# *British Incursions into the Lake Valleys: Fort George 1778-1780*

By Russell Bellico

Following the surrender of the British army under Lieutenant General John Burgoyne in 1777 at Saratoga, the Lake Champlain – Lake George – Hudson River corridor did not remain peaceful. The tranquil setting of the waterways of the region were once again engulfed in bloodshed. Raids by British troops, Tories (Loyalists), and their Native American allies devastated local communities in New York and Vermont in the ensuing years.

With the continuing threat of raids on the northern frontier, Major Generals Philip Schuyler and Horatio Gates considered a new military offensive into Canada. But plans to invade Canada were dropped by the Continental Congress on March 13, 1778. Two weeks later, it resolved "that the fortifications and works at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence be demolished."[1] This was a reversal of their orders of December 2, 1777, which directed Gates to send an engineer to Fort Ticonderoga to reconstruct "such Parts of the Works" possible during the winter with the assistance of militia units.[2] There is no evidence that any American troops were engaged in either the reconstruction or demolition of the fortifications in this period.

Raids against Vermont settlements in March and July revealed the urgent need for more American troops in the Northern Department. In April Schuyler advised Generals Abraham Ten Broeck and Thomas Conway, as well as George Washington, that Continental regulars and militia should be assigned to the northern forts, including Fort George. However, there is no definitive evidence that troops were stationed at Fort George in 1778. The list of garrisoned forts in 1778 submitted by the commander of the Northern Department, Brigadier General John Stark, did not include Fort George, and Colonel Seth Warner's Vermont Continentals were listed as stationed at Albany, Saratoga, and Fort Edward.[3] (Warner was only with his regiment for short periods of time during 1778, being listed as ill on muster rolls from November 1777 to February 1779.[4] ) Private Ephraim Crocker, assigned to Fort Edward during 1778, was "employed in Scouting … and sent to Lake George and Skenesborough [Whitehall]," but he never mentioned Fort George.[5] (However, George Fowler, reminiscing decades later, suggested that three men from Fort Edward were sent to Fort George each day to check on the "little garrison," but the year of this service is not clear.[6)]

Still under the belief that an American invasion of Canada was planned, the new governor of Quebec, General Frederick Haldimand, organized a pre-emptive strike into the Champlain Valley during the fall of 1778. On October 24, 1778, Major Christopher Carleton (nephew of the previous governor, Sir Guy Carleton) departed from Île-aux-Noix with 354 British and German troops and 100 warriors of the Canadian Seven Nations aboard a small fleet of vessels (schooners *Carleton* and *Maria,* cutter *Lee,* at least two gunboats, and bateaux) with orders "to destroy all the supplies, provisions, and animals which the rebels may have assembled on the shores of Lake Champlain, to take prisoner all the inhabitants … to destroy all the boats … sawmills and grist mills."[7] Carleton sent his raiders deep into Vermont, penetrating Otter Creek as far east as

Middlebury. In three weeks his troops assaulted and burned settlements along the bays, creeks, and shores of Lake Champlain. The destruction included 47 houses, 48 barns, 103 stacks of wheat and hay, a blockhouse, sawmill, and gristmill. Forty prisoners from both sides of the lake were taken to St. Jean and later imprisoned in Quebec.

Carleton's scouts reported that 300 American troops were in Rutland, Vermont, and 200 of Colonel Seth Warner's troops were stationed at Fort Edward, but no troops were reported at Fort George.[8] Some of the raiders had traveled as far south as Skenesborough. On November 18, seven Vermont soldiers and an officer, stationed in Dorset, were paid for marching to Skenesborough to transport families that had been "burnt out." [9]

## Fort George 1779

Assaults along the frontier continued into 1779, and American offensive operations commenced in western New York. In 1779 Fort George was garrisoned by troops from Colonel Seth Warner's Vermont Continental regiment. The soldiers at the fort, the northernmost American garrison in the corridor, engaged in scouting forays to the north, sometimes augmented by troops stationed at Fort Edward. During the late spring, Private Ephraim Crocker, posted at Fort Edward, boarded one of the bateaux at Fort George with a large scouting party and reconnoitered as far north as Crown Point.[10]

There is some question regarding possible new construction at Fort George in 1779. On May 3, William Collins, a deserter from the American ranks, informed the British that the Americans had repaired Fort George and had "built some barracks near the water side."[11] In 1820 Judge James Kent (justice of the peace) wrote that in 1795 he had "lodged at a dismal old house which had been a military barrack on the shore below Fort George."[12] Thirty years later Peletiah Richards mentioned a structure near the lake that he had observed in 1800 called "the long-house," which had been an "old hospital of the Revolutionary War; a framed building, and was kept as a hotel by John Verner," located "near the barracks of old Fort George at the foot of the hill and near the shore of the lake."[13] In 1819 the tavern was still present and ten years later, historian Jared Sparks observed "a foundation … of a very large warehouse" from the Revolutionary War on the shore, east of West Brook.[14]

The most dramatic military action in 1779, involving the Fort George garrison, occurred in July on Fourteen Mile Island. Several slightly different versions were written at the time of the incident. On July 13, Major Wright Hopkins, the commander at Fort George, sent a scouting party under Lieutenant Michael Dunning to the northern end of the lake. The next day, Hopkins, accompanied by "several of his officers and soldiers, with some ladies, set sail (for their pleasure) in a boat … to meet the scout, and return with them to the garrison"; however, after rendezvousing with Dunning's party, they encountered a stiff wind and landed for the night on Fourteen Mile Island, sleeping under partially overturned bateaux.[15] Another contemporary version (July 20) suggested that the Hopkins party "left Fort George to gather Huckleberries [blueberries] on Fourteen Mile Island."[16] A third version written from Montreal on July 22 disclosed that the Americans

had been discovered accidently by a scouting party on foot composed of 25 Mohawks and several British white men, probably Tories. By chance, the Mohawk party stumbled on an old bateau and at daybreak made their way to the island. In this version, they supposedly called to the Americans “four times to surrender,” but an officer (Hopkins) raised “his pistol” and was killed in the ensuing onslaught.[17] Nine Americans were listed as dead, including two women, but “one private who was scalped, and left for dead” survived; eight were taken prisoner, including Lieutenant Michael Dunning and “a boy 9 years old,” whose mother had been killed.[18] Another woman, who “had both thighs broke[n], and a little boy shot through his leg,” were left on the island, along with another child unhurt.[19] The following day a scouting party was dispatched from Fort George, but the survivors on the island were not discovered until the next morning (July 17).

Another attack near Fort George occurred in the fall of 1779, but this incident has less documentation. In this account, written decades later, Colonel Seth Warner and two officers were traveling to Fort George from Fort Edward when they were ambushed near Bloody Pond by Native Americans. The two officers were killed, but Warner escaped despite wounds to his arm and his horse being shot.[20]

As a result of continuing raids on the frontier in western New York by Tories and warriors of the Six Nations, George Washington early in 1779 had ordered the destruction of Iroquois settlements. An expedition, led by Major General John Sullivan and Brigadier General James Clinton (brother of the governor of New York), had its origin in the earlier cancelled plan for the invasion of Canada. The initial offensive in April by American troops from Fort Stanwix destroyed an Onondaga settlement, but the major component of the campaign along the Pennsylvania – western New York frontier did not end until September. Sullivan reported the destruction of 40 villages. However, the campaign did not end the Iroquois and Tory attacks; the raiders renewed their assaults the following year.

## 1780 Flames in the Valley

More aggressive British, Tory (Loyalist), and Native American raids occurred in 1780. On March 21 “a party of Indians came to Skenesborough, and burnt [Loyalist Philip] Skene’s house, barn, and store house … they burnt houses, murdered persons, and captured sixteen [inhabitants].”[21] Sixteen-year-old Private James Rogers from Salem, New York, garrisoned in Skene’s confiscated two-story stone house, was among the Americans captured. Rogers later recalled that the “enemy consisted of one hundred and thirty Canadian Indians, two Canadian Frenchmen [serving as] officers, and a Tory.”[22] He was released in a 1782 prisoner exchange

In May 1780 Sir John Johnson (Lieutenant Colonel King’s Royal Regiment of New York) led a raiding party of more than 500 troops, Tories, and Mohawks to the Johnstown, New York region. (Fourteen-year-old John had accompanied his father William as a “volunteer” during the Battle of Lake George in 1755.) Johnson’s party “burn[ed] all the

houses except those of the Tories … about 33 houses and … cattle were killed in the field, and 60 or 70 sheep burnt in a barn. Eleven persons were killed," according to a newspaper account, but subsequent estimates suggest that 120 buildings were destroyed.[23] After the destruction, Johnson proceeded to Johnson Hall, the former family homestead, and "dug up his [silver] plate[s]," buried in two barrels in the basement.[24] Taking 27 prisoners (about half were later released), Johnson's detachment swiftly headed back to their boats left at present-day Bulwagga Bay (Crown Point).

In response to the raid, newspapers reported that "the Governor has collected a body of militia to intercept their way to Lake Champlain."[25] Reacting to intelligence, Governor George Clinton, a brigadier general in the Continental Army (and later the vice-president of the United States from 1808 to 1812), quickly assembled troops to intercept Johnson's retreat to Lake Champlain. One division of Americans followed Johnson's march from Johnstown and another, led by Clinton, moved north on the Hudson River – Lake George route. Clinton also called on Vermont militia to join in the pursuit of Johnson's marauders. At the end of May, Clinton and his detachment reached Fort George, but insufficient bateaux on the lake hampered his movement north. Colonel Robert Van Rensselaer with more than 600 militiamen was the first to reach Crown Point but arrived "the day after" Johnson had departed, according to New York assemblyman John Taylor in a letter to Major General Philip Schuyler.[26]

During the fall of 1780, the British launched their largest expedition against military and civilian targets in the corridor since John Burgoyne's 1777 invasion. Embarking from St. Jean, Canada, on September 28, 1780, Major Christopher Carleton led an army composed of four British regiments with detachments of the King's Rangers, Jaegers (German riflemen), Loyalists, and warriors of the Seven Nations, including Kahnawake, Kanehsatake, and Akwesasne. (Most of the warriors joined Carleton several days later.) The British force of nearly 1,000 men, aboard a fleet of eight vessels and 26 bateaux, landed at "West Bay" (Bulwagga Bay) at two o'clock on the morning of October 7.

At daybreak a detachment of nearly 200 rangers, Loyalists, and Iroquois, led by Captain John Munro, began marching on a route to the southwest with plans to join Sir John Johnson, who was slated to target Saratoga, Schenectady, and the Schoharie Valley. Due to a delay in the departure of Johnson's army, the two divisions never made the connection. Munro's party plundered and burned houses in Ballston. Munro was familiar with the region, having once been a merchant/trader in the Albany and Schenectady area. He was receptive to the raid, partially in retribution for the harsh treatment of his family and other local Loyalist families.

Meanwhile, a separate detachment consisting of Loyalists and warriors of the Canadian Seven Nations, headed by Lieutenant Richard Houghton of the 53rd Regiment, traveled along the Onion River (Winooski River) to raid settlements nearly as far east as the Connecticut River. The assailants succeeded in burning much of Tunbridge, Randolph, and Royalton, Vermont.

Carleton's main force, aboard bateaux and at least one gunboat, moved stealthily southward on Lake Champlain, landing on the shore of South Bay on October 9 at two in the morning. Carleton sent 100 men with a captain and two lieutenants back to Ticonderoga with all the vessels to wait for his return by a different route. A detachment of 30 men and one lieutenant was also dispatched to Ticonderoga with orders to haul two bateaux into Lake George in order to transport two small mortars (short-barrel, high-angle siege artillery) to the south end of the lake for the anticipated siege of Fort George.[27]

Just after daylight on October 10, Carleton's main body of troops reached the blockhouse and adjacent sawmill on Wood Creek near Fort Anne. (The original Fort Anne was constructed during Queen Anne's War.) They arrived undetected and found the blockhouse deserted. This seems surprising given that the fort's commander, Captain Adiel Sherwood, while dining with Colonel Henry Livingston at Fort Edward the evening before, had received a report that "some hunters … had given him Notice" of British bateaux on the lake near South Bay.[28] Upon reaching Fort Anne, Carleton immediately sent a flag of truce to Sherwood who agreed to surrender "provided the British troops should take possession of it before any Savages were permitted to approach it."[29]

According to Lieutenant John Enys, an eyewitness serving in the British 29th Regiment, the fort was little "more than a wooden house [barracks]" surrounded with log pickets, and the garrison had only three or four days' provisions and not more than "four Rounds of A[m]munition" per man.[30] A week after the surrender, Sherwood wrote that "without the least hope of relief" and "after consulting my officers and some of my most sensible men, [I] agreed to capitulation."[31] Sherwood was among the 75 prisoners taken to Canada, but all of the women and children were allowed to return home. The fort was burned, and Carleton sent a detachment of rangers and Loyalists southward where they destroyed houses, barns, and mills in Kingsbury, Queensbury, Fort Edward, and Fort Miller. Schuyler later reported that the "panic that has seized the people is incredible," perhaps made worse by inaccurate newspaper accounts that reported that British artillery had breached the log walls of Fort Anne with "every shot" until "two thirds" of the men were killed and that all the "women and children [had been taken] prisoners."[32]

Although the commander of Fort Edward, Colonel Henry Livingston, had received information on October 9 that British forces were near Fort Anne and another communication the next day that the fort's garrison had surrendered, he did not send a message to the officer in charge of Fort George, Captain John Chipman from Salisbury, Connecticut, in Colonel Seth Warner's Continental Regiment. Captain Chipman later maintained that he "was totally in the Dark with respect to the Enemy's Incursion" at Fort Anne and the destruction in the communities to the south.[33] However, Chipman had prior information from his scouts, who had observed "two Sail of the Enemy's Vessels at Anchor at Crown Point"; as a result he had dispatched another reconnaissance party in a bateau to the northern end of Lake George, where they scrutinized the British detachment with mortars loaded on two bateaux.[34] Finding their retreat cut off on the

lake, the American scouting party escaped overland, but could not reach the fort in time to warn the garrison.

Early on the morning of October 11, after the Loyalist and ranger detachments returned from their destruction in the south, Carleton's reunited army began its march to Fort George. In a letter written two and a half weeks later, Colonel Seth Warner suggested that the Fort George garrison had "been two days without provisions," which caused Captain Chipman to send "an express to Fort Edward for supplies" on October 11, but "about four miles from Fort George [the messenger] was fired upon by a party of the enemy … about thirty or forty."[35] Believing the enemy to be only "a small Party of Savages near Bloody Pond," Chipman ordered a detachment of 48 men under Captain Thomas Sill from Hartland, Connecticut, to investigate the report "keeping sufficient advanced and flank Guards … to prevent being surrounded, " but return to the fort if "you find a large Party … except [if] they be Savages only … immediately attack."[36] Sill "unfortunately t[oo]k a Rout[e] different from his Orders," according to Chipman, and the American detachment "passed the Enemy .. and on his Return [to the fort] fell upon their Rear … [and was] surrounded."[37]

Lieutenant Enys provided some details of the engagement from the British perspective: an advance party had observed Sill's detachment leave the fort, prompting the warriors of the Canadian Seven Nations to drop their packs and pursue them. Initially, the warriors were unsuccessful, but shortly thereafter, a British "flanking party" discovered them, whereupon the warriors "supported by a party of royalists and fifty Men of the 34th Regt … surrounded and defeated" the Americans.[38] Sill's men were vanquished in a brief, but bloody engagement, leaving 27 American dead (sources range from 18 to 27 killed) and 8 captured; 13 fled into the wilderness; the British loss was only two killed.[39]

Following the battle, the British forces regrouped on cleared land on the former site of Fort Gage, where Carleton could observe Fort George for the first time. The garrison at the fort could see the British on the hill and fired the fort's six-pound cannon three times, but to no effect.

Carleton sent a flag of truce to the fort, offering Chipman agreeable terms of capitulation, similar to those accepted by the garrison at Fort Anne. With a depleted garrison and little ammunition, Chipman agreed to the articles of capitulation: the Americans would surrender as prisoners of war, no one in the fort would be killed, no warriors would enter the fort until the British troops took possession, and the women and children, as well as one ensign and his young family, would be permitted to return home.[40]

Following the surrender, Lieutenant John Enys described Fort George as "Stone with a thick earth parapet [on top of the rampart] and good Bomb proofs [casemates] for the Garrison," but the walls had been burned and were in bad shape; only one of the two six-pound cannons was mounted with "but 16 or 18 Ro[u}nds" for it and only "a few rounds for their Small arms, with not more than 3 or 4 days' provisions."[41]

Carleton ordered his men to raise all the fort's bateaux, which had been sunk in the shallow water along the shore to keep the seams from leaking. The next morning, the bateaux were loaded with supplies, the wounded, and family members who had accompanied Carleton's army. Lieutenant Robert McFarlane arrived in the morning with his detachment aboard the two bateaux carrying the siege mortars; the two captured six-pound cannons from the fort were placed aboard the bateaux for the return trip. As the fort burned, the rest of the army and "about forty" prisoners from Fort George, who were forced to carry the packs containing the warriors' plunder, marched north along a rough trail on the west side of the lake called "Rogers's Road."[42] Chipman was the only captive transported from Fort George to Ticonderoga aboard a bateau. He was paroled in October with the promise of a future exchange of a British prisoner.

In the meantime, several hundred militiamen from eastern New York marched to Fort Edward, then to Fort George, only to find the fort burned. Private Austin Wells, a 39-year-old American militiaman from Cambridge, New York, arrived at the site of the battle to "bury the dead" and discovered "twenty-two slaughtered and mangled men. All had their skulls knocked in, their throats cut and their scalps taken."[43] Recognizing the bodies of two friends, one militia officer "cried like a child."[44] Wells concluded that much of the fighting had occurred "with clubbed muskets" because he observed "fragments of these , split and shivered … laying around with the bodies."[45] He also saw the body of the Black drummer, who had been scalped and exhibited six to eight spear wounds in his back and his hands tied. At the fort, Wells noticed the six-pound cannon on a half-burned platform, but Lieutenant Enys later wrote that Carleton's men had loaded the cannon on a bateau.

Private George Fowler, also from Cambridge, viewed "the beams and other timbers of the fort … still burning when we arrived" and had seen 12 men "scalped and shockingly mangled. … [a] most horrid sight," which turned him "faint and sick."[46] Similarly, militiaman John Nielson from Saratoga recounted that he had "helped to bury the men that w[ere] mas[sa]cred at Gates hil[l]," who had been "tom[a]hawked and scalped."[47] The location of the engagement has most often been associated with Bloody Pond or "between Bloody Pond and Gages Hill," but when eyewitness Enys revisited the area in 1787, he only noted passing "a small Pond to the left of our Road called the Bloody Pond, on account of Some action… near it in the french war."[48]

A controversy arose over a scalping soon after the incident. Although Carleton denied the story that one of Sill's men "had been Scalped" alive, Lieutenant Enys, as well as several American officers, corroborated the account.[49] The man, who also suffered a broken arm from a musket ball and three deep tomahawk gashes to the back of his head, later died aboard one of the British vessels on Lake Champlain. He had deserted the British army several years earlier and had joined the American side.

The engagement resulted in the most deaths and casualties incurred during the Carleton and Munro raids. Writing to George Washington on October 30, 1780, Colonel Seth Warner blamed Colonel Livingston at Fort Edward for the disaster because he had

“received information of the presence of the enemy. Had he given this information to Capt. Chipman he would not have sent out the detachment from the fort and might have saved it.”[50]

On October 15, Carleton’s army, after traveling along the west side of Lake George, reunited with the troops aboard the bateaux at Ticonderoga. They moved to Crown Point the next day and, on the 18th, sailed about ten miles north, anchoring in “Mill Bay” (present-day Cole Bay). On the same day, many of the Seven Nations warriors and Loyalists departed for Canada. On October 24, the British fleet returned to Bulwagga Bay to pick up Munro’s detachment, following their destructive raid on Ballston, where they had burned “eight or ten houses, and carried off about 30 prisoners,” according to a newspaper report.[51] Due to negotiations between the British and Ethan Allen, Carleton was ordered to remain on Lake Champlain and did not depart for Canada until November 12.

In October Sir John Johnson’s army of nearly 900 men, consisting of Loyalists, regulars, rangers, and members of the Six Nations (Iroquois Confederation), including Mohawk, Cayuga, and Tuscarora warriors, pushed into the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys, leaving a path of devastation in its wake, On October 19, Johnson defeated American troops at Stone Arabia (north of the Mohawk River and west of Schenectady). On the morning of October 19, Colonel John Brown, who had led the raids against British-held Ticonderoga and Diamond Island in 1777, was killed leading his detachment from Fort Paris (one of two American forts at Stone Arabia). Thirty men from his detachment were also killed, and Brown’s “scalp was entirely removed,” and “he was stripped of all his clothing,” except his shirt.[52]

In the meantime, American militiamen under newly-promoted Brigadier General Robert Van Rensselaer were not far away. Governor George Clinton (brigadier general, Continental Army) departed from Albany to join the pursuit of Johnson’s army, taking charge of the operation on October 21. By then the American force amounted to approximately 1,500 troops. The Americans were involved in two battles (Stone Arabia and Klock’s Field) and several skirmishes but were unable to stop Johnson’s army. Clinton ordered the destruction of Johnson’s bateaux at Lake Onondaga; however, on October 25, the British force found the vessels intact and escaped, returning to Oswego the next day.[53]

On October 26, 1780, Clinton informed Major General Philip Schuyler that “the pursuit of Sir John” had not been a “complete success,” but did result in “about 40 prisoners, and the enemy ha[d] lost their luggage and artillery.”[54] Newspapers reported that American forces had recovered “nearly all the prisoners” taken by Johnson and captured “about 40 of the enemy,” but a more detailed analysis found that Johnson returned to Canada with 64 prisoners.[55] The American “Return of Ordnance and Stores,” abandoned by Johnson’s army was not very impressive – a three-pound brass cannon (spiked/damaged), along with 43 cannonballs, 10 canister shot, and assorted implements.[56] In the end, Johnson had inflicted significant damage and escaped

capture. Estimates of the total damage caused by the 1780 British raids range as high as 700 buildings and barns burned and 330 people killed or captured.[57]

On November 12, 1780, George Washington informed Colonel Seth Warner that his Continental Regiment would be dissolved on January 1, 1781. Although his regiment's performance at Fort George would appear to be the reason for the action, other factors may have been involved, including the illicit sale of military supplies by his regimental paymaster, the controversy over Ethan Allen's dealings between Vermont and the British, and Warner's failing health.

By the end of 1780 there were no American troops garrisoned north of Saratoga. Fort George was never garrisoned again, and thereafter Fort Edward was not occupied by troops on a consistent basis.

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NOTES:

1. *Worthington Chauncey Ford, ed., Journals of the Continental Congress 1774-1789 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908), Volume 10, 1778 January 1-May 1, 287.*

2. *Ibid., 987; see also 863.*

3. *Don R. Gerlach, Proud Patriot---Philip Schuyler and The War of Independence, 1775-1783 (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1987), 351; Caleb Stark, Memoir and Official Correspondence of Gen. John Stark (Concord, NH: Edson C. Eastman, 1877), 217, see also 153, 161.*

4. *James E. Petersen, Seth Warner (Middlebury, VT: Dunmore House, 2001), 157,159; Daniel Chipman, Memoir of Colonel Seth Warner (Middlebury, VT. I.W. Clark, 1848), 74-75.*

5. *William H. Hill, Old Fort Edward Before 1800 (1929; reprint ed., Mililani, HI: The Sleeper Co., 1994), 345.*

6. *Winston Adler, ed., Their Own Voices: Oral Accounts of Early Settlers in Washington County, New York (Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1983), 99.*

7. *Ida H. Washington and Paul A. Washington, Carleton's Raid (Canaan, NH: Phoenix Publishing, 1977), vii.*

8. *Ibid., "Carleton's Journal," 88, see also 85.*

9. *John Ellsworth Goodrich, ed. and comp., The State of Vermont: Rolls of the Soldiers in the Revolutionary War, 1775 to 1783 (Rutland, VT: The Tuttle Co., 1904), 797.*

10. *Hill, Old Fort Edward, 345.*

11. *B.F. DeCosta, Notes on the History of Fort George During the Colonial and Revolutionary Periods (New York: J. Sabin & Sons, 1871), "Additions," 3.*

12. *George P. Fisher, Life of Benjamin Silliman (New York: Charles Scribner and Company, 1866), Volume 1, 293.*

13. *A.M. Holden, A History of the Town of Queensbury (Albany, NY: Joel Munsell, 1874), 48.*

14. *Jared Sparks, "Plans & Descriptions of Gates's Camp, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, St. Johns and Other Places," 1830, MS 128, 3a, 4, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA; For more information on Sparks' observations, see Russell P. Bellico, Empires in the Mountains: French and Indian War Campaigns and Forts in the Lake Champlain, Lake George, and Hudson River Corridor (Fleischmanns, NY: Purple Mountain Press, 2010), 268-75.*

15. *Connecticut Courant and the Weekly Intelligencer, 3 August 1779.*

16. *Goodrich, Rolls of Soldiers, 836; DeCosta, Fort George, "Additions," 5; See also Adler, Their Own Voices, 95.*

17. *DeCosta, Fort George, "Additions," 4.*

18. *DeCosta, Fort George, "Additions," 4-5; Connecticut Courant and the Weekly Intelligencer, 3 August 1779; Goodrich, Rolls of Soldiers, 836, see also 107-111; Adler, Their Own Voices, 95-96.*

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Peterson, Seth Warner, 153-54; Another source states that the incident occurred in 1780. Charles A. Jellison, Ethan Allen, Frontier Rebel (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1969), 266.*

21. *Connecticut Gazette and the Universal Intelligencer, 21 April 1780; Hill, Old Fort Edward, 333; "The Invasion of Northern New York 1780," The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum 7 (July 1946): 4.*

22. *Adler, Their Own Voices, 93; Although Rogers did not mention Andrew P. Skene (son of Philip), Andrew was reportedly part of the raiding party. Doris Begor Morton, Philip Skene of Skenesborough (2nd ed. Granville, NY: Ms. Cellaneous Enterprises, 1995), 30, 71.*

23. *Connecticut Gazette and the Universal Intelligencer, 16 June 1780; Gavin K Watt, The Burning of the Valleys: Daring Raids from Canada Against the New York Frontier in the Fall of 1780 (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997), 79.*

24. *Connecticut Gazette and the Universal Intelligencer, 16 June 1780; Holden, History of Queensbury, 475.*

25. *Connecticut Gazette and the Universal Intelligencer, 16 June 1780.*

26. *Watt, Burning of the Valleys, 80; See also Gerlach, Proud Patriot, 418; Holden, History of Queensbury, 475; Archibald M. Howe, Colonel John Brown (Boston W.B. Clarke Company, 1908), 16.*

27. *Elizabeth Cometti, ed., The American Journals of Lt. John Enys (Syracuse, NY: The Syracuse University Press, 1976), 40; Watt, Burning of the Valleys, 98.*

28. *Cometti, Journals of Enys, 44; Watt, Burning of the Valleys, 100; Hill, Old Fort Edward, 337.*

29. *Cometti, Journals of Enys, 44.*

30. *Ibid.; See also Adler, Their Own Voices, 101; Sherwood suggested that the men had ten rounds each. Franklin B. Hough, The Northern Invasion of October 1780; (New York: Frank B. Hough, 1866), 100.*

31. *Hough, Northern Invasion, 100.*

32. *Ibid., 124; Connecticut Gazette and Universal Intelligencer, 31 October 1780; Connecticut Courant and the Weekly Intelligencer, 24 October 1780. The story also appeared in New York newspapers. Subsequent newspaper accounts were more accurate. Boston Gazette and Country Journal, 6 November 1780.*

33. *DeCosta, Fort George, 50.*

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Chipman, Memoir of Seth Warner, 76.*

36. *DeCosta, Fort George. 51.*

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Cometti, Journals of Enys, 45.*

39. *The numbers vary. Cometti, Journal of Enys, 51; DeCosta, Fort George, 53; Chipman, Memoir of Seth Warner, 77; Watt, Burning of the Valleys, 104; Half of the men killed were from Connecticut. Clifford Mullen, "The Battle of Lake George 11 October 1780," Fort George Advice (Fall 2006): 7.*

40. *DeCosta, Fort George, 52.*

41. *Cometti, Journals of Enys, 46-47.*

42. *Hough, Northern Invasion, 100; Cometti, Journals of Enys, 47.*

43. *Adler, Their Own Voices, 101.*

44. *Ibid., 102.*

45. *Ibid., 103.*

46. *Ibid., 100.*

47. *Analysis of Military Campaigns Associated with Fort George and Environs (Rensselaer, NY: Hartgen Archeological Associates, Inc., 2018), Resource Inventory Form, Volume 2,3.*

48. *Hough, Northern Invasion, 122; Cometti, Journals of Enys, 178.*

49. *Cometti, Journals of Enys, 45; DeCosta, Fort George, 53; Although Private Thomas Latham was believed to be the scalping victim who later died, Latham was recorded as receiving payment for his services in 1781. Goodrich, Rolls of Soldiers, 674, 679.*

50. *Chipman, Memoir of Seth Warner, 77*

51. *Boston Gazette and Country Journal, 6 November 1780; See also Nathaniel Bartlett Sylvester, History of Saratoga County (1878; reprint ed., Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1979), 71.*

52. *Howe, Colonel John Brown, 17-18.*

53. *Watt, Burning of the Valleys, 218-23, 230-33, 236, 238.*

54. *Hough, Northern Invasion, 125; Boston Gazette and Country Journal, 6 November 1780.*

*55. Connecticut Gazette and the Universal Intelligencer, 14 November 1780; Watt, Burning of the Valleys, 238, see also 357-58.*

*56. Hough, Northern Invasion, 121; Connecticut Gazette and the Universal Intelligencer, 14 November 1780.*

*57. Don R. Gerlach, "The British Invasion of 1780 and 'A Character … Debased Beyond Description, '" The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum 14 (Summer 1984): 311.*