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PREFACE

Introduction, and a few Conventions

This report is an attempt to account for all the evidence pertaining to people surnamed GAY who settled beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains in old Augusta County, Virginia, by the 1750s.

Structurally, it is presented in Register Format, elaborated to incorporate two additional sections for each person/family sketch. The first of these additional sections appears right after the person header (e.g. “4. John2 Gay (John1) and his wife Jean [Ramsey?]”), and consists of an overview discussion of the principal sources for that sketch, and the import of the evidence they bring to bear. The second section added to the sketches of families with children, does the same for the listed children who follow—that is, it provides an overview of the evidence pertinent to all or several of the following children.

All dates in the material below that are non-specific to the day, or less than certain as to the year, have been qualified in one of two ways:

- (1) Dates that are backed by specific evidence but that are accurate only within a year or at most two either way are qualified as “about”, “abt”, or “c” (for *circa*).
- (2) Dates that have been merely guesstimated based on loose circumstantial evidence in the context of typical family or cultural patterns, are qualified as “say” or “s”.

The Surname Gay

The surname “Gay” was typically pronounced “Guy” in colonial times and beyond, at least amongst the Scotch-Irish, and it is very frequently spelled that way, although there appears to be a separately derived surname “Guy” as well. As for the roots of the “Gay” surname, it occurs in medieval France, as well as Britain, and perhaps goes back to the Roman given name, Gaius. There is also a strong possibility that the surname has a separate Celtic derivation from Gaelic roots.

In British Colonial America, there are three principal strains of Gays: (1) The New England Gays, mostly descended from John Gay of Dedham, who settled first, in Watertown, in 1634; (2) Henry Gay of the Virginia tidewater, who settled in NansemondCo in the 1660s; and (3) Several lineages of Scotch-Irish Gays who emigrated to Pennsylvania in the 1720’s and 1730’s, most of whom followed the Great Road south to the Valley of Virginia, and to the frontiers beyond. It is with one line of these Scotch-Irish Gays, who were among the first settlers of the upper Valley, in AugustaCoVA, that we are here concerned.

The Gay DNA Project, has been undertaken as an adjunct to traditional family history research, to help sort out these various lines of Gays.^[1]

The Scotch-Irish Area of the Valley of Virginia: Geography & Jurisdictions

Augusta County was created in 1738, from OrangeCoVA, but its first court didn’t meet until 30Dec1745. Until that time, all the business of the court, including probate business, and the recording of deeds occurred under the auspices of OrangeCo, whose courthouse lay on the other side (to the east) of the Blue Ridge Mountains from the few hundred families settled within the bounds of Augusta. These original pioneers were scattered mostly near the upper end (the southernmost part) of the Valley of Virginia, in the present counties of Rockingham, Augusta, Rockbridge, Botetourt, Roanoke, and

¹ See <http://www.worldfamilies.net/surnames/g/gay/index.html>.

Montgomery. These additional counties were created from Augusta beginning in 1770 with Botetourt, then Montgomery (1777), Rockbridge and Rockingham (1778), and Roanoke not until 50 years after that (I include Roanoke, both county and independent city, only to match the geographical layout on modern maps).

The principal part of the land in the present county of Augusta was granted to William Beverley in 1736 and sold by him in tracts to the first settlers: this grant was called Beverley Manor, and comprises much of the best land of present day AugustaCo—the fertile and well-watered hilly plains extending from the south fork of the Shenandoah (“South River”) in the shadow of the Blue Ridge on the east, westward across the broad part of the Valley of Virginia. Joining it on the SW is the Borden Grant, issued to Benjamin Borden the same year. The Borden Grant continues down the heart of the Valley towards the SW and comprises much of present day RockbridgeCo, extending westwards a fair ways into the Kerr’s Creek district. Just to the west of the NW part of the Borden Grant, where Moffett’s and Walker’s Creeks flow NE-SW, then over North Mountain, is the little valley of the Calfpasture, with its two parallel rivers, the Big Calfpasture on the western side of the valley, and the Little Calfpasture River on the eastern side. These rivers are often called in the records simply “Big River” and “Little River”. The Calfpasture is where the Appalachian Mountains begin. The Appalachians are a series of NE-SW mountain chains separated by narrow river valleys which extend a couple of hundred miles to the west, through West Virginia and into Kentucky and Tennessee. Practically as soon as the first settlers began to take up land in the Calfpasture (the mid-1740s), they began patenting land to the west as a speculation. The first valley to the west is that of the Cowpasture River, then the Bullpasture, Jackson’s River, and finally the Greenbrier River, deep into present day West Virginia. All these river valleys were to develop their own histories of settlement over the ensuing decades, before, and in parallel with, the great migrations into Kentucky and Tennessee. They were all part of AugustaCoVA in 1745, which ran, on paper, to the Mississippi River, and northwest to Minnesota.

Where the Gays Lived

The Gays were among the first settlers of AugustaCo; in fact most of them probably arrived during the period from 1738-1745 when the affairs of the paper county of Augusta were still being managed by its parent county, Orange, whose courthouse lay east of the Valley over the Blue Ridge mountains. The first Gay was Samuel who surveyed land in 1739 on South River at the western foot of the Blue Ridge, and in the northeasternmost part of Beverley Manor. Samuel was a captain of militia and one of the first AugustaCo justices when the county actually got going near the end of 1745. All the other Gays settled in the Calfpasture valley.

The best land in the hilly Calfpasture lay astride the two rivers, which were separated by hills, and the river land was first granted in two large blocks to two sets of proprietors, one for each river. The Big Calfpasture grant of 1742 went to James Patton & John Lewis, who divided their grant into 22 lots, which by 1744 were largely subscribed—lot 7 by Henry Gay, and lot 9 by Robert Gay. The Little River grant was awarded to William Beverley in 1743, and deeded by him to the original settlers, scattershot, over the next 20 years or so. The best pastureland, running north from the confluence of Big and Little Rivers, was settled in the early-to-mid 1740s by 5 men surnamed Gay. Running up the Little River from south to north, these were: John Gay (at the confluence of the Little with the Big River, and running up both rivers), James, (just to the north, across from John’s Big River land), Samuel (just to the north of James, but not quite bordering his tract), William-A (adjacent to Samuel), and William-B (adjacent to William-A).

The Gay Families of Old Augusta County, Virginia: *Dramatis Personae*

The nine AugustaCoVA GAYs listed below are of roughly the same generation, and the six with the generation number ² I believe to be children of the hypothetical immigrants, John¹ & Agnes Gay. yDNA testing of descendants so far is consistent with the proposition that at least James² and Robert² were brothers, and shows that Henry (son of John¹ of SadsburyPA) was their cousin; there's at least circumstantial evidence that Robert-A was too. DNA testing also shows that Samuel-A was of an unrelated surname [patrilineage](#).

Eleanor² Gay (1740-1825), lived with husband on upper Calfpasture, and possibly earlier in Kerr's Creek area; captured by Indians in 1764 with first 3 children; married William Kinkead 30Nov1756; **Children:** Margaret (25Sep1757-1764), Andrew (25Feb1760-1764), Isabella (10Apr1762-), Andrew (25Jul1764-), Agnes, William, Eleanor, Margaret, Susanna, Guy, Rebecca, and John (Dec1784)

Henry Gay (cDec1704-cMar1779), son of John¹ Gay of Sadsbury, LancasterCoPA; Henry settled on Big Calfpasture lot 7; married Martha Baxter 25Sep1729; **Children:** John (s1730), Elizabeth (s1732), Ann (s1733), [?William (s1735-cJul1767) associated with the VACHUBs/WALKLUPs of the Little Calfpasture], Martha (s1736), —?— (dau, s1739), Rebecca (s1743), Jennet (s1744), and Sarah (s1746)

James² Gay (s1712-cOct1776), settled adjacent, across the Big Calfpasture, from John² Gay; married 1st Mary [Warwick?] c1744; **Children(1):** Agnes (b.25Sep1745), John, Jane, Mary, James (b.24Aug1758); married 2nd Jean —?— c1767; **Children(2):** Robert (b.c1768), Martha, Samuel

John² Gay (s1715-c1776), settled along Big Calfpasture below Alexander Dunlap, and at the mouth of the Little River; married Jean [Ramsey?]s1750; **Children:** Agnes (b.s1751), Mary (b.s1753), John (b.cNov1756), Jean (b.s1759), Elizabeth (b.s1762)

Robert-A (s1720-bef17Feb1762), settled on Big Calfpasture lot 9; neighbor of Henry, and associated with him in a couple of records, but not Henry's brother Robert, who remained in PA; Robert-A married Margaret —?— s1746; **Children:** James (s1747), Robert (b.s1750), John (b.s1752);

I think there's a good chance that this Robert was a brother of the James Gay who warranted land in CumberlandCoPA in 1762, a few years before John of Sadsbury's grandson Thomas, and that both this James and Robert-A were sons of a James Gay who was likely a brother of John¹ of Sadsbury.

Robert² (Robert-B) Gay (s1719-1791), in Calfpasture until mid 1750s, went to Carolina perhaps, but bought into the Borden Grant in 1760, just on the other side of North Mountain from the Calfpasture; married (2nd?) Sarah Jamison, widow of William (grantee of Big Calfpasture Lot 2), before May1755; **Children:** one daughter who married, probably, a son of one of the Rheas who were Borden Grant neighbors.

Samuel-A Gay (s1712-aft21Sep1795), settled on South River in Orange (later AugustaCo) btw1738-1740—probably died in AlbemarleCoVA; married Margaret —?— s1735; **Children:** John (born s1736), Thomas (b.s1738), Elisabeth (bapt.19Apr1741), Rebecca (bapt.26Sep1742), Samuel (s1744), and William (baptized 12Aug1746)

Samuel² (aka **Samuel-B**) Gay (s1722-cOct1799), settled on Little River next to William-A, and near James² and John²; removed to the Carolinas c1760; married Jean —?— s1754; **Children:** William (b.s1757), and several daughters.

William² (aka **William-A**) Gay (s1709-cJul1755), settled on the Little Calfpasture by 1746, with brothers John and James, and adjacent to William-B; married Margaret —?— s1737; **Children:** John b.c1738), Robert, Mary, Agnes (b.c1745)

1. John¹ GAY and his wives AGNES? —?—, and ISABELLA?? —?—

There are no sources, per se, for John & Agnes Gay, since they are at present largely hypothetical constructs based upon what we know of their set of suspected sons. The postulation of Isabella as John's second wife is even more tenuous. The given names, John and Agnes, are inferred from the observation that two of their known sons (William and John), and a third who is almost certainly a brother (James), named their first sons, John, and two also named their first daughters, Agnes, while a third (William) named his second daughter, Agnes. This strongly suggests that these three brothers were following the standard Scotch-Irish onomastic pattern, an hypothesis which is reinforced by the fact that most of James²'s children also evidently followed the pattern.^[2]

Since I have accepted the Eleanor Guy who married William Kinkead as a sister of the Gay brothers of the Little Calfpasture, the onomastics of her Kinkead family become relevant too, and despite a couple of apparent anomalies, Eleanor's childrens' names afford additional support for the thesis that her own parents were named John & Agnes. Besides these anomalies, there is one major problem with accepting Eleanor as a sister of the Little Calfpasture Gays: she was born so much later than her putative brothers. One could try to rationalize the age difference by bumping up the estimated birth dates of the brothers, but that raises a thicket of improbabilities, which I prefer to avoid by proffering a choice of alternate theories.

The inclusion of Eleanor in this family thus crucially impacts any theory of its structure, and she is important too, because, if she was a daughter, or even a niece, of John¹ and Agnes, family records of Eleanor's descendants point to a particular old world origin for this Gay family in the vicinity of Londonderry, in Ireland.^[3] For these reasons, I have elected to focus on Eleanor here, in the headnote of her parents, rather than in her own headnote below. I shall next examine the evidence that she was indeed a daughter, and take a closer look at the onomastics of her family.

Is Eleanor Gay a Daughter of John¹ & Agnes, and a Sister of William, James, and John of the Little Calfpasture?

According to a letter written by her youngest son, John, to his son G[eorge] Blackburn Kinkead,^[4] Eleanor "was taken captive by the Indians April 14th, 1764, from Augusta County, Virginia, twenty miles from Staunton, on the road to Warm Springs. She had, when she was taken, three children, the eldest a daughter, seven years old, the second a son four years old, the youngest, your Aunt [Isabella] Hamilton. [John goes on to tell how the two oldest children, his older brother and sister, were killed by

² A large proportion of Scotch-Irish followed a standard pattern in naming their children of both sexes, at least for the first few children. The first children of each sex were named for their father's parents, the second for their mother's parents, and the third for their own parents. Subsequent children (starting with the 4th of each sex) were then named for their paternal uncles, or for their maternal aunts, respectively, oldest uncles/aunts first. Few families carried out this pattern to the last detail, but, in my experience, the majority of 18th Century Scotch-Irish settlers of the frontiers of PA and VA followed it for their first three children of each sex (though occasionally preferring the maternal to the paternal parents if the former were of more prominent family), and at least 80% of fathers named their first sons for their own fathers. See my article "[The Scottish Onomastic Child-Naming Pattern](#)" for more on onomastics as it applies to family history research, and specifically to the Scotch-Irish.

³ For the details on this, please see my appendix **Possible Origins of John¹ & Agnes? Gay and their Immigration.**

⁴ **Letter, John Kinkead to G. B[lackburn] Kinkead**, 20Apr1847, in the Draper Collection, 16CC:193; "**The Families Kinkead, Stephenson, Garrett, Martin, and Dunlap**", in Laura Kinkead Walton, *Genealogies of Kentucky Families, From the Register of the Kentucky Historical Society (O-Y)* (Baltimore: GPC, 1981), 758-761 includes a transcription of this letter, whether from the Draper Collection version or the original I know not, but since Walton has published with the article a complete set of birth dates for William, Eleanor, and their children, it's likely that she had access to both the letter and a family record of some kind, passed down in this branch of the Kinkead family.

the Indians, and how his mother, who was pregnant when captured, gave birth to a fourth child while in captivity.] . . . That fall, after an army was sent against the Indians, commanded by General Bouquette (I think his name is spelled). The Indians . . . agreed to . . . bring in all the captives. . . and among them your grandmother, her infant three months old, and the one two years old. . . Your grandfather was with the army when the little girl was given up.” Since Eleanor’s infant was born in captivity, making it her fourth child, two of her first three children did not return, and circumstantial accounts of their deaths at the hands of the Indians are given.

Compare this with the reminiscences of Jane Stevenson,^[5] who can be shown to be Jane (Gay) Stevenson, daughter of Eleanor’s putative Little Calfpasture brother James²: “The settlement on Carr’s Creek was taken twice. The 1st. time it was taken [*in 1758*], Aunt escaped in the woods. Had but two children then, and while she escaped that way, the rout[e] of the Indians was down this river. The 2d. time it was taken, I had an uncle & a cousin killed. This Aunt and her 3 children were taken prisoners and carried to the towns. 2 of the children died there. The remaining child was brought at the treaty following Brocade’s Campaign. Aunt wasn’t brought in, and Uncle went out that same fall and brought her, but didn’t get home til next March.”

While there are a few discrepancies between these two accounts, it seems unlikely that two different women with three children of ages which closely match the birth years of the children of Eleanor & William Kinkead, suffered the same fate during the extensive Indian raids in 1764 in this part of the Valley of Virginia, and it would be an even more extraordinary coincidence if both of them were possible aunts of Jane (Gay) Stevenson, given even the broadest construction of the word “aunt”.^[6]

These stories, in the words of relatives just one generation removed from Eleanor, persuade me to accept her as a probable daughter of my hypothetical John¹ Gay, despite the serious objection that all the circumstantial evidence on her putative brothers, William, James, John, and probably Robert, and Samuel suggests that the oldest of these, whom I take to be William, was born about 1709, and the youngest, Samuel, was born no later than about 1725—15 years before Eleanor, for whom we have a specific birth date, 17Aug1740, from the John Kinkead letter. With our ready access to effective birth control, and our familiarity with the idea of accidental “late” children, we must strain our imaginations a bit to recognize how improbable this is. However, I can conceive two plausible theories to account for the anomaly of Eleanor’s late birth date: (1) Eleanor might have been the daughter of a brother of John¹ (i.e. John’s niece); or (2) she might have been the daughter of a second wife. I will examine these hypotheses in turn, below.

The Onomastics of Eleanor’s Conjugal Family

But first, let’s take a closer look at the onomastics of Eleanor’s children by William Kinkead: Margaret, Andrew, Isabella, Andrew (again), Agnes, William, Eleanor, Margaret (again), Susanna, Guy, Rebecca, and John.^[7] Elsewhere I present evidence that William Kinkead’s parents were named Andrew and Margaret, so it is highly probable that the couple are following the Scotch-Irish onomastic pattern. However, the second names used for a son, and a daughter (supposed to commemorate the mother’s parents) are William and Isabella, not John and Agnes. Leaving this anomaly aside for the moment, though, the next daughter is named Agnes, and the one after that, Eleanor, while the next (and last) two

⁵ Jane Stevenson Interview, with John Dabney Shane, 184?, in the Draper Collection, 13CC:136.

⁶ Relationship words like “aunt” were used somewhat loosely in those days, as in these, and Janes’s aunt who was taken by the Indians might have been an in-law, though, not, probably, a mere family friend. It is also possible that Jane was referring to a first cousin of her father, because nephews and nieces were sometimes called cousins in colonial days—an observation which feeds into one of the alternative theories I present below.

⁷ Walton, “The Families Kinkead . . . Garrett, Martin, and Dunlap”, 761, provides specific birth dates for all the children, and there are no wide gaps between them—the longest being four years.

sons are named Guy, and John, just as though the pattern had been picked up again after the anomalous William and Isabella (the last two sons, taken together, replicate the full name of Eleanor's putative father, John Gay).

The first explanatory hypothesis posits that Eleanor was a niece, not a daughter of John Gay. If Eleanor was a daughter, instead, of a hypothetical brother William, and his wife Isabella, and if we make the additional assumption that William died soon after Eleanor's birth leaving his daughter to be raised in the household of her Uncle John & Aunt Agnes, it would very neatly explain the onomastic anomalies all by itself. Eleanor's son William could have been named for her birth father, and her third and fourth sons for her surrogate father, Uncle John; and similarly, her daughter Isabella could have been named for her birth mother, and the next daughter for her surrogate mother, Aunt Agnes. Since the name William had already been used thus, there would have been no occasion to name a child for Eleanor's husband, William, but the next daughter after Agnes, was named for Eleanor herself, as we should expect with the pattern. There are rather a lot of assumptions needed to sustain this theory, but it is consistent with all the facts, and there is one further circumstance which might be considered supportive.

Two William Gays settled side by side on the Little Calfpasture, and both died prematurely. One, William-A who died in 1755, was the brother of John² (John¹), and James², and all named their children as though their parents were named John & Agnes. The other, William-B, died about 1762, leaving, apparently, only one son, and no known daughters: but the son was named William. Might William-B have been a brother of Eleanor instead of William-A, both children of a hypothetical William¹, who was brother to John¹? The only argument against is that Jane (Gay) Stevenson fingered Eleanor as her "aunt", but as I have already noted, nephews and nieces were sometimes called cousins in colonial times, so there seems nothing untoward about Jane's calling a first cousin of her father, her aunt. This theory has the added benefit of accounting for the extraordinary coincidence of two William Gays of no known relationship settling about the same time, side by side, in this out of the way corner of the world.

The other explanatory hypothesis posits a second wife for John Gay to be the mother of Eleanor, born some 15-17 years after John's last previous child, Samuel. Naturally, we would expect the name of this second wife to be Isabella—the second name used by Eleanor for a daughter. There would still be the apparent anomaly that the second name used for a son of Eleanor & William Kinkead, was William, which should have been the third name used, according to the Scotch-Irish onomastic pattern, if the son William was named for his father. But switches were occasionally made between the first and second same sex children, where it was desired to honor, first, the wife's father, and I have seen at least a couple of cases where the switch was made between the second and third children, putting the father himself ahead of his father-in-law: that may have been what happened here. Arguing against this hypothesis is the fact that Eleanor's grandson, William Bury Kinkead, who has a number of things to say about his grandparents and about Eleanor's ancestry (which he claims to have heard at her knee), yet never mentions that his Grandmother Eleanor was the daughter of a second wife (unfortunately William Bury fails to actually name Eleanor's parents).

All things considered, I have chosen the second of these hypotheses, and conjectured a second wife named Isabella, for John¹. However, if it should turn out that there was an important female relative on William Kinkead's side named Isabella, I would be inclined to abandon it in favor of the first hypothesis, which may yet turn out to be the correct one. It's interesting, also, that putative brother Samuel, who settled permanently along the NC-SC border, also appears to have named his only son William, although I think the most likely explanation is that this son was named for Samuel's (probable) prominent father-in-law, Col. William Bratton.

Finally, the case for Eleanor as a sister, or at least a close relation, of the Little Calfpasture Gays is strengthened by the fact that she can't really be fit into any of the other Gay families of early AugustaCo. Certainly not the family of Samuel-A of South River, whose career I review in the following Children

Section headnote, nor could she be a daughter of Henry Gay of the Calfpasture who left a will naming many daughters but no Eleanor Kinkead, even though she was living nearby when Henry made his will; Henry's widow, Martha, also left a will bereft of Eleanors. The Robert Gay who was owner of Big Calfpasture lot 9 (much nearer to where the Kinkeads were settled), had three sons, but they do not appear to have come of age until the early 1770s, and were thus born a little late to be brothers of Eleanor.^[8] Nor could she have been a daughter (rather than a sister) of William-B Gay, whose son William was probably born about 1760.^[9]

(JOHN¹ GAY and his wives AGNES? —?—, and ISABELLA?? —?—)

John¹ Gay was born, probably in Ireland, say 1685.

He married 1st, Agnes? —?—, say 1708; she was born say 1687, and died before 1740.

He married 2nd, Isabella?? —?—, say 1739; she was born say 1700.

John¹ Gay and his children likely settled in Lancaster County, PA, say 1732, although they apparently left no trace in the PA records. Lancaster County was created in 1729, along with York County, to bring more local administration to the western PA frontier, but, unfortunately, there are no tax records for LancasterCo until 1750, and while ChesterCo apparently continued to handle probate records for deceased Lancastrians, many of their estates seem to have gone unrecorded.

Children of JOHN¹ GAY and AGNES? —?—:

Since I have derived the names of the parents from the common (Scotch-Irish) child-naming pattern of their putative sons William, James, and John, and from their daughter Eleanor, if my theory is valid, this familial naming structure also constitutes evidence for the kinship of these siblings to each other. In this section, I shall present evidence and arguments for kinship which do not depend on sharing a common onomastic pattern. I shall also consider the evidence for adding to the list of children of John & Agnes, the names Robert and Samuel Gay.

We know from the 1755 will of William² Gay (the one who purchased a 490a tract astride the Little Calfpasture River in western AugustaCoVA), that he was a brother of John Gay,^[10] and all the records before 1754 in AugustaCo, and its parent, Orange, for men named William and John Gay can reasonably be associated with this pair who settled as close neighbors near the mouth of the Little River—at its confluence with the Big Calfpasture. John's land was, in a way, the anchor tract of the large proprietorial grant made in 1743 to William Beverley which ran up the river from John's tract at the mouth, NNEasterly some 25 miles.^[11] Although there is no direct evidence that the James Gay who owned the tract next to John Gay was a brother, the conclusion seems inescapable, given that James purchased his land about the same time

⁸ **AugustaCoVA Deeds** 19:411-413, in which the oldest brother, as heir-at-law, conveys his father's lot 9 to his two younger brothers, Robert and John.

⁹ Oren F. Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County, Virginia* (StauntonVA: 1920), William Gay is taxed for one horse on the 1782 Rockbridge list (pp370-377), but does not appear on the 1778 list (pp365-369).

¹⁰ **Will of William Gay, 9May1755**, AugustaCoVA Probate. William named as executors "my dearly beloved wife, together with my brother, John Gay".

¹¹ **VA Patents** 19:440-443 records a copy of Beverley's 30Aug1743 Little Calfpasture patent, and I have plotted besides as many of the early deeds for this land as I could find in the Orange and Augusta books. However, several key deeds are missing, including John Gay's original deed, and I have had to reconstruct his holdings from deeds and patents of neighbors, of later additions made by his son, John Gay, Esq., and from the latter's comprehensive deed of sale in 1816. Much more work needs to be done on reconstructing the land history of the Little River, particularly on its upper reaches, but the general outline is clear.

from Beverley,^[12] and the large number of associations between John and James in the records, more, even, than one would expect given their neighborly proximity. Although James passed over John, when he named Robert Dunlap a co-executor of his will, with his wife Jean, Jean herself named “John Gay Esq. and Robert Dunlap, her executors.^[13] And, I note again, here, that if Eleanor is accepted as a daughter of John¹ & Agnes, by the same evidence (the testimony of her niece Jane Stevenson, the daughter of James Gay, cited above), James and Eleanor must be brother and sister.

Robert and Samuel Gay as Brothers—the Onomastic Evidence

The other two putative brothers of this family, Samuel and Robert, are considerably more problematic, since there were two Robert Gays and two Samuel Gays in early Augusta, and such evidence as there is for connecting them to this family is wholly circumstantial. However, there is also one additional onomastic pattern suggesting that there were indeed a brother Robert, and a brother Samuel of this family.

James² Gay named his sons in order: John, James, Robert, and Samuel, which replicates all the names of the putative brothers except William. The first son, of course, I have supposed was named John for James’s own father, but then we are missing a second son named for his wife’s father (unless her father was also named John), since the next known son was named James for his father, James² (unless the wife’s father was also named James). However, there was an 8 year interval between the birth of James’s daughter Jane in 1750, and his son James in 1758, with only known daughter Mary to fill it—plenty of time to have had an additional son named for the wife’s father, which son died in infancy. And since the wife’s father’s name is supposed to have been William,^[14] just like James’s brother, two birds would have been killed by one stone. There was plenty of time, in fact, for James to have had two sons who died in infancy, and if the first had been named William and died, the norm was for the next son to be assigned the same name: but no son William survived, and the next son was named James, for the father, just as the pattern prescribed. Whatever the validity of my lost son hypotheses (and I submit that some hypothesis is required to account for the long gap in the birth order), I note that James’s two youngest sons were named Robert, and Samuel, and as it happens, there were unattached Gays of those names, both of whom left tracks in the Calfpasture, and who appear to have been born in the same order—Robert, then Samuel.

Two Robert Gays: Is either a brother of the Little River Gays?

At first glance, it seems that the choice between Roberts is clear, because one (call him Robert-A) settled early in the Pastures, and the other (Robert-B) apparently never owned land there. But Robert-A lived on the Big Calfpasture River, some 10 miles north of the Little River Gays, and he acquired his land from the proprietors of the Big River grant no later than 17Jul1745,^[15] at about the same time the older sons, William, John, and James were settling on their Little River tracts. There are almost no associations in the records between Robert-A, or his three sons, James, Robert, and John, and the Little River Gays, and his oldest son, anomalously, was named James, suggesting, for onomastic reasons, that Robert-A had a different father—one named James. Nonetheless, Robert Montgomery suspected Robert-A, and not Robert-B of being a brother of the others.

¹² *John D. Poage vs. John Beaver, 181?*, Virginia Superior Court of Chancery at Staunton. James’s deed was never copied into the deed books, but I found it as a loose paper in this chancery case which involved his son, Robert³ Gay.

¹³ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 1:101.

¹⁴ Morton, *Rockbridge*, 540. Morton (or his unattributed source) claimed that James’s first wife was the daughter of William Warwick & Elizabeth Dunlap.

¹⁵ *OrangeCoVA Deeds 10:137-140; The John Preston Plat of the Big Calfpasture, 1744*, in the Draper Collection, 1QQ:9, where “Robart Gay” is down for lot 9. This annotated plat map, dated 1744, shows the names and tracts of all those scheduled as the initial grantees of the proprietors, Patton & Lewis. See the **Bibliography** for more detail.

The other Robert, Robert-B, has generally been identified as the one who married Sarah, the widow of William Jamison, by 1755,^[16] and the one who owned land on Jackson's River, a good 30 miles W of Little River, and deep into the Alleghenies. But there is more to both of these items than meets the eye. William Jamison was the original owner of Big Calfpasture lot 2,^[17] and was thus a much closer neighbor to the Little Calfpasture Gays, than to Robert-A far up the Big River. And the only reason we know about the Jackson's River land (the deeds of purchase appear not to have been recorded), is that Robert & Sarah sold their land there in 1765 and 1766, pursuant to buying other land on Moffatt's Creek in the Borden Grant, just on the other side of the Little North Mountain complex from the Little Calfpasture, and much closer to the Gay brothers than was the land of Robert-A.^[18]

Moreover, there is at least one piece of good evidence that Robert-B was living with the other Gay brothers near the mouth of the Little Calfpasture about the time he married Jamison's widow. His name appears on a 20May1752 road gang list with those of the other Little River Gays, and such close neighbors as James Stevenson, and William Ramsey.^[19] Because of the evident routing of this road through the lands of the listees, the Rob[ert] Guy whose name appears here can hardly be the Robert-A who was living far up the Big Calfpasture River, and on the other side of a ridge called "The Knob" from the Little River. All the other landowners listed for the road gang owned land along its evident route, from "William Guy's . . . to Ro[ber]t Campbell's", and all of the tracts are astride, or to the E of the Little River. I therefore conclude that the portion of the list which reads "Wm Guy, James Stevenson, Rob Guy, John Guy, Samuel Looney, Saml Guy.." (all but Looney adjacent neighbors in the "Gay Block" near the mouth of the Little River), refers to a Robert Gay other than Robert-A of the Big Calfpasture, and is thus, by elimination, the Robert-B Gay, whom I think a brother, at least, of William, John, and James.

The overseer of the 1752 road was William Smith, who lived along Smith's Creek, separated from the Little Calfpasture only by Brown's Ridge, and there is another, 2Feb1745[/6] road record abstracted in Chalkley involving both Smith and Robert Gay: "W[illia]m Smith and Ro[bert] Gay—Overseers road from David Davis mill to top mountain above W[illia]m King's".^[20] I think this Robert is Robert-A Gay of the Big Calfpasture. David Davis was the original holder of Lot 5 on the Big Calfpasture, and Robert Gay of

¹⁶ Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, Extracted from the Original Court Records of AugustaCo, 1745-1800*, 3 volumes (1912; reprint GPC, 1999), 1:315, citing Augusta Judgements "May1755(A)". According to the abstract, the parties sued include "John Jameson and Robert Gay, and Sarah, late Sarah Jameson". We can differentiate this Robert from Robert-A, because the latter left a widow, Margaret, when he died about 1762 (Augusta Probate 3:110).

¹⁷ OrangeCoVA Deeds 10:149-152. His deed is dated just "1745".

¹⁸ Chalkley, C3:436 citing Deeds 12:378 where Robert & Sarah Gay sell 364a on Back River on 16Oct1765, and C3:446, citing 13:211, where they sell an additional 133a on Back Creek, a branch of Jackson's River on 19Nov1766. Their deed of purchase of 100a on Moffatt's Creek in the Borden Grant was executed on 14Oct1765, just two days before the first of their sales (C3:433, citing 12:255).

¹⁹ Chalkley, 1:50, citing AugustaCo OB 3:248. Because of the evidentiary importance of this record, I have worked out the likely course of this road in some detail. The majority of the names on the list are those of landowners astride the Little Calfpasture River from the mouth, where John Gay's tract lay, up to where it branches NE along Smith's Creek, and thence over North Mountain through modern Pond Gap, descending and decamping onto the Beverley Manor lots taken up by Samuel McCutcheon in 1742, and Robert Campbell in 1749. The overseer of the road, William Smith, owned land running lengthwise through the Escaline Valley which is watered by Smith's Creek, and it is reasonable that he should have been overseer because he owned, probably, the longest stretch of land through which the road was to run. Although the name Samuel McCutcheon, does not appear on the list, the road is said to run from "W[illia]m Guy's to Ro[bert] McCutcheon's mill, thence to Ro[bert] Campbell's". I have plotted all the original landowners of the Big Calfpasture prior to the time this list was made, and most of those along the Little River, and the Hildebrand maps show all the corresponding Beverley Manor tracts, but none of the other names on the list are found in any of these sources—probably most of them owned no land themselves, but lived and worked with those who did.

²⁰ Chalkley, 1:14, citing Augusta Order Book 1:8.

Lot 9 was located just up the river from a gap running W to E between the mountains which separate the Big River from the Little; continuing E through this gap, and up the Little River, one comes to William Smith's land.

The 1752 road terminated over the mountains in Beverley Manor in or near a tract owned by Robert Campbell, whose name appears on the road list. There is one more early record for Robert Gay which might designate either Robert, but which I think more likely pertains to Robert-B. When Alexander Dunlap, the owner of Big Calfpasture lot 1, died about 1744, three men were appointed to take his inventory: "Robert Gay, John Gay, Rob[er]t Campbell".^[21] Dunlap's widow, Ann, would likely have had a say in picking these men, and one of them was close Little River neighbor John Gay who was surety on a bond for Ann's second husband, Robert Bratton, in 1758, and whose family, and brothers' families, were closely connected with these Dunlaps in ways which go beyond mere neighborliness. Does the fact that Robert Gay is listed first, even though, if he was a brother of John, he was almost certainly a younger brother, actually suggest that this was Robert-A Gay of Big River lot 9, being appointed to take inventory for the holder of Lot 1, some 8 miles distant, or is it just that Robert Gay, whom I suspect had been living with his older brother John, and had recently turned 21, just happened to sign the inventory first? And isn't it curious, and perhaps significant, that the third party was Robert Campbell, who lived some 10-12 miles from Dunlap (even though these three names occur together again, on the 1752 road list)? I think it is, and have proposed elsewhere that this may be a clue that Dunlap's widow Ann was born a Campbell.

In 1755 (about the time Robert-B married Jamison's widow) putative brother William² Gay made his will and died, appointing his wife and brother John Gay as his executors. One of the sureties on their bond was Robert Gay. No doubt this could be Robert-A, if it were he who was the brother, but it might just as well have been Robert-B, who, even though married, might well have chosen to continue to live in the Pastures, either on his wife's dower land, or with one of his older brothers, who probably had plenty of extra work with to offer, with their combined farming and cattle-breeding enterprises, and with no grown sons to help (brother John found it necessary to acquire a number of slaves to help him by the time he died in 1776). It was in 1754 and 1755 that the Indians began years of raids on the outlying settlers, and the Jackson's River land owned by Robert & Sarah was from that time on a decidedly unhealthy place to live. It was a period when many early settlers chose to give up their dreams of cheap land beyond the mountains and move on, or back, to safer areas, and, in fact, the evidence shows that Robert-B and Sarah had removed from the colony by Mar1758.^[22] They probably went to Carolina, perhaps with probable brother Samuel Gay who was settled in AnsonCoNC no later than 1762 when he sold his Little Calfpasture land to James Gay (q.v. below). And when Robert & Sarah returned, about 1765, they sold their Jackson's River land and settled instead in the relative safety of the Borden Grant, just on the other side of North Mountain from his putative brothers in the Little Calfpasture.

The final, and most important piece of evidence in favor of Robert-B as brother, is that Robert Gay, the husband of Sarah, and denizen of the Borden Grant, lived until 1791, when he made his will—naming John Gay, Esquire (the son of John² Gay of the Little Calfpasture) his sole executor.^[23] Based on his will, Robert had only one daughter, who married a Rhea—as did a daughter of his executor, John Gay. There

²¹ OrangeCoVA Probate 2:79-81.

²² Chalkley, 1:323 Augusta Judgements "Mar1758(C)", where Robert was reported "gone", and 1:80, citing Augusta OB6:149, where Robert Gay and wife were reported on 18May1758 "removed out of the colony"; indeed, Robert's intention to remove dates way back to 17Feb1748[/9], when his name appears proximate to a list of Calfpasture men intending to remove from the Colony (Chalkley 1:37, citing Augusta Orders 2:86-87).

²³ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 1:384-385.

were several Rhea families who were close neighbors to Robert, and thus not far, either, from the land of John Gay, Esq. which was just over the mountain from Walker's Creek where the Rheas lived.^[24]

Altogether, I think the circumstantial case for Robert-B as a brother of the Little Calfpasture Gays is very strong, and the one for Robert-A correspondingly weak.

Two Samuel Gays: Is either a brother of the Little River Gays?

The man I will call Samuel-A was the first Gay to appear in the Orange County records. On 4/5Jun1739 he was deeded 323a in Beverley Manor, on the south fork of the Shenandoah (generally known as South River)—land which had been surveyed 17May1738, so he was presumably on the scene as early as then.^[25] On 24Jul1740, Samuel recorded the importation of himself, his wife Margaret, and his sons John and Thomas, into the colony by way of Philadelphia.^[26] Samuel Gay was granted license, on his bond, “to keep ordinary at his own house in this county” (i.e. to sell drinks to travelers—the Great Valley Road ran through his South River property), and he qualified as captain of militia for the county on 24Jun1742.^[27] He was also involved in a several suits and was once presented to the grand jury for not clearing the part of the road which was his responsibility. Samuel purchased an additional 567a of land on 26Jul1745 in the same South River neighborhood,^[28] and when the new AugustaCo court began meeting that fall, he continued as captain of militia in Augusta, and he qualified as an Augusta County justice on 16Jul1746.^[29]

Meanwhile, at about the same time, Samuel was sued on a bond he had given in LancasterCoPA on 4Dec1744, and judgement was rendered for the plaintiff, Thomas McCune, in Mar1746.^[30] Samuel was also sued on 22Oct1746, with one Robert Patrick, for £17/10 plus damages on a bond, and was arrested, then released under a £35 appearance bond; the plaintiffs were “Michael Lawler & Mary his wife, late Mary Bloodworthy [Joseph Bloodworthy was a near neighbor of Samuel on South River]”. On 27Aug1747, one Andrew Campbell brought Samuel into court on a complaint that he had threatened to whip Andrew and put him in the stocks; Gay was said to have apologized and apparently the case was dismissed.^[31] Things appear to have become too hot for Samuel in AugustaCo about this time, because he sold his two tracts on South River on 5Oct1747, and 16Feb1747/8, and on 26May1748 there appears in the AugustaCo order books the entry “Samuel Gay a justice of the county now removed to Carolina”.^[32]

Despite the order book record, a considerable body of circumstantial evidenced links Samuel-A of AugustaCoVA with the Samuel Gay who left a will in AlbemarleCoVA in 1793, naming deceased son John, son Samuel, a grandson Samuel Steel Gay, and daughter Rebecca Fitzpatrick; moreover, this Samuel appears to be the father, also, of the Thomas Gay who left a will in LincolnCoKY in 1783. Lee Gay, abstracting from the Sparacios' AlbemarleCoVA deeds transcriptions, has found a five-year mortgage of Albemarle lands

²⁴ Robert's deed of purchase of 100a on Moffett's Creek, cited above, was delivered 17Jan1803 to Robert & Archibald Rhea, devisees [in their grandfather, Robert's, will].

²⁵ OrangeCoVA Deeds 3:232-237, from Dorman's abstract, but I do not have a separate citation for the survey.

²⁶ **OrangeCoVA Order Book** Orange Order book 2:211: “Samuel Gay came in to Court and made oath that he imported himself Margret his wife John & Thomas Gay his sons from Ireland to Philadelphia & from thence into this Colony at his own Charge..”

²⁷ OrangeCoVA Order Book 2:284 (ordinary license), and 3:160 (captain's commission).

²⁸ OrangeCoVA Deeds 10:190.

²⁹ Chalkley, 1:13, citing Augusta Order Book 1:4 (captain), and 1:19, citing 1:68 (justice).

³⁰ Chalkley, 2:292, citing Augusta Judgements Feb1745/Mar1746, however, sadly, no papers for this suit are to be found in any of the early Judgements folders, although they may still exist amongst the unprocessed loose papers.

³¹ Chalkley, 1:31, citing OB1:257.

³² Chalkley, C3:266, citing Augusta Deeds1:459, and C3:266, citing Deeds 1:475, and, for Samuel's removal, C2:36, citing OB2:43.

for which Samuel was creditor as early as 19Jul1749^[33]—a mortgage which was likely not paid off, since Samuel Gay is named as a bound in Robert Hardwick’s 8Nov1754 survey of 300a on the north fork of the Hardware River.^[34] And two Albemarle deeds of 1759 are witnessed by men name John Gay, and Thomas Gay—the names of the two sons mentioned in Samuel’s 1740 importation record.^[35] There is a good deal more such evidence suggesting that Samuel-A of Augusta became Samuel Sr. of Albemarle, but none of it precludes the possibility that the order book entry was right, and that he spent the years from mid-1749 to mid-1754 in the Carolinas.

I enter, thus, into some detail on Samuel-A, because only one of the above records provides a strong reason to rule him out as a possible brother: his record of importation. If Samuel Gay imported himself and his family to Philadelphia, as he alleges, one can hardly place him as a son of either of the two immigrant Gay couples—neither John¹ & Agnes Gay of PA (and probably of AugustaCoVA), nor John¹ & Isabella Gay of Sadsbury.

And besides that, the whole pattern of this Samuel’s life is so at variance with that of the Little River Gays, that I have little hesitation excluding him on general circumstantial grounds, as did Robert Montgomery before me. Samuel-A showed up in the Valley years before the others, settled on South River astride the main Valley road a good 50 miles away (a day’s journey in those days), and (probably) set up as a tavern-keeper—an occupation frowned upon by the upright and pious. Samuel-A was evidently a man of forceful, and not overscrupulous, character, and he probably owed his commissions as captain of militia and county justice to his evident leadership qualities, and his wide acquaintance, but bad character will out, and it appears that he all but fled the area unlamented after a few years.

By contrast, the Little River Gays appear to have been private men, whose ambitions, to the extent they are evident, appear to have been channeled in the direction of acquiring wealth and reputation in the classic gentlemanly way. All, I think, engaged in cattle breeding as well as farming, and if they occasionally appear in the court records, it is mostly in connection with the discharge of neighborly services such as estate administration, security on bonds, and the like. The one exception was the son of John² Gay, John Gay, Esquire, who was a Rockbridge County justice for many years, and county sheriff for two of these, as well as a major in its militia, but he was even more active in thankless “good guy” rolls like guardianship, and executorship, and in fact he was sued twice, unsuccessfully, for his role in assuming such burdens.

I have developed Samuel’s career in some detail also to differentiate him from the man I mean to consider next, Samuel-B, who is also supposed to have gone to the Carolinas, and in fact there is solid direct evidence to that effect. If in the meantime, Samuel-A and sons had become resident landowners in AlbemarleCo by 1759, it is hardly likely that he would have been also have been a party to deeds along the southern border of NC. But I am getting ahead of myself.

The other Samuel (Samuel-B), purchased the Little Calfpasture tract sandwiched between those of the brothers James and William Gay. Although Samuel’s deed from Beverley is dated 16May1754, some years later than those of his putative brothers, he was evidently already a landowner there as early as 1747, when his land was “proccessioned” by neighbor “William Ellet [Elliott]”,^[36] and he appears on a 17Feb1748[/9] list of Little Calfpasturites intending to leave the colony with William Elliott and putative brother James, both

³³ Ruth & Sam Sparacio, *Albemarle County, Virginia, Wills and Deeds, 1748-1752* (McCleanVA: The Antient Press, 1990), 49.

³⁴ Eric G. Grundset, “*Land lying in the County of Albemarle*”: *Albemarle County, Virginia Surveyors’ Plat Books, Volume 1, Parts 1 and 2, and Volume 2, 1744-1853 [and 1892]* (FairfaxVA: privately printed, 1998), 69, citing Surveys 1, Part 1:306.

³⁵ Albemarle Deeds 2:179-181 (Thomas, on the Hardware River), and 3:134-135 (John, on the Rivanna River).

³⁶ Chalkley, 2:435, citing Vestry Book 23. All the settlers, even though they were staunch Presbyterians, were required by Virginia law to tithe and be regulated by, the regional Anglican vestry, one of whose functions was to certify the boundaries of its member landowners, by appointing one of their number every few years to “walk the bounds” of his neighbors.

of whom owned land adjacent to him or to each other^[37]. And a year later, on 26Feb1749[/50], Samuel Gay is shown as a bound to the land deeded by the proprietor Beverley to Samuel's putative brother, William-A.^[38]

Although Samuel Gay finally received his deed to the Calfpasture land in May1754, on 16Aug1753 he took possession of 489a on Jackson's River, about 30 miles to the west, and while many Calfpasturites purchased such lands as speculation, and never lived there, about 1753 we find the names Samuel Gay, and Robert Gay on a petition to the county to commission a road from Jackson's River east to the Bullpasture,^[39] which argues at least an intention to settle there. This latter association is especially interesting because it links Samuel with his possible brother Robert-B Gay, who appears as a grantee of a deed to land on Jackson's River in 1760, just about the time Robert-A Gay of the Big Calfpasture died. But then, in the years ensuing, from 1754 on, the Indians began showing up and raiding the western settlements, and both Samuel-B and Robert-B appear to have acted on their intention to leave the colony, decamping to the safer area of the middle Carolinas. On 20Sep1760, one Samuel Gey purchased 100a on Hills Creek, in AnsonCoNC.^[40] Then, on 14Jun1762, Samuel & wife Jean Gay of AnsonCoNC, sold their 354a Little Calfpasture tract to putative brother James Gay.^[41] AnsonCo was in south central NC, on the border with SC, and in fact much of it was later ceded to SC, and records naming Samuel Gay followed this boundary change into certain of the newly created counties of SC, ending up in YorkCo, where Samuel Gay made his will dated 24Sep1799 (probated Oct1799 court).^[42]

Everything here suggests, though nothing proves, that Samuel Gay of the Little Calfpasture, is a brother of William, James, and John, as well as of the Robert Gay who seems to have acted in concert with him to some degree, and since there is independent evidence, presented above, that this Robert was also a brother of William, John, and James, everything here hangs together.

The Birth Order of the Children

Daughter Eleanor, of course, was born last. I have ordered the sons, and estimated their birth dates, using the following reference points. William, I have placed first because he apparently married first (he also died over 20 years before James and John, but since he left at least 4 minor children, we may reasonably assume that his death was very premature). James and John married next, and died at about the same time. We don't know enough about the children of Robert or Samuel to guess at their age at marriage, but Robert died in 1791, and Samuel in 1799—if he is correctly identified as the Samuel Gay who made a will that year in SC. The order of birth of the first three sons could easily be switched around, and in particular, James could easily be the oldest because he seems to have followed the Scotch-Irish pattern most closely, but I have put John in the third slot, because if these three sons followed the Scotch-Irish onomastic pattern, the father almost certainly did too.

(Children of JOHN¹ GAY and AGNES? —?—)

³⁷ Chalkley, 1:37, citing Augusta Orders 2:86-87.

³⁸ AugustaCoVA Deeds 2:476-477.

³⁹ Chalkley, 1:441, citing a loose and undated paper found amidst others with dates mostly about 1753.

⁴⁰ Brent H. Holcomb, *Anson County, North Carolina: Deed Abstracts, 1749-1766; Abstracts of Wills & Estates, 1749-1795* (1974-5; reprint GPC, 1980), 60, citing AnsonCoNC Deeds 6:25-26.

⁴¹ AugustaCoVA Deeds 10:516-519. "Samuel Gay of the County of Anson in the provence of North Carolina, planter, and Jean his wife".

⁴² Robert B. Walters, *The Gay/Guy Families of Early Augusta County, Virginia, and Related Families of Dunlap, Kinkead/Kincaid, Lockridge, McFarland, McKee, Parkinson, Rhea, Stevenson, Walters, And Many Others* (VersaillesKY: Woodford County Historical Society, 2001), 464—no citation.

2. i. WILLIAM² GAY, b. say 1709; m. Margaret —?—.
3. ii. JAMES GAY, b. say 1712; m. Mary [Warwick?]; m. Jean —?—.
4. iii. JOHN GAY, b. say 1715; m. Jean [Ramsey?].
5. iv. ROBERT GAY, b. say 1719; m. Sarah —?—.
6. v. SAMUEL GAY, b. say 1723; m. Jean [Bratton?].

(Child of JOHN¹ GAY and ISABELLA?? —?—)

7. i. ELEANOR² GAY, b. 17Aug1740 Augusta, VA; m. William Kinkead.

*Generation Two*2. WILLIAM² GAY (*John*¹) and his wife MARGARET —?—

We are concerned here with the man I call not only William² (*John*¹), but also William-A, to differentiate him from the William-B who lived farther up the Little Calfpasture River. Montgomery reports that Boutwell Dunlap thought that William-A's wife was Margaret Walkup,^[43] but the only association between William-A and the Walkups (or Vachubs) which I find in the Augusta records is that his estate inventory was taken by James Lockridge, Sam[ue]l Hodge, and Joseph Vachub. Although all three of these men lived in the Calfpasture, their principal lands were at least 12 miles distant from William's, Hodge and Vachub being about equidistant, and it is difficult to make anything out of such an uncharacteristically far-flung set of appraisers; usually all or most of the appointees were close neighbors. Since there is a much closer association in the records between William-B and the Walkups, William-B having died intestate in 1767 with no record of the name of his wife,^[44] I think it far more likely that William-B's wife was the Walkup, and that Boutwell Dunlap merely conflated the wives of the two Williams.

Besides that, based on the onomastics of William-A's family, his wife's parents figure to have been named Robert and Mary, but since it appears that he had at least one son born by 1740, he was probably married in PA wherever his parents settled, and where there is no particular reason to assume there were any Walkup neighbors.

William Gay was born say 1709, probably in Ireland, and died in AugustaCoVA between 9May1755 (date of his will), and 20Aug1755 (its date of proof).

William Gay married Margaret —?—, as her 1st husband, say 1737.

On 12May1746 "W[illia]m Guy" was chosen for the office of constable of the Calfpasture, in AugustaCoVA; this was a thankless job generally assigned at least once to upstanding young men.^[45] About 1750, John Gay, William Gay, James Gay, William Elliott, John Fulton, James Ste[ve]nson, John Meek, and others of the Little River in the Calfpasture signed a petition for a bridle path to be cut from William Gay's to Robert McCutchin's mill, and thence to Robert Campbell's.^[46] On 26/27Feb1749/50, William Gay was granted 490a, by deeds of lease & release, by William Beverley Esq., "in Colonel Beverley's part of the Calfpasture on both sides of the Little River", for a consideration of £15. The tract shared corners with the lands of Samuel Gay, and James Stephenson.^[47] On 20May1752, the 1750 "petition of the inhabitants of Little River" for a road from William Gay's to Robert McCutcheon's mill was granted, with W[illia]m Smith appointed overseer of a road gang comprising, amongst others, W[illia]m Elliott. . . William Ramsey. . . W[illia]m Guy, James Stevenson, Rob[ert] Guy, John Guy, Samuel Looney, and Sam[ue]l Guy. Except for James, this

⁴³ Robert H. Montgomery, "Gay Families of Augusta and Rockbridge Counties, Virginia", in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 199.

⁴⁴ Joseph Wachob was a surety for William-B in 1761 as administrator of John Meeks (Chalkley 3:61); John Wahub was appointed administrator of William's estate in 1767, with Joseph Wahub his surety on the bond (Chalkley 3:99); and John Wahub was made guardian in 1768, of William's only known orphan, also named William (Chalkley 1:145).

⁴⁵ Chalkley, 1:17, citing AugustaCo Order Book 1:44.

⁴⁶ Chalkley, 1:435. This was a loose, undated, petition which Chalkley found at the courthouse, grouped in his published volume with other papers dated 1750.

⁴⁷ AugustaCo Deeds 2:476-479; There are errors in this deed of both omission and commission, which I've been able to correct from later, and neighboring, deeds.

entry documents the presence of all the suspected brothers Gay of the Little Calfpasture.^[48] His will dated 9May1755 (proved 20Aug1755), William Gay, of AugustaCoVA, bequeathed “to Margret my dearly beloved wife”, her bed & bedding, choice of a mare & her tackle, and 1/3rd of testator’s personal estate; to “my eldest son, John, the plantation that George Campbell lives now on, formerly held by James Stevenson”; to “my son, Robert, the plantation I now live on”; to “my daughter, Mary”, a sorrel mare; to “my daughter, Agness”, the mare named Phenix; the residue of the personal estate, exclusive of the widow’s third, to be divided equally amongst the children. He named as executors “my dearly beloved wife, together with my brother, John Gay”. The witnesses were W[illia]m Elliot, John Fulton, and James Stevenson.^[49] On 20Aug1755 the will of William Gay was proved by the witnesses, and certificate of probate was granted to his named executors Margaret Gay, and John Gay.^[50]

Children of WILLIAM² GAY and MARGARET —?—:

Three documents separated in time by over 50 years help us to reconstitute William’s conjugal family: the Feb1749/50 deed to his 490a lot on the Little Calfpasture River, his 1755 will, and an 1817 deed by his daughter Mary selling the 490a she inherited from her father; the “recital” of Mary’s title in this deed names not only her Father, William Gay, but also all of her siblings, and its legal import guarantees that hers is a complete list.^[51]

The birth order of the children is taken from the will, where the son’s land legacies are specified first, even even though the will of William’s brother James follows the same sons-first format, yet it can be shown that James’s second son James, mentioned before his two sisters, was, in fact, born after them. The odds are that the two sons of William were not both older than their sisters either, but since there are no good grounds for guessing what the correct order is, I have simply followed the order of the will.

As for their suggested birth years, we may reasonably assume that John was at least 18 when he was killed by Indians in 1758, apparently one of a party of militia men killed near the South Branch of the Potomac (according to one source he was a corporal, thus he was probably closer to 21 than 18); an estate inventory taken for him on 7Mar1759 shows him as possessing only a horse and a rifle when he died.^[52] But if he died “in infancy”, as his sister, Mary Coursey’s deed asserts, his birth date can have been no earlier than 1738, and I have assigned dates for the remainder of William’s children at typical birth intervals thereafter. Since there is reason to believe that Mary’s first husband, Robert Dunlap, was born about 1740, and that they married about 1763, the birth year which falls to Mary out of this procedure, 1743, is also a reasonable one.

- i. JOHN² GAY was born say 1738. He died at the South Branch of the Potomac, in AugustaCoVA 27Apr1758. “John Guy and a stranger” were among the 23 people killed on the same day, including probable Calfpasturite William Elliott and his wife, and militia captain James Dunlap. Even though two women were among the victims that day, it is documented that Dunlap’s contingent was part of a company of frontier rangers deputed to defend the frontier against the Indians on the line of small forts selected by their overall commander, Col. George Washington. Another 40 were massacred a day later when their commander, a Capt. Seybert, was induced to surrender the fort in his

⁴⁸ Chalkley, 1:50, citing Augusta Court Order Book 3:248.

⁴⁹ [Will of William Gay](#), 9May1755, AugustaCoVA Probate.

⁵⁰ AugustaCoVA Probate 2:113a.

⁵¹ [Deed \(Sale\): Mary Coursey to Samuel McCutchen, 28Jun1817](#)

⁵² AugustaCoVA Probate 2:289.

charge, it being indefensible owing to want of ammunition, and for other reasons. Both forts were located on the South Branch, the headwaters of the Potomac in now HighlandCo, and west of the settled area of Augusta.^[53]

On 15Nov1758 an administration bond for the estate of John Gay was filed by John Hamilton, with securities Samuel Young, and Alex[ander] Galespy.^[54] When John was killed, his father was already dead, and his mother remarried, to Alexander Hamilton, however, as we see, it was a *John* Hamilton who acted as the young man's administrator; quite likely, this John Hamilton was his guardian, and a brother of his step-father, Alexander. On 7Mar1759 John's inventory was taken by Alex[ande]r G*laspey, Hugh Young, and Samuel Young; it consisted solely of a sorrel mare and a rifle gun^[55]—probably the accouterments with which John went out to face the Indians. Still a minor when he was killed, he would not have had formal ownership of property, and in fact it seems likely that the sorrel mare was still a family possession, the mare named "Phenix" who was willed by his deceased father to his sister Agness, who was still, of course, an "infant" herself.

- ii. ROBERT GAY was born say 1740. He died before 1761, according to his sister Mary's deed of 1817, and nothing further is known of him.
- 8. iii. MARY GAY, b. say 1743; m1. Robert Dunlap; m2. James Coursey.
- iv. AGNES GAY was born say 1745. Agnes Gay married Robert Clark say 1765. I am aware of no evidence for this marriage, although it was asserted by Boutwell Dunlap, and has apparently been accepted without evidence by all the "experts" ever since, but her sister, Mary Coursey's deed points to a possible route to acquiring some.^[56] In any case, this Robert Clark was probably the son of James & Elizabeth Clark, and thus the brother-in-law of John² (Alexander²) Dunlap—see the headnote to John² Dunlap's sketch in my report "Alexander Dunlap of the Calfpasture & Descendants" for the circumstantial evidence supporting this connection between the Alexander¹ Dunlap and the James Clark families. On 19Apr1763 Ro[ber]t Clark, with [his brother?] John Clark

⁵³ Alexander Scott Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare: A New Edition edited and annotated by Reuben Gold Thwaites* (1895; reprint by Stewart&Kidd Co., 191?—7th impression), 87. The author cites John Preston's register of persons killed by Indians at the Wisconsin Historical Society; Chalkley, 2:512, listing all the names of those killed, and citing documents at the Wisconsin Historical Society as a source—presumably Preston's register. I have seen, I believe, a fuller transcription of this list in which John Guy was said to have been a corporal, but I haven't been able to relocate the source. Chalkley appears to give the date as 24Apr1758, but his list is a composite one, and I think this date is run-on from some previous entries.

⁵⁴ Chalkley, 3:51, citing Augusta Probate 2:281.

⁵⁵ AugustaCoVA Probate 2:289.

⁵⁶ [Deed \(Sale\): Mary Coursey to Samuel McCutchen, 28Jun1817](#) refers to land her sister Nancy (Agnes) inherited from their father, William Gay, which she then sold to Thomas Huggart (Hughart). If one could find a deed of sale from Robert Clark and/or wife Agnes (or their heirs) to Thomas Hughart, that would be very strong evidence that Boutwell Dunlap's theory is correct, and if the land could be matched up with land owned by father William, it would be conclusive. Unfortunately, there is no record in either the Augusta deeds books, or in the patent books of Virginia, of any other land acquired by William² Gay, but the land described in this hypothetical deed might still be in close proximity to William's Little Calfpasture tract, or one could hope that it would contain the same kind of recital of title as her sister Mary's 1817 deed.

were sureties on the guardian bond of John Dunlap, who had probably, by this time, married their sister, Ann.^[57]

On 20Aug1755 Margaret Gay was recognized as co-executor of the will of her husband, William Gay, along with his brother, John Gay; their sureties were W[illia]m Elliot, Robert Campbell, and Robert Gay.^[58]

William²'s widow, Margaret —?— married 2nd, Alexander Hamilton, about Dec1756. That Margaret was remarried by 16Nov1757, and to a man named Hamilton, is shown by an AugustaCo order book entry.^[59] The estimated date I have used for her marriage is based on the fact that Alexander Hamilton secured a marriage license in Nov1756.^[60]

There were no known children of Mary³ Gay and Alexander Hamilton.

Afternote: Alexander or William Hamilton?

In his definitive paper, “Gay Families of Augusta and Rockbridge Counties”, Robert H. Montgomery asserted that Mary's remarriage was to William, not Alexander, Hamilton;^[61] in fact he even [sic]ed the latter, presumably because of the three Chalkley entries he found respecting this marriage, two of which pointed to William, and only one to Alexander.^[62] However, even though the two entries were in different record sets, they were records of judgement of the same county court case, probably entered on the same day, by the same county clerk, perhaps from the same faulty notes. From this evidence, there is really no reason to prefer one name over the other. Consequently, I have compiled all the Chalkley items on Hamiltons named Margaret, William, and Alexander, and the evidence all points to Alexander Hamilton—no doubt the same Alexander Hamilton who was named a co-executor of the will of Robert Dunlap, the husband of Margaret's daughter Mary. But there is too much evidence to argue the case here, so reference is made to “Which Hamilton did Margaret (Gay) Dunlap Marry?” below—Appendix C of this report.

⁵⁷ AugustaCoVA Probate 3:252, for the bond; Chalkley, 1:105, citing Augusta Order Book 8:25 for the court order showing Alexander's age.

⁵⁸ AugustaCoVA Probate 2:113a.

⁵⁹ AugustaCoVA Court Order Book 6:41 (16Nov1757 “Ordered that Samuel Hodge, Ralph Laverty, and James Gay, or any two, settle the estate of William Gay deceased, and set apart the thirds of Margaret Hamilton, late widow of the said deceased”).

⁶⁰ Chalkley, 2:275. Unfortunately, there is apparently no further data for this list of early Augustans who obtained marriage licenses.

⁶¹ Montgomery, “Gay Families”, 199-200.

⁶² Chalkley, 1:336, citing Augusta Aug1762A Judgements “Beverly vs. Gay: Wm. Hamilton and Margaret his wife, late Margaret Gay, executrix of William Gay, dec'd”; AugustaCoVA Court Order Book 7:310, 23Aug1762 court (“*Beverly vs. Gay*: John Robinson [*et.al.*] executors of William Beverley, deceased, Plaintiffs against John Gay, and W[illia]m Hamilton, and Marg[are]t his wife, late Marg[are]t Gay, wife of William Gay, deceased”); Chalkley, 3:51, citing Augusta Probate 2:279 (“John Gay's receipt to Alex. Hamilton for what was in his and his wife's hands belonging to the children of William Gay.”).

3. JAMES² GAY (*John*¹) and his wives MARY [WARWICK?], and JEAN —?—

The Shane interviews with Jane ([Gay]) Stevenson, and with her nephew, James Stevenson, identify Jane as a daughter of James² Gay of the Little Calfpasture, and, tell us what little we know about her mother, James's first wife: "I was forted from the time I was 7 years old, 1757. . . Mother was killed when I was about 8."^[63] Meanwhile, her nephew, in his interview, tells us: "Old Mr. Gay [Aunt Jane's father], and Old Mr. Stevenson, Uncle Sam's father [identified elsewhere as John Stevenson], married sisters. And Uncle Sam and Aunt Jane were cousins."^{[64][65]}

According to Morton, William Warwick, who married Elizabeth Dunlap (possibly a sister of Alexander¹ Dunlap), had children Jean, who married James Gay, Martha, who married John Stevenson, and Jacob, who married a daughter of John Vance.^[66] It is perhaps worth noting that Jacob Warwick also becomes an in-law of the Gays and the Dunlaps by this set of alleged marriages, while a man of the same name (likely either the man himself or his son) is found on the same 1782 GreenbrierCoVA tax list as James Guy and Alexander Dunlap, presumably the son, and son-in-law, of James² Gay.^[67] However, as usual, Morton offers no evidence for this set of marriages, nor can I find any entries in Chalkley for a Martha Warwick, or for that matter a Jean Warwick—perhaps as a co-grantor on her husband's deed.

William Warwick was slated to be a Calfpasture neighbor of the Little River Gays, although a rather distant neighbor; he was penciled in for lot 18 on the Preston Plat,^[68] but apparently never took it up. However, Warwicks were associated with James Gay in two early records: in a Mar1764 suit involving some hogs stolen in 1758, William Warwick, and James Gay were arrayed on the same side,^[69] and on 21Mar1759, James Gay leased his Little Calfpasture tract to Jno. Warrick for three years, for £4 a year.^[70]

Most intriguing are the reports that one Martha Warwick was charged, about 1747, with bastardy, coupled with the fact that an apparent descendant of Jacob Warwick, who was born about that time, has a close DNA match to descendants of James Gay. Both the bastardy case, and the DNA match were brought to my attention by Mr. Lynn Hutchison, who is the administrator of the FTDNA Warwick surname project, and is himself a descendant of this line, and an expert genealogist. Hutchison cites an entry in the AugustaCo order books on the bastardy case, and a corresponding entry in the Augusta

⁶³ Jane Stevenson Interview, 13CC:135.

⁶⁴ James Stevenson Interview, with John Dabney Shane, 184?, in the Draper Collection, 11CC:248.

⁶⁵ R.S. King, "Major Samuel Stevenson", and "Jane Gay Stevenson", in R[oy] S[tevenson] King, *Genealogies of Kentucky Families, From the Register of the Kentucky Historical Society (O-Y)* (Baltimore: GPC, 1981), 768, confirms this, reporting Jane as having said that: "Samuel Stevenson and I knew each other for years—we were cousins, you know, his mother and my mother being sisters.", citing only "Draper Manuscripts", but King's account is impossibly corrupt, apparently conflating at many points, the words written down by Shane, with his own fictional imagings.

⁶⁶ Morton, *Rockbridge*, 540.

⁶⁷ Montgomery, "Gay Families", 207.

⁶⁸ Preston Plat (1744).

⁶⁹ AugustaCoVA Judgements, 404 (1762 May B), deposition dated 3Dec1760; (brother) Robert Gay deposes too.

⁷⁰ Chalkley 3:353, citing Deeds 8:83.

vestry books, and he says that the case against Martha was dismissed, presumably because someone came forward to accept responsibility for the financial support of the child.^[71]

James, of course, had four brothers, any of whom might theoretically have been the biological father of Jacob Warwick, but I think the circumstances favor James.^[72]

Be that as it may, James's children also had neighborhood associations with Jacob Warwick. James Gay, John Gay, and Jacob Warwick, were loosely neighbors, either first in the Cowpasture Valley, and/or later in the Greenbrier area west of the Calfpasture, James Gay's son, Robert, by his second wife, ended up a close neighbor of Jacob Warwick at the mouth of Clover Lick Creek, in (later) PocahontasCoVA,^[73] and James's son James even named a son Jacob Warwick Gay, according to some accounts. Because this is all circumstantial evidence, however, I have put the name of James Gay's first wife, "Warwick", in square brackets and appended a "?".

As for the given name of James's wife, I have little doubt that it was Mary, and not Jean. Aside from the fact that Morton presents no evidence for the name Jean (which is probably a conflation with the second wife who is called Jean in her husband's will), there is overwhelming, and I think, conclusive, onomastic evidence for the given name Mary. As it happens, the names and birth dates of most of the grandchildren of James's first wife have been preserved, although I myself am unaware of any citable primary sources for same. The children of Samuel & Jane (Gay) Stevenson are given in full in King's Ancestral Pilgrimage, 49, and the children of the others in Walters, 348-351. Since these names and dates look plausible,^[74] I accept them here for the sake of argument.

James's first wife had five known children: Agnes, John, Jane, Mary, and James. We have specific birth dates for Agnes, John, and James, and a specific year for Jane, and since the only appreciable gap occurs between Jane and James, and the daughters are listed in this order in their father's will, there is no real doubt about the birth order of these five children, and I have already argued that James followed the Scotch-Irish onomastic pattern—for starters, his first son and first daughter bear the same names as the corresponding children of his brother John. And James named his third daughter Mary, presumably for his wife.

We don't know what became of daughter Mary after her mention in her father's will, and son James went his own way when it came to child-naming, but James²'s first three children all named their second daughter Mary. Son John was supposed to have named his first, not his second, daughter Mary for his own mother, but as I have said, this was a common variation in the standard pattern.

⁷¹ Both the bastardy case, and the DNA match were brought to my attention by Mr. Lynn Hutchison, who is the administrator of the FTDNA Warwick surname project, and is himself a descendant of this line, and an expert genealogist. Hutchison cites an entry in the AugustaCo order books on the bastardy case, and a corresponding entry in the Augusta vestry books, and he says that the case against Martha was dismissed, presumably because someone came forward to accept responsibility for the financial support of the child.

⁷² The presence of all four of these brothers in close proximity on the Little Calfpasture, William, John, Samuel, and Robert, is shown by the fact that, except for Robert, they owned contiguous tracts there, and by numerous associational evidence linking them to this same area, which I have cited this evidence elsewhere in the report. According to evidence collected by Lynn Hutchison, Jacob's mother married Andrew Sitlington, with whom James Gay, the possible natural father of Sitlington's wife, had numerous associations. Hutchison believes that this makes James Gay the least likely candidate to be the father, because such close associations would have been "uncomfortable". But without knowing more about the personalities of the individuals involved, I think it's possible this evidence would cut the other way: James, being the father, might have felt responsible for his bastard daughter, and he might have developed an affectionate relationship with her, and with the man who married her.

⁷³ See the sections below on James Gay's children for the supporting evidence.

⁷⁴ Most are specific dates, at reasonable birth intervals, and the names appear to follow the Scotch-Irish onomastic pattern, though in a couple of cases, the names of the first two same sex children have been switched, which is a common variant.

An 1832 Revolutionary War pension application filed by James Gay of ClarkCoKY, who, from a mass of circumstantial evidence, can be identified with reasonable confidence as Jane's brother, states that he was born 24Aug1758;^[75] we may therefore assume that he was the last child born to Mary [Warwick?] Gay, his father's first wife. James² made his will in 1776 naming his current [second] wife, Jean, his sons (John, James, Robert, and Samuel), and his daughters (Agness, Jean, Mary, and Marthew), in that order. In 1780, Jean Gay made her will, with her principal bequests going to "my well beloved son Robert Gay", "my well beloved son Samuel Gay", and "my well beloved daughter Martha Gay", and without naming any of James's first batch of children, who were already provided for. This Jean Gay can be identified as James²'s widow not only by the overlap in childrens' names, but also because her witnesses and executors were substantially the same as those of her husband. We may infer from this evidence that only James's children, Robert, Martha, and Samuel were born to his second wife, Jean —?—.

James² Gay was born say 1712, probably in Ireland, and died in AugustaCoVA between 3Sep1776 (date of his will), and 19Nov1776 (its date of proof).

James married 1st, Mary [Warwick?], about 1744, considering the estimated birth date of their first child, Agnes. Mary died after 24Aug1758; according to her daughter Jane, she was killed by Indians in the first Kerr's Creek raid, in the fall of the year. My estimate of James's age at first marriage (32) may seem high, but it is only a bit out-of-line for a young Scotch-Irish immigrant to the frontier who needed first to secure his land so he could support a wife and family. Also, his daughter Jane, tells us, in her Shane interview, that "My father came from Ireland when he was a boy. But then he lived on the frontier long before he was married."^[76] This suggests, incidentally, that James's natal family lived for a number of years before, say, 1740, when they came to the Valley of Virginia, on the *Pennsylvania* frontier, or in other words, in LancasterCoPA, which became the new western frontier when it was hived off from ChesterCo in 1729, and remained so until 1749, when it too gave birth to new western counties. This may also explain why no records have been found yet for this family in PA, because the Lancaster records are sparse until the late 1740s.

James Gay married 2nd, Jean —?—, about 1767, considering the approximate birth date of their first child.

On 17Feb1748/49 William Elliott, John Ramsey. . . Sam[ue]l Gay, James Gay . . . and Ro[bert], filed their intention to leave the colony with the AugustaCoVA, Court.^[77] Of these, John Ramsey, Samuel Gay, and Robert Gay, eventually did leave the colony for North Carolina in the late 1750s, but what is most important about this list is that it places all these men in the Little Calfpasture at this early date, and shows that they were of like mind, suggesting that they were close neighbors and associates, and this supposition is supported by deeds and other evidence of their physical proximity. About 1750, John Gay, William Gay, James Gay, William Elliott, John Fulton, James Ste[ve]nson,

⁷⁵ James Gay Revolutionary War Pension File, 2Oct1833 (date granted), USA-NARA Revolutionary War Records (online at Heritage Quest) → The pensioner is identified as James Gay, Senior, of Clarke [*sic*] County, Kentucky, and he filed his application in the ClarkCo court on 26Aug1833.

⁷⁶ Jane Stevenson Interview, 137.

⁷⁷ Chalkley, 1:37, citing Augusta Orders 2:86-87.

John Meek, and others of the Little River in the Calfpasture signed a petition for a bridle path to be cut from William Gay's to Robert McCutchin's mill, and thence to Robert Campbell's.^[78]

In his will dated 3Sep1776 (proved 19Nov1776), James Gay, of AugustaCoVA, "being very sick and weak", named as legatees: "Jean my dearly beloved wife" (the land I now live on during her widowhood, a horse and saddle, her bedding and clothing and 1/4 of the moveables (his net personal estate); "my son John" (5 shillings); son James (the land in the Cowpasture, adjacent to son John's); "my son Robert" (the land I now live on, provided he pays his brother Samuel £50, a horse, and 1/4th the moveables, and if Robert dies without heirs, this land is to go to Samuel, and if Samuel dies without heirs, to my son James).

Children of JAMES² GAY and MARY [WARWICK?]:

9. i. AGNES³ GAY b. 25Sep1745; m. Alexander Dunlap.
10. ii. JOHN GAY, b. 1Jan1748 Augusta, VA; m. Sarah Lockridge.
11. iii. JANE GAY, b. 1750; m. Samuel Stevenson.
- iv. MARY GAY was born say 1753.
- v. JAMES GAY was born 24Aug1758,^[79] and died after 1833. He married 1st, "Sarah Pattin", 11Jan1787.^[80] James married 2nd, Elizabeth Dunlap (daughter of John Dunlap and Ann [Clark?]), on or after 21Sep1797, when a marriage bond was filed and a license obtained;^[81] she was born say 1766. Some say that James was married a third time, to Mary (Kirtley) Barnes, but I have found no trace of this marriage.

There is actually quite a bit which might be said about James, although his family data is spotty. He was born just weeks, or perhaps days, before his mother was killed by Indians, and he became an Indian fighter in the militia during the Revolutionary War at practically the earliest opportunity, and served off and on throughout, including two years as lone frontier ranger spying on the Indians. He apparently accompanied the Stevenson party to the Lexington area of FayetteCoKY in 1779—perhaps in aid of his married sister, Jane Stevenson, who was one of the first white women to settle in the area. James fought Indians in KY, then returned to VA for more frontier duty. After the war he moved to KY permanently and settled in ClarkCo, where he was known as "Captain

⁷⁸ Chalkley, 1:435. This was a loose, undated, petition which Chalkley found at the courthouse, grouped in the published volume with other papers dated 1750.

⁷⁹ James Gay Revolutionary War Pension File, 2Oct1833 (date granted), USA-NARA Revolutionary War Records (online at Heritage Quest) → The pensioner is identified as James Gay, Senior, of Clarke [sic] County, Kentucky, and he filed his application in the ClarkCo court on 26Aug1833. James's letter of application supplies his specific birth date.

⁸⁰ Karen King Scales, "Marriages Performed by Rev. James Crawford, 1786-1795, Fayette Co., KY", 16Aug2005 (revised), transcription from papers of Rev. Crawford (Rootsweb FTP Archive), 5.

⁸¹ Dorthie & Edwin C. Kirkpatrick, *Rockbridge County, Virginia, Marriages, 1778-1850* (AthensGA: Iberian Publishing Co, 1985), Elizabeth is called a daughter of John & Ann in the abstract, which implies that a marriage consent was filed with the bond, which would indicate that Elizabeth was under 21, which is entirely at odds with what is known about the family of John & Ann Dunlap.

James Gay of Mound Hill”, and USCensus records are to be found for him and descendants there.^[82]

James’s 2nd wife, Jean, died between 24Jun1780 (date of her will), and 7Nov1780 (its date of proof) in RockbridgeCoVA.^[83]

In her will dated 24Jun1780 (proved 7Nov1780), Jean —?—, of RockbridgeCoVA, named as legatees “son Robert Gay”, “well beloved daughter Martha Gay”, “well beloved son Samuel Gay”, and also listed them, in that order, as “my children”. Only one of the other children of her husband, James, is named, Jane Stevenson, and she, only as a conditional legatee. Jean Gay also names sisters Hannah, and Mary—a possible clue to the identity of her natal family—and Jane Wilson and Lettice Wilson complete the list of legatees. This Jane Wilson is presumably not a sister of testator, since both are named Jane. Finally, Jean “allow[ed] my children to live with Jean and John Gay” (implying a likely guardianship, for which, alas, no record survives), and she named John Gay Esq. and Robert Dunlap as her executors, the former being the young man who, with his mother, Jean Gay, was also recommended as guardian of testator’s children. The witnesses were John Dunlap, and James Elliot, probably a son of next door Calfpasture neighbor William Elliott, by then deceased.^[84]

Children of JAMES² GAY and JEAN —?—:

- i. ROBERT³ GAY was born about 1768: he was aged “66 years” when he died, according to a transcription of his gravestone.^[85] This estimate is also consistent with the date of his marriage, and the fact that he does not appear by name on the 1787 VA personal property tax lists.^[86] He died, presumably in in Pocahontas County, VA 22Mar1834.^[87] Robert Gay married Hannah Moore (daughter of Levi Moore and Susannah —?—) in Bath

⁸² Robert Montgomery, at *Gay Families of Augusta*, 208, reports three marriages for James, and I have duly recorded the two for which I have found records, without any great conviction that they are for the right Jameses: 1st to Sarah Patton, daughter of Matthew Patton; 2nd to Elizabeth Dunlap; and 3rd Mary (Kirtley) Barnes. I have read elsewhere that Sarah Patton was the daughter of Matthew & Esther (Dyer) Patton. The marriage to Elizabeth Dunlap at least looks plausible, given the close association between the families of James² Gay and their neighbor Dunlaps, and particularly the association between James³ Gay and Col. Alexander² Dunlap at Clover Lick Fort in the Greenbrier, where James was based during his scouting period. But one would like to have some explanation for why he would have gone back in Rockbridge in 1797 if he was settled in KY. Montgomery also gives references supposed to contain information about his children, but of the ones I have seen the most circumstantial account is provided (as usual) by Railey, who got his information from Boutwell Dunlap. Walters, in *Gay/Guy Families*, 356-259, has collected much material on James, and provides a number of leads for further research, but even he comes up with only a smattering of attributed children. James, like his brother John, remains a future research project.

⁸³ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 1:101-102.

⁸⁴ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 1:101-102.

⁸⁵ Mary Donahue, *Gay Cemetery Transcriptions, Campbell, PocahontasCoWV*, undated, transcription (Rootsweb FTP Archive)

⁸⁶ Netti Schreiner-Yantis & Florene Speakman Love, *The 1787 Census of Virginia*, 3 volumes (SpringfieldVA: Genealogical Books in Print, 1987); As an outside limit, he must have been born after May1759, since he was still a minor when his mother, Jean, made her will on 24Jun1780, but the other circumstantial evidence, and the fact that his father, James, had just two additional children before he died in 1776 (in these days before effective birth control), one of whom, Samuel, married about three years later than his brother, Robert, all point to a much later birth date for the latter.

⁸⁷ William T. Price, *Historical Sketches of Pocahontas County, West Virginia* (MarlintonWV: Price Brothers, Publishers, 1901; reprint reprinted 1963), 82;128-131. He is said to be buried in a family plot near the Edray crossing of Stony Creek.

County, VA 29Aug1793; she died 14Aug1859.^[88] The marriage bond, dated 21Aug1793 (surety Levi Moore, Jr.), is accompanied by a consent by Levi & Susannah Moore to their daughter's marriage.^[89] Hannah was born say 1775, considering that she required her father's consent to her marriage.

Robert was a prominent man in BathCo, settling originally in the Edra(y) district, along with Jacob Warwick, the probable brother of his father, James's, first wife. Robert was one of the organizers of PocahontasCoVA (later WV), and was the county's first commissioner of the revenue, appointed 6Mar1822, the second day its court met.^[90]

- ii. MARTHA GAY was born say 1772. Martha Gay married Thomas Gray, on or after 7Mar1794, when a marriage bond was filed and a license obtained.^[91]
- iii. SAMUEL GAY was born say 1775, considering his date of marriage, but no later than mid-1777, since his father died the previous fall. Samuel Gay married Margaret Mustoe (daughter of Anthony Mustoe) in Bath County, VA 12Sep1799. A marriage bond was filed the same day, along with a consent by A. Mustoe to his daughter, Margaret's marriage.^[92] Margaret was born say 1780, considering that she needed her father's consent to marry.

⁸⁸ Mary Donahue, Gay Cemetery Transcriptions, Campbell, PocahontasCoWV, undated, transcription (Rootsweb FTP Archive). She died aged "70 years", according to the transcription, which is evidently wrong on this point—the "70" might be a misreading of "90".

⁸⁹ [Anonymous], *Bath County Marriage Bonds and Minister's Returns, 1791-1853* (WarmSpringsVA: Bath County Historical Society, 1978), 7.

⁹⁰ *The West Virginia Heritage Encyclopedia: Supplemental Series*, Jim Comstock, editor (RichwoodWV: privately printed, 1974), 38 (revenue commissioner), 48 (settler of Edra(y), with Jacob Warwick.

⁹¹ *Rockbridge County, Virginia, Marriages*, Martha is called a daughter of James, deceased, in the abstract, but no consent is mentioned, so she was presumably of age, consistent with my estimate of her birth date.

⁹² *Bath County Marriage Bonds and Minister's Returns*, 19. A look at the every-name index for the abstracted BathCo probate records suggests that Anthony Mustoe was the only Mustoe early in the county, and his name is often abbreviated by the clerk "A. Mustoe".

4. JOHN² GAY (*John*¹) and his wife JEAN [RAMSEY?]

There are only a dozen or so early Orange/AugustaCo records featuring the name of John Gay, and all appear to pertain to the original John Gay of the Pastures. I shall call him, henceforth, John² (John¹), because there is reason to believe that he came to America with his father, and that his father's name was John.

Most of what we know about John² and his family is based on his 1775 will. The natal surname of his wife Jane (or Jean) continues to be a matter of conjecture, but there is one piece of hearsay evidence by a 19th Century descendant which asserts that it is Ramsey, and the distinguished genealogist, Robert H. Montgomery, who was himself a descendant of John & Jane Gay of the Pastures, found this piece of evidence convincing.^[93]

Besides this letter, there are also several pieces of circumstantial evidence which support the Ramsey theory, the most important being the fact that John Gay made Samuel Ramsey one of his three co-executors. To appreciate the significance of this requires some understanding of the context. John named three young men as his co-executors, passing over his widow, and his son John, who was only a couple of years short of his maturity.^[94] These were, in order: Robert Dunlap, Samuel Ramsey, and James Crockett.

James Crockett was probably the James Crockett, orphan of Robert Crockett, for whom John Gay was briefly guardian in 1755,^[95] and who continued in the Calfpasture while all or most of his brothers moved with their stepfather to North Carolina. As such, James was also a near neighbor, the owner of his father's Big Calfpasture lot 4,^[96] just a few miles from John Gay's property which ran up Big River almost as far as lot 1.

Robert Dunlap was an even closer neighbor, as he was the owner of part of lot 1, and John Gay was evidently a family friend, and perhaps briefly a guardian of Robert and his siblings for a time as well, when their father, Alexander, died so prematurely in 1744. Robert also married Mary Gay, a daughter

⁹³ Letter, Jennie E. Rapp to Mrs. Carrie H. Whitman, 25Feb1916, The letter begins: "Pardon my neglect in replying to your letter of Feb. 1st. When I thought of writing I would not have the paper with information that Aunt Margaret dictated so many years ago, but this afternoon I instituted a search in the lowest depths of my trunk and found this epistle. [*What follows was evidently meant by Rapp as a quote, so I have treated it as such editorially.*]

Our great grandfather Humphrey Montgomery settled in Colliertown before the Revolution. The oldest daughter Polly was born during the Revolution, the father coming home from the war at her birth, 1776. The wife of H. Montgomery was Jane Gay, her mother was Jane Ramsey, the 1st name of her husband I do not know. Jane Gay had one brother who was known as Maj. Gay and lived in the pastures near Goshen, Va. He was a man of influence and standing. The Ramseys and Gays were originally from Pennsylvania.

Humphrey Montgomery and Jane Gay were 1st cousins."

This quotation from the Rapp letter comes from a draft of Montgomery's published paper on his ancestor, Humphrey Montgomery, which I found in the "Montgomery" folder of the George West Diehl Collection at Washington & Lee in LexingtonVA. After quoting this letter, Montgomery then notes several errors in Aunt Margaret's account, but sums up: "The writer of the above letter doubtless conveyed correctly the family tradition.." Montgomery believed, at least partly on the strength of this letter, that Humphrey Montgomery, and his wife Jane, both had Ramsey mothers.

⁹⁴ There was no legal impediment to a minor serving as a co-executor, although John Jr. would have been handicapped by being unable to transact business in his own name. Still, John Sr. might have named his widow and son jointly, and in fact by the time the will was probated, John was near enough to age 21 that the three names executors declined in favor of the widow and son, and the court was content to accept this arrangement.

⁹⁵ AugustaCoVA Probate 2:99.

⁹⁶ Preston Plat (1744); AugustaCoVA Deeds 13:392 (on 6Aug1766, James Crocket of Augusta & brother Robert Crocket of NC sold their joint interest in their father's 370a tract to William Thompson), and 13:479 (on 19Aug1767, Thompson sold most of this tract back to James).

of John's brother, William, whose tract was in the same neighborhood, and John Gay was his brother's executor in 1755, and for a time a guardian of Mary as well.^[97]

As for Samuel Ramsey, there appears to have been only one man of that name in AugustaCo,^[98] and he was evidently the oldest son of William Ramsey who settled originally on the Little River no later than 5May1752, when he appears on William Smith's road list with the several Little River Gays.^[99] William Ramsey's tract was about 3 miles upriver from the land of John Gay's brother, William, and about 5 miles up from John's land. In 1767, though, eight years before John Gay made his will, William Ramsey had sold that land and relocated his family about 18 miles south, to the "forks of the James" area, in the vicinity of Timber Ridge; at this point William and his son Samuel were located about 11 miles south of John Gay, through the gap in the mountains traced by the James River (now the Maury River), and thus no longer in John's neighborhood. There is almost no intercourse in the records between Calfpasturites and the people of the Timber Ridge area.^[100]

Under the circumstances, and given that John was willing to trust his widow, Jane's, welfare to two men who were not related to her by blood, it is highly likely that he would have picked someone related to her as his third representative. Furthermore, it would have been a bit unusual to chose a mere friend for such a duty when the friend had been living so far away for so long. And in fact, it seems doubtful that Gay even knew Samuel Ramsey well as an adult. When William, Samuel's father made his will in 1789,^[101] he named eight children, four of whom were still at home being supported, including a son William, and it's probable that at least one or two of these children were minors. Thus, although sons Samuel and James were named first in William's 1789 will, and made co-executors, when John Gay made his will in 1775, Samuel would himself have been no older than 25 or so, and when the Ramsey family removed from the Pastures to 1767, he would have been no more than 17. The only reason I can readily imagine for Gay's choice of Samuel Ramsey as a co-executor is that he was the oldest male relative of John's wife Jane—not counting Samuel's father William, who may have been passed over for reasons of age or health.

Be this as it may, there is one other connection between the families of William Ramsey and of the John Gays of the Calfpasture. In 1789, Samuel and his brother James Ramsey, were both sureties on bond of John²'s son, John Gay, Esq., as Rockbridge County Sheriff; sheriff's bondsmen were typically

⁹⁷ See my "Alexander Dunlap of the Calfpasture & Descendants" for details on the Gay-Dunlap connection.

⁹⁸ Robert H. Montgomery, "**Ramsey Families of Augusta and Rockbridge Counties, Virginia**", in *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*. In his exhaustive compilation of Ramsey items, only this one Samuel comes to light, and I find only a handful of Samuel Ramsey items in Chalkley; indeed, only four of any significance: Samuel's initial appearance in the records in 1775 as John Gay's co-exor; his appearance in the 1789 will of his father, William Ramsey—sons Samuel and James are the first children named in the will, and they are listed in the same order as co-executors; a reference to the land he owned opposite the mouth of Whistle Creek in an 1815 Staunton Chancery Court case, *Wilson vs. Ramsey & Bratton* (Chalkley 2:222), and in an endorsement to an 11Nov1776 deed, Hugh McClure to John Ramsey, which says the deed was delivered to Samuel Ramsey on 1Oct1813 "one of the legatees of grantee, dec'd" (Chalkley 3:548, citing 21:392). I need to look at the original of the last item to see whether it means what it seems to mean—that Samuel was indeed one of the legatees of John Ramsey, and as such became the owner of land in SE Beverley Manor—but a man may be a legatee in a will of another man with the same surname without being his son.

⁹⁹ Chalkley, Chalkley 1:50, citing Augusta Order Book 3:248.

¹⁰⁰ Montgomery, "Ramsey Families", There are many items for William Ramseys from about 1767 on, but all the earlier ones appear to pertain to the testator of 1789. In 1767 William & Jane Ramsey sold their Little Calfpasture lot to Moses Moore (AugustaCo Deeds 13:448-452), a few months after purchasing 300a on the north branch of the James—i.e. "in the forks of the James" (Chalkley 3:452, citing Deeds 13:270), while in the same year we also find a William & Agness Ramsey selling two tracts on North River—the north fork of the Shenandoah River, far to the north (Chalkley 3:461, citing 14:42); this other William may have been the son of Captain John Ramsey of South River.

¹⁰¹ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 1:347-350.

a mix of friends of wealth and standing, and neighbors of lesser means and station with whom a relationship of love and mutual respect obtained, and above all, they were likely to be in-laws.^[102]

The theory would therefore be that John² Gay married Jane Ramsey, a sister of Samuel's father William, and perhaps a sister, also, of one of the several John Ramsey's who settled early in Augusta—three of them, believe it or not, in the Calfpasture.

The onomastics of these two families, however, do not support the theory. If Jane (Ramsey?) Gay, was a sister of William Ramsey, and both families followed the Scotch-Irish onomastic pattern (as most of these families did), the first son and daughter of William and his wife Jane, should have borne the same names as the second son and daughter of John Gay and his wife Jane. Unfortunately, the latter couple had no second son—just Agnes, Mary, John, Jean, and Elizabeth. Meanwhile, in his will, William Ramsey made bequests to children Samuel, James, Fanny Scott, Jane Lyle, Sarah, Elizabeth, Mary, and William, in that order, and for a number of reasons, it is reasonable to presume that this is also the birth order of his children^[103], and the third son is named William as we would expect from the pattern. However, father William's first daughter, supposed to be named for his father's mother, is named Fanny (Frances), while his second named daughter is named Jane. But Jane (Ramsey?) Gay's second daughter is named Mary, and none of her four daughters are named Frances.

On the whole though, and despite the fact that the only direct evidence for the Jane Ramsey theory is the testimony of a probable third-generation descendant relayed through several levels of hearsay, while the rest of the evidence is wholly circumstantial, it all adds up to a fairly convincing case. Nevertheless, I prefer to keep an open mind on this issue, and I accept Jane [Ramsey?] as the wife of John² Gay of the Calfpasture only with a question mark.

¹⁰² The reason for the bond, which always bore a high denomination, was that one of the chief duties of colonial Virginia county sheriffs was the collection of taxes. Unlike today, officials and men of business were personally liable for any malfeasance or non-performance, to the extent of their personal fortunes, and the sheriff's bond was no mere formality—it was a personal pledge to the colonial governor for the full amount of the year's tax for the whole county. Consequently, sheriffs tended to be drawn from a coterie of men of wealth and standing, some of whom were sheriffs or county justices themselves, and they supported each other's bonds. Others whose names appeared in the long lists of a sheriff's bondsmen, tended to friends and neighbors of longstanding, and many of the bondsmen of both classes were in-laws.

John Gay, Esquire's, bondsmen in 1789 included, besides the Ramseys, close Calfpasture neighbors John Bratton, W[illia]m Jamison, and Arthur Walkub (who was also probably an in-law), fellow county justice Samuel Lyle (who was also, I believe, a brother-in-law of the Ramseys), John Gay's brother-in-law, Humphrey Montgomery, and Humphrey's brother-in-law, Matthew Hanna (also a future RockbridgeCo sheriff). Of the other four men (John Letcher, John Lear, James Houston, and John McBride) I cannot place Lear or McBride, but John Letcher had married into the Houston clan, and had been a bondsman of the 1786 sheriff, John Houston, and was thus a relative by marriage of James Houston, and the 1789 sheriff, John Gay, was to marry, 7 years hence, a niece of John Letcher's Houston wife. Although (incredibly) the Reverend Samuel Houston's book, *Houston Family* (1882) fails to indicate which of the several possible John Houstons was the sheriff, I suspect that it was the one who was an elder brother of John Letcher's wife, and of John Gay's future mother-in-law, and who lived in Collierstown and was thus a neighbor of Humphrey Montgomery.

¹⁰³ Bequests to children were more often than not made in birth order in the wills of this population, though sometimes the sons, with their devises of land, were treated first, as a group. When the sexes alternated in a comprehensive list, it was almost invariably an indicator that the children were listed in birth order. Although that is not quite the case here (there is no comprehensive list, just a series of bequest paragraphs), there are several structural features of the will which raise the probability that the bequests are in birth order: the first two children listed, both sons, were also made co-executors of the will; the first two daughters listed were evidently also married (there was a strong tendency for daughters to marry in birth order in this population); and the bequests to son William, who was listed last, included a clause specifying that if he died "without heirs of his body" (ie. children) half the value of his land was to go to his brother Samuel, and the other half to be split amongst the other heirs. Since no such stipulation is made for Samuel or James, this suggests, based on the laws and customs of the time, both that Samuel was the eldest son, and that both Samuel and James were already married, as are the first two listed daughters; it also suggests that William was not only unmarried, but perhaps not even of age.

There is a possibility, for example, that Jane Gay was a Dunlap, and that it was Robert Dunlap (listed first as John Gay's co-executor) who was chosen as kin to represent the widow's interest. John² & Jane Gay's only son John, named his first son John McKee Gay, both for his own father, and for his wife's father, John McKee, and his second son, James Dunlap Gay, perhaps after his mother Jane's father. Robert Dunlap's father was named Alexander, and I have suggested elsewhere that Alexander had a brother William Dunlap. I've also suggested that both were related to the Capt. James Dunlap who was killed by Indians in 1758, but there is conclusive evidence that Capt. James was not a brother of Alexander or William, and that he could not have been a brother of Jane Gay.^[104] Both Alexander and William Dunlap named their first sons, John, so if Jane Gay, the mother of John³ Gay, was their sister, her father would have been a John as well, and that name had already been used by John³ Gay for his first son, John McKee Gay, named for his mother's father, John McKee. The onomastics of John³'s family, although they do not follow the Scotch-Irish pattern strictly, nevertheless are heavily biased toward commemorating their parents, and it seems quite likely that the surname of John³'s mother would have been used as the middle name of their second son, James Dunlap Gay, just as the surname of his wife's father was used for the first.^[105]

(JOHN² GAY and his wife JEAN [RAMSEY?])

John Gay was born say 1715, probably in Ireland, and died in AugustaCoVA between 18Aug1775 (date of his will), and 19Aug1777 (its date of proof).

John Gay married Jean [Ramsey?] about 1750.

About 1750, John Gay, William Gay, James Gay, William Elliott, John Fulton, James Ste[ve]nson, John Meek, and others of the Little River in the Calfpasture signed a petition for a bridle path to be cut from William Gay's to Robert McCutchin's mill, and thence to Robert Campbell's.^[106] On 20May1752, the 1750 "petition of the inhabitants of Little River" for a road from William Gay's to Robert McCutcheon's mill was granted, with W[illia]m Smith appointed overseer of a road gang comprising, amongst others, W[illia]m Elliott. . . William Ramsey. . . W[illia]m Guy, James Stevenson, Rob[ert] Guy, John Guy, Samuel Looney, and Sam[ue]l Guy. With the exception of James, this entry documents the presence of all the suspected brothers Gay of the Little Calfpasture.^[107] On 20Mar1755 John Gay filed a guardian bond for Sam Crockett and James Crockett. Just two months later, on 21May1755, John Ramsey became the guardian of these orphans, with John Gay as one of the sureties on his bond.^[108] There appear to have been 3 John Ramseys of the Calfpasture at this time, but the one who became guardian of Crockett's orphans was presumably the one who married their widowed mother, and who later removed to NC. It's likely that one of these John Ramseys was a brother of William Ramsey of the Little Calfpasture, and that John Gay's wife, Jean was their sister. On 20Aug1755 John Gay was recognized as co-executor of the will of his brother, William Gay, along

¹⁰⁴ The possible relationship between Alexander Dunlap, William Dunlap of Beverley Manor, and Capt. James Dunlap who was killed in 1758, are discussed more fully in the headnote to Alexander¹ Dunlap's sketch.

¹⁰⁵ I offer my conjectures as to why this second son's first name was James in the headnote for John³ & Agnes (McKee) Gay.

¹⁰⁶ Chalkley, 1:435. This was a loose, undated, petition which Chalkley found at the courthouse, grouped in the published volume with other papers dated 1750.

¹⁰⁷ Chalkley, 1:50, citing Augusta Court Order Book 3:248.

¹⁰⁸ AugustaCoVA Probate 2:99 (John Gay, guardian), and 2:108 (John Ramsey, guardian).

with the widow, Margaret Gay; their sureties were W[illia]m Elliot, Robert Campbell, and Robert Gay.^[109]

In his will dated 18Aug1775 (proved 18Mar1777), John Gay, of AugustaCoVA, “of the Calfpasture, being very sick and weak”, bequeathed: to “my beloved wife Jean”, one negro wench named “Dinah”, and 2 negro children, “Bob” and “Sam”, her choice of a horse, her bed & furniture, and the plantation for life unless she marry; to “my daughter Agnees”, a negro named “Peter”, and if she dies without an heir of her body, the negro is to be her husband’s for life, and then revert to “my son John Gay”; to “my daughter Mary”, a negro girl named “Darke”; to “my son John”, the plantation I now live on at his mother’s decease, and a mulatto boy named “Moses”; to “my daughter Jean”, a negro girl named “Retchal”, one bay mare, her bed and furniture, and 3 cows; to “my daughter Elizabeth”, a negro boy named “Andrer” [“Andrew” in the inventory], a mare worth £20, her bed & furniture, 3 cows, and a negro man named “Jack”; the residue of the estate to be sold to pay “the expense of learning of my son John”, with the balance “to be at my wife’s discretion at her death”, but if she remarries “that, with the two negro boys” is to be equally divided between daughters Jean & Elizabeth. As Robert Montgomery has pointed out, some of these named slaves later turn up in the records for John’s son, John Gay, Esquire, and “Retchal” in the probate records for daughter Jean’s husband, Humphrey Montgomery.

Testator appointed as executors Robert Dunlap, Samuel Ramsey, and James Crockett, who were also the witnesses. Dunlap and Crockett proved the will, and declined the executorship, and the court noted that Samuel Ramsey was to be summoned to ascertain whether he would decline too. On 20May1777, Ramsey having declined as well, “Jane and John Gay” were granted certificate of executorship on their motion, having posted their bond.^[110] On 19Aug1777 the inventory of John Gay was presented to the court by Robert Dunlap, James Stevenson, and James Elliott. It included 8 slaves (most under 21), 7 horses and several colts, about 30 head of cattle including 10 calves, 20 sheep, poultry, apple trees, a spinning wheel, and £5/10’s worth of “sundry sorts of books”. The total value of the personal estate (i.e. exclusive of John’s land) was £591/15 (or about \$30000 in 2008).^[111]

Children of John² Gay and Jean [Ramsey?]:

The children’s bequests in their father’s 18Aug1775 will are in order, Agnees (Agnes), Mary, John, Jean, and Elizabeth, with his only son not named first or last but embedded in the list, so that is presumably their birth order. Unfortunately, neither Agnes nor Mary appear further in the records, although there is a provision in the will that strongly suggests that Agnes was already married (if she died without heirs of her body, the slave Peter was to remain her husband’s for life)—a provision, not repeated for the next daughter, Mary. One might therefore look in the records for a nearby Calfpasture man with a wife Agnes, and a slave Peter. We know a great deal about son John, because he was a very prominent man all his life. And there is pretty solid evidence that daughter Jean married Humphrey Montgomery, ancestor of genealogist Robert Humphrey Montgomery. As for Elizabeth, we know only that there was an Elizabeth Gay who was married to Alexander Brown in 1784, by John Brown, the minister of New Providence, which was not far from the Calfpasture, and was probably one of the churches attended by the Gays. Daughter Elizabeth would have been about 23, a very suitable age for marriage, and if Alexander were the minister’s son, it would have been a very suitable match as well for a sister of John Gay, Esquire, who would be sheriff of Rockbridge 5 years hence.

¹⁰⁹ AugustaCoVA Probate 2:113a.

¹¹⁰ AugustaCoVA Probate 5:492-494 (will, proof, and grant of executorship).

¹¹¹ AugustaCoVA Probate 5:516-518.

- i. AGNES³ GAY was born say 1751.
- ii. MARY GAY was born say 1753.
12. iii. JOHN GAY, b. circa Nov1756 Augusta, VA; m. Agnes McKee.
- iv. JEAN GAY was born say 1759. Jean Gay married Humphrey Montgomery about 1780.^[112]
On 8Oct1789 Humphrey Montgomery signed as surety on the bond of John Gay as incoming sheriff of RockbridgeCoVA.^[113]
- v. ELIZABETH GAY was born say 1762. Elizabeth Gay married Alexander Brown in RockbridgeCoVA 19Aug1784. The marriage was performed by John Brown,^[114] the minister of New Providence, one of the closest churches to the Little Calfpasture, and perhaps the father of the groom.

¹¹² Montgomery, "Gay Families", page 203 of George West Diehl's copy (in the "Gay" folder of his papers at the Washington & Lee Library in Lexington VA), which contains an annotation in Diehl's hand that Rockbridge marriage bond 20 documents this marriage; Also supporting this marriage are the items noted in the headnote for Jean's father, John² Gay—the comment in the Jennie Rapp letter that Humphrey's wife, Jean was a sister of Major Gay, the fact that Humphrey himself was a surety for John Gay's sheriff's bond, and (I believe) evidence that Humphrey owned a slave named Rachel (the name of the slave inherited by his wife Jean Gay from her father), although I am unable to cite this latter piece of evidence at the present time.

¹¹³ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 1:344-347.

¹¹⁴ *Rockbridge County, Virginia, Marriages.*

5. ROBERT² GAY (*John*¹) and his wife Sarah (—?—) Jamison.

More detailed evidence for Robert's identity, and career, has been presented above, in the Children Section Headnote for his parents. That Robert's wife was the former Sarah Jameson (Jamison), widow of William Jamison is shown by two AugustaCo court cases,^[115] and Robert & Sarah's marriage date is roughly bracketed by the date of her first husband's probate (21Mar1753),^[116] and the first of the court cases (May1755).^[117]

Although there is no record that Robert ever owned land in the Calfpasture, since he married William Jamison's widow, he probably lived initially on her dower third of her husband's Big Calfpasture lot 2. In any case he was still in the Calfpasture, at least to visit, in 1759 or so, since he testified in a lawsuit involving some hog on 3Dec1760 on behalf of his brother James and William Warwick.^[118] His career henceforth is defined by a set of deeds executed in Oct1765: selling land (with wife Sarah) on Back Creek and Back (Jackson's) River, which he may have never lived on (given the Indian raids of 1763); and at the same time buying 380 in the Moffett's Creek area of the Borden Grant, where he evidently died.^[119]

Robert's will of 31Jan1791 (proved 5Apr1791),^[120] I shall not abstract here, other than to note that it shows that his wife, Sarah was still alive, that it names no child who survived him, but only grandchildren Agnes, Robert, and Archibald Reagha (Rhea), and that his sole named executor was John Gay, Esq—undoubtedly his nephew. As Robert & Sarah Gay of Moffett's Creek were close neighbors of three Rheas, William, Robert, and Archibald, who lived on Walker's Creek, and considering the onomastics, I suspect that he and Sarah had only one child, a daughter quite likely named Agnes for her paternal grandmother, and that she was married to a son of one of these three Rheas, probably a son of Archibald. Perhaps the daughter's own daughter was named Agnes as well (skipping over her two maternal grandmothers' names, to commemorate mother Agnes who died in childbirth.

Robert Gay was born say 1719, probably in Ireland, and died in AugustaCoVA between 31Jan1791 (date of his will), and 5Apr1791 (its date of proof).

Robert Gay married Sarah (—?—) Jamison, as her 2nd husband, about 1754.

¹¹⁵ Chalkley, 1:315, citing *Ramsey vs. Jamesons and Gay*, May 1755(A), where the abstract reads: "John Ramsey assignee of Charles Donnelly, who was assignee of John Handly, complains of John Jameson and Robert Gay, and Sarah, his wife, late Sarah Jameson. Bond dated 1754. Signed Sarah Jameson."; and 1:317, citing *Abercrombie vs Guy and wife*, May1756(B), where the abstract is: "Sarah Jameson, wife to William Jameson, deceased, in the Cowpasture. Bond dated 5Sep1754. Sarah married Robert Guy. Suit brought Mar1756." I mean to try to find the originals of these records next time at the courthouse.

¹¹⁶ Chalkley, 3:27, citing Augusta Probate 1:472. William's will of 20Dec1752 names wife Sarah, and makes her sole executrix, and probate (according to the abstract) does not refer to her as Sarah Gay. I intend to look up the original of this myself.

¹¹⁷ Morton (in *History of Alleghany County*, 201), claimed that the Robert Gay who married Jamison's widow, married 1st, Sarah Johnson, but he also thought that this was the Robert who was an organizer of Pocahontas County, which is manifest nonsense—a generational error; probably this was a misunderstanding of material derived from Boutwell Dunlap, and the name Johnson, the latter's misreading of one of the Sarah *Jameson* court records; or else the Sarah Johnson in question belongs to the Pocahontas Robert.

¹¹⁸ AugustaCoVA Judgements, 404 (1762 May B), loose paper deposition dated 3Dec1760.

¹¹⁹ Chalkley 3:436, citing AuguVA Deeds 12:377+ (sale 15/16Oct1765 of Back Creek land); and 3:436 citing Deeds 12:375 (buying 380a in the Borden Grant from John Roseman). Gay also purchased an additional 100a in the Borden Grant adj George Henderson directly from Borden's exors on 14Oct1765 {C3:433, citing AuguVA Deeds 12:255}. These latter two deeds of purchase were delivered on 17Jan1803 to the Rhea devisees in his will: the 380a to Robert Rhea, and the 100a to Robert and Archibald Rhea.

¹²⁰ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 1:384-385.

On 17Feb1748/49 William Elliott, John Ramsey. . . Sam[ue]l Gay, James Gay . . . and Ro[bert], filed their intention to leave the colony with the AugustaCoVA, Court.^[121] Of these, John Ramsey, Samuel Gay, and Robert Gay, eventually did leave the colony for North Carolina in the late 1750s, but what is most important about this list is that it places all these men in the Little Calfpasture at this early date, and shows that they were of like mind, suggesting that they were close neighbors and associates, and this supposition is supported by deeds and other evidence of their physical proximity. On 20May1752, the 1750 “petition of the inhabitants of Little River” for a road from William Gay’s to Robert McCutcheon’s mill was granted, with W[illia]m Smith appointed overseer of a road gang comprising, amongst others, W[illia]m Elliott. . . William Ramsey. . . W[illia]m Guy, James Stevenson, Rob[ert] Guy, John Guy, Samuel Looney, and Sam[ue]l Guy. With the exception of James, this entry documents the presence of all the suspected brothers Gay of the Little Calfpasture.^[122]

Child of Robert² Gay (*John*¹) and Sarah —?—:

13. i. [DAUGHTER]³ GAY b. say 1756; m. [son-in-law] Rhea.

¹²¹ Chalkley, 1:37, citing Augusta Orders 2:86-87.

¹²² Chalkley, 1:50, citing Augusta Court Order Book 3:248.

6. SAMUEL² GAY (*John*¹) and his wife JEAN [BRATTON?]

The estimate for Samuel's birth date is based on placement of him in the family of John¹ & Agnes Gay, but it might be as much as 10 years later. His marriage to Jean [Bratton?] is predicated on the theory, advanced by Walters, that their only son William was named for Samuel's prominent neighbor in SC, and probable brother-in-law, "my trusty and well beloved Col. William Bratton", whom Samuel made a co-executor of his will.^[123]

Samuel apparently spent his early adult years on the Calfpasture with his brothers, and was mentioned as a bound (a landowner) there as early as 1747. Like his brother, Robert, he filed an intention to leave the colony in Feb1749/50, but instead acquired land on Jackson's River in 1753, just in time for the onset of the devastating Indian raids in western AugustaCo. In 1760 he purchased land in a part of then AnsonCoNC which was later split off to be part of YorkCoSC, and in 1762 sold his Calfpasture land as a resident of AnsonCo. A fuller account of Samuel's career, with citations, will be found in the Children Section Headnote for his parents, above.

Samuel Gay was born say 1723, probably in Ireland, and died in YorkCoSC between 24Sep1799 (date of his will), and Oct1799 (when it was proved in court).

On 17Feb1748/49 William Elliott, John Ramsey. . . Sam[ue]l Gay, James Gay . . . and Ro[bert], filed their intention to leave the colony with the AugustaCoVA, Court.^[124] Of these, John Ramsey, Samuel Gay, and Robert Gay, eventually did leave the colony for North Carolina in the late 1750s, but what is most important about this list is that it places all these men in the Little Calfpasture at this early date, and shows that they were of like mind, suggesting that they were close neighbors and associates, and this supposition is supported by deeds and other evidence of their physical proximity. On 20May1752, the 1750 "petition of the inhabitants of Little River" for a road from William Gay's to Robert McCutcheon's mill was granted, with W[illia]m Smith appointed overseer of a road gang comprising, amongst others, W[illia]m Elliott. . . William Ramsey. . . W[illia]m Guy, James Stevenson, Rob[ert] Guy, John Guy, Samuel Looney, and Sam[ue]l Guy. With the exception of James, this entry documents the presence of all the suspected brothers Gay of the Little Calfpasture.^[125]

Children of SAMUEL² GAY and JEAN [BRATTON?]:

Walters cites as evidence for the collection of children that he lists (Mary, Rebecca, Jane, Alice, "Unknown", and William) an obscure source on Samuel,^[126] a pension "concerning Samuel's son William", and provides a very poor abstract of Samuel's will which does not mention a son William. Fortunately, the pension record, a claim filed by the heirs of William and his widow Prudence Curry furnishes a useful marriage date for the couple, and provides circumstantial evidence of the Bratton connection (William Gay served under Bratton, and was a neighbor to both William and Hugh Bratton).^[127]

Without a close examination of the will, and any other records which pertain to the daughters of Samuel and Jean (several marriages and children are shown for them), it is impossible to accept these daughters, let

¹²³ Walters, *Gay/Guy Families.*, 463-464. Walters states that "The Brattons were a noted family in early Augusta Co., VA history", but, apart from a 1756 record of a return of W[illia]m Bratton from Indian captivity, there is no record of a man of that name in Chalkley, until William, the son of Robert Bratton came of age in the 1770s.

¹²⁴ Chalkley, 1:37, citing Augusta Orders 2:86-87.

¹²⁵ Chalkley, 1:50, citing Augusta Court Order Book 3:248.

¹²⁶ Eleanor Guy Bankhead, *Samuel Guy (Gay) and His Descendants* ().

¹²⁷ **Heirs of Prudence Curry Revolutionary War Pension File, 13Aug1852 (date granted)**, USA-NARA Revolutionary War Records (online at Heritage Quest) → The heirs included William Gay, son of Prudence's first husband of the same name.

alone guess their birth order. However, the son William Gay looks real enough, and his marriage date to Prudence, 19Jul1781, allows us to guess that he was married say 1757, considering that the Little Calfpasture deed to his father was executed by Beverley in 1754. The pension application also supplies William's death date.

- i. WILLIAM³ GAY was born say 1757, and died 28Aug1789.

7. ELEANOR² GAY (*John*¹) and her husband WILLIAM KINKEAD

Birth, marriage, and death dates for Eleanor and her husband, and birth dates for all their children, are provided in a 1939 article by Laura Kinkead Walton.^[128] She says that William & Eleanor are buried in the Pisgah Church graveyard in LexingtonKY, and I suspect that some of her vital records information may have come from stones found there, but a modern set of transcriptions from this graveyard, admittedly partial, has nothing for either of them,^[129] and there is nothing yet for this burial place online at www.findagrave.com.

As it happens, I have researched the KINCAIDs of western VA in some depth, taking a look at all the classic or quality secondary sources, and accumulating all of the items in Chalkley (sorted various ways), but I have not backed this up by primary records research. The best of the secondary sources with respect to the soundness of its conclusions for the line of William & Eleanor is a 1992 book by June Lee Mefford Kinkead,^[130] cited by Walters in his section on Eleanor and her family, and (it seems) heavily relied on by him.^[131] Where Walton made Eleanor's husband the son of Thomas and Margaret (Lockhart) Kinkead, Medford notes (as I do) that there were two William's, and concludes (as I do) that Eleanor's husband, William, was not the son of Thomas, but of Andrew. However, she provides few citations to her evidence (although the most important items are included as transcriptions, some of them in appendixes 1(c) through 1(f)). Also, her arguments are a little sketchy, because, like all the other genealogists of this family, she has failed to map the local neighborhoods of these families.

To make a more solid and convincing case, one would want to examine many of the primary records in the original, to locate (and ideally plot) the land of the two Williams, and to account more broadly for all the competing KINCAIDs with the names William and Andrew (there appear to have been at least two of each of these, and perhaps three, in the pre-1800 records of Augusta and Rockbridge Counties). Another important factor in making this case that has been neglected or slighted by all other published genealogists are the onomastics of William & Eleanor's family. And on onomastic grounds, I propose that William's parents were named Andrew & Margaret (_ ? _) Kinkead. However, the evidence for this is complex. First, the onomastics.

William & Eleanor's children were named successively: Margaret (killed by Indians in 1764), Andrew (killed by Indians in 1764), Isabella, Andrew (again, born in captivity 25Jul1764), Agnes, William, Eleanor, Margaret (again), Susanna, Guy, Rebecca, and John. I have already (in the sketch headnote for John¹ Gay, Eleanor's father) argued that the Scotch-Irish child-naming pattern was followed at least loosely in naming these children for their parents, and maternal grandparents, and I have proposed theories to account for the exceptions in the order of naming. And if the pattern was in operation, the names of the father, William Kinkead's parents are plain: they were Andrew and Margaret. The re-use of the same names for "replacement" children, was called necronymy, and it was an additional feature of the Scotch-Irish pattern, though not unique to it.^[132]

¹²⁸ Walton, "The Families Kinkead . . . Garrett, Martin, and Dunlap", 758 (birth and marriage dates), 761 (death date). The birth and marriage dates are embedded in Walton's transcription of the letter from Eleanor's son John, to his son, Blackburn Kinkead, for which an additional, manuscript, transcription may be found in the Draper Papers at 16CC193-197.

¹²⁹ **Inscriptions from some of the headstones at Pisgah Presbyterian Church Cemetery in Woodford County, Kentucky.**, from Rootsweb FTP Archive.

¹³⁰ June Lee Mefford Kinkead, *Our Kentucky Pioneer Ancestry: a History of the Kinkead and McDowell families of Kentucky, and Those Families Associated by Marriage* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1992).

¹³¹ Walters, *Gay/Guy Families.*, 477-482.

¹³² **Forenames and the Family in NE: An Exercise in Historical Onomastics**, in David Hackett Fischer, *Generations and Change: Genealogical Perspectives in Social History*, Robert M. Taylor Jr. & Ralph J. Crandall, editors (MaconGA: Mercer University Press, 1986).

As for the more conventional evidence bearing on the identity of Eleanor's husband, William Kinkead, the records of Augusta evince two William Kinkeads of the Pastures. We see this most clearly in the Augusta personal property tax records for 1777, compiled the year before half of the Pastures were peeled away to help form RockbridgeCo; the 1777 records uniquely (and gratuitously) include the land holdings of each of the listed tithables. We find entries there for W[illia]m Kinkead, owner of 350a, with 3 tithables including himself, and a second entry for W[illia]m Kinkead (stiller) of 250a and 2 tithables. The first William's name appears virtually at the head of the list (right after the three "nobs" on the list, Thomas Adams, Esq., and Captains Andrew Lockridge, and Robert Bratton, and his name is immediately followed by "And[re]w Kinkead (Jen Gap)", and Geo[rge] Kinkead, both shown as single tithables owning no land. Position on the list is significant because the list follows a rough geographic mapping, starting with the head of the Big Calfpasture and running SSW to its base, then resuming at the head of Little River and finishing near its base.

Walters (probably following Medford, p19) has selected the William who owned the 350a as the husband of Eleanor, and he notes that this land was purchased from Samuel Hodge, who bought it from the Beverleys, and that it lies near the head of Little River.^[133] I note, however, that Jennings Gap is way north of Little River, and off to the NE of the head of Big River, and that the next landowner on the list, John Hodge (now with 350a, since the original Hodges tract was 700a) is followed by the Ja[me]s Gay who owned land at the head of Big River—the mill tract. Be that as it may, my interpretation of the three Kinkead listings is that the two single tithables who appear right after William, are in fact his sons, and are the two additional tithables in the total of 3 listed for this William. If that is so, Walters's identification is immediately contraindicated since William and Eleanor had no son named George, and in fact, none of their sons, not even the second Andrew, would have been old enough (16) to be a tithable in 1777. But it's possible that the single tithable were in addition to this William's extra two, and in any case there is much better evidence than that, that William, the owner of the 350a, was not Eleanor's William.

Recall that the other William Kinkead, the owner of the 250a tract with two tithables, was called "stiller" on the 1777 tax list, a stiller being a manufacturer and seller of whiskey. On 30Apr1774, just three years before, I find the following entry in an estate account for erstwhile Little Calfpasture denizen Robert Graham (as abstracted in Chalkley): "paid Wm. Kinkead for liquor (son to Andrew)".^[134] If this means what it appears to mean, it is evidence, first, that the father of one of the William Kinkeads was named Andrew, and second, it identifies this William as the stiller, and therefore the owner of the 250a tract. And since William & Eleanor named their first son Andrew, and no son Thomas, it would appear that it was the smaller tract which William & Eleanor owned, and not the 350a one way upriver.

But now the plot thickens. On 17Nov1756 William Kinkead purchased 260a on the Great Calfpasture from James & Isabela Lockridge (close enough to the 250a he was taxed for 1777 that it was probably the same tract). According to the abstract (I haven't yet seen the original), the deed was recorded on the motion of Margaret Kinkade, and it was endorsed as delivered on 19Apr1819, by order of the court, to a Jno. Kincaid who could have been William & Eleanor's youngest son.^[135] The metes and bounds reference corners with Ro[bert] Guin and Robert Lockridge, and also Preston's line, and this tract can be readily identified as the southernmost quarter of Big Calfpasture lot 17, which was

¹³³ Walters, *Gay/Guy Families.*, 480. Walters provides citations for these deeds, but none for its sale by William & Eleanor in 1789 when they removed to KY. Eleanor would have had to join in this sale, yet there are no entries for an Eleanor Kinkead in Chalkley's every-name index. Getting copies of these deeds and plotting them on my Calfpasture map is near the top of my list next time I get up to the courthouse in Staunton.

¹³⁴ Chalkley, 3:140-141, citing Augusta Probate5:360.

¹³⁵ Chalkley, 3:344, citing Augusta Deeds 7:359.

purchased 19Aug1748 by James Lockridge.^[136] But it appears from an Augusta court case abstracted by Chalkley that this very same tract was also sold by Lockridge on 19Nov1747 to Thomas Kinkead—the one who died leaving an orphan William. The plaintiff in this case, Kinkead vs. Lockridge, was William Kinkead (minor son, and heir at law of Thomas).^[137] It should be noted that this 1747 deed does not appear in Chalkley, and it probably was never recorded, but if such a deed existed at all, it would have been technically void since it antedates Lockridge’s own deed of purchase—perhaps that was the reason for the suit. The meaning and import of this case is further clouded by a reported bond of the same date as the deed (19Nov1747) involving James Lockridge of AugustaCo, and Thomas Kinkead of LancasterCoPA. Clearly Chalkley has somehow missed the point of this case, and the original papers need to be examined, if they are still extant. In the meantime, I simply set it aside for now, with the mental note that the Thomas who died leaving an orphan William, was likely a close relative of the Andrew who was father to the other William; indeed they may have been brothers, and since at least Thomas’s William was evidently his oldest son (since he was his heir at law), the father of Thomas and Andrew may have been a man named William Kinkead.

Returning to William’s 17Nov1756 deed of purchase, I note first that it was recorded on the motion of Margaret Kinkade, and I find in Chalkley a reference to an entry in the Augusta fee books for the same month which reads: “W[illia]m Kinkade, Margaret his mother to pay”^[138] Thus we may infer that William was still a minor when this deed was executed and the widow Margaret his mother was acting for him. This is consistent with the 9Jan1736 birth date given for William by his grandson, William Bury Kinkead,^[139] and it also confirms that William’s mother was named Margaret, as we should expect from the onomastics of his conjugal family.

As I have noted, Walters claims that William & Eleanor sold their Calfpasture land about 1789 when they removed to KY^[140], but he fails to cite a deed of sale for the 350a he supposes they sold, and I find no reference to such a deed in Chalkley. On the other hand, the fact that the deed to the 260a was delivered to John Kinkead on 19Apr1819, less than a year after William made his will in WoodfordCoKY,^[141] suggests that this land was given by William to his youngest son, John, as an inheritance;^[142] on the other hand, I know of no evidence that William, the son of Thomas, even had a son John.

If William the stiller, son of Andrew & Margaret Kinkead, married Eleanor Gay and eventually removed to KY (he also had an extensive militia career which I leave out of this account), what became

¹³⁶ AugustaCoVA Deeds 2:63-66, Patton & Lewis to James Lockridge, 19Aug1748, 520a, corner Robert Gwin, “John Preston’s land”. Lot 17 consisted of 1054a, and John Preston was the scheduled purchaser, according to the Preston Plat, but he actually bought only the northern half from the proprietors, who were here deeding the southern half to James Lockridge.

¹³⁷ Chalkley, 1:310, citing Augusta judgements, *Kinkead vs. Lockridge*, Mar1754(B). The abstract reads: “William Kinkead, an infant under the age of 21 years, son and heir-at-law of Thomas Kinkead, late of county of Augusta, by James Lockhart, his next friend [*i.e. his legal representative, and perhaps guardian*]”.

¹³⁸ Chalkley, 2:399.

¹³⁹ “Kinkead”, in Peyton Neale Clarke, *Old King William Homes and Families: An Account of Some of the Old Homesteads and Families of King William County, Virginia, From Its Earliest Settlement* (LouisvilleKY: privately printed, 1897; reprint GPC, 1976), 71. Even if this ambiguous date was 9Jan1735/6, William would still have been a minor until 9Jan1757. The principal part of this is a multi-page article by William Bury Kinkead about his grandparents, William & Eleanor (Gay) Kinkead, and their Scotch-Irish ancestors.

¹⁴⁰ John Kinkead Letter, 1847, 16CC197, supplies the date in a letter written by their youngest son, John.

¹⁴¹ Walters, *Gay/Guy Families...*, 480, citing Woodford Probate F:236-7. The will was dated 17Jul1818, and proved May1821.

¹⁴² Walters, *Gay/Guy Families...*, 480, says that John’s father, William Kinkead made his will on 17Jul1818 in WoodfordCoKY, though it wasn’t probated until 1821.

of William the heir at law of Thomas Kinkead? The Chalkley entries show that on 17Aug1753 Thomas Fulton was appointed guardian of “William Kinkade orphan of Tho[ma]s Kinkade”.^[143] The fact that the guardianship was by appointment rather than by the orphan’s choice indicates that William was probably still under 14 at that date; he can thus hardly have been the William who was deeded land by Lockridge (with the deed recorded by motion of his mother, Margaret), and who married Eleanor, all in the month of Nov1756. Then too, there is the 1802-3 Staunton chancery court case involving John and Robert Fulton, in which, according to Chalkley’s abstract “Thomas Kincade had a son, William, who deposes.”^[144] The William who deposed is not likely to be William Kinkead of WoodfordCoKY, aged about 66 at the time.

Although a great deal of work with the primary records needs to be done on the Kinkeads of the Pastures (and the items I have reviewed here, mostly from Chalkley, barely scratch the surface), I think the evidence (including the onomastic evidence) in favor of the parents of Eleanor’s husband being Andrew and Margaret is pretty conclusive.

(ELEANOR² GAY (*John*¹) and her husband WILLIAM KINKEAD)

Eleanor Gay was born in AugustaCoVA 17Aug1740^[145] and died, probably in “Cane Spring”, in WoodfordCoKY 9Oct1825.

She married William Kinkead (son of Andrew Kinkead and Margaret —?—) 30Nov1756.^[146] He was born 9Jan1736,^[147] and died in WoodfordCoKY 3May1823.^[148]

Children of ELEANOR² GAY and WILLIAM KINKEAD:

As noted above, the birth dates of the children are taken from Laura Kinkead Walton’s article.^[149] Marriage partners and descents of several of these children may be found in Walters,^[150] who, despite the variable quality of his conclusions, provides an excellent and comprehensive overview of the secondary sources.

- i. MARGARET³ KINKEAD was born 25Sep1757.
- ii. ANDREW KINKEAD was born 25Feb1760.
- iii. ISABELLA KINKEAD was born 10Apr1762.
- iv. ANDREW KINKEAD was born 25Jul1764.
- v. AGNES KINKEAD was born 1Nov1766.
- vi. WILLIAM KINKEAD was born 6Jun1769.
- vii. ELEANOR KINKEAD was born 31Aug1771.
- viii. MARGARET KINKEAD was born 10Sep1772.
- ix. SUSANNA KINKEAD was born 20Apr1775.
- x. GUY KINKEAD was born 14Mar1779.
- xi. REBECCA KINKEAD was born 25Jul1782.
- xii. JOHN KINKEAD was born 25Dec1784.

¹⁴³ Chalkley, C3:30, citing Augusta Probate 1:520.

¹⁴⁴ Chalkley, C2:67-68, citing *Thomas Kincade vs. Cunningham*, Staunton Superior Court of Chancery.

¹⁴⁵ John Kinkead Letter, 1847.

¹⁴⁶ “Kinkead”, in *Old King William Homes*, 71.

¹⁴⁷ “Kinkead”, in *Old King William Homes*, 71.

¹⁴⁸ “Kinkead”, in *Old King William Homes*, 71.

¹⁴⁹ Walton, “The Families Kinkead . . . Garrett, Martin, and Dunlap”, 761.

¹⁵⁰ Walters, *Gay/Guy Families..*, 481 *et seq.*

*Generation Three*8. MARY³ GAY (*William², John¹*) and her husbands ROBERT DUNLAP, and JAMES COURSEY

The identity of Mary (Gay) (Dunlap) Coursey through two marriages is proved by four pieces of evidence. The statement of James Coursey in a court case, *Heirs of Robert Dunlap vs. James Hamilton et.al.* (1803-1808), in his answer to the bill of complaint, “that he did on the 3rd day of February 1785 intermarry with Mary Dunlap widow of Robert Dunlap deceased”^[151], is the best evidence for both of Mary’s marriages, although a minister’s return for the second has also been found at the Rockbridge courthouse.^[152] That Coursey’s wife was Mary (Gay) Dunlap, the daughter of William Gay, is proved by a pair of deeds: Mary’s father, William’s, original 26/27Feb1749[50] deeds of lease & release from William Beverley, for 490a on the Little River (aka the Little Calfpasture),^[153] and the 28Jun1817 deed of sale of Mary Coursey herself, for 490a “conveyed by William Beverley, Esqr to her deceased father William Gay” on 27Feb1749.^[154]

Mary³ Gay was born say 1743.

She married 1st, Robert Dunlap (son of Alexander Dunlap and Ann [MacFarland?]), about 1763. Robert was born about 1739, considering that he was deeded land by (his brother) John Dunlap in Feb1761,^[155] and died, probably, at the Battle of Guilford Courthouse in South Carolina 15Mar1781.^[156]

She married 2nd, James Coursey, as his 2nd wife, in RockbridgeCoVA 3Feb1785. Coursey died between 27Apr1814 (date of his will), and 31Jul1815 (its date of proof) in RockbridgeCoVA.^[157]

¹⁵¹ *Heirs of Robert Dunlap vs. James Hamilton et.al.*, (1803-1808), Virginia Superior Court of Chancery at Staunton.

¹⁵² *Rockbridge County, Virginia, Marriages*, 282. The abstract of this return reads: “Mary Gay [Dunlap] and James Coursey 3Feb1785; second wife, widow Robert (ref. ‘History of Rockbridge County’ by Oren F. Morton) min. John Brown, Presbyterian”. One wonders whether the “Gay” of “Mary Gay [Dunlap]” comes from Morton too, but fortunately we need not rely for our proof on this rather sloppy abstract.

¹⁵³ AugustaCoVA Deeds 2:476-479.

¹⁵⁴ [Deed \(Sale\): Mary Coursey to Samuel McCutchen, 28Jun1817](#)

¹⁵⁵ A minor’s name could appear on a deed, but the law didn’t recognize his right to make binding contracts in his own name; that was the prerogative of his guardian. If Robert had a formal guardian, it does not appear in the record books, either for Orange County, or Augusta, even though the Augusta records for Calfpasture residents are replete with such guardianships. In fact, the guardianship of Robert’s older brother John, for his younger brother, Alexander, appears in both the Augusta Order books, and in the Probate books, for 1763. Although brother John’s purchase by deed in 1745 (at about age 8) of the Big Calfpasture tract put down for his father, Alexander, appears to be a striking exception to this rule, there may have been special factors governing that transaction, which I outlined in the sketch for John² Dunlap.

¹⁵⁶ *Heirs of Robert Dunlap vs. James Hamilton et.al.*, (1803-1808), Virginia Superior Court of Chancery at Staunton. The plaintiffs, all children of Robert state in their bill of particulars that he died in 1781; We know, in any case, that Robert was dead by 5Mar1782, when his will was probated (Rockbridge Probate 1:154). I have been unable to find any evidence that Robert actually died fighting at Guilford Courthouse, or even that he was in the militia, but such was the opinion of Boutwell Dunlap, and the circumstances are certainly consistent with the theory. The fact that Robert, still a comparatively young man, made his will on 23Jan1781 suggests that he anticipated hard campaigning that year, and given that he did, in fact, die that year, the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, where the American army under General Greene sustained some 250 casualties, is the most likely occasion for it. Robert may also, however, have died during the ensuing Yorktown campaign, for which specific casualty records are equally lacking.

¹⁵⁷ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 4:98.

On 13/14Feb1761, “Robert Dunlap” was granted 295a on the Calfpasture, part of 625a, for £100, by “John Dunlap”.^[158] The acreage of the whole tract, and the fact that the beginning corner of this deed is on the bank of Mill Creek, identifies this land as part of Big Calfpasture Lot 1, thus this is probably a transaction between brothers. On 5Jul1774, Robert Dunlap patented 66a in the Calfpasture, in an elbow of Beverley’s Little Calfpasture master grant; one corner of this land is only about 100 yards from the tract inherited by his wife, Mary (Gay) Dunlap, from her father, William Gay.^[159] On 22Nov1775 Robert Dunlap was appointed constable in AugustaCoVA, “vice” (to succeed) David Martin.^[160] On 19Aug1777 Robert Dunlap presented the inventory of his wife’s uncle (and perhaps his former guardian), John Gay.^[161] On 4Aug1778 Robert Dunlap was appointed to take the inventory of “David Martain”’s estate.^[162] John Gay Esq. and Robert Dunlap were named executors in the 24Jun1780 will of Jean —?—, the second wife, and widow, of James² Gay—John Gay being the son of James’s brother, John, and Robert having married brother William²’s daughter, Mary.^[163]

In his will dated 23Jan1781 (proved 5Mar1782), Robert Dunlap, of RockbridgeCoVA, “being sound in body, mind, and reason”, bequeathed to “my well-beloved wife, Mary Dunlap, one sorrel mare called Bonny, her bed and bedding, and body clothes, and a child’s part”; he then devised to “to my eldest and well-beloved son, William Dunlap, one plantation lying in the Big River of the Calfpasture, and in case he recovers this said dwelling place by law, the place willed to him is to fall to Alexander Dunlap, and said William is to have one sorrel mare which he claims, saddle, and gun, and one year-old colt.” Then, to “my second and well-beloved son Alexander Dunlap”, he devised the plantation he now lived on, an English mare and saddle, and a gun.

Having obligingly specified which are his eldest two sons, Robert next does the same for his daughters: “I give, will, and bequeath to my oldest daughter, Ann Dunlap, one bed and furniture, saddle, and one two year old pacing mare, and three cows”, and “to my second daughter, Margret, one mare called Snip, bed and furniture, and saddle, and two cows.”

Next, Robert devised to each of his other sons, Robert and John (in that order), one half the land in “Keantuck”, and to each a horse, and £10 “old rates” (meaning before the Revolutionary War hyperinflation). And he bequeathed to each of his two remaining daughters, Mary and Agnis (in that order), one mare, and the money to purchase a saddle, and two cows. Finally, he ordered the residue of his personal estate to be divided equally among the children and his wife, who was given just a “child’s part” herself, or in this case 1/9th of the residue.

Robert named as co-executors his wife, Alexander Hamilton, and John Dunlap (his older brother); the witnesses to the will are Jacob, Thomas, and Jean Martin; the latter was presumably the widow of David Martin, for whose estate Robert had taken inventory just three years before.^[164]

¹⁵⁸ AugustaCoVA Deeds 9:125-128.

¹⁵⁹ VA Patents 42:718-719. To display the online abstract (with a link to the actual document), click “View Selected” at <http://ajax.lva.lib.va.us/F/1C7X79P1BLAFUX7B4N4S43D628KYAJM8K87KYCMRQ9831TI47D-67048?func=full-set-selected>.

¹⁶⁰ Chalkley, 1:186, citing Augusta order book 16:94.

¹⁶¹ AugustaCoVA Probate 5:516-518.

¹⁶² RockbridgeCoVA County Court Order Book 1:21.

¹⁶³ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 1:101-102.

¹⁶⁴ **Will of Robert Dunlap, 23Jan1781 (proved 5Mar1782)**, RockbridgeCoVA Probate → The witnesses were Jacob Martin, Thomas Martin, and Jean Martin; Jacob Martin was granted 141a on the Little Calfpasture in Feb1749[/50], in the same batch of deeds as William Gay, and his witnesses on that deed were William Gay, and James Gay, both probably adjacent lotholders (I haven’t yet plotted this Martin deed).

This is an interesting will in several respects, and a very useful one for family history purposes. It is clear that the children of each sex are named in order within their sex, although not so clear that they were actually born in alternating, same-sex pairs (although that they were, in fact, born in this order, is shown by other sources). However, knowing the order for each sex, and also the names of both sets of grandparents, we can infer with great confidence that Robert and Mary followed the standard Scotch-Irish onomastic pattern, with one variation: the first son was named William for Mary's father, rather than Alexander, for Robert's. The pattern even extends to the 4th child of each sex: the fourth son is named John for Robert's oldest brother, and the 4th daughter is named Agnes (Agnes) for Mary's only sister. Thus, this onomastic pattern, all by itself, provides very strong evidence that we have assigned Robert and Mary to the right natal families. It also makes it highly probable that Robert's brothers, and especially his father, Alexander, also followed the pattern to some degree, which indeed, seems to be the case as far as we can tell.

The will is also interesting because it suggests that testator was either unfamiliar with the laws of inheritance, or disdainful of them—perhaps just determined to have his own way regardless of the law. In the first place, he attempted to make a will which deprived his wife of her legal right, as widow, to 1/3rd of her husband's estate, both real and personal. He also made her a co-executor, which would have required her to act against her self-interest—unless she was prepared to renounce her financial rights. But instead (as we learn from a later court case), she renounced the will, and therefore declined to act as its executor. And this, in turn, resulted in the executorship passing out of the family, and in a settlement of her husband's estate which was to raise a lot of questions later.

The other interesting feature of the will is the conditional clause added to William's bequest: if he challenged the will and attempted to gain a larger share (perhaps all) of his father's real estate (presumably by appealing to the so-called law of primogeniture, which, however, no longer ran in this time and place), he would forfeit the land he was devised by his father. I am at a loss to explain this provision, since William, in fact, would have little or no chance of success in any such suit, but it does suggest a certain amount of possible mistrust between father and son.

The specific provisions of this will have some importance to this family story, because decades later, the heirs of Robert would sue the executors, and their allies (the younger children's guardians) for abridging their rights of inheritance under the will. On 5Mar1782 the will of Robert Dunlap was proved, and the executorship was granted solely to Alexander Hamilton—Robert's widow Mary Gay, and brother John Dunlap, having declined to serve.^[165]

On 5Mar1782 the will of Mary's first husband, Robert Dunlap, was proved, but Mary declined to serve as it's co-executor, and in fact felt obliged to renounce the will since it sought to shortchange her of her dower rights.^[166]

Children of ROBERT³ DUNLAP and MARY GAY:

All of Robert and Mary's children (all who lived to maturity at least) are identified in the StauntonVA Chancery case Heirs of Robert Dunlap vs. James Hamilton et.al., when they all joined in a suit for damages against the several people they asked the court to hold liable for mismanaging the funds in their father's estate. The list of complainants, moreover, also identifies by name the husband's of the married daughters. The list follows: "John Dunlap, Robert Dunlap, Alexander Dunlap, William Dunlap, Polly [Mary] Dunlap,

¹⁶⁵ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 1:154.

¹⁶⁶ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 1:154.

David McKee & Ann his wife, William Denniston & Peggy his wife, Samuel McCutchin and Nancy [Agnes] his wife”. James Coursey’s answer to the bill of complaint also supplies birth dates for the two youngest children, Mary and Agnes.^[167] The same children, are listed, in the birth order I have given them here, in a “mug book” article, originally published in the 1880s, on a son Alexander, of MonroeCoWV.^[168]

Further particulars on the children Alexander⁴, Margaret⁴, and perhaps others will be found in my report “Alexander Dunlap of the Calfpasture & Descendants”.

- i. WILLIAM⁴ DUNLAP was born say 1764. William Dunlap married Elizabeth Coursey (daughter of James Coursey and Winifred Riddell) in RockbridgeCoVA 15Aug1790.^[169] Mary (Gay) (Dunlap) Coursey, was thus both the mother of the groom, and the step-mother of the bride. Elizabeth Coursey was born say 1765.
- ii. ANN DUNLAP was born say 1766.^[170] She married David McKee (son of John McKee of Kerr’s Creek) 16Sep1788.^[171] He was born in AugustaCoVA 25Dec1760.^[172]
- iii. ALEXANDER DUNLAP was born in AugustaCoVA 11Mar1768, and died in Union, MonroeCoVA VA 17Mar1841. Alexander married Jane Alexander (daughter of James

¹⁶⁷ *Heirs of Robert Dunlap vs. James Hamilton et.al.*, (1803-1808), Virginia Superior Court of Chancery at Staunton. See page 3 of Coursey’s answer.

¹⁶⁸ *The West Virginia Heritage Encyclopedia: Supplemental Series*, 25? volumes, Jim Comstock, editor(s) (RichwoodWV: privately printed, 1974), 1:86.

¹⁶⁹ *Rockbridge County, Virginia, Marriages*, the marriage record says she was daughter of James Coursey, and the marriage was performed by Presbyterian minister John Brown, who had also married James Coursey & Mary Gay Dunlap, just five years earlier; John W. Wayland, *A History of Shenandoah County, Virginia* (StrasburgVA: Shenandoah Publishing House, 1927; Ancestry online), 596-597. Here, Boutwell Dunlap also claims that Elizabeth was daughter of Capt. James Coursey, Sr. (supplying the name, too, of Coursey’s first wife), but whether backed by other evidence than the marriage record itself, there is no one now to say.

¹⁷⁰ *Rockbridge County, Virginia, Marriages*, by Presbyterian minister, Rev. William Graham; **RockbridgeCoVA Marriage Bonds & Consents** The consent, dated 5Sep1788, and signed by Ja[me]s Coursey and Mary Coursey, refers to the intended marriage between David McKee and “our daughter Ann Dunlap”, and by its presence, shows that Ann was under 21 at her marriage.

¹⁷¹ *Rockbridge County, Virginia, Marriages*, by Presbyterian minister, Rev. William Graham; **RockbridgeCoVA Marriage Bonds & Consents** The consent, dated 5Sep1788, and signed by Ja[me]s Coursey and Mary Coursey, refers to the intended marriage between David McKee and “our daughter Ann Dunlap”, and by its presence, shows that Ann was under 21 at her marriage.

¹⁷² George Wilson McKee, *The McKees of Virginia and Kentucky* (Pittsburgh: J.B. Richards, 1891), 124, 125, from a transcription family bible record of a half-brother of David, John Telford McKee (1783-1857).

- Alexander and Isabella Earskin) 14Sep1795.^[173] Jane was born in Botetourt County, VA 25Jun1775,^[174] and died 5 or 7Aug1838.^[175]
- iv. MARGARET DUNLAP, b. 20May1770; m. William Denison.
 - v. ROBERT DUNLAP was born 26Apr1772. Robert Dunlap married Martha Graham (daughter of John Graham) in AugustaCoVA 14May1793,^[176] who died 12Mar1833.^[177] Robert died 26Oct1856,^[178] outliving his wife by over 20 years, and surviving almost until the Civil War.^[179] There are stones in Rocky Spring cemetery, where Robert & Martha (Graham) Dunlap are buried, also for Margaret G[raham?] Dunlap (4May1794-11Oct1846), and for Charles A Dunlap (5Aug1813-6May1870). Margaret is probably an unmarried daughter of Robert & Martha, while Charles A. could be either a son, or a grandson.
 - vi. JOHN DUNLAP was born say 1775.
 - vii. MARY DUNLAP was born 23May1777.
 - viii. AGNES DUNLAP was born 29Sep1779. She married "Samuel McCutcheon" in RockbridgeCoVA 7May1799. The marriage record says she was the daughter of Robert Dunlap, deceased.^[180]

¹⁷³ Larry G. Shuck, *Greenbrier County Marriages, 1782-1900, Volume 1* (AthensGA: Iberian Publishing Company, 1991); *WV Heritage Encyclopedia: Supp*, 1:86. This is the only source which provides a specific marriage date; Norma Pontiff Evans, *A Register of Marriages Celebrated in Greenbrier, (West) Virginia, 1781-1849* (1983); Larry G. Shuck, *Monroe County, (W)Virginia Abstracts: Deeds (1799-1817); Wills (1799-1829); Sim's Land Grant Index (1780-1862)* (ApolloPA: Closson Press, 1996), 83-84, citing MonroeCo (W)Va Will Book 1:256-261. James Alexander's will names as legatees daughter Jane Dunlop, and James Dunlop, son of Alexander Dunlop; Evans and Shuck's abstracts for the official records give only the year of the marriage: 1795. They do not, however, make it clear exactly what sources they have examined. The LDS FHL catalog shows filmed primary marriage records for this period in GreenbrierCo, though it fails to indicate whether the source is a set of bonds or ministers' returns which might provide a more specific date to confirm the date given in the encyclopedia article.

¹⁷⁴ *WV Heritage Encyclopedia: Supp*, 1:86, says she was born "at the present site of Union [MonroeCoWV]". This was part of BotetourtCoVA in 1775, became MontgomeryCo in 1777, GreenbrierCo in 1778, and finally, MonroeCo in 1799.

¹⁷⁵ *WV Heritage Encyclopedia: Supp*, 1:86 says 5Aug1738; Green Hill Cemetery, by Matthew Broyles, says 7Aug1838.

¹⁷⁶ **AugustaCoVA Marriage Bonds** 93-29 (consent), and 93-29a (bond). The consent, dated 9May1793, reads (apparently in the autograph of its signatory, John Graham): "This is to certify that Robert Dunlap and my Daughter Passey Graham[,] both of Agusta County hath agreed to joijn together in the bonds of matremony with my full consent". The consent is witnessed, and the accompanying bond is guaranteed by Adam Bratton, who was a close neighbor of the Grahams of the Great Calfpasture, and a half-brother of the groom's father, Robert² (Alexander¹); John Vogt and T. William Kethley Jr., *Augusta County Marriages, 1748-1850* (AthensGA: Iberian Publishing Co., 1986), supplying the actual marriage date, from an abstract of the ministerial return; Chalkley, 3:244, citing Augusta Probate 12:72. This 4Apr1813 will of "John Grayham of [the] Calf Pasture", names daughter Martha Dunlap.

¹⁷⁷ RockySpring Cemetery (findagrave photos),. Her stone reads "MARTHA * || Wife of || ROBERT DUNLAP || DIED || MAR 12. 1833."

¹⁷⁸ **Robert Dunlap grave**, Rocky Spring Presbyterian Church cemetery, in AugustaCoVA, photos posted to findagrave, 8Jul2007. The stone reads "ROBERT DUNLAP || BORN || APRIL 26. 1772 || DIED || OCT. 26. 1856 || aged || [8]4 Yr. 6 Mo.", at

; Margaret Reese, *Abstract of Augusta County, Virginia, Death Registers, 1853-1896* (WaynesboroVA: privately printed, 1983), (citing line 970 of the original register) confirms the death date. Robert's age was given as 84y, 6m.

¹⁷⁹ **Robert DUNLAP household, 20Jun1850 USCensus**, AugustaCoVA, District 2, page 243A(01-05), image 67 → Robert Dunlap (farmer, \$5000 real property) 78 b.VA, Charles A ([farmer]) 33, Baileyn, James ([farmer], can't read or write) 20, Templeton, Nancy 53, Margaret 23.

¹⁸⁰ *Rockbridge County, Virginia, Marriages*.

As noted above, on 3Feb1785, Mary married 2nd, James Coursey, in RockbridgeCoVA, and she remained his wife until Coursey died about 1814.

On 4Sep1792, James Coursey with wife Mary sold 1000a on the Cumberland River near the Carolina line, on a military warrant purchased by James in 1783.^[181] On 28Jun1817, Mary Coursey sold to Calfpasture neighbor Samuel McCutcheon for \$2500, the 490a “on both sides of the Little Calfpasture River . . . which was willed to her brothers John and Robert, who both died in infancy, when she, the said Mary, and her sister Nancy, were heirs in law to the said tract of land, and one other tract which the said Nancy hath conveyed to Thomas Huggart”.^[182]

Boutwell Dunlap claims that Coursey was an officer in the Revolution, and owned 2000a in OrangeCo.^[183] I have found partial confirmation of the first claim.^[184]

In his will dated 27Apr1814 (proved 31Jul1815), James Coursey, of RockbridgeCoVA, bequeathed to “my well beloved wife Mary Coursey” a generous half of his personal estate, and to “my son James”, his wearing apparel. After two other minor bequests to neighbors James and Lanty Graham, he ordered that the remainder of his estate, real and personal, be divided into 10 “child parts”, but he then names only 5 children. It is doubtful that Coursey owned any real estate at his death. He was taxed for 196a in AugustaCo in 1782, but is off the list for subsequent years;^[185] although no record of a deed appears in Chalkley, he probably sold his land when he remarried, and came, as he says, to live on his wife’s land in 1785. Then, in 1792, he and Mary sold military warrant land he had purchased in 1783, just before his marriage. Coursey’s will is also notable for the following provision: “my Negro man Jack and Daphney should not be parted as they are man and wife”. Coursey named as executors his son James and John Frazer. Frazer was probably the nephew of the James Frazier who was a son-in-law of Henry Gay of the Big Calfpasture, and the benefactor of Henry’s probable nephew Archibald Gay and his family, but no family connection has been established between these other Gays of AugustaCo, and the brothers Gay who settled not far away on the Little Calfpasture.^[186]

There were no known children of Mary³ Gay and James Coursey.

¹⁸¹ RockbridgeCoVA Deeds B:418-419.

¹⁸² [Deed \(Sale\): Mary Coursey to Samuel McCutchen, 28Jun1817](#). Mary signed by her mark, and the deed was witnessed by Samuel Walkup, Joseph Bell, Jr., John Montgomery, Arthur Walkup, and proved by 3 of them on 2Feb1818; the Walkups were neighbors of the Courseys on the upper Little Calfpasture.

¹⁸³ Wayland, *Shenandoah County*, 596-597.

¹⁸⁴ J.T. McAllister, *Virginia Militia in the Revolutionary War* (HotSpringsVA: McAllister Publishing Co, 1913; reprint BowieMD: Heritage Books Inc, 1989), 101(Section 91). In an 1832 pension affidavit, John Young, then of PocahontasCoVA claimed he served a term under Captain Coursey prior to 1779.

¹⁸⁵ Ruth & Sam Sparacio, *Augusta County, Virginia, Land Tax Books, 1782-1790*, 2 volumes (McClellanVA: The Antient Press, 1997), 1:6.

¹⁸⁶ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 4:98-99.

9. AGNES³ GAY (*James², John¹*) and her husband ALEXANDER DUNLAP

Agnes Gay was born 25Sep1745.^[187]

Agnes Gay married Alexander Dunlap (son of Alexander Dunlap and Ann [MacFarland?]), presumably in AugustaCoVA, perhaps on 7Jan1768, but at any rate before 10Aug1773, when Alexander and Agnes Dunlap of AugustaCoVA were the co-grantors in a deed.^[188] Alexander was born about Oct1744,^[189] and died 16Mar1828.^[190]

Alexander removed to the Lexington area of FayetteCoKY in Oct1783, and probably he brought his family with him. See my separate report, “Alexander Dunlap of the Calfpasture & Descendants” for more particulars on Alexander and Agnes.

Children of Alexander Dunlap and Agnes Gay:

Except as noted in the footnotes below, all the information on these children and their families comes from Railey.^[191]

¹⁸⁷ John Goodwin Herndon, “Colonel Alexander Dunlap (1743-1828): The Correction of an Identification”, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Before finding this article, I had guessed that she was James’s first born because brother John named his third daughter Agnes, rather than Sarah, his wife’s name.

¹⁸⁸ Herndon, “Colonel Alexander Dunlap”, 321, supplies the specific date, which is found also, as Jan1768, at Railey, 151. One can only hope that there is, or once was, a private family record somewhere to back this up.

¹⁸⁹ As I have noted, the Herndon article reports a claimed birth date of 19Oct1743 for the Alexander Dunlap who died 16Mar1828, and is buried at Red Oak Cemetery. Let’s see how this comports with the actual evidence.

Alexander’s gravestone says that he died 16Mar1828 “in his 85 year”, which could have the conventional meaning of “in his 85th year” (before completing it), or, given the anomalous absence of the usual adjectival suffix, due, perhaps, to an informant unfamiliar with the conventions, it might mean that Alexander had already attained the age of 85 and died while aged 85. Thus, according to the gravestone evidence, Alexander might have been born any time between 17Mar1742 and 16Mar1744. If we consider the conventional meaning of “in his 85 year” to be the more likely, this evidence is consistent with a birth date of 19Oct1743. Another contemporary record, an obituary in a LexingtonKY paper, says that Alexander was 86 when he died, but this notice was far removed geographically from the event, as was, probably, the informant, who may not even have been a child of Alexander, but merely a local family friend.

The other important piece of evidence is the AugustaCo order book entry dated 19Apr1763 in which “Alex[ande]r Dunlop, aged 18, orphan of Alex[ande]r Dunlop, deceased, chose John Dunlop his guardian”, which would put his birth date in the range 20Apr1744 and 19Apr1745. I note, however, that the quoted text is that of Chalkley’s abstract, and may not correspond exactly to the wording of the original document.

There is, of course, no overlap between these two date ranges so one of these two data points must be wrong. One would normally favor the guardianship record, not only because it was probably made closest to actual event in time, but because it was an official record in which Alexander’s age was of the essence (only lads aged 14 and over were allowed to choose their own guardians). Herndon, in fact, who supplies the date 19Oct1743 from his DAR source, also suggests that it might instead have been 19Oct1744, to reconcile it with the guardianship record. I, for my part, note that the specific date 19Oct1744 is also the midpoint of the range suggested by the guardianship record; perhaps the 19Oct1743 date is an earlier attempt, by Boutwell Dunlap or someone else, to reconcile what was initially merely an estimate—a *circa* date—with the other major piece of evidence: the age at death on Alexander’s gravestone. Thus, the specific date may have no other foundation than as a somewhat specious piece of reasoning upon the actual evidence. I say, let the contradictory gravestone and the obituary evidence Rest In Peace.

¹⁹⁰ [Alexander Dunlap Grave, Red Oak Presbyterian Church cemetery, in UnionTwp, BrownCoOH](#), , A photo of his stone may be found at G. Glenn Clift, *Kentucky Obituaries, 1787-1854* (FrankfortKY: Kentucky Historical Society, 1941-1943; reprint Baltimore: GPC, 1977), 52, citing *The (LexingtonKY) Reporter*, 2Apr1828.

¹⁹¹ Wm. E. Railey, *History of Woodford County, Kentucky* (FrankfortKY: Roberts Printing Co., 1928; reprint from Register of the Kentucky Historical Society, 1920-1921; Ancestry online), 151 et.seq.

- i. JAMES⁴ DUNLAP was born Apr1769. James Dunlap married Elizabeth Stevenson (daughter of James Stevenson) Jun1797.^[192] In 1796 James removed to ChillicotheOH to manage his father's estates there. He was successively, a RossCoOH justice, an elected member of the first (1803) OH House of Representatives, a State Senator, a presidential elector in 1812, a Colonel in the War of 1812, and a candidate for OH Governor in 1816, and 1818.
- ii. ANNA DUNLAP was born Nov1770. Anna Dunlap married William Kinkead (son of William Kinkead and Eleanor [Gay?]) say 1793. Railey has a good deal to say of William's father, Captain William Kinkead. William Sr. was born in CarlislePA in 1736, and married In AugustaCo in 1756, Eleanor Guy, who was captured and carried off by Indians; he then participated in Bouquet's expedition against the Indians in 1764 which was successful in rescuing Eleanor and other captives. In 1765, William Kinkead bought a tract on the Great Calfpasture from Samuel Hodge. He was a captain of militia in the Revolution in 1777, and again in 1781. In 1789 he removed to the new county of Woodford in KY. His and Eleanor's children, all born in VA, were: Margaret, Andrew, Isabella, Agnes, William, Eleanor, Susanna, Guy, Rebecca, and John.^[193]
- iii. WILLIAM DUNLAP was born Nov1772. William Dunlap married Mary Shephard —?— say 1796. He died 18Apr1849.^[194] William removed to BrownCoOH with his father, Alexander, and was an anti-slavery leader in the state who left several notable descendants.
- iv. POLLY DUNLAP was born Jan1775. Polly Dunlap married James Stevenson. Railey tells us that this James Stevenson was the clerk of WoodfordCo for many years, and was a son of James Stevenson "a distant relative of Samuel Stevenson";^[195] thus Polly Dunlap's James Stevenson was not the James of the Shane interview, who was a son of [Major] John¹ Stevenson, and a nephew of his brother Samuel, both of whom settled in Lexington as early as the fall of 1779.^[196]

¹⁹² Elizabeth was likely a sister of the James Stevenson who married James Dunlap's sister, Polly. See my discussion of the various Stevensons in my summary for Polly below.

¹⁹³ Railey, *Woodford*, 151 (William Jr. & Anna Dunlap); 68-69 (William Sr. & Eleanor Gay); Probably Eleanor's surname was conjectured from the fact that this couple had a son named Guy; in any event, I have encountered no (other) evidence for this identification. However, if Railey's is the correct order of birth, it appears that the standard Scotch-Irish onomastic pattern was followed at least loosely, with the 4th rather than the 3rd daughter named for the mother, and if either Margaret or Isabella is out of place, Eleanor's parents might have been named John and Agnes Gay, the same names as the hypothetical parents I have inferred for the brothers Gay of the Little Calfpasture, which would make Eleanor their sister. The problem with this is that if her husband was born c.1736, Eleanor would practically have been of a different generation. Also, Eleanor is not a name which runs in this family of Gays, nor is their name often spelled "Guy" in the records. For all these reasons, and because her husband first appears as purchaser of Samuel Hodge's Big Calfpasture Lot 10, if William's wife, Eleanor, was a Guy, she was most likely a sister of the Robert Gay/Guy who owned the Big Calfpasture tract adjacent to Samuel Hodge's.

¹⁹⁴ [William Dunlap's grave, Red Oak Presbyterian Cemetery](#). William's gravestone is positioned near his father, Alexander's. It reads "WILLIAM DUNLAP, || DIED || April 18, 1849 || Aged 76 years".

¹⁹⁵ Railey, *Woodford*, 157.

¹⁹⁶ James Stevenson Interview, 247; I note in passing that Railey (p155) claimed that Major John¹ Stevenson, the father of the Lexington pioneers, was a denizen of the Calfpasture, but I find no trace of a John Stevenson there in Chalkley or in the deeds records. Instead, it is a *James* Stephenson who was a close neighbor of the Calfpasture Dunlaps and the Gays. This James purchased a 200a tract on the Little River on 10Feb1763 (AugustaCoVA Deeds 11:122-123), and sold a different tract, with his wife Margaret, as residents of WoodfordCoKY, on 3Oct1797 (RockbridgeCoVA Deeds C:454-456. I haven't researched this family in any detail in Augusta/Rockbridge, but it would be not surprising if two of this James¹'s children married children of Alexander Dunlap in KY.

- v. AGNES DUNLAP was born Sep1777. Agnes Dunlap married Alexander Campbell in Pisgah Church, in Lexington, KY 1801; he was born in Frederick, VA 1779, and died in Brown County, OH 5Nov1857. Alexander was of no known relationship to the famous Scottish-born preacher of the same name. Agnes's husband, Alexander Campbell, was a very prominent man. After acquiring a classical education at the Pisgah academy, he studied medicine and became a doctor. With the several other Dunlap families, Alexander and Agnes removed to BrownCoOH in 1804, where Alexander was elected, in 1807 to the state legislature, of which he was Speaker, in 1808-9. After losing one US Senatorial race, he was elected in 1810, and served until 1813 in the US Senate. He was twice a US Presidential Elector, and was appointed, at one point, Postmaster General. He ran for Governor of OH once, but was defeated by Col. Allen Trimble, another WoodfordCoKY pioneer. Alexander Campbell is buried at Maplewood Cemetery, in Ripley, in Brown County, OH.
- vi. SARAH DUNLAP was born Mar1779. Sarah Dunlap married Thomas Dickings.
- vii. MARGARET DUNLAP was born about 1782.^[197] Margaret Dunlap married Samuel Thornton Scott say 1805; he was born in 1877. Margaret's husband was a Presbyterian minister, educated initially at Pisgah academy, though it is not said where he took his degree. He and Margaret removed to VincennesIN, where he had been engaged as the first resident minister of a Presbyterian church in Indiana (founded in 1806),^[198] and from 1811-1815 he was principal of the grammar school operated by Vincennes University, and was a trustee of that institution from 1813-1824.^[199]
- viii. ALEXANDER DUNLAP was born in WoodfordCoKY, , "soon after the arrival of the family" about 1784. Alexander Dunlap married Mary Caldwell about 1811, considering that their first child, George Caldwell Dunlap, was born Jun1812. Alexander settled on the family property in KY, near Pisgah, and like his father, Alexander², was a colonel in the KY militia. He was elected to the KY legislature in 1825. His wife, who hailed from SC, was a relative of the famous southern statesman, John Caldwell Calhoun.

¹⁹⁷ No birth date is given in Railey, but she is listed as the 8th child, and the 9th, Alexander was born c.1784.

¹⁹⁸ Daniel Dorchester, *Christianity in the United States, From the First Settlement Down to the Present Time* (New York: Phillips & Hunt, 1888; online at Google Books)

¹⁹⁹ This information appears on a highway marker planted by the state historical commission, though I have also encountered it elsewhere in a source whose identity escapes me.

See http://www.historicmarkers.com/Indiana/Knox_County Indiana/Samuel_Thornton_Scott_IN407/

10. JOHN³ GAY (*James*², *John*¹) and his wife SARAH LOCKRIDGE

John Gay was born in AugustaCoVA 1Jan1748, and died in WoodfordCoKY 19Oct1826.^[200]

He married Sarah Lockridge (daughter of [Robert?] Lockridge) about 1770.^[201] She was born probably 14Mar1754[?]^[202] She died 14May1828.^[203]

John Gay removed to FayetteCoKY, about Oct1783, accompanied by Alexander Dunlap: “John Gay and Alexander Dunlap had started out in September, 1783, and were overtaken by Mr. Rankin [*the first minister of the Pisgah congregation*] . . . on his way to Kentucky for the 1st time. . . . Dunlap and Gay stopped the first winter at Todd’s Station, between Lexington and Higbee’s. They then went up where Colonel Alexander Dunlap now lives, several weeks before we moved out [*of the McConnell Station fort on 5Mar1784*], and started a sugar camp. They lived some time on a lick [*creek*] in Greenbrier.”^[204] Nothing is said about whether Gay and Dunlap made this trip to KY with their families but perhaps we may infer it from the fact that these hearty young frontiersmen were overtaken by the minister supplied to the Pisgah Church congregation which they had a hand in organizing. Several Stevenson families, including Samuel & Jane (Gay) Stevenson, who had arrived first, in Oct1779, finally left the protection of the blockhouse at McConnell’s station in Mar1784 to take up their individual lands; that would have been a logical time for them to have been joined by their in-laws and former neighbors from Greenbrier, and that, in fact, is what we are told, in 1909, by the historian of the Pisgah Church: “It was in the wild March weather in the year 1780 that Samuel Stevenson and Jane Gay, his wife, came from the fort in Lexington to live in their log cabin. . . . The house had been built by Stevenson and his slaves, with the help of his brothers-in-law Alexander Dunlap and John Gay, and their friend Moses McIlwain. In the same season were built the homes of Dunlap and Agnes Gay his wife, of John Gay and Sally Lockridge, of Moses McIlwain and Margaret Hodge. These homes were within a mile of each other. . . . The grant of land had originally been acquired and the claim located by Samuel Stevenson. He and Dunlap had each married sisters of John Gay.” Shewmaker fails to take account, here, of the Shane interview material, which clearly shows

²⁰⁰ Walters, *Gay/Guy Families.*, 350, says he made his will in WoodfordCoKY 7Oct1826, and that “friend, and brother-in-law, Alexander Dunlap” was a witness.

²⁰¹ The name of Sarah (aka “Sally”) Lockridge’s father is indicated by the onomastics of her children, and in addition, there is, in fact, a Robert Lockridge of the Big Calfpasture. In 1748, James Lockridge was the original grantee of the lower half of John Preston’s lot 17, and there is a deed to the same tract from Mary Preston (presumably John’s widow) to Robert Lockridge in 1763. At the time, Robert already owned land adjacent, and when he purchased the lower half of lot 17, his next neighbor, who owned the upper half, was William Kinkead, quite likely the same William who was husband of Eleanor Gay, the aunt of Sarah Lockridge’s husband, John³ (James²) Gay.

²⁰² Railey, *Woodford*, 71, supplies Sarah’s birth year—which is missing from the Gay-Durrett bible record. Although as usual there is no hint as to where Railey got this piece of information, and although he erroneously claims that husband John was born in 1740 in Scotland in the same sentence, yet 1754 appears highly plausible to me. Sarah had children over a 28 year period, and she would have had to marry at about age 16 to pull this off.

²⁰³ Gay-Durrett Family Bible Record, 8, unless, perchance, it was Sarah her daughter who died then. However there are no old women who could be Sarah in either of the Gay households of 1830 WoodfordCo.

²⁰⁴ James Stevenson Interview, 12CC 154-155. Stevenson means that Gay and Dunlap had been living in the Greenbrier region of Virginia (today West Virginia), about 30 miles ESE of the Calfpasture. James Stevenson’s Aunt Jane, in her interview at 13CC:141 tells us that Todd’s Station was on the South Elkhorn—a creek which runs about 2/3rds of the way from modern Frankfort to Lexington.

that his date of 1780 is wrong.^[205] It might be added, that all of these people stem from Calfpasture families, and that most, if not all, settled first along either the Cowpasture, or the Greenbrier Rivers, well to the west of the Calfpasture, and that was their jumping off point for KY.^[206]

Unfortunately, the Reverend Shewmaker's idyllic picture of in-law families helping each other on the frontier, may be a little more complicated. James Stevenson, the Shane interviewee, speaks of testifying in support of members of his family who were "trying to get away Col. Dunlap's, and the land of some other persons in the neighborhood." This was otherwise known as "lawing" a person out of his land—taking advantage of a Virginia law requiring that pioneers who failed to file timely surveys, way back in tidewater Williamsburg VA, for the KY land they had settled, could have their land pre-empted by well-heeled absentee land speculators who could afford to send agents back and forth from Kentucky to comply with this discriminatory law.^[207]

Children of JOHN³ GAY and SARAH LOCKRIDGE:

Birth dates for all the children, and death dates for all but John and James, are found in the Gay-Durrett bible.^[208]

- i. [MARY]⁴ GAY was born 28Sep1771. She died on or before 6Jan1774, when her namesake sister was born. The Gay-Durrett bible entry for this daughter's birth clearly reads "Marget", but I have dismissed this as a probable copying error, considering its incompatibility with the Scotch-Irish child-naming practices followed in this family.^[209]
- ii. MARY GAY was born 6Jan1774; she died 19Feb1820.
- iii. ROBERT GAY was born 25Jun1776; he died 30Sep1805.

²⁰⁵ This quotation, from *The Pisgah Church, 1784-1909* (1909), by its minister in 1909, W.O. Shewmaker, is taken from Herndon's article, cited above. Presumably, Shewmaker drew on various family traditions and private papers, because his account is not, evidently, based directly on the Shane interviews with people who remember the events themselves. But from an evidential point of view, that is all to the good, as it suggests that he had access to somewhat independent, if derivative, sources. Probably, Shewmaker's principal source was a descendant of Samuel Stevenson, who is treated, probably with some exaggeration, as the special patriarch who secured the land grant which these families settled on, and while this may be partly true, we have already seen that Alexander Dunlap was quite active in securing land for himself, and for his sons, James and William.

²⁰⁶ Morton, *Bath*, 169 claims that three erstwhile Calfpasture families removed to Lexington in 1779: "In 1779, Captain James Gay and Alexander Dunlap, Jr., headed a party which settled in the blue-grass region of that state and founded Pisgah church. . . . Major Samuel Stevenson . . . was a third member of the emigrating party, and he also wedded a Gay." It is evident that neither Morton, nor his source, was familiar with the actual evidence of the Shane interviews, which make it all but explicit that the 1779 migration was an all-Stevenson affair. If Morton had read the Stevenson interviews by Shane, he would certainly have known that Samuel Stevenson's wife was Jane Gay, and he would have known that it was, *John* (not James) Gay, who journeyed to Kentucky with Alexander Dunlap, and in 1783, not 1779.

Ironically, Jane's brother James (we learn from his 1833 pension application), *did* journey to Lexington at about the same time as the Stevensons, and very likely traveled with his sister, Jane's party, as an experienced guide and Indian fighter, but he returned to VA the next year, and didn't actually settle in KY himself until after the war. It seems exceptionally likely that James would have had a hand in the putative 1783 migration of his brother John, and of Alexander Dunlap and their families (Alexander having married his sister Agnes), especially since for his two years as an Indian scout during the war, he was based on Fort Clover Lick, which had supposedly been built by Alexander Dunlap; although James Gay is not mentioned by Stevenson as a member of this 1783 caravan to KY, I would give odds that he was along nonetheless.

²⁰⁷ The best secondary source for this early settlement of the Lexington area is Railey, who carefully and skillfully weaves together the evidence of the Shane interviews with that of other sources, which unfortunately he does not name.

²⁰⁸ [Kinkaid Gay and Richard H. Durrett], *Gay-Durrett Family Bible Record, 1828-1945*, photocopies of the original, transcribed and analyzed by John B. Robb, 6-7 (births); 9 (deaths).

²⁰⁹ See my analysis in "The Gay-Durrett Bible Record" for the full argument.

- iv. AGNESS GAY was born 2Feb1779; she died 20Aug1804.
- v. JAMES GAY was born 1Nov1781; he died 13Nov1840.^[210]
- vi. SARAH GAY was born 10Apr1784; she died 14May1828.
- vii. JOHN GAY was born 16Nov1786.
- viii. REBECKAH GAY was born 5May1790; she died 23Mar1832.
- ix. WILLIAM DUNLAP GAY was born 19May1793; he died 30Nov1813.
- x. SAMUEL GAY was born 30Mar1796; he died 15Jan1816.
- xi. KINKAID GAY was born 6Oct1798; he died 12Sep1834.

²¹⁰ Pisgah Cemetery Abstracts, providing both birth and death date; the birth date agrees with that in the Gay-Durrett bible record.

11. JANE³ GAY (*James², John¹*) and her husband SAMUEL STEVENSON

We know a lot about Jane and her husband, Samuel Stevenson, because we have both her 1842 application for a widow's pension, by right of her husband's extensive Revolutionary War service,^[211] and also an interview given by Jane herself,^[212] and one by her nephew, James Stevenson, the son of her husband's brother, John.^[213] Although Jane's interview, conducted by the scholarly John Dabney Shane, was recorded when she was in her 90s and frail, nonetheless both her interviewer, and her nephew, James Stevenson, in his attestation to her pension application, noted her remarkable memory for detail in spite of her age.^[214][CIT] Jane's maiden name, Gay, occurs nowhere in her interview, and in fact at one point she appears to say that Samuel Stevenson (her husband) was her father, and not James Gay. Shane's interview with her nephew, James Stevenson, elicits much material about his "Aunt Jane", and her husband, his "Uncle Sam", and their identifications as Samuel and Jane (Gay) Stevenson, are made from overlapping biographical material (for example, Jane's story of swimming the Cowpasture River on her back as a young woman), and the statement "Old Mr. Gay, & old Mr. Stevenson, Uncle Sam's father, married sisters: and Uncle Sam., & Aunt Jane were cousins." [CIT:]94;769[:CIT] There were, at this time, two James Gays of the Calfpasture (the other was the son of Robert Gay who owned Lot 9 on the Big River, and later moved to Lot 22 at it's extreme head), but Jane tells us that "Carr's [Kerr's] Creek was in about 7 miles of us. We were on the Calf-pasture." which points to the mouth of the Little Calfpasture River, where Jane's father James, and his brothers lived, some 20 miles south of the other James.[CIT:]65;135[:CIT]. All of these brothers left wills, and only two, James Gay, and John Gay had daughters named Jean (or Jane), but John's daughter can be shown to be the Jean Gay who married Humphrey Montgomery, and remained with him in RockbridgeCoVA, while James's daughter, Jane, removed, with two of her brothers, to Kentucky.

The names of the parents of Jane's husband, Samuel, are inferred from the Scotch-Irish onomastic pattern they applied to their children (*q.v.* below), from the data supplied on the Stevenson family in her nephew, James Stevenson's Shane interview,^[215] and from the fact that the only Stevenson who might

²¹¹ Samuel & Jane Stevenson Revolutionary War Pension File, 2Oct1833 (date granted), USA-NARA Revolutionary War Records (online at Heritage Quest) → This is Samuel's widow, Jane's, application for a pension for her husband's war service.

²¹² Jane Stevenson Interview.

²¹³ James Stevenson Interview.

²¹⁴ R[oy] S[tevenson] King, "Major Samuel Stevenson", and "Jane Gay Stevenson" sketches, in *Genealogies of Kentucky Families*. offers quotations from Jane's interview which differ both in small ways and large from the micropublished Draper Collection version, making it appear that King had access to a later, more finished version, but this is given the lie by Shane's note to himself at the end of the interview text about his plans for a followup interview, however "that time never came" {Draper Coll. 13CC142}, Jane having died. Some of King's quotations appear to merge material from other parts of the interview, or from his own imagination, and they are not to be trusted. My transcription of Jane's interview, and further comments thereupon, can be found [here](#). King also published a small book (*The Ancestral Pilgrimage Along Life's Pathway* (AtlantaGA: 1939) which drew extensively on these and other Shane interviews, but since the material presented is the usual sort of synthetic historical narrative, it is not rendered objectionable in the same way, by the misuse of quoted material.

²¹⁵ James Stevenson Interview: "My f[ather] was named John, the oldest of the family. Old Uncle Sam, the youngest." (11CC247), and "My father moved from the Calf-pasture." (11CC248)[:CIT] and from the fact that the only Stevenson who might have been father to the Stevenson brothers associated with the Calfpasture, was named James.

have been father to the Stevenson brothers associated with the Calfpasture, was named James.^[216] The apparent hiccup in the onomastic pattern (first son named James for both grandfathers, second named John, and only the third named Samuel for the father) can perhaps be explained by the fact that Samuel's oldest brother John, became the father of the family when his own father, James, died by 1760, and was regarded as such by the youngest son, Samuel. I have seen occasionally before, where both a father and a step-father (or a mother and a step-mother) have been honored in the naming process before the parent himself (or herself); evidently, such parents felt that they were entitled to depart from the pattern at that point, since it was only themselves who might be considered slighted.

As for the given name of the Stevenson wife, Martha, that is not only consistent with the name of the widow in the 1760 Calfpasture administrator's bond for the deceased James, but the possibility that Samuel and Jane's first daughter was named (at least partly) for Jane's mother, conflicts with the overwhelming onomastic evidence (already presented above in the sketch for her father James) that her mother's name was Mary.

From these materials, and particularly from Jane's pension application, we obtain at least a close approximation of her birth date, her marriage date, the date she and her family arrived at nascent Lexington, their new KY home, and the dates of her children's birth. Jane states in her pension application that the latter dates were recorded in a page of the family bible, which had been torn out and lost—but not lost forever since they persisted in her exceptional mind. She recalled also many of the details of her husband's war service, including more than one set of company and regimental commanders.

²¹⁶ Chalkley 3:58, citing AugustaCoVA Probate 2:381: "Martha Stevenson and John Stevenson's bond as administrators of James Stevenson, with John Gay, James Gay, William Elliott [sureties]". The sureties are adjacent neighbors at the mouth of the confluence of the Big and Little Calfpasture Rivers, and the inclusion of Martha Stevenson among the bonded almost surely marks her as the widow of the deceased. Because women were not generally presumed to be sufficiently competent or experienced in financial and legal matter, they generally passed over as primary estate administrators in favor of their close male relatives (assuming that these were competent and of age), but they were often made joint administrators because of their dower interest in the estate. In this case, the only other reasonable interpretation of this record is that the deceased James might be a son or other close relative of the administrator, John, but in that event, Martha would not have been named at all.

Jane Gay was born 15Nov1750^{[217][218]} She died 8Feb1845.^[219]

Jane Gay married Samuel Stevenson in AugustaCoVA 23May1771.^{[220][221]} He was born 11Mar1744, and died 17Dec1825.^[222] Samuel and Jane removed to FayetteCoKY, arriving there on 27Oct1779.^[223]

Children of JANE³ GAY and SAMUEL STEVENSON:

- i. JAMES⁴ STEVENSON was born 21Apr1772.^[224]
- ii. MARTHA (“Marthy”) STEVENSON was born 23Feb1774.
- iii. JOHN STEVENSON was born 22Jul1776.
- iv. MARY STEVENSON was born 23Dec1778.
- v. SAMUEL STEVENSON was born 31May1781.
- vi. THOMAS STEVENSON was born 10Oct1783.
- vii. ROBERT STEVENSON was born 8Dec1785.
- viii. JANE STEVENSON was born 10Jan1788.
- ix. WILLIAM STEVENSON was born 10Oct1791.
- x. ALEXANDER STEVENSON was born 10Oct1791.

²¹⁷ Jane Stevenson Interview, 135.

²¹⁸ Samuel & Jane Stevenson Revolutionary War Pension File, 2Oct1833 (date granted), USA-NARA Revolutionary War Records (online at Heritage Quest) → In her application, dated 22Sep1842, Jane is said to have been aged 92, but I think Shane's more precise information is also more likely to be correct than a date which may have been added to a document when it's composition was begun, but whose matter may have been added months later.

²¹⁹ Walton, “The Families Kinkead ... Garrett, Martin, and Dunlap”, 770

²²⁰ Samuel & Jane Stevenson Revolutionary War Pension File, 2Oct1833 (date granted), USA-NARA Revolutionary War Records (online at Heritage Quest) → In her application Jane gives her marriage date as 23May1771.

²²¹ I infer the names of Samuel's parents from the names and birth order of his children, as shown below. Samuel and Jane clearly followed the Scotch-Irish onomastic pattern for their first three children of each sex: the third child of each is named for his same-sex parent, and Jane's father is known to be James. If we allow her mother to be Mary, as I have argued onomastically elsewhere from independent evidence, that leaves John & Martha as the names of Samuel's parents. That there were a John & Martha Stevenson early in AugustaCo, and that furthermore, they were associated with the Gays, is shown by their 21May1760 bond for the administration of James Stevenson; the sureties on this bond were James and John Gay {Chalkley 3:58, citing Augusta Probate 2:381}. It has sometimes been claimed that Samuel's father was named Robert. This is probably a mistaken inference from the fact that a Robert Stephenson made a will in 1772 naming a wife Martha {Chalkley 3:124, citing Augusta Probate 4:528}, but he did not name a son Samuel in this will, and the parties to the will place him in Beverley Manor, and nowhere near the Calfpasture.

²²² Pisgah Cemetery Abstracts; Samuel & Jane Stevenson Revolutionary War Pension File, 2Oct1833 (date granted), USA-NARA Revolutionary War Records (online at Heritage Quest).

²²³ Samuel & Jane Stevenson Revolutionary War Pension File, 2Oct1833 (date granted), USA-NARA Revolutionary War Records (online at Heritage Quest).

²²⁴ Samuel & Jane Stevenson Revolutionary War Pension File, 2Oct1833 (date granted), USA-NARA Revolutionary War Records (online at Heritage Quest) → The birth dates of all the children in Jane's declaration, and that of her oldest son, James, is repeated on a loose papee. Other loose paper records the birth dates of four later Stevensons: Jane Gay Stevenson, (born 24Sep1808), William Dunlap Stevenson (23Feb1811), Rebeckah Ann Stevenson (Nov1813), and Samuel Stevenson (4Apr1816) These may be the children of Jane's son, Samuel, or another son who married a daughter of William Dunlap.

12. JOHN³ GAY (*John*², *John*¹) and his wife AGNES MCKEE

According to John Gay's gravestone, he was born in 1762, but the stone is a modern one, carved and erected in 1933, and the date is manifestly wrong.^[225] John Gay qualified as Justice of the Peace for RockbridgeCoVA on 4Aug1778, and a minor would hardly have been nominated as one of the governors of the county, and officers of its court, when he was legally disabled from doing business in his own name.

That Agnes was Agnes McKee is shown by the marriage consent of her guardian, William McKee, who said that she was the daughter of his only brother, John.^[226] Besides that, John & Agnes named their oldest son, John McKee Gay.

A private letter by a son-in-law of John Gay, reporting his death to an in-law, provides another genealogical link to the McKee family: "We have lost a father, you a brother, and society a worthy man", said William M. Doughty, husband of John's daughter, Elizabeth, in a letter to his uncle-in-law, "William McKee, Esq.", who can only be the brother of Gay's deceased wife Agnes McKee.^[227]

John³ & Agnes (McKee) Gay evidently had seven children who survived to adulthood. Everyone agrees that John McKee Gay (b.25Jun1797) was the oldest, and the other six are listed in the memoir of Nancy (Gay) Barker (their oldest daughter or niece) as: Jane E., Elizabeth, Melinda, Esther, Nancy and James Dunlap.^[228] Six of these children are also listed in the 1822 will of their father: John, Jane, Betsey, Hetty, Nancy, and James.

The missing child, Melinda, listed third by Nancy Barker, is said by her to have married a Mr. Lawman in VA and died young; Chapman agrees, but renders the name Lauman. No other trace of Melinda or her putative husband has been found, but if they married before the family left Virginia, which I think occurred shortly after 2Sep1816 when father John sold all his land there, Melinda must have been very young at her marriage, and likely born in 1800 between Jane E[sther?], the first daughter (born 13Jan1799), and Elizabeth (born 1Dec1802), whom I therefore take to be the third. The fact that a second daughter would be named Melinda, a name for which there is no apparent precedent in either the Gay or McKee families, and which I think to be a rather modern name,^[229] would seem to suggest that the Scotch-Irish onomastic pattern was being abandoned, but actually, it had already been almost fully satisfied: both parents had fathers John, and the additional names of their first son, John McKee Gay even memorialized both his grandparents' surnames. Similarly, their first daughter was given the first names of both grandmothers (if my theory that Nancy Barker's "Jane E", was "Jane Esther", is correct), so only the children's mother, Agnes, had yet to be commemorated. The fact that this was delayed until the last daughter is certainly a departure from the standard pattern, but otherwise, since neither parent had same-sex siblings, the couple were free to name the remaining children as they pleased.

²²⁵ Edwin Garner Chapman, "The Gay Family—Pioneers of America", 1934, 25 and 29, repeats the error, and Chapman's opinion probably lies behind this date. For more on the history of the gravestone, see below.

²²⁶ **LincolnCoKY Marriage Bonds & Consents** The consent reads: "The bearer, John Gay Esq. proposes marriage to my brother's daughter Agness McKee. This is to certify that her parents are both deceased, that I am her only uncle by the father's side, and her guardian with whom she had lived from a child, that she is above twenty-one years of age and has consented to the said marriage to which I also am agreed.."

²²⁷ **Letter, W[illia]m M. Doughty to W[illia]m McKee, 22Mar1827.** Reference is also made in this letter to an enclosed obituary clip from the local newspaper, *The Emp****** "a weekly paper printed in this town [Centerville or RichmondIN?]", which I have not found.

²²⁸ [Nancy (Gay) Barker] & Estella Barker Ordway, "Genealogy of the Gay Family", [after 1882].

²²⁹ Patrick Hanks & Flavia Hodges, *A Concise Dictionary of First Names* (Oxford University Press, 1997), actually calls "Melinda" a modern coinage, though I have found the name, usually spelled "Malinda" to be quite common in the 19th century United States.

We don't know for sure that all the daughters were given middle names, but we know from Nancy Barker that her father, her eldest aunt, and her uncle James, the youngest child, all had them, so it is a fair presumption that her other 4 aunts had them too. And given that the first son's name, John McKee Gay, perpetuated his maternal grandfather's full name, we might expect also that daughter Esther, was Esther Houston Gay, after her maternal grandmother, and daughter Nancy (Agnes), was Agnes McKee Gay, after her mother. Although the Scotch-Irish pattern may not have been followed strictly, so far as we know, John & Agnes appear to have honored its fundamental principle: name the first three children of each sex for the parents' parents, and then the parents. Under the circumstances, one wonders who third daughter Elizabeth, and second son, James Dunlap Gay, may have been named for.

In fact, considering the observable onomastic tendencies in the family of John & Agnes (McKee) Gay, there is good reason to suspect that the surname of John's mother, Jane, may have been Dunlap, and not Ramsey. Just as the middle name of the first son may have been chosen to perpetuate the surname of his maternal grandfather, so the middle name of the second son may have been chosen to perpetuate the surname of his paternal grandmother, who may have been a sister of Alexander Dunlap of the Calfpasture, one of the first John Gay's closest neighbors. I have suggested elsewhere that Alexander Dunlap was a brother of William Dunlap of Beverley Manor, partly because they both named their first sons, John, suggesting that their father was named John. If Jane was their sister, her father would have been John too, but her second grandson couldn't very well be named John Dunlap Gay, when his elder brother was already named John McKee Gay. Why, instead, was he named James? I can think of three possibilities: (1) James Dunlap was the name of one of John³ & Agnes Gay's two closest neighbors on the Big Calfpasture River; he was a grandson of Alexander, and son of John & Anna Dunlap, while John³ was Anna's security in the administration of her husband's estate, and was chosen by Anna as co-executor, with her son James Dunlap, of her 1808 will (James Dunlap Gay was born just two years later); (2) John³ had grown up on the Calfpasture with his uncle, James Gay, living just across the Calfpasture from him; (3) Capt. James Dunlap (a relation but not a brother of Alexander Dunlap), who was killed just a year or two after John³ was born, may have been considered a hero by the Calfpasturites for giving his life in defense of their frontier homes.

Since the USCensuses for VA are missing for 1790 and 1800, John³ Gay appears just twice in the USCensus. In 1810, his family appears to be complete—there is a woman in his household of the right age to be wife Agnes, and there are 7 children—2 sons, and 5 daughters.^[230] It appears, then, that youngest son, James Dunlap Gay was born in 1810, even though he is said to be aged 38 in the 1850 census. Although John Gay, Esq. is supposed to have freed the slaves left him by his father, and there is actually a record of his manumitting one in 1798, in 1810 he still owns 11—more than the 8 his father owned when he made his will.

In 1820, John Gay and what's left of his family are found in WayneCoIN. Besides himself, there is one male aged 10-15 (which pretty much confirms that son James was born in 1810), 2 females aged 10-15 (presumably Esther and Agnes), and just 2 slaves.^[231] If John Gay intended to free his slaves,

²³⁰ **John Gay Esq household, 1810 USCensus, RockbridgeCoVA, page 296(14), image 13** → Males: 1 (45+), 1 (0-9); Females: 1or2 (45+), 1 (25-44), 1 (10-15), 4 (0-9); Slaves 11. There are at least two older females (the figure for the Female 45+ category is blurred but is more likely a "1"). Probably, wife Agnes was the one in the 26-44 age category, and the one 45+ could be her mother, Esther Houston. The boy 10-15, and the girl 10-15, fit with the known birth dates of the two oldest children, John and Jane, while the boy under 10 is probably the neonate James Dunlap Gay (this is pretty much confirmed by John Gay's household in 1820); if so, then wife Agnes probably did not die giving birth to James. The 4 other females are the right age to be the remaining daughters, Melinda, Elizabeth, Esther, and Nancy.

²³¹ **John Gay household, 1820 USCensus, WayneCoIN, page 168+(09), image 7** → Males: 1 (45+), 1 (10-15); Females: 2 (10-15); Slaves 2.

Indiana would have been a better place to do it; an 1806 VA law required that newly freed slaves leave the state within 12 months or they could be made slaves again.

Daughters Elizabeth, Esther, and Nancy all married CentervilleIN merchants like their father, who kept a tavern, and perhaps a general store there. When Esther's first husband, Samuel Booker, died less than a year after their marriage, she was married, second, to a very prominent man: James Brown Ray, Governor of Indiana from 1825-1831. A nice piece of evidence for this relationship has recently become available online. A federal office seeker applying to Henry Clay (then Secretary of State) for a position on behalf of his brother, but anticipating opposition to the appointment, wrote Clay on 4Oct1825 that "politics will be hinted at, God forbid such a course. . . and . . . Govr. [James B.] Ray is hostile . . . on that acct.", but added that he has given recommendations to all who ask, "even to Majr Gay, Govr. Rays father in law." The modern editor of this letter then noted correct particulars of John Gay's militia record, and that he had been an early settler of WayneCoIN, and was currently a deputy clerk of the county. The editor also said that the daughter in question was presumably Esther Gay, who had been widowed by Samuel Booker in Sep1823, but had married Ray in Sep1825, just weeks before the officeseeker's letter was written.^[232] Major Gay must have been flabbergasted at the presumption of the man, and rueful of his new status as influential political insider.

John Gay was born in AugustaCoVA about Nov1756.^[233] He died in WayneCoIN 18Mar1827, of "cholick" (a sudden pain possibly indicative of organ disease or intestinal blockage).^[234]

John Gay married Agnes McKee (daughter of John McKee and Esther Houston), on or after 16Aug1796, the date of the marriage license.^[235] Agnes was born in AugustaCoVA 21Sep1767.^[236] She died between 1810, and 2Sep1816 (when her husband alone sold his Calfpasture land).

On 20May1777 the AugustaCoVA, court appointed Jane [Ramsey?] and John Gay executors of the 18Aug1775 will of John Gay. In this era when men handled virtually all financial and legal affairs, the fact that John was listed after his mother strongly suggests that he was still a minor on that date. His father's was the first of many estates John was to administer during his lifetime.

On 4Aug1778 John Gay was sworn to his commission as Justice of the Peace in RockbridgeCoVA,—at the age of 21.^[237] John's oldest son had both a secondary education and some college at William & Mary, and I suspect that the father did too, thus accounting for this otherwise extraordinary appointment for such a young man; it didn't hurt, either, that his father was prosperous enough to own 8 slaves. Be that as it may, John was generally referred to thereafter as John Gay, Esq., or Gent., or later, as Major John Gay for his militia rank—a set of honorifics of great convenience to the family historian.^[238]

²³² *The Papers of Henry Clay: Volume 4: Secretary of State, 1825*, James F. Hopkins, editor (LexingtonKY: University of KY Press, 1972).

²³³ Splitting the difference between 20May1777 when John was listed second as a co-exor of his father's will, and 9Apr1778 when he was nominated for a "commission of the peace" (RockbridgeCo Order Book 1:7).

²³⁴ Letter, W[illia]m M. Doughty to W[illia]m McKee, 22Mar1827.

²³⁵ **LincolnCoKY Marriage Licenses.**

²³⁶ Edwin Garner Chapman, "The Gay Family—Pioneers of America", 25.

²³⁷ RockbridgeCoVA County Court Order Book 1:17.

²³⁸ RockbridgeCoVA County Court Order Book 1:20. He "took oath of a Justice of Peace & owyer & terminer". He was nominated for this office on 9Apr1778 (OB 1:7).

On the same day in 1778 John assumed his commission as county justice, he filed an administration bond with Jane Martain [Martin], as co-administrator of her husband's estate.^[239] John Gay Esq. and Robert Dunlap were named executors in the 24Jun1780 will of Jean —?—, the second wife, and widow, of James² Gay—John Gay Esq. being the son of James's brother, John², and Robert Dunlap having married brother William²'s daughter, Mary.^[240] On 20Aug1789 John Gay was commissioned Sheriff of Rockbridge County by the governor of Virginia,^[241] and on 8Oct1789 he filed his bond as incoming sheriff.^[242]

On 15Aug1796 John Gay filed a bond in LincolnCoKY, court to marry Agnes McKee, with the consent of her guardian, and uncle, W[illia]m McKee.^[243] On 3Apr1804 John Gay stood surety for Anne Dunlap, as administratrix of her husband, John Dunlap's, estate,^[244] and on 3Apr1809 he was granted certificate of probate as co-executor, and "friend" of Ann's own.^[245]

On 2Sep1816, John Gay of RockbridgeCoVA, sold his plantation of 803a "on the waters of the Big Calfpasture and Little River", to Joseph Bell, for \$10,000 (equivalent to about \$155,000 in 2008).^[246] Since his wife was not party to the deed, she was presumably dead by then. This is also the last record for John Gay, Esq. in Virginia. He had already purchased two quarter-sections of land, one in WayneCoIN, in the Whitewater region, and the other, adjacent, in OH. On this land he built a brick mansion in the style of Virginia, and about the same time put up a tavern in nearby Centerville "for man and beast". He also donated land for the erection of a Presbyterian church by the name of Beulah.^[247] According to the editor of the Henry Clay papers, Gay also owned a general store in the town, and he served for a time as deputy clerk of WayneCoIN before his death.^[248]

In his will dated 20Dec1822, John Gay, of WayneCoIN, "considering the uncertainty of this mortal life, and being of sound and perfect mind and memory", wills that all his personal property

²³⁹ RockbridgeCoVA County Court Order Book 1:21. On 19Apr1763, James² Gay, John's uncle, and next neighbor in the Calfpasture, sold to David Martin the nearby 354a tract he had purchased from Samuel Gay (Chalkley 3:398, citing Deeds 11:241). Although an AugustaCo deed of 1768 from John Dickinson to David Martin of RowanCoNC (Chalkley 3:478, citing Deeds 15:212) shows that this family had removed to Carolina by then (assuming it was the same David Martin), and no Martins are found on the 1777 Augusta tax list for the Calfpasture, the fact that Martin was still buying Augusta land suggests that he maintained ties there, and in 1785, Salathiel Martin, son and heir of David Martin of RowanCoNC, was involved with John Dickinson in a mortgage transaction, probably with respect to the same land (Chalkley 3:575, citing Deeds 25:206, is exceedingly vague here, in his abstract). It would be entirely in character for John Gay, who had just been sworn as a Rockbridge Justice of the Peace, to perform this, his first act of public service for a former neighbor.

²⁴⁰ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 1:101-102.

²⁴¹ *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia*, 5 volumes, Sandra Gioia Treadway, editor(s) (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1982), 5:111. "It is advised that the following commissions issue: . . . and on recommendation appointing John Gay Sheriff for the county of Rockbridge".

²⁴² RockbridgeCoVA Probate 1:344-347.

²⁴³ LincolnCoKY Marriage Bonds & Consents.

²⁴⁴ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 2:377.

²⁴⁵ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 3:184, and on the last page of the will copy filed with *John Dunlap's Heirs*. . . (1817).

²⁴⁶ RockbridgeCoVA Deeds K:96-97. The actual shape of this property is as indeterminate as the river, since it embraces about two miles of river frontage, down the Big River to the mouth of the Little River, then up the Little River.

²⁴⁷ **Edwin Garner Chapman**, 27-29. Mr. Chapman spent considerable time in this area researching John Gay, and in fact, he located his grave in the private cemetery of his son-in-law, Samuel Booker, and arranged to have both graves removed to the old cemetery in the town where Major John Gay of the Revolution was re-interred complete with a DAR ceremony and a local Boy Scout troop to conduct the honors.

²⁴⁸ Papers of Henry Clay.

be sold for the equal benefit of his six children: John, Jane, Betsey, Hetty, Nancy, and James—except that “those that have got some property are to discount that much out of their shares”. The sale of his land he leaves to the discretion of his executor, with the proceeds to be divided equally amongst the six, except that son James is to first have half the price of the land testator now lives on. In the meantime, pending such sale, the land is to be rented out with the proceeds used for “schooling James, and keeping Nancy while she continues single.” John appoints his son, John M. Gay, his sole executor. The witnesses are Clements Ferguson, David Ferguson, and Andrew Ferguson.^[249]

A gravestone in the pioneer cemetery, in Centerville, IN, reads “MAJOR || JOHN GAY || 2ND & 8TH REG'TS || VA LINE || REV. WAR || 1762-1827^[250]”.

²⁴⁹ Will of John Gay, 20Dec1822, WayneCoIN Probate.

²⁵⁰ Photos of the stone accompany two RichmondIN newspaper articles, one in *The Daily Palladium*, for 29May1933, and the other in *The Morning Item*, for 27Aug1933. And there were still other newspaper articles on this event, one of which refers to John Gay’s service as a private with the two regiments noted on the marker. Unfortunately, since he was commissioned Ensign in 1779, when he was already a Rockbridge county justice, there is little likelihood that he ever served as a militia private. And I have already explained why the birth date must be wrong.

According to Chapman’s “The Gay Family—Pioneers of America”, 29, Gay had originally been buried on the farm of his son-in-law, Samuel Booker, but both men were later re-interred in the old cemetery in CentervilleIN, by Gay’s daughter, and Booker’s wife, Esther (Gay) (Booker) Ray. But it was Chapman, in the name of his son-in-law’s mother, Harriet Ann Gay, a granddaughter of the honored Major John Gay, who was responsible for the new marker, and for promoting the public ceremony attending its installation. A letter, R.E. McWhinney to Chapman, 27Feb1932, says “I have every thing lined up for the Gay marker if you decide to erect one”, and confirms that “Harry Bertsch [*a local newspaperman*] says that from his investigation there seem[s] to be no doubt but that Mr. Gay’s remains were removed to the cite [*sic*] of the present Booker monument.” Annotated on the face of this letter is the following (evidently a proposed inscription): “In memory of, John Gay, A Soldier of the Revolution, Ensign and Major, in the Virginia State Militia, 1756-1805, Erected by his granddaughter Harriet (Gay) Robb”. Whoever may be responsible for this annotation, it is a pity that it wasn’t used—probably because it would have been too expensive—because, except for the death date, which would no doubt have been corrected, it is accurate in every particular.

Children of JOHN³ GAY and AGNES MCKEE:i. JOHN MCKEE⁴ GAY and his wife SARAH THOMAS:

The principal source for the vital records of this family is the John McKee Gay family bible record.^[251] Information on Sarah's natal family, comes from a private source in KS, discovered (I believe) by E.G. Chapman.^[252]

John McKee Gay was born 25Jun1797,^[253] and he died in Prairie du Chien, WI 27Feb1877.^[254] He married Sarah Thomas (daughter of John Thomas and Sarah Owen) in Peoria County, IL 27Mar1828.^[255] She was born in Champaign County, IL 19Apr1807.^[256]

After his secondary education at a school in WarmSprings, BathCoVA, John McKee Gay studied law at William & Mary, then clerked in the law office of his (future?) brother-in-law, James Brown Ray (or Rhea), who became Governor of IN in 1825. According to his oldest daughter, Nancy, John McKee left the law "because he said he could not take the side [which] he did not believe was right. He was a tall, gentlemanly person, and could take his place anywhere with credit to himself".^[257]

After his marriage, Gay removed to PutnamCoIL (est.1825, but activated in 1831) where he was elected one of the first three county commissioners who selected Hennepin as the county seat. The first settler of the county was Henry Thomas, a cousin of Gay's wife Sarah, who arrived in 1828, and by 1831 Thomas was joined, in the area called West Bureau, by Gay, Ezekiel Thomas (a brother of Sarah), and by Abram Stratton. In 1832, an Indian raid by warriors of the Black Hawk tribe was opposed, unsuccessfully by "Stillman's Army" (including a young private from SangamonCoIL named Abe Lincoln), and when the army was defeated, all the settlers fled to safer parts—in the case of the Gays and the Thomases, that was Peoria. Some settlers never returned, but John McKee Gay and his family were back at the earliest opportunity, and by 1836, the hamlet of Princeton had become a town, complete with a courthouse, a church, and a hotel. "Opposite the hotel, on the west side of the street [Main Street], was a small one story building, and over the door of which were the words 'Post Office.' Above the sign of Post Office, was a large one, reading thus, 'Dry Goods and Groceries; John M Gay.'

²⁵¹ [John McKee Gay], **John McKee Gay Family Bible Records**, 1855/1856, photostats & typescript, transcribed by John B. Robb.

²⁵² "Thomas", in Lina Vandegrift Denison Cherry, *McDonnell and Allied Families* (privately printed, 1959), I believe all Cherry's information was based on earlier research by Chapman.

²⁵³ Barker & Ordway, "Genealogy of the Gay Family".

²⁵⁴ [Obituary of John M. Gay], in *Prairie du Chien [WI] Courier*, 6Mar1877; **Letter, Walter Clarence Robb to John Gay Sherwood, c.Jan1955**, reporting that John McKee Gay's tombstone in the Mt. Sterling, WI cemetery reads "1877, Feb 22—79 years, 8 months, 2 days". The correspondents were both grandsons of John McKee Gay; Applying my trusty perpetual calendar to the first source, and calculating back to the birthdate from the gravestone record, these sources agree on the death date. The "Feb.22" date reportedly on the gravestone is likely a corruption of "Feb.27".

²⁵⁵ John McKee Gay Bible Records; There is also a record of this marriage in the IL marriage index, with the same date, but I have not obtained a copy of the original record.

²⁵⁶ John McKee Gay Bible Records.

²⁵⁷ Barker & Ordway, "Genealogy of the Gay Family".

Outside of the building, and fronting the door, stood a tall, spare, dark-complexioned man, known by everyone as the proprietor of the establishment, and post master..”^[258]

By 1847, John McKee Gay and family had moved on to SW Wisconsin, and across the Mississippi River to Iowa, and by 1850 it appears that Gay had joined his younger brother, James Dunlap Gay, in his sawmill venture on the Kickapoo, thus opening up this important lumbering area with easy access to the Mississippi.^[259] When James died prematurely, John took over the business, added a gristmill, and the present town of Gays Mills WI sprung up at the site.^[260]

John McKee & Sarah (Thomas) Gay had 10 children, 9 of whom survived to adulthood: Nancy Jane, Mary Cornelia, James Blair, Thomas William, John Francis (died in infancy), Sarah Elizabeth, Frances Eliza, Harriet Anna, George Frederick, and Ella Viola.

- ii. JANE E GAY was born 13Jan1799,^[261] and she died in Clifton, OH 27Mar1863. Jane married Andrew Poage (son of James Poage and Mary Woods) 1819. Andrew was born in Mason County, KY 25Dec1791, died in Clifton, OH 29Apr1840. My guess is that Jane's full name was Jane E[sther], after both her grandmothers. Of course, she also had a sister named Esther, which is perhaps why her father called the sister, “Hetty”, in his will. Oldest niece Nancy Barker says: “Aunt Jane and daughter Nancy went to Bowling Green, Kentucky, where Aunt died [I found her in the 1850 USCensus for MiamiCoOH.]. They had three children: Nancy, Andrew and John. One of the sons was a physician. Uncle Poage's sister was wife of Reverend John Williamson, missionary to the Sioux Indians. They called at father's when we lived in Princeton, Illinois, on their way to the Mission.” Jane's husband was a minister.^[262]

²⁵⁸ N. Matson, *Reminiscences of Bureau County* (PrincetonIL: privately printed, 1872), 34 (flight from Indian), 89 (first settlers), 203 (downtown Princeton).

²⁵⁹ **John M Gay household, 7Aug1850 USCensus**, Garnavillo, ClaytonCoIA, page 165B(01-10), image 3 → John M Gay (sawyer, \$500 real prop), 52 b.VA, Sarah 42 b.OH, Thomas W (laborer) 15 b.IL, Sarah E 9 b.WS, Francis E 7 b.IA, Harriet A 5, George F 1, **Barker**, Nancy 21 b.IL, Charles 8, **Littlefield**, Osias (clergyman) 40 b.NY; **James D Gay household, 15Aug1850 USCensus**, Prairie du Chien, CrawfordCoWI, page 248A(05-07), image 25 → James D Gay (lumberman, \$3000 real prop), 38 b.VA, **James**, John (lumberman) 40, **McBee**, John (lumberman) 30 b.IL.

²⁶⁰ Harriet Anna Gay, *Memories*, 1928, 9.

²⁶¹ Chapman gives the birth date as 13Jan1798, but that would clash with the well-authenticated birth date of her elder brother, so I have simply bumped up the year by 1. Jane's ages in the USCensus (51 in 1850, 60 in 1860) also comport better with the 1799 date.

²⁶² Edwin Garner Chapman, "Jane Gay", 17 supplies the specific BMD information, including a birth date of 13Jan1798 for Jane, which is surely wrong, given the birth date of her older brother, John McKee (upon which several independent sources agree); I have “corrected” the year to 1799. Pages 2-4 of this section supposedly provides more biographical material on this couple, but unfortunately, my copy begins with page 13. Among the 20 or so sources cited at the end of this section (e.g. Chalkley, Waddell), two are letters from Poage descendants, which seem the most likely sources for the specifics on Jane Gay, and her husband, the Rev. Andrew Poage: these correspondents were Mrs. James B. Poague, of ClathamVA, and Mr. Steele Poague of XeniaOH. However, reference is also made to copies of family letters belonging to Mrs. John Russell Sampson, author of *Kith and Kin* (1922), which has a chapter on Poages, but no specific BMD information I can find by paging through it (there is only a primitive index).

- iii. MELINDA GAY was born say Aug1800. She married [David?] Lowman say Sep1816or “Lawman”,^[263] while still in Virginia, and died young.^[264] She died on or before 20Dec1822, when she was not mentioned in her father’s will.
- iv. ELIZABETH GAY was born 1Dec1802, and died 20Oct1885.^[265] Elizabeth married William M. Doughty (son of John Doughty and Margaret —?—) in Centerville, IN 3Dec1818; Doughty was born 20May1792, and died in Knightstown, IN 20Nov1878.^[266] Elizabeth’s husband was, like her father and several brothers-in-law, a merchant. The Doughtys spent their first years together in Centerville, and in 1838 William sold a town lot to his brother-in-law, James B. Ray, who was out of the Governor’s office by then. About 1840, the Doughtys removed to Knightstown, HenryCoIN, where they spent the rest of their days. Doughty was a hotel keeper, aged 68 in the 1860 USCensus.^[267]
- v. ESTHER GAY was born in VA about 1805,^[268] and she died on or after 26Jul1850, when she last appears in the USCensus.^[269] Esther Gay married 1st, Samuel Booker, before 20Dec1822, when her father made provision for “keeping [daughter] Nancy while she

²⁶³ Barker & Ordway, “Genealogy of the Gay Family”, Chapman says the name is “Lauman”, but his information may be derived from the original manuscript of Nancy (Gay) Barker, which was also transcribed, perhaps differently, by Nancy’s daughter, Estella.

²⁶⁴ That there was a Melinda, and that she died young (before she was 21) is credible, but in the 1820 USCensus there is only one Lawman in VA, and he lives in Accomack (there are no Laumans in VA), while the one geographically and temporally downstream Lawman household, in OH, has (probably) the wrong family structure. There are, however, 8 Lowmans in VA—6 in AugustaCo, and 2 in Rockbridge, these latter evidently in the same neighborhood as John Gay, as they are within 2 pages of him in the 43 page census for Rockbridge. The closest, Peter Lowman (which might be misread Lawman or even Lauman) appears to be married with 6 children under 10; the other, Jno Lowman, although in the same age bracket, seems to be older because his children include a girl aged 16-25, a boy 10-15, and 3 girls under 10. The boy would have been 16-21 at the time Melinda likely married.

If the name Lowman seems unduly German, I note that many German names have infiltrated to Calfpasture by 1810. Unfortunately, in 1820, there are only 38 Lowman households in the whole US, and just 3 in VA—all in AugustaCo (at least according to the index—I found several more Lowmans just in the 3 places I looked). Of the households I looked at in VA, TN, and OH, two were possibles—both of them headed by David Lowmans. David of Staunton (the seat of AugustaCo) has a wife 16-25, and 3 children under 10, while the household of David of ClarkCoOH, aged 16-25, consists only of himself and a female under 10 (might this be a daughter of Melinda who died in childbirth?) There is a gravestone for David Lowman of ClarkCoOH (d.1879) at FindAGrave, but no other Lowmans in the same cemetery, nor any Melinda (or Malinda) Lowman (or Lawman or Lauman) anywhere in this database.

²⁶⁵ Nancy Barker says “Aunt Betty” had two children, Margaret and John: “Margaret married at Springfield, Illinois to a Mr. William Hatch [and had] three children: Chloe, Mary and Willie. Willie went to St. Paul, Minnesota and married a Miss Florida. Cousin Margaret died early of consumption ?also Chloe. Cousin Doughty was engaged in the newspaper business; was editor of the *State Sentinel* when the war began [*he must have been well known to Abraham Lincoln*]. Then he enlisted [and was] taken prisoner and sent to Libby Prison. When he went in his hair was as black as a raven, and when he came out it was snow white.”

²⁶⁶ Edwin Garner Chapman, “Elizabeth, One of the Daughters of Major John and Nancy (McKee) Gay”, 1934, 3, provides birth, marriage, and death dates for this couple, and details on their children.

²⁶⁷ Edwin Garner Chapman, “Elizabeth Gay”, 1-4. The specific dates are said to come from their gravestones in Knightstown, HenryCoIN, but the fact that there are specific birth dates for Doughty’s parents suggests that there was a family bible record as well. Additional material is provided for the few descendants of this couple.

²⁶⁸ Papers of Henry Clay, The approximate marriage date and other biographical information is supplied by the editor, but I have been unable so far to find his source.

²⁶⁹ Nancy Barker says: “Aunt Esther and Uncle James had several children: Cousin Eliza, wife of Judge Carver, and Virginia, who married Johnny Younglove. They were living in Bowling Green, Kentucky when the war broke out. They had two children, one daughter and two sons. Aunt died of cholera at her house in Indianapolis.”

continues single”, but none for daughter Hetty.^[270] Booker died about 1824. Esther Gay married 2nd, James Brown Ray, as his 2nd wife, Sep1825. Ray was born 19Feb1794, and died 4Aug1848. James Brown Ray married 1st, Mary Riddle, say 1820. Most of my information for Esther (Gay) (Booker) Ray, and her husbands, was culled from Chapman’s “McKees” report, but I suspect there was a separate section on Esther as well (just as there is for each of her sisters) which I am missing. Samuel Booker is said to have been the most prosperous merchant in Centerville, and that he died while on a restocking trip to Philadelphia. Chapman also reports that an ad was placed in the Richmond, Indiana Palladium in 1848, the year Governor Ray died, with an offer by Esther Gay to sell thousands of acres of land in Centerville belonging to James B. Ray; obviously, this was an estate sale. Samuel Booker was a young Centerville merchant who died a few months after his marriage to Esther Gay. Her second husband was Governor of Indiana from 1825-1831, during the initial phase of national road and railroad building. He had also been legal preceptor and mentor to Esther’s older brother, John McKee Gay, and after he retired, he returned to the law, and was also a merchant, and newspaper publisher, just like the other sons and sons-in-law of John Gay, Esq.^[271] James Brown Ray is buried at Spring Grove Cemetery, in Cincinnati, OH, but there are no other Rays in this cemetery.^[272]

- vi. AGNES GAY was born about 1808, and died in StCharles, Kane, IL about 1840.^[273] Agnes married James Blair in Centerville, in WayneCoIN 19Feb1824. Nancy (Gay) Barker, daughter of Nancy Blair’s oldest brother, John McKee Gay, says that the Blairs adopted a daughter, Lucretia, after 11 childless years, and then finally had their own daughter, Rebecca, the next year. Rebecca was sent back east where she met and married railroad mogul Frederick Ames of Boston. Nancy remembers her parents visiting the Blairs at their home 4 miles east of St. Louis, when he father was still in the mercantile business.^[274]
- vii. JAMES DUNLAP GAY was born 1810,^[275] and died in Crawford County, WS about 1856. Nancy (Gay) Barker, who was born in 1829, remembers meeting her uncle for the first time when she was 14: “He was rather tall, slender and straight. But what I remember best about his looks was his beautiful dark eyes with such a kind expression.” She says

²⁷⁰ I have postulated a marriage date of 1822, based on two hints in Chapman. At one point, he says that the marriage took place just months before Samuel’s untimely death, and at another, that the couple had a daughter, Esther. No birth date or other information is supplied for this daughter. She may, of course, have been posthumous, and the marriage may have taken place in 1823.

²⁷¹ Some of this information is derived from FindAGrave, which also says that Ray was born in CincinnatiOH, though his stone (which is largely illegible) appears to place his nativity in JeffersonCoNY.

²⁷² [James Brown Ray grave, Spring Grove Cemetery, Cincinnati, OH.](#)

Although little of his stone is legible, birth and death dates, and a short biography are given at this site.

²⁷³ Nancy Barker says that this was her father’s favorite Aunt, that she married merchant James Blair and went to live in St.Louis, but that they apparently had no children of their own. Instead, they adopted two daughters, one of whom, Rebecca, married Frederick A. Ames of Boston, who became superintendent of the Union Pacific, and died in Omaha in 1890. Nancy (Gay) Blair is said to have died about 1840 of cholera in “St.Charles”, an IL suburb of St.Louis.

²⁷⁴ Barker & Ordway, “Genealogy of the Gay Family”, Since Nancy, the niece, was born 11Feb1829, and her father was a merchant in PrincetonIL until the 1840s, it is likely that she heard about the children of this family directly from her parents; Edwin Garner Chapman, “Nancy of the Daughters of Major John and Nancy (McKee) Gay”, 1934, quotes from Nancy’s paper, but says that he had been unable to verify any of the information.

²⁷⁵ James was aged 38 in the 1850 USCensus, but the 1810 census for his father’s household in 1810 shows a male under 10, and in 1820, one 10-15, and two years later, when John Gay made his will, he focused on the special consideration which was to be given to the maintenance and education of his son, James.

that about this time he first went to the Kickapoo River in SW Wisconsin and built a sawmill there, but that his health failed him later on, and he went to live with his brother, her father, John McKee Gay, in Garnavillo Iowa.^[276] This would have been in the mid-1850s. James D. Gay, lumberman, is found living at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, on the Mississippi in the 1850 USCensus, and his brother, John M. Gay, sawyer, is indeed living in GarnavillaIA, across the river.^[277] It appears from these entries (and from John McKee's location) that they were already in partnership by that time, some years before James's health failed. My estimate for James's death date is based on his niece, Harriet's, recollection of the time her father, John McKee Gay, moved the family to GaysMillsWI to take over his brother's business, and on the last letter of her father's, dated in 1855, in which brother James was mentioned as still alive.^[278]

²⁷⁶ Barker & Ordway, "Genealogy of the Gay Family".

²⁷⁷ James D Gay household, 15Aug1850 USCensus → James D Gay (lumberman, \$3000 real prop), 38 b.VA, **James**, John (lumberman) 40, **McBee**, John (lumberman) 30 b.IL; John M Gay household, 7Aug1850 USCensus → John M Gay (sawyer, \$500 real prop), 52 b.VA, Sarah 42 b.OH, Thomas W (laborer) 15 b.IL, Sarah E 9 b.WS, Francis E 7 b.IA, Harriet A 5, George F 1, **Barker**, Nancy 21 b.IL, Charles 8, **Littlefield**, Osias (clergyman) 40 b.NY.

²⁷⁸ Harriet Anna Gay, "Memories", 9.

13. [DAUGHTER]³ GAY (*Robert*², *John*¹) and her husband —?— Rhea

She was born say 1756, and died say 1786, and married a son of [Archibald?] Rhea, say 1780.

Children of [DAUGHTER]³ GAY and [SON] RHEA were as follows:

- i. Agnes⁴. Agnes Rhea was born say 1782.
- ii. Robert. Robert Rhea was born say 1784.
- iii. Archibald. Archibald Rhea was born say 1786.

APPENDIX A: Possible Origins and the Immigration of John¹ & Agnes? Gay

Before discovering the narrative of Eleanor Gay's grandson, William Bury Kinkead, with its comments about his immigrant ancestors, I had already come to the tentative conclusion that the parents of the Gay siblings of the Little Calfpasture did indeed emigrate to the New World. The only actual evidence for this is the statement by Jane (Gay) Stevenson, daughter of James² of the Calfpasture that: "My father came from Ireland when he was a boy. But then he lived on the frontier long before he was married."^[279] If he came as a boy, he most likely came with parent(s).

Drawing on material from this same Jane Stevenson interview, and on the letter written by William Bury Kinkead's father, John, I have made at least a *prima facie* case for Eleanor being an aunt of Jane, and therefore (probably) a sibling of Jane's father, James Gay. And if this inference is correct, everything else Kinkead has to say about his grandmother, Eleanor's, parents, applies also to the otherwise hypothetical immigrant parents of all the Gays of the Little Calfpasture.

William Bury Kinkead, as a matter of fact, has some very interesting and significant things to say about his great-grandparents, based on his childhood memories of what their daughter, his grandmother, Eleanor, and probably also his father John, told him (William's written words here are quoted by his daughter, Elizabeth Shelby Kinkead, whose parenthetical interpolations I have elided):

"The ancestors of my grandparents were Scotch people. They left Scotland after the battle of Bothwell Bridge,^[280] and went to Ireland, settling in the northern part of that country; my grandmother's people, about four miles out from Derry. They were devoted Presbyterians, but did not side with either of the extreme parties of that day. King William represented their ideas, and they held him in highest admiration.

"I can well remember, a little boy of ten years of age, standing by my grandmother, and being delighted to listen to her give this history of that memorable siege, which she had heard from the lips of her mother, whose father was in the siege."^[281]

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"Not a great while after this the ancestors of my grandfather and grandmother emigrated to the United States. They first came to Pennsylvania, and soon after moved to Virginia, to the county of Augusta. My grandfather, William Kinkead, was born in 1736. My grandmother, Eleanor Guy, was four years younger than he was."^[282]

²⁷⁹ Jane Stevenson Interview, with John Dabney Shane, 184?, in the Draper Collection, 137.

²⁸⁰ The Battle of Bothwell Bridge, in 1679, was brought on by the resistance of the Scottish Presbyterian "covenanters" to the attempted restoration of the episcopal Church of England in Scotland. The battle itself was a military fiasco and stinging defeat of the rebel forces, brought on by an almost total lack of leadership, discipline, and forethought.

²⁸¹ William, here, is evidently speaking of the Siege of Londonderry, of 1689, in which the citizens of that town in northern Ireland successfully resisted an army led by the ousted King of England, James II, attempting to reconquer Ireland for his throne. The bulk of James's army was made up of Irish Catholics, supplemented by French troops and it was largely financed by the French Catholic 'Sun King', Louis 14th. The people of the city, with its garrison, resisted 105 days of bombardment, starvation, and disease, during which half the population perished, until the river blockade was broken by relief ships from the new English Monarchs, Dutch Protestant King William, and his wife Mary, a daughter of James2 himself, and thus crowned Queen, and joint Monarch of England, in her own right.

²⁸² "Kinkead", in Peyton Neale Clarke, *Old King William Homes and Families: An Account of Some of the Old Homesteads and Families of King William County, Virginia, From Its Earliest Settlement* (LouisvilleKY: privately printed, 1897; reprint GPC, 1976). The principal part of this is a multi-page article by William Bury Kinkead about his grandparents, William & Eleanor (Gay) Kinkead, and their Scotch-Irish ancestors.

This seems to be fairly solid evidence (although it *is* hearsay narrated long after the hearing) of the Scottish, then northern Irish, origins of the Gays. One caution though: the specifics of the history, of course, William must have acquired later, when he was older, but even the personal stuff probably didn't come directly from his grandmother, since William was born 31Dec1819,^[283] and his grandmother died 9Oct1825,^[284] when he was still only 5.

William says that his grandmother's people (the Guys) settled just a few miles from Derry when they came over from Scotland. Let us consider this in the light of Robert Montgomery's search for Gay records in Ireland, the results of which he published as a preface to his paper on John Gay of Sadsbury,^[285] Although Montgomery found a number of records for the surname Gay, he was, not surprisingly, unable to make any connections between them and the settlers of AugustaCoVA; indeed, he found no traces of this Gay family in PA, either, nor has anyone else, to my knowledge. But two of the Montgomery items for Gays are geographically local to the city of Londonderry, which sits also on the border to county Donegal. One is for Letterkenny, county Donegal (about 15 miles to the west), and the other to Aghadowey in county Derry (about 20 miles to the east of the city), and the timing is about right for either, or both of these men to have been the American immigrant. First, the Aghadowey item:

“In the Session Book of the Aghadowey Congregation . . . at the session of Feb.7, 1705/6, James Gay appeared at this Session acknowledging his sin of marrying w[ithou]t a popish priest, he promised to submit to censure, he is appointed to appear to acknowledge his sin on Lord's day come eight days. Contrary to custom, the wife was not named, an omission that is annoying to a genealogist. The minister of Aghadowey Congregation at this time was the famous James McGregor, who later came to New England.”

The Rev. James McGregor led his party of emigrants to New Hampshire in 1718, and helped found Londonderry there, so even if the James Gay who was censured in this record did emigrate, the odds are that he is not the James whose widow Rebeckah Guy filed an administration bond in LancasterCoPA on 17Oct1743.^[286]

The other record is even more interesting:

“At a General Synod of the Presbyterian Church held at Londonderry, June 29, 1722, John Gay was ruling elder from Letterkenny Presbytery, the minister whom he accompanied being David Fairly. As David Fairly served the Convoy Congregation in Donegal from 1711 to 1776, we may infer that this John Gay lived in Co. Donegal not far from Londonderry.”

²⁸³ *The Biographical Encyclopaedia of Kentucky of the Dead and Living Men of the Nineteenth Century* (Cincinnati: J.M. Armstrong, 1878).

²⁸⁴ “The Families Kinkead, Stephenson, Garrett, Martin, and Dunlap”, in Laura Kinkead Walton, *Genealogies of Kentucky Families, From the Register of the Kentucky Historical Society (O-Y)* (Baltimore: GPC, 1981), 761.

²⁸⁵ Robert H. Montgomery, “John Gay of Sadsbury, Lancaster Co., Pa.”, in *The Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine*, 119-121. Montgomery shows that John of Sadsbury, LancasterCoPA, was the father of Henry Gay of the Calfpasture, but this family is of no known relation to any of the other early AugustaCoVA Gays.

²⁸⁶ Montgomery, “Gay Families”, 121. I missed the original of this record myself when I was going through the records of LancasterCoPA. Unfortunately, Montgomery provides no specific citation.

To be a ruling elder, a man would presumably have to be not only devout and of high character, but also somewhat elder. at least into early middle age, but if my hypothetical John married a bit late, say at age 30, and in 1708 as I have estimated, he would have been aged 44 in 1722—old enough to be this resident of Donegal near Londonderry, perhaps just 4 miles away (as his great-grandson, William Bury Kinkead said), across the river Foyle from the city, yet young enough to have joined the growing swell of Scotch-Irish emigration to PA ten years later, settling, with his sons aged 7-21, on the PA frontier in the newly created LancasterCo. His wife (Agnes?), the mother of these sons, might have died in Ireland some years before the family's emigration (thus explaining why there were no more sons, or, apparently, daughters), and John might have found a second wife to console him in PA or VA (Isabella??), who was young enough to bear him a late daughter, even though John himself would have been knocking on the door of his 60's by then, and he might have died soon after in either place, leaving her with just that one child. The probate records are patchy for both the PA and VA frontiers (LancasterCoPA was created in 1730) until well into the 1740's, and the tax records are essentially non-existent for both places,^[287] perhaps explaining why no trace of the father of these Gays has been found, but the fact that the father was prominent enough to be chosen a ruling elder of his congregation in Ireland, might also account for the fact that there was sufficient capital in this family for all these young men to take up, collectively, some 1500 acres along the broadest part of the two Calfpasture Rivers—river meadow land which flooded each spring, land which was uniquely valuable, but only for settlers who also had the capital to invest in stockbreeding.

Alternatively, John Gay, the ruling elder of Letterkenny, might have been the father of John Gay, the immigrant, if we suppose instead that all the latter's children were younger, and that he had only one wife.

²⁸⁷ I have been through every page of the extant probate records of both places, and the ones for AugustaCo and its parent Orange, have also been mostly indexed, but as is typical on the frontier, the early records tend to be somewhat sparse, in the absence of any real community—or of roads which are anything more than poorly maintained bridle trails through the forests and over the mountains. There was nothing better than such trails in Augusta County for some years after the Augusta court began to assume the burden of record-keeping from its parent Orange in the fall of 1745, and even the all important registration of deeds in this dynamically changing area, was far from complete. I have never found the deed for my ancestor John Gay, and a copy of the one for his brother James, just across the Big Calfpasture, has only turned up recently in the file of an 1800's Staunton chancery case.

APPENDIX B: The Myth of William & Margaret Gay, and William's Importation Record And Other Errors Noted by the Way in Walters's *Gay/Guy Families*

With the exception of Robert H. Montgomery,^[288] virtually every significant secondary source on these early Gays of Augusta has claimed that the father of them all was a William Gay, but the only actual evidence I have ever seen adduced for this is an alleged record of importation into the Colony of Virginia of William and his named children. However, *no one has ever actually been able to cite such a record to its source*. Since the records of AugustaCoVA have been thoroughly, if not exhaustively, abstracted and indexed by Chalkley, without turning up any records which can reasonably be attributed to this hypothetical senior William—not since 1951, when Robert Montgomery convincingly sorted all the William records into two separate Little Calfpasture identities—one must look to the records of the parent county, Orange, for any such record of importation.

Montgomery did not canvass these records himself, but instead wrote to the OrangeCo clerk asking about a reported record of importation for William dated 24Jul1740 and listing children William, John, James, Robert, Samuel, and Eleanor. The clerk replied that there was no such record. As a matter of fact, there is a record of that date for the importation by Samuel Gay of himself, his wife Margaret, and his sons John and Thomas Gay, but there are no importations for a William Gay for the period 1735-1770.^[289]

Yet the myth persists. It's most recent incarnation is to be found in Robert B. Walters's massive and otherwise valuable compendium on the Gays of Augusta, and their in-laws, carried down, in most cases, for additional generations.^[290] Walters quotes his preferred "authority" on the subject, Roy Stevenson King:^[291]

"Our first definitely known ancestor according to records in this country was William Gay and his wife Margaret Hamilton, daughter of Alexander Hamilton. The father of this William Gay was one of the defenders of Londonderry. . . William Gay was born after the siege took place but no doubt heard many of the details from his parents. Our Bible records do not give the christian name of our Londonderry defender.

"According to importation records in Orange County, Virginia., William Gay appears before the court to prove his importation by way of Philadelphia. He does not name his wife but he does name his six sons—William, James, Robert, Samuel, Henry and John and a daughter named Eleanor, who at that time must have been about a month old. . . Eleanor was born August 17, 1740. William Gay indicated his intention to take up land in the Shenandoah."

²⁸⁸ Robert H. Montgomery, "Gay Families of Augusta and Rockbridge Counties, Virginia", in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 198.

²⁸⁹ Barbara Vines Little, "Importations in the Orange County, Virginia Order Books 1-8, 1735 to 1770", in *Magazine of Virginia Genealogy*; Barbara Vines Little, *Orange County, Virginia, Order Book One, 1734-1739: Part One, 1734-1736* (OrangeVA: Dominion Market Research Corp, 1990); [Anonymous], *Orange County, Virginia, Court Orders, 1734-1741: An Every-Name Index* (MiamiBeachFL: T.L.C. Genealogy, 1994); Although I have no reason to doubt that eminent VA genealogist Barbara Vines Little missed any importations, I have nonetheless gone through the order books myself, page by page, item by item, for the courts from Sep1741-Mar1743/4, looking for this record as well as others of interest, but to no avail—there is no such record.

²⁹⁰ Robert B. Walters, *The Gay/Guy Families of Early Augusta County, Virginia, and Related Families of Dunlap, Kinkead/Kincaid, Lockridge, McFarland, McKee, Parkinson, Rhea, Stevenson, Walters, And Many Others* (VersaillesKY: Woodford County Historical Society, 2001), 2-6, comprises an extensive discussion of this putative William, and his supposed wife, Margaret.

²⁹¹ Roy Stevenson King, *The Ancestral Pilgrimage Along Life's Pathway* (AtlantaGA: 1939; Ancestry online: facsimile), 32.

Walters also cites the testimony of Eleanor's grandson, William Bury Kinkead, who says that his grandmother, Eleanor Guy Kinkead's, parents emigrated from near Londonderry in Ireland to Pennsylvania, and thence to AugustaCoVA, and he says that Eleanor herself told him stories about the 1688 Siege of Londonderry in which her grandfather participated. However, nowhere in the 1000 or so quoted words attributed to William Bury Kinkead by his daughter, Elizabeth Shelby Kinkead, does he provide the given names of Eleanor's parents.^[292]

On the strength of this evidence, Walters accepts a man named William Gay as the immigrant ancestor, the father of the brothers Gay.

Having accepted the name, he then proceeds to associate two early William Gay records with this hypothetical ancestor. First, he tells us that there is a record of immigration for a man of that name, and with the right "number of people in his party", in *Original Lists of Emigrants in Bondage from London to the American Colonies*, but the version I found of this book on the web has no entries for William Gay or Guy, and in fact, all the entries in the book are alphabetical by individual emigrant (with no tracking of parties), and all are records of indentured servants (as the title implies), most of them young men in their 20's.^[293] Naturally, the dates for each emigration are included in the abstract, but Walters furnishes no dates for his claimed William Gay record, nor any port of debarkation, nor any explanation as to how a more or less destitute indentured servant, registered as such at the guildhall of London, managed to marry in the colonies, raise many children, and shepherd the whole family into sufficient prosperity that they were able to arrive amongst all the Scotch-Irish on the VA frontier, with sufficient capital to buy large tracts of prime river bottom land, and set up extensive cattle-breeding operations. What's more, if William Gay were imported as an indentured servant, his supposed declaration of importation of himself and his family into the VA Colony from the Old World would have been fraudulent.

The other claimed record for the immigrant ancestor William Gay is an entry dated 28Nov1740 in OrangeCoVA Order Book 2:300 showing William Gay to be a defendant in a suit for debt, but this is based on a misreading of William *Jay*.

Instead of fantasizing about a mythical importation record for William Gay, let us look, instead, at the actual early evidence of Gays in the Valley of Virginia.

There are only a handful of records for Gays/Guys in Orange or AugustaCo before 1750, and most of them pertain to unrelated Samuel Gay of South River (there are also 3 records for a Thomas Gay between 1733-1735, but he seems to have moved on).^[294] One Robert Gay was deeded Big Calfpasture lot 9 in 1745, and there is evidence that at least 3 Gay brothers, William, James, and John, acquired land near the mouth of the Little Calfpasture by 1750, and that at least two of them were married with several children by then. Apart from this, and a record showing that Robert Gay and John Gay compiled the estate inventory of deceased Calfpasture neighbor Alexander Delap [Dunlap] in 1746, there are only two other pre-1750 records for Gays other than Samuel—one, the appointment of John Gay in 1742 as constable in OrangeCo, and the other the appointment of William Gay as constable in AugustaCo in 1746. Given that the thankless constable job was usually dumped onto the

²⁹² "Kinkead", in *Old King William Homes*, cited by Walters, at 4-5.

²⁹³ Marion & Jack Kaminkow, *Original Lists of Emigrants in Bondage from London to the American Colonies, 1719-1744* (Baltimore: Magna Carta Book Co., 1967; reprint 1981), Walters's version of the title is incomplete, he has misspelled the author's surname, and he provides no date for the work. The version I found is a revised edition which retains the original format, merely adding 46 records.

²⁹⁴ Since I have presented all the data in this and the next paragraph elsewhere, along with complete citations, I shall confine myself here to an informal capsule summary.

shoulders of upstanding younger men, and the fact that there was only one John Gay early in Augusta, and he was one of the sons of the Irish immigrant we are talking about here, we can scarcely entertain the possibility that John's father, William, would have been appointed constable four years after his son, when the old man would have been at least well into his 50s.

There were two different William Gays of the Calfpasture. The first, presumably the constable, purchased the the Little Calfpasture lot next above that of brother Samuel in 1749, and added the next lot above that in 1754. We know from this William's 1755 will that he was a brother of close neighbor John Gay; and that he left a widow, Margaret (who married, second, Alexander Hamilton), and several minor children: John, Robert, Mary and Agnes. The other William, who lived some miles to the north, up the river, died intestate in 1762, leaving only (so far as we know from the incomplete probate records) a minor son William. Obviously, neither of these Williams could have been the father of Eleanor.

There is, thus, some evidence (the testimony of her grandson), that Eleanor Gay's parents emigrated to America, and perhaps also to the Valley of Virginia, but none for thinking that they were named William & Margaret, let alone that Eleanor's mother was Margaret *Hamilton*, as King and others have claimed. However, there are very good onomastic reasons for hypothesizing that these parents were named John & Agnes, as I have shown above.

There are other dubious claims in Walters (not to say outright misidentifications). I follow Montgomery in identifying the Little Calfpasture William who died in 1755, as the son of the immigrant couple in question. This William (call him William-A, and the other who died in 1762, William-B) appointed "my brother, John Gay" his co-executor, and he named his first son, John. Brother John also named his first son, John, as did a third brother, James, which is why I identify William-A as William² (John¹—the immigrant father). Montgomery notes that Boutwell Dunlap believed that William-A's wife Margaret, was *née* Margaret *Walkup*. Dunlap probably thought that, because he was conflating William-A with William-B who left no wife but whose estate was administered by John Wahub, who was also appointed guardian of his orphan son William. The Walkups lived quite a ways further up Little River (thus closer to William-B, but not near neighbors), so there is reason to suspect that William-B, not William-A's wife was a Walkup.

I think Boutwell Dunlap's theory that William-A's wife was a Walkup was due to a simple conflation of the two Williams, but Walters has gone him one better by promoting this dubious theory to a proven fact. Far worse, he has made a truly staggering leap into the dark by claiming that William-A's *mother* (the wife of the mythical William¹) was *née* Margaret *Hamilton*. This idea probably comes from a further conflation of Margaret, the widow of William-A, who apparently married 2nd William Hamilton, and thus became the Margaret Hamilton who appears in several records found in Chalkley.^[295] To be fair, Walters is not the first to have made this leap, and in fact, his principal error here was his undue willingness to accept the vague conjectures of predecessor "authorities".

What is less excusable is that he has gone on to make William-B the son of William-A, thus ignoring the opinion of Robert Montgomery, FASG, who argued not from authority, but from cited evidence. Acknowledging that William-A named no son William in his 1755 will, Walters supposes that William-B, who purchased his Little Calfpasture tract directly from the proprietor, William

²⁹⁵ I say "apparently" because, even though Montgomery accepted William Hamilton as the name of Margaret's second husband, I have argued elsewhere that she actually married Calfpasture denizen *Alexander* Hamilton—the only William Hamilton of that period lived far away in Beverley Manor.

Beverley, had already received his inheritance from his father, so that there was no need to mention him in the will, and he claims that omitting a son under these circumstances was “not at all uncommon”. However, it has been my experience (and I have examined hundreds of colonial wills where I have had some independent idea of the structure of the family) that omitting a son who had already received his portion, *was* very uncommon, and it was certainly very ill-advised, because a natural heir (one who would have been an “heir at law” in the absence of a will) who was omitted from a will, could often make a strong argument that the omission was inadvertent, and that his father had in fact promised him this and that additional property. So far from omitting natural heirs, some wills even have clauses stipulating that if a natural heir, usually a son, should contest the explicit bequests in the will, that he should receive instead some lesser, or a merely token, amount. Given the litigious nature of these Scotch-Irish, and the very thorough and legally punctilious format of the wills they left, and the fact that the majority of wills (and I have examined cursorily many thousands) do make token bequests to older sons who have already received their portions, the omission of a son William, especially one who lived next door, would be at best anomalous. The usual procedure, in any case, would be for William the father to himself purchase the land intended for his son, then either deed it to him when the son came of age, or devise it to him in his will. And as a matter of fact, this is exactly what William² did for the two sons who are named in his will: John and Robert. Moreover, he called John his “eldest son.” It would have been extremely unusual to give a younger son his portion first; in fact I have never seen this done in all the wills I have examined. Thus the anomalies multiply. And this is just the circumstantial case against the father-son claim. There is additional direct evidence, which should lay this error to rest forever.

Walters has also identified Robert the son of William-A with one of the two early Roberts of AugustaCo (the one I have called above, Robert-B, who married William Jamison’s widow in the early 1750s, and who died in 1791), which is also on its face highly improbable for many reasons (e.g. the son would have had to be born years before William-A apparently married, etc. etc.), and which also runs contrary to Montgomery who thought this Robert might at most be a brother of William-A (I have argued elsewhere that he was). But all these fanciful theories, may be ruled out absolutely by a single document of which neither he nor Montgomery were apparently aware: the 1817 deed of sale by William-A’s daughter, Mary (Gay) (Dunlap) Coursey, of her father’s 490a Little Calfpasture home place, “which was willed to her brothers John and Robert, who both died in, when she, the said Mary, and her sister Nancy, were heirs in law to the said tract of land”.^[296] Given this document, there is no foundation at all to support Walters’s identification of the neighboring William-B Gay, or of the Robert-B Gay who died in 1791, as sons of William-A.

So what we are left with to argue for a William¹ is: (3) an implication that King had access to unspecified family bible records; (2) an alleged record of his importation which no one can cite to an

²⁹⁶ [Deed \(Sale\): Mary Coursey to Samuel McCutchen, 28Jun1817](#) To say that these brothers “died in infancy” is merely to say that they died before reaching their majority (aged 21), and so qualified themselves and their heirs to receive their father’s devise from his executors. And to say that Mary & Nancy inherited as “heirs in law” is to confirm and repeat this, because as a matter of common law, property not bequeathed explicitly in a will, or real property devised to a male heir who died before he came of age, passed automatically to his oldest surviving brother, or failing any surviving brothers, equally to all his sisters. It is for this reason, that land bequests to minors in wills often contain conditional clauses stipulating who the land was to go to in the event the “infant” should die before reaching 21. Since, according to the recital in Mary’s deed, all of her father’s real property was in fact distributed to the daughters as heirs at law, we know for certain that none of his sons ever reached the age of 21.

actual extant record, but which Walters's privileged source, R.S. King claims to have seen; (3) a letter written by John Kinkead, a son of Eleanor (Gay) Kinkead claiming that she was born 17Aug1740, which would require that the importation record be after that date if Eleanor was included in its list of imported children, as is alleged by R.S. King; and (4) the narrative account of William Bury Kinkead, a grandson of Eleanor (Gay?) Kinkead, who was supposedly a late daughter of this William¹ Gay, and a sister of the Little Calfpasture brothers.

Eleanor's birth date comes from an 1847 letter by John Kinkead, a son of Eleanor, to *his* son, G. B[lackburn] Kinkead, telling the story of her life, and of her capture by the Indians, but no other dates for Eleanor's natal family are found in this source. If there were also a bible, or other family record, covering William¹ Gay's family, or even one for any of his son's families which included their parents, why did King not provide any specific dates of birth and marriage in his account of this family? A transcription of the 1847 letter was published in the *Register* of the Kentucky Historical Society, and collected with it is a sketch by R.S. King on Samuel Stevenson, in which the subject's birth date is given in the very first sentence, as is typical for any genealogical subject for whom actual dated evidence exists. I submit that King had no such evidence for William or he would have included it in the work Walters cites.

I have already shown that if there was an importation record for this family, it does not appear to exist today, and no one has ever attempted to cite such a record. But let us consider the possibility that the importation record referred to by King and others might ever have existed.

First, importation records were rare by 1740. A whole new headright system was well established in VA by 1720, by which rights to survey land could be obtained on payment of a few shillings, and most people found that more convenient, and less problematic, than coming into court and swearing to actions which might be open to interpretation^[297] Second, if William Gay was claiming headrights to a fair quantity of land (and in his own name, not the names of his children), where is the evidence that he ever surveyed or patented such land, or that one of his Gay heirs sold it, or, if William died prematurely, where are his probate records?

Even if such a record did exist, what are the probabilities that R.S. King himself saw it? Recall what King said about this alleged record: "He does not name his wife but he does name his six sons—William, James, Robert, Samuel, Henry and John and a daughter named Eleanor, who at that time must have been about a month old. . . Eleanor was born August 17, 1740. William Gay indicated his intention to take up land in the Shenandoah."

It is claimed in the narrative of Eleanor's grandson, William Bury Kinkead (whom Walters points out was a respected judge), that his grandmother learned about her ancestors' participation in the Siege of Londonderry from her mother; but then Eleanor's mother must have been alive at the time of the importation record, so why wasn't she too included in the alleged record? Her inclusion would have entitled her husband to an additional 50a of land, and the acquisition of land was the whole point of the exercise. On the other hand, King's version of the list includes a son Henry. Yet the name Henry never occurs amongst the known descendants of any of these Gay brothers, and in fact all the records ever found for Henry Gays in AugustaCo (and I have been involved with a descendant of this Henry in an exhaustive search for such records) pertain without equivocation either to Henry Gay, the purchaser of Big Calfpasture lot 7, whom Robert Montgomery has shown conclusively to be the son

²⁹⁷ If a man sojourned first in PA for years, could he legitimately claim that he had imported his family to VA—the language of the oath implies otherwise.

of John Gay of SadsburyPA,^[298] or to Henry’s grandson, Henry Gay, who wasn’t born until the 1760s. If a Henry is nevertheless included by King on his version of the importation list of children of William, that, by itself, is pretty fair evidence that King never actually saw such a list, and is just passing on some ill-informed predecessor’s casual conjecture. Walters himself, appears to recognize the force of this point, because at the end of his section on the mythical William¹, he allows that the inclusion of Henry “casts some doubt, if correct, on Dr. Roy S. King’s claim that William’s importation papers are in Orange Co., VA, and that the importation paper lists William’s six sons, including Henry, and daughter Eleanor. However, I am leaving Dr. King’s work in this genealogy for now, i.e. that William did indeed come to America. I accept William’s immigration as fact, based on William Bury Kinkead’s narrative, above.”^[299] The inclusion of Henry, of course, says nothing about whether the importation paper might be in OrangeCo, or about whether William came to America, but let us just focus on the final defensive position to which Walters has retreated: the narrative of William Bury Kinkead in Peyton Clarke’s *Old King William Homes*.

I have gone carefully through the published version of this narrative, which runs to two pages of the three page “Kinkead” article in Clarke’s book, and which is framed by a quoted introduction by Kinkead’s daughter, Elizabeth Shelby Kinkead [born in KY in 1863], who according to Peyton Clarke published “a history of Kentucky and other works, and who kindly furnished the sketches of the Kinkead and Fontaine families in this volume.” Elizabeth’s contribution begins with material on the Kinkeads of Scotland, gives the immigrant William’s birth date as 9Jan1736 (but expresses doubt as to whether he was born in PA or VA), his death date in WoodfordCoKY, the date of his marriage to Eleanor, and her birth and death dates, then the remainder of her contribution consists of her father’s narrative, in her quotation marks. *Nowhere in any part of Clarke’s article are the names of Eleanor (Guy) Kinkead’s parents mentioned, so the article in no way contradicts my theory that they were John & Agnes (or perhaps Isabella) Gay, rather than William & Margaret as the importation record true believers usually allege.*

The Origins of the Myth

I conjecture that everyone has been thinking “William” to be the desired given name of the progenitor of all these Gays, first, because it is the tidewater William Gay who pops up first in the VA indexes—the ones whose children are descendants of Pocahontas—and second, because the earliest deeds and wills for Gays in Augusta (not counting those for Samuel of South River, who mostly appears in the OrangeCo books) are for William, and third, because most compilers of Gay factlets from secondary sources are almost totally ignorant of the early history of these very different areas of VA, and lacking in understanding of the records, whose abstracts they encounter only in Chalkley. At some point, I think someone made a list of the Gays in Augusta, including Samuel and Henry (who

²⁹⁸ Montgomery, “Gay Families”.

²⁹⁹ Walters, *Gay/Guy Families*., 5. Walters also tell us that he and his wife, having already canvassed all the records at OrangeCo courthouse for the importation record, had embarked on a project of scanning the order books page by page, just as I did. So that by implication, Walters had not actually found this record himself at the time his book was published, and I can testify from my own careful paging through of the OrangeCo order books for the period that their search, like mine, was fruitless. Interestingly, I found in the genealogical archive of the Virginia Room of the Roanoke Public Library an envelope addressed by “R.S. King” to the “Augusta County Recorder”, postmarked Atlanta, 1936, and with a penciled note on the back referring to importations. Although the envelope was empty, I think we can reasonably infer from this that 1936 was the approximate date King began his search for the record of importation, not, perhaps, realizing that AugustaCo had no records of its own until the fall of 1745.

both appear in this mythical importation record), and conflated it with someone else's vague reference to the Samuel Gay importation record, and voila, the William Gay importation record was ushered into immortal life. If this seems far-fetched, I can attest that virtually the same process is responsible for the widespread belief in my own family that we are descended through the Gays from Pocahontas. The smoking gun is a piece of shoddy work done for a Robb great-uncle of mine by some self-styled "professional" in the early 1900s, who found the tidewater Dr. William Gay who married into the Bolling line in a book and, unencumbered by any knowledge of Virginia colonial history, jumped on it.

APPENDIX C: Which Hamilton did Margaret, the Widow of William² (John¹) Gay, Marry?

Heirs of Robert Dunlap vs. James Hamilton et al. has prompted me to take a closer look at the second marriage of William² Gay's widow Margaret to William Hamilton. The case was a suit by Margaret's grandchildren by her daughter Mary (Gay) (Dunlap) Coursey, against the three men who handled the probate and guardianship affairs of their father, Robert Dunlap's, probate. These were: Alexander Hamilton, who was sole executor of Robert's will, but who had died so that his son James was sued in his place; James Coursey, who married their widowed mother Mary (Gay) Dunlap, daughter of Margaret, and John Gay, Esquire, who was a co-executor, with Margaret, of her husband, William Gay's will, and also a guardian for Robert Dunlap's orphans. These orphans sued their stepfather, James Coursey, because he functioned as an unofficial guardian for some of them, and handled some of the assets of their father's estate.

This case prompted my interest because the widow Margaret has a close relationship with all the participants of this suit, which involves Hamiltons, yet there is no mention anywhere in the 50 pages or so of loose papers of her putative husband, William Hamilton.

The conventional wisdom (affirmed by Robert Montgomery) is that William Gay's widow, Margaret, was remarried to William Hamilton, a conclusion I myself have accepted up to now. The actual evidence for this, however, is equivocal.

In favor, we have:

County Court Judgements Aug1762 (A)

"*Beverly vs. Gay*: Wm. Hamilton and Margaret his wife, late Margaret Gay, executrix of William Gay, dec'd"
{Chalkley 1:336}

"*Beverly vs. Gay*: John Robinson, Richard Tunstall, and James Mills, executors of William Beverly, deceased, Plaintiffs against John Gay, and W[illia]m Hamilton, and Marg[are]t his wife, late Marg[are]t Gay, wife of William Gay, deceased, Defendants: In Debt; This suit being agreed is **** dismissed"
{AugustaCo Order Book 7:310, 23Aug1762 court}

But against, we have:

12Nov1758: "John Gay's receipt to Alex[ander] Hamilton for what was in his and his wife's hands belonging to the children of William Gay." {Chalkley 3:51}

Two to one for William, right? But the first two entries were a record of judgement of the same county court case, made probably on the same day, by the same county clerk, perhaps from the same faulty set of notes. So the score's really one to one.

Consequently, to resolve the issue, I have compiled all the Chalkley items on Hamiltons named Margaret, William, and Alexander, and the evidence all points to Alexander Hamilton—no doubt the same Alexander Hamilton who was named a co-executor of the will of Robert Dunlap, the husband of Margaret's daughter Mary.

Here are the most interesting entries in Chalkley, besides the ones above:

26Feb1749/50 Wm Beverly to Wm Hamilton, 578a in the Calfpasture {AugustaCo Deeds 2:488-491}

Nov1756 Alexander Hamilton obtained a marriage license {Chalkley 2:275}

16Nov1757 “Ordered that Samuel Hodge, Ralph Laverty, and James Gay, or any two, settle the estate of William Gay deceased, and set apart the thirds of Margaret Hamilton, late widow of the said deceased”
{AuguVA OB 6:41}

12Nov1758 John Gay’s receipt to Alex. Hamilton for what was in his and his wife’s hands belonging to the children of William Gay. {Chalkley 3:51, citing AugustaCo Probate 2:279}

29May1760 “Patent to Wm Hamilton, wife Margaret” {Chalkley 3:548}
[online VA patents shows this to be 235a both sides of Middle River and doesn’t mention Margaret]

8Nov1760 [Borden’s exors] to Samuel Norwood ... bank of Kerr’s Creek; cor. William Hamilton
{Chalkley 3:367}

15Apr1762 John Meek’s inv, by John Gay, Alex. Hamilton, John Stevenson {Chalkley 3:34}

Aug1762 Beverley’s suit against John Gay, William Hamilton and his wife Margaret, formerly wife of William Gay {Chalkley 1:336}

1764 Alex. Hamilton was “proccessioned” with other upper Little Calfpasture men {Chalkley 2:449}

16Oct1765 Alexander Hamilton & Margaret to Wm Hamilton, for £100, 238a on Jackson River
{Chalkley 3:342}

14Nov1766 Francis Fulton & Eleanor to Alex. Hamilton, 271a on Little River, James Henderson’s lin;
wit: Robert McCutchen, Thomas Meek {Chalkley 3:455}

18Aug1767 Alexander Hamilton and Margaret to John Stephenson, for £90.5, 271a on LittleRiv, cor Robert McCutcheon, Jones Henderson {Chalkley 3:456}

1767 William Hamilton Sr & Else (Alice) to Alexander Hamilton, 507a in the Calfpasture; wit: Robert Armstrong {Chalkley 3:453}

16Aug1768 John Campbell & Ann to John Carlisle, 202a in Calfpasture, formerly Jacob Clemons;
Wit: Wm Hamilton [this is Lot#20 near the head of the Big Calfpasture River] {Chalkley 3:475}

1769 William Hamilton & Margret to son Patrick Hamilton, for £10, 100a patented to William Hamilton 29May1760 on Middle Riv, corner Robert Reed {Chalkley 3:426}

20Aug1771 Patrick Hamilton & Agness to William Oldham, 90a on Middle River, cor Robert Reed
{Chalkley 3:512}

20Aug1771 William Hamilton & Margaret to Samuel Erwin, 2 tracts on Middle River {Chalkley 3:314}

17Aug1772 William Hamilton & Margaret to John Poage, 6a, part of 235a wh sd Hamilton formerly lived on Middle Riv {Chalkley 3:314}

11Mar1777 James Gay’s estate appraised by Alexander Hamilton, John Dunlap, James Crockett.
{Chalkley 3:146}

From the above and from my knowledge of the area and its residents, I conclude that there was probably only one Alexander Hamilton in AugustaCo, that he married about a year after Margaret

Gay was widowed, that his wife's name was Margaret, and that he lived in the Calfpasture, on the upper reaches of Little River. The William to whom Alexander & Margaret deeded 100a of western lands may have been a son of Alexander by a previous marriage, but since the land was sold for a substantial, and not a nominal, price, more likely he was a brother or other close relation. Two years later Alexander & Margaret sold their Calfpasture land near the head of Little River, but 2 years after that Alexander bought another, larger tract there from William Hamilton Sr. & wife Else (Alice)—most likely this was the plantation purchased by William Hamilton from Beverley in 1749/50. Note that this William, Sr.'s wife was not named Margaret, but Alice, and although it's possible that he had an earlier wife Margaret who died, that seems considerably less than likely.

Meanwhile, there seem to have been two other William Hamiltons in the Valley. One was on Kerr's Creek, part of the Borden Grant, a good 15-20 miles south of the Hamiltons on the Calfpasture, and I find no sign that he had a wife named Margaret. Much closer to the Calfpasture, though on the other side of North Mountain, here was a William who did have a wife named Margaret: in 1760 this William patented land on Middle River, and in 1769, William & Margaret sold 100a of this patented land to "their son Patrick Hamilton", then two years later Patrick and his wife sold the same piece of land. If Patrick was also Margaret (Gay) Hamilton's son, he could have been no more than about 16 at the time he executed a deed as a married man, and apart from the anomalous marriage age, his deed would have been unenforceable since he was a minor. This, by itself, would seem to confute the notion that this William's wife was the former Margaret Gay, and I note also that there is no sign in the records that this William ever had anything to do with the Calfpasture or its denizens.

Alexander Hamilton of the Calfpasture, on the other hand, was the only non-family member chosen by Robert Dunlap as a co-executor of his will. Perhaps he chose Hamilton because his wife, Mary (William²) Gay, who would have been 12 when her father died, grew up in Alexander Hamilton's household?

But how does one account for the court record which Chalkley abstracted from AugustaCo order books? There is a phenomenon called perseverance, by which the brain gets stuck on an existing gestalt, or pattern, and imposes that pattern willy-nilly on a reality which has in the meantime changed. Maybe the clerk read through the papers, registered in his mind that William was the husband of Margaret, and imposed the given name of her first husband, William Gay, on the surname of her second, Hamilton. Unless the 1762 Augusta County Court record of judgement includes papers with the name "William Hamilton" not in the easily recognizable hand of the county clerk at the time (and I will check this next time in Augusta), I think it all goes back to a simple error in the clerk's notes of the case.

As between Alexander and William, the preponderance of evidence overwhelmingly favors Alexander, and I so conclude.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- (1) PERSONS AS SOURCES
- (2) SURNAME-FOCUSED SOURCES
- (3) PLACE-FOCUSED SOURCES
- (4) GENERAL SOURCES (covering several surnames and places)

All but PLACE-FOCUSED SOURCES are sorted alphabetically into standard bibliographic order: on author (if there is one), or on title (if there isn't), then on date.

PLACE-FOCUSED SOURCES contain records tied to a particular place, and are first sorted alphabetically in a hierarchy of jurisdictions: by country, then within that by state or province, and within that by counties or cities (mixed together). Within the lowest jurisdictional level sources are further sorted alphabetically by records types: baptisms, cemetery records, court, deeds, land records (other than deeds), marriage, military-related records (including benefit records), probate records, and tax records. Within records types, official records sort before transcriptions/abstracts of the same records. And within jurisdictions, sources which are general in nature (like local histories) and not collections of certain records types sort after all the records collections.

While this structure may seem overelaborate, and while it certainly complicates finding an item in the bibliography, it has the great virtue of sorting all the records of one type and place together, thus providing an instant overview of all the related sources which have been used in compiling the report. As new sources are discovered or made available, it then becomes possible to review the bibliography to ensure that they have been considered for the ongoing research project which every family history enterprise represents.

PERSONS AS SOURCES

Edwin Garner Chapman.

Mr. Chapman, whose daughter, Esther (who authored much of Chapman's material) married my great-uncle Walter C. Robb, of Minneapolis, was a retired Minneapolis businessman, who, in the 1920s and early 1930s made an extensive investigation of the ancestral roots of his son-in-law's family, but principally of his Robb and Gay lines. Walter was the son of John George Robb and Harriet Anna Gay, and the grandson of John McKee Gay, born 1797 in RockbridgeCoVA.

Chapman had only an amateur's understanding of how to research the public records, but he had the enterprise to travel in his flier, on terrible roads, back to VA, KY, PA, OH, IN and other places where these families emanated from, and at each place he hit the local libraries, if not the courthouses, and made every effort to contact local descendants—often with some success—as in the LexingtonKY area. Chapman also located at least one important family bible record, and a few other private family papers, and he evidently had an extensive correspondence with descendants of various branches of the families he was researching, but alas, his original papers have disappeared.

A book called *McDonnell and Allied Families* was published in 1959 by the mother-in-law of Priscilla (Robb) McDonnell, WHO WAS a great-granddaughter of John McKee Gay. This book closely parallels the published work of Chapman, and I believe that the people who created it had access to Chapman's invaluable original papers, so with luck, those may have been preserved by that branch of the family, and I may be able to find them some day.

I have copies of all these reports, although I am missing the first 12 pages of the one on Major John Gay's oldest daughter, Jane. Since Chapman's pagination restarts with each surname section, or subsection, I have cited each of these separately, under SURNAME-FOCUSED SOURCES, below.

Alan J. Denison (AJD) is the sponsor of my research on his Dunlap ancestors, and in small part, on the Gays. I have consulted his compilation "Descendants of Reverend William GAY Sr.", 23May2007, in the preparation of my reports, he is also the source, and the repository, of the invaluable Denison family records and other private family papers. He maintains an ongoing research interest in his Dunlap, Gay, and Denison ancestors, and can be reached at camanoalan@yahoo.com.

Boutwell Dunlap.

Boutwell Dunlap was a diplomat, a San Francisco lawyer, and an antiquarian, with an interest both in the early settlement of California, and in his Valley of Virginia roots. He was apparently in touch with many other 19th Century descendants of pioneer families, and did much primary records research himself, and he didn't limit himself to the Scotch-Irish of AugustaCo as Chalkley did. Sadly, Dunlap hardly got around to organizing and publishing his material, although he was apparently very generous supplying other researchers with his conclusions. But his notes and papers seem to have disappeared; at least no Boutwell Dunlap Collection appears on any of the internet catalogs.

Dunlap's only actual publications are a small book listing prominent descendants of AugustaCo families, with only a few words to identify them; and, more useful, but limited in scope, the family history chapter in John W. Wayland, *A History of Shenandoah County, Virginia* (StrasburgVA: Shenandoah Publishing House, 1927), which, ironically, covers mostly people of German descent.

I have called Boutwell Dunlap an "antiquarian", rather than an historian, because, despite being an important collector of historical detritus in two separate areas, what he published was scant and undocumented. Although I believe that his opinions respecting the Valley of Virginia were grounded in an historian's depth of understanding of the period, he left us no basis for sorting his evidential interpretations from his conjectures, and consequently where support for them cannot be found in the extant public records, they should be received with caution.

Robert H. Montgomery (1889-1974)

Dr. Robert H. Montgomery was a FASG (a Fellow of the American Society of Genealogists) from 1955 until his death, and a prominent member and officer of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society. The roll of FASGs is the ultimate Who's Who of American genealogists as it is limited to 50 living members, whose votes alone determine those worthy of replacing the eminent genealogists who have died. Very fortunately for me, Dr. Montgomery was also a cousin, through my John Gay line, and published a series of papers on early Scotch-Irish settlers of the Valley of Virginia, which include our common Gay, Ramsey, and Houston, ancestors, and also the Crockett family of the Calfpasture. His seminal paper, "Gay Families of Augusta and Rockbridge, Counties, Virginia" has been not only a source for me, and a lead to primary sources, but also a model.

John Barrett Robb

I have been pursuing genealogy seriously for about 15 years, first as a hobby, and now also as a profession. I am a descendant of John Gay of the Calfpasture, brother of William, James, and the others, through John's grandson, John McKee Gay, of Gays Mills, Wisconsin. My website at www.johnbrobb.com includes more material on this and other ancestral lines.

SURNAME-FOCUSED SOURCES

John Goodwin Herndon, “**Colonel Alexander Dunlap (1743-1828): The Correction of an Identification**”, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 54(Oct1946):321-326.

Herndon’s article, which is mostly compiled from secondary sources, is concerned to show that the Alexander Dunlap buried at Red Oak Cemetery in BrownCoOH was a Virginian during the war, and cannot have served in the PA militia; or in other words, he is attempting to disentangle two separate Alexander Dunlaps conflated by amateur researchers from a set of loosely assembled facts taken out of context.

[John McKee Gay], **John McKee Gay Family Bible Records, 1855/1856**, in the JBR Collection, johnrobb@rev.net.

There were evidently two original Bibles, now lost. What I have of them is: (1) two photostat pages of what I shall call the “JMG Bible” in the back of a black three-ring binder containing a typescript copy of his daughter, Harriet Anna Gay’s, “Memories”; and (2) a typescript transcription of the family data from another Bible which I shall call the “JMG/Only Bible.” Both were given to me by Edwin Gay Robb, a grandson of Harriet, and a great-grandson of John McKee Gay. The data in these two records is largely overlapping, non-contradictory, and probably supplied and entered by John McKee Gay himself, about 1855, so on this ground alone it deserves a great deal of credence (though a transcription error or two may have crept in).

The photostat data of the first Bible was all entered in the same hand, probably not long after the latest date, 13Jul1854, the birth date of youngest child, Ella Viola Gay; the first three marriages in the family are entered somewhat cursorily, and there are no records for the existing grandchildren.

The typescript data from the JMG/Only Bible closely resembles the format and layout of the JMG Bible, and was probably copied from it, with a few modifications and additions. And, as part of the typescript, we find this note: “(This copied from an old Bible here at [blank]. This is written in Father's handwriting. On the 27th of this March was your Grandparents 27 wedding anniversary)” The two latest dates in this second record are 15Sep1855 (birth date of Ray Only, JMG's first surviving grandson, and the son of his 2nd daughter, Mary (Gay) Only), and 24Aug1856 (marriage date for JMG's next youngest daughter, Sarah Elizabeth). Also added after the birth record of Ray Only are the names of two later siblings, without dates.

I believe this second Bible was a present from John McKee Gay to his first grandson, on the occasion of his first birthday in the fall of 1856. His first two grandsons, the sons of his oldest daughter, Nancy (Gay) Barker, “died in infancy,” and two of his own sons died at nine months of age; the gift of this Bible may have been an act of Thanksgiving. Perhaps the first Bible was a similar present from John McKee Gay to his wife, commemorating the (presumed) completion of their family. At any rate, neither seems to have caught on as a continuing family record.

Robert H. Montgomery, “**Gay Families of Augusta and Rockbridge Counties, Virginia**”, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 59(Apr1951):195-215.

The author of this paper, was elected a FASG (Fellow of the American Society of Genealogists), a rare honor accorded to no more than 50 of the best living genealogists. And Montgomery’s masterful summary and interpretation of the Augusta and RockbridgeCos evidence on these Gays (and he, like the present author, is a descendant of John Gay of the Little Calfpasture), has stood as the only authoritative source for over 50 years. A more detailed and thorough search of the records, with less

reliance on the Chalkley abstracts has made it possible to improve on Montgomery a bit, here and there, but no writing on these families which does not take a thorough account of this paper, deserves much notice.

[Nancy (Gay) Barker] & Estella Barker Ordway, “**Genealogy of the Gay Family**”, [after 1882], in the JBR Collection, johnrobb@rev.net.

This paper was evidently begun by the mother, Nancy Gay Barker (the oldest child of John McKee Gay) after 1882 (when the Houston material she referred to was published), continued by her daughter, Estella Barker Ordway, and perhaps completed by one of her children (perhaps her only son, Edward N. Ordway), since there is a reference in it to 1930, when Estella herself would have been aged 81. It is a hodgepodge of family tradition, and dubious potted genealogy (the Houston material evidently comes from a library book, the well-known Houston Family book, by the Rev. Samuel Rutherford Houston), but it most valuable for conveying what Nancy must have heard herself from her father, John McKee Gay.

Edwin Garner Chapman, “**The Gay Family—Pioneers of America**”, 1934.

This is Chapman’s principal report on his line of Gays, back to the first John Gay of the Little Calfpasture, and on his son, John Gay, Esquire.

Edwin Garner Chapman, “**Elizabeth, One of the Daughters of Major John and Nancy (McKee) Gay**”, 1934.

Edwin Garner Chapman, “**Nancy of the Daughters of Major John and Nancy (McKee) Gay**”, 1934.

[Kinkaid Gay and Richard H. Durrett], **Gay-Durrett Family Bible Record**, 1828-1945, in the JBR Collection, johnrobb@rev.net.

This is a report consisting of my transcription and analysis of a family bible record found at the Kentucky Historical Society which may be called “The Gay-Durrett Bible Record”. The record itself was recovered by Shirley Ellen (Vawter) Byler (a Vawter cousin of mine), and transcribed and annotated by her, but I have made my own more accurate transcription from her photocopies of the originals and supplemented it with an intensive analysis.

According to Shirley’s notes, the bible was published in 1812, and my analysis of the handwriting and layout of the entries indicates that the record was begun by Kinkaid Gay, son of John³ (James², John¹) about 1828, and continued briefly by his wife after Kinkaid’s death in 1834, and then by his son-in-law, Richard H. Durrett. Since there is an entry as late as 1945, evidently the bible was passed down in the family and quite likely survives to the present day, although the Kentucky Historical Society apparently has no record of its provenance.

Harriet Anna Gay, **Memories**, 1928, 34 pages, typescript, with photos, in 3-ring binder, in the JBR Collection, johnrobb@rev.net.

My Great-grandmother Harriet says she wrote this in 1928 at the instigation of her sister Ella, but it was evidently part of the Chapman research project. Pasted into the last pages of the book are the two photostat pages of the John McKee Gay family bible record.

Letter, John Kinkead to G. B[lackburn] Kinkead, 20Apr1847, in the Draper Collection: Kentucky Papers, 1768-1892 (microfilm), Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, WI (16CC:193-197).

This is a manuscript copy of an original letter dated 20Apr1847, written to G. B[lackburn] Kinkead by his father, John Kinkead, which gives an account of John's mother's life, and particularly her capture by Indians with 3 of her children, and subsequent rescue as a consequence of Bouquet's Expedition. The mother's birth and marriage dates are given, but her name is omitted. However, it has been inferred that she was probably Eleanor Gay, a sister of the Gay brothers of the Little Calfpasture, AugustaCoVA, largely on the strength of interviews with her niece, Jane (Gay) Stevenson, and with Jane's nephew, James Stevenson, the notes for which are also part of the Draper Collection for KY.

June Lee Mefford Kinkead, *Our Kentucky Pioneer Ancestry: a History of the Kinkead and McDowell families of Kentucky, and Those Families Associated by Marriage* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1992).

George Wilson McKee, *The McKees of Virginia and Kentucky* (Pittsburgh: J.B. Richards, 1891).

This is an exceptionally valuable resource on the McKees of Kerr's Creek, AugustaCoVA, since it is largely composed of data and stories contributed by third-fifth generation descendants of the original McKee pioneers, Robert, and John (and perhaps also William). The author's descent is George Wilson⁴ McKee (William Robertson³, William², Robert¹).

The most detailed material on William² (Robert¹) is provided by two other great-grandchildren, both of the same line as the author.

Miss Jeanie D. McKee transcribed entries in her grandfather, Samuel's, family bible record which she recognizes as being in Samuel's own hand (and voice):

“William McKee and his cousin, Miriam McKee, were married the 20th of May, 1766, in the 31st year of his age *Miss McKee thinks this should read 34th*] and the 19th year of her age—Robert McKee, father of William, who was father of Samuel *the recorder*, departed this life, in Rockbridge County, Val, June 11th, 1766, aged 82—Grandmother Agness McKee, wife of Robert, departed this life at the same place, January 29th, 1780, in the 80th year of her age—William McKee, father, departed this life the 11th day of October, 1816, in the 84th year of his age—Miriam McKee, mother, departed this life, October 3d, 1796, in Lincoln County, Ky., in the 50th year of her age”. [p69]

The other great-grandchild, John Lapsley McKee, provides a more complete set of family records [pp98-103], at the end of which the author adds a section titled: “Statement of Hugh Ware McKee”, which begins:

“This paper was drawn up for Rev. John Lapsley McKee by his uncle, Hugh Ware McKee [a son of Col. William], between 1840 and 1850. He [Hugh Ware] went to Laurel County, Ky., to get most of his information from ‘Mountain Billy’ McKee, who lived in that county.

.....

In 1738 the McKee Family came from Ireland to America, ten or eleven brothers; some of them settled near Lancaster, Pennsylvania. . . and two of them, Robert and John, settled in Rockbridge County, near Lexington. Grandfather's brother, William (one of the eleven), settled in Augusta County (or Botetourt), and his family moved to Kentucky about 1788 or 1790, and most of them live now in Montgomery County, Ky. He died in Virginia.”

This William would appear to be a third brother who came to the Valley of Virginia, and who appears in the records closely associated with John, the pioneer of Kerr's Creek. No mention is made here

of the contemporary James McKee who also lived in the Kerr's Creek district, and who certainly appears to be a fourth brother of this family.

The book then continues with a new chapter titled "John and Robert, the Pioneers", but the voice evidently continues to be that of Hugh Ware McKee (who got his information from "Mountain Billy"): "My father was the son of Robert, and my mother the daughter of John. Robert had only two sons, William and John. *There follows a list of Col. William McKee's children, and some account of what became of them.* . . . Uncle James remained in Rockbridge County, and left one son John, who still lives there and has a large family."

But then there is talk of Uncle John and Uncle William, and evidently the voice has morphed into that of the author, George Wilson McKee, who descended from Col. William's son, Samuel. And it is in his voice that the only material on the children of Col. William's brother, John, appears: "John McKee had four children. William now lives in Laurel County *this is evidently "Mountain Billy" who was still there, aged 79, for the 1850 USCensus.* Robert died at Point Pleasant, Va., on the Ohio, never was married, and left no children. John never was married, but left a number of Indian children. He was Indian agent for a number of years for the Chicasaw and Choctaw tribes of Indians, and also United States Senator from Alabama. He died there. Shortly after he left Congress, Nancy his sister married a man by the name of John Gay, and they moved to Indiana and left a large family." [p.106]

The family records of the other principal early McKee, John McKee of Kerr's Creek, supposed to be a brother of Robert, were transcribed from the family bible record of John T[elford] McKee, a late son of John, by his second wife, Rosannah, and provided by descendant Oklela Beverlin Dunlap (b.1855).[pp125-128].

Robert H. Montgomery, "**Ramsey Families of Augusta and Rockbridge Counties, Virginia**", in *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 111(Oct1957):201-214.

This paper comprises a fairly exhaustive compilation of Ramsey items for the first two generations in Augusta, along with Robert Montgomery's masterful analysis, yet, except for the family of Capt. John Ramsey of South River, much remains inconclusive, and more work needs to be done with the Rockbridge records, and for Augusta after the Chalkley period.

James Stevenson Interview, with John Dabney Shane, 184?, in the Draper Collection: Kentucky Papers, 1768-1892 (microfilm), Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, WI (11CC:247-251 and 12CC:154-155).

The subject of this interview, James Stevenson, was the son of KY pioneer John Stevenson, and the nephew of Samuel & Jane (Gay) Stevenson, as is shown by the text of Shane's interview notes (11CC247-251). Elsewhere in the collection, at 12CC154-155, there was recorded a short interview with one "James Wardlaw", but the text of this interview shows that the subject was probably the same James Stevenson. There are references in both interviews to Aunt Jane, to an older half-brother named John who was wounded, to Uncles William and Thomas, and Uncle Tommy was said to have been killed at the Battle of Blue Lick. But according to a transcription from the official marker at Blue Lick

(online at <http://ftp.rootsweb.com/pub/usgenweb/ky/robertson/military/bluelicks.txt>), there were eight participants named Thomas, three of whom were killed, but none was a Wardlaw (there were no Wardlaws), and one was a Stevenson, though he was (probably incorrectly) said to have escaped.

The interviewer, John Dabney Shane (1812-1864) conversed with many early KY pioneers, and his interview notes were incorporated into the manuscript collections of Lyman Copeland Draper

(1815-1891), an official of the Wisconsin Historical Society. Unfortunately, Shane's interviews are not dated.

Jane Stevenson Interview, with John Dabney Shane, 184?, in the Draper Collection: Kentucky Papers, 1768-1892 (microfilm), Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, WI (13CC:135-143).

The subject of this interview, Jane Stevenson, was the daughter of James² Gay of the Little Calfpasture. When she gave this interview, she was in her 90's, frail and bedridden, and according to her interviewer, John Shane, though her mind was clear, her words were sometimes hard to understand.

In fact, the situation is worse than that: Jane nowhere indicates that her surname was "Gay", or even (unambiguously), that her husband was Samuel Stevenson (at one point she appears to call him her father!). The situation is further complicated by the fact that it appears that there were two versions of this interview, the other, quoted extensively by Roy Stevenson King in an article published in the Kentucky Historical Society journal, makes the name of Jane's father explicit and adds much other biographical material not in the micropublished version of the interview. This is especially puzzling, because Shane noted at the end of his text that he had intended to return for a followup interview, but that Jane had since died.

Nonetheless, wondering whether the filmed version of the Shane interview was really the final version, I communicated with a librarian at the Wisconsin Historical Society who has consulted the original manuscript and pronounced it the same as what was filmed.

From a comparative study of the text, and other considerations, I have since concluded that the passages quoted by King from what he identifies only as "Draper Manuscripts" (with no specific citations) are impossibly corrupt—conflations of the original interview text, with his own inferences, based on other, uncited material—and I believe that his versions are best ignored. His companion piece on Jane's husband, Samuel Stevenson, though, contains material not to be found elsewhere, including specific birth dates for members of his family, but it obviously needs to be treated with care as a source.

My transcription of Jane's interview, and further comments, can be found [here](#).

R[oy] S[tevenson] King, "**Major Samuel Stevenson**", and "**Jane Gay Stevenson**" sketches, in *Genealogies of Kentucky Families, From the Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* (193?; reprint GPC, 1981), 2:762-770 .

These articles, part of Laura Kinkead Walton's, "The Families Kinkead, Stephenson, Garrett, Martin, and Dunlap", Appendix C of *Genealogies of Kentucky Families*, were reprinted from *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, where they originally appeared in the late 1930s. They were authored, however, by Roy Stevenson King, who included much of the same material in his longer work, *Ancestral Pilgrimage*, cited above in this subsection.

The article on Jane, though ostensibly based on her Shane interview in the Draper Collection, is particularly important because it contains extensive quoted passages not found in the Draper version, which comprises only rough and partial notes of the interview. Evidently King had access to a more complete and finished writeup by Shane of his notes, which seems to have disappeared. One hopes that it has made its way back to the KY Historical Association where it probably came from, and has not disappeared with King's papers.

Much of King's account is obviously fanciful—or based on dubious "tradition"—e.g. Jane was born 15Nov1750 "quite early on a Thursday morning. . . . Tradition tells us that it was a bright clear day.

The woods had taken on their bright autumn hues," and so forth. Of course little of this material is cited to sources, even casually. As his *Ancestral Pilgrimage* shows, King's talents were suited much more to the writing of anecdotal history, than to rigorous scholarly genealogy.

Robert B. Walters, *The Gay/Guy Families of Early Augusta County, Virginia, and Related Families of Dunlap, Kinkead/Kincaid, Lockridge, McFarland, McKee, Parkinson, Rhea, Stevenson, Walters, And Many Others* (VersaillesKY: Woodford County Historical Society, 2001).

This is an amazingly comprehensive, and therefore invaluable work covering all of the Gay families of early Augusta, and their in-laws, for least several generations in most cases. The author is aware of virtually all of the secondary sources, including Robert H. Montgomery's seminal papers on the first generations of Gays in PA and VA. Unfortunately, where Walters attempts to go beyond Montgomery, he usually goes wrong. And although there are many citations to primary records (and not just to Morton and Chalkley), they often fail to clearly identify the source or to explain just how it supports the claimed fact. Moreover, where sources are at odds, or of dubious value, there is insufficient critical discussion to show why the author came to the conclusion he did.

One important exception to the latter caveat is the author's extended discussion explaining his reversion to the myth (rejected by Montgomery) of the aboriginal William Gay, father of them all. His ultimate acceptance of the myth, despite his inability to find any citeable supporting evidence, shows an unfortunate tendency to rely on certain preferred "authorities", even when their assertions are at odds with the facts, and at the same time poor judgement in arbitrating between authorities, else he would have stuck with Robert H. Montgomery, FASG.

"Kinkead", in Peyton Neale Clarke, *Old King William Homes and Families: An Account of Some of the Old Homesteads and Families of King William County, Virginia, From Its Earliest Settlement* (LouisvilleKY: privately printed, 1897; reprint GPC, 1976), 69-73.

Despite the title of the book this article appears in, the Kinkeads in question were a Scotch-Irish family who came to AugustaCoVA by way of PA, and thence moved on to KY. The heart of the article, and over half of the content, is a quoted narrative by William Bury Kinkead of Kentucky, a grandson of William & Eleanor (Gay) Kinkead, relating what he remembers learning at his grandmother's knee. However, given that the author was only about 6 when his grandmother died in 1825, most of the material he is here passing on probably came from his father John Kinkead—the same John who authored the letter to William Bury Kinkead's brother, George B[lackburn] Kinkead. Although William Bury was a judge, and so presumably not as prone as most people to "improve" their memories to make a better story, we must take into consideration, in evaluating what he has to say about his grandmother's parents, how far removed he was in time and generations. In particular, it is striking that he nowhere supplies the given names of Eleanor's parents.

William Bury Kinkead's piece is framed by an introduction by his daughter, Elizabeth Shelby Kinkead, and this in turn is framed by Kinkead material presented by Peyton Clarke, the author of the book. Although most of Elizabeth's material is typical genealogical fustian, and much of Clarke's is irrelevant, his first paragraph on the Kinkeads of CumberlandCo strikes me on onomastic grounds as highly relevant to the Kinkeads of the Pastures in Augusta.

PLACE-FOCUSED SOURCES

Illinois

N. Matson, *Reminiscences of Bureau County* (PrincetonIL: privately printed, 1872).

This is an old-fashioned memoir cum history by an old settler.

Indiana

WayneCoIN Probate, at the WayneCoIN Courthouse, 401 East Main Street, Richmond, IN 47374.

Will of John Gay, 20Dec1822

I have only a typescript copy of the will (but not the proof), which is certified as accurate by the county clerk of 1934; nonetheless, it contains two significant omissions, and a few obvious typos. I intend to procure a proper copy from the will book, if there is one.

Kentucky

Karen King Scales, “**Marriages Performed by Rev. James Crawford, 1786-1795, Fayette Co., KY**”, 16Aug2005 (revised), Rootsweb FTP Archive, downloaded from <ftp.rootsweb.com/pub/usgenweb/ky/fayette/vitals/marr/c616-001.txt>.

LincolnCoKY Marriage Bonds & Consents (FHL film 192262).

These sets of bonds and consents are loose papers. I failed to note whether they are ordered by surname, or chronologically.

LincolnCoKY Marriage Licenses (FHL film 192261).

Lincoln Co, KY marriage licenses abstracted by John Bright 7Oct1908 and attested by the Clerk of the Lincoln County Court on 22Sep1950.

Inscriptions from some of the headstones at Pisgah Presbyterian Church Cemetery in Woodford County, Kentucky. (, 27Sep1997)

downloaded from <ftp.rootsweb.com/pub/usgenweb/ky/woodford/cemeteries/pisgah.txt>

The abstracts were made and published by Mrs. Beulah A. Franks. They are not literal transcriptions of the inscriptions: the dates have been standardized, and no other matter is included in the abstracts.

William O. Shewmaker, *Pisgah and Her People: 1784-1934* (LexingtonKY: privately printed, 1935).

Wm. E. Railey, *History of Woodford County, Kentucky* (FrankfortKY: Roberts Printing Co., 1928; reprint from Register of the Kentucky Historical Society, 1920-1921), Ancestry online, at www.ancestry.com/search (Family & Local Histories).

This is more a compendium of pioneer biography and genealogy than a history of the county. Judging from the only KY primary material I am familiar with, the Shane interviews, Railey has done

a good and careful job of extracting data from his sources and weaving them into a set of narrative family mini-sketches.

Willard Rouse Jillson, *The Kentucky Land Grants: A Systematic Index to All of the Land Grants Recorded in the State Land Office at Frankfort, Kentucky, 1782-1924* (LouisvilleKY: privately printed, 1925).

Willard Rouse Jillson, *Old Kentucky Entries and Deeds: A Complete Index to All the Earliest Land Entries, Military Warrants, Deeds and Wills of the Commonwealth of Kentucky* (Baltimore: GPC, 1969).

G. Glenn Clift, *Kentucky Obituaries, 1787-1854* (FrankfortKY: Kentucky Historical Society, 1941-1943; reprint Baltimore: GPC, 1977), originally published in *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 39(1941)-41(1943).

North Carolina

Brent H. Holcomb, *Anson County, North Carolina: Deed Abstracts, 1749-1766; Abstracts of Wills & Estates, 1749-1795* (1974-5; reprint GPC, 1980).

Ohio

Red Oak Presbyterian Church cemetery, in UnionTwp, BrownCoOH. Red Oak Presbyterian Church cemetery, which contains several Dunlap grave is at Lat 38°47'43"N, Long 83°47'44"E.

Virginia

Margaret Reese, *Abstract of Augusta County, Virginia, Death Registers, 1853-1896* (WaynesboroVA: privately printed, 1983).

Ruth & Sam Sparacio, *Albemarle County, Virginia, Wills and Deeds, 1748-1752* (McClellanVA: The Antient Press, 1990).

Eric G. Grundset, "*Land lying in the County of Albemarle*": *Albemarle County, Virginia Surveyors' Plat Books, Volume 1, Parts 1 and 2, and Volume 2, 1744-1853 [and 1892]* (FairfaxVA: privately printed, 1998).

AugustaCoVA Court, at the AugustaCoVA Courthouse, 6 East Johnson Street, Staunton, VA 24401.

AugustaCoVA Deeds, at the AugustaCoVA Courthouse, 6 East Johnson Street, Staunton, VA 24401.

AugustaCoVA Marriage Bonds, at the AugustaCoVA Courthouse, 6 East Johnson Street, Staunton, VA 24401.

These are the original loose paper bonds and consents, collated, sorted into approximate date order, and mounted in a first volume of county marriage bonds, now reposing in the main floor vault, where volumes awaiting rebinding or other repair are kept.

John Vogt and T. William Kethley Jr., *Augusta County Marriages, 1748-1850* (AthensGA: Iberian Publishing Co., 1986).

AugustaCoVA Probate, at the AugustaCoVA Courthouse, 6 East Johnson Street, Staunton, VA 24401.

Will of William Gay, 9May1755, 2:112,112a,113a.

Ruth & Sam Sparacio, *Augusta County, Virginia, Land Tax Books, 1782-1790*, 2 volumes (McClellandVA: The Antient Press, 1997).

Rocky Spring Presbyterian Church cemetery, in AugustaCoVA, photos posted to findagrave, 8Jul2007. Rocky Springs Cemetery is in or near Deerfield, AugustaCoVA (at Lat 38°10'48"N, Long 79°24'14"E).

Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, Extracted from the Original Court Records of AugustaCo, 1745-1800*, 3 volumes (1912; reprint GPC, 1999).

[Anonymous], *Bath County Marriage Bonds and Minister's Returns, 1791-1853* (WarmSpringsVA: Bath County Historical Society, 1978).

Oren F. Morton, *Annals of Bath County, Virginia* (StauntonVA: The McClure Co., 1917).

Charles T. Burton, *Botetourt County, Virginia, Early Settlers* (RoanokeVA: Southwest Virginia Gen. Soc, 2001).

This is a collection of very skimpy abstracts (really little more than smart index entries), for the early deeds and probate records of this county.

OrangeCoVA Order Books, at the OrangeCoVA Courthouse, Main & Madison, Orange, VA 22960.

[Anonymous], *Orange County, Virginia, Court Orders, 1734-1741: An Every-Name Index* (MiamiBeachFL: T.L.C. Genealogy, 1994)

Barbara Vines Little, "Importations in the Orange County, Virginia Order Books 1-8, 1735 to 1770", in *Magazine of Virginia Genealogy* 26(Aug1988):171-.

Barbara Vines Little, *Orange County, Virginia, Order Book One, 1734-1739: Part One, 1734-1736* (OrangeVA: Dominion Market Research Corp, 1990), at the OrangeCoVA Courthouse, Main & Madison, Orange, VA 22960.

This is a verbatim transcription by today's doyenne of Virginia genealogy, then still in her fledgling stage. The originals of these books are heavy going and Little conscientiously notes her

uncertainty about a number of readings. The old scribal double-“s” is naively rendered as the letter it looks like-“f”, and there are other signs of unfamiliarity with scholarly conventions, but this is nonetheless a work of very high quality. It was completed thru 1739 with the publication c2001 of a Part Two volume.

OrangeCoVA Deeds, at the OrangeCoVA Courthouse, Main & Madison, Orange, VA 22960.

OrangeCoVA Probate, at the OrangeCoVA Courthouse, Main & Madison, Orange, VA 22960.

RockbridgeCoVA County Court, at the RockbridgeCoVA Courthouse, 2 South Main Street, Lexington, VA 24450.

RockbridgeCoVA Deeds, at the RockbridgeCoVA Courthouse, 2 South Main Street, Lexington, VA 24450.

Deed (Sale): Mary Coursey to Samuel McCutchen, 28Jun1817, L:68-70.

The recital language of this key deed describes “land conveyed by William Beverley, Esqr to her deceased father William Gay” 27Feb1749, “and which was willed to her brothers John and Robert, who both died in infancy, when she, the said Mary, and her sister Nancy, were heirs in law to the said tract of land, and one other tract which the said Nancy hath conveyed to Thomas Huggart”.

This tells us that Mary and her sister Agnes jointly inherited their father, William’s, real property by common law inheritance when their two brothers, John and Robert, died before reaching the age of 21. The metes and bounds of the land Mary is here selling largely match those of her father’s deed from Beverley, and where they diverge, they correct the original bounds, as shown both by the deeds involving the adjacent land originally owned by Samuel Gay (see Augusta Deeds 6:283-286), and by the fact that only the corrected lines yield the correct 490 acreage.

Thus, this deed provides direct evidence that Mary’s natal family at the time her father William died consisted solely of herself, her sister Agnes, and her two brothers John and Robert, neither of whom reached their maturity or left heirs. And although no record has been found of her father’s, other land, which went to Agnes (evidently by an unrecorded settlement), with a little luck it should be possible to identify this land by searching for deeds involving Thomas Huggart, or those of Agnes Gay, or of her putative husband, Robert Clark, and a deed with Robert & Agnes Clark as grantor of land in proximity to William’s Little Calfpasture tract, would strengthen the case for Agnes’s marriage to Clark.

RockbridgeCoVA Marriage Bonds & Consents, USGenWeb Archives online, at <http://www.rootsweb.com/~usgenweb/va/rockbridge/intro.html>.

These are the original loose paper bonds and consents, photocopied and placed online by Angela M. Ruley and Marilyn B. Headley.

Dorthie & Edwin C. Kirkpatrick, *Rockbridge County, Virginia, Marriages, 1778-1850* (AthensGA: Iberian Publishing Co, 1985).

RockbridgeCoVA Probate, at the RockbridgeCoVA Courthouse, 2 South Main Street, Lexington, VA 24450.

Will of Robert Dunlap, 23Jan1781 (proved 5Mar1782), 1:153-154

The copy of this will in the Rockbridge will book is so badly faded that parts of it are illegible. I have pieced it out from the official copy of Robert's will made by the Rockbridge County clerk, for the 1808 Staunton Chancery Court case *Robert Dunlap's Heirs vs. James Hamilton, et.al.*

Will of John Dunlap, 25Feb1804 (proved 3Apr1804), 2:373-377

Besides the copy in the Rockbridge probate book, I have two additional copies of this will, both official copies made by the Rockbridge County clerk for Staunton Chancery Court cases *Heirs of Robert Dunlap vs. James Hamilton, et.al.* (1808), and the 1817 Staunton Chancery Court case, *Heirs of John Dunlap vs. Exors of Ann Dunlap.*

Oren F. Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County, Virginia* (StauntonVA: 1920).

John W. Wayland, *A History of Shenandoah County, Virginia* (StrasburgVA: Shenandoah Publishing House, 1927), Ancestry online, at www.ancestry.com/search (Family & Local Histories).

Boutwell Dunlap wrote all of the family history section of this work, "Chapter30: A Pageant of the Golden West" (pp579-662) out of his own research notes.

Virginia Superior Court of Chancery at Staunton (Judgements), at the AugustaCoVA Courthouse, 6 East Johnson Street, Staunton, VA 24401.

Many of these old chancery cases have been collated, paper-pressed, and filed in folders in the basement, which are accessible by special request, provided the file# is known.

Heirs of Robert Dunlap vs. James Hamilton et.al., (1803-1808), File# 1807-162

In this case, filed about 1803, the children, the heirs of Robert Dunlap, deceased in 1781, are suing the heirs of the executor of his estate for malfeasance and "wasting the estate", and while they are at it, they are suing the two family guardians too: John Gay, and their step-father, James Coursey.

The documents comprising the case include: several versions of the plaintiffs' bill of particulars; answers by each of the three defendants, James Hamilton, John Gay, and James Coursey; a deposition by Robert Dunlap's widow, Mary Coursey (now the wife of James); certified copies of the Rockbridge wills of Robert Dunlap, and his brother John Dunlap; a detailed accounting by John Gay, Esq., for his guardianship of Robert & Mary's orphans, as part of a comprehensive accounting for the estate compiled in 1808; and, of course, the final judgement. The particulars of the case are detailed in **Appendix B** of this report.

Heirs of John & Ann Dunlap vs. Exors of Ann Dunlap, 1817, File# 1817-037

In this case, 5 of the children, the heirs of John Dunlap (deceased in 1804), and Anna Dunlap (deceased in 1808), are suing the executors of Anna: their brother James Dunlap, and family friend, John Gay (aka John Gay, Esq.).

The documents comprising the case are voluminous, and I have photocopied, and examined in detail, only the most valuable: the bill of complaint, certified copies of the wills of John & Ann.

John D. Poage vs. John Beaver, 181?, File# 181?-???

This is a complicated suit involving the Little Calfpasture land Robert Gay inherited from his father, James² Gay. According to the bill of complaint (filed in 1809 by Robert Gay and John D. Poage as orators), Robert sold this 321a tract on installment (in return for a set of bonds due at various dates) to Thomas Willson, who, unable to make all the payments, sold his interest to one John Beaver, who also defaulted. Gay then sold his interest in Beaver's bonds to John D. Poage. The suit was brought by Poage's attorney, since Poage was living at the time "in a very remote part of the country several hundred miles distant from the defendant". At this time, I have neither a copy of the judgement, nor the exact file number of the case.

The loose papers of this case include two documents of great value genealogically—besides a copy of James Gay's will. The first is James Gay's original deed to his Calfpasture land, which does not appear in the deed books of Augusta or Orange, because it was executed and recorded by Beverley at Williamsburg. The other paper is an affidavit by Robert's brother, Samuel of Bath County, in which Samuel asserts that both were sons of James Gay, and that Robert inherited the tract James lived on at the time of his death. By way of further identification, Samuel also lists the names of his brother's children, omitting one whose name he can't recall. Thanks to these names, for whom records exist in Bath and Pocahontas County, where Robert lived out his life, we can identify Robert Gay of Pocahontas County, and Samuel of Bath, as sons of James² Gay of the Calfpasture.

Netti Schreiner-Yantis & Florene Speakman Love, *The 1787 Census of Virginia*, 3 volumes (SpringfieldVA: Genealogical Books in Print, 1987).

The John Preston Plat of the Big Calfpasture, 1744, in the Draper Collection: Kentucky Papers, 1768-1892 (microfilm), Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, WI (1QQ:9 (John Preston Papers)).

This is an annotated map of the Big Calfpasture patent of 27Apr1742 granted to James Patton & John Lewis, divided into a set of 22 adjacent tract surveys within the overall patent lines, and annotated with the metes & bounds of each tract and the names of the original lotholders. One of the lots was unassigned, and several of the enrollees sold their rights or lost them through failing to settle, but on the whole this map is a pretty good guide to the original settlement of the "Big River". Most of the deeds were issued between Apr-Jul1745, and recorded in the OrangeCoVA deed books, since the AugustaCo court, where the Pastures lay, didn't hold its first session until October of that year.

The plat is dated 1744, and was presumably drawn up by John Preston, acting as agent for the proprietors; at any rate, it was found among his papers.

All of the tracts had frontage on the Big Calfpasture, and most were astride it. The tracts, numbered from the southernmost (lowest) part of the Big River (nearest its confluence with the Little Calfpasture), were: (1) Alex[ander] Dunlap, 625a; (2) William Jamisan, 170a; (3) Tho[ma]s Gilliam, 165a; (4) Robart C[r]ocket, 370a; (5) David Davis, 290a; (6) Tho[mas] Weems, 552a; (7) Henry Gay, 694a; (8) Fran[cis] Donely, 266a; (9) Robart Gay, 519a; (10) Sam[uel] Hodge, 448a; (11) John Miller, 316a; (12) NO DESIGNEE, 252a; (13) Robart Braton, 904a; (14) James Locheridg, 280a; (15) John Graham, 696a; (16) Robert Guin, 544a; (17) John Preston, 1054a; (18) Will[iam] Warwick, 1061a; (19) James Carolile, 600a; (20) Jacob Cleman, 458a; (21) John C[ampe]ll, 308a; (22) James C[arter], 300a.

Not all these men actually took up their land, and some of those who did, sold it, or died soon. One of those who died was Alexander Dunlap, of Lot 1, which was, in a sense, the "anchor tract" of the whole patent, and which extended down the Big River to within about 2 miles of the land of John

Gay, who had purchased the “anchor tract” of the similarly laid out Little Calfpasture patent. Dunlap’s land was purchased instead by his infant son, John, and was owned by him and his descendants for until well into the 1800s. By 1800, though, only a handful of the original names were still denizens of the Pastures.

J.T. McAllister, *Virginia Militia in the Revolutionary War* (HotSpringsVA: McAllister Publishing Co, 1913; reprint BowieMD: Heritage Books Inc, 1989).

VA Patents

Land Office Grants, online at Library of Virginia

at http://ajax.lva.lib.va.us/F/?func=file&file_name=find-b-clas30&local_base=CLAS30.

West Virginia

Norma Pontiff Evans, *A Register of Marriages Celebrated in Greenbrier, (West) Virginia, 1781-1849* (1983).

Larry G. Shuck, *Greenbrier County Marriages, 1782-1900, Volume 1* (AthensGA: Iberian Publishing Company, 1991).

Green Hill Cemetery, in Union, MonroeCoWV, posted to findagrave by Matthew Broyles, 13Mar2002. Green Hill Cemetery is in the town of UnionWV (at Lat 37°39'33"N, Long 80°53'64"E).

Larry G. Shuck, *Monroe County, (W)Virginia Abstracts: Deeds (1799-1817); Wills (1799-1829); Sim’s Land Grant Index (1780-1862)* (ApolloPA: Closson Press, 1996).

William T. Price, *Historical Sketches of Pocahontas County, West Virginia* (MarlintonWV: Price Brothers, Publishers, 1901; reprint reprinted 1963).

The West Virginia Heritage Encyclopedia: Supplemental Series, 25? volumes, Jim Comstock, editor(s) (RichwoodWV: privately printed, 1974).

This source is not to be confused with the set of volumes published two years later (1976) by the same “editor”, and with the same title, except that “Supplemental Series” is omitted. The first 8 volumes of this work, which are replete with family history sketches, are actually a reprint of some version of *Hardesty’s Encyclopedia*, published c.1884. Incredibly, Mr. Comstock provides essentially no information of the original publication, of which these first 8 volumes appear to be a reprint; the remaining volumes seem to have been authored much more recently. In any case, the sketches, which read much like the usual “mug book” autobiographies, are grouped by county, so that all the sketches for MonroeCoVA (and later WV) appear in volume 1.

“**Alexander Dunlap**”, in *The West Virginia Heritage Encyclopedia: Supplemental Series*, Jim Comstock, editor(s) (RichwoodWV: privately printed, 1974), 1:86.

Wisconsin

Prairie du Chien [Wisconsin] *Courier*

United States (as a whole)

U.S. Census Citations

The source notes for each particular household in the USCensus include an abstract, listing all the members of that household, as well as a citation. To keep the abstract brief, surname and birthplace are omitted if they are the same as for the previously listed person; however, where surname changes within a household, the variant surname will not only appear, it will be boldfaced. For other fields, dittoing in the original record will be indicated in the abstract by replicating the whole text being dittoed, but enclosing it in square brackets.

My USCensus citations are generally to the Ancestry.com Online Images USCensus Database, digitized facsimiles of the pages of the NARA USCensus film series. Where the actual source is instead a NARA or an FHL film, the film# will be cited as well.

The citation is to the original page “meta number”, and to the line#s occupied by the household on the page, or pages. For convenience of online access, I also cite to the Ancestry.com image# within the packet of pages designated by the other fields of the citation (state, county..). For a detailed explication of my USCensus citation and abstracting conventions, see my report: “The USCensus and my Abstracting Formats” (filename “USC”).

USA-NARA Revolutionary War Records, online at Heritage Quest.

James Gay Revolutionary War Pension File, 2Oct1833 (date granted), S2568 (NARA film M805-352, images 86-95).

Heirs of Prudence Curry Revolutionary War Pension File, 13Aug1852 (date granted), W22875 (NARA film M805-239, images 336-445)

On 28Feb1850, William Gay, on behalf of the heirs of Prudence Curry, widow of Revolutionary War soldier William Gay, made application for a widow’s pension under the act of 4Jul1836. In his declaration, William stated that his parents William Gay & Prudence —?— were married 7Jul1881, that his father served in the Rev under Capt. William Bratton, and that he died 28Aug1789, leaving his widow with 4 children; she then married 2nd, Charles CURRY, had 3 children by him, and died 27Feb1844. The marriage of William & Prudence, and the birth dates of their children were recorded in a family register in the applicant's possession. This register, or a copy of it, was filed with the pension application, and besides providing the couple’s marriage date, and father William’s death date, it also supplies birth dates for all their children: Eals born 13Apr1782, James 14Jan1784, Samuel 23Feb1786, Agnss [sic] 26Nov1787, and Wiliam [sic] 26Feb1790. Included in the application papers is a testimonial dated 9Jan1852 by one Samuel McConnell 72 (son of John McConnell), a nephew of William & Prudence, stating that he had “always understood that William had been married to Prudence, formerly Prudence Woods ‘before the end of the war’”.

Samuel & Jane Stevenson Revolutionary War Pension File, 2Oct1833 (date granted), W8769 (NARA film M805-771, image 716-724)

On 22Sep1842, Jane Stevenson, widow of Samuel Stevenson, made application for a widow’s pension under the act of 4Jul1836. In her declaration, she stated that she was aged 92, and provided detail of her husband’s war service, the date of his birth, of their marriage, and the dates of their childrens’ birth. Her declaration was endorsed both by her nephew James Stevenson, who said he had

“never known any person who have retained their recollection as she has at her age”, and by three of her children, Mary Stevenson, Robert Stevenson, and Alexander D[unlap?] Stevenson.

“**Thomas**”, in Lina Vandegrift Denison Cherry, *McDonnell and Allied Families* (privately printed, 1959).

This short “Thomas” section contains a reconstruction of the natal family of the Sarah Thomas who married John McKee Gay in 1828, based on family records and traditions compiled by Mrs. S.C. Varnes of IndependenceKS.

GENERAL SOURCES

The Papers of Henry Clay: Volume 4: Secretary of State, 1825, James F. Hopkins, editor (LexingtonKY: University of KY Press, 1972).

Patrick Hanks & Flavia Hodges, *A Concise Dictionary of First Names* (Oxford University Press, 1997).

Paul K. Conkin, *American Originals: Homemade Varieties of Christianity* (ChapelHillNC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

Daniel Dorchester, *Christianity in the United States, From the First Settlement Down to the Present Time* (New York: Phillips & Hunt, 1888; online at Google Books)

David Hackett Fischer, **Forenames and the Family in NE: An Exercise in Historical Onomastics**, in *Generations and Change: Genealogical Perspectives in Social History*, Robert M. Taylor Jr. & Ralph J. Crandall, editors (MaconGA: Mercer University Press, 1986), 215-241.

Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia, 5 volumes, Sandra Gioia Treadway, editor(s) (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1982).

Marion & Jack Kaminkow, *Original Lists of Emigrants in Bondage from London to the American Colonies, 1719-1744* (Baltimore: Magna Carta Book Co., 1967; reprint 1981).

Roy Stevenson King, *The Ancestral Pilgrimage Along Life's Pathway* (AtlantaGA: 1939), typescript, Ancestry online: facsimile.

This publication features some of the author's principal ancestral lines: Galloway, Gay, King, Kinkead, Mitchell, and Stevenson. Although the author has some idea of historical research, sources are only intermittently noted, and most of them are secondary sources anyway. The family history portion for the Gays of the Valley is one of the vaguest and flimsiest presentations I have ever seen, and is based almost entirely on Morton, who himself provides virtually no evidence for any of his claims. One valuable exception to this rule is a complete family record with names and birth dates of all the children of Samuel & Jane (Gay) Stevenson. Also, the bulk of the material on the Gays, the Kinkeads, and the Stevensons is based on the KY Draper Collection interviews, and it appears that the author had access to a much more complete version of the Jane Stevenson interview than is available from the Wisconsin Historical Society which is the repository for the Draper Collection.

R.S. King is also the author of the Stevenson sections of Laura Kinkead Walton's article in the *Register* of the Kentucky Historical Society, and the key extra genealogical material of Jane's interview is presented more fully and accurately there; here it's mostly paraphrased and interspersed, willy-nilly, with authorial interpretations and commentary. On the other hand, in this, most complete, version Jane tells us a lot about her everyday life on the frontier which is not to be found in any other secondary source, and since the original appears lost we must be grateful for what we have.

Although King's work is radically deficient from a genealogical point of view, it offers a serviceable, and often engaging historical narrative covering the settlement of the Lexington area of KY, and the early Indian-fighting days there, and integrating this with the private and family history of the Stevensons, Gays, and other related families.

John Barrett Robb, "[The Scottish Onomastic Child-naming Pattern](#)"

My paper is by far the most detailed and authoritative on this subject, and it's accompanied by an appendix that reports the results of my survey of Scottish given name frequencies, based on culling thousands of Scottish parish records from the old International Genealogical Index of the LDS Church. The extreme concentration of given names frequencies (with some 72% of all Scottish lads named John, James, William, Robert, and Alexander) by itself goes a long way towards confirming what my extensive experience researching this population tells me: that at least 90% of families of recent Scottish ethnicity followed this pattern either rigorously (the indigenous Scots), or for the first few children of each sex (the Scotch-Irish).

I've made heavy use of this pattern in all my analytical work on these people over the last three decades, and in this report my onomastic analyses of the conjugal families of the six GAY siblings I cover herein makes, overall, a compelling case that the parents of the GAYs of the Calfpasture were named John and Agnes.

Laura Kinkead Walton, "**The Families Kinkead, Stephenson, Garrett, Martin, and Dunlap**", in *Genealogies of Kentucky Families, From the Register of the Kentucky Historical Society (O-Y)* (Baltimore: GPC, 1981), 2:757-776 .

The articles comprising the two volume work in which Walton's contribution appears as Appendix C to Volume 2, were reprinted from issues of the *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* spanning 1903-1965, and are said in the introduction to constitute all the strictly "family history articles" to be found in that journal for the period, except for those excerpted and published by Railey, as *History of Woodford County, Kentucky* (1928). According to a footnote on 2:757, Walton's article, was excerpted from "Historic Meeting at Pisgah Church" in *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 37(Oct1939):283-321.

Two of the most useful subsections of Walton's article, "Major Samuel Stevenson", and "Jane Gay Stevenson", were authored, according to her, by R.S. King, and I have made of them a separate source, to be found under Stevenson, in SURNAME-FOCUSED SOURCES, above.

Alexander Scott Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare: A New Edition edited and annotated by Reuben Gold Thwaites* (1895; reprint by Stewart&Kidd Co., 191?—7th impression).