

Proving Service at the Battle of Point Pleasant for Sons of the American Revolution

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Introduction. The Sons of the American Revolution (SAR) accepts service of soldiers who were at the Battle of Point Pleasant on 10 October 1774 as Revolutionary service. This was the only full scale battle fought in Dunmore's War, and no other service in Dunmore's War is accepted as Revolutionary service by the SAR. The battle lasted from the beginning of the day until about sundown and involved only troops present with Col. Andrew Lewis at Point Pleasant on that day. Reinforcements under Col. William Christian arrived about midnight after the battle was over. Some companies had been left to guard earlier encampments and did not even reach Point Pleasant. Troops in the northern division of the army under the direct command of Lord Dunmore were also not at the battle and did not report to Col. Andrew Lewis. Finally, some companies in service were not on the expedition, but defending the frontier in their home counties. Many troops in Dunmore's War were not at the Battle, not meeting the SAR requirement for Revolutionary service for their participation in this conflict.

No muster or pay roll is extant bearing the date 10 October 1774, or a range of dates that includes that day. The SAR has long relied on a list of officers and men published by Livia Simpson Poffenbarger in her pamphlet, *The Battle of Point Pleasant, First Battle of the American Revolution* (9th edition, not to be confused with her 1909 book with a similar name) [pp. 20-30]. Poffenbarger explains that in 1935 the West Virginia legislature authorized the Point Pleasant Battlefield Monument Commission, which she chaired, to create this list or roster of the officers and men who participated in the Battle. The names were to be compiled and placed on the bronze tablets at the base of the monument. In fact, officers and men who were not at the battle are included in the list. Evidently, participation did not require being at the Battle, which SAR standards for Revolutionary service do require. In addition, no sources are cited for the names included in the list. This exacerbates the problem of determining which men on the list were at the Battle.

This paper has three objectives. One is to document why SAR no longer accepts the Poffenbarger list. A second is to provide a list of field officers and companies that were at the battle. Proof of service in one of these companies is *prima facie* evidence that a soldier was at the Battle, although a few men were on detached duty. A third is to identify sources for finding the rosters of those companies. The research on which this paper is based should not be considered exhaustive. To date, the research has been limited to documents published in Reuben Gold Thwaites' and Louise Phelps Kellogg's *Documentary History of Dunmore's War*, Virgil A. Lewis' *History of the Battle of Point Pleasant*, and to pay records found in *Augusta, Bedford, Botetourt, Culpeper, and Fincastle Payrolls and Public Service Claims*, which is in the Library of Virginia. Some Revolutionary War pension applications mentioning service in Dunmore's War have also been examined. Virginia pensions to wounded soldiers and interviews with soldiers conducted by 19th century historians have not been consulted.

Poffenbarger lists many officers and men who were not at the Battle. Although Poffenbarger states that she lists officers and men who participated in the Battle of Point Pleasant, the Commission's list included officers and men who were not at the Battle, and in some cases not even on the expedition with Col. Andrew Lewis against the Indians. One cannot determine from examining the list whether or not a man was at the Battle, rendering it useless for determining whether a man named on the list meets SAR criteria for Revolutionary service. Consider the following examples, where page numbers refer to Thwaites and Kellogg's *Documentary History of the Battle of Point Pleasant*.

Col. William Preston. Col. Preston was a prominent officer widely known not to have been at the battle. He remained in Fincastle County directing the defense of the frontier. Capt. Daniel Smith wrote to Col. William Preston at Smithfield on 13 October, presumably aware of where his commanding officer was [pp. 248-249]. Smithfield is almost 200 miles driving distance from Point Pleasant. In addition, Maj. William Ingles wrote to Col. Preston from Point Pleasant on 14 October [pp. 257-259]. The letter described the march to Point Pleasant and the battle, information Preston would not have needed had he been there.

Capt. Daniel Smith and his company. Col. William Preston wrote to Maj. Arthur Campbell on 25 August 1774 about forming a company under Capt. Smith to cover the upper settlements [p. 161]. Two rolls for Smiths' men show they were stationed at Elk Garden Fort, Glade Hollow Fort, Maiden Springs Station, and Upper Station [pp. 401-403]. The date on one list is 13 August, but there are numerous dates of discharge for particular men in September and October, including 10 October. One roll includes notations by the entries for a number of men that they "went away without leave," especially on 25 September. The duty stations notwithstanding, Poffenbarger lists George Dougherty/Doherty, Michael Glaves, Isaiah Hambleton/Hamilton and others as having participated in the battle. These men are named in Capt. Daniel Smith's Company in the pay ledger in the Library of Virginia's collection. (Details about this ledger will be discussed below.) When Capt. Smith wrote to Col. William Preston on 13 October, he was writing from Castle's Woods (now Castlewood), Virginia [pp. 248-249]. Castlewood, Virginia and over 200 miles driving distance from Point Pleasant. Capt. Smith could not have been at Point Pleasant on the 10th and returned to Castle's Wood by the 13th.

Capt. Robert Doack and his company. Col. William Preston reported Doack as deceased in a letter to Major Arthur Campbell dated 13 August 1774 [p. 145] and his company was guarding the frontier, not on the expedition to Point Pleasant. Col. Preston wrote to Maj. Arthur Campbell on 25 August 1774 mentioning the possibility of drafting men from the companies of Capt. Herbert and the late Capt. Doacks to guard the upper settlements under Capt. Daniel Smith [pp. 161-162]. (Herbert soon went into service on the expedition. This letter indicates that it is important to distinguish between companies regularly commanded by a captain and those he commanded on the expedition.) Poffenbarger lists the men who had been in Doack's company as participating in the battle, apparently using a muster roll dated 2 June [p. 399], including Robert Doacks himself as well as William, David, and Samuel Doack. This was over three months

before the battle and almost 6 weeks before Col. Fleming, Christian, Lewis, and Preston met and conferred about the expedition before it began [p. 146]. Capt. Doack's company is not listed on any of the general returns for the expedition. (A general return for purposes here is a list of companies identified by commanding officer, without the names of subordinate officers and men.)

Capt. Thomas Burk and his company. Capt. Burk provided Col. William Preston with a list of his men dated 30 May 1774 [pp. 398-399], almost five months before the battle. Poffenbarger lists Capt. Burk and men on this roll, including George Fry, Jr. & Sr., Edward and William Hale, and Henry Librough. There is no evidence that this company was even on the expedition. It is not listed on any of the general returns for the expedition.

Capt. Michael Woods and his company. On 29 May 1774 Capt. Woods provided Col. William Preston with two lists of men, those between Rich Creek Mountain and the county line and those on the other side of the river. From the date and context, this letter was about local defense. There is no evidence that Woods was on the expedition, much less at the battle. Poffenbarger lists Woods and men from both rolls. Some men are found in the pay ledger in other companies, but others, such as Joseph English/English/Ingliss, are not found in the ledger.

Col. William Christian and companies with him at the time of the battle. Col. William Preston wrote to Patrick Henry on 31 October that he had received letters "...from Col^o Christian and other Gentlemen on the Expedition..."[p. 291] Preston wrote, Col^o Christian with the Fincastle Troops, (except for the Companies Commanded by Cap^{ts} Russell & Shelby who were in the Action) were on their march, and on the Evening of that Day about 15 Miles from the Field of Battle heard that the Action began in the Morning. They Marched hard & got to the Camp about midnight.[p. 292] Christian and the companies with him arrived well after the battle ended and engaged in the battle. Col. Fleming's orderly book includes a general return of the Fincastle Regiment (Christian's), dated 9 September 1774 when the men were at Camp Union [p. 317]. Poffenbarger includes Col. Christian and all six of the captains from that general return on her list, even though there is good evidence that three companies, those of Capt. Walter Crockett, William Campbell, and James Harrod, were with Col. Christian and not at the Battle (details below).

What companies were at the Battle of Point Pleasant? There are no muster or pay rolls providing direct evidence for which companies were at the Battle of Point Pleasant. However, there are six sources that either name or provide strong indirect evidence for companies at the Battle: two general returns, three eye witness accounts by officers, and a list of wounded men. All of these documents were published by Thwaites and Kellogg.

1. Return of 7 October 1774 , Col. William Fleming's Regt. [p. 417]
2. Return of 9 October 1774, Col. William Fleming's Regt. [p. 418]
3. Col. Fleming's Orderly Book, entry for 10 October 1774 [pp. 341-344].
4. Letter from Lt. Isaac Shelby to John Shelby, 16 October 1774 [pp. 269-277].
5. James Newell's Journal and Orderly Book, [p. 341].

6. List of wounded men, 23 October 1774 [p. 419]

The two general returns were made at Point Pleasant one and three days before the battle. They are for the Botetourt regiment of Col. William Fleming only, not for the Augusta regiment of Col. Charles Lewis. Both include four companies not from Botetourt, but which were at Point Pleasant and under the operational control of the Botetourt Regiment for organizational purposes. The eye witness accounts provided by Col. William Fleming and Lt. Isaac Shelby name companies in both the Botetourt and Augusta regiments. Thwaites and Kellogg published Newell's Journal and Orderly Book, although largely as notes to Fleming's orderly book, which to a great extent it duplicates. The journal provides evidence that Lt. Newell was at the battle. He was in Capt. William Herbert's Company. The list of wounded men as of 23 October 1774, names a company for each man named. This provides corroborating evidence concerning Capt. Herbert's Company, but does not appear to be reliable in all cases as a source for the company in which a man actually served in the battle for reasons discussed below. The names of some killed and wounded were provided in letters by John Madison [p. 280] and Col. William Fleming in his journal [p. 289]. The pay ledger shows these men (where names were found) to have been in companies shown to have been at the Battle by one or more of the first five sources. In addition, testimony by men applying for Revolutionary pensions identifies two additional companies.

Companies identified from the six sources. Based on the six sources, we know of 21 companies at the battle. For each company, the source providing evidence that it was at the battle is given superscript, with the numbers corresponding to the number given to each document above. The sources for names of the officers and men in each company, when known, are given in parenthesis along with other comments.

The 21 companies at the Battle according to the six sources were:

- Botetourt Regiment (with additional companies assigned), Col. William Fleming
 - Capt. Philip Love^{1,2,3,4,6} Roll dated 7 Oct. 1774, p. 407, (do not use names from 10 Sep. roll); pay ledger.
 - Capt. Thomas Buford^{1,2,3,4} Undated roll, p. 409; pay ledger.
 - Capt. Matthew Arbuckle^{1,2,4,6} Pay ledger.
 - Capt. John Lewis^{1,2,3,4} Roll dated 10 Sept. 1774 & undated roll, pp. 408-409; pay ledger.
 - Capt. John Murray^{1,2,3,4,6} Roll 10 Sept. 1774, p. 406; pay ledger. Murray was killed in action and succeeded in command by Lt. William McKee [pp. 348-349].
 - Capt. John Stewart^{1,2,4,6} Undated roll, p. 410; pay ledger.
 - Capt. Robert McClanahan^{1,2,4} Undated roll, pp. 410-411; pay ledger. McClanahan was killed in action; Lt. McCoy succeeded him in command [p. 349].
 - Capt. Henry Pauling^{1,2,4} Undated roll, p. 411; pay ledger.
 - Capt. William Russell from Fincastle^{1,2,3,4,6} Pay ledger.
 - Col. John Field from Culpeper^{1,2,4} Field commanded the only Culpeper company at the battle and was killed in action. Lt. Roberts succeeded him in command [p. 349]. The return of 7 October gives the strength of this company as 39 rank and file.
 - Capt. Evan Shelby from Fincastle^{1,2,3,4,6} Roll dated 7 Oct. 1774, p. 412; pay ledger.
 - Capt. James Ward^{3,4} (killed in action. Only 9 men were in the company on a return dated 27 Sep. 1774, which probably explains why Ward's command is not listed as a Company on the returns of 7 and 9 October)
- Augusta Regiment, Col. Charles Lewis

Capt. John Dickenson^{3,4} Pay ledger.

Capt. Benjamin Harrison^{3,4} Pay ledger.

Capt. John Skidmore^{3,4} Pay ledger.

Capt. George Matthews^{3,4} Pay ledger.

Capt. Samuel McDowell^{3,4} Pay ledger.

Capt. Samuel Willson^{3,4} Pay ledger. Willson was killed in action; Lt. Givens succeeded him in command.

Capt. Andrew Lockridge⁴ Pay ledger.

Capt. Alexander McClanahan³ Pay ledger.

Fincastle Regiment

Capt. William Herbert^{5,6} Pay ledger.

The 23 October list of wounded men includes men in the companies of Capts. McKee, Campbell, Herbert, and Major James Robertson [p. 417]. Lt. William McKee was named to command in place of Capt. John Murray, who was killed in action and whose company is listed above. All six sources place this company at the Battle. There are reasons to question whether companies of Campbell and Robertson were present.

Capt. Alexander McClanahan's company was ordered to guard the camp, and Capt. John Lewis' Botetourt company was ordered to form a line around that camp [p. 342]. Col. Andrew Lewis himself was at the camp, and men wounded in action returned to camp for care, including Col. William Fleming and the mortally wounded Col. Charles Lewis according to Fleming's own account to his wife [p. 253].

The soldier from Capt. Herbert's Company named on a 23 October list of wounded men was Lt. James Newell. Newell kept a journal and record of orders. Many, but not all, of the entries were identical orders recorded by Col. William Fleming in his orderly book. Newell states that companies were ordered to prepare to march from Camp Union on 23 September, but does not say which companies actually marched [p. 244]. There are no entries for the march itself, but the journal resumes on 7 October at Point Pleasant. Record that Newell was wounded and his journal account of the battle provide good evidence that Capt. William Herbert's Company was at the battle.

Two soldiers in Herbert's company testified about their service when applying for Revolutionary pensions. Neither mentioned being at the battle. Richard Muse (S30612) was neutral about the company being at the battle. Charles Cocke (R2086) testified:

...previous to the Revolutionary War, he [himself] was on an expedition against the northwestern Indians in a company commanded by Capt William Herbert in a Regiment commanded by Col. then Major Christie. Col. Christie with his command was near to Point Pleasant, at the mouth of Kanawha, when Col. Lewis defeated the indians at that place. His service was performed in 1774 as well as the declarant can now recollect....

The detail about where Christian was could be viewed as indicating that Cocke and Capt. Herbert's Company were with Col. Christian. However, it can also be viewed as information about where most of the regiment was, not Herbert's company. In the absence of further evidence, Capt. William Herbert's Company is considered to have been at the Battle on 10 October 1774.

Two companies identified from pension applications. Although soldiers were not credited with the time they spent on active duty in Dunmore's War for Revolutionary War pensions, a number of men none the less testified about their service. Such testimony provides clear and convincing evidence that two additional companies in Col. Charles Lewis' Augusta Regiment were at the Battle. This is especially useful because there are no general returns for the Augusta Regiment from Point Pleasant.

Jacob Gillespie (S3398) testified that he served under Capt. George Moffat in Lt. Col. Charles Lewis' Regiment. He states explicitly that he was engaged in the battle. He names two men who are also in the pay ledger for this company who were killed and two who were wounded, and said that a total of 14 privates from his company were killed or wounded. Capt. George Moffat's Company was listed on the general return for Col. Charles' Lewis' regiment at the camp on the Elk River, dated 27 September 1774 [p. 331]. (Thwaites and Kellogg are inconsistent about Moffat's given name, referring to him in one instance as George as the pension applicants testified and two others as Robert. The pay ledger at the Library of Virginia records pay for Capt. George Moffat's Company, and does not mention a Capt. Robert Moffat.)

Two soldiers testified that they were in the company of Capt. John Lewis in Col. Charles Lewis' Augusta regiment. This Capt. John Lewis is not to be confused with Capt. John Lewis of Col. William Fleming's Botetourt regiment, whose company was also at the Battle. Cornelius King (S17527) provides the convincing detail that he aided a wounded man named Thomas Price who could not keep up with the main body after the Battle, and he, King, aided Price. Thomas Price is listed in Capt. John Lewis' company in the pay ledger. George Doherty (S1807) also testified that his company marched to Point Pleasant and reported that the battle commenced from about sunrise and lasted the whole day. He did not state explicitly that the company was there, but the order of events and detail about the length of the battle implies that he was at the Battle.

In summary, based on pension testimony two additional companies are identified as being at the Battle of Point Pleasant, rolls for both of which are in the pay ledger:

- Augusta Regiment, Col. Charles Lewis
- Capt. George Moffat Pay ledger.
- Capt. John Lewis Pay ledger.

Field and staff officers at the Battle. The presence of four grade field officers at the battle is well-established for documents discussed above: Col. Andrew Lewis, Col. William Fleming, Col. Charles Lewis, and Major William Ingles. Major Ingles' letter to Col. William Preston also establishes the presence of the Rev. Terry, a chaplain [p. 257-259], but his given name is not stated.

Where the names of soldiers in the 23 companies are to be found. For 8 of the 23 companies a muster roll a month before the battle is extant. Three of these rolls were dated 10 September 1774, when the companies were at Camp Union prior to marching on to the Elk and then Point Pleasant. These rolls certainly provide strong evidence that the men on the rolls were at Point Pleasant one month later, as we know their companies were there. Given the context, Thwaites and Kellogg judged the undated rolls of the

other Botetourt companies also to be for 10 September. Their judgment on this matter is entitled to credit.

A pay ledger, *Augusta, Bedford, Botetourt, Culpeper, and Fincastle Payrolls and Public Service Claims*, which is in the Library of Virginia, names men who served in 21 of the 23 companies, as well as many other companies not at the Battle. Images are indexed and available on-line. In the Library of Virginia on-line catalogue, click on Dunmore's War under the Images & Indexes tab or go to:

http://lva1.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/F/RU9S7Y35CXDM8JH2YSF9UQ887HS3E9TYLAD8M94DVFHLDVDMCP-43624?func=file&file_name=find-b-clas36&local_base=CLAS36

Unfortunately the dates of service are not listed in the ledger, just the number of days. Some men were paid for 80 to 120 days or even longer, some companies have multiple rolls recording pay for less than 60 days service on each. For example, James Newell, whose presence at the Battle is well established above, was listed on two rolls of Capt. William Herbert's Company and paid for 51 (or 57) and 53 days service.

One can reasonably infer that a soldier in a unit known to be at Point Pleasant who was paid for a total of at least 60 days was at the battle. Much of the army marched in the middle or latter part of August and was marching home in November, a period of roughly 90 days. Service of 60 days from the beginning of the expedition would place the soldier in service on 10 October; service 60 days until the end of the expedition would also place the soldier in service on 10 October. Where the pay for a company is divided into separate rolls, we can add the total for a soldier based on the example of James Newell. It should be noted that some soldiers had already been in service prior to the expedition and served considerably longer than 3 months. Others marched late and caught up. It would appear the Poffenbarger did not use the pay ledger in compiling her list of soldiers who participated in the Battle. For example, she does not list Henry Dickenson, Thomas Pitman, or Robert Vickers, all of whom are in the pay ledger and credited with 99 days service in Capt. William Russell's Company. (Poffenbarger does list Capt. Russell.)

The two companies for which there is no record either in the pay ledger or a muster roll were small ones. The general return dated 27 September at the Elk River gives the strength of Ward's company as 9 officers and men, and the general return of 9 October at Point Pleasant gives the strength of Col. Fields' company from Culpeper as 40 officers and men. Both Ward and Fields were killed or died of wounds.

Other companies in service. Many other companies were in service during Dunmore's War, some under the command of Col. Andrew Lewis. Evidence has not been found to make a clear and convincing case about where some companies were on 10 October 1774. There is good evidence that certain other companies were not at the Battle.

Other companies on the list of wounded. The list of wounded dated 23 October 1774 names men from two additional companies: Henry Bowyer/Boyer of Major James Robertson's Company and Thomas Baker of Capt. William Campbell's Company. In both of these cases, there is reason to doubt that the company was at the battle. A general return for 19 October lists the strength of the companies of Capts. William Herbert (101 men, 29 wounded), Capt. Lockridge (123 men, 63 wounded), and Capt. Slaughter (60

men, 22 wounded) [p. 419]. Herbert's Company had 45 officers and men according to a general return dated 9 September [p. 317] and Lockridge's company had 30 officers and men at Camp Union on an undated roll [p. 414]. Col. Fleming provided an explanation in his orderly book for the date of 18 October [p. 353]. Capt. Lockridge was to take command of the Augusta troops remaining at Point Pleasant. Capt. Slaughter was to form a company of the Culpeper troops comprising the men who had been under Capt. Buford and Pauling. Capt. Herbert was to take command of the remaining Fincastle and Botetourt troops who were to stay at Point Pleasant. Some wounded men were therefore assigned to other companies after the battle. With this information, let us now consider the companies of Major James Robertson and Capt. William Campbell, who remained at Point Pleasant but were not mentioned in the reorganization.

Maj. Robertson, as field officers often did in the 18th century, commanded a company on the expedition. His company is listed in a return dated 19 October for the Fincastle regiment of Col. William Christian, with the name abbreviated or misspelled as "Roberts" [p. 363]. The pay ledger names the men in James Robertson's company, with Robertson's rank erroneously recorded as captain. Col. William Christian wrote to Col. William Preston from Camp Union on 12 September stating that Maj. Robertson had not yet arrived and that Col. Charles Lewis "...mentioned Maj^r Robertson as a proper person for me to have with a Company to take on what Provisions I could not get ready." [p. 197] Although Henry Boyer/Bowyer is listed as a wounded man in Robertson's Company, the pay ledger lists Henry Boyer in Capt. William Russell's Company. Robertson's company is not listed on either the 7 or 9 October returns of troops at Point Pleasant, and is not mentioned in the eye witness accounts of Fleming or Shelby. It is likely that Robertson arrived after the Battle and was given charge for wounded men who had been in the Battle serving in other companies.

Thomas Baker, reported as a wounded man from Capt. William Campbell's Company, is not found in the pay ledger in Capt. William Campbell's Company, or in any other company. Campbell's company was in Col. William Christian's Fincastle Regiment [p. 363]. On 28 September only two captains of the Fincastle regiment were listed encamped with Col. Andrew Lewis at the mouth of the Elk. Those captains were William Russell and Evan Shelby. Virgil A. Lewis in his *History of the Battle of Point Pleasant* says that Campbell departed Camp Union under Col. William Christian on 27 September, although he does not cite a specific source for this information [p. 38]. As noted above, Christian arrived at Point Pleasant about midnight after the battle had ended.

Other Companies in Col. Charles Lewis' Augusta Regiment. No general return for Col. Charles Lewis' Augusta Regiment exists after one dated 27 September at the camp on the Elk River [p. 331]. This return names two additional companies under Col. Charles Lewis:

Capt. Joseph Haynes

Capt. John Gilmore Thwaites and Kellog say his name was probably James, but the pay ledger provides evidence that it was John.

A third company is named in a general return for 10 September, taken at Camp Union, but was evidently not at the encampment on the Elk on 27 September:

Capt. William Nalle Roll dated 10 Sept. 1774, p. 405; pay ledger.

It is possible that one or more of these companies marched on with the rest of the Augusta Regiment to Point Pleasant and were at the Battle, but were not mentioned in the eyewitness accounts. It is also possible that one or more remained to guard an earlier encampment. No Revolutionary pension applications for men claiming that they served any of these units have been found. Where these companies were on 10 October 1774 is not known.

Companies under Col. William Christian. Col. William Christian arrived at Point Pleasant about midnight, hours after the battle ended. A general return dated 9 September 1774 identifies 6 companies in the Fincastle Regiment under Col Christian:

Fincastle Regiment, Col. William Christian

Capt. Walter Crockett

Capt. William Herbert

Capt. William Russell

Capt. Evan Shelby

Capt. William Campbell

Capt. James Harrod

The companies of Cpts. Herbert, Russell, and Shelby marched ahead of Col. Christian and have already been established to have been at the Battle. In addition to the three remaining companies, two other companies on the expedition were in the Fincastle Regiment:

Capt. Anthony Bledsoe

Capt. John Floyd

In addition, the Company of Capt. or Col. Thomas Slaughter from Dunmore County appears to have been Col. Christian's command, but not with him as he marched to Point Pleasant.

Two captains under Col. Christian provide some details in correspondence. Anthony Bledsoe wrote to Col. William Preston on 1 October 1774 from Camp Union [pp. 260-261]. His company had remained behind as a rear guard. He reported to Preston that Col. William Christian had written him, "Col^o. Slaughter is left at Elk With Several Companies until further Orders." [p. 261] Capt. John Floyd wrote Col. William Preston on 28 September 1774 that he was on the march and refers to an opinion of Col. Christian, suggesting that he was with Christian [p. 215]. A later letter to Col. Preston was from the mouth of the Great Kanawha and dated 16 October. He said, "Col. Christian thought it necessary for Col. Slaughter with all the Lowlanders to wait at the Elk for the return of the canoes...." [p. 267]. He also provided information that his company and the others with Col. Christian arrived after the Battle:

The tenth in the afternoon about twelve or fifteen miles from the Ohio, the news met us that the army was attacked that morning early by a large body of Indians. We Pushed on and got in about midnight, where we were very kindly received.... [p. 267]

These letters establish that the companies of Capt. Anthony Bledsoe, Col. or Capt. Slaughter, Capt. John Floyd, and other unnamed companies with Col. Christian were not at the Battle of Point Pleasant.

Three pension applicants stated that they served under Capt. Walter Crockett. Jacob Harmon (R4620) claimed to have been in a hard battle on 10 October 1774, but two other

applicants, Jacob Baugh (R627) and William Hall (S6944), said that they were in no battle.

Virgil A. Lewis provides more details of Christian's command in his *History of the Battle of Point Pleasant*, but does not list his sources [pp. 38-39]. Col. Christian departed Camp Union on 27 September with the following companies:

Capt. William Campbell of Fincastle

Capt. Walter Crockett of Fincastle [Lewis erroneously identifies Crockett as Joseph Crockett; Thwaites and Kellogg, the pay ledger identify Crockett as Walter Crockett and several pension applicants identify him as Walter Crockett.]

Capt. George Moffat of Fincastle

Capt. John Floyd of Fincastle

Capt. Thomas Slaughter of Dunmore Volunteers

Capt. James Harrod's Kentucky Pioneers

About 80 unorganized Culpeper Minute Men who arrived too late to accompany Col Fields

About 80 men arriving late from Augusta County.

Lewis also states that Capt. Anthony Bledsoe remained in command at Camp Union and that Capt. Slaughter was ordered to remain at the mouth of the Elk. He was surely in error about Capt. George Moffat's Company departing Camp Union with Col. William Christian on 27 September. The company is listed on a general return taken at the Elk River on the same day and published by Thwaites and Kellogg [p. 331].

Summary. An applicant proving service of an ancestor at the Battle of Point Pleasant for SAR membership can no longer rely on Poffenbarger's pamphlet, *The Battle of Point Pleasant*, but on the other hand is not faced with rejection of the service by the absence of the ancestor's name from Poffenbarger's list. Twenty-three companies have been identified as having been at the battle on 10 October 1774, and it is possible that further research will identify additional companies. Muster rolls for eight of those companies were taken on 10 September are extant, and the extant pay ledger records the names of men in twenty-one of those companies. Men named on one of those eight muster rolls, or paid for at least 60 days in the pay ledger shall be considered as having served at the battle unless there is specific evidence to the contrary. Additional companies may yet be shown to have been at the Battle based on further evidence.

Bibliography of Works Cited

Poffenbarger, Livia Simpson: *Battle of Point Pleasant, First Battle of the American Revolution* (9th Edition), [post 1935].

Thwaites, Reuben Gold and Louise Phelps Kellogg (eds.): *Documentary History of Dunmore's War*, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, WI, 1905.

Augusta, Bedford, Botetourt, Culpeper, and Fincastle Payrolls and Public Service Claims, 1775 (Accession #25872), Library of Virginia.

Revolutionary War Pension Files (M804), National Archives, Washington, DC.

Affidavits of Jacob Baugh (R627), Charles Cocke (R2086), George Doherty (S1807), Jacob Gillespie (S3398), William Hall (S6944), Jacob Harmon (R4620), Cornelius King (S17527), and Richard Muse (S30612).

Appendix: Companies at the Battle of Point Pleasant, 10 October 1774.

Sources for rosters are listed after the names of the companies. Page numbers refer to Reuben Gold Thwaites' and Louise Phelps Kellogg's *Documentary History of Dunmore's War*, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, WI, 1905. The pay ledger is a document in the collection of the Library of Virginia, *Augusta, Bedford, Botetourt, Culpeper, and Fincastle Payrolls and Public Service Claims* (Accession #25872), with an index and images are available on-line at: http://lva1.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/F/RU9S7Y35CXDM8JH2YSF9UQ887HS3E9TYLAD8M94DVFHLDVDMCP-43624?func=file&file_name=find-b-clas36&local_base=CLAS36

Southern Division of Left Wing, Col. Andrew Lewis

Chaplain ----- Terry; Maj. William Ingles (Ingles was from Fincastle, but responsible for the cattle for the troops with Col. Andrew Lewis)

Botetourt Regiment (with additional companies assigned), Col. William Fleming

Capt. Philip Love^{1,2,3,4,6} Roll dated 7 Oct. 1774, p. 407; (do not use names from 10 Sep. roll); pay ledger.

Capt. Thomas Buford^{1,2,3,4} Undated roll, p. 409; pay ledger.

Capt. Matthew Arbuckle^{1,2,4,6} Pay ledger.

Capt. John Lewis^{1,2,3,4} Roll dated 10 Sept. 1774 & undated roll, pp. 408-409; pay ledger.

Capt. John Murray^{1,2,3,4,6} Roll 10 Sept. 1774, p. 406; pay ledger.

Capt. John Stewart^{1,2,4,6} Undated roll, p. 410; pay ledger.

Capt. Robert McClanahan^{1,2,4} Undated roll, pp. 410-411; pay ledger.

Capt. Henry Pauling^{1,2,4} Undated roll, p. 411; pay ledger.

Capt. William Russell from Fincastle^{1,2,3,4,6} Pay ledger.

Col. John Field from Culpeper^{1,2,4} The return of 7 October gives the strength of this company as 39 rank and file.

Capt. Evan Shelby from Fincastle^{1,2,3,4,6} Roll dated 7 Oct. 1774, p. 412; pay ledger.

Capt. James Ward^{3,4} Only 9 men were in the company on a return dated 27 Sep. 1774.

Augusta Regiment, Col. Charles Lewis

Capt. John Dickenson^{3,4} Pay ledger.

Capt. Benjamin Harrison^{3,4} Pay ledger.

Capt. John Skidmore^{3,4} Pay ledger.

Capt. George Matthews^{3,4} Pay ledger.

Capt. Samuel McDowell^{3,4} Pay ledger.

Capt. Samuel Willson^{3,4} Pay ledger.

Capt. Andrew Lockridge⁴ Pay ledger.

Capt. Alexander McClanahan³ Pay ledger.

Capt. George Moffat⁷ Pay ledger.

Capt. John Lewis⁷ Pay ledger.

Fincastle Regiment

Capt. William Herbert^{5,6} Pay ledger.

1. Return of 7 October 1774, Col. William Fleming's Regt. [p. 417]
2. Return of 9 October 1774, Col. William Fleming's Regt. [p. 418]
3. Col. Fleming's Orderly Book, entry for 10 October 1774 [pp. 341-344].
4. Letter from Lt. Isaac Shelby to John Shelby, 16 October 1774 [pp. 269-277].
5. James Newell's Journal and Orderly Book, [p. 341].
6. List of wounded men, 23 October 1774 [p. 419]
7. Testimony of Revolutionary War pension applicants Jacob Baugh (R627), Charles Cocke (R2086), George Doherty (S1807), Jacob Gillespie (S3398), William Hall (S6944), Jacob Harmon (R4620), Cornelius King (S17527), and Richard Muse (S30612).

Evidence for Pt. Pleasant Service. In Email # 10, I identified 20 companies known to have been at the Battle of Point Pleasant. How is service in one of these companies to be proven? In some rare cases, there is direct evidence. A man, especially an officer, may have been identified in an eyewitness account as killed or wounded, or he may have petitioned Virginia for a stipend for having been wounded. A few applied for a federal pension, which was denied. I am now in the process of reviewing indirect evidence, and those of you who wish to contribute to the analysis are welcome to do so.

First, there are 8 muster rolls published by Thwaites and Kellogg in *Documentary History of Dunmore's War* for companies known to have been at the battle, all in Fleming's Boutetourt regiment. Three of these rolls were dated 10 September 1774, when regiment was at Camp Union prior to marching on to the Elk and then Point Pleasant. These rolls certainly provide strong evidence that the men on the rolls were at Point Pleasant one month later. Thwaites and Kellogg state that from the context, they judge the rolls of the other Botetourt companies also to be for 10 September as well. Their judgment on this matter is entitled to credit.

Second, a pay ledger at the Library of Virginia records the disbursements to 18 of the 20 companies, but dates of service are not provided for any. In the Library of Virginia on-line catalogue, click on Dunmore's War under the Images & Indexes tab or go to:

http://lva1.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/F/RU9S7Y35CXDM8JH2YSF9UQ887HS3E9TYLAD8M94DVFHLDVDMCP-43624?func=file&file_name=find-b-clas36&local_base=CLAS36

For several companies there are two or three payrolls, some for short tours of duty that were not of sufficient duration for men to march to Pt. Pleasant, complete their service, and return home. Most of the army marched in the middle or latter part of August and was marching home in November. I believe that pay for the long tours of duty for the 18 companies that were at the battle do indeed provide evidence that the soldier was at the battle.

Overall, documentation for the 20 companies known to be at the Battle of Point Pleasant, with page numbers referring to Thwaites and Kellogg, is:

Botetourt Regiment (with additional companies assigned), Col. William Fleming
Capt. Philip Love (10 Sept. 1774 roll, p. 407; ledger)1, 2, 3, 4
Capt. Thomas Buford (undated roll, p. 409; ledger)1, 2, 3, 4 (from Bedford County)
Capt. Matthew Arbuckle (ledger)1, 2, 4
Capt. John Lewis (10 Sept. 1774 roll, pp. 408-409; ledger)1, 2, 3, 4
Capt. John Murray (10 Sept. 1774 roll, p. 406; ledger)1, 2, 3, 4
Capt. John Stewart (undated roll, p. 410; ledger)1, 2, 4
Capt. Robert McClanahan (undated roll, pp. 410-411; ledger)1, 2, 4
Capt. Henry Pauling (undated roll, p. 411; ledger) 1, 2, 4
Capt. William Russell1, 2, 3, 4 (ledger) (from Fincastle)
Col. John Field1, 2, 4 (from Culpeper; Field commanded the one Culpeper company)
Capt. Evan Shelby (undated roll, p. 412; ledger)1, 2, 3, 4 (from Fincastle)
Capt. James Ward3, 4 (Ward was killed in action. Only 9 men were in the company on a return dated 27 Sep. 1774, which probably explains why Ward's command is not listed as a company on the returns of 7 and 9 Oct.)
Augusta Regiment, Col. Charles Lewis
Capt. John Dickenson (ledger)3, 4
Capt. Benjamin Harrison (ledger)3, 4
Capt. John Skidmore (ledger)3, 4
Capt. George Matthews (ledger)3, 4
Capt. Samuel McDowell (ledger)3, 4
Capt. Samuel Willson (ledger)3, 4
Capt. Andrew Lockridge (ledger)4
Capt. Alexander McClanahan3 (ledger)

Sources placing the company at the Battle of Point Pleasant (all in Thwaites and Kellogg):

1. Return of 7 October 1774, Col. William Fleming's Regt.
2. Return of 9 October 1774, Col. William Fleming's Regt.
3. Col. Fleming's Orderly Book, entry for 10 Oct. 1774.
4. Letter from Lt. Isaac Shelby to John Shelby, 16 Oct. 1774.

Poffenbarger presents her list in *The Battle of Point Pleasant* as "the names, yet preserved, of the men who participated in the Battle of Point Pleasant...."(p. 20). Muster rolls that had been published previously by Thwaites and Kellogg establish that many of the men listed by Poffenbarger were in companies guarding the frontier and not close to Point Pleasant. For example, men under Capt. Daniel Smith who are listed by Poffenbarger were in fact stationed at Elk Garden Fort, Glade Hollow Fort, Maiden Spring Station, and Upper Station (Thwaites and Kellogg, pp. 401-404). Furthermore, some on Poffenbarger's list were noted as "went away without leave" (George Dougherty, Michael Graves, Isaiah Hambleton, among others). Capt. Robert Doack, whom Poffenbarger lists as a participant in the battle, was reported as deceased in a letter from Col. William Preston to Major Arthur Campbell dated 13 August 1774 (p. 145) and his company was guarding the frontier, not on the expedition to Point Pleasant. Poffenbarger's compilation is not of names of men who participated in the battle, but a broader list.

If an SAR or DAR application is cited for evidence of service and relies on this book, I have asked staff to request that the service (except for the well-known field officers) be validated against one of the eight rolls cited above or the pay ledger.