

The Army from Canada commanded by Lieutenant-General John Burgoyne, 1777 His Majesty's General Hospital¹

Physician—

Doctor Robert Knox, M.D.²

Purveyor—

Surgeon William Barr, Esq.³

Surgeons—

Surgeon John McNamara Hayes⁴

Surgeon John Weir⁵

Apothecaries—

Mr. Richard Monington⁶

Surgeon Vincent Wood⁷

Hospital Mates—

Mr. William Menzies⁸

Mr. Andrew Grieve⁹

Mr. Robert Kerr¹⁰

Mr. George Shepherd¹¹

Mr. Richard Woodthorp¹²

Mr. Thomas Prendergast¹³

Mr. Benjamin Shield¹⁴

Mr. Charles Kerr¹⁵

Mr. Alexander Grant¹⁶

Mr. John de Courcy Gill¹⁷

Mr. Essex Bowen¹⁸

Hospital Mates on detached service—

Mr. Robert Bloxham¹⁹ (British Grenadier Battalion)

Mr. William Bourke²⁰ (British Light Infantry Battalion)

Hospital Extra (additional) Mates—

Mr. Edward Salmon²¹

Mr. John Park²²

Clerks—

Joshua Covell²³

Surgery Men—

John Blount²⁴

Nurses—

“15 Nurses,” “four Nurses”²⁵

Storekeepers and orderly men—

“ten men from the Provincials”²⁶

¹ His Majesty's General Hospital of the Canada Army, commanded by General Sir Guy Carleton (commander-in-chief and Governor Province of Québec, Territories depending thereon, and the Frontiers), consisted of the following staff in 1777: Physician to the Forces, Physician-General, and Inspector of Hospitals Dr. Robert Knox, M.D., Physician and Inspector of Regimental Infirmaries Dr. Hugh Kennedy, M.D., Purveyor and Surgeon William Barr, Surgeons Pannel Cole, John McNamara Hayes, and John Weir, Apothecaries Surgeon David Caldwell, [Surgeon?] Richard Monington, and Surgeon Vincent Wood. The hospital also consisted of 20 hospital mates and five extra mates, as well as other support staff. The general hospital had the final say in a department's medical matters, and had authority over regimental surgeons and mates. Regarding the disposition of the hospital command staff in Canada, Hayes wrote "Cole is well he has been at Montreal—D^r Knox also there—Kennedy at Quebec, where his assuming disposition has justly acquired him the contempt & Hatred of every person. The Whole Hospital Staff have sent him to Coventry [i.e., ostracized], where he will remain, were he to be with them for Seven Years" (Hayes to Charles Mellish, MP, Québec, 16 Apr 1777). Further, Hayes later confirmed Surgeon Cole would remain "in Canada" during the expedition (Hayes to Mellish, Montréal, 8 June 1777).

² "**Doctor Robert Knox** to be Physician to the Forces in North America 1st. Jan., 1776" (general orders, Halifax, 19 May 1776). Knox was also Inspector of Hospitals (appointed 14 January 1777), Physician-General of the Province of Québec, Territories depending thereon, and the Frontiers, and Physician-General of the Army from Canada. Knox attended the Army from Canada as far as the hospital he established at Mount Independence, returning to Montréal in September due to an "intermitting Fever" (WO 1/11/206-207; my thanks to Don Hagist for supplying photographs of the original letter). He was the Army from Canada's allotted physician, its only official to hold a M.D., and (despite references by military officers to the contrary) the Army from Canada's only doctor.

³ "**Surgeon William Barr** to be Purveyor to an [sic] Hospital for the Forces in North America 1st. Jan., 1776" (general orders, Halifax, 19 May 1776). The Army from Canada had no allotment for the Canada Hospital's purveyor; nevertheless, Barr was not listed on the 3 June 1777 return of the remaining Canada Hospital department staff and therefore must have been present with the Army from Canada. Surgeon John Weir implied that Barr was present with the Army from Canada as near as the end of the campaign when he wrote "The Purveyor having gone from Saratoga to Canada, General Burgoyne ordered me to take the charge of the Hospital Accounts and to employ a Clerke" (Weir to Major-General William Phillips, Cambridge, MA, 7 May 1778). Barr could have left Saratoga after the army initially arrived there in mid September or before the 17 October surrender, although Weir's letter implies it was during the latter period. Because Barr was not enumerated on the 24 October 1777 officer exchange list, he was not present when the army surrendered and therefore left for Canada beforehand. Barr was enumerated on the 3 November 1777 Canada Hospital staff list (at Montréal).

⁴ "**John Hayes** to be Surgeon 1st. Jan., 1776" (general orders, Halifax, 19 May 1776). Hayes was captured with His Majesty's Hospital, 9 Oct 1777 (Horatio Gates Papers, r18/988); also captured with Hayes was "Peter Drummond servt to Mr Hayes." Hayes was one of two surgeons allotted to the Army from Canada.

⁵ "**John Weir** to be Surgeon 1st. Jan., 1776" (general orders, Halifax, 19 May 1776). Upon the hospital purveyor leaving Burgoyne's army during the campaign, Weir became acting purveyor of the Army from Canada: "The Purveyor having gone from Saratoga to Canada, General Burgoyne ordered me to take the charge of the Hospital Accounts and to employ a Clerke. The time of acting promised to be so short and the state of affairs appeared so improper to apply for an allowance to this appointment, that I declined mentioning it to the General. As the duty is attended with a good deal of trouble and some expense, I have to request you will be so good as to take it into consideration and grant such allowance as you may think proper" (Weir to Major-General William Phillips, Cambridge, MA, 7 May 1778; Phillips to General Sir William Howe, Cambridge, MA, 10 May 1778); in a letter dated Cambridge, MA, 16 Nov 1778, Lieutenant William Collier (Royal Regiment of Artillery and secretary to Phillips) titled Weir as "Chief Surgeon to the General Hospital" of the Convention Army (Weir was the only hospital surgeon remaining by that point). In reaction to learning of Hayes's exchange and permission given by Clinton for his going to England, Phillips stated that "one Surgeon General is sufficient and Mr. Weir will remain." (Phillips to General Sir Henry Clinton, Cambridge, 20 Oct 1778). Weir was one of two surgeons allotted to the Army from Canada.

⁶ As **Richard Monington** was not listed on the 3 June 1777 return of the remaining Canada Hospital department staff, he was present with the Army from Canada. Because he was enumerated on the 3 November 1777 list (at Ticonderoga), he must have been left behind with the hospital at Mount Independence (or another hospital facility) and was eventually detached from Burgoyne's main force, allowing for his return to Canada. The 5 January 1778 hospital staff list placed Monington at Montréal. Monington was in a precarious position: prior to serving with His Majesty's Hospital, he was regimental surgeon to the 69th Regiment of Foot but nevertheless did not rate the position of hospital surgeon. Monington was one of two apothecaries allotted to the Army from Canada.

⁷ "**Vincent Wood** to be Surgeon 1st. Jan., 1776" (general orders, Halifax, 19 May 1776). Wood signed the Cambridge Parole of Honor, 13 Dec 1777, identifying himself as "Acting Physician." Because no general order to

the army officially replaced Knox as the Army from Canada's medical department head, and given that hospital surgeon commission dates for Hayes, Weir, and Wood were equal, it's unclear how Wood came to title himself. However, as Hayes was a prisoner of war (not part of the Saratoga Convention) by that point, and Weir, unexplainably, did not sign the Cambridge Parole of Honor, it may be that Wood was acting physician by default. See Burgoyne to President of Congress Henry Laurens, Cambridge, 11 Feb 1778, regarding pass applications for "Dr. Wood" and other principle staff officers to leave the Convention Army on Parole. Wood was one of two apothecaries allotted to the Army from Canada, and although a surgeon in his own right, was apparently not counted toward that army's surgeon allotment.

⁸ **Menzies** was captured with His Majesty's General Hospital, 9 Oct 1777 (Horatio Gates Papers, r18/988) and subsequently included on a pass signed by Hayes dated c. Jan 1778 (Horatio Gates Papers).

⁹ **Grieve** was captured with His Majesty's General Hospital, 9 Oct 1777 (Horatio Gates Papers, r18/988) and subsequently included on a pass signed by Hayes dated c. Jan 1778 (Horatio Gates Papers).

¹⁰ Unlike all other hospital staff with Burgoyne's army, **Robert Kerr** was listed as present with the staff of the hospital remaining in Canada dated 3 June 1777, but does not appear on subsequent Canada hospital department staff lists. Robert Kerr was captured by rebels with a detachment of the 62nd Regiment of Foot commanded by Lieutenant William Pendred Naylor, 11 Oct 1777 (see 11 Oct 1777 journal entry of Brigadier General James Patterson's Brigade Chaplain, Enos Hitchcock), and enumerated as an "assistant surgeon" by his captors on the *Return of the Prisoners of War in Town this day* dated Albany, 18 October 1777 (Horatio Gates Papers, r18/1030); A "Doctor [sic] Kerr" was enumerated on the *Return of the Officers, Non Commissioned Officers & etc Sick and Invalids of the Convention Troops under the command of Major General Phillips to go by Sea and Land to New York and to be left behind* dated Cambridge, 3 December 1778 (Horatio Gates Papers, r19/21), which could have been either Robert or Charles (which see below). See Roland, Charles "The Portrait of Robert Kerr (d.1824)." *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History*, vol 12 (1995), pp187-194.

¹¹ As **Shepherd** (often spelled Shepland or Sheppard) was not listed on the 3 June 1777 return of the remaining Canada Hospital department staff, he was present with the Army from Canada. Because he was enumerated on the 3 November 1777 list (at Ticonderoga), he must have been left behind with the hospital at Mount Independence (or another hospital facility) and was eventually detached from Burgoyne's main force, allowing for his return to Canada. The 5 January 1778 hospital staff list placed Shepherd at Montréal.

¹² **Woodthorp** signed the Cambridge Parole of Honor, 13 Dec 1777, and was subsequently listed on the *Return of Officers who have apply'd to be exchanged* dated 3 May 1778 (George Washington Papers).

¹³ As **Prendergast** was not listed on the 3 June 1777 return of the remaining Canada Hospital department staff, he was present with the Army from Canada. Because he was enumerated on the 3 November 1777 list (at Three Rivers), he must have been left behind with the hospital at Mount Independence (or another hospital facility) and was eventually detached from Burgoyne's main force, allowing for his return to Canada.

¹⁴ **Shield** (often spelled Shields) was listed on *Return of the Officers, Non Commissioned Officers & etc Sick and Invalids of the Convention Troops under the command of Major General Phillips to go by Sea and Land to New York and to be left behind* dated Cambridge, 3 December 1778 (Horatio Gates Papers, r19/21). Was included on the Convention Army officer exchange list dated Staten Island, 3 Sep 1781 (WO40/2). Also see Shield, Benjamin. "Letter of Surgeon's Mate Benjamin Shield to Brigadier-General James Hamilton, 1781." Edited by Horace W. Sellers. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 19 (1895), pp116-118.

¹⁵ **Charles Kerr** (or Ker) was enumerated on the 24 December 1776 hospital staff return, but no other subsequent to that. This implies service with the Army from Canada.

¹⁶ **Grant** was captured with His Majesty's General Hospital, 9 Oct 1777 (Horatio Gates Papers, r18/988) and subsequently included on a pass signed by Hayes dated c. Jan 1778 (Horatio Gates Papers).

¹⁷ As **Gill** was not listed on the 3 June 1777 return of the remaining Canada Hospital department staff, he was present with the Army from Canada. Because he was enumerated on the 3 November 1777 list (at Ticonderoga), he must have been left behind with the hospital at Mount Independence (or another hospital facility) and was eventually detached from Burgoyne's main force, allowing for his return to Canada. The 5 January 1778 hospital staff list placed Gill at Montréal.

¹⁸ **Bowen** was enumerated as "Hospital Mate Brown," the only hospital staff listed on an undated partial return of Convention Army officers. Note that this was not Royal Artillery Surgeon's Mate William Brown, who was recorded separately on the same list (and the title "Hospital Mate" would not have been apropos). Bowen's erroneous naming is consistent with other misspelled officer names found on the list. Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv, Wolfenbüttel, Braunschweig. Archivbezeichnung 237 N 96 118. Further, Bowen was referred to in a letter from Brigadier-General James Hamilton to Convention Army camp commandant Colonel James Wood, dated 25 June 1780: "Lieu^t M^e Niel of the 9th Reg^t to whom you granted leave to go to the Augusta Springs—being much Indisposed, it is judged necessary to send a Surgeon to attend him, the gentleman's name pitch'd on is Bowen..."

¹⁹ On 28 November 1776, **Bloxham** was paid 1.10.0 for acting as "...sometime Surgeon to the Grenadier Battalion..." (T1/572/102-113; my thanks to Todd Braisted for a transcription of this account). Lack of evidence which names a replacement appointment suggests that he continued in the capacity of acting surgeon for the British grenadier battalion in 1777. This is further strengthened by his presence in treating the wounded in the aftermath of the 7 July 1777 Battle of Hubbardton, a battle in which the British Grenadier Battalion had a primary role. According to the memoir of Ebenezer Fletcher, fifer in Captain James Carr's company, 2nd New Hampshire Regiment, who was wounded and captured in the battle (Fletcher, Ebenezer. *The Narrative of Ebenezer Fletcher, a soldier of the Revolution, Written by Himself*. Ed. Charles Bushnell. New York: privately printed, 1866.):

Doctor Blocksom [sic], an under surgeon, appeared to be very kind indeed: he was the one who had the care of me: he never gave me any insulting or abusive language; he sometimes would say, "well, my lad, think you'll be willing to list in the King's service, if you should get well?" My answer was always *no*.

Bloxham was captured with His Majesty's General Hospital, 9 Oct 1777 (Horatio Gates Papers, r18/988), thus leaving the British grenadier battalion without a dedicated acting surgeon. Because Bloxham was detached to permanently serve with the grenadier battalion, it is possible that he was not counted toward the Army from Canada's allotment of 14 mates.

²⁰ **Bourke** (often spelled "Burke") was probably assigned as acting surgeon to the British light infantry battalion in 1777 until it was dismantled on 16 October 1777. Bourke signed the Cambridge Parole of Honor, 13 Dec 1777, as "surgeon" to "Lord Balcarres Corps." Lord Balcarres Corps then consisted of the "Canada Companies" (grenadier and light infantry companies) of the 29th, 31st, 34th, and 53rd Regiments of Foot, which otherwise had no surgeon (the other flank companies having been returned to their parent regiments). Recorded on the *Return of the Royal Artillery, Lieutenant Nutts detachment attached to the Artillery, and the Grenadiers and Light Infantry Company's [sic] of the Regiments in Canada...Cambridge 4th April 1778* (Haldimand Papers) was "NB Surgeons Mate John Bourke doing duty with the Grenadiers & Light Infantry." Despite the mistake made by the compiler of this multi-unit return, this was William Bourke (who signed the 13 Dec 1777 Parole of Honor as "W^m Bourke"). Although the order for his appointment to the British light infantry battalion is not extant, precedent for assigning hospital mates (or extra mates) for the medical needs of provisional British flank company battalions is. See general orders dated Boston, 15 December 1775: "Mr. Boyd, Surgeon's Mate of the Hospital, is ordered to act as Surgeon to the Corps of Lt Infantry, and Mr. Whitemen to the Corps of Grenadiers." Because Bourke was (probably) detached to permanently serve with the British light infantry battalion, it is possible that he was not counted toward the Army from Canada's allotment of 14 mates.

²¹ As **Salmon** was not listed on the 3 June 1777 return of the remaining Canada Hospital department staff, he was present with the Army from Canada. Because he was enumerated on the 3 November 1777 list (at St. Johns), he must have been left behind with the hospital at Mount Independence (or another hospital facility) and was eventually detached from Burgoyne's main force, allowing for his return to Canada.

²² **Park** (often spelled "Parks") signed the Cambridge Parole of Honor, 13 Dec 1777. Enumerated on the *Return of the Officers, Non Commissioned Officers & etc Sick and Invalids of the Convention Troops under the command of Major General Phillips to go by Sea and Land to New York and to be left behind* dated Cambridge, 3 December 1778 (Horatio Gates Papers, r19/21).

²³ **Covell** signed the *Return of His Majesty's Hospital on Mount Independence from the 19th to the 26 July 1777 inclusive* (Fort Ticonderoga Collection).

²⁴ **Blount** was captured with His Majesty's General Hospital, 9 Oct 1777 (Horatio Gates Papers, r18/988). There were other surgery men with the Army from Canada, who are otherwise unrecorded.

²⁵ "The Inspector of the Hospital having represented that two women [followers] from each Battalion of the Army will be absolutely necessary to take care of the Sick and Wounded, the Commanding Officers of Corps, will give their Directions accordingly" (general order dated Camp at Skenesborough House, 18 July 1777). Fifteen nurses were captured with His Majesty's General Hospital, 9 Oct 1777 (Horatio Gates Papers, r18/988). Further, "four Nurses from the general Hospital" were enumerated on the *Return of the Officers, Non Commissioned Officers & etc Sick and Invalids of the Convention Troops under the command of Major General Phillips to go by Sea and Land to New York and to be left behind* dated Cambridge, 3 December 1778 (Horatio Gates Papers, r19/21). There were other nurses with the Army from Canada, who are otherwise unrecorded. At present, none of their names are known.

²⁶ "The Surgeons of the Hospital having requested that ten men from the Provincials be ordered the Hospital to serve as Storekeepers and orderly men, who are to remain with and will be paid by the Hospital, according to their station and services. The Lieut. General permits the Surgeon to employ ten men accordingly, and they will apply to the Provincial Corps for sober, diligent men" (general order dated camp at Duer's House, 6 September 1777).