

## Whipple Journal Annotated Transcription

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The 1777 March of the Saratoga Convention Army

<https://1777march.blogspot.com/>

Whipple, General William, *Memorandum and Expenses, Burgoyne Campaign, 1777*, manuscript document in the Collection of the Portsmouth Athenaeum, John Langdon Papers, Catalog Num. MS050 B08 F36.

Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, NH

<https://athenaeum.pastperfectonline.com/archive/3A20F080-5335-4862-B0CC-628866234278>

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Cash p[ai]d for Equiping myself for a campaign to the North<sup>1</sup>

Sword Belt <sup>2</sup>	-	-	-	1.	10 -
Shoemaker	-	-	-	2.	8 -
pr shoes for serv[an]t	-				18 -
repairing Boots for d[itto]				1.	4 -
Tobacco	-	-	-	-	12 -

<sup>1</sup>The "campaign to the North" was the American response to British Lieutenant-General John Burgoyne's 1777 invasion from Canada with about 9,000 British and German troops along Lake Champlain towards Albany, New York. On September 5 and 6, 1777, New Hampshire authorities ordered that one-sixth of the New Hampshire militia be drafted to assist the Northern Army of the United States under the command of Major-General Horatio Gates. Whipple, a Brigadier-General with the New Hampshire Militia, left Portsmouth, New Hampshire on September 30, 1777 to command a brigade of four New Hampshire militia regiments. Thousands of militiamen from New England and New York did likewise, swelling Gates forces from 10,000 at the time of the Battle of Freeman's Farm on September 17, 1777, to an estimated 20,000 by mid-October. (Snell, Charles W., *National Park Service Report on the Organization and Numbers of Gates Army*, Feb. 1, 1951, pp. 12, 29 and 57.)

<sup>2</sup>Whipple's expenses are mostly expressed in pounds (which he occasionally notes with the symbol "£"), shillings and pence, typical for accounting purposes in the United States during the Revolutionary War period and beyond, despite the adoption of dollar based paper currency by the Continental Congress. Accordingly, Whipple's sword belt cost him one pound, ten shillings. As there are twenty shillings to a pound, the horses purchased for himself and his servant would have cost fifty and twenty-one pounds respectively. Other costs with a single number such as "*Smith - - - 6*" are in shillings, given the total of his expenses as £78-10-0. Whipple does use dollars on occasion, noting when he set out on September 30th: "... put in Major Gains Hands 50 dollars to pay expenses."

Smith	-	-	-	-	-	6
Sadler	-	-	-	-	-	12 -
D[itt]o for straps	-	-				
Taylor	-	-	-	-		
Horse for myself	-				50 -	
D[itt]o for Servant <sup>3</sup>					<u>21 -</u>	
					78	10 0

**[Scanned page 2 Left/15]**

Cash took with me in my Northern Campaign 30th Sept. 1777	-	-	74..	16. 6
Cash in hand my return 12 Nov 1777	-	-	-	-} <u>50.. 9. 6</u>
				24. 7 ---

**[Scanned page 2 Right/15]**

Sundry Expenses on my march to join the Northern Army <sup>4</sup> & returning	26..	7 --
paid by Major Gains <sup>5</sup> above what I put into his hands}	23..	4.. 9
p[ai]d for keeping a horse I was obliged to leave on the Road at Marlboro <sup>6</sup> w[ith] Mr. Noble for bringing him home --}	4..	2. -
horses & sundry other charges before [illegible]	78..	10 --
p[ai]d Major Gains his wages ----}	<u>23..</u>	<u>10 --</u>

<sup>3</sup>Whipple's servant was Prince, an enslaved black man who accompanied him on the Saratoga Campaign. Whipple names him in his expense account submitted for reimbursement. (Hammond, Isaac W., ed., Rolls Of The Soldiers In The Revolutionary War, Parson B. Cogswell, Concord, NH, 1886, Vol. II of War Rolls, p. 282.) Several accounts of the life of Whipple indicate he freed Prince prior to their going to Saratoga, but others question this, in light of Prince being one of twenty enslaved persons who petitioned the New Hampshire legislature for their freedom in 1779.

<sup>4</sup>The "Northern Army" was part of the Continental Army, tasked to defend the Champlain Valley after the American retreat from Canada in the spring of 1776. Major-General Horatio Gates replaced Major-General Philip Schuyler as its commander after the fall of Fort Ticonderoga and Mount Independence in July of 1777. Its Continental Line units were heavily augmented with militia units from New England and New York.

<sup>5</sup>Major George Gains (1736-1809) of Portsmouth, NH. Gains was active as a patriot, opposing the Stamp Act in 1766, a member of the committee opposing the importation of tea in 1773, a selectman and signer of the "Association Test" loyalty oath in 1776; and one of the people chosen to greet President George Washington on his 1789 visit to Portsmouth. (Brewster, Charles W., Rambles About Portsmouth, C.W. Brewster & Son, Portsmouth, NH, 1859, pp. 107, 330, 213 and 256.) He and Whipple's servant Prince accompanied Whipple throughout the campaign, see above. Gains died April 25, 1809 and is buried in [Portsmouth's North Cemetery](#).

<sup>6</sup>Marlborough, Massachusetts. See Whipple's entry for November 5, 1777. It is not clear who "Mr. Noble" was.

**[Scanned page 3 Left/15]**

Cash [illegible strikeout] with me 274.. 15.. 6  
 Sep 30 1777

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Cash in hand on my return the 12th Nov 50.. 9. 6

[Pencil notation, likely made later: "Copy what follows"]

**[Scanned page 3 Right/15]**

Set out from Portsm[out]h<sup>7</sup> on Tuesday the 30th Sep 1777 at 2 o'clock P.M. --

Major Gains an Company arrived Exeter between 4 & 5 --

[the following section has a penciled "x" through it]

put in Major Gains Hands 50 dollars to pay Expenses

- - - - - 15....  
 p[ai]d horseshoeing at Exeter - - - .. 6 -

some Expenses at

Albany	-	-	-	} . . .	12..-
Kender Hook <sup>8</sup>	-	-	-	-	..7. 6
Bennington <sup>9</sup>	-	-	-	-	..12. -
Westfield <sup>10</sup>	-	-	-	-	7. 6
Springfield <sup>11</sup>	-	-	-	-	5. -
Sundry Expenses	-	-	-	-	<u>9..7.-</u>
a deficiency of					26..17

1.. 7.. 0 —

<sup>7</sup>Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where Whipple had [his home](#).

<sup>8</sup>Kinderhook, New York, located on the east side of the Hudson River Valley, along the Albany Post Road about twenty miles south of Albany. This was Whipple's first stop escorting Burgoyne to Cambridge with American Brigadier-General John Glover, after spending October 20th until the 27th with them in Albany.

<sup>9</sup>Bennington, Vermont. Whipple stayed in Bennington on October 8, 1777, on his journey to Saratoga. It's not clear why these particular locations are listed here, and others are not.

<sup>10</sup>Westfield, Massachusetts, where Whipple stayed on October 31st, escorting Burgoyne to Cambridge.

<sup>11</sup>Springfield, Massachusetts where Whipple stayed on November 1st and 2nd, escorting Burgoyne to Cambridge.

**[Scanned page 4 Left/15]**

Crossed Husuck mountain<sup>12</sup> the 6th [pencil insertion "(Oct.)"] lodged at Williamstown

the 7th at 1 o'clock arrived at Bennington put up with **David Havey**<sup>13</sup>

8th at 12 o'clock set out from Bennington [strikethrough: "at 12 o'clock"] [design?]ing for head quarters but at 4 P.M. Met Gen[era]l Bayley<sup>14</sup> at St Koits<sup>15</sup> 12 miles from Stillwater who ~~was~~ gave me an

**[Scanned page 4 Right/15]**

acco[un]t that the Enemy were retreating and that more forces was wanting to stop them I therefore returned with him to Tifts Mills<sup>16</sup> where I arrived the 9th about 10 o'clock & found Gen. Fellows<sup>17</sup> had recrossed the River at Saratoga not having sufficient force to face the Enemy when they took possession of the Schuyler house & the Barracks.<sup>18</sup> Genl Gates being just in their Rear they destroyed all behind them - the 10th I was ordered to take front at Batten Kill, the Enemy appearing to be in motion.<sup>19</sup> I keep on the watch all night.

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<sup>12</sup>The Hoosac Range in Massachusetts, though no single mountain appears to be called that today. Whipple's journey through New Hampshire to Massachusetts from September 30th to October 6th is detailed in the "*Memorandum of Expenses*", below, page 13 of the scanned document.

<sup>13</sup>Most often Whipple stayed at inns along the way. It is unclear as to who this was that he stayed with in Bennington, Vermont.

<sup>14</sup>Brigadier-General Jacob Bayley, commander of a brigade of Vermont militia and Colonel Seth Warner's Additional Continental Regiment. At this point in the campaign, Gates was using his growing militia force to block Burgoyne's potential avenues of escape across the Hudson River and north back to his base of operations at Fort Ticonderoga. Bayley's brigade would be stationed north of Fort Edwards. Bayley's role in directing what must have been Whipple with regard to his brigade is mentioned in <https://www.newyorkalmanack.com/2013/11/schaghticoke-militia-rendezvous-during-the-american-revolution/>.

<sup>15</sup>Saint Croix, New York, in the vicinity of present-day North Hoosick, New York. Settled by the Dutch and the site of one of their [first churches in the Hoosick Valley](#), the spelling of this village appears in many forms in journals and accounts of the Saratoga campaign.

<sup>16</sup>"Tifts Mills" in the village of Greenwich, New York, located on the east bank of the Hudson River, where it is joined by the Batten-Kill, just above present-day Schuylerville, Gates positioned militia forces here to block a river potential crossing by Burgoyne who was moving his forces north from Bemis Heights, see: <https://www.newyorkalmanack.com/2013/11/schaghticoke-militia-rendezvous-during-the-american-revolution/>.

<sup>17</sup>Brigadier-General John Fellows, commander of a brigade consisting of Massachusetts and New Hampshire Militia regiments.

<sup>18</sup>Both burned on October 10th. Burgoyne ordered Schuyler's country estate to be burned to deny American forces cover. It was rebuilt beginning immediately after the surrender, and is currently owned and operated by the [National Park Service](#).

<sup>19</sup>Whipple is referring to Burgoyne's final movement, to a defensive position occupied in the present-day village of Victory, New York, now the National Park Service's "[Victory Woods](#)".

**[Scanned page 5 Left/15]**

11th two field pieces arrived last night where ordered off this morning for Fort Edward a Heavy Cannonading between the two armies Gen'l Gates took a number of Prisoners ---

12[th] this morning threw up a Breastwork & mounted a six pounder<sup>20</sup> that arrived last evening and Exchanged some shots with the Enemy ---

13[th] a firing between the two armies still continues

Tuesday 14[th] a flagg from Gen'l Burgoyne with some proposals for Treaty in consequence of which a cessation of arms<sup>21</sup> ---

Wednesday 15th Treaty still continues & Hostilities still cease ---

Thursday 16th last evening Articles

**[Scanned page 5 Right/15]**

of Capitulation were agreed on by Delegates from the Contending Commanders to be Ratified at 9 o'clock this morning but Mr. Burgoyne has been quibbling & in consequence it is put off to 12 at which time Hostilities are to commence if the the terms are not agreed on by Mr. Burgoyne<sup>22</sup> -

17th the articles of Capitulation had been completed [~~last~~] yesterday the British army Paraded and marched to the old fort the place app[ointe]d where the Arms were deli[ver]d up and then crossed the creek when Morgan com[pany?] took possession<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>"*Mounted a six pounder*": Whipple positioned a cannon firing a round iron ball weighing six pounds in his newly constructed earthworks to fire on the enemy..

<sup>21</sup>Burgoyne requested and Gates agreed to a temporary cease-fire to consider terms to end the fighting.

<sup>22</sup>Whipple understates his own role in the negotiation. Each commander delegated two individuals to negotiate on his behalf. Burgoyne selected Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholas Sutherland and Captain James Pierce. Gates selected his adjutant Colonel James Wilkinson and Whipple as his designees. These four, together with Gates aide-de-camp Major Isaac Pierce who acted as secretary were responsible for finalizing the Articles of Convention between Gates and Burgoyne. (Luzarder, John F., Saratoga - A Military History of the Decisive Campaign of the American Revolution, Savas Beatie, New York, NY, 2008, p. 327.)

<sup>23</sup>Under the terms of the Articles of Convention, Burgoyne's troops were to march to the "old fort", the site of Fort Hardy, where they would lay down their arms out of sight of the American army. From there they marched south across Fish Creek to spend the night of the 17th in the vicinity of the hospital they had established during the fighting at Freeman's Farm and Bemis Heights, before crossing the Hudson River and beginning their march into captivity. Colonel Daniel Morgan's regiment of Virginia riflemen, along with the Light Infantry under the command of Major Henry Dearborn were ordered by Gates to take

**[Scanned page 6 Left/15]**

of their camp. the Prisoners<sup>24</sup> marched on towards Stillwater where they crossed the River

18[th] I set out for Stillwater about 10 o'clock when I arrive the British Troops were crossing the River<sup>25</sup> I tarried 'till after sun set then set out to look for Lodgings which I found at a miserable hut about 4 miles from Stillwater

19th set out about 8 o'clock and arrived at New City<sup>26</sup> about 1 **dined with D[od??]**<sup>27</sup>: arrived at Albany about sun set put up with Dr. Potts<sup>28</sup> by whom am entertained

**[Scanned page 6 Right/15]**

with great civility

20 dined with Genl Gates in company Burgoyne & his Suite

21 dined with Dr. Potts - preparing to set out with Burgoyne & [illegible]

22 Mr. Burgoyne desires to to [sic] tarry until the 24 Major Gains set out & is to wait for me at Kender Hook

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possession of Burgoyne's abandoned position.

<sup>24</sup>Whipple's use of the term "prisoners" reflects the common American understanding at the time that Burgoyne had surrendered his army to Gates as prisoners of war. Gates though had accepted Burgoyne's request that the treaty be one of "Convention" rather than "Capitulation" and his troops be allowed to return to England on the condition they not serve again in North America, setting off a series of recriminations that would last for years. The last of what became known as the "Convention Army" would not be released until the end of the war in 1783.

<sup>25</sup>The Hudson River. The majority of the British troops crossed at Stillwater, New York on October 18th, the remainder and the Germans on the 19th.

<sup>26</sup>"New City" was the early name for the town of [Lansingburgh](#), formed in 1771. It became a part of Troy, New York in 1901.

<sup>27</sup>It is not clear what Whipple wrote here, or who this was. It appears from other sources that Whipple may have been traveling a day behind Burgoyne at this point. Lieutenant Samuel Armstrong of the 8th Massachusetts Regiment of the Continental Line, who was also in New City noted in his diary: "*Saturday 18th This day Genl. Burgoine passed down toward Albany as a prisoner under the care of our Light Horse, upon the Western Side of the River & about 5 [of] the prisoners got down as far as half Moon, [ ] five Genls. came to New City.*" (Boyle, Joseph Lee, "*From Saratoga to Valley Forge, The Diary of Lieutenant Samuel Armstrong*", *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. CXXI, No. 3, July 1997:p. 251.)

<sup>28</sup>Doctor Jonathan Potts, Deputy Director-General of Hospitals for the Northern Department of the Continental Army.

23 Mr. Burgoyne is very desirous to tarry one day longer to finish his dispatches<sup>29</sup> which is granted to him therefore the 25th is the day agreed on to set out all his Baggage is sent on

**[Scanned page 7 Left/15]**

24 Mr. Burgoyne is still desirous of another day which is again granted him he promises not to ask to tarry longer than the 26

25 it looks very much like foule weather<sup>30</sup> which I fear will be the case

26th this being the day appointed to set out had my horses tacked but is being very late before we could get away it was determined to set out early in the morning

27 set out from Albany at seven o'clock reached

**[Scanned page 7 Right/15]**

Kendar Hook about 11 o'clock which is 20 Miles - it rained hard all the way

28 set out from Kendar Hook in the morning arrived at Noble Town<sup>31</sup> about 12 which is 18 miles rained Exceeding hard the whole way but the accommodations being very bad I left the company at 3 o'clock and rode to Barrington<sup>32</sup> 10 miles and put up at Mrs: Allens<sup>33</sup> where I had an exceeding good bed & in every other respect well accommodated

29 Still continuing to Rain about 12 o'clock the company

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<sup>29</sup>Burgoyne wrote at least three letters to England during his stay in Albany. Two were dispatches to the British Secretary of State for North America, Lord Germain. One was a summary of the campaign that was to be printed publicly, the second a confidential letter that, among other things, criticized the conduct of Burgoyne's German troops. Both were eventually released and printed as part of Burgoyne's defense of his actions in the Saratoga campaign before Parliament (see for example: Burgoyne, Lieutenant-General John, A State of the Expedition From Canada, As Laid Before The House Of Commons, By Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, And Verified By Evidence, With A Collection Of Authentic Documents..., Arno Press, New York, 1969 (originally published in London, 1780), Appendix pp. lxxxiii-xcviii. The third letter was to his daughters, describing the impact of the campaign on him.

<sup>30</sup>Many accounts by individuals writing from the area on these days reference poor ("foule") weather.

<sup>31</sup>When formed, "[Nobletown](#)" was considered by some to be a part of Massachusetts. It is now part of Hillsdale, New York.

<sup>32</sup>Great Barrington, Massachusetts.

<sup>33</sup>Possibly the widow of Daniel Allen (1724-1767) carpenter, builder and furniture maker. An 1882 history of Great Barrington makes the claim that "...General Burgoyne, who was indisposed, and depressed in spirits, remained here several days, the guest of Col. Elijah Dwight, in the Henderson house." Whipple's journal indicates that the party stayed in Great Barrington on the 29th due to bad weather. (Taylor, Charles J., History of Great Barrington, Clark W. Bryan & Co., Great Barrington, MA, 1882, pp. 160 and 250.)



**[Scanned page 8 Left/15]**

came up, had a very good dinner and determined to halt here until the weather is fair

30th the weather clears up dined at Mrs. Allens and set out at 8 o'clock for [illegible] Chadwicks<sup>34</sup> 10 miles where we arrive before dark the Baggage having come on before

31 took Breakfast at Chadwicks & set out for Springs<sup>35</sup> which is 10 miles this is in the middle of the Green wood set out from Springs at 11 o'clock and arrived at

**[Scanned page 8 Right/15]**

Glasco<sup>36</sup> about 2 [o'clock] 11 miles here made a short halt & at 3 set out for Westfield 10 miles where arrivd about 6 got good quarters at Fowlers Tavern<sup>37</sup> I lodged at Col. Moseleys<sup>38</sup>

Nov. 1st set out from Westfield at 4 o'clock crossed the River & arrived at Springfield at Parson's<sup>39</sup> between 6 and 7. Hear the German Troops have got no farther than Palmer<sup>40</sup> which determined us to halt here tomorrow

2d some of the Baggage came up in the [morning?]

**[Scanned page 9 Left/15]**

I visited Mrs. Hancock<sup>41</sup> who is on her way to meet her Husband at Hartford

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<sup>34</sup>Chadwick's tavern in what is now Monterey, but was then still part of Tyringham. See: <https://www.bidwellhousemuseum.org/blog/2021/06/29/bidwell-lore-the-founding-of-the-city-on-the-hill-part-ii-roads-and-mills/>

<sup>35</sup>Springs tavern in "Green Wood" now Otis. Accounts from prisoners with the German column, who passed four days before Whipple, reference the forest and poor roads in this area, one noting: "*The 26th [of October], our march went through Tyringham, through woods and real wildernesses. We were wrong in cursing the abominable roads, for we found them worse later. At first we wandered in the edge of a great, wild, hilly district called Green wood, to which you may send naughty children if you want to frighten them.*" (Pettengill, Ray W. (translator), *Letters From America 1776-1779*, Riverside Press, Cambridge, MA, 1924, p. 121.)

<sup>36</sup>Blandford was originally called [Glasgow](#) by its Scots-Irish founders, and is located eleven miles east of Green Wood (Otis) and ten miles west of Westfield.

<sup>37</sup>[Fowler's Tavern](#) in Westfield. Its original door dating to 1760 is now in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art.

<sup>38</sup>Colonel John Moseley (1725-1780).

<sup>39</sup>Whipple crossed the Connecticut River from West Springfield into Springfield, and stayed at Parsons' tavern.

<sup>40</sup>German troops spent the night of November 1st in Palmer, some having spent two days in West Springfield to rest before the last of them crossed the Connecticut River on October 31st.

<sup>41</sup>Mrs. Hancock was Dorothy Quincy Hancock, wife of John Hancock. Hancock at the time was on his



3d Nov. The company set out about 8 o'clock I waited for Genl Glovers Waggon till 1 when took my Baggage out of it and put in Nichols's and set out for Bliss's<sup>42</sup> in Palmer where I arrived about sun set

4th set out from Bliss's early in the morning breakfasted at Brookfield - dined at [blank] arrived at Capt Curtis<sup>43</sup> about 6 o'clock found the company had gone 4 miles

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farther on

4th set out from [illegible]

5th set out from [illegible]<sup>44</sup> at ½ after 6 horse gave out at Marlborough hired a horse of the tavernkeeper and left mine with Jon'w Temple<sup>45</sup> to be sent to Boston overtook the Company at Westtown<sup>46</sup> ate dinner after dinner set out for Watertown where arrived before night

6th hard Rain left the Company at Watertown and went to Cambridge about 1 o'clock could

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way back to Massachusetts, having taken a leave of absence from his position as President of the Continental Congress, then sitting at York, Pennsylvania, having been forced out of Philadelphia by the British in September. Whipple would have known Hancock, as he too had also served in the Continental Congress and had also signed the Declaration of Independence.

<sup>42</sup>Bliss's Tavern. Others put its location in Wilbraham, such as Chaplain Enos Hitchcock, who would encounter Burgoyne on the road in Palmer on November 3rd, and ride with him as far as Worcester on the 4th. ("Diary of Enos Hitchcock", Publications of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Vol. 8, pp. 162-163.)

<sup>43</sup>Is this perhaps a reference to Captain Curtis Searles, who owned the King's Arms Tavern in Worcester until his death in 1772? It seems odd Whipple would be using just the first name of the deceased owner, but the tavern that his wife continued to operate had changed its name in 1776. (See on the King's Arms: <https://revolutionaryworcester.org/items/show/87?tour=4&index=11> and on Stearns: <https://ancestors.familysearch.org/en/KLZZ-2S2/curtis-searles-1768-1851>)

<sup>44</sup>While quoted as "Carlisle" in a [2020 article](#) by D. Allan Kerr in *Seacoast Online*, that is unlikely to be where Whipple stayed. The same word ("Curtis" perhaps?) appears on the prior page preceded by "Capt". Given the other travel references, on the 4th Whipple had left Palmer, breakfasted in Brookfield, and arrived at his destination at 6:00 PM that day. The following he started out and went as far as Marlborough before there was trouble with his servant's horse. Carlisle Massachusetts is well to the northeast of Whipple's route to Cambridge.

<sup>45</sup>Whipple's list of expenses, below, clarifies that it was his enslaved man Prince's horse that gave out, not Whipple's: "*P[ai]d Benja Swain for horse For Prince*". Whipple may have left his horse with Jonathan Temple (1735-1813) who is listed as a [member of one of the militia companies](#) that marched from Marlborough on April 19, 1775, though he is not listed in Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War.

<sup>46</sup>Weston, Massachusetts.

**[Scanned page 10 Left/15]**

Procure no lodging for the Company tarried at Cambridge<sup>47</sup>

7th the Company came to Cambridge about 1 o'clock I set out for Boston and returned to Cambridge in the Evening<sup>48</sup>

8th attended Mr. Burgoyne to Boston dine with Genl Heath<sup>49</sup>

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**[Scanned page 11 Left/15]**

Albany

Kinderhook - - 20<sup>50</sup>

Albany to Van Buren - - - 24<sup>51</sup>

Barrington Smiths - 22<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>Whipple likely found Cambridge the scene of great confusion due to the arrival of some 2,000 troops with the British column, its officers all in need of housing "according to their rank", its enlisted soldiers continuing their march to Prospect Hill in what was then Charlestown and now Somerville.

<sup>48</sup>Burgoyne fared little better than Whipple when he arrived in Cambridge. A later account indicates: "Their baggage was unceremoniously dumped in the middle of Cambridge Common. Their plight was pictured by Burgoyne with a bitterness which few can blame: 'After being pressed into Cambridge through bad weather, inconvenience and fatigue, without any preparation made to receive the superior officers, I was lodged in a miserable public house; and, in ill health, obliged to partake with Major-General Phillips two very small dirty rooms for ourselves, our aid-de-camps, and the staff of the army then present.'" (Batchelor, Samuel F., *Burgoyne and His Officers In Cambridge 1777-1778*, Reprinted From The Proceedings of The Cambridge Historical Society, 1926, p.26.)

<sup>49</sup>Major-General William Heath, commander of the Eastern Department, described their dinner in his memoirs: "An elegant dinner was prepared, and many other gentlemen invited, among whom were Generals Glover of Massachusetts, and Whipple of New Hampshire, who were at the capture, and had commanded the escort, etc. from Saratoga to Cambridge." In addition to Burgoyne, Major-Generals William Philips, Burgoyne's deputy commander, and Friedrich Riedesel, commander of Burgoyne's German troops were present. Before dinner Philips proposed Heath delegate command authority over the Convention Army to Burgoyne, something Heath immediately rejected. (Heath, Major-General William, *Memoirs of the American War*, A Wessels Co., New York, NY, 1904, p. 146.)

<sup>50</sup>This page appears to be a list of the distances traveled by Whipple and his party. The distance from Albany to Kinderhook is about 20 miles

<sup>51</sup>Likely Van Burgh tavern in Kinderhook, which Stearns "North American's Almanac" lists as 21 miles from the Albany ferry. (Stearns, Samuel, "The North American's Almanac", Isaiah Thomas, Worcester, MA, 1776.)

<sup>52</sup>This distance appears to be that from Kinderhook to Great Barrington. "Smiths" does not appear as a

Glasgow - Peas -- 27<sup>53</sup>  
 Westfield ----- 8  
 Springfield ----- - 10

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**[Scanned page 12 left/15]**

[Pencil notation]  
 450 [illegible]  
 265 300 Tents

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Portsm[outh] Sep'r 30 1777

Memorandum of Expenses from Portsm[outh] to Saratoga & back to Portsm[outh] for B[rigadier]  
 G[enera]l Whipple B[rigade] M[ajo]r Geo[gre] Gains & a Servant Prince & three horses as was  
 Paid by Geo[rge] Gains

Viz doe Sugar Rum Chocolate I Carried with me	-	-	-	-	2 - 14 - 0
Cash P[ai]d for horseshoeing at Exeter	-	-	-	-	9 - 0
P[ai]d Deacon[?] Williams	-	-	-	-	1 - 2 - 0
P[ai]d [illegible] Fowle	-	-	-	-	6 - 0
at Londonderry	-	-	-	-	9 - 6
at Litchfield	-	-	-	-	6 - 3
at Merrimack	-	-	-	-	14 - 0
at Amherst	-	-	-	-	7 - 0
at Temple & Petersborough	-	-	-	-	7 - 6
at Dublin	-	-	-	-	12 - 0

tavern in Great Barrington in Stearns 1776 or Nathaniel Low's 1780 "Astronomical Diary" almanacs.  
<sup>53</sup>This appears to be the distance from Great Barrington to Pease Tavern in Blandford, originally called  
[Glasgow](#) by its Scots-Irish founders. Their next stop, Westfield, is about 8 miles from Blandford as  
 indicated.

at Marlborough	-	-	-	-	7 - 6
at Keene	-	-	-	-	18 - 0
at Swansea & Winchester	-	-	-	-	6 - 0
at Northfield <sup>54</sup> & ferry	-	-	-	-	6 - 3
at Greenfield	-	-	-	-	12 - 0
at Shelburne	-	-	-	-	5 - 6
at Charlemont	-	-	-	-	7 - 6
at [illegible] <sup>55</sup> Rivers	-	-	-	-	14 - 0
at Hosook <sup>56</sup>	-	-	-	-	7 - 0
at Williamstown	-	-	-	-	5 - 6
at [illegible] [illegible]	-	-	-	-	9 - 6
at Bennington	-	-	-	-	8 - 0
at St Koibs for Sundry men <sup>57</sup>	-	-	-	-	12 - 0
at Batten Kill for [illegible]	-	-	-	-	1 - 4 - 0
at Stillwater & ferry	-	-	-	-	15 - 0
at Albany for Sundrys	-	-	-	-	3 - 0 - 0
at Kenderhook	-	-	-	-	15 - 0
at Spencertown Nobletown}					
Barrington Tyringham }	-	-	-	-	3 - 12 - 0
and through Greenwoods }					
at Glasgow <sup>58</sup> & Westfield	-	-	-	-	18 - 0
at Springfield	-	-	-	-	1 - 10 - 3
at [illegible] Parsons <sup>59</sup>	-	-	-	-	15 - 0
Cash P[ai]d Genl Whipple					<u>3: 18 - 0</u>
Carried forward and continued					30: 1: 3

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					£
Amount [illegible] forward					30 - 1 : 3
P[ai]d at Scotts	-	-	-	-	4 - 0
P[ai]d at Bliss's at Palmer	-	-	-	-	18 - 0
at [illegible] Brookfield	-	-	-	-	10 - 0
at Leicester	-	-	-	-	1 - 0 - 0

<sup>54</sup>Northfield, Massachusetts. Whipple's route to Saratoga would take him from Portsmouth across New Hampshire down into Massachusetts at this point to follow what is today Route 2 for a while.

<sup>55</sup>An abbreviation for "Deerfield" perhaps, as at this point they would have likely crossed the Deerfield River.

<sup>56</sup>Originally called "Township One" and later East Hoosac, it was incorporated as the town of "Adams" in 1778, named for Samuel Adams, and later divided into the present-day towns of North Adams and Adams, see: <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/e4e21980802a4072b635aa7c04fc8f44>

<sup>57</sup>St. Croix, New York. See Whipple's entry for October 8th, above.

<sup>58</sup>Glasgow, now Blandford Massachusetts, see Footnote 36, above

<sup>59</sup>Parson's tavern in Springfield, see Whipple's entries for November 1st and 2nd, above.

at Worcester	-	-	-	-	14 - 0
at Northbury <sup>60</sup>	-	-	-	-	10 - 6
at Marlborough	-	-	-	-	9 - 0
P[ai]d Benja Swain <sup>61</sup> for horse}					
For Prince <sup>62</sup> }					1 - 4 - 0
at Watertown	-	-	-	-	6 - 0
at Cambridge & Lynn	-	-	-	-	4 - 0
at Danvers & Ipswich	-	-	-	-	12 - 0
at Newbury & Hampton	-	-	-	-	13 - 0
P[ai]d Nichols for baggage <sup>63</sup>					<u>18</u>
					38: 4: 9
Deduct for Cash that [illegible] }					
horse hired for Prince }					
being 17 Dollars }					<u>5 - 2 - 0</u>
[illegible] Expenses	-	-	-	-	33: 2: 9
Deduct 1/3 of the whole}					<u>11 1</u>
For G Gains - - }					21: 1: 9
[illegible] by [illegible] of G'l Whipple					<u>15: 0: 0</u>
					£ 6: 1: 9

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38.. 4.. 9	150 —	
<u>15 ———</u>	<u>147 - 18</u>	
23.. 4.. 9	02.. 2	
<u>23. 10 —</u>	4 30 —	120
46.. 14.. 9	5.. 8. —	<u>40</u>
		160

Expenses p[ai]d by Maj Gains on the Expedition to Saratoga} 38.. 4.. 9

<sup>60</sup>Northborough, not "Northbury". The "boroughs" - Northborough, Westborough, Southborough and Marlborough appear in various accounts with the "bury" extension, perhaps because of their location between Shrewsbury and Sudbury.

<sup>61</sup>See Whipple's entry for November 5th, where he states "... hired a horse of the tavernkeeper..." This was perhaps at "Sawin's" tavern. (Stearns, Samuel, "The North American's Almanac", Isaiah Thomas, Worcester, MA, 1776, table of roads from Boston to Hartford and New Haven.)

<sup>62</sup>Kerr's article suggests that it was Whipple who had a problem with his horse, a reasonable conclusion in light of Whipple's entry for November 5th that "...horse gave out at Marlborough...". This entry, and that below stating "... horse hired for Prince..." clarifies that it was the need to replace Prince's horse that delayed their party that morning.

<sup>63</sup>While not specified in Whipple's journal or the expense account of the campaign, the account filed for reimbursement by Major Gains indicated Whipple, Gains and Prince completed their service on November 12, 1777, having served one month and seventeen days, and traveled 506 miles. Whipple's wages were £58-15-0; Gains £23-10-0; and Prince £3-2-8. (Hammond, p. 282.) While Whipple's journal indicates Gains was paid his wages, there is nothing to indicate one way or another if Prince was paid for his services.

Deduct so much advanced by W[illiam] W[hipple] —	15 —
	23.. 4.. 9

Am[oun]t of Major Gains wages on said Expedition - - }	23.. 10 —
Ballance of Certificate	<u>2.. 2 —</u>
	48.. 16.. 9

**Brigadier-General William Whipple's Route To Saratoga & Return To Portsmouth, New Hampshire  
September 30 Through November 12, 1777**

