

## Fort George during the Final Years of the American Revolution 1781-1783

by Russell P. Bellico

Following the destruction of Fort George in October 1780 by a British force led by Major Christopher Carleton, the fort was never garrisoned again by American troops. Although the sound of booming cannon fire from the ramparts of Fort George had ended in 1780, the fort remained a strategically advantageous bivouac area for both American and British scouting parties. The headquarters of the Northern Department of the American army was located in Saratoga. Nevertheless, the Lake Champlain – Lake George region continued to play an active military role in the final years of the war. The crystal blue waters of Lake George and its idyllic islands would witness the presence of British troops once again in 1781.

The first large scale British presence into the lake valleys after Carleton's raid occurred early in 1781. On March 12, a British contingent, led by Captain Andrew Ross of the 31<sup>st</sup> Regiment of Foot, was sent to Fort Ticonderoga for the purpose of "reconnoitering the [region] and effecting the destruction of military stores left at Ticonderoga."<sup>1</sup> The detachment consisted of companies of the 31<sup>st</sup> Regiment, along with some Canadian provincial troops. The detachment "partly accomplished" their mission, hindered by weather and severe "fatigue."<sup>2</sup>

Intelligence from American spies and scouts regarding British plans in the northern sector reached George Washington's headquarters by the spring of 1781. A March 29 report suggested that "early this spring ... the British are to proceed to Fort George and take possession and fortify on Gages Hill [formerly Fort Gage] ... their boats [al]ready framed at St. Johns [St. Jean, Canada] ... to put into Lake George."<sup>3</sup>

In early October 1781, alarms were raised of a British invasion of the northern lake corridor. On October 12, Philip Schuyler received a message from Brigadier General John Stark, commander of the Northern Department, of the "arrival of the enemy on the south end of Lake George."<sup>4</sup> Preparations to oppose the British advance began immediately, but after a few days it was determined that the reports were "premature."

Tensions in the Northern Department were related to continuing secret negotiations between British authorities and Ethan Allen and his brother Ira, Vermont Governor Thomas Chittenden, and others, regarding the possibility of having Vermont become a neutral entity allied with British Canada. The Continental Congress had failed to resolve Vermont's plea for statehood and Vermont leaders were adamantly against having their land split between New Hampshire and New York. But an agreement with the British to have Vermont become a Royal Province, neutral in the war and free to trade with Canada, was stalled by the Vermont commissioners. Was the procrastination by Vermonters a deliberate ploy to forestall British raids on their communities? Historians are still debating this question. The Continental Congress finally offered statehood to Vermont in August 1781, if it ceased annexations of contiguous townships on the borders of New York and New Hampshire, but Vermont rejected the conditions.

Meanwhile, Governor Frederick Haldimand of Canada was becoming increasingly frustrated with the Vermonters, but he was convinced that a proclamation from his office offering Vermont the status of an

independent colony would result in an agreement. To move the proposal forward, Haldimand ordered an expeditionary force to Lake Champlain, which would coincide with a meeting of Vermont's General Assembly. The expedition was led by Colonel Barry St. Leger of the 34<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot. In 1777 St. Leger (then a lieutenant colonel) had abandoned the siege of Fort Schuyler (Fort Stanwix, Rome, NY) after learning of advancing American reinforcements. His mission in 1781 was not only to move Haldimand's overture to Vermont forward but also to "penetrat[e] Lake George to Cause as Much terror and dismay on the West," as possible.<sup>5</sup> Haldimand's instructions to St. Leger specified that "Trucks [wagons] should be taken ...to facilitate the conveyance of ...bateaux" into Lake George.<sup>6</sup> These were similar to the "Carriages resembling a Wagon without the Body" that were used in 1777 to transfer boats into Lake George.<sup>7</sup>

The rationale for the Lake George incursion was related to another more aggressive expedition into the Mohawk Valley, similar in strategy to Sir John Johnson's destructive raid in 1780. (See **Fort George Post**, Summer 2022.) St. Leger's move into Lake George would be a diversion, forestalling Brigadier General Stark from sending troops west. Haldimand had dispatched Major John Ross of the 34<sup>th</sup> Regiment with the Second Battalion of the King's Royal Regiment of New York, along with Captain Walter Butler, commander of the First Battalion, into western New York with more than 600 troops, consisting of regular units, loyalist militia, Butler's rangers, and some Native Americans. By October 3, Ross had collected his army at Oswego.

### ST. LEGER EXPEDITION BEGINS

On October 17, St. Leger departed from St. Johns on the Richelieu River destined for the British fort at Point au Fer, where a large contingent of his troops had assembled two days earlier. St. Leger's force of approximately 900 men included troops from the 29<sup>th</sup>, 31<sup>st</sup>, 34<sup>th</sup>, and 44<sup>th</sup> regiments, Hanau (German) Jaegers, King's Rangers, Royalists, and some Native American allies.

Boarding the schooner *Maria* on the 17<sup>th</sup>, St. Leger sailed into Lake Champlain, anchoring at Isle La Motte. The voyage of the troops was marked by several anchorages and the separation of the vessels. St. Leger reached Crown Point on October 18, but the vessels with the majority of the troops did not arrive until the evening of October 19, setting up camp at Bulwagga Bay. At six in the morning on October 20, battling southerly winds, the troops departed aboard the bateaux for Ticonderoga, but did not reach the fort until six in the evening. The "British Encamp'd near the Old Fort," St. Leger recorded, the Hanau Jaegers "took Possession of the old French Lines and Mount Hope," while the Royalists under Major Edward Jessup, commanding the King's Loyal Americans, was dispatched to the "Landing Place" on northern Lake George.<sup>8</sup> On October 21, Jessup supervised "the Royalists Employ'd at the Portage in Getting the Bateaux into Lake George"; two days later a total of "Ten bateaux" had been launched.<sup>9</sup>

Edward Jessup was no stranger to the region. After the French and Indian War, land grants (patents) in New York and elsewhere were given to former soldiers and supporters of Britain's war effort. In October 1766 Edward, his brother Ebenezer and others petitioned for "15,000 acres of land on the east side of Hudson's river ... between said river and Lake George" and petitioned for a second grant in August 1767 (Jessup Patent).<sup>10</sup> In early November 1776 the brothers joined the British forces then at Crown Point following the Battle of Valcour Island. Edward Jessup participated in Major Christopher Carleton's expedition in 1780 that had resulted in the surrender and destruction of Fort George.

On October 23, St. Leger dispatched an ensign with a patrol of 12 soldiers to the eastern shore of Lake Champlain to capture an American who would be able to deliver a written proclamation to Governor

Chittenden. But the assignment turned into a fiasco. About noontime, “Ens. Spencer Return’d from a Scout and brought in five Prisoners, the Rebel Sergeant – Who commanded the Party, Refusing to surrender was Shot,” while “Leveling his piece [musket]” at the British soldiers, according to St. Leger.<sup>11</sup>

Under orders from Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Robinson, the Americans had been sent on a scouting mission to Mount Independence when the squad was attacked by the British detachment, which resulted in the death of Sergeant Archelus Tupper.<sup>12</sup> St. Leger “thought this Gave a favorable opening” by providing the prisoners with a sympathetic letter of apology addressed to Governor Chittenden.<sup>13</sup> The “Prisoners were therefore, Well Entertain’d and Sent Back” with a flag of truce, but the contents of the “open Letter” were revealed to everyone along the way, leaving Vermonters up in arms over the meaning of the letter.<sup>14</sup> (St. Leger’s wording in his letter included “Not Meaning Hostilities Against Vermont,” “Sincerely Lament ... Shedding of blood,” and the “friendly Inclinations” of Governor Haldimand.<sup>15</sup>)

Before the upper ranks of the American army were aware of the letter controversy, their chief concern was the mere presence of the British troops at Ticonderoga. On October 26, Brigadier General Roger Enos, a veteran of the French and Indian War and in command of the Vermont militia in 1781, wrote to Brigadier General Stark, headquartered in Saratoga, that Captain Abraham Salisbury had returned from a scout of Mount Independence and had observed the British at Fort Ticonderoga “repairing the fortifications,” including covering “the long barracks ... nearly two hundred cattle were employed in drawing cannons ... from their boats.”<sup>16</sup> (St. Leger’s journal, however, doesn’t provide much corroborating evidence for all of the American observations.)

A week after Enos’ letter, Philip Schuyler informed George Washington that “the Enemy are reafortifying Tyconderoga” and reported that the body of the slain Vermont sergeant had been interred by the British “with military honors” and that the other American captured during the skirmish had been provided “with some presents and what liquor and provisions” that could be carried back.<sup>17</sup>

## **THE LAST SKIRMISH AT FORT GEORGE**

American scouts failed to detect a British incursion into Lake George on October 24. At eleven o’clock at night on the 24<sup>th</sup>, “Major Jessup’s Detachment of about 300 left the [northern] Landing Place”; the expeditionary force consisted of “205 Rangers, 60 men of the English Light Infantry and Lieutenant [Albrecht] von Horn with 40 Jaegers.”<sup>18</sup> Hindered by a strong southerly wind, the detachment only “sailed ...three English miles, land [ing] on a small island” and remained there for “two days” before proceeding to “three or four” more islands.<sup>19</sup> Jessup’s orders were “to Move only by night, making Short Stages [movements] and leaving Extensive fires in ... [the] rear.”<sup>20</sup> St. Leger suggested that the goal of the Lake George operation was to “keep [the Americans] in suspense [to] Prevent Their Sending Any Detachment ... Westward,” which would “convince [Stark] to remain in great Strength at Saratoga.”<sup>21</sup> Jessup was to stay on the lake, island hopping until November 1. His mission also involved intelligence gathering. On October 30 a messenger from Jessup, who was “Encamped on Twelve Mile Island,” returned to Ticonderoga with an intelligence report, disclosing that the Americans had 3,000 troops in Saratoga, 1,000 in Castleton, Vermont, 500 in Skenesborough, and two companies at Fort Edward.<sup>22</sup> Jessup subsequently reported to St. Leger that he had sent out a “Scout ... consisting of twelve men who fell in With a Rebel one of a Corporal and two [others] Who refused to Surrender, and firing on Ours, Kill’d ... a Volunteer of the Royalists, the [American] Corporal and one man were Shot dead,” and a third American was wounded and taken prisoner.<sup>23</sup>

There are two slightly different reports of the skirmish with some additional details of the incident. Lieutenant Colonel Carl Adolf Creutzburg, the commander of the Hanau Jaegers, had remained in Ticonderoga during the Lake George expedition. Von Creutzburg recounted that Lieutenant von Horn returned from Lake George on November 1 with a report that his detachment “had captured several rebels who had undertaken a patrol to Fort George” and that “two other rebels had been shot.”<sup>24</sup> Von Creutzburg subsequently received additional information that Jessup had “dispatched a captain and 12 Rangers to land in the region of Fort George to secure any possible prisoners,” and “met three rebels hunting [scouting].”<sup>25</sup> The Americans refused to surrender and threatened to fire on the British party “whereupon eight Rangers fired upon these three men. Two were immediately killed, the third was wounded and escaped,” while a fourth American was captured and revealed that the Americans were not aware of the British presence at Lake George.<sup>26</sup>

Apparently, units of the British regimental companies on the Lake George expedition had camped on different islands and had divergent experiences. In a regimental history of the 29<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot, Hugh Edward Everard noted that a “Light Company of the 29<sup>th</sup>, with some Royalists was sent to Diamond Island, on Lake George, but not meeting with any of the enemy, they were ordered to rejoin the main body.”<sup>27</sup> The 1781 skirmish was the last battle engagement at Fort George.

### **THE LAST BATTLE OF THE REVOLUTION**

While at Lake George, Jessup had sent several reconnaissance patrols west to learn of the progress of Major John Ross’s expedition. While the scouts failed to make contact with Ross, Jessup was told that “Stark absolutely refused” to send strong reinforcements to the west, and that Ross’s detachment was “Moving Rapidly in the direction of Schenectady, burning and destroying Everything before them.”<sup>28</sup> However, Jessup’s scouts did not learn of Ross’s subsequent retreat. On October 24 Colonel Marinus Willett at Fort Rensselaer (Fort Plain) was apprised of Ross’s advance and began a pursuit of the British column with little more than 400-500 American militia troops. Ross made a stand in the fields north of Johnson Hall (Johnstown) and after two encounters with the Americans on October 25, on the following morning fled from the battlefield. The Battle of Johnstown, the last important battle of the American Revolution, resulted in the capture of 50 British soldiers and an indeterminable number of deaths. During the retreat Captain Walter Butler was killed by an Oneida warrior allied with the Americans.<sup>29</sup> St. Leger would not learn of the fate of the Ross expedition until November 5.

### **BRITISH WITHDRAWAL**

The actions taken by St. Leger, as well as the Americans, were often influenced by inaccurate intelligence, which prolonged the British occupation. For a time, St. Leger had misleading information on Lieutenant General Charles Cornwallis, who surrendered his army at Yorktown, Virginia, on October 19, 1781. On October 28, St. Leger had intelligence that the Americans “acknowledg’d that, Lord Cornwallis’s position was strong” and that George Washington “had been Mortally Wounded” and “his Forces Cut to Pieces.”<sup>30</sup> Incomplete American intelligence led Brigadier General Stark to conclude that the British “intend a permanent post at Ticonderoga,” thus he concentrated his forces around Saratoga in preparation for a British advance from the north.<sup>31</sup> Reports in American newspapers suggested that St. Leger “advanced ... [with] about 2500 men through Lake Champlain to Lake George,” but were deterred by a “formidable body of continental troops as well as militia assembled” in the area.<sup>32</sup>

Before the end of October, St. Leger had decided to leave Ticonderoga and move his troops north to Chimney Point. On October 27, 1781, St. Leger wrote to Haldimand that “as I find our present Position Alarms, and Agitates the Vermonters Extremely, I Mean on the Return of Maj Jessup [from Lake George] to Move to Chimney Point.”<sup>33</sup> Even before Jessup’s return, St. Leger had ordered the extra bateaux and some of the baggage at the northern Lake George landing to be brought back to the Ticonderoga landing on Lake Champlain. Jessup was ordered to return on the night of October 31, but northerly winds delayed his return until the morning of November 1. By five o’clock that day all of the bateaux and troops had been withdrawn from Lake George. To cover the withdrawal, St. Leger had sent Major James Rogers (older brother of Robert Rogers) with his King’s Rangers to the mountainsides in the Lake George Narrows and dispatched other units to positions south of the northern landing site. Due to strong northeast winds and heavy rain on November 2, St. Leger’s main force did not leave Ticonderoga until one in the morning, arriving at Chimney Point at daybreak on November 3; other troops and vessels reached Chimney Point later. St Leger lingered with his force at Chimney Point for a week, hoping “to Procure a communication With Vermont.”<sup>34</sup> But the controversy over St. Leger’s letter to Governor Chittenden and the news about Yorktown doomed any further negotiations with Vermont.

On November 7, while at Chimney Point, St. Leger received an American flag of truce from Major General William Alexander (Earl of Sterling), who had recently been sent to New York from Washington’s headquarters to take temporary command of the Northern Department “during the emergency” of the British incursion.<sup>35</sup> While the flag of truce was ostensibly for a purposed exchange of British prisoners for two American prisoners, St. Leger “Suspect [ed] that this Flag Was sent ... to [observe] our operations,” so he kept the Americans at a distance.”<sup>36</sup> The letter from Sterling was also to apprise St. Leger of the capture of Cornwallis and his army, which St. Leger had learned of a few days earlier. On November 10, with the end of the navigation season approaching and the failure of the Vermont negotiations, as well as the impact of the surrender of Cornwallis, the British expeditionary force began their departure for Canada. St. Leger arrived at St. Johns on November 16.

The 1781 operation had been a considerable undertaking, involving many of the vessels from the 1776 and 1777 campaigns: the schooners *Carleton* and *Maria*, the ship *Royal George*, two vessels taken from the Americans—cutter *Lee* and galley *Trumbull*, and a number of gunboats and bateaux – all under the command of Royal Navy captain William Chambers.

St. Leger’s 1781 expedition and the conduct of Vermont’s leaders remained a concern to American authorities. On December 21, 1781, Brigadier General Stark, once again in command of the Northern Department, reported the details of the St. Leger and Ross operations to George Washington. Stark suggested that the actions of the Vermonters “have been very mysterious,” which “convinced me that they were not friendly to the United States.”<sup>37</sup>

## 1782: A STATE OF UNCERTAINTY

In November 1781 Philip Schuyler wrote to George Washington, proposing a new campaign for 1782 against British forces in Canada. Subsequently, Washington considered an invasion plan via the Lake George – Lake Champlain corridor, if such an operation was needed, but the expedition never occurred.<sup>38</sup> Haldimand later learned of the American plans, but by then British policy had taken a defensive posture. Nevertheless, rumors of a British expedition through Lake Champlain persisted in the United States. In October 1782 Jacob Bayley, a Vermont native who held a commission as a brigadier general in the New York militia, informed Governor George Clinton of New York that he “had intelligence ... from St. Johns that the enemy w[as] moving in force up Lake Champlain ... [and] by way of

Oswego ... to destroy Albany and Establish Vermont [as a Royal Province].”<sup>39</sup> On October 22, the *Independent Gazette* (Philadelphia) printed an erroneous story “that Europeans, Canadians, Tories and Indians had marched for Lake Champlain to embark for Ticonderoga ... [and] for Albany.”<sup>40</sup> In the meantime, final peace terms were being finalized. In November 1782, the peace commissioners in Paris agreed to a preliminary treaty. On February 4, 1783, Great Britain proclaimed the cessation of hostilities, followed by the Americans on April 11. The final treaty was signed on September 3, 1783.

Vermont’s admission to statehood remained in limbo for nearly another decade. When new objections in Congress blocked Vermont’s bid for admission, Ethan Allen resumed his negotiations with Governor Haldimand. In June 1782 Allen wrote to Haldimand that he “shall do anything in my power to render the State a British Province.”<sup>41</sup> It was not until 1791 that Vermont was admitted to the Union as the first new state.

### **1783: GEORGE WASHINGTON AT FORT GEORGE**

Two years after the British surrender at Yorktown and with the cessation of hostilities, a semblance of tranquility enveloped the lake valleys.

In the spring of 1782 George Washington established his headquarters in Newburgh at the Hasbrouck House, overlooking the Hudson River. In July 1783 Washington decided to make an inspection tour of the “Northern and Western Posts” in New York, where “important Military” events had occurred during the war.<sup>42</sup> On July 15, Washington wrote to Philip Schuyler that he had sent Lieutenant Henry Dimler, the assistant quarter master general, to make arrangements for “some light Boats [bateaux] ... [to be] transported to Lake George.”<sup>43</sup> Washington departed from Newburgh on July 18 for his trip to the sites on the northern frontier. In addition to a complement of troops, the entourage included Governor George Clinton and two field officers, and an Italian nobleman. On a tour of America, Count Francesco dal Verme had a number of letters of introduction, including ones from Benjamin Franklin and John Adams. Washington did not write much about the excursion except for his list of expenses, but fortunately Count dal Verme would write an interesting account of the journey.

On July 19 Washington’s party lodged at Philip Schuyler’s “magnificent” home in Albany, offering a “panoramic view” of the river valley.<sup>44</sup> In addition to a fine dinner, Schuyler provided three-and-a-half gallons of liquor to his guests, purchased from James Caldwell, an Albany merchant and future settler of Caldwell (Lake George Village).<sup>45</sup> Among the guests were Schuyler’s two daughters – one, Elizabeth, was the wife of Alexander Hamilton, then serving in the Continental Congress.

Traveling by horseback, the next day the party observed “the place where General [John] Burgoyne first engaged the American forces” and spent the night at Schuyler’s home in present – day Schuylerville.<sup>46</sup> On July 21 the group met “more than two hundred [196]” repatriated prisoners, returning from captivity in Canada, as they made their way through Saratoga.<sup>47</sup> Later that day Washington’s party “arrived in the evening at Fort George, now dismantled,” where “fishing provided our supper, and we extended our mattresses in a house of only one room.”<sup>48</sup> The accompanying soldiers, mainly from a Rhode Island battalion stationed at Saratoga, erected their tents in today’s Lake George Battlefield Park.

The following day (July 22) dal Verme recorded that the horses were left with 30 soldiers at Fort George. Washington and his party viewed Fort George and the remnants of Fort William Henry, but dal Verme didn’t offer any details – whether this occurred before departing for Ticonderoga or on the return leg. Washington’s entourage departed northward for Ticonderoga aboard three bateaux that had been

transported overland from Fort Edward: “We, thirty-nine persons in all, got into three boats, each of which carried six armed soldiers who did the rowing.”<sup>49</sup> They had brought provisions of biscuit, beverages, and one live sheep. However, their main staple – fish—was caught while underway for their dinner that day. Washington and his detachment reached the northern end of the lake at eight in the evening and slept in tents for the night, eating fish once again for breakfast.

During the day of July 23, while two bateaux were being carried to Lake Champlain, the party visited the “remains” of Fort Ticonderoga, then traveled north by boat to Crown Point “where some fortifications are still standing,” eating lunch in a “hut.”<sup>50</sup> After lunch the detachment embarked southward, “pitch [ing] our tents by the lakeside, but the mosquitoes would not let us sleep.”<sup>51</sup> On the 24<sup>th</sup> they arrived back at the Lake George portage and pitched their tents again, having both a breakfast and dinner of fish, while waiting for the boats to be transferred back to Lake George.

In his journal of the trek, dal Verme commented more about the wildlife that he observed than the forts, describing a nine-foot-long rattlesnake killed at Fort Ticonderoga, a large black bear at Crown Point, another bear and her two cubs that snatched their live sheep at the northern Lake George portage, and the “incessant screaming of panthers” during the last night at the portage.<sup>52</sup>

Washington’s party departed from the portage at three in the morning of July 25, landing at one o’clock in the afternoon on an island, 18 miles from their embarkation. Their steady diet of fish continued on the island. “Our catch of fish,” according to dal Verme, “was so plentiful that we kept only the best,” including perch, pike, and red trout.<sup>53</sup> The group arrived at Fort George after dark to find “bowers [rustic temporary shelters] lighted by torches of dry wood”; the structures had been constructed by the soldiers who had remained at the site of Fort George.<sup>54</sup> On the fort grounds, Washington met with Major General Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben, who was being dispatched by Washington, in accordance with article VII of the provisional peace treaty, to meet with Governor Haldimand in order to facilitate the surrender of the British-held frontier posts. However, when Steuben arrived in Canada, Haldimand maintained that he did not have the authority to relinquish the posts until receiving further instructions from home.

On July 26 Washington and his entourage left for Fort Edward and then for Schuyler’s home in Schuylerville, observing sites of destruction from the 1777 battle. The next day, after visiting the nearby mineral springs, Washington met with ambassadors from the Oneida and Tuscarora Nations (most of whose warriors had supported the Americans during the war), approving their request for powder, ammunition, and rum. Thereafter, the party visited Old Fort Johnson, Fort Rensselaer (Fort Plain), Fort Herkimer, Fort Dayton, Fort Schuyler (Fort Stanwix), and Otsego Lake.

On August 3 Washington returned to Schenectady, where he was “honored here by many Indians, around two hundred in all from the two nations allied with the Americans.”<sup>55</sup> The next day he set off by boat for his headquarters in Newburgh.

The tour by Washington was not in reality a matter of leisure – it was an evaluation of the feasibility of strengthening military posts, especially on the western frontier. From his headquarters in Newburgh on August 6, Washington wrote to the president of Congress that his tour was “to facilitate ... the operations which will be necessary for occupying the Posts which are ceded by the Treaty of Peace,” and therefore he began preparations “for supplying all the Garrisons on the Western Waters”. Washington also ordered Colonel Marinus Willett “to repair the Roads, remove the obstructions in the [Mohawk] River,” and construct buildings for “Ordnance and Stores.”<sup>56</sup> In addition, Washington informed the

superintendent of finance that as a result of his “Tour to the Northward,” the quartermaster general would be receiving orders “to prepare Batteaux and other means of Transportation to the Upper Posts, of the Cannon, Stores and Provisions” needed in “Maintaining them.”<sup>57</sup>

With the end of the war, the plan of maintaining fortifications on the northern frontier ended. Settlements expanded in the Champlain Valley and the forts became convenient sources of building materials. However, four settlers, who received a one-year lease for the land at Fort George in 1783, had to agree to a stipulation that no “Bricks, Timber of Stones ... be removed” or fortifications “taken down.”<sup>58</sup> A new era of peace at Lake George had begun.

Fort George, as well as the other forts in the region, served as the first line of defense on the frontier against the British. Many Americans made the ultimate sacrifice of their lives at these outposts. In his circular letter of June 18, 1783, written at his Newburgh headquarters, George Washington admonished his fellow countrymen to recognize the “meritorious class of veterans” of the war “who have shed their blood, or lost their limbs, in the service of their country.”<sup>59</sup> The sacrifices resulted in the independence of the American colonies, becoming the first modern democracy in the world.

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#### NOTES:

1. Richard Cannon, *Historical Record of the Thirty-First, or the Huntingdonshire Regiment of Foot* (London: Parker, Furnivall & Parker, 1850), 42.
2. Ibid.
3. B.F. DeCosta, *Notes on the History of Fort George During the Colonial and Revolutionary Periods* (New York: J. Sabin & Sons, 1871), 57.
4. Caleb Stark, *Memoir and Official Correspondence of Gen. John Stark* (Concord, NH: Edison C. Eastman, 1877), 271; *Boston Gazette*, 29 October 1781; See also *The Connecticut Courant and Weekly Intelligencer*, 23 October 1781.
5. Haldimand Papers, “Letter of Instructions,” H-1453, image 826, fol.153, Canadian Research Knowledge Network, heritage canadians.ca.
6. Ibid.
7. Horatio Rogers, ed., *Hadden’s Journal and Orderly Books: A Journal Kept in Canada and Upon Burgoyne’s Campaign in 1776 and 1777, by Lieut. James M. Hadden, Roy. Art.* (1884; reprint ed., Boston: Gregg Press, 1972), 96. The carriages came in two sizes, the smaller version for bateaux. Ibid.
8. Haldimand Papers, “Minutes and Journal of Proceedings on the Expedition – 1781,” H-1453, image 854, fol. 181. German troops were also stationed on Sugarloaf Hill (Mt. Defiance). Ibid., image 855, fol. 182.
9. Ibid., H-1453, images 855-56, fols. 182-83.



10. [E. B. O'Callaghan], comp., *Calendar of N.Y. Colonial Manuscripts: Indorsed Land Papers 1643-1863*; (1864; reprint ed., Harrison, NY: Harbor Hill Books, 1987), 415, 449.
11. Haldimand Papers, "Minutes and Journal," H-1453, image 856, fol. 183; "Letter," H-1453, image 832, fol. 159.
12. 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), 795.
13. Haldimand Papers, "Minutes and Journal," H-1453, image 856, fol. 183.
14. Ibid., images 856-57, fols. 183-84.
15. Haldimand Papers, H-1453, image 834, fol. 161.
16. Stark, *Memoir*, 282.
17. Philip Schuyler to George Washington, November 2, 1781, MS (1999.1134), Fort Ticonderoga Thompson-Pell Research Center.
18. Haldimand Papers, "Minutes and Journal," H-1453, Image 857, fol. 184, see also image 829, fol. 156; Carl Adolf Christoph von Creutzburg, "Relation of the secret expedition under the command of Colonel St. Leger on September ninth, 1781," *Journal of the Hesse-Hanau Jaeger Corp 1777-82*, Fiche O, No. 276, 37, Lidgerwood Collection, Morristown National Historical Park, NJ. (There are several slightly different spellings of Creutzburg's name.)
19. Creutzburg, "expedition," 39-40.
20. Haldimand Papers, "Minutes and Journal," H-1453, image 857, fol. 184.
21. Ibid., H-1453, image 829, fol. 156; image 838, fol. 165; image 857, fol. 184.
22. Ibid., "Minutes and Journal," H-1453, image 864, fol. 191.
23. Ibid., images 867-68, fols. 194-95.
24. Creutzburg, "expedition," 39.
25. Ibid., 40.
26. Ibid.; See also Mark Edward Lender, *Fort Ticonderoga, The Last Campaigns* (Yardley, PA: Westholme, 2022), 168; Gavin K. Watt, *A dirty trifling, piece of business: The Revolutionary War as Waged from Canada in 1781* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2009), Volume 1, 386.
27. Major H. Everard, *History of Thos Farrington's Regiment Subsequently Designated the 29<sup>th</sup> Worcestershire Foot 1694-1891* (Worcester, UK: Littlebury & Company; The Worcester Press, 1891), 96.
28. Haldimand Papers, H-1453, images 844-45, fols. 171-72.
29. Larry Lowenthal, *Marinus Willett: Defender of the Northern Frontier* (Fleischmanns, NY: Purple Mountain Press, LTD, 2000), 64-70; See also *The Connecticut Courant and Weekly Intelligence*, 6 November 1781; *The Connecticut Gazette and Universal Intelligencer*, 7 December 1781.
30. Haldimand Papers, "Minutes and Journal," H-1453, image 863, fol. 190.
31. Stark, *Memoir*, 283.
32. *Boston Gazette*, 31 December 1781; See also *The Connecticut Gazette and Universal Intelligencer*, 7 December 1781.
33. Haldimand Papers, H-1453, image 838, fol. 165.
34. Ibid., "Minutes and Journal," H-1453, image 872, fol. 199.
35. Stark, *Memoir*, 280.
36. Haldimand Papers, "Minutes and Journal," H-1453, image 876, fol. 203.
37. Stark, *Memoir*, 304-5.
38. Don R. Gerlach, *Proud Patriot--Philip Schuyler and the War of Independence 1775-1783* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1987), 469; Lender, *Fort Ticonderoga*, 174.
39. DeCosta, *Fort George*, 60-61.
40. *The Independent Gazette* (Philadelphia), 22 October 1782. (Research assistance from Joseph W. Zarzynski)

41. Charles A. Jellison, *Ethan Allen, Frontier Rebel* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1969), 285.
42. John C. Fitzpatrick, ed, *The Writings of George Washington* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1938), 84.
43. *Ibid.*, 66.
44. Elizabeth Cometti, trans. and ed., *Seeing America and Its Great Men: The Journal and Letters of Count Francesco dal Verme 1783-1784* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1969), 13.
45. Gerlach, *Proud Patriot*, 51.
46. Cometti, *Seeing America*, 13.
47. *Ibid.*, 13 ; Matthew B.P. Keagle, "Between War and Peace," *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum* 17 (2021): 56-58; At the same time, British prisoners were released by the Americans, including 5,826 troops sent from Philadelphia to New York City. *The Independent Gazette* (Philadelphia), 20 September 1783. (Research assistance from Joseph W. Zarzynski)
48. *Ibid.*, 13; Washington's list of expenses included "Fort George going and returning." George Washington, "Expense Account of Washington," *New York History* 13 (April 1932): 180.
49. Cometti, *Seeing America*, 13.
50. *Ibid.*, 14.
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*, 18
56. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of George Washington*, 84-86.
57. *Ibid.*, 87.
58. *New York in the Revolution as Colony and State: A Compilation of Documents and Records from the Office of the State Comptroller* (Albany, 1901), 47-48; DeCosta, *Fort George*, 61-62; [O'Callaghan], *Calendar of N.Y. Colonial Manuscripts*, 656.
59. *The Connecticut Gazette and the Universal Intelligencer*, 18 July 1783.

#### **CAPTIONS FOR ILLUSTRATIONS:**

1. St. Johns (St. Jean, Canada) served as a base of maritime operations for the British during the American Revolution. Colonel Barry St. Leger departed from the base aboard the schooner *Maria* on October 17, 1781. (National Archives of Canada)
2. Troops under the command of Colonel Barry St. Leger reached Fort Ticonderoga on October 20, 1781. (Photo by the author)
3. Brigadier General John Stark, commander of the Northern Department in 1781. (New York State Library)
4. Philip Schuyler in his uniform as a major general in the Continental Army (resigned commission in 1779). From *Eminent Americans* by Benson J. Lossing, 1886.
5. Major Edward Jessup's detachment camped on several islands in Lake George during their diversionary mission of 1781. (Photo by the author)
6. Fort George. From the *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution* by Benson J. Lossing.

7. Romanticized image of George Washington at Halfway Brook on the military road to Fort George during his 1783 inspection tour. Painting by J.L.G. Ferris, Glens Falls Insurance Co. 1908 calendar. (Author's collection)
8. In 1783 Major General Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben, inspector general of the Continental Army, met with George Washington in today's Battlefield Park. (New York State Historical Association)