A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE CARE OF THE SICK AND WOUNDED DURING MARLBOROUGH'S MARCH TO THE DANUBE IN 1704, AND AT THE BATTLE OF BLENHEIM.

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"Not the great nor well bespoke,
But the mere uncounted folk
Of whose life and death is none
Report or lamentation."

MARLBOROUGH's march to the Danube, culminating in the victory of Blenheim, ranks as one of the world's great feats of arms. Very little has been written about the arrangements made by Marlborough for the treatment of his sick and wounded in that campaign. It may be of interest to consider what these arrangements were and to piece together the few facts which have been recorded.

Medical Establishment.—It is necessary first to review the constitution of the Medical Establishment of the British Army at the commencement of Marlborough's campaigns in 1702. The Regimental medical personnel consisted of surgeons and surgeons' mates, these being one surgeon and one surgeon's mate to each regiment of horse or foot. The surgeons were qualified men and commissioned officers. The surgeons' mates, who had been added to the Establishment in 1673, were of warrant rank only. The qualifications for a surgeon's mate were very low; in early times they were often apprentices of the surgeons. [Colonel Wm. Johnston, "Roll of Commissioned Officers in Medical Service of British Army, 1727-1898." 1918.] Many surgeons were promoted from the ranks of the surgeons' mates.

The need of medical officers of higher rank to direct army medical concerns led to the appointment of Physician-General, Surgeon-General and Apothecary-General. [Colonel Wm. Johnston.] It was also common practice when an army took the field for a physician to be appointed to the staff of the General Officer Commanding.

Garrisons also required a separate medical establishment and physicians, surgeons and surgeons' mates were appointed to them. [Colonel Wm. Johnston.]

Hospitals.

Prior to the wars during the reigns of William and Mary, Field Hospitals had occasionally existed, as in the army of Henry of Navarre and during the war for the Conquest of Granada under Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain.
William III appears to have been the first to realize their value as part of the necessary establishment of a British army in the field, and such hospitals, then called Marching Hospitals, accompanied our army during William III's campaign in Ireland.

The earliest appointment to these hospitals is that of Francis Smith, M.D., "to be Physician to the Marching Hospital," December 28, 1689. [W.O. Book 1259—quoted by Colonel Wm. Johnston.]

The hospitals established by William III were under the command of Directors who were not medical officers. Colonel Wm. Johnston states that these hospitals required a special medical personnel and that they also had nurses, cars for the transport of sick, drivers and men-servants. He omits, however, to quote his authority for this statement, and as regards the campaigns of Marlborough there is no hint that they had nurses or any form of transport, in fact, what evidence exists is to the contrary.

**The Medical Services under the Command of Marlborough.**


From these Lists it is clear that each regiment of Horse or Foot had its own medical officer, termed either Chirurgeon or Surgeon, and in many regiments, but by no means all, there was a surgeon's mate as well, and as time went on some of the mates were promoted surgeons. The Train of Artillery consisting of fifty-two pieces, raised by Royal Warrant in 1702, had two medical officers attached with the title of Master-Surgeon and Assistant-Surgeon respectively. Their names were John Girle and John Pawlet. They both took part in the battle of Blenheim, but at the battle of Malplaquet John Pawlet had become the Master-Surgeon.

The highest posts in the medical service—Physician-General, Surgeon-General and Apothecary-General—were filled by Dr. Thomas Lawrence, Thomas Gardiner and Isaac Teale.

Dr. Thomas Lawrence was commissioned August 24, 1702, "to be Physician-General of our Land Forces." He had been appointed to a similar position in Ireland on March 9, 1689, and was First Physician to Queen Anne. He served throughout Marlborough's campaigns, was present at the battles of Blenheim and Malplaquet; and—according to the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. lvii, part 1, p. 291—"he lived to a great age and held appointments under four successive princes, beginning with Charles II, by whom he was appointed physician to the garrison of Tangier, part of the dowry of Queen Catherine."

Thomas Gardiner was Master of the Barber-Surgeons Company in 1697 [Sidney Young] and was Serjeant-Surgeon. He was "Chirurgeon of the Household" to King William III at a salary of £280 per annum.
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[Chas. Dalton]. On August 24, 1702, he was commissioned "To be Surgeon-General of our Land Forces." He was also termed Surgeon to the Captain-General (i.e., Marlborough). He was present at the battles of Blenheim and Malplaquet.

Isaac Teale was appointed Apothecary-General on September 3, 1702. He appears in the Blenheim Roll in the Hospital List.

Hospitals.

That one hospital followed Marlborough’s Campaign of 1704 is certain. It is very doubtful if there was more than one. Temporary depots for sick men may have been made from time to time, but there is evidence of only one established hospital, which is generally referred to as “The Hospital.”

For knowledge of the staff of the hospital we are indebted to the fact that a Nominal Roll of the officers serving at Blenheim had to be made out for the Bounty Roll.

This list includes: The physician-general; two physicians; the director and two clerks; the apothecary-general; two apothecaries; nine surgeons.

Before pursuing further the actions of the medical officers, it is necessary for the understanding of the same to make a short résumé of the military situation in Europe at the beginning of 1704 and the reasons which led Marlborough to march to the Danube.

Military Situation in Europe in 1704.

Under Louis XIV the might of France proved a disturbing factor to the Peace of Europe, and a formidable coalition was formed against her. Though this war is called the War of the Spanish Succession, it seems quite clear that the other countries were less anxious as to the person of the Ruler of Spain, rather than to reduce the “exorbitant power of France.”

William III had been the prime mover in forming an alliance of the European powers against Louis, and to unite them for the greatest conflict he devoted the last efforts of his life.

Though they were not very good friends, yet William believed that Marlborough was incomparably the best soldier and best negotiator in the three kingdoms and with his dying breath he certified him to Anne to be “the fittest person in all her dominions to conduct her armies and preside in her councils.” [Taylor’s “Wars of Marlborough.”]

Queen Anne conferred the Order of the Garter on Marlborough, appointed him Captain-General of the Forces, and, within a fortnight of William’s death, sent him to The Hague as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the States General. Shortly afterwards he was given supreme command of the Dutch Army.
According to Taylor, Marlborough's idea of strategy was essentially modern. It was to crush the French armies in the field and to pursue their demoralized remnants to the French capital. He knew the way. It was up the Moselle.

At the opening of the campaign in 1702, there was no question of invading France. The immediate necessity was to clear the Dutch frontier where the French pressure was dangerous to the Allies. To accomplish this the campaigns of 1702 and 1703 were both spent, though if unhindered by the stupid timidity of the Government of The Hague Marlborough would have completed the task more expeditiously.

Now in 1704 the very existence of the Coalition was threatened by Marshal Villar's brilliant thrust towards Vienna. He designed to annihilate Austria by the capture of her capital. Marlborough realized that the coalition could not hope to survive the downfall of the Austrian power. Both Prince Eugène and Marlborough appreciated the danger and agreed that the mischief could only be remedied by a concentration of the Allied Forces and an offensive movement against some vital part of the enemy's system. There were two alternatives: the first to strike a blow at the heart of France by an invasion up the Moselle; and the second to seek out and defeat the French army before it could reach Vienna. For various reasons the latter alternative was chosen and Marlborough pushed forward his preparations with equal energy and secrecy.

To preserve secrecy he had hit on an excellent device for deceiving everybody, whether friend or foe. He gave out that he would march to the Moselle. The French would readily believe in it, the Dutch might be induced to consent to it, and if he could establish a depot of stores up the Rhine at Coblenz, he would have accomplished an important stage upon the road to Bavaria. [Taylor's “Wars of Marlborough.”]

**Preparation for the Campaign.**

On May 2, 1704, Marlborough informed the deputies of the States (Holland) of his resolution of marching to the Moselle. The States General agreed that he might march with all the troops in Her Majesty's pay, and with such other of the auxiliaries as could with safety be spared. Marlborough then represented to them the necessity of carrying with him a sufficient Train of Artillery with powder and ball, and other ammunition and instruments requisite for such service. “These were likewise granted him, and his Grace ordered them immediately, to be put into boats, with Beds, medicaments and other provision for the Hospitals and made application . . . for the necessary passports for the free passage of the boats up the Rhine . . . to Coblenz” [“Journal of the Duke of Marlborough's Campaigns,” by Dr. Francis Hare, British Museum MSS., ADD. 9114].

(N.B.—Many of the references to medical affairs come out of this journal. Dr. Hare, later Bishop of Chichester, was in 1704 Chaplain
General to Marlborough's Forces. The origin of the journal is described in the following extract from a letter from the Duke's secretary, Mr. Cardonnel, to the Secretary of State, Mr. Harley, dated September 25, 1704.

"Sir,

"I have received the honour of your letter of the 29th past, wherein you desire a relation of our campaign under my Lord Duke, in answer to which you may please to be informed that his Grace has committed the care of it to one of our chaplains, an ingenious gentleman: he has the use of my books, and will be very exact in every particular. His Grace takes the pains to peruse it himself, and as soon as we come home it shall be submitted to your correction before it goes to the press." ['"Letters and Dispatches of John Churchill, First Duke of Marlborough," by Sir George Murray, vol. i, p. 409.]

In this Journal Dr. Hare refers sometimes to "the hospitals" and more often to "the hospital." It is pretty clear from the context that there was never more than one.

Marlborough pressed on his preparations:

On May 5, 1704, he writes to MM. le Grand Doyen et Chapitre de la Métropolitaine de Cologne, à Cologne:

"Messieurs

... Nous sommes ... obligés de faire monter quelques bateaux avec des munitions de guerre, l'hôpital et autres choses nécessaires pour les troupes, selon le mémoire ci-joint, lesquelles auront besoin de vos passeports, que je vous suplique d'avoir la bonté de leur faire expédier au plus-tôt, comme aussi de leur fournir des escortes avec des chevaux, et de leur donner telle autre assistance qu'ils pourront demander, pour faciliter leur voyage." ['"Marlborough's Dispatches," vol. i, p. 255.]

Again, on May 8, 1704, he writes thus to M. Lottum:

"Monsieur,

M. le Comte de Wratislaw devant passer par Wesel, je suis ravi de l'occasion qu'il m'offre de vous assurer de mes respects, et dois en même temps de vous prier très-instamment d'avoir la bonté de prêter la main à sept bateaux qui montent le Rhin, avec des munitions de guerre, l'hôpital et quelques bagages, pour les troupes Anglaises, que je fais marcher vers la Moselle, et dont l'expédition nous est d'une très-grande conséquence. M. le Baron de Schmettau les aura déjà pourvu des passeports nécessaires." ['"Marlborough's Dispatches," vol. i, p. 256.]

THE MARCH TO THE DANUBE.

The Duke had given orders to his brother, General Churchill, to assemble the Army at Bélgern, which is between Roermond and Cologne. Here Marlborough reviewed them on May 18, and found them to consist of fifty-one battalions and ninety-two squadrons. The English contingent numbered 16,000 men. [Taylor's "Wars of Marlborough."
The march began on May 19, along the road Kerpen-Kühlseggen-Meckenheim, to Sinzig, on the left bank of the Rhine which was reached on May 23. Here the troops had two days' rest, and on May 25 the Duke left accompanied by all the Cavalry and Dragoons, leaving General Churchill to follow as rapidly as possible with the Infantry, Artillery, and baggage.

The route taken led now along the left bank of the Rhine as far as Coblenz, where the river was crossed, and then across country to Kastel, a village on the right bank of the Rhine over against Mainz, which was reached on May 29.

It is clear that the hospital was brought up by water as far as Mainz, for on June 22 Marlborough sent the following letter to the Elector of Mayence:—

"Monseigneur,

J'ai reçu les lettres que votre A. E. m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire, et lui suis infiniment obligé des soins qu'Elle a bien voulu se donner pour l'acheminement des bateaux avec les munitions et l'hôpital . . . . . "

["Marlborough Dispatches," vol. i, p. 324.]

Dr. Hare makes the following note in his journal, dated May 29:—

"And tho' the troops notwithstanding all their fatigue and ill weather had hitherto continued to be very healthy, yet his Grace thought it convenient to order an Hospital to be appointed at this place, as well for these few which were, as for others which might become sick and unable to march." [Dr. Hare's Journal.]

The troops had now made nine marches in eleven days and they deserved two days rest, though it is recorded that they were extremely pleased with the expedition. [Coxe, vol. i, p. 160. Marlborough to Godolphin.]

Out of the rather dry histories of the period it is just possible to catch a note as to the conduct of the British soldier on this march which is strangely reminiscent of that of our men in France during the late war. It seems to have been a sort of triumphal progress: the troops were looked upon as the savours of the country, and strange to say they had money to spend and paid for what they wanted: no wonder they were welcome and the men were pleased. Can one not picture them playing with the village children in the evening and chaffing the girls in what they pleased to call German (or was it Alleman?). It is noted too that some of the officers found the ladies handsomer than they expected. [R. Pope to Thomas Coke. "Hist. MSS. Comm.," 12th Report, Appendix, Part III.]

May 31 saw the troops on the move again on the road to Ladenburg on the River Neckar, which was reached on June 3, when again two days' halt was made not only for rest, but to allow Churchill time to lessen the gap between the horsemen and the main body. From Ladenburg Marlborough wrote to the Dutch Government disclosing his intention of marching to the Danube "for the relief of the Empire," and he begged them to allow their troops "to share in the honour of that expedition."
Leaving Ladenburg on June 6, Marlborough took the road to Heilbron, arriving at Gross Gartach on June 8.

From here he wrote a letter to his brother, which illustrates the care he took of every detail which might affect the comfort, health and efficiency of his men.

"By a letter I have seen from Col. Rowe, he writes that the foot may soon be in want of shoes; that they are to be had at Francfort at reasonable rates, and that the contractors will send them forward to Nuremberg; therefore I desire you will call the commanding officers together that you may know the number they will want, and thereupon order Col. Rowe to write to Francfort that they may be hastened to Nuremberg, when we can send for them to come forward to us.

I hope this warm weather you take care to march so early as to be in your camp before the heat of the day." ["Marlborough's Dispatches," vol. i p. 301.]

Meanwhile the hospital with the heavy baggage had come up the Rhine as far as Mannheim, presumably having been towed up-stream by horses. Now Marlborough ordered "the commissaries of the hospital to get waggons at Mannheim for his medicaments and provisions and for such stores for the Artillery as might be immediately necessary and to bring them away from thence to Heilbron and to follow with all diligence from thence to Gislingen." [Dr. Hare's Journal.]

On June 9 Marlborough advanced to Mundelsheim, where on the following day he was joined by Prince Eugène, who was closeted alone with the Duke for three hours. [Taylor—quoting Coke MSS. letter of June 13, 1704.]

The next day's march was to Gross Heppach. Eugène accompanied the column and expressed the desire to review the British Cavalry. He expressed his surprise to find them in such excellent condition, after so long and speedy a march. He is reported to have spoken thus:—

"My Lord, I never saw better horses, better cloaths, finer belts and accoutrements; yet all these may be had for money; but there is a spirit in the looks of your men, which I never yet saw in any, in my life."

[Lédiard, vol i, p. 307.]

How can any who watched our battalions march into action fail to recall that "spirit in the looks" which still animates the face of the British soldier? At Gross Heppach the two commanders awaited the coming of their ally, Louis of Baden. The result of their consultations there was, that the armies of Marlborough and Louis of Baden should manoeuvre together, each general commanding on alternate days, and Prince Eugène was to head a separate army on the Rhine to watch Marshall Tallard. Marlborough appears to have wanted to co-operate with Eugène, but had to give way to the insistence of Louis of Baden.

On June 14, the troops set out on the road to Ebersbach, while Marlborough remained behind to entertain his two colleagues at dinner at
the Lamm Inn, where the tradition of that famous day is still preserved. On June 16 he halted at Gross Susen, where he continued till June 21. From here he wrote to the Circle of Franconia at Nuremberg, stating that he had ordered a magazine to be established at Nördlingen for provisioning the troops and praying their assistance for the purchase of grain and transport at a reasonable price. ['Marlborough’s Dispatches,' vol. i, p. 311.] A similar letter was sent on June 19 to the Circle of Suabia informing them of his proposal to establish magazines at Heidenheim and Nördlingen.

It had been raining heavily for several days. The roads were becoming bad, and it is clear that there was some sickness among the troops, and that the Duke was concerned as is shown by this letter dated June 22 to General Churchill:

"Sir,—I received yesterday yours of the 20th at Blockingen, and having informed myself of the most proper place for sending your sick men, I am assured they will be best at Heidenheim, which is not far from you (about 35 miles), and therefore desire you will forthwith send them thither in carts with an able chirurgeon and a mate or two to look after them, and such commission and non-commission officers as you shall think fit, giving them at the same time money for their subsistence. We have this day joined Prince Louis, and shall not march far till you come up with us, which I pray may be as soon as conveniently you can. The enclosed is the Duke of Wirtemberg’s order for your sick to be received in the town of Heidenheim. I long to have you with me, being

"Your loving brother, M."

[‘Marlborough’s Dispatches,’ vol. i, p. 321.]

There is no hint as to what this sickness was due to. It was not confined however to Marlborough’s troops, for on June 19, in a letter to Mons. ——, at Zell, Mr. Cardonnel states, "Deserters who come over to our army, report unanimously, that the French battalions are very weak, notwithstanding the recruits they have received; and that sickness reigns very much among these new-comers, insomuch that 150 have been buried at Ulm in one week. [Lédiard, vol. i, p. 310.]

Again on June 25, Mr. Cardonnel writes:—

"The continual rains, which have fallen for a fortnight passed, have very much incommodeood our Infantry, and caused some distempers among them: but we send our sick to Heidenheim, where they soon recover."

[Lédiard, vol. i, p. 316.]

On June 21, Marlborough advanced to Ursprung and on the 22nd to Westerstetten where his army joined hands with that of Louis of Baden.

The critical moment for Marlborough was now approaching, and the success or failure of his long flank march was soon to be decided. The Elector of Bavaria, the French Ally, knew that the game had taken a dangerous turn for him, and the fear that Marlborough’s goal might lie upon the Danube had kept him back all May and June from marching on
Vienna. In May Louis of Baden had failed to prevent Marshal Tallard from passing a detachment of 10,000 recruits through the Black Forest for Marsin’s army which was acting in concert with the Bavarians. Yet in spite of these reinforcements the Elector of Bavaria was disquieted and began to negotiate terms with Marlborough. These however, were too ridiculously high to be considered, and Marlborough with the forces of Louis of Baden pressed on to Donauwörth which was considered to be a point on the Danube of the greatest importance.

The Elector of Bavaria took up a strong entrenched position between Lawingen and Dillingen. Marlborough marched past this camp, leaving it on his right, reaching Amerdingen, 15 miles from Donauwörth, on July 1.

**Battle of the Schellenberg, July 2.**

The Elector of Bavaria had failed to fortify the hill called the Schellenberg, on which the safety of Donauwörth depended. To repair his mistake he now sent troops, labourers and engineers.

Both Marlborough and Louis of Baden realized that Donauwörth must be taken before the Schellenberg was rendered impregnable. On the evening of July 1 the Duke and his colleague conferred. They must have agreed to attack next day, which was Marlborough’s turn to command.

The following extract from Dr. Hare’s Journal now shows the first definite account of the establishment of the hospital:

“...And being returned (from Prince Louis’s quarters) about 10 at night, he (Marlborough) sent an express to the Commissary of the Hospital to hasten him away to Nordlingen, and to march day and night till he had settled with it there. This express was followed by two more, to hasten the apothecaries and surgeons: his Grace sending them a recommendation, which he had obtained from Prince Louis, to the magistrates and inhabitants of this place for all manner of necessaries.” [Dr. Hare’s Journal.]

The troops set off before daylight on July 2, and had a fifteen miles’ march to Donauwörth over roads ruined by perpetual rains.

The attack on the Schellenberg was made in the late afternoon, and Marlborough won, though he had to pay a high price for the victory.

Over 1,400 of the Allies were killed and nearly 4,000 wounded.

The loss in officers and particularly in officers of high rank was extraordinary. [Taylor’s “Wars of Marlborough.”]

The English casualties were over 1,500, and exceeded both actually and relatively those of any other contingents engaged.

The actual number of the troops engaged is not stated, but it can be inferred from the fact that when Marlborough drew up the attacking force on the lower slopes of the Schellenberg it consisted of 5,850 foot, supported by 30 battalions and 35 squadrons of horse.

The plight of the wounded must have been bad, for:

“The moment this action was ended it grew dark and rained violently.
This proved very fatal to the wounded of which we had great numbers. However his Grace ordered them to be dressed with all possible haste, and to be forthwith sent to the Hospitals." [Dr. Hare's Journal.]

Marlborough retired that night to his own quarters at Obermorgen where he received the news of the killed and wounded.

"All his Grace's care was now employed about sending the wounded away to the Hospital. And as there was a particular hand of Providence directed him in all his marches and designs, so it was very remarkable in the happy arrival of the Apothecaries, Surgeons and medicaments at Norlingen in the time of the action, and they had notice to make their preparations by the noise of the engagement, which was about 12 miles from them.” [Dr. Hare's Journal.]

The above appears to be all the available evidence concerning the arrangements made for the treatment of the wounded at this battle.

We know that the Allies had some 4,000 wounded, and that a hospital was established—on the same day as the battle—at Nördlingen, which was twelve miles distant. Also that heavy rain fell the night of the battle. One can infer the rest. Many of the wounded must have died from exposure. One assumes that the survivors were dressed on the field by their regimental surgeons and then transferred to the hospital by slow degrees in country carts which were borrowed from the surrounding farms. It must have taken a long time to clear the field and get those 4,000 wounded to Nördlingen.

And what sort of hospital was there at Nördlingen? We know that the hospital train only arrived there on the day of the battle, and though there is evidence that they took beds with them (see p. 277), there is no mention of tentage. One must presume, therefore, that they did as we often did in France during the late war, and made use of barns, churches, and possibly the town hall.

Nördlingen cannot have been a very large town, and the two following letters from Marlborough appear to indicate that the influx of so many wounded seriously incommoded the inhabitants:

"To the Bourgmaitres et Sénateurs de Nördling.

"ce 8 Juillet, 1704.

"Messieurs,

"J'ai reçu la lettre que vous m'avez écrite par vos députés qui m'ont expliqué ce que vous souhaitez de notre part. J'ai aussi appris d'ailleurs le soin que la ville a eu de nos blessés, sur quoi je serai toujours fort aise de vous soulager autant qu'il me sera possible: pour cet effet Mm. vos députés sont munis d'un ordre pour le directeur de l'hôpital afin qu'il fasse sortir et mettre dans les villages les plus proches ceux des blessés qui sont dans le meilleur état, ne doutant point que vous n'assistiez ledit directeur en tout ce qui sera nécessaire pour la commodité de ces pauvres gens.”

["Marlborough's Dispatches," vol. i, p. 346.]
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“To Baron D’Alberg.

“Monsieur,

“Je vous suis bien obligé de la lettre que vous m’avez écrite au sujet de nos pauvres blessés, et de l'intérêt que vous prenez à leur égard. J'envoie à présent des ordres au directeur des hôpitaux de faire sortir dans les villages voisins ceux qui sont en état de marcher, comme vous le souhaitez, et je ne doute point qu’en cas qu’ils ne seront le moindre dégré exposés, que vous n’ayez soin de donner les gardes nécessaires pour leur sûreté. . . . . .”

[“Marlborough’s Dispatches,” vol. i, p. 346.]

Marlborough appears to have had the personal superintendence of much of the details of a quartermaster’s work which in modern times would be left to a subordinate, for on July 19 we find him writing to M. Baldwyn asking him to send cattle to the hospital at Nördlingen to be distributed among the sick and wounded in Her Majesty’s and the State’s pay.

[“Marlborough’s Dispatches,” vol. i, p. 360; and Dr. Hare’s Journal.]

To our modern ideas little effective help can have been given to our own wounded, though the fact that there was a hospital with a staff of surgeons was an advance on the absence of arrangements in previous campaigns. What must have been the condition of the enemy wounded who remained in Marlborough’s hands? They were probably allowed to lie where they fell, with such attention as could be given them by their comrades, for on July 23, Marlborough wrote to General D’Arco offering to send his wounded which were at Donauwörth if he would return an equal number [“Marlborough’s Dispatches,” vol. i, p. 368], and on August 6 he writes again to General D’Arco, saying that his wounded can leave if he will send the necessary transport, and also that if he wishes to send surgeons they would receive the necessary passports. [“Marlborough’s Dispatches,” vol. i, p. 385.]

Narrative of Events between the Battles of the Schellenberg and of Blenheim, August 13:

The Elector of Bavaria and Marshal Marsin abandoned their strong position at Dillingen immediately after the battle of the Schellenberg, and entrenched themselves behind the River Lech protected by the guns of Augsburg, where they could await without fear of attack the coming of Marshall Tallard and his army.

Marlborough’s first objective was now obtained. He had succeeded in interposing his army between the invading enemy armies and Vienna, and the Empire was saved.

His strategy now was to defeat the enemy in the field, but as for a time he was unable to do this he adopted the other alternative, that of laying waste the country and practically starving him out.
The next great move in the game was the advent of Marshal Tallard with his army which joined the Bavarians and Marzin on the River Lech, on August 4. Prince Eugène with his small army had only shadowed them.

The French and Bavarian army now left their strong position under Augsburg and moved westward, threatening Marlborough’s line of communication of Nördlingen.

Marlborough replied by a rapid westward concentration of his force with that of Prince Eugène at Munster. A decisive engagement was essential. He sought it, and on August 13 the battle of Blenheim was fought.

**Battle of Blenheim.**

The details of this battle have been set forth in various books. It is not the intention in this paper to do more than indicate such points as are necessary to understand the arrangements made for the wounded.

The allied forces were in motion by 2 a.m., and, aided by a thick white mist, took up their position on the left bank of the River Nebel almost undetected by the French.

The French artillery opened fire between 8 and 9 a.m., to which the Allies replied as best they could with their fifty-two pieces. There was an awkward and anxious pause until Eugène could get his forces into position.

According to Dr. Hare, Marlborough now ordered the chaplains to hold a service at the head of each regiment and after this act of devotion he pointed out to the surgeons the proper posts for the care of the wounded. Taylor in his "Wars of Marlborough," says: "he instructed the surgeons as to the proper stations for the field-hospitals" [vol. i, p. 211]. He does not give any authority for the establishment of "field-hospitals," and as it would appear that he got what information he has on medical matters from Dr. Hare's Journal, it would seem probable that the arrangements Marlborough really made were the formation of collecting posts or regimental aid posts where possibly two or three regimental surgeons may have joined together to render first aid to their wounded.

The facilities for any operative treatment were probably nil, or otherwise the following extract would never have been penned:

Lt.-Col. Philip Dormer of the English Guards, and described as the flower of the army... "was wounded in the left thigh about 3 in the afternoon by a musket ball which broke his great artery and expired in the Author's arms a little after six." [Dr. Hare's Journal.]

The battle was over before night and one of the world's great victories won.

Tidings of victory were on their way home. Colonel Parke, Marlborough’s A.D.C., had started on his eight days' ride taking to the Duchess a short dispatch scribbled with a lead pencil on a scrap of paper.

After the battle the Duke ordered that the soldiers should lie all night upon their arms, in the field of battle. ... "After this his Grace
gave orders about dressing the wounded men and putting them under cover.” [Dr. Hare's Journal.]

The following extract from Dr. Hare's Journal is the authority for what happened the day after the battle: “And now his Grace took an especial care to have all the wounded men sent to the hospital. For this purpose he orders all the country round about him to bring in waggons and carriages upon pain of military execution and the serjeants of all the regiments were commanded to take up and send away their own men.”

Forces Engaged.—The Allied Army was 52,000 strong, 34,000 being under the command of Marlborough and 18,000 under Prince Eugène. The French army outnumbered that of the Allies by about 4,000 men. [Taylor’s “Wars of Marlborough.”]

Casualties.—The Allies’ Casualty List was: killed, 4,485; wounded, 7,525; missing or prisoners, 273. [Lédiard, vol. i, p. 397.]

The exact losses of the enemy were never ascertained. They are computed to have been at least 14,000, killed, wounded or drowned, and 15,000 prisoners. [Taylor’s “Wars of Marlborough.”]

If the resources of the hospital at Nördlingen were strained after the battle of the Schellenberg, how much more so must they have been after Blenheim with over 7,000 wounded to be cared for. One can suppose, however, that the surgeons had had time to find houses and accommodation for the wounded they must have realized would sooner or later descend on them like a flood. One would like to find some account of how the surgeons worked and what they did.

At least we know their names owing to the fact that a list known as “The Bounty Roll” was prepared by order of the Duke of Marlborough for the application of the Royal Bounty that Queen Anne was pleased to bestow on the officers and men of the regiments that were in Germany [Chas. Dalton, “English Army Lists.”]

The following is the list of surgeons on the staff of the Hospital at Nördlingen:

Thomas Wilson. He died later of barbarous usage he received from the enemy in Flanders in 1711. His widow received a special pension of £30.

Claudius Amyand. Was the son of a Huguenot refugee. In 1728 he was admitted to the freedom of the Barber Surgeons Company. He became a Fellow of the Royal Society and Serjeant-Surgeon to George II. He was surgeon to St. George’s Hospital 1733-1738. He died in 1740 following an accident in Greenwich Park. [“Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London”: Sidney Young.]

John Goldie. In 1704 appointed Surgeon to Colonel Godfrey’s Regiment of Foot.

Robert Roddam.

Andrew Grierson.

Robert Lee.
G. E. Gask

William Neilson. On March 1, 1709, he was appointed Director of Hospitals for the service of the British Forces in Portugal.

John Gibson. On April 12, 1706, he was appointed Surgeon to Sir R. Bradshaigh’s Regiment of Foot.

William Geneste. Subsequently he served in Spain and was taken prisoner with General Stanhope’s troops at Brihuega in December, 1710. On August 25, 1712, was still a prisoner in Spain.

Apparently the two first surgeons on this list, namely, Thomas Wilson and Claudius Amyand, were the senior officers, for not only do they appear first but they each received £30 bounty money, whereas the remaining surgeons received £15 each.

_Treatment of the Wounded._—There is scarcely any information as to how the wounded were treated. There were of course no anaesthetics in those days, though opiates were used to dull sensibility during an operation. One may presume that the surgery consisted largely of dressing the wounds with various medicaments, probing them and removing foreign bodies, incising abscesses and amputating shattered limbs. That amputations were done is proved by a letter written by Captain Windham of Lieutenant-General Wyndham’s Regiment of Horse to his mother, headed:—

“Nördlingen, August 23, o.s. 1704:

“I was loth to write very soon after the first account I gave you of my being shot in the leg in the late engagement, because truly my surgeons could not tell what to think of the matter; but upon my arrival at this place—which is the hospital for all our wounded—I have got all the help I can desire, and on Tuesday last was a fortnight my leg was doomed to be cut off, and accordingly was that day, since which time I thank God there has not happened the least ill accident there could be. . . . surely a greater victory was never gained. They were 11,000 foot stronger and we were 5,000 stronger in horse. They were so strongly encamped that they laughed to see us coming.”

In spite of the loss of his leg Captain Windham continued in service and took part in the battles of Ramillies and Malplaquet. [Chas. Dalton “English Army Lists.”]

Thirty-five other surgeons were mentioned by name in the Blenheim Bounty Roll, chiefly regimental medical officers. Of these the surgeons to cavalry regiments received £18 Bounty, those to foot regiments £12, and surgeons’ mates £7 10s.

There was only one medical officer killed at Blenheim, and his name was Jno. Whitfield, who was surgeon to the Earl of Derby’s Regiment of Foot. His widow received £24 Bounty.

_Events after the Battle of Blenheim._

The results of the victory of Blenheim were immediate and striking. The French abandoned Bavaria, retired across the Rhine, and the safety
Care of Sick and Wounded during Marlborough's March

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of the coalition was assured. Marlborough now wanted to make for the Moselle, always harking back to his idea of a thrust at the heart of France. His plans, however, did not find favour in the eyes of his colleagues, and the Allied Armies laid siege to Landau, a puny effort compared with Marlborough's own plan.

Meanwhile the wounded were not forgotten, for Dr. Hare writes on September 13:—

"His Grace still looked backwards with a compassionate eye towards the sick and wounded men that he had left behind him; and sent to know from the Commissary of the Hospital at Nörlingen what number of them were in a condition to be removed, requiring him to get waggons enough to carry them to Mayence and from thence down the Rhine to their respective garrisons and that medicaments and attendants should be lost (?) left) with those which could not be brought away without danger.

"Here notice ought to be taken of the pious and charitable care that the City of Nuremburg had towards our sick and wounded men. They made a liberal collection among themselves for their relief, as also a provision of linnen and other necessaries which they sent by Commissioners of their own, to be distributed among them in the hospital at Nörlingen, where also the extraordinary care of the inhabitants of that place, as well as from our own Commissary, Physicians and Surgeons ought to be mentioned to their just praise." [Dr. Hare's Journal.]

Confirming the statement made by Dr. Hare that the wounded were to be transported to Holland by water, we find a letter from Marlborough to the Elector of Mayence, dated September 21, saying that he need not be anxious lest the wounded coming from Nordlingen should be a charge on him, for they would only stop at Mayence just to change boats. He also assured the Elector that he would be relieved of the majority of the sick which remained at Kastel and Kostheim. ["Marlborough's Dispatches," vol. i, p. 479.]

The final reference to the wounded of this campaign is a letter from Marlborough to the Magistrates of Nördlingen, dated October 22, 1704, in which he thanks them for their hospitality to the poor sick and wounded during the past summer. ["Marlborough's Dispatches," vol. i, p. 515.]