

Further Considerations on Proving Service at the Battle of Point Pleasant

John D. Sinks

District of Columbia Society, Sons of the American Revolution

14 September 2020

The Sons of the American Revolution (SAR) recognizes service of soldiers at the Battle of Pt. Pleasant as Revolutionary service, but not the service of soldiers in other roles in Dunmore's War or civilians who provided material support. This is essentially a compromise position, easing the impact of the recognition that battle was a colonial engagement rather than a battle of the American Revolution. Some, apparently including Col. Andrew Lewis himself, believed that Lord Dunmore conspired with the Indians to have them attack the Southern Wing of the Army under Lewis. This view was never universally held and service in the campaign was routinely rejected as Revolutionary service when soldiers cited it in Revolutionary pensions applications. Today that view has been discredited with the availability of Lord Dunmore's correspondence, which confirms that he sincerely endeavored to respond Indian raids on the Virginia frontier. Determining which field officers and companies were at the Battle on 10 October 1774 remains important for determining the eligibility for membership in the Sons of the American Revolution for those who descend from soldiers in Dunmore's War. Page references are to Thwaites and Kellogg's *A Documentary History of Dunmore's War 1774* unless otherwise indicated.

Regiments from three counties marched in the expedition of the Southern Wing under Col. Andrew Lewis: Augusta Co. (Col. Charles Lewis), Botetourt Co. (Col. William Fleming), and Fincastle (Col. William Christian). Soldiers from three other counties participated with less than regimental strength: Bedford, Culpeper, and Dunmore (later renamed Shenandoah). Isaac Shelby said that Capt. [Thomas] Buford's Company was from Bedford County in a letter to John Shelby.[273] Col. William Christian wrote to Col. William Preston on 12 September 1774 from Camp Union.

Col^o. Lewis has just marched with Col^o. Fleming & the Botetourt Troops, with the addition of Capt. Shelby & Russell's Companies from Fincastle and has left under my care the remaining part of the Fincastle men, a few Culpepper, Dunmore & Augusta men, and ordered me to stay for the return of the pack horses that went with Ch: Lewis which I shall look for [a]long this day week. 196]

The regiments did not march intact. Not all Augusta men were with Col. Charles Lewis. Col. John Field, who was commanding a Culpeper company, marched under Col. Fleming leaving some Culpeper men with Christian. Capt. Anthony Bledsoe of Fincastle remained behind to protect Camp Union after Col. Christian marched. In a letter to Col. William Preston dated 15 Oct. 1774 from Camp Union Bledsoe said that he had received a letter from Col. Christian dated 6 October. He obviously had not heard that there had been a battle.[260]

Five years ago I identified 23 companies that were at the Battle in "Proving Service at the Battle of Point Pleasant for Sons of the American Revolution." Several companies in the Southern Wing that were not at the Battle and the location of other companies remained undetermined. Further research has now determined the location of additional companies.

Capt. Joseph Haines' Company of the Augusta Regiment (Col. Charles Lewis) was at the Battle of Pt. Pleasant. Ezekiel Harrison (W23211) testified on 7 June 1832:

In addition to the above services, in 1774, I volunteered in the company of Capt Joseph Hains and marched in expedition against the Indians to Hinkles Fort, and from thence to the mouth of the Kanawa River, where on 10 October 1774, a battle was fought between the Indians and our troop under the command of Col Andrew and Charles Lewis, in which the latter fell. In this battle I was wounded in the right breast.

A pay ledger preserved at the Library of Virginia ("Augusta, Bedford, Botetourt, Culpeper, and Fincastle Payrolls and Public Service Claims, 1775") shows that Harrison served for 119 days under Capt. Joseph Haynes. No other man listed in Haynes' Company in the pay ledger has been found testifying about service in Dunmore's War. Lyman Draper collected poems and songs in the 1840's from elderly pioneers about the Battle of Pt. Pleasant. One song includes a stanza that also places Haynes' company the battle:

There's cowardly Haynes, I am sorry for him
 His valiant Lieutenant commanded his men
 While his poor soul in the brush work did lie
 Like a rogue in a halter, condemned to die [435]

Thwaites and Kellogg reported no other information about the conduct of Haynes or any of his men. Haynes' Company was on the returns for the companies under Col. Charles Lewis at Camp Union and on 27 September 1774 at the mouth of the Elk, but there are no returns for the Augusta Regiment (Col. Charles Lewis) at Pt. Pleasant.

Col. William Fleming wrote in his orderly book that he departed the camp and the Great Levels (Camp Union) on 12 September. The same day Col. William Christian wrote to Col. William Preston from Camp Union, "Col. Slaughter from Dunmore with about 40 is here: he Sent 80 with the Gov^r." [197-198] Thwaites and Kellogg identify the colonel as Francis Slaughter, who signed his Dunmore County will on 2 September 1774. That is consistent with a soldier preparing to go to war, and in this case arriving later than many at rendezvous. (Col. John Field signed his will in the adjacent county of Culpeper on 21 Aug 1774.) Francis Slaughter was a justice of the Dunmore County Court, indicative that he had sufficient status to hold the rank of colonel before the Revolution. Also from Camp Union Col. Christian wrote to Mrs. William Fleming, his sister, on 18 September that he did not expect to reach the Ohio before October 10th or 12th "...as I have a large convoy of Provisions & about 400 men." [205-206] Capt. John Floyd, who was with Col. Christian, wrote in his journal that Col. Christian departed from the mouth of the Elk for Pt. Pleasant on October 6th "...with about 350 beeves and left 24000^{lbs} of flour with Col. Slaughter." [267] Christian and Floyd were both stated that their arrival at Pt. Pleasant was well after the battle ended. Col. Christian himself told this to Col. William Preston in a letter dated 15 October 1774: "I intended on being here on Tuesday [11 Oct.], but on Monday evening about 12 to 15 miles off I heard they were fighting and reached it about midnight." [262] Capt. John Floyd, whose company was with Christian, wrote in his journal:

The tenth in the afternoon about twelve or fifteen miles from the Ohio, the news met us that the army was attacked that morning by a large body of Indians. We pushed on and got in about midnight, where we were very kindly received; and I imagine if our number had been

double what we were, we should not have been complained of for that. I understand we were much prayed for that day in time of the engagement.[267]

A stanza of the same song the Lyman Draper found among old pioneers provides confirmation that Christian and Slaughter after the battle was over:

There was Slaughter and Christie both valiant and kind,
Waiting for provisions, their command was behind.
The day of the battle they heard of the fight.

They made a long march and joined us that night.[435]

(Many rendered Col. Christian's name as "Christie".) The men with Cols. Christian and Slaughter as well as those left at Camp Union and the mouth of the Elk were not at the Battle. This was a substantial portion of the troops in the Southern Wing of the army, and the Northern Wing was not involved in the battle at all.

Several companies in addition to those of Floyd and Bledsoe were identified as not being at Pt. Pleasant five years ago. One was the company of Major James Robertson. Evidence now shows that the location of Robertson's company is a complicated issue. Robertson's company was late in forming and arriving for the campaign. 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] Robertson was still collecting provisions and drafting men at Rich Creek on 16 September.[199-201] Robertson's company arrived at Camp Union the day the troops under Col. Andrew Lewis departed the camp at the mouth the Elk, the next major camp, for Pt. Pleasant. Henry Lybrook (R10368) testified that in June 1774 he served under Capt. James Robison, who was soon promoted to major under Col. William Christian. He marched through [what became] Montgomery and Greenbrier Counties and helped build a fort at Culbertson's Bottom. He does not mention marching to Pt. Pleasant. The pay ledger shows that Lybrook was paid for 94 days service in Capt. Robertson's Company and confirms that those he named as subalterns in the company also served, but with one rank lower in the ledger. Robertson's company is not listed on either the 7 or 9 October returns of troops at Point Pleasant. It is not mentioned in the eye-witness accounts of Fleming or Shelby. There can be little doubt that some and probably most of Robertson's company was not at the battle.

However, Henry Bowyer of Major Robertson's Company is on a list of wounded at Pt. Pleasant dated 23 October.[419] (He is not to be confused with Henry Boyer of Capt. William Russell's Company, as I did five years ago.) Bowyer is also listed in the pay ledger with 74 days service. The evidence now indicates that at least one member of Robertson's company reached Pt. Pleasant while others were still with Col. Christian, which is certainly possible for a company involved in gathering supplies to send to the front. What is known of the movements of Robertson and Christian indicate that the company was not at the battle. Bowyer is on a list of wounded 13 days after the battle. Was he wounded at the battle on the 10th or at another time or place?

The other identified as not being at the battle is the company of Capt. William Campbell. 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 was still at Camp Union the day Col. Lewis departed the camp at the mouth of the Elk for Pt. Pleasant and Christian arrived at Point Pleasant about midnight after the battle had ended.

The location of an additional company with Christian and Slaughter has been determined from testimony of a pension applicant. Two men from Capt. William Nalle's Company of Col. Charles Lewis' Augusta County regiment mentioned their service in Dunmore's War when applying for Revolutionary War pensions. Nalle's company was absent from the General Return of 27 September at the Mouth of the Elk: Henry Oler (R7786) and John Rush (R9090). Both are found on the two rolls of Nalle's company in the pay ledger in the Library of Virginia. Oler's testimony of 11 October 1839 is terse, saying that he had previously applied for a pension [application not in file]. He claimed

...military services rendered the Colony of Virginia in 1774 against the Indians, he is now in the upper part of the county which part was formerly Rockingham County, from whence he was called to fight against the Indians under Capt Naull (or Nall)....

No statement is made about where the company was during the Battle of Pt. Pleasant. Rush's testimony on 7 June 1832 is far more informative:

I first entered the militia service in the year 1774 as a volunteer, and rated as a serjeant. The Indians having done immense mischief in the western part of this state, from Regiments marched under the command of Gen^l Andrew Lewis who with a part of the troops under his command fought on or about the 10 of October, a most obstinate & sanguinary battle at "Point Pleasant" with a much greater number of Indians. The battle commenced about sunrise and was maintained with great fury until about dark when the Indians were defeated with immense loss, and in the night crossed the river Ohio. In this battle the brave Colonel Charles Lewis was killed, as was also Colo Field. I was not myself in the action as the company to which I belonged with about 300 men under Col. Slaughter who had charge of the baggage had not arrived at the Point--but when the battle was begun, an express was dispatched for us and we marched rapidly forward, & got up just as the Indians were routed. In this service I was engaged not less than three & a half months.

Harrison's claim that he arrived just as the Indians were routed is either a misunderstanding of when the combat ended or an exaggeration. The troops with Christian and Slaughter arrived about midnight, well after combat ended.

The company of Capt. George Moffat was correctly identified as being at the battle on the basis of the testimony of Charles Gillaspie (S3398). A closer examination of the service of this company is in order. Although Gillaspie is not listed in the pay ledger, he named several men

who were listed as killed or wounded in the battle, including, William Gregg, William Bell, and John McKinney (badly wounded). Gregg has entries for 36 and 54 days service, Bell 108 days service, and McKinney (badly wounded) 273 days service, about 119 days more than Capt. Moffat himself. Gillaspie testified that he went into service in June 1774 and worked on building Ft. Dunlop at Clover's Lick in what became Greenbrier County. He went on to say, ...a proposition was made to the troops, that all those whose time had not expired, who would volunteer to serve another campaign, should then be permitted to return home to prepare, and that he was in service on this expedition but feels satisfied that it was at least a month and a half.

He returned to service in August and was engaged in action in the battle. Another soldier, John King (W7986), like others on the roll is listed in the pay ledger with 54 days service. King testified that he was drafted under Capt. George Moffat and the built a fort on the frontier. He made no claim to service on the expedition to Pt. Pleasant. The pay ledger lists 86 men in the company, 21 with under 60 days of service. Only 59 officers and men were listed in the General Return for Moffat's Company on 27 September at the Elk River. Not all of the men listed in the pay ledger served at Pt. Pleasant, and it is hard to see how those who served under 60 days had time to make the journey to and from Pt. Pleasant and home.

The testimony of Gillaspie and King and the pay ledger resolve another question. The given name of Capt. Moffat is in the returns from the expedition. In the index Thwaites and Kellogg identify Capt. Moffat as "George" on the Regimental Return of August troops at the Elk on 27 September [331], but as "Robert" in the general return the same day as well as the earlier return of Col. Charles Lewis Augusta Regiment at Camp Union. It is clear that Capt. Moffat was George Moffat.

The location of Capt. Gilmore's Company of the Augusta Regiment (Col. Charles Lewis) remains undetermined. There is no roll for this company in the pay ledger. There are two rolls in the pay ledger for Bedford County companies that served under Capt. John Gilmore, but these companies served less that one month. They could not have been on the expedition.

Now let us turn to the companies under Col. Christian and Col. Slaughter. The given names of these two officers are not revealed in the transcribed rolls and correspondence published by Thwaites and Kellogg. No Slaughter is listed in the pay ledger in the Library of Virginia. As noted above, Thwaites and Kellogg identify the colonel as Col. Francis Slaughter of Dunmore County and add George and Lawrence Slaughter were also in the campaign in the company of their father-in-law, Col. John Field. They do not identify the captain.

The earliest mention of Capt. Slaughter in the documents transcribed by Thwaites and Kellogg is in the entry in Col. William Fleming's Orderly Book. Col. Fleming reported on 17 October that he was to take command of the troops remaining at Pt. Pleasant when the main body departed, and that Capts. Dickenson, Lockridge, and Draper were to remain.[350-351] John Draper was a lieutenant in Capt. Walter Crockett's Company. Unlike other lieutenants who were promoted after the battle, Draper's captain was not a casualty, suggesting that the entry may have been in error. In fact, this company arrived after the battle with Col. Christian, according to the testimony of Joseph Johnson (S31782) and William Hall (S6944). Other records do not identify Draper a captain on the expedition. The following day the Orderly Book instead mentions Capt. Herbert in reporting a reorganization:

Capt Lockridge to take the Charge of the augusta Troops that were left here and Form them Into a Company and have them properly offis[er]ed Capt Harbert to take the Charge of the Fincastle Men and Boteourt Exclusive of Capt Bufords and Paulings and have them formed int a Company at this direction. Capt. Slaughter to Form the Culpeper Troops with what are of Capt. Bufords and Pat. Paulings into a Company properly offs'd.[351-352]

The Morning Return of 19 October for Col. Fleming's command reports 284 rank and file, double the average size of companies before the battle. The three companies had 114 wounded. It is evident that men from other companies wounded too badly to travel were assigned to these companies after the battle. Thwaites and Kellogg do not provide the given name of Capt. Slaughter.

One pension applicant testified that he served under Capt. George Slaughter. Samuel Bonnifield (R1007) stated in his application of 5 November 1833 that he at the battle. On stated on 2 December 1846 he provided more detail than he gave in his original application, saying

That he the said Declarant was residing in the county of Culpeper and state of Virginia when he first enlisted in the services of his country.... That the "little meadows" in the county of Green Bier was the Point of Rendezvous in his first enlistment and they proceeded from thence to Point Pleasant at the mouth of the Kenhawa River where the said Declarant was engaged in the sanguinary battle of the 10th of October. That he recollected the name of Col. Fields who was killed in the engagement and a number of other enlisted officers who survived the battle, among whom he remembers Capt William Russell, Capt. George Slaughter, Lieutenant Shelby and Roberts. . . . That he enlisted under Capt. George Slaughter among his companions as privates he can mention the names of them as Gordan and William Flanigan who with the rest of his companions at the battle of Point pleasant, so far as his information extends are all dead.

Could Samuel Bonnifield have been serving under Col. John Field in Fleming's regiment and have been at the battle. This is not plausible, however, for Field was listed as "acting captain" in one letter and Lt. Roberts, not Capt. George Slaughter, was placed in command after Field's death. The available evidence indicates that Capt. Slaughter was in command of the Culpeper and possibly Dunmore County troops who were with Col. Christian and remained with him commanding one of the three companies that remained at Pt. Pleasant when the main body departed to join with the Northern Wing under Lord Dunmore. This would mean that Bonnifield's testimony that he was at the battle is not true.

Confirming family tradition that George Slaughter was a captain of a Culpeper Company is in brief account by the Rev. Philip Slaughter (1808-1890) in the section on the 1877 Slaughter family in his book on *A History of St. Mark's Parish*: "George, son of Robert the 1st, m. a daughter of Col. John Field. He raised one of first companies of 'minute-men of Culpeper.'..."[161] This is not to be confused with the Culpeper Minute Battalion of Revolutionary War fame, in which the Rev. Slaughter' father Philip served as a drummer and grandfather James served as quartermaster and captain. Philip Slaughter identifies George, Lawrence, and Thomas Slaughter as brothers of Col. Francis Slaughter [157] and Thwaites and Kellogg place Francis, George and Lawrence in the Southern Wing [197]. All but Francis are on the 1782 Culpeper County Tax List.

Pinckney's *Virginia Gazette* published an account of the battle on 10 Nov. 1774. The account is a slight modification of the one sent by Col. William Fleming to Col. William Preston on 16

October [pp. 271-276] and also in Lt. James Newell's Journal, with the casualties moved from the end to the beginning of the account. Fleming's account is regarded as the official report of the Battle. The account was sent to Williamsburg from Culpeper by Francis T. Slaughter on 3 November 1774. He said he received it by express the previous day from his brother at Pt. Pleasant. He does not give the name or rank of the brother. Francis Sr. and Francis Jr., first cousin and first cousin once removed of Francis of Dunmore, are on 1782 Culpeper County Tax List. No evidence has been found that Francis, Sr. or any of his sons served in Dunmore's War.

Virgil Lewis in *History of the Battle of Pt. Pleasant* (1909) identifies the captain as Thomas Slaughter of the Dunmore Volunteers, stating that he wrote an account of the battle to his brother, Francis, which Francis then sent to Williamsburg where it was published in Pinkney's *Williamsburg Gazette* on 10 Nov. 1774.[2-3] The newspaper article published a cover note from Francis T. Slaughter of Culpeper. The account does not establish whether the brother was or was not at the battle. John Wayland, writing in *A History of Shenandoah County, Virginia* (1927) identifies the captain as almost certainly Thomas Slaughter. Neither Lewis nor Wayland state the basis for their conclusion that the captain was Thomas Slaughter.

Why would Francis of Dunmore be sent an account of the Battle if he arrived at Pt. Pleasant about midnight after the battle ended? Perhaps it is because the account is regarded as the official report and includes detail that Col. Slaughter might not have gathered. Why would he have sent it from Culpeper rather than Dunmore County? Perhaps he was visiting his many kin in the then-adjacent county of Dunmore, reporting the news to families who still had men in the field. Both of these answers are speculative, but show that identifying Col. Slaughter commanding Dunmore troops could well have received the account from a brother who was still in the field and sent it to Williamsburg from Culpeper County.

The location of field and staff officers at the time of the battle is known, with one exception. The presence of four grade field officers at the battle was established five years ago: 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. Col. John Field was killed in the battle, but he was not acting as a regimental commander. Col. William Christian and Col. Francis Slaughter were both not at the battle. The location of Major James Robertson is unknown. Correspondence and strength reports indicate that the company was not at the battle. One man from the company was wounded, although he could have been on detached duty in advance of the company or perhaps not wounded at the battle.

Companies at the Battle of Pt. Pleasant. Based on the evidence found to date, the following companies were at the Battle of Pt. Pleasant on 10 October 1774. The pay ledger does not determine presence at Pt. Pleasant in itself, but is important in confirming the unit to which pension applicants belonged if the unit is in the ledger and shows whether length of service was long enough or too short for a soldier to have been at the battle.

Botetourt Regiment (with additional companies from Bedford, Fincastle, and Culpeper assigned), Col. William Fleming

Capt. Philip Love^{1, 2, 3, 4, 6} Roll dated 7 Oct. 1774, p. 407; pay ledger.

Capt. Thomas Buford^{1,2,3,4} Undated roll, p. 409; pay ledger. (From Bedford Co.)
 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. Lt. William McKee succeeded him in command [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^{1,2,3,4,6} Pay ledger. (From Fincastle)
 Col. John Field^{1,2,4} (From Culpeper) 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^{1,2,3,4,6} Roll dated 7 Oct. 1774, p. 412; pay ledger. (From Fincastle)
 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.
 Capt. George Moffat⁷ Pay ledger. Jacob Gillaspie (S3398) testimony names men in company killed and wounded.
 Capt. Joseph Haynes^{7,10} Pay ledger. Ezekial Harrison (W3211) testimony, said he was wounded.
 Capt. John Lewis Cornelius Pay ledger. King (S17527) reported that he helped wounded Thos. Price, also listed in the company I the pay ledger.

Fincastle Regiment (to which colonel at Pt. Pleasant the company reported is undetermined).

Capt. William Herbert^{5,6} Pay ledger. (Lt. James Newell kept a journal and was wounded.)

Companies which may have had some men at the battle and some men elsewhere.

Capt. William Campbell^{7,8}
 Maj. James Robertson^{7,8,9}

Companies on the Expedition but Not at the Battle of Pt. Pleasant. Based on the evidence found to date, the following companies were **not** at the Battle of Pt. Pleasant on 10 October 1774. The pay ledger does not determine presence at Pt. Pleasant in itself, but is important in confirming the unit to which pension applicants belonged if the unit is in the ledger.

Fincastle Regiment and other units with Col. William Christian and Col. Slaughter

Capt. Walter Crockett^{7, 8} Joseph Johnson (S31782) testified that Col. Lewis left Capt. Crockett and two or three other companies under Maj. Christie in the rear with the cattle and baggage. The rear companies were told by a runner that the battle had been fought. The companies arrived after a forced march, but there was no further fighting. William Hall (S6944) testified he was in no battle.

Capt. James Herrod⁸

Capt. John Floyd⁹

Capt. George Slaughter^{6, 7, 9, 10} Samuel Bonfield (R1007) Identifies his captain as George Slaughter and place of enlistment as Culpeper. Said he was at the battle, which is unlikely given known troop movements.

Capt. William Nalle⁷ Henry Oler (R7786) and John Rush (R9090). Rush said he arrived too late to be engaged in the battle.

Sources 1-8 placing the location of companies on the expedition of the Southern Wing time of the Battle of Point Pleasant (all in Thwaites and Kellogg except pension applications):

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]. This alone is not definitive because the companies were reorganized prior to this date. It can be used in conjunction with muster lists and the pay ledger.
7. Revolutionary War Pension Files, National Archives.
8. Capt. John Floyd to Col. William Preston, 28 September 1774.
9. Col. William Preston to Patrick Henry, 31 Oct. 1774.
10. Contemporary Verse collected by Lyman Draper from Pioneers [pp. 433-437]

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Revolutionary War Pension Files (M804), National Archives, Washington, DC, searchable on-line under Revolutionary War, Revolutionary War Pension as www.fold3.com .