

Military Hospitals and Medicine in Havana in 1762

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On June 6, 1762, a British force attacked and besieged the city of Havana. Two months later, on August 12, 1762, the city finally surrendered. According to different sources, some 8,000 soldiers, sailors and civilians perished during that period. Considering that Havana only had a few hospitals at the time, where were the wounded treated, how many physicians were available, and what medical care did they receive? These are difficult questions. Nonetheless, I will attempt to highlight the information available.

When quoting old documents, I will maintain the original spelling.

Antecedents:

Diego Velázquez de Cuéllar founded Havana (San Cristóbal de La Habana) on the southern shores of Cuba, around what is today Surgidero de Batabanó, in 1514. The Spaniards soon relocated it in the north shore, at its present location.

For over two centuries Havana had been the gathering point for Spanish ships loaded with goods (mainly gold and silver) shipped from the Spanish colonies in America to Spain. The city, heavily fortified and considered an impregnable fortress, had a defensive wall around what is now Old Havana.¹ (S-



(S-1705)

585). In 1762 the population of Havana was close to 50,000², making it the third largest city in the Americas. Only Lima and México surpassed its population.

France and England were at war in 1762 ("The Seven Years' War") The British conquered Canada and India from France. Britain also had conquered several islands in the Caribbean from



(S-585)

Spain and France, including Jamaica and Guadeloupe. An attack to the French possession of Martinique was underway. France had signed an alliance with Spain known as the *Pacto de Familia* (Family Pact). The sovereigns of France and Spain (Louis XV and Charles III

¹ At the time, Havana had the following defenses: The Force Castle, started in 1538; the Morro Castle (built in 1590); the Punta bastion. All three around the harbor and two nearby fortified towers (*torreones*), the *Torreón de la Chorrera* at the mouth of present Almendares river, and the other at the mouth of the Cojímar river, known as *Torreón de Cojímar*.

² J. Pérez de la Riva, *Documentos Inéditos sobre la Toma de La Habana por los Ingleses en 1762*. p. 17.

respectively) (S-1705) belonged to the Bourbons dynasty that had similar political and economic interests. For this reason, England declared war with Spain on January 5, 1762, involving Spain in the Seven Years' War. It culminated victoriously for the British, with the taking of Havana (August 12, 1762.)



(S-1646)

William Pitt, the Elder, (S-1646) was no longer Prime Minister in England (forced to resign in 1761), although his ambition to conquer Havana, Panamá, and other places in the New World remained. England still felt a strong desire to conquer these places. George III relied on the Duke of Cumberland to organize an armada and to appoint the commanders to lead it. The purpose was to capture Havana, and the island of Cuba.

The Duke's choice for the position was General George Keppel, Count of Albemarle. He appointed Albemarle Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and the expedition. Sir George Pocock was appointed Chief Admiral of the fleet.

In addition, two of Lord Albemarle's younger brothers (Admiral Viscount Augustus Keppel and William Keppel) had important roles in the expedition. The latter remained commander of Havana when Lord Albemarle sailed for England in October 1762.

Lord Albemarle assembled a large fleet in Portsmouth. On March 5 he gave order to set sail. From the bay of Spithead departure 5 ship of the line, 30 transport ships with some 4,000 soldiers, 19 supply ships and 8 gun boats.³ These forces were later on reinforced with ships and men from the Caribbean, New York and other British quarters in the New World. Historians reckon the final count at 22,000 men. Sir George Pocock sailed towards Martinique, for a rendezvous with Rear-Admiral George Brydes Rodney⁴. Upon arrival he found that Rodney already had taken the island. The expedition then sailed to Saint Domingue, Haiti before heading for Havana.⁵

George Pocock had two choices of routes to sail to Havana: The traditional route was south of Cuba to Cape San Antonio, then letting the ships to travel graciously with the Gulf Current to Havana. Sailors normally avoided the other route through the Old Bahaman Channel, north of Cuba, because is was very dangerous. Pocock chose this northern route. The armada moved forward sorting all the perils met in the channel, and surprising the Spaniards when they unexpectedly appeared near Havana.

³ Hugh Thomas, *Cuba, La Lucha por la Libertad 1772-1909*. Ediciones Grijalbo, S.A. p. 23.

⁴ The British government appointed G. B. Rodney Governor of the Navy Hospital, Greenwich, England. (1765-1770.)

⁵ The total number of ships assembled for the attack to Havana include 26 warships, 24 frigates and 3 bombards.

According to Cuban historian Ramiro Guerra, the British expedition consisted of 200 ships of all kinds. It also had a task force of approximately 25,000, including sailors, soldiers and blacks (slaves)

The Situation in Havana:

The most prominent Spanish leaders in Havana at the time of the attack were Gen. Juan de Prado Portocarrero Malleza y Luna, Captain General⁶ of the Island of Cuba (before leaving for Havana he received the rank of Field Marshall); Gutierre de Hevia y Valdés, Marquis of the Real Transporte⁷, Admiral of the Spanish Fleet; the Count of Superunda, former Viceroy of Perú, and Diego de Tabares, Military Governor of Cartagena, Colombia. These two officers were in Havana at the time of the attack. They formed part in the Joint Command that planned the defense of the city. The Spanish Sovereign ordered a trial of these officers for failure to repeal the attack. The judges condemned them to several severe penalties in Spain (1763).

One officer who earned total recognition from Spain, and the British, was Luis Vicente de Velasco de Isla. He was a Captain in the Spanish Navy, commander of the warship *Reina*, anchored in Havana. He received the order to defend the Morro Castle. Velasco accomplished this task heroically until he was seriously wounded on July 30. Lord Albemarle ordered one of his aids to accompany the wounded Velasco to the city, in consideration to the bravery displayed by this sailor. Velasco did not recover from the wounds and died in Havana on July 31, 1762. The Spanish Sovereign ordered, in 1764; that, from then on, the Spanish Navy should have a war ship named *Velasco*. The Spanish Navy has maintained this tradition.

The British attack on Havana proceeded with great losses to both sides. They took Havana after a siege of sixty-eight days.

When Juan de Prado arrived in Havana he found, besides other human social and economic situations, that the city had been suffering a terrible epidemic of yellow fever, the scorch of the tropics in those years. Overall, the quality of medicine in Havana was as poor as in England and Spain.

In the *Municipal Acts of Havana*⁸ we find a vivid and graphic description of a terrible epidemic of yellow fever (black vomit) in 1761. On August 19, 1761, the Lieutenant Governor of the city describes how, upon the arrival of military reinforcements, the city: "...started to experience a kind of epidemic...mainly in the persons of European stock." The council also resolved to request the protomedics to make recommendations to solve the problem created by the epidemic, including prophylactic measures. Among the

⁶ The Spanish Government vested the title of Captain General to the Governors of Spanish possessions and Military Regions in Spain. The rank of Captain General of the Army was seldom given. Two of Cuban Captain Generals later on received it, Valeriano Weyler and Camilo García Polavieja.

⁷ He received this title because he commanded the fleet that brought Charles the III from Naples (Italy) to Spain, to become King.

⁸ Dr. José López Sánchez, *La Medicina en La Habana 1550-1730*, Consejo Científico - Ministerio de Salud Pública (Cuba), 1970. p. 195-200.

measures suggested they requested the: "...free passage of air." They also suggested that: "...in the nearby corners to burn *buñigos de buey y postas de vaca* (oxen and cows' dung) with some aromatic herb." And: "...to wash and boil the clothing of the dead with *maguey* (agave)."

All the historians who have covered this period agree that more than fifty per cent of the dead, on both sides, died of diseases, of which yellow fever was the main culprit. The disease mainly affected "the Europeans" for lack of previous exposure to the disease and consequently they had not acquired natural immunization. More than one hundred years later Dr. Carlos J. Finlay established his theory that mosquitoes are the carriers of yellow fever.

Havana's Fortresses:

Havana was a heavily fortified city, its fortifications included the following:

(a) El Castillo de Los Tres Reyes del Morro. (The Castle of the Three Kings of the Morro).⁹ (S-432).

The castle was, undoubtedly, the most formidable of all defenses in Havana, and probably in the New World, at the time of the British attack. Philip II ordered the construction which was started in 1589 under Eng. Juan Bautista Antonelli. The construction finished in 1615. The Spanish built a little impressive lighthouse on the highest point of the promontory (morro) in 1764.



(S-C43)



(S-432)

Under Spanish Governor Leopoldo O'Donnell, the existing and famous lighthouse that leads the sailors into the harbor was built (1844.) (S-C43). The lighthouse and the fortress are two separate constructions.

(b) Castillo de San Salvador de La Punta. (Saint Savior of the Point castle.)¹⁰ (S-C2).

The castle is a small bastion built at the entrance of the harbor, on the NW side, leeward to El Morro. Its main purpose was to protect the entrance of the harbor and the nearby Caleta (Inlet) de San Lázaro, west of the bastion. It still exists. Eng. Antonelli also designed this castle, built during the XVII century (1591 - 1593.)



(S-C2)

(c) Las Murallas (The Walls)¹¹.

Havana was one of the few walled cities in America. The fortified walls extended from nearby La Punta castle to half the way towards the harbor. Juan Síscara planned the

⁹ J. Pérez de la Riva. Ibid. p. 17.

¹⁰ J. Pérez de la Riva. Ibid. p. 17.

¹¹ J. Pérez de la Riva. Ibid. p. 17.

construction, which started on February 6, 1674, and finished in 1740. It included two important strongholds: La Punta, or North Gate; and the Arsenal, where the wall ended. Also heavily protected with guns was the Puerta de Tierra (Earth Gate) at the end of present day Muralla (Wall) street and Plaza de las Ursulinas. The walls included seven bastions armed with heavy guns.

(d) Castillo de la Real Fuerza (The Royal Force Castle). (S-1297).

This castle is: "...the oldest inhabited building of the New World."¹² Francisco de Calona directed the construction of this fortress, which was completed in 1580. It is still being used. At the time of the attack, it was the key-stone of a triangle formed with the Morro castle and the Punta bastion. It was also the official home of the Spanish Governors.



(S-1297)

(e) Torreón de la Chorrera. (La Chorrera Turret). (S-972).

This was a watch-tower built at the right side of the mouth of the Almendares river. Eng. Juan B. Antonelli, the son of the builder of the Morro Castle, designed and built this fortress (1643) as well as Cojímar's.



(S-972)

(f) Torreón de Cojímar (Cójímar Turret). (Edifil envelope 133.)

This was another watch-tower, built on the left side of the Cojímar river (1649), following Antonelli Jr.'s design.

(g) The defensive system also included turrets in Bacuranao (east of Cojímar), where the British made their first landing, San Lázaro, and Marianao (both west of Havana).

(h) Spanish war ships in Havana.

At the time of the attack, there were 12 ship of the line, 5 frigates, and 1 dogger in the bay. Additionally, there were 4 or 5 advice-boats.¹³ There were two more ships under construction. In total they had 808 heavy cannons.



The ships included the "San Carlos" (S-3137) and "San Genaro" (S-3139).

(S-3137)

(S-3139)



¹² Hugh Thomas, *Ibid.* p. 32.

¹³ Amalia A. Rodriguez. *Cinco Diarios del Sitio de la Habana*, Edited by Biblioteca Nacional José Martí. p. 13.

Hospitals in Havana in 1762.

Hospital San Juan de Dios.¹⁴ (Saint John of God hospital)

This hospital was founded following a Royal order given in Valladolid, Spain (1602). The Spanish government charged the friars of the order of Saint John of God with the responsibility of managing the hospital. To that effect, they took over the building of a previous hospital named Saint Philip the Royal (San Felipe el Real). For that reason, the hospital is frequently called either Hospital de San Juan de Dios, or Hospital Real de San Felipe y Santiago.

When the British conquered Havana, they took possession of the hospital to care for the wounded and sick. The British forces ordered all the ailing Spaniards to leave the hospital. They sent them to the building housing the jail, close to the Punta bastion.



The preceding action, and several issues about the use of Roman Catholic temples by the Protestant British force, created bitter disputes between Lord Albemarle and Bishop Pedro Agustín Morell de Santa Cruz. (S-C129) The dispute ended when Lord Albemarle ordered that the Bishop be expelled to Saint Agustin (Florida), then a Spanish possession of which Morell de Santa Cruz was also bishop.

(b) Hospital San Francisco de Paula para Mujeres. (Saint Francis of Paula Hospital for Women).

(S-C129) This is among the first hospitals built in Havana. It formed part of a complex including the Saint Francis of Paula church. Only the dome of the church remains (S-1300). The hospital was built in 1665, using funds bequeathed by Presbyter Nicolás Estebes Borges.¹⁵



(S-1300)

(c) Hospital San Ambrosio.

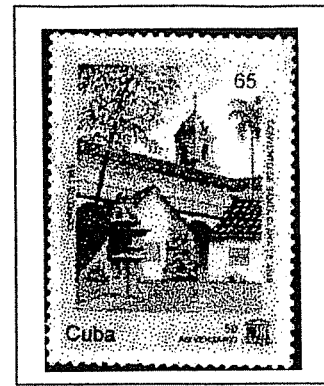
The first location of this hospital was near the San Isidro Hospice, in San Isidro street, between Picota and Compostela streets. Following the return of Havana to Spanish government (1773) the military patients in the San Juan de Dios Hospital were transferred to the San Ambrosio hospital. Later on, this hospital was relocated in the Royal Factory building. The San Ambrosio hospital remained the main Spanish Military hospital until Cuba obtained its independence from Spain.

¹⁴ Cited by A. A. Rodríguez. Ibid. p. 33.

¹⁵ César A. Mena. *Historia de la Medicina en Cuba. I. Hospitales y Centros Benéficos en la Cuba colonial*, Ediciones Universal. p. 262.

(d) Combento (sic) de las Monjas Claras.¹⁶ (S-3680).

The Santa Clara convent was situated on Cuba street, cornering Sol street. It was not a hospital, however it served as a provisional hospital during the British attack. The reference mentions that: "...it was almost full of wounded."



(S-3680)

(e) Hospital de San Lázaro para Leprosos. (Saint Lazarus Hospital for Lepers).

The history of this hospital is interesting. It was originally built as a thatch hut in the former Juan Guillén inlet, or in the San Lázaro inlet, which is very close. It was relocated to the estate of Los Pontones (1681). It was again transferred to the estate Brito (1704), its location during the British attack (1762.) This area was outside the city walls, to the West, and under British control early on during the attack.

(f) Convalecencia de Belén. (Bethlehemite Hospital for Convalescents.)¹⁷

Pedro S. de Betancourt founded the Bethlehemite order in Guatemala in 1655. (Spain Scott 1500). Bishop Evelino D. de Compostela founded this hospital in Havana (1704.) The famous "Arch of Belen" that connected two of the buildings used by the hospital, still exists in Acosta Street, Havana.



(S-1500)

(g) Combento (sic) de Sn. Agustín. (Saint Agustín Convent.)¹⁸

This convent was in Old Havana, in the block formed by Cuba, Amargura, Aguiar and Teniente Rey streets. Though it was not a hospital, it was used as one "for blacks" during the attack.

(h) Hospital de San Antonio.¹⁹ (Saint Anthony hospital.)

Israel Putnam, member of the British forces, calls this hospital "San Antino" (Sept. 4, 1762.) Obviously, this was a misspelling for San Antonio. On September 18, Putnam again mentions this hospital as "San Antonio." Further more, Putnam writes: "8 Carts to Be in ye. Square of St. Francis this Day at 3 o'clock to Be Imploid in transporting ye. Sick from ye. Hospital to St. Antony to ye. Subburbs."

Notes: Two points of interest arise from this statement: (a) the use of "Carts" (or "ambulances") to transport the sick, and (b) there is no specific reference to the St. Francis square (there were two Saint Francis squares in Havana). I conclude it is the square next to the San Francis of Paula temple. A further question is, where was this hospital? The answer is that there was no hospital with this name. However, there was a

¹⁶ Cited by A. A. Rodríguez. Ibid. p. 33.

¹⁷ Cited by A. A. Rodríguez. Ibid. p. 33.

¹⁸ Cited by A. A. Rodríguez. Ibid. p. 34.

¹⁹ Mentioned by Lt. Col. Israel Putnam in his orderly book, in Havana. A. A. Rodríguez. Ibid p. 133.

ward called "San Antonio" in the San Francisco de Paula hospital. This ward: "...for white ordinary persons, and in its chambers they applied the ointments to all who needed them"²⁰ was part of the Saint Francis of Paula hospital for Women.

(i) Hospital (Hospicio) de San Isidro.²¹ (Saint Isidro Hospice).

Bishop Gerónimo Valdés established this hospice (1728) as a dependency of the Casa Cuna (an orphanage). It was not a hospital, but due to the need to care for the wounded and sick, they were sent there for treatment. It had been used as a Provisional Hospital for sailors since 1738 when a serious epidemic of yellow fever reached Havana. Years later this institution became the Department of Anatomy of the University of Havana.²²

(j) Hospital San Carlos de la Caridad.²³ (Saint Charles of the Charity Hospital).

The founding of this military hospital took place in 1761, in the Factory section of the city. It disappeared during the British attack (1762).²⁴

(k) Hospital Tránsito del Señor San José - Para hombres. (Hospital of the passage of St. Joseph - For men).

This hospital was in Guanabacoa, the town nearest to Havana. The British forces under Gen. George Augustus Elliot soon took over the city and the hospital. We know that the British forces used the hospital, as indicated in other parts of this paper. The hospital was founded following a Royal Decree issued in El Escorial, Spain, on November 12, 1757.

(l) Field Military hospitals arranged during the attack:

(a) Spanish

- (1) Morro Castle. (S-432).
- (2) San Francisco de Asis temple. (S-539)

(b) British

- (3) British Field Hospital "East of the harbor."²⁵
- (4) Hospital Ships.²⁶



(S-539)

Known Medical Doctors During the Attack

(a) Spanish physicians.

²⁰ César A. Mena. Ibid. p. 265.

²¹ Mentioned by Juan de Prado in his diary, on June 19. A. A. Rodríguez. Ibid. p. 83.

²² César A. Mena. Ibid. p. 213.

²³ Mentioned by Celia M. Parcero Torre: *La Pérdida de La Habana y las Reformas Borbónicas en Cuba 1760 -1773*, Junta de Castilla y León, 1998.

²⁴ César A. Mena. Ibid. p. 300.

²⁵ Cited by A. A. Rodríguez. Ibid. p. 36. The diary mentions that "...our Banabacoa (sic) (Guanabacoa) troops have had an encounter with the British on the "L." (Levante, or East?) of the harbor, where they have their hospitals".)

²⁶ A. A. Rodríguez. Ibid. p. 150. Putnam writes: "...and Cloathing that Belong to their men Who Have Died on board Hospital Ships."

Unfortunately, we do not have a complete account of all the physicians, surgeons and other medical personnel in Havana during the British attack. In his compilation, "*La Medicina en La Habana, 1731-1799*,"²⁷ Dr. José López Sánchez acknowledges the physicians graduated during that period. Consequently, as a minimum, the following physicians were practicing in Havana on June 6, 1762: Tomás García, Miguel Rodríguez de León, Mathías Canto Medina, Fernando González, Juan M. Gómez Cabrera, Pedro Floquet, Antonio Miranda, Félix J. Piñero, Gregorio del Aguila, José F. Báez y Llerena, Agustín Sanabria y Palomino, Nicolás José de Torres, Nicolás de Estrada, Juan Manuel Baeza. Juan de Prado Portocarrero mentions a Doctor Serrano, in his diary (June 18).

The following Protomedics were also in Havana: Ambrosio Medrano, José M. de Aparicio Ferrer, José de Arango Barrios, Juan J. Alvarez Franco, and Julián Recio de Oquendo.

(b) Spanish Boticarios (Pharmacists).

Francisco J. Toscano, Cristóbal Pérez, Blas de Fuentes, Agustín de los Reyes Gavilán, Francisco Sánchez, Matías Pérez Gragea, Antonio Fuentes Bernal, Gerónimo Garzón, Juan J. Larios, Antonio López Gavilán, Pedro F. de Montiel.

(c) British physicians.

Extant records include the following physicians:

Sir Clifton Wintringham "Director General of The Hospitals and Chief Physician of the fleet."²⁸ He also was Chief Physician.²⁹

Mr. Daniel Mandeville received payment "for 2 Physicians..."³⁰ No names are given. He also received payment on behalf of, "...the Deputy Director and Chief Surgeon." and "for 4 Surgeons and four apothecaries." To himself "...as Purveyor to the Hospital and Chief Apothecary." Therefore, Mr. Mandeville was the Chief Apothecary of the fleet. He also received moneys "...for 39 Hospital Mates."³¹

According to warrant # 7, issued on board of the *Namur*, flagship of the expedition, Lord Albemarle assigned the sum of Fifty Thousand Pounds to the "General and Staff Officers, the Officers of the Hospital and for Contingent Expences (sic)..." Per warrant # 12, on board of the *Namur*, in Martinique, on May 5, 1762, Albemarle ordered to pay L 144 Sh. 5 d. 6 to cover "...extraordinary Hospital Expences (sic) of the Sick Men of the several regiments..." Warrant # 28, in Havana, on August 3, 1762, Albemarle ordered to pay Mr. Daniel Mandeville the sum of L. 2500 "...of the Contingent Hospital Expences (sic) of His Majesty's Forces upon a Secret Expedition under my Command." Note that this warrant given on August 3, still refers to a Secret Expedition when the British had already conquered the Morro Castle and the surrender of the city was inevitable.

²⁷ Dr. José López Sánchez. Ibid.

²⁸ J. Pérez de la Riva. Ibid. p. 1 of the Warrants issued by Lord Albemarle on board of his ship *Namur*, at Sea, on the 5th. Day of March 1762.

²⁹ J. Pérez de la Riva. Ibid. p. 68.

³⁰ J. Pérez de la Riva. Ibid. p. 68.

³¹ All the above are in J. Pérez de la Riva. Ibid. p. 68

Warrant # 52 includes, besides Sir C. Wintringham the following "Officers of the Hospital": Dr. Richard Bathurst, physician (He died in Havana, as the result of "fevers" in 1762); Dr. Hugh Alexander Kennedy, physician; Henry Sandys, Chief Surgeon and Deputy Director; Thomas Hopkins, Master Surgeon; William Adair, as Do. (Ditto); Samuel Bright, as Do.; Walter Henderson, as Do.; John Baddeley, as Do.; Matthew Wilcox, as Do.; Richard Walken, Master Apothecary; Robert Walsh, as Do.; Daniel Mandeville, as Do.; Patrick Fergus, as Do.; Edward Bromhead, as Do.; John Young, as Do.; Mateo Wilcox, Mate to the Hospital; James Beavan, Do.

The warrant continues to name 37 other "Mates to the Hospital."

Warrant # 63 mentions Dr. Richard Huck-Saunders, "Physician to the Hospital."

Warrant # 58, dated October 14, 1762, assigns Mr. Daniel Mandeville the amount of L 5,000 "being upon the Contingent Hospital Expences (sic) of His Majesty's forces."

Warrant # 106 orders to pay Mr. D. Mandeville "...the sum of one hundred and ten pounds sterling in Lien of the Medicine chests usually supplied by Government at the commencement of every campaign."

In the Orderly Book kept by Lt. Col. Israel Putnam in Havana, he writes: "Lt. Fraizer Deceast. mr. Hopkins to Act as Assistance Physician to the Hospital town." (August 29, 1762). Putnam, on August 30 continues: "a Capt. to go to Granimico (sic) (Guanabacoa) this Day to Examine in Conjunction With Mr. Surgeon Sardes the Convelasants (sic) in that Hospital." Putnam on September 3: "Mr. Steward to Suceede Surgeon Cook." On Oct. 10: "Earl of Albemarle Has Been Pleased to Appoint Mr. David Caldwell to be Surgeon to ye. 9th. Regt." October 14: "...they Will Be Examined By Dot. Hopkins."

Major Joseph Gorham also kept a diary during his stay in Havana, and includes the name of "Abraham Depee, Surgeon."³² He also mentions Constantine Doherty, surgeon.

An unknown author, probably a Spanish sailor from the *Aquilón*, one of the Spanish war ships in Havana during the attack, kept a diary of the operations. He writes on June 21 "...that many British were getting sick, and some died of vomit (black vomit)? and others swelled..."³³

Celia M. Parcero Torres indicates that on August 29, 2,188 soldiers left for Spain and a total of 1,327 remained in Havana, sick and in the hospitals. The Marquis of Real Transporte included in his defense that on August 11 there were more than 3,000 wounded in the hospitals. Other historians give different counts ranging from 1,313 to 5,000 wounded. However, most probably the higher figures include those affected by yellow fever and other diseases.

Since it was customary for ships to have a surgeon on board, we must conclude that the ships' surgeons complemented the possible lack of physicians.

³² A. A. Rodríguez. *Ibid.* p. 187.

³³ *Cinco Diarios del Sitio de La Habana.* *Ibid.* p. 26.

(d) Nurses: Israel Putnam, on September 9, says: “to Send Nurses to Attend ye Sick at Guanimacoa (sic) (Guanabacoa).”³⁴

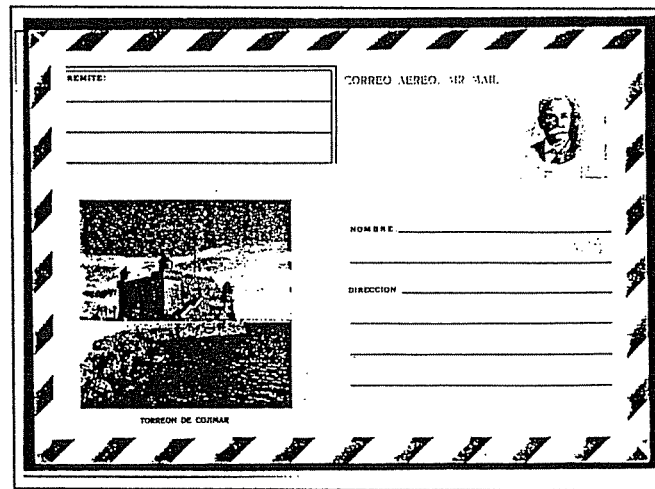
(e) Medicine: Israel Putnam mentions “Bark” (quinine) in his Orderly Book on September 6. He indicates that the price is “one Dollar pr. lb.”

Summary:

Great Britain, France and Spain signed a peace treaty on February 10, 1763, known as the Treaty of Paris. Accordingly, England returned Havana and the occupied Cuban territory, from Matanzas (S-331) to Mariel (S-C114), to Spain. In exchange, Great Britain received Florida, and the forts of Pensacola and Apalache. Spain also agreed to give up its fishing claims in Terranova (Newfoundland.). France yielded India and Canada to Great Britain. Spain received Louisiana from France.



(S-331) (S-C-114)



Torreón de Cojímar
(Edifil envelope 133)

³⁴ A. A. Rodríguez, *Ibid.* p. 139. Note: Although this is translated in the book as “enfermeras” (feminine) there is no evidence of female nurses in Havana at the time.

Spain continued to lose territories in the Americas. Florida became a British possession. The British now dominated North America from Labrador to Florida.

A new generation of Cuban born physicians started to introduce in Cuba the knowledge and ideas from other countries, mainly Europe. The most notable physician was Tomás Romay (S-599) who introduced vaccination in Cuba, as preventive medicine, at the beginning of the XIX century.

Although the Cuban economic development had already started before the British attack, it is certain that its overseas commerce greatly improved. England opened Cuban international commerce, previously restricted by Spain to transactions between Cuba and Spain.

The sugar, coffee and tobacco industries started a rapid development and Spain paid more attention to its stronghold in the Caribbean. Spain built new fortresses in Havana, such as Atarés, La Cabaña and the Príncipe castles. On a hill now occupied by Havana University, the Spanish government built a pyrotechnic complex.

For Cuba, the seed of nationalism and independence was sprouting. The so called "Illustrated Despotism" that started in Spain under Charles III was extended to Cuba. A few years later medicine received a significant boost with the introduction of vaccination by Dr. Tomás Romay.

Envoi:

I have written this with the purpose to highlight an interesting episode in the history of Cuba, Spain and England during the Seven Year's War.

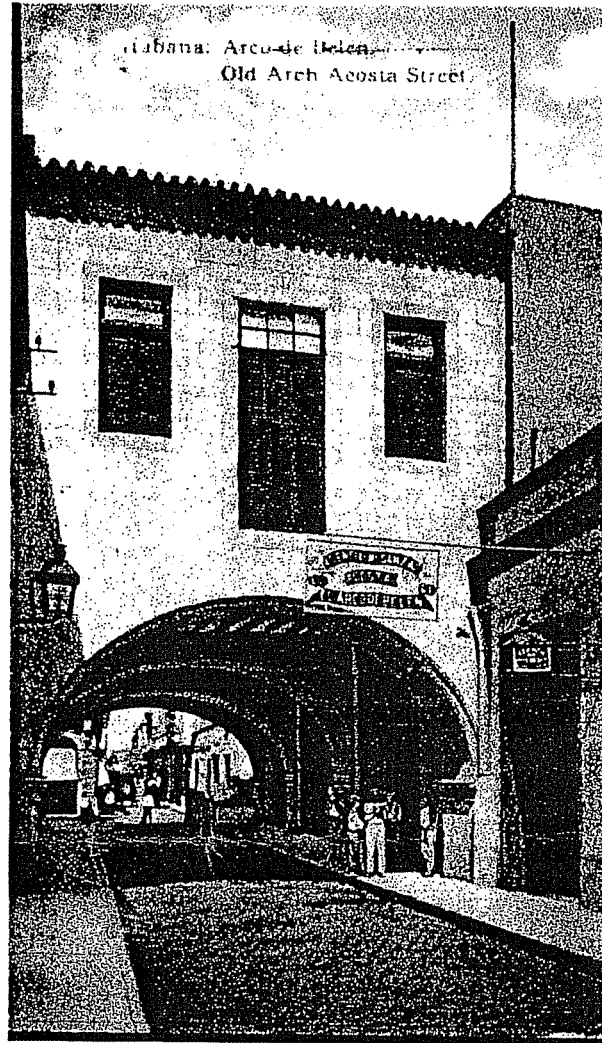
I have again, although only in my mind, re-visited the places about Havana in which I lived, studied, worked, and walked during my youth (1947 - 1960).

Philatelic references:

Besides the stamps shown, the following stamps also relate to this subject:

- (a) Castle of the Three Kings of the Morro: Scott: E5, E6, E7, C1, C2, C30, C318, 286, 2743, 2773/79, 3248, 3338; Edifil: 191C, 203A, 203a, FN203 Type I, and Type II, 220a, 277, 329he; Postcards and printed envelopes: Edifil 118b, 119A, 120A, 123.
- (b) Royal Force Castle. Scott: 2821; Edifil envelope 109.
- (c) La Punta Bastion. It is included in all the stamps showing a seaplane flying over Morrow Castle and Havana Malecón (Scott C1 *et al*).
- (d) Chorrera Turret. Scott 1671; Edifil envelope 145g.
- (e) Temples used as provisional hospitals: Scott: 1301, 3681
- (f) Old Square (Plaza Vieja): Scott 2820.
- (g) Towns, cities and fortresses under Spanish control: Scott: C-176 (Sancti Spiritus), 1299 (castle Our Lady of the Angels (Cienfuegos), 1302 Morro castle (Santiago de Cuba), C-21 San Severino castle (Matanzas).

- (h) Towns and cities under British control: Scott: C114 (Mariel), 325 (Matanzas), 3469 (Santa María del Rosario.)



Bethlehemite Hospital for Convalescents

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Military Hospitals and Medicine in Havana in 1762

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On June 6, 1762, a British force attacked and besieged the city of Havana. Two months later, on August 12, 1762, the city finally surrendered. According to different sources, some 8,000 soldiers, sailors and civilians perished during that period. Considering that Havana only had a few hospitals at the time, where were the wounded treated, how many physicians were available, and what medical care they received? These are difficult questions, none-the-less; I will attempt to highlight the information available.

When quoting old documents, I will maintain the original spelling.

Background.

Diego Velázquez de Cuéllar founded Havana (San Cristóbal de La Habana) on the southern shores of Cuba, around what is today Surgidero de Batabanó, in 1514. The Spaniards soon relocated it in the north shore, at its present location.

For over two centuries Havana had been the gathering point for Spanish ships loaded with goods [mainly gold and silver] shipped from the Spanish colonies in America to Spain. The city, heavily fortified and considered an impregnable fortress, had a defensive wall around what is now Old Havana.¹ In 1762 the population of Havana was close to 50,000², making it the third largest city in the Americas. Only Lima and México surpassed its population.



King Carlos III



Remains of
Havana walls.

France and England were at war in 1762 [The Seven Years' War]. The British had conquered Canada and India from France. Britain also had conquered several islands in the Caribbean from Spain and France, including Jamaica and Guadeloupe. An attack to the French possession of Martinique was underway. France had signed an alliance with Spain known as *Pacto de Familia* (Family Pact). The sovereigns of France and Spain [Louis XV and Charles III respectively] belonged to the Bourbons dynasty that had similar political and economic interests. For this reason, England declared war on Spain on January 5, 1762, involving Spain in the Seven Years' War. It culminated victoriously for the British, with the taking of Havana (August 12, 1762.)

¹ At the time, Havana had the following defenses: The Force Castle, started in 1538; the Morro Castle [built in 1590]; the Punta bastion. All three around the harbor and two nearby fortified towers (*torreones*), the *Torreón de la Chorrera* at the mouth of present Almendares River, and the other at the mouth of the Cojimar River, known as *Torreón de Cojimar*.

² J. Pérez de la Riva, *Documentos Inéditos sobre la Toma de La Habana por los Ingleses en 1762*. p. 17.



Sir William Pitt

William Pitt, the Elder, was no longer Prime Minister in England [he had been forced to resign in 1761] although his ambition to conquer Havana, Panamá, and other places in the New World remained. England still felt a strong desire to conquer these places. George III relied on the Duke of Cumberland to organize an armada and to appoint the commanders to lead it. The purpose was to capture Havana, and the island of Cuba.

The Duke's choice for the position was General George Keppel, Count of Albemarle. He appointed Albemarle Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and the expedition. Sir George Pocock was appointed Chief Admiral of the fleet. In addition, two of Lord Albermarle's younger brothers [Admiral Viscount Augustus Keppel and William Keppel] had important roles in the expedition. The latter remained commander of Havana when Lord Albemarle sailed for England in October 1762.

Lord Albemarle assembled a large fleet in Portsmouth. On March 5 he gave order to set sails. From the bay of Spithead departure 5 ships of the line, 30 transport ships with some 4,000 soldiers, 19 supply ships and 8 gunboats.³ These forces were later on reinforced with ships and men from the Caribbean, New York and other British quarters in the New World. Historians reckon the final count at 22,000 men.

Sir George Pocock sailed towards Martinique, for a rendezvous with Rear-Admiral George Brydes Rodney⁴. Upon arrival he found that Rodney already had taken the island. The expedition then sailed to Saint Domingue, Haiti before heading for Havana.⁵

George Pocock had two choices of routes to sail to Havana: The traditional route was south of Cuba to cape San Antonio, then letting the ships to travel graciously with the Gulf Current to Havana. Sailors normally avoided the other route through the Old Bahaman Channel, north of Cuba, because it was very dangerous. Pocock chose this northern route. The armada moved forward sorting all the perils met in the channel, and surprising the Spaniards when they unexpectedly appeared near Havana.

According to Cuban historian Ramiro Guerra, the British expedition consisted of 200 ships of all kinds. It also had a task force of approximately 25,000, including sailors, soldiers and blacks (slaves.)

The Situation in Havana:

³ Hugh Thomas, *Cuba, La Lucha por la Libertad 1772-1909*. Ediciones Grijalbo, S.A. p. 23.

⁴ The British government appointed G. B. Rodney Governor of the Navy Hospital, Greenwich, England. (1765-1770.)

⁵ The total number of ships assembled for the attack to Havana includes 26 warships, 24 frigates and 3 bombards.

The most prominent Spanish leaders in Havana at the time of the attack were Gen. Juan de Prado Portocarrero Malleza y Luna, Captain General⁶ of the Island of Cuba [before leaving for Havana he received the rank of Field Marshall]; Gutierre de Hevia y Valdés, Marquis of the Real Transporte, Admiral of the Spanish Fleet; the Count of Superunda, former Viceroy of Perú, and Diego de Tabares, Military Governor of Cartagena, Colombia. These two officers were in Havana at the time of the attack. They formed part in the Joint Command that planned the defense of the city. The Spanish Sovereign ordered a trial of these officers for failure to repeal the attack. The judges condemned them to several severe penalties in Spain (1763.)

One officer who earned total recognition from Spain, and the British, was Luis Vicente de Velasco de Isla. He was a Captain in the Spanish Navy, commander of the warship *Reina* that was anchored in Havana. He received the order to defend the Morro Castle. Velasco accomplished this task heroically until he was seriously wounded on July 30. Lord Albemarle ordered one of his aids to accompany the wounded Velasco to the city, in consideration to the bravery displayed by this sailor. Velasco did not recover from the wounds and died in Havana on July 31, 1762. The Spanish Sovereign ordered, in 1764, that, from then on, the Spanish Navy should have a war ship named *Velasco*. The Spanish Navy has maintained this tradition.

The British attack on Havana proceeded with great losses to both sides. They took Havana after a siege of sixty-eight days.

When Juan de Prado arrived in Havana he found, aside from other human social and economic situations, that the city had been suffering a terrible epidemic of yellow fever, the scorch of the tropics in those years. Overall, the quality of medicine in Havana was as poor as in England and Spain.

In the *Municipal Acts of Havana*⁷ we find a vivid and graphic description of a terrible epidemic of yellow fever (black vomit) in 1761. On August 19, 1761, the Lieutenant Governor of the city describes how, upon the arrival of military reinforcements, the city: "...started to experience a kind of epidemic...mainly in the persons of European stock." The council also resolved to request the Protomedics to make recommendations to solve the problem created by the epidemic, including prophylactic measures. Among the measures suggested they requested the: "...free passage of air." They also suggested that: "...in the nearby corners to burn *buñigos de buey y postas de vaca* [oxen and cows' dung] with some aromatic herb." And: "...to wash and boil the clothing of the dead with *maguey* (agave)."

All the historians who have covered this period agree that more than fifty per cent of the dead, on both sides, died of diseases, of which yellow fever was the main culprit. The disease mainly affected "the Europeans" for lack of previous exposure to the disease and consequently had not acquired natural immunization. More than one hundred years later Dr. Carlos J. Finlay established his theory that a mosquito transmits yellow fever.

⁶ The Spanish Government vested the title of Captain General to the Governors of Spanish possessions and Military Regions in Spain. The rank of Captain General of the Army was seldom given. Two Cuban Captain Generals later on received it, Valeriano Weyler and Camilo García Polavieja.

⁷ Dr. José López Sánchez, *La Medicina en La Habana 1550-1730*, Consejo Científico - Ministerio de Salud Pública (Cuba), 1970. p. 195-200.

Havana's Fortresses:

Havana was a heavily fortified city. His fortifications included the following:

(a) El Castillo de Los Tres Reyes del Morro. [The Castle of the Three Kings of the Morro].⁸

The castle was, undoubtedly, the most formidable of all defenses in Havana, and probably in the New World, at the time of the British attack. Philip II ordered the construction, which was started in 1589, under Eng. Juan Bautista Antonelli. The construction was finished in 1615. The Spanish built a little impressive lighthouse on the highest point of the promontory (morro) in 1764.



Under Spanish Governor Leopoldo O'Donnell, the existing and famous lighthouse that leads the sailors into the harbor was built (1844.) The lighthouse and the fortress are two separate constructions.



Morro Castle and lighthouse

(b) Castillo San Salvador de La Punta. [Saint Savior of the Point castle.]⁹

The castle is a small bastion built at the entrance of the harbor, on the NW side, leeward to El Morro. Its main purpose was to protect the entrance of the harbor and the nearby Caleta (Inlet) de San Lázaro, west of the bastion. It still exists. Eng. Antonelli also designed this castle, which was built during the XVII century (1591 - 1593.)



La Punta castle is at the beginning of the malecón.

(c) Las Murallas. (The Walls)¹⁰.

Havana was one of the few walled cities in America. The fortified walls extended from nearby La Punta castle to half the way towards the harbor. Juan Síscara planned the construction, which started on February 6, 1674, and finished in 1740. It included two important strongholds: La Punta, or North Gate; and he Arsenal, where the wall ended.

Also heavily protected with guns was the Puerta de Tierra (Earth Gate) at the end of present day Muralla (Wall) street and Plaza de las Ursulinas. The walls included seven bastions armed with heavy guns.

⁸ J. Pérez de la Riva. Ibid. p. 17.

⁹ J. Pérez de la Riva. Ibid. p. 17.

¹⁰ J. Pérez de la Riva. Ibid. p. 17.

(d) Castillo de la Real Fuerza. [The Royal Force Castle.]

This castle is: "...the oldest inhabited building of the New World."¹¹ Francisco de Calona directed the construction of this fortress, which was completed in 1580. It is still being used.

At the time of the attack, it was the keystone of a triangle formed with the Morro Castle and the Punta bastion. It was also the official home of the Spanish Governors.



(e) Torreón de la Chorrera. [La Chorrera Turret]

This was a watchtower built at the right side of the mouth of the Almendares River. Eng. Juan B. Antonelli, the son of the builder of the Morro Castle, designed and built this fortress (1643) as well as Cojímar's. The Royal Force castle.

(f) Torreón de Cojímar. [Cojímar Turret.]

This was another watchtower, built on the left side of the Cojímar River (1649), following Antonelli Jr.'s design.



(g) The defensive system also included turrets in Bacuranao [east of Cojímar], where the British made their first landing, San Lázaro, and Marianao [both west of Havana.]

Cojimar turret.

(h) Spanish war ships in Havana.

At the time of the attack, there were 12 ships of the line, 5 frigates, and 1 dogger in the bay. Additionally, there were 4 or 5 advice-boats.¹² There were two more ships under construction. In total they had 808 heavy cannons.



San Carlos

The ships included the "San Carlos" and "San Genaro".



San Genaro

¹¹ Hugh Thomas, *Ibid.* p. 32.

¹² Amalia A. Rodriguez. *Cinco Diarios del Sitio de la Habana*, Edited by Biblioteca Nacional José Martí. p. 13.

Hospitals in Havana in 1762.

Hospital San Juan de Dios.¹³ [Saint John of God hospital.]

This hospital was founded following a Royal order given in Valladolid, Spain (1602). The Spanish government charged the frays of the Saint John of God order with the responsibility of managing the hospital. To that effect, they took over the building of a previous hospital named Saint Philip the Royal (San Felipe el Real). For that reason, the hospital is frequently called either Hospital de San Juan de Dios, or Hospital Real de San Felipe y Santiago.

When the British conquered Havana, they took possession of the hospital to care for the wounded and sick. The British forces ordered all the ailing Spaniards to leave the hospital. They sent them to the building housing the jail, close to the Punta bastion.

The preceding action, and several issues about the use of Roman Catholic temples by the Protestant British force, created bitter disputes between Lord Albemarle and Bishop Pedro Agustín Morell. Lord Albemarle ordered that the Bishop be expelled to Saint Agustin (Florida), then a Spanish possession of which Morell de Santa Cruz was also bishop.



Bishop Morell de Santa Cruz

(b) Hospital San Francisco de Paula para Mujeres. [Saint Francis of Paula Hospital for Women.]

This is among the first hospitals built in Havana. It formed part of a complex including the Saint Francis of Paula church. Only the dome of the church remains. It was built in 1665, using funds bequeathed by Presbyter Nicolás Esteves Borges.¹⁴



Remains of the Saint Francis Hospital for Women.

c) Hospital San Ambrosio

The first location of this hospital was near the San Isidro Hospice, in San Isidro street, between Picota and Compostela streets. Following the return of Havana to the Spanish government (1774) the military patients in the San Juan de Dios Hospital were transferred to the San Ambrosio hospital. Later on, this hospital was relocated in the Royal Factory building. The San Ambrosio hospital remained the main Spanish Military hospital until Cuba obtained its independence from Spain.

¹³ Cited by A. A. Rodríguez. *Ibid.* p. 33.

¹⁴ César A. Mena. *Historia de la Medicina en Cuba. I. Hospitales y Centros Benéficos en la Cuba colonial*, Ediciones Universal. p. 262.

(d) Convento (sic) de las Monjas Claras. Convent of Santa Clara?¹⁵

The Santa Clara convent was situated on Cuba Street, cornering Sol Street. It was not a hospital; however it served as provisional hospital during the British attack. The reference mentions that: "...it was almost full of wounded."



a

Santa Clara convent.

(e) Hospital de San Lázaro para Leprosos. (Saint Lazarus Hospital for Lepers).

The history of this hospital is interesting. It was originally built as a thatch hut in the former Juan Guillén inlet, or in the San Lázaro inlet, which are very close. It was relocated at Los Pontones estate (1681.) It was again transferred to the estate Brito (1704), its location during the British attack (1762.) This area was outside the city walls, to the West, and under British control early on during the attack.

(f) Convalecencia de Belén. [Bethlemita Hospital for Convalescents.]¹⁶

Pedro S. de Betancourt founded the Betlemit order in Guatemala, in 1655. Bishop Evelino D. de Compostela founded this hospital in Havana (1704.) The famous "Arch of Belen" that connected two of the buildings used by the hospital, still exists in Acosta Street, Havana.



Pedro S. Betancourt.

(g) Convento de Sn. Agustín (sic). (Saint Agustín Convent.)¹⁷

This convent was in Old Havana, in the block formed by Cuba Amargura, Aguiar and Teniente Rey streets. Though it was not a hospital, it was used as one "for blacks" during the attack.

(h) Hospital de San Antonio.¹⁸ **(Saint Anthony hospital.)**

Israel Putnam, member of the British forces, calls this hospital "San Antino" (Sept. 4, 1762.) Obviously, this was a misspelling for San Antonio. On September 18, Putnam again mentions this hospital as "San Antonio." Further more, Putnam writes: *8 Carts to Be in ye. Square of St. Francis this Day at 3 o clock to Be Inploid in transporting ye. Sick from ye. Hospital to St. Antony to ye. Subburbs.*

¹⁵ Cited by A. A. Rodríguez. Ibid. p. 33.

¹⁶ Cited by A. A. Rodríguez. Ibid. p. 33.

¹⁷ Cited by A. A. Rodríguez. Ibid. p. 34.

¹⁸ Mentioned by Lt. Col. Israel Putnam in his orderly book, in Havana. A. A. Rodríguez. Ibid p. 133.

Notes: Two points of interest arise from this statement: (a) the use of “Carts” (or “ambulances”) to transport the sick, and (b) there is no specific reference to the St. Francis square [there were two Saint Francis squares in Havana.] I conclude it is the square next to the San Francis of Paula temple. A further question is where was this hospital? The answer is that there was no hospital with this name. However, there was a ward called “San Antonio” in the San Francisco de Paula hospital. This ward: “...for white ordinary persons, and in its chambers they applied the ointments to all who needed them”¹⁹ was part of the Saint Francis of Paula hospital for Women.

(i) Hospital (Hospicio) de San Isidro.²⁰ (Saint Isidro Hospice).

Bishop Gerónimo Valdés established this hospice (1728) as a dependency of the Casa Cuna (an orphanage). It was not a hospital, but due to the need to care for the wounded and sick, they were sent there for treatment. It had been used as a Provisional Hospital for sailors since 1738, when a serious epidemic of yellow fever reached Havana. Years later this institution became the Department of Anatomy of the University of Havana.²¹

(j) Hospital San Carlos de la Caridad.²² [Saint Charles of the Charity Hospital.]

The foundation of this military hospital took place in 1761, in the Factory section of the city. It disappeared during the British attack (1762).²³

(k) Hospital Tránsito del Señor San José - Para hombres. [Transit Hospital of Lord San Joseph - For men.]

This hospital was in Guanabacoa, the town nearest to Havana. The British forces under Gen. George Augustus Elliot soon took over the city and the hospital. We know that the British forces used the hospital, as indicated in other parts of this paper. The hospital was founded following a Royal Decree issued in El Escorial, Spain, on November 12, 1757.

(l) Field Military hospitals arranged during the attack.

- (1) Morro Castle.
- (2) San Francisco de Asis convent.
- (3) British Field Hospital “East of the harbor.”²⁴
- (4) Hospital Ships.²⁵



San Francis of Asis convent

¹⁹ César A. Mena. Ibid. p. 265.

²⁰ Mentioned by Juan de Prado in his diary, on June 19. A. A. Rodríguez. Ibid. p. 83.

²¹ César A. Mena. Ibid. p. 213.

²² Mentioned by Celia M. Parceró Torre: *La Pérdida de La Habana y las Reformas Borbónicas en Cuba 1760 -1773*, Junta de Castilla y León, 1998.

²³ César A. Mena. Ibid. p. 300.

²⁴ Cited by A. A. Rodríguez. Ibid. p. 36. The diary mentions that “...our Banabacoa (sic) (Guanabacoa) troops have had an encounter with the British on the “L.” (Levante, or East?) of the harbor, where they have their hospitals.)

²⁵ A. A. Rodríguez. Ibid. p. 150. Putnam writes: “...and Cloathing that Belong to their men Who Have Died on board Hospital Ships.”

Known Medical Doctors during the attack.

(a) Spanish physicians.

Unfortunately, we do not have a complete account of all the physicians, surgeons and other medical personnel in Havana during the British attack. In his compilation, “*La Medicina en La Habana, 1731-1799*,”²⁶ Dr. José López Sánchez acknowledges the physicians graduated during that period. Consequently, as a minimum, the following physicians were practicing in Havana on June 6, 1762: Tomás García, Miguel Rodríguez de León, Mathías Canto Medina, Fernando González, Juan M. Gómez Cabrera, Pedro Floquet, Antonio Miranda, Félix J. Piñero, Gregorio del Aguila, José F. Báez y Llerena, Agustín Sanabria y Palomino, Nicolás José de Torres, Nicolás de Estrada, Juan Manuel Baeza. Juan de Prado Portocarrero mentions a Doctor Serrano, in his diary (June 18).

The following Protomedics were also in Havana: Ambrosio Medrano, José M. de Aparicio Ferrer, José de Arango Barrios, Juan J. Alvarez Franco, and Julián Recio de Oquendo.

(b) Spanish Boticarios (Pharmacists.)

Francisco J. Toscano, Cristóbal Pérez, Blas de Fuentes, Agustín de los Reyes Gavilán, Francisco Sánchez, Matías Pérez Gragea, Antonio Fuentes Bernal, Gerónimo Garzón, Juan J. Larios, Antonio López Gavilán, Pedro F. de Montiel.

(c) British physicians.

Extant records include the following physicians:

Sir Clifton Wintringham “Director General of The Hospitals and Chief Physician of the fleet.”²⁷ He also was Chief Physician.²⁸

Mr. Daniel Mandeville received payment “for 2 Physicians...”²⁹ No names are given. He also received payment on behalf of, “...the Deputy Director and Chief Surgeon.” and “for 4 Surgeons and four apothecaries.” To himself “...as Purveyor to the Hospital and Chief Apothecary.” Therefore, Mr. Mandeville was the Chief Apothecary of the fleet. He also received moneys “...for 39 Hospital Mates.”³⁰

According to warrant # 7, issued on board of the *Namur*, flagship of the expedition, Lord Albermarle assigned the sum of Fifty Thousand Pounds to the “General and Staff Officers, the Officers of the Hospital and for Contingent Expences (sic)...” Per warrant # 12, on board of the *Namur*, in Martinique, on May 5, 1762, Albermarle ordered to pay L 144 Sh. 5 d. 6 to cover “...extraordinary Hospital Expences (sic) of the Sick Men of the several regiments...” Warrant # 28, in Havana, on August 3, 1762, Albemarle ordered to pay Mr. Daniel Mandeville the sum of L. 2500 “...of the Contingent Hospital Expences (sic) of His Majesty’s Forces upon a Secret Expedition under my Command.” Note that this warrant given on August 3, still refers to a Secret Expedition when the British had already conquered the Morro Castle and the surrender of the city was inevitable.

²⁶ Dr. José López Sánchez. Ibid.

²⁷ J. Pérez de la Riva. Ibid. p. 1 of the Warrants issued by Lord Albemarle on board of his ship *Namur*, at Sea, on the 5th. Day of March 1762.

²⁸ J. Pérez de la Riva. Ibid. p. 68.

²⁹ J. Pérez de la Riva. Ibid. p. 68.

³⁰ All the above are in J. Pérez de la Riva. Ibid. p. 68

Warrant # 52 includes, besides Sir C. Wintringham the following “Officers of the Hospital”: Dr. Richard Bathurst, physician. [He died in Havana, as the result of “fevers” in 1762]; Dr. Hugh Alexander Kennedy, physician; Henry Sandys, Chief Surgeon and Deputy Director; Thomas Hopkins, Master Surgeon; William Adair, as Do. (Ditto); Samuel Bright, as Do.; Walter Henderson, as Do.; John Baddeley, as Do.; Matthew Wilcox, as Do.; Richard Walken, Master Apothecary; Robert Walsh, as Do.; Daniel Mandeville, as Do.; Patrick Fergus, as Do.; Edward Bromhead, as Do.; John Young, as Do.; Mateo Wilcox, Mate to the Hospital; James Beavan, Do.

The warrant continues to name 37 other “Mates to the Hospital.” Warrant # 63 mentions Dr. Richard Huck-Saunders, “Physician to the Hospital.” Warrant # 58, dated October 14, 1762, assigns Mr. Daniel Mandeville the amount of L 5,000 “being upon the Contingent Hospital Expences (sic) of His Majesty’s forces.” Warrant # 106 orders to pay Mr. D. Mandeville “...the sum of one hundred and ten pounds sterling in Lien of the Medicine chests usually supplied by Government at the commencement of every campaign.”

In the Orderly Book kept by Lt. Col. Israel Putnam in Havana, he writes: “Lt. Fraizer Deceast. mr. Hopkins to Act as Assistance Physician to the Hospital town.” (August 29, 1762). Putnam, on August 30 continues: “a Capt. to go to Granimico (sic) (Guanabacoa) this Day to Examine in Conjunction With Mr. Surgeon Sardes the Convelasants (sic) in that Hospital.” Putnam on September 3: “Mr. Steward to Suceede Surgeon Cook.” On Oct. 10: “Earl of Albemarle Has Been Pleased to Appoint Mr. David Caldwell to be Surgeon to ye. 9th. Regt.”. October 14: “...they Will Be Examined By Dot. Hopkins.”

Major Joseph Gorham also kept a diary during his stay in Havana, and includes the name of “Abraham Depee, Surgeon.”³¹ He also mentions Constantine Doherty, surgeon.

An unknown author, probably a Spanish sailor from the *Aquilón*, one of the Spanish war ships in Havana during the attack, kept a diary of the operations. He writes on June 21 “...that many British were getting sick, and some died of vomit (black vomit)? and others swelled...”³²

Celia M. Parcero Torres indicates that on August 29, 2,188 soldiers left for Spain and a total of 1,327 remained in Havana, sick and in the hospitals. The Marquis of Real Transporte included in his defense that on August 11 there were more than 3,000 wounded in the hospitals. Other historians give different counts ranging from 1,313 to 5,000 wounded. However, most probably the higher figures include those affected by yellow fever and other diseases.

Since it was customary for ships to have a surgeon on board, we must conclude that the ships' surgeons complemented the possible lack of physicians.

(d) Nurses: Israel Putnam, on September 9, says: “to Send Nurses to Attend ye Sick at Guanamacoa (sic) (Guanabacoa).”³³

³¹ A. A. Rodríguez. *Ibid.* p. 187.

³² *Cinco Diarios del Sitio de La Habana.* *Ibid.* p. 26.

³³ A. A. Rodríguez, *Ibid.* p. 139. Note: Although this is translated in the book as “enfermeras” (feminine) there is no evidence of female nurses in Havana at the time.

(e) **Medicine:** Israel Putnam mentions “Bark” (quinine) in his Orderly Book on September 6. He indicates that the price is “one Dollar pr. lb.”

Conclusion:

Great Britain, France and Spain signed a peace treaty on February 10, 1763, known as the Peace of Paris. Accordingly, England returned Havana and the occupied Cuban territory, from Matanzas to Mariel, to Spain. In exchange, Great Britain received Florida, and the forts of Pensacola and Apalache. Spain also agreed to give up its fishing claims in Terranova (Newfoundland.). France yielded India and Canada to Great Britain. Spain received Louisiana from France.



Matanzas harbor



Mariel harbor



Torreón de Cojímar

Envoi:

I have written this story with the purpose to highlight an interesting military and medical episode in the History of Cuba, Spain and England. Although the Cuban economic development had already started before the attack, it is certain that its overseas commerce greatly improved. The sugar, coffee and tobacco industries started a rapid development and Spain paid more attention to its stronghold in the Caribbean. Spain built new fortresses in Havana, such as Atarés, La Cabaña and the Príncipe castles. On a hill now occupied by Havana University, the Spanish government built a pyrotechnic laboratory.

For Cuba, the seed of nationalism and independence was sprouting. The so-called “Illustrated Despotism” that started in Spain was applied in Cuba. A few years later

medicine received a significant impulse with the introduction of vaccination by Dr. Tomás Romay.

I have again, although only with my mind, re-visited the places about Havana in which I lived, studied, worked, and walked during my youth (1947 - 1960).

Philatelic references:

Besides the stamps shown, the following stamps also relate to this subject:

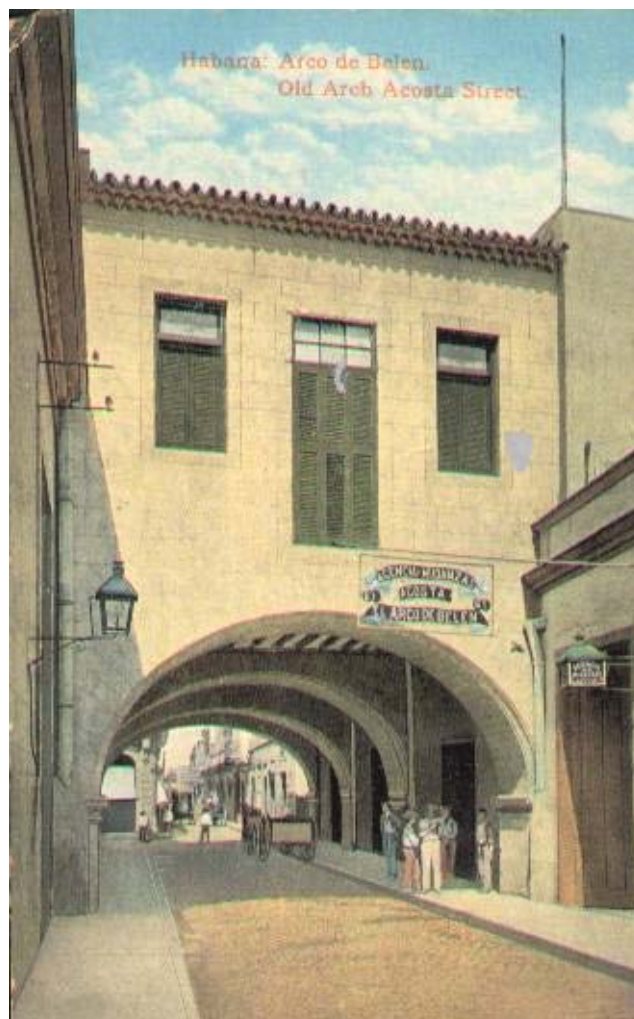
(a) Castle of the Three Kings of the Morro: Scott: E5, E6, E7, C1, C2, C30, C318, 286, 2743, 2773/79, 3248, 3338; Edifil: 191C, 203A, 203a, FN203 Type I, and Type II, 220a, 277, 329he; Postcards and printed envelopes: Edifil 118b, 119A, 120A, 123.

(b) Royal Force Castle. Scott: 2821; Edifil envelope 109.

(c) La Punta Bastion. It is included in all the stamps showing a seaplane flying over Morrow Castle and Havana Malecón (Scott C1 *et al*).

(d) Chorrera Turret. Scott 1671; Edifil envelope 145g.

(e) Temples used as provisional hospitals: Scott: 1301, 3681.



The Bethlehemite Hospital for Convalescents was located in this arch.