began to interpose an objection to such a sweeping remark, but he was abruptly cut off by Brown. "You needn't deny it. I used to make fun of the statement, but now I know you have a right to say so. In the many days that I have been a prisoner in this jail, hundreds if not thousands of your people have been to look at me, every one of them believing me guilty of all the crimes with which I am charged. Of them all, only a single person has been in the least uncivil to me. He was drunk, and was immediately ordered off by the authorities. You have a right to think it and say it of yourselves, for it is the truth."

(TO BE CONTINUED)

THE BATTLE OF POINT PLEASANT.

(Contributed by J. T. McALLISTER, of Hot Springs, Bath county, Va.)

The importance of this battle has not received due attention from the historians of the American Revolution. It has even been classed by some of them as fruitless, and by others it has been passed over in silence. Even some of Virginia's historians do not mention it. And yet, it is the one battle of which a president of the United States has used this language:

"Had it not been for Lord Dunmore's war (of which this was the sole battle), it is more than likely that when the colonies achieved their freedom they would have found their western boundary fixed at the Alleghany Mountains. Its results were most important.

"The battle of the Great Kanawha was a purely American victory, for it was fought solely by the backswoodmen themselves. Both because of the character of the fight itself, and because of the result that flowed from it, it is worthy of being held in especial remembrance."

And in another place he says:

"Lord Dunmore's war, waged by Americans for the good of America, was the opening act in the drama whereof the closing

scene was played at Yorktown. It made possible the two-fold character of the Revolutionary war, wherein on the one hand the Americans won by conquest and colonization new lands for their children, and on the other wrought out their national independence of the British king. Save for Lord Dunmore's war we could not have settled beyond the mountains until after we had ended our quarrel with our kinsfolk across the sea. It so cowed the northern Indians that for two or three years they made no further organized effort to check the white advance. In consequence, the Kentucky pioneers had only to contend with small parties of enemies until time had been given them to become so firmly rooted in the land that it proved impossible to oust them. Had Cornstalk and his fellow chiefs kept their hosts unbroken, they would undoubtedly have swept Kentucky clear of settlers in 1775—as was done by the mere rumor of their hostility the preceding summer. Their defeat gave the opportunity for Boone to settle Kentucky, and therefore for Robertson to settle middle Tennessee, and for Clark to conquer Illinois and the Northwest; it was the first in the chain of causes that gave us for our western frontier, in 1783, the Mississippi and not the Alleghanies." (Roosevelt's *Winning of the West.*)

This places this battle in a most important and interesting light. The first battle of the Revolution. The first and the indispensable step which won for us the Northwest.

In addition to this, there is another feature in which this battle was highly important. It lies in the fact that while the army which fought and won this battle, accomplished these things, that army was not expected to win, but was left in its position for the purpose of having it destroyed. The same high authority which has ranked this battle as above stated has taken issue with this position, which all Virginia writers, who have touched on this subject, have taken. They with one accord believe that Lord Dunmore acted treacherously.

Let us therefore examine the surrounding facts with this question in mind.

Lord Dunmore, the British Governor of Virginia, nominally the leader in this war, directs General Andrew Lewis to raise troops from Augusta, Botetourt, Bedford, and the settlements of the Holstein and to march to and meet him at Point Pleasant,

where he will be on the 20th of September, with 1,500 troops, which he will bring with him by way of Pittsburg (then Fort Pitt). Lewis goes to Point Pleasant, which he reaches on the 6th of October. He sends messengers to find Lord Dunmore and ascertain the cause of delay. Meanwhile Dunmore holds a treaty with the Indians. (Staunton letter of November 4, 1774.) On the 10th the army of Lewis is saved from a surprise only by the merest chance, and a battle ensues which lasts from sunrise 'til sunset, in which the choicest soldiers of the army are killed or wounded. The Indians who fought this battle were furnished with supplies from the British. (*American Archives* iv, Vol. I, p. 684.) And in response to Lewis' message, an answer reaches him after the battle that his Lordship has gone on to a place near the Indian towns, and that Lewis must follow him there. The men, after the battle, press forward to inflict severe chastisement on the Indian towns, only to be met with orders to go home; that Dunmore had concluded a treaty with them. Are these not in themselves facts which demand some explanation of the clearest kind? Let us look at the attitude of the British, represented by Dunmore and of the colonist, whose army this was.

On the 12th of March, 1773, the Virginia Legislature had adopted unanimously a resolution appointing a standing committee of correspondence and inquiry, and requesting that the other colonies do the same.

The people of Boston having thrown into the sea that noted vessel load of tea, an Act of Parliament was passed, which closed their port from and after the first day of June, 1774.

On the 24th of May, 1774, the Virginia Legislature (in view of this) set apart the first day of June as a day of "fasting, humiliation and prayer," not so much as a means of grace, I fear, as a means of calling the attention of the people to this odious act of Parliament. In consequence of this resolution of the Virginia Legislature, Dunmore on the 25th of May dissolved it, and the members immediately withdrew to the Raleigh Tavern, and formed themselves into a committee to consider the most expedient and necessary measures to guard against the encroachments which "are so glaringly threatened." This committee called for deputies from the several colonies, to meet in a general congress, to deliberate on "those general measures,

which the united interests of America may from time to time require."

The counties elected delegates who met at Williamsburg on August 1, 1774, and appointed deputies to the General Congress, which was to meet in Philadelphia on the following 4th of September. Those deputies were Peyton Randolph, Richard H. Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Edmund Pendleton.

The resolutions of the counties, and those of the Williamsburg meeting, showed in unmistakable tones the temper of this people. While through them all an expression of hope that England would retrace her steps is discernable, in each there rings out clear and loud a note of defiance if she did not retrace them.

The Williamsburg resolutions had called attention to the odious proclamation of General Gage, in Massachusetts, declaring it treason for the people to assemble and discuss their wrongs, and this Williamsburg meeting had solemnly announced "that the executing, or attempting to execute, such proclamation will justify resistance and reprisal."

On the 4th of September, 1774, the Continental Congress met for the first time at Carpenters Hall, in the city of Philadelphia.

On the 8th of September the army of General Andrew Lewis left Camp Union (now Lewisburg, W. Va.). It arrived at Point Pleasant on 6th of October.

But it must be borne in mind that during ten days of this time it was camped on the banks of the Kanawha river making canoes.

On the first day of the Congress, Patrick Henry addressed it in a speech, which placed him in the front rank of American orators.

Whatever may be said of other members of that Congress, no student of the life of Patrick Henry will hesitate to declare that nothing short of the Independence of the Colonies would have satisfied him. Nearly ten years before he had thrown prudence to the winds, and so startled the Virginia House of Burgesses by his declarations, that its speaker had warned him with a cry of "Treason."

In a private conversation at Colonel Samuel Overton's, when

asked "Whether he supposed (in this matter) Great Britain would drive her Colonies to extremities?" he had said: "She will drive us to extremities, no accommodation will take place, hostilities will soon commence, and a desperate and bloody touch it will be."

To use the words of William Wirt: "He (Henry) had long since read the true character of the British Court; and saw that no alternative remained for his country but abject submission or heroic resistance. It was not for a soul like Henry's to hesitate between these courses. He had offered upon the altar of liberty no divided heart. The gulf of war, which yawned before him, was indeed fiery and fearful; but he saw that the plunge was inevitable. The body of the convention, however, hesitated. It required all the energies of a mentor like Henry to push them over the precipice."

Was there any mistaking the attitude of Virginia when she chose such a man to represent her in the halls of the first Congress.

Nor can it be said that Lord Dunmore was not aware of the sentiments of Henry. He knew him as well then as he did a short while later when, at the head of the Virginia militia, he forced him to pay for the powder which his lordship had taken from the powder house at Williamsburg.

But more than this, Lord Dunmore knew that England would not retrace her steps. While others might hope that Gage's proclamation was not directed by the court; that the British parliament was not prepared to follow up the acts which they had begun, he was better informed than the colonists. We have seen the attitude of the colonists. What, now, was that of Great Britain?

The inveterate design of the colonists to become independent continued to be a leading topic in the British parliament, notwithstanding the evidence furnished in their conduct on the repeal of the stamp act in 1766. A specimen of the manner in which this charge was supported is to be found in the argument of Sir Richard Sutton, who said in the House of Commons on the 22d of April, 1774: "If you ask an American who is his master, he will tell you he has none, nor any governor but Jesus Christ." Lord Mansfield was quite sure the Americans

meditated a state of independency, particularly since the peace of Paris, and upon this ground chiefly he rested his celebrated declaration in the House of Lords: "*If we do not kill the Americans, the Americans will kill us.*"

In one of his speeches on the same point, Devanant is brought forward as having "foreseen that America would endeavor to form herself into a separate and independent state, *whenever she found herself of sufficient strenghth to contend with the mother country.*

Percy Gregg, the English historian, in speaking of this matter, says (p. 107), "that they, the colonies, would at the first opportunity throw off their allegiance to the mother country was the conviction of nearly every statesman who had united long colonial experience to clear-headed common sense."

And again, in speaking of the necessity for having a hostile power in the neighborhood, he says (p. 109): "The warmest champion of the colonies was warned by statesmen on the spot and at home, by friends and foes, that the retention of Canada might prove fatal to the English power in America; that the northern colonies at least, inveterately disaffected, were retained in their allegiance *by the salutary pressure of a hostile power in their neighborhood.* The imperfect obedience, the formal allegiance they had hitherto rendered, was enforced by interest rather than inspired by affection. When once emancipated from dependence on the military and naval power, they would be prompt to shake off the mild control of the mother country."

In a letter written 27th of April, 1775, by Paul Jones to Joseph Hewes, of which copies were sent to Thomas Jefferson, Robert Morris and Philip Livingston, he says:

"*I have long since known that it is the fixed purpose of the Tory party* in England to provoke these colonies to some overt act which would justify martial law, dispersion of the legislative bodies, by force of arms, taking away the charters of self-government and reduction of all the North American colonies to the footing of the West India Islands and Canada."

Here we have then the attitude of Virginia, well defined. An attitude in which she had said: "unless you retrace your steps, I am your sworn enemy."

On the other we have the attitude of the British court, recog-

nized fully by some, and surely not hid from Britian's own representative in this hot bed of secession, one of the "Statesmen on the spot."

Thus matters stand when Lewis' army marches into the jaws of death. Let us see what thoughts were, doubtless, passing through the mind of the British governor. He knew that in this army which was led by Lewis were embraced the picked men from the best armed section of Virginia. (Randall's *Life of Jefferson*, p. 294.) It had in it the choicest troops from Augusta, Botetourt (then embracing Rockbridge and part of the Southwest), Fincastle county, which was formed in 1772 embracing all Southwest Virginia, and also Kentucky, and which four years later passed out of existence to give birth to the counties of Montgomery, Washington and Kentucky, and the troops from the Watagua settlements.

Not only were these men the best armed in the State, but their training from childhood had been a never ending warfare with the Indians.

Moreover it was in many respects diverse from the section east of the Blue Ridge and decidedly less influenced by feelings of loyalty to the British crown.

The Established church pressed her exclusive pretensions harder and harder against her Presbyterian and Independent allies. To proscription and affront the descendants of the Scottish settlers of Ulster, the Cromwellian conquerors of the Southern provinces, the grandchildren of the defenders of Londonderry and Enniskillern, were little likely to submit. (Gregg, p. 119.) The flower of the Presbyterians followed the aristocracy of Catholic Ireland into exile. The eastern districts were peopled. These Scotch-Irish, boldly pushed past these settled regions and plunged into the wilderness, as the leaders of the white advance, the first and last set of immigrants to do this. (Roosevelt.) Everywhere the Presbyterian exiles were among the loudest spokesmen of colonial disaffection, a chief supporter of that party which looked to independence as the proximate if not the immediate goal of colonial progress. (Gregg.)

In this war of Independence the fiercest enemies of King George were the descendants of the same Scotch-Irish who had

held the North of Ireland against James the second. (Henderson's *Life of Jackson.*)

While to some writers the lives of these people seemed grim and harsh and narrow, yet they are admitted to have been strangely fascinating, full of adventurous toil and danger, such natures as were strong, freedom loving and full of defiance. Lacking as its militia may have been in discipline, it was rendered most formidable by the high courage and prowess of the individuals composing it. It was from this same people and section that came the men who waded for days with Clarke through the drowned lands of the Wabash. It was from this same stock, yes it was some of these very men, who were to deliver that telling blow at Kings mountain. Some of the leaders of these troops, passing with Lewis down the Kanawha, led victoriously their men in some of the most important battles in both the Northern and the Southern campaigns, and helped to hem in Cornwallis at Yorktown, and were in at the death.

To even a stronger man than Dunmore the thought must have suggested itself, that to conquer the Indian tribes would remove that "salutary pressure of a hostile power in the neighborhood," and the thought would have suggested itself that the destruction of the army led by Lewis would have removed from the problem some of the "loudest spokesmen of disaffection."

How opportune a time! How would he best serve England? By aiding Lewis to overcome these foes would help the Colonist in the approaching struggle. To cripple him or have him exterminated, would render a service of lasting benefit to his principal across the sea. For himself, the situation offered every chance for escape from the blame. He had only to fail to keep his engagement, or at the best, but to have his agent, Connolly, to direct the attention of the Indians in that direction, and he was safe.

But says some one, this using of savages against white men would have required a brutality beyond belief.

Let us see if such tender compassion animated the then governor. In 1777 the Earl of Chatham said: "Your ministers have gone to Germany; they have sought the alliance and assistance of every pitiful, beggarly, insignificant, paltry prince, to cut the throats of their legal, brave and injured brethren in

America. They have entered into mercenary treaties with those human butchers, for the purchase and sale of human blood. But, my lords, this is not all; they have entered into other treaties. They have let the savages of America loose upon their innocent, unoffending brethren; loose upon the weak, the aged, and defenceless; on old men, women, and children; on the very babes upon the breast; to be cut, mangled, sacrificed, broiled and roasted; nay to be literally eaten. These, my lords, are the allies Great Britain now has; carnage, desolation, and destruction, wherever her arms are carried, is her newly adopted mode of making war."

The reply of the Earl of Suffolk to this was, "*that we are fully justified in using whatever means God and nature has put into our hands.*"

On the 5th of December, Dunmore said "he heartily wished that more Indians were employed."

In 1778 Mr. Burke said: "The imperfect papers already before the House demonstrated that the King's ministers had negotiated and obtained alliances (with the Indians) from one end of the American continent to the other."

If, therefore, we find that Dunmore approved in 1777 that policy of the King's ministers by which these savages were turned loose against the unarmed and defenceless men, women and children, some great change must have taken place in him if he would hesitate to employ them against armed and trained soldiers.

It was only six months later, when his private agent was captured on the frontier, and on him was found written authority from Lord Dunmore to induce the Indians to rise and massacre the Virginians. Later on he wrote to Lord Dartmouth that he would require but few English troops to put down the rebellion, since he would raise such a force of negroes and Indians as would soon bring the Virginians to terms. (*Maury's History of Virginia.*) The Indians were prevented from rising because of the victory won by Lewis. The attempt to incite the negroes in the eastern part of the State is a matter of history.

Let us turn now to *the troops which comprised the army of General Lewis.*

These troops rendezvoused at Camp Union (now Lewisburg,

W. Va.) about the 1st of September, and consisted of two regiments, one of which was from Botetourt county, and was commanded by Colonel William Fleming, and the other from Augusta, by Colonel Charles Lewis. The Augusta troops numbered 600, the Botetourt troops about 450. (*Winning of the West.* p. 11). It must be remembered that Augusta and Botetourt then divided between them practically all of the territory west of the Blue Ridge, except what was then in Fincastle county, and that what is now Bath and Highland were largely parts of Augusta (the dividing line between Augusta and Botetourt passing one mile north of Hot Springs), and that Rockbridge then was included in the limits of Augusta.

The home of Colonel Charles Lewis was on the Cowpasture river, near Williamsville, in what is now Bath county. The captains who commanded the companies in his regiment are usually given as Capt. Alexander McClenachan, Capt. John Dickinson, Captain John Lewis (son of Thomas),* Captain Benjamin Harrison, Captain William Paul, Captain Joseph Haynes and Captain Samuel Wilson, and those of the Botetourt regiment as Captain Mathew Arbuckle, Captain John Murray, Captain John Lewis (son of Andrew), Captain James Robertson, Captain Robert McClenachan, Captain James Ward, Captain John Stewart and Captain —— Love. (Foote, 2d s., p. 161.)

It will be noted that there are but seven captains usually assigned in this list to the Botetourt regiment, and eight in the other, which would give only 350 men and 400 men, respectively, by allowing fifty men to the company.

The company of Captain Alexander McClanachan assembled in Staunton the latter part of August. Of this company William McCutcheon was lieutenant, and Joseph Long was an ensign. William Wilson (afterward known in Augusta as Major William Wilson) was a volunteer in this company.

The company of Captain George Mathews was also raised in Staunton, in the latter part of June. William Robertson was first lieutenant of this company, George Gibson was second

* This is usually given as "son of William." This is a mistake. William Lewis' son John was then but sixteen years old. See Peyton's History, p. 287.

lieutenant and William Kennerly was a member of it. The last named company marched from Staunton to Fort Warwick, in what is now Pocahontas, where a company of Augusta militia, under the command of Captain George Moffett, were engaged in building said fort. Sixteen men, under the command of William Kennerly, were left at that fort, and remained there until the troops returned after the battle. Captain Moffett and Captain Mathews marched thence with their other men for Point Pleasant.

The company of Captain John Lewis (son of Thomas Lewis) was raised at the Warm Springs, in what was then Augusta, now Bath county. Of this company Samuel Vance was lieutenant, and Jacob Warwick was ensign.

The company of Captain John Dickinson was raised on Cowpasture river. Dickinson's home was near Millboro Springs, in what is now Bath county. Robert Thompson, of that section, and Joseph Mayse, also of that section, were members of this company.

The company of Captain Alexander McClanachan joined the companies commanded by Captain John Morrison, Captain Samuel Wilson, Captain George Mathews, and Captain John Lewis at the Great Levels, in now Greenbrier county. Captain Morrison, mentioned above, was killed in the battle.

Among the names preserved, as being in the Augusta regiment and in the first of the action, is the name of Captain —— Lockridge. This was Captain Andrew Lockridge, whose home at that time was on the Bullpasture river, then in Augusta, but now in Highland.

At Camp Union, Lewis' army was joined by an independent volunteer company of 40 men, under Colonel John Field, of Culpepper county; a company from Bedford, under Captain Buford, and two from the Holstein settlement, under Captain Evan Shelby and Captain William Herbert. In Shelby's company his son Isaac was a subaltern, and James Robertson was sergeant. With this force, which aggregated about 1,100 men, Lewis began his march for Point Pleasant to keep his engagement with Lord Dunmore. Colonel Charles Lewis' division marched the 8th, and General Andrew Lewis' on the 12th.

The distance was 160 miles, and the march occupied nineteen

days. Captain Mathew Arbuckle acted as guide, and the name of one of his assistants has been preserved. This was Jacob Persinger, who in his youth had been captured by the Indians, returned and lived at that time in what is now Alleghany county.

Smyth, an English officer who happened to be travelling through Virginia and who joined this army more to find an opportunity to criticise than anything else, has described the appearance of the men, from which it appears that these troops formed a typical back-woods army, both officers and soldiers.

They wore fringed hunting shirts, dyed yellow, brown, white and even red; quaintly carved shot-bags and powder-horns hung from their broad ornamented belts; they had fur caps or soft hats, moccasins, and coarse woolen leggings reaching half-way up to the thigh. Each carried his flintlock, his tomahawk, and scalping knife.

But for all that, a distinguished writer, whose opportunities for comparing men of this mould are unsurpassed, has said that "Although without experience of drill, it may be doubted if a braver or physically finer set of men were ever got together on this continent." (Roosevelt.)

On the 21st they reached the Kanawha, at the mouth of Elk creek, and after halting to build dug-out canoes, part of the army went down in these while others followed down the river. While halting here General Andrew Lewis with the Botetourt troops, the company of Captain William Russell, and the company of Captain Evan Shelby overtook them.

On the 1st the army started down the river, but the day being very wet they camped opposite the mouth of Elk. From the 21st to the 1st was spent in building canoes. (Foote, p. 161.)

The army reached Point Pleasant on October 6th.

Colonel Field had reported to General Lewis that Lord Dunmore would be at Point Pleasant on the 20th of September. In order to ascertain the cause of Lord Dunmore's delay, Lewis sent two runners in the direction of Fort Pitt to obtain tidings of Dunmore. These messengers were William Sharp, who was a member of the company of Captain Andrew Lockridge and had previously served as an Indian spy, and a certain William Mann. These messengers did not return until the morning of

Thursday the 13th, when they brought with them the written orders from Lord Dunmore stating that he was to march to Old Chillicothe, and ordering Lewis to meet him there. These orders, it will be noted, were not received for three days after the battle. (See unpublished letter of William Christian.)

(TO BE CONCLUDED IN JULY NUMBER.)

VIRGINIA IN 1637–'8.

HARVEY'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

(Abstracts by W. N. Sainsbury, and copies in McDonald Papers, Virginia State Library, from the British Public Record Office.)

(CONTINUED)

GOVERNOR HARVEY TO SECRETARY WINDEBANKE.

(Abstract.)

James City, Feb. 20, 1637–'8.

Governor Sir John Harvey to Secretary Windebanke: Beseeches leave to second Mr. Kemp's petitions now to be presented to the King by his honor's fav'r. Must attribute much to his desert and labour in his Maj. Service at present, and solely give it to his faithful care and endeavour, that in the late times of tumult all order and government was not utterly confounded to the overthrow of the Colony, when he alone with an untainted zeal stood firm for the King's honor. Entreats him so to inform his Maj. & so incline his Maj. favour to Kemp's suit, the equity whereof appears in this, that there is no stipend or fee yet allowed for any part of his public service, which being considered, deserveth a gracious encouragement, could heartily wish there were more of the same ability and endeavour in the Colony.

(*Colonial Papers*, Vol. 9, No. 84.)

THE BATTLE OF POINT PLEASANT.

(Contributed by J. T. McALLISTER, of Hot Springs, Bath county, Va.)

(CONTINUED)

THE BATTLE.

On Monday morning, October the 10th, about half an hour before sunrise, two of Captain Russell's company—James Mooney and —— Heckman—who had gone somewhat over a mile from the camp, came upon a large party of Indians, one was killed and the survivor ran back at full speed to give the alarm, telling those in camp he had seen five acres of ground covered with Indians as thick as they could stand. (W. of W., p. 18, and Campbell MSS.)

Almost at the same time two others discovered the Indians. These were members of Captain Evan Shelby's company, one of whom was Sergeant James Robertson, and the other Valentine Sevier, a brother of John Sevier. These reported that they had seen about 30 Indians. (W. of W., p. 18.)

There was an instant call to arms, and the soldiers, rolling out of their blankets with a glance at the flints and the priming, were ready.

General Lewis, thinking it was only a scouting party with which he had to deal, ordered out Colonel Chas. Lewis with 150 men, in charge of Captain John Dickenson, Captain Benjamin Harrison, Captain Samuel Wilson, Captain John Lewis (of Augusta), and Captain Andrew Lockridge. Colonel William Fleming was also ordered to take command of one hundred and fifty more of the Botetourt, Bedford and Fincastle troops, led by Captain Thomas Buford, of Bedford; Captain —— Love, of Botetourt; Captain Evan Shelby, and Captain William Russell, of Fincastle.

Fleming had the left, and marched up the bank of the Ohio. Colonel Charles Lewis marched on the right, some distance from the bank.

They had gone only about half-mile when a most vigorous attack was made by the united tribes of the Shawnees, Delewars, Mingoes and Tarvas and several other nations. The sun had not yet risen, and the men who stayed in camp heard the clash of hundreds of guns ringing out together, proclaiming that the attack was a serious one. Both of the scouts in front of white line were killed.

The first attack fell on the division led by Colonel Charles Lewis, which was drawn up on the high ground skirting Crooked Run. Lewis received a mortal wound in the outset, which in a few hours caused his death. He had not protected himself, as the men had, by sheltering behind trees, but was in an open piece of ground, cheering on his men.

when he was shot. He stayed with them until the line was formed, then giving his gun to one of the men near he walked back unaided to camp.

Several of Lewis's men fell at the first round. The first division wavered and started to fall back, and the brunt of the battle now bore upon Colonel Fleming's men. Fleming, forgetting the need for caution, stepped into the open to give orders to his division, and received two balls through his left arm and one through his breast. In a very calm manner he animated the officers and men to continue the fight and he went back towards camp.

In the meantime General Lewis had ordered Colonel Field with his company and with the companies of Captain Robert McDowell, Captain George Mathews, Captain John Stuart, Captain William Paul, Captain Mathew Arbuckle, Captain Robert McClenochan and Captain John Lewis (of Botetourt), to the front. This division numbered 200 men.

It arrived only just in time. Colonel Lewis and Colonel Fleming had both been disabled by wounds from leading the charge, and the battle was going against the whites. The men who had been left in camp also began to hurry to the scene. General Lewis, now realizing the extent of the damage, began to fortify the camp by felling timber, so as to form a breastwork running across the point from the Kanawha to the Ohio, to provide a place of safety from which his men could fight.

The new forces under Colonel John Field slowly beat back the enemy, who killed and wounded white men at every advance.

Colonel Field profitted by the fate of the two leaders who had fallen before him, and tried to protect himself by sheltering behind a great tree. But while trying to shoot an Indian who was talking to amuse him, some others who were above among some fallen timber shot him dead.

When Field fell the command devolved on Captain Even Shelby, whose company was then led by his son Isaac.

Steadily, undaunted by the loss of their leaders, while the Indians were attacking with the utmost skill, caution and bravery, the troops fought on.

It was a fight in which single combat was everything. Each man sheltered himself behind a stump, or rock, or tree trunk. The line had now extended itself to about a mile and a half, but the foes were never more than twenty yards apart. Many of the combatants grappled hand-to-hand, fighting and tomahawked each other to the death. The clatter of the rifle, the cries and groans of the wounded, the shouts of the white combatants mingled with the appalling war-whoops and yells of their foes.

Thinking they would gain a complete victory the Indians planted men over each river to kill the whites if they should swim over. Those over the Ohio in the time of battle called to the other men to "drive the

white dogs in." Cornstalk and the other chiefs ran continually along the lines exhorting their men to "lie close," "shoot well," and to "fight and be strong."

Thus the fight continued till noon. Then the Indians tried to get around the flank of the whites into their camp, but were repulsed, and a party of whites followed up the advantage by sending a detachment led by Isaac Shelby, James Stewart and George Mathews, which ran along the banks of the Kanawha and outflanked the enemy in return.

The close underwood, the steep banks and logs greatly favored the retreat of the Indians. Colonel William Christian estimates that several hundred Indians were employed in cutting saplins to take off thefr wounded. Many of their dead they threw into the Ohio River.

The Rev. Wm. P. Price, of Marberton, in his excellent History of Pocahontas, is inclined to attribute the lull in the battle and the retreat of the Indians to another cause. He claims the credit of this for Jacob Warwick, who is said to have been across the Kanawha at work with some 50 or 60 men, who were slaughtering meat for the army for its intended march to the Indian towns, and who hearing the firing, at first thought it was in honor of Lord Dunmore's arrival, and finally, knowing it was a battle, rallied the butchers and returned to the camp. He claims that this party was mistaken by Constalk for the expected reenforcements under Colonel Wm. Christian. He brings forward as evidence the statement said to have been made by Jacob Warwick and Joseph Mayse and by Charles Cameron, all of whom were in the battle, and all from this immediate section.

The statement is inconsistent in many respects. First, it claims that the firing was supposed to be in honor of Lord Dunmore's arrival. And yet it claims they were butchering meat for the ordered march, which, if true, would itself prove that Dunmore was not expected. Again, the lull did not occur till noon and a heavy battle had been raging since sunrise. If they heard the firing they were most tardy in arriving at its meaning and tendering their help.

Further, it appears that there were no orders received from Lord Dunmore until after the battle.

The claim will hardly stand in the light of the letters written from the battle field by Colonel Wm. Christian and by Isaac Shelby. But to return to the battle.

From noon till about one o'clock there was a slight abatement in the battle. When they failed in their flank movement the Indians fell back, the best fighters covering their retreat, while the wounded were being carried off; so hotly were they pressed that they were not able to bear away all of their dead—a very unusual thing for the Indians. Though the whites pressed them, it was necessary to do so with the greatest caution ; any exposure of the men was instantly punished. This retreat

put the Indians in a strong position, from which the officers deemed it impossible to drive them except at two heavy a cost.

Worn out with fighting, and standing there with occasional shots exchanged, they retained their respective positions till dark. Tauntingly, the Indians called to the whites that to-morrow they would have 2,000 men for them to fight. They damned the men, and said: "Don't you whistle now" (deriding the fifes), and made very merry about a treaty."

Under the cover of darkness the Indians slipped away and made a most skilful retreat, carrying all of their wounded with them safely across the Ohio.

The Indians got no scalps except that of one or two stragglers whom they killed before the engagement. They scalped many of their own dead to prevent the whites from doing so, but the whites obtained more than twenty of theirs.

So eager were the Indians for scalps that when Captain John Frogge, of Staunton, was killed, three Indians were shot over his body endeavoring by turns to scalp him. (See Stew. Letter, Nov. 4, 1774.)

The whites, though victorious, had suffered severely. The estimates of the killed and wounded are widely at variance. Captain John Stewart, who wrote an account of the battle, places the number of the killed and mortally wounded at 75, and those severely or slightly wounded at 140. Monette, in his "Valley of the Mississippi," says 87 killed and 141 wounded. William Wilson, one of the participants in the battle, in a deposition made in 1833, says that the number of killed and wounded amounted to 160. It is probable that many of the wounded died later, which would swell the list of the ones named as killed, and that some writers take no notice of the slightly wounded men, who are included in the other lists. It is not uncommon to find the same man's name given in one list as wounded and the other as killed.

Colonel Wm. Christian, who did not reach the Point until the midnight after the battle, in a letter written 15th October to Colonel Wm. Campbell, which is to be printed in the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography for the first time in any historical collection, says:

"I will enclose you a state of the killed and wounded. I made it to-day from what scattering accounts I could gather. I have been through all the camps, and believe that many more men will die. There were many shot in two places. One in particular, I observed, with two bullits gone in three. They are really in a deplorable situation—bad doctors, few medicines, nothing to do with, proper for them, makes it worse still."

Some of the writers state that Lewis left Point Pleasant on the 12th. This is clearly an error, as is shown by the letter from Christian, who, writing on the 15th, says that it will be Monday following before Lewis

can cross the Ohio. A letter written by Captain Geo. Mathews says they crossed the Ohio on the 17th.

The residue of the campaign is quickly told. As soon as it was possible for Lewis to make proper provision for his wounded men, and leaving 300 to care for and protect its wounded, he pushed on. His men were now more eager than ever to inflict a lasting punishment upon the Indians. With about 1,100 men he passed over the Ohio, and proceeding by way of the Salt Licks, he pushed on to the Pickaway plains. When but a few miles away from the Earl's encampment he was met by a messenger, informing him that a treaty of peace was being negotiated by the Indians, and ordering him to return immediately to the mouth of the Kanawha. Suspecting the integrity of his Lordship's motives, and urged by the advice of his officers generally, General Lewis refused to obey these orders and continued to advance, until they were met at Kilkenny Creek and in sight of an Indian village, by Governor Dunmore himself, and only then were they reluctantly induced to march homeward.

Lewis led his army back to Point Pleasant, which was reached on the 28th. Here he left a garrison of fifty men, and then by companies the volunteers marched through the wilderness to their respective homes, where they were disbanded early in November.

Meanwhile, the officers of the other division of the army, the part which was led by Dunmore in person, and which took no part in this battle, held a notable meeting on the 5th of October, 1774, at Fort Gower. Of this meeting Benjamin Ashby was clerk.

In their resolutions they say, that after having lived in the woods for three months, without any intelligence from Boston, or from the delegates at Philadelphia, and fearing that their countrymen might not understand their position, in order to give assurance that they were ready at all times, to the utmost of their powers, to maintain and defend the just rights and privileges of their colony, they adopted the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That we will bear the utmost faithful allegiance to his majesty, King George the Third, while his majesty delights to reign over a brave and free people; that we will, at the expense of life and everything dear and valuable, exert ourselves in the support of the honor of his crown and the dignity of the British Empire. *But*, as the love of liberty and attachment to the real interests and just rights of America outweigh every other consideration, we resolve, that we will exert every power within us for the defence of American liberty, and for the support of her just rights and privileges, not in any precipitous, riotous, or tumultuous manner, but when regularly called forth by the unanimous voice of our countrymen."

"*Resolved*, That we entertain the greatest respect for his excellency, the Rt. Hon. Lord Dunmore, who commanded the expedition against

the Shawnees, and who, we are confident, underwent the fatigue of this singular campaign from no other motive than the true interests of the country."

It will be noted that none of Lewis's men took part in the meeting, and it is a most significant fact that this meeting, composed of his own immediate officers, should have deemed it necessary to pass a resolution giving their opinion of the motives prompting his Lordship.

This, as well as the resolution adopted in 1775 by the Virginia House of Burgesses, upon Dunmore's exparte statement, complimentary to Lord Dunmore and the troops which he had commanded against the Indians, (a compliment which, says Wirt, so far as Dunmore was concerned, was afterwards found to be unmerited), have been pointed to as evidence of the contention that Dunmore was not guilty of betraying Lewis at Point Pleasant.

It is to be noted, however, that men who do what Dunmore is charged with doing, do not do it in the light of day. That rumors of his improper designs were current at the time among the troops led by him seems to be shown by the last of the two resolutions at Fort Gower. The Virginia House of Burgesses would probably pass such complimentary resolutions as a matter of form, even though some intimations of this treachery may have reached them.

The leaders of Virginia were playing a deep-laid game for the freedom of America, and it would not have suited their purposes to expose Dunmore at that time.

In Buell's *Life of Paul Jones*, p. 21, there is an extract from the journal of Jones with reference to the condition of affairs in January, 1775, in which there is the following sentence:

"Colonel Washington, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Livingston agreed that it would be better to postpone the open rupture, if possible, to the next year, that the widely scattered Colonies might have opportunity to arrive at a more complete concert than had been reached up to that time."

Whether or not we believe the statement of Colonel Andrew Lewis (son of General Andrew), that "Blue Jacket, a Shawnee chief, visited Lord Dunmore's camp on October 9th, the day before the battle, and went straight from there to the Point, and some of them went to camp with Lord Dunmore immediately after the battle," or that "Lord Dunmore, in a conversation with Conally and others on the 10th, the day of the battle, remarked, that 'Lewis is probably having hot work about this time,'" (Hale's Trans-Alleghany Pioneers, p. 205), it is certain that other men of intelligence who were actors in events at that time believed Dunmore guilty of the charge.

In speaking of the matter, Howe says:

"Great excitement, amounting almost to mutiny, prevailed among the troops, at not being allowed to fight the Indians. They were highly

dissatisfied with the Governor and the treaty. The conduct of Dunmore could not be satisfactorily explained by them except by supposing that he had received orders from the royal government to terminate the war speedily with the hostile tribes, and to make such terms with them as *might secure their alliance in favor of England* against the colonies, in case the growing difficulties with them should terminate in open wār. Such, too, was said to have been the opinions of General Washington and Chief-Justice Màrshall."

John Stewart, one of the captains in the battle, was the first clerk of Greenbrier County. On some of the pages of the first deed book he has written some memories of these bloody tlmes. In speaking of this battle he says: "I have since been informed by Colonel (General) Lewis that the Earl of Dunmore knew of the attack to be made upon us by the Indians at the mouth of the Kanawha, and hoped our destruction. This secret was communicated to him by indisputable authority."

The evidence sustaining absolutely a charge of this kind is hard to produce, but the known facts are of such character as to place Lord Dunmore's motives in an exceeding bad light, and to leave a stain upon his reputation which his subsequent conduct was very far from removing.

THE MEN WHO TOOK PART IN THE BATTLE AND THEIR SUBSEQUENT SERVICES TO THEIR COUNTRY.

The *Virginia Gazette* of December 1, 1774, in speaking of the men who had fought and won this important battle, says: "Their names will be handed down to posterity with honor." Unfortunately these names, with a few exceptions, have not been handed down. Of all the men who followed Lewis on this expedition only the names of 120 have been brought to light. It is said that there is in existence a complete muster-roll of the troops, but I have vainly applied to the supposed owner for information as to its existence or its contents. No response have I had to my inquiries. But the services of that part of this 120 who survived shows of what stuff this army was made. A historian of note, in a recent contribution, says of them:

"The war of Independence was at hand, and the heroes of Point Pleasant went to meet the heroes of Bunker Hill and together they were the heroes of Monmouth, Brandywine, King's Mountain, and Yorktown. Seven officers in the battle of Point Pleasant rose to the rank of general in the revolutionary army; six captains in that battle commanded regiments on continental establishment in the war of independence; four officers in that battle led the attack on Gwynn's Island, in Chesapeake Bay, in June, 1776, which resulted in the dislodgment of Lord Dunmore the late Governor, who was thus driven from the shores of Virginia never to return; one officer in that battle was the most prominent American officer in the battle of Brandywine, where he was severely wounded;

another officer in that battle led the advance at the storming of Stony Point, one of the most daring achievements of the revolution; still another officer in that battle won lasting fame as the 'Hero of King's Mountain.' * * * Indeed, it is a matter of history that these Point Pleasant men were on nearly every battle-field of the Revolution. And one of them, when sixty-three years of age, led the Americans at the battle of the Thames, in 1813, secured a great victory, and thus broke the English power in the Northwest."

J. T. McALLISTER.

May 28th, 1902.

[In a future number Mr. McAllister will contribute as full a list as it is now possible to make of the men who took part in the battle.]

(CONCLUDED)

VIRGINIA MILITIA IN THE REVOLUTION.

(CONTINUED.)

1777. Sept. 23. Jones, Thomas, for waggon hire with Caroline Militia, £11. 0. 0.

25. Jones, Capt. Joseph, for pay, Provisions, &c., for his Comp'y, Dinwid: Militia, ℔ acc't, 270. 2. 10.

Jones, Capt. Richard, for Ditto, Ditto, ℔ acct., 235. 12. 10.

27. Johns, Capt. William, for Ditto, Ditto, Buckingham, Do., ℔ accot., 188. 9. 6.

30. Jones, Capt. Orlando, for Ditto, Ditto, Albemarle Do., ℔ accot., 248. 3. 0.

Oct'r 1. Jones, William, for waggon hire, with the Prince George Ditto., ℔ accot., 12. 15. 0.

3. Johnson, Isaac, Ditto, Guns for part of Capt. Thos. Thweat's Comp'y, 2. 5. 0.

11. Johnson, William, for Diets, &c., furnished Capt. Jno. Ogleby's Comp'y, 2d Regim't, 1. 10. 4½.

13. Jones, Capt. Orlando, for provisions furnished his Comp'y, ℔ accot., 2. 6. 0.

Dec'r 3. Johnson, Benjamin, for waggon hire with Orange, &c., Militia, ℔ accot., 33. 15. 0.

6. Jones, John, for ferriage of Sundry Militia to Portsmouth, ℔ accot., 8. 12. 6.