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**“The original purchase was blood, and mine  
shall seal the surrender”:  
The Importance of Place in Botetourt County’s  
Resolutions, 1775**

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On March 11, 1775, the *Virginia Gazette* published a statement of support and instruction from the freeholders of Botetourt County to their delegates at the upcoming Second Virginia Convention, scheduled to begin just nine days later.<sup>1</sup> The Second Virginia Convention, held at St. John’s Church in Richmond, Virginia, is best remembered as the place of Patrick Henry’s “Liberty or Death” speech; however, Henry’s passionate address and statement that he had “but one lamp by which my feet are guided; and that is the lamp of experience” were not the first stirring sentiments or emphasis on history and experience expressed in Virginia in 1775.<sup>2</sup> Through the winter months of 1775, four counties—Augusta, Botetourt, Fincastle, and Pittsylvania—which were part of Virginia’s frontier region known as the “backcountry” and spanned the Shenandoah Valley and Allegheny Mountains, published resolutions articulating their agreement with the growing patriotic fervor.<sup>3</sup> These resolutions also gave instructions to county delegates and Virginia’s patriot leaders to champion the revolutionary cause. This article specifically considers the resolutions from Botetourt County and situates those resolutions within the context of the region’s settlement history and experience, arguing for the importance of place as a foundational element of revolutionary-era sentiment in a frontier region where historians often focus on movement and impermanence.

**The Botetourt Resolutions**

Resolutions from Fincastle County, Botetourt County’s neighbor, were the first in a wave of statements issued by Virginia’s western counties through the winter months of 1775, and they have received substantial attention from historians;<sup>4</sup> however, the Botetourt Resolutions (see Appendix) are less well known despite similar language and a compelling portrait of backcountry hardships and experience. The Botetourt Resolutions were written by Botetourt County’s freeholders and were addressed to the

county's delegates to the Second Virginia Convention, Andrew Lewis and John Bowyer. Lewis and Bowyer were prominent residents of Botetourt County, and both had risen to positions of leadership in Augusta County prior to Botetourt's formation in 1769. Beyond "freeholder," the identities of the men who drafted the Botetourt Resolutions are unknown; however, the law stated that a freeholder was a property-owning male over the age of twenty-one who owned at least one hundred acres of land, twenty-five acres of land with a house or plantation, or a lot or house located in a town or city.<sup>5</sup> Additionally, the freeholders likely met at the county courthouse, located in present-day Fincastle, Virginia, to draft their statement. The town of Fincastle was situated on the eastern edge of a county spanning more than one hundred and fifty miles of mountainous terrain from the Shenandoah Valley to the Ohio River, so it is likely that the eastern portion of the county had better representation among the authors of the Botetourt Resolutions than the western areas of the county.<sup>6</sup>

The Botetourt Resolutions began with an expression of gratitude to Andrew Lewis and John Bowyer for their service, which, in the case of Lewis, was particularly in recognition of his leadership a few months earlier during an October 1774 expedition against the Shawnees. The expedition, which is known as Lord Dunmore's War, was organized by Virginia's royal governor, John Murray, the Fourth Earl of Dunmore, who appointed Lewis as the commander of the expedition's southern army, which was traveling west from a rendezvous point in the Greenbrier Valley along the New and Kanawha rivers.<sup>7</sup> The "war," culminating with a battle at Point Pleasant on the banks of the Ohio River, was a pivotal moment for backcountry Virginians as it was the first time the recently formed frontier counties united and, led by Lewis and his company of men from eastern Botetourt County, made a full-scale offensive attack against Native Americans.<sup>8</sup> The recognition for Lewis's service was even more pronounced because Lord Dunmore himself, who was expected to travel a northern route down the Ohio River, never arrived at the battle, so Lewis and his southern army faced the Shawnees alone.

After beginning the Botetourt Resolutions with the statement of gratitude to Lewis and Bowyer, Botetourt County freeholders discussed their view of Britain. Describing "hearts replete with the most grateful and loyal veneration" for the House of Hanover, which had ruled Britain since the early 1700s, and "dutiful affection for our Sovereign," they declared their contempt for the king's councilors, whom they described as "a set of miscreants, unworthy to administer the laws of Britain's empire."<sup>9</sup> This language of regard for King George and disgust for Parliament stands out among the resolutions from Augusta and Fincastle counties, which

expressed frustration in more subdued references to “respect for the parent state” and an unwillingness to consider submitting their liberty or property to “the will of a corrupt Ministry”; however, all three counties conveyed their displeasure with royal authority.<sup>10</sup>

The Botetourt County freeholders went on to illustrate an acute awareness of both their situation on the western edge of Virginia and the unity across the North American colonies during a time when revolutionary fervor directed toward Britain was beginning to boil. Referring to events in Boston more than a year earlier, the freeholders stated that “the subjects of Britain are ONE; and when the honest man of Boston, who has broke no law, has his property wrested from him, the hunter on the Allegany must take the alarm [emphasis in original document].”<sup>11</sup> By expressing their support for the people of Boston, whose harbor had been closed in 1774 as part of the Crown’s reaction to the infamous tea party, Botetourt County freeholders belatedly joined the public outcry against Britain cutting off Boston’s trade activity.<sup>12</sup> The animosity toward Britain continued to grow as legislatures and citizens throughout the American colonies expressed concern that what had happened in Massachusetts could soon occur in their own colonies.<sup>13</sup>

In Williamsburg, Virginia, the House of Burgesses declared a day of fasting and prayer at the end of May 1774 to protest the “hostile Invasion of the city of Boston” and the closing of Boston Harbor.<sup>14</sup> Lord Dunmore, who saw the protest as an affront to the king, responded by dissolving the House of Burgesses, whose members famously moved their planned meeting down the Duke of Gloucester Street from the Capitol to Raleigh Tavern. Dunmore’s actions spurred Virginia’s delegates toward the First Virginia Convention in August 1774, the Continental Congress a month later, and eventually a declaration of independence.<sup>15</sup> While these activities took place in eastern Virginia through the spring and summer of 1774, Virginia’s backcountry settlers looked west toward the Ohio River in preparation for Dunmore’s expedition. By the time the backcountry counties regrouped after Lord Dunmore’s War and issued their statements, the freeholders ensured that their voices joined the chorus of scorn and solidarity against the Boston Port Bill, although months later.

After beginning the Botetourt Resolutions with a declaration of steadfast respect for the king, disgust for Parliament, and support for the people of Boston, Botetourt’s freeholders used the resolutions to speak specifically to Virginia’s backcountry history and the violence that was part of the settlement experience. With language intended to remind county delegates and any other readers about the sacrifices backcountry settlers made to secure their homes and land, as well as the region’s role as the colony’s barrier against western threats from Native Americans and other

European nations through the French and Indian War, the freeholders offered a rousing charge to Lewis and Bowyer, writing:

Gentlemen, my gun, my tomahawk, my life, I desire you to tender to the honour of my King and country; but my LIBERTY, to range these woods on the same terms my father has done is not mine to give up; it was not purchased by me, and purchased it was, it is entailed on my son, and the tenure is sacred. Watch over it, Gentlemen, for to him it must descend unviolated, if my arm can defend it; but if not, if wicked power is permitted to prevail against me, the original purchase was blood, and mine shall seal the surrender [emphasis in original document].<sup>16</sup>

While the emotion and language Botetourt County freeholders used to express their frustration is generally representative of the ideology of the American Revolution, Botetourt settlers were also describing their specific experiences and hardships via the reference to gun and tomahawk.

As Botetourt freeholders expressed the trials of settlement, they associated those trials specifically with land and a connection to place. Referring to their liberty “to range these woods on the same terms my father has done,” the importance of passing this land-related liberty to their sons, and the “original purchase” in blood, the Botetourt freeholders argued that claiming their lands had not simply been an issue of paper and pen but one that required their sweat and blood—and even their lives.<sup>17</sup> For the freeholders, these sacrifices cemented their land claims and gave them a greater reason to defend their homes.<sup>18</sup> The reference to these personal experiences also increased the significance of the Botetourt Resolutions for settlers and their communities.<sup>19</sup>

At the conclusion of the resolutions, Botetourt County freeholders turned back to the broader patriot rhetoric, asking that their statement be published so “that our countrymen, and the world, may know our disposition” and that the members of the First Continental Congress accept their gratitude for actions taken in Philadelphia the previous autumn.<sup>20</sup> They also thanked their delegates, described as “SONS of WORTH and FREEDOM,” and pledged to “religiously observe their resolutions, and obey their instructions, in contempt of our power, and temporary interest [emphasis in original document]”<sup>21</sup> Should the economic boycott and non-exportation measures Congress took the previous October fail to produce the desired result, Botetourt’s citizens declared that they would “stand prepared for every Contingency.”<sup>22</sup>

While it is impossible to discover the identity of each Botetourt County freeholder supporting the resolutions because of the scarcity of records in this frontier county, examining settlement patterns, militia rosters, and

county records reveals the identities of some men and offers greater insight into residents' connection to place through the experiences of those whose identities are known. Although the freeholders were unidentified in the resolutions, the county's gentlemen justices, more than sixteen men whose names are known from the court order books, were by definition among the county's freeholders and likely spearheaded drafting the resolutions.<sup>23</sup> In addition to the justices, militia officers were appointed by the county court and typically came from the upper tiers of colonial Virginia society, so the six officers who survived the battle at Point Pleasant would certainly have been freeholders in the county as well.<sup>24</sup> There is some overlap between the men who served as both justices and officers; however, altogether there are roughly twenty men whose positions ensured their status as freeholders and were likely among the signers of the Botetourt Resolutions.

Among the known freeholders who were also justices or militia officers, roughly half of the men lived in the eastern fourth of Botetourt County, while the others were from areas beyond the Shenandoah Valley, such as the Greenbrier Valley and the area known at the time as "western Botetourt" along the Kanawha River in present-day West Virginia. The minimal number of justices from the county's western region demonstrates that county governance in Botetourt County was carried out primarily by men who lived in areas east of the Allegheny Mountains and who experienced less instability from warfare and violence in the 1770s; however, only a few decades earlier, those areas and residents were on the frontlines of the Indian wars, and many had endured hardships as children moving into the region with their families.

### **Settling Botetourt County**

Settlers first moved into the Shenandoah Valley in the early eighteenth century, and by 1740, Augusta County stretched from the Blue Ridge Mountains to the western "limits of Virginia."<sup>25</sup> The southern "Upper Valley" region was settled primarily by an influx of Protestant Irish, known as the Scots-Irish today, whose settlements were so extensive in the region that it became known as the "Irish Tract."<sup>26</sup> There were settlers from other areas of Europe and England, but the Irish were so prevalent in the Upper Valley that German-speaking Moravians traveling from Pennsylvania to the Carolinas described a 150-mile route through the Irish communities.<sup>27</sup>

During the 1750s, settlers pushed farther west out of the Shenandoah Valley into the Greenbrier River Valley and Kanawha River Valley at present-day Lewisburg and Charleston, West Virginia, respectively, where they encroached on Native American lands.<sup>28</sup> Historian Gregory Evans Dowd noted that the Shawnees saw this movement through the area that

became Botetourt County, along a route that paralleled much of present-day Interstate-64 at the Virginia–West Virginia border, as a “dangerous westward thrust of British Settlement” across the Appalachian Mountains, and they responded with action and a message that they would resist the Virginians’ continued intrusion.<sup>29</sup>

The French and Indian War of the 1750s also brought increased violence to the Virginia backcountry as Native Americans and their French allies waged a devastating war against British settlers who were ever moving toward the Ohio country.<sup>30</sup> In the summer of 1755, a series of Indian attacks occurred throughout southern Augusta County with loss of life in Draper’s Meadows, located in present-day Blacksburg, Virginia, and further west on the New River and Greenbrier River in present-day West Virginia.<sup>31</sup> The violence often wiped out an entire community and certainly devastated individual families since husbands and fathers were frequently killed while women and children were taken captive. In 1756, an attack at the settlements near Jackson’s River (known today as Jackson River), which zigzags across today’s Interstate-64 between Clifton Forge and Covington, Virginia, resulted in thirteen deaths and twenty-nine settlers taken captive.<sup>32</sup> While Native Americans delivered many captives to Fort Pitt at the end of the French and Indian War, recently returned family members created a new challenge for backcountry settlers as they attempted to assimilate their relatives, many of whom had been captured as young children and considered themselves as Indians, back into colonial society.<sup>33</sup> In spite of the danger, settlers did not immediately abandon western areas when periods of violence began, although many settlers living beyond the Allegheny Mountains eventually retreated to less vulnerable communities in the east until the violence ended.

After the French and Indian War, settlers again pressed west into the mountains, but the period of peace was short-lived as many native groups embraced Delaware prophet Neolin’s call for Native Americans to reject all elements of white society and to expel them from the frontier. This ideology spread throughout the backcountry as part of Pontiac’s War, and in Virginia, Shawnees, led by Cornstalk, attacked settlements in the Greenbrier Valley at Muddy Creek Mountain, as well as the nearby Clendenin settlement, then moved further east to again attack settlements along Jackson’s River.<sup>34</sup> By the end of the war, the Shawnees had taken more captives from the intrusive western peninsula of British settlement that became Botetourt County, especially the Greenbrier Valley and Jackson’s River settlements, than from any other Virginia backcountry area.<sup>35</sup>

In the mid-1760s, the Virginia backcountry was a key territory in various treaty negotiations and legal actions by the Crown and its colonial



Figure 1: Map of Augusta County and Botetourt County, 1769 (created by Sarah E. McCartney using Google Maps and Microsoft Powerpoint).

representatives even as the population continued to swell from settlers moving west. Whether by the Royal Proclamation of 1763, the treaties at Fort Stanwix and Hard Labor in 1769, or the 1770 Treaty of Lochaber and treaty line established by John Donelson, Britain sought to balance her imperial interests with those of land speculators and settlers in addition to placating native peoples.<sup>36</sup> By the time the last treaty was finalized in 1771, Native Americans had roughly ten million fewer acres along the tributaries of the Ohio River, and Virginia had created a new backcountry county as a result of population growth in the area. The new county, which was called Botetourt after Virginia's beloved royal governor, Norborne Berkeley, Lord Botetourt, was formed from the southern portion of Augusta County in 1769 (see Figure 1).<sup>37</sup> Botetourt County's boundaries were redrawn in 1772 when

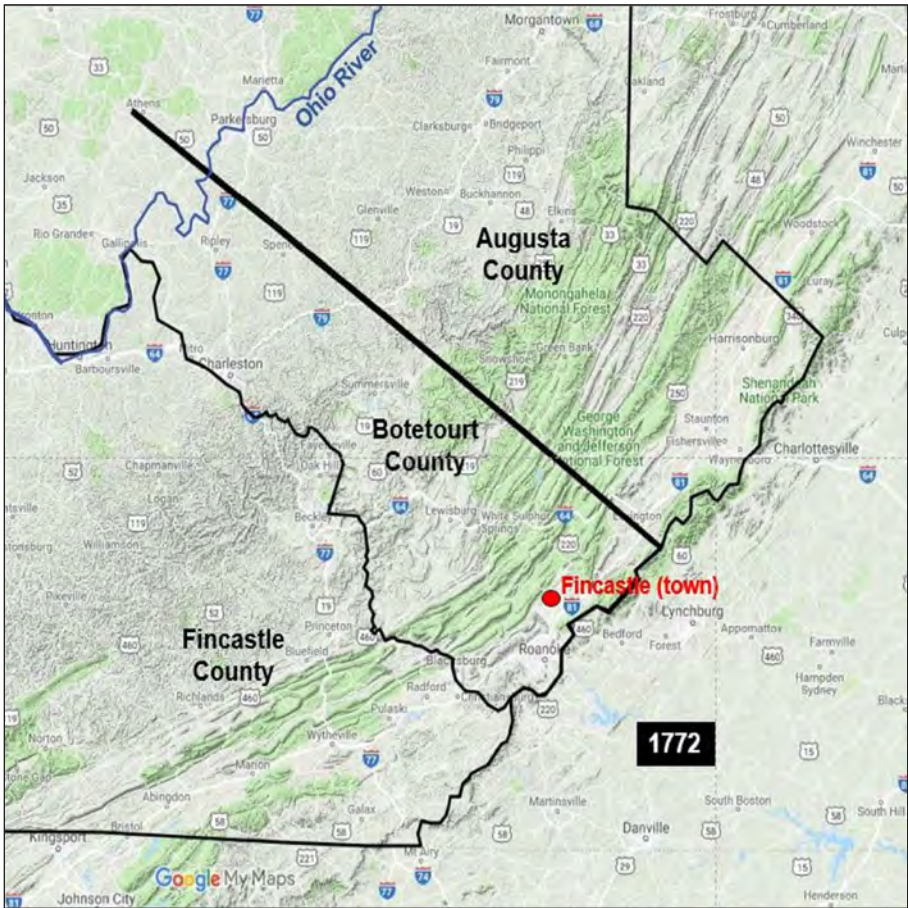


Figure 2. Map of Augusta County, Botetourt County, and Fincastle County, 1772 (created by Sarah E. McCartney using Google Maps and Microsoft Powerpoint).

the territory to the west and southwest of the Kanawha River and New River in present-day West Virginia became Fincastle County (see Figure 2).<sup>38</sup>

By the time of the expedition against the Shawnees in 1774 and Lord Dunmore's mobilization of Virginia's western counties, backcountry settlers were committed to their homes and lands and were well accustomed to violence and uncertainty. This connection to place meant that they were willing, and even enthusiastic, to take offensive action against a Native American threat if they believed it would secure their families and communities.<sup>39</sup> In August 1774, Andrew Lewis and nearly fifteen hundred backcountry men flooded the Levels of the Greenbrier Valley near present-day Lewisburg, West Virginia, and within weeks they began their march across more than one hundred miles of the Appalachian Plateau toward the



Ohio River.<sup>40</sup> Roughly six weeks later, just before sunrise on October 10, 1774, two militiamen discovered a Shawnee camp within a few miles of the army's encampment at the confluence of the Kanawha and Ohio rivers, and the battle began.<sup>41</sup> When the conflict ended late in the day, the survivors faced the task of caring for the wounded and burying their slain comrades.<sup>42</sup>

In the aftermath of Lord Dunmore's War, the fresh loss of life and the reality that many men would live out their lives with wounds from the expedition further strengthened settlers' connection to place. Some men, like William Fleming, had such extensive wounds that they were not expected to survive, and rumors of Fleming's death circulated in the *Virginia Gazette* alongside the first accounts of the battle, although he lived until the 1790s. Meanwhile, Andrew Lewis's youngest brother, Charles Lewis, who was a highly respected and admired officer, died during the battle.<sup>43</sup> Andrew Lewis addressed the troops after his brother's death, giving insight into the camaraderie of the men and the devastation of loss on the battlefield, stating, "You have lost your brave leader & I in him have lost the best of Brothers."<sup>44</sup> The family of John Vanbibber had survived the Indian attacks at Muddy Creek more than a decade earlier, but he lost one of the two brothers he fought alongside at Point Pleasant. Robert McClenachan, brother of Botetourt County Justice William McClenachan, also died in the battle.<sup>45</sup> If kinship did not sharpen the pain of loss and settlers' connection to place, friendship certainly did. Robert McClenachan and John Stuart had moved from the Shenandoah Valley to the Greenbrier Valley of Botetourt County together as young men, and both served as captains of Greenbrier's Botetourt County regiment at Point Pleasant, but only Stuart returned from the battle.<sup>46</sup> When the Botetourt County freeholders published their resolutions, the recent sacrifices of their family members, friends, and comrades at Point Pleasant further strengthened the power of place as a reminder that there was a physical and emotional cost to settling in the Virginia backcountry that physically linked them to the region.<sup>47</sup>

In December 1774, Lord Dunmore returned to Williamsburg from the expedition against the Shawnees and penned a letter to the Earl of Dartmouth illuminating his thoughts about backcountry Virginians. He wrote that he had "frequent opportunities to reflect upon the emigrating Spirit of the Americans" and the inability to restrain them through established authority and government.<sup>48</sup> He also noted his observations, likely drawn from his recent experience in the backcountry, that these people had "no attachment to Place: But wandering about Seems engrafted in their Nature; and it is a weakness incident to it, that they Should for ever imagine the Lands further off, are Still better than those upon which they are already Settled."<sup>49</sup> By

expressing these views, Dunmore, who first arrived in the American colonies in 1770 and in Virginia in 1771, proved to be oblivious to the experiences and sentiments of backcountry settlers. His statement demonstrated his ignorance about the trials backcountry Virginians experienced through decades of settlement that strengthened the bonds of their communities and the importance of place, which was at the root of their eagerness to strike against Native Americans the previous autumn.

The history of backcountry settlement and the personal experience of Botetourt County inhabitants and freeholders reveal the importance of place and deepen our understanding of the fiery sentiments expressed in the Botetourt Resolutions. By offering “my gun, my tomahawk, my life” for the liberty to continue living on the lands first claimed by their fathers and entailed on their sons, Botetourt County settlers recalled the multi-generational settlement experience of moving to the Shenandoah Valley with their parents and seeing the hardships of settlement as children. The violence and warfare settlers experienced impacted everyone, regardless of age or gender, and the settlers’ perspective that they had “purchased” these lands not only with land claims, but also with their blood, strengthened the importance of place and their commitment to defend the region. The statements expressed in the resolutions were not new but rather were a continuation of the sentiment Botetourt County settlers had already demonstrated in their actions, though the emotion was aimed in a different direction than it had been previously. Instead of facing west toward French or Native American opponents, Botetourt County’s residents now faced east and were prepared to offer the same dedication and perseverance against a new adversary, in the form of Britain, as they pledged to defend hearth and home against all foes.

## Appendix: The Botetourt Resolutions

To Col. ANDREW LEWIS, and Mr. JOHN BOWYER.

Gentlemen,

For your past service, you have our thanks, and we presume it is all the reward ye desire. And as we have again committed you the greatest trust we can confer (that of appearing for us in the great council of the colony) we think it expedient [you] hear our sentiments at this important juncture. And first, we require you to represent us with hearts replete with the most grateful and loyal veneration for the race of Brunswick, for they have been truly our fathers; and at the same time the most dutiful affection for our Sovereign, of whose honest heart we cannot entertain any diffidence; but sorry we are to add, that in his councils we can no longer confide. A set of miscreants, unworthy to administer the laws of Britain's empire, have been permitted impiously to sway. How unjustly, cruelly, and tyrannically, they have invaded our rights, we need not now put you in mind. We only say, and we assert it with pride, that the subjects of Britain are one; and when the honest man of Boston, who has broke no law, has his property wrested from him, the hunter on the Allegany must take the alarm, and, as a Freeman of American, he will fly to his Representatives and thus instruct them. Gentlemen, my gun, my tomahawk, my life, I desire you to tender to the honour of my King and country; but my LIBERTY, to range these woods on the same terms my father has done is not mine to give up; it was not purchased by me, and purchased it was, it is entailed on my son, and the tenure is sacred. Watch over it, Gentlemen, for to him it must descend unviolated, if my arm can defend it; but if not, if wicked power is permitted to prevail against me, the original purchase was blood, and mine shall seal the surrender.

That our countrymen, and the world, may know our disposition, we choose that this be published. And we have one request to add, that is, that the SONS of WORTH and FREEDOM who appeared for us at Philadelphia will accept our most ardent, grateful acknowledgments; and we hereby plight them our faith, that we will religiously observe their resolutions, and obey their instructions, in contempt of our power, and temporary interest; and should the measures they have wisely calculated for our relief fail, *we will stand prepared for every Contingency*. We are Gentlemen, your dutiful, &c.

The Freeholders of Botetourt.

Source: *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 March 1775, 3.

## Endnotes

1. Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves & the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 119. The First Continental Congress met from 5 September through 24 October 1774 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. See Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner, eds., *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence 2* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1969) 103–105.
2. William Wirt, *Sketches of the life and character of Patrick Henry* (Philadelphia: James Webster, 1817), 120.
3. Warren Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 1–16.
4. Thad Tate, “The Fincastle Resolutions: Southwest Virginia’s Commitment,” *Journal of the Roanoke Valley Historical Society* 9, no. 2 (1975): 19–31; Mary Kegley, “Who the 15 Signers Were,” *Journal of the Roanoke Valley Historical Society* 9, no. 2 (1975): 32–37; Jim Glanville, “The Fincastle Resolutions,” *The Smithfield Review* 14 (2010): 69–119; Kegley, “Another look at the Fincastle Resolutions,” *Historical Society of Western Virginia Journal* 1 (2013): 66–71.
5. *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 March 1775, 3; “freeholders” were those adult white males over the age of twenty-one in the colony who had “an estate of freehold, or other greater estate,” which was comprised of at least one hundred acres of land (if no settlement be made upon it), or twenty-five acres with a house or plantation in the possession of him or his tenants, or property in a city or town. See William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia* (Richmond: Franklin Press, 1820), 4:475–478.
6. In a statement of support and instruction to Virginia’s representatives to the Continental Congress published two weeks later, Botetourt County’s “freeholders and inhabitants” specifically noted that they “assembled at the courthouse” to compose their statement. See *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 24 March 1775, 3.
7. Joseph Addison Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, from 1726 to 1871* (1901; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 180.
8. Pittsylvania, the most eastern of these backcountry counties, was formed in 1766, Botetourt County was formed out of Augusta County in 1769, and Fincastle County was formed out of Botetourt County in 1772.
9. *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 March 1775, 3.
10. The writers of the Fincastle Resolutions stated that they “cannot think of submitting our liberty or property to the power of a venal British parliament, or to the will of a corrupt Ministry.” See *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 10 February 1775, 3. Augusta County described an unwillingness to “surrender . . . to any minister, to any parliament, or any body of men upon earth, by whom we are not represented.” See *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney), 16 March 1775, 2).
11. *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 March 1775, 3.
12. Robert A. Gross, *The Minutemen and Their World* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976), 47–50; T.H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1–3.
13. American colonists supported Boston both with official statements and physical goods no longer available because of the port’s closure. For example, Connecticut farmers sent livestock, Pennsylvanians sent grain, and South Carolinians sent rice.
14. Tarter and Scribner, *Revolutionary Virginia*, 93–95.
15. Historians have argued that the resolution for a day of prayer was a strategic move by the younger burgesses to close the courts, thus allowing indebted tobacco farmers to support plans to drive up the price of tobacco through non-exportation while avoiding prosecution, but nonetheless, the juxtaposition of events in Williamsburg and the backcountry is striking. See Holton, *Forced Founders*, 116–118.

16. *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 March 1775, 3.
  17. *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 March 1775, 3.
  18. *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 March 1775, 3.
  19. According to Albert Tillson, "By relating the patriot ideology to their region's special experiences and values, the upper valley gentry gave that ideology a heightened relevance for their communities." See Albert H. Tillson, *Gentry and Common Folk: Political Culture on a Virginia Frontier, 1740–1789* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1991), 80.
  20. *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 March 1775, 3.
  21. *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 March 1775, 3.
  22. Holton, *Forced Founders*, 121–122; *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 March 1775, 3.
  23. The Botetourt County justices included William Fleming, Philip Love, Matthew Arbuckle, John Lewis, John Stuart, Andrew Lewis, Samuel Lewis, John Maxwell, David Robinson, George Skillern, Adam Smyth, James Trimble, James Henderson, Benjamin Estill, John Bowman, John Murray, William Madison, John Bowyer, William McKee, Andrew Donnally, Richard May, Andrew Woods, James Templeton, Thomas Bowyer, Andrew Boyd, James McAfee, William Hugart, Patrick Lockhart, John Vanbibber, Henry Pauling, Henry Smith, and William McClenachan. See "Minutes of the County Court" in *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769–1800*, Lewis Preston Summers, ed. (Abingdon, VA.: Lewis Preston Summers, 1929): 238–250; H. R. McIlwaine, *Bulletin of the Virginia State Library* 14, nos. 2–3 (April, July 1921), 121–122, 126; Rhys Isaac, *Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 30, 90–91.
  24. Isaac, *Transformation of Virginia*, 104–110; Michael A. McDonnell, *The Politics of War: Race, Class & Conflict in Revolutionary Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 37–38. The officers who survived the battle at Point Pleasant were William Fleming, Philip Love, John Lewis, John Stuart, Henry Pauling, and Matthew Arbuckle. Botetourt County officers Robert McClenachan, James Ward, and John Murray were killed at Point Pleasant.
  25. "An Act for erecting two new Counties, and Parishes; and granting certain encouragements to the Inhabitants thereof," Hening, *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia* (Richmond: Franklin Press, 1819) 5:78–80.
  26. Katharine L. Brown and Kenneth W. Keller, "Searching for Status: Virginia's Irish Tract, 1770–1790," in Warren R. Hofstra, ed., *Ulster to America: The Scots-Irish Migration Experience, 1680–1830* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2011): 124.
  27. The Reverend Leonhard Schnell wrote that he "had no desire to take this way, and as no one could tell me the right way I felt somewhat depressed" when he discovered he had to travel through the Irish Tract. See William J. Hinke and Charles E. Kemper, eds., "Moravian Diaries of Travels through Virginia (Continued)," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 11, no. 4 (April 1904): 374.
  28. "Physiographic Provinces of West Virginia," West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey, [www.wvgs.wvnet.edu/www/geology/geolphy.htm](http://www.wvgs.wvnet.edu/www/geology/geolphy.htm), accessed 17 November 2016.
  29. Gregory Evans Dowd, *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, & the British Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 143.
  30. Sami Lakomäki, *Gathering Together: The Shawnee People through Diaspora and Nationhood, 1600–1870* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2014), 73.
  31. Patricia Givens Johnson, *James Patton and the Appalachian Colonists* (Charlotte: Jostens, 1983), 94, 201–208.
  32. Ian K. Steele, *Setting all the Captives Free* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 105.
  33. Steele, *Setting all the Captives Free*, 355–383. Felix Renick recounted his mother's stories about the physical and emotional challenges of assimilating children who grew up as Native American captives back into their families. See Felix Renick, "A Trip to the West" in *American Pioneer* 1, no. 2 (February 1842): 78–79.
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34. For a description of “the Cornstalk,” see Tarter and Scribner, *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence* 2, 105; Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 162; Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 67. Cornstalk was an influential leader among the Shawnee neutralists as someone who opposed militancy in Dunmore’s War, but he had organized the Shawnees to defend themselves against the invading Virginians, and after the battle at Point Pleasant, he had again supported neutrality. See Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance*, 67.
35. Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 143–144.
36. Woody Holton argued that the 1768 treaties were ineffective at undoing the 1763 line; however, he combined present-day West Virginia and Kentucky and, therefore, overlooked the impact that the 1768 treaties had on the near-west regions along the Greenbrier and Kanawha rivers (Holton, “Ohio Indians and the Coming of the American Revolution in Virginia,” *Journal of Southern History* 60, no. 3 (August 1994): 453); “Treaty between the Cherokee Nation and John Stuart, agent of George III, King of Great Britain, concerning the boundary between Cherokee land and Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina,” 14 October 1768, in *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* 7, William Laurence Saunders, ed. (Raleigh: P. M. Hale, Printer to the State, 1886): 851–855; *Documenting the American South*, University Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2007, [docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0350](https://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0350); “Instructions from Lord Botetourt to Col. Lewis and Dr. Walker,” 20 December 1768, in “Virginia and the Cherokees, &c.: The Treaties of 1768 and 1770,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 13, no. 1 (July 1905): 28.
37. *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), 23 November 1769, 3; *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), 23 November 1769, 2; Mary B. Kegley and F. B. Kegley, *Early Adventurers on the Western Waters* 1 (Orange, VA.: Green Publishers, Inc., 1980), 91.
38. The new county boundary between Botetourt and Fincastle County ran along a route that roughly followed present-day U.S. 460 through Christiansburg and Blacksburg, Virginia, then entered into present-day West Virginia along the New River and Kanawha River until it reached the Ohio River. See “Dividing Line between Botetourt County and Fincastle County,” 3 May 1773, Botetourt County Land Records microfilm, Deed Book 1, 1770–1773, local government records collection, Botetourt County Court (Virginia) Reel 1, Library of Virginia, Richmond.
39. John Dunmore circular letter to Col. William Preston, 10 June 1774, Draper Mss., 3QQ39, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
40. Col. William Fleming to his wife, 4 September 1774, in *Documentary History of Dunmore’s War, 1774*, Reuben Golds Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds. (1905; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 181; Col. Andrew Lewis to Col. William Preston, 8 September 1774, Draper Mss., 3QQ93, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
41. *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney), 10 November 1774, 2. John Stuart said that these men were hunting, while J. F. D. Smyth wrote that they were getting water at a nearby spring. See John Stuart, “Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars and other occurrences, 1749–1780,” *Virginia Historical Society*; Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America* 1 (Dublin: G. Perrin, 1784), 163; Isaac Shelby to John Shelby, 16 October 1774, in *Documentary History*, 271–272.
42. Todd reported that the men collected spoils of war strewn about the battlefield, including “23 Guns 80 Blankets 27 Tomahawks with Match coats Skins Shout [shot] pouches pow[d]erhorns Warclubs &c. The Tomhaws guns & Shout pouches were sold & amounted to near 100.” See William Fleming, “Orderly Book, Journal of the Expedition,” in *Documentary History*, 345–347.
43. *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), 10 November 1774, 4; Col. William Fleming to William Bowyer, undated, in *Documentary History*, 309; Col. William Fleming to Nancy Fleming, undated, in *Documentary History*, 253.

44. Fleming, "Orderly Book," in *Documentary History*, 348.
45. Peter Vanbibber (spelled alternatively as "Van Bibber," "Vanbeaver," "Van Bebber," etc.) served as an express rider. Capt. Robert McClenachan's wife, Katey, received a pension of £50, and Isaac Vanbibber's wife, Sarah, received a £40 pension based on rank. See Dunmore's War (Virginia Payrolls/Public Service Claims, 1775), microfilm 125 and 182; Warren Skidmore and Donna Kaminsky, *Lord Dunmore's Little War of 1774* (Westminister, MD: Heritage Books, Inc. 2002), 194–200.
46. Fleming, "Orderly Book," in *Documentary History*, 255.
47. Isaac, *Transformation of Virginia*, 104–110; McDonnell, *The Politics of War*, 37–38.
48. Lord Dunmore to Earl of Dartmouth, 24 December 1774, in *Documentary History*, 371.
49. Dunmore to Dartmouth, 24 December 1774, in *Documentary History*, 371.

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