

## The Wolff Family

The family of Alexander Joseph Wolff is one of the most written about families that settled in St Gabriel de Valcartier. There are several stories that have been passed down about this man. Much of what is known was written by J.M. LeMoine in July 1903 which appeared in a story he wrote called: "A July Outing in the Laurentides". This is an excerpt from that story:

*"As we approached what is known as the settlement (the village proper), we passed the site of the Wolff homestead, which is only indicated now by a clump of lilacs. Here in 1824, Adjutant Alexander Joseph Wolff, late of the 60th Regiment, settled with his family. He brought with him a number of the rank and file of the 60th Regiment, who had served with him in Egypt and in the Peninsula and were desirous of ending their days near the man they had served under through many a hard-fought battle or trying campaign. Adjutant Wolff was the proud possessor of the war medal with sixteen clasps, the largest number held at that period by any officer in the British army. He fought at Roleia and Vimera, Oporto, Talavera, Fuentes d 'Onora, Albuera, Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos, Salamanca, Vittoria, Neville and Nive, Orthes, Toulouse. He was wounded in five separate battles. He also served with General Abercrombie in Egypt. He passed many years in Valcartier, managing and improving his property, discharging his duties as Lieutenant-Colonel of Militia, and as an active and upright magistrate. Col. Wolff possessed an excellent understanding and enjoyed the regard and esteem of the most distinguished men in Canada.*

*A son of Chief Justice Sewell married his daughter Charlotte. A son, James Fitzgerald Wolff, was a leading physician in Quebec in the fifties, removing later to Ottawa, where he died. The only other surviving son Lieutenant-Colonel Chas. Stuart Wolff, who married a grand-daughter of the Hon. John Neilson, and yet resides in Valcartier in a well preserved old age. Charley, as he is known to his intimates, is as genial as at thirty, and universally beloved. His daughter, Alice Margaret, is the wife of G. M. Fairchild, Jr., of Cap Rouge, widely known through his works on Canada. Many of the scenes and characters in his Canadian romances have been found in Valcartier while he makes ample mention of the river Jacques Cartier in his sporting sketches."*

What else do we know?

The following is an excerpt from a book "Historic Tales of Old Quebec" written by George Gale in 1923:

*"The parish in 1824 had a population of 512 souls, among them the **Wolff's**, Nicholson's, Nelsons, Sweeney's, Imrie's, Kerr's, Berry's, Whites, Goodfellow's, Leddy's, Mather's, McBean's (McBain's), O'Neil's, Corrigan's, Billing's, Abraham's, Jacks, Fitzimmons's, Irelands, Rourk's, Madden's, Atkins, Davidson's, Fitzpatrick's, Patton's, Thompson's, and Browns. In 1833 there were Roman Catholic and Anglican chapels and a Scotch clergyman in the parish."*

I also found the following while searching through some records in the Canadian Archives in Ottawa. I'm not exactly sure of the location, but I had a note that it was taken from Pg.5389.

*Notes from "A Political and Historical Account of Lower Canada" published in 1830*

*"In 1824, when a population of 315 were living on 1,670 acres of land, Adjutant Alexander Wolff, late officer of the 60th Regiment, settled in the district with his family. Adjutant Wolff was a very popular officer, and a great number of his men also settled in Valcartier, after receiving their discharges from the British Army.*

*In the year of 1825 there was a census of Canada written for the year 1817. The following people were residents of Valcartier from 1817 to 1825:*

<i>Samuel Clark</i>	<i>Alexander Wolff</i>
<i>John Sinclair</i>	<i>William Corrigan</i>
<i>John McCartney</i>	<i>William Brown</i>
<i>Thomas Tibson</i>	<i>Richard Ward</i>
<i>Nicolas Vindel</i>	<i>Michael Cassin</i>
<i>Thomas Martin</i>	<i>Denis Hogan</i>
<i>Francis Ireland</i>	<i>William Mathers</i>
<i>Andrew Kerr</i>	

It appears the claim that a great number of men settled with Adjutant A.J. Wolff in Valcartier is first referenced in 1830, then reiterated by LeMoine in 1903. The question remains, who were these men? Wolff was retired from the 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot. There was an attempt by Katherine Crawford to record all the settlers that had a military back ground. (Note: It can be found on Patricia Balkcom's web site). Alexander J. Wolff was the only one mentioned that was from the 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment. The bulk of the men were from the 4th Royal Veterans Battalion.

However, there were many potential settlers that obtained grants of land to settle in Valcartier, and I believe a good number of them sold their rights to the land and moved on. John Neilson was one of the people that bought up many of these land grants to re-sell. The lack of the 1842 census for Valcartier is a shame in that it might have been able to identify some of these men. Since the 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment was predominately made up of 'foreign' soldiers (and the bulk of them German) these settlers would then have German names. From the list of names above, there doesn't appear to be any German names. However, the name Tibson and Vindel are possible candidates as I cannot find any information on the origin of these family names.

I found a web site listing the top 100 German surnames and found a few names that corresponded with a few families that settled in St Gabriel de Valcartier. They were:

- Lange or Lang
- Stein
- Martin
- Vogel

Were these men veterans of the 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot?

## Land Records

There is a deed for a lot of land to Alexander Joseph Wolff dated 14 February 1821.

1821. Late 1821 (Roman) dit 2121? (498)

Copies of Papers delivered to Lewis Jay Esq.

In whom conceded	Range	Lot#	The date of Deed
Grant and Conception Barnard & Co	8	1 <sup>st</sup>	16 Feb 1821 ✓
Abelyn Waller	1	3 <sup>rd</sup>	22 <sup>nd</sup> Sept 1820 ✓
James Eddison	14		27 Oct 1820 ✓
Richard Ward	20		27 Jan 1821 ✓
Richard Coughtrie	13		27 Jan 1821 ✓
John Imrie	15		2 Feb 1821 ✓
Edward Karney	5	1	9 Feb 1821 ✓
William W. Quillan	6	1	28 May 1821 ✓
John Lavery	12	5	21 ??? 1821 ✓
Alexander J. Wolff	10		14 Feb 1821 ✓
Peter Murphy	10	5	2 Apr 1821 ✓
C.S. Loughton	11	5	28 April 1821 ✓
Thomas Wilson	12	5	28 April 1821 ✓
William Bethel Sr.	3	4	10 May 1821 ✓

To whom conceded	Lot#	Range	The date
Barnard O'Hara	8	1	16 Feb 1821
Jocelyn Waller	1	3	22 Sep 1820
James Wilson	14		27 Oct 1820
Richard Ward	20		27 Jan 1821
Richard Coughtrie	13		27 Jan 1821
John Imrie	15		2 Feb 1821
Edward Karney	5	1	9 Feb 1821
William W. Quillan	6	1	28 May 1821
John Lavery	12	5	21 ??? 1821
Alexander J. Wolff	10		14 Feb 1821
Peter Murphy	10	5	2 Apr 1821
C.S. Loughton	11	5	28 Apr 1821
Thomas Wilson	12	5	28 Apr 1821
William Bethel Sr.	3	4	10 May 1821

Interestingly, A.J. Wolff's lot and concession number were not included on the list.

At the right is the Title Page of The Petition for new land by A.J. Wolff. The date is very hard to read, but the date recorded in the BANG-Pistard (Quebec Archives) is 18 Mar 1828.

Dated 18 March 1828

The Petition of  
A.J. Wolff late  
Adjutant 60<sup>th</sup> Reg't

18 March 1828

The Petition of  
A. J. Wolff late  
Adjutant 60<sup>th</sup> Reg't

Continued on next page:

(1128)

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Commissioners for the Administration  
of the Estates heretofore belonging to the late order  
of Jesuits & &

The Petition of A. J. Wolff H. P. 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment  
Humbly Sheweth,

That in the year 1821, he has  
obtained a Grant of land from the Jesuits  
Estate, and previous of his departure from  
Quebec with his Regiment to upper Canada,  
he Engaged three men for one year to clear the  
said land, and on his return with the Regt.  
from Kingston, he was induced to retire  
on Half Pay, and settle himself with a large  
family at Val Cartier on his land, finding  
the land which he has got from the Jesuits Estate  
excessively Rocky & swampy, that all his  
expenses, labours, & trouble, are all in vain.  
Your Petitioner having been informed, that  
there is a small tract of land in the 5<sup>th</sup> Con-  
cession near him, He having a family of  
6 Children begs to obtain a grant of a 100  
acres for each of them, for which your Petitioner  
is in duty Bound,

will ever Pray  
A. J. Wolff  
late Adj. 60<sup>th</sup> Regt

Val Cartier  
18<sup>th</sup> March 1828

See Summary of the land in the 5<sup>th</sup> Concession

It reads:  
"The Honourable  
Commissioners for the  
Administration of the  
Estates heretofore  
belonging to the late  
order of Jesuits.

The Petition of A.J.  
Wolff, H.P. (half pay)  
60<sup>th</sup> Regiment

Humbly Herewith,

That in the year 1821,  
he has obtained a Grant  
of land from the Jesuits  
Estate, and previous of  
his departure from  
Quebec with his  
Regiment to Upper  
Canada, he Engaged  
three men for one year  
to clear this said land,  
and on his return with  
the Reg't from Kingston,  
he was induced to retire  
on Half Pay, and settle  
himself with a large  
family at Val Cartier on  
his land, finding the  
land which he has got  
from the Jesuits Estate  
excessively rocky and  
swampy, that all his  
expenses, labours, &  
trouble, and all in vain.  
Your Petitioner having  
been informed that  
there is a small tract of  
land on the 5<sup>th</sup>  
Concession near him.  
He having a family of 6  
children begs to obtain  
a grant of a 100 acres  
for each of them, for  
which your Petitioner  
as in duty bound.

Will ever pray,  
A.J. Wolff,  
Late Adj. 60<sup>th</sup> Reg't

Valcartier  
18<sup>th</sup> March 1828."

NOTE: The document mentions that he had six children: Margaret 1812, James 1818, George 1821, Caroline 1824, Charlotte 1825 and Arthur 1827. Anthony had died as an infant in 1824 and Charles was born in 1831.

## Place of Birth

Research done by several people show two possible birth places for A.J. Wolff. The first theory is that he was born in Baden, Austria, located near Vienna. The census of 1851 may help back up this claim as his place of birth is listed as Austria.

I believe he was born in Baden, Baden, Germany, a town in the district of Heilbronn in Baden-Wurttemberg, which is located in southern Germany near Strasbourg near the border with France and Switzerland. This region was a battle ground between the French and the Austrian Empire at that time. Adding to this theory is the fact that Alexander Wolff belonged to the Lowenstein's Chasseurs that fought in Egypt in 1801. This regiment was originally formed near the city of Stuttgart, Germany.



His father was an army officer fighting for the Austrian Army. He was killed at the 'Battle of Lake Constance', located at the southern end of the Baden-Wurttemberg Region of Germany. It is unknown which battle he was killed in as there were actually two battles: the first one took place in March 1799; and the second one in June 1800. The first battle the Austrian or Hapsburg Army maintained their position and the French Army retreated back to Switzerland. The Second battle fought on the north bank of the Danube near the village of Hochstadt, resulted in a French victory under General Jean Victor Marie Moreau against the Austrians under Baron Pal Kray.

With the death of his father, Alexander became an orphan. It has been written that Alexander was fortunate to be adopted by a British Officer. I believe this claim to be misleading. It is my belief that he was adopted by an Officer that was part of the Lowenstein's Chasseur's, a light infantry regiment. Lowenstein is a small town located in the district of Heilbronn in Baden-Wurttemberg, Germany, near the Swiss border. Family legend has it that Alexander enlisted in the British Army at the age of 13. If his father died in 1799, then Alexander would have been born about 1786.

Although I cannot locate his death record, it was reported that he was 81 at the time of his death in 1863. This would make his birth date closer to 1782. So, it is possible that he was younger than 13 when his father died, but joined the Lowenstein Chasseurs in 1799 at the age of 13. The Lowenstein-Chasseurs were formed in 1793. This unit had originally served with the Dutch before transferring to the British Army in 1795. The recruits were Germans.

## Alexander's Military Career

There are two documents verifying the claim that Wolff fought in Egypt as well as in the Peninsular War. The first document shown at the right shows J.A. Wolff as a member of the Lowenstein Regiment that received a 'bar' for fighting in Egypt. It lists him as a Lt-Col Commander of Quebec Militia at the time this register was made.

During the French Revolutionary Wars that took place between 1792 and 1802<sup>1</sup>, many émigré (foreign) units were formed from refugees from countries occupied by France, and from among deserters and prisoners of war from the French armies. The oldest of these was the 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment, which had originally been raised in 1756 for service in America, and which had long been composed primarily of Germans.

Lowenstein's Chasseurs or Legion were raised for the Dutch service by the Prince of Lowenstein Wertheim, about the year 1793 and was first stationed at Maastricht<sup>2</sup> and Venlo<sup>3</sup>, and a portion of it took part, from October to December 1794, in the defence of Grave<sup>4</sup>. At the evacuation of Holland, the Prince of

Lowenstein's regiment entered the British service and embarked for England at Winsen<sup>5</sup>, Germany. In 1795 it went to the West Indies, with the expedition under Sir Ralph Abercromby, was present at the reduction of St Lucia and St Vincent, in the expedition against Porto Rico in 1796 and 1797, and had a detachment also stationed in Trinidad, when Colonel Thomas Picton was Governor there. The better foreign regiments, such as the Lowenstein's Chasseurs, gave good service during the West Indies campaigns. They were especially valued for their expertise as light infantry or cavalry, adept at skirmishing and irregular operations in the West Indian jungle and mountains. Abercromby, quick to

<i>Lowenstein's Regiment of Foot</i>					34 42
	Names and Rank	Troop or Company	Medal for Egypt	Bar for Egypt	Remarks
✓	<i>Buren Gabriel Scholt</i>	<i>Regt. of Foot, attached from 60th Regt.</i>		A/	✓
✓	<i>Furst Matt. Captain late 60th Regt.</i>	<i>Volunteer</i>		A/	✓
✓	<i>Desponcher Count General of Foot, 60th Regt.</i>	<i>Captain</i>		A/	
✓	<i>Schoedde Genl. M.C.B.</i>	<i>Lieutenant</i>		A/	✓
	<i>Wolff A. Lt. Col. of Quebec Militia</i>			A/	

<sup>1</sup> The French Revolutionary Wars resulted from the French Revolution where the new French Republic went to war against Britain, Austria and several smaller monarchies.

<sup>2</sup> Maastricht, Holland is situated in the south of Holland close to the Belgium border.

<sup>3</sup> Venlo is located a little further north near the German border and the city of Dusseldorf, Germany.

<sup>4</sup> Grave is a small village in central Holland near the border with Germany.

<sup>5</sup> Port just south of Hamburg, Germany.

criticize the foreign elements in his army, had respect for Lowenstein's Chasseurs, entrusted them with several key actions.

### **History of the 5<sup>th</sup> Battalion of the 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot**

The 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot has an interesting history. It was similarly and simultaneously formed from Foreigners drafted from two different regiments on either side of the Atlantic.

At the end of 1797, the year in which the Duke of York became colonel in-chief, it was decided to increase the forces in America, and another Act of Parliament (38 George III, c.13<sup>6</sup>) was passed authorizing the Crown "*to augment His Majesty's 60th Regiment of Infantry by the addition of a Fifth Battalion,*" to serve in America only, and to consist of foreigners. This battalion, the first green-coated rifle battalion in the Army, was organised under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Baron de Rottenburg, of Hompesch's Corps (Light Infantry). The Regiment was first being assembled on the Isle of Wight at Cowes. It was formed of 17 officers and 300 men from Hompesch's Chasseurs, and was dressed in bottle-green cut-away coats with scarlet facings, white waistcoats, blue pantaloons, with black leather helmets and black belts. They carried rifle-bags made of leather, instead of knapsacks. This fifth or "Jager" battalion served in Ireland in 1798 during the Rebellion, and then proceeded to the West Indies. In June, 1799, it received 33 officers and 600 men from Lowenstein's Chasseurs, another regiment of foreigners stationed on the Island of Martinique at the time.



Interestingly, when the Lowenstein Chasseurs enrolled in the 60<sup>th</sup> Royal American Regiment, many of the officers were given promotions. There was a man named Ellert who was promoted to Lieutenant. Alexander J. Wolff married Hannah Ellert, which makes me wonder if he was the officer that adopted Alexander Wolff? And whether he was his future father-in-law?

So, it appears that the family legend of Alexander Wolff being adopted by a British Officer can now be verified, although this person was not actually of British ethnicity.

Portions of the Lowenstein's corps, including J.A. Wolff, served under Sir Ralph Abercromby and General Hutchinson fighting the French in Egypt in early 1801. General Ralph Abercromby was mortally wounded at the battle of Alexandria. The Lowenstein's Jagers was a rifle armed light infantry. They joined the campaign a few days after the main body arrived and fought under Stuart's brigade which included Stuart's Minorcan Regiment, De Roll's Swiss Regiment of Infantry, and Edward Dillon's Émigré Regiment of Infantry.

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<sup>6</sup> Dec 30 Act of Parliament, 38<sup>th</sup> George III., cap. 13, to amend Act 29<sup>th</sup> George II, and add a Fifth Battalion.

It is unclear how long they remained in Egypt after the defeat of the French. But they were re-assigned back to Surinam where they remained until October 1803 when they were then reassigned to Halifax, Nova Scotia.

With the rise of Napoleon's army and the imminent threat of invasion of Britain, an Act was passed in 1804 authorizing up to 10,000 foreign troops to be able to serve in England, and the 5th Battalion was brought home in consequence in late 1805. They were stationed in Portsmouth until August 1807 when the 5<sup>th</sup> Regiment was sent to Cork, Ireland.

Sir John Moore was made Major in 1787 and joined the 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot briefly before transferring to the 51<sup>st</sup>. In 1791 his unit was assigned to the Mediterranean and he was involved in campaigning in Corsica and eventually transferred to the West Indies under Sir Ralph Abercromby in 1796. He was involved in the British re-conquest of St. Lucia before returning to England. In 1798 he was made Major-General and derived in the suppression of the republican rebellion raging in Ireland. Moore led the 52<sup>nd</sup> regiment during the British campaign in Egypt against the French. He returned to Britain in 1803 to command a brigade at Shorncliffe Army Camp near Folkestone, where he established the innovative training regime that produced Britain's first permanent light infantry regiments. Moore was put in charge of the defence of the coast from Dover to Dungeness to defend against an invasion of England from Napoleon. In 1808, Moore took command of the British forces in the Iberian Peninsula. Moore was killed at the Battle of Corunna in January 1809.

General Arthur Wellesley had returned to Britain in 1805 after serving in India for many years. He took extended leave from the army in 1806 until 1807 when he heard of a British expedition to Denmark in May of that year. He returned to England in June of 1808 where he accepted the command of an expedition to sail to the Spanish colonies in South America. However, his force was instead ordered to sail for Portugal where he took part in the Peninsular Campaign against the French Armies which lasted until 1814. This army left Cork on 12 July 1808. Alexander Joseph Wolff was part of this army.

The Fifth Battalion of the 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot had been assigned to the West Indies when at the last moment, they were re-routed to Portugal in June 1808, under General A. Wellesley. From the opening skirmish at Obidos, on 15th August, two days before the battle of Roleia or Rolica down to the end of the war, this battalion took part in Wellington's campaigns in Portugal, Spain and the South of France. The losses were recorded as 5 officers and 53 men killed and 73 officers and 454 men wounded.

In a diary of an officer during the Peninsular War the Battalion is constantly referred to as "the 5<sup>th</sup> Battn. of the 60<sup>th</sup> (German Riflemen)," and "the 5<sup>th</sup> Battn of the 60<sup>th</sup> Germans". That the Battalion maintained its absolutely foreign character during the Peninsular War is evidenced in many ways. Among others, its own Colonel, in writing to the Secretary at War in 1809, describes his Battalion as "a regiment of Foreigners acting in a foreign country." Orders were given in German to the men.

Below is Alexander Joseph Wolff's army record:

### Peninsular War

- 1808: Dispatched from Cork to Portugal under Duke Wellington then Sir Arthur Wellesley
- 1808: 17 and 21 August – fought the French **Roliçia** and **Vimeiro** in Portugal
- 1809: Jan – returned to England for winter and returned in May.
- 1809: May – Crossed the Douro under Sir Arthur, defeated Marshal Soult and took from the French
- 1809: Advanced into Spain to expel the French from the Peninsula
- 1809: July – **Talavera** battle
- 1810: Sep - **Bussaco**
- 1811: May - **Fuentes de Onoro** to stop Marshal Massena
- 1811: May – Albrura
- 1812: January – Stormed and took **Ciudad Rodrigo** (Wounded)
- 1812: Mar – Siege and capture of **Badajoz** (Wounded)
- 1812: July – Battle of Oporto and **Salamanca** (Wounded)
- 1813: June – Battle of **Vittoria**

### Pyrenees Campaign

- 1813: November – Battle **Nivelles** and the **Nives**
- 1814: February – Battle of **Orthez**, France (Wounded)
- 1814: April – Taking of **Toulouse** under Marshal Soult



A.J. Wolff served in the Peninsular War and was reportedly wounded in five separate battles and was the proud possessor of the war medal with sixteen clasps, the largest number held at that period by any officer in the British army.

			50th Regt of Foot																			
			Police	Peninsula	Corcoran	Montague	Salween	Quadrangle	Brown	Stretton	Albion	Crested	Pringle	Robinson	Victoria	Spencer	Minelle	Alce	Wether	Thurston	Stewart	
✓	Aclair Johann Hein	Ensign				1																
✓	A. Alkstein	Ensign					1															
✓	Kilse Fred	1st Lieut	1	1		1		1	1		1	1	1									
✓	Kelly Robert	Captain													1	1	1	1	1			
✓	Lahood de la	Lieutnant	1	1		1		1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	+ gold Medal
✓	Wolff Albert	Ensign	1	1		1		1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
✓	Lahaso Charles	Capt 60									1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	

The 5th Battalion was brought back to Ireland in 1814 and there remained until after the signing of the Treaty of Paris. Upon peace being concluded, the 5th Battalion 60th was sent to Gibraltar, since the presence of Foreigners in the United Kingdom was no longer permissible, the Statutes authorising them to serve at home having expired.

Large reductions were made in the army about this time and in the following two years. The strength of the 5th Battalion, on its return from the Peninsula, was 405. At Gibraltar in May 1816, 333 men were drafted into it from the 8th Battalion on its disbandment, and 563 recruits were received from the Foreign Depot during the same year. The strength grew to 810 rank and file. The battalion was disbanded 24 Jul 1818 and at that time there were 626 men serving. Of these 200 were discharged or invalidated and the remainder were transferred to the 2nd Battalion at Quebec. Of these men, only 3% had English names.

The 2nd Battalion shows up in Quebec City at least from April 1818 until the end of July 1819 as there are church records for the Anglican Garrison Church located in Quebec City for members of the 2nd Battalion of the 60th Regiment of Foot, including a few where Wolff's name appears. This Regiment seems to have been then replaced by the 1st Battalion in August 1819.

Thus, the 5th Battalion was now the 2nd Battalion. This lasted a short time as the War Office on 4 Aug 1818 announced that the Battalion was now converted into a Rifle Corps and that the 2nd Battalion was no more. This Battalion was almost without exception Foreigners.

In 1824, the Duke of York wished that the 60th should be brought back to England and the Regimental Records state that, "as it was contrary to the law of England to admit Foreigners to serve in the United Kingdom," it was ordered to be recruited from British subjects. The title of "Royal American Regiment" was discontinued, the foreigners were drafted out of it,

and the corps, now reduced to two battalions, was directed to style itself the 60th (Duke of York's Rifle Corps and Light Infantry), one battalion being equipped as rifles and the other as light infantry, but both dressed in green. This was altered to 60th (Duke of York's Own Rifle Corps), which title was changed in 1830 to 60th (King's Royal Rifle Corps).

In June 1824, the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion embarked at Quebec for England, leaving all **foreign** officers and men behind. The officers were given the choice of going on half-pay, or of joining the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion in the West Indies.

Wolff obtained the rank of Adjutant Sergeant Major, the highest rank for a non-commissioned officer. His role most likely included counting and keeping track of the soldiers! Also duties to assist a more senior officer. Sometime after his military career, Wolff received the Military General Service Medal with thirteen clasps for battles fought during this period.

### **The 5<sup>th</sup> Battalion of the 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot Service Record:**

#### **Lowenstein Chasseurs**

- 1793: The Lowenstein Chasseurs formed to fight under the Dutch Army against the French invasion that took place as part of the French Revolutionary Wars.
- 1794: The Lowenstein Chasseurs sent to the West Indies to fight for the British.
- 1794: April 4: A detachment of Lowenstein Chasseurs was present at the Capture of St. Lucia under Major-General Sir Ralph Abercromby
- 1796: June 10: A detachment of Lowenstein Chasseurs formed part of the force under Abercromby, which defeated the Caribs at the Vigie, a stronghold in the Island of Grenada.
- 1797: Feb 12: A detachment of Lowenstein Chasseurs formed part of the force sent from Tobago against Trinidad.
- 1797: May 2: A detachment of Lowenstein Chasseurs formed part of an attack on Porto Rico under Abercromby.
- 1797: The 5<sup>th</sup> Battalion of the 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot was formed at Cowes, Isle of Wight. The entire Regiment was armed with rifles. It Battalion absorbed 400 men from the Hompesch's Chasseurs, a German Regiment that also joined the British Army.
- 1798: Stationed at Cowes. In April they were moved to Ireland where they fought several battles during the Irish Rebellion. They fought at Goff's Bridge, Wicklow, Vinegar Hill and Enniscorthy and Clonmel under General Sir J. Moore.
- 1799: They were in Ireland and in February they were shipped to the West Indies; Surinam. Here they absorbed 500 men from the Lowenstein's Chasseurs

#### **5<sup>th</sup> Battalion**

- 1799: Aug 20-23: Four Hundred of the 5<sup>th</sup> Battalion were employed at the Reduction of Surinam under Lieut-General Trigge.
- 1800: The bulk of the 5<sup>th</sup> Battalion remained in Suriname but the Lowenstein Chasseurs joined Ralph Abercromby's expedition to Egypt in March 1800. After defeating the French, the Chasseurs were returned to Surinam.
- 1800 Surinam
- 1801 Surinam
- 1802 Surinam
- 1803 Surinam; October they were shipped to Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- 1804 Halifax, Nova Scotia
- 1805 Halifax, Nova Scotia. In November they were returned to Portsmouth, England

- 1806 Portsmouth. In December they received a draft of 866 foreign recruits into the Battalion.
- 1807: Portsmouth; August sent to Cork, Ireland.

#### **Peninsular War**

- 1808: In Cork, Ireland. Received orders to return to the West Indies, but were re-routed to Portugal to fight with the British forces under Wellesley (became Duke of Wellington). Arrived in June. Fought battles at Rolica and Vimiero
- 1809: Fought battles at Douro and Talavera
- 1810: Fought a battle at Bussaco
- 1811: Fought at Sabugal; Fuentes de Onoro; Albuera; El Bodon
- 1812: Fought at Ciudad Rodrigo; Badajoz; Almaraz; Salamanca
- 1813: Fought at Vittoria; Maya; Sorauren; Bidassoa; Nivelle; Nive
- 1814: Fought at Orthez; Toulouse; July they returned to Cork, Ireland
- 1815: Stationed near Bultevant, Cork, Ireland.

#### **Peacetime**

- 1816: Moved to England in February. In May they were stationed in the Mediterranean.
- 1818: In May, they left Gibraltar for England where on May 10, the Fifth Battalion was disbanded at Cowes and the men were drafted into the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion stationed at Quebec City.
- 1819: In May, the name changed to the 1<sup>st</sup> or Rifle Battalion and remained at Quebec City.
- 1820: The 1<sup>st</sup> Rifle Battalion at Quebec City and the Isle aux Noix. 2<sup>nd</sup> Light Infantry at Halifax
- 1821: Not clear
- 1822: 1<sup>st</sup> at Montreal and 2<sup>nd</sup> at Halifax
- 1823: Maybe at Fort Henry at Kingston, Ontario
- 1824: Kingston, then shipped back to Quebec City then shipped to Chatham, England in June. The foreign contingent was allowed to go on half pay and remain in Quebec City, or become absorbed in another unit stationed in the West Indies. As they were foreign, they were not allowed to return to England.

#### **Settling in Valcartier, Quebec**

In 1824 Adjutant Alexander Wolff, late of the 60th Regiment settled in the Valcartier Settlement (with his family) after a distinguished military career. It is reported<sup>7</sup> that his ship docked at Halifax in 1824 and he and his men made preparations for a long overland march to Quebec City in the dead of winter. On the way, several of his men died of exposure and hardship.

This story contradicts the army record of the 1<sup>st</sup> Rifle Battalion was stationed at Quebec City when the 'foreign' men were either released or transferred to the West Indies. Wolff accepted his retirement at Half Pay and settled on his lot in Valcartier. The story of him travelling between Halifax and Quebec City overland in winter may be true though. Men were often transported between the two British Forts and winter was often preferred as sleighs and snow shoes could be used as the roads in summer could be muddy and impassable.

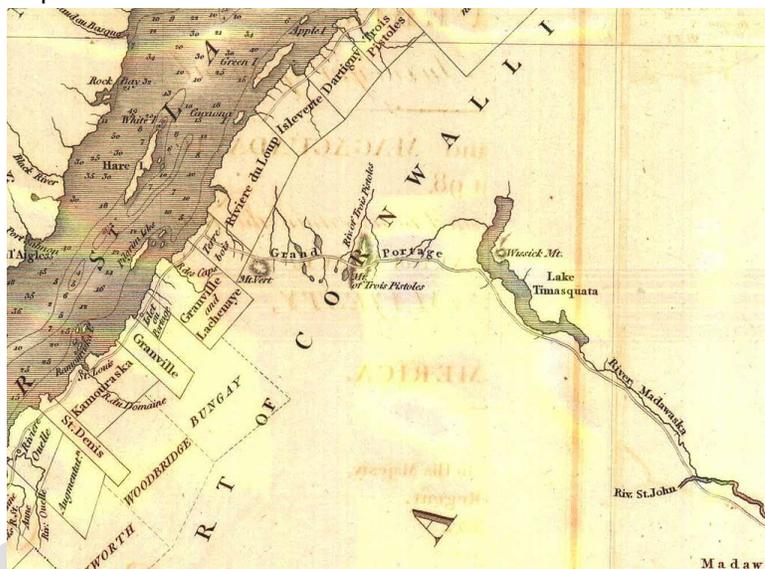
After establishing himself at Valcartier, he became commander of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion of the Quebec County Militia, and obtained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

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<sup>7</sup> *Wikipedia*

In 1826 and 1827 he was in charge of repairs to the Portage road in *Témiscouata* (Lower Canada). But the area where the road laid was a swamp and it became very difficult to maintain. In autumn of 1830, after a few years of scouting for a new location, he built a new road between Métis and Lac Matapédia.

According to George Gale (in his book on page 127) there was a road known for years as the 'Temiscouata Portage', was the route followed from the earliest days of the French regime, in order to reach the Maritime Provinces overland from Quebec City. It was a mere path, without shelters or any other means of protection for the early travellers. It was in 1783, by order of the governor, Sir Frederick Haldimand, that the route be made passable for horses and vehicles. From then on, the militia were used to maintain this road. Beginning in 1813, this road was greatly improved. From 1812 to 1837, English troops made the overland journey from the Maritime Provinces to Quebec on many occasions both in summer and winter.



1782-1863  
Col. Alexander Jos. Wolff.  
One of the Founders of Valcartier, Que.

It is said that Adjutant Wolff spent many years on his homestead and ably discharged his duties as a Lieut.-Col. of Militia and as an active and upright Magistrate.

One of his sons, Lieutenant Colonel (Militia) Charles Stuart Wolff led a very adventurous career before settling down at Valcartier. He took part in the hectic gold rush to California in 1849 and later sailed to Australia on a similar adventure where he remained for several years. Upon his return to Valcartier he married a granddaughter of the Honourable John Neilson and lived to a ripe old age. Many of his descendants are still in the community.

Alexander Joseph Wolff of Valcartier was an Adjutant in the Fifth Battalion of Her Majesty's Sixtieth Regiment. He died at a place called **Crescent Farm near Quebec City**, but was buried at the Anglican Christ Church in Valcartier Village.

## **Last Will of Lt Colonel Alexander Joseph Wolff, 8 May 1846.**

*(It mentions he was the Husband of Anna Catharine Ehlert.)*

*On this day, the eighth of May one thousand eight hundred and forty six, before us the undersigned Notaries Public duly admitted and sworn in and for this part of the Province of Canada heretofore constituting the Province of Lower Canada, residing in the City of Quebec in the said province, personally came and appeared Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Joseph Wolff commanding the Second Battalion of Militia of the County of Quebec who being in good bodily health and of sound and perfect mind, memory and understanding did request us the said Notaries to receive and write down his last will and testament which he instantly made, published, dictated and named word for word unto us the aid Notaries in manner and form following:*

*I recommend my soul to Almighty God hoping for a free pardon and remission of all my sins through the intercession of my Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ.*

*I will and direct that all my just debts be fully paid and satisfied out of my estate and property by my executrix hereinafter named.*

*I will and direct that immediately after my decease a lawful inventory of all the goods, chattels and property moveable and immoveable of and comprising the community or communauté de biens existing between myself and **Hana Kasel Ehlert**, my wife be taken and closed in due form of law and that after my decease the said Hana Kasel Ehlert my said wife do have and enjoy the whole of my property moveable and immoveable in usufruct during her natural life.*

*I give and bequeath unto Charlotte Mary Eliza Boles Wolff, my daughter, the usufruct during her life of all my right title and interest in that lot of land known as lot No. Thirteen in the First Range or Concession of the Township of Templeton, the same to go and to belong after her death to her children lawfully begotten to whom I give and grant the same in full and absolute property. I likewise bequeath unto Caroline Amelia Wolff, my daughter, the usufruct during her life of all my right and title and interest in the other lot of land known as lot Number Twenty in the same range of the said township of one hundred acres of land in superficie the same to go and to belong after her death to her children lawfully begotten - and should the said Charlotte Mary Eliza Boles Wolff and Caroline Amelia or either one or the other die without children as aforesaid, then and in such case it is my will and intention that the property or lot of land thus enjoyed by the deceased under and in virtue of my present last will and testament do fall back and revert to their then surviving brothers and sisters.*

*And after the decease of the said Hana Kasel Ehlert my said wife, I give and bequeath the whole of the rest and residue of my property moveable and immoveable unto my children James Fitzgerald Wolff, Jacob George Alexander Wolff, Alexander Arthur Wolff, Charles Stewart Wolff, the said Charlotte Mary Eliza Boles Wolff, the said Caroline Amelia Wolff, and Margaret Maria Wolff now wife of John Parker Esquire, to be divided between them share and share alike. Provided however that those of my said children who have already received certain sums of money or property in lands or otherwise as is established by the books, papers and documents in the possession of the family shall be found to compensate with my estate and succession and their other brothers and sisters for what they shall have received in advance that is to say de supporter ou moins prendre as the law directs in such cases.*

*But I wish it to be well understood that the particular legacies herein before made to my daughters Charlotte Mary Eliza Boles Wolff and Caroline Amelia Wolff and heir children are made exclusive of their respective shares in my estate and succession and without prejudice thereto.*

*Lastly I name and appoint my said wife Hana Kasel Ehlert executrix of this my last will and testament hereby revoking and cancelling all former wills and codicils at any time*

*heretofore by me made and declaring the present to be my only true last will and testament.*

*It is thus made, dictated and named word for word by the said Alexander Joseph Wolff, Testator, unto us the said Notaries and after wards the said will and testament having been read over and over again lu et relu to the said Testator by one of us the said Notaries the other being present, he declared that he has perfectly heard and understood the same and found it to contain in every respect his true last will and intention & therefore persisted in the contents thereof.*

*Done and passed at the City of Quebec in the day and year above written in the office of Louis Panet one of the said Notaries where he undersigned his colleague attended for the purpose and was present all the time - the said Alexander Joseph Wolff Testator having signed these presents first twice duly read aforesaid.*

*Three words erased are null. One marginal note approved is good.*

*A.J. Wolff, his signature;  
R.G. Belleau, N.P., his signature;  
L. Panet, N.P., his signature*

[Translated and transcribed by Gerry Neville]

#### Notes

- by Patricia Balkcom: Alexander died in 1863 at the reported age of 81, so there may be a later will.
- By Clark McIntosh – there is a mention of the Township of Templeton. Where was that? There was one located just east of Gatineau, Quebec. This doesn't make any sense to me.

#### Family information

Alexander Joseph Wolff married Hannah Maria Ellert. Her name may have actually been Anna, but due to the German accent may have sounded like Hannah. They had eight children (five boys and three girls).

The 1821 census listed Serg-Major Wolff as having 50 acres cleared and living at his residence were 3 male servants. These men were hired by Wolff to clear his lot as he was still in the British Army stationed at Quebec City.

The 1825 census lists five people living under the household of Alexander Wolff

1 married male	25-39	<a href="#">Alexander Joseph Wolff</a>
1 married female	14-44	<a href="#">Hannah or Anna Ellert</a>
1 child between	6-13	<a href="#">Margaret about 13 born in 1812</a>
2 children between	under 6	<a href="#">James Fitzgerald 7 born in 1818</a> <a href="#">George Jacob 4 born in 1821</a> <a href="#">Caroline Amelia was about 1 born in 1824.</a>

Note: By 1825, the Wolff's had four living children, as Anthony Henry died in 1824 at just over a year old. The census should have listed 6 people in the census.

By the 1831 the household consisted of 9 people

1 married male	1772-1801	<a href="#">Alexander born between 1782-1786.</a>
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1 married female	1787-1817	Hannah was born about 1790
2 unmarried females	1787-1817	Margaret was born about 1812. Not sure who the other female was, unless it was Charlotte and she was born earlier than 1825.
3 children	1818-1825	James F 1818; George 1821; and Caroline 1824
2 children	1826-1831	Arthur 1828 and Charles 1831.

In the 1851 census for Valcartier, the family is listed as follows:

A.J Wolff, Esq JP	born in Austria	Protestant	67 (1785)
Mrs Wolff	born in Prussia	Protestant	62 (1790)
Arthur Alex. Wolff	Yeoman	born in Quebec	24 (1828)
Charles S. Wolff	Yeoman	born in Quebec	21 (1831)
Sarah Calway		born in Quebec	17 (1835) <a href="#">Wife of Arthur A. Wolff</a>
John Parker	8	(1844)	<a href="#">Margaret married John Parker and lived in Quebec City</a>
Emilia Parker	17	(1835)	
Bertha Parker	5	(1847)	
Jane Parker	14	(1838)	

NOTES: A Yeoman was a man holding and cultivating a small estate. Germany wasn't a country until 1871.

Also found in the census for Valcartier

George Wolff	32
Mary McCartney	40
Charlotte	9
John	7
Janet	5
Hannah	3
James	1
Thomas Billing	27
Caroline Wolff	25
Curtis	4
Alex Joseph	2
Hannah E.	1

The 1861 census for Valcartier lists the following people. Missing from the list is Alexander Joseph Wolff and his wife Hannah Ellert. It is reported that he died on his farm called 'Crescent Farm' which was located closer to Quebec City. I have not found him in the census.

Thomas Billing	36
Caroline Wolff	35
Curtis	12
Alexander	11
Charles	9
Thomas	1
Hannah	8
Mary	4
Frances	3
Arthur Wolff	34
Sarah Calway	24
Sarah G	8
Henry	6
Edward	5
Mary	3
Alfred	2

Charles Wolff	31
Isabel Neilson	31
Alice	4
Nathaniel	1
Bertha Parker	14

George Wolff	39
Mary McCartney	45
Charlotte	18
John	17
Janet	14
Hannah	12
James	10
Charles	7
Margaret	3

Located in the St-Roch Census District in 1861

Montague Sewell	died in 1859
Charlotte Wolff	36
Florence	8
Reginald	7
Carlin	5

Located in the St-Pierre District No.5 in Quebec City in 1861

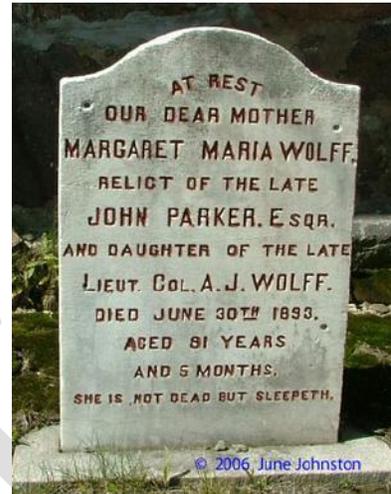
Dr. James F. Wolff	43
Isabella Dodd (Eng)	44
J.F.	19
Julia	17
Charles	14
Henry	5
Ernest	3

## The children of Alexander Joseph Wolff and Hannah Ellert:

1. Margaret Maria Wolff (1812–1893). According to the church record, Margaret was 21 years of age when she married John Alexander Parker on 9 Apr 1833 in the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Quebec City. He was a grocer working in the city.

*Wesleyan Methodist Church, Quebec City; "On the ninth day of April in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty three, Mr. John Parker, merchant grocer of the city of Quebec, Bachelor, aged twenty four years and Miss Margaret Maria Wolff of the Parish of St. Gabriel, Spinster, aged twenty one years with the consent of Alexander J. Wolff, Esq., Halfpay of the Sixtieth Regiment, Father of the said Margaret Maria Wolff and with License duly obtained were united in the Holy Bonds of Matrimony by me, Matthew Liang, Minister.*

*Witnesses: A.J. Wolff, father, John R. Healey, Wm. Hargrave."*



Margaret died at the age of 81 on 30 Jun 1893. On her grave stone her father is recorded as Lieutenant Colonel A.J. Wolff – this is the rank he held in the militia. "Margaret Maria Parker, relict of the late John Parker of Quebec City and daughter of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Alexander Wolff of Valcartier, aged eighty one years and five months died on the thirtieth of June and was buried this second July Eighteen hundred and ninety three". Witnessed by C.S. Wolff and Arthur Wolff.

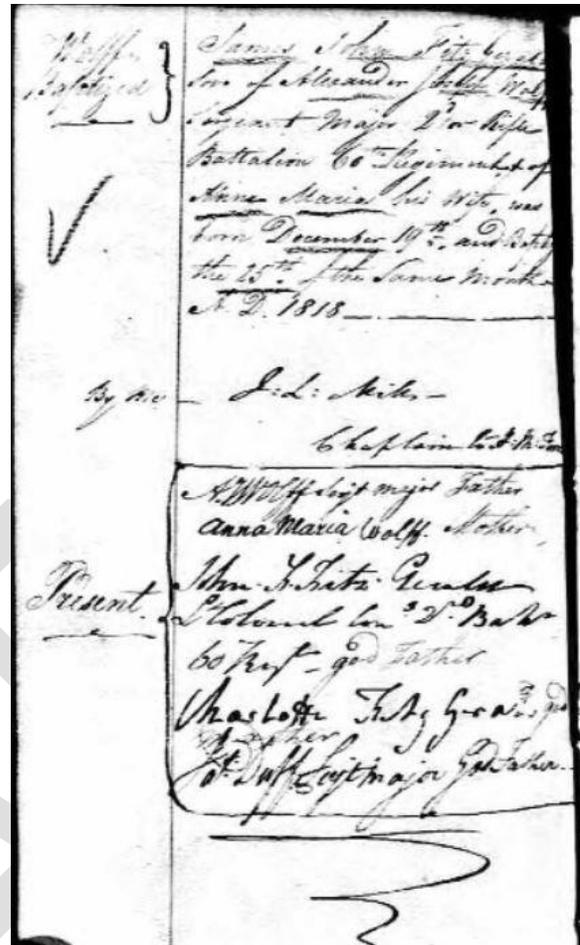
For Margaret to be born in 1812 to A.J. Wolff, she would have been born in Spain, as he was fighting in the Peninsular War between 1808 and 1814. It is more likely that Margaret was the daughter of Hannah Ellert and adopted by A.J. Wolff when he and Hannah were married sometime before 1818.

2. Dr. James John Fitzgerald Wolff (1818–1880). James was born 19 Dec 1818 in Quebec City, and was baptised in the Army Garrison there on 25 Dec 1818. The church record states "son of Alexander Joseph Wolff, Sergeant Major 2<sup>nd</sup> Rifle Battalion 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment and Anna Maria, his wife...". The church record was signed by A. Wolff, Sgt Major and Anna Maria Wolff and witnessed by John Fitz Gerald? Lt-Colonel (same battalion) and Charlotte FitzGerald (hand writing very hard to read).

Dr. James F. Wolff was the Garrison Surgeon at the Citadel in Quebec City. He was asked to move to Ottawa when the Ottawa Parliament buildings were ready in October 1865. "He was held in great esteem" in Quebec City, (see "Maple Leaves" by LeMoine). He was fluent in 5 languages. He did translations for the government. In her letter of 1964 to Frank Wolff, Mrs. Windebank saw a picture of him, "very resplendant in a dress uniform." When he retired, he held the rank of Captain in the Royal Navy, the usual rank for a doctor, I presume.

He married Isabella Dodd Taylor about 1838 and they had six children. Isabella had been previously married to a Mr. Dodd.

Dr. Wolff died 31 Jul 1880 and I believe he is buried in Quebec City. Isabella was born about 1817 in England and she died 28 Mar 1879 in St Gabriel de Valcartier.



- George Jacob Wolff (1821–1892) He was born about 1821. He married 29 Mar 1842 in the St Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Quebec City to Mary McCartney. The wedding record indicates that George was living in the Parish of St Ambrose in the District of Quebec, was a bachelor farmer. Mary was living in the same place. The wedding was witness by James F. Wolff and Patrick Cassin.

George died 10 Apr 1892 and was buried 12 Apr 1892 in the Church of England cemetery beside Christ Church in Valcartier Village. His tombstone records his death as 1890 at the age of 71.



Mary McCartney was born about 1811 in Ayrshire, Scotland to John McCartney and Janet Pagan. She died 20 Oct 1880.

They had eight children.

4. Anthony Henry Wolff (1823–1824). He was born in Quebec City and died there. His death was recorded in the Military Garrison.

5. Caroline Amelia Wolff (1824–1895). She married 13 Apr 1847 at the Christ Church in Valcartier to Thomas Billing. They had ten children. Caroline died 2 Dec 1895 and was buried on the 5<sup>th</sup> in Christ Church Cemetery. Her age at the time of her death was 71 years and 10 months making her date of birth in February 1824.

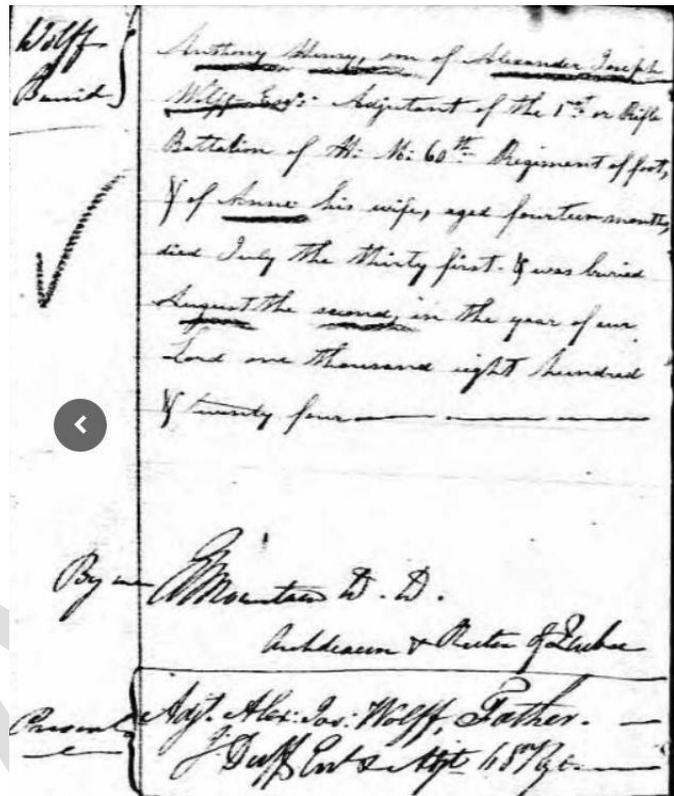
6. Charlotte Elizabeth Mary Bowles Wolff (1825–?) she died 11 Jan 1892 in Valcartier. She had married 10 Jun 1850 at the Anglican Holy Trinity Church in Quebec City to Montague Charles Sewell. They had three children. Montague was born about 1812 and died 28 Feb 1859: "Montague Charles Sewell of the Parish of Quebec, Esquire, one of her Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the District of Quebec, aged 46 years, 6 months..." He was buried at the Church of England cemetery in Valcartier Village.

7. Arthur Alexander Wolff (1828–1897). Arthur recorded his date of birth as being about 1828 in the 1881 census as he was enumerator. His first marriage was on 30 Dec 1851 to Sarah Calway in the Church of England in St-Gilles, Lotbiniere County, PQ. "Arthur Alexander Wolff of Valcartier, bachelor and Sarah Calway of St. Joseph Nouvelle, Beauce, Spinster"

He married 29 Oct 1871 to Annie Whitham at the Christ Church in Valcartier. "Arthur A. Wolff of the parish of Valcartier, farmer, widower, son of Alexander J. Wolff, in his lifetime Adjunctant to HM 60<sup>th</sup> Rifles and of Hannah Allard (Ellert), his widow, and Annie Whitham of the same place, spinster to the late Peter Whitham and of Sarah Piercy, his widow, were married under license..."

They had five children. The 1861 census lists his age at 34, so he may have been born in 1827.

8. Col. Charles Stuart Wolff (1831–1909) was born 16 Jan 1831 and he died 5 May 1909. He married Isabel Neilson (1831–1895) grand daughter of John Neilson, on 5



Jan 1857 at the St Andrew's Presbyterian church in Valcartier. Charles obtained his rank as he was in the 11<sup>th</sup> Battalion of Militia.

They had five children.

Wife of Charles Sheriff, son of  
baptized Alexander J. Wolff, Lieutenant  
Adjutant in the half pay of the 60<sup>th</sup>  
Regt now resident Magistrate and  
Major of Militia in the settlement of  
Valcartier in the parish of St. Ambrose  
in the seigniorie of St. Hubert, in the County  
& District of Quebec St. Amant (formerly  
Elliot) his wife was born on the sixteenth  
day of January & baptized on the nineteenth  
day of March in the year of our Lord  
one thousand eight hundred & thirty one  
by Mr. P. Barrage, Minister at Aubigny  
Pointe St. Louis & other Protestant Congregations  
in parts adjacent to Quebec  
A. Wolff  
Hannah Wolff  
Margaret Wolff  
Charlotte Wolff



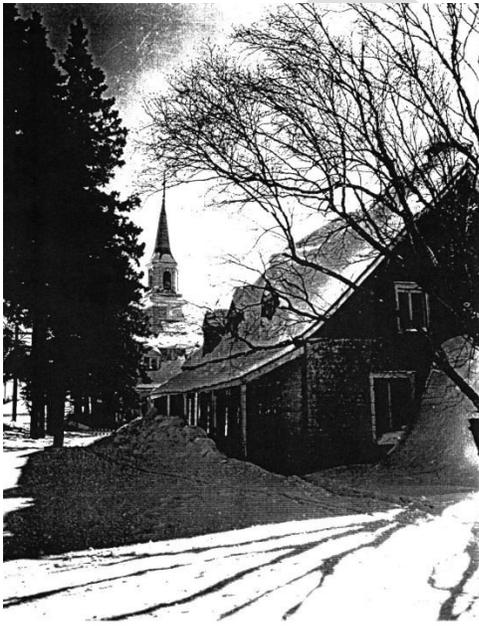
The following was written by Alice (Ford) Reybould:

*"My grandmother was Sarah Clark Wolff. She married my grandfather Carl Wolff on December 24, 1884. They had five children, 2 died in infancy. Sarah lived to be 98 years of age, and was active at all times, even up until the day she died. She died at the Ladies Protestant Home in Quebec City. Her daughter, Alma was the superintendent at the home for the aged. The Ladies Protestant Home has since ceased to exist.*

*Sarah told us that her grandmother came out from County Cork, Ireland on a cattle boat with her son in 1840 or 1841 (this was before the great potato famine). Sarah always referred to her grandmother as "Mrs. Burns", but according to the census her name was Bridget McCabe. She only spoke Gaelic. On arriving in Quebec City, "Mrs. Burns" set out to walk to her destination, Riviere aux Pins, up past Valcartier. She carried a bag of potatoes all the way, determined to make a new life for herself.*

*Later, 'Mrs. Burns' married Sam Clark Sr., an industrious plowman. He had emigrated from Scotland - Gatehouse of Fleet in 1819, under the patronage of Honorable John Neilson, (see letter on page 13). Samuel and 'Mrs. Burns' had a son, born in July, 1842, which they also called Samuel. Samuel Jr. married Helen McBain, and their children were Jim and Sarah. Sarah Clark married Carl Wolff. Before they married they both lived across the Jacques Cartier River from each other. Carl lived up on the heights and Sarah in the beautiful valley below on a bend in the river.*

*My mother, Ethel Wolff, often spoke about Helen, her grandmother. Helen had a peaches and cream complexion and, according to her, was quite lovely. She wore an immaculate white, starched cap on her head. It was stiffened with potato starch. Every week she drove to market with a team of shining black horses. Their harness was gleaming and polished. These horses were very well cared for by Grandpa Clark and in excellent condition. Primarily she would sell butter and eggs.*



*As a child, I remember Grandpa Clark, an old man, quite tall and thin with a long beard, lighting his pipe with a burning ember from the fireplace. They lived in the great house, which had belonged to Neilson. My brother Carl said Grandpa Clark lived to be an old man, and that he too was pretty active up until the end. Carl said Grandpa Clark decided he was going to die and got into bed one day and never got up again - "rest for the weary". Carl remembers him being well older than ninety something. Sarah spent her married life in the Wolff's house. There were four large bedrooms in this house, and of course, indoor plumbing, an upstairs bathroom with an overhead water closet and pull chain toilet. A back staircase from the dining room/kitchen led up to it. I can assure you indoor bathrooms were extremely rare in those days. On the main floor on the front half of the house was a large living room with big windows on two sides. Off the living room was a salon going along the west side of the house consisting of two rooms, which could be shut off in the middle by varnished, wooden folding doors. This was a design used in the old days to be able to have a large spacious area for family as well*

*as social gatherings, if necessary.*

*I remember a huge spruce tree set up there for Christmas. We had all come up by train from Portneuf to spend Christmas with our grandparents. It was quite an undertaking. I was about 6 years old and I remember Aunt Alma on Christmas Eve lighting real little Christmas candles on the tree. They weren't left burning very long, as you can imagine. We all gazed in wonderment. There was a mantelpiece in this large room and I*

*remember my grandfather, Carl, on another occasion, giving me a red China rooster. He took this down off the mantle and handed it to me. He would call me "Frippo", when he was in a teasing mood, and I hated it. Notwithstanding, he was dearly loved and always seemed to be permanent - a rock.*

*When he came to visit us as children in Portneuf, it was always a momentous occasion, as he would give us each a big penny, and one for each of our cousins, too. He died suddenly of a massive heart attack. At his funeral, a soloist sang "Come ye disconsolate, where're you languish. Come to the mercy seat, fervently kneel." etc. I was not there. My siblings and I stayed with Aunt Emmie and Grandma Ford.*

*There were two corridors or passageways as they were called in the olden days. One lead from the front door to the rear of the house and into a huge kitchen and dining area. Here was the traditional dining room table with room for 15 or more people, also a hug stove of polished cast iron and shining metal trim, not to forget a sink with running water. The other hallway lead to the east side of the house and onto the verandah. Here the main staircase came down with a gleaming newel post and banister. The banister was a good one for children to do some sliding on. There was a large airy room to the left of the hallway and it too had big windows. If you look at the winter scene of my grandfather's house with the snow and church steeple, you will be able to make out the door to the side verandah and the windows.*

*My great grandfather, Col. Charles Stuart Wolff of the Gold Rush days, and his wife, Isabelle Neilson, shared this house with their son Carl and his wife Sarah. The senior Wolff's had their own living quarters, principally the room to the rear on the East side. However, they were a happy group, running the post office, their farm, and wood lots. They mingled well with on another. There was also a long narrow building attached to the west side of the house. This was used as a summer kitchen, a popular thing in those days, with easy access to the barns and stable. I am pretty sure there was an icehouse attached to all this. The ice would have been brought up from the river or Lake Fairie.*

*My mother, Ethel Ford, said she had two sets of grandparents within easy reach. First, there was William Neilson, son the Hon. John Neilson, and his wife living a short distance down the road in the smallest Neilson home or Fairchild house. Secondly, she had Col. Charles Stuart Wolff, and his wife, Isabelle Neilson, granddaughter of Hon. John Neilson, living in the same house as my mother. My mother said she spent many good times having breakfast with them. Naturally, she would have been an adored grandchild as there were no other children around."*

The following article by Edgar Andrew Collard appeared in *The Montreal Gazette* on March 25, 1950. Collard was a Canadian journalist and historian, born in Montreal on 6 September 1911, and best known for his *Montreal Gazette* column “All Our Yesterdays”.

The first issue of his column appeared in *The Montreal Gazette* on August 14, 1944 and appeared every weekend for 56 years. Each week the column addressed an episode or aspect of Montreal history. In 1953 he became editor-in-chief of *The Gazette*. He continued his column until a month before his death on 9 September 2000. Collard was made a Member of the Order of Canada in 1976.

*(Transcription by Audrey Henderson, January, 2015)*

**All Our Yesterdays**  
**By Edgard Andrew Collard**

**The Mystery of the Waterloo Veterans**

In this column today are two letters in reply to an inquiry made by Mr. Leon Trepanier, O.B.E., of Montreal.

Some time ago Mr. Trepanier, in reading an excerpt from the London Canada Gazette for 1890, came upon a statement that “the cemetery of the country parish of Valcartier, on the line of the Lake St. John Railway, contains the graves of nineteen Waterloo veterans. How many country parishes in England can surpass this record?”

Though he made a number of investigations, Mr. Trepanier could find no other reference to this forgotten cemetery, and his inquiry for information was published two weeks ago. Letters kindly sent by Mrs. Frank Bussieres of Sillery and Rev. J.H.M. Brett, rector of Abbotsford, are printed below.

**The Valcartier Settlers**

Dear Sir – I was interested in the inquiry from Mr. Leon Trepanier concerning the old cemetery at Valcartier in which 19 veterans of Waterloo are said to have been buried.

Possibly some light may be cast upon the question by certain excerpts in the book “Historic Tales of Old Quebec” by George Gale (1920). I quote below excerpts to be found on pages 92 and 93:

“Valcartier, in the ancient Seigniorie of St. Gabriel, some fourteen miles distant from Quebec was ceded to Surgeon Robert Giffard in 1647. St. Gabriel became the property of the Jesuits and on the death of the last member of the order in Quebec, Jean Joseph Casot, in 1800, the property passed over to the Government.

“The parish of Valcartier through the efforts, among others, of Hon. John Neilson and Hon. Andrew Stuart, was first settled in 1817. Some of the earliest inhabitants were United Empire Loyalists from the State of Connecticut. Later, English, Irish and Scotch settlers among them many battle-scarred British army veterans, sought their homes in the primeval forest of this locality....and here many descendants of these pioneer agriculturists are still cultivating the soil, and, like their forefathers, living in peace and harmony. Previous to 1814 Valcartier was unknown except to the Huron Indians or coureurs de bois.

Ste. Catherine, in Portneuf County, was first settled by English speaking people in 1820, as was Bourg St. Louis. Another well-known community settled by English speaking people was Stoneham in 1824, while the first settlers – many of them veterans of the British Army – reached Lake Beauport in 1821 and Laval in 1836.” Margaret Bussieres, Sillery, P.Q., March 13, 1950

### **Wolff and His Followers**

Dear Sir, - I was interested in reading Mr. Leon Trepanier's inquiry in one of your recent columns about the graves of 19 veterans of Waterloo who are buried in the cemetery of the country parish of Valcartier “on the line of the Lake St. John Railway.”

As a former incumbent of the Valcartier Anglican Mission, I gathered all the information I could find about the early days of the church in that district. The following notes may be of interest.

Although land was not acquired for the first church and cemetery until 1844, Anglican services had been held in a large house since 1817, various clergymen from Quebec City coming out to conduct them.

In 1824 Adjutant Alexander Wolff, late of the 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment, settled in Valcartier district. He had had a distinguished military career, serving in Egypt under Gen. Abercrombie, and later in the Peninsular War. He was wounded in five separate battles and was the proud possessor of the war medal with 16 clasps, said to be the largest number held at that period by any officer in the British Army.

So beloved was he by his men that many of the rank and file of his regiment settled in the district in order to be near their old leader. It is said that Adjutant Wolff spent many years on his old homestead and ably discharged his duties as a Lt.-Col. of militia and as an active and upright magistrate.

While no mention of the battle of Waterloo was made in the above information, yet is it not reasonable to suppose that a man with such a long service record in the British Army would have taken part in that battle? Further, the reference to “many of the rank and file of his regiment settling in the district to be near their old leader” would account for such a large number of veterans of Waterloo being buried in the cemetery of the country parish of Valcartier.

Wolff and his followers settled in the district in 1824. The first Anglican cemetery came into being in 1844. Where were members of the congregation buried between those dates?

In 1833 land was deeded for an Anglican cemetery near Ste. Catherine. There was a church there for a few years: then at a later date, the cemetery was abandoned. This burying ground was roughly the same distance from Valcartier Station on the line of the Lake St. John Railway, as Valcartier Station is from Valcartier village, that is to say, about five miles. As the same minister who conducted services at Valcartier also went to the Ste. Catherine church, this might well be considered part of the Valcartier Mission.

I believe that in the early days the Ste. Catherine cemetery was used by the Valcartier congregation. In any case, many bodies were taken from the abandoned cemetery and re-interred at Valcartier. This is shown by the following entry in the parish register under the date of June 1, 1932:

“The remains of Margaret Brown, aged sixty-eight years, who died November 20, 1858, and the remains of eight other bodies, names, ages, dates of burial, etc., all unknown, were

removed by me, Ernest R. Roy, subscribing witnesses, from the abandoned Anglican Cemetery at Ste. Catherine, County of Portneuf, permission for same being granted by the Superior Court of Quebec, and the remains were then reinterred by me in the Anglican Cemetery at Valcartier and which was done on Wednesday, June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1932. By me, Ernest R Roy, Rector of Levis. Witnesses: W. Henderson, Margaret L. Henderson.”

When the new church was built in 1863 and pews were auctioned by four families of the name of Brown rented pews. From the extract quoted above, it would seem that in the early days the Brown family used the Ste. Catherine cemetery as a family burying ground even though they were members of the Valcartier congregation.

Could this old cemetery be the resting place of many of the Waterloo veterans?

It is possible that an old Anglican burial ground existed at Valcartier itself, of which no records exist today. I was told by members of the congregation that when an excavation of a furnace was made under the present church, in 1913, several coffins were discovered. This leads one to believe that when the present Christ Church was built in 1863, there were many graves unmarked and forgotten.

Where the 19 veterans of Waterloo are buried is a mystery that may never be entirely solved. But it does seem quite possible that there were members of the 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment who settled in the district to be near their old leader. Adjutant Alexander Wolff, late of the British Army, who settled in Valcartier in 1824.

May the old warriors rest in peace!

(Rev.) J.H.M. Brett, St. Paul's Rectory, Abbotsford, P. Que., March 14, 1950.