and the executive; "it merely altered the alignment of forces". Combined with the earlier change in commercial structures the conflict became one between interests and between classes with the placeholders, governing elite and merchants arrayed against the farmers and professionals. By 1834, according to Wade, the nature of the conflict had again shifted:

What had been a conflict of interests and of classes, brought to a head by the ruling class' attempt to repudiate the Constitution of 1791, was showing unmistakeable signs of becoming a war between English and French.

Causation in the period 1834–39 must be, wrote Wade, attributed to a whole series of determinants. The rebellion "was neither a clearcut conflict between the ethnic groups ...
nor a struggle between liberty-loving North Americans and reactionary Europeans".\textsuperscript{184} The situation was admittedly more dangerous in Lower Canada because of the ethnic division but "there were some English Canadians in the French party and some French Canadians in the English party".\textsuperscript{185}

The cause could be better attributed, Wade suggested, to the conflict between the popular agrarian majority and the oligarchic minority of officials, placemen and merchants and to the increasing frustration of the majority seeing its wishes outweighed by their enemies' monopoly of power.\textsuperscript{186} Wade then added a second dimension, originally suggested by Parker\textsuperscript{187} and later fully documented by Ouellet:\textsuperscript{188}

The general mood was highly explosive, since Canada was undergoing one of the worst depressions it had ever known -- the wheat crop of the previous year had been a failure, and the farmers were hard-pressed during the spring and summer of 1837, while the business community was severely shaken by financial panic both in London and the United States. A resort to violence no longer seemed unthinkable, but rather the only solution of bitter frustration.\textsuperscript{189}

\textsuperscript{184} Ibid. p.152. Cf. Ibid, p.214, n.1 for a list of English and French-Canadian historians who Wade feels have misinterpreted the causes of the Rebellion.

\textsuperscript{185} Ibid. p.156.

\textsuperscript{186} Ibid, p.152.


\textsuperscript{188} Fernand Ouellet, Histoire économique et social du Québec, 1760-1850: Structures et Conjoncture, (Montréal: Fides,1966).

\textsuperscript{189} Wade, French Canadians, v.1, p.159.
Finally Wade suggested, as S.D. Clark later attempted to prove in a more thorough exposition\(^{190}\) that because of Canada's proximity to its southern neighbour:

The rise of Jacksonian democracy in the United States reinforced the long-established influence of the American Revolution upon Canadian political thinking; the outmoded colonial system became more intolerable to the popular leaders, while the oligarchy was frightened into violent reaction by the crumbling of its wonted world.\(^{191}\)

W.L. Morton believed that French Canadian historians from Garneau to Groulx\(^{192}\) have been writing a history that:

...is peculiarly the consolation of the conquered. To the oppressed the memory of past freedom gives hope in present despair; to the humiliated the recollection of past glory restores some measure of self-respect. It inspires, above all, the determination to survive.\(^{193}\)

Although Morton seems to have escaped in part "the perils of social anthropomorphism"\(^{194}\) by increasing his frame of reference and thus diminishing the relativity of his thought\(^{195}\) he did, nonetheless, view political alignments in Lower Canada

---

\(^{190}\) Cf. above p. 45.

\(^{191}\) Wade, French Canadians, v.1, p.152. Cf. also pp.160, 163, 167 where Wade cites examples of this influence.


\(^{193}\) Ibid, p.43.

\(^{194}\) Ibid.

\(^{195}\) Ibid.
as following the contours of race. Its population "was divided into a French majority and an English minority, the former subordinate, the latter dominant in both commerce and government".

Morton's partial escape came in his interpretation of the Constitutional Act of 1791 which:

... suffered from two defects, both of which sprang from the fact that it was an attempt to reproduce in Lower Canada, so far as was compatible with colonial dependence, the British constitution in all its elements. One was that the constitution of independent branches did not work in Lower Canada as it did in the United Kingdom. Two of the theoretically independent branches, the governor and the legislative council dominated by the English party, had united in opposition to the third, the assembly, dominated by the French majority. The intended checks and balances of a constitution became in practice the recurrent collisions of two racial factions, and politics, quite unnecessarily and quite misleadingly in terms of the real issues of the province, thus became racial.

The escape, then, was his recognition that the real issues were obscured by racial differences.

Like Creighton and Parker and later Ouellet, Morton realized that the political crisis "was intensified by the severe commercial crisis of 1837, and by the total failure of wheat farming in the overpopulated Montreal and Richelieu Valley

197 Ibid.
He disagreed, however, with S.D. Clark's suggestion of Irish and French Canadian solidarity in that "the Catholic Irish kept to themselves". Like Clark and Wade, Morton believed that "the democracy of Lower Canada, that of the Canadian habitants of the seigniories and the bourgeoisie of the cities was ... fired by the ideas of the American and French revolutions". Moreover "it was also the burning democracy of a repressed nationality".

The first real precursor of Ouellet was W.H. Parker who "a lié la détérioration de l'agriculture bas-canadienne à la crise des années 1830". Parker suggested that:

the abortive uprisings in Lower Canada closely followed an agricultural revolution which, culminating in the years 1835-7, utterly transformed the pattern of French-Canadian farming, and had wide-spread and lasting effects upon the life of the habitant.

---

199 Ibid, p.245.
200 Cf. above note 151.
201 Morton, Kingdom of Canada, p.246.
202 Cf. above note 139.
203 Cf. above p.57.
204 Morton, Kingdom of Canada, p.218.
205 Ibid.
206 Wallot and Paquet, "Canada 1760-1850", p.21, n.82.
Combined with overpopulation of many areas especially the earlier settled French areas, unavailability of new cultivable land, and immigration the agricultural crisis produced a situation where "the habitants were willing to listen to the agitators and ready to send fewer moderates and more extremists to the Assembly". The underemployed professional class produced by the Collèges at the rate of "two or three hundred men" per year were ready and able to perform the role of extremists in the Assembly. "That is why" wrote Parker, "it was against the Executive and Legislative Councils that the main torrent of the patriotes' abuse was directed. Not so much for the constitutional reasons alleged, as because the councils represented the British official and commercial classes".

Alfred Dubuc in an address to the annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association in 1965 suggested that it was "time to drop all the remnants of the nationalist interpretation of our history". The study of French Canadian history in the first half of the 19th century would be more comprehensive "if the cleavage between groups was analysed, not chiefly

208 Ibid, pp.211-15. Ouellet is engaged in continuing research on those three factors.


on ethnic lines, but primarily according to social classes". 212

Relying heavily on the findings of Ouellet's Ph.D. thesis presented at Laval in 1965, Dubuc postulated that there were significant changes in each of the classes of society and in political alignments just as the second and downward long wave in prices was beginning: 213

The parties in the social struggle were different: it was no longer the fight of the rising bourgeoisie against the old aristocracy; it was the fight of the leaders of the people against the established bourgeoisie, the new aristocracy of business. The "gens en place" of the new established order had dropped the democratic and republican values they had used for their seizing of the political power. But these same values were now those of the leaders of the people who had more radical aspirations: they wanted democracy for all the people, and for this they needed for themselves the control of political institutions.214

Fernand Ouellet is the first French-Canadian historian to seriously challenge the nationalist and neo-nationalist school:

Ces interprétations ont certes eu le mérite d'accrocher les sensibilités et, par ce bias, de rejoindre les intelligences. Mais correspondent-elles à la réalité? Leur contenu émotif serait-il le garant de leur véridité? Bien avant nous, d'autres historiens en ont douté. Nous pouvons dire que nos recherches

214 Ibid, p.27.
nous permettent de partager cette inquiétude.  

As Mandrou has suggested in his Preface to *Histoire économique et social.*: "Fernand Ouellet apporte une réfutation argumentée du 'traumatisme' de 1763, qui aurait subjugué une nation encore adolescente et lui aurait imposé une sujétion qui se prolonge jusqu'à nos jours". Furthermore, states Ouellet various pre-Conquest conditions "aurait pu servir à fonder une conscience nationale; mais telle n'est pas la situation sous le régime français". There was no sudden and traumatic removal of the French Canadian bourgeoisie as Brunet suggested. Having documented his case Ouellet states it succinctly:

Au lendemain de 1760, la vie se continue dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent et l'existence des hommes se déroule dans un paysage qui, en gros, reste le même qu'autrefois. Le changement d'Empire et de métropole, même s'il comporte nombre d'adaptations, ne signifie pas une rupture forte appréciable avec le passé. Le mercantilisme continue à être le règle de base des rapports économiques entre la colonie et l'Angleterre.

---


The bourgeoisie died not as a result of the Conquest but as a result of:

... certaines déficiences de l'entreprise canadienne-française. Individualiste, le commerçant de fourrures canadien-français craint de s'associer à d'autres, de diversifier ses investissements ... Esclave du commerce des fourrures, il répugne à s'engager dans les autres secteurs de l'économie. Ce n'est qu'à partir de 1783 que l'entreprise canadienne-française connaît un sérieux déclin.219

Thus it was the commercial revolution and the inability of the French-Canadians to adapt to the new capitalism in the fur trade and not the Conquest which caused "la décapitation sociale, dont parle avec tant de ferveur M. Michel Brunet".220

The power vacuum was filled by "une nouvelle classe sociale: la bourgeoisie des professions libérales".221 Educated in the collèges classiques, they were destined, for the most part, to a life of poverty since all the positions were filled. Their discontent was best expressed, they found, in political activity and, their demands could best be met through participation in the parliamentary process. The political conflict becomes, according to Ouellet, one between those who have positions and those who do not:

On comprend mieux pourquoi, grâce aux institutions parlementaires, ces petits bourgeois cherchent dans la politique

le prestige nécessaire à leur reconnaissance sociale. La politique devint même le tremplin qui devait leur livrer accès aux postes administratifs et aux revenus attachés à ces fonctions... La méfiance des fonctionnaires en place et la puissance de la bourgeoisie d'affaires au niveau politique vouaient, à moins qu'elle n'accepte le leadership social des capitalistes, cette nouvelle bourgeoisie à être une force d'opposition. Il fallait par conséquent exalter au maximum les droits de la branche populaire à l'intérieur des structures parlementaires et instaurer son contrôle sur l'Exécutif. La responsabilité ministérielle, la lutte pour la main-mise sur la liste civile et, après 1831, l'effort pour étendre le principe électif au Conseil législatif n'ont de signification complète que dans cette perspective... Même si le premier nationalism canadien-français ne fut pas qu'un masque servant à promouvoir les seuls intérêts des professions libérales, il prenait tellement appui sur l'univers de ce petit groupe qu'il devient difficile de l'en dissocier.222

Combined with the agricultural crisis, the overpopulation of the seigneuries, immigration223 and the resulting social rivalries224 as well as the long downswing in prices from 1815 to 1850225 the Rebellions of 1837-38 became inevitable and unavoidable.

For Ouellet, then, the Rebellions are the result of a conjuncture of social and economic forces which produced "un phénomène social".226 Race is not for Ouellet a determinant

of political behaviour in Lower Canada.

The final word in the debate must go to the most recent work. Jean-Pierre Wallot and Gilles Paquet are the most pointed, if not the only, critics of Ouellet's work. Only Ouellet and Hamelin, they write, "ont opté pour une 'histoire sérielle', encore qu'ils se contentent de décrire les fluctuations de quelques séries parfois incomplètes ou inadéquates sans vraiment expliquer les mécanismes économiques ni expliciter les joints entre eux et le social". There are, according to Pacquet and Wallot, three discernable trends in modern economic history:

... l'une qui a voulu rapprocher économie et histoire par un effort de quantification en histoire (A); une second qui a cherché à effectuer la symbiose dans le cadre plus vaste d'une économie sociale insérée dans une histoire sociale (B); enfin, une troisième qui a tenté de forger tout simplement une économique nouvelle adaptée à l'objet historique (C).

Ouellet has experimented they suggest with a synthesis of trends A and B: "Chez lui, la série sert de guide à l'histoire sociale, les pulsions de la première déterminant la seconde, et atteint les mentalités". For Wallot and Paquet this is insufficient. The ultimate goal must be "une histoire globale":

Il s'agit là d'un saut qui pousse bien au delà d'une liaison A-B-C et d'un choix éclatique des méthodes des trois tendances, d'un saut qui effectuerait le passage d'une

---

228 Ibid, p.11.
229 Ibid, pp.22-23.
modelisation partielle à une histoire globale. Une série ou un modèle économique, en soi, ne permet pas de rejoindre le social, le mental ou le politique.230

The complete results of the Pacquet-Wallot research is not yet available. They have, however, taken their first hesitant steps by establishing a "prospéctive pour quelques décennies",231 a first step which all Canadian historians should now, however hesitantly, take.

It is, of course, dangerous to attempt to summarize a paper of this nature. Although many "new" historians would maintain that history can, in some way, be quantified all historians would vehemently deny that they, as individuals interpreting history can, in any way, be quantified. Placing historians in schools is, in reality, a subtle form of quantification. There has been enough subtly of this type already in this paper.

230 Ibid, p.15.

231 Ibid, pp.35-43. Wallot has, however, devoted some research to the central question of this paper when preparing his M.A. Thesis on the quarrel over prisons in Lower Canada:
Pourant, d'abord querelle d'intérêts et de systèmes, entre l'intérêt commercial et l'intérêt agricole, entre le système de la taxe directe et celui de la taxe indirecte, elle fit rebondir la querelle de races qui s'était temporairement apaisé. A partir de ce moment, le conflit racial se fera de plus en plus accusé et ne s'étendra pratiquement plus.

Nevertheless, some broad general trends can be defined. The nationalist and neo-nationaliste schools led by Groulx and following the examples of Durham, Christie and Garneau have characterized the conflicts in Lower Canada as racial in nature and origin.

The Laurentian school under the baton of Creighton has concentrated on economic factors and has added the dimension of class and/or occupational group as determinants of political behaviour in Lower Canada.

On the periphery sit those who have adopted essentially a Marxist interpretation. Some historians would go so far as to suggest that they are out in left field. Ryerson is definitely too old for baseball and Dubuc is not, to the best of our knowledge, sincerely interested in the game.

Pointing to the future are two French-Canadians one of whom has been, in general ostracized by Canadian historians. Wallot and Paquet and their histoire globale will provide many new insights if it is truly globale.

The debate will continue for many more decades. More ink will convey new interpretations. New schools under new names will arise. And this is probably for the best. After all:

What's in a name? that which we call a historian
By any other name would smell as sweet.
CHAPTER 3

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA
Introduction

The grouping process outlined in Appendix D produced two distinct empirically defined voting blocs in each of the fourteen sessions or combination of sessions. These two blocs were the Patriotes and the Government supporters. In nine of the fourteen sessions an additional bloc was produced. This was the Moderate bloc which fell halfway between the first two in its voting record although usually coming in large part from, and returning to, the Patriote bloc.

Analysis of the variables outlined below will provide some insights into the reasons for within-bloc and between-bloc similarities and dissimilarities.

Father's Status and Occupation

These two variables could conceivably have important effects on the members of the Legislature, particularly during their formative years. The sons of families of elevated status might be expected to vote together as a result of environmental influences, of perceived status or of a desire to maintain the status quo and to prevent others from entering the elite. Sons of families of lower status might vote together as a result of environmental influences or a desire to strike back at the "class" which seemed to be keeping them low on the social, economic and political ladders. Alternatively the thwarted expectations of the offspring of both high and low status families
might result in their voting together in protest against the system.

In the same way all farmers' sons might be expected to vote together particularly during the series of agricultural crises from 1820 onward. The sons of merchants might vote en bloc particularly on issues related to economic stimulants such as public works programmes. The sons of liberal professionals could conceivably vote as a bloc due to the conditioning they received during discussions of constitutional issues in their homes.

Although there is a significant amount of missing data on the Father's Status some broad generalizations can be drawn from Graph 1. The members of the Government bloc came, by and large, especially after the Eleventh Parliament (1820-24), from families of elevated social status. A smaller but nonetheless important percentage of the Patriote bloc were drawn from the same socio-economic background.

The soundings for the Moderate bloc produce an erratic pattern. It is possible that they were distinguished from the Patriotes in the second and third sessions of the Twelfth Parliament (1826; 1827) and in the last session of

---

1 The term elevated social status is used in this thesis in a restricted way. It is applied to the fathers who were officers in the militia, government or law officers, seigneurs, liberal professionals, well-to-do merchants, MLA's, local officials. Those fathers outside of these groups were classified as low social status.
Graph 1 - FATHER'S STATUS (Members in each bloc with fathers of elevated social status as percentage of total members in each bloc)

SOURCE: Appendix B - Table 1

Patriotes

Moderates

Government

Parliament and Session
the Fourteenth Parliament (1834) by the status of their fathers. But there is no consistent pattern for the Moderates.

Excepting the above generalizations the status of the members' fathers was of little if any effect in the formation of voting blocs.

The high proportion of missing data for the variable dealing with the Father's Occupation renders even broad generalizations unprofitable and misleading. ²

Type of Riding

A member of a Legislature could be influenced in part by the need to satisfy the desires of his constituents, both individually and collectively, to ensure his re-election. It is, consequently, possible that members representing urban ridings would vote in a particular way while members from rural ridings would vote in the opposite way. The rural member, for example, could be expected to support a programme which would benefit agricultural interests and less likely to support one which would benefit only the commercial sector.

Comparison of Graphs 2 and 3 shows that the type of riding represented had some effect in the second (1821-22), third and fourth sessions (1823-24) of the Eleventh Parliament and from the last session of the Thirteenth Parliament

² Cf. Appendix B, table 2.
Graph 2 - TYPE OF RIDING (Members of each bloc representing Urban ridings as percentage of total members each bloc)

SOURCE: Appendix B- Table 3

Parliament and Session

11-1 (1820-21), 11-2 (1821-22), 11-3, 4 (1823-24), 12-1 (1825), 12-2, 3 (1826-27), 13-1, 2 (1827-29), 13-3 (1830), 14-1 (1831), 14-2 (1832-33), 14-3 (1833), 15-1 (1835), 15-2 (1836-37)
Graph 3 - TYPE OF RIDING (Members in each bloc representing Urban ridings as percentage of total Urban ridings in Assembly)

SOURCE: Appendix B - Table 4

Parliament and Session

From the last session of the Thirteenth Parliament (1830) to the end of the Fourteenth Parliament (1834) the Government bloc can be classified as the urban bloc, the Patriotes as the rural. Although lasting for a shorter period this trend is similar to that found in the variable dealing with the member's place of residence below. With both variables a reversal of roles is seen in the Fifteenth Parliament (1835-37). It is apparent that in the last general election before the Rebellion the Government supporters did not obtain the confidence of the urban voter which they had enjoyed in the past. Part of this confidence was placed in the Moderates but an even greater amount went to the Patriotes.

While any conclusions must be prefaced with a caveat due to the small proportion of urban ridings it would appear that the type of riding represented was a minor determinant of voting blocs in eight of the fourteen cases tested, and a strong determinant in the last three.

**Member's Place of Residence**

The different cultural, social and religious influences experienced by a member of the Assembly living and working year-round in the city could cause voting behaviour different from that of a member exposed to the
cultural, social and religious milieus of the country. For example, the more pervasive influence of the priest in the rural and village parishes might result in specific reactions to legislative concerns and to social problems in particular. The process of assimilation could be expected to operate much more rapidly in the urban than in the rural setting. A member living in a rural riding and representing it would probably be more attuned to the needs of his constituents and more influenced by them than a member representing a rural riding but living in the city. Consideration of this variable is, therefore, potentially valuable in a political system in which many members did not live in the riding they represented.

In the Eleventh Parliament (1820–24) the Government bloc was more rural while the Patriotes boasted more urban representatives by the measures used in Graphs 4 and 5. In the first session of the Twelfth Parliament (1825) the beginnings of a reversal could be seen. By the second and third sessions (1826, 1827) of the same Parliament this reversal was obvious with the Government bloc boasting urban dwellers out of proportion to its size. This situation held true until the beginning of the Fifteenth Parliament (1835) when the composition of each bloc returned to that of the Eleventh Parliament. The Moderates tended, on the whole, to be more rural than urban.

While no one urban/rural split was found for the entire period it is clear that the member's place of residence
Graph 4 - RESIDENCE (Members in each bloc living in Urban areas as percentage of total members in each bloc)

SOURCE: Appendix B - Table 5

% PATRIOTES

% MODERATES

% GOVERNMENT

Parliament and Session

Graph 5 - RESIDENCE (Members of each bloc living in urban areas as percentage of total members of Assembly living in urban areas)

SOURCE: Appendix B - Table 6

- **Patriotes**

- **Moderates**

- **Government**

Parliament and Session
did have some effect on the formation of voting blocs.

**Religion of Riding**

The predominant religion of the riding could be an important input into the matrix of determinants influencing the voting behaviour of each member. If A.R.M. Lower's article on the two ways of life resulting from the two religious groups in Lower Canada has any validity then it would be expected that members representing Protestant ridings would be grouped in one voting bloc while those representing Roman Catholic ridings would be grouped in others.

The predominant religion of the riding also provides what may be termed a crude but reasonably accurate indicator of the numerically superior ethnic group of the riding. It would, therefore, be difficult to differentiate between ethnicity and religious affiliation as the more important determinant. It would be more accurate to describe this variable as a crude measurement of the religious-ethnic

---

3 Cf. A.R.M. Lower, "Two Ways of Life: The Primary Antithesis of Canadian History", CHAR (1943) reprinted in Carl Berger(ed.), *Approaches to Canadian History*, (Toronto: U of T Press, 1967), pp. 15-28. Lower suggests that there were two ways of life in Canada: one materialistic with an emphasis on accomplishment and success; the other peasant-spiritual with an emphasis on religious and rural values; the former Protestant and English, the latter Roman Catholic and French-Canadian.

4 The effect of each member's religious affiliation will be considered as an independent variable below.
Graph 6 - RELIGION OF RIDING (Members of each bloc representing Protestant ridings as percentage of total members of each bloc)
SOURCE: Appendix B - Table 7

% PATRIOTES

% MODERATES

% GOVERNMENT

Parliament and Session
11-1 (1820-21)
11-2 (1821-22)
11-3, 4 (1823-24)
12-1 (1825)
12-2, 3 (1826-27)
13-1, 2 (1827-29)
13-3 (1830)
14-1 (1831)
14-2 (1831-32)
14-3 (1832-33)
14-4 (1834)
15-1 (1835)
15-2 (1835-36)
15-3, 4 (1836-37)
Graph 7 - RELIGION OF RIDING (Members in each bloc representing Protestant ridings as percentage of total members in Assembly representing Protestant ridings)

SOURCE: Appendix B - Table 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
composition of the riding.

This variable, unfortunately, can only be employed in the analysis of the last two Parliaments because the censuses before that period do not indicate the religious affiliation of the constituents.

While the period for which data is available is too short to provide a definitive answer it is clear that although the Government bloc contained a majority of members from Roman Catholic ridings it also contained the majority of members from the Protestant ridings. In the Fifteenth Parliament (1835-37) the Government bloc was composed of a very high proportion of members representing Protestant ridings and it contained the vast majority of such members.

For both Parliaments the Patriotes and the Moderate bloc are, by the three measurements outlined in Appendix D, clearly the representatives of the Roman Catholic ridings.

**Education**

The level of education attained by a member could be an important determinant of voting behaviour. It is possible, for example, that an illiterate member would follow the lead of any demagogue who appealed to him. It has been suggested that Papineau used the lack of education of some members as a tool to manipulate them. The available evidence seems to suggest the opposite. Members with elementary education or less were distributed throughout the blocs in rough proportion

---

5 The exception where the Moderates contained 50% of the Protestant ridings involved a total N of 4.
Graph 8 - EDUCATION (Members in each bloc with above elementary education as percentage of total members in each bloc)

SOURCE: Appendix B - Table 9

Patriotes

Moderates

Government

Parliament and Session

11-1 (1820-21), 11-2 (1821-22), 11-3 (1823-24), 12-1 (1825), 12-2,3 (1826-27), 13-1,2 (1827-29), 13-3 (1830), 14-1 (1831), 14-2 (1831-32), 14-3 (1832-33), 14-4 (1834), 15-1 (1835), 15-2,4 (1836-37)
to the size of the blocs as seen in Appendix B table 9. The graduates of the collèges classiques at the other end of the spectrum might establish an informal old boys' club from which the less educated would be excluded. The former, when their expectations were not fulfilled upon graduation or for some years thereafter might vote together as a protest against the system in an attempt to alter it radically. This problem, according to Ouellet, became more acute as the surplus in the liberal professions increased:

Chaque année les collèges classiques, et on en fonde plusieurs après 1820, déversent dans la société un nombre toujours plus considérable de jeunes, aux vocations sacerdotales manquées et uniquement dispensable pour les carrières libérales. Il n'est pas étonnant que la pauvreté soit demeurée le lot de la plupart des individus engagés dans cette voie. Pierre Bédard et Norbert Morin en sont des exemples typiques. L'encombrement des professions libérales est une des caractéristiques principales de cette période troublée. Leur intrusion massive dans la politique en est une autre. 6

In fact the more educated, as evident in Graph 8, did not band together. Although the Government bloc consistently exhibited a higher percentage of educated than uneducated among its members, the Patriotes followed a similar pattern at a slightly lower level. It is only in the last half of

---

Graph 9 - PARTICIPATION IN REBELLION (Members in each bloc who participated in Rebellion as percentage of total members in each bloc)

SOURCE: Appendix B - Table 10
Graph 10 - PARTICIPATION IN REBELLION (Members in each bloc who participated in Rebellion as percentage of total members of Assembly who participated)

SOURCE: Appendix B - Table II
the Fourteenth Parliament (1832-34) and the first half of the Fifteenth (1835-36) that the Patriote bloc exhibits an "intrusion massive". As will be shown below it is, indeed, only in the same period that the liberal professionals move from an average of about 30% of the Patriote bloc to a high of 57.69%.

The only case in which the level of education was significant was in the formation of the Moderate bloc in the first session of the Eleventh Parliament (1820-21). It must, therefore, be concluded that the level of education was not a significant determinant of voting blocs.

**Participation in the Rebellion**

The participation of a member in the Rebellion can be interpreted as a measure of his degree of commitment to

---

7 There are, of course, serious difficulties involved in determining whether a member actually took up arms. The criteria employed was the classification of members as participants or observers by A. Fauteux in his Patriotes de 1837-38, (Montréal, 1939) and by L.O. David in his Les Patriotes de 1837-1838, (Montréal, 1884); and the lists of those for whom rewards were offered. The lists are, of course, in many cases no more than a reflection of government suspicion of a particular member who may or may not have taken part in the armed rebellion. Whenever evidence contradicting the lists was available the member was classified as an observer. It is also difficult to determine whether a member's degree of commitment to change was same ten or fifteen years before the rebellion. For this reason and because of the attrition rate through death or non re-election this variable has been used only in the analysis of the last two Parliaments. Those members who died before the rebellion have not been included in the calculations.
change. The member desirous of preserving the status quo, for whatever reasons, is not likely to be committed to serious systemic or social change. Hence those committed to fundamental changes in the political system can be expected to be found in the most radical group in the Assembly.

As can be seen in Graphs 9 and 10 this hypothesis was born out in the last two Parliaments (1831-37) before the Rebellion. The two exceptions were temporary shifts and the members in question returned to the folds of the Patriotes. As evident in Appendix B table 10 there was a significant increase of future rebels, both in relative and absolute terms, as a result of the Fifteenth General Election of 1834, an election which also, as has been noted above, returned a higher percentage of urban dwellers and urban members to the Patriotes.

Promotion/Patronage

The granting or withholding of patronage has been a tool used by most governments known to man to reward behaviour agreeable to them and to punish those not conforming to the philosophy and policies of those in power. In Lower Canada

---

8 Included under patronage and promotion are things such as promotion to Justice of the Peace, Commissioner of Small Pleas, Judgeships, Legislative and Executive Councilors etcetera. All elective positions including new members of the Legislative Council between 1856 and 1867 have been excluded. The variable was divided into four categories: promotion or patronage awarded before, during or after the Parliament in question, and no patronage. The last category has been chosen as the most accurate measurement of government favour or disfavour and has, therfore, been used in Graph 11.
Graph 11 - PROMOTION (Members of each bloc with no promotion as percentage of total members in each bloc)

SOURCE: Appendix B - Table 12

Patriotes

Moderates

Government

Parliament and Session

11-1 (1820-21)  
11-2 (1821-22)  
11-3-4 (1823-24)  
12-1 (1825)  
12-2-3 (1826-27)  
13-1-2 (1827-29)  
13-3 (1830)  
14-1 (1831)  
14-2 (1831-32)  
14-3 (1832-33)  
14-4 (1834)  
15-1 (1835)  
15-2 (1835-36)  
15-3-4 (1836-37)
it is conceivable that the control and awarding of positions of monetary and political reward by an appointed government might have some effect on the voting behaviour of the elected members of the Assembly.

Graph 11 shows that patronage or promotion was a significant determinant in the formation of both the Patriote and Government blocs in the first (1820-21) and second (1821-22) sessions of the Eleventh Parliament (a strong determinant in the latter) and in the first (1831) and second (1831-32) sessions of the Fourteenth Parliament (a strong determinant in the former). The lack of patronage for members of the Government bloc in the Fifteenth Parliament (1835-37), especially that granted under the Union, bears out Robert Christie's complaint of 1848 that the Government after 1841 had treated "with neglect, and ingratitude, those who in time of its need, stood to their allegiance and defended it..."\(^9\).

The Moderate bloc appears to have been strongly affected by this variable by being alternately on the wrong end of the receiving line in the first session (1820-21) of Eleventh Parliament and on the right end from the second session (1826) of the Twelfth Parliament to the end of the period. There is, however, an interesting increase in the percentage of the Moderates of the Fifteenth Parliament

\(^9\) Cf. supra, p. 12.
(1835-37) who do not enjoy the political rewards of the Union era.

Overall, as was anticipated, the Patriote bloc contained the highest percentage of members not receiving favours at the hands of the government while the Government bloc and the Moderates vied for the most favourable position.

**Age and Experience**

The age and experience of a member could be important influences on his voting behaviour especially in a non-partisan legislature. Members sitting for a long period of time might form a club to exercise power out of relation to their numbers. Or they may have been, through time, co-opted by the establishment. Alternatively the less experienced and younger members might be more radical, bearing in mind that many of them were the liberal professionals being produced by the collèges classiques in increasing numbers for increasingly fewer occupational opportunities.

These two variables, apart from a few isolated examples, had a statistically insignificant effect upon the formation of voting blocs.\(^{10}\) As is evident in tables 14 and 15 of Appendix B the analysis of variance showed that the ratio of between-bloc differences to within-bloc

\(^{10}\) For a brief description of the method of analysis employed cf. Appendix D.
differences was so small as to be insignificant.

**Occupation**

This variable is particularly important for the student of the history of Lower Canada since the current debate over political alignment in the province is for the most part between those supporting an interpretation based on ethnic differences and those who posit occupational or "class" differences as the root causes of political alignment in Lower Canada. This debate has been outlined in considerable detail in Chapter 2.

**A. Liberal Professionals**

The pursuit of a liberal profession was not a factor in the formation of the *Patriote* bloc. It will be noted that it is only in the last Parliament that the liberal professionals constituted a majority of the *Patriote* bloc reaching a high of 57.69% in the second session (1835-36). The ratio, or third, test outlined in Appendix D indicated that at no time were the liberal professionals over-represented in the Patriote bloc and that in many cases they were under-represented.

The pursuit of this type of occupation seems, in fact, to have been more of a determinant for the Government bloc. Until the third session (1832-33) of the Fourteenth Parliament the liberal professionals were, with one exception, a strong majority of the Government
Graph 12 - OCCUPATION (Liberal Professionals each bloc as percentage of total members each bloc)

SOURCE: Appendix B - Table 16
Graph 13 - OCCUPATION (Liberal Professionals in each bloc as percentage of total Liberal Professionals in Assembly)

SOURCE: Appendix B - Table 17

[Graph showing the percentage of PATRIOTES, MODERATES, and GOVERNMENT over different Parliament and Session periods from 1820 to 1837.]
bloc. Furthermore, in six of the fourteen cases more than 50% of the Government bloc were liberal professionals.

A comparison of Graphs 12 and 13 shows that membership in a liberal profession was not a consistent determinant of membership in the Moderate bloc.

B. Merchant-Seigneurial

A comparison of graphs 14 and 15 indicates that with the possible exception of the first session (1825) of the Twelfth Parliament this occupational group was over-represented in the Patriote bloc to the end of the second session (1829) of the Thirteenth Parliament. This is substantiated by inspection of table 16 of Appendix B where it can be seen by the third test that the ratio of this occupational group within the Patriote bloc was equal or slightly higher to or slightly than the ratio of the bloc within the Assembly. The latter situation never obtained after this date.

The Merchant-Seigneurial group is, by the above indicators, under-represented in the Government bloc until the third session (1830) of the Thirteenth Parliament. At that point the Patriote and Government blocs apparently switch positions. This holds true until the end of the period.\textsuperscript{11} As has been noted above, however, the 

\textsuperscript{11} The percentage increase for the Patriote bloc in the last four sessions (1834-37) in Graph 15 is a function of the absolute increase in the size of the bloc. As Graph 14 indicates the trend for the Merchant-Seigneurial group within the Patriotes was, with a few exceptions, consistently decreasing.
Graph 14 - OCCUPATION (Merchants-Seigneurs in each bloc as a percentage of total members in each bloc)

SOURCE: Appendix B - Table 16
Graph 15 - OCCUPATION (Merchants-Seigneurs in each bloc as percentage of total Merchants-Seigneurs in Assembly)

SOURCE: Appendix B - Table 18

---

**PATRIOTES**

**MODERATES**

**GOVERNMENT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parliament and Session</th>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11-1 (1820-21)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-2 (1821-22)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-3, (1823-24)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-4, (1825)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-1, (1826-27)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-1, (1827-29)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-2, (1830)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-1, (1831)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-2, (1832-33)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-3, (1834)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-1, (1835)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-2, (1835-36)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-3, (1836-37)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
liberal professionals are over-represented in the Government bloc until the third session (1832-33) of the Fourteenth Parliament leaving three overlapping sessions where the two main occupational groups are over-represented in the Government bloc. But it must be noted that in only six of fourteen cases did the Merchant-Seigneurial group constitute 50% or more of the Government bloc. In three of these cases this occupational group constituted a bare 50%.

Throughout the period studied the merchant-seigneurial group is, by the third test used above, over-represented in the Moderate bloc. Moreover the Moderates have in eight cases out of nine a higher percentage representation of this occupational group within their bloc than the Patriotes have in theirs and in five of nine cases higher than in the Government bloc. This, it would appear, is the variable that distinguished the Moderates from the Patriotes in those sessions where such a separation took place.

C. Seigneurs

It would be anticipated on the basis of the extant history of revolutions that the landed aristocracy would be pitted against a coalition of the rising bourgeoisie mercantile class, the liberal professionals and the farmers. While it is incorrect to treat the seigneurial
TABLE A - Distribution of Seigneurs by Voting Blocs 1820-37

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>11th</th>
<th>12th</th>
<th>13th</th>
<th>14th</th>
<th>15th</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3,4</td>
<td>1,2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Montenac</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-62</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dessaulles</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-63</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De St Ours</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dumont</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-82</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fraser, J.</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-94</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herriot</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joliette</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-116</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterrière</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-125</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malhiot</td>
<td></td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-170</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rouville</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-180</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taschereau, AC</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-181</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taschereau, JT</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-190</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonnancour</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

KEY: P - Patriote Bloc  
M - Moderate Bloc  
G - Government Bloc  
E - Eliminated (would not group)  
A - Absent  
L.C. - Legislative Councilor
occupational group of Lower Canada as the equivalent of the landed aristocracy of pre-Revolutionary France. It is necessary for the purposes of this paper to determine whether the seigneurial class operated either as a common voting bloc or within a particular bloc to further their own group interests.

During the entire period there were 25 Seigneurs in the Assembly. Of these only 13 can be classified, on the basis of occupation, as seigneurs. The remaining 12 were hybrids in the sense that they were engaged in some occupation in addition to that of seigneur. One of these 12 was a Doctor, 5 were lawyers and 6 were engaged in mercantile enterprises of some magnitude.

Table A shows that the 13 members classified as seigneurs were spread through all three voting blocs. Some individuals were, at different times, members of all three voting blocs. Surprisingly the strongest concentration was in the Patriote bloc, particularly during the

---

12 Cf. unpublished research paper by Helen Brown, Carleton University, 1969 where she presents a summary of ownership of seigneuries in Lower Canada, 1800-1850. At the beginning of the period the largest group of owners were the old French-Canadian families. By the end of the period the largest group was the British merchants, the seigneurs by purchase. The period 1800-25 was the equilibrium point between these two groups in terms of seigneurial ownership. In light of these drastic changes it is obvious that the seigneurial class cannot be accurately compared to the landed aristocracy of pre-Revolutionary France.
TABLE B - Distribution by Voting Blocs of Seigneurs Engaged in Liberal Professions 1820-37

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>11th</th>
<th>12th</th>
<th>13th</th>
<th>14th</th>
<th>15th</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Session</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3,4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blanchet, Dr. F</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-41</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casgrain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-73</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dumoulin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-128</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCullum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-132</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mondelet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-183</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taschereau, PE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

KEY: P - Patriote Bloc
M - Moderate Bloc
G - Government Bloc
E - Eliminated (would not group)
A - Absent
L.C. - Legislative Councilor
S.C. - Special Council after Rebellion of 1837
TABLE C - Distribution by Voting Blocs of Seigneurs Engaged in Mercantile Enterprises 1820-37

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>11th</th>
<th>12th</th>
<th>13th</th>
<th>14th</th>
<th>15th</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Member</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3,4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2,3</td>
<td>1,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-54</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davidson</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-65</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dionne</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drolet, JT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-114</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Languedoc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-123</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leslie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-203</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wurtele</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

KEY:  
P - Patriote Bloc  
M - Moderate Bloc  
G - Government Bloc  
E - Eliminated (would not group)  
A - Absent  
L.C. - Legislative Councilor
period 1820-30. By and large these seigneurs were drawn from the old French-Canadian families which were reputed to have made a post-Conquest alliance with the British.\textsuperscript{13}

Table B illustrates that the Seigneurs engaged in the liberal professions did not coalesce within any single voting bloc.

Table C shows that the same holds true for the Seigneurs engaged in mercantile pursuits with the exception of the last Parliament (1835-37) where three of them concentrated in the Patriote group.

It is evident that the Seigneurial occupational group did not coalesce as a distinct voting bloc within any one bloc. Interestingly, however, there was a concentration of Seigneurs in the Patriote bloc during four of the five Parliaments studied.

Graph 16 – OCCUPATION (Farmers in each bloc as percentage of total members in each bloc)
SOURCE: Appendix B – Table 16
Graph 17 - OCCUPATION (Farmers in each bloc as percentage of total farmers in Assembly)

SOURCE: Appendix B - Table 19

Patriotes

Moderates

Government

Parliament and Session

11-1 (1820-21)
11-2 (1821-22)
11-3 (1822-23)
12-1 (1823-24)
12-2 (1824-25)
12-3 (1825-26)
13-1 (1826-27)
13-2 (1827-28)
14-1 (1828-29)
14-2 (1829-30)
14-3 (1830-31)
14-4 (1831-32)
15-1 (1832-33)
15-2 (1833-34)
15-3 (1834-35)
15-4 (1835-36)
15-5 (1836-37)
D. Farmers

It is clear from a comparison of Graphs 16 and 17 that the Farmers, while constituting a minority of the Patriote bloc, were nonetheless with two exceptions, concentrated in that bloc. Moreover, inspection of table 16 of Appendix B reveals by the third, or ratio, test that with the exception of the first (1820-21), third and fourth sessions (1823-24) of the Eleventh Parliament the Farmers were substantially over-represented in the Patriote bloc. 14

By all three tests the Farmers were at no time a significant force within the Government bloc nor a determinant of it. As seen in either Graph 16 or 17 in five of fourteen cases there were no farmers in the Government bloc and at no time did this bloc contain more than 25% of the Farmers in the Assembly nor did the Farmers ever make up more than 15% of this bloc.

The Moderates do not show any clear trend. As Graph 17 reveals, it is this bloc which in four cases draws some of the Farmers' support away from the Patriotes. Conversely in four of the remaining cases in which the Moderates appeared as a bloc, they attracted no support from this

14 It is highly probable, had more of the French-Canadian farmers listed among the absentees in Appendix C attended enough roll-call divisions to be included, that the occupation of farmer by all three tests would have been a strong determinant of the Patriote bloc.
Graph 18 - ETHNIC ORIGIN (British members each bloc as percentage of total members each bloc)
SOURCE: Appendix B - Table 20

Graphs showing the percentage of various political groups (Patriotes, Moderates, Government) over different sessions of Parliament (11-1, 12-1, 12-2, 13-1, 13-2, 14-1, 14-2, 14-3, 15-1, 15-2, 15-3, 15-4, 1820-21, 1821-22, 1823-24, 1825, 1826-27, 1827-29, 1830, 1831-32, 1832-33, 1834, 1835, 1835-36, 1836-37).
Graph 19 - ETHNIC ORIGIN (British members in each bloc as percentage of total British members in Assembly)

SOURCE: Appendix B - Table 21
occupational group.

It is, however, difficult to conclude that this occupational group was a strong determinant of the Patriote bloc. First, as mentioned above, the Farmers always constituted a minority of the Patriotes rising to a high of 36.4% and averaging 15-20% of the bloc. Secondly it is conceivable that the Farmers voted on the basis of ethnic origin and religious affiliation rather than on the basis of their occupational affinity. Throughout the period under study there are no British or Protestant Farmers in the Patriote bloc. The two British and Protestant Farmers appeared in either the Moderate or Government blocs.

**Ethnic Origin**

This variable is, like that dealing with members' occupations, extremely important to the student of Lower Canadian history. It represents the other side of the coin of current debate as outlined in Chapter 2.

The data gathered indicates that this variable is the strongest single determinant of voting behaviour for the period under study. Comparison of Graphs 18 and 19 shows that ethnic origin was a strong determinant for both the Patriote and Government blocs in seven of fourteen cases tested, a significant determinant in four cases and
and a probable determinant in the remaining three. Moreover, the ratio test (test 3) reveals that in every session of every Parliament studied the British were radically under-represented in the Patriote bloc and strongly over-represented in the Government bloc.

Ethnic origin was also a strong determinant of the Moderate bloc. In seven of nine cases in which this bloc formed, the British were under-represented by the ratio test and constituted a minority of the bloc as well as a minority of all British members. In the other two the British were strongly over-represented by the ratio test. Thus although there are inconsistencies, it would appear by the three tests that it is this factor which prevents the Moderates from moving completely into the Government camp during the last Parliament before the Rebellion.

Religion of Member

Religion, defined as a way of life, inculcated many values in the nineteenth century individual. Hence the differences between Protestantism and Catholicism could be determinants of voting behaviour.16 While it is difficult to ascertain the degree of religious adherence of the

---

15 This variable was divided into two main categories; French-Canadian and British. The latter includes all British, Irish and American immigrants and their descendants. Differentiation has been made among these Anglo-Saxons in the biographies of Appendix A.

16 Cf. supra, Chapter 3, n. 3.
Graph 20 - RELIGION OF MEMBER (Protestants in each bloc as percentage of total members in each bloc)
SOURCE: Appendix D - Table 22
Graph 21 - RELIGION OF MEMBER (Protestants in each bloc as percentage of total Protestants in Assembly)
SOURCE: Appendix B - Table 23

Patriotes

Moderates

Government

Parliament and Session

11-1(1820-21)
11-2(1821-22)
11-3(1822-24)
12-1(1825)
12-2,3(1826-27)
13-1,2(1827-29)
13-3(1830)
14-1(1831)
14-2(1832-33)
14-3(1834)
15-1(1835-36)
15-3,4(1836-37)
of the majority of members it is safe to suggest that the fact of having been raised in a particular religion had some effect on beliefs and behaviour. Even the anti-clericals could never completely escape their Protestant or Roman Catholic mores.

As might be expected the same observations can be made about this variable as have already been made about the ethnic origin of members. The religious adherence of members was a strong determinant of voting blocs.

Profile of Patriote Bloc

The Patriotes were clearly a bloc composed almost entirely of French-Canadian Roman Catholics. In only one case was this bloc more than 20% British-Protestant. Interestingly enough there was a rise in British-Protestants within the bloc from 1824-29 just as the liberal professionals showed a slight decrease. From 1820-31 the Merchant-Seigneurial group was the predominant occupational group within the Patriotes. Furthermore there was some concentration of Seigneurs within this bloc in four of the five Parliaments studied. In 1831 the Farmers equaled the commercial group and the liberal-professionals began a steady rise which continued until 1836. The rise in Farmers and liberal-professionals between 1830-31 is,

---

17 It should be remembered, however, that this concentration was due, in large part, to those Seigneurs also engaged in mercantile enterprises.
in part, a reflection of the changed electoral districts as are the decreases in members residing in urban areas and members with above elementary education.

The Fifteenth General Election in 1834 produced significant changes in the composition of the Patriote bloc, reflecting in part the rift within the bloc over the 92 Resolutions. Thus in the last Parliament (1835-37) the Patriotes as a whole were becoming more highly educated, more urban and more dependant on the liberal professions for recruits.

Profile of Government Bloc

The Government bloc is in many ways the opposite of the Patriotes. With one exception (and in this case British Protestants were still over-represented in the bloc) it was the British and Protestant party of the Assembly. Contrary to some conventional wisdom on the subject the dominant occupational group in the bloc alternated throughout the period between the liberal-professionals and the merchant-seigneurs, with the former on a rising trend and the latter on a decreasing pattern in the last Parliament. The farmers were a negligible force in the Government bloc as were the Seigneurs considered as a separate occupational group.

18 Cf. supra, Chapter 1, n. 8.
A highly educated bloc, the majority of its members for most of the period were urban dwellers. Until the last Parliament (1835-37) a high percentage of this bloc received some sort of favour or patronage from the Government.

Profile of Moderate Bloc

Predominantly French-Canadian and Roman Catholic, the Moderate bloc was composed, by and large, of the Merchant-Seigneurial and liberal-professional occupational groups with the former predominant until 1830 and the latter in four of five cases thereafter. With the exception of the first session (1820-21) of the Eleventh Parliament the Farmers made up a negligible part of this bloc. The Seigneurs as a separate occupational group were not strongly represented in this bloc. Again with the exception of the 1820-21 session the Moderates boasted a high percentage of members with above elementary education. Less urban than the Patriotes at the beginning of the period the Moderates, with the exception of the first two sessions (1831-33) of the Fourteenth Parliament, were at least as urban in the later years of the period. Less favoured than both of the other two blocs in 1820, they contained from the mid 1820's to the end of the period the highest percentage of members receiving patronage at the hands of the government.
Conclusions

It is evident from the foregoing that the only strong determinants operating consistently throughout the entire period were the ethnic origin and the religious adherence of the members. The split was clearly, with two exceptions in the case of the Moderate bloc, on British-Protestant/French-Canadian Roman Catholic lines with the former being the strongest determinants of the Government bloc and the latter the strongest determinants for the Patriote and Moderate blocs.

Four variables were shown to be non-determinants; Father's Status, Father's Occupation,19, age of member and previous legislative experience of member.

The remaining variables were found to be secondary determinants, either weak in their effect or inconsistent in effect when viewed for the entire period.

The determinants of voting blocs in the Assembly of Lower Canada from 1820 to 1837 would best be described as a pyramid with ethnic origin and religious affiliation at the apex with the other operative determinants filling in the body of the pyramid but occupying different places within the pyramid at different times.

19 Due to insufficient data.
CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSIONS
The findings of this thesis raise some serious doubts about much of the historiography of Lower Canada. In general, historians of the period have been too selective in their delineation of the causes of political alignment in the province. While the nationalist and neo-nationaliste schools have probably come closer to the mark, they have by concentrating on "racial" or ethnic differences neglected the less consistent but still important variables such as promotion, religion and type of riding.

Durham provided the ammunition for the cannons of the nationalistes and neo-nationalistes from Christie and Garneau to Groulx. While the focus of this thesis is too limited chronologically to provide a definitive answer it is possible that Durham was correct in placing the outbreak of ethnic hostility around the abortive Union of 1822.\(^1\) Certainly he was correct in asserting that it was this determinant which separated the Patriots and the Moderates from the Government bloc. Durham was also correct in suggesting that educational level made no difference whatsoever.\(^2\) Robert Christie agreed by and large with Durham's analysis. The point that both seem to have missed is that membership in an occupational group did

\(^1\) Cf. supra, p. 10.
\(^2\) Ibid.
have some effect although to a lesser extent than ethnic origin and religious affiliation on the formation of voting blocs. Both neglected most of the secondary determinants mentioned above.

François-Xavier Garneau's analysis of the period is substantiated in large part by the results of this study. The main causes of political alignment were ethnic origin and religious adherence according to Garneau. He attributed a lesser role to the variable promotion. But Garneau is decidedly wide of the mark in his failure to posit the other secondary determinants as subsidiary causes.

The work of T-P Bédard is pregnant with references to race as a causal force. Bédard also suggested that the question of patronage was a determinant of voting behaviour. But he neglected to mention religious affiliation as well as the other minor determinants.

Groulx, the ultra-racist, posited two causes for the political conflict and alignment of the period, race and religion, but neglected all contributing causes. Groulx's disciple Filteau agreed with his mentor but seemed

---

3 Cf. supra, p. 13.
5 Ibid, p. 16.
6 Ibid, p. 17.
7 Ibid, pp. 22-24.
to add one of the secondary determinants, occupation when speaking of the need for economic freedom for the French-Canadian.\textsuperscript{8}

McArthur, the first significant modern English-Canadian historian to deal with the question concurred in the position given race and religion as prime causal forces by the \textit{nationaliste} and \textit{neo-nationaliste} schools.\textsuperscript{9}

The Laurentian school while properly and profitably placing the political conflict in the broader socio-economic context of the period has attributed too little to the very real ethnic conflict in the Assembly. The prolific work of Donald Creighton when viewed through time contains some pronounced inconsistencies when dealing with the question of the causes of political conflict in Lower Canada. He moved from a combination of race, civilization and occupational groups\textsuperscript{10} to a combination of civilization and occupational groups with primacy going to the latter.\textsuperscript{11} Indeed race "as a universal, automatically operating constant" is dismissed as a myth.\textsuperscript{12} As time passed

\textsuperscript{8} Cf. \textit{supra}, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{9} \textit{Ibid}, pp. 25-31.
\textsuperscript{10} \textit{Ibid}, p. 32.
\textsuperscript{11} \textit{Ibid}, p. 33.
\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Ibid}.
occupational group became the prime determinant for Creighton.\textsuperscript{13} On the basis of the findings of this thesis it would appear that Creighton has too easily dismissed race or ethnic origin and too avidly embraced class or occupational group.

S.D. Clark, although suggesting that had "the struggle developed free of the trammels of a feudalistic order of privilege, ethnic lines of division of the population would have been much more tightly drawn" nonetheless like Creighton posited occupational groupings as the main causal factor.\textsuperscript{15} The findings of this study suggest that the opposite emphasis would have been closer to reality. Clark was correct in suggesting that the mercantile classes had supported the Patriotes. His suggestion that the British merchants had supported them is not, however, borne out by the formation of voting blocs in the Assembly. Furthermore his assertion that mercantile support remained strong until 1834 \textsuperscript{16} is incorrect in that after 1829 this occupational group was under-represented in the Patriote bloc. Clark's statement that "after about 1835, the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[14] The same criticisms can be applied to Gillis. Cf. \textit{supra}, pp. 39-41.
\item[16] \textit{Ibid}, pp. 46-47.
\end{footnotes}
Papineau party could no longer be thought of as a parti canadien\textsuperscript{17} must be treated with scepticism, as must his assertion that it had become a party of the disenfranchised, of the unprivileged and the underprivileged.\textsuperscript{18}

Mason Wade must also be challenged on some important points such as his assertion that from 1812 to 1834 the struggle was between interests and between classes with the placeholders, governing elite and merchants arrayed against the farmers and liberal professionals.\textsuperscript{19} As has been shown the farmers were, more or less, centred in the Patriote bloc but the merchants and liberal professionals were distributed in different groups at different times. On the other hand Wade's assertions about the causes of political conflict after 1834\textsuperscript{20} are substantiated by this study.

Fernand Ouellet has provided many significant and illuminating insights into the history of Lower Canada. His documentation of the agricultural crises, the over-population of the seigneuries and the burgeoning of the liberal professions are not the least important of many. Ouellet must, however, be challenged on his assertion

\textsuperscript{17} Cf. supra, p. 48.

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid, p. 55.

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid, pp. 55-57.
that the merchant-seigneurial group was arrayed against
the liberal professionals and that race or ethnic origin
played no role in the political alignments of Lower
Canada. 21

The "Marxists", although performing valuable service
by providing an alternate interpretation, have been so blin-
ded by the glitter of their analytical tool that they have
stretched the facts somewhat to fit the theory. Ryerson,
nonetheless, came closer to reality in some respects than
many others. The principal difference between Ryerson's
interpretation and the findings of this study is that while
positing a pyramid of determinants he gave supremacy to
class and classified race as a minor or at best secondary
cause. 22

While Dubuc should not be classified as a Marxist
it is illuminating to see the emphasis which he placed
on class and the de-emphasis placed on ethnic origin. 23
Relying heavily on Ouellet's PhD thesis Dubuc seems to
have been coerced by statistics into a position at variance

21 Further research may reveal that the more prosperous
merchants were concentrated in the Government bloc
and thus substantiate part of Ouellet's thesis. 
Nonetheless the liberal professionals did not act
as a cohesive voting bloc and ethnic origin was
the strongest single determinant, along with
religious affiliation, of voting blocs.

22 Cf. supra, pp. 27-30.

23 Ibid, pp. 60-61.
with the findings of this thesis.

A.R.M. Lower came very close to the same conclusions as those of this study. Race and religion, he suggested, produced two different and distinct groups struggling against one another over constitutional questions which led to the ultimate confrontation, the Rebellion.\textsuperscript{24}

It is obvious that some serious questions have been raised about the historiography of Lower Canada. The findings of this thesis, as a result of its narrow focus, are, however, limited to the political conflict in the Assembly of Lower Canada from 1820-1837. It is to be hoped, perhaps naively, that this thesis will compel other students of history to explore the same questions in different political contexts employing both quantitative and qualitative methodology. The study of political behaviour in Lower Canada is, after some 130 years, still in its infancy. Recent developments in political science methodology and in computer science provide historians with powerful new analytical tools, permitting them to get behind the somewhat superficial and at times intuitive findings resulting from a purely qualitative approach. The qualitative approach should not, of course, be rejected. It should not, however, be used in isolation. Nor, of course, should the quantitative approach be used alone, an obvious but

\textsuperscript{24} Cf. \textit{supra}, pp. 43-44.
necessary fault in a thesis of this length.

Some obvious areas of study cry out to the student of history, and until some answers are provided historians cannot even begin to explain political behaviour in Lower Canada. The same types of study must be done for Upper Canada as well as the Maritimes\textsuperscript{25} and other provinces to fill this abysmal void in the knowledge of our past. Before the synthesist again puts pen to paper these studies should, nay must, be done. Enough borrowing from other synthesists; enough unfounded and misleading generalizations; enough descriptive non-analysis. Let historians now begin, as some have, the in-depth quantitative and qualitative research into the political, social, economic, religious and military aspects of their past. Let them go back to the coal face and chip and blast. After the mining and refining, and only then the synthesists will be able to resume their task.

To which coal face does this thesis lead? The list is extensive, as extensive almost as the imagination, but limited by available data. First and foremost this study should be extended backwards to the First Parliament of Lower Canada. The same type of study should be done for the Legislative Council, an easier task in light of the

\textsuperscript{25} A short study has been done for Nova Scotia in the pre-Confederation period by the National Museum.
readily available biographical material on Legislative Councilors. Intensive and extensive research is required on the biographies of the political actors including not only the leading players but those who played the bit parts as well.

Voting studies would require extensive and intensive research and even then would probably contain errors due to missing data. Nonetheless these must be done. The available census data and church records provide a rich mine of resource material not only for the social and economic historian but for the political historian as well.

When these studies have been completed and related to the social, economic and military studies of the period and the province it might be possible to explain the dynamics of the political systems studied. Then the task could be passed to the synthesist and it is within the realm of the possible that at that point we might begin to comprehend our past in all its complexities.

---

26 Cf. Gustave Turcotte, Le Conseil Législatif de Québec, 1774-1933, (Beauceville, 1933).
BIBLIOGRAPHY
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bédard, T.-P. *Histoire de cinquante ans (1791-1841)*. Québec: Léger Brousseau, 1869.


-----. *The Empire of the St. Lawrence*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1956[1937].


Groulx, Lionel. *L'Enseignement francais au Canada*.


----- "Les historiens d'hier et l'histoire d'aujourd'hui", *CHAR* (1941), pp. 5-14.


----- *Problems of Canadian Unity*. Quebec, 1944.


------. "Le Nationalisme canadien-français: de ses origines à l'insurrection de 1837", in Ramsay Cook (intro.). *Constitutionalism and Nationalism in Lower Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969, pp. 1-16.


Stavrianos, L.S. "Is the frontier theory applicable to the Canadian rebellions of 1837-1838?", *Michigan History Magazine*, XXII(3)(1938), pp. 326-337.


Biographical Material


Audet, Francis J. "Le Barreau et la Révolte de 1837", TRSC (1937), I, pp. 85-96. Gives Montréal members of the Bar involved in the Rebellion, the dates of their license and some biographical data.


----- "Les Députés de la vallée de l'Ottawa", CHAR (1935), pp. 5-23.


----- "Louis Bourdages", TRSC (1924), I, pp. 73-101. Brief biography concentrating on political aspects.

-----. "Charles-Clement de Sabrevois de Bleury", Cahiers de Dix. No. 5, 1940.


Bibaud, Maximilien. Le Panthéon canadienne. Montréal, 1891. Of little use, biographies of MLA's in this volume can usually be found elsewhere in more detail.

Borthwick, Rev. J. Douglas. History and Biographical Gazeteer of Montréal in the Year 1892. Montréal: John Lovell and Son, 1892. A good source which often deals more with sons of MLA's of the 1792-1838 period.

-----. Montreal, Its History to which is added Biographical Sketches, with Photographs of many of its Principal Citizens. Montreal: Drysdale, 1875. A good source which contains some errors.

-----. History of Montreal including the Streets of Montreal. Montreal, 1897. Not as useful as his other books on Montreal.

Buchanan, A.W.P. The Bench and Bar of Lower Canada down to 1850. Montreal, 1925. Very scanty biographical material which can be found elsewhere.


Caron, N. Histoire de la paroisse d'Yamachiche. Trois-Rivières, 1892. Considerable biographical material but not much on the MLA's for Yamachiche.


Casgrain, Henri Raymond. La famille de Sales Laterrière. Québec: Brousseau, 1870. A useful source with good biographies.
Little biographical data.

Charland, P.V. *La famille Canac-Marquis et familles alliées.* Québec, 1918.
A useful source.


----- *Histoire de la seigneurie de St-Ours.*
Very useful.

----- *Histoire des seigneuries de la Rivière du Sud et leurs alliés alliés canadiens et acadiens.*

Contains a biography of great-grandson of William Baker MLA 7.

David, L.O. *Biographies et portraits.* Montréal: Beauchemin et Valois, 1876.
An extremely useful source.

----- *"Les Hommes de 37-38; Pierre Amiot*, *Opinion publique* v. 8 (12 Apr 1877).

Contains some biographical information. By and large the book is a flowery eulogy of the Patriotes.

Desjardins, Joseph. *Guide Parlementaire historique de la Province de Québec 1792 à 1902.* Québec, 1902.
A well indexed guide to members of the Assembly and Councils, Governors, Ministries etc. A table on p. 91 shows the breakdown of ridings 1792-1829 and 1829-1838.

Good biographies on the famille Bédard.

Eloi-Gérard, Frère. *Recueil de généalogies des comtés de Beauce, Dorchester-Frontenac, 1625-1946.*


Gosselin, l'abbé Auguste. *Le Dr. Jacques Labrie*. Lévis: Pierre-Georges Roy, 1898. Although extremely biased and nationalistic this volume does contain some good biographical data. It is primarily a eulogy of French-Canadian values and of the Church.

Hubbard, B.F. *Forest and Clearings: The History of Stanstead County*. Montréal, 1874. A good biographical source.


----- *Monographies et esquisses*. Québec, 1885.

Lower Canada. Liste de la Milice du Bas-Canada pour 1829.
Québec: Queen's Printer, 1829.
A good source in this edition and others. MLA's are usually designated for easy reference.


An excellent source.

Useful for those MLA's engaged in the fur trade in Western Canada.

Contains some information on his cousins Louis Michel and Denis Benjamin Viger.

Contains little biographical data.

Contains some biographical information on Barnard.


-----. Troisième Centenaire de la Famille Poulin au Canada 1639-1939. Québec, 1939.


----- Neilson Papers. MG 24, series B-1, v. 32.
Contains list of members elected in 1827 and defeated candidates with their occupation, place of birth and residence.

An excellent source.
A good source for some material especially on sons of MLA's of the period.

Volumes 2 and 3 are useful for the period.

----- Histoire de la Seigneurie de Lauzon.
Contains much useful data for local MLA's from 1792 on.


----- Les Avocats de la région de Québec. Lévis, 1936.
A useful source for MLA's who were members of the Bar at Québec.

----- La famille Aubert de Gaspé. Lévis, 1907.
An excellent source.

----- La famille Frémont. Lévis, 1902.
Not too much use for MLA's.

----- La famille Godefroy de Tonnancour. Lévis, 1904.
A good source.

----- La famille Panet. Québec:Laflamme, 1906.
An excellent source which should be consulted.

----- La famille Rocbert de la Morandière. Lévis, 1905.
Useful to establish relations of some MLA's.

----- La famille Taché. Lévis, 1904.
A good source for Taché and related families.

----- La famille Taschereau. Lévis, 1901.
An excellent source for Taschereau and related families.

----- Fils de Québec. 4 vols. Lévis, 1933.
An excellent source this is one of the first sources that should be consulted.

----- Les juges de la province de Québec.
An excellent that should be consulted early.

Contains lengthy biographies on F.G. Herriot and J.B.E. Dorion as well as some information on other members.
Sellar, Robert. *Histoire des comtés de Huntingdon, Beaufort et Châteauguay.*
Very poor index. An extremely biased book which is primarily a vindication of the good and great "old countrymen" and a denunciation of the French-Canadian.


V. 1 is an atrocious collection of facts while v. 2 is little better.

An excellent source.

Some biographies for local MLA's.

-----.
*The History of Shefford.* Montreal, 1877.
Contains little biographical data.

Contains some biographical data.

Trudel, père Paul-Eugène. *Généalogie de la famille Trudel.*
Excellent source for Trudel and related families.

An excellent source for Legislative Councilors many of whom had been MLA's. Reliable, brief biographies.

Turcotte, L.P. *Histoire de l'Ile d'Orléans.* Québec, 1867.
Contains very brief biographical data on MLA's.

Québec, 1962.
Very little biographical information. Primarily it is an institutional history, detailing growth and changes in structure, education etc.

Wrong, G.M. *A Canadian manor and its seigneurs.* Toronto, 1908.
Contains good data on Malcolm Fraser, seigneur.
Some Useful Periodicals

The following periodical contain many scattered references to the MLA's of the period studied. References to periodicals have been noted on individual biographies in Appendix A.

Bulletin de recherches historiques.  
A useful and important source. V. 8 contains a list of doctors granted licenses from 1788-1848 and the year of the award; V. 23 contains list of Judges, V. 39 has a list of surveyors in Upper and Lower Canada from 1764-1867 and a list of lawyers in Lower Canada 1765-1849 with the year of the license of each; V. 39 also has a list of Patriotes imprisoned at Montréal.

Gazette de Québec.  
An important and useful source for biographical data. Indexed for the 1820's by the Public Archives of Canada.

Mémoires de la Société généalogique canadienne-française.  

Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada.  
Contains numerous biographies and biographical notes.

Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française.
Methodology

A useful source for programmes for use in the study of legislative behaviour.


------. Mathematical Applications in Political Science, III. Charlottesville, 1967.
Two sources for then recent developments.

An easily understood methodological reference.

Contains a useful section on analysis of variance.

A useful study of a constitutional convention where every effort was made to break down normal party lines.

A summary containing suggestions for the future.

A basic and easily understood reference, now somewhat dated.

An updated version of their earlier work.


Note: Numerous other sources were consulted in the search for a suitable methodology and computer programme. The above are a sample listing.
AMIOT, Pierre

RIDING
Surrey  Jan 1813-Sep 1830
Vercheres  Oct 1830-Mar 1838

BORN: 11 Mar 1781 at Vercheres
PARENTS: Joseph Amiot
FATHER: Farmer
DIED: 31 Jan 1839 at Vercheres
MARRIED:
RESIDENCE: Vercheres
OCCUPATION: Farmer (one of the most prosperous of the Province)

MILITARY: Capt (1827) dismissed 1828; re-instated and promoted to major
(1830); dismissed 1837 - 1st Bat. Surrey

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian
RELIGION: Roman Catholic
PROMOTION: -

EDUCATION: Elementary
REBELLION: Fought at St. Charles; L 100 reward; arrested 8 Dec 1837; released
8 Jul 1838 on L 1000 bond

SOURCES: David, Patriotes, p. 98.
Fauteaux, Patriotes, p. 85.
Linteaux, "Patriotes", RHAF, v. XXI.
Opinion publique, v. 8 (12 Apr 1877), p. 170, also picture.
ANDERSON, Anthony

RIDING
Megantic Apr 1832-Oct 1834

BORN: United Empire Loyalist

PARENTS:

FATHER: Farmer

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Hedley Lodge near Dorchester Bridge from 1784

OCCUPATION: Commercial-Marine Store in Quebec, burnt out Oct 1815
but rebuilt

MILITARY: Lt. Quarter Master 1829 (Sen. 1823) - 4th Bat. Quebec

ETHNIC ORIGIN: English

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION: Inspector of Beef and Pork-Quebec 1820
Director, Quebec Fire Society 1815
Committee of Management Quebec Agricultural Society 1820
Director, Quebec Savings Bank 1821

EDUCATION: Yes

REBELLION: No

Father of Rev. Canon Anderson and John Anderson

SOURCES: Borthwick, Biographical Gazetteer of Montreal, p. 334.
Quebec Gazette, 19 Oct 1815
2 Nov 1820
5 Feb 1821
2 Apr 1821
14 Oct 1822
ARCAND, Jean Olivier  
RIDING  
Hampshire  Mar 1822-Jul 1824

BORN: 1793

PARENTS:

FATHER: Lower

DIED:

MARRIED: Marguerite daughter of Pierre-B. Pelissier dit Lafeuillade

RESIDENCE: St.-Michel-d'Yamaska

OCCUPATION: Surveyor (1821)

MILITARY: Sergeant (1812) - 1st Bat.

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Commissioner for Small Pleas 1830; Commissioner for Census of Yamaska 1831; Commissioner for Yamaska River Bridge 1832; Commissioner for Improvement of Navigation on the Yamaska; Agent for establishment of Township 1848.

EDUCATION: Yes

REBELLION: Yes, Arrested 29 Mar 1838; released 7 Jul 1838 cm L 1000 bond.

__________________________

ARCHAMBEAULT, Charles

RIDING
Beauharnois Oct 1830-Mar 1838

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER: Lower

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Beauharnois, District of Chateauguai

OCCUPATION: Merchant (primary occupation)
Surveyor (1816)

MILITARY: Capt 1829 (Sen. 1812) - 1st Bat. Huntingdon (Chateaugai)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Inspector of Schools

EDUCATION: Yes

REBELLION: No

SOURCES: Archambault, Genealogie de la famille Archambault, XXI, p. 28.
Sellar, History of Huntingdon, p. 503.
BADEAUX, Joseph

RIDING
Buckingham Apr 1816-Feb 1820
Trois-Rivieres (Ville)
Jun 1808-Mar 1810
Jul 1820-Jul 1824
Yamaska Oct 1830-Oct 1834

BORN: 25 Sep 1777 at Trois Rivieres

PARENTS: Jean-Baptiste Badeau and Marguerite Bolvin

FATHER: Notary, Seigneur, Capt of Militia (3 generations of notaries)

DIED: 12 Sep 1835 at Trois-Rivieres

MARRIED: Marguerite Dumont (1800); Genvieve Berthelot d'Artigny
   sister of Amable Berthelot MLA # 18 (1802)

RESIDENCE: Trois-Rivieres

OCCUPATION: Notary (1798)
   Seigneur (owned part of a seigneurie)

MILITARY: Lt. 1798; Capt. 1812; Maj, 1829 (Sen. 1822) - 1st Bat.
   Saint-Maurice (Trois-Rivieres)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic (very devout- free life-time pew)

PROMOTION: Sherrif of Trois-Rivieres 1813; Justice of Peace 1815-1829,
   removed by Dalhousie; Notaire Royal at Trois-Rivieres 1823,
   Member Board of Examiners for Flour/Meal Inspectors 1820;
   Commissioner of Oaths 1820.

EDUCATION: Yes

REBELLION: No - dead
   Brother-in-law to Amable Berthelot MLA # 18

______________________________________________________________

SOURCES: Audet, Deputes des Trois-Rivieres, p. 5.
Baillairge, Esquises biographiques, Faisicule 6, p. 175.
BAKER, Stevens  
RIDING  
Missisquoi  Oct 1830-Oct 1834

BORN: 1791

PARENTS: 

FATHER: Lower

DIED: 

MARRIED: 

RESIDENCE: Rural

OCCUPATION: Farmer, prosperous and owned large amount of land

MILITARY: 

ETHNIC ORIGIN: English

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Elementary

REBELLION: No

_________________________________________

SOURCES: Crowley, Aspects of Representations.
BAKER, William

RIDING
Missisquoi Nov 1834-Mar 1838

BORN: 1789 at Petersham, Mass.
PARENTS: Joseph Baker, U.E.L. and Polly Stevens immigrated 1793
FATHER: Farmer, Missisquoi County; Justice of Peace, District of Montreal 1820
DIED:

MARRIED: Harriet Clapp of Montgomery, Vermont daughter of Joshua Clapp and Nabby Barnard
RESIDENCE: Dunham Township, County of Missisquoi

OCCUPATION: Merchant

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: English-Canadian

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Elementary

REBELLION: No

His third son George Barnard Baker Q.C., D.C.L. of Sweetsburg sat almost continuously as MP or MLA and as Senator from 1896 to 1910. Grandson George Harold Baker was MP.

SOURCES: Cunliffe, A Canadian Soldier, p. l.
BARBIER, Louis Marie Raphael

RIDING
Warwick Aug 1824-Jul 1827

BORN: c. 1790

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED: 1 May 1852 at Berthier

MARRIED: Elizabeth daughter of Alexander Cairns (agent for the Seigneurie of Berthier) and Marie Bergin

RESIDENCE: Berthier

OCCUPATION: Doctor

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Yes

REBELLION: No

His sister-in-law married the brother of John Fraser MLA # 82

SOURCES: Kittson, Berthier, p. 81.

BARDY, Pierre-Martial

RIDING
Rouville Nov 1834-Mar 1838

BORN: 30 Nov 1797 at Quebec

PARENTS: Pierre Bardy and Louise Cauchy

FATHER: Perruquier

DIED: 7 Nov 1869 at Quebec

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: St.-Jacques; Ste.-Anthase; Quebec 1834-1869

OCCUPATION: Doctor (1819)

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: School Inspector 1852

EDUCATION: Seminaire de Quebec

REBELLION: No

First President and Founder of la Societe St.-Jean Baptiste at Quebec

SOURCES: Fauteux, Patriotes, p. 96, (for brother Antoine-Eusebe).
Roy, Fils de Quebec, v. 1, p. 89.
BARNARD, Ed

RIDING
Trois-Rivieres (Ville)
Nov 1834–Mar 1838

BORN: 27 Aug 1806 at Quebec

PARENTS: James Barnard (b. 1775 in Massachusetts) and Elizabeth Barber

FATHER: Upper

DIED: 5 Jun 1885 at Baltimore, Maryland

MARRIED: Mathilde daughter of Pierre-Cadet Blondin (celebrated athlete)

RESIDENCE: Quebec 1806–1825
Trois-Rivieres 1828 on

OCCUPATION: Schoolmaster in Eastern Townships until 1825
Lawyer (1828)
Protonary of Trois-Rivieres
Agriculturalist, founded several agriculture societies

MILITARY: Major

ETHNIC ORIGIN: English-Canadian

RELIGION: Puritan then Roman Catholic (c. 1829)

PROMOTION: Greffier de la couronne and protonotaire des Trois-Rivieres
1844; Various commissions after 1844

EDUCATION: Secondary School at Quebec; Law under Hugh Fraser at Trois-
Rivieres then under Levesque, Monk and Morrogh at Montreal

REBELLION: Yes, arrested.
Several distinguished offspring

SOURCES: Audet, Deputés des Trois-Rivieres, p. 59.
Fauteux, Patriotes, p. 97.
BRH, v. 19, p. 375; v. 36, p. 596.
Perron, Édouard-André Barnard, p. 92.
BAXTER, James

RIDING
Stanstead Oct 1830-Feb 1833
(resigned)

BORN: 21 Dec 1788 in Norwich, Vermont

PARENTS:

FATHER: Minister

DIED: 18 Nov 1837

MARRIED: Caroline daughter of William Baxter Esq. of Rutland, Vermont in 1819

RESIDENCE: Stanstead

OCCUPATION: Merchant from 1817

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: English-Canadian

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace 1830; Commissioner for Small Pleas 1830-31;
Legislative Council 1832-37.

EDUCATION: Yes

REBELLION: No

SOURCES: Hubbard, History of Stanstead County, p. 148.
Turcotte, Conseil Legislative, p. 119.
BEAUDET, Godefroy

RIDING
Vaudreil Oct 1830-Oct 1831 (resigned)

BORN: 1795

PARENTS:

FATHER: Lower

DIED: 29 Mar 1855 at Coteau-du-Lac

MARRIED: Marie Zoe Lemaire-Saint-Germain (widow of Dr. Robert Cartier)

RESIDENCE: Coteau-du-Lac

OCCUPATION: Merchant

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION:

REBELLION: Yes, aided fleeing Patriotes

BEAUDOIN, Jean-Baptiste

RIDING
Dorchester Nov 1834-Mar 1838

BORN: 1786

PARENTS:

FATHER: Lower

DIED: 6 Dec 1870

MARRIED: Marguerite Bilodeau

RESIDENCE: Saint-Henri

OCCUPATION: Farmer, well-to-do

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Elementary

REBELLION: No

BEDARD, Elzear

RIDING
Montmorency Jul 1832-Feb 1836

BORN: 24 Jul 1799 at Quebec
PARENTS: Pierre Bedard
FATHER: Upper
DIED: 11 Aug 1849 at Montreal
MARRIED: a merchant's daughter
RESIDENCE: Quebec
OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1824)

MILITARY: Lt. Aide Major 1829 (Sen. 1821) - 2nd Bat. Quebec

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian
RELIGION: Roman Catholic
PROMOTION: Judge 1836

EDUCATION: Seminaire de Nicolet 1812-14; Petite Seminaire de Quebec 1814-18; then law with Andrew Stuart MLA # 177.
REBELLION: No

First Mayor of Quebec (1833-34); Councilman 1833-35.
Brother to Isidore Bedard MLA # 15.

SOURCES: Dionne, Pierre Bedard et ses fils.
Quebec Gazette, 2 Jul 1821.
BEDARD, Isidore  

RIDING
Saguenay Oct 1830-Apr 1833  
(died)

BORN: 9 Jan 1806 at Quebec

PARENTS: Pierre Bedard

FATHER: Upper

DIED: 14 Apr 1833 at Paris, France

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Quebec, but sat in Legislature only briefly then followed Viger to London. Stayed to do the continent.

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1829)

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: College de Nicolet, then legal studies

REBELLION: No - died in 1n 1833

Brother of Elzear Bedard, MLA # 14.

______________________________

SOURCES: Dionne, Pierre Bedard et ses fils.
BELANGER, Jean

RIDING
Quebec (Basse-Ville) Jul 1820-
Aug 1827 (died)

BORN: 22 Dec 1782 at Quebec

PARENTS: Francois Belanger and Charlotte Delage

FATHER: Farmer

DIED: 21 Aug 1827 at Quebec

MARRIED: Yes, had two daughters

RESIDENCE: St.-Roch, Quebec

OCCUPATION: Notary (1805)

MILITARY: Capt. 1812 - 6th Bat.

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic (devout)

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace 1820 to 1827

EDUCATION: Yes

REBELLION: No - died 1827

______________________________

Roy, Filis de Quebec, v. 1, p. 12.
BERTRAND, Louis

RIDING
Rimouski Feb 1832-Mar 1838
(Nov 1844-Dec 1847)

BORN: c. 1795

PARENTS:

FATHER: Lower

DIED:

MARRIED: Apolline Saindon

RESIDENCE: Parish of St.-Jean Baptiste, Isle Verte

OCCUPATION: Merchant

MILITARY: Capt. 1829 (Sen. 1827 - 2nd Bat. Cornwallis (Rimouski)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace 1821; Commissioner for Small Causes at Isle Verte 1821.

EDUCATION: Elementary

REBELLION: No

A son born 1863 -

Michaud, Familles de la Riviere Ouelle, p. 27.
Quebec Gazette, 19 Oct 1820
14 Dec 1820
5 Jul 1821
9 Jul 1821
Roy, Avocats de Quebec, p. 41 (for son Narcisse).
BERTHELOT, Amable

RIDING
Trois-Rivieres(Ville) May 1814-Feb 1816
Aug 1824-Jul 1827
Quebec(Haute-Ville) Nov 1834-Mar 1838
(Kamouraska Apr 1841-Nov 1847, died)

BORN: 10 Feb 1777 at Quebec

PARENTS: Michele-Amable Berthelot d'Artigny and Genvieve Bazin

FATHER: Lawyer, MLA, rich

DIED: 24 Nov 1847

MARRIED: Not married but two illegitimate children

RESIDENCE: Trois-Rivieres 1799-1815
Quebec 1815 on, travelled abroad extensively

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1799) - successful with large clientele but inherited
large fortune on death of father in 1815 and from that point
on studied history

MILITARY: Capt 1812 - 1st Bat. Trois-Rivieres

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic (but weak)

PROMOTION: Commissioner of Oath of Allegiance 1834

EDUCATION: Seminaire de Quebec than law

REBELLION: No

Brother-in-law to Joseph Badeaux, MLA # 5.
Father-in-law to LaFontaine
A cousin married the notary Joseph-Bernard Plante, MLA 1796-1808

SOURCES: Audet, Deputes des Trois Rivieres, p. 18.
RIDING
Montréal-Est
Apr 1832-Oct 1834

BERTHELOT, Olivier

BORN: 25 May 1798 at Montréal

PARENTS: Pierre Berthelot and Marguerite Viger

FATHER: Doctor, commercial interests

DIED: 25 Sep 1872 at Montréal

MARRIED: Marie-Emilie Chaboillez (1821); Charlotte
daughter of Hon. Louis Guy (1855)

RESIDENCE: Montréal

OCCUPATION: Trader, businessman, very rich. Retired in 1837 and devoted himself to charitable works. 1846 bought into the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway

MILITARY: 1848 retired as Lt. Col.

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Legislative Council 1841 but refused to sit

EDUCATION: Collège de Montréal 1806

REBELLION: Member of Fils de la Liberté but not arrested

OTHER: Municipal Councilor in Montréal 1840-42
Administrator of Lachine Canal 1836, 1840

______________________________

SOURCES: Turcotte, Conseil Législatif, p. 131.
Audet, Députés de Montréal, p. 107.
Borthwick, Montreal, its History and Biographical Sketches, p. 49.
BESSERER, Louis Théodore

RIDING
Comté de Québec
Oct 1833-Mar 1838

BORN: 4 Jan 1785 at Québec

PARENTS: Jean-Théodore Besserer (German) and Marie-Anne Giroux

FATHER: Surgeon in German Army

DIED: 3 FEB 1861 at Ottawa

MARRIED: Margaret Cameron

RESIDENCE: Québec until 1842 then Bytown

OCCUINATION: Notary (1810), held considerable land

MILITARY: Lt. 1812, Capt. 1829 (Sen. 1813) 2nd Battalion Québec

ETHNIC ORIGIN: German-French

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace Sep 1836

EDUCATION: Séminaire de Québec and then for the notariat under Félix Têtu

REBELLION: Observer

BLACKBURN, James

RIDING
Ottawa
Nov 1834-Mar 1838

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Aylmer

OCCUPATION: Merchant, Ship Captain

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION:

REBELLION: Observer

_________________________________________________________

SOURCES: Audet, "Les Députés de la vallée de l'Ottawa",
CHAR(1935), p. 16.
BLANCHARD, Louis Renauld dit
RIDING
St.-Hyacinthe
Oct 1830-Mar 1838

BORN: 1789 at L'Assomption

PARENTS: Pierre-Renault Blanchard

FATHER: Farmer

DIED: Aug 1868 at St.-Hyacinthe

MARRIED: Angélique Poulain

RESIDENCE: St.-Hyacinthe

OCCUPATION: Farmer

MILITARY: Lt. Col. 1865, Capt 1829 (Sen. 1827) 3rd Battalion Richelieu (St.-Hyacinthe)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace (removed in 1837); named Magistrate but refused to take required oath (1841)

EDUCATION: Elementary

REBELLION: Fled country; son Patrice fought at St.-Charles

__________________________

SOURCES: Fauteux, Patriotes, p. 118.
BLANCHET, François

RIDING
Hertford
Nov 1809-Feb 1816
Apr 1818-Jun 1830

BORN: 3 Apr 1776 at St.-Pierre-de-la-Rivière-du-Sud

PARENTS: Jean-Baptiste Blanchet and Marie-Genviève Destroismaisons

FATHER: Farmer

DIED: 24 Jun 1830 at Québec

MARRIED: Catherine-Henriette Juchereau Duchesnay (1802)

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Doctor(1801), Seigneur, Colaborator in Le Canadien

MILITARY: Surgeon 1808, (removed by Craig) re-instated and promoted to Surgeon-General 1812

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace in Québec 1820

EDUCATION: Séminaire de Québec then Medicine in New York

REBELLION: No, died 1830

OTHER: Imprisoned by Craig in 1810
Nephew was Jean Blanchet MLA 24 (Québec comté 1834-38)

Morgan, Celebrated Canadians, p. 164.
La Minerve, 28 Jun 1830.
BLANCHET, Jean

RIDING
Québec comté
Nov 1834–Mar 1838
(Québec cité
Jul 1854–Mar 1857)

BORN: 17 May 1795
PARENTS:
FATHER: Farmer
DIED: 22 Apr 1857
MARRIED: Bachelor
RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Doctor (1820, took over Uncle's practice in 1830, wealthy President of Faculty of Medicine at Laval 1853–57).

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian
RELIGION: Roman Catholic
PROMOTION: Various medical positions

EDUCATION: Séminaire de Québec then medicine with Uncle, then Royal College of Surgeons, London

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Uncle François Blanchet was MLA 23

__________________________

SOURCES: Morgan, Celebrated Canadians, p. 548.
BOISSONNAULT, Nicolas

RIDING
Hertford
Aug 1824-Sep 1830
Bellechase
Oct 1830-Mar 1838

BORN: Rivière-du-Sud

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Québec, Seminary Ward in 1821

OCCUPATION: Merchant and Landholder

MILITARY: Lt. 1829 (Sen. 1826) 6th Battalion Québec (St.-Roch)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Elementary

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Member Québec Fire Society Committee 1820

Québec Gazette, 20 Apr 1820
16 Apr 1821
P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 533.
BORGIA, Joseph-Levasseur

RIDING
Cornwallis
Jun 1808-Feb 1820
Aug 1824-Sep 1830

BORN: 6 Jan 1773 at Québec

PARENTS: Louis Levasseur Borgia and Marie-Anne Trudel

FATHER: Lower social status

DIED: 27 Jun 1839 at Québec

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Lawyer(1800), poor. Founder and part owner of Le Canadien(1806)

MILITARY: Lt. (revoked 1808, re-instated 1812), Capt. 1812. 1st Battalion Québec

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Séminaire de Québec 1792 then law

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Imprisoned 1810 by Craig

Roy, Avocats de Québec, p. 52.
P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 532.
BOUC, Séraphin

RIDING
Terrebonne
Nov 1834-Jul 1837

BORN:
PARENTS:
FATHER:
DIED: 28 Jul 1837
MARRIED:
RESIDENCE:
OCCUPATION:
MILITARY:
ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian
RELIGION: Roman Catholic
PROMOTION:
EDUCATION:
REBELLION: No, died in July 1837

SOURCES: Desjardins, Guide parlementaire.
BOUFFARD, Jean

RIDING
Dorchester
Aug 1832-Mar 1838

BORN: 1800

PARENTS:

FATHER: Lower social status

DIED: 2 Dec 1843 at St.-Henri de Lauzon

MARRIED: Catherine Pepin dit Lachance

RESIDENCE: St.-Henri de Lauzon

OCCUPATION: Notary (1830)

MILITARY: Lt. 1829 (Sen. 1827) 1st Battalion Dorchester (Lauzon)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

________________________________________________________________________

BOURDADEG, Louis

RIDING
Richelieu
Aug 1804-Mar 1814
Buckingham
Mar 1815-Feb 1816
Apr 1820-Sep 1830
Nicolet
Oct 1830-Jan 1835

BORN: 6 Jul 1764 at Lorette, raised at Bonaventure

PARENTS: Mother was Acadian

FATHER: Merchant

DIED: Jan 1835

MARRIED: Louise-Catherine Soupirant daughter of Dr.
Charles-Simon Soupirant and Marie-Louise
Roussel

RESIDENCE: St.-Denis-sur-Richilieu

OCCUPATION: Merchant Marine to 1788; Notary (1805) and
Seigneur's agent; large lanholder

MILITARY: Lt. Aide Major 1796, Maj. 1812, Lt. Col 1813
and Commandant 2nd Battalion Richilieu

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Superintendent of Post-Houses 1814

EDUCATION: Séminaire de Québec

REBELLION: No, died in 1835

______________________________

SOURCES: Audet, "Louis Bourdages", Royal Society Canada,
Transactions, v. 1(1924), p. 73.
P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, pp. 533-34.
BOURDAGES, Rémi Séraphin

RIDING
Rouville
Oct 1830-Dec 1832

BORN: 1799

PARENTS: Louis Bourdages, MLA 29

FATHER: MLA and Notary

DIED: 24 Dec 1832

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Marieville

OCCUPATION: Doctor (1818)

MILITARY: Maj. 1829 (Sen. 1825) 5th Battalion Bedford

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

ROMAN CATHOLIC:

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: No, died 1832 but brother David involved.

BOUTILLIER, Thomas

RIDING
St.-Hyacinthe
Nov 1834-Mar 1838
(Apr 1841-Nov 1851)

BORN: 1796

PARENTS: Guillaume Bouthillier and Marie-Anne-Françoise Normand

FATHER: Huissier de la Verge noire

DIED: Dec 1861 at St.-Hyacinthe

MARRIED: Eugénie daughter of André Papineau (MLA 146) and Marie-Anne Roussel

RESIDENCE: St.-Hyacinthe

OCCUPATION: Doctor (1817)

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Postmaster at St.-Hyacinthe 1828

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Participant, forced to flee

_____________________________________________________________________

Fauteux, Patriots, p. 137.
BOWMAN, Baxter

RIDING
Ottawa
Nov 1834-Mar 1838

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Buckingham

OCCUPATION: Merchant

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION:

REBELLION: Observer

BROOKS, Samuel

RIDING
Sherbrooke
Nov 1829-Jul 1831
(Sherbrooke
Nov 1844-Mar 1849)

BORN: Massachusetts c. 1795

PARENTS:

FATHER: Lower social status

DIED: 22 Mar 1849

MARRIED: Elizabeth Towle

RESIDENCE: Lennoxville

OCCUPATION: Agent for British American Land Company

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace for District of Trois-Rivières 1821

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Son was the Hon. Edward T. Brooks, Judge of Superior Court, born at Lennoxville 1830

Canadian Biographical Dictionary, p. 289.
Quebec Gazette, 26 Jul 1821.
Roy, Juges de la province, p. 81.
BUREAU, Pierre

RIDING
St.-Maurice
Mar 1819-Jun 1836

BORN: c. 1765 probably at Ancienne Lorette

PARENTS: Jean-Baptiste Bureau and Angélique Alain

FATHER: Lower social status

DIED: 6 Jun 1836

MARRIED: Genviève daughter of Jean-Marie Gilbert and his third wife Madelaine Delisle (1791)

RESIDENCE: Québec 1796-1810
Ste.-Anne-de-la-Pérade 1810-1820
Trois-Rivières from 1820

OCCUPATION: Merchant, landholder

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

EDUCATION: Elementary

PROMOTION:

REBELLION: No, died in 1836

OTHER: Father-in-law of P.-A. Dorion

Grandfather of A.-A. Dorion

____________________________________________________________________

SOURCES: Audet, Députés de St.-Maurice et de Champlain, p. 48.

P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 538.
CANAC dit MARQUIS, Pierre

RIDING
Kamouraska
Nov 1834-Mar 1838
(Jan 1848-Nov 1850)

BORN: 9 Oct 1780 at Ste.-Famille

PARENTS: Jean Canac dit Marquis and Judith Pépin

FATHER: Farmer at Ste.-Anne de Beaupré

DIED: 29 Nov 1850

MARRIED: Marie-Salomée daughter of Alexandre Michaud and Elisabeth Ouellet

RESIDENCE: Québec 1810-1823
St-André 1823-1850

OCCUPATION: Merchant at Québec and at St-André
Very rich, dealt in denrées
Owned most of St-André

MILITARY: Maj. 1836

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Commissaire des petites causes for Cornwallis County 1823

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

SOURCES: Charland, La famille Canac-Marquis, p. 111.
CANNON, John

RIDING
Hampshire
Aug 1824-Mar 1826
(disqualified)
Aug 1827-Sep 1830

BORN: 1783 in Newfoundland

PARENTS: Edward Cannon and Eleanor Murphy

FATHER: Master mason and master builder, architect, built
Anglican Cathedral in Québec

DIED: 1833 at Québec

MARRIED: Angèle Griault dit Larivièrê

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Architect and entrepreneur
Very rich, held over 2,000 acres

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British(Irish)

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: No, died in 1833

OTHER: Sons, grandsons were distinguished lawyers and
judges.

______________________________

SOURCES: Roy, Avocats de Québec, p. 69.
R. Cannon, "Edward Cannon", Canadian Catholic
Historical Association, Report (1935-36),
p. 11.
P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 539.
CAREAU, Pierre

RIDING
Rouville
Nov 1833-Mar 1838

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE:

OCCUPATION:

MILITARY: Capt.

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION:

REBELLION: Observer
CARDINAL, Jospeh-Narcisse

RIDING
Laprairie
Nov 1834-Mar 1838

BORN: 8 Feb 1808 at St-Constant

PARENTS: Joseph Cardinal and Marguerite Cardinal

FATHER: Farmer but from 1817-19 a merchant at Montréal

DIED: On gallows 21 Dec 1838

MARRIED: Eugénie daughter of Bernard Lemaire-Saint-Germain and Charlotte Desautels (1811)

RESIDENCE: Chateauguay

OCCUPATION: Notary (1829)

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION: Collège de Montréal 1819-23 then law with
George Lepailleur of Chateauguay 1823-29

REBELLION: Not too active in 1837 but in 1838 was a
Brigadier General of Patriote army, leading
member of Chasseures, executed in 1838

____________________

CARON, Charles

RIDING
St-Maurice
Aug 1824-Sep 1830

BORN: 3 Jan 1768 at Québec

PARENTS: Michel Caron and Josette Parant

FATHER: Farmer and large landowner

DIED: 3 Feb 1853

MARRIED: Marie-Françoise daughter of Augustin Rivard-Dufresne and Françoise Gauthier (1794)

RESIDENCE: Yamamiche from 1783 to his death

OCCUPATION: Farmer, well-to-do

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION: Elementary

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: His father-in-law was first deputy of St-Maurice. His brothers also represented St-Maurice; Michel 1804-14 and François 1810-14

__________________________________________

SOURCES: Audet, Députés de St-Maurice, p. 59.
Caron, Histoire d'Yamamiche, p. 174.
CARON, René-Edouard

RIDING
Québec, Haute-Ville
Nov 1834-Mar 1836

BORN: 11 Oct 1801 at Ste-Anne-de-Beaupré

PARENTS: Augustin Caron and Elisabeth Lesard

FATHER: MLA (Northumberland 1806-09, 1811-14)

DIED: 13 Dec 1876 at Spencer-Wood, Québec

MARRIED: Joséphine daughter of Germain de Blois

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Lawyer

MILITARY: 

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Executive Council 22 Aug 1837 but did not accept; Legislative Council Aug 1837-Mar 1838, 1841-1857, President 1843-47 and 1848-53; Executive Council 1848-49; Superior Court Judge 1853; Judge Court of Queen's Bench 1853; Lieutenant Governor 1873-76

EDUCATION: Petite Séminaire de Québec

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Mayor of Québec 1834-36, 1840-46. Son was Minister of Militia.

SOURCES: L'Opinion publique, v. 7(1876), p. 578.
Roy, Avocats de Québec, p. 73.
Roy, Juges de la province, p. 97.
Turcotte, Conseil législatif, p. 130.
Turcotte, L'honorable René-Edouard Caron.
CASGRAIN, Charles-Eusèbe
Riding
Kamouraska
Oct 1830-Oct 1834

BORN: 25 Dec 1800 at la Rivière Ouelle

PARENTS: Pierre Casgrain and Marie Bonenfant

FATHER: Merchant, Seigneur de la Bouteillerie et L'Islet

DIED: 29 Feb 1848

MARRIED: Daughter of Hon. Jacques Baby

RESIDENCE: Québec until 1827 then Manor House at la Rivière Ouelle

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1824)
Seigneur, very wealthy

MILITARY: Capt 1829 (Sen. 1827) 1st Battalion Cornwallis (Kamouraska

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic, very devout

PROMOTION: Special Council 1838, Commissioner of Public Works 1846.

EDUCATION: Briefly at Séminaire de Québec then at Collège de Nicolet

REBELLION: Observer

__________________________

SOURCES: Tetu, Histoire des familles Tetu etc, p. 414.
CAZEAU, Jean-Baptiste

RIDING
Orléans
Oct 1830-Mar 1838

BORN: 27 Sep 1774

PARENTS: Jean Cazeau and Françoise Ruel

FATHER: Lower social status

DIED: 12 May 1865

MARRIED: Geneviève Chabot

RESIDENCE: Québec until 1807 then Isle d'Orléans

OCCUPATION: Farmer, large landholder

MILITARY: Quartermaster 1829 (Sen. 1827) 1st Batallion Orléans (Isle)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace for twenty years

EDUCATION: Illiterate

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Brother was M. le Grand-Vicaire C.F. Cazeau

______________________________

Turcotte, Histoire de l'Isle d'Orléans, p. 50.
CHAMBERLIN, Wright

RIDING
Stanstead
Mar 1833-Feb 1834

BORN: 1799 at Thetford, Vermont

PARENTS:

FATHER: Lower social status

DIED: 13 Mar 1860

MARRIED: Rachael daughter of M. Camp

RESIDENCE: Stanstead Plain from 1809

OCCUPATION: Merchant and large landholder. Listed in Quebec Gazette 1820 as farmer.

MILITARY: Ensign 1809, Major 1832, Lt. Col.

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British (American)

RELIGION: Protestant (Methodist-Wesleyan)

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Started in business as agent for Capt. Levi Bigelow at roughly same time as Marcus Child MLA 45

__________________________________________

SOURCES: Hubbard, History of Stanstead County, p. 131.
Quebec Gazette, 22 Jun 1820
17 Aug 1820
12 Oct 1820
CHERRIER, Côme-Séraphin

RIDING
Montréal comté
Nov 1834-Mar 1838

BORN 22 Jul 1798 at Repentigny

PARENTS: Joseph-Marie Cherrier and Marie-Joseph Gâte-Bellefleur

FATHER: Farmer and Merchant, very influential family in Montréal region although was not wealthy

DIED: 10 Apr 1855 at Montréal

MARRIED: The widow Coursol née Mélanie Quesnel

RESIDENCE: Montréal

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1822) Partner with Louis-Michel Viger MLA 199 1822-32; Charles Laberge 1832-34; Charles Mondelet 1835-41; A.A. Dorion and Wilfred Dorion 1841-60

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: 1842 offered post of Solicitor General but declined; 1863 offered post of Chief Justice but declined

EDUCATION: Collège de Montréal, then law under his cousin D-B Viger MLA 198

REBELLION: Arrested but not a participant

OTHER: Two uncles were MLA's: Benjamin Cherrier (1792-96) and Dr. Séraphin (1815-1820). An Aunt married Denis Viger (MLA 1796-1800) and was mother of D-B Viger MLA 198. Another Aunt married Joseph Papineau (MLA 1792-96) and was mother of L-J Papineau MLA 147. daughter Genviève married P-A Dorion; MLA 205

SOURCES: Audet, Députés de Montréal, p. 411.
Borthwick, Montreal, its History and Biographical Sketches, p. 59.
David, Biographies et portraits, p. 208.
Fauteux, Patriotes, p. 176.
CHILD, Marcus

RIDING
Stanstead
Nov 1829-Sep 1830
Feb 1834-Mar 1838
(Apr 1841-Sep 1844)

BORN: 1792 at Worcester, Massachusetts

PARENTS:

FATHER: Not known but got start from Capt. Levi Bigelow
Merchant

DIED: 1859 at Coaticook where he had lived for a year

MARRIED: Lydia Chadwick from Massachusetts

RESIDENCE: Stanstead Plain 1812-1858

OCCUPATION: Merchant of drugs and medicines
Large landholder

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British (American)

RELIGION: Protestant (Methodist-Wesleyan until last few
years of his life when he became an Episcopalian)

PROMOTION: Postmaster and Magistrate (removed from both
positions in 1837)

EDUCATION: Elementary

REBELLION: Fled country temporarily after aiding fleeing
Patriotes

OTHER: Business associate of Wright Chamberlin MLA 43

SOURCES: Fauteux, Patriotes, p. 178.
Hubbard, History of Stanstead County, p. 144.
Rose, Cyclopedia of Canadian Biography, v. 2, p. 647.
CHRISTIE, Robert

RIDING
Gaspé
Oct 1827-Nov 1832
(Apr 1841-Jun 1854)

BORN: 1788 at Windsor, Nova Scotia

PARENTS:

FATHER: Elevated social status

DIED: 13 Oct 1856 at Québec

MARRIED: Olivette Doucet aunt of Judge Pierre-Antoine Doucet

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1810), prior to that engaged in commerce in Halifax, Editor Quebec Gazette 1848-50, Historian, Large landowner

MILITARY: Capt 1812, Lt. Col and Judge Advocate 1829

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION: Law Clerk of Assembly 1818-26
Judge of Sessions of the Peace at Québec 1827

EDUCATION: King's College, Halifax then law with Edward Bowen (Judge of King' Court 1812, Chief Justice 1865)

REBELLION: Observer

Le Moine, Monographies et esquisses, p. 33.
P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 532.
Roy, Avocats de Québec, p. 99.
CLOUET, Michel

RIDING
Québec cpmté
Oct 1822-Aug 1833

BORN: 9 Jan 1770 at Beauport

PARENTS: Joseph-Michel Clouet and Madelaine Bergevin

FATHER: Lower social status

DIED: 5 Jan 1836 at Québec

MARRIED: Marie-Joseph Lépine (1801 at Québec)

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Iron Merchant, rich

MILITARY: Capt. 1812, 2nd Battalion Québec

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Various Government Commissions 1815-34
Justice of Peace 1823

EDUCATION: Elementary

REBELLION: No, died in 1836

______________________________

P.A.C., Neilson Papers; v. 32, p. 539.
COLBY, Moses-French

RIDING
Stanstead
Jan 1837-Mar 1838

BORN: 2 Jul 1795 at Thornton, New Hampshire

PARENTS: Samuel Colby and Ruth French

FATHER: Farmer

DIED: 4 May 1863

MARRIED: Lemira Strong of Pawlett, Vermont

RESIDENCE: Derby, Vermont until 1832
Stanstead 1832-1863

OCCUPATION: Doctor (1821-licensed in Lower Canada 1832)

MILITARY: Surgeon 1837, Stanstead Militia)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British (American)

RELIGION: Protestant

RERATION: None

EDUCATION: Yale 1817, Dartmouth 1821, Harvard 1828

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Author of many learned articles. Son Charles
Carroll was a Doctor and member of Macdonald's
administration 1878-91

SOURCES: Hubbard, History of Stanstead County, p. 151.
CORNEAU, François

RIDING
Rimouski
Oct 1830-Dec 1831

BORN:
PARENTS:
FATHER:
DIED:
MARRIED:
RESIDENCE:
OCCUPATION:

MILITARY: Lt. and Quartermaster 1821, Capt. 1829 (Sen. 1828) 2nd Battalion Québec

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian
RELIGION: Roman Catholic
PROMOTION:
EDUCATION:
REBELLION: Observer

SOURCES: Militia Lists
COTE, Cyrille-Hector-Octave

BORN: 1803

PARENTS: Charles-Claude Côté and Rose Duhamel

FATHER: Ship Captain

DIED: 4 Oct 1850 at Hinesburg, Vermont

MARRIED: Marguerite Jobson (Catholic British)

RESIDENCE: L'Acadie 1831-33
            Napierville 1833-37
            Vermont 1837-44
            Grande-Ligne 1844-50

OCCUPATION: Doctor (1831)

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic, but weak, excommunicated in 1841
          and became Baptist Minister

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION: Collège de Montréal, University of Vermont
           for medicine

REBELLION: Participant, forced to flee; a leader of the
           1838 Rebellion


N. Cyr, Memoir of the Rev. C.H.O. Côté, M.D.
with a memoir of Mrs. M.Y. Côté and a
history of the Grande Ligne Mission,
(Philadelphia, 1853).
Fauteux, Patriotes, p. 183.
COUILLARD DESPRES, Joseph E.  
RIDING  
Devon  
May 1814-Feb 1820  
Aug 1824-Jul 1827

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED: Esther daughter of Louis Bourdages MLA 29 at 
St-Denis 18 May 1824

RESIDENCE: Devon

OCCUPATION: Surveyor (1821), held Seigneurial land

MILITARY: Maj. 1820

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

__________________________________________________________

SOURCES: Allaire, Histoire de St-Denis, p. 212, n. 2.  
COURTEAU, Charles

RIDING
Leinster
Aug 1824-Jul 1827
Lachenaie
Oct 1830-Mar 1838

BORN:
PARENTS:
FATHER:
DIED:
MARRIED:
RESIDENCE:
OCCUPATION:
MILITARY: Ensign 1829 (Sen. 1821) 1st Battalion Leinster
(St-Roch de l'Assomption)
ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian
RELIGION: Roman Catholic
PROMOTION: None
EDUCATION:
REBELLION: Observer

SOURCES: Québec Gazette, 7 Jun 1821.
Militia Lists.
CUVILLIER, Augustin

RIDING
Huntingdon
May 1814-Sep 1830
Laprairie
Oct 1830-Oct 1834
(Huntingdon
Apr 1841-Sep 1844)

BORN: 21 Aug 1779 at Québec

PARENTS: Augustin Cuvillier and Angélique Miot dit Girard

FATHER: Elevated social status

DIED: 11 Jul 1849 (typhoid)

MARRIED: Claire Perrault, sister of Joseph Perrault MLA 151

RESIDENCE: Montréal

OCCUPATION: Merchant and Auctioneer, very large and prosperous; Founder and Director of Banque de Montréal 1817; Founder Montréal Board of Trade; large property owner in Montréal (800 acres)

MILITARY: Lt. 1812, Adjutant Capt. 1813, 1st Batallion Montréal

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace in Montréal 1830, Commissioner of Small Pleas 1835

EDUCATION: Collège de Montréal

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Speaker of Assembly 1841-44; Financial advisor to Patriotes; Assembly's financial delegate to Britain 1828; associated with George Garder MLA 83 and James Leslie MLA 123 in founding of Banque de Montréal.

SOURCES: Audet, Députés de Montréal.
BRH, v. 24, p. 87; v. 28, p. 118; v. 33, p. 108.
Morgan, Celebrated Canadians, p. 394.
Roy, Fils de Québec, v. 1, p. 3.
DAVIDSON, John

RIDING
Dorchester
May 1814-Jul 1827

BORN: 1786

PARENTS: James Davidson

FATHER: Surgeon, Royal Canadian Volunteers

DIED:

MARRIED: Daughter of Receiver-General Caldwell

RESIDENCE: Lauzon

OCCUPATION: Merchant in wood and flour, partner with John Caldwell MLA 210, very rich Seigneur from 1821

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace Québec District 1820; Superintendent of Crown Woods 1826

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Apprenticed to Sir John Caldwell at age 16 for 4 years to learn the manufacture of flour

DAVIS, Theodore

RIDING
Ottawa
Mar 1832-Oct 1834

BORN: 1778 in Massachusetts

PARENTS:

FATHER: Lower social status

DIED: 1841 at Hull

MARRIED: Daughter of Col. Daniel Robertson, the widow of M. de Hertel and mother of Col. de Hertel of St. Andrews

RESIDENCE: St. Andrews

OCCUPATION: Land Surveyor
Merchant at Point Fortune in mid 1830's
Built locks at Vaudreil, removed rocks from Ottawa River

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British (American)

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

______________________________

SOURCES: Thomas, History of Arguement and Prescott, pp. 79-80.
DE BLEMENT, Charles Clément Sabrevois

RIDING
Richelieu
Aug 1832-Mar 1838
(Montréal cité
Nov 1844-Dec 1847)

BORN: 28 Oct 1798 at Sorel

PARENTS: Father French-Canadian, Mother British

FATHER: Captain and Commandant Royal Canadian Volunteers

DIED: 15 Sep 1862 at Isle Jésus

MARRIED: Marie-Elisabeth-Alix daughter of Barthélémi
Rocher and Angélique Pétrimont

RESIDENCE: Montréal

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1819), a brilliant and prosperous
career but died a poor man. Held seigneurial
lands.

MILITARY: Lt. 1825, Capt 1830, Maj. 1837, Lt. Col. 1848

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian and British

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Legislative Council 1837-38

EDUCATION: Collège de Montréal then law with brother-
in-law.

REBELLION: Observer although he had been Patriote until
1835

OTHER: Fought eight recorded duels

_____________

SOURCES: BRH, v. 31, p. 185.
Turcotte, Conseil Législatif, p. 127.
DE BLOIS, Joseph-François

RIDING
Bonaventure
Jan 1835-Mar 1838

BORN: 22 Apr 1797 at Québec

PARENTS: François De Blois and Marie-Genviève Létourneau

FATHER: Elevated social status

DIED: 10 Aug 1860 at Québec

MARRIED: Marie-Vénérande Renvoizé

RESIDENCE: Québec to c. 1830
           Gaspésie to 1844
           Québec to 1860

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1828)

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Judge of Gaspé district 1849

EDUCATION: Séminaire de Québec then law

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Son was Senator Pierre-Antoine De Blois (b. Québec 1815)

SOURCES: Roy, Avocats de Québec, p. 118.
          Roy, Fil's de Québec, v. 1, p. 79; v. 4, p. 7.
DELIGNY, Jacques

RIDING
Warwick
May 1814-Feb 1820
Jul 1820-Sep 1830
Berthier
Oct 1830-Jan 1837

BORN: 1775 at Québec

PARENTS:

FATHER: Lower social status

DIED: 2 Jan 1837

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Village of Berthier

OCCUPATION: Merchant

MILITARY: Maj. 1829 (Sen. 1827) 1st Battalion Warwick (Berthier)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Commissioner for Internal Improvements to Communications in Warwick County 1817

EDUCATION:

REBELLION: No, died in Jan 1837

____________

Quebec Gazettes, 3 Jul 1817
2 Mar 1820
DE MONTENAC, Charles Nicolas Fortune

RIDING
Yamaska
Oct 1830-May 1832

BORN: Fribourg, Switzerland 1792

PARENTS:

FATHER: Very high social status

DIED: 24 May 1832 at Montréal

MARRIED: Marie Elizabeth Grant daughter of Capt. David
Alexander Grant and Marie-Joseph Le Moyne

RESIDENCE: Montréal

OCCUPATION: Seigneur

MILITARY: Swiss Army Officer; Militia - Capt. 1829
(Sen. 1824) 6th Battalion Buckingham (Durham)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: Swiss

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: No, died 1832

SOURCES: BRH, v. 6 (1900), p. 365.
Morgan, Dominion Annual Register, 1885.
DE MONTIGNY, Casimir-Amable
RIDING
Effingham
Aug 1824-Jul 1827

BORN: 1789

PARENTS: Louis Etienne Testard, sieur de Montigny and
Louise Gamelin-Gaucher daughter of Pierre and
Marie-Louise de Lorimier

FATHER: Lawyer

DIED: 5 Feb 1863

MARRIED: Marthe Godon; Marie Halaire

RESIDENCE: St-Jérôme

OCCUPATION: Trader and merchant, founder of St-Jérôme

MILITARY: Capt. 1812, Lt. Col. 1837

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Magistrate

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

________________________________________

DESAULNIERS, François Lesieur

RIDING
St-Maurice
Aug 1836-Mar 1838
(Nov 1844-Dec 1847)

BORN: 25 Jun 1805 at Yamachiche

PARENTS: Antoine Lesieur Desaulniers and Pélagie Descôteaux

FATHER: Farmer

DIED: 14 Jul 1880

MARRIED: Marguerite daughter of Joseph Pothier and Clotilde Girardin (1827 at Yamachiche)

RESIDENCE: Yamachiche

OCCUPATION: Farmer

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION: Elementary

REBELLION: Observer, broke with Papineau

OTHER: Son Dr. Louis-Léon Lesieur Desaulniers was MLA for St-Maurice 1878-87; Son François Sévère was MLA for St-Maurice 1887-96; Grandfather was first deputy for St-Maurice

______________________________

SOURCES: Audet, Députés de St-Maurice, p. 63.
Caron, Histoire d'Yamachiche, p. 175.
DESFOSSES, Jean

BORN: 1787 at Nicolet

PARENTS: Joseph Desfossés and Madelaine Boudreau (1770)

FATHER: Lower social status

DIED: 21 Apr 1854 at Trois-Rivières

MARRIED: Charlotte Miller; Angèle daughter of Nicolas Ménéclier de Morochond and Angélique Maher(1822)

RESIDENCE: Trois-Rivières

OCCUPATION: Merchant, very rich and successful. Business burnt out in 1837 but rebuilt

MILITARY: Sergeant 1812, Ensign 1821, Lt. 1825 (revoked 1827, re-instated 1831), Capt 1832, Maj. 1847, Lt. Col. 1850

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

__________________________________________

SOURCES: Audet, Députés des Trois-Rivières.
DESSAULLES, Jean
RIDING
Richelieu
Apr 1816-Sep 1830
St-Hyacinthe
Oct 1830-Jun 1832

BORN: 1766 at St-François-du-Lac (Yamaska)

PARENTS: Father Swiss

FATHER: Seigneur d'Yamaska

DIED: 20 Jun 1835

MARRIED: Rosalie sister of Louis Joseph Papineau

RESIDENCE: St-Hyacinthe

OCCUPATION: Seigneur (inherited Seigneurie de St-Hyacinthe d'Yamaska in 1814), wealthy.

MILITARY: Lt. Col. 1829 (Sen. 1814) Commandant 3rd Battalion Richelieu (St-Hyacinthe)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian and Swiss

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace District of Montréal 1820, Postmaster, St-Hyacinthe 1820, Legislative Council 1832-35.

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: No, died in 1835

OTHER: Brother-in-law to L-J Papineau MLA 147; son was Seigneur d'Yamaska and a Senator

SOURCES: Audet, Députés de Montréal.
Choquette, Ville de St-Hyacinthe, p. 79.
P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 534.
Turcotte, Conseil législatif, p. 113.
DE ST OURS, Roch-Charles

RIDING
Richelieu
Aug 1824-Jul 1832

BORN: 18 Sep 1800 at the manor house of St-Ours

PARENTS: Charles-Louis-Roch de St-Ours and Josephte
Murray (niece of Governor Murray)

FATHER: Seigneur, Conseiller législatif 1808-34

DIED: 10 Sep 1839 at Montréal

MARRIED: Hermine-Catherine-Marie daughter of Michel-
Louis Juchereau Duchesnay and Charlotte-
Hermine Louise de Salaberry

RESIDENCE: St-Ours and Montréal

OCCUPATION: Seigneur, wealthy with extensive landholdings

MILITARY: Lt. 1818, Maj 1829 (Sen. 1825) 1st Battalion
Richelieu (St-Ours) of which father was
Commandant

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Legislative Council 1832-38, Sherrif of
Montréal Apr 1837 (first French-Canadian)

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

Turcotte, Conseil Législatif, p. 110.
DE WITT, Jacob

RIDING
Beauharnois
Oct 1830-Mar 1838
(Leinster, Beauharnois
Aug 1842-Dec 1851
Châteauguay
Jul 1854-Nov 1857)

BORN: 17 Sep 1785 at Windham, Connecticut

PARENTS: Henry De Witt and Hannah Dean, daughter of a rich merchant

FATHER: Merchant in Windham, emigrated to Montréal where he established a hat business c. 1800

DIED: 23 Mar 1859

MARRIED: American girl

RESIDENCE: Montréal

OCCUPATION: Ship owner, Iron merchant, one of founders of Banque du peuple with L-M Viger MLA 199, President of Banque duPeuple 1855, Saw mill owner, director of many Montréal institutions. Very rich, large landholder. After 1837 spent most of his time with the Banque

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British (American)

RELIGION: Protestant, founded the American-Presbyterian Church in Montréal

PROMOTION: Judge of the Court of Special Sessions of the Peace at Montréal 1836-40; offered Cabinet post in 1844 by Metcalfe but turned it down

EDUCATION: College

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Founded the Society of New England to perpetuate the memory of Mayflower emigrants in Montréal. Signator of Annexation Manifesto 1849.

DIONNE, Amable

RIDING
Kamouraska
Oct 1830-May 1835

BORN: 30 Nov 1781 at St-Germain, Kamouraska

PARENTS: Alexandre Dionne and Madelaine Michaud

FATHER: Farmer, Capt. of Militia

DIED: 22 May 1852

MARRIED: Catherine Perrault niece and adopted daughter of Jacques-Nicolas Perrault, Seigneur de la Rivière Ouelle

RESIDENCE: Kamouraska until 1849 then the manor house of Ste-Anne-de-la-Pocatière

OCCUPATION: Merchant, very wealthy, after 1830 was a Seigneur by purchase. Had worked for and later was partner with Pierre Casgrain, merchant and Seigneur, and father of Charles-Eusèbe Casgrain MLA 41

MILITARY: Capt. 1829 (Sen. 1813) 1st Battalion Cornwallis (Kamouraska)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace 1820; Legislative Council Aug 1837-Mar 1838, 1842-1852; Special Council Apr-Jun 1838, Nov 1838-Feb 1841

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

SOURCES: Têtu, Histoire des familles Têtu, etc., p. 146. Turcotte, Conseil Législatif, p. 125. Quebec Gazette, 30 Nov 1815 3 May 1821 5 Jul 1821
DORION, Jacques

RIDING
Richelieu
Oct 1830-Mar 1838

BORN: c. 1799 at Québec

PARENTS: Pierre Dorion and Jane Clarke

FATHER: Elevated social status

DIED: 29 Dec 1877 at St-Ours

MARRIED: Catherine-Louise daughter of Jacques-Edmond Lovell and Josephte-Catherine Murray, niece of Charles-Louis-Roch de St Ours

RESIDENCE: St-Ours

OCCUPATION: Doctor (1822) with large clientelle in St-Ours, St-Denis and St-Charles

MILITARY: Surgeon 1829 (Sen, 1827), Col. 1838, 1st Battalion Richelieu (St-Ours)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION: Séminaire de Québec and then medical studies in France

REBELLION: Arrested 2 Dec 1837; freed 3 Mar 1838 on L 1000 bobd

OTHER: A son married a daughter of Roch De St Ours in 1866.

________________________________________

DROLET, Charles

RIDING
Saguenay
Feb 1836-Mar 1838

BORN: 8 May 1795 at Québec

PARENTS: Charles Drolet and Angélique Hill

FATHER: Elevated social status

DIED: 22 Sep 1873 at Québec

MARRIED: Marguerite Quirouet, niece of François Quirouet
MLA 160

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1827)

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Député-greffier of Court of Appeal after 1840
Registrar of Court of Vice Admiralty after 1840

EDUCATION: Collège classique

REBELLION: Participant, fled to Detroit

OTHER: Cousin of François Quirouet MLA 160

_________________________________________________________

Fauteux, Patriotes, p. 220.
Roy, Avocats de Québec, p. 139.
Roy, Fils de Québec, v. 1, p. 70.
DROLET, François

RIDING
Hampshire
Aug 1824-Jul 1827

BORN:
PARENTS:
FATHER:
DIED:
MARRIED:
RESIDENCE:
OCCUPATION:
MILITARY:
ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian
RELIGION: Roman Catholic
PROMOTION: None
EDUCATION:
REBELLION: Observer
DROLET, Joseph Touissant

RIDING
Verchères
Jul 1832-Mar 1838

BORN: 31 Oct 1786 at St-Marc

PARENTS: Joseph-Charles Drolet and Brigitte Renault
dit Blanchard

FATHER: Elevated social status

DIED: 31 Oct 1838 in his opulent manor of St-Marc

MARRIED: Sophie daughter of René Boileau (notary at
Chambly and of Marie-Josephte-Antoinette de
Gannes de Falaise 1812

RESIDENCE: St-Marc

OCCUPATION: Merchant, very prosperous; Seigneur by
purchase (1825 bought the seigneurie de
Cournoyer, normally called St-Marc)

MILITARY: Maj. (revoked by Dalhousie in 1827, re-instated
by Aylmer in 1830, revoked by Gosford in 1837)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: £ 500 reward offered; arrested 31 Dec 1837,
released 15 Jun 1838 on £ 1000 bond. Son
Alexandre fought at St-Charles

---

SOURCES: Fauteux, Patriotes, p. 221.
Linteau, "Patriotes", RHAf, v. 21, pp. 281-311.
DUBORD, Hippolyte

RIDING
Québec, basse-ville
Nov 1834-Mar 1838
(Québec, cité
Dec 1851-Jun 1854
Dec 1857-Apr 1860)

BORN:
PARENTS:
FATHER:
DIED:
MARRIED:
RESIDENCE: Québec
OCCUPATION: Merchant
MILITARY:
ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian
RELIGION: Roman Catholic
PROMOTION:
EDUCATION:
REBELLION: Observer

SOURCES: Crowley, Unpublished research paper.
DUCHENOIS, Etienne

RIDING
Surrey
May 1814-Jul 1824

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED: Marie-Josephte Massue

RESIDENCE: Varennes

OCCUPATION: Merchant, partner of A-A Massue MLA 84 about 1800-10

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace, District of Montréal 1820

EDUCATION:

REBELLION: No

OTHER: Brother-in-law to A-A Massue MLA 84

DUMONT, Eustache Nicolas Lambert

RIDING
York
Aug 1804-Apr 1808
May 1814-Jul 1827

BORN: 1767

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: St-Eustache

OCCUPATION: Seigneur de St-Eustache

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace, Montréal District 1820

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

SOURCES: P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 537.
RIDING  
Trois-Rivières (ville)  
Aug 1827-Oct 1832  
(Yamaska  
Dec 1851-Jun 1854)

DUMOULIN, Pierre Benjamin

BORN: Jan 1799 at Trois-Rivières

PARENTS: François-Luc-Nicolas Dumoulin and Louise-Charlotte Cressé (father a seigneur)

FATHER: Seigneur de Courval 1796-1804

DIED: 24 Sep 1856 at Trois-Rivières

MARRIED: Hermine daughter of Dr. François Rieutford and Françoise-Ursule Le Proust

RESIDENCE: Trois-Rivières

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1821)  
Seigneur de Labadie, Tonnancour and Gatineau  
Co-owner of part of fief of Grosbois

MILITARY: Lt. 1829 (Sen. 1827) 1st Battalion St-Maurice  
(Trois-Rivières)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Q.C. Jan 1838 (revoked 1843, restored 1853);  
Justice of Peace 1838; Commissioner of Court of Appeal Apr 1839; Commissioner of Bankruptcies Sep 1840-43; President of the Court of General Quarter Sessions at Trois-Rivières 1856

EDUCATION: Collège classique

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: First Mayor of Trois-Rivières 1845, 1853-54, many illustrious offspring

SOURCES: Audet, Députés des Trois-Rivières, p. 37.  
BRH, v. 31 (1925), p. 479.  
P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 539.  
Roy, Juges de la province, p. 189.
DUVAL, Jean-François-Joseph RIDING
Québec, haute-ville
Jun 1829-Oct 1834

BORN: 17 Jul 1802 at Québec

PARENTS: François Duval and Anne Germain

FATHER: Ensign in Royal Canadian Regiment

DIED: 6 May 1881 at Québec

MARRIED: Adelaide daughter M. Dubuc a well-known Québec merchant

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1823)

MILITARY: Ensign 1829, 1st Battalion Québec

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: K.C. 1835; Assistant Judge Court of Queen's Bench 1839; Puisne Judge 1853; Chief Justice 1864

EDUCATION: Dr, Wilkie's academy at Québec then law with George Vanfelson MLA 197 and then with Vallières de St Réal MLA 195

REBELLION: Observer

SOURCES: Audet, Juges en chef, p. 142.
Canadian Biographical Dictionary, p. 263.
Quebec Gazette, 18 Jun 1829.
Roy, Avocats de Québec, p. 155.
Roy, Juges de la province, p. 199.
DUVERNAY, Ludger

RIDING
Lachenaie
May 1837-Mar 1838

BORN: 22 Jan 1799 at Verchères

PARENTS: Joseph-Marie Crevier Duvernay and Marie-Anne
Julie Rober de la Morandière

FATHER: Farmer of elevated social status

DIED: 28 Nov 1852

MARRIED: Marie-Reine Harnois of Rivière-du-Loup in 1823
daughter of Capt. Augustin Harnois and Josephite
Desjarlais

RESIDENCE: Trois-Rivières 1817-27
Montreal after 1827

OCCUPATION: Editor and printer; 1817 founded Gazette
des Trois-Rivières and published it until
1823; 1823-1825 published Constitutionnel; 1826
founded L'Argus at Trois-Rivières;
1827-1853 published La Minerve; 1837 founded
Patriote in Burlington, Vermont

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION: Elementary then apprentice to C-B Pasteur
(Spectateur) 1813

REBELLION: Forced to flee

OTHER: Grandfather was Royal Notary for Verchères

__________________

SOURCES: Canadian Biographical Dictionary, p. 160.
David, Patriotes, p. 72.
Roy, La famille Robert de la Morandière,
pp. 35-59.
ENO, Norbert

RIDING
Berthier
Mar 1837-Mar 1838

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE:

OCCUPATION:

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN:

RELIGION:

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION:

REBELLION:
FISHER, John

RIDING
Montréal-ouest
Oct 1830-Mar 1832

BORN: 26 Oct 1789 at Montréal

PARENTS: Alexander Fisher and Jane Grant

FATHER: Elevated social status

DIED: 3 Feb 1858 at Montréal

RESIDENCE: Montréal

OCCUPATION: Merchant (general store)

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British

RELIGION: Protestant - Presbyterian

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace 1830; Commissioner for Small Pleas 1838

EDUCATION: Elementary

REBELLION: Observer

SOURCES: Audet, Députés de Montréal, p. 235.
Borthwick, History and Biographical Gazeteer of Montreal, p. 173.
FORTIN  Jean-Baptiste

RIDING
Devon
Aug 1804-Mar 1814
Apr 1820-Sep 1830
L'Islet
Oct 1830-Mar 1838

BORN: 1795 at St-Roch

PARENTS:

FATHER: Seigneur, Capt. of Militia

DIED: 1840

RESIDENCE: St-Roch

OCCUPATION: Farmer, well-to-do

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION: Elementary

REBELLION: Observer

P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 532.
Quebec Gazette, 1 May 1817.
FOURNIER, François

RIDING
Devon
May 1814–Jul 1824

BORN:
PARENTS:
FATHER:
DIED:
MARRIED:
RESIDENCE:
OCCUPATION: Surveyor (1799)
MILITARY:
ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian
RELIGION: Roman Catholic
PROMOTION: None
EDUCATION: Above elementary
REBELLION: No

SOURCES: Crowley, Unpublished research paper.
FRANCHERE, Joseph

RIDING
Bedford
Apr-May 1820
Mar 1822-Jul 1824

BORN:
PARENTS:
FATHER:
DIED:
MARRIED:
RESIDENCE:
OCCUPATION:
MILITARY:
ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian
RELIGION: Roman Catholic
PROMOTION: Justice of Peace 1820
EDUCATION:
REBELLION: No

_________________________________________________________________

SOURCES: Quebec Gazette, Jun 1820.
FRASER, Alexander

RIDING
Kamouraska
Jun 1835-Mar 1838

BORN: Apr 1804

PARENTS: Joseph Fraser and Catherine Talbot dit Gervais

FATHER: Farmer

DIED: 8 Jul 1877 at Ottawa

MARRIED: Julie daughter of Jean-Baptiste Chassé and Julie Michaud Angélique Poncy 1838

RESIDENCE: St-André-de-Kamouraska
Québec from 1868

OCCUPATION: Notary (1830)

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British (Scotch)

RELIGION: Protestant

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

Fraser, The Clan Fraser in Canada, p. 17.
FRASER, John

RIDING
Northumberland
Aug 1824-Jul 1827

BORN: 1791 at Québec

PARENTS: Hon. John Fraser and Marie-Claire-Fleury Deschambault

FATHER: Capt. under Wolfe, Judge, Legislative Councilor

DIED: 21 Apr 1882 at Charleston, South Carolina

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Seigneur, from 1824-30 held 1/ of the seigneuries of Ste-Anne-de-la-Pocatière and L'Islette-à-la-Peau

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION: Commissioner for road from St-Pierre to St-Thomas 1833; Justice of Peace 1834; Commissioner of Small Pleas 1838; Legislative Council 1841-Nov 1843.

EDUCATED: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Cousin of Simon Fraser, the explorer

Fraser, The Clan Fraser in Canada, p. 99.
Turcotte, Conseil Législatif, pp. 136, 142.
GARDEN, George

RIDING
Montréal-ouest
Apr 1820-Jul 1824

BORN: 1772 at Glasgow (emigrated 1793)

PARENTS:

FATHER: Lower social status

DIED: 16 Oct 1828 in Montréal

MARRIED: Euphemia Forbes

RESIDENCE: Montréal

OCCUPATION: Merchant (Maitland, Garden and Auldjo)
A founder of Banque de Montréal 1817,
Vice-President 1817; Founder of Montréal
curling club 1807; very rich

MILITARY: Lt. 1812 Montreal Incorporated Volunteers,
Capt 1812

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British (Scottish)

RELIGION: Protestant (Presbyterian)

PROMOTION: Commissioner for Lachine Road 1817

EDUCATION: Elementary

REBELLION: No, died in 1828

_____________

SOURCES: Audet, Députés de Montréal, p. 228.
GAUVREAU, Louis

RIDING
Québec, ocmté
Apr 1810-Aug 1822

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED: 16 Aug 1822

MARRIED: Louise Belleau then Josephte Vanfelson

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Merchant, Importer, very rich

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

REBELLION: No, died 1822

 SOURCES: BRH, v. 8, p. 274; v. 13, p. 18; v. 20, pp. 274, 277.
GIROUARD, Jean-Joseph  
RIDING  
Deux Montagnes  
Dec 1831-Mar 1838

BORN: 11 Nov 1795 at Québec

PARENTS: Father died when Girouard very young and he was raised by a priest

FATHER: Architect

DIED: 18 Sep 1855 at St-Benoît

MARRIED: Mlle. Félix (sister of a curé c. 1817); Emilie Berthelot (sister of Judge Berthelot in 1851)

RESIDENCE: St-Benoît

OCCUPATION: Notary (1816), one of the most respected of the province, rich

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian (Acadian)

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Offered ministerial post by Bagot but declined

EDUCATION: Studied law at Ste-Genviève under M. Mailloux

REBELLION: Participant. L 500 reward offered; arrested 25 Dec 1837; released 16 Jul 1838 on L 5000 bond (one of the highest) and re-imprisoned 4 Nov-27 Dec 1838

OTHER: Intimate of A-N Morin MLA 134; advisor to La Fontaine during Union

GODBOUT, Alexis

RIDING
Orléans
Feb 1834-Mar 1838

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION:

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN:

RELIGION:

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION:

REBELLION: No

______________________________

GOODHUE, Charles Frederick Henry

RIDING
Sherbrooke
Oct 1830-Oct 1834

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Orford, District of Trois-Rivières

OCCUPATION: Merchant and Manufacturer. Large landholder

MILITARY: Lt. 1829 (Sen. 1813) 5th Battalion Buckingham
(Ascot)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace, District of Trois-Rivières

EDUCATION:

REBELLION: No

_________________________________

SOURCES: Québec Gazette, 29 Aug 1816.
2 Mar 1820.
26 Jul 1821.
GRANNIS, John

RIDING
Sherbrooke
Nov 1834-Oct 1836

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE:

OCCUPATION:

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN:

RELIGION:

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION:

REBELLION:
GUGY, Bartholomew Conrad Augustus

RIDING
Sherbrooke
Sep 1831-Mar 1838
(Sherbrooke-ville
Jan 1848-Nov 1851)

BORN: 6 Nov 1796 at Yamachiche

PARENTS: Hon. Louis Gugy and Juliana Connor daughter of one of Wolfe's Surgeons

FATHER: Seigneur, Col. of Militia, Sherrif of Montréal 1827-37; Legislative Councilor

DIED: 11 Jun 1876 at Beauport

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Montréal 1822-48
Sherbrooke 1848-51

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1822), 1840 inherited several seigneuries

MILITARY: 1812 Adj., Col. 1837, Adj. General of Militia 1841

ETHNIC ORIGIN: Swiss and British

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Sherrif of Montréal 1830; Magistrate in Montréal in 1840's

EDUCATION: With (Bishop) John Strachan at Kingston

REBELLION: Fought on British side

OTHER: His brother Thomas practised law with Charles Richard Ogden MLA 142

______________________________

SOURCES: Audet, Députés de St-Maurice et de Champlain, p. 7.
Morgan, Celebrated Canadians, p. 520.
Roy, Avocats de Québec, p. 211.
Turcotte, Conseil Législatif, p. 93.
GUILLÉT, Valère

RIDING
St-Maurice
Oct 1830-Jun 1836

BORN: 5 Jul 1796 at Battiscan

PARENTS: Jean-Baptiste Guillet and Marguerite Langlois

FATHER: Merchant at Battiscan

DIED: Mar 1891 at Trois-Rivières

RESIDENCE: Yamachiche, Trois Rivières from 1836

OCCUPATION: Notary (1825), one of the most illustrious
of the District of Yamachiche

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Coroner, District of Trois-Rivières 1836

EDUCATION: Studied for the notariat under his brother
Louis at Battiscan

REBELLION: Observer

SOURCES: Audet, Deputés de St. Maurice, p. 61.
Caron, Histoire de la paroisse de Yamachiche,
p. 174. (Picture p. 173)
HAMiLTON, John Robinson

RIDING
Bonaventure
Dec 1832-Oct 1834
(Apr 1841-Sep 1844)

BORN: 1808

PARENTS:

FATHER: Lower social status

DIED: 24 Dec at New Carlisle

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Québec until 1836 then at Gaspé and then
New Carlisle

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1830)

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

HEBERT, Jean-Baptiste

RIDING
Buckingham
Jun 1808-Mar 1814
Nicolet
Apr 1835-Mar 1838

BORN: 19 Oct 1799

PARENTS: Etienne Hébert and Marie Babin (both transported Acadians)

FATHER: Farmer at St-Grégoire opposite Trois-Rivières

DIED: 15 Jun 1854 at Nicolet

MARRIED: Marie Béliveau; Judith Lemire

RESIDENCE: NICOLET

OCCUPATION: Architect and Farmer (Architect of Nicolet College)

MILITARY: Maj.

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian (Acadian)

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Participant, arrested 4Feb 1838; released 27 Feb 1838

OTHER: Brother-in-law to Jean-Baptiste Proulx MLA 158

Fauteux, Patriotes, p. 266.
HENEY, Hughes

RIDING
Montréal-est
Apr 1820-Feb 1832

BORN: 9 Sep 1789 at Montréal

PARENTS: Hugh Heney and Thérèse Foretier

FATHER: Merchant, Montréal and Lachine

DIED: 15 Jan 1844 at Trois-Rivières

MARRIED: Daughter of Judge Louis-Charles Poucher

RESIDENCE: Montréal until 1836 and then St-François-du-Lac

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1811) with large clientele

MILITARY: Lt. 1812 (Commission revoked in 1827 by Dalhousie), Lt. Col.

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Executive Council 1833-41; Justice of Peace 1817; Commissioner of Small Pleas 1836; Commissioner of Oaths 1837

EDUCATION: Collège St-Raphael then law with Joseph Bédard of Montréal

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Close friend of Valère Guillet MLA 90

SOURCES: Audet, Députés de Montréal, p. 92.
HERRIOT, Frederick George

RIDING
Drummond
Nov 1829-Jan 1833

BORN: 2 Jan 1766 at Isle of Jersey

PARENTS: Father a French-Huguenot, Mother an Irish Catholic

FATHER: Lower social status

DIED: 29 Dec 1843 at Drummond

MARRIED: Bachelor

RESIDENCE: Drummondville

OCCUPATION: Seigneur, founder of Drummondville

MILITARY: Maj. 1812, Maj. Gen. 1816, awarded CB

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French and Irish

RELIGION: Protestant (Anglican but donated large amounts of land and money to Roman Catholic Church)

PROMOTION: Commissioner for Internal Improvements 1817, Special Council 1840-41

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

__________

SOURCES: BRH, v. 8, p. 171.
Quebec Gazette, 3 Jul 1817.
St-Amant, L'Avenir, p. 12.
HOTCHKISS, Merritt

BORN:
PARENTS:
FATHER:
DIED:
MARRIED:
RESIDENCE:
OCCUPATION:
MILITARY:
ETHNIC ORIGIN: British
RELIGION: Protestant
PROMOTION: None
EDUCATION:
REBELLION: No

RIDING
L'Acadie
Nov 1834-Mar 1838
HOYLE, Robert

RIDING
L'Acadie
Oct 1830-Oct 1834

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Seigneurie de la Cole (District of Montréal)

OCCUPATION: Merchant

MILITARY: Maj. 1829 (Sen. 1820) 4th Battalion Huntingdon (Godmanchester)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace, District of Montréal 1821

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: No

______________________________________________________________

SOURCES: Quebec Gazette, 27 Apr 1820
5 Jul 1821
HUOT, François

RIDING
Hampshire
Jul 1796-Jun 1804
Jun 1808-Jan 1822

BORN: 23 Aug 1756

PARENTS: François Huot and Marie-Louise Maheu

FATHER: Farmer at L'Ange-Gardien

DIED: 30 Jan 1822

MARRIED: Charlotte daughter of Jean-Baptiste Leblond and Marie-Charlotte Létourneau 1780 at Île d'Orléans
Marie-Louise daughter of François Robitaille and Marie Mathurine Moreau 1783 at Lorette
Françoise daughter of Jacques-Joseph Villiers 1801 at Québec

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Merchant in Upper Town, until 1797 in partnership with Huot et Clouet then alone. Well-to-do.

MILITARY: Capt 1812 1st Battalion Beauport

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION: Below elementary

REBELLION: No, died in 1822

OTHER: Son was Hector-Simon Huot MLA 98

HUOT, Hector Simon

RIDING
Portneuf
Oct 1830-Mar 1838

BORN: 16 Jan 1803 at Québec

PARENTS: François Huot MLA 97 and Françoise Villier

FATHER: Rich Québec merchant

DIED: 25 Jun 1846

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1825); protonotaire du district de Québec 1844

MILITARY: Lt. 1829 (Sen. 1824) 1st Battalion Québec

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: President of la Société d'Éducation de Québec

_____________________________

SOURCES: Roy, Avocats de Québec, p. 224.
JOBIN, André
RIDING
Montréal-comté
Nov 1835-Mar 1838
(Oct 1843-Nov 1851)

BORN: 8 Aug 1786 at Montréal

PARENTS: François Jobin and Angélique Sarrère dit
La Victoire

FATHER: Elevated social status

DIED: 11 Oct 1853 at Ste-Geneviève

MARRIED: Marie Joseph Beaudry 1808
Marie-Anne Archambault 1816
Louise-Amélie Masson 1824
Marie-Mathilde-Elisabeth Dorval 1838

RESIDENCE: Montréal until 1834 then Ste-Geneviève

OCCUPATION: Notary (1813); Director of Maison d'Industrie
at Montréal 1829; Director of Banque d'Epargne
1846

MILITARY: 1847 Lt, Col. 14th Battalion Montréal

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Inspector of Schools for City and County of
Montréal 1832; Justice of Peace 1830
(resigned Aug 1837)

EDUCATION: Collège de Montréal

REBELLION: Arrested 3 May 1838; released 7 Jul 1838
under L 1000 bond

OTHER: President of Montréal Chamber of Notaries 1847

----------------------------------

SOURCES: Audet, Députés de Montréal, p. 417.
Fauteux, Patriotes, p. 275.
JOLIETTE, Barthélemy

RIDING
Leinster
Apr-May 1820
L'Assomption
Oct 1830-Jun 1832

BORN: 9 Sep 1789 at St-Thomas de Montmagny

PARENTS: Antoine Joliette and Catherine Faribault

FATHER: Notary but Joliette's father died when son still young

DIED: 21 Jun 1850 at Joliette

MARRIED: Marie-Charlotte daughter of Charles-Gaspard Tarrieu de Lanaudière and Suzanne-Antoinette Margane de Lavaltrie

RESIDENCE: L'Assomption

OCCUPATION: Notary (1810)
Seigneur after 1820
Commercial and development activities, railroad builder

MILITARY: Maj. 1812

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Legislative Council 1832-38; Special Council Apr-Jun 1838, Nov 1838-Feb 1841: Legislative Council 1841-50

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Founded Collège de Joliette and Joliette Village of Industry

Turcotte, Conseil Légevatif, p. 114.
JONES, John Jr.  
RIDING  
Bedford  
Jul 1820-Dec 1821  

BORN: 1761 in Montréal  
PARENTS: John Jones  
FATHER: Notary and MLA for Québec 1808, Bedford 1809  
DIED:  
MARRIED: Mary Magdelene Heney daughter of H. Heney and Marie-Madelaine Lepailleur 1786  
RESIDENCE: Montréal  
OCCUPATION: Notary  
MILITARY: col 1812  
ETHNIC ORIGIN: British  
RELIGION: Protestant  
PROMOTION: Inspector of Pot and Pearl Ashes at Montréal 1820  
EDUCATION: Above elementary  
REBELLION: No  
OTHER: Son was Robert Jones MLA 102  

SOURCES: Borthwick, Biographical Gazeteer of Montréal, p. 481.  
BRH, v. 24 (1918), p. 244.  
RIDING
William Henry
May 1814-Jul 1824
(Missisquoi
Apr 1841-Sep 1844)

BORN: c. 1790

PARENTS: John Jones Jr. and Mary Magdelene Heney

FATHER: Notary, MLA 101

DIED: 22 Jan 1874

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Sorel

OCCUPATION: Doctor

MILITARY: Maj. 1812 (St-Ours), Lt. Col. by 1830 when
Commandant 4th Battalion Bedford

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION: Commissioner for Oath of Allegiance 1812;
Justice of Peace 1820-30; Commissioner for
Small Pleas 1832; Legislative Council 1832-
Mar 1838, 1849-1850 (resigned)

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Father and grandfather were notaries and MLA's

SOURCES: Turcotte, Conseil Législatif, p. 118.
KIMBER, René Joseph

RIDING
Trois-Rivières
Dec 1832-Mar 1838
(Champlain
Apr 1841-Sep 1843)

BORN: 26 Nov 1786 at Québec

PARENTS: René Kimber and Josephte-Marie Robitaille

FATHER: Merchant of German extraction

DIED: 22 Dec 1843 at Trois-Rivières

MARRIED: Apolline Berthelot daughter of Pierre Berthelot and Marguerite Viger

RESIDENCE: Trois-Rivières

OCCUPATION: Doctor (1811), aristocrat

MILITARY: Lt. 1812, Surgeon 1813, Capt 1813

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian and German

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Numerous commissions from 1812 on; Justice of Peace 1815; Legislative Council Sep-Dec 1843

EDUCATION: Studied in Edinborough

REBELLION: Arrested 7 Dec 1837 but was loyal and preached moderation

OTHER: Brother-in-law to Olivier Berthelot MLA 19. Son was Senator 1867-75, grandson held same post 1875-1901

______________

SOURCES: Audet, Députés des Trois-Rivières, p. 49.
Turcotte, Conseil Législatif, p. 142.
KNIGHT, Emphraim

RIDING
Missisquoi
Nov 1834-Mar 1838

BORN: 1790 in Shrewsbury, Vermont

PARENTS:

FATHER: Lower social status

DIED: 3 Feb 1868

MARRIED: Philanda Beeman

RESIDENCE: Bedford until 1837 then Stanbridge

OCCUPATION: Merchant

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British (American)

RELIGION: Protestant

EDUCATION:

REBELLION: Arrested 5 Jan 1838, released 11 Jan 1838

PROMOTION: None

SOURCES: Fauteux, Patriots, p. 278.
KNOWLTON, Paul Holland

RIDING
Shefford
Oct 1830-Oct 1834

BORN: 17 Sep 1787 at Newfane, Vermont

PARENTS: Silas Knowlton

FATHER: Elevated social status

DIED: 28 Aug 1863

MARRIED: Laura Moss of Bridgeport, Vermont although he had been raised in Stukely, Eastern Townships

RESIDENCE: Village of Knowlton

OCCUPATION: Merchant and Saw Mill Operator, Distiller Well-to-do

MILITARY: Maj., Col during Rebellion

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British (American)

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION: Special Council Apr-Jun 1838, Nov 1838-Feb 1841; Legislative Council 1841-63

EDUCATION: Above elementary in United States

REBELLION: Fought for Crown

OTHER: Founded Village of Knowlton

SOURCES: Taylor, History of Brome County, v. 1, p. 16 (picture).
Turcotte, Conseil Léglislatif, p. 133.
LABRIE, Jacques

RIDING
York
Aug 1827-Sep 1830
Deux Montagnes
Oct 1830-Oct 1831

BORN: 4 Jan 1784 at St-Charles-de-Bellechase

PARENTS: Jacques Naud dit Labry and Marie-Louise Brousseau

FATHER: Poor farmer

DIED: 26 Oct 1831

MARRIED: Marie-Marguerite Gagnier daughter of a notary

RESIDENCE: St-Eustache 1809-27 then Rivière du Chêne

OCCUPATION: Doctor, Historian, Founder of Le Courrier de Québec

MILITARY: Surgeon 1812

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace

EDUCATION: Séminaire de Québec to 1804, then medicine under Dr. François Blanchet MLA 23, then at Edinborough from 1807-08

REBELLION: No, died in 1831

OTHER: Published book on British Constitution, wrote unpublished history of Lower Canada; classmate of L-J Papineau at Séminaire de Québec; Promoter of colonization roads and education

---

SOURCES: BRH, v. 4, p. 123.
Fauteux, Patriotes, pp. 174, 253, 279.
Gosselin, Le Dr. Jacques Labrie.
P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 537.
LACOMBE, Jacques

RIDING
Leinster
May 1814-Mar 1815
Apr 1816-Dec 1821

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED: 5 Dec 1821

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE:

OCCUPATION:

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace, District of Montréal 1820

EDUCATION:

REBELLION: No, died 1821

SOURCES: Quebec Gazette, Jun 1820
LACOSTE, Louis

RIDING
Chambly
Nov 1834-Mar 1838
(Oct 1843-Dec 1847
Jan 1858-Jun 1861)

BORN: 3 Apr 1798 at Boucherville

PARENTS: Louis Lacoste and Joséphine Dubois

FATHER: Lower social status

DIED: 26 Nov 1878 at Boucherville

MARRIED: Cathérine-Renée de la Bruère; Charlotte Magency
Mount; Marie-Antoinette-Thais Proulx

RESIDENCE: Boucherville

OCCUPATION: Notary (1821)

MILITARY: Lt. Col. 1st Battalion Chambly

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Senate 1867-78

EDUCATION: Collège des Sulpiciens de Montréal

REBELLION: Arrested 8 Dec 1837; released 7 Jul 1838
under L 1000 caution

OTHER: Elected to Legislative Council 1861-67; one son
was Sir Alexandre Lacoste, Chief Justice of
Québec 1891-1907; another was Sir Louis Lacoste

Canadian Parliamentary Companion (1873), p. 53.
Fauteux, Patriots, p. 280.
Turcotte, Conseil Législatif, p. 249.
LA FONTAINE, Louis Hippolyte  
RIDING 
Terrebonne 
Oct 1830-Mar 1838 
(York, Can West 
Sep 1841-Sep 1844 
Terrebonne 
Nov 1844-Mar 1848 
Montréal-cité 
Jan 1848-Nov 1851)

BORN: 4 Oct 1807 at Boucherville

PARENTS: A.M. La Fontaine and Marie J. Fontaine Bienvenu

FATHER: Carpenter

DIED: 26 Feb 1864 at Montréal

MARRIED: Daughter of Amable Berthelot MLA 18

RESIDENCE: Montréal

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1829); collaborated with Augustin Morin MLA 134 and Duvernay MLA 75 on La Minerve

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Executive Council 1842-43, 1848-51; PM 1842-43; Chief Justice 1853; first French-Canadian Baronet'1854

EDUCATION: Collège de Montréal then law with François Roy 1824

REBELLION: Not a participant although arrested briefly

OTHER: Grandfather was Antoine Menard Lafontaine  
MLA 1796-1804

__________________________

LAGUEUX, Etienne-Claude

RIDING
Nortumberland
May 1814-Jul 1824
Aug 1827-Sep 1830

BORN: 1763

PARENTS: Pierre Lague (drowned 1762) and Madeleine Tremblay

FATHER: Sea Captain but family raised by l'Abbé Jean-Jacques Berthiaume

DIED: 2 Aug 1842 at la Petite Rivière

MARRIED: Cécile Griault dit Larivière

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Merchant, rich

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Uncle of Louis Lagueux MLA 111

P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 541.
LAGUEUX, Louis
RIDING
Dorchester
Apr 1820-Sep 1830
Oct 1830-Jun 1832

BORN: 20 Nov 1793 at Québec

PARENTS: Louis Abraham Lagueux and Marie Louise Bégin

FATHER: Rich Montréal merchant

DIED: 15 Jun 1832 at Québec from cholera

MARRIED: Rose Louise Langevin (aunt of Sir Hector Langevin) then Josette Aurélie Migneault in 1820

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1817), prominent, landholder

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Séminaire de Québec then law after 1814 with Vallières de St-Réal MLA 195

REBELLION: No, died 1832

OTHER: Secretary of Education Society of Québec; nephew of Etienne-Claude Lagueux MLA 110

__________________________________________________________________________

Roy, Avocats de Québec, p. 238.
LAJOIE, Alexis-Bareille

RIDING
St-Maurice
Aug 1836-Mar 1838

BORN: 20 Sep 1795 at Maskinongé

PARENTS: Alexis Bareil dit Lajoie and Marie -Josephte Duchesny

FATHER: Farmer

DIED: 15 Aug 1863 at Maskinongé

MARRIED: Esther daughter of Jacques Roy and of Angélique Navasse 1821

RESIDENCE: Maskinongé

OCCUPATION: Farmer (200 acres)

MILITARY: Ensign 1827, 2nd Battalion St-Maurice, Lt. 1831, resigned Sep 1839

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION: Elementary

REBELLION: Participant

OTHER: Legislative Council Oct 1862-18 Nov 1862 (elected); son Félix elected to Legislative Council 1862

 SOURCES: Audet, Députés de St-Maurice, p. 65.
 Turcotte, Conseil Légealatif, p. 208.
LANGEVIN, Charles
RIDING
Hampshire
Apr 1820-Jul 1824

BORN: 1 Dec 1789 at Beauport

PARENTS: Jean-Barthélémi Bergevin dit Langevin and
Françoise-Josephèe Villiers

FATHER: Lower social status

DIED: 1869 at Québec

MARRIED: Julie Raby then c. 1833 Jean-Josephèe-
Clotilde Kimber sister of Dr. J-R Kimber
MLA 103

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Large and prosperous Merchant; 1811 in
partnership with his brother John; later
with Robertson, Masson, Strang and Cie.,
then alone.

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: 1848 declined appointment to Legislative
Council

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Uncle to Sir Louis Hector Langevin, Partner with
Hon. M. Masson; brother Jean was Secretary of
Lower Canada 1832-36 and Assistant Civil Secretary
to Governor 1836-41

SOURCES: BRH, v. 20, pp. 305, 339; v. 21, p. 205; v. 39,
LANGUEDOC, François
RIDING
Québec, basse-ville
Apr 1816-Feb 1820
L'Acadie
Oct 1830-Oct 1834

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Seigneur de St-Georges, Merchant and Ship
Chandler 1821, Canal Promoter 1816, Bank
Promoter 1818

MILITARY: Maj. 1829 (Sen. 1827) 3rd Battalion Huntingdon
(L'Acadie)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Magistrate 1837

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

SOURCES: Audet, Députés de Montréal, p. 361.
Quebec Gazette, 14 Mar 1816,
  1 May 1817,
  12 Feb 1818,
  3 May 1821,
  14 Jun 1821.
LARUE, François-Xavier

RIDING
Hampshire
Apr 1810-Mar 1814
May 1826-Sep 1830
Portneuf
Oct 1830-Mar 1838

BORN: 1763

PARENTS:

FATHER: Lower social status

DIED: 12 Jul 1855 at la Pointe-aux-Trembles

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Pointe-aux-Trembles, County Hampshire

OCCUPATION: Notary (1788), highly respected; landholder

MILITARY: Maj. 1829 (Sen. 1812) 1st Battalion Hampshire (Cap Santé)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace for District of Québec 1815-1821; Commissioner for Small Pleas at la Pointe-aux-Trembles 1821

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Grandson François Xavier Praxide Larue was MLA for LaSalle 1891

Le Canadien, 30 Jul 1855.
P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 539.
Quebec Gazette, 30 Nov 1815,
5 Jul 1821,
9 Jul 1821.
LATERRIERE, Marc Pascal de Sales

RIDING
Northumberland
Aug 1824-Sep 1830
Saguenay
Oct 1830-Sep 1832
(Saguenay
Jan 1845-Jun 1854)

BORN: 1792 at Baie-du-Febvre

PARENTS: Pierre de Sales Laterrière and Marie-Anne
daughter of Sir Fenwick Bulmer

FATHER: Doctor, Seigneur des Eboulements

DIED: 29 Mar 1872 at la Seigneurie des Eboulements

MARRIED: Eulalie daughter of Claude Dénéchaud, former MLA

RESIDENCE: Seigneurie des Eboulements

OCCUPATION: Doctor (1812) until 1816
Seigneur from 1816 to his death

MILITARY: Surgeon-General 1812, 1829

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian and British

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Legislative Council 1832-38; Special Council
Apr-Jun 1838, Nov 1838-Feb 1841

EDUCATION: Collège classique then Philadelphia for me-
dicine

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Elected to Legislative Council 1856-1864

SOURCES: Casgrain, La famille Sales de Laterrière, p. 42.
P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 541.
Turcotte, Conseil Lévislatif, p. 223.
LE BOUTILLIER, John

RIDING
Gaspé
Mar 1833–Mar 1838
(Bonaventure
Nov 1844–Dec 1847
Gaspé
Aug 1854–Jul 1867)

BORN: 1797 Jersey, France (emigrated 1813)

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED: 22 22 Aug 1872 at Gaspé

MARRIED: Elisabeth, daughter of Philippe Robin de Gaspé

RESIDENCE: Pasébiac, Gaspé

OCCUPATION: Merchant and commercial activities

MILITARY: Lt. Col. 1st Battalion Gaspé

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French

RELIGION: Protestant until a few months before his death
when he became a Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Legislative Council 1867–72

EDUCATION: In France and England

REBELLION: Observer

Turcotte, Conseil Législatif, p. 181.
LEE, Thomas

RIDING
Northumberland
Nov 1809-Feb 1816
Québec, basse-ville
Apr-May 1820
Dec 1828-Sep 1830
Oct 1830-Aug 1832

BORN: 8 Apr 1783 at Québec

PARENTS: Thomas John Lee and Angélique Gautron

FATHER: Merchant

DIED: 20 Aug 1832

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Notary (1805), commercial activities at St-Roch

MILITARY: Capt., revoked in 1827 for insubordination, 1st Battalion Québec

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Above average

REBELLION: No, died in 1832

SOURCES: BRH, v. 33, pp. 352, 726.
LEFEBVRE, Jean Baptiste

RIDING
York
Aug 1827-Aug 1829

BORN: 1799 at Pointe-Claire

PARENTS: Jean-Baptiste Lefaivre (son of rich merchant) and Marie Josephte Chénier

DIED: 3 Aug 1829 (drowned in the Lachine rapids)

MARRIED: Charlotte Saint-Julien daughter of Capt. Michel St. Julien in 1806 at Vaudreuil

RESIDENCE: Vaudreuil

OCCUPATION: Merchant, important and prosperous

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Below elementary

REBELLION: No, died in 1829

OTHER: His wife was the niece of Pierre St. Julien MLA for York 1809-14

__________________________________________________________

P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 537.
LEFRANCOIS, Nicolas

BORN: 1808

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Surveyor from 1823-64

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

---


Le Canadien, 31 Oct 1836.
LE MAY, Théophile

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE:

OCCUPATION: Notary (1820)

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

LEROUX, Laurent

RIDING
Leinster
Aug 1827-Sep 1830

BORN: 1758

PARENTS:

FATHER: Lower social status

DIED: 1855

MARRIED: Esther Loiselle in 1796

RESIDENCE: L'Assomption from 1796

OCCUPATION: Clerk in fur trade 1784 with Gregory, McLeod and Co.; clerk with Northwest Co. in 1787; Merchant and wealthy proprietor by 1827

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace, District of Montréal 1820

EDUCATION: Below elementary

REBELLION: Observer

______________________________________________________________

SOURCES: Morice, Dictionnaire historique des canadiens de l'ouest, p. 176.
P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 537.
LESLIE, James

RIDING
Montréal-est
Aug 1824-Mar 1838
(Verchères
Dec 1841-Mar 1848)

BORN: 4 Sep 1786 in Scotland, emigrated in 1804

PARENTS: James Leslie

FATHER: Capt. in British Army, Wolfe's Quartermaster
          General

DIED: 6 Dec 1873 at Montréal

MARRIED: Daughter of the Seigneur de Bourchemin (Julia
doctor of Patrick Langan)

RESIDENCE: Montréal

OCCUPATION: Merchant, prosperous and important
             A founder of Bank of Montréal, 1817
             Seigneur until 1855

MILITARY: Lt. 1812, Capt. 1829 (Sen. 1821), Lt. Col.
          when retired in 1862, 4th Battalion Montréal

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British (Scottish)

RELIGION: Protestant (Presbyterian)

PROMOTION: Nominated as Justice of Peace 1830 but declined;
            Legislative Council 1848-67; Executive Council
            in 2nd Baldwin-Lafontaine ministry 1848-51;
            Senator and Secretary of Senate 1867-73

EDUCATION: University of Aberdeen

REBELLION: Observer

____________________________________________________

SOURCES: Audet, Députés de Montréal, p. 105.
          BRH, v. 28, p. 123.
          P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 536.
          Turcotte, Conseil Législatif, p. 145.
LETOURNEAU, Jean Charles

RIDING
Devon
Aug 1827-Sep 1830
L'Islet
Oct 1830-Mar 1838

BORN: c. 1775 at Rivièrè-du-Sud

PARENTS:

FATHER: Lower social status

DIED: 21 Apr 1838 at St-Thomas de Montmagny

MARRIED: Marie-Cathérine Boisseau daughter of Nicolas-Gaspard Boisseau (MLA Isle d'Orléans 1792-96) and Marie-Cathérine Aubert de Gaspé

RESIDENCE: St-Thomas de Montmagny

OCCUPATION: Notary (1803)

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: No

__________________________________________

SOURCES: Roy, La famille Aubert de Gaspé, p. 85.
MALHIOT, François-Xavier

RIDING
Richelieu
Mar 1815-Feb 1816
Surrey
Dec 1828-Sep 1830
Verchères
Oct 1830-Jun 1832

BORN: 4 Dec 1781 at Verchères

PARENTS: François Malhiot

FATHER: Voyageur, Maj. in Militia, 1st MLA for Surrey

DIED: 12 Jun 1854 at Boucherville

MARRIED: Juliette, daughter of François Boucher sieur de la Périère; Sophie, daughter of Charles Boucher sieur de Bruère

RESIDENCE: Boucherville

OCCUPATION: Seigneur

MILITARY: Lt. 1800 in Royal Canadian Volunteers, Lt. Col. of Militia 1821, dismissed 1828

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace, District of Montréal; Legislative Council Jan 1832-Mar 1838

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

Turcotte, Conseil Législatif, p. 112.
MASSUE, Aimé

RIDING
Surrey
Aug 1824-Jul 1827

BORN: 10 Oct 1781 at Varennes

PARENTS: Gaspard Massue and Marie-Josephte Huet Dulude

FATHER: Co-seigneur de Varennes

DIED: 2 Feb 1866 at Varennes

MARRIED: Celeste Richard a widow in 1811; Suzanne-Eléonore Perrault a widow in 1842

RESIDENCE: Varennes

OCCUPATION: Merchant (partner with Etienne Duchesnois MLA 71 c. 1800-10); Seigneur of St-Aimé after 1835, purchased 4 seigneuries in 1835; very rich

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Commissioner to construct road from Varennes to Verchères

EDUCATION: Above average

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Brother of Louis-Joseph Massue, collector of customs at Québec and Legislative Councilor; brother-in-law of Etienne Duchesnois MLA 71; father of Louis Huet Massue MP for Richilieu 1878

McCRACKEN, James

RIDING
Bonaventure
Dec 1836-Mar 1838

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED: 1862 at Ottawa

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Bonaventure until 1844 then Ottawa

OCCUPATION: Lumber merchant and shipbuilder, one of the largest of the province

MILITARY: Raised a company during Rebellion

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British

RELIGION: Protestant (Presbyterian)

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Above average

REBELLION: Loyal

SOURCES: Rose, Canadian Biography, p. 242.
McCULLUM, James

RIDING
Québec, basse-ville
Aug 1817-Feb 1818
Québec, comté
Jul 1820-Jul 1824

BORN:
PARENTS:
FATHER:
DIED:
MARRIED: Janet McCullum
RESIDENCE: Québec
OCCUPATION: Lawyer; Seigneur of St-Jacques and St-Normand
MILITARY:
ETHNIC ORIGIN: British
RELIGION: Protestant
PROMOTION:
EDUCATION: Above elementary
REBELLION: No

______________________________
MEILLEUR, Jean-Baptiste

RIDING
L'Assomption
Nov 1834-Mar 1838

BORN: 9 May 1796 at St-Laurent, Montréal

PARENTS: Jean-Baptiste Meilleur and Suzanne Blénier

FATHER: Farmer

DIED: 6 Dec 1878 in Montréal

MARRIED: Joséphine Eno dit Deschamps

RESIDENCE: L'Assomption

OCCUPATION: Doctor (1825); Professor of French, Dartmouth University 1826

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Postmaster of Montréal c. 1860; Superintendent of Education 1842

EDUCATION: Collège de Montréal then medicine at the College of Castletown, Vermont, then Dartmouth

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Prolific author; brother-in-law to Amable Eno dit Deschamps MLA 211

______________________________

MENUT, Henry

BORN:
PARENTS:
FATHER:
DIED:
MARRIED:
RESIDENCE:
OCCUPATION:
MILITARY:
ETHNIC ORIGIN:
RELIGION:
PROMOTION:
EDUCATION:
REBELLION:

RIDING
Drummond
Nov 1836-Mar 1838
METHOT, Louis
RIDING
Lotbinière
Oct 1830-Mar 1838

BORN: 2 Mar 1793 at la Pointe-aux-Trembles

PARENTS: Joseph Méthot and Josephte Gouin

FATHER: Lower social status

DIED: 16 Oct 1859 at Ste-Croix

MARRIED: Dorothée Measan

RESIDENCE: Ste-Croix (Lotbinière)

OCCUPATION: Business and commercial, successful and important

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Legislative Council 1848-57

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Brother François-Xavier was MLA for Québec, cité 1848-51; brother Antoine-Prosper was MLA for Nicolet 1844-47; nephew François-Xavier-Alfred-Ovide Méthot was MLA for Nicolet 1871-76, MP for Nicolet 1877-84, Legislative Councilor 1884

Turcotte, Conseil Légealatif, p. 151.
MONDELET, Dominique

RIDING
Montréal, comté
Oct 1831-Nov 1832

BORN: 23 Jan 1799 at St-Marc-du-Richelieu

PARENTS: Jean-Marie Mondelet and Charlotte Boucher de Grosbois

FATHER: Lawyer, Lt. Col., Justice of Peace etc.

DIED: 19 Feb 1863 at Trois-Rivières

MARRIED: Henriette Munro in 1822; Marie Woolrich in 1838

RESIDENCE: Montréal until 1842 then Trois-Rivières

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1820) distinguished and important; Seigneur, owned part of seigneuries of Boucherville and St-Hyacinthe; estimated worth of $54,000 in 1861

MILITARY: Maj. 1820, dismissed by Dalhousie in 1827, later re-in-stated; Deputy Judge-Advocate during post-Rebellion trials

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: KC 1832; Legislative Council 1832-38; Special Council 1838-41; Administrator of Oath of Allegiance 1837; Judge 1838; Judge Court of King's Bench at Trois-Rivières 1842

EDUCATION: Collège de Montréal then law under Michael O'Sullivan MLA 144

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: President of Montréal Bar 1834; author of pamphlet attacking Papineau 1835; a daughter married the son of MLA Jean Dessaulles # 62 and of Papineau's sister Rosalie

SOURCES: Audet, Députés de Montréal, p. 370.
David, Patriotes, p. 196.
Roy, Juges de la province, p. 377.
MOORE, John

RIDING
Sherbrooke
Nov 1834-Mar 1838
(Apr 1841-Sep 1844)

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE:

OCCUPATION:

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION:

REBELLION: No
MORIN, Augustin Norbert

RIDING
Bellechase
Oct 1830-Mar 1838
(Nicolet Apr 41-Jan 42
Saguenay
Nov 1842-Dec 1844
Bellechase
Nov 1844-Nov 1851

BORN: 12 Oct 1803 at St-Michel-de-Bellechase

PARENTS: Augustin Morin

FATHER: Respectable farmer

DIED: 27 Jul 1865 at Ste-Agathe (Terrebonne)

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Montréal

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1828); a founder of La Minerve
in 1827 with Ludger Duvernay MLA 75

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Judge of Circuit Court for Kamouraska and
St-Thomas 1842; Justice of Superior Court
1855;

EDUCATION: Séminaire de Québec then law with D-B Viger
MLA 198 and Ludger Duvernay MLA 75

REBELLION: Participant, imprisoned for a few weeks in
Nov 1837 and released under caution. Had been
sent to Québec to raise troops

OTHER: Secretary for Patriotes and for Papineau; Speaker
of Assembly 1848-51; Minister of Crown Lands
1842-43; PM 1851-55

SOURCES: David, Biographies et portraits, p. 114.
David, Morin.
David, Patriotes, p. 72.
Roy, Avocats de Québec, p. 311.
Roy, Juges de la province, p. 387.
MOUSSEAU, Alexis

RIDING
Warwick
Apr 1820–Jul 1824
Aug 1827–Sep 1830
Berthier
Oct 1830–Mar 1838

BORN: c. 1775-80 at Berthier

PARENTS:

FATHER: Lower social status

DIED:

MARRIED: Marie-Anne Liette

RESIDENCE: Near Berthier

OCCUPATION: Farmer, owned his land

MILITARY: Capt. 1829 (Sen. 1823) 1st Battalion
Warwick (Berthier)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION: Elementary

REBELLION: No

OTHER: Father of Louis Mousseau and grandfather of
Judge Joseph-Alfred Mousseau born 1836 in Berthier

SOURCES: Borthwick, History and Biographical Gazetteer
of Montreal, p. 138.
P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 538.
MUNN, John

BORN: 1789

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED: 20 Mar 1859

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Shipbuilder, rich

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British (Scottish)

RELIGION: Protestant (Presbyterian)

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: City Councilor, Québec 1840-42; launched the John Munn, a steamboat, in 1847

NELSON, Robert

RIDING
Montréal-ouest
Aug 1827-Sep 1830
Nov 1834-Mar 1838

BORN: Jan 1794 at Montréal

PARENTS: William Nelson, U.E.L.

FATHER: Commissaire in Royal Navy

DIED: 1 Mar 1873 at Staten Island, New York

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Montréal until 1838 then California and New York

OCCUPATION: Doctor (1814), distinguished surgeon

MILITARY: Surgeon 1814, 7th Battalion

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British (U.E.L.)

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION: Harvard

REBELLION: Participant, more active in 1838; arrested 24 Nov 1837, released next day; member of Fils de la Liberté; Founder of the Chasseurs in 1838

OTHER: Younger brother of Wolfred Nelson MLA 138; a son was Dr, Eugene Nelson of New York

____________________________________________

SOURCES:
Audet, Députés de Montréal, p. 233.
Borthwick, Montreal, Biographical Sketches, p. 101.
David, Biographies et portraits, p. 262.
Morgan, Celebrated Canadians, p. 349.
P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 536.
NELSON, Wolfred

RIDING
William Henry
Aug 1827-Sep 1830
(Richilieu
Nov 1844-Nov 1851)

BORN: 10 Jul 1791 at Montréal

PARENTS: William Nelson, U.E. L.

FATHER: Commissariat, Royal Navy

DIED: 17 Jun 1863

MARRIED: Charlotte de Fleurimont de Noyelles of a respected French-Canadian family

RESIDENCE: St-Denis-sur-Richilieu

OCCUPATION: Doctor (1811), rich

MILITARY: Surgeon 1812

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British (U.E.L.)

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace until 1837; Commissioner for Small Pleas until 1837; Inspector of Prisons 1851-59

EDUCATION: Medicine under Dr. Carter of Army medical staff at Sorel 1805

REBELLION: Participant L 2000 reward; exiled to West Indies but exile revoked by British Parliament

OTHER: Twice Mayor of Montréal; older brother of Robert Nelson MLA 137; daughter Julia married the Hon. J.C.S. Wurtele son of Jonathan Wurtele MLA 203; Wolfred raised all his children as Roman Catholics

SOURCES: Borthwick, Montreal, Biographical Sketches, p. 100.
David, Biographies et portraites, p. 275.
Morgan, Celebrated Canadians, p. 337.
NEILSON, John

RIDING
Québec, comté
Mar 1818-Oct 1834
(Apr 1841-Sep 1844)

BORN: 17 Jul 1776 at Balmaghie, Scotland

PARENTS: William Neilson and Isabelle Brown

FATHER: Scottish Laird

DIED: 1 Feb 1848 at Cap Rouge

MARRIED: Marie-Ursule daughter of Jacques-Joseph Hubert and Marie-Joseph-Pélagie Rieutord

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Journalist, Editor of Gazette of Quebec 1797-1847

MILITARY: Ensign 1812, Lt. 1829 (Sen. 1823) 3rd Battalion Québec

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British (Scottish)

RELIGION: Protestant (Presbyterian)

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace 1820; Legislative Council Aug 1837-Mar 1838; Executive Council Aug 1837 but refused to accept; Special Council Apr-Jun 1838, Nov 1838-Feb 1841; Legislative Council 1844-48

EDUCATION: Scottish Parish school until 1790 then tutored in Québec by Presbyterian Minister

REBELLION: No, broke with Patriotes in 1834

OTHER: 1822 and 1828 sent to England on behalf of Patriote majority in Assembly; 1834 sent to England on behalf of Constitutional Associations of Lower Canada

______________________________

Le Moine, Maple Leafs, v. 7, p. 212.
Morgan, Celebrated Canadians, p. 297.
P.A.C., Neilson Papers.
Turcotte, Conseil Légestatif, p. 122.
NOEL, Jean-Baptiste-Isaie

RIDING
Lotbinière
Oct 1830-Mar 1838
(Apr 1841-Sep 1844)

BORN: c. 1800

PARENTS: Appears to be son of J-B Noel who bought
seigneurie of Tilly in 1781 and St-Antoine
and others later

FATHER: Seigneur

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Rural town

OCCUPATION: Doctor (1828)

MILITARY: Maj. 1829 (Sen. 1828) 4th Battalion Bucking-
ham (Lotbinière)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: No

SOURCES: BRH, v. 8, p. 178.
O'CALLAGHAN, Edmund Bailey

RIDING
Yamaska
Nov 1834-Mar 1838

BORN: 29 Feb 1797 at Mallow, Ireland

PARENTS:
Father; Elevated social status

DIED: 29 May 1880 at New York

MARRIED: Charlotte Augusta Crampe (Irish-Catholic)
at Sherbrooke 1828 (died 1835)

RESIDENCE: Montréal until c. 1834 then Québec, then
Albany, N.Y. 1839-1880

OCCUPATION: Doctor (1827); Editor of Vindicator 1832;
after 1838 published several important books
on history of New York

MILITARY: No

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British (Irish)

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION: Dublin and Jesuit College in Paris

REBELLION: Participant fought at St-Denis; forced to
flee; reward of £500 offered

OTHER: Friend of Daniel Tracey MLA who died in 1832;
completely bilingual

-----------------------------

Fauteux, Patriotes, p. 336.
Guy, Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan.
Shea, "O'Callaghan", Magazine of American
History, v. 5, p. 77.
OGDEN, Charles Richard

RIDING
Trois-Rivières
May 1814-Jul 1824
Sep 1826-Jan 1833
(Apr 1841-Sep 1844)

BORN: 6 Feb 1791 at Québec

PARENTS: Isaac Ogden U.E.L. and Sarah Hanson

FATHER: Judge of Court of King's Bench at Montréal, etc.

DIED: Feb 1866 in England

MARRIED: Mary daughter of General Coffin; Suzan
daughter of Isaac Winslow Clarke (Adjutant Commissaire General)

RESIDENCE: Montréal 1814-33; Québec 1833-37; Montréal
1837-41; England 1843-66

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1812), partner with Alexander Buchanen, prosperous with large clientele

MILITARY: Lt. and Quartermaster 1st Battalion Trois-
Rivières 1812, Paymaster 8th Battalion Trois-
Rivières 1813

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British (U.E.L.)

RELIGION: Protestant (Anglican)

PROMOTION: Commissioner for construction of Prison at
Trois-Rivières 1813; Attorney-General 1818-
25, 1832-42; Solicitor-General 1818-33;
Commissioner of Oath of Allegiance 1837;
Special Council Apr 1840-Feb 1841; Executive Council Feb 1841-Sep 1842

EDUCATION: Under Rev. M. Doty of Trois-Rivières and Mr.
Skakel of Montréal, then studied law

REBELLION: Loyal

OTHER: Led the opposition (Government Bloc) in Assembly
brother Isaac was Sheriff of Trois-Rivières;
practised law with brother of Bartholomew C.A.
Gugy, MLA 89

SOURCES: Audet, Députés des Trois-Rivières, p. 12.
P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 539.
Roy, Avocats de Québec, p. 323.
Taylor, Portraits of British North Americans, v. 3.
OLDHAM, Jacob

RIDING
Effingham
Apr 1820-Jun 1824

BORN: c. 1765

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED: 11 Jun 1824

RESIDENCE: Montréal district

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1791)

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace 1820, District of Montréal

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: No, died 1824

O'SULLIVAN, Michael

RIDING
Huntingdon
May 1814-Jul 1824

BORN: 4 May 1784 in Lismore, Ireland

PARENTS: John O'Sullivan and Eleanor O'Donnell

FATHER: Elevated social status

DIED: 7 Mar 1839

MARRIED: Cécile daughter of Pierre Berthelot and Marguerite Viger

RESIDENCE: Montréal

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1811)

MILITARY: Lt. 1812, Capt. and Adjutant 1814, 2nd Battalion Beauharnois, Maj. 1830, 1st Battalion Montréal

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British (Irish)

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: KC 1831; Solicitor-General 1833-38; Chief Justice Court of King's Bench 1838

EDUCATION: Collège de Montréal then law in 1805 under D-B Viger MLA 198, then under Stephen Sewell in 1808

REBELLION: No

OTHER: Brother-in-law to Olivier Berthelot MLA 19; Dominique Mondelet MLA 132 articled under him

__________________________________________________________

SOURCES: Audet, "Le Barreau et la Révolte" TRSC, v. 31, Sec I, p. 85.
Audet, Juges en chef, p. 74.
Roy, Juges de la province, p. 403.
PANET, Philippe
RIDING
Northumberland
Apr 1816-Jul 1824
Montmorency
Oct 1830-Jul 1832

BORN: 28 Feb 1791 at Québec

PARENTS: Hon. Jean-Antoine Panet and Louise Philippe
dughter of Philippe-Louis-François Badelard
Surgeon-Major of British Troops at Québec

FATHER: Notary and Lawyer, Judge, Executive Councilor,
1st Speaker of Assembly

DIED: 15 Jan 1855 at Québec

MARRIED: Marie-Luce Casgrain daughter of Pierre Casgrain
and Marie Bonenfant

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1817)

MILITARY: Capt. 1812, Maj. 1829 (Sen. 1828) 6th Battalion
Québec (St-Roch)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Judge Court of King's Bench 1832, later
promoted to Court of Appeal; Executive
Council Jun 1832-Nov 1838

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Loyal, but did protest suspension of habeas
 corpus and was suspended from Bench 1839-41

OTHER: Brother-in-law to Jean-Thomas Taschereau MLA 181
and to Charles-Eusèbe Casgrain MLA 41

Dionne, Pierre Bédard et ses fils, p. 164.
Roy, Avocats de Québec.
Roy, La famille Panet, p. 91.
Roy, Juges de la province, p. 417.
Tetû, Histoire des familles Tetu etc., p. 426.
PAPINEAU, André

RIDING
Effingham
Aug 1827-Sep 1830

BORN: 5 Mar 1765

PARENTS: Joseph Papineau and Marie-Joseph Ste Beaudry

FATHER: Artisan

DIED: 22 Jun 1832 at St-Martin

MARRIED: Marie-Anne Roussel daughter of J-B Roussel and Marie-Anne Soumane (1792)

RESIDENCE: St-Martin-de-l'Isle-Jésus

OCCUPATION: Farmer

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Elementary

REBELLION: No, died in 1832

OTHER: Uncle of L-J Papineau; son André-Benjamin was MLA 146a

______________________________

Fauteux, Patriotes, p. 344.
P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 537.
PAPINEAU, André-Benjamin

RIDING
Terrebonne
Aug 1827-Sep 1830

BORN: 23 Dec 1809 at Montréal

PARENTS: André Papineau and Marie-Anne Roussel

FATHER: Elevated social status

DIED: 1 Feb 1890 at St-Martin

MARRIED: Hermine-Eugénie Provencher

RESIDENCE: St-Martin-de-l'Isle-Jésus 1827

OCCUPATION: Notary (1835)

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Participant, fought at St-Eustache; surrendered 26 Dec 1837; released 8 Jul 1838 under £1000 bond

OTHER: Cousin of L-J Papineau

Fauteux, Patriotes, p. 344.
PAPINEAU, Louis-Joseph

RIDING
Montréal-ouest
May 1814-Mar 1838
Kent 1808 - 1814
(St-Maurice 1848-51
Deux Montagnes
Jul 1852-Jun 1854)

BORN: 7 Oct 1786 at Montréal

PARENTS: Joseph Papineau and Rosalie Cherrier

FATHER: Notary, MLA

DIED: 23 Sep 1871 at Montebello

MARRIED: Julie daughter of Pierre Bruneau MLA

RESIDENCE: Montréal

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1810) and Seigneur

MILITARY: Officer 1813-15, Maj. 1830, revoked 1837

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic but not a strong adherent

PROMOTION: Executive Council Dec 1820 but did not accept

EDUCATION: Séminaire de Québec

REBELLION: Participant
PARE, Farnçois-Xavier

RIDING
Hertford
Apr 1820-Jul 1824

BORN:
PARENTS:
FATHER:
DIED:
MARRIED:
RESIDENCE:
OCCUPATION:
MILITARY:
ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian
RELIGION: Roman Catholic
PROMOTION:
EDUCATION:
REBELLION: No
PECK, Ebenezer

RIDING
Stanstead
Nov 1829-Oct 1834

BORN: 1805 in Vermont

PARENTS:

FATHER: Lower social status

DIED: 1881 in Chicago

RESIDENCE: Stanstead

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1827)

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British (American)

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION: KC 1833

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: No

OTHER: Moved to Chicago 1838; State Senator; Judge, Court of Claims at Chicago 1860

__________________________________________

SOURCES: Buchanan, Bench and Bar, p. 101.
PERRAULT, Augustin

RIDING
York
Apr 1820-Jul 1824

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Montréal

OCCUPATION: Merchant and auctioneer

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION:

REBELLION: No

_____________________________________________________

PERRAULT, Joseph

RIDING
Montréal, comté
Apr 1820-Aug 1831

BORN: 18 Oct 1789 at Montréal

PARENTS: Joseph Perrault and Marie-Anne Tavernier

FATHER: Carpenter and merchant

DIED: 28 Aug 1831

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Montréal

OCCUPATION: Farmer, owned his land

MILITARY: Lt. 1812, Capt. 1815, 2nd Battalion Montréal

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Elementary

REBELLION: No, died in 1831

OTHER: Brother-in-law to Augustin Cuviller MLA 53; Uncle of Charles-Ovide Perrault MLA 152

__________________________

SOURCES: Audet, Députés de Montréal, p. 366.
         P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 536.
PERRAULT, Charles-Ovide

RIDING
Vaudreuil
Nov 1834-Mar 1838

BORN: 24 Sep 1809 at Montréal

PARENTS: Julien Perrault and Euphrosine Lamontagne
of a distinguished family

FATHER:

DIED: 24 Nov 1837 at St-Denis, killed during Rebellion

MARRIED: Mathilde Roy for three months before his death

RESIDENCE: Montréal

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1832) partner with André Ouimet

MILITARY: No

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic, devout

PROMOTION: No

EDUCATION: Collège de Montréal then law under D-B Viger MLA 198 in 1827

REBELLION: Member of Fils de la Liberté; secretary of many of the committees, killed at Battle of St-Denis

OTHER: Nephew of Joseph Perrault MLA 151

__________________________________________________________

SOURCES: Audet, Députés de Montréal, p. 366.
David, Biographies et portraits, p. 291.
PICKEL, John

RIDING
William Henry
Nov 1834-Mar 1838

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER: German soldier hired by British during American Revolution

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Montréal 1830-48; Québec 1848-60

OCCUPATION: Lawyer

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: German

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: no

SOURCES: Audet "Le Barreau et la Révolte", TRSC, v. 31, Sec I, pp. 87, 96.
Roy, Avocats de Québec, p. 352.
PICOTTE, Louis

RIDING
St-Maurice
Apr 1820-Jul 1824

BORN: 14 Mar 1780 at Rivière-du-Loup-en-haut

PARENTS: Jean Picotte (Acadian) and Hélène Desjarlais

FATHER: Farmer

DIED: 8 May 1847 at Rivière-du-Loup

MARRIED: Archange daughter of Jean-Baptiste Desjarlais and of Madelaine Pratte (1810 at Rivière-du-Loup)

RESIDENCE: Rivière-du-Loup

OCCUPATION: Fur trader, well-to-do

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION:

REBELLION: Observer

________________________________

SOURCES: Audet, Députés de St-Maurice, p. 51.
POIRIER, Julien

RIDING
Leinster
Aug 1827-Sep 1830

BORN:
PARENTS:
FATHER:
DIED:
MARRIED:
RESIDENCE: Leinster
OCCUPATION: Farmer, owned his land
MILITARY:
ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian
RELIGION: Roman Catholic
PROMOTION:
EDUCATION: Elementary
REBELLION: No

SOURCES: P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 537.
POWER, William

RIDING
Gaspé
Mar 1832-Mar 1838

BORN: 10 Sep 1800 at Harbour Grace, Newfoundland

PARENTS:

FATHER: High social status

DIED: 11 Jul 1860 at St-Thomas-de-Montmagny

MARRIED: Suzanne Aubert de Gaspé

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Lawyer

MILITARY: Lt. Aide-Major 1829, 4th Battalion Québec

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British (Irish)

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Registrar of Court of Vice-Admiralty 1827 to at least 1830; Judge 1840; Judge of Circuit Court 1844; Judge of Superior Court for District of Montmagny 1857

EDUCATION: School in Ireland, then law at Québec under Norman Uniacke, Solicitor-General and MLA 194

REBELLION: Loyal

_________________________________________________________________________

Roy, Avocats de Québec.
Roy, La famille Aubert de Gaspé, p. 131.
Roy, Juges de la province, p. 449.
PREVOST, Michel

RIDING
Leinster
Jun 1815-Feb 1816
Jul 1820-Jul 1824

BORN:
PARENTS:
FATHER:
DIED:
MARRIED:
RESIDENCE:
OCCUPATION:
MILITARY:
ETHNIC ORIGIN:
RELIGION:
PROMOTION:
EDUCATION:
REBELLION:
PROULX, Jean-Baptiste

RIDING
Buckingham
Jul 1820- Sep 1830
Nicolet
Oct 1830-Mar 1838

BORN: 13 Jul 1793 at Nicolet

PARENTS: Joseph Proulx

FATHER: Joiner

DIED: 14 Jul 1856

MARRIED: Flore Lemire of St-Antoine de la Baie-du-Febvre

RESIDENCE: Nicolet

OCCUPATION: Farmer, wealthy

MILITARY: Lt. 1829 (Sen. 1826) 5th Battalion Montréal (Pointe-Claire)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Elementary

REBELLION: Observer but arrested 4 Feb 1838 and released 24 Feb 1838

OTHER: Brother-in-law to Jean-Baptiste Hébert MLA 92;
Son was Jean-Baptiste-Georges Proulx, Legislative Counselor 1860-84

Fauteux, Patriotes, p. 358.
P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 533.
St-Amant, L'Avenir, p. 401.
QUESNEL, Frédéric-Auguste

RIDING
Kent
Jul 1820-Sep 1830
Chambly
Oct 1830-Oct 1834
(Montmorency
Apr 1841-Sep 1844)

BORN: 5 Feb 1785 at Montréal

PARENTS: Joseph Quesnel and Marie-Joseph Lalande

FATHER: Poet and writer

DIED: 28 Jul 1866

MARRIED: Marguerite Denault

RESIDENCE: Montréal

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1807); made his fortune in fur trade and speculations, very rich; founder and after 1859 President of Banque du Peuple; held considerable land (in 1864 sold some for $100,000)

MILITARY: Capt. 1812, 5th Battalion; Maj. 1830, 4th Battalion Montréal; Lt. Col. 1845

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: KC 1831; Commissioner for Commune of Boucherville 1821; Commissioner for receiving Evidence 1829; Executive Council 1837-41; Legislative Council 1848-66

EDUCATION: Collège de Montréal

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Numerous lucrative commissions 1821-30; President of the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste of Montréal 1860-61; Brother of Hon. Jules Quesnel the Montréal magistrate in Tracey's 1832 election

Taylor, Portraits of British North Americans, v. 3, p. 43.
Turcotte, Conseil Législatif, p. 148.
Wallace, Dictionary of Canadian Biography, p. 613.
QUIROUET, François

RIDING
Orléans
Apr 1820-Oct 1833

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED: 27 Sep 1844 at Québec

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Merchant-Auctioneer, dissolved partnership of Quirouet, Chinic and Quirouet at Québec in 1820; Vice-President of Quebec Savings Bank 1821

MILITARY: Lt. 1812, Capt 1829 (Sen. 1821) 2nd Battalion Québec

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace for Québec 1821; Legislative Council 1833-Mar 1838

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

Quebec Gazette, 20 Apr 1820,
5 Jul 1821.
Turcotte, Conseil Léguislatif, p. 120.
RANVOYZE, Etienne
RIDING
Trois-Rivières
Aug 1824-Aug 1826

BORN: 10 Mar 1776 at Québec

PARENTS: François Ranvoyzé and Vénérande Pélerin

FATHER: Carpenter

DIED: 9 Aug 1826

MARRIED: Marie-Françoise daughter of François Filion and Elisabeth Dufour

RESIDENCE: Trois-Rivières 1801

OCCUPATION: Notary (1799) partner of Jean-Marie Mondelet father of Dominique Mondelet MLA 132

MILITARY: Lt. 1812, Capt. 1813, 3rd Battalion

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace (apparently removed c. 1820)

EDUCATION: Séminaire de Québec

REBELLION: No, died in 1826

__________________________

SOURCES: Audet, Députés des Trois-Rivières, p. 32.
P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 539.
RAYMOND, Jean-Moise

RIDING
Huntingdon
Aug 1824-Sep 1830
Laprairie
Oct 1830-Mar 1838
(Leinster 1841-42)

BORN: 5 Jan 1787 at la Tortue

PARENTS: Jean-Baptiste Raymond and Clothilde Girardin

FATHER: Merchant and Justice of Peace

DIED: 9 Feb 1843 at Montréal

MARRIED: Marie-Angélique Leroux

RESIDENCE: Laprairie until about 1827, Terrebonne until 1839 then L'Assomption

OCCUPATION: Merchant, extensive properties

MILITARY: Maj. 1813; removed by Dalhousie in 1828 as Commandant 2nd Battalion Huntingdon

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: No, preached moderation

OTHER: Father was MLA for Huntingdon 1800-08

Roy, Avocats de Québec, p. 372.
RINVILLE, François

BORN: 1778 at Beauport

PARENTS:

FATHER: Lower social status

DIED: 16 Sep 1833

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Ste-Marie de Monnoir

OCCUPATION: Farmer

MILITARY: Ensign 1829 (Sen. 1804) 5th Battalion Bedford (Ste-Marie)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Elementary

REBELLION: No, died in 1833

SOURCES: Quebec Gazette, 13 Sep 1821, 12 Sep 1822.
RIVARD, Alexis

RIDING
Rimouski
Feb 1832-Oct 1834

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE:

OCCUPATION:

MILITARY: Lt. 1829 (Sen. 1825) 1st Battalion St-Maurice (Trois-Rivières)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION:

REBELLION: No

SOURCES: Militia Lists
ROBITAILLE, Joseph

BORN: Ancienne Lorette

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED: Elisabeth Verreau

RESIDENCE:

OCCUPATION: Extensive landholder

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION:

REBELLION: No

OTHER: Sister Marie-Anne was Papineau's mother-in-law; sister Marie-Josephte was mother of René Kimber
MLA 103

Rose, Canadian Biography, p. 289.
ROC BRUNE dit LAROCQUE, Charles

RIDING
Vaudreil
Feb 1833-Mar 1838

BORN: c. 1785

PARENTS: Charles Larocque and Geneviève McDonell (born in Scotland)

FATHER: Illiterate, lower social status

DIED: 10 Nov 1849 at St-Raphael county of Glengarry

MARRIED: Marie daughter of Pierre Lefebvre and of Marguerite Cholet at Ste-Genève 1806; Julie daughter of Jean-Baptiste Fournier and of Marguerite Racicot at Rigaud Apr. 1833

RESIDENCE: Rigaud

OCCUPATION: Farmer to 1822; merchant after 1822 primarily in wood and timber

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Illiterate, self-made man

REBELLION: Supported Patriotes but did not take up arms

OTHER: Founded Parish of St-Louis de Gonzague; son married a daughter of J-B-René Hertel de Rouville MLA 170

__________________________________________________________

Fauteux, Patriotes, p. 287.
ROCHEBLAVE, Pierre de

BORN: 9 Mar 1773 at Kaskaskia

PARENTS: Philippe-François de Rastel de Rocheblave and Marie-Michelle Dufresne

FATHER: Aristocratic family; MLA 1792-1802; Fur post commander 1770-92

DIED: 5 Oct 1840 near Montréal

MARRIED: Anne-Elmire daughter of Jean Bouthillier J.P. and Lt. Col. of Militia in 1819

RESIDENCE: Montréal when an MLA, otherwise throughout British North America

OCCUPATION: Fur trader, partner in Northwest Company

MILITARY: Capt. 1812, Maj. 1814 Voyageurs Canadiens, later Lt. Col.

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Legislative Council Jan 1832-Mar 1838; Special Council Apr-Jun 1838, Nov 1838-Oct 1840

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: No

SOURCES: Audet, Députés de Montréal, p. 230.
ROCHON, Jean-Marie

RIDING
Leinster
Jan 1822-Jul 1827
Lachenaie
Oct 1830-Feb 1837

BORN:
PARENTS:
FATHER:
DIED: 13 Feb 1837
MARRIED:
RESIDENCE:
OCCUPATION:
MILITARY:
ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian
RELIGION: Roman Catholic
PROMOTION:
EDUCATION:
REBELLION: No, died before

RODIER, Edouard Etienne
RIDING
L'Assomption
Jul 1832-Mar 1838

BORN: 28 Oct 1802 at Montréal

PARENTS: Barthélemy Rodier and Marie-Loise Giroux

FATHER: Voyageur

DIED: 5 Feb 1840 at Montréal

MARRIED: Julie Dumont; Eliza daughter of Benjamin
Beaupré and Julie Mercier of L'Assomption 1831

RESIDENCE: Montréal

OCCUPATION: Lawyer, successful

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: None

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Founder of Fils de la Liberté; L 500 reward;
fled country after fighting at Moore's
Corners

OTHER: A fellow law student with Georges-Etienne Cartier

SOURCES: Audet, "Le Barreau et la Révolte", TRSC, v. 31,
Sec. I, p. 88.
David, Patriotes, p. 77.
Fauteux, Patriotes, p. 365.
ROUVILLE, Jean-Baptiste-René Hertel de

RIDING
Bedford
Aug 1824-Sep 1830
Rouville
Oct 1830-Nov 1832

BORN: 1789

PARENTS: Jean-Baptiste-Melchoir Hertel de Rouville
         and Marie-Anne Hervieux

FATHER: Ensign, French Army; Capt. British Army;
         Legislative Councilor

DIED: 14 Jan at Boloeil

MARRIED: Anne-Charlotte Boucher de la Brocquerie eldest
         daughter of Joseph-Ignace Boucher de la
         Brocquerie

RESIDENCE: St-Hilaire until 1843, Sorel until 1858 then
           Boloeil

OCCUPATION: Seigneur, wealthy with extensive landholdings

MILITARY: Lt. 1807; Capt. 1812 Voltigeurs; Lt. Col. 1815
          Chambly Battalion; removed as Commandant 1st
          Battalion Bedford by Dalhousie in 1828, re-
          instated 1829

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Legislative Council Aug 1837-Mar 1838

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

SOURCES: BRH, v. 21, p. 40.
         P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 533.
         Turcotte, Conseil Législatif, pp. 74, 122.
ROY, Joseph

RIDING
Montréal-est
Nov 1834-Mar 1838

BORN: 1770 at Mascouche

PARENTS: Charles Roy-Lapensée and Elisabeth Beauchamp

FATHER: Farmer, not wealthy

DIED: 31 Jul 1856

MARRIED: Emilie daughter of Charles Lusigan and Madeleine Laforce

RESIDENCE: Montréal from 1790

OCCUPATION: Sculpteur; General Merchant from 1803, prosperous, large; later a dealer in religious ornaments

MILITARY: Lt. 1812, Capt. 1814, 3rd Battalion Montréal

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic, devout

PROMOTION: Member Board of Examiners for Flour/Meal Inspectors; Magistrate at Montréal-revoked 1832; Judge of Special Court of Sessions of the Peace 1832

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Patriote but took no active part in Rebellion

OTHER: Close friend of Duvernay, Morin, Viger, La Fontaine, J. Papineau and L-J Papineau

SOURCES: Audet, Députés de Montréal, p. 113.
David, Biographies et portraits, p. 60.
ST. ONGE, François

RIDING
Richelieu
Apr 1820-Jul 1824

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE:

OCCUPATION: Farmer

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace, District of Montréal 1820

EDUCATION:

REBELLION: no

______________________________

SOURCES: Militia Lists.
Quebec Gazette, Jun 1820.
Crowley, Unpublished research paper.
Cf. A-63
SAMSON, Joseph  RIDING
Dorchester  Aug 1827-Sep 1830

BORN: c. 1770 in Lauzon
PARENTS:
FATHER:
DIED:
MARRIED: Elisabeth Roy who died in 1829 at age of 55
RESIDENCE: Québec
OCCUPATION: Tavern Keeper; Fur trader; had extensive holdings of land
MILITARY:
ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian
RELIGION: Roman Catholic
PROMOTION:
EDUCATION:
REBELLION: No

Roy, Histoire de la seigneurie de Lauzon, v. 4,
p. 25; v. 5, p. 266.
SCOTT, William Henry

RIDING
York
Oct 1829-Sep 1830
Deux Montagnes
Oct 1830-Mar 1838
(Nov 1844-Dec 1851)

BORN: 1803 in Scotland

PARENTS: William Scott and Catherine Ferguson

FATHER: Well-to-do Baker in St. Lawrence St. Montréal

DIED: 1851

MARRIED: Marie-Marguerite-Maurice-Ignace Paquet

RESIDENCE: St-Eustache

OCCUPATION: Merchant

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British (Scottish)

RELIGION: Protestant (Presbyterian)

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Not a participant and tried to dissuade leaders although L 500 reward offered and arrested 17 Dec 1837; released 10 Jul 1838 on L 5000 bond (one of the highest)

---

SIMPSON, John

RIDING
York
Aug 1824-Jul 1827
(Vaudreil
Apr 1841-Sep 1844)

BORN: 1788 in England

PARENTS:

FATHER: Elevated social status

DIED: 1873

MARRIED: Daughter of Richard Tickell of London and Bath

RESIDENCE: Côteau-du-Lac

OCCUPATION: Collector of Customs

MILITARY: Maj. 1827, 4th Battalion York, Lt. Col. 1828,
retired 1830, recalled as Lt. Col 1837-38

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British

RELIGION: Protestant, devout, warden of the church

PROMOTION: Secretary to Dalhousie; Collector of Customs;
Commissioner of Schools and for a road from
Côteau-du-Lac to Upper Canada; Justice of
Peace 1831; Commissioner for Oath of Allegiance
1837

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Loyal

OTHER: Step-son John Arthur Roebuck MP in Britain became
Assembly's Agent in Britain

P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 537.
STUART, Andrew

RIDING
Québec, basse-ville
May 1814-Feb 1820
Québec, haute-ville
Jul 1820-Oct 1834
Mar 1836-Mar 1838

BORN: 1785 at Kingston

PARENTS: Rev. John (James) Stuart U.E.L. and Jane O'Kill

FATHER: Presbyterian minister, owned two slaves

DIED: 21 Feb 1840 at Québec

MARRIED: Jane Smith

RESIDENCE: Québec, haute-ville

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1807), landholder

MILITARY: Capt. 1829 (Sen. 1828) 6th Battalion Québec (St-Roch)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British (U.E.L.)

RELIGION: Protestant (Presbyterian but converted to Roman Catholicism on death bed)

PROMOTION: Solicitor-General 1838-40

EDUCATION: Collège then law

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Co-founder of Valcartier with John Neilson; close friend of Pierre Bédard MLA; Elzéar Bédard MLA 14 articulated under him; younger brother of Sir James Stuart MLA 178 and Chief Justice; brother-in-law to Sir Alan Napier McNabb; son Andrew became Chief Justice

David, Patriotes, p. 152.
Elmes, Economic Basis of Slavery in Upper Canada.
LeMoine, Maple Leafs, v. 7, p. 214.
Manning, Revolt of French Canada, pp. 66-67.
P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 540.
Quebec Gazette, numerous references.
Roy, Avocats de Québec, p. 413,
RIDING
Montréal-est
Jun 1808-Mar 1810
Montréal, comté
Dec 1811-Feb 1820
Buckingham
May 1814-Feb 1815
William Henry
Feb 1825-Jul 1827

STUART, James

BORN: 2 Mar 1780 at Fort Hunter, N.Y.

PARENTS: John Stuart U.E.L. and Jane O'Kill

FATHER: Presbyterian Minister, owned two slaves

DIED: 14 Jul 1853

MARRIED: Elizabeth daughter of Alexander and Mary Robertson

RESIDENCE: Montréal

OCCUPATION: Advocate (1801), rich

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British (U.E.L.)

RELIGION: Protestant (Anglican)

PROMOTION: Assistant Secretary to Lt. Gov. Milnes 1800; Solicitor General 1805-09; Attorney General 1825-32 (dismissed); Executive Council Jul 1827-Feb 1841; Special Council Apr-Jun 1838, Nov 1839-Feb 1841; Chief Justice 1838-53; Baronnet 1840

EDUCATION: Under John Strachan at Kingston; then King's College, N.S.; then law under John Reid protonotaire de Montréal and then under Jonathan Sewell, Chief Justice

REBELLION: Loyal

OTHER: Appointed as Assembly's Agent to Britain 1826 but Legislative Council refused to vote funds; close friend of P.S. Bédard; brother of A. Stuart MLA 177; switched to Patriotes when Bowen promoted instead of him to Solicitor General in 1812, around 1820 switched again and in violent opposition to Patriotes by Union Bill 1822

SOURCES: Audet, Députés de Montréal, p. 72.
R oy, Juges, p. 515; Avocats, p. 413.
Manning, REVOLT, pp. 66-7, 101-02.
TACHE, Jean-Baptiste

RIDING
Cornwallis
Apr 1820-Jul 1824
Rimouski
Nov 1834-Mar 1838

BORN: 12 Jun 1786 at St-Thomas-de-Montmagny

PARENTS: Charles Taché and Genviève daughter of Jean-Baptiste Michon and Marie-Elisabeth Morissette

FATHER: Co-seigneur de Mingan, trader

DIED: 22 Aug 1849 at St-Louis de Kamouraska

MARRIED: Charlotte Mure widow of François Pinguet and daughter of John Mure, Legislative Councilor

RESIDENCE: St-Louis de Kamouraska

OCCUPATION: Notary (1811)

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace, District of Québec 1820;
Special Council Sep 1839-Feb 1841; Legislative Council Jun 1841-Aug 1849; Registrar for County of Kamouraska 1842-49

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Loyal

__________________________________________

SOURCES: Roy, La famille Taché, pp. 22, 81, 152.
TASCHEREAU, Antoine Charles

RIDING
Beauce
Oct 1830-Mar 1838
(Dorchester
Apr 1841-Sep 1844)

BORN: 26 Oct 1797

PARENTS: Gabriel-Elzéar Taschereau and Louise-Françoise
daughter of Antoine Juchereau Duchesnay, seigneur

FATHER: Seigneur, Legislative Councilor etc.

DIED: 11 Jun 1862 at St-Joseph de Deschambault

MARRIED: Adélaïde-Elisabeth daughter of Louis Fleury de
la Gorgendière seigneur de Deschambault and
of Marie-Amable Aubry in Jan 1819

RESIDENCE: Ste-Marie de la Beauce

OCCUPATION: Seigneur, Collector of Customs after 1822

MILITARY: Lt. Col. 1827, Commandant of 2nd Battalion
Dorchester

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace, District of Québec 1821;
Preventive Officer of Nouvelle-Beauce 1821;
Collector of Customs at Ste-Marie de la Beauce
1822; Officer of Customs at Québec 1849

REBELLION: Loyal

OTHER: President of Committee of Assembly which drafted
the 92 Resolutions; brother of Jean-Thomas
Taschereau MLA 181

______________________________

SOURCES: BRH, v. 8, p. 138 (picture).
Québec Gazette, 5 Jul 1821.
Roy, La famille Taschereau, p. 161.
TASCHEREAU, Jean Thomas

BORN: 26 Nov 1778 at Ste-Marie-de-la-Beauce

PARENTS: Same as MLA 180

FATHER: Same as MLA 180

DIED: 14 Jun 1832 at Québec from cholera

MARRIED: Marie daughter of Jean-Antoine Panet (1st Speaker of Assembly) and of Louise-Philippe Badelard in 1806

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1801); Seigneur de Joliet; Deputy grand-voiteur of Quebec District 1799-1808; a founder of Le Canadien

MILITARY: Capt., removed by Craig 1808; Maj. 1812, 3rd Battalion Nouvelle-Beauce; Lt. Col. and Deputy Adjutant General 1813

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic, devout

PROMOTION: President of Quarter Sessions of the Peace 1821; QC 1821; Judge Court of King's Bench at Québec 1827; Legislative Council 1828-32

EDUCATION: Séminaire de Québec (a superior student), then law under Chief Justice Sewell

REBELLION: No, died in 1832

OTHER: Brother to A-C Taschereau MLA 180; Brother-in-law to Philippe Panet MLA 145; jailed by Craig in 1810 for treasonable practises, released two months later without trial

Roy, Juges de la province, p. 527.
Roy, La famille Taschereau, p. 107.
TASCHEREAU, Joseph-André

RIDING
Beauce
Dec 1835-Mar 1838
(Dorchester
Sep 1845-May 1847)

BORN: 30 Nov 1806 at Ste-Marie-de-la-Beauce

PARENTS: Thomas-Pierre-Joseph Taschereau and Françoise
la Bruère de Montarville (daughter of seigneur)

FATHER: Legislative Councilor; Grand-voyer and Inspector
of Roads for District of Québec; Lt. Col.

DIED: 30 Mar 1867 at Kamouraska

MARRIED: Bachelor

RESIDENCE: Québec until 1852 then Kamouraska

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1828), practised until 1843 when
appointed inspector and superintendent
of police for Québec

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Inspector and Superintendent of Police for
Québec 1843; Solicitor General 1845-47;
Judge 1847; Judge of Superior Court 1857

EDUCATION: Classical by tutors, then law under a
succession of lawyers: Charles Panet, Judge
Vanfelson (father of MLA 197) and Judge
Power MLA 156

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Brother of Pierre-Elzéar MLA 183; nephew of
Antoine-Charles and Jean-Thomas MLA's 180 and
181

SOURCES: Roy, La famille Taschereau, p. 50.
Roy, Juges de la province, p. 535.
TASCHEREAU, Pierre-Elzéar

Beauce
Oct 1830-Nov 1835
(Dorchester
Nov 1844-Jul 1845)

BORN: 20 Oct 1805 at Québec

PARENTS: Same as MLA 182

FATHER: Seigneur, Legislative Councilor etc.

DIED: 23 Jul 1845 at Ste-Marie-de-la-Beauce

MARRIED: Catherine-Hémédine daughter of Amable Dionne
MLA 65, Legislative Councilor and Catherine
Perrault

RESIDENCE: Ste-Marie-de-la-Beauce

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1828); Seigneur de Ste-Marie-de-la-
Beauce

MILITARY: Maj. 1829 (Sen. 1827) 2nd Battalion Dorchester
(Beauce) of which uncle was Commandant

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic, devout

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Séminaire de Québec then law

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Brother to Joseph-André MLA 182; nephew of
Antoine-Charles and Jean-Thomas MLA's 180 and 181;
son also became Judge

SOURCES: Roy, La famille Taschereau, p. 85.
Tetu, Histoire des familles Tetu etc., p. 533.
TASSE, François

RIDING
Effingham
Apr 1820-Jul 1824

BORN: 1774

PARENTS: Charles Tassé and Elisabeth Bisson

FATHER: Farmer

DIED: 1832

MARRIED: Elisabeth Leblanc at St-Vincent-de-Paul 1792

RESIDENCE: St-Martin, Isle-Jésus

OCCUPATION: Farmer

MILITARY: 

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Elementary

REBELLION: No, died in 1832

TAYLOR, Ralph

BORN: 1739

PARENTS:

FATHER: Lower social status

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Philipsburg

OCCUPATION: Commercial interests; Director of Montreal Fire Insurance Co. dissolved in 1820; wrote for Quebec Mercury

MILITARY: Ensign 1829 (Sen. 1822) 4th Battalion Bedford (St-Armand)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION:

REBELLIION: No

TESSIER, Xavier

RIDING
Saguenay
Oct 1833-Dec 1835

BORN: 15 Sep 1799 at Québec

PARENTS: Michel Tessier and Josephte Huot

FATHER: Merchant

DIED: 24 Dec 1835 at Québec

MARRIED: Bachelor

RESIDENCE: Quebec (New York 1828-30)

OCCUPATION: Doctor (1823); Publisher, founded Journal de Médicine

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Officer of Health for Québec 1830; Doctor for Marine Hospital 1833

EDUCATION: Studied medicine in New York

REBELLION: No, died 1835

OTHER: Brother was Judge Ulric-Jospeh Tessier, Legislative Councilor 1859, Minister of Public Works 1862, Senator 1867; translated medical books from French to English in New York 1828-30

TETU, Vital

RIDING
Montmorency
Oct 1836-Mar 1838

BORN: 15 Feb 1799 at St-Thomas

PARENTS: François Têtu and Charlotte Bonenfant

FATHER: Farmer, prosperous

DIED: 2 Dec 1883 at Québec

MARRIED: 1835 Virgine daughter of Gédéon Ahier a merchant at Carleton

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCC'PATION: Merchant (de nouveautés), fairly rich

MILITARY: Capt. 1838 Battalion Québec Comté

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic, devout

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Under a priest 1812-14; Séminaire de Québec 1814-20

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Brother Jean-François, a notary, acted as seigneurial agent for Jean Dessaulles MLA 62 and was involved in Rebellion

______________________________

Fauteux, Patriotes, p. 384.
Têtu, Les familles Têtu, Bonenfant, Dionne et Perrault, p. 130.
THAIN, Thomas

RIDING
Montréal-est
Jul 1820-Jul 1824

BORN: Scotland

PARENTS: Mother was sister of Executive Councilor
John Richardson

FATHER: Elevated social status

DIED: Aberdeen 6 Jan 1832

MARRIED: A French-Canadian

RESIDENCE: Montréal until 1825 then Scotland

OCCUPATION: Fur trader with McTavish and McGillivray,
then Northwest, then HBC; owner of Royal
Theatre in Montréal 1825

MILITARY: Lt, 1811, Capt, 1821, 1st Battalion Montréal

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British(Scottish)

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION: Commissioner of Lachine Canal 1819; Justice
of Peace, revoked 1821

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: No, died 1832

OTHER: Related to the Richardson, Phyn, Ellice and
Forsyth families

__________________________

SOURCES: Audet, Députés de Montréal, p. 101.
THIBAudeau, Edouard

RIDING
Bonaventure
Dec 1830-Aug 1836

BORN: 1797 at Pointe-Claire

PARENTS: Louis Thibaudeau (Acadian) and Marguerite Brault-Pominville

FATHER: Notary, Capt. in Militia

DIED: Aug 1836

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Gaspé

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1823)

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: No, died 1836

__________________________

Roy, Avocats de Québec, p. 435.
RIDING
Yamaska
Aug 1832-Mar 1838

TONNANCOUR, Léonard Godefroi de

BORN: 7 Nov 1793 at St-Michel d'Yamaska

PARENTS: Marie-Joseph Godefroy de Tonnancour and
Charlotte daughter of Pierre-André Godefroy
de Tonnancour and Charlotte Heney

FATHER: Seigneur de St-Michel d'Yamaska, Lt. Col.

DIED: 29 Jan 1867 at St-Michel d'Yamaska

MARRIED: Marguerite daughter of Benjamin Cherrier MLA
1792-96 and uncle of C-S Cherrier MLA 44

RESIDENCE: St-Michel d'Yamaska

OCCUPATION: Gentleman; Seigneur after 1850

MILITARY: Capt. and Adjutant 1829 (Sen. 1822) 1st
Battalion Buckinghamshire (Yamaska)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Father, father-in-law and grandfather all MLA's

Roy, La famille Godefroy de Tonnancour, p. 91.
TOOMY, Edward

RIDING
Drummond
Feb 1833-Mar 1838

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Drummondville

OCCUPATION: Merchant, rich

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION:

REBELLION: No

SOURCES: St-Amant, L'Avenir, p. 401.
TRUDEL, Olivier

RIDING
Champlain
Oct 1830-Mar 1838

BORN: 26 Oct 1781 at Ste-Gervaise

PARENTS: François Trudel

FATHER: Farmer

DIED: 22 Aug 1859 at St-Prospert

MARRIED: Marguerite Toutan

RESIDENCE: Ste-Anne-de-la-Pérade and Ste-Gervaise-de-Batiscan (where son born in 1816)

OCCUPATION: Farmer, successful and rich; prior to that in fur trade

MILITARY: Lt. 1829 (Sen. 1827) 3rd Battalion St-Maurice (Champlain)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Elementary

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: A son was Dr. Eugène-Hercule Trudel; another was François-Xavier-Anselme Trudel MLA for Champlain 1871-75, Senator 1873-90

SOURCES: Audet, Députés de St-Maurice et de Champlain. BRH, v. 41, p. 629; v. 42, p. 146. Trudel, Généalogie de la famille Trudel.
TURGEON, Joseph-Ovide

RIDING
Effingham
Aug 1824-Sep 1830
Terrebonne
Oct 1830-Oct 1834

BORN: c. 1795 at Terrebonne

PARENTS: Joseph Turgeon and Marguerite Lepailleur

FATHER: Notary

DIED: 9 Nov 1856

MARRIED: Hélène-Olive Turgeon

RESIDENCE: Terrebonne

OCCUPATION: Country Gentleman

MILITARY: Capt. 1829 (Sen. 1826) Aide-Major 3rd Battalion Effingham (Blainville)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace, District of Montréal
1820; Conseil Législatif 1848-56

EDUCATION: Collège de Montréal then travelled extensively
in U.S.A. especially the South

REBELLION: No

OTHER: Cousin of Archbishop of Québec and of Louis
Turgeon, Legislative Councilor 1818-27

SOURCES: Borthwick, Montréal, its History and Biograph-
ical Sketches, p. 91.
P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 537.
Turcotte, Conseil Législatif, p. 151.
UNIACKE, Norman Fitzgerald

RIDING
William Henry
Aug 1824-Feb 1825

BORN: c. 1777 in Nova Scotia

PARENTS: Richard John Uniacke

FATHER: Lawyer; MPP in Nova Scotia 1783-93, Speaker 1789-93; Solicitor General 1782, Attorney General 1797; Executive Councilor 1808

DIED: 11 Dec 1846 in Halifax

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Québec to 1825 then Montréal

OCCUPATION: Lawyer

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION: Attorney General 1808-10 with brief suspension in 1810; Judge Court of King's Bench Montréal 1825-36

EDUCATION: Law at Inner Temple, London

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: William Power MLA 156 articulated under him

---

   Roy, Juges de la province, p. 557.
   Wallace, Dictionary of Canadian Biography, p. 763.
VALLIERES de ST-REAL, Joseph-Rémi

RIDING
St-Maurice
May 1814-Feb 1816
Québec, haute-ville
Apr 1820-May 1829

BORN: 1 Oct 1787 at Carleton, Baie des chaleurs

PARENTS: Jean-Baptiste Vallières de St-Réal and
Marguerite Corneillier dit Grandchamp

FATHER: Arms manufacturer

DIED: 17 Feb 1847 at Montréal

MARRIED: Louise Pezard de Champlain daughter of Pierre
Melchoir sieur de la Touche, seigneur de
Godfroi Roctaillade etc, and Dame Louise Drouet
de Richardville and two other wives after 1831

RESIDENCE: Québec until 1830; Trois-Rivières 1830-42
then Montréal

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1812)

MILITARY: Lt. (1812) 2nd Battalion Québec

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: KC 1825; Judge 1829 removed 1837, re-instated
1838; Chief Judge Court of King's Bench 1842;
Executive Council Jun-Nov 1838

EDUCATION: Séminaire de Québec (brilliant student);
law under Charles Thomas of Trois-Rivières
1807-08 then with Edward Bowen in Québec
1808-12

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Louis Lagueux MLA 111 articulated under him; lived
in Windham, Upper Canada 1799-1802

____________

SOURCES: Audet, Députés de St-Maurice, pp.11-44.
Audet, Juges en chef, p. 78.
David, Biographies et portraits, p. 68.
P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 540.
Roy, Juges de la province, p. 559.
VALOIS, Joseph

RIDING
Montréal, comté
Apr 1820-Oct 1834

BORN: 1767 at Pointe-Claire

PARENTS: Pierre Valois and Marie-Cathérine Lefèvre

FATHER: Capt. in Militia

DIED: 1835

MARRIED: Cathérine-Leduc-Saint-Omer in 1790

RESIDENCE: Pointe-Claire; Montréal 1827

OCCUPATION: Merchant-trader until c. 1825; signed 1st Articles of Association of Banque de Peuple Farmer after 1825

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Elementary

REBELLION: No, died in 1835 but a confirmed Patriote

OTHER: Brother Dr. Michel-François Valois was MLA for Montréal comté 1851-57

_________________________

SOURCES: Audet, Députés de Montréal, p. 367.
P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 536.
RIDING
Québec, haute-ville
Feb 1815-Feb 1820
Québec, basse-ville
Sep 1832-Jun 1837

BORN: 23 Apr at Québec

PARENTS: Antoine Van Felson and Marie-Joseph Meunier

FATHER: Judge, German who immigrated 1765

DIED: 16 Feb 1856 at Montréal

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Québec until 1843 then Montréal

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1805); large landholder, rich

MILITARY: Maj. 1829 (Sen. 1820) 5th Battalion Québec

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian and German

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Advocate General 1819-30; KC 1843; Inspector-
General of Police at Montréal 1843; Batonnier
of Québec Bar 1849; Justice of Superior Court
at Montréal 1849

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Brother was l'abbé Antoine Van Felson

Quebec Gazette, 12 Feb 1818.
Roy, Avocats de Québec, p. 445.
Roy, Juges de la province, p. 561.
VIGER, Denis Benjamin

BORN: 19 Aug 1774 at Montréal

PARENTS: Denis Viger and Perrine-Charles Cherrier

FATHER: Menuisier, rich

DIED: 13 Feb 1861 at Montréal

MARRIED: Marie-Amable Foretier daughter of Pierre Foretier, Seigneur

RESIDENCE: Montréal

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1799), rich, extensive landholder

MILITARY: Lt. 1803 Battalion (Pointe-aux-Trembles), Maj. 1824 Division Longue Pointe

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic, devout

PROMOTION: Legislative Council Nov 1829-Mar 1838, Feb 1848-58

EDUCATION: Collège de Montréal then studied law under successively Judge Foucher 1794-96, Joseph Bédaré 1796-98, Jean-Antoine Panet 1798-99 (Speaker of Assembly)

REBELLION: Arrested 1838

OTHER: P.M. and President of Executive Council 1843-46; cousin of L-J Papineau MLA 146; nephew of Côme-Séraphin Cherrier MLA 44; cousin of Bishop Lartigue

VIGER, Louis Michel

RIDING
Chambly
Oct 1830–Mar 1838
(Nicolet 1842–44
Terrebonne 1848–51
Leinster 1851–54)

BORN: 28 Sep 1785 at Montréal

PARENTS: Louis Viger and Agnès Papineau

FATHER: Blacksmith

DIED: 20 Oct 1855

MARRIED: Daughter of Louis Turgeon, Seigneur and Legislative Councilor in 1824; daughter of Joseph-Edouard Faribault, Special Council in 1843

RESIDENCE: Montréal

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1807); Banker, founder of first French-Canadian Bank "Viger, De Witt and Co. 1833, President of Banque du Peuple 1844–55; rich and held seigneurial land at his death

MILITARY: Lt. 1812, Capt. 1814

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Collège de Montréal

REBELLION: Arrested 18 Nov 1837

OTHER: Receiver General and Executive Council 1848–49; cousin of D-B Viger MLA 198, cousin of L-J Papineau; Mayor of Montréal 1833–36; a founder of St-Jean Baptiste Society

______________________________

Fauteux, Patriotes, p. 396.
WELLS, Alphonso

BORN: c. 1800

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: St-Hyacinthe in 1827

OCCUPATION: Surveyor (1827)

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: No

WOOD, Samuel

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Farnham

OCCUPATION: Farmer

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION:

REBELLION: No

SOURCES: Crowley, Unpublished research paper.
WRIGHT, Philemon

RIDING
Ottawa
Oct 1830-Oct 1834

BORN: 3 Sep 1760 at Woburn, Massachusetts

PARENTS: Thomas Wright

FATHER: Elevated social status

DIED: 2 Jun 1839 at Hull

MARRIED: Miss Wyman in 1782

RESIDENCE: Hull

OCCUPATION: Commercial, sawmills etc., very rich

MILITARY: Col. in Militia when retired in 1828

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British (American)

RELIGION: Protestant (Methodist)

PROMOTION: Commissioner of Oaths to Applicants for Crown Lands 1820; Justice of Peace 1820

EDUCATION: Elementary

REBELLION: Observer

Harris, The White Chief.
Morgan, Celebrated Canadians, p. 153.
WURTELE, Jonathan

RIDING
William Henry
Oct 1830-Oct 1834

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER: Seigneur and rich merchant in Québec

DIED: c. 1856

MARRIED: Louisa Sophia Campbell

RESIDENCE: Québec to 1830 then River David

OCCUPATION: Seigneur of River David; merchant at Québec, rich

MILITARY: Lt, 1829 (Sen. 1824) 2nd Battalion Québec

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British and German

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: Observer

OTHER: Son Jonathan Sexton Campbell born at Québec 1828 became a Judge and was married to Julia daughter of Wolfred Nelson MLA 138

SOURCES: Borthwick, History and Biographical Gazetteer of Montreal, p. 449.
Roy, Avocats de Québec, p. 457.
YOUNG, Thomas Ainslie  
RIDING  
Québec, basse-ville  
Aug 1824-Oct 1834  

BORN: 12 Jun 1797 at Québec  

PARENTS: Hon. John Young and Christian Ainslie  

FATHER: Elevated social Status  

DIED: 8 Feb 1860 at Québec  

MARRIED: Monique-Ursule Baby  

RESIDENCE: Québec  

OCCUPATION: Lawyer (1825)  

MILITARY: Maj. 1829 (Sen. 1825) 5th Battalion Québec  

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British  

RELIGION: Protestant  

PROMOTION: Magistrate 1810; Inspector General of Public Accounts 1819-28; Controller of Customs at Québec 1820; Sherrif of Québec 1824-27; Secretary Bureau of Health at Québec 1832  

EDUCATION: Above elementary  

REBELLION: Observer  

Buchanan, Bench and Bar, p. 114.  
P.A.C., Neilson Papers, v. 32, p. 541.  
Roy, Avocats de Québec, p. 459.  
Roy, Fils de Québec, v. 1, p. 83.
DORION, Pierre Antoine

RIDING
Champlain
Oct 1830-Mar 1838

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED: Genviève daughter of Pierre Bureau

RESIDENCE: Ste-Anne-de-la-Pérade (District of Trois-Rivières)

OCCUPATION: Merchant

MILITARY: Ensign and Adjutant 1829 (Sen. 1827) 2nd
Battalion Hampshire (Ste-Anne-de-la-Pérade)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION: Commissioner for Bridge over R. Ste-Anne
1830; Justice of Peace 1837

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: No

OTHER: Son Antoine-Aimé (Chief Justice, leader of Rouges
etc.) articled under C-S Cherrier MLA 44; father
of J-B-Eric, journalist and l'enfant terrible;
father of Wilfred, Superior Court Judge; Pierre
Bureau MLA 34 was father-in-law

Audet, Députés de Champlain, p. 67.
St-Amant, L'Avenir, pp. 89, 281.
SIMON, André

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE:

OCCUPATION:

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN:

RELIGION:

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION:

REBELLION:

RIDING
Saguenay
Oct 1832-Mar 1838
CLAPHAM, John Greaves

BORN: c. 1800

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Notary (1839)

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Above elementary

REBELLION: No

SOURCES: Crowley, Unpublished research paper.
FREILIGH, Richard V-V

RIDING
Missisquoi
Dec 1829-Sep 1830

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER: Elevated social status

DIED: MARRIED:

RESIDENCE:

OCCUPATION: Grist and saw mills, landholder

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION:

REBELLION: no

SOURCES: Crowley, Unpublished research paper.
TREMAIN, Benjamin

RIDING
Sherbrooke
Nov 1829-Sep 1830

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Québec

OCCUPATION: Merchant

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION: Justice of Peace, Québec 1820

EDUCATION:

REBELLION: No

SOURCES: Quebec Almanac (1820), p. 55.
CALDWELL, Henry John

RIDING
Dorchester
Oct 1830-Oct 1834

BORN: c. 1800

PARENTS: Sir John Caldwell and Jane daughter of James Davidson Surgeon 1st Battalion Royal Canadian Volunteers

FATHER: Receiver General, Seigneur, Legislative Councilor

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE: Lauzon

OCCUPATION: Miller, partner with son of John Davidson MLA 54; merchant, large landholder

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: British

RELIGION: Protestant

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION: Above elementary

OTHER: Father died in 1842 and he inherited barotency from him; grandson of Henry Caldwell seigneur of Lauzon

________________________

SOURCES: Roy, Histoire de la Seigneurie de Lauzon, v. 4, p. 105; v. 5.
Turcotte, Conseil Législatif, p. 71.
DESHAMPS, Amable Eno dit

RIDING
L'Assomption
26 Oct 1830-9 Oct 1834

BORN:

PARENTS:

FATHER:

DIED:

MARRIED:

RESIDENCE:

OCCUPATION: Held seigneurial lands

MILITARY:

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PROMOTION:

EDUCATION:

REBELLION: No

OTHER: Brother-in-law to J-B Meilleur MLA 129

SOURCES: Quebec Gazette, 18 Nov 1813.
POULIN, Louis

RIDING
St-Hyacinthe
Jul 1832-Oct 1834

BORN: 1788

PARENTS: Etienne Poulin and Elisabeth Raineau dit Blanchard (married in 1781)

DIED:

MARRIED: Angélique Benoit dit Livernois in 1811 at St-Charles

RESIDENCE: Ste-Rosalie

OCCUPATION: Farmer

MILITARY: Capt. 1829 (Sen. 1827) 3rd Battalion Richelieu (St-Hyacinthe)

ETHNIC ORIGIN: French-Canadian

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

EDUCATION: Below elementary

REBELLION: No

OTHER: His children born in Ste-Rosalie and St-Hyacinthe 1835-49

---

SOURCES: Allaire, Histoire de St-Denis, p. 212, n. 2.
APPENDIX B

TABLES
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>Elevated</th>
<th>Patriotes</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>11th</td>
<td>64.71(11)</td>
<td>50.00(4)</td>
<td>90.00(9)</td>
<td>68.57(24)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35.29(6)</td>
<td>50.00(4)</td>
<td>10.00(1)</td>
<td>31.43(11)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(18)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(41)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>Elevated</th>
<th>Patriotes</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd and 4th</td>
<td>11th</td>
<td>68.75(11)</td>
<td>55.56(5)</td>
<td>40.00(2)</td>
<td>60.00(18)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31.25(5)</td>
<td>44.44(4)</td>
<td>60.00(3)</td>
<td>40.00(12)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd and 3rd</td>
<td>12th</td>
<td>68.75(22)</td>
<td>100.00(5)</td>
<td>100.00(4)</td>
<td>75.61(31)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31.25(10)</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
<td>24.39(10)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>13th</td>
<td>53.57(15)</td>
<td>100.00(6)</td>
<td>80.00(4)</td>
<td>64.10(25)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>46.43(13)</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
<td>20.00(1)</td>
<td>35.90(14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>14th</td>
<td>55.60(5)</td>
<td>81.81(9)</td>
<td>71.42(5)</td>
<td>70.37(19)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>44.40(4)</td>
<td>18.19(2)</td>
<td>28.57(2)</td>
<td>29.63(8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(15)</td>
<td>(14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(16)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>Elevated</th>
<th>Patriotes</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd and 4th</td>
<td>15th</td>
<td>56.25(27)</td>
<td>50.00(5)</td>
<td>100.00(3)</td>
<td>57.38(35)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>43.75(21)</td>
<td>50.00(5)</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
<td>42.62(26)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(99)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>(57)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(57)</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(80)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>Elevated</th>
<th>Patriotes</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>15th</td>
<td>50.00(21)</td>
<td>62.50(10)</td>
<td>80.00(4)</td>
<td>55.56(35)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50.00(21)</td>
<td>37.50(6)</td>
<td>20.00(1)</td>
<td>44.44(28)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>(48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(19)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**TABLE 2 - FATHER'S STATUS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>Elevated</th>
<th>Patriotes</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>11th</td>
<td>68.00(17)</td>
<td>100.00(4)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>32.00(8)</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(33)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>Elevated</th>
<th>Patriotes</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>12th</td>
<td>64.29(9)</td>
<td>78.95(15)</td>
<td>21.05(4)</td>
<td>27.27(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35.71(5)</td>
<td>44.44(4)</td>
<td>40.00(12)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(22)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(22)</td>
<td>(38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st and 2nd</td>
<td>13th</td>
<td>64.86(24)</td>
<td>83.33(5)</td>
<td>54.45(29)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35.14(13)</td>
<td>16.67(1)</td>
<td>32.56(14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>Elevated</th>
<th>Patriotes</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>14th</td>
<td>70.00(7)</td>
<td>81.25(13)</td>
<td>75.00(6)</td>
<td>76.50(26)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30.00(3)</td>
<td>18.75(3)</td>
<td>25.00(2)</td>
<td>23.50(8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(20)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(20)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>Elevated</th>
<th>Patriotes</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd and 4th</td>
<td>14th</td>
<td>55.60(5)</td>
<td>81.81(9)</td>
<td>71.42(5)</td>
<td>70.37(19)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>44.40(4)</td>
<td>18.19(2)</td>
<td>28.57(2)</td>
<td>29.63(8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(15)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>Elevated</th>
<th>Patriotes</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>15th</td>
<td>56.25(27)</td>
<td>50.00(5)</td>
<td>100.00(3)</td>
<td>57.38(35)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>43.75(21)</td>
<td>50.00(5)</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
<td>42.62(26)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(99)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(19)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(57)</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(80)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>Elevated</th>
<th>Patriotes</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd and 4th</td>
<td>15th</td>
<td>50.00(21)</td>
<td>62.50(10)</td>
<td>80.00(4)</td>
<td>55.56(35)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50.00(21)</td>
<td>37.50(6)</td>
<td>20.00(1)</td>
<td>44.44(28)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(48)</td>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>(80)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Table 2 - Father's Occupation

### 1st Session 11th Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>21.43(3)</td>
<td>60.00(3)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>23.08(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>21.43(3)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>57.14(4)</td>
<td>26.92(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>57.14(4)</td>
<td>40.00(2)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>50.00(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(18)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>(41)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3rd and 4th Sessions 11th Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>22.06(3)</td>
<td>16.67(1)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>18.18(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>15.38(2)</td>
<td>16.66(1)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>18.10(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>61.54(8)</td>
<td>66.67(4)</td>
<td>66.67(2)</td>
<td>63.64(14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(41)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2nd and 3rd Sessions 12th Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>22.22(6)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>17.65(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>18.52(5)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>25.00(1)</td>
<td>17.64(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>59.26(16)</td>
<td>100.00(3)</td>
<td>75.00(3)</td>
<td>64.71(22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(38)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(48)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3rd Session 13th Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>30.00(6)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>21.43(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>15.00(3)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>10.71(3)</td>
<td>17.64(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>55.00(11)</td>
<td>100.00(5)</td>
<td>100.00(3)</td>
<td>67.06(19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(30)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(44)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2nd Session 14th Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>37.50(3)</td>
<td>20.00(2)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>17.00(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>20.00(2)</td>
<td>12.50(1)</td>
<td>14.33(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>62.50(5)</td>
<td>50.00(5)</td>
<td>87.50(7)</td>
<td>65.10(17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>10.00(1)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>5.40(1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1st Session 15th Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>34.29(12)</td>
<td>20.00(1)</td>
<td>50.00(1)</td>
<td>33.33(14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>14.20(5)</td>
<td>40.00(2)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>16.67(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>51.43(18)</td>
<td>40.00(2)</td>
<td>50.00(1)</td>
<td>50.00(21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>(22)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(57)</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(80)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3rd and 4th Sessions 15th Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>27.27(3)</td>
<td>50.00(2)</td>
<td>43.18(19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>50.00(2)</td>
<td>45.46(20)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2nd Session 15th Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>33.33(11)</td>
<td>18.18(2)</td>
<td>33.33(1)</td>
<td>29.79(14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>18.18(2)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>48.49(16)</td>
<td>63.64(7)</td>
<td>66.67(2)</td>
<td>53.19(25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>(56)</td>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(86)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1st Session 12th Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>33.33(4)</td>
<td>8.33(1)</td>
<td>25.00(4)</td>
<td>17.86(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>98.34(7)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>62.50(10)</td>
<td>60.71(17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>(22)</td>
<td>(38)</td>
<td>(76)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1st and 2nd Sessions 13th Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>20.69(6)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>17.65(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.34(3)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>10.00(5)</td>
<td>73.53(25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1st Session 14th Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>25.00(2)</td>
<td>23.08(3)</td>
<td>16.70(1)</td>
<td>22.30(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>23.08(3)</td>
<td>16.70(1)</td>
<td>11.10(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>75.00(6)</td>
<td>46.16(6)</td>
<td>66.60(4)</td>
<td>62.90(17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>7.68(1)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1st and 4th Sessions 14th Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>33.33(11)</td>
<td>18.18(2)</td>
<td>33.33(1)</td>
<td>29.79(14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>18.18(2)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>48.49(16)</td>
<td>63.64(7)</td>
<td>66.67(2)</td>
<td>53.19(25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>(56)</td>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(86)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Insufficient Data
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 3 - TYPE OF RIDING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st SESSION 11th PARLIAMENT</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72.22(13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd SESSION 11th PARLIAMENT</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd and 4th SESSIONS 11th PARLIAMENT</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80.00(16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st SESSION 12th PARLIAMENT</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd and 3rd SESSIONS 12th PARLIAMENT</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86.84(33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st and 2nd SESSIONS 13th PARLIAMENT</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100.00(30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd SESSION 13th PARLIAMENT</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94.10(16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd SESSION 14th PARLIAMENT</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92.90(13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd SESSION 14th PARLIAMENT</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94.40(34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4th SESSION 14th PARLIAMENT</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94.50(52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st SESSION 15th PARLIAMENT</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89.58(43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 4 - TYPE OF RIDING
(Urban Ridings Each Group as Percentage of Total Urban Ridings)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>Patriotes</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11-1</td>
<td>45.45</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>54.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-2</td>
<td>75.00</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-3,4</td>
<td>57.14</td>
<td>14.29</td>
<td>28.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-1</td>
<td>60.00</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>40.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-2,3</td>
<td>62.50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>37.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-1,2</td>
<td>55.56</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>44.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40.00</td>
<td>60.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-1</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>60.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-2</td>
<td>14.29</td>
<td>14.29</td>
<td>71.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-3</td>
<td>25.00</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>75.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-4</td>
<td>37.50</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>62.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-1</td>
<td>62.50</td>
<td>37.50</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-2</td>
<td>66.67</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-3,4</td>
<td>62.50</td>
<td>25.00</td>
<td>12.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Residence of Member</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st Session 11th Parliament</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Patriotes</td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>27.78 (5)</td>
<td>55.56 (5)</td>
<td>33.33 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>72.22 (13)</td>
<td>44.44 (4)</td>
<td>66.67 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(18)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd Session 11th Parliament</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Patriotes</td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>16.67 (7)</td>
<td>55.55 (6)</td>
<td>50.00 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>83.33 (15)</td>
<td>45.45 (5)</td>
<td>50.00 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd and 4th Sessions 11th Parliament</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Patriotes</td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>44.12 (15)</td>
<td>80.00 (4)</td>
<td>40.00 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>55.88 (19)</td>
<td>20.00 (1)</td>
<td>60.00 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(38)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd and 3rd Sessions 12th Parliament</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Patriotes</td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>63.33 (19)</td>
<td>42.86 (3)</td>
<td>16.67 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>36.67 (5)</td>
<td>57.14 (4)</td>
<td>83.33 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(30)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd Session 13th Parliament</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Patriotes</td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>72.70 (8)</td>
<td>64.70 (11)</td>
<td>43.75 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>27.30 (3)</td>
<td>35.30 (6)</td>
<td>56.25 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>(16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4th Session 14th Parliament</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Patriotes</td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>68.10 (32)</td>
<td>56.00 (14)</td>
<td>40.30 (29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>31.90 (15)</td>
<td>56.00 (14)</td>
<td>40.30 (29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(55)</td>
<td>(28)</td>
<td>(83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd Session 15th Parliament</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Patriotes</td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>57.69 (30)</td>
<td>61.11 (11)</td>
<td>30.00 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>42.31 (22)</td>
<td>38.89 (7)</td>
<td>30.00 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(56)</td>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td>Patriotes</td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-1</td>
<td>52.00</td>
<td>16.00</td>
<td>32.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-2</td>
<td>90.00</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-3,4</td>
<td>65.22</td>
<td>21.74</td>
<td>13.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-1</td>
<td>40.00</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>60.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-2,3</td>
<td>82.61</td>
<td>4.35</td>
<td>13.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-1,2</td>
<td>76.92</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>23.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-3</td>
<td>55.00</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-1</td>
<td>22.73</td>
<td>45.45</td>
<td>31.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-2</td>
<td>16.67</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-3</td>
<td>40.00</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>60.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-4</td>
<td>51.72</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>48.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-1</td>
<td>67.74</td>
<td>22.58</td>
<td>9.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-2</td>
<td>68.75</td>
<td>21.88</td>
<td>9.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-3,4</td>
<td>63.33</td>
<td>23.33</td>
<td>13.34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 7 - RELIGION OF RIDING

#### 1st SESSION 14th PARLIAMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RC</td>
<td>93.70(15)</td>
<td>100.00(26)</td>
<td>64.30(9)</td>
<td>89.30(50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>6.30(1)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>35.70(5)</td>
<td>10.70(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>(26)</td>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>(56)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 2nd SESSION 14th PARLIAMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RC</td>
<td>100.00(14)</td>
<td>88.23(15)</td>
<td>87.50(14)</td>
<td>91.50(43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>11.76(2)</td>
<td>12.50(2)</td>
<td>8.50(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>(47)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3rd SESSION 14th PARLIAMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Governments</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RC</td>
<td>100.00(34)</td>
<td>77.41(24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>22.59(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(34)</td>
<td>(31)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 4th SESSION 14th PARLIAMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Governments</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RC</td>
<td>98.10(52)</td>
<td>60.70(17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>1.90(1)</td>
<td>39.30(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(53)</td>
<td>(28)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 1st SESSION 15th PARLIAMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RC</td>
<td>98.25(56)</td>
<td>100.00(13)</td>
<td>20.00(2)</td>
<td>88.75(71)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>1.75(1)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>80.00(8)</td>
<td>11.25(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(57)</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(80)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 2nd SESSION 15th PARLIAMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RC</td>
<td>96.43(54)</td>
<td>100.00(19)</td>
<td>27.27(3)</td>
<td>88.37(76)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>3.57(2)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>72.73(8)</td>
<td>11.63(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(56)</td>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(86)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3rd and 4th SESSIONS 15th PARLIAMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RC</td>
<td>97.92(47)</td>
<td>100.00(19)</td>
<td>30.77(4)</td>
<td>87.50(70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>2.08(1)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>69.23(9)</td>
<td>12.50(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(48)</td>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>(80)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 8 - RELIGION OF RIDING
(Protestant Ridings each Bloc as Percentage of Total Protestant Ridings)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parliament Patriotes</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14-1</td>
<td>16.67</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-4</td>
<td>8.33</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-1</td>
<td>11.11</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-2</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-3,4</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 9 - Level of Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st Session 11th Parliament</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>17.65(3)</td>
<td>77.78(7)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>29.41(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher</td>
<td>82.35(14)</td>
<td>22.22(2)</td>
<td>100.00(12)</td>
<td>70.59(24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>(18)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>(37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd and 4th Sessions 11th Parliament</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>23.53(4)</td>
<td>30.00(3)</td>
<td>16.67(1)</td>
<td>24.24(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher</td>
<td>76.47(13)</td>
<td>70.00(7)</td>
<td>83.33(5)</td>
<td>75.76(25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd and 3rd Sessions 12th Parliament</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>24.24(8)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>18.61(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher</td>
<td>75.76(25)</td>
<td>100.00(5)</td>
<td>100.00(5)</td>
<td>81.39(35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>(38)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd Session 13th Parliament</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>31.03(9)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>20.00(1)</td>
<td>22.73(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher</td>
<td>68.97(20)</td>
<td>100.00(7)</td>
<td>80.00(4)</td>
<td>70.45(31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>(30)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd Session 14th Parliament</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>40.00(4)</td>
<td>23.07(3)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>13.40(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher</td>
<td>60.00(6)</td>
<td>76.93(10)</td>
<td>100.00(15)</td>
<td>81.60(31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>(50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4th Session 14th Parliament</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>27.50(11)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>18.60(11)</td>
<td>19.60(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher</td>
<td>72.50(29)</td>
<td>100.00(19)</td>
<td>81.40(48)</td>
<td>81.40(48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>(15)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(24)</td>
<td>(24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>(55)</td>
<td>(28)</td>
<td>(83)</td>
<td>(83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st Session 15th Parliament</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriots</td>
<td>24.00(12)</td>
<td>10.00(1)</td>
<td>16.67(1)</td>
<td>21.21(14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>76.00(38)</td>
<td>90.00(9)</td>
<td>83.33(5)</td>
<td>78.79(52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>(57)</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(67)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd and 4th Sessions 15th Parliament</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriots</td>
<td>25.00(11)</td>
<td>16.67(3)</td>
<td>12.50(1)</td>
<td>21.43(15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>75.00(33)</td>
<td>83.33(15)</td>
<td>87.50(7)</td>
<td>76.57(55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>(48)</td>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(80)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SESSION</td>
<td>PARLIAMENT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Patriots</td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>14th</td>
<td>8.30(1)</td>
<td>10.00(2)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>91.70(11)</td>
<td>90.00(18)</td>
<td>100.00(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Observer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Died before</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>(26)</td>
<td>(14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>14th</td>
<td>33.33(3)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>66.67(6)</td>
<td>100.00(13)</td>
<td>100.00(15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Observer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Died before</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>(16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>14th</td>
<td>20.70(6)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>79.30(23)</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.00(30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Observer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Died before</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(36)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>14th</td>
<td>18.40(9)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>81.60(40)</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.00(27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Observer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Died before</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(55)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>15th</td>
<td>29.82(17)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>70.18(40)</td>
<td>100.00(13)</td>
<td>100.00(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Observer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(57)</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>15th</td>
<td>35.71(20)</td>
<td>5.26(1)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>64.29(36)</td>
<td>94.74(18)</td>
<td>100.00(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Observer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(56)</td>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd and 4th</td>
<td>15th</td>
<td>45.83(22)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SESSION</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>54.16(26)</td>
<td>100.00(19)</td>
<td>100.00(13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Observer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(48)</td>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>(13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td>Patriotes</td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-1</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>66.67</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-2</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-3</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-4</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-1</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-2</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-3,4</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE 12 - PROMOTION AND PATRONAGE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st SESSION 11th PARLIAMENT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriots</td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before</td>
<td>27.78(5)</td>
<td>9.09(1)</td>
<td>16.67(2)</td>
<td>20.00(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>During</td>
<td>33.33(6)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>66.67(8)</td>
<td>30.00(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After</td>
<td>44.44(8)</td>
<td>9.09(1)</td>
<td>58.33(7)</td>
<td>30.00(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>27.78(5)</td>
<td>81.82(9)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>35.00(14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd SESSION 11th PARLIAMENT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriots</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before</td>
<td>12.12(4)</td>
<td>20.00(2)</td>
<td>15.79(6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>During</td>
<td>18.18(6)</td>
<td>50.00(5)</td>
<td>28.95(11)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After</td>
<td>30.30(10)</td>
<td>40.00(4)</td>
<td>36.84(14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>51.52(17)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>44.74(17)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd and 4th SESSIONS 11th PARLIAMENT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriots</td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before</td>
<td>20.00(4)</td>
<td>15.38(2)</td>
<td>25.00(2)</td>
<td>19.51(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>During</td>
<td>30.00(6)</td>
<td>38.46(5)</td>
<td>62.50(5)</td>
<td>39.02(16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After</td>
<td>30.00(6)</td>
<td>30.77(4)</td>
<td>37.50(3)</td>
<td>31.71(13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>40.00(8)</td>
<td>30.77(4)</td>
<td>25.00(2)</td>
<td>31.15(14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st SESSION 12th PARLIAMENT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriots</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before</td>
<td>12.50(2)</td>
<td>54.56(12)</td>
<td>36.84(14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>During</td>
<td>6.25(1)</td>
<td>18.18(4)</td>
<td>13.16(5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After</td>
<td>37.50(6)</td>
<td>50.00(11)</td>
<td>44.74(17)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>50.00(8)</td>
<td>22.73(5)</td>
<td>34.21(13)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd and 3rd SESSIONS 12th PARLIAMENT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriots</td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before</td>
<td>28.95(11)</td>
<td>100.00(5)</td>
<td>80.00(4)</td>
<td>41.67(20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>During</td>
<td>5.26(2)</td>
<td>60.00(3)</td>
<td>40.00(2)</td>
<td>14.58(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After</td>
<td>36.84(14)</td>
<td>80.00(4)</td>
<td>60.00(3)</td>
<td>43.75(21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>44.74(17)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>20.00(1)</td>
<td>37.50(18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st and 2nd SESSIONS 13th PARLIAMENT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriots</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before</td>
<td>26.83(11)</td>
<td>42.86(3)</td>
<td>29.17(14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>During</td>
<td>9.76(4)</td>
<td>14.29(1)</td>
<td>10.42(5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After</td>
<td>29.27(12)</td>
<td>57.14(4)</td>
<td>33.33(16)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>51.22(21)</td>
<td>42.86(3)</td>
<td>50.00(24)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd SESSION 13th PARLIAMENT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriots</td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before</td>
<td>33.33(10)</td>
<td>28.57(2)</td>
<td>57.14(4)</td>
<td>36.35(16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>During</td>
<td>16.67(8)</td>
<td>42.86(3)</td>
<td>28.57(2)</td>
<td>22.73(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After</td>
<td>26.67(8)</td>
<td>57.15(4)</td>
<td>42.86(3)</td>
<td>34.09(15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>40.00(12)</td>
<td>28.57(2)</td>
<td>42.86(3)</td>
<td>38.64(17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st SESSION 14th PARLIAMENT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriots</td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before</td>
<td>11.80(2)</td>
<td>34.61(9)</td>
<td>50.00(7)</td>
<td>31.90(18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>During</td>
<td>5.90(1)</td>
<td>11.53(3)</td>
<td>35.79(5)</td>
<td>15.80(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After</td>
<td>11.80(2)</td>
<td>42.30(11)</td>
<td>28.50(4)</td>
<td>29.80(17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>76.50(13)</td>
<td>30.76(8)</td>
<td>14.30(2)</td>
<td>40.40(23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd SESSION 14th PARLIAMENT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriots</td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before</td>
<td>21.30(3)</td>
<td>5.88(1)</td>
<td>56.25(9)</td>
<td>27.70(13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>During</td>
<td>7.10(1)</td>
<td>17.64(3)</td>
<td>31.25(5)</td>
<td>19.20(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After</td>
<td>7.10(1)</td>
<td>29.41(5)</td>
<td>43.75(7)</td>
<td>27.70(13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>64.30(9)</td>
<td>58.82(10)</td>
<td>18.75(3)</td>
<td>46.80(22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd SESSION 14th PARLIAMENT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriots</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before</td>
<td>19.40(7)</td>
<td>32.25(10)</td>
<td>25.40(17)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>During</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>9.67(3)</td>
<td>4.5(3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After</td>
<td>30.60(11)</td>
<td>38.70(12)</td>
<td>34.30(23)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>50.00(18)</td>
<td>41.93(13)</td>
<td>46.30(31)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4th SESSION 14th PARLIAMENT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriots</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before</td>
<td>20.00(11)</td>
<td>21.40(6)</td>
<td>20.50(17)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>During</td>
<td>1.80(1)</td>
<td>10.70(3)</td>
<td>4.80(4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After</td>
<td>27.30(15)</td>
<td>39.20(11)</td>
<td>31.30(26)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>56.40(31)</td>
<td>28.60(8)</td>
<td>47.00(39)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st SESSION 15th PARLIAMENT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriots</td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before</td>
<td>15.79(9)</td>
<td>30.77(4)</td>
<td>20.00(2)</td>
<td>18.75(15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>During</td>
<td>12.28(7)</td>
<td>13.38(2)</td>
<td>10.47(9)</td>
<td>6.25(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After</td>
<td>28.07(16)</td>
<td>23.08(3)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>26.25(21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>54.39(31)</td>
<td>38.46(5)</td>
<td>90.00(8)</td>
<td>48.75(39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd SESSION 15th PARLIAMENT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriots</td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before</td>
<td>12.50(6)</td>
<td>36.84(7)</td>
<td>15.38(2)</td>
<td>18.75(15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>During</td>
<td>10.71(6)</td>
<td>15.79(3)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>26.25(21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After</td>
<td>26.79(15)</td>
<td>31.58(6)</td>
<td>23.08(3)</td>
<td>58.75(47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>55.36(31)</td>
<td>36.84(7)</td>
<td>54.65(47)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 13 - PROMOTION
(Members each bloc with no promotion as percentage of total members in Assembly with no promotion)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>Patriotes</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11-1</td>
<td>35.72</td>
<td>64.28</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-2</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-3,4</td>
<td>57.14</td>
<td>28.57</td>
<td>14.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-1</td>
<td>61.81</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>38.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-2,3</td>
<td>94.45</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-1,2</td>
<td>87.50</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>12.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-3</td>
<td>70.59</td>
<td>11.76</td>
<td>17.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-1</td>
<td>56.55</td>
<td>34.76</td>
<td>8.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-2</td>
<td>40.91</td>
<td>45.45</td>
<td>13.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-3</td>
<td>58.07</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>41.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-4</td>
<td>79.49</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>20.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-1</td>
<td>70.45</td>
<td>11.37</td>
<td>18.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-2</td>
<td>65.96</td>
<td>14.89</td>
<td>19.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-3,4</td>
<td>57.44</td>
<td>21.28</td>
<td>21.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 14 - AGE OF MEMBER

#### 1st Session 11th Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>41.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>45.13</td>
<td>41.36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Between:** 2 99.9519 49.7759
Within: 28 759,467.4206 23,014.162 0.0021
Total: 35 759,566.9723

Not statistically significant

#### 3rd and 4th Sessions 11th Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>43.19</td>
<td>41.78</td>
<td>44.33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Between:** 2 24.6735 12.3367 1.206
Within: 28 2863.3265 102.2516
Total: 30 2886.00

Not statistically significant

#### 2nd and 3rd Sessions 12th Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>35.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Between:** 2 324.8049 162.4024 1.6399
Within: 30 3763.00 99.0263
Total: 40 4087.0049

Statistically significant at 25% level

#### 3rd Session 13th Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>48.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>49.62</td>
<td>38.67</td>
<td>45.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Between:** 2 615.6326 309.4163 2.1820
Within: 36 5104.5110 141.0030
Total: 38 5723.7436

Statistically significant at 25% level

#### 2nd Session 14th Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>40.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Between:** 2 18,179.7422 9089.8711 109.5136
Within: 41 3,707.8033 90.4342
Total: 43 18,887.5453

Statistically significant at 1% level

#### 4th Session 14th Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>40.13</td>
<td>39.35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Between:** 1 1608.5641 1608.5641 11.369
Within: 56 7928.0900 141.5976
Total: 57 8620.3449

Not statistically significant

#### 2nd Session 15th Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>44.70</td>
<td>42.56</td>
<td>38.57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Between:** 2 257.3184 125.6592 1.7411
Within: 67 6783.4816 101.2459
Total: 69 7034.8

Not statistically significant

#### 2nd Session 11th Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>39.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Between:** 1 42.67 42.67 0.0010
Within: 28 1,098,924.00 39,247.2857
Total: 29 1,098,966.67

Not statistically significant

#### 1st Session 12th Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>43.33</td>
<td>40.58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Between:** 1 63.5939 83.5939 0.6747
Within: 32 30,159.9654 94.2489
Total: 33 30,223.5593

Not statistically significant

#### 1st and 2nd Sessions 13th Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>42.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Between:** 1 129.7684 129.7684 1.0699
Within: 41 4972.4733 131.2854
Total: 42 5102.5117

Not statistically significant

#### 1st Session 14th Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>42.81</td>
<td>42.09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Between:** 2 1059.8401 529.9200 3.6399
Within: 42 6114.4711 143.5826
Total: 44 7174.112

Statistically significant at 25% level

#### 3rd Session 14th Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>40.63</td>
<td>43.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Between:** 1 2437.5003 2437.5003 28.4
Within: 48 4097.8979 89.3725
Total: 49 6535.3800

Statistically significant at 15% level

#### 1st Session 15th Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| M     | 43.68    | 43.11      | 38.0

**Between:** 2 171.7532 85.8766 1.7341
Within: 51 6901.1017 116.9678
Total: 52 7072.8549

Not statistically significant

#### 3rd and 4th Sessions 15th Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| M     | 45.07    | 44.5       | 41.86

**Between:** 1 63.3607 31.1533 2.2747
Within: 63 6889.9546 108.3753
Total: 65 6889.9546

Not statistically significant
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Session</td>
<td>11th</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.89</td>
<td>4.64</td>
<td>5.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>df</td>
<td>m.s.</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Between 2</td>
<td>1.1503</td>
<td>0.5918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Within 38</td>
<td>1199.2400</td>
<td>1200.3903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not statistically significant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd and 4th Sessions</td>
<td>11th</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>5.31</td>
<td>5.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>df</td>
<td>m.s.</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Between 2</td>
<td>3.0514</td>
<td>1.5457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Within 37</td>
<td>764.2836</td>
<td>20.6562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not statistically significant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd and 3rd Sessions</td>
<td>12th</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5.63</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>df</td>
<td>m.s.</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Between 2</td>
<td>104.2745</td>
<td>52.1232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Within 45</td>
<td>1528.4422</td>
<td>33.9653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Statistically significant at 25% level</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Session</td>
<td>13th</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8.87</td>
<td>6.14</td>
<td>6.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>df</td>
<td>m.s.</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Between 2</td>
<td>70.7109</td>
<td>35.4094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Within 41</td>
<td>1865.1811</td>
<td>41.1019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not statistically significant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Session</td>
<td>14th</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>df</td>
<td>m.s.</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Between 2</td>
<td>531.1006</td>
<td>265.7043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Within 55</td>
<td>1280.4427</td>
<td>23.4625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Statistically significant at 1% level</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Session</td>
<td>14th</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.95</td>
<td>4.71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>df</td>
<td>m.s.</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Between 2</td>
<td>0.9915</td>
<td>0.9915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Within 81</td>
<td>2260.3507</td>
<td>27.9080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>83</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not statistically significant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Session</td>
<td>15th</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5.09</td>
<td>4.21</td>
<td>2.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>df</td>
<td>m.s.</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Between 2</td>
<td>62.6486</td>
<td>31.3213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Within 83</td>
<td>2040.4388</td>
<td>24.5836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>85</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not statistically significant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd Session</td>
<td>11th</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.81</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>df</td>
<td>m.s.</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Between 1</td>
<td>49.58</td>
<td>49.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Within 34</td>
<td>22.829.64</td>
<td>671.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not statistically significant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Session</td>
<td>12th</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.56</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>df</td>
<td>m.s.</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Between 1</td>
<td>2.9310</td>
<td>2.9310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Within 36</td>
<td>1049.9375</td>
<td>28.9902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not statistically significant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st and 2nd Sessions</td>
<td>13th</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6.66</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>df</td>
<td>m.s.</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Between 1</td>
<td>10.7596</td>
<td>10.7596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Within 46</td>
<td>1705.2196</td>
<td>37.0699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not statistically significant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Session</td>
<td>14th</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5.54</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>2.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>df</td>
<td>m.s.</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Between 1</td>
<td>107.2947</td>
<td>83.6413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Within 54</td>
<td>12.292.8524</td>
<td>227.6454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not statistically significant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Session</td>
<td>14th</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>df</td>
<td>m.s.</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Between 1</td>
<td>-438.7346</td>
<td>-438.7346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Within 65</td>
<td>2378.5177</td>
<td>36.591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not statistically significant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Session</td>
<td>15th</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.58</td>
<td>3.31</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>df</td>
<td>m.s.</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Between 2</td>
<td>103.5359</td>
<td>51.7679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Within 77</td>
<td>1662.2641</td>
<td>21.5878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Statistically significant at 10% level</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd and 4th Sessions</td>
<td>15th</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5.65</td>
<td>5.26</td>
<td>3.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>df</td>
<td>m.s.</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Between 2</td>
<td>33.3136</td>
<td>16.5658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Within 77</td>
<td>2076.3559</td>
<td>26.9656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not statistically significant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 16 - Occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Session 11th Parliament</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type 1 5.56(1)</td>
<td>30.00(3)</td>
<td>10.00(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 2 33.33(6)</td>
<td>6.00(9)</td>
<td>3.30(15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 3 55.56(10)</td>
<td>3.33(4)</td>
<td>7.50(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 4 5.56(1)</td>
<td>8.33(2)</td>
<td>1.50(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown (0)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL (18)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(31)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2nd and 3rd Sessions 11th Parliament</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type 1 10.53(2)</td>
<td>16.67(2)</td>
<td>12.50(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 2 33.34(17)</td>
<td>33.34(4)</td>
<td>35.90(14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 3 47.37(9)</td>
<td>41.67(5)</td>
<td>46.15(18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 4 5.26(1)</td>
<td>8.33(1)</td>
<td>5.13(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown (0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL (20)</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>(23)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2nd Session 12th Parliament</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type 1 13.88(5)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10.88(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 2 30.56(11)</td>
<td>20.00(1)</td>
<td>34.78(16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 3 52.78(19)</td>
<td>80.00(4)</td>
<td>52.17(24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 4 5.26(1)</td>
<td>8.33(1)</td>
<td>2.17(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown (0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL (38)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(43)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd Session 11th Parliament</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type 1 20.00(6)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13.64(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 2 33.33(10)</td>
<td>14.29(1)</td>
<td>21.86(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 3 43.34(13)</td>
<td>85.71(6)</td>
<td>52.27(23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 4 3.34(1)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.27(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown (0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL (30)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(37)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2nd Session 14th Parliament</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type 1 36.40(4)</td>
<td>17.64(3)</td>
<td>15.90(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 2 27.20(1)</td>
<td>29.43(5)</td>
<td>43.75(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 3 34.60(4)</td>
<td>47.05(8)</td>
<td>37.50(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 4 0.00(18)</td>
<td>18.75(3)</td>
<td>9.00(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown (0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL (14)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(16)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4th Session 14th Parliament</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type 1 17.80(8)</td>
<td>3.90(1)</td>
<td>12.70(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 2 42.20(19)</td>
<td>34.60(9)</td>
<td>29.40(28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 3 40.00(18)</td>
<td>50.00(5)</td>
<td>38.20(13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 4 11.50(3)</td>
<td>5.50(3)</td>
<td>4.20(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown (0)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL (55)</td>
<td>(83)</td>
<td>(83)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2nd Session 15th Parliament</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type 1 15.39(8)</td>
<td>10.00(1)</td>
<td>11.39(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 2 57.69(30)</td>
<td>64.71(11)</td>
<td>58.23(46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 3 25.00(13)</td>
<td>35.29(6)</td>
<td>29.11(23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 4 1.92(1)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.27(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown (0)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL (56)</td>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>(66)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd and 4th Sessions 15th Parliament</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type 1 19.35(9)</td>
<td>9.09(1)</td>
<td>9.35(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 2 55.32(26)</td>
<td>52.94(9)</td>
<td>54.55(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 3 25.53(12)</td>
<td>41.10(7)</td>
<td>36.34(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 4 1.92(1)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.27(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown (0)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL (56)</td>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>(66)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 17 - OCCUPATION
(Liberal Professionals each Bloc as Percentage of Total Liberal Professionals)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>Patriots</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11-1</td>
<td>42.86</td>
<td>7.14</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-2</td>
<td>76.92</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>23.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-3,4</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>28.57</td>
<td>21.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-1</td>
<td>46.15</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>53.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-2,3</td>
<td>68.75</td>
<td>6.25</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-1,2</td>
<td>72.22</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>27.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-3</td>
<td>71.43</td>
<td>7.14</td>
<td>21.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-1</td>
<td>21.05</td>
<td>47.37</td>
<td>31.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-2</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>46.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-3</td>
<td>59.09</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>40.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-4</td>
<td>67.86</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>32.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-1</td>
<td>71.05</td>
<td>18.42</td>
<td>10.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-2</td>
<td>65.22</td>
<td>23.91</td>
<td>10.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-3,4</td>
<td>63.41</td>
<td>21.95</td>
<td>14.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td>Patriots</td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-1</td>
<td>52.63</td>
<td>31.58</td>
<td>15.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-2</td>
<td>88.24</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>11.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-3,4</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>27.78</td>
<td>22.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-1</td>
<td>36.84</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>63.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-2,3</td>
<td>79.17</td>
<td>16.67</td>
<td>4.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-1,2</td>
<td>90.00</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-3</td>
<td>56.52</td>
<td>26.09</td>
<td>17.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-1</td>
<td>28.00</td>
<td>44.00</td>
<td>28.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-2</td>
<td>22.22</td>
<td>44.45</td>
<td>33.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-3</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>66.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-4</td>
<td>58.19</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>41.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-1</td>
<td>69.23</td>
<td>15.38</td>
<td>15.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-2</td>
<td>56.52</td>
<td>26.09</td>
<td>17.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-3,4</td>
<td>52.17</td>
<td>30.44</td>
<td>17.39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 19 - OCCUPATION
(Farmers each Bloc as Percentage of Total Farmers)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>Patriotes</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11-1</td>
<td>25.00</td>
<td>75.00</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-2</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-3,4</td>
<td>40.00</td>
<td>40.00</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-1</td>
<td>75.00</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-2,3</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-1,2</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-3</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-1</td>
<td>57.14</td>
<td>28.58</td>
<td>14.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-2</td>
<td>57.14</td>
<td>42.86</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-3</td>
<td>88.89</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>11.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-4</td>
<td>80.00</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-1</td>
<td>87.50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-2</td>
<td>88.89</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-3,4</td>
<td>81.82</td>
<td>9.09</td>
<td>9.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SESSION</td>
<td>PARLIAMENT</td>
<td>GOVERNMENT</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>11th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F-C</td>
<td>Patriotes</td>
<td>88.89 (16)</td>
<td>25.00 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>100.00 (11)</td>
<td>75.00 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>11.11 (2)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>2.44 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(18)</td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>(41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd and 4th</td>
<td>11th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F-C</td>
<td>Patriotes</td>
<td>95.00 (19)</td>
<td>50.00 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>84.62 (11)</td>
<td>50.00 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>15.38 (2)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5.00 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>2.44 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd and 3rd</td>
<td>12th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F-C</td>
<td>Patriotes</td>
<td>86.84 (33)</td>
<td>40.00 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>40.00 (2)</td>
<td>60.00 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>10.52 (4)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2.64 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>2.08 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(38)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>13th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F-C</td>
<td>Patriotes</td>
<td>70.00 (21)</td>
<td>14.28 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>71.43 (3)</td>
<td>14.28 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>23.33 (7)</td>
<td>14.29 (1)</td>
<td>14.29 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6.67 (2)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(30)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>14th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F-C</td>
<td>Patriotes</td>
<td>92.90 (13)</td>
<td>56.25 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>70.59 (12)</td>
<td>23.52 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>7.10 (1)</td>
<td>37.50 (6)</td>
<td>6.25 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5.89 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>(47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>15th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F-C</td>
<td>Patriotes</td>
<td>87.00 (47)</td>
<td>35.70 (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>57.10 (16)</td>
<td>25.60 (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>9.30 (5)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3.70 (2)</td>
<td>7.20 (2)</td>
<td>4.90 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(54)</td>
<td>(28)</td>
<td>(82)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>16th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F-C</td>
<td>Patriotes</td>
<td>75.00 (42)</td>
<td>9.10 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>89.47 (17)</td>
<td>72.72 (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>17.86 (10)</td>
<td>5.27 (1)</td>
<td>18.18 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7.14 (4)</td>
<td>5.26 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(56)</td>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>(86)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td>Patriotes</td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-1</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>80.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-2</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>66.67</td>
<td>66.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-3,4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>66.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-1</td>
<td>25.00</td>
<td>75.00</td>
<td>75.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-2,3</td>
<td>40.00</td>
<td>30.00</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-1,2</td>
<td>66.67</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>33.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-3</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>14.44</td>
<td>35.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-1</td>
<td>15.39</td>
<td>7.69</td>
<td>76.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-2</td>
<td>9.09</td>
<td>36.36</td>
<td>54.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-3</td>
<td>6.67</td>
<td>93.33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-4</td>
<td>22.73</td>
<td>77.27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-1</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-2</td>
<td>52.63</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>47.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-3,4</td>
<td>36.84</td>
<td>5.27</td>
<td>57.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session</td>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td>Patriots</td>
<td>Moderates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>11th</td>
<td>RC 88.89(16)</td>
<td>100.00(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P 11.11(2)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL (18)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd and 4th</td>
<td>11th</td>
<td>RC 100.00(20)</td>
<td>84.62(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P (0)</td>
<td>15.38(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL (20)</td>
<td>(13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd and 3rd</td>
<td>12th</td>
<td>RC 92.11(35)</td>
<td>40.00(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P 7.89(3)</td>
<td>60.00(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL (38)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>13th</td>
<td>RC 80.00(24)</td>
<td>71.43(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P 20.00(6)</td>
<td>28.57(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL (30)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>14th</td>
<td>RC 100.00(14)</td>
<td>81.25(13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P (0)</td>
<td>18.75(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL (14)</td>
<td>(16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>14th</td>
<td>RC 92.50(49)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P 7.50(4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL (53)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>15th</td>
<td>RC 82.14(46)</td>
<td>94.74(18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P 17.86(10)</td>
<td>5.26(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL (56)</td>
<td>(19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td>Patriots</td>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-1</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>80.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-2</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>66.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-3,4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>66.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-1</td>
<td>25.00</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>75.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-2,3</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>33.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-1,2</td>
<td>62.50</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>37.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-3</td>
<td>44.44</td>
<td>11.12</td>
<td>44.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12.50</td>
<td>87.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>37.50</td>
<td>62.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-3</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>90.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-4</td>
<td>28.57</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>71.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-1</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-2</td>
<td>52.63</td>
<td>5.26</td>
<td>42.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-3,4</td>
<td>35.29</td>
<td>5.89</td>
<td>58.82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C

VOTING BLOCS
## VOTING BLOCS - 11th PARLIAMENT 1st SESSION
(14 Dec 1820-17 Mar 1821)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PATRIOTES</th>
<th>GOVERNMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-1</td>
<td>A-54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-5</td>
<td>A-72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-16</td>
<td>A-83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-58</td>
<td>A-102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-62</td>
<td>A-128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-83</td>
<td>A-142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-93</td>
<td>A-143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-97</td>
<td>A-144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-110</td>
<td>A-177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-111</td>
<td>A-181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All3</td>
<td>A-195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-145</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-159</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-160</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-181</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-195</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-198</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MODERATES</th>
<th>ABSENTEES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-29</td>
<td>A-79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-34</td>
<td>A-148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-53</td>
<td>A-150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-78</td>
<td>A-151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-84</td>
<td>A-172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-135</td>
<td>A-184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-154</td>
<td>A-179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-157</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-158</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-165</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-196</td>
<td>A-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A-139</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### VOTING BLOCS - 11th PARLIAMENT 2nd SESSION
(11 Dec 1821-18 Feb 1822)

#### PATRIOTES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A-1</th>
<th>Amiot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-16</td>
<td>Bélanger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-23</td>
<td>Blanchet, F.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-29</td>
<td>Bourdages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-34</td>
<td>Bureau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-53</td>
<td>Cuvillier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-58</td>
<td>Deligny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-62</td>
<td>Dessaulles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-72</td>
<td>Dumont</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-78</td>
<td>Fortin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-79</td>
<td>Fournier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-84</td>
<td>Gauvreau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-93</td>
<td>Heney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-110</td>
<td>Lagueux, E-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-111</td>
<td>Lagueux, L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-113</td>
<td>Langevin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-128</td>
<td>McCullum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-135</td>
<td>Mousseau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-139</td>
<td>Neilson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-145</td>
<td>Panet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-148</td>
<td>Paré</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-150</td>
<td>Perrault, A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-151</td>
<td>Perrault, J.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-154</td>
<td>Picotte,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-158</td>
<td>Proulx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-159</td>
<td>Quesnel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-160</td>
<td>Quirouet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-165</td>
<td>Robitaille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-168</td>
<td>Rochon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-179</td>
<td>Taché</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-195</td>
<td>Vallières de St Réal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-196</td>
<td>Valois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-198</td>
<td>Viger</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### GOVERNMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A-54</th>
<th>Davidson</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-102</td>
<td>Jones, Robert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-142</td>
<td>Ogden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-143</td>
<td>Oldham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-181</td>
<td>Taschereau, J-T</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### ABSENTEES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A-5</th>
<th>Badeaux</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-172</td>
<td>St Onge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### ELIMINATED (would not group)

| A-178| Stuart, James |

VOTING BLOCS - 11th PARLIAMENT 3rd and 4th SESSIONS
(10 Jan-22 Mar 1823; 25 Nov 1823-9 Mar 1824)

PATRIOTES
A-5 Badeaux
A-16 Belanger
A-23 Blanchet, F.
A-34 Bureau
A-53 Cuvillier
A-62 Dessaulles
A-71 Duchesnois
A-78 Fortin
A-93 Heney
A-110 Lagueux, E-C
A-111 Lagueux, L.
A-113 Langevin
A-145 Panet
A-147 Papineau, L-J
A-148 Paré
A-151 Perrault, J
A-160 Quirouet
A-168 Rochon
A-196 Valois
A-198 Viger, D-B

GOVERNMENT
A-54 Davidson
A-58 Deligny
A-79 Fournier
A-83 Garden
A-142 Ogden
A-143 Oldham
A-172 St Ongé
A-181 Taschereau, J-T

ABSENTEES
A-102 Jones, Robert
A-135 Mousseau
A-144 O'Sullivan
A-154 Picotte
A-157 Prevost
A-184 Tassé

MODERATES
A-1 Amiot
A-3 Arcand
A-29 Bourdages
A-47 Clouet
A-72 Dumont
A-80 Franchère
A-128 McCullum
A-150 Perrault, A.
A-158 Proulx
A-159 Quesnel
A-165 Robitaille
A-177 Stuart, A.
A-179 Taché
VOTING BLOCS - 12th PARLIAMENT 1st SESSION
(8 Jan-22 Mar 1825)

PATRIOTES
A-1 Amiot
A-8 Barbier
A-16 Belanger
A-18 Berthelot, A.
A-34 Bureau
A-39 Caron
A-53 Cuvillier
A-58 Deligny
A-93 Heney
A-116 Laterrière
A-126 Massue
A-139 Neilson
A-151 Perrault, J.
A-162 Raymond
A-168 Rochon
A-198 Viger, D-B

GOVERNMENT
A-23 Blanchet
A-36 Cannon
A-47 Clouet*
A-51 Couillard-Després
A-60 De Montigny*
A-62 Dessaulles *
A-63 De St Ours*
A-68 Drolet
A-72 Dumont
A-82 Fraser, John*
A-111 Lagueux, Louis
A-158 Proulx
A-160 Quirouet :
A-159 Quesnel*
A-161 Ranvoyzé
A-167 Rochebave*
A-170 Rouville*
A-176 Simpson :
A-181 Taschereau, J-T
A-193 Turgeon :
A-195 Vallières de St Réal
A-204 Young

ELIMINATED (would not group)
A-25 Boissanault
A-26 Borgia
A-29 Bourdages, L.
A-52 Courteau

ABSENTEES
A-78 Fortin
A-165 Robitaille
A-196 Valois
A-210 Caldwell, Henry John
A-54 Davidson

(Those with asterix could be classified as a weak sub-group of Patriotes but have much greater cohesion as part of Government Bloc)
VOTING BLOCS - 12th PARLIAMENT 2nd and 3rd SESSIONS
(21 Jan-29 Mar 1826; 23 Jan-7 Mar 1827)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PATRIOTES</th>
<th>MODERATES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-1 Amiot</td>
<td>A-72 Dumont</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-16 Belanger</td>
<td>A-176 Simpson, John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-18 Berthelot, A.</td>
<td>A-178 Stuart, James</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-23 Blanchet, F.</td>
<td>A-181 Taschereau, J-T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-25 Boissanault</td>
<td>A-210 Caldwell, Henry J.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-29 Bourdages, L.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-34 Bureau</td>
<td>GOVERNMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-36 Cannon*</td>
<td>A-51 Couillard-Després</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-39 Caron</td>
<td>A-54 Davidson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-47 Cloutet</td>
<td>A-142 Ogden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-52 Courteau</td>
<td>A-195 Vallières de St Réal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-53 Cuvillier</td>
<td>A-204 Young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-58 Déligny</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-60 De Montigny*</td>
<td>ELIMINATED (would not group)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-62 Dessaulles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-63 De St Ours</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-68 Drolet</td>
<td>A-26 Borgia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-78 Fortin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### VOTING BLOCS - 13th PARLIAMENT 1st and 2nd SESSIONS
(20-22 Nov 1827; 21 Nov 1828-14 Mar 1829)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PATRIOTES</th>
<th>GOVERNMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-1 Amiot</td>
<td>A-25 Boissanault</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-23 Blanchet, F.</td>
<td>A-26 Borgia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-29 Bourdages, L.</td>
<td>A-118 Lee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-34 Bureau</td>
<td>A-125 Malhiot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-36 Cannon</td>
<td>A-142 Ogden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-39 Caron, C.</td>
<td>A-177 Stuart, A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-47 Clouet</td>
<td>A-204 Young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-53 Cuvillier</td>
<td>(Very loosely-knit Bloc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-58 Deligny</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-62 Dessaulles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-63 De St Ours</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-73 Dumoulin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-78 Fortin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-93 Heney</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-106 Labrie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-110 Lagueux, E-C*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-111 Lagueux, Louis*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-115 Larue*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-116 Laterriere*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-119 Lefebvre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-122 Leroux</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-123 Leslie*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-124 Letourneau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-135 Mousseau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-137 Nelson, R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-138 Nelson, W.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-139 Neilson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-146 Papineau, A.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-151 Perrault, J.*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-155 Poirier</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-158 Proulx</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-159 Quesnel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-160 Quirouet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-162 Raymond</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-165 Robitaille</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-170 Rouville</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-174 Samson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-193 Turgeon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-195 VALLIÈRES de St Réal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-196 Valois</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-198 Viger, D-B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Weak members marked with asterix)
VOTING BLOCS - 13th PARLIAMENT 3rd SESSION  
22 Jan-26 Mar 1830)

**PATRIOTES**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-1</td>
<td>Amiot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-23</td>
<td>Blanchet, F.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-29</td>
<td>Bourdages, L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-33</td>
<td>Brooks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-34</td>
<td>Bureau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-36</td>
<td>Cannon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-39</td>
<td>Caron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-45</td>
<td>Child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-47</td>
<td>Clouet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-58</td>
<td>Déligny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-62</td>
<td>Dessaulles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-63</td>
<td>De St Ours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-78</td>
<td>Fortin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-105</td>
<td>Knowlton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-106</td>
<td>Labrie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-110</td>
<td>Lagueux, E-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-111</td>
<td>Lagueux, Louis*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-115</td>
<td>Larue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-116</td>
<td>Laterrière</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-124</td>
<td>Létourneau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-135</td>
<td>Mousseau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-139</td>
<td>Neilson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-146</td>
<td>Papineau, A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-149</td>
<td>Peck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-158</td>
<td>Proulx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-159</td>
<td>Quesnel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-170</td>
<td>Rouville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-174</td>
<td>Samson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-193</td>
<td>Turgeon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-198</td>
<td>Viger, D-B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MODERATES**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-53</td>
<td>Cuvillier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-74</td>
<td>Duval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-123</td>
<td>Leslie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-125</td>
<td>Malhiot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-160</td>
<td>Quirouet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-162</td>
<td>Raymond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-175</td>
<td>Scott</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**GOVERNMENT**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-25</td>
<td>Boissonault</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-94</td>
<td>Herriott</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-142</td>
<td>Ogden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-177</td>
<td>Stuart, A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-204</td>
<td>Young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-208</td>
<td>Freleigh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-209</td>
<td>Tremain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ABSENTEES**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-151</td>
<td>Perrault, J.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-155</td>
<td>Poirier</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ELIMINATED (would not group)**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-26</td>
<td>Borgia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(A-111 Louis Lagueux is a very weak member of the Bloc)
VOTING BLOCS - 14th PARLIAMENT 1st SESSION
(24 Jan-31 Mar 1831)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PATRIOTES</th>
<th>MODERATES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-25 Boissanault</td>
<td>A-12 Beaudet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-33 Brooks</td>
<td>A-22 Blanchard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-34 Bureau</td>
<td>A-29 Bourdages, L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-49 Corneau</td>
<td>A-210 Caldwell, H.J.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-211 Deschamps</td>
<td>A-41 Casgrain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-62 Dessaulles</td>
<td>A-42 Cazeau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-205 Dorion, P-A</td>
<td>A-47 Clouet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-78 Fortin</td>
<td>A-52 Courteau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-111 Lagueux, Louis</td>
<td>A-53 Cuvillier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-118 Lee</td>
<td>A-58 Déligny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-131 Métrot</td>
<td>A-59 De Montenac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-135 Mousseau</td>
<td>A-65 Dionne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-140 Noel</td>
<td>A-74 Duval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-162 Raymond</td>
<td>A-94 Herriot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-192 Trudel</td>
<td>A-98 Huot, H-S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-196 Valois</td>
<td>A-100 Joliette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-199 Viger, L-M</td>
<td>A-109 La Fontaine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A-115 Larue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A-116 Laterrière</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A-124 Létourneau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A-134 Morin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A-145 Panet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A-180 Taschereau, A-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A-183 Taschereau, P-E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A-189 Thibaudeau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOVERNMENT</td>
<td>ABDENTEEES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-6 Baker</td>
<td>A-1 Amiot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-11 Baxter</td>
<td>A-30 Bourdages, R-S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-15 Bédard, Isidore</td>
<td>A-46 Christie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-64 De Witt</td>
<td>A-73 Dumoulin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-87 Goodhue</td>
<td>A-90 Guillet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-93 Heney</td>
<td>A-105 Knowlton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-96 Hoyle</td>
<td>A-125 Malhiot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-106 Labrie</td>
<td>A-158 Proulx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-123 Leslie</td>
<td>A-168 Rochon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-139 Neilson</td>
<td>A-177 Stuart, A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-149 Peck</td>
<td>A-193 Turgeon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-160 Quirozet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-202 Wright</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-204 Young</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ELIMINATED (would not group)

A-4 Archambeault
A-5 Badeaux
A-63 De St Ours
A-77 Fisher
A-159 Quesnel
A-170 Rouville
A-175 Scott
A-203 Wurtele
VOTING BLOCS - 14th PARLIAMENT 2nd SESSION
(15 Nov 1831-25 Feb 1832)

PATRIOTES
A-29 Bourdages, L.
A-34 Bureau
A-42 Cazeau
A-52 Courteau
A-211 Deschamps
A-62 Dessaulles
A-205 Dorion, P-A
A-78 Fortin
A-118 Lee
A-158 Proulx
A-162 Raymond
A-168 Rochon
A-199 Viger, L-M

GOVERNMENT
A-5 Badeaux
A-41 Casgrain
A-74 Duval
A-93 Heney
A-94 Herriot
A-96 Hoyle
A-115 Larue
A-149 Peck
A-159 Quesnel
A-160 Quirouet
A-177 Stuart, Andrew
A-180 Taschereau, A-C
A-183 Taschereau, P-E
A-185 Taylor
A-203 Wurtele
A-204 Young

MODERATES
A-4 Archambeault
A-6 Baker, Stevens
A-25 Boissanault
A-53 Cuvillier
A-58 Déligny
A-111 Lagueux, Louis
A-116 Laterrière
A-123 Leslie
A-125 Malhiot
A-134 Morin
A-140 Noel
A-145 Panet
A-175 Scott
A-189 Thibaudeau
A-192 Trudel
A-196 Valois
A-202 Wright

ABSENTEES
A-49 Corneau
A-63 De St Ours
A-66 Dorion, Jacques
A-73 Dumoulin
A-77 Fisher
A-85 Girouard
A-90 Guillet
A-105 Knowlton
A-114 Languedoc
A-131 Méhot
A-170 Rouleau
A-193 Tiroule

ELIMINATED (would not group)
A-22 Blanchard
A-30 Bourdages, R-S
A-47 Cloutet
A-64 De Witt
A-65 Dionne
A-87 Goodhue
A-89 Guzy
A-98 Huot, H-S
A-100 Joliette
A-109 La Fontaine
A-124 Létourneau
A-132 Mondelet
A-135 Mousseau
A-139 Neilson
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PATRIOTES</th>
<th>GOVERNMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-1 Amiot</td>
<td>A-2 Anderson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-14 Bédard, Elzéar</td>
<td>A-4 Archambeault</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-17 Bertrand</td>
<td>A-19 Berthelot, Olivier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-22 Blanchard</td>
<td>A-210 Caldwell, H.J.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-28 Bouffard</td>
<td>A-47 Clouet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-29 Bourdages, L.</td>
<td>A-53 Cuvillier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-34 Bureau</td>
<td>A-55 Davis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-42 Cazeau</td>
<td>A-65 Dionne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-58 Déligny</td>
<td>A-74 Duval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-211 Deschamps</td>
<td>A-87 Goodhue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-64 De Witt</td>
<td>A-89 Gugy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-205 Dorion, P-A</td>
<td>A-91 Hamilton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-56 De Bleury</td>
<td>A-94 Herriot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-78 Fortin</td>
<td>A-96 Hoyle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-85 Girouard</td>
<td>A-115 Larue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-90 Guillet</td>
<td>A-121 Le May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-98 Huot, H-S</td>
<td>A-123 Leslie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-103 Kimber</td>
<td>A-134 Morin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-109 La Fontaine</td>
<td>A-139 Neilson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-131 Méthot</td>
<td>A-156 Power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-135 Mousseau</td>
<td>A-159 Quesnel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-212 Poulin</td>
<td>A-160 Quirouet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-158 Proulx</td>
<td>A-175 Scott</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-162 Raymond</td>
<td>A-177 Stuart, Andrew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-163 Rinville</td>
<td>A-180 Taschereau, A-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-164 Rivard</td>
<td>A-185 Taylor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-166 Rocbrune dit Laroque</td>
<td>A-190 Tonnancour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-168 Rochon</td>
<td>A-201 Wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-169 Rodier</td>
<td>A-202 Wright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-206 Simon</td>
<td>A-203 Wurtele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-189 Thibaudeau</td>
<td>A-204 Young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-192 Trudel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-193 Turgeon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-196 Valois</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-197 Van Felson</td>
<td>TA3RDEES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-199 Viger</td>
<td>A-5 Badeaux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-132 Mondelet</td>
<td>A-6 Baker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-140 Noel</td>
<td>A-11 Baxter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-149 Peck</td>
<td>A-25 Boissanault</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-183 Taschereau, P-E</td>
<td>A-30 Bourdages, R-S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-191 Toomy</td>
<td>A-41 Casgrain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-132 Mondelet</td>
<td>A-61a Desfossés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-140 Noel</td>
<td>A-66 Dorion, Jacques</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-149 Peck</td>
<td>A-69 Drolet, J-T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-183 Taschereau, P-E</td>
<td>A-105 Knowlton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-191 Toomy</td>
<td>A-124 Létourneau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ABSENTEES**

- A-132 Mondelet
- A-140 Noel
- A-149 Peck
- A-183 Taschereau, P-E
- A-191 Toomy

**ELIMINATED (would not group)**

- A-52 Courteau
# VOTING BLOCS - 14th PARLIAMENT 4th SESSION
(7 Jan-18 Mar 1834)

## PATRIOTES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-1</td>
<td>Amiot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-4</td>
<td>Archambeault</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-14</td>
<td>Bédard, Elzéar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-17</td>
<td>Bertrand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-20</td>
<td>Besserer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-22</td>
<td>Blanchard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-25</td>
<td>Boissonnault</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-28</td>
<td>Bouffard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-29</td>
<td>Bourdages, L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-34</td>
<td>Bureau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-37</td>
<td>Careau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-42</td>
<td>Cazeau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-45</td>
<td>Child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-52</td>
<td>Courteau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-56</td>
<td>De Bleury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-58</td>
<td>Deligny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-211</td>
<td>Deschamps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-64</td>
<td>De Witt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-65</td>
<td>Dionne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-66</td>
<td>Dorion, Jacques</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-205</td>
<td>Dorion, P-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-69</td>
<td>Drolet, J-T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-78</td>
<td>Fortin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-85</td>
<td>Girouard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-86</td>
<td>Godbout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-90</td>
<td>Guillet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-98</td>
<td>Huot, H-S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-103</td>
<td>Kimber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-109</td>
<td>La Fontaine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-115</td>
<td>Larue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-123</td>
<td>Leslie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-124</td>
<td>Létourneau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-131</td>
<td>Méthot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-134</td>
<td>Morin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-135</td>
<td>Mousseau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-140</td>
<td>Noel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-212</td>
<td>Poulin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-158</td>
<td>Proulx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-162</td>
<td>Raymond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-164</td>
<td>Rivard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-166</td>
<td>Rocbrune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-168</td>
<td>Rochon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-169</td>
<td>Rodier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-175</td>
<td>Scott</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## PATRIOTES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-206</td>
<td>Simon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-180</td>
<td>Taschereau, A-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-183</td>
<td>Taschereau, P-E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-186</td>
<td>Tessier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-190</td>
<td>Tonnancour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-191</td>
<td>Toomy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-192</td>
<td>Trudel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-193</td>
<td>Turgeon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-196</td>
<td>Valois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-197</td>
<td>Van Felson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-199</td>
<td>Viger, L-M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## GOVERNMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-2</td>
<td>Anderson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-5</td>
<td>Badeaux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-6</td>
<td>Baker, Stevens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-19</td>
<td>Berthelot, Olivier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-210</td>
<td>Caldwell, H.J.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-41</td>
<td>Casgrain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-43</td>
<td>Chamberlain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-53</td>
<td>Cuvillier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-55</td>
<td>Davis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-74</td>
<td>Duval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-87</td>
<td>Goodhue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-89</td>
<td>Guy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-91</td>
<td>Hamilton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-96</td>
<td>Hoyle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-105</td>
<td>Knowlton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-114</td>
<td>Languedoc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-117</td>
<td>Le Boutillier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-121</td>
<td>Le May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-139</td>
<td>Neilson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-149</td>
<td>Peck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-156</td>
<td>Power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-159</td>
<td>Quesnel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-177</td>
<td>Stuart, Andrew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-185</td>
<td>Taylor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-201</td>
<td>Wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-202</td>
<td>Wright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-203</td>
<td>Wurtele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-204</td>
<td>Young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PATRIOTES</td>
<td>PATRIOTES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-1  Amiot</td>
<td>A-169 Rodier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-9   Bardy</td>
<td>A-171 Roy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-10  Barnard</td>
<td>A-175 Scott</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-13  Beaudoin</td>
<td>A-180 Taschereau, A-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-18  Berthelot, Amable</td>
<td>A-183 Taschereau, P-E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-20  Besserer</td>
<td>A-186 Tessier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-22  Blanchard</td>
<td>A-190 Tonnancour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-24  Blanchet, J.</td>
<td>A-191 Toomy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-25  Boissonault</td>
<td>A-192 Trudel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-27  Bouc</td>
<td>A-199 Viger, L-M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-31  Bouthillier</td>
<td>A-205 Dorion, P-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-34  Bureau</td>
<td>(Extremely high within-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-37  Careau</td>
<td>bloc cohesion)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-38  Cardinal</td>
<td>MODERATES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-42  Cazeau</td>
<td>A-4 Archambeault</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-44  Cherrier</td>
<td>A-14 Bédard, Elzéar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-45  Child</td>
<td>A-17 Bertrand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-50  Coté</td>
<td>A-28 Bouffard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-52  Courteau</td>
<td>A-35 Canac dit Marquis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-56  De Bleury</td>
<td>A-40 Caron, R-E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-58  Déligny</td>
<td>A-57 De Blois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-64  De Witt</td>
<td>A-70 Dubord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-65  Dionne</td>
<td>A-86 Godbout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-66  Dorion, Jacques</td>
<td>A-98 Huot, H-S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-69  Drolet, J-T</td>
<td>A-115 Larue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-85  Girouard</td>
<td>A-197 Van Felson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-88  Grannis</td>
<td>A-206 Simon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-90  Guillet</td>
<td>(closer to Patriots,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-95  Hotchkiss</td>
<td>50-60%, than to Government,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-103 Kimber</td>
<td>26-60% agreement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-108 Lacoste</td>
<td>GOVERNMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-109 La Fontaine</td>
<td>A-7 Baker, William</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-123 Leslie</td>
<td>A-21 Blackburn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-124 Létourneau</td>
<td>A-32 Bowman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-129 Meilleur</td>
<td>A-207 Clapham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-131 Mèthot</td>
<td>A-89 Gugy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-134 Morin</td>
<td>A-117 Le Bouthillier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-135 Mousseau</td>
<td>A-133 Moore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-140 Noel</td>
<td>A-156 Power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-141 O'Callaghan</td>
<td>A-200 Wells</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-152 Perrault, Ovide</td>
<td>A-201 Wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-153 Pickel</td>
<td>(complete opposition to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-158 Proulx</td>
<td>Patriots, 0-20% agreement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-162 Raymond</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-166 Rocbrune dit Laroque</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-168 Rochon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VOTING BLOCS - 15th PARLIAMENT 2nd SESSION  
(27 Oct 1835-21 Mar 1836)

PATRIOTES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-1</td>
<td>Amiot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-4</td>
<td>Archambeault</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-9</td>
<td>Bardy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-10</td>
<td>Barnard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-13</td>
<td>Beaudoin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-18</td>
<td>Berthelot, Amable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-20</td>
<td>Besserer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-22</td>
<td>Blanchard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-24</td>
<td>Blanchet, J.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-27</td>
<td>Bouc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-31</td>
<td>Boutillier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-37</td>
<td>Careau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-38</td>
<td>Cardinal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-42</td>
<td>Cazeau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-44</td>
<td>Cherrier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-45</td>
<td>Child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-50</td>
<td>Coté</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-52</td>
<td>Courteau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-56</td>
<td>De Bleurcy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-57</td>
<td>De Blois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-58</td>
<td>Déligny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-64</td>
<td>De Witt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-66</td>
<td>Dorion, Jacques</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-205</td>
<td>Dorion, P-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-67</td>
<td>Drolet, Charles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-69</td>
<td>Drolet, J-T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-78</td>
<td>Fortin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-85</td>
<td>Girouard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-88</td>
<td>Grannis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-92</td>
<td>Hébert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-95</td>
<td>Hotchkiss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-99</td>
<td>Jobin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-103</td>
<td>Kimber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-104</td>
<td>Knight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-109</td>
<td>La Fontaine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-123</td>
<td>Leslie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-124</td>
<td>Létourneau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-129</td>
<td>Meilleur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-134</td>
<td>Morin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-135</td>
<td>Mousseau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-137</td>
<td>Nelson, Robert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-141</td>
<td>O'Callaghan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-152</td>
<td>Perrault, Ovide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-153</td>
<td>Pickel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-158</td>
<td>Proulx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-162</td>
<td>Raymond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-166</td>
<td>Rocbrune dit Laroque</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PATRIOTES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-169</td>
<td>Rodier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-171</td>
<td>Roy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-175</td>
<td>Scott</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-182</td>
<td>Taschereau, J-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-183</td>
<td>Taschereau, P-E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-189</td>
<td>Thibodeau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-191</td>
<td>Toomy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-192</td>
<td>Trudel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-199</td>
<td>Viger, L-M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MODERATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-14</td>
<td>Bédard, Elzéar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-17</td>
<td>Bertrand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-28</td>
<td>Bouffard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-35</td>
<td>Canac dit Marquis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-40</td>
<td>Caron, R-E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-70</td>
<td>Dubord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-81</td>
<td>Fraser,Alexander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-86</td>
<td>Godbout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-90</td>
<td>Guillet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-98</td>
<td>Huot, H-S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-108</td>
<td>Lacoste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-115</td>
<td>Larue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-206</td>
<td>Simon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-131</td>
<td>Méthot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-179</td>
<td>Taché</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-180</td>
<td>Taschereau, A-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-186</td>
<td>Thessier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-190</td>
<td>Tonnancour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-197</td>
<td>Van Felson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(moving away from Patriots towards Government Bloc)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GOVERNMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-7</td>
<td>Baker, William</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-21</td>
<td>Blackburn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-32</td>
<td>Bowman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-207</td>
<td>Clapham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-89</td>
<td>Guigy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-117</td>
<td>Le Boutillier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-133</td>
<td>Moore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-140</td>
<td>Noel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-156</td>
<td>Power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-200</td>
<td>Wells</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-201</td>
<td>Wood</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VOTING BLOCS - 15th PARLIAMENT 3rd and 4th SESSIONS
(22 Sep-4 Oct 1836; 18-26 Aug 1837)

PATRIOTES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-1</td>
<td>Amiot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-9</td>
<td>Bardy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-10</td>
<td>Barnard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-18</td>
<td>Berthelot, Amable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-20</td>
<td>Besserer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-22</td>
<td>Blanchard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-24</td>
<td>Blanchet, J.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-31</td>
<td>Boutillier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-37</td>
<td>Careau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-38</td>
<td>Cardinal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-42</td>
<td>Cazeau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-44</td>
<td>Cherrier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-45</td>
<td>Child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-50</td>
<td>Coté</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-52</td>
<td>Courteau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-61</td>
<td>Desaulniers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-64</td>
<td>De Witt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-66</td>
<td>Dorion, Jacques</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-205</td>
<td>Dorion, P-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-67</td>
<td>Drolet, Charles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-69</td>
<td>Drolet, J-T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-70</td>
<td>Dubord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-75</td>
<td>Duvernay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-78</td>
<td>Fortin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-85</td>
<td>Girouard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-92</td>
<td>Hebert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-99</td>
<td>Jobin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-104</td>
<td>Knight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-108</td>
<td>Lacoste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-109</td>
<td>La Fontaine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-112</td>
<td>Lajoie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-120</td>
<td>Lefrançois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-123</td>
<td>Leslie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-124</td>
<td>Létourneau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-129</td>
<td>Meilleur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-134</td>
<td>Morin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-135</td>
<td>Mousseau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-141</td>
<td>O'Callaghan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-152</td>
<td>Perrault, Ovide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-158</td>
<td>Proulx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-162</td>
<td>Raymond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-166</td>
<td>Rocbrune dit Laroque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-169</td>
<td>Rodier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-171</td>
<td>Roy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-175</td>
<td>Scott</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PATRIOTES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-191</td>
<td>Toomy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-192</td>
<td>Trudel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-199</td>
<td>Viger, L-M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MODERATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-13</td>
<td>Beaudoin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-17</td>
<td>Bertrand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-25</td>
<td>Boissanault</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-28</td>
<td>Bouffard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-35</td>
<td>Canac dit Marquis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-81</td>
<td>Fraser, Alexander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-86</td>
<td>Godbout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-98</td>
<td>Huot, H-S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-103</td>
<td>Kimber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-115</td>
<td>Larue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-131</td>
<td>Méthot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-140</td>
<td>Noel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-206</td>
<td>Simon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-179</td>
<td>Taché</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-180</td>
<td>Taschereau, A-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-182</td>
<td>Taschereau, J-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-187</td>
<td>Têtu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-190</td>
<td>Tonnancour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-197</td>
<td>Van Felson</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Very high within-bloc cohesion, 90% and above)

GOVERNMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-7</td>
<td>Baker, William</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-21</td>
<td>Blackburn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-32</td>
<td>Bowman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-207</td>
<td>Clapham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-48</td>
<td>Colby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-89</td>
<td>Gugy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-127</td>
<td>McCracken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-130</td>
<td>Menut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-133</td>
<td>Moore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-156</td>
<td>Power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-177</td>
<td>Stuart, Andrew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-200</td>
<td>Wells</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-201</td>
<td>Wood</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ABSENTEES
Cf. p. C-15
VOTING BLOCS - 15th PARLIAMENT 3rd and 4th SESSIONS

Con't

ABSENTEES

A-4    Archambeault
A-56   De Bleury
A-57   De Blois
A-58   Déligny
A-88   Grannis
A-95   Hotchkiss
A-136  Munn
A-137  Nelson, Robert
APPENDIX D

METHODOLOGY
Introduction

In theory the methodology employed in this thesis is very simple and easy to understand. The first step is to determine the voting blocs for each session of each parliament studied. The next step is to apply a series of variables to the voting blocs to ascertain within-bloc and between-bloc similarities and differences in order to determine the underlying bases for bloc cohesion.

Roll-Call Analysis

Theory and practice are more often than not two different things. The search for a suitable computer programme for grouping the MLA's on the basis of recorded divisions bears out this truism. As Swanson, Goodman and Cornwell have remarked:

...when legislators are left without the guidance of party and other organized forces to act as reference groups or disciplinary agents, voting patterns are considerably more random, making the process of categorization difficult.\(^1\)

There are three basic methods of analyzing legislative voting behaviour. The first is the use of indices to analyze the behaviour of particular individuals. For example we might classify each member of the Assembly on

\(^1\) W. Swanson, J. Goodman and E. Cornwell, "Voting Behavior in a Nonpartisan Legislative Setting", The Western Political Quarterly, v. 25 (1972), p. 47.

\(^2\) Congressional Quarterly Service, (Washington).
the basis of his degree of support on constitutional issues. While this method has been used with some success in the United States\(^2\) it depends to a large extent on the judgement of the researcher, and hence can be highly subjective and innaccurate.

A second method is to analyze the behaviour of pre-determined categoric blocs.\(^3\) For example the members could be grouped on the basis of their ethnic origin or their place of residence. Then using the results of a roll-call analysis it could be determined whether these categoric blocs were maintained. The problem with this type of analysis is that there are up to fourteen variables which could be tested in this thesis and hence with the categories within each variable there would be a potential thirty-four blocs for each session of each parliament.

The third method is empirical in nature and is the most accurate in terms of reflecting the political reality. In this method blocs are determined on the basis of their voting records as indicated in the recorded divisions. Thus legislators who have voted together consistently and therefore have a high degree of inter-personal agreement are placed in the same blocs. Such blocs have, in terms of their voting behaviour, high levels of within-bloc cohesion and of between-bloc differentiation.

---

Considerable difficulty was experienced in devising a roll-call analysis programme which would fit the available data. Although there are various methods and programmes for roll-call analysis, many of them involve a great number of calculations while others are applicable only to very small blocs. Both of these types were, therefore discarded.

The method first adopted was Hierarchical Grouping Analysis:

The method begins by defining each original object [member] as a 'group'. These \( N \) groups are then reduced by a series of step-decisions until all \( N \) persons have been classified into one or the other of two groups. At each step some pair of groups is combined thus reducing the number of groups by one. The decision regarding the particular pair to be combined at any stage is made on the basis of some particular 'value-reflecting' function. The \( HGROUP \) program is designed to deal with the problem of profile similarity and utilizes the total within-groups variation as the function to be minimally increased at each step in the process.\(^4\)

If this process were allowed to continue to the final grouping step then all members would be ultimately combined into one group. The problem then is obviously to decide at what step the grouping process should be stopped. Ideally it would be at the point when all members who voted together all the time were assigned to their respective blocs or groups. In the Assembly of Lower Canada this would result

\(^4\) Veldman, *Fortran Programming*, p. 309.
in a ludicrously high number of blocs. In some sessions it would conceivably result in no blocs at all. The cut-off point must, therefore, be established at the step-decision immediately prior to an inordinately high increase in within-bloc variation.

The application of the HGROUP programme to the voting records of the members of the Assembly produced statistically unacceptable results, due to the high degree of absenteeism at the recorded divisions. The rate of absenteeism resulted in many groupings based on the absenteeism rather than on the voting records. Thus blocs were produced in which members were absent from all the same divisions even though their recorded votes differed drastically. These blocs might have some significance if it could be determined that absence was in fact a form of absention. Usually, however, absenteeism can be attributed to commitments such as business, seeding or harvesting and so on. Until a way of suppressing the absentee "votes" is devised the HGROUP Programme will produce unreliable and misleading results for sessions in non-partisan legislatures where high rates of absenteeism are common. Hierarchical Grouping Analysis was, therefore, discarded on the basis of its unreliability.

The method finally adopted was a form of correlation analysis. While this involved a larger number of calculations
than desired the results were extremely accurate. Furthermore the method can be easily understood and its validity tested by the historian with no training in statistics. The percentage of times that each member voted with each other member in each session or combination of sessions was calculated by Programme AGREE. The programme calculates for every pair of legislators the Lipjhart Agreement Index, which is the count of the number of times this pair were present and agreed divided by the number of times both of them were present together to vote. This fraction is multiplied by 100 to produce a percentage. A cut-off point was then established at .66 (or 66%) and blocs formed by inspection in such a way that the largest possible number of members who voted together at least 66% of the time were combined into the least possible number of groups or blocs. For example:

**Bloc A**

Member 1, Member 2, Member 3, Member 4

**Bloc B**

Member 5, Member 6, Member 7

**Bloc C**

The results of the calculations might produce two blocs "A" and "B" of four and three members respectively. Blocs A and B

---

5 Lee Anderson et al, Legislative Roll-Call Analysis, (Evanston:Northwestern University Press, 1966), pp. 191-92. The programme can also take abstentions into account by computing each abstention as half-agreement.
B can be further combined into Bloc "C" by leaving out member 6 whose voting record does not have an Index of Agreement of at least 66% with those of members 1 to 4. This further step was taken in every case that it arose, in order to obtain the largest and fewest blocs possible.

The cut-off point (.66 or 66%) was established at the highest possible level which would produce a manageable number of blocs in all sessions. In some sessions the cut-off point is much higher because of the degree of within-bloc cohesion. There would be, in any case, general agreement that any bloc which voted together less than 66% of the time could not be classified as a bloc.

The criteria set out above can, of course, be easily challenged. Some critics might claim that blocs demonstrating a within-bloc Index of Agreement of less than 90% could not be considered a voting bloc. Suffice it to say that at least the methodology employed states its established criteria and that the analysis based thereon is valid for the voting blocs as defined.

Eighteen sessions of the Assembly were held during the period covered by this thesis. Four of these were of a few weeks or even days duration and contained a small number of recorded divisions. Each of these sessions was therefore combined with the immediately preceeding one
since voting blocs based on three or four recorded divisions could be highly inaccurate.

A decision was made early in this study to omit those divisions which dealt with an issue already recorded in the grouping process, provided that the blocs on both divisions were identical or nearly so. The number of divisions used in the grouping process was, therefore, reduced in some cases from the actual number of roll-call divisions. This reduction serves two purposes. First, it increases the number of members who can be grouped in each session by reducing the number of members excluded for an absentee rate of 50% or greater. Second, while recording the groupings on a particular issue it does not over-emphasize groupings which may be based on that issue alone. For example, there might be a total of 40 roll-call divisions in a session of which 20 dealt with members' allowances and on which groupings were identical. On other issues the groupings might have been far different. To include all roll-call divisions on allowances would, therefore, have been misleading.

Variables and their Measurement

The social scientist concerns himself consciously or unconsciously with variables and their measurement in order to predict or to explain human behaviour. The study
of the voting behaviour of electors and legislators is based on the premise that man is influenced or affected by external and internal forces. In this thesis a series of thirteen variables were tested to ascertain whether there was any correlation between the empirically defined voting blocs and the characteristics exhibited by their members. Each of these variables and the criteria for their employment are outlined in Chapter 3.

Eleven of these variables are measured through the use of the interval tables in Appendix B. Three tests are applied to each of these tables to ascertain the significance of each variable as a determinant of the voting blocs. The first test is to plot through time the percentage members within each bloc exhibiting a particular characteristic of each variable. This information is presented in the first graph related to each variable in Chapter 3. Thus some conclusions about the composition of each bloc and about within-bloc similarities can be drawn. The second test consists of plotting through time the members of each bloc exhibiting a particular characteristic as a percentage of all members of the Assembly exhibiting the same characteristic. Some indications of distribution of, for example, liberal professionals can thus be drawn. The third test is especially valuable when the absolute number of members who could exhibit a particular characteristic of a variable is small. For example, the
absolute number of farmers in the Assembly was always low. Therefore even if they were all concentrated in the Patriote bloc they would constitute only a small percentage of that bloc. Test 1 and 2 could then be misleading. The third test serves to determine whether a particular characteristic of a variable is over- or under-represented in each voting bloc. This information can be obtained by determining the following ratio:

\[
\frac{n \text{ exhibiting characteristic in bloc}}{\text{total } n \text{ exhibiting characteristic in Assembly}} = \frac{n \text{ of bloc}}{\text{total } n \text{ of Assembly}}
\]

Two quantitative variables, age and experience, lend themselves to analysis by a statistical method known as analysis of variance. The crux of analysis of variance is simple. If the variables have been influential in the formation of voting groups then the means of each group should differ significantly from those of other groups. For example, using the variable age it might be found that the means vary slightly. This variance might be due to chance or random error. If the variable has been influential, then its influence would be evident in differences between means above and beyond differences that would arise by chance alone. To determine the significance of each variable we could subtract various within-bloc or within-group (chance variation: \( V_w \)) from between-group variance (\( V_b \)) which would tell us how significant the
variable (minus chance or random error) is. In the analysis of variance, tables have been constructed which permit a better test. The "F ratio" is obtained by dividing $V_b$ by $V_w$:

$$F = \frac{V_b}{V_w}$$

If the obtained ratio is greater than the appropriate tabled entry, the differences that $V_b$ reflects are statistically significant. In such a case the null hypothesis of no difference between means is rejected at the chosen level of significance and the degree of influence of the variable can be determined.\(^6\)

---

\(^6\) For a more detailed explanation of Analysis of Variance see any recent statistics text.