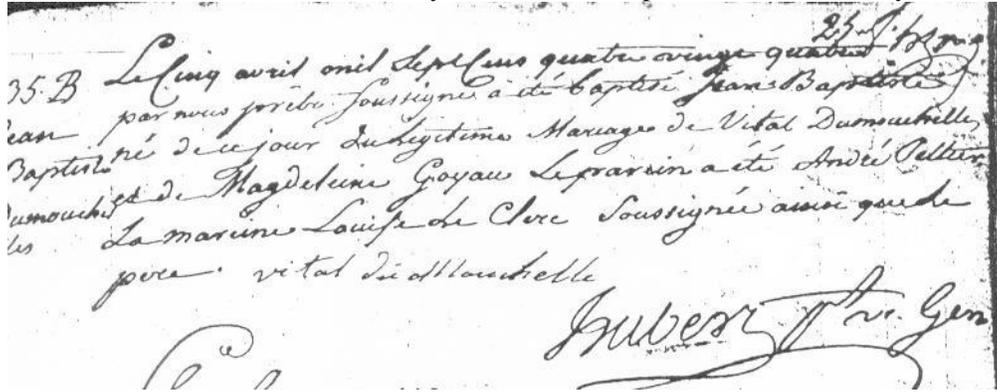


**A Tribute to Jean Baptiste Dumouchel – Patriote of 1837
And His Fellow Patriotes of Deux-Montagnes
Part III**

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Continued from April and July, 2007 Issues of *Michigan's Habitant Heritage*

The first part of this article introduced a family artifact, the 1836 letter written by Jean Baptiste Dumouchel to his sister, Marie Marguerite. Suzanne Sommerville kindly translated the letter. The remainder of Part I discussed the Dumouchel and Goyeau ancestry of the siblings. Part II discussed Marie Marguerite Dumouchel and her husband, Charles Ouellette; their son, Vital Ouellette and his wife Émilie Cécile; and the children of both couples. Part III discusses Marie Marguerite's siblings, Jean Baptiste and Ignace Dumouchel, and their children, including the role of the Dumouchels during the early part of 1837. Part IV will conclude the series of articles with the final months of 1837, the battle of St-Eustache, and the devastation of Deux-Montagnes by military forces and Loyalist volunteers, as well as presenting the ancestry of the *Patriote* leaders of Deux-Montagnes.

Jean Baptiste Dumouchel, the author of the letter to his sister, Marie Marguerite, was born 5 April 1784 in Sandwich (the future Windsor, Essex County, Ontario) and baptized on the same day at Assumption.¹



Jean Baptiste left Sandwich at age 11 to study in Montréal; he may have studied the classics at the *Collège Saint-Raphaël*. In 1803, he went to work for Alexis Berthelot, a merchant in Ste-Geneviève. Five years later he started his own business as a general merchant in St-Benoît. On 6 April 1810, Jean Baptiste was engaged to travel to Kingston, Ontario.²

On 13 February 1809, Jean Baptiste married **Victoire Félix (Pierre Paul and Louise Lacelle)**,³ sister of the parish priest in St-Benoît and sister-in-law of notary and fellow future *patriote*, **Jean Joseph Girouard**. She was also an aunt of *patriote* **Felix Hyacinthe Lemaire**. Victoire's ancestors, **Jacques Lacelle** and **Angélique Gibault** were also the ancestors of the members of the Lacelle family who settled in Détroit. Other than the genealogical details concerning Jean Baptiste's family, and his involvement in

¹ FHL Film # 1312030. Assumption Records. This film is on permanent loan at the Family History Center in Bloomfield Hills, MI. The descendants of the Dumouchel family and the ancestry of their fellow *Patriotes* of Deux-Montagnes can be found in my database at RootsWeb.Com: <http://wc.rootsweb.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?includedb=wolfordsheppard>

² Société de généalogie de St-Eustache. *Engagements pour l'Ouest 1802-1822*,. <http://www.patrimoine-laurentides.ca/sgse/banques/ouest.html#d>

³ University of Toronto and Université Laval. *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online* <http://www.biographi.ca/EN/index.html>. All future references to this source will be abbreviated "DCB" Dumouchel's biography. *Drouin Collection*, St-Benoît, 1807-1809, image 93 of 133. Author's note, as of June 19, 2007, this volume was mislabeled 1808. The Drouin Collection is available to subscribers of Ancestry's World Collection.

the Rebellion of 1837, very little is known about his life. The involvement of the Dumouchels in the Rebellion of 1837 will be covered in the historical section which follows.



Modern map of Québec showing St-Benoît, Ste-Scholastique and Deux-Montagnes.

When Jean Baptiste returned to St-Benoît following his imprisonment, not only was his home in ruins, but his business had been destroyed. He was never able to rebuild his business and was forced to declare bankruptcy in February 1844. Shortly thereafter, all of his belongings were liquidated in a public auction. Jean Joseph Girouard, as a privileged creditor (based on an 1837 mortgage which Girouard issued in exchange for a loan Dumouchel needed to expand his business), was able to purchase the Dumouchel home and land. One week later he gave it to Hermine Pelletier, Léandre Dumouchel's wife.⁴ Jean Baptiste Dumouchel died on 24 March 1844 and was buried on the 29th in St-Benoît.⁵ Marie Victoire Félix died nine years later on 8 March 1853 and was buried on 11 March in St-Benoît.⁶

Jean Baptiste Dumouchel and Victoire Félix's Children

Vital Léandre Dumouchel

Jean Baptiste Dumouchel and Victoire Félix's first son, Vital Léandre, was born 29 March 1811 and baptized the same day *sous condition* in St-Benoît.⁷ He was known as Léandre throughout his life. He left home in 1821 to study at the *petit* seminary in Montréal. After his education at the seminary, Léandre studied medicine and was admitted as a doctor in 1835. He set up his practice in Ste-Scholastique, although he lived with his parents, possibly until his marriage in 1839.

On 20 November 1839, Léandre married **Hermine Pelletier (Toussaint and Élisabeth Lacoste)** at Notre-Dame in Montréal. Hermine was the sister of *patriote* **Toussaint Pelletier**.⁸ The couple had six children: **Georgina**; **George Léandre**, a notary who married **Aurelie Woods**; **Albine**, who became a Grey nun; **Adèle**, who joined the Congregation of Notre-Dame; **Corinne** who married **Ferreol Pelletier**; and **Clotilde**, who also became a Grey Nun. In 1864, Léandre was a legislative councilor, as a representative of Mille-Îles. He represented the same district on 23 October 1867 as a member of the Senate. His wife,

⁴ *DCB*. Dumouchel's biography. Marc-Gabriel Vallières, p. 14. The author of the article does not state why the home was given to Hermine Pelletier, rather than a member of the Dumouchel family, as Marie Victoire Félix was still alive, as well as all of her sons. Alain Messier, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique et historique des Patriotes, 1837-1838*, (Montréal, Québec: Guérin, 2002), p. 168. Copy provided by Gail Moreau DesHarnais. (Genealogical information in this book is generally limited to the year, rather than giving a specific date.)

⁵ *Drouin Collection*, St-Benoît, 1844, image 10 of 39. His funeral mass was attended by priests from five neighboring parishes. Author's note: The date of his death, as found in the parish records, corrects the date published in the *DCB*, which states that he died on 29 March, which was the date of his burial.

⁶ *Drouin Collection*, St-Benoît, 1853, image 4 of 34.

⁷ *Drouin Collection*, St-Benoît, 1811, image 11 of 47. As of June 2007, this volume was mislabeled 1810.

⁸ *Drouin Collection*, Montréal, Basilique Notre-Dame, 1839, image 150 of 167.

Hermine, died on 3 December 1867. Léandre married his second wife, **Marie Elisabeth Bauset**, on 2 February 1872. Léandre died at the age of 71 on 23 September 1882.⁹ On 27 September 1882 the *Aylmer Times* praised his service to the Province.¹⁰

As a member of the legislature for many past years ever since 1864, when first elected to the Legislative Council of Old Canada, to his death, he was ever a constant and faithful member of our Upper House where his high character and ever honorable course of conduct well became the dignity. In the troublesome times of 1837-1838 and the years immediately following, and ever since in fact, no man did more in his district (a large one) than he did for peace and good order and general progress of the people of his country.

Henriette Dumouchel

Jean Baptiste Dumouchel and Victoire Félix's only daughter, Henriette, was born in August or September 1812 in St-Benoît.¹¹ She married **Edouard Moreau**, a doctor from St-Laurent and son of **Pierre Moreau**, a Montréal merchant, and **Geneviève Elliot/Ellet, dite Julien**, on 14 February 1831 in St-Benoît.¹² Henriette and Edouard had three children: **Edouard**, who married and had six children; **Henriette**, who became a nun; and **George**.¹³ Edouard Moreau died on 16 May 1835. Following her husband's death, Henriette and her children went to live with her parents in St-Benoît for at least a short time.¹⁴ Henriette died in Montréal and was buried in St-Benoît on 9 October 1839.¹⁵

Hercule Dumouchel

Hercule was born 15 February 1815 in St-Benoît and baptized as Jean Baptiste Hercule the following day.¹⁶ In 1837, he was a merchant in St-Benoît, possibly associated with his father. On 5 August 1839, Hercule, who had established himself as a merchant at St-Hermas, married **Anne Woods (William and Susan Atkinson)** in St-Michel, Vaudreuil.¹⁷ The couple had seven children: **Wilfred, Ernestine, Zulema, Elvelina, Alcide, Ernest, Charles** and **Evelina**, who married **Charles Boromme Rouleau**, the magistrate for the Northwest Territory.¹⁸ Hercule died 21 February 1854 and was buried on the 23rd in St-Benoît.¹⁹

Camille Candide Dumouchel

Camille was born 1 July 1818 and baptized the following day in St-Benoît.²⁰ At the age of 11, he left home to study at the *collège de Montréal*. Camille married **Mary Jane Woods (John and Emilia Mumsey)** on 26 July 1847 in St-Jean-sur-Richelieu.²¹ Although their first two children died young, the couple had ten other children, including six who married: **Albina** married **Thomas Bayfield**, **Delia**

⁹ G.F. Baillairgé, *Jean Joseph Girouard* (Joliette, Québec: 1893). Available online at: <http://www.ourroots.ca/e/page.aspx?id=418149>, p.199. (The author does not provide any sources for his statements). Gilles Laporte, *Patriotes et Loyaux* (Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 2004), p. 278 (Genealogical information in this book is generally limited to the year, rather than giving a specific date.); Messier, p. 170.

¹⁰ Madeleine Dufour-Dumouchel, "Jean Baptiste Dumouchel, Le Patriote ses antécédents et sa desendance" *Memoires*, 29 (Montréal, Québec. *Société généalogique canadienne-française*. 1978), pp. 104-105. (Unfortunately, the author does not provide any sources for her statements, nor does she provide locations for all events).

¹¹ *Drouin Collection*, St-Benoît, 1812. Her baptism is entered in the index on image 42 of 46, stating that her baptism should be found on page 27; however, the image is so faded that I was unable to find it.

¹² *Drouin Collection*, St-Benoît, 1831, image 13 of 68.

¹³ Baillairgé, p. 199.

¹⁴ Dumouchel, *Letter to his sister Marie Marguerite*.

¹⁵ *Drouin Collection*, St-Benoît, 1839, image 35 of 47

¹⁶ *Drouin Collection*, St-Benoît, 1815, image 8 of 92.

¹⁷ *Drouin Collection*, Vaudreuil (St-Michel), 1835-1840, image 154 of 202.

¹⁸ *DCB*, Rouleau's biography.

¹⁹ *Drouin Collection*, St-Benoît, 1854, image 7 of 37.

²⁰ *Drouin Collection*, St-Benoît, 1818, image 28 of 58.

²¹ *Drouin Collection*, St-Jean sur Richelieu, 1847, image 26 of 44.

married **Charles Marcotte**, **Joseph Henri** married **Mathilde Lescarbeau**, **Émélie** married **Charles Green**, **Jean Léandre** married **Marguerite Lepine** and **Joseph** married **Malvina Guilmaut**. Mary Jane died 4 January 1874 in Montréal. Following Mary Jane's death, Camille married **Alice Gauthier**, widow of **Charles Deslongchamps**, on 26 April 1881 in Ste-Brigide de Montréal.²² Camille died in Montréal on 10 December 1882.²³

Ignace Dumouchel

Ignace Dumouchel was born 25 November 1791 in Sandwich and baptized at Assumption.²⁴ He arrived in St-Benoît in 1809 and went into business with his brother, Jean Baptiste. It is not known if he came to St-Benoît directly from Sandwich, or studied in Montréal like his brother, Jean Baptiste. Ignace married **Félicité Girouard (Edouard and Marie Anne Baillargé)**, sister of *Patriote* **Jean Joseph Girouard**, 1 February 1820 in St-Eustache.²⁵ Félicité died 28 May 1822 in St. Benoît at the age of 22, shortly after having given birth to twins:²⁶ **Octave Alfred** who married **Olive Flavie Lemaire (Antoine Hyacinthe and Marie Josèphe Félix)** and **Angèle Virginie** who married **Isidore Poirier (Jean Baptiste and Marie Madore)**. Octave Alfred, known as Alfred throughout his life, lived for many years with his uncle, Jean Joseph Girouard. Following the death of his first wife, Ignace opened a general store in Rigaud.²⁷

Ignace Dumouchel married **Marie Thérèse Antoinette Fournier (Jean Baptiste & Marie Marguerite Racicot)** 17 February 1829 at Ste-Madeleine in Rigaud.²⁸ That same year he opened a small commercial enterprise with **Joseph Rasette**, a merchant from Vaudreuil. During the next thirteen years, Ignace and Thérèse would have eleven children; four of the children died as infants. **Adelbert** became a merchant in Pointe-Claire; **Estelle** became a Grey Nun assigned to a mission in Salem, Massachusetts, from 1880-1889; **Edouard** and **Arthur** studied music in Europe. Edouard was the organist in Ogdensburg, New York; while Arthur was the organist in the Cathedral in Albany, New York. **Louis Napoléon** became a notary and married **Caroline Leblanc**. The fate of **Antoinette** and **Evelina** is not known.²⁹ Marie Thérèse Antoinette Fournier was buried in Rigaud on 7 August 1874.³⁰ Ignace died in Rigaud and was buried on 11 December 1876.³¹

The Role of the Dumouchel Family and Their Fellow *Patriotes* of Deux-Montagnes in the Rebellions of 1837

While the rebellions of 1837-1838 only encompassed two years, the roots of the rebellions date back to the surrender of Montréal to the British in 1760, and the historical antipathy between the French and the British, which predates the 1760 surrender by several centuries. The historical information which follows is highly condensed; it is primarily concerned with the Dumouchel siblings, their spouses, children, cousins and fellow *patriote* leaders from Deux-Montagnes who were involved in the rebellion of 1837. It is not even possible to discuss all the *patriote* activities that took place in Deux-Montagnes during 1837.³²

²² *Drouin Collection*, Ste-Brigide (Montréal), 1881, images 47-48 of 196.

²³ Baillargé, pp. 108, 159. Laporte, p. 284.

²⁴ FHL Film # 1312030. Assumption Records.

²⁵ *Drouin Collection*, St-Eustache, 1820, image 5 of 46.

²⁶ *Drouin Collection*, St-Benoît, 1822, images 16 & 20 of 53. The twins were born on 18 April and baptized the following day.

²⁷ Laporte, p. 300.

²⁸ *Drouin Collection*, Rigaud (Ste-Madeleine), 1829, image 8 of 49.

²⁹ Laporte, p. 300; Baillargé, p. 160; Messier, p. 168.

³⁰ *Drouin Collection*, Rigaud (Ste-Madeleine), 1874, image 31 of 55.

³¹ *Drouin Collection*, Rigaud (Ste-Madeleine), 1876, image 37 of 43.

³² Laporte, p. 50. Author's note, while the information that follows covers a number of events in Deux-Montagnes, Laporte points out that between the years 1834-1837, the loyalists were involved in 645 public assemblies, nominations, petitions or declarations, meetings, commemorations or other activities, while the *patriotes* were

Although the events that led to the rebellions of 1837-1838 in Lower Canada evolved over a number of years, they fell into seven categories: (1) increased scarcity of lands; (2) economic difficulties; (3) demographic pressures which were exacerbated by immigration from the British Isles; (4) clashes between the four dominant classes of society (bureaucrats, merchants, clergy and professionals); (5) political clashes; (6) an agricultural crisis; (7) and, to a much lesser extent, the cholera epidemics of 1832 and 1834.

Patriote Leaders of Deux-Montagnes:

Laurent Aubry, Joseph Amable Berthelot, Jacob Barcelo, Étienne Chartier (parish priest in St-Benoît), **Jean Olivier Chénier, Louis Coursolles, Pierre Danis, Jean Baptiste Dumouchel, Émery Feré, Jean Joseph Girouard** (member of the Assembly), **Amable Labrosse, Felix Hyacinthe Lemaire, Luc Hyacinthe Masson, Daniel Phelan, John Phelan, Ignace Raizenne, Joseph Amable Robillard, John Ryan, William Henry Scott** (member of the Assembly), and **James Watts**.³³

On 17 February 1834 Speaker **Louis Joseph Papineau** introduced the 92 Resolutions to the Assembly. The Resolutions laid out the demands and complaints of the French Canadians. Amongst other issues, the *Patriote* politicians demanded more power for the elected Assembly and insisted that the Legislative Council be elected by the people. They demanded that the budget be controlled by the Assembly and insisted on the same powers, privileges and immunities as the British Parliament. In addition, the Resolutions contained veiled threats of Lower Canada's independence and annexation to the United States. The Resolutions were adopted by a vote of 56 to 23 on their third reading on 22 February.³⁴

Following the approval of the Resolutions, Papineau prepared an address, approved by the House, which accompanied the Resolutions and a petition signed by 78,000 residents of Lower Canada. **Augustin Norbert Morin** and **Denis Benjamin Viger** were charged with the responsibility of bringing the Resolutions, address and petition to London and to present them to both Houses of British Parliament. Britain did not respond to the resolutions until 1837. During the interim, tensions built between the British and the *habitants*, and local *patriote* groups were formed in various counties.³⁵

In July 1834, Jean Baptiste Dumouchel attended the central and permanent committee meeting in Montréal, as the representative of Deux-Montagnes; a privilege that was usually conferred on county Assembly members.³⁶ The following year, on 18 June 1835, the *patriotes* of Deux-Montagnes met in front of the Church in St-Benoît, where they formed a central committee, modeled on the one in Montréal, and elected officers. The patriotic union was dedicated to the defense of French-Canadian interests against the military, legal and administrative aggressions of the government. During the meeting, Émery Feré compared the colonial government to an administrative and judicial despotism.³⁷

involved in 609 of the same types of events! Additional note: readers who are interested in a more complete history of the rebellion of 1837 and the subsequent rebellions in 1838 in Lower and Upper Canada should consult books cited in the footnotes.

³³ Laporte, pp. 270-271, 277-290. Author's note: Biographies of many of the *patriotes* named in this article can be found in the *DCB*. The biographies provide further details regarding the 1837-1838 rebellions. Mini biographies can also be found in Laporte's and Messier's books. Readers should also consult Laporte's website, *Les Patriotes de 1837 & 1838* where they can enter a surname and find a list of *patriotes*, as well as those associated with Loyalist activities during the Rebellions, <http://cgi2.cvm.qc.ca/glaporte/1837.pl>

³⁴ *Early Canadiana Online*, http://www.canadiana.org/ECO/mtq?display=9_03428+0299 (English text). *Les 92 Résolutions*, La Bibliothèque électronique du Québec, vol. 52, February 2002, <http://jydupuis.apinc.org/pdf/92resolutions.pdf> (French text).

³⁴ Laporte, pp. 21-22.

³⁵ Laporte, p. 22.

³⁶ Laporte, p. 284

³⁷ Laporte, pp. 270, 277-290.

On 11 April 1836, Ignace Raizenne chaired a meeting of *Patriotes* in St-Benoît. The group adopted twelve resolutions which, amongst other issues, promoted responsible government, boycotted British products, and would create national manufacturers to help entrepreneurs in the county.³⁸ That same year, on 26 July, Ignace Dumouchel was named secretary of the committee of correspondence of the assembly of *patriotes* held in Vaudreuil.³⁹

In London, Lord **John Russell**, British Colonial Secretary, presented the Russell Resolutions to the House of Commons in March 1837. Russell's ten Resolutions rejected the 92 Resolutions presented to them three years earlier; the Resolutions also stripped the Assembly of its most powerful weapon, the power to vote on the budget. When the news of the Russell Resolutions reached Lower Canada, it sparked the rebellions.⁴⁰ On 12 April, *Le Canadian* characterized the Russell Resolutions as an aggressive act which broke all of the social contracts; as a result, resistance, even if it was physical, was sanctioned. *La Minerve*, on the 13th, and the *Vindicator*, on the 14th, proclaimed the Resolutions infamous, and proposed that Lower Canada follow the example of the thirteen American Colonies.⁴¹ During the following months, *Patriote* meetings were held in many counties of Lower Canada.

On 1 June 1837, Jacob Barcelo chaired a *patriote* meeting in Ste-Scholastique which was attended by an estimated 2,000 *patriotes*. Étienne Chartier introduced Papineau as "the country's saviour."⁴² Jean Olivier Chénier gave his famous speech: "What I say, I think, and I will do it: follow me, and I allow you to kill me if ever you see me fleeing."⁴³ The group also elected 42 members to a permanent committee for the county that would communicate with committees in Québec and adopt measures to protect the interests of the French Canadians. When *The Vindicator* reported on the meeting on 6 June, it was called "The Great Meeting of the Men of the North."⁴⁴ During the period of June to November, the permanent committee of the county organized a dozen meetings.⁴⁵

Following assemblies in Montréal, Québec and the militant counties, **Governor Archibald Acheson, 2nd Earl of Gosford**, who feared disorder and sedition during subsequent meetings, prohibited future assemblies on 15 June 1837. After posters proclaiming the prohibitions were torn to bits and the prohibitions read at the Church door were drowned out by the *Patriotes*, militia leaders were ordered to read the prohibitions at the annual militia review on 29 June. While many officers followed orders, others refused. In some cases, the officers read the prohibitions and then told their militiamen that they disagreed with the governor's orders. It soon became clear that many militia officers and magistrates, instead of preventing the "seditious assemblies," were actively promoting the banned meetings. Urged by the Constitutionalists, Gosford purged *patriote* magistrates and militia officers from their offices; by early September, the commissions of eighteen magistrates and thirty-five militia officers had been revoked. When the *habitants* reacted with sympathy and admiration for the "persecuted" officers, many overlooked *patriote* magistrates and militia officers voluntarily resigned their posts.⁴⁶

³⁸ Laporte, pp. 271, 278-290.

³⁹ Laporte, p. 300.

⁴⁰ Laporte, pp. 25, 128.

⁴¹ Laporte, p. 25

⁴² *DCB*, Chartier's biography.

⁴³ *DCB*, Chénier's biography.

⁴⁴ Laporte, pp. 270-271, 277-290; Allan Greer, *The Patriots and the People- The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada* (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p. 169.

⁴⁵ *DCB*, Chénier's biography.

⁴⁶ *DCB*. Amury Girod's biography. Greer, pp. 149-151.

Jean Baptiste Dumouchel's wife, Victoire Félix, composed a number of satirical patriotic poems or songs preceding the rebellion, one of which satirized *Curé Jacques Paquin*, the Constitutionalist or Loyalist priest in Saint-Eustache. Following is one verse of the poem/song:

Ce gros ventre, joufflu, bouffi,
Poussé par le mauvais esprit,
Craignant pour sa dime et sa clique,
N'ayant pas d'autre politique,
Trompant ses pauvres habitants
Qu'il voulait vendre à tyrans.⁴⁷

Starting in late June and continuing to the end of the year, *patriotes* began to ostracize, harass and threaten the approximately 100 English, Irish and Scottish families who had moved into the primarily French-Canadian parishes of St-Eustache, St-Benoît and Ste-Scholastique, as well as the *habitants* who did not belong to the *Patriote* party. In most cases, the harassment consisted of vandalism, such as breaking windows, destroying fences or crops, shaving the neighbors' horses' manes and tails or threatening to burn the offending neighbors' homes or barns. Shots were rarely fired; the notable exception occurred during an attack on **Eustache Cheval**'s home. Cheval was a militia captain who actively supported the Constitutionalist or Loyalist cause; the single shot broke a window and the flying glass cut a little girl. English speaking merchants and tradesmen were boycotted. In most cases, the harassment was carried on by *habitants* or laborers, rather than *patriote* leaders. Based on later testimony regarding these incidents, their sole purpose was to intimidate the victims into changing their political allegiance. In some cases, the victims were also asked to sign a free trade petition to the United States Congress.⁴⁸

Urged by Constitutionlists to arrest those involved in the attack on Cheval, **Charles Ogden**, the Attorney General, offered a reward for information leading to the arrest of those involved. On 13 July, a pair of bailiffs rode from Montréal to St-Benoît with the intention of distributing reward posters. The incident which followed provides insight into the disdain that the *patriotes* held for the government officials. When the bailiffs tried to hang the posters in Louis Coursolles's tavern, Coursolles refused to allow them to carry out their orders from the Attorney General. He stated "that the Attorney General was filthy damned trash (*sacré crasseux*) and so is the governor." Luc Hyacinthe Masson and a few other *patriotes* arrived at about this time. Masson announced to the group that he would like to offer £ 100 for the governor's head. At this point, Coursolles added that if they could not find someone to kill the governor, Coursolles would do the job himself.

Prior to departing to stop the high constable and his bailiffs who had arrived in Côte St-Joseph to arrest the four men known to have harassed Cheval, one *patriote* suggested that they strip the constable naked and tie him up on top of the mountain where he would be eaten by mosquitoes. The group from Montréal managed to locate one of the accused, **François Labelle**. As they tried to secure Labelle, neighbors, armed with sticks and farm implements, gathered around the group. The constable and bailiffs kept the crowd at bay by brandishing their weapons while they rushed to the ferry. While they were en route, a crowd of about fifty men from St-Benoît, armed with sickles, axes and pitchforks, attempted to catch the group and rescue Labelle. The government officials narrowly escaped; when they reached the river they turned their guns on the ferry operator, forcing him to bring them to Ile Jésus. The group from St-Benoît arrived when the constable and his group were mid-stream, too late to save Labelle.

⁴⁷ Messier, p. 169; Vallières, p. 13. *Rough* translation by Suzanne Sommerville: This big-bellied, plump-cheeked, puffed up (self-important) man, pushed by bad intentions, fearing for his income and his *clique*, having no other political aims than these, betrayed his poor *habitants*, whom he wanted to sell to the tyrants.

⁴⁸ Greer, pp. 153-154, 169-178. This source also applies to the next two paragraphs.

The *patriotes* feared a retaliatory military attack from Montréal so they divided into small groups who were prepared to ambush any troops that might arrive. They remained in the woods all night, but the expected troops never got there. Two days later, a deputy sheriff arrived to serve the remaining warrants. The *patriote* leaders, including Coursolles and Fr. Étienne Chartier, negotiated a sort of peace treaty with the deputy sheriff which protected the accused from any serious punishment. One of the accused was persuaded to appear before a *patriote* justice of the peace and post a bond for his good behavior. When Attorney General Ogden arrived in Montréal during July; he approved a conciliatory policy towards the *patriotes*, pointing out the danger of military invasion and the risk that even if the accused were arrested, they might not be convicted. Ogden's predictions were correct; in September, a Montréal grand jury dropped the charges against Labelle. In the five months following the July expedition to arrest those connected to the attack on Cheval, no further attempts were made to assert government authority in Deux-Montagnes.⁴⁹

On 6 August 1837, Ignace Dumouchel was elected to represent Vaudreuil in the general convention of *Patriotes*.⁵⁰ That same month, on 13 August, during the Deux-Montagnes central committee meeting in St-Benoît, Léandre Dumouchel addressed the attendees; he spoke of the will of the people, which would not delegate its political sovereignty, and pointed out that it was useless to offer any explanation to Governor Gosford regarding his public control; it was enough for Dumouchel to have the approval of his compatriots, in particular, the members of the committee.⁵¹

The Association of Patriotic Women of Deux-Montagnes

At the same meeting, the members were read a petition drafted by Victoire's sister, **Marie Louise Félix** (Jean Joseph Girouard's wife), requesting permission to form their own association that would work for the protection and defense of the rights and freedoms of French Canadians. The Association of Patriotic Women of Deux-Montagnes would meet in the home of Marie Louise Félix, where they would support the measures adopted by the local committees. Luc Hyacinthe Masson introduced a motion for the Association's formation. The central committee gave their unconditional support to the Association and subsequently put various resources at their disposal.⁵²

That fall, Marie Victoire Félix, **Émélie Berthelot** (daughter of Joseph Amable Berthelot and second wife of Jean Joseph Girouard), **Marie Louise Choquet** (wife of **Louis**, and mother of Luc Hyacinthe and Damien Masson), Marie Louise Félix (first wife of Jean Joseph Girouard), **Marie Louise Zéphirine Labrie** (daughter of **Jacques Labrie** and wife of Jean Olivier Chénier) sewed the flag of Deux-Montagnes that would be flown at the battle of St-Eustache. Although most historians believe that Jean Joseph Girouard designed the flag, one author believes that Victoire Félix and Marie-Louise Choquet were the designers. The flag's design included a circle of needles and pine cones surrounding a *masquinongé* (a fish) with the letter C (for Canada) above and JB (for St-Jean-Baptiste, patron saint of French Canadians) below. A maple leaf (symbol of the St-Jean-Baptiste Society and eventual symbol of Canada) branch covers the bottom of the flag.⁵³

(To be continued.)

⁴⁹ Greer, pp. 178-182. *Virtual Museum of Canada, Salles d'exposition de la Maison de la culture et du patrimoine Conseil Arts et culture de St-Eustache*. Vignettes, image 136. Mini biography that accompanies the portrait of Coursolles.

⁵⁰ Laporte, p. 300.

⁵¹ Laporte, pp. 271, 289.

⁵² Laporte, pp. 271, 273-290. *La Canadienne Pendant Les Troubles de 1837-1838*, Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique française, Vol. V, #1, June 1951, p. 99. <http://www.ourroots.ca/e/page.aspx?id=3637985>

⁵³ *La Canadienne Pendant Les Troubles de 1837-1838*, p. 102 (states that Victoire Félix and Marie Louise Choquet designed the flag). Greer, p. 196. *Virtual Museum of Canada, Salles d'exposition de la Maison de la culture et du patrimoine Conseil Arts et culture de St-Eustache*. Vignettes, image 34.