



Canadian Study
of Parliament Group

FAMILY AND POLITICS IN THE FIRST PROVINCES OF CANADA

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Introduction

Although the Parliament of Canada will soon be celebrating its 150th anniversary, the Parliaments of its first provinces go back to the end of the 18th century, which makes them contemporaries of the Congress of the United States of America. Hence the interest of studying them from various aspects, such as the family relationships among parliamentarians through history.

That issue may seem anecdotal and related to peopolisation, but we will see that it has considerable importance right up until today, notwithstanding the evolution of political relationships over more than three centuries.

I was unable to obtain from the Library of the Ontario Legislature any information about the first members of that Parliament, even though the expression Family Compact is a part of the political history of the province. In this regard, I want to thank the management and staff of the parliamentary libraries of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and the Quebec National Assembly for their kind and efficient co-operation. Naturally, the analyses and interpretations based on their data are my sole responsibility.

Many studies have been published on the extension of the right to vote, eligibility conditions, the drawing of electoral maps and the funding of political parties in Canada. As my study is restricted to the family relationships among parliamentarians, I will limit myself in this introduction to mentioning a few key dates in the evolution of the institutions concerned—that is, the Legislative Assemblies and Legislative Councils of the first Canadian colonies and provinces.

The institutions of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick had a parallel development. Their Legislative Assemblies go back respectively to 1758, 1773 and 1785. The responsible government (to these assemblies) was formed in 1848, 1851 and 1854. The Legislative Councils were created at the same time as the assemblies, and their abolition took place around the same time, i.e. in 1928, 1893 and 1891 for each province. It should nevertheless be added that despite the disappearance of the Legislative Council in Prince Edward Island, the councillors there were elected by landowners until 1962!

In Lower Canada, the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council were created in 1792, but the responsible government was never formed and the Legislative Council was replaced by a Special Council from 1838 to 1841, and the Legislative Assembly was simply abolished. In

the United Canada, the Legislative Assembly and Council were established in 1841, the responsible government was formed in 1848 and the Legislative Council became elective from 1856 to 1867. The Assembly, the Legislative Council and the responsible government of the province of Quebec date back to 1867; in 1968, the Legislative Assembly became the National Assembly, and the Legislative Council was abolished at the same time.

Before undertaking my local analyses, I did a review of research carried out elsewhere in the world on the phenomenon of family relationships in politics.

1. Family and politics in the United States, Great Britain, France and elsewhere

Introduction

The founding father of studies on family relationships in politics is without a doubt Stephen Hess, whose masterly *America's Political Dynasties* was published in 1966 by Doubleday & Company, reprinted in 1997 by Transaction Publishers and in 2016 by the Brookings Institution of Washington. This work is interesting not only because of its in-depth description of 18 important United States dynasties, but also because of its nomenclature of the 178 families that had at least three relatives elected to federal bodies.¹ However, Hess has few intellectual descendants. Between 1966 and today, I only selected about ten studies because they examined the phenomenon in North America and Western Europe, or, as opposed to that, because they involved a large international sample.²

1.1 Clubok, Alfred B., Norman M. Wilensky and Forrest J. Berghon, 1969, “Family Relationships, Congressional Recruitment, and Political Modernization”, *The Journal of Politics*, vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 1035-62.

Written close to half a century ago, this article studies all of the members of the U.S. Congress from 1789 to 1961. Its objective was to measure the proportion of Congress members who were related over time, to evaluate variations and identify the sociopolitical factors responsible for those variations. The authors formulated the hypothesis that the influence of the family as a factor in political recruitment diminished with socioeconomic modernization.

The population selected by our researchers includes all of the senators, representatives and delegates elected or appointed to Congress—from the 1st to the 86th—and the family links chosen for the study numbered five: son, grandson, brother, nephew and first cousin. The authors also selected for regions in the United States: the East, the Mid-West, the West and the South. Their first analysis established that 24.2% of the members of Congress were related in 1790, as

¹ It should exclude the Clinton couple, added to the last issue of Hess. It should be noted that the politicians chosen by Hess are not limited to the members of the United States Congress but also include delegates to continental congresses and to the Congress of Confederation between 1774 and 1789, as well as presidents, vice-presidents and governors of states up to today (Appendix, p. 697-732 in the 2016 edition).

² I also consulted, without any real results, two collective works whose titles were promising: Lawrence LeDuc, John H. Pammett, Judith McKenzie and André Turcotte, 2010, *Dynasties and Interludes. Past and Present in Canadian Electoral Politics*, Toronto, Dundurn Press, 578 p.; Ludivine Bantigny and Arnaud Bauberot, dir., 2011, *Hériter en politique: filiations, générations et transmissions politiques (Allemagne, France et Italie, XIXe – XXIe siècle)*, 2011, Paris, PUF, 384 p.

opposed to 14.1% in 1860 and only 5% in 1960. According to the authors, this is an indicator of political modernization. Regional variations show that the East and the Mid-West modernized at the same rate, that the West was always modern and that the South remained the least modern region, since it still has the highest percentage of family relationships within Congress.

Using different calculations, the authors made the following findings. There is no obvious relationship between the increase in the population of the United States and the decrease in family relationships between members of Congress. There is a temporal link between the modernization of the social system (evaluated based on birth rates, death rates and schooling) and political modernity as measured by the reduction in family relationships among members of Congress. However, technological modernization (measured by the production of cast iron and energy) and that of mass media were even quicker than the political or social modernization.

Going back to a strictly political analysis, the researchers observed that three historic events explain the decline in family relationships in the American Congress: The triumph of Jefferson's Democratic-Republican Party in the first two decades of the 19th century, the conflict between northerners and southerners, which culminated in the American Civil War (1861-1865), the emergence of a populist movement at the end of the 19th century. In addition, by studying regional evolution, they observed a decrease in family relationships there, as well as between members of Congress during periods of partisan realignment and an increase in these relationships during periods of political stability.

In conclusion, the authors state that they established a link between the various forms of modernization in the United States (political, social, economic and technological) even though those forms of modernization did not develop at the same rate. They feel it would be interesting to do a similar analysis in other countries that have a long parliamentary tradition (Commonwealth countries, Western Europe, certain Latin American countries, Japan). However, it is more difficult to apply conclusions to underdeveloped countries that hope to undergo political, socioeconomic and technological modernization quickly and simultaneously.

Summary: This pioneering work is remarkable for the quality of its presentation and the relevance of its hypotheses. The authors were able to use the available historical statistics of the time and do a cross-analysis. It is regrettable, however, that they limited themselves to the study of only five family relationships. Why not have added family relationships by marriage?

Moreover, we do not know how many family relationships there were for each member of Congress, and that would be a fundamental piece of data for a complete study.

1.2 Camp, Roderic A., 1982, "Family Relationships in Mexican Politics: A Preliminary View, *The Journal of Politics*, vol. 44, No. 3, pp. 848-62.

Published in the same magazine as the Clubok et al. article, this one is more disappointing. Its sample consisted of 1,363 Mexican political leaders appointed or elected between 1935 and 1980. 603 federal members and 382 senators, so close to a third (29% and 30% respectively) were related to other political leaders. As opposed to the United States, these family relationships did not diminish with socioeconomic modernization. However, they are less frequent in the most developed regions (north and west) and more numerous in the less developed regions (south and centre-east).

But there is an important exception to this model: The federal district of Mexico is the most developed region and one of the regions where one finds the most family relationships between political leaders. Among the factors that reinforce family relationships between political leaders, the author mentions family background and the generational effect, the importance of the political position involved, and the relationship, old or new, to the "Family of the Revolution". There are two other determining factors, and they are university education, preferably at UNAM, the National Autonomous University of Mexico, and its law faculty, as well as the social class of the relatives, middle or upper.

The author adds that Mexican politics are based on a system of *camarilla*, or political plans, dominated by various local political leaders, but that it is possible to change plans according to the political fortunes of one cacique. However, the family relationships between Mexican politicians are a barrier to overly frequent changes in allegiance.

Summary: This research is accompanied by an impressive group of notes based on the politics in many Latin American countries. But it only contains one numerical table showing the family relationships among Mexican politicians, without identifying the nature of those relationships, nor their frequency for each politician. In addition, it does not insist sufficiently on the originality of the Mexican political system of the time, that is to say the hegemonic character of the party in power, the well-named Institutional Revolutionary Party. It would seem to be a major factor that explains the persistence of family relationships in the Mexican political class.

1.3 Ménager, Bernard, 1992, “Typologie de dynasties parlementaires”, in Claude Patriat and Jean-Luc Parodi, dir., *L’héritité en politique*, Paris, Economica, pp. 123-40.

On March 14 and 15, 1991, in Dijon, the Association française de science politique et le Centre d’étude et de recherche politiques de l’Université de Bourgogne held a conference whose theme was political legacy and family relationships, presenting a local approach to the reproduction of political personnel. “*In total, in fifteen contributions and one introductory synthesis, two history of law specialists, one sociologist, one anthropologist, two historians and ten political scientists invite us to explore the uses of kinship in competitive electoral politics. Over time, since some reports refer to the Old Regime, and several focus on the Third Republic, and through space, since ten French departments are the object of closer scrutiny, and four other countries are also examined [Translation].*”³ Chapter VIII is the first that is relevant to our work, as it focuses on parliamentary dynasties in Nord- Pas-de-Calais between 1851 and 1940 (pp. 123-140). The author, Bernard Ménager, a history professor at the Université Charles de Gaulle de Lille, begins by acknowledging that his use of the term “dynasty” is a bit of a stretch, since a number of families have only two parliamentarians. The fact remains that 27 families, with 65 elected representatives, or 18% of the regional total, contributed members or senators to the French Parliaments during that period.

Despite the small sample size, Ménager’s approach is explicitly quantitative. First, he examines the permanency and diversity of the phenomenon of political families in his region. He notes that many dynasties (18 out of 27) were formed before 1893 and that a number of them (12) disappeared in the political crisis caused by the Second World War. In terms of duration, the situation of those parliamentary dynasties varies a lot, from a decade to nearly a century, with a median of 25 years. In terms of social standing, 19 out of the 27 families belong to landowner, industrialist and trader communities; they are based in rural areas rather than in urban ones; however, they are equally left-leaning (15) as right-leaning (12).

The author then considers the transfer of mandates. He establishes that two generations are involved in 21 cases and that the transfer often happens from father to son. In half of the cases, the transfer occurs within a six-year period. What are the anchoring elements of those parliamentary dynasties? There are the image of its founder, the accumulation of mandates and duties by several title-holders, firm establishment on the land, and collective memory. That

³ Michel Offerlé, 1993, “Usages et usure de l’héritité en politique”, *Revue française de science politique*, vol. 43, No. 5, pp. 850-56.

finally led the researcher to try to establish a typology of parliamentary dynasties. Ménager distinguishes five unique cases: dynasties based on long-standing legitimacy, those based on the family group's local influence, those that rely on surname prestige, siblings (brothers or cousins), and finally ideological dynasties.

Summary: Ménager's typology is more or less convincing, as he only manages to squeeze in 19 of his 27 families. The main originality of the research comes from the fact that it focuses on the family unit rather than the individuals who are part of it. The data is very complete when it comes to the type and number of family ties. This is a good model to follow for anyone who wants to analyze a select group of parliamentary families.

1.4 Fritz, Gérard and Jean-Claude Fritz, 1992, "Le cercle des familles. La transmission familiale du pouvoir local dans le Tiers-Monde. Réflexions à partir de quelques exemples", in Claude Patriat and Jean-Luc Parodi, dir., *op. cit.*, pp. 65-79.

In our opinion, this chapter of the Dijon conference proceedings is just as relevant as the previous one. In fact, it focuses on political family networks in four third world countries: Brazil, the Philippines, Kenya and India. The authors first specify that extended family will be considered in the first two cases, and ethnicity and caste in the last two. "But in all the cases, kinship networks play a role in the transmission of power [Translation]" (p. 67). In Brazil, 12% of Constituent Assembly members in 1986-1988 were related; however, regional variations were very substantial, with related members accounting for 2% to 25% of the total, depending on the region. In the Philippines, 168 of the 200 seats in the Legislative Assembly elected after the fall of Marcos were filled by representatives who were related to the foremost local dynasties. In Kenya, 11% of candidates from 1974 to 1983 could boast of being related to other politicians. In India's case, while our authors do not provide any statistics, they so affirm that, in India like in Kenya, "*the group more so than the individual is the ultimate wielder of political power and the transfer through family relationships rather ensures its internal transfer or redistribution. This somewhat particular nature of political power, its still very strong emergence in social circles, brings it into conflict with conventional political development [Translation].*"(p. 73) The rest of the study focuses on the more or less conventional means used by dominant families to maintain their power, as well as methods used by the state to harness or even reduce that power.

Summary: This study is clearly more qualitative than quantitative, but it is interesting because it makes it possible to compare with family, social and political organizations that deviate from the dominant western model.

1.5 Collectif, 1998, “Dossier : familles et pouvoir”, *Croissance*, No. 417, pp. 19-41.

Contributing to this file were five magazine reporters, but also four French academics.⁴ The file does not focus on family relationships among parliamentarians, but on the most powerful families in terms of politics and the economy in a dozen developing countries or regions: India, Pakistan, Arab countries, Palestine, the Philippines, Taiwan, Africa, Russia, North Korea and Indonesia. It focuses in particular on the Nehru-Gandhi, Bhutto, Hussein, el Assad, Al Saud, Hussein, Nashashibi, Marcos, Tata, Hsu, Kenyatta, Houphouët, Yeltsin, Kim and Suharto families.

Preceding the file is a summary article by Sandrine Tolotti, who concludes: “*Behind the most modern political organizations, behind the most dynamic companies, lurks the revenge of the oldest institution in the world: the family. At the intersection of utilitarian solidarities and emotional solidarities, it has a promising future in a world where networks continue to gain in importance. In a way, with its flexibility, discreteness and indestructability, the family is something of a network of all networks [Translation].*” (p. 21)

Therefore, we should not automatically establish a connection between socioeconomic development and a decline in family relationships in politics, quite the contrary. “*Around the world, kinship does appear to be the primary, the surest and the most influential circle of power. The phenomenon has even seeped into the heart of what are seemingly the most modern political systems [Translation].*” (p.20) To support her argument, Ms. Tolotti gives the example of the Clinton family in the United States, and the Chirac and Mitterand families in France.⁵

⁴ Reporters: Sandrine Tolotti, Jean Piel, Franck Weil-Rabaud, François Zanini, Virginie Coulloudon, François Guilbert. Academics: Christophe Jaffrelot (CERI-CNRS), Eric Bouteiller (HEC Eurasia Institute), Jean-François Bayard (CERI), François Raillon (CNRS-EHESS).

⁵ In 2009, the election proposal of Jean Sarkozy, son of Nicolas, at the head of the establishment in charge of managing the financial district of the defence, brought a *Corriere della Serra* reporter to adopt the same perspective in an article on “daddy’s boys”: Jean Sarkozy but also Ali Bongo of Gabon, Karim Wade of Senegal, Joseph Kabila of the Congo, Gamal Mubarak of Egypt, Georges W. Bush of the United States, George Papandreou of Greece, etc. (Michele Farina, 2009 “Jean S., Karim W., Ali B., Gamal M. et tant d’autres”, *Courrier international*, No. 990, p. 31).

Summary: As in the case of the Fritz and Fritz report, we find that this qualitative study opens our horizons to social and political systems that differ from ours. Ms. Tolotti's conclusion makes us question the potentially overly quick connection established between socioeconomic development and the decline of family relationships in politics, including in our western societies.

1.6 Dal Bo, Ernesto, Pedro Dal Bo and Jason Snyder, 2009, "Political Dynasties", *Review of Economic Studies*, No. 76, pp. 115-42.

This is the second article on family relationships in the U.S. Congress, published in a prestigious economic journal. This time, the population studied covers the 1789-1996 period. Like their predecessors in 1982, the authors conclude that the dynastic phenomenon was more prevalent among southern congressmen and has declined considerably over time (pp.119-120). However, this study could be criticized for the same shortcomings as the Clubok et al. study: it identifies only seven family relationships⁶ and does not include those by marriage. The number of family relationships per parliamentarian is also overlooked, notwithstanding the scientific equations developed in the article.

Ignoring the issue of modernization, the researchers rather wonder whether family dynasties exist because some families have innate political qualities or because political power tends to be self-perpetuating. Based on their analysis, they settled on the second hypothesis: "power begets power". Overall, they specify, getting re-elected makes a politician twice as likely to have a relative in politics later on (pp.115-116).

The researchers then looked at the self-perpetuation of power. Is that phenomenon due to a historical tradition of public service in the families concerned or to assets accumulated during their political career (human or financial capital, name recognition, personal contacts)? They found that local factors such as personal contacts and name recognition can play a role (p. 132). Finally, they find that family dynasties are much more common in politics than in other professional communities (pp. 136-138).

Summary: Based on an extensive knowledge of specialized literature and detailed statistical analyses, our researchers' findings are hard to dispute. "*When a person holds more power, it becomes more likely that this person will start, or continue, a political dynasty. Thus, political power in democracies becomes inheritable de facto for reasons other than permanent*

⁶Parent-child, Uncle-nephew, Siblings, Cousins, Grandparent-grandchild, Spouses, Great grandparent/child, Other (p. 138).

differences in family characteristics.” In conclusion, the authors wonder whether similar results would arise from the same kind of research for other countries or political systems (p. 138).

1.7 Feinstein, Brian D., 2010, “The Dynasty Advantage: Family Ties in Congressional Elections”, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, vol. 35, No. 4, pp. 571-98.

This Harvard Law School researcher is very familiar with his predecessors’ work on the U.S. Congress. He also uses his own compilations and scientific calculations concerning the open seat⁷ elections for the House of Representatives between 1994 and 2006. He concludes that the brand name advantages of those political dynasties are real and that their geographic concentration is exceptional. Of the 46 candidates in the House of Representatives belonging to a political dynasty, 44 campaigned in the same state as the relative who preceded them (pp. 590-1). Incidentally, the family ties chosen numbered five⁸ and the relatives can be senators, representatives or governors (models 2.1 and 2.2, p. 581).

Summary: Like the Dal Bo et al. study, this one makes sophisticated use of statistical methods. However, its population is limited to the representatives of the last seven open seat elections held between 1994 and 2006.

1.8 Smith, Daniel Markham, 2012, *Succeeding in Politics: Dynasties in Democracies*, San Diego, UC San Diego, <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/1dv7f7bb>

D. M. Smith’s Ph.D. thesis focuses on the electoral causes and consequences of the persistence of political dynasties in the democracies of developed countries. The Ph.D. student looks at how candidates are selected and the election system in eight countries, with a special focus on Japan (three of the six chapters). He concludes that the political “heirs” do have a special advantage in candidate selection and the subsequent election, but that the advantage varies depending on the system used. Political dynasties are more prevalent in countries where candidate selection is decentralized and where the election focuses on candidates rather than on parties.

The definition of political dynasty used by Smith is very broad: the requirement is two parliamentarians who are close relatives by blood or by marriage. The countries considered are, in order of dynastic prevalence, Iceland, Japan, Ireland, Belgium, Israel, Norway, Italy and Canada (fig. 3.1, p. 67). The author even provides the percentage of dynasties by party in each of

⁷ Elections where the previous incumbent is not running.

⁸ *Grandparents, Parents, Aunts, Uncles, Siblings, First cousins* (p. 578).

the countries between 1979 and 2011 (tab. A1, pp. 209-210). It will not be surprising for the readers to see that Canada's oldest parties (PLC and CP) have more dynasties than the more recent parties do (NDP and BQ).

Summary: Beyond the statistical tables and charts used to support the author's thesis, the most worthwhile part of this work is its first chapter, which is an excellent synthesis of the literature on the purpose of dynasties and their impact on democratic systems.

1.9 Van Coppenolle, Brenda, 2014, *Political Dynasties and Elections*, London, London School of Economics and Political Science, etheses.lse.ac.uk/883/1/

This doctoral thesis consists of four chapters. The first provides a review of the literature on political dynasties, the second is about the personal vote, and the third focuses on political quality. Concerning political dynasties, the Ph.D. student considered 10 studies on the United States, Argentina, the Philippines, India, Japan, Bangladesh, Brazil, and Colombia (pp. 10-15). In her second chapter, she considers the 2010 Belgian election and concludes that voters do show a preference toward dynastic candidates (p. 38). In the third chapter, she notes that the extension of the right to vote in Great Britain following the reforms of 1867 and 1884 did not reduce voters' enthusiasm for dynastic candidates (p. 63). Finally, the last chapter is about all British elected representatives from 1832 to 2005. It concludes that the presence of dynasties in the House of Commons has steadily declined over time, but that this is not the case in Cabinet, the true seat of power. Members who belong to a dynasty are much more likely to become ministers if another family member has done so in the past (p. 93). It should be noted that the family relationships selected in this chapter are similar to those covered by Dal Bo et al.⁹

Summary: Nice work with an impressive amount of documentation provided in support, written effectively and outstandingly synthesised. By considering two distinct societies and three different periods, Van Coppenolle made good use of investigative tools adapted to those various contexts and came to clear and well-reasoned conclusions.

⁹ *Parent, Child, Grandchild, Grandparent, Uncle or Aunt, Nephew, Cousin, Sibling, Married, Through marriage, Other family link* (tab. 5.1, p. 71)

1.10 Fiva, Jon H. and Daniel M. Smith, 2016, *Political Dynasties and the Incumbency Advantage in Party-Centered Environments*, Oslo, CESifo Working Paper No. 5757.

A Norwegian researcher (Fiva) teamed up with an American researcher (Smith, op. cit.) to compare the two countries' political dynasties. A great deal of research has already dealt with the "outgoing member's advantage" in numerous countries. Does that advantage also foster the creation of political dynasties? Although the percentage of political dynasties is the same for the United States and Norway between 1995 and 2015 (fig. 1, p. 6), the authors conclude that the "outgoing member's advantage" in the creation of dynasties is significant in the United States, but not in Norway. That may be explained by the differences in the way candidates are selected and parliamentarians are elected in the two countries. It should be noted that figure 1 shows the frequency of political dynasties in 22 democracies, from the Philippines to Germany to Canada.¹⁰

Summary: This research report supports the thesis stated by Smith in 2012, whereby institutional contexts are vital to determining the causes that would explain the persistence of dynasties in the democracies of developed countries. We will also focus on the seven pages of references, which provide us with the current state of the research on the "outgoing member's advantage" but also on political dynasties in the modern world.

Conclusion

Let us try to summarize our readings. The presence of family relationships in politics generally tends to wane over time (Clubok et al., 1969; Ménager, 1992; Dal Bo et al., 2009; Van Coppenolle, 2014), but it tends to persist in the higher echelons of power (Collectif, 1998; Dal Bo et al., 2009; Van Coppenolle, 2014). Paradoxically, there is often a local or regional aspect to this phenomenon (Camp, 1982; Ménager, 1992; Fritz and Fritz, 1992; Collectif, 1998; Dal Bo et al., 2009; Feinstein, 2010; Smith, 2012). While its decline can be interpreted as a sign of democratization or political modernization (Clubok et al., 1969), its perpetuation can be seen as a manifestation of the persistence of political elites or the iron law of oligarchy, according to the classical theories of Mosca (1896) and Michels (1911) (Camp, 1982; Dal Bo et al., 2009; Smith, 2012; Van Coppenolle, 2014). Since politics involves power relationships, it could be worthwhile to compare the evolution of these two trends in different societies to verify their ongoing presence.

¹⁰ Incidentally, Canada is among the countries with the fewest political dynasties, according to the authors.

2. Family and politics in Nova Scotia since 1758

Introduction

Although Nova Scotia can be proud of having the first Parliament in British colonies north of the 43rd parallel, let's not forget that, prior to that democratic progress, the entire Acadian population of the Maritimes was deported, following the arrival of 2,576 protestant settlers¹¹ brought in 1749 by Governor Edward Cornwallis. Something else to consider are the conditions in which elections were held in the 18th century: "*The voters went one by one up to the hustings. They told the sheriff who they were voting for. The sheriff wrote their name in a poll book on a page that had the name of the candidate of their choice [...] The gathered voters often shouted at each other as they went to vote, telling them who they should vote for and trying to intimidate them. They even tried to block the passages to the hustings, so that only voters voting for a particular candidate could make it to the top. Voting took place over several days. The sheriff, the candidates, and their assistants travelled from place to place.*"¹² However, we should add to Nova Scotia's political traditions that the situation was similar if not worse in the homeland and the American soon-to-be-independent sister colonies. The same was true in other colonies of British North America at that time.

2.1 Family relationships in numbers and names

In the preface to her outstanding directory of Nova Scotia's elected representatives, Shirley B. Elliott adds that the repetition of surnames, especially in the early decades, is indicative of a family compact in the colonies that is as present as in Upper Canada (Ontario).¹³ Let's take a closer look.

S. B. Elliott's directory consists of 1,104 parliamentarians, 322 of whom have relatives in politics, or 29% of the total. (We will see further on what family relationships were identified). At first look, we can see that the number of individuals concerned varies over time (which we

¹¹ Protestants but not of British origin, as they came from German states, the Netherlands and even Switzerland (Chief Electoral Officer, 2nd ed. 2007, *A History of the Vote in Canada*, Elections Canada, Ottawa, p. 8).

¹² Catherine Buckie, 2011, *Parliamentary Democracy in Nova Scotia: How it Began, How it Evolved*, Nova Scotia House of Assembly, Halifax, p. 16.

¹³ Shirley B. Elliott, 1984, *The Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia 1758-1983, a biographical directory*, Nova Scotia Legislature, Halifax, p. ix.

arbitrarily divided into five 45-year periods).¹⁴ More specifically, there is a significant increase from the first to the second period, an equally significant decrease from the second to the fourth period, and a period of relative stability to date.

Number of parliamentarians with one or more family relationships

1758-1802: 84 (26.1%)

1803-1847: 109 (33.8%)

1848-1892: 67 (20.8%)

1893-1937: 35 (10.9%)

1938-1982: 27 (8.4%)

TOTAL: 322 (100%)

What family relationships are included in Nova Scotia's directory? When it comes to the nuclear family, there are 94 fathers, 92 sons and 1 daughter,¹⁵ 88 brothers and half-brothers, but no couples. In terms of intergenerational relationships, there are 27 grandfathers and as many grandsons, 2 great-grandfathers and as many great-grandsons, as well as 1 ancestor and their sixth- or seventh-generation descendant. As for the collaterals, there are 28 uncles and 26 nephews, 11 first cousins, 2 great-uncles and as many great-nephews. In the relatives by marriage category, there are 62 fathers-in-law, 63 sons-in-law and 1 step-son, 47 brothers-in-law, 3 grandfathers by marriage and as many grandsons, 3 uncles by marriage and as many nephews. To complete the picture, we should add that two members married the widows of two colleagues¹⁶...

Six families have three parliamentarians, but only two of them can be referred to as dynastic. Stephen Hess, in his famous book on America's political dynasties, defines a dynasty as a family that has had at least four members of the same name elected to federal office. However, he makes an exception for the Lodge and Kennedy families in 1966¹⁷ and for the Bush and Clinton families in the third edition of his book¹⁸... We will do likewise for the Robertsons,

¹⁴ We made the same division into quintiles for the four provinces, regardless of the period considered for each of them.

¹⁵ How can there be more fathers than children? Some sons are also fathers!

¹⁶ This makes for 590 family relationships for 314 individuals, with a number of parliamentarians related to more than one colleague.

¹⁷ Stephen Hess, 2nd ed. 1997, *America's Political Dynasties*, pp. 2-3 (1966 introduction).

¹⁸ *Idem*, 3rd ed. 2016, pp. 545-593.

who have had three successive generations of parliamentarians with Robert, Thomas and Wishart McLea, and the Camerons with Alexander Fisher, Alexander Withcomb and Alexander MacLean.

Of the five family groups with four parliamentarians, four have to rely on their alliances to reach that number.¹⁹ Then there is the White family with Gideon, his two sons Nathaniel Withworth I and Cornelius, as well as his grandson Nathaniel Withworth II, the son of Reverend Thomas Howland White.

We then move on to the big leagues with three family groups of five parliamentarians. The Days get along with the Cunninghams: John Day, father and son, are respectively Richard Cunningham's father-in-law and brother-in-law, brother of John I and father of John II. The Davisons are bound to the McClearns: Edward Doran Davison, father of Doran II and Charles Henry saw his granddaughter marry George Spurr McClearn, grandson of Matthew McClearn. Finally, Charles Hill is the father-in-law of Richard John Uniacke II, brother of James Boyle and half-brother of Andrew Mitchell, all three of whom are the sons of Richard John Uniacke I.

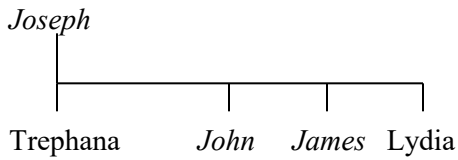
Our last seven families have from seven to ten parliamentarians. We will provide a chart of those families, as it is more accessible for readers than a text.²⁰

¹⁹ They are the Campbell-Jones-Marshalls, the Denison-Cranes, the Donahoe-Boyds and the Ruggles-Thornes.

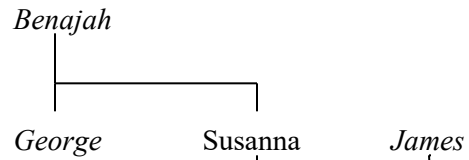
²⁰ The italicized first names indicate parliamentarians.

Three family groups with seven parliamentarians

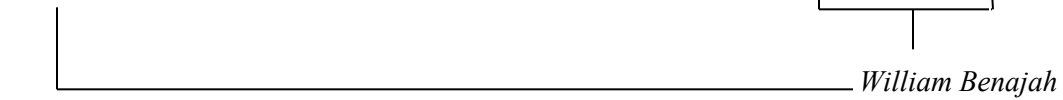
BARSS



COLLINS

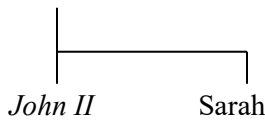


TAYLOR



CREIGHTON

John I



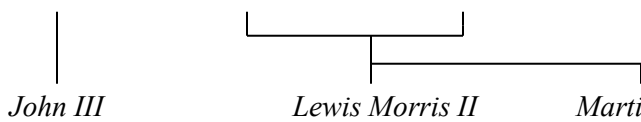
John III

WILKINS

Isaac



Lewis Morris II *Martin Isaac*



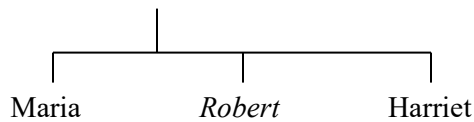
DesBARRES

William



CUTLER

Thomas



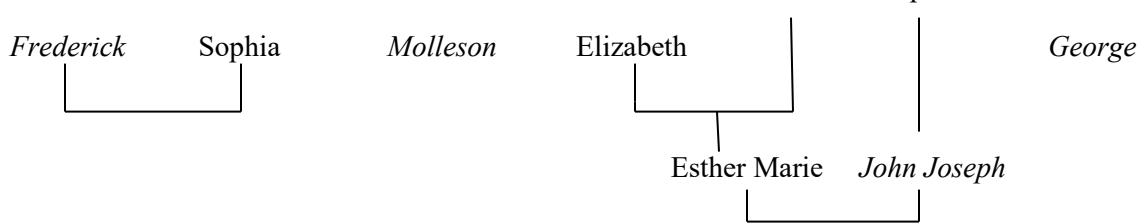
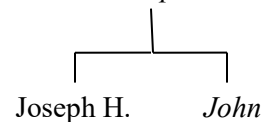
BALLAINE

John



MARSHALL

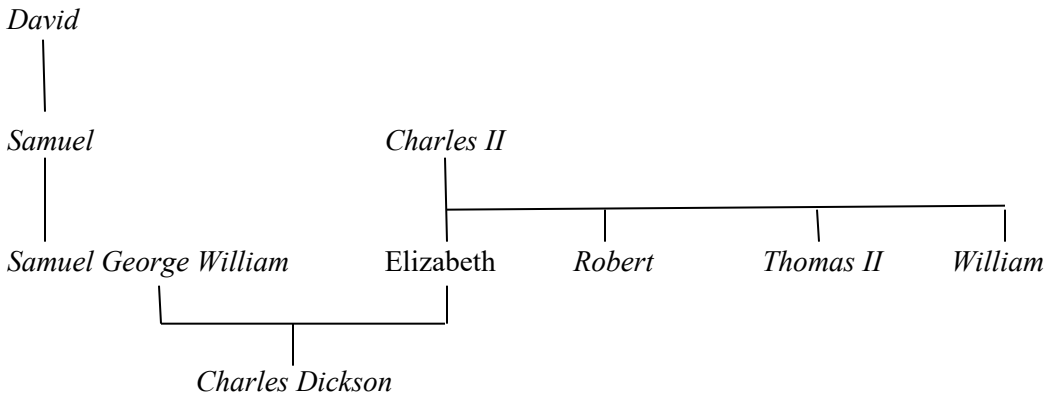
Joseph



Three family groups with eight parliamentarians

ARCHIBALD

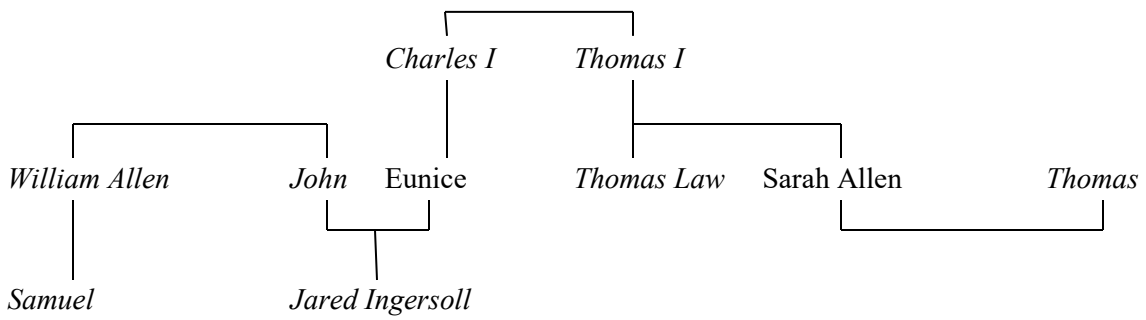
DICKSON II



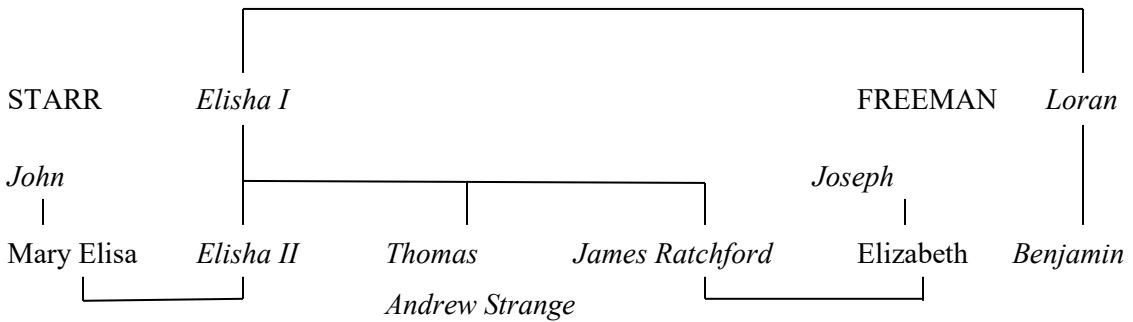
CHIPMAN

DICKSON I

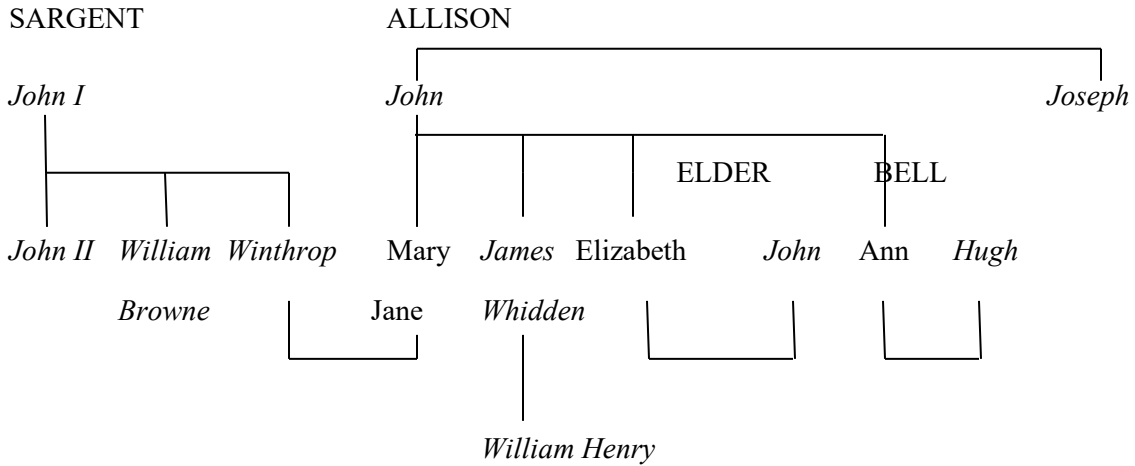
ROACH



DeWOLF



One family group with ten parliamentarians



2.2 Families and territory

Between 1759 and 1981, the number of ridings in Nova Scotia went from 9 to 52.²¹ In Appendix B of her directory, Shirley B. Elliott divides the ridings into some 20 subgroups that will be very useful for our breakdown.²² So we can see that the most fertile lands for the creation of family relationships among parliamentarians were the regions of Hants, Annapolis, Kings, Shelburne, Lunenburg, Cumberland, Queens and Colchester.

Number of related members in groups of ridings

- 5 in the assembly of 1758
- 32 in Annapolis/Granville
- 12 in Antigonish/Sydney
- 11 in Cape Breton
- 21 in Colchester/Londonderry/Onslow/Truro
- 24 in Cumberland/Amherst

²¹ In the first election of 1758, voters were invited to select two members for Lunenburg, four for Halifax and sixteen for the entire colony.

²² This breakdown is based on the riding of the members' first mandate.

5 in Digby/Clare
 12 in Guysborough
 15 in Halifax County/Eastern/Western/ Bedford/Cole Harbour/ St.Margaret's
 6 in Halifax City/Center/Citadel/Chebucto/Cornwallis/Needham/North/South
 0 in Halifax/Darhmouth
 8 in Halifax Township
 33 in Hants/Falmouth/Newport/Windsor
 9 in Inverness
 28 in Kings/Cornwallis/Horton
 23 in Lunenburg
 10 in Pictou
 23 in Queens/Liverpool
 5 in Richmond/Arichat
 25 in Shelburne/Barrington
 3 in Sunbury/Sackville
 6 in Victoria
 6 in Yarmouth/Argyle
 TOTAL 322

That being said, our main families often have a fiefdom of their own. Therefore, the Robertsons are based in Shelburne, and the Camerons in Guysborough. The Whites succeed each other in Shelburne. The Barss-Collins-Taylors are concentrated in Queens/Liverpool, the Creighton-Wilkins family in Lunenburg, and the Marshalls and allies in Sydney. The Archibald-Dickson II family is found mainly in Truro/Onslow, the Chipman-Dickson I family in Kings/Cornwallis/Horton and Cumberland/Amherst, and the DeWolfs and allies in Kings. Finally, the Sargent-Allisons and allies are concentrated in Shelburne-Barrington and Hants/Falmouth/Newport.

2.3 Families and power

In Appendix C of here directory, Shirley B. Elliott provides a list of premiers and leaders of the official opposition in Nova Scotia from 1848 to 1983, as well as attorneys general since 1750. Those three positions are the main indicators we use to estimate the power of families in Nova Scotia politics.

We can see that 54% of premiers (13 out of 24) were related to other members.

James Boyle Uniacke (Reformer 1848-1854)

William Young (Liberal 1854-1857 and 1860)

James William Johnston (Conservative 1857-1860 and 1863-1864)

Joseph Howe (Liberal 1860-1863)

Hiram Blanchard (Liberal-Conservative 1867)

Simon Hugh Holmes (Liberal-Conservative 1878-1882)

William Thomas Pipes (Liberal 1882-1884)

William Stevens Fielding (Liberal 1884-1896)

George Henry Murray (Liberal 1896-1923)

Edgar Nelson Rhodes (Liberal-Conservative 1925-1930)

Harold Joseph Connolly (Liberal 1954)

Henry Davies Hicks (Liberal 1954-1956)

Robert Lorne Stanfield (Conservative 1956-1967)

There are none after the 1960s. However, Gerald A. Regan (Liberal 1970-1978) and John Patrick Savage (Liberal 1993-1997) are both fathers of federal members (Geoffrey Paul and Michael respectively). Furthermore, Gerald A. Reagan is the father-in-law of provincial member Kelly Regan, who is married to his son Geoffrey Paul.²³

²³ Nominal data provided by the Nova Scotia Legislative Library on July 21, 2015, and incorporated into the author's database.

As for leaders of the official opposition from 1848 to 1983, 10 out of 28, or 36%, had one of more relatives who were members.²⁴ Six of them were premiers: James William Johnston, William Young, Hiram Blanchard, Simon Hugh Holmes, Henry Davies Hicks and Robert Lorne Stanfield. The other four are: Charles Hazlett Cahan (Liberal-Conservative 1891-1894), Percy Chapman Black (Liberal-Conservative 1938-1939), Peter Murray Nicholson (Liberal 1964-1967) and Alexander MacLean Cameron (Liberal 1980-1983).

When it comes to attorneys general from 1750 to 1983, 10 out of 37 (27%) are related to other members. Among them are five premiers (James William Johnston, James Boyle Uniacke, William Young, Hiram Blanchard and William T. Pipes). The other five are Richard John Uniacke (1797-1831), Samuel G.W. Archibald (1831-1841), William A. Henry (1864-1867), Martin I. Wilkins (1867-1871) and Richard A. Donahoe (1956-1970).

Conclusion

Let us remind the readers of the characteristics of the phenomenon of family relationships in politics, at least in western societies. That phenomenon has been waning over time; it usually has a local or territorial focus; and it is still very present in the higher echelons of power. What about Nova Scotia?

We were able to note in our first part that family relationships in politics are much less prevalent in the 20th century than they were in the previous century, but they still accounted for more than 8% of Nova Scotia parliamentarians between 1938 and 1982. The foremost parliamentary families are usually limited to a specific region. Finally, the highest political positions went to representatives of large or small families, both in the 20th and the 19th centuries.

Since the 1981 general election, nine other elections were held in Nova Scotia, from 1984 to 2013. Four new families were added to those identified by Shirley B. Elliott: the Cochrans (Bruce and his wife Maxine Elizabeth in 1984), the Huskilsons (Harold and his son Clifford in 1993), the Levys (Robert C. and his son of the same name in 1984), the Streachs (Kenneth and his daughter Judyen 2005). Is this a sign of the times? Two of the four new recruits are women.

²⁴ Six were leaders of the official opposition twice.

3. Family and politics in Prince Edward Island since 1773

Introduction

*“The establishment of the colonial government, and its subsequent evolution, was the result of one of the most unusual arrangements in British colonial history. Land in the colony, then part of Nova Scotia, was awarded by lottery. [The new proprietors, who resided for the most part in Great Britain] agreed to defray the expenses of the new colonial government. Prince Edward Island thus became a separate colony in 1769. The subsequent conflicts between absentee proprietors and tenants dominated Island politics for more than a century.”*²⁵

It was only in 1773 that a Legislative Assembly composed of 18 members was created; their role was to be limited to approving the decisions made by the governor and his Legislative Council, whose members were appointed for life. The number of members rose to 24 in 1838 and to 30 in 1856, after the formation of a responsible government. In 1862, the Legislative Council became elective and was merged in 1893 with the Lower House. From that date until 1962, 15 ridings were represented by 15 members who were elected by universal suffrage and by 15 councillors elected only by the landowners. A new riding was added in 1966. In 1994, the councillors disappeared and provincial representation was reduced to 27 members elected by universal suffrage.²⁶

We can only agree with the statement by Fred Driscoll according to whom *“For students of parliamentary institutions, Prince Edward Island is an interesting study. Its population is just large enough to allow for all of the trappings of parliamentary institutions, yet small enough not to be overwhelmed by them. [...]No jurisdiction in Canada approaches more closely to a direct democracy”*.²⁷

²⁵ Wayne MacKinnon, 2009, *Muddling through: The Prince Edward Island Legislative Assembly*, Canadian Study of Parliament Group, Ottawa, p. 3.

²⁶ Blair Weeks, dir., 2002, *Minding the House: A Biographical Guide to Prince Edward Island MLAs, 1873-1993*, Acorn Press and Association of Former Members of the Legislative Assembly of Prince Edward Island, Charlottetown, pp. 206-208.

²⁷ Fred Driscoll, 1988, “History and politics of Prince Edward Island”, *Canadian Parliamentary Review*, CPA, Ottawa, summer, p. 16. Until his death in 2000, Mr. Driscoll was also the guiding spirit of the biographical guide, 1873-1993 project.

3.1 Family relationships in numbers and names

Paradoxically, we have less data on the political families of the smallest Canadian province than on those of its clearly more populous neighbours. The Prince Edward Island Legislative Library did provide an article by Waldron Leard on the family relationships in the Macdonald/MacDonald clan with 27 other parliamentary families from 1830 to 2002 (the Arsenault, Beaton, Brecken, Brenen, Campbell, Davies, DesBrisay, Haviland, Hughes, Hyndman, Jenkins, Kickham, Laird, MacEachern, MacIntyre, MacLean, MacKinnon, MacNeill, MacNutt, Mathieson, Owen, Smith, Stewart, Sullivan, Thornton, Welsh and Wightman families).²⁸

In addition, the Association of Former Members of the Prince Edward Island Legislative Assembly in 2002 published a biographical guide of the 418 members elected between 1873 and 1993.²⁹ Although it does not include the first hundred years of Island parliamentary history and begins with the colony's entry into the Canadian Federation, this is an essential work for our research.³⁰ I prepared a database using that work to assess the importance of the phenomenon of family relationships in Island politics over those 121 years grouped into five 24-year periods.³¹

Of these 418 members, 126 (30%) were related, which corresponds to the percentage observed in Nova Scotia. However, the evolution is different in the Island province, with a constant decline in family relationships from the first to the last period.

Number of parliamentarians with one or several family relationships

1873-1896: 39 (31.0%)

1897-1920: 30 (23.8%)

1921-1944: 26 (20.6%)

1945-1968: 21 (16.7%)

1969-1993: 10 (7.9%)

TOTAL: 126 (100%)

²⁸ Waldron Leard, 2002, "Political Relations", *Island Magazine*, vre2.upei.ca/islandmagazine/fedora/repository/vre%3Aislemag-batch2-670/OBJ

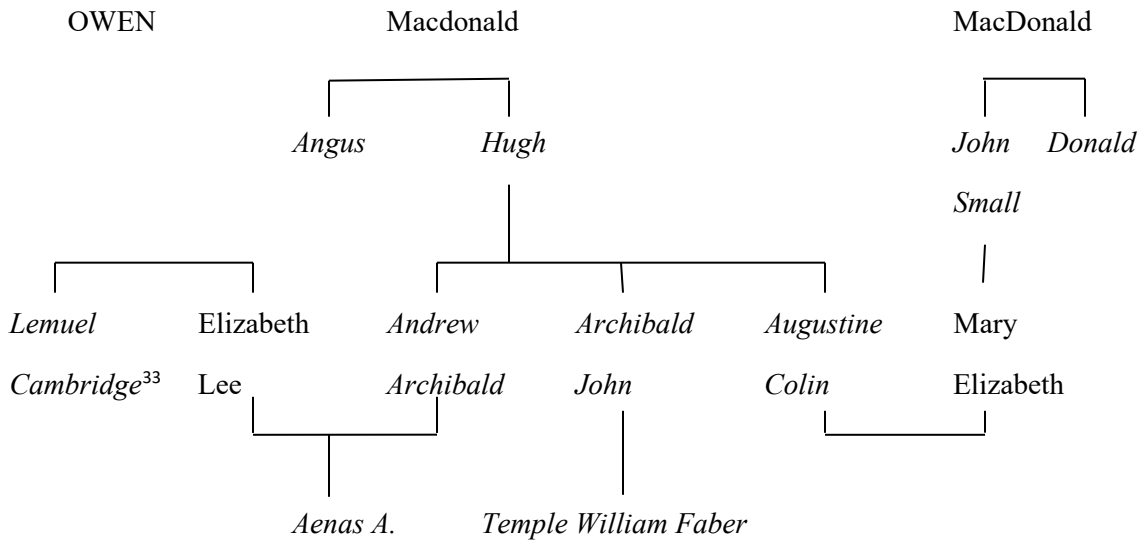
²⁹ This list includes 23 members elected before 1873 but still in their positions today.

³⁰ One can also find on the Internet a series of biographies of the members of the Prince Edward Island Legislative Assembly that goes to 2007, but it is not really complete. (<http://PEILDO.ca>). And so I only used the previously mentioned biographical guide.

³¹ With a 25-year exception for the last period.

However, family relationships follow practically the same model as in Nova Scotia: In the birth family, one first finds the fathers and sons (63), then the brothers (36), followed by the uncles and nephews (22), the grandfathers and the grandchildren (20), from one great-grandfather and his great-grandson, and two first cousins. Among relatives by marriage, first there were the sons-in-law and fathers-in-law (28), then the brothers-in-law (16), the grandfathers and grandsons by marriage (4), two uncles and their nephews by marriage.

There were eight families with three parliamentarians who had the same name between 1873 and 1993,³² among these the McLeans and Popes, over three generations. The MacNeills had five parliamentarians in three generations: the grandfather James A., the sons Leonard Malcolm and Daniel Francis, and the grandsons Francis J. and Hubert Bernard. Then there were the Macdonalds, as previously mentioned, who included seven parliamentarians, without counting their alliances with the Owens and MacDonalds. However, we have to go back to the 1830 election in order to be able to visualize the entire dynasty properly.



³² Including the Yeos whose first representative sat before 1873.

³³ Lemuel Cambridge Owen has two other parliamentary brothers-in-law : Hugh Lord MacDonald and David Laird, himself the brother of two parliamentarians.

3.2 Families and territory

From 1873 to 1966, the province was divided into 15 ridings. Each one had a member and elected councillor, and the province was then divided into 16 ridings until 1996. Since that date, there have been 27 members representing 27 ridings. Let us go and see which ridings were the most likely to have elected representatives who were related between 1873 and 1993. They are Prince 5, and Queens 5, followed further down the list by Prince 3, Queens 1 and 3, Kings 1 and 4, Prince 3 and 4.

Number of parliamentarians with family relationships by riding

8 in Kings 1

6 in Kings 2

10 in Kings 3

8 in Kings 4

4 in Georgetown Royalty/Kings 5

7 in Prince 1

9 in Prince 2

8 in Prince 3

8 in Prince 4

15 in Prince 5

9 in Queens 1

3 in Queens 2

9 in Queens 3

6 in Queens 4

15 in Charlottetown Royalty/Queens 5

1 in Queens 6

TOTAL: 126

Out of the ten families with three parliamentarians or more, four were in the same riding: The Arsenaults in Prince 3, the Bonnells in Kings 4, the MacLeans in Kings 1 and the MacNeills in Prince 5. Two other families had two parliamentarians out of three in the same fief: the Popes

in Prince 5 and the Yeo in Prince 2. Finally, the Macdonalds had three parliamentarians out of five in Georgetown Royalty/Kings 5.³⁴

3.3 Families and power

Like in Nova Scotia, several premiers were related to other parliamentarians. Out of 28 premiers between 1873 and 1993, half of them had such family relationships, and the phenomenon appears in all periods, except for the 1950s and the 1980s.

James Colledge Pope (Conservative 1873)³⁵

Louis Henry Davies (Liberal 1876-1879)

William Wilfred Sullivan (Conservative 1879-1889)

Frederick Peters (Liberal 1891-1897)

Arthur Peters (Liberal 1901-1908)

John Alexander Mathieson (Conservative 1911-1917)

Aubin Edmond Arsenault (Conservative 1917-1919)

John Howatt Bell (Liberal 1919-1923)

James David Stewart (Conservative 1923-1927 and 1931-1933)

Walter Maxfield Lea (Liberal 1930-1931 and 1935-1936)

William Joseph Parnell MacMillan (Conservative 1933-1935)

Thane Alexander Campbell (Liberal 1936-1943)

Alexander Bradshaw Campbell (Liberal 1966-1978)

William Bennett Campbell (Liberal 1978-1979)

Frederick Peters was the brother of Arthur Peters. Thane Alexander Campbell is the father of Alexander Bradshaw Campbell, but they do not seem to be related to William Bennett Campbell. Of these 14 premiers, 10 were also leaders of the official opposition and 9 were attorneys general.

³⁴ I do not know what ridings the brothers Angus and Hugh Macdonald represented.

³⁵ He was also premier from 1865 to 1867 and from 1870 to 1872.

Of the 26 leaders of the official opposition between 1873 and 1993, 17 (65%) were related to other elected officials. Of the 30 attorneys general, 14 were related.³⁶

Conclusion

Since the 1993 election, there have been six other general elections on Prince Edward Island. The 2007 election saw Robert Ghiz become a Liberal premier, a post he occupied until 2014. Robert Ghiz is the son of Premier Joseph Atallah Ghiz (Liberal 1986-1993).³⁷ He is also the grandson of Douglas McGowan and the great-nephew of Neil Murdock McGowan, both from the Conservative Party.

Last, we can see that Prince Edward Island shares the dominant traits of the other societies studied in the previous chapters: A decline in the number of family relationships in politics over time, a territorial base for the families concerned, and the persistence of the phenomenon at the top of the political hierarchy.

However, we are missing the picture of the first 100 years of Island parliamentarism. My hypothesis, which remains to be verified, is that there were even more family relationships in politics at that time.

³⁶ Nominal data provided by the research service of the Legislative Assembly of PEI on May 17, 2016, and incorporated into the author's database.

³⁷ Joseph A. Ghiz was also leader of the official opposition and Minister of Justice.

4. Family and politics in New Brunswick since 1785

New Brunswick was created three years before the enactment of the Federal Constitution of the United States of America (1787). It was in fact the arrival of 15,000 to 20,000 Americans loyal to the British Crown that explained the separation of this territory from peninsular Nova Scotia.³⁸ “*Exercising his royal prerogative, King George III granted the settlers’ request in 1784 by granting Sunbury County status as a separate colony, naming it New Brunswick after his ancestral home, and sending Thomas Carleton to be its first governor. The first elections were held in November 1785, with the first meeting of the Legislature taking place in Saint John the following January.*”³⁹

In her interesting doctoral thesis on the first five decades of the Legislature of New Brunswick, Kim Marie Klein calculated that 60% of parliamentarians were related during that period. The ridings of Sunbury, Queens and Westmorland even had 75% to 86% of members who were related! The most frequent relationships were: 36 fathers and sons (23.7%), 29 brothers-in-law (19.1%), 25 fathers-in-law and sons-in-law (16.4%) and 22 uncles and nephews (14.5%).⁴⁰ Let’s see what went on over the long term.

4.1 Family relationships in numbers and names

The Legislative Library of New Brunswick has a database on the members of that Legislature that it updates regularly. In March 2016, the database had 1,131 entries, of which there were 234 related members, i.e. 20.7% of the total number. As we did for the previous provinces, let’s divide the space-time being studied into five equal periods (of 46 years each) and examine the evolution of family relationships. We see that these relationships decline significantly during the last two periods studied.

³⁸ Chief Electoral Officer of Canada, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

³⁹ Donald Desserud and Stewart Hyson, 2012, « New Brunswick’s Legislative Assembly », *Canadian Parliamentary Review*, CPA, Ottawa, spring, p. 13

⁴⁰ Kim Marie Klein, 1998, *Acquisition of Power: The Membership of the New Brunswick Assembly, 1785-1837*, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, pp. 44 and 125.

Number of parliamentarians with one or more family relationships

1785-1830: 53 (22.6%)⁴¹

1831-1876: 69 (29.5%)

1877-1922: 61 (26.1%)

1923-1968: 40 (17.1%)

1969-2014: 11 (4.7%)

TOTAL: 234 (100%)

What were the most frequent family relationships? First the fathers and sons (92 each for a total of 184), then the brothers and half-brothers (total of 58). We also counted about 20 grandfathers and grandsons and uncles and nephews, as well as 12 cousins and half a dozen second cousins.⁴²

Of the 107 families considered, 13 had 3 parliamentarians. Three of these families included three generations (the Davidson, Flemming and Smith families). Only New Brunswick families had four parliamentarians on their roster. The Allen family (the grandfather John, the son John Campbell and the grandsons William Kenah and George Winthrop); the Smith family (the two brothers Edward James and Albert James and their sons Ernest Albert and John Wilson Young); the Wilmot family (the two brothers John McNeil and William and their sons Robert Duncan and Lemuel Allan).

Finally, the Botsford family stands out with five parliamentarians, including the grandfather Amos, the father William and his three sons William Hazen, Chipman and Bliss. William is also the cousin of Edward Barron Chandler, who is also James Watson Chandler's cousin and Thomas Chandler's nephew.

A word about Acadian families in politics. It was only after the First World War that the Acadians, clustered in New Brunswick, would have parliamentary representation that

⁴¹ Including a member elected in 1770 (Israel Perley) to represent the Nova Scotia riding of Sunbury which became New Brunswick in 1784.

⁴² Plus four brothers-in-law, four great-uncles and great-nephews, four great-grandfathers and great-great-grandsons, one brother-in-law and his father-in-law, for a total of 316 family relationships. These data differ significantly from Kim Marie Klein's, mentioned above.

corresponded to their democratic weight.⁴³ However, there were only about 10 families of Acadian origin among the 107 on our list, and they only had 2 parliamentarians at the most. They were the Allain, Bordage, Dubé, Landry, Michaud, Nadeau, Richard, Robichaud and Thériault families.

4.2 Families and territory

At the end of the 18th century, the New Brunswick Legislative Assembly represented about 10 ridings; at the beginning of the 21st, it represents 50. The ridings most likely to have parliamentarians with family relationships were those of Saint John, Northumberland, Westmorland, Charlotte, York and Sunbury.

Number of related members by riding

13 in Albert

2 in Campbellton

14 in Carleton

23 in Charlotte

6 in Gloucester

1 in Grand Falls

10 in Kent and Kent South

12 in Kings and Kings West

3 in Madawaska and Edmundston

1 in Moncton and Moncton North

2 in New Maryland

27 in Northumberland

1 in Oromocto

12 in Queens

7 in Restigouche

1 in Rothesay

⁴³ Philippe Doucet, 1993, "Politics and the Acadians", in Jean Daigle, ed., *Acadia of the Maritimes*, Moncton, Université de Moncton, p. 315.

30 in Saint John

17 in Sunbury

5 in Victoria

25 in Westmorland

18 in York

TOTAL: 234

Most of our great families also have an electoral fiefdom. This is true of the Botsfords, with four out of five members elected in Westmorland, as well as the four Smiths, also from Westmorland, and the four Allens, all elected in York. In the category of family trios, we have the Beveridges in Victoria, the Davidsons in Northumberland, the Johnstons and Smiths in Saint John, and the Taylor-Fishers in York. There were also six other families with two members out of three elected in the same riding (the Carr, Chandler, Flemming, Harrison, Palmer and Robinson families).

4.3 Families and power

There have been 38 different premiers in New Brunswick since the middle of the 19th century; 14 of them (36.8%) were related to other parliamentarians in the province.⁴⁴

Edward B. Chandler (Conservative 1848-1854)

Charles Fisher (Liberal 1854-1856 and 1857-1861)

Samuel L. Tilley (Liberal 1861-1865)

Albert J. Smith (Anti-Confederation 1865-1866)

Daniel L. Hanington (Conservative 1882-1883)

Lemuel J. Tweedie (Liberal 1900-1907)

James K. Flemming (Conservative 1911-1914)

Walter E. Foster (Liberal 1917-1923)

John B. M. Baxter (Conservative 1925-1931)

⁴⁴ https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Premier_ministre_du_Nouveau_Brunswick#Liste_des_premiers_ministres_n.C3.A9o-brunswickoise. Consulted on March 25, 2016. You may also consult the list of the Legislative Library of New Brunswick, which begins in 1854.

Leonard P. D. Tilley (Conservative 1933-1935)

Allison Dysart (Liberal 1935-1940)

Hugh J. Flemming (Progressive-Conservative 1952-1960)⁴⁵

Camille Thériault (Liberal 1998-1999)

Shawn Graham (Liberal 2006-2010).

Only 7 of the 43 leaders of the official opposition of New Brunswick were related to other parliamentarians;⁴⁶ but they were all premiers (Fisher, Hanington, Baxter, Dysart, Fleming, Thériault and Graham).

The list of attorneys general is not much longer than that of the leaders of the official opposition even though the position goes back to 1785.⁴⁷ But several attorneys general had a long career... Be that as it may, about 10 of them were from parliamentary families: Lemuel A. Wilmot, Charles Fisher, Albert J. Smith, John Campbell Allen, Ezekiel McLeod, W. C. Hazen Grimmer, John Babington Macauley Baxter father and son, Robert Gordon Lee Fairweather, Fernand Georges Dubé, Paul E. Duffie. Three of them were also premiers (Fisher, Smith and Baxter father).

Conclusion

Did New Brunswick follow the general trends regarding family relationships in politics? There were four times fewer related parliamentarians in Fredericton between 1969 and 2014 than between 1923 and 1968, and these figures are well below those of the three previous periods. Most of the great political families have a clearly defined territorial base. Finally, two of the 14 premiers related to other parliamentarians governed in recent years (1990 and 2000). However, the total number of premiers related to other *politicos* is proportionally less than in the other two Maritime provinces.

⁴⁵ Son of Premier James K. Flemming and grandfather of member and Minister of Health Hugh J. (Ted) Flemming (2012-2014).

⁴⁶ [https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chef_de_1%27opposition_officielle_\(Nouveau-Brunswick\)](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chef_de_1%27opposition_officielle_(Nouveau-Brunswick)). Consulted on March 25, 2016.

⁴⁷ There are 41 of them on a photo mosaic from 2006 and 47 or 48 on two nominal lists at the Legislative Library of New Brunswick.

5. Family and politics in Quebec since 1792

Introduction

Just as it had provoked the separation of New Brunswick from Nova Scotia seven years before, the arrival of American Loyalists in 1791 led to the division of the province of Quebec into two entities: Lower Canada, with a francophone majority, and Upper Canada, where anglophones were in the majority, with a Parliament for each colony.

“Political life in Lower Canada proceeded along essentially the same lines as in the other colonies of British North America: reform-oriented parties that demanded major political change opposed conservative parties more satisfied with the status quo. In Lower Canada, however, unlike elsewhere, the struggle among political parties was played out against a cultural backdrop: reformers promoted the interests of French-speaking Canadians, while conservatives advanced those of the English-speaking minority. As a result, Lower Canada was a British colony quite unlike the others.”⁴⁸

5.1 Family relationships in numbers and names

The third edition of the *Dictionnaire des parlementaires du Québec de 1792 à nos jours* was published in 2009 and contained more than 2,400 biographical entries.⁴⁹ Two general elections later, the digital DPQ available on the Quebec National Assembly site includes 2,529 biographies (end of April 2014). In addition to the members, it contains a certain number of unelected parliamentarians: legislative counsels,⁵⁰ special advisors,⁵¹ lieutenant-governors and governors.⁵² But our work is essentially about members related to other parliamentarians. Stephen Hess calculated that about 17% of the members of the U.S. Congress were related between 1774 and 1966 (1,700 out of 10,000).⁵³ In Quebec, there were 673 members out of 2,529 parliamentarians, i.e. close to 27%, which is close to the percentages observed in the Maritime provinces (between 21% and 30%).

⁴⁸ Chief Electoral Officer of Canada, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁴⁹ Quebec National Assembly, 2009, *Dictionnaire des parlementaires du Québec de 1792 à nos jours*, Quebec, Les Publications du Québec, p. XIII.

⁵⁰ Between 1792 and 1838, 1841 and 1867, 1867 and 1968. The counsels were elected during the short period from 1856 to 1867.

⁵¹ Between 1838 and 1841, after the Patriot War and before the Constitution of United Canada.

⁵² Between 1792 and 1867.

⁵³ Stephen Hess, 2nd edition, 1997, *op.cit.*, p. 1.

To track the evolution of the phenomenon over time, I chose five 44-year periods and classified our 673 members according to the date of their first election:

1792-1836: 243 (36.1%)

1837-1881: 179 (26.6%)

1882-1926: 115 (17.1%)

1927-1971: 100 (14.9%)

1972-2016: 34 (5.3%)

TOTAL: 673 (100%)

The text kindly provided by the Research Branch of the Library of the National Assembly of Quebec lists 1,345 family relationships between 1792 and April 2014. This includes 1,040 relationships among members, 258 relationships between members and legislative counsels, 41 between members and special advisors, 5 between members and lieutenant-governors and 1 between a member and a governor.⁵⁴

Let's begin with the nuclear family (parents and children). There were only 5 couples,⁵⁵ but 123 fathers and 1 mother, 122 sons and 4 daughters,⁵⁶ 114 brothers, 5 half-brothers and 3 sisters. In the lineages, 59 grandfathers, 66 grandsons and 2 granddaughters, as well as 13 great-grandfathers, 12 great-grandsons and 2 great-granddaughters were documented.⁵⁷ As for the collaterals, there were 96 uncles, 107 nephews and 73 first cousins, 14 great-uncles, 11 great-nephews and 10 second cousins. In the relatives by marriage category, there were 99 fathers-in-law, 100 sons-in-law and 214 brothers-in-law.

That accounts for the main categories. We could add the few members who married the widow of another parliamentarian, or whose widow married a colleague, or whose son married the daughter of a colleague, etc. But generally speaking, we note that the most frequent family relationships are the ones involving close family members: 372 parents, children, brothers and

⁵⁴ The member for Dorchester, Henry John Caldwell, in 1830 married the niece of Matthew Whitworth-Aylmer, Baron and Governor in Chief from 1831 to 1835.

⁵⁵ Fabien and Madeleine Bélanger (PLQ), Michel Bourdon and Louise Harel (PQ), Claude Forget and Monique Jérôme-Forget (PLQ), Serge Marcil and Christiane Pelchat (PLQ), Jacques Parizeau and Lisette Lapointe (PQ).

⁵⁶ Johanne Gonthier (PLQ), Marie-Claire Kirkland (PLQ), Nicole Léger (PQ) and Karine Vallières (PLQ).

⁵⁷ Françoise David (QS) and Hélène David (PLQ) are both in the three categories of sisters, granddaughters and great-granddaughters.

sisters; 413 fathers-in-law, sons-in-law and brothers-in-law; 276 uncles, nephews and cousins; 127 grandfathers and grandsons or granddaughters. The phenomenon remains essentially male.

Fourteen families in Quebec had at least four parliamentarians with the same surname,⁵⁸ which makes them political dynasties according to Stephen Hess's definition.⁵⁹ I have added one family with three parliamentarians who were all premiers, from different parties.⁶⁰

| | |
|-------------------------|----|
| Taschereau | 11 |
| Panet | 07 |
| Papineau | 06 |
| Casgrain | 05 |
| Desaulniers | 05 |
| Juchereau Duchesnay | 05 |
| Tessier | 05 |
| David | 04 |
| Boucher de Boucherville | 04 |
| Cannon | 04 |
| Caron | 04 |
| Chaussegros de Léry | 04 |
| Taché | 04 |
| Johnson | 03 |

5.2 Families and territory

In 1792, there were 25 electoral ridings in Lower Canada, 45 in 1830 and 65 in 1854. In 1867, 12 anglophone ridings in the Outaouais and the Eastern Townships were protected by the new Constitution. It would in future be impossible to change their boundaries without the

⁵⁸ Under the United Canadas' regime (1841-1867), the government and legislature moved between Quebec, Kingston, Montreal and Toronto.

⁵⁹ Stephen Hess, 2nd edition. 1997, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

⁶⁰ To find out more about a dozen of these dynasties, you can consult three of my articles in the *Bulletin d'histoire politique* (Winter 2013 and Summer 2014) and in the *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies* (Spring 2015).

agreement of a majority of their members. This provision stayed in force until 1968, although a number of the ridings lost their anglophone electorate rather quickly.⁶¹ Today, there are 125 ridings in Quebec's electoral map.⁶²

In short, from 1792 to today, members were elected in 248 ridings whose boundaries fluctuated.⁶³ But which locations were most likely to have parliamentarians who were related? To find out, I analyzed this for the 673 members when they were first elected.

1 member: Abitibi, Anjou, Beauce-Sud, Bourassa, Charlevoix, Charlevoix-Saguenay, Chauveau, Chicoutimi-Tadoussac, Crémazie, Duplessis, Frontenac, Gaspé-Nord, Gouin, Îles-de-la-Madeleine, Jonquière-Kénogami, Labelle, Lachenaie, Lac-Saint-Jean, Lafontaine, La Peltrie, Laporte, Louis-Hébert, Maisonneuve, Marguerite-Bourgeoys, Matapédia, Mercier, Montréal-Centre, Montréal 2, Montréal 4, Montréal 6, Montréal-Sainte-Anne, Montréal-Sainte-Marie, Napierville-Laprairie, Papineau, Richmond-Wolfe, Saint-Jacques, Saint-Laurent, Sherbrooke-Wolfe, Taillon, Vachon, Vanier, Vaudreuil-Soulanges, Verdun

2 members: Abitibi-Est, Bourget, Chicoutimi, Chicoutimi-Saguenay, Gaspé-Sud, Hull, Iberville, Johnson, Joliette, Matane, Montréal-Dorion, Montréal-Saint-Henri, Montréal 3, Outremont, Pointe-aux-Trembles, Richmond, Saint-Sauveur, Westmount-Saint-Georges, Wolfe

3 members: Argenteuil, Brome, Compton, Deux-Montagnes, Hochelaga, La Prairie, Mégantic, Mégantic-Compton, Orléans, Roberval, Soulanges

4 members: Arthabaska, Bagot, Bedford, Bonaventure, Devon, Drummond-Arthabaska, Laval, Montréal Cité de, Napierville, Saguenay, Saint-Jean, Témiscouata, William-Henry

5 members: Châteauguay, Cornwallis, Drummond, Gaspé, Lotbinière, Maskinongé, Nicolet, Pontiac, Québec-Est, York

6 members: Jacques-Cartier, Kent, Québec Cité de, Québec-Centre, Saint-Hyacinthe, Shefford,

7 members: Beauharnois, Bellechasse, Berthier, Chambly, Kamouraska, Lévis, Missisquoi, Montmorency, Northumberland, Portneuf, Québec Basse-ville de, Québec Haute-ville de, Québec-Est, Terrebonne

8 members: Buckingham, Hampshire, Leinster, Montmagny, Montréal-Ouest, Ottawa, Rimouski, Vaudreuil, Verchères, Warwick

9 members: Champlain, Effingham, Hertford, L'Assomption, Sherbrooke, Surrey, Yamaska

10 members: Beauce, Huntingdon, L'Islet, Montcalm

11 members: Stanstead

⁶¹ To find out more about the provincial parliamentary delegation of the Eastern Townships from 1829 to today, see my article in the *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies* (Fall 2011).

⁶² For a complete list of electoral maps from 1792 to today, see the *Atlas des élections au Québec* by Pierre Drouilly, 2014, on the Fondation Lionel-Groulx site, atlas.fondationlionelgroulx.org

⁶³ Quebec National Assembly, 2009, *op.cit.*, pp. 799-842.

12 members: Rouville

13 members: Dorchester, Montréal

14 members: Québec

16 members: Montréal-Est

17 members: Richelieu

22 members: Saint-Maurice, Trois-Rivières

This table must, of course, be read with prudence because the boundaries of the ridings often overlapped owing to successive changes to the electoral map. There was, however, a certain historical continuity in the naming of the ridings.⁶⁴

5.3 Family and power

Ministerial responsibility was granted only under the Union Act of the Two Canadas. At that time, the government was usually directed by two co-premiers—one from Western Canada (Ontario) and the other from Eastern Canada (Quebec). The latter is the only one we are concerned with. As of 1867, the Quebec premier was solely responsible for his jurisdiction. Of the 41 premiers since 1842, 26 had family relationships with other parliamentarians (63%).

Premiers related to other parliamentarians (1841 to today)

1841-1881

Louis-Hippolyte La Fontaine (Reformer); Denis-Benjamin Viger (Tory); Denis-Benjamin Papineau (Tory); Augustin-Norbert Morin (Reformer); Étienne-Paschal Taché (Blue); George-Étienne Cartier (Blue); Antoine-Aimé Dorion (Red); Pierre-Joseph-Olivier Chauveau (CP); Charles-Eugène Boucher de Boucherville (CP); Henri-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière (LP).

1882-1926

Joseph-Alfred Mousseau (CP); Louis-Olivier Taillon (CP); Honoré Mercier père (LP); Félix-Gabriel Marchand (LP); Simon-Napoléon Parent (LP); Lomer Gouin (LP); Louis-Alexandre Taschereau (LP).

1927-1971

Joseph-Adélar Godbout (LP); Maurice Le Noblet Duplessis (UN); Paul Sauvé (UN); Daniel Johnson, father (UN); Jean-Jacques Bertrand (UN); Robert Bourassa (LP).

1972-2016

⁶⁴ With the exception of the riding of Bertrand, which was moved from the south shore of the St. Lawrence to its north shore.

Pierre Marc Johnson (PQ); Daniel Johnson, son (LP); Jacques Parizeau (PQ).

Leaders of the opposition who were parents of other parliamentarians (1869 to today)

The position of Leader of the Opposition seems to have become official only in 1869 with the Liberal Henri-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière, even though the position existed unofficially from the beginning of the 1800s, with Pierre-Stanislas Bédard and Louis-Joseph Papineau, for example. But I will limit myself to the list provided on the site of the Quebec National Assembly, which is the authority in this regard.⁶⁵ There were 46 leaders of the opposition during that period, but only 14 were related to other parliamentarians (28%).

1869-1881

Henri-Gustave Loly de Lotbinière (LP)

1882-1926

Honoré Mercier, father (LP); Louis-Olivier Taillon (CP); Félix-Gabriel Marchand (LP); Joseph-Mathias Tellier (CP); Arthur Sauvé (CP)

1927-1971

Maurice Le Noblet Duplessis (CP); Joseph-Adélar Godbout (LP); Daniel Johnson, father (UN); Robert Bourassa (LP); Jean-Jacques Bertrand (UN).

1972-2016

Pierre Marc Johnson, (PQ); Jacques Parizeau, (PQ); Daniel Johnson, son (LP).

Attorneys general and ministers of justice who were parents of other parliamentarians

(1841 to today)

The position of Attorney General or Minister of Justice (since 1966) has often been a springboard to the position of premier, when the latter did not choose to hold both functions.⁶⁶ Since 1841, 55 people have held the position of Attorney General or Minister of Justice and 26 had family ties to other parliamentarians (47%).

1841-1881

Louis-Hippolyte La Fontaine; William Badgley; Lewis Thomas Drummond; George-Étienne Cartier; Louis-Victor Sicotte; Antoine-Aimé Dorion; George Irvine; Auguste-Réal Anger; Louis-Onésime Loranger.

⁶⁵ <http://www.assnat.qc.ca/fr/patrimoine/chefoppo.html>

⁶⁶ <http://www.assnat.qc.ca/fr/patrimoine/cabinets.html>

1882-1926

Joseph-Alfred Mousseau; Louis-Olivier Taillon; Honoré Mercier, father; Arthur Turcotte; Thomas Chase Casgrain; Louis-Philippe Pelletier; Horace Archambault (legislative counsel); Lomer Gouin; Louis-Alexandre Taschereau.

1927-1971

Joseph-Édouard Perrault; Maurice Le Noblet Duplessis; Wilfrid Girouard; Léon Casgrain; Jean-Jacques Bertrand; Jérôme Choquette.

1972-2016

Marc-André Bédard; Pierre Marc Johnson.

Conclusion

The status of family relationships in Quebec politics is particularly well documented. It allows us to track its evolution from the beginning of parliamentarism in the colony until the very last general election. This allows us to note its gradual decline over time. Its territorial dimension would necessitate a more in-depth analysis than the one I have been able to do, even if it is well known for longer lineages such as that of the Taschereau, Tessier and Beaubien families. Close to two-thirds of premiers and close to half of the attorneys general and ministers of justice were related to other parliamentarians; however, this phenomenon is rarer today than in previous periods.

Summary: A family resemblance?

1. Families and politics

“The occurrence of family relationships in politics tends to decrease over time”. We have just seen this in the founding provinces of modern Canada. In the United States, however, since the Kennedy era, there seems to have been an increase in dynasties in the main sectors of American society (politics, business, the arts, sports and the professions).⁶⁷ In India, “the largest democracy in the world”, the historian Patrick French calculated that, in the Lower House of the Federation, the younger the member, the more family relationships with other politicians. In other words, the phenomenon of family relationships among politicians has grown continuously since the country became independent in 1947.⁶⁸

The occurrence of family relationships in politics “tends to persist in the highest spheres of power”. A recent article in *Maclean's* magazine mentioned the Bennetts of British Columbia, the Flemmings of New Brunswick, the Ghiz family of Prince Edward Island, the Johnsons of Quebec, and the Notleys of Alberta. At the federal level, this article cites the Trudeaus of Quebec, the Regan and MacKay families of Nova Scotia, the LeBlancs of New Brunswick, the Laytons and Martins of Ontario, and the Mannings of Alberta.⁶⁹ But the phenomenon does not have the same scope as in the United States or India.

Family relationships in politics “often have a local or territorial dimension”. This is obvious in provincial legislatures at in the federal Parliament, as it is in several other societies studied in the first chapter (the United States, Mexico, France, Brazil, the Philippines, Kenya, India). This characteristic would in fact be a factor in the success of many political families, such as in Japan particularly.⁷⁰

The decrease of the occurrence of family relationships in politics “may be interpreted as an indicator of democratization or political modernization”. That was in any case the thesis put forward at the end of the 1960s, when studies on development and underdevelopment were very popular in universities, government offices and international institutions. Today, opinions are

⁶⁷ Adam Bellow, 2003, *In Praise of Nepotism*, New York, Anchor Books, p. 485-508.

⁶⁸ Rupa Subramanya, 2012, “Economics Journal: Why We Do Accept Political Dynasties?”, February 15, <http://blogs.wsj.com/indiarealtime/2012/02/15/economics-journal-why-we-do-accept-poli...>

⁶⁹ Nick Taylor-Vaisy, 2015, “In all thy kids command: Canada’s Political Families, May 29, <http://www.macleans.ca/politics/ottawa/in-all-thy-kids-command-canada-political-families>

⁷⁰ Rupa Subramanya, *op. cit.*

more nuanced. The implosion of the Soviet bloc, economic globalization, the emergence of new political and economic powers and the reappearance of religion in politics are all new phenomena that lead one to wonder about the renewal of elites, such as through families, close or extended.

In this regard, it is logical to conclude that the persistence of the phenomenon in Canada as elsewhere “can be seen as a manifestation of the reproduction of political elites or of the iron law of oligarchies”.

2. Are political networks other than family ones adoptive families?

History and political science have always studied elites but this topic seems to have come to the fore again today. As examples, two recent collections of essays, from Quebec and the United States, both refer to Max Weber to explain the survival, if not the growth and development of family networks in a society that is rationally bureaucratic.⁷¹ Which leads us, in conclusion, to a few considerations of an anthropological nature.

If the family was the privileged vehicle of power and influence in traditional society, it came up against competition with other networks of belonging in modern society, such as the trades and professions, the institutions of learning, the machines of state, interest groups, political parties and even criminal organizations! We thus began to neglect if not ignore the importance of family relationships as a means to acquire and conserve power and influence. But paradoxically, the new networks did not forget the importance of the family, to which they symbolically refer to legitimize their influence over their members.

As Michel Bergès explained in a recent text, *“The parties of modern and contemporary Europe have perpetuated, to the highest levels of the state today, ambiguous representations and practices connected to family relationships. Thus, at the political level, continents or entire countries (Africa, Asia, the Middle-East, South America, India...), communities (mafias, gypsies...) are subject to this type of phenomenon, both in identical and different ways. This seems to connect, in an ‘unvarying’ and perhaps ‘systemic’ way, real, extended, symbolic or transfigured family relationships, power and domination, and power and sexuality. Politics, far*

⁷¹ Thierry Nootens and Jean-René Thuot, 2012, *Les figures du pouvoir à travers le temps*, Cahiers du Centre interuniversitaire d'études québécoises, Université Laval and UQTR, pp. 1-11; Julia Adams and Mounira M. Charrad, 2011, *Patrimonial Power In The Modern World*, Thousand Oaks CA, Sage Publications, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 636, pp. 6-15.

*from being simply ideology, organization, law, also affects personal relations, clientism, and patrimonialism[Translation] ”.*⁷²

3. Politics and family

The erudite considerations above took us away from our main focus of interest—the family in politics—but only to allow us to see it better. They remind us that the family is not just a place of matrimonial strategies, of transmission of legacies or of nepotism, but also has, among all of the groups that make up a society, a unique emotional charge.

“I am leaving politics to spend more time with my family”; how often have we heard—with more or less skepticism—this touching testimony? One thing is more certain, and that is that the family is often the first victim of a political career. There are countless biographies that describe the various effects of politics on the life of politicians and their family members.⁷³ The perspective of my work has been quite different, as I have examined the influence of the family on political power. But in concluding my study, I can state that that definitely seems more positive than the influence of politics on the family of the politician, at least in our democracies.

⁷² Michel Bergès, 2008, “Claude Lévi-Strauss et les réseaux: parenté et politique”, p. 46. Reproduced in Jean-Marie Tremblay, *Les classiques des sciences sociales*, <http://classiques.uqac.ca/>

⁷³ See in particular Karina Marceau’s documentary, 2014, *La politique n’est pas un jeu d’enfants*, Montreal, Group PVP, broadcast by Télé-Québec, December 8, 52 m. 19 s.

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