

**Extracts from Capt. John Nairne's Orderly Book  
78<sup>th</sup> Foot, Fraser's Highlanders  
Quebec, 8 May 1762 - 30 December 1762**

**Source: Library and Archives Canada  
Fonds John Nairne, MG23 G III 23, Vol. 4**

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8 January 2021



**John Nairne.** This black & white photo of an oil painting by an unknown artist shows John as a lieutenant colonel of the Lower Canada Sedentary Militia, circa 1795. The original painting once hung in Nairne's old manor house at Murray Bay (Malbaie) northeast of Quebec City, but its whereabouts today are unknown (BAnQ P560, S2, D1, P945)

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**Introduction**

The purpose of an orderly book was to record all orders affecting a given command. During a period without photocopies or even pens other than goose quills, the daily process of orderly book maintenance was quite a logistical achievement. General Orders for each day would originate at army headquarters and would filter down through the chain of command to, in the case of the infantry, the individual regiments, and from there to each company. At each level, the General Orders would be dictated to subordinates who would copy them into orderly books. Finally, the full slate of orders for the day would be read aloud before the assembled men of each company.

This process ensured that a large number of highly duplicative books were being maintained within the army at any given time. While some orderly books are beautifully written, the majority have poor penmanship, numerous misspellings, errors in syntax, and a broad sprinkling of scratch-outs, additions, and ink blots. Even without the effect of fading ink, a large number of these original manuscript orderly books are difficult to read in their original form. For example, sentence structure was especially random, the effect being the appearance of a series of "run-on" sentences with dashes often used between sentences and with in frequent use of commas and semi-colons. The result is frequently a very lengthy paragraph-like sentence composed of segments and appearing almost incomprehensible at first reading. Another problem, although minor, is capitalization which often appears random in its usage with sentences often failing to open with a capital letter, and capitalization within the sentence almost whimsical. As would be expected with semi-literate copyists, many words are spelled phonetically, the orderly sergeants "struggling mightily with the big words used by the officers dictating the orders."

Of the many company orderly books of the 78<sup>th</sup> Foot written over the short period of its existence (early 1757 to December 1763), only three examples have survived the ravages of time:

(1) **Quebec Garrison**, 8 May to 30 December 1762, Library and Archives Canada, Fonds John Nairne, MG23G, III, 23, vol 4;

(2) **Quebec Garrison**, 9 May to 31 July 1762, Malcolm Fraser Papers (Private Collection); and

(3) **Fort Stanwix Garrison**, 11 November 1758 to 9 April 1759, National Archives of Scotland, Papers of the Rose Family of Kilravock, Inverness-shire, GD125/34/4 & /7.<sup>1</sup>

Captain John Nairne's<sup>2</sup> orderly book covers the period when his company was stationed in Quebec, a French Roman Catholic town then in military occupation. But the commander of the garrison, likely under strict orders from Britain, was careful to allow the inhabitants full religious liberty and to protect their feelings, even though it was eighty years before full liberty was granted in Great Britain.

For Fraser's Highlanders, the years 1760-63 passed uneventfully. After the fall of Montreal in September 1760, the 78<sup>th</sup> Foot formed part of the garrison of the colony of Quebec with five companies, including the elite grenadier company<sup>3</sup>, posted within the town; with the remaining companies were parcelled out piecemeal along the south shore of the St. Lawrence from Levis across from Quebec, as far as Kamouraska, 50 miles northeastwards at the far limit of *Canadien* settlement. While other British regiments were fighting Indians in North America, or storming Spanish fortresses in Havana, Fraser's Highlanders mounted guard duty, employed in work parties (fatigues), or were out in the fields helping *Canadien* families get in the harvest. Here the Fraser's would remain until the end of the war.

At the time of Nairne's orderly book, the garrison in Quebec consisted of three

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<sup>1</sup> For a full transcription see, E.J. Chapman & I.M. McCulloch, *Orderly Books of the 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot, Fort Stanwix, New York, November 1758 - April 1759* (Stewart Museum, 2011).

<sup>2</sup> John Nairne came from a Scottish family with Jacobite sympathies. After studying in Edinburgh he enlisted in the Dutch-Scots Brigade seeing service with Stewart's Regiment in Holland. In 1757 he returned to Scotland and obtained a lieutenant's commission in the new-raising 2<sup>nd</sup> Highland Battalion of Foot, soon to be entered into the Line as the 63<sup>rd</sup> Regiment, and later, as the 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment. Nairne served in the regiment's light infantry company at Louisbourg in 1758; participated in the battle on the Plains of Abraham, September 1759; and wounded at Sillery the following year. Nairne purchased his captaincy in the 78<sup>th</sup> Foot in 1761, borrowing the money from his patron, Governor James Murray. He was commanding a company at Quebec when his regiment was disbanded in 1763. For more information, see Chapman-McCulloch, *A Bard of Wolfe's Army ...* (Montreal, 2010), 304-305.

<sup>3</sup> The grenadier company consisted of "the best men of their respective regiments and to be constantly kept so." [Reference: Standing Orders for the Army - 1755.]

regiments: the 47<sup>th</sup> Foot; the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion, Royal Americans; and the 78<sup>th</sup> Foot,<sup>4</sup> along with detachments from the Royal Artillery and the engineers. Garrison duties were heavy, even for commissioned officers, who were regularly assigned to command quarter guards, town guards, and picquets,<sup>5</sup> as well as participating in almost weekly courts martial (general, garrison and regimental). In Quebec at this time, large working parties of upwards of 400 men were placed under the command of the garrison's engineering department, tasked to strengthen Quebec's fortifications against future attack. Companies had no letters or distinguishing numbers and were known simply by the names of their commanding officers, e.g., the Colonel's Company, Major Abercrombie's Company, Major Campbell's Company, etc.

However, the monotonous fatigues and guard duties, month after month, posed serious problems for commanders as discipline invariably slackened. By early May 1762, Major John Campbell, commanding the Fraser five-company detachment at Quebec, had had enough – his officers and men would have to be firmly told what would be expected of them in the future. On 11 May, he issued a regimental order, which was to be considered as a *standing order* and read to the men "at least once a week in the presence of an officer." No doubt, regimental discipline quickly improved – the alternative was punishment by the lash.

General Orders, originating at army headquarters, also named a daily "parole" or password, usually the name of a place in Great Britain or America, and this was duly copied into the captain's orderly book, as were officers' duty assignments, work parties, as well as general information pertaining to the proper running of the garrison and regiment. Following the general orders, regimental orders (usually abbreviated to "R.O.") originated at regimental headquarters and their content would be specific to each regiment. As winter approached, parades were reduced, likely as being impracticable in the Canadian winter, while the approach of fine weather (together with a birthday parade for the Monarch) produced a general smartening up. It is strange to hear of an "awkward squad"

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<sup>4</sup> The total strength of the three regiments, as reported by Brigadier James Murray on 5 June 1762 (Report of the State of the Government of Quebec in Canada) was 1,894 officers and men. The largest was the 78<sup>th</sup> Foot with 758 officers and men (11 Companies).

<sup>5</sup> Quarter and town guards, as well as picquets, were mounted daily to keep order in the town, but Nairne's orderly book does not specifically mention how many men comprised each specific guard. However, the total number of men assigned to the "guard" numbered 6-8 non-commissioned officers, 1 drummer, and about 50 privates, all led by a subaltern; the "guard" reporting to the designated "captain of the day." The picquet was a separate detachment "holding itself in readiness to turn out at a moment's notice for any duty whatsoever, or for duty other than duty by roster ...," however, the picquet was required to send out frequent patrols during the night; an officer was designated daily for this assignment. The strength of the "guard" in Quebec increased dramatically to almost one hundred and fifty men starting on 9 August, and only tapering off to normal size by 11 September. Likely, the town's population had swelled during this period, what with farmers and other vendors coming into town to sell their wares.

when the youngest soldier must have had two or more years of active service.<sup>6</sup> All in all, this rare orderly book offers a fascinating insight into the daily, routine life of the 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot then in garrison at Quebec in 1762. According to historian Ian McCulloch, the 78<sup>th</sup> Foot was “well liked by Governor James Murray<sup>7</sup> for their industrious and cheerful approach in dealing with the local inhabitants, [which] induced him to retain it as his principal regiment at Quebec.”

Extracts from the following orders have been selected for transcription because of their historical importance, their general interest to modern-day soldiers of the re-raised 78<sup>th</sup> Fraser Highlanders, especially those containing dress regulations. These extracts do not include such minute detail as “parole,” “officer of the day,” or the officers’ duty assignments, guard duties, etc. I have not hesitated to occasionally – and silently – modernize the punctuation and spelling to make the meaning clearer, although to keep the “flavour” of the 18<sup>th</sup> century text, some words have been left in their original form, such as “concern’d” instead of “concerned,” “serjeant” instead of “sergeant,” and “company’s” instead of “companies.”

The following list of officer’s names were listed at the beginning of Captain Nairne’s orderly book, along with a series of marks to indicate the various duty assignments completed by each subaltern (guards, fatigues, picquets, and courts-martial):

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<sup>6</sup> No doubt that the Army tried to find new recruits to replace losses due to battle, sickness, etc., but as noted by General Amherst in his letter to General Gage (New York, 1 August 1763), new recruits were hard to find, either in Britain or in North America. In mid-1763, this forced Amherst to draft replacements from the regiments ordered home, in order to bring the regiments remaining in North America up to their establishments.

<sup>7</sup> The oldest of Wolfe’s three brigadiers, James Murray was the most junior during the 1759 siege, his substantive rank being that of lieutenant colonel of the 15<sup>th</sup> Foot. On Brigadier Robert Monckton’s wounding, and Brigadier Charles Townshend’s return to England, Murray was left in command at Quebec over the winter of 1759-60, where his most deadly enemy was disease. He was appointed governor of the garrison of Quebec, 12 October 1759; governor of the District of Quebec, 27 October 1760; and governor of the province, 21 November 1763. Murray’s primary concern throughout the military régime of 1760-63 was security, for neither the return of the French nor a revolt by the Canadians could be ruled out. Murray was recalled to Great Britain in December 1766 when he resumed his military career, eventually becoming a full general in February 1783.

## Roster of the Officers of the Detachment of the 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment Now Lying at Quebec 1762<sup>8</sup>

John Campbell [Ballimore], major<sup>9</sup>  
Hugh Cameron, captain<sup>10</sup>  
John Fraser [Culbokie], captain<sup>11</sup>  
Alex<sup>r</sup> Campbell, captain<sup>12</sup>

Lieutenant Alex<sup>r</sup> Fraser, S<sup>r</sup> [Senior]  
John M<sup>c</sup>Donell  
Ensign Mal<sup>m</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Pherson  
Lieutenant David Bailie  
Lieutenant Evan Cameron  
Ensign Arch<sup>d</sup> Fraser  
Lieutenant M<sup>c</sup>Allester [Archibald MacAllister]  
Lieutenant Alex<sup>r</sup> Fraser, G<sup>rs</sup> [Grenadiers]  
Ensign [James] M<sup>c</sup>Queen  
Lieutenant John Fraser [Errogie]  
Lieutenant [James] M<sup>c</sup>Kenzie [4<sup>th</sup> Ardloch]  
Ensign Alex<sup>r</sup> Fraser

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<sup>8</sup> The names are recorded in this transcript exactly as they appear in the orderly book; square brackets denotes additional information added by the editor of this transcription. There were three Alexander Fraser's, thus the need to uniquely identify them for fatigues, guards, etc., as in Alexander Fraser, *Senior*, and Alexander Fraser, *Grenadiers*.

<sup>9</sup> John Campbell was appointed captain on 9 January 1757; served at Louisbourg in 1758; commanded the regiment on the Plains of Abraham in 1759 in Colonel Simon Fraser's absence; wounded at Sillery in 1760; promoted major, 5 October 1760. He was the second (or junior) major of the regiment and the commanding officer of the five-company detachment which garrisoned the town of Quebec; he was commanding a company at Quebec when the 78<sup>th</sup> was disbanded in 1763.

<sup>10</sup> Hugh Cameron was appointed captain on 25 September 1759. An experienced officer who served with the Dutch-Scots Brigade in Holland, he was horribly burned in an accidental gunpowder explosion in a blockhouse outside the wall of Quebec during the French siege of April-May 1760. He was commanding a company when the 78<sup>th</sup> Foot was disbanded in 1763.

<sup>11</sup> John Fraser was appointed captain, 15 April 1760; served at Louisbourg (and according to Grenadier Sergeant James Thompson, was an accomplished swordsman); appointed paymaster of troops in Montreal in 1763; commanding a company when the regiment was disbanded in 1763; remained in Canada and appointed a judge of the court of common pleas for the Montreal District in 1764.

<sup>12</sup> Alexander "Sandy" Fraser, styled by Stewart of Garth as "of Aross," had studied to become a minister but was offered a commission as one of the two grenadier lieutenants, 7 May 1757; wounded at Louisbourg in 1758; wounded again on the Plains of Abraham; taken prisoner at Sillery in 1760; appointed captain, 5 October 1760. He was described by Parson Robert Macpherson as "universally knowing in ancient and modern literature without any idle pomp, show or parade of learning, he is without disparagement to any, the prettiest young fellow in our corps." Alex commanded a company when the regiment was disbanded in December 1763.

Lieutenant Mal<sup>m</sup> Fraser  
Lieutenant Don<sup>d</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Neill  
Ensign [John] M<sup>c</sup>Pherson  
Lieutenant [James] Henderson  
Lieutenant [Robert] Menzies



## Orderly Book Extracts

Quebec, 8 May 1762

Regimental Orders:

Devine service tomorrow at the usual hour in the [Jesuit] College Church by the reverend Mr. Mcpherson.<sup>13</sup>

Quebec, 9 May 1762

Regimental Orders:

Serjeant Anderson of Captain Simon Fraser's Company is appointed to do duty as serjeant major to the detachment & to be obeyed as such.<sup>14</sup>

After General Orders:

A general court martial at the orderly room on Tuesday next at 10 o'clock to try such prisoners as may be brought before them. Major Spittall, president. The 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment to give 3 captains; 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion to give 2 captains; 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment to give 1 captain. The 47<sup>th</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion, & 78<sup>th</sup> to give 2 lieutenants each.

Quebec, 10 May 1762

Regimental Orders:

All the men off duty to be under arms this evening at 5 o'clock.<sup>15</sup>

Quebec, 11 May 1762

Regimental Orders:

Major Campbell observes that the non commission'd officers & private men of the regiment do too often neglect to comply with orders given them from time to time, therefore he desires the following orders to be strictly comply'd with by the detachment of the regiment under his command, & to be always regarded as standing orders for which purpose they are to be read & explain'd to the men by a serjeant of each company in presence of an officer at least once a week –

Every soldier to be provided with a brush, weir [*sic*: wire, a.k.a. iron vent pick],

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<sup>13</sup> The Reverend Robert Macpherson, appointed chaplain of Fraser's Highlanders, 12 January 1757.

<sup>14</sup> The regimental serjeant major was the most senior non-commissioned officer of the regiment and the commanding officer's "principal and trusted link to the enlisted men." In the Highland regiments, he was "usually of the same social standing and class as most of the officers." His principal duties were to maintain high standards of drill, dress and discipline in the regiment and oversee the regimental duty rosters and guard mountings. He was a key player in the daily workings of the regiment and cooperated closely with the major and adjutant. See Ian McCulloch, *Sons of the Mountains*, for more details.

<sup>15</sup> Likely some form of punishment. See next entry, 11 May 1762, for a possible explanation.

worm, stopper, turn key screw [screwdriver] & a rag for his arms; a hammer stall<sup>16</sup> & flint cap<sup>17</sup> of proper leather never to be taken off except when under arms or on duty;<sup>18</sup> 4 good shirts & stocks, one night cape, an ivory & horn comb for the hair, black ball & shoe brushes; the men for guard always to be well shav'd, have clean shirts, their hair ty'd behind & clubb'd of it will admit of it; their arms very clean, shoulder belts & cartridge boxes well blacked, & shoulder belt buckles brisks [*sic*: bright, brushed?]; every soldier whether he is on duty or not to have his face, hands & knees well wash'd - his hair well comb'd, cut short on the top of his head, & his locks short; his bonnet proper so as to reach his brows before, & as high as possible behind with the cockard [*sic*: cockade] fix'd so as the half of it may stand upright above the bonnet;<sup>19</sup> his plaid never to be worn but kilted,<sup>20</sup> the fillibeg [*sic*: *philabeg*] or little kilt to be always worn in summer or harvest except upon duty or when the detachment are under arms;<sup>21</sup> the soldiers to pay the same respect to all other officers as they do to their own; no man or woman to sell or retail any sort of liquor whatsoever without having his Excellency the Governor's leave & Major Campbell's in writing, & if any man is found guilty of selling any kind of liquor, even spruce beer, [he] shall most certainly undergo the utmost rigour of the military law, & shall forfeit all the liquor he has in his possession; if a woman is found guilty she shall be flogg'd & drumm'd out of the regiment; any non commission'd officer or soldier who shall be seen drunk whether on duty or not shall be punished with the utmost rigour; no woman or sick man to lie a night in the barracks, how soon a soldier is taken sick he is immediately to be reported by the serjeant of his squad to the surgeon who is directly to send him to the hospital where he is to pay two shillings currency per week; each company to be divided into three squads, one serjeant, one corporal to be appointed to each squad who shall be answerable to the commanding officer of the company that the men's quarters are always

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<sup>16</sup> As a safety precaution, the men were issued with a leather "hammer stall" which was placed over the hammer to prevent sparks should the flint strike it accidentally.

<sup>17</sup> Similar to the "hammer stall," a leather cap was placed over the flint. As an alternative, flints were replaced with small pieces of wood for parade and drill exercises.

<sup>18</sup> A few of the many small items carried and used by the troops to clean, maintain and protect their muskets. These items were supplied by company officers at their own expense, or charged to the men. Other issued items, not mentioned above, include a tin oil bottle used to clean and lubricate the metalwork, as well as a piece of buff leather to polish the metal and brass.

<sup>19</sup> It is not known for certain if the 78<sup>th</sup> Foot adopted black bearskin tufts – they may have only been adopted by the 42<sup>nd</sup> Foot. This "standing order" seems to indicate that a black ribbon cockade (or a black woven horsehair cockade) was worn by the 78<sup>th</sup> in 1762. However, it is interesting to note that the "Pinch of Snuff" painting, completed c.1760 and believed to depict Ensign Malcolm Macpherson of Phoness, shows the men wearing black bearskin tufts.

<sup>20</sup> In other words, the belted plaid or great kilt (*philamhor*) was to be worn as a kilt, with a belt, and not as a cloak. The word "but" is really "bot," meaning "unless" or "without."

<sup>21</sup> Usually, Highland regiments converted plaids into kilts or *philabegs* (*feileadh beag* meaning "little wrap") after one year of wear. In North America, the wearing of the bulkier belted plaid was reserved for dress parades and reviews.

kept clean, that they mess regularly & keep their arms, accoutrements, ammunition, linen & other necessary's in good order; each company to be exercised twice a day, Sundays excepted, in two squads, one composed of those who can exercise best, the other of the most awkward & that by serjeants & corporals who have a clear distinct voice, can handle their arms well, that have a great command of his temper & are not out of humour with clowns because they are awkward; they must first teach an easy & graceful manner of marching & pulling off their bonnets to officers<sup>22</sup> then proceed by degrees to the manual & platoon exercise;<sup>23</sup> they must be made perfect in their manual, facings, & coming about upon the march; a good deal of time to be given to perform the manual, but the platoon exercise to be very quick; the adjutant<sup>24</sup> must be at great pains to instruct the non commission'd officers in their duty & they again must avoid gratifying any personal resentment on their command; they are to use the men kindly, but not with familiarity, never failing to report every breach of discipline of which comes to their knowledge in order that offenders may be brought to justice; as the discipline of the company's is much left to the captains, & commanding officer of company's, it will be much for their honour & credit that their men are perfect & steady in every point of their duty; they are not only to attend themselves but also all the subalterns must attend the drill instruction & encourage the men to learn the exercise & to prevent the drill serjeants & corporals from proceeding too hastily with the men by recommending temper & attention; to the other [*sic*: on the other hand] it is absolutely necessary that the non commission'd officers should never screen [*sic*: protect] under a false notion of tenderness for any neglect of duty or breach of military order, for on their fidelity & diligence is a great measure the service depends, & is carried on.

The captains are to exact from their subalterns in all affairs of duty the same ceremony & attention as the colonel of the regiment could do, & they are answerable that their company's are properly attended to by their subalterns & inferior officers that the

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<sup>22</sup> A standing order (No. 135) issued by the Duke of Cumberland in 1755 specified: "Non-commissioned officers and soldiers are to pull off their hats to all officers (whatsoever corps they belong to) whenever they pass by them.

<sup>23</sup> Essentially, the 'manual exercise' was the long, slow, and detailed sequence of movements endlessly drilled into the private soldier whereby he learned, by the numbers, how to load and fire his musket, to perform the bayonet drill, and to do a variety of ceremonial movements such as clubbing or saluting with his firearm. By this time, the 78<sup>th</sup> had received a revised version, likely the 1756 *Regulations* which had been reprinted in New York in 1757.

<sup>24</sup> A regimental staff officer, the adjutant was responsible for the commanding officer's paperwork in garrison, compiling the endless number of monthly returns, as well as the issue of the daily regimental orders. Working closely with the major and the sergeant major, the adjutant looked primarily after personnel, both officers and men, and thus concerned himself with "enlistments, discharges, punishments, drill and the drawing up of duty rosters." The adjutant of the 78<sup>th</sup> Foot at this time was Lieutenant Malcolm Fraser, son of Donald Fraser who was killed fighting in the Fraser of Lovat regiment at the battle of Culloden, April 1746. Malcolm was gazetted ensign, 18 July 1757; came to America with one of the three Additional Companies in spring 1758; wounded on the Plains of Abraham, 13 September 1759; promoted lieutenant, 25 September 1759; wounded again at Sillery, 28 April 1760; appointed adjutant, 24 July 1760; resigned appointment, 9 April 1763. A good friend of Captain John Nairne, he purchased the seigneurie of Mount Murray from Governor James Murray.

men are kept clean & well lodg'd, that the sick are taken care of, & that the arms & accoutrements are always in the best repair; duties of officers in quarters are to attend all parades, to visit the sick, to be attentive that the men are duly clear'd with, properly supply'd with necessary's & not impos'd upon in their accompts [*sic*: accounts], that they mess regularly & to examine strictly the cloathing every time the company parades & bring about a proper neatness of dress which is very much wanted in this regiment.

All officers to attend roll calling every evening & one officer per company every morning; the orderly officer to report to Major Campbell if any men are absent or drunk in order he may be punish'd; the surgeon to visit the sick daily & to report their condition ... the officer of the picquet<sup>25</sup> to visit all the barracks between the hours of 11 forenoon & 2 in the afternoon to see if all the men are well lodg'd, clean, & that they all boil the pot, that the barracks are well clean'd, & to order the serjeants to have the mens bedding air'd; the officer also is to visit the sick in [the] hospital & report daily their situation; upon Sundays he is to examine that they are all neat & clean, the detachment paraded & march them to church; the picquet to be relieved daily 'till further orders.

#### Quebec, 13 May 1762

##### Regimental Orders:

Every non commission'd officer or soldier belonging to the detachment who are in town to join their respective company's immediately & none of them are to work to [*sic*: for] merchants or other inhabitants without leave from the General & Major Campbell; a barrack guard to mount tomorrow of 1 serjeant, 1 corporal & 10 privates, to be compos'd of the old men & those who are any ways disabled from exercise.

A return of those men to be given in by each company to the adjutant<sup>26</sup> at 12 o'clock as also a return of masons & carpenters.

As there is plenty of tartan in town & the men are in great want of hose, commanding officers of company's are desired immediately to provide their men in three pairs of good hose.

#### Quebec, 14 May 1762

##### Regimental Orders:

The barrack guard to consist only of a corporal & 6 men.

#### Quebec, 17 May 1762

##### Regimental Orders:

The men of the detachment having apply'd for carts to carry away all the filthiness about the barracks, the payment of which they are willing should be stopt [*sic*, stopped]

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<sup>25</sup> See footnote 4 for information on picquets.

<sup>26</sup> As discussed in footnote 23, the adjutant of the 78<sup>th</sup> Foot at this time was Lieutenant Malcolm Fraser.

out of their subsistence, the quartermaster<sup>27</sup> is desired to find carts which is to be pay'd by the commanding officers of company's.

Evening Orders:

Duncan McIntyr [*sic*: McIntyre], corporal in Major Campbell's Company having resign'd of his own accord, Allan Cameron, soldier of said company, is appointed corporal in his place.

Quebec, 20 May 1762

General Orders:

The garrison to be under arms tomorrow at 10 o'clock on the grand parade, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion to give an execution party of 1 captain, 2 subalterns, 3 serjeants & 50 rank & file to parade half an hour after 9 o'clock.

Regimental Orders:

The officers & men of the detachment to be under arms on the regimental parade in their full uniform tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock; if any man of the detachment sleeps out of the barracks<sup>28</sup> he is to be reported by the orderly serjeant to the orderly officer of the company; those company's who have sick men in hospital are to send their provisions to them every provision day.

Quebec, 24 May 1762

Regimental Orders:

The [five] company's to be under arms for the future at 5 o'clock in the morning 'till further orders. The officer's servants to attend exercise every afternoon along with their company's.

Quebec, 26 May 1762

Evening Orders:

John McDonell of the grenadier company having taken or caused [to] take away the wife of Francois Aubie, it is Major Abercrombie's<sup>29</sup> orders that whosoever soldier of the regiment prevents her husband from having her shall be severely punished.

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<sup>27</sup> The regimental quartermaster, or simply the QM, took charge of the regiment's equipment and stores, the re-supply of food and ammunition as well as the forage for the regimental horses. The quartermaster of the 78<sup>th</sup> Foot at this time was George Gordon; appointed 27 September 1758; resigned 6 January 1763.

<sup>28</sup> This shows that sleeping in the barracks was an option, and that some soldiers had elected to board in town.

<sup>29</sup> Major James Abercrombie, the regiment's first (or senior) major and acting commandant in Colonel Fraser's absence (the absent officers list shows Col. Fraser "gone to England 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1760 by General Amherst's leave"), was commanding the remaining nine-company detachment which garrisoned key villages on the south shore of the St. Lawrence.

St. Michell, 26 May 1762

[signed James Abercrombie]

Major Campbell orders said McDonell to be confin'd in the barrack guard & to be from that transported to the main guard unless the woman is returned to her husband this night, & orders all the non commission'd officers of the detachment to make a strict search for her immediately & if she is not found McDonell will be brought to a General Court Martial.<sup>30</sup>

Quebec, 28 May 1762

Regimental Order:

Two pence sterling to be stopt per week from the men's subsistence that are in hospital; this stoppage to take place from the first time the sick men went to the hospital.<sup>31</sup>

Quebec, 1 June 1762

[General Orders:]

It is his Majesty's pleasure that a list should be given in to the War Office in order to be laid before his Majesty of all the officers of the 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot who have purchas'd their present or any former commissions, distinguishing their regiment in which the purchases were made, the sums paid, that such officers of the detachment in Quebec as have purchased, to give in their names this day to the adjutant in the manner above mentioned.

John Walker of Captain Hugh Fraser's Company having absented himself from his company some days ago without leave, all the detachment are desir'd to make all possible search for him, & if he is found to confine him in the barrack guard in order he may be sent prisoner to his company.

Said Walker is of a fair complexion, five foot three inches high, round visage, blue eyes, fair hair'd; [born in] County of Inverness & Parish of Killmely [*sic*: Kilmally, Lochaber], by trade a labourer.

Quebec, 3 June 1762

[General Orders:]

Tomorrow being His Majesty's birth day, the garrison to be under arms ½ hour after 11 o'clock on the grand parade; to be provided with three cartridges each, the artillery to

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<sup>30</sup> This order, obviously received from Major Abercrombie, was inserted into Captain Nairne's orderly book immediately following the order dated 26 May 1762. Grenadier John McDonnell was stationed with his company outside Quebec in the village of St. Michel on the South Shore of the St. Lawrence when he decided to absent himself - men of Fraser's Highlanders went absent without leave like any other regiment. The following note appears in Malcolm Fraser's orderly book (entry for 26 May 1762) which adds to the entry in Nairne's book: "N.B. The woman run off from her husband [&] was forced to return." This (and other examples) shows that the individual orderly books kept by each captain were not exactly the same. As regimental adjutant, Malcolm kept his own orderly book.

<sup>31</sup> Malcolm Fraser's orderly book entry for this date also adds that the stoppage was made "to buy wine vinegar & that may be thought necessary for the sick."

fire three rounds to be answered by a volley from the troops.<sup>32</sup>

Regimental Orders:

The detachment to be on the regimental parade in their full uniform, the men clean & their hair powdered ¼ before eleven tomorrow forenoon.

After Orders:

Captain Ronald McDonell [*sic*]<sup>33</sup> is appointed to command the grenadier company.

Quebec, 4 June 1762

[General Orders:]

A survey of provisions to be held at the Jesuits College tomorrow at 10 o'clock; for this duty Majors Goodwin & Campbell.

Evening Orders:

It is the Governor's orders that none of the soldiers do presume to break any windows on account of their not being illuminated, as his excellency has exempted the poor people from putting lights in their windows this night.<sup>34</sup>

Quebec, 6 June 1762

[General Orders:]

Every carpenter & mason belonging to the corps in garrison to be sent to Captain Spry<sup>35</sup> tomorrow morning at 6 o'clock to be employ'd in the public works.

Quebec, 7 June 1762

[General Orders:]

Wanted as a foreman in the King's [service or works] a serjeant or a corporal who understands carpentry, as likewise a serjeant or corporal who understands masonry, such

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<sup>32</sup> Malcolm Fraser's orderly book entry for this date expands and clarifies the volleys fired by the troops: "... the artillery to fire three rounds, every round to be answered by a volley from the troops."

<sup>33</sup> Ranald "Raonall Oig" Macdonell, 18th Keppoch; promoted captain, 17 October 1759; captain of the grenadier company, 3 June 1762, replacing Captain Alexander Fraser, *Culduthel*, who had resigned his commission after having been wounded at Sillery; commanded the grenadier company when the regiment was disbanded in December 1763.

<sup>34</sup> On special occasions, the residents of Quebec were ordered to place a lighted candle in their windows at night, and if the windows were not illuminated, the soldiers would break them.

<sup>35</sup> Captain William Spry; commissioned in the Corps of Engineers as a *practitioner engineer* in December 1755; served at the siege of Louisbourg as a *sub engineer*; promoted to *engineer extraordinary*, March 1759. He was Quebec's senior engineering officer in 1762.

by being recommended to Captain Spry may be employed.<sup>36</sup>

Regimental Orders:

A regimental court martial to sit tomorrow at 10 o'clock forenoon at the president's lodging to try John McGibbon, soldier in Captain [Hugh] Cameron's Company, confined by Lieutenant Heathcoat of the Royal Artillery. All evidences to attend. Captain Cameron, president; members: Lieutenant John McDonell, Lieutenant Even Cameron; and Lieutenant McAllester; and Ensign Archibald Fraser.

Quebec, 9 June 1762

Regimental Orders:

Some new shirts, stocks, stockings, a silver watch & other articles which belong'd to the deceas'd Lieutenant John Campbell to be sold on the regimental parade tomorrow at 11 o'clock forenoon, all for ready money [*sic*: cash] & such officers of the detachment as owe any money to the deceas'd will be pleas'd to pay Major Campbell at 12 o'clock tomorrow or else to give him drafts on the paymaster.

Quebec, 10 June 1762

Regimental Orders:

Major Campbell desires the serjeants to acquaint the men that the French people are to have a procession this day & that the men if they choose to see it are to behave decently & take off their bonnets as it passes, & if they don't choose this, they are to stay in their barracks.

Evening Orders:

A regimental court martial to sit tomorrow at 10 o'clock forenoon to try John Warther of Major Campbell's Company, confin'd for stealing a shirt for [*sic*: from] John Douglas, merchant. Captain Cameron, president; members: Lieutenant Menzies; Lieutenant James Fraser; Lieutenant J. Henderson; and Ensign Alexander Fraser.

Quebec, 11 June 1762

After Orders:

The general court martial whereof Major Campbell was president is dissolved. The general court marital having try'd John Trainer, Phillip Sponely & [unclear word] Owen, soldiers of the 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment for the murder of Charles Leheureux, a Canadian, the court finds them guilty & doth adjudge them to suffer death for the same. The Governor approves of the sentence & orders it to be put in execution.

Quebec, 14 June 1762

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<sup>36</sup> Interestingly, the words "may be employed" was crossed out in Malcolm Fraser's orderly book entry for this date.



General Orders:

It is ordered that no soldier goes a fowlling [*sic*]<sup>37</sup> from the garrison without a pass from the Governor.

Quebec, 15 June 1762

Regimental Orders:

Commanding officers of company's are desired to supply their men with the necessary's [which have been] return'd as deficient.

Quebec, 20 June 1762

Regimental Orders:

The men to be out at exercise only once a day except the awkward men & officer's servants who are to attend in the afternoon.<sup>38</sup>

Quebec, 27 June 1762

[General Orders:]

The paymasters of the different regiments to make up their accompts [*sic*: accounts] of subsistence from the 25<sup>th</sup> of June to the 24<sup>th</sup> August & bring in to secretary Cramahe<sup>39</sup> that warrants may be granted for the payment of the same.

Regimental Orders:

Devine Service to be performed by the Reverend Mr. McPherson at the Recollet's Church at 11 o'clock, all the men off duty to attend well dress'd with their side arms.

Quebec, 28 June 1762

[General Orders:]

The Governor has thought it necessary for the better expediating [*sic*: expediting] the King's service & carrying on the public works to put all artificers & labourers belonging to the troops entirely under the command of Captain Spry, Chief Engineer, & he has directed him to erect a picquet in order to punish the idleness, drunkenness, &c., according to the rules & orders of war; this order to be read to the men by an officer at the head of each company.

Quebec, 29 June 1762

General Orders:

An officer of the 78<sup>th</sup> to go immediately aboard the vessel which sails this day on a cruise of four months and examine into the necessary's wanting for the men of that

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<sup>37</sup> Likely fowling - to seek, catch, or kill wildfowl.

<sup>38</sup> No doubt due to the increasing heat.

<sup>39</sup> Hector Theophilus Cramahe was Governor Murray's civil secretary.

regiment on board & make a report to the general.<sup>40</sup>

Quebec, 30 June 1762

Regimental Orders:

The taylor[sic: tailors] of the detachment to be kept off duty & ordered immediately to work to fit the mens cloathing; the company's to draw whose shall be first done.<sup>41</sup>

Quebec, 1 July 1762

General Orders:

The plaids is not to be given out to the men `till further orders & such as have got them to return them immediately.<sup>42</sup>

Quebec, 2 July 1762

Regimental Orders:

No part of the cloathing served out to be worn `till further orders.

Quebec, 3 July 1762

Regimental Orders:

Commanding officers of company's are desired to provide their company's in platters [sic: plates], spoons, and scoops [sic: ladles], the price thereof from their subsistence in order to prevent all further complaints by the want of them for the future. Devine service to be preformed at the Recollet's Church tomorrow morning at 11 o'clock forenoon by the Reverent Mister McPherson.

Quebec, 11 July 1762

Regimental Orders:

It is Major Abercrombie's orders that the plaids lately given the detachment be returned to the quartermaster immediately.

Quebec, 18 July 1762

Regimental Orders:

The guard to be out at exercise every morning at 5 o'clock except Sundays, the men off duty to be under arms Monday's, Wednesday's & Friday's when the officers are to fall in at half an hour after four on those days.

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<sup>40</sup> Presumably, the vessel would anchor close to the various towns where the companies were posted, and determine what surplus material they could spare.

<sup>41</sup> Apparently, the annual replacement uniforms had been received from Great Britain by the quartermaster.

<sup>42</sup> Presumably, the plaids needed some additional work or fitting before they could be properly worn by the men.

Quebec, 24 July 1762

After Orders:

The major orders a return to be made of such coats as have been spoiled by the tailors in order that they may be altered or the tailors made accountable for them.

Quebec, 2 August 1762

Regimental Orders:

Major Campbell orders the detachment to be completed with iron ramrods<sup>43</sup> immediately; he also orders that the non commission'd officers, privates & drummers do wear breast ruffles & that the upper part of the vest coat remain unbuttoned as far as the fifth button.

Quebec, 3 August 1762

After Orders:

A return to be given in tomorrow to the quartermaster of all the men that was up the river [during] summer 1760 with General Murray together with their names belonging to each company.<sup>44</sup>

Quebec, 5 August 1762

General Orders:

Working parties for the Engineers are for the future to parade at 5 o'clock in the morning & work 'till 8, to parade again in the afternoon at 4 o'clock and work 'till 7. Working parties for the Engineers tomorrow: 3 subalterns, 12 serjeants, and 411 men.

Quebec, 6 August 1762

General Orders:

Working party for the Engineers tomorrow: 3 subalterns, 14 serjeants, 1 corporal, 1 drummer, & 450 privates.

Regimental Orders:

The 5 company's in town are ordered to encamp with the rest of the regiment tomorrow morning at 5 o'clock. Such officers as choose it may remain in town 'till further orders.<sup>45</sup>

Quebec, 8 August 1762

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<sup>43</sup> Up until this time, the men were equipped with obsolete wood ramrods.

<sup>44</sup> This was when General Murray took part of his Quebec command, including a detachment of the 78<sup>th</sup>, to move upriver to support General Amherst in the taking of Montreal. Montreal fell on 8 September 1760.

<sup>45</sup> In other words, all fourteen companies would be together, presumably for a muster parade.

General Orders:

Working party for the engineers tomorrow: 2 subalterns, 6 serjeants and 184 privates.<sup>46</sup>

Quebec, 10 August 1762

After General Orders:

The court martial whereof Major Spittal was president is dissolved, it's the opinion of the court martial that Ellias Wolfe and Henry Adrian, soldiers in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion, Royal Americans, tried for robbing Masters Frank & King, merchants in Quebec, are guilty of the robbery and to suffer death for the same. As John Mitchell, soldier in the same Battalion and tried for the same crime, it appears that he has been only accessory to the robbery and not [an] actor therein, the court martial adjudges him to receive 1000 lashes; the Governor approves of the sentence.

Quebec, 12 August 1762

Evening Orders:

A regimental court martial to sit tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock at the president's tent to try John McGrigor, soldier in Captain Alexander Campbell's Company, Captain Cameron, president; members: Lieutenants Alexander Fraser; John McDonell; Allan Stewart; and Archibald MacAllister. All evidence to attend.

Quebec, 16 August 1762

Regimental Orders:

As Doctor McLean has empowered Captain Alexander Campbell to receive the allowance that the officers formerly pay'd him, the captains receipt will be a sufficient voucher to those officers that chose to pay it;<sup>47</sup> the orderly serjeants are to give in to the surgeon morning reports of the sick specifying there names and whither they are in town or in camp.

Quebec, 17 August 1762

General Orders:

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<sup>46</sup> The 78<sup>th</sup> Foot were ordered to furnish "for the engineers tomorrow morning: 1 subaltern, 5 serjeants, and 181 privates."

<sup>47</sup> Surgeon John MacLean had returned to Scotland on 20 October 1761 "by leave of General Amherst" and had delegated Captain Campbell to take care of his affairs in his absence. Interestingly, medical treatment for both officers and men during the Seven Years' War was not free - the men had to pay two shillings a day for admittance to the hospital, intended to offset the cost of medical supplies, but also to act as a deterrent for malingerers. Officers had a sort of rudimentary "medicare" where they could pay a regular fee for future services, rather than a large sum when wounded or falling sick. This fee is explained in this regimental order which confirms that while MacLean was on leave, he was still the regimental surgeon and fully expected to receive his due payments, and designating Captain Alexander Campbell as the officer to whom the payments were to be made. It is likely that MacLean and Campbell were good friends; like MacLean, Campbell was born on the Isle of Mull.

The sentence of the general court martial whereof Major Spittal was president with regard to Ellias Wolfe and Henry Adrian will be put in execution tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

The 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment to give an execution party consisting of one captain, 2 subalterns, 3 serjeants & 50 rank and file; they are to parade at half an hour after 9 o'clock, the three regiments [47<sup>th</sup> Foot; 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion, Royal Americans; and the 78<sup>th</sup> Foot] to be under arms at half an hour after nine o'clock in order to be present at the execution of Elias Wolfe and Andrian ...

Regimental Orders:

When the officers mount guard with men of the regiment they are not to dismiss them in town, but cause a non commiss'd officer [to] march them regularly to camp; the serjeants will be answerable that they march them in good order to camp when relieved of any duty.

Quebec, 21 August 1762

Regimental Orders:

As the Commissary of Musters is daily expected, commanding officers of company's are desired to prepare their muster rolls according to the former orders.<sup>48</sup>

Quebec, 22 August 1762

Regimental Orders:

A regimental court martial to sit tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock at the president's tent to try Donald McIntyre, soldier in Captain Alexander Campbell's Company; Captain John Fraser, president; members: Lieutenants Chisholm; Munroe; Henderson & Alexander Fraser. All evidence to attend.

Quebec, 24 August 1762

General Orders:

The quartermasters of the different corps to attend the deputy quartermaster generals day about and obey such instructions as they shall receive from him, for which purpose they will please call upon him the evening before they are for that duty ...

Evening Orders:

No soldier to lay out of camp for the future with [*sic*: without?] leave from an officer

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<sup>48</sup> The system of regularly mustering troops and keeping muster rolls to prevent fraudulent drawing of pay is as old as the paid soldier, going back into the Middle Ages. At these musters, the numbers of officers and men in the regiment were checked against the muster roll and their arms and accoutrements were inspected. The Commissary General's office was also responsible for ensuring that officers were properly commissioned to the rank for which they drew pay and that they did not exceed the permitted period of leave. Until the Commissary General had certified that the muster was correct, the Paymaster General would not issue pay to the regiment.

under pain of being severely punished.<sup>49</sup>

Quebec, 25 August 1762

Regimental Orders:

Serjeant Clark of Major Abercrombie's Company is appointed to Captain Hugh Fraser's Company, in room of Serjeant Tulloch who is removed to Major Abercrombie's Company.<sup>50</sup>

Quebec, 26 August 1762

Regimental Order:

The first 80 men of the 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment recommended from Canada past [*sic*: passed] the Board the 25<sup>th</sup> March 1761, and those sent last year past [*sic*: passed] the 11<sup>th</sup> September 1761.<sup>51</sup>

Quebec, 27 August 1762

General Orders:

The 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment, 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion, Royal Americans, to be under arms tomorrow at 11 o'clock in the forenoon in order to be mustered; the 78<sup>th</sup> to mount all the guards tomorrow; two serjeants, 2 corporals and 40 private men to parade this day at 12 o'clock without arms, with 14 days provisions, camp kettles, and necessary's to be commanded by Lieutenant More of the 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment; this party to consist of such men as have been accustomed to boats; Serjeant Ireland of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion [to be] one of the serjeants for this duty.

Quebec, 28 August 1762

General Orders:

The 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment & 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion [Royal Americans] to take the guards tomorrow, the 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment to be under arms on Monday next at 6 o'clock in the morning in order to be mustered.<sup>52</sup>

Regimental Orders:

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<sup>49</sup> This requirement is likely because of the pending muster roll.

<sup>50</sup> It would be interesting to learn why the two sergeants were exchanged.

<sup>51</sup> In other words, they passed the Pension Board (or Chelsea Board) as being medically unfit for duty. Lord John Murray of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Foot would sometimes attend the Board when his own returned invalids were being inspected at Chelsea: "*London Intelligencer*, 27-29 March 1759, p.1: *Tuesday, Lord John Murray ordered a dinner at The Cock, in Duke Street, Westminster, to be made ready for upwards of fourscore [80] Highlanders, who had been wounded and maimed in North America; and his Lordship went up to the Board where the whole were passed, and admitted to his Majesty's Royal Bounty of Chelsea.*"

<sup>52</sup> The 78<sup>th</sup> were mustered on Monday, 30 August 1762.

The regiment to be under arms on Monday morning half an hour after 5 o'clock in the front of the camp ...

Quebec, 29 August 1762

Regimental Orders:

A party of one serjeant, one corporal and 2 men [from] each mess to be ordered to the wood for spruce to make beds for the men, and the old straw to be turned out of camp; and the tents aired and the camp cleaned out when the wind falls.

Quebec, 30 August 1762

Regimental Orders:

Commanding officers of company's to attend the Muster Master immediately at the orderly room.

Quebec, 31 August 1762

Regimental Orders:

Such officers as have not had their commissions entered by the Muster Master, to give them in to the adjutant in order to be entered by [Muster] Master Pitcher this day.<sup>53</sup>

Quebec, 1 September 1762

Regimental Orders:

Commanding officers of company's are to receive from the paymaster one 100 pound currency each to furnish their mess with any small necessary's they may want on their going onto their quarters; they may call for this money anytime after tomorrow; officers who have not received their arrears will please call for them as soon as they conveniently can; the paymaster is ready today, officers may have their subsistence to the 24<sup>th</sup> of October 1762.

Quebec, 2 September 1762

General Orders:

The camp to break up tomorrow and the Fraser's to march to their former quarters except the 5 company's under the command of Major Campbell belonging to the garrison who are to remain in camp 'till further orders ... Boats will attend at the landing place near the burnt church at 7 o'clock in the morning to ferry over the six company's of the 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment ... all the artificers belong to the different regiments employed with the Engineers are to remain with them 'till further orders, but the serjeants employed as foremen are to return to their corps.

Regimental Orders:

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<sup>53</sup> See footnote 47 for an explanation as to why the officers were required to have their commissions entered.

... Captains Arch. Campbell's, John Nairn's and Hugh Fraser's Company's to march tomorrow morning & leave their tents standing;<sup>54</sup> the men belonging to those company's who are on duty to be relieved by men from the 5 company's formerly in garrison this afternoon; the two serjeants first for detachment to remain and do duty with the 5 company's in garrison 'till further orders.

Major Campbell orders that the bedding belonging to his detachment be immediately delivered out to the women<sup>55</sup> of the different company's in order to be washed and they are to ready against Monday morning to be delivered to the men; a serjeant of each company to attend the quartermaster at the barracks at one o'clock to distribute the bedding among the women; no fatigue this afternoon; a serjeant who can talk French to cross to Point Levi and provide carriages for three company's that are to march tomorrow.

#### Evening Orders:

An officer and 30 men from the Colonel's, Major Abercrombie's & Captain Alexander Campbell's Company's to take charge of the boats and ferry over the 3 company's who cross the River the morrow's morning; for this duty, Ensign John McPherson; the men of the company's who march off are to secure their camp kettles and deliver them to the quartermaster serjeant.

#### Quebec, 3 September 1762

##### Regimental Orders:

An officer & one serjeant, one corporal & 15 private men of the 5 company's in garrison to parade tomorrow morning at 6 o'clock in order to clean out the barracks ...

#### Quebec, 5 September 1762

##### General Orders:

In order to save his Majesty's ammunition, the Governor has been pleased to dispense with firing of evening guns for the future, and orders that the drummers of the port guards [to] beat the apale [*sic*] upon the ramparts half an hour before sunset.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Presumably, three companies were marched out of the encampment to garrison the Government of Trois Rivieres.

<sup>55</sup> A total of six "married" women were normally permitted in each company (i.e. on the regiment's establishment and therefore entitled to rations). Simply referred to in the orderly books of the day as the "women," they tended to be common-in law wives of the more senior enlisted men, such as sergeants and corporals, and were expected to perform a myriad of chores ranging from cooking and sewing to nursing and laundering in exchange for their government rations. Some enterprising regimental women who wished to make money on the side set themselves up as sutlers, acting as money-changers or selling small luxury items not provided by the army such as: "rolled tobacco, tobacco leaf, Scots snuff, hard soap, lump sugar, ordinary smoking pipes, Dutch pipes, threads, needles, pins, tapes, flannels, coarse woolen cloths, nails, bolts, etc. etc."

<sup>56</sup> All duties in a camp or garrison were regulated by the beat of a drum and many of the drumbeats date back to Cromwell's army during the English Civil War. It is believed the word "apale" is a corruption of the French word "appel" which was the French name for one of their official drum beatings. The "appel" was akin to what the British called "ruffles" and could be used for many things



Quebec, 6 September 1762

Regimental Orders:

The 5 company's to go to their barracks at one o'clock this day, the tents to be delivered to the quartermaster in order to be put up in store, with the other tents of the regiment & the men to be march'd by an officer per company to the barracks without entering the town. A regimental court martial to sit this afternoon at 4 o'clock to try Donald Cameron, soldier of Major Campbell's Company; all evidence to attend. Captain John Fraser, president; members: Lieutenants John McDonell; Even Cameron; MacAlister; and Alexander Fraser, grenadiers. Corporal Lachlan Irving of Captain Simon Fraser's Company, having been reduced by the sentence of a garrison court martial, John Ferguson of Major Campbell's Company is appointed corporal in his room and to be obeyed as such.

Quebec, 7 September 1762

Regimental Orders:

An officer, one serjeant, one corporal, and 25 private men to mount at picquet this night, and the officer is to visit the hospital and barracks & make a report as formerly; for picquet this night Lieutenant Alexander Fraser, Senior.

Quebec, 13 September 1762

Regimental Orders:

All the officers & men of the detachment off duty to be under arms tomorrow morning at 6 o'clock on the regimental parade.

Quebec, 14 September 1762

General Orders:

The commander-in-chief<sup>57</sup> has been pleased to appoint Mr. Maban to do the duty as surgeon to this garrison.

Quebec, 19 September 1762

Evening Regimental Orders:

Commanding officers of company's are desired to give in a return of such men as by wounds, old age or otherwise, are unfit to do garrison duty during the winter in order that they may be sent to the country; these returns to be given in this night at picquet mounting.

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to capture the attention of the troops. In this case, because it is being ordered half an hour before sunset, it served to replace the gun going off to signal it was time for beating retreat and calling the soldiers back from town before lights out (thanks to Ian McCulloch for this piece of information). As the order was issued as a "General Order" it would have applied to the drummers from all three British regiments in garrison. It is interesting to speculate that all drum beatings in Quebec may have been assigned French names, perhaps to appease the local French-speaking residents.

<sup>57</sup> Major General Jeffrey Amherst, with headquarters in New York.

Quebec, 20 September 1762

Regimental Orders:

A regimental court martial to sit this day at 12 o'clock at the president's lodging to try John McTwain, soldier in Captain Simon Fraser's Company; all evidence to attend. Captain Cameron, president; members: Lieutenants John McDonell; Evan Cameron, [Archibald] MacAllister & A. Fraser, grenadiers.

Quebec, 21 September 1762

General Orders:

The morrow being his Majesty's Coronation Day the garrison to be under arms, on the grand parade, at 12 o'clock; each man to be provided with three rounds; the troops to fire 3 volleys and the artillery one round.

Advertisement:

Disserted from his Majesty's 44<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot and Lieutenant Candles Company, now lying in Montreal viz:

Edward Brown, 26 years of age, five foot 4 inches high, ruddy complexion, round visage, black eyes, red hair; born in Cork in Ireland; by calling, a labourer; went off in his regimentals.

Matthew Collings, 26 years of age, five foot four inches high, brown complexion, round visage, grey eyes, brown hair; born in Cork in Ireland; by calling, a labourer; his dress not known.

Thomas Williamson, 23 years of age, five foot five inches high, fair complexion, long visage, gray eyes, brown hair; born in Maidenhead, East Jersey; by trade, a weaver; went off in his regimentals; Major Beckwith's Company.

William Lewis, 23 years of age, five foot eight inches high, swarthy complexion, long visage, brown hair; born in North America in the County of Maryland in Talburd.

John Truman, 27 years of age, five foot 6 inches high, brown complexion, long visage, brown hair; born in North America in the County of Nornile, Maryland.

John Burrage, 24 years of age, five foot seven inches high, brown complexion, lean visage, brown hair; born in North America in the County of Philadelphia.

N.B. It is not known what dress the three latter went off in as they left cloathing in their quarters; however [*sic*: whoever] apprehend the said deserters so that the regiment may have them again shall receive 20 shillings reward for each. Signed, John Beckwith, Major 44<sup>th</sup> Regiment.

Deserted from his Majesty's 60<sup>th</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion, Royal American Regiment & Colonel Smith's Company from Trois Rivieres the 7<sup>th</sup> September 1762, David Cows, aged 32 years, five foot ten inches high, dark complexion, dark brown hair, brown eyes, smooth face; born in Germany, no trade; was formerly in the French service; spoke French, German and broken English; had on when he went away a pair of half boots & a bayonet; however [*sic*:

whoever] apprehends the said deserter and delivers him up to any officer commanding a post or cantonment, shall receive the reward allowed by the act of Parliament. Signed Lieutenant Material, acting town major.

Quebec, 22 September 1762

General Orders;

When as the Governor has thought proper to exempt the inhabitants from illuminations, the soldiers therefore are strictly forbid from breaking any windows.

After Orders:

The garrison to be under arms tomorrow on the grand parade to rejoice for the success of his Majesty's arms in the taking of the Havana [Cuba]; each man to be provided with 3 cartridges and the artillery to fire one round; orders are given that the houses are to be illuminated.

Quebec, 30 September 1762

Regimental Orders:

A return to be given in this day to Mr. McPherson of all the invalids belonging to the five company's in town wherein they will include those sent to the Continent; these returns to be signed by commanding officers of company's.

At 9 o'clock at night the rolls of each company to be called by a serjeant & corporal & that serjeant & corporal is also every morning before guard mounting to inspect all the mens cloathing, arms, ammunition, necessary's &c. and to include the same in a written report they are to give in every day to the officer of the picquet at 12 o'clock when he visits the barracks together with everything that passes in the company for 24 hours past; the officer of the picquet to report the same to the commanding officer daily; every officer of each company to inspect all the cloathing, arms, ammunition, linen & all other necessary's belonging to the company once a week & report the same in writing to the commanding officer of the company who is to report the same to the major every Monday; for the future all reports to be made in writing.

Quebec, 1 October 1762

Regimental Orders:

All the tailors of the detachment to have a room cleared in the barracks & be exempted from duty Monday next to work and make 16 watch coats for the four company's and 20 for the grenadiers;<sup>58</sup> Serjeant Campbell<sup>59</sup> to inspect the whole, and be answerable that the watch coats be properly made according to the pattern to be given in by the

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<sup>58</sup> As can be seen by this order, the grenadier company was in garrison in Quebec at this time. A watchcoat, or greatcoat, was typically made of wool, designed for warmth and protection against the weather.

<sup>59</sup> Likely one of the quartermaster sergeants.

quartermaster.

Quebec, 4 October 1762

General Orders:

John Elisha, soldier in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion [Royal Americans] confin'd by Captain Spry, having been tried by a garrison court martial is acquitted.

Quebec, 6 October 1762

Regimental Orders:

A return to be given in to the adjutant at picquet mounting this night of such men of the detachment as are unfit for any kind of duty.

Quebec, 10 October 1762

Regimental Orders:

All the men off duty to attend divine service at 11 o'clock at the Recollet's [Church].

Quebec, 12 October 1762

General Orders:

The muster rolls to be prepared for 183 days from the 25<sup>th</sup> April 1762 to the 24<sup>th</sup> October & allowing both days inclusive.

Regimental Orders:

The serjeant who oversees the tailors is to make a report to the quartermaster this day of the work done hitherto, and to report daily in writing the work they will do 'till the men's winter cloathing is finished, and if they are found negligent they will be severely punished.

Quebec, 13 October 1762

Regimental Orders:

None of the men to wear breeches, stockings, or any thing but their regimentals while on duty 'till such time as uniform dress be ordered for the winter, and the serjeants to be answerable that this order is complied with; commanding officers of company's are to review the stocking and caps of their company's, and make a return of what is deficient to complete them to two pair stockings and one cap for each man.<sup>60</sup>

Quebec, 14 October 1762

Regimental Order:

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<sup>60</sup> Presumably, the caps were intended for winter wear.

Captain Cameron orders that none of the musick [*sic*: musicians]<sup>61</sup> attend any officer or other person without leave from him.

Quebec, 16 October 1762

General Orders:

Found yesterday between Quebec & John Thomas's House at the Governor's old farm, a pair of silver shoe buckles; whoever has lost the same may apply to the town serjeant; given the marks may have them again.

Regimental Orders:

As the watch coats are to be distributed this day, the company's are to send one to each of the men on guard, and the guard to mount tomorrow in little kilts; and the watch coats to be afterwards carried to the different guards by the camp colourman of each company.

Quebec, 17 October 1762

Regimental Orders:

Commanding officers of company's to complete their men in caps, stockings & mittens against [*sic*: by] Saturday night the 24<sup>th</sup> when they are to be measured by the quartermaster who is to make a report of the whole to Captain Cameron.

Quebec, 18 October 1762

General Orders:

Whereas double rations were ordered for the officers in the [Montreal] government in consequence of the information from the deputy quartermaster general at Montreal that some had been issued to the corps in that government for some time past. The Governor thinks proper to insert in the orders a paragraph of a letter he had the honour to receive this day from the commander-in-chief on that subject, viz: There is some mistake in the officers of the Montreal government being allowed double rations. I don't recollect I have ever permitted more than single rations during the summer. The winter six months, the officers of each rank have stated as have been given in General Orders. I shall write to Major General Gage about it, that he may conform to what the rest of the army do.

Quebec, 22 October 1762

General Orders:

The 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment to take the guards tomorrow and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion, Royal Americans to be mustered the 24<sup>th</sup> at 8 o'clock in the morning; the 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment at 10

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<sup>61</sup> It would appear that the regimental musicians were hiring themselves out within the detachment and around the town, and Cameron was losing control. Possibly, the musicians of the 78<sup>th</sup> all reported to Captain Cameron, so this order would apply to all five Fraser companies in the detachment. Interestingly, the word "musick" was used, rather than pipers or drummers, so perhaps other instruments were involved.

o'clock & the 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment at 4 in the afternoon.

Regimental Orders:

The muster rolls to be ready this evening; such of the musick [*sic*: musicians] belonging to the company's in town to parade with their company's for the muster in their regimentals.<sup>62</sup>

Quebec, 23 October 1762

Regimental Orders:

The detachment to be on the regimental parade tomorrow afternoon in their full uniform; precisely at 4 o'clock all the artificers are to join their company's for the muster.

After General Orders:

One captain and 4 subalterns are immediately to go down to the wharf and take a survey of the bedding and stores arrived from New York for the use of the garrison.

Quebec, 24 October 1762

Regimental Orders:

Tomorrow being his Majesty's ascension the garrison to be under arms on the grand parade at 12 o'clock; each man to be provided with 3 cartridges and the artillery to fire one round.

Quebec, 28 October 1762

General Orders:

The regiments to receive sheets from the barrack master and to pay the same price for washing as was paid in Halifax.

Regimental Orders:

The corps of the detachment when on duty are by no means to allow the sentries be relieved except in their presence when they are to take care that the orders are properly delivered; and such as shall neglect this order shall be try'd by a court martial.

Quebec, 30 October 1762

After Orders:

Her Majesty been delivered of a prince of Wales the 12<sup>th</sup> of August last, the garrison to be under arms tomorrow at 12 o'clock on the grand parade to rejoice for that happy

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<sup>62</sup> Like the entry on 14 October, this entry uses the term "musick" or musicians, and not specifically pipers or drummers. There is some evidence that the 42<sup>nd</sup> Foot had a band as Captain Edmund Wells of the 4<sup>th</sup> Connecticut Regiment, writing from Fort Edward in September 1756, was moved to record in his diary that the Highland Regiment arrived with "drum, trumpets and bagpipes going, sounding sweetly." There is also a reference to a band in the 78<sup>th</sup> which was led by a "master of the band" named MacArthur.

event & afterwards to march to church; each man to be provided with three cartridges and the artillery to fire one round.

Quebec, 1 November 1762

Regimental Orders:

Such of the officers of the detachment as have not provided themselves in black spatterdashes, to give in their names to the quartermaster who will be directed by Captain Cameron where the cloath is to be had.<sup>63</sup>

Quebec, 4 November 1762

General Orders:

The commander-in-chief has been pleased to appoint Ensign Archibald Fraser as a lieutenant in the room of Lieutenant McNeill, deceased.

Quebec, 6 November 1762

Regimental Orders:

A nurse being wanted for the hospital, any woman who is willing to serve as such shall receive 6 pence per day and a ration, and she is to give in her name to the sergeant major this day.

Evening Regimental Orders:

All the men off duty of the detachment to attend divine service tomorrow at the usual hour with their side arms, well dressed; a return to be made of the caps, stockings & mittens & a return of the same to be made to [Captain] Cameron before going to church.

Quebec 7 November 1762

Evening Regimental Orders:

The guards to mount tomorrow and 'till further orders in breeches and stockings and the breeches to be delivered this night to the men warned for guard tomorrow.

After General Orders:

The morrow being appointed a day of thanksgiving for the great success of his Majesty's arms & the birth of a Prince; the troops to parade and march to church the same as on Sundays and at the usual hour.

Quebec, 9 November 1762

General Orders:

Whereas there is frequent robberies & irregularity's committed by allowing the

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<sup>63</sup> Spatterdashes are leggings or gaiters, used to protect the legs from walking hazards "that may happen by briars, stumps of trees, or underwood, etc. in marching through a close, woody country."

soldiers to work for the inhabitants, it is therefore ordered for the future that no soldier have leave to work either for English or French inhabitants on any pretence whatsoever.

Regimental Orders:

Commanding officers of such company's as are not completed in [winter] caps, stockings & mittens are desired to complete them immediately.

Quebec, 10 November 1762

Regimental Orders:

All the men of this detachment who are employed with merchants or other inhabitants are to join their company's immediately.

Quebec, 12 November 1762

Regimental Orders:

No officer to employ the tailors at work 'till the men's winter cloathing are made without Captain Cameron's leave; such of the officers as want black gaiters to give in their names to the quartermaster this afternoon.

Quebec, 13 November 1762

Regimental Orders:

The men's gaiters to be cut by the tailors immediately; commanding officers of company's then to receive their proportions who are to employ French women to sew them as fast as possible according to the pattern already given in; commanding officers of company's to give in a return this afternoon to the quartermaster of the deficiency's of flannel socks in their company's.

Quebec, 14 November 1762

Regimental Orders:

As the men may have lamp oyl [*sic*: oil] from the [quartermaster] stores, they will provide themselves in wicks & lamps; the soldiers in the higher barrack rooms must for the future cut their wood in the lower passage rooms.

Quebec, 17 November 1762

Regimental Orders:

The detachment to be completed in two pair good socks & those who choose to provide themselves to have them ready, to be reviewed on Saturday next at 10 o'clock; such of the officers as have not provided themselves in black cloath for gaiters may have it by applying to Donald McLean, tailor, in Captain John Fraser's Company.

**[Editor's Note: A few folio pages are missing from Nairne's Orderly Book. These pages cover six entries: 19 to 26 November 1762.]**



Quebec, 28 November 1762

General Orders:

The 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment to take the guards tomorrow & the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion to take it on Tuesday.

Regimental Orders:

Complaints having lately been made to Captain Cameron that some of the non commission'd officers and men of the detachment had imposed on some merchants and others in town & taken up goods in credit, which they are not able to pay it, & as this wants very much to the discredit of the regiment, it is ordered for the future that no non commission'd officer or private man presumes to be guilty of any such impositions for the future, otherwise they may depend on being most severely punished, and if a non commission'd officer, they will not only be reduced to the ranks but shall also receive such corporal punishment as a court martial shall judge suitable to their crime.

Quebec, 29 November 1762

Regimental Orders:

The general having been so good as to free the detachment from duty tomorrow being St. Andrew's Day, any man who is seen drunk or behaving in an indecent manner may depend on being punished & if any such thing should happen it will be a disgrace to the corps & proven their being indulged in anything in this kind for the future, this is [to] be read at picquet mounting this evening; the drum major is appointed to Captain John Fraser's Company & to get a proportion of wood, &c. as a drummer in that company.

Quebec, 3 December 1762

Regimental Orders:

Notwithstanding of the repeated orders already given against any liquor being sold by the women of the detachment, Captain [Cameron] observes that they still continue that pernicious practice, it is therefore one [*sic*: once] more ordered that no man or woman do upon any pretence whatsoever sell any kind of spiritous liquor in small or great quantities & if anyone is detected in disobeying this order they shall not only forfeit the liquor but the person so detected may depend on being most severely punished; and if a woman, shall be sent to the main guard to be tried & punished by the hands of the hangman, and thereafter expelled [from] the regiment; and as it is believed some unlucky accident which have lately happened which occasioned merely by the abominable practice of given credit to the men for drink, Captain Cameron further declares that no man in the detachment shall be obliged to pay any debts which he can make appear for drink after the date of this order; the above to be read to each company this evening; an officer per company to review the gaiters on Sunday next and report if they are complete that the men may have these on Sunday next.

Quebec, 6 December 1762

Regimental Orders:

The flannel waistcoats to be given out to the men by the quartermaster to the company's this day, a serjeant per company to attend to receive them at the hour he shall appoint.

Quebec, 8 December 1762

General Orders:

One corporal and four private men with arms and ammunition to parade immediately at the town majors quarters with two days provisions; the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion gives one corporal and two privates & the 78<sup>th</sup> two privates.

... It is with great surprise the Governor hears that the King's blankets and sheets aren't made use of by the soldiers by carrying one pack; it is a reproach to the officers to allow such practice and he orders that it may not be done for the future.

Quebec, 17 December 1762

Regimental Orders:

It is Major Abercombie's orders that commanding officers of company's do stop off their company's and pay in to Serjeant Major Shaw the debts due by the different men in the company's to him.<sup>64</sup>

Quebec, 20 December 1762

General Orders:

His Majesty has been pleased to appoint ... and Lieutenant Hugh Montgomery of the 77<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot is to be captain in the 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot in room of Captain Simon Fraser promoted;<sup>65</sup> Ensign Archibald Fraser [Culbokie] to be lieutenant in the said regiment in room of Lieutenant [Alexander] Gregorson, retired, and Allan Cameron<sup>66</sup> to be

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<sup>64</sup> It seems that an additional stoppage on the men's daily pay was used to pay off their company debts. Over the period 1740-1793, a soldier's pay was eight pence per day, but he did not see this amount: the paymaster held back two pence "off-reckonings" to cover army expenses and to provide the regimental clothing and accoutrements; and subtracted six pence per week in "arrears" to meet company expenses. Ideally, then, a soldier would hope to "take home" £9. 2s. 6d. a year. Soldiers were also subject to fines for infractions of dress and discipline, usually assessed by regimental court martial, which further depressed their incomes. The stoppages made from a soldier's gross pay to provide him with necessaries, however, provided a potential source of discontent.

<sup>65</sup> Hugh Montgomery (or Montgomerie) was initially gazetted a lieutenant, 21 July 1757, in one of the three Additional Companies of the 77<sup>th</sup> Foot. He appears to have been promoted captain retro-active to 2 June 1762 in the 78<sup>th</sup> Foot for he was still listed as a lieutenant in Montgomery's Highlanders on William Amherst's list of officers who participated in the recapture of St. John's, Newfoundland, two months later. He was in command of a company when the 78<sup>th</sup> was disbanded in 1763. He succeeded his cousin Archie Montgomery to become the 12<sup>th</sup> Earl of Eglinton.

<sup>66</sup> Allan Cameron, a gentleman volunteer gazetted ensign, 23 June 1762. Gentleman volunteers were essentially gentlemen of good birth (but of "no means" and thus unable to purchase a commission) who were given permission to serve with a regiment "with a view to obtaining a vacancy

ensign in room of Fraser.

Quebec, 27 December 1762

General Orders:

It is ordered that no rations be issued out for the future to the women, excepting those who are objects of charity & cannot possibly subsist without it; certificates for those objects to be given in by the commanding officers of company's & sent to the deputy quartermaster general that provisions may be ordered for them.<sup>67</sup>

Quebec, 28 December 1762

General Orders:

A soldier of the 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment having found a watch some days ago, any person who shall give the marks of it and it his property may have it on applying to the serjeant major of the detachment.

Quebec, 29 December 1762

General Orders:

In justice to the service and the soldier of the 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment confined by Captain Bayard<sup>68</sup> for stopping him in the night of the 26<sup>th</sup> instant, because he had not a lanthorn [*sic*: lantern];<sup>69</sup> the Governor thinks it necessary to have his approbation<sup>70</sup> of the said soldier's conduct inserted in the general orders of the garrison and to repeat that a sentry is to know no man in the night but by the countersign, and as it is order'd that every inhabitant who have not a lanthorn are to be stopped and to be lodged in the nearest guard, &c. &c.; officers who have not lanthorns are liable to be stopped by the sentry and patrols, and sent to the nearest guard where, when it is known who they are, they will of course be dismissed by the officer commanding the said guard.

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in the officer corps when disease or a bullet created one." They carried muskets and marched with the rank and file, "but dined and socialized with the officers." They were usually carried on the establishment as supernumeraries.

<sup>67</sup> An extremely harsh order which cannot be explained at this time.

<sup>68</sup> Captain Robert Bayard, 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion, 60<sup>th</sup> Foot (Royal Americans).

<sup>69</sup> To minimize robberies and other crimes during the night, it was forbidden to walk in the streets of Quebec without a lantern, torch, or candle, and by at least 1762, applicable to both local inhabitants as well as British officers and men. This stems, at least with respect to local inhabitants, from a standing order issued in Quebec, 3 November 1759: "No French inhabitants to be allowed to walk up the ramparts or batteries at any time, nor are they to be in the streets after dark without a lanthorn; after taptoe [*sic*: tattoo] beating all French inhabitants found in the streets are to be made prisoners ... [Reference: Captain Robert Bayard's Orderly Book, Quebec, 24 September 1759 - 27 February 1760, 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion, 60<sup>th</sup> Foot (Royal Americans).]

<sup>70</sup> Approbation - approval or praise.

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18 August 2020