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Summary Tree: Alexander¹ & wife Ann DUNLAP of the Calfpasture and Descendants
(All their children and son Robert²'s children have been expanded here; other grandchildren are listed)

Omitted surnames are all DUNLAP; other surnames are rendered in all-caps.

The lower Calfpasture River Valley lay mostly in western RockbridgeCoVA, created 1778 from AugustaCo; when Alexander¹ died, early in 1745, Augusta was still being administered by its parent county of Orange.

abt <date> = +/- a year (or for mmYYYY dates a month), or possibly two, but tied to specific evidence

say <date> = guesstimated, considering the usual and customary patterns—e.g. typical ages at marriage, etc.

d/o = daughter of; s/o = son of

1 [Alexander DUNLAP](#), the immigrant (say 1708 [Ireland?]) - abt Jan1744/5 probably in the Calfpasture
---m. say 1736 Ann [MacFARLAND] (say 1712 - aft 1755)

who m2. abt 1746 Robert BRATTON of the Calfpasture

[children](#): Agnes, Adam, James, George, Mary, John (all BRATTON)

---2 [John](#) (say 1737 - abt Mar1804 RockbridgeCoVA)

-----m. by 1763 Ann [CLARK? d/o James & Elizabeth] (say 1741 - abt 1809)

[children](#): Alexander, Elizabeth (m. James GAY), James, Ann (m. Robert BRATTON),
John, Mary (m1. _?_ HODGE; m2. Robert CROCKETT)⁽¹⁾

---2 [Robert](#) (abt 1739 - 15Mar1781 SC)

-----m. abt 1763 Mary GAY (abt 1743 - abt 1818 RockbridgeCoVA),

d/o of William & Margaret *née* _?_ GAY of the Calfpasture

-----3 William (say 1764 -)

-----m. 15Aug1790 Elizabeth COURSEY in RockbridgeCoVA, d/o James & Winfred *née* RIDDELL

-----3 Ann (say 1766 -)

-----m. 16Sep1788 David McKEE (25Dec1760 -) in RockbridgeCoVA, s/o John & Jane *née* LOGAN

-----3 [Alexander](#) (11Mar1768 RockbridgeCoVA - 17Mar1841 MonroeCoVA, later WV)

-----m. 14Sep1795 Jane ALEXANDER (25Jun1775 MonroeCoVA - 5Aug1838) in MonroeCoVA,
d/o James & _?_ *née* Earskin [Erskine]

-----3 [Margaret](#) (20May1770 - 12Oct1851)

-----m. 19Mar1793 William DENISON (15Jul1767 [AugustaCoVA] - 30Nov1838) in FayetteCoKY,
s/o Daniel & Elizabeth then of KY, formerly of Augusta and Rockingham Cos
VA

-----3 Robert (26Apr1772 - 26Oct1856 [AugustaCoVA?])

-----m. 14May1793 Martha GRAHAM in AugustaCoVA, d./o John

-----3 John (say 1775 -)

-----3 Mary (23May1777 -)

-----3 Agnes (29Sep1779 -)

-----m. 7May1799 Samuel McCUTCHEON of the Calfpasture in RockbridgeCoVA

---2 [Alexander](#) (abt Oct1744 - 16Mar1828 probably in BrownCoOH)

-----m. [7Jan1768:] Agnes GAY (25Sep1745-), d/o James & Mary [WARWICK?] of the Calfpasture
[children](#): Robert, Isabella, James A., Addison, Benjamin G., Adaline, Alexander, Mary J.

¹ John¹ & Ann Dunlap's children, in order of their birth, are taken from on a list of "my six children" in their mother, Ann Dunlap's, 19May1808 will—a copy of which is filed with the 1817 chancery case, *Dunlap's Heirs vs. Dunlap's Exors.*

1. ALEXANDER¹ DUNLAP and his wife ANN [MACFARLAND?]

Source Notes & Overview

Oren Morton, the principal compiler of family history for the Scotch-Irish of the upper Valley of Virginia, devotes over two pages of one of his books to the Dunlaps of Augusta and Rockbridge Counties, and most of his material concerns the descendants of Alexander Dunlap of the Calfpasture. Morton's account of the Dunlaps, which encompasses four generations, sports an uncharacteristic amount of detail, colored by family lore complete with the usual exaggerated claims to pre-eminence in certain spheres. Morton was more of a compiler than a researcher himself, and it is particularly clear in this case that he had a family source for all this information. It was not Morton's way to clutter up his apodicta with bothersome distractions like source citations, but he does deign to mention in passing a notable descendant of this family: Boutwell Dunlap.^[2]

The distinguished genealogist, Robert H. Montgomery, FASG, refers extensively in his several papers to Boutwell Dunlap and his opinions of various Valley families^[3], and so does William Railey, the historian of WoodfordCoKY, where members of these early Calfpasture families were among the first settlers west of the Appalachians.^[4] And there are other early secondary sources which echo much of the same material.^[5] Railey, who has published by far the most detailed account of this family, especially downstream, in its Kentucky evolutions, speaks truly, I think, for all the others when he says: "I am indebted to the Hon. Boutwell Dunlap of Auburn, Cal. for the data from which this sketch is written."

In fact, I believe that virtually all secondary sources on the Alexander Dunlap family of the Calfpasture, derive ultimately from Boutwell Dunlap, who unfortunately never published his own research on this family. It has been my intention in this project, to ground my own assertions firmly in the primary sources, but I am nevertheless including much of this additional Boutwell Dunlap material, partly for color, and more importantly, because it offers suggestive leads to further research.^[6]

If I am correct in my assumption that the various classic secondary sources mentioned above all derive their published Dunlap material from Boutwell Dunlap's research, interpretations, and conjectures, then I begin by synthesizing those which pertain to the earliest generations as follows: Alexander Dunlap was "a son of the soldier who was at the siege of Londonderry, and a cadet of the Dunlaps of Dunlap, Ayshire. His wife was Ann MacFarland, a descendant of Calan McFarland"^[7]. Alexander was the first settler, in 1743, of "the Pastures" region of western AugustaCoVA, and was appointed captain of horse in that year. He died the next year, leaving four children: John, Robert, Alexander, and Elizabeth. Alexander's eldest son, John, married Ann Clark, daughter of James Clark, another early settler of AugustaCo. His second son, Robert, died a hero at the important Revolutionary War Battle of Guilford Courthouse, and the third, Alexander, was an early Kentucky pioneer, and an authentic "Kentucky Colonel".

As far as I know, none of these claims is unambiguously contradicted by the evidence, some are supported by it, and all are at least plausible. Except that it is difficult to know what to make of the claim that Alexander's wife was Ann McFarland, with no shred of evidence adduced in support. There were a few McFarlands early in the Valley of Virginia, and I wouldn't be surprised if there were a few on the

² Oren F. Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County, Virginia* (StauntonVA: 1920), 249-251, and 483.

³ Robert H. Montgomery, "Gay Families of Augusta and Rockbridge Counties, Virginia", in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 200, for example.

⁴ 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), 147-153.

⁵ *Genealogies of Kentucky Families, From the Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, 2 volumes (A-M, and O-Y) continuously paginated (Baltimore: GPC, 1981), 2:776.

⁶ . Please see my entry for Boutwell Dunlap in the **Bibliography** for a more detailed commentary on him as a source.

⁷ Railey, *Woodford*, 148-149.

PA frontier, but the meager material in Chalkley, for example, provides no hint of a connection. Maybe the surname was passed down by family tradition, or maybe it was simply cooked up somewhere along the way on dubious grounds, by an amateur genealogist hungry for distinction (the descents from Scottish clans which are advanced without evidence almost invariably lead back to some chieftain or laird). If I were to conjecture on this point, though, based on the evidence, I would wonder if Ann wasn't born a Campbell. I find it striking that the three men appointed to take inventory for the widow of Alexander's extensive estate, consisted of two close Calfpasture neighbors, Robert and John Gay (who might themselves have been in-laws, of course), and one Rob[er]t Campbell, whose (principal) tract, acquired in 1740, was a good 10 miles away in Beverley Manor, on the other side of North Mountain from the Little River, and with no connecting roads.^[8]

For an analytical summary of the other Dunlap families of early AugustaCo from which I differentiate Alexander's, please see Appendix B to this report.

ALEXANDER¹ DUNLAP & Wife—Their Careers

Alexander Dunlap was born say 1708. He died, probably in the Calfpasture region of then Orange County, VA, on or before 28Feb1744/45, when his widow filed her bond as administratrix of his estate.^[9] Alexander's passing is also recognized no later than 26Jul1745, when the grant of the Big Calfpasture lot adjacent to the Dunlaps' was acknowledged by the grantors, James Patton and John Lewis: this deed refers to "the land of the heirs of the late Alex[ande]r Dunlap".^[10]

Alexander Dunlap married Ann [MacFarland?], as her 1st husband, say 1736, considering the estimated birth dates of their two oldest sons, John, and Robert;^[11] Ann was born say 1712, and died after 1755, when her last child by her second husband, Robert Bratton, was born.

On 22May1746 the inventory of "Alexander Delap" (Dunlap) was presented in court, and it shows him to be a man of some property.^[12] In the inventory, I count 20 horses, and 5 colts, and also 6 bulls or bullocks, so it looks as though Alexander was planning to breed both horses and cattle on his lush river meadow land. Although his estate included no slaves, or indentured servant contracts, it is likely that Alexander would have acquired these in due course, given the evident scope of his breeding projects. His inventory also sported books and ink, and several of the accouterments of a gentleman, as well as the more practical farm tools of the frontier.

⁸ I have made a small study of Robert and his land because it is mentioned as a terminus of the first road (commissioned in 1752) from the Little Calfpasture over North Mountain to Beverley Manor.

⁹ OrangeCoVA Probate 2:46-47.

¹⁰ OrangeCoVA Deeds 10:149-151. Unfortunately, the specific date of this deed is missing.

¹¹ AugustaCoVA Deeds 3:366. On 14Feb1761, John conveyed to Robert a large chunk of the Dunlap land, of which he had been the nominal purchaser in 1746, as a minor. Despite this earlier, anomalous, deed (which will be more fully discussed below—see the sketch for John² Dunlap), minors were unable to make legally valid contracts in their own name; thus John, at least, the grantor in this deed, must have been born before 1740, and likely Robert was too.

¹² OrangeCoVA Probate 2:79-81. Alexander's inventory totaled over £233, or about \$32,000 in 2007, and this does not include the £20 paid for Big Calfpasture Lot 1 some 10 months before the inventory was brought in, with Alexander's minor son John as nominal grantee. The inventory was signed by court-ordered inventory-takers Robert Gay, John Gay, and Rob[er]t Campbell. See [my transcription of the immigrant Alexander¹'s probate records](#).

Children of ALEXANDER¹ DUNLAP and ANN [MACFARLAND?]:

As has been noted, Boutwell Dunlap believed that there was also a daughter Elizabeth in this family in addition to the three sons. This is entirely plausible, and even likely (there is even a slot for her in the birth order), but I am aware of no shred of evidence to support the claim. This situation is all too typical of these early Valley families, for whom no public marriage records have survived, leaving only first names of wives as grantors in deeds as the only evidence that there were sisters, and wives, and mothers in this burgeoning society.

Fortunately, all three sons led active public lives (two of them long ones), and two of them (John & Robert) also left wills in RockbridgeCo, which both became the subject of chancery suits by their heirs; the evidential record for this time and place doesn't get much better than that. The third son, Alexander, carved out his own life on the Kentucky frontier, and ended it in Ohio, but the research project leading to this report has made only cursory attempts to follow him there.

2. [i. JOHN²DUNLAP](#), b. say 1737; m. Ann [Clark?].
3. [ii. ROBERT DUNLAP](#), b. circa 1739; m. Mary Gay, d/o William.
4. [iii. ALEXANDER DUNLAP](#), b. circa Oct1744; m. Agnes Gay, d/o William.

On 28Feb1744[45], having posted bond (as “Ann Delap”), “Ann Dinlap”, of Orange County, VA, was granted letters of administration for the estate of her husband, Alexander, and on the same day the OrangeCo court ordered his inventory taken by Robert Campbell, John Guy, John Wilson, and Robert Guy.^[13] John Guy (Gay) was the nearest landowner downstream from the Dunlap’s Big Calfpasture lot 1, and the brother of William Gay, whose daughter, Mary, would marry Ann’s son, Robert.^[14] Ann’s bondsmen (sureties) were William Elliott (mis-transcribed “Allan” in the body of the bond itself), who owned land adjacent to John Gay, and [Col.] James Patton, who was a co-proprietor of the whole Big Calfpasture patent, and one of the leading men of AugustaCo. If Ann’s husband was indeed a “captain of horse”, Patton, as colonel of horse and foot at that time, would also have been Alexander’s superior officer.

ALEXANDER¹ DUNLAP's wife ANN's Second Marriage, to ROBERT BRATTON

Ann Dunlap married 2nd, Robert Bratton, about 1746, considering the estimated birth date of their first child (either Agnes or Adam), and certainly before Feb-Mar1748 when judgement was rendered in *Robert Bratton & Ann his wife, late Ann Dunlap vs. James McDowell, et al.*^[15] The relationship is also shown when on 21Aug1752, James Patton and William Elliott, securities for Ann as administratrix

¹³ OrangeCoVA Probate 2:46-47. The court of Augusta County, where the Calfpasture region lay, was to gather for its first session only in the fall this year, 1745.

¹⁴ **OrangeCoVA Order Book** 4:266. Robert Guy (Gay), who assisted with the inventory might have been a younger brother of John who never owned land in the Calfpasture, but whom I believe lived with John in these early days; however, given that Robert Gay’s is the first signature on the inventory, it is perhaps more likely that he was the unrelated Robert Gay who owned Big Calfpasture Lot 9, about 5 miles upstream from the Dunlap’s Lot 1.

¹⁵ Chalkley, 1:298, citing Augusta court judgments for Feb-Mar1748. Chalkley’s abstract reads: “Robert Bratton and Ann his wife, late Ann Dunlap vs. James McDowell and Francis McCowing—Debt on a bond to Ann Dunlap, 18th June, 1745, while she was single. Ann Dunlap of the Calf Pasture. Writ dated 23rd June, 1747.”

for her first husband, Alexander Dunlap, came into court and asked for “counter security from Anne Dunlop, Admx”, because she has “since married Ro[bert] Bratton”.^[16]

Children of ROBERT BRATTON and ANN ([MACFARLAND?]) (DUNLAP):

In the first place, we know the names of Robert’s children from his will: Adam, James, George, John, and Agnes, who married William Givens.^[17] The bequests to the sons are listed in the order—James, George, John, and Adam, and there is another list of children—Adam, George, John, and Agnes. Since Agnes was probably married about 21Mar1764, when her husband William Givens took out a marriage license,^[18] and was co-grantor on a deed by her husband as early as early as 1766^[19], she was certainly one of the first children born, and, in fact, I have conjectured that she was the very first, even though she is listed last in her father’s will.^[20] Indeed, it is quite possible that Agnes was Robert Bratton’s child by a first marriage, but since there is no evidence of such a marriage, I have allowed her to belong to his known wife, Ann.^[21]

We know, from an AugustaCo Court judgement that Adam was the son of both Robert and Ann Bratton,^[22] and I have made him the oldest son because: (1) he was the first to be deeded land by his parents, on 24Jan1770; (2) he is listed first in the one list of children in the will (although brother James’s legacy appears first in the will); and (3) it was Adam to whom father Robert left his home plantation,^[23] and made sole executor of his will, even though brother James was still an AugustaCo tithable in 1787.^[24] One might also point out that the biblical Adam was the name of the first man.

Considering the date his father deeded him land, I have conjectured that Adam was born about 1748. For son James, we have a baptismal record dated 11Mar1749[/50?],^[25] so I have made him the next child. Son John was aged 44 on 22Apr1800.^[26], and the remaining son, George, falls naturally into the remaining slot indicated by the list in the will. In the light of this family reconstruction, the one piece of contradictory evidence, from James’s gravestone—a death date (1828) and age at death (82nd year)—which points to a birth about 1747 (three years before he was baptized!), I think we can rule out as a mistake.

¹⁶ Chalkley, 1:54, citing AugustaCo Order Book 2:321. The problem was that under law, her new husband automatically acquired title to all the property in his wife’s hands, and Ann’s bondsmen evidently weren’t so sure that they trusted Bratton to administer it scrupulously in favor of Alexander’s heirs.

¹⁷ AugustaCoVA Probate 6:492-494.

¹⁸ Chalkley, 2:277.

¹⁹ Chalkley, 3:442, citing Augusta Deeds 12:539.

²⁰ It was commonplace in this period for all the sons to be dealt with separately first in the will, since testator’s most important property was his land, which went preferentially to his sons.

²¹ As early as 28Jan1747/8 there was a processioning for Wm. Givens, in the Timber Ridge neighborhood of Robert Huston and the Lyles (Chalkley 2:433), though this William Givens may have been the *father* of Agnes’s husband. However, in the fall of 1759, William Givens and Abraham Boho, the latter aged 25 in 1761 showed up at Ft. Ligonier as peddlers; if William was about the same age as Abraham, he would have been born say 1736, and wife Agnes may therefore have been born closer to 1740 than 1750, and thus have been Robert’s daughter by an earlier marriage.

²² Chalkley, 1:388, citing AugustaCo Judgements Nov1788(A-C). Chalkley’s abstract reads “Ann Bratton, widow of Robert Bratton, and Adam was their son”, probably closely paraphrasing the original, which I have not seen.

²³ Chalkley, 3:498 citing Augusta Deeds 16:308.

²⁴ Netti Schreiner-Yantis & Florene Speakman Love, *The 1787 Census of Virginia*, 3 volumes (SpringfieldVA: Genealogical Books in Print, 1987), The father’s home plantation typically went either to the oldest son, or alternatively to the youngest son who continued to live with and care for the old folks; but Adam was clearly not the youngest son.

²⁵ Howard McKnight Wilson, **Rev. John Craig’s Baptisms, 1740-1749**, in *The Tinkling Spring, Headwater of Freedom: A Study of the Church and Her People, 1732-1952* (FishersvilleVA: Garrett & Massie, 1954).

²⁶ Chalkley, 2:58, citing the Staunton Chancery Court case, *Hays vs. Bratton*: “John Bratton, brother to Adam, aged 44” reads the abstract; presumably this is from a deposition. The case also names brother George Bratton who has gone to Kentucky, so there is no doubt which Bratton family this is.

(Children of ROBERT¹ BRATTON and ANN [MACFARLAND?]:)

- i. AGNES² BRATTON was born about 1746.
- ii. ADAM BRATTON was born say 1748. Adam Bratton married Elizabeth Feemster (daughter of Thomas Feemster) 9Jul1788.^[27]
- iii. JAMES BRATTON was baptized on 11Mar1749/50 at “on Calf Pasture River”, by the Rev. John Craig, the area’s first settled “old side” minister.^[28] He died 29Jun1828.
- iv. GEORGE BRATTON was born say 1751.
- v. MARY BRATTON was born say 1753.
- vi. JOHN BRATTON was born about Oct1755.

²⁷ John Vogt and T. William Kethley Jr., *Augusta County Marriages, 1748-1850* (AthensGA: Iberian Publishing Co., 1986), The marriage bond is dated 4Jul1788, and Elizabeth is called daughter of Thomas in the accompanying consent.

²⁸ Wilson, *Tinkling Spring*, 471.

*Generation Two*2. JOHN² DUNLAP (*Alexander*¹) and his wife ANN [CLARK?]

Source Notes & Overview

John and his wife are very well documented in the Augusta and Rockbridge County record books. They are even represented by an 1817 Staunton Chancery Court case, which names all the living children, and their spouses, and includes official transcriptions of the wills of John and Ann.^[29]

Beyond that, according to Morton (Boutwell Dunlap): “In 1776 John Dunlap visited Ohio on a prospecting tour, and acquired 7,000 acres in Ross County, the smaller of the two tracts including the old Shawnee town of Chillicothe. He also secured 1436 acres in Kentucky, but was furthermore the largest landholder in Rockbridge. He was married to Ann Clark, who was related to General George Rogers Clark. . . .”^[30] Both Morton and Railey (who echoes Morton here without the detail), say that Ann was the daughter of James Clark.^[31] There is some evidence supporting the connection between this Calfpasture family of Dunlaps, and the James Clark family. Indeed, both appear to be linked also to the nearby William Gay family of the Little Calfpasture.

As we shall see in the following sketch, Robert² Dunlap, John’s next youngest brother, married Mary Gay, daughter of William Gay of the Little Calfpasture—almost a next door neighbor. Robert H. Montgomery tells us explicitly that it was Boutwell Dunlap’s opinion that Agnes Gay, the youngest daughter of William Gay, married Robert Clark of BourbonCoKY^[32], probably meaning the man who was first Robert Clark of AugustaCoVA, the youngest son of James & Elizabeth Clark, who were also the putative parents of Ann [Clark?] Dunlap, the wife of Robert Dunlap’s older brother, John Dunlap.^[33] Since Robert Dunlap married Agnes’s older sister Mary, we have here a 3-cornered linkage between the children of Alexander¹ Dunlap, James & Elizabeth Clark, and John¹ & Agnes Gay.

The AugustaCo Deeds show that this family of Clarks lived about 7 miles due E of the Little Calfpasture region, though separated from it by North Mountain, and on 17Aug1784, Robert & Agnes Clark sold their family land, probably the year they migrated to Kentucky.^[34] Also, although there is no evidence that these Clarks ever owned land in the Calfpasture, we find Jno. and Robert Clark witnessing the 1763 guardian bond of John Dunlap, for (his brother) Alexander Dunlap, orphan of Alexander,^[35]

²⁹ *Heirs of John & Ann Dunlap vs. Exors of Ann Dunlap, 1817*, Virginia Superior Court of Chancery at Staunton.

³⁰ Morton, *Rockbridge*, 249, 483. There are inaccuracies here: John’s will (Rockbridge Probate 2:373-377) disposes of 3000a, not 7000, in Chillicothe and 1486a in KY, not 1436, and the claim that, net of this land, he was the largest landowner in Rockbridge is suspect, although he did apparently own several thousand acres there.

³¹ Railey, *Woodford*, 149; Supposedly James was related to the Revolutionary War general, George Rogers Clark, born in 1753 in Charlottesville, not far away, but I find only a single peripheral item for a George Clark in the records of AugustaCo; with such a common name, I would want to see better circumstantial evidence than that to even entertain this relationship as a conjecture.

³² Montgomery, “Gay Families”, 200.

³³ Morton, *Rockbridge*, 249; AugustaCoVA Probate 6:4-5 (20Aug1774 Will of James Clark), and 6: 208-209 (8Oct1781 Will of Elizabeth Clark). The wills of both James and Elizabeth Clark name daughter Ann Dunlap, and sons Robert, John, James, and Samuel among others.

³⁴ Chalkley, 3:444, citing Deeds 13:46-48 (19Aug1766—James Clarke to Samuel Clarke, and Robert Clarke, his sons); Chalkley 3:506, citing Deeds 17:75-82 (23Nov1770—John and Samuel Clark selling their portions of their father’s land to Robert Clark), and Chalkley 3:571, citing Deeds 24:327-335 (17Aug1784—Robert & Agnes, selling a tract “near James Clark’s old place, between Beverley Manor and North Mountain”, and another at the head of Back Creek, a branch of Middle River).

³⁵ AugustaCoVA Probate 3:252.

and in 1771, Robert and James Clark witnessing the will of William Elliott, whose land was adjacent to the Gay brothers John² and James, and very close to the land of their brother, William Gay.^[36]

JOHN² (*Alexander*¹) DUNLAP & wife—Their Careers

John² Dunlap was born say 1737,^[37] and died, presumably in RockbridgeCoVA, between 25Feb1804 (date of his will), and 3Apr1804 (its date of proof).

John Dunlap married Ann [Clark?] (daughter of James & Elizabeth [Clark?]) before 19Apr1763, considering John's guardian's bond of that date for which Ann's brother's John and Robert stood surety, and also the estimated birth date of his and Ann's first child, Alexander. Ann was born say 1741, and she died between 19May1808 (date of her will), and 3Apr1809 (its date of proof).

On 16/17Jul1745, John Dunlap purchased 625a on the Great River of the Calfpasture (his father, Alexander's, Lot 1 on the Preston Plat) from the proprietors, James Patton & John Lewis.^[38] On 13/14Feb1761, "John Dunlape" sold 295a on the Calfpasture, part of 625a, for £100, to "Robert Dunlap".^[39] 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 19Apr1763 John Dunlap gave his bond as guardian for "Alexander Dunlap, orphan of Alexander Dunlap", with sureties John Clark, and Rob[er]t Clark. The ward was presumably his younger brother, Alexander, and the sureties were probably brothers of his recent bride, Ann Clark.^[40] On 4Aug1778 John Dunlap was appointed to take the inventory of "David Martain"'s estate.^[41] The 24Jun1780 will of Jean —?—, widow of close neighbor James² Gay was witnessed by John Dunlap.^[42] On 5Mar1782 John Dunlap declined the co-executorship of (his brother) Robert Dunlap's will.^[43]

In his will dated 25Feb1804 (proved 3Apr1804), John Dunlap, of RockbridgeCoVA, "knowing the uncertainty of this life", bequeathed to "my beloved wife Ann Dunlap" her body clothes, two beds, my cupboard & furniture, the bible and other books (including "Guys explanation of the New Testament"), several horses, 56 cows and calves, and all the sheep, the negro man Ben, the boy "young Phill", the girl Fan and child, his house and land on E side of the Big Calfpasture, and 1/4th of the

³⁶ Chalkley, 3:119, citing 4:417.

³⁷ As noted in the footnote to his parent's marriage, John's sale of part of Lot 1 in Feb1761 to his putative brother, Robert, makes it probable that both were born by 1740.

³⁸ OrangeCoVA Deeds 10:113-115. John, his father's heir at law, would have been aged about 8 when this deed was executed, and his title to the land would not normally have been legally defensible unless he had an appointed guardian to act in his name, and if he did, no evidence of it appears in the records. Consequently, one seldom sees this kind of deed unless both grantor and grantee are of the same family, which is not the case here. However, the grantor, James Patton, the co-proprietor of the Big Calfpasture patent, and one of the leading men of nascent AugustaCo, was also a security on the widow's administration bond—with a legal obligation to make restitution to young John if he were somehow deprived of his rightful inheritance by his mother's malfeasance. Thus, this transaction with Patton, was backed by its own kind of "all in the family" guaranty. It's likely that John, in fact, had a guardian, even though we have no record of it. In fact it is likely that John's guardian was Robert Bratton, whom his mother was to marry within the year. John's deed of purchase is dated 16/17Jul1745, and the first AugustaCo court met 30Oct1745; probably John's guardianship record was simply lost in the records shuffle from Orange to Augusta.

³⁹ AugustaCoVA Deeds 9:125-128.

⁴⁰ AugustaCoVA Probate 3:252, for the bond; Chalkley, 1:105, citing Augusta Order Book 8:25 for the court order showing Alexander's age.

⁴¹ RockbridgeCoVA County Court Order Book 1:21.

⁴² RockbridgeCoVA Probate 1:101-102.

⁴³ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 1:154.

movables; to “my son Alexander Dunlap”, and to “my daughter Elizabeth Gay”, half each of the 1486a in KY, near “big bone lick”—Alexander to have also “my silver knee buckles”.

Next, testator John Dunlap willed that “the old Chillacothe town on the west side of the Ohio, on Point Creek, in Ros[s] County” containing 3000a, be laid out in 4 equal 500a lots, and distributed by lottery as follows: to “my dau Elizabeth Gay”, with 250a reserved for her son Robert; to “my son James Dunlap”; to “my daughter Ann Bratton”; to “my daughter Polly Hodge”, with 250a reserved for her son Samuel Hodge

Resuming his individual bequests, John willed to “my son James Dunlap” my body clothes, one bed, 2 horses, the tract “containing the Cold Sulphur Spring” and part of my Big Calfpasture tract (the bounds informally specified, with reference to the road to the Cold Spring, and to a bound with the land of William Dunlap), and \$200; to “my daughter Ann Bratton” the negroes Abby and Adam, and a part my Big Calfpasture plantation bounding James Dunlap's devise, "up both sides of Bratton's Run to my plantation called ‘Peter's Place’ [with one parcel excepted]", and 1/4 of the moveables; to “my daughter Mary Hodge” the negroes Minty and Polly, several cows, the plantation on Bratton's Run called Peter's Place, and a small tract of 66a on Meadow Run, a branch of Bratton's Run, and 1/4th of the movables; Also, the Negro boy George is to be divided equally between daughters Ann and Mary; to “my daughter Elizabeth Gay” 1/4th of the movables; to “my son John Dunlap . . . £51 for which I have his bond”.

And “as to the rest of my land, here I allow my beloved wife Ann Dunlap to sell it, and divide the money arising therefrom between her and the children, whichever has the most need, give them the largest share”. Testator here itemizes: a 910a tract joining the Cold Spring place; 160a on Bratton's Run; and his half of the 2000a with the “iron oar bank” (Alexander Campbell owning the other half—Alexander was probably the husband of John’s brother Alexander Gay’s niece, Agnes, hence this land was probably in Kentucky).

To the trustees of Lebanon Meeting House, \$20 “to be laid out in helping to build a gallery in said house for the use of the Negro slaves” (this commission was carried out by close neighbor and good friend, John Gay, Esquire).

To each slave here mentioned, \$8 “to be laid out in clothes”, namely “old Phill[,] young Phill[,] Ben[,] Phillip[,] Sook[,] Fan”.

Finally, John Dunlap named his wife Ann as sole executor, and signed with his mark.^[44] On 3Apr1804 the will of John Dunlap was proved, and probate was granted to his widow, Anne Dunlap.^[45] On 11Sep1804 W[illia]m Dunlap, William Jamison, and Robert Jamison made an inventory of the estate of John Dunlap. Although no total was taken, his personal estate was substantial, as it included 11 slaves. I estimate it’s value north of £1500 (\$90,000 in 2007 \$s). And that, of course, was just the personal estate. John also devised well over 5,000 acres of land in his will.^[46]

On 3Apr1804 Anne Dunlap was recognized as sole executrix of the will of her husband, John Dunlap, after posting a bond of \$5000; her sureties were John Gay, William Youel, James Bratton.^[47]

⁴⁴ Will of John Dunlap, 25Feb1804 (proved 3Apr1804), RockbridgeCoVA Probate → The witnesses to the will were John Gay, William Youel, and Ja[me]s Bratton.

⁴⁵ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 2:377.

⁴⁶ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 2:391-393.

⁴⁷ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 2:377.

In her own will dated 19May1808 (proved 3Apr1809), Ann Dunlap bequeathed to “my son James Dunlap”, her house and land on the east side of the Calfpasture (which she had inherited from her husband), together with about half of her stock, the “wagon and gears”, and some of the household furniture. James probably remained at the old homestead, perhaps unmarried, acting as his parents’ caretakers, and the plantation was evidently his reward. Ann’s clothes she bequeathed to her three daughters, but otherwise, the rest of her property, real and personal, she desired “to be divided equally amongst my children, namely Alexander Dunlap, Betsey Gay, James Dunlap, Ann Bratton, John Dunlap, and Polly Crocket”. From the boy, girl, boy, girl . . . order of this list, we may infer that the children are here listed in the order of their birth; this is suggested also by the fact that Ann specified that Alexander (presumably the oldest) was to receive an additional £30, over and above his 1/6th share of the value of the real estate—a nod to primogeniture. Much of the rest of the will seems to be concerned with disposing of the family slaves in a humane way. Two of them are even given their choice of masters amongst Ann’s children (although since the chosen master is required to compensate the other heirs at a specified price, the election would have had to be mutual), and the two slaves willed to son James, the boys Phill, and Sam, had probably already made their choice.

Ann Dunlap named “my son James Dunlap & my friend John Gay” as executors, and signed with her mark. The witnesses were: William Dunlap, Robert Jamison, Robert Dunlap, and Andrew Graham.^[48] On 3Apr1809 the will of Ann Dunlap was proved, and certificate of probate was granted to her executors, James Dunlap, and John Gay, after posting bond in the amount of \$8000.^[49]

Children of JOHN² DUNLAP and ANN [CLARK?]:

All the children are parties to the suit Heirs of John & Ann Dunlap vs. Exors of Ann Dunlap, five as complainants, and one, James Dunlap, as respondent. The order of birth is taken from the will of their mother, which is nearly the same order in which they are listed in the suit.

- i. ALEXANDER³ DUNLAP was born say 1764, and he died, presumably in RockbridgeCoVA, on or after 22Apr1837, when he patented 80a adjacent to Big Calfpasture lot 1, owned originally by his father, John². This Alexander Dunlap (the son of John) was the only man of that name still in AugustaCo by 1800. He patented two other tracts in less desirable areas of the Calfpasture, within a few miles of lot 1.^[50]
- ii. ELIZABETH DUNLAP was born say 1766. Elizabeth Dunlap married James Gay (son of James Gay and Mary [Warwick?]), as his 2nd wife, on or after 21Sep1797, when a marriage bond was filed

⁴⁸ Will of Ann Dunlap, 19May1808 (proved 3Apr1809), RockbridgeCoVA Probate.

⁴⁹ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 3:184, and on the last page of the will copy filed with *John Dunlap’s Heirs*. . . (1817).

⁵⁰ VA Patents 23:416 (18Jan1791: 240a “in the Calfpasture on the Knob between the big River and the Little River”); 49:348 (10Jul1801: 234a on east side of Little); 86:671 (21Apr1837: 80a on the Big Calfpasture in James Dunlap’s line).

and a license obtained.^[51] James was born 24Aug1758,^[52] and died after 1833. His 1st wife was “Sarah Pattin”, whom he married on 11Jan1787.^[53]

“James Guy” with Alexander Dunlap, and “John Guy”, and Jacob Warwick were on the 1782 tax list for GreenbrierCoVA. It appears that Dunlap’s wife, Agnes, was a sister to John and James Gay, and Jacob Warwick was their uncle. Alexander Dunlap and John Gay would be in FayetteCoKY by next year, and James would join them some years hence.^[54]

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^[55]—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 James Gay of Mound Hill”, and USCensus records are to be found for him and descendants there.^[56]

- iii. JAMES DUNLAP was born say 1768. On 3Apr1809 he was granted certificate of probate as co-executor of his mother, Ann Dunlap’s, will.

⁵¹ 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.

⁵² **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.

⁵³ 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.

⁵⁴ John Goodwin Herndon, “**Colonel Alexander Dunlap (1743-1828): The Correction of an Identification**”, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 323, notes the names on the tax list. He also claims (p324) that Col. Alexander Dunlap was the builder and owner of Ft. Clover Lick (in present day PocahontasCoWV), and that he sold it to Maj. Jacob Warwick who was also an Indian fighter, citing only “preserved family records”. As I note elsewhere, James Gay was based on Ft. Clover Lick for much of his Revolutionary War militia career.

⁵⁵ See [my abstract of an autobiographical interview Jane herself gave](#) in her 90s.

⁵⁶ 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.

- iv. ANN DUNLAP was born say 1770. She married Robert Bratton 9Oct1800.^[57]
- v. JOHN DUNLAP was born say 1772.
- vi. MARY DUNLAP was born say 1774. She married 1st, —?— Hodge, say 1795. Mary Dunlap married 2nd, Robert Crockett, say 1800.^[58]

⁵⁷ *Rockbridge County, Virginia, Marriages*, Robert is said to be the son of James [Bratton]; **RockbridgeCoVA Marriage Bonds & Consents** Both the bond (dated 6Oct1800) and the consent (dated 1Oct, endorsed by James Dunlap 6Oct1800) identify the bride, Ann Dunlap, as the daughter of John Dunlap. The consent is also witnessed by James Dunlap, and Mary Hodge, siblings of Ann.

⁵⁸ *John Maggart vs. Robert Crockett & Polly his wife, 1803-1809*, Virginia Superior Court of Chancery at Staunton. Mary's identity is tracked through two marriages by the following text from a summons in this case: "YOU ARE HEREBY COMMANDED TO SUMMON Robert Crockett and Polly his wife, late Polly Hodge, formerly Polly Dunlap".

3. ROBERT² DUNLAP (*Alexander*¹) and his wife MARY GAY

Source Notes & Overview

According to Railey (Boutwell Dunlap), “Robert Dunlap the 2nd, of ‘Aspen Grove,’ Rockbridge County, Va., married Mary Gay and was an ensign at the battle of Guilford Court House, where he was killed. Railey says Gay furnished money to the McConnells, then living in the ‘Pastures Region,’ to found McConnells Station near Lexington, Ky. . . for which he was to receive five hundred acres of the present site of Lexington, but this was lost to grandchildren by a decision of the Court of Appeals in 1805. “Case of McConnell’s heirs vs. Dunlap Devises.”^[59] Morton more or less echoes the first part of this: “Robert, the second son of the pioneer fought at Point Pleasant and was an ensign in the battle of Guilford, where he was killed. It is said he refused to obey an order to retreat. He owned Aspen Grove and one other plantation in Rockbridge.”^[60]

The reference to the KY court case is a valuable one, and should be followed up to see whether it supports this version of the KY land controversy. Certainly this KY suit dovetails with the allegations in the StauntonVA Chancery suit [*Heirs of Robert Dunlap vs. James Hamilton et al.*](#), filed about 1803^[61]—probably about the same time as the original KY suit was filed.

The best evidence for the marriage of Robert Dunlap and Mary Gay is found in a statement of her second husband, James Coursey, in Heirs of Robert Dunlap In his answer to the bill of complaint, Coursey says “that he did on the 3rd day of February 1785 intermarry with Mary Dunlap widow of Robert Dunlap deceased.” 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),^[62] 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.^[63]

⁵⁹ Railey, *Woodford*, 149.

⁶⁰ Morton, *Rockbridge*, 250.

⁶¹ [*Heirs of Robert Dunlap vs. James Hamilton et al.*](#), (1803-1808), Virginia Superior Court of Chancery at Staunton.

⁶² AugustaCoVA Deeds 2:476-479.

⁶³ RockbridgeCoVA Deeds L:68-70. Where the bounds of Mary’s deed deviate from those of her father’s in a few places, they correct it; we know which deed is the correct one because Mary’s deed corresponds to the metes and bounds of the adjacent tract owned by Samuel Gay (see Augusta Deeds 6:283-286), and in her deed, but not her father’s, the acreage comes out about right.

ROBERT² (*Alexander*¹) DUNLAP & wife—Their Careers

Robert Dunlap was born about 1739, considering that he was deeded land by (his brother) John Dunlap in Feb1761.^[64] He died, probably, at the important Revolutionary War battle of Guilford Courthouse in South Carolina 15Mar1781.^[65]

Robert Dunlap married Mary Gay (daughter of William Gay and Margaret —?—), as her 1st husband, about 1763. She was born, say 1743.

On 13/14Feb1761, “Robert Dunlap” was granted 295a on the Calfpasture, part of 625a, for £100, by “John Dunlap”.^[66] 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.^[67] On 22Nov1775 Robert Dunlap was appointed constable in AugustaCoVA, “vice” (to succeed) David Martin.^[68] On 19Aug1777 Robert Dunlap presented the inventory of his wife’s uncle (and perhaps his former guardian), John Gay.^[69] On 4Aug1778 Robert Dunlap was appointed to take the inventory of “David Martain”’s estate.^[70] 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.^[71]

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 on the Big River of the Calfpasture, and in case he recovers this said dwelling place by law (i.e. sues, attempting to invalidate the will so he can gain all his father’s land), 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,

⁶⁴ 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.

⁶⁵ *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.

⁶⁶ AugustaCoVA Deeds 9:125-128.

⁶⁷ VA Patents 42:718-719.

⁶⁸ Chalkley, 1:186, citing Augusta order book 16:94.

⁶⁹ AugustaCoVA Probate 5:516-518.

⁷⁰ RockbridgeCoVA County Court Order Book 1:21.

⁷¹ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 1:101-102.

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.^[72]

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 Agnis (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 one 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. But 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. 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, and help to provoke the chancery suit, *Heirs of Robert Dunlap*. . . .

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

⁷² 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).

provision, since William, in fact, would have had little or no chance of success in any such suit, but it does suggest a certain amount of possible mistrust between father and son. 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.^[73]

Children of ROBERT² 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, 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.^[74] 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 John³ Dunlap, a son Alexander² (Alexander¹) Dunlap of MonroeCoWV.^[75]

- i. WILLIAM³ DUNLAP was born say 1764. William Dunlap married Elizabeth Coursey (daughter of James Coursey and Winifred Riddell) in RockbridgeCoVA 15Aug1790.^[76] Mary (Gay) (Dunlap) Coursey, was thus both the mother of the groom, and later the step-mother of the bride. Elizabeth Coursey was born say 1765.
- ii. ANN DUNLAP was born say 1766. Ann Dunlap married David McKee (son of John McKee and Jane Logan) in RockbridgeCoVA 16Sep1788. David’s mother was killed 17Jul1763, along with many others, during the Kerr’s Creek raid by a large party of Shawnee Indians.^[77] David McKee. David McKee was born in AugustaCoVA 25Dec1760.^[78]
5. iii. ALEXANDER DUNLAP, b. 11Mar1768 AugustaCoVA; m. Jane Alexander.
6. iv. MARGARET DUNLAP, b. 20May1770; m. William Denison.

⁷³ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 1:154.

⁷⁴ *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.

⁷⁵ *The West Virginia Heritage Encyclopedia: Supplemental Series*, 25? volumes, Jim Comstock, editor(s) (RichwoodWV: privately printed, 1974), 1:86. Originally published in *Hardesty’s Enclopedia*, c.1884.

⁷⁶ *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.

⁷⁷ *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; George Wilson McKee, *The McKees of Virginia and Kentucky* (Pittsburgh: J.B. Richards, 1891), 36 (David’s mother’s death).

⁷⁸ *McKees of Virginia and Kentucky*, 124, 125, from a transcription family bible record of a half-brother of David, John Telford McKee (1783-1857).

- v. ROBERT DUNLAP was born 26Apr1772. Robert married Martha Graham (daughter of John Graham) in AugustaCoVA 14May1793.^[79] He died 26Oct1856.^[80] Robert outlived his wife by over 20 years, surviving almost until the Civil War.^[81] Robert and Martha are buried in the cemetery of Rocky Spring Church in the Calfpasture.^[82] Martha died 12Mar1833.^[83]
- vi. JOHN DUNLAP was born say 1775.
- vii. MARY DUNLAP was born 23May1777.
- viii. AGNES DUNLAP was born 29Sep1779. Agnes married "Samuel McCutcheon" on 7May1799 in RockbridgeCo. The marriage record says she was the daughter of Robert Dunlap, deceased.^[84]

ROBERT² DUNLAP's wife MARY's Second Marriage, to JAMES COURSEY

Mary (Gay) Dunlap married 2nd, James Coursey, as his 2nd wife, in RockbridgeCoVA 3Feb1785. 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.^[85] 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.^[86] 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".^[87]

⁷⁹ **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 joyn 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); *Augusta County Marriages* (Vogt), 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.

⁸⁰ **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.; 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.

⁸¹ **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.

⁸² *Here Lyeth: . . . Cemeteries of Sourthern Augusta'* (Weaver), Buried there with them are 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. Photos of all these Dunlap gravestones are available at findagrave.

⁸³ RockySpring Cemetery (findagrave photos),. Her stone reads "MARTHA * || Wife of || ROBERT DUNLAP || DIED || MAR 12. 1833."

⁸⁴ *Rockbridge County, Virginia, Marriages*.

⁸⁵ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 1:154.

⁸⁶ RockbridgeCoVA Deeds B:418-419.

⁸⁷ **Deed (Sale): Mary Coursey to Samuel McCutchen, 28Jun1817**, RockbridgeCoVA Deeds. Mary signed by her mark, and the deed was witnessed by Samuel Walkup, Joseph Bell, Jr., John Montgomery, and Arthur Walkup, and proved by 3 of them on 2Feb1818; the Walkups were neighbors of the Courseys on the upper Little Calfpasture. The bounds of this deed not only match those of her father William's 1749/50 grant from the patentholder, William Beverley, Esq. (as far as those go), they also extend and correct them (the correct bounds are also shown by Beverley's 1754 grant of the land adjacent to Samuel Gay, William's probable brother, at AugustaCoVA Deeds 6:283-286).

4. ALEXANDER² DUNLAP (*Alexander*¹) and his wife AGNES GAY

Source Notes & Overview

There are five Alexander Dunlap's in the Valley to reckon with. Besides this one, Alexander², and his father Alexander¹, there are his two nephews Alexander³ (John², Alexander¹), and Alexander³ (Robert², Alexander¹). There is also Alexander² (William¹), who may be a first cousin. From about 1752, when the probate of Alexander¹ was settled, until about 1785, when the older of the two nephews came of age, there are only a handful of records featuring the name Alexander Dunlap. In fact, besides the 1765 deed to Alexander² (William¹) from his brother, John, all the records for this period appear to pertain to the Alexander² we are now considering, and after 1783, when he removed to KY, all the subsequent VA records can be associated with a fair degree of confidence with one of the two nephews who remained behind. Consequently, I shall have nothing further to say about the other, phantom, Alexander², the son of William, but we must remember that there is still a slight possibility that he might resurface in the Valley later.

There are two rich secondary sources on Alexander and his family: the aforementioned Railey in his *History of Woodford County, Kentucky*,^[88] and a paper on Alexander by one John Goodwin Herndon.^[89] Both these sources provide birth dates for both Alexander and Agnes, and their marriage date, and Railey gives us not only birth dates for all their children, but also names their spouses and tells us something about all the families of the next generation. Although Railey omits the day from his dates (providing only year and month), the Herndon article provides full dates for the birth of Alexander and Agnes, and the date of their marriage. Herndon implies that his source for these dates is a DAR application, but since we know that Railey's account is based on information furnished by Boutwell Dunlap, who may have had access to private family records as his source (perhaps an Alexander Dunlap family bible), the data passed on by Herndon is probably ultimately derived either from the same private sources, or perhaps indirectly from Boutwell Dunlap.

Since the scope of this study is the Virginia roots of the Calfpasture Alexander¹ Dunlap family, I have made no effort to track down such primary Kentucky sources, but I have looked into a number of secondary sources, and have used some of these specific dates nonetheless, when they accord reasonably well with the evidence which has come to light.

Happily, there is a readily available source for the death dates of Alexander, and also for his son, William—if Boutwell Dunlap's basic thesis that Alexander removed to BrownCoOH is correct: there are gravestones for both in Red Oak Cemetery. Moreover, there is a contemporary obituary for Alexander in a LexingtonKY newspaper which directly supports Dunlap's theory, which has been abstracted thus: "Alexander Dunlap, of Brown county, Ohio, formerly of Woodford county, Ky. An early settler of Kentucky".^[90]

⁸⁸ Railey, *Woodford*, 149-151, et.seq. for much additional material on the families of their children. As noted above, Railey states on p147, and again on 310, that he originally published his Dunlap material in the Jan1921 issue of *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*.

⁸⁹ Herndon, "Colonel Alexander Dunlap", The article, which begins "The record of the Revolutionary War service of Alexander Dunlap . . . on the basis of which so many of his descendants have become Daughters of the American Revolution" (implying that he got his information from a DAR application) goes on to state that Alexander was born in Philadelphia 19Oct1743, served in the PA militia during the war, and was the Alexander who died 16Mar1828 and was buried in Red Oak Cemetery in BrownCoOH; it was also said that this Alexander married 7Jan1768 Agnes Gay, who was born 25Sep1745, and died 1805.

⁹⁰ G. Glenn Clift, *Kentucky Obituaries, 1787-1854* (FrankfortKY: Kentucky Historical Society, 1941-1943; reprint Baltimore: GPC, 1977), 52, citing *The (LexingtonKY) Reporter*, 2Apr1828.

Herndon also refers, on the basis of “preserved family records”, to “Colonel Alexander Dunlap, builder of Clover Lick fort in what is now Pocahontas County, W.Va., which he later sold to his cousin, Major Jacob Warwick” who was “also an Indian fighter”. Although no evidence is offered for these claims, they are entirely plausible. Clover Lick is near the head of the Greenbrier River, and there is a 1782 tax list cited by Montgomery bearing the names Alexander Dunlap, Jacob Warrick, and also John and James Gay, presumably both sons of James² of the Little Calfpasture, and brothers of Alexander’s wife, Agnes.^[91] James Gay himself tells us that he served for two years during the war as an anti-Indian spy based on Fort Clover Lick,^[92] and both John and James would later settle in KY; in fact John was to journey there the very next year with Alexander Dunlap, presumably accompanied by their families. Herndon also includes several evidences of Alexander’s contributions to the war as a seller of rations.

Among the more interesting features of Herndon’s paper are extended quotations from a pair of books by the historian of Pisgah Church, the Reverend William O. Shewmaker;^[93] Pisgah, founded at Lexington in 1785 is thought to be the second Presbyterian church planted in KY. The passages, which I quote in full below, include references to Alexander Dunlap and his Gay in-law families, who were among the first settlers of Lexington. Although Shewmaker’s chronology is a bit fuzzy, his inventory of first families is partially supported by the other major source for this history: the Shane interviews with early Lexington pioneers—part of the Draper Collection.^[94] The contribution of these sources will be noted below, in the discussion of Alexander’s removal to KY, and in the separate notes on his religious activities.

More controversially, we have only Boutwell Dunlap’s word for it that Agnes,^[95] the wife of Alexander² Dunlap, was Agnes Gay, or, further, that she was Agnes, the daughter of James² Gay of the Little Calfpasture. It’s quite possible, and even likely, that Boutwell found evidence for this connection amongst private family records, or maybe he merely encountered it as a family tradition only a few generations removed from the actual (1768?) marriage event. A question which does not seem to have occurred to either Boutwell, or any of the (other) secondary sources which derive from him, is why, even if Alexander’s wife was Agnes Gay, she was necessarily Agnes the daughter of James² Gay, and not Agnes, the daughter of his brother, William² Gay, who died in 1755, naming daughter Agnes in his will. Both Agneses were close neighbors to the Dunlap family, both were born (by my estimation) within the same year, and if one had to guess which became the bride of Alexander Dunlap, Agnes the daughter of William would seem to have the inside track, since her next older sister, Mary, married Robert, the next older brother of Alexander², at a time when multiple marriages between the same families was a very common pattern.

The onomastic evidence is ambiguous, but it favors James & Mary over William & Margaret as Agnes’s parents. According to Railey, Alexander and Agnes named their children (in order, and providing dates): James, Anna, William, Polly(Mary), Agnes, Sarah, Robert, Margaret, and Alexander. The standard Scotch-Irish pattern appears to have been followed only loosely if Alexander was really the name of the fourth son; it should have been the name of the first, or possibly second son. And the fact that William is the name of the second son, supposed to be named for his maternal grandfather, and

⁹¹ Montgomery, “Gay Families”, 207. I haven’t seen the original of this list myself.

⁹² James Gay Revolutionary War Pension File, 20Oct1833 (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.

⁹³ William O. Shewmaker, *The Pisgah Church, 1784-1909* (1909); William O. Shewmaker, *Pisgah and Her People: 1784-1934* (LexingtonKY: privately printed, 1935).

⁹⁴ James Stevenson Interview, with John Dabney Shane, 184?, in the Draper Collection; Jane Stevenson Interview, with John Dabney Shane, 184?, in the Draper Collection.

⁹⁵ Her name appears in a 1773 deed of Alexander’s.

that the name of his wife, Margaret, also appear on the list, considerably clouds the issue. However, the first son is named James (nominally it should have been Alexander, for the paternal grandfather, but the names of the first two same sex children were often switched), and the second daughter, Mary. Before I had worked out that James² Gay's first wife was almost certainly named Mary, the onomastic evidence for Alexander² Dunlap's wife Agnes seemed a lot more equivocal.

As it happens, there may be a way of conclusively ruling out Agnes the daughter of William as the wife of Alexander. Agnes the daughter of William is supposed to have married Robert Clark, which I have, on balance, accepted. The 1817 deed of Agnes's sister Mary (Gay) (Dunlap) Coursey, says that her sister, "Nancy" (Agnes), sold one of the two tracts of land the sisters inherited from their father, William, to Thomas Huggart. There is no such deed in Chalkley's AugustaCo abstracts, but if there is a Rockbridge deed from Robert and/or Agnes (or Nancy) Clark (or their heirs) to Thomas Hughart (and/or perhaps a Kentucky deed), it would seem to clinch the case for this marriage, and to allow the other Agnes, daughter of James, to be the wife of Alexander² Dunlap. Still lacking, though, is positive evidence that Agnes the wife of Alexander was born Agnes Gay.

ALEXANDER² (Alexander¹) DUNLAP & wife—Their Careers

Alexander Dunlap was born about Oct1744,^[96] and he died 16Mar1828.^[97]

Alexander Dunlap married Agnes Gay (daughter of James Gay and Mary [Warwick?]), 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.^[98] Agnes Gay was born 25Sep1745.^[99]

On 19Apr1763 “Alexander Dunlap, orphan of Alexander Dunlap, deceased” was named as ward in a guardian bond of John Dunlap; the corresponding court order book entry says that Alexander was aged 18, thus old enough to be allowed in law to choose his own guardian. Since the only known Alexander Dunlap, deceased, in these parts was the Alexander who died before 26Jun1745, when his oldest son and heir-at-law, John Dunlap, fulfilled Alexander’s contract to purchase Lot 1 on the Big Calfpasture, and since the sureties on the bond, John and Robert Clark were probably the brothers of this John’s wife, Ann (Clark) Dunlap, we may reasonably infer that Alexander²’s guardian was his oldest brother, John.^[100] On 6Apr1769, Alexander Dunlap patented 90a in the Calfpasture above William Jameson’s land;^[101] Jameson was the owner of Big River Lot 2, bordering the Dunlap’s Lot 1 on the north. On 10Aug1773, Alexander Dunlap with wife Agnes of AugustaCoVa, sold 100a on

⁹⁶ 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’ 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 the 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.

⁹⁷ **Red Oak Presbyterian Church cemetery, in UnionTwp, BrownCoOH,** A photo of Alexander’sstone may be found at [this findagrave entry](#); *Kentucky Obituaries*, 52, citing *The (LexingtonKY) Reporter*, 2Apr1828.

⁹⁸ 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.

⁹⁹ Herndon, “Colonel Alexander Dunlap”.

¹⁰⁰ AugustaCoVA Probate 3:252, for the bond; Chalkley, 1:105, citing Augusta Order Book 8:25 for the court order showing Alexander’s age.

¹⁰¹ VA Patents 38:[609-610](#).

Dunlap's Creek.^[102] Alexander Dunlap with "James Guy", and "John Guy", and Jacob Warwick were on the 1782 tax list for GreenbrierCoVA. It appears that Dunlap's wife, Agnes, was a sister to John and James Gay, and Jacob Warwick was their uncle. Alexander Dunlap and John Gay would be in FayetteCoKY by next year, and James would join them some years hence.^[103]

Between 1782 and 1786, a number of land entries were made for many thousands of acres of land in FayetteCoKY, by Alexander Dunlap, James Dunlap, and William Dunlap. Some of these were withdrawn, and only three were actually surveyed, so one may presume that any title to most of these lands was lost in the Kentucky land shuffle. The earliest actual survey, on 4Dec1782 (one of the first entered into the FayetteCo books), was for a tract of 1200a in the names of James Dunlap; most likely, it was Alexander who commissioned this survey in the name of his son, meant to be a gift or legacy, before Alexander had determined to remove to Kentucky himself. But both Alexander, and James Dunlap, were busy securing grants of their own in the first few months of 1784, after arriving in KY the previous fall.^[104]

Alexander Dunlap removed to FayetteCoKY, about Oct1783, accompanied by John Gay: "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."^[105] 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 single 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

¹⁰² Charles T. Burton, *Botetourt County, Virginia, Early Settlers* (RoanokeVA: Southwest Virginia Gen. Soc, 2001), citing Botetourt Deeds 1:508. Alexander and Agnes Dunlap, of AugustaCo, are conveying 100a on Dunlap Creek. I haven't actually seen this deed, but the tract is probably the one patented by Alexander in 1769 in the Calfpasture, near the original Dunlap Lot 1.

¹⁰³ Herndon, "Colonel Alexander Dunlap", 323, notes the names on the tax list. He also claims (p324) that Col. Alexander Dunlap was the builder and owner of Ft. Clover Lick (in present day PocahontasCoWV), and that he sold it to Maj. Jacob Warwick who was also an Indian fighter, citing only "preserved family records". As I note elsewhere, James Gay was based on Ft. Clover Lick for much of his Revolutionary War militia career.

¹⁰⁴ 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), 45; 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), 95; Herndon incorrectly states that Jillson's books show these lands to be military bounty lands awarded to Alexander for his service in the French & Indian, and the Revolutionary War. While this may well be partly true, the Jillson works are only an index, and one must consult the records themselves to learn whether they are based on military bounty or treasury warrants.

¹⁰⁵ 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.

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 that his date of 1780 is wrong.^[106] 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.^[107]

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 WilliamsburgVA, 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.^[108] On 20Mar1784, Alexander Dunlap filed a survey for 250a on the N fork of the Elkhorn, in FayetteCoKY, probably in an area spun off in 1792 as FranklinCo, or more likely as ScottCo in 1794.^[109] In 1787 Alexander Dunlap was taxed

¹⁰⁶ 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.

¹⁰⁷ Oren F. Morton, *Annals of Bath County, Virginia* (StauntonVA: The McClure Co., 1917), 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.

¹⁰⁸ 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.

¹⁰⁹ Jillson, *Kentucky Land Grants*, 45.

in Fayette, VA, for himself (as a tithable), 21 horses, and 54 cows.^[110] Thus following in his father's footsteps, evidently Alexander was one of the small group of men, who transplanted the horse- and cattle-breeding businesses of the Calfpasture to the nascent Blue Grass State.^[111]

Alexander Dunlap removed to Brown County, OH, about 1804,^[112] according to Shewmaker. Railey tells us that: "In 1795 Col. Alexander Dunlap and Major Samuel Stevenson explored southern Ohio for desirable lands. . . . As a result of that trip, Col. Dunlap bought tracts of land in Brown County, Ohio, and also near Chillicothe on the Sciota. Major Samuel Stevenson also bought large tracts near the Indian village of Old Town, near the present city of Xenia, to which several of his sons emigrated. Several of the Dunlap children also took residence upon estates purchased by their father. . . ." Alexander's older brother, John Dunlap, also scooped up some 3000a of Chillicothe and his children migrated there too, direct from Virginia.^[113]

A gravestone in Red Oak Presbyterian Church Cemetery, in Brown County, OH, reads "Beneath this stone lies the body of || Alexander Dunlap || who long lived a Christian || on Earth, seeking a better || Country in the triumphant || hope of which he left this world || Mar.16.1828. in his 85 year. || My flesh shall slumber in the ground || Till the last trumpet joyful sound || Then burst the chains in sweet surprise || And in my Saviours image rise".

Children of ALEXANDER² DUNLAP and AGNES GAY:

Except as noted in the footnotes below, all the information on these children and their families comes from Railey.^[114]

- i. JAMES³ DUNLAP was born Apr1769. James married Elizabeth Stevenson (daughter of James Stevenson) Jun1797.^[115] 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 Governor of OH in 1816, and 1818.
- ii. ANNA DUNLAP was born Nov1770. Anna married William Kinkead (son of William Kinkead and Eleanor [Gay?]) say 1793.

¹¹⁰ Nettie Schreiner-Yantis & Florene Speakman Love, *The Personal Property Tax Lists for the Year 1787 for Fayette County, Virginia* (SpringfieldVA: Genealogical Books in Print, 1987), 7.

¹¹¹ On the same list is Daniel Dennison, no doubt the brother of the William Dennison who would marry Alexander Dunlap's niece, Margaret Dunlap, some six years hence. Daniel himself was taxed for 7 horses and 8 cows. William, and his younger brothers may have been living with older brother Daniel at this time. Since William would have been about 20 at the time the list was compiled, he would not have himself been a tithable and thus wouldn't have been included on the list by name.

¹¹² *Pisgah and Her People*.

¹¹³ Railey, *Woodford*, 150-151; Will of John Dunlap, 25Feb1804 (proved 3Apr1804), RockbridgeCoVA Probate → The witnesses to the will were John Gay, William Youel, and Ja[me]s Bratton. devising the Chillicothe lands; *Heirs of John & Ann Dunlap vs. Exors of Ann Dunlap*, 1817, Virginia Superior Court of Chancery at Staunton; Herndon, "Colonel Alexander Dunlap", 324, quoting a subsequent book by the Reverend Shewmaker, *Pisgah and her People: 1784-1934* (LexingtonKY: privately printed, 1935): ". . . As for the Dunlaps, the Colonel had moved to Ohio four years before this roll of 1808 was made out .."

¹¹⁴ Railey, *Woodford*, 151 et.seq. Besides providing birth dates for all these children, Railey follows their careers in subsequent pages.

¹¹⁵ 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.

- iii. WILLIAM DUNLAP was born Nov1772, and died 18Apr1849.^[116] William married Mary Shephard —?— say 1796. He 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 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”;^[117] thus Polly Dunlap’s James Stevenson was not the James of the Shane interview, who was a son of [Major] John¹, and a nephew of Samuel Stevenson, both of whom settled in Lexington as early as the fall of 1779.^[118]
- v. AGNES DUNLAP was born Sep1777. Agnes married Alexander Campbell in Pisgah Church, in Lexington, KY 1801; Alexander 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, but he was nonetheless 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 Nov1779. Sarah married Thomas Dickings.
- vii. ROBERT DUNLAP was born Apr1781. Robert “died young”.
- viii. MARGARET DUNLAP was born Jul1783. Margaret married Samuel Thornton Scott say 1805; he was born 1777. 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), 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.
- ix. ALEXANDER DUNLAP was born Dec1785 in WoodfordCoKY, “soon after the arrival of the family”. Alexander 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.

¹¹⁶ William’s gravestone is positioned near his father, Alexander’s. It reads “WILLIAM DUNLAP, || DIED || April 18, 1849 || Aged 76 years”. It can be viewed online [here](#).

¹¹⁷ Railey, *Woodford*, 157.

¹¹⁸ 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.

Alexander² (Alexander¹) Dunlap's Religious Life

Railey says the following about Alexander²'s religious activities: "Although his brother-in-law, Major Samuel Stevenson, gave the land, Col. Alexander Dunlap was the founder of Pisgah church, and also the academy [which later became Transylvania University]. In 1804 he removed to Brown County, Ohio, where he founded another church that was known as Dunlap's church. He was an elder in Pisgah church, but after years was so much impressed with Alexander Campbell's interpretation of Gospel truths that he united with that faith, making the church he built in Ohio one of, if not the first, edifices used by the Disciples of Christ in that state, as was the church at Pisgah the leader in Presbyterianism in Kentucky."^[119]

I think we can detect here the overtones of pardonable family pride, and a certain strain of exaggeration (reason enough to suppose that Railey got all this material from someone else—and we know who). The absence of further particulars, which ought usually to raise suspicions, may be accounted for by the fact that the details of Alexander Dunlap's activities, especially in Ohio, are of only peripheral significance to the history of Woodford County, which, after all, is Railey's subject. But even allowing for this, it is a bit disconcerting that even the historian of Pisgah Church, Dr. Shewmaker, is unable to endorse the founder story any more emphatically than:

"There is, of course, a strong tradition that Colonel Alexander Dunlap was also a member of the first session [of Pisgah] . . . It may easily have been that Colonel Dunlap was a member of the Session somewhere in the time [1784-1808], which gave rise to the story of his having been one of the first elders. His interest and activity in getting the church started, and his piety, of which we have evidence from one who lived in his home as early as 1796, make it highly probable that he was, at some time, an elder, though almost certainly not one of the first.

' . . . As for the Dunlaps, the Colonel had moved to Ohio four years before this roll of 1808 was made out. . . .'^[120]

All that can be inferred from the above, I think, is that Alexander Dunlap, one of the first settlers of Lexington, and as a high-ranking militia officer (if for no other reason) a prominent man, probably played a significant role in the organization of the church and its academy. One might add also, that the fact that he and John Gay who were overtaken on their way to Kentucky in 1783, by the first minister, Adam Rankin, certainly suggests that they may have had a hand in recruiting him. But it is Alexander's alleged church-founding activities in Ohio, if these could be grounded in evidence, which would give the greatest weight to the presumption that he was first deeply involved with Pisgah.

The allegations about Alexander's religious activities in Ohio are of interest in their own right for the light they may shed on his nature and character. I haven't researched the Brown County story at all, but I note that Alexander and his son are buried in the cemetery of Red Oak Presbyterian Church. It is therefore likely, either that "Dunlap's Church" had a fleeting history, or, more likely, that Alexander was largely responsible for building the church, which, though it may have had a flirtation with Campbellism, eventually returned to the Presbyterian flock. Alexander, of course, died in 1828, so Railey's (or Boutwell Dunlap's) account may well be wholly true as far as it goes, and that Alexander should have embraced Campbellism in his late years, is both plausible, and, if true, revealing.

¹¹⁹ Railey, *Woodford*, 150.

¹²⁰ Herndon, "Colonel Alexander Dunlap", 323-324, quoting Shewmaker, *Pisgah and her People* (1935).

Alexander Campbell, and his father, Thomas, also began as good Scottish Presbyterians, but both were men who thought for themselves, and were sufficiently dedicated to their religion to pay the lifelong price which such subversive activity entails. Alexander Campbell, in particular, appears to have been a man of powerful intellect, though he lacked the attributes of the spell-binding preachers who were flourishing in this era of the Great Awakening. He was not, either, an original theologian, like his great contemporary, Jonathan Edwards, but like Edwards he was something of a biblical scholar and also like him, a Lockean philosopher.

Campbell's style of religion stood out from that of that of his mid-western contemporaries like a sore thumb. In an era when even Presbyterians, for whom education was next to godliness, were whooping it up in evangelical mass tent meetings, Campbell insisted that the right path in this life, and the path to salvation in the next, depended not on a mystical experience of being "born again", but upon a mere willingness to espouse a rational interpretation of the evidence of the New Testament. Campbell's was a religion of the head, not of the heart. Moreover, contrary to his Christian contemporaries (or to ours, for that matter), he rejected both the Old Testament, and the predominant Calvinism of his day. Moreover, one of the principal themes of both Campbells, but especially of the father, Thomas, was a desire to promote Christian unity, and (ironically) to de-emphasize sectarianism—also a very unusual position for a sectarian to take, whether in that day or this. With their most radical Puritan forebears—the ones who became Quakers and primitive Baptists—the Campbellites rejected the idea that churches were, or ought to be, anything more than a congregation of the faithful, but unlike the Puritans, they admitted into that congregation anyone who could sincerely say that they were convinced by the words of Jesus and his followers—there was no need to testify also to an emotion-laden conversion experience.^[121]

If Alexander² Dunlap truly embraced all this, then he stands out in a similarly interesting way from most of his fellow Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. As for "Dunlap's Church" being the first, or one of the first of the Campbellite churches (the congregations which embraced his doctrines were only eventually, and appropriately, called Disciples of Christ), the closest this might come to the truth is that Brown County was within the area in which many congregations did convert to Campbellism in the 1820s, and if Alexander was a pillar of this congregation, and became a Campbellite enthusiast, it is easy to conceive that he might have led his congregation into that form of Christianity.

¹²¹ Paul K. Conkin, *American Originals: Homemade Varieties of Christianity* (Chapel Hill NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 1-56. Conkin devotes the whole of one of the 6 chapters of his book largely to the Campbells and the religious movement which grew out of their attempt to refocus Christianity on the biblical Christ and thus to unify it. Conkin calls this movement "Restoration Christianity". Although it achieved a considerable success for a time (over a million members in the wake of the Civil War), it's very toleration of deviation in matters of both practice and doctrine, guaranteed that it would always be plagued by identity problems. Although there are still several million subscribers to the several congregational organizations which have stemmed from the original Campbellite thrust, the edges of their devotion to the ideals of the imagined primitive Christian church have been considerable smoothed over by homogenization into the mainstream of bland American Protestantism.

*Generation Three*5. ALEXANDER³ DUNLAP (*Robert², Alexander¹*) and his wife JANE ALEXANDER

Source Notes & Overview

As noted above (in the headnote to his sketch) Alexander² (Alexander¹) Dunlap, when he removed to KY in 1783, left behind two nephews named Alexander Dunlap, the sons of his older brothers John, and Robert. Consequently, we need to find some way of distinguishing these younger Dunlaps, who were presumably both born in the Calfpasture at about the same time. All the secondary sources (most of which stem from Boutwell Dunlap) claim that it was Alexander, the son of Robert, who settled some 80 miles the west in the Greenbrier region, while Alexander the son of John, remained in the Calfpasture area.^[122] But none of these sources cite any evidence in support of this hypothesis.

I agree that it was Alexander³ (Robert²) who settled in a part of the Greenbrier which became MonroeCo in 1799. I had concluded this, at least tentatively, from my reconstruction of the parental families of these two young Alexanders, and on circumstantial evidence of the approximate birth date of the Alexander Dunlap who is buried in a MonroeCoWV cemetery. My estimate of 1768 for Alexander's birth date was based on the order Robert listed his children in his will, on the onomastics of his family, and on a few pieces of direct evidence as to the likely birth dates of the children.^[123] and I arrived at this date before I ever thought to look for a cemetery record. Meanwhile, my reconstruction of brother John²'s family yielded an estimated birth date for his Alexander of 1764. I then found, online at findagrave, an abstract of a gravestone inscription for Alexander Dunlap in Green Hill Cemetery in Union, MonroeCoWV, which says he died 17Mar1841, and was born in 1768.^[124]

After doing my family reconstructions, I also came across an excellent secondary source which confirms that the father of the Alexander Dunlap who settled in MonroeCoVA (later WV), was the Robert Dunlap who died in the Revolutionary War, and that Alexander himself was born in RockbridgeCoVA

¹²² Oren F. Morton, *A Centennial History of Alleghany County, Virginia* (1923; reprint HarrisonburgVA: C.J. Carrier Co, 1986), agrees, but says that Alexander's father, Robert, married Martha Graham in 1793—a dozen years after his death at Guilford C.H.! Morton got it right in his Rockbridge, where he has Robert marrying Mary Gay, daughter of William. Just a reminder that Morton, most of the time, didn't really know what he was talking about—he was just putting things together, more or less uncritically, from the work of others.

¹²³ For example, the birth dates of Robert's two youngest daughters are found in the court papers for *Robert Dunlap's Heirs vs. James Hamilton, et.al.*, discussed in the headnote for Robert's children, above.

¹²⁴ [Green Hill Cemetery, in Union, MonroeCoWV, posted to findagrave by Matthew Broyles, 13Mar2002.](#) However, the abstract there is not supported by a photograph, and since there is no requirement at findagrave that cemetery readings be literal, and no prohibition against gratuitous interpolations from other sources, one has no way of knowing what the gravestone actually says, or even whether it is still readable. **An effort should be made to find and photograph this Alexander Dunlap gravestone in Union (MonroeCo), WV.**

11Mar1768; of course there was no RockbridgeCo in 1768—the correct county was its parent, Augusta.^[125] This article is also the only source I've found which provides a specific date for Alexander's marriage (the county marriage records appear to give only the year), birth dates for all his children, and in many cases death dates.

In favor of the contrary hypothesis—that it was Robert²'s son who stayed in Rockbridge, while John²'s son went to the Greenbrier—is the fact that the former was devised his father's, home place in the Calfpasture, while John's son was given land in KY. There are a number of grantor deeds in Rockbridge for Alexander Dunlaps, beginning in 1813. The only land father Robert is known to have owned was the large chunk of Big Calfpasture Lot 1 which he purchased from his brother, John, and the small piece he patented near the Little River land which his wife, Mary Gay, had inherited from her father, William. Positive proof of Boutwell Dunlap's theory might be had by matching the land sold by Alexander in the 1800s with land originally owned by his father, Robert.

Alexander Dunlap evidently lived in the portion of GreenbrierCo which was hived off on 15Dec1799 to make the new county of Monroe, VA (later WV), while his Alexander in-laws seem to have lived continuously in Greenbrier. Consequently, some of the secondary sources I cite seem to jump confusingly back and forth between these two counties. It is possible, of course, that either or both families relocated physically at some point; probably they owned more than one piece of land since both family heads were prominent men. Only a thorough study of the deeds and tax records can sort this out.

ALEXANDER³ (Robert², Alexander¹) DUNLAP & wife—Their Careers

Alexander Dunlap was born in RockbridgeCoVA 11Mar1768. He died in Union, in Monroe County, VA 17Mar1841. Alexander Dunlap is buried at Green Hill Cemetery, in Monroe County, VA. The dates on his stone read 1768-17Mar1841.^[126]

¹²⁵ “Alexander Dunlap”, in *The West Virginia Heritage Encyclopedia: Supplemental Series*, Jim Comstock, editor (RichwoodWV: privately printed, 1974), provides a typical, though brief, “mug book” sketch for Alexander of MonroeCo, without, of course, providing any source citations. Since the article was originally published about 1884, and the informant, James A. Dunlap, was probably a grandson of Alexander, with access to private family records, there is good reason to place credence in it, at least in its specifics—with the usual caveats about accuracy. “Alexander Dunlap—who is now deceased—was born in the Valley of Virginia, in Rockbridge county, March 11, 1768. In Monroe county, September 14, 1795, he married Jane Alexander, who was born at the present site of Union, June 25, 1775, a daughter of James Alexander, who was the second settler where Union now stands. Her mother's maiden name was Earskin. Alexander Dunlap was a man of note in Monroe county, where he made his home in 1790, and was always honorably identified with public affairs. He represented the county in the Virginia legislature, was magistrate a number of years, and high sheriff. His father was a soldier of the Revolution, and killed in the battle of Guilford C.H., during that war. His brothers and sisters were: William, Ann (McKee), Margaret (Denison), Robert, John, Mary, and Nancy (McCutchen). He died March 17, 1841, and his wife died August 5, 1838. Both died in Union, Monroe county. [Eight children are then listed with their birth and death dates, beginning with Robert (10Aug1796-16Aug1829), and ending with Mary J.] This sketch is compiled for James A. Dunlap, whose postoffice address is Union, Monroe county, West Virginia.” This James A. Dunlap is presumably a grandson of the settler, since the latter's son, James A., is said to have died in 1843.

¹²⁶ Haskell D. Shumate et al., *Cemeteries of Monroe County, West Virginia* (UnionWV: MonroeCo Hist.Soc., 1990), 16; The same dates are given at [findagrave](#), although there is no photo of the stone.

Alexander Dunlap married Jane Alexander (daughter of James Alexander and Isabella Earskin) 14Sep1795.^[127] Jane was born in Botetourt County, VA 25Jun1775,^[128] and she died 5 or 7Aug1838.^[129] Jane, is buried with her husband at Green Hill Cemetery; dates on her stone read 1775-8Aug1838.^[130]

In Jul1794 Alexander Dunlap was appointed deputy sheriff of Greenbrier County, VA, under his father-in-law, James Alexander.^[131] On 19Mar1798, Alexander Dunlap purchased 100a at the head of Indian Creek from James Alexander, and his wife Isabella, his parents-in-law; all parties were residents of GreenbrierCoVA.^[132] between 1809 and 1813 James & wife Isabella Alexander, and Alexander & wife Jane Dunlap, sold three town lots in Union, MonroeCoVA.^[133] In his will dated 16May1813 (proved Jul814), James Alexander named, among others, his wife Isabella, his daughter Jane Dunlop, and James Dunlop, son of Alexander Dunlop.^[134] On 22Dec1818 Alexander Dunlap was referred to as a justice of Monroe County, and the records show that he functioned frequently as a county “auditor”—this was probably a county treasurer position.^[135]

Children of ALEXANDER³ DUNLAP and JANE ALEXANDER:

Birth and death dates for the children, and surnames of the daughter’s spouses, come from the aforementioned WV Heritage Encyclopedia article.

- i. ROBERT⁴ DUNLAP was born 10Aug1796, and died 16Aug1829.
- ii. ISABELLA DUNLAP was born 9Jun1798, and she died 21Jan1862. Isabella married —?— Haynes.
- iii. JAMES A[LEXANDER?] DUNLAP was born 20Oct1799; he died 19Aug1843.
- iv. ADDISON DUNLAP was born 11Apr1804, and died 2Dec1870.
- v. BENJAMIN G. DUNLAP was born 9Mar1806. He died after 1882.
- vi. ADALINE DUNLAP was born 1Apr1808, and died 8Nov1828. Adaline married John Henderson Vawter (son of William Boulware Vawter and Margaret Henderson) 22Jun1828, who was born in Monroe County, VA 23Jan1800, and died 8Jun1877. John H. Vawter “was a long time surveyor of Monroe Co. and ‘was a member of the House of Delegates representing Monroe Co. in 1830/31, 1831/32,1847/48 and Jan 1852.’” according to a researcher at the library of

¹²⁷ 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.

¹²⁸ *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.

¹²⁹ *WV Heritage Encyclopedia: Supp*, 1:86 says 5Aug1738; Green Hill Cemetery, by Matthew Broyles, says 7Aug1838.

¹³⁰ *Cemeteries of Monroe County*, 17.

¹³¹ Larry G. Shuck, *Greenbrier County, (West) Virginia Records* (AthensGA: Iberian Publishing Co., 1988), 207, citing “Early Court Minutes”.

¹³² Shuck, *Greenbrier Records*, 355, citing “Deeds from Sweet Springs”.

¹³³ Shuck, *Monroe County (W)Virginia Abstracts*, 161-162, 162-163, and 174.

¹³⁴ Shuck, *Monroe County (W)Virginia Abstracts*, 83, citing MonroeCoVA Probate 1:256-261.

¹³⁵ Shuck, *Greenbrier Records*, 263.

Virginia). Adaline died giving birth to their only child, Adaline Jane Vawter, who died in infancy.^[136]

- vii. ALEXANDER DUNLAP was born 16Mar1812, and died 1Mar1853.
- viii. MARY J. DUNLAP was born 16Aug1815, and died 26Apr1882.

¹³⁶ Georgene Jurgensen, “Descendants of Bartholomew Vawter”, [no date] (online), Part 4: “William Boulware Vawter” sketch. No pagination.

6. MARGARET³ DUNLAP (*Robert², Alexander¹*) and her husband WILLIAM DENISON

Source Notes & Overview

The birth dates of all the members of this family are from a private family record^[137], while the death dates are all taken from a recent set of cemetery transcriptions of Denison Cemetery, in LawrenceCoIL^[138], except that the stone for Margaret herself was missing—or missed.

MARGARET³ (*Robert², Alexander¹*) DUNLAP & husband—Their Careers

Margaret Dunlap was born 20May1770, and died 12Oct1851. Margaret (Dunlap) Denison and her husband, William, are buried in Denison Cemetery, in LukinTwp, in Lawrence County, IL.

Margaret Dunlap married William Denison (son of Daniel Denison and Elizabeth —?—) in FayetteCoKY 19Mar1793.^[139] William was born 15Jul1767, and died 30Nov1838^[140].

Children of MARGARET³ DUNLAP and William Denison:

- i. ROBERT⁴ DENISON was born 13Jan1794, and died 4Jan1863. Robert married Nancy Eastman in FayetteCoKY 6Jun1816.^[141] She was born 1Jun1792^[142], and died 12May1836.^[143]
- ii. DANIEL DENISON was born 11Oct1795.
- iii. ELISABETH DENISON was born 14Jan1797.
- iv. JOHN DENISON was born 19Oct1798.
- v. POLLY G. DENISON was born 12Sep1800.
- vi. CATHARINE DENISON was born 16Aug1802.
- vii. WILLIAM DENISON was born 18Jul1805. He died 1840.
- viii. ALEXANDER D. DENISON, b. 3Aug1807 KY; m. Mary Ann Crane.
- ix. GEORGE M. DENISON was born 5Aug1809, and died 18Jan1846.^[144]

¹³⁷ John Denison, “Record of William Denison Family”, 10Apr1848, a loose paper passed down in the family.

¹³⁸ Denison Cemetery, in LawrenceCoIL, by Allison Mushrush, Jun2007. Reading of.

¹³⁹ “Marriages Performed by Rev. James Crawford”, “Mar. 19. [1793] William Dennison & Mary Dunlap”; T. Randle Dennison and Rachel E. Dennison, *Scotch-Irish Dennisons of Virginia, Kentucky and Points West* (privately printed, 2002), 13, for the parents of William.

¹⁴⁰ William had several brothers who also came to the midwest, including one younger one, Thomas. See [Scotch-Irish Dennisons of Virginia, Kentucky and Points West](#), 16.

¹⁴¹ AJD, “Descendants of Reverend William GAY Sr.”, 23May2007, a report from his genealogical database, citing Michael L. Cook, *Fayette County Kentucky Records, Vol. 3* (Cook Publishing Co., 1985); Denison Cemetery, by Allison Mushrush, Supposedly, their gravestones read “h/o N.E. Denison”, and “w/o R. Denison”, or (since all the transcribed stones are worded similarly) are these merely abstracts, or worse, interpretations inferred from the placements of the stones or the inscriptions on the stones?

¹⁴² Denison Cemetery, by Allison Mushrush.

¹⁴³ Denison Cemetery, by Allison Mushrush.

¹⁴⁴ Denison Cemetery, by Allison Mushrush.

The Scottish Onomastic (child-naming) pattern and Alexander

Nearly all the Scottish/ Scotch-Irish immigrants to the American colonies from 1720-1775 and beyond, followed the standardized [Scottish Onomastic Pattern](#) in naming their children, at least for the first few children of each sex, and the DUNLAPs covered in this report were no exception.

There were two versions of this pattern back in Scotland, which I've christened the Ancestral and the Parental, and the overwhelming majority of American immigrants chose the Parental version—probably because (as I believe) the Ancestral pattern was the older and more traditional pattern, and like many naming regimens for static local populations, it aimed above all to place each individual in his deep ancestral context. However, when a family removed from this local context and emigrated across the seas, it represented a choice to leave behind much of its native ancestry and culture, to exchange these for a greater degree of freedom and economic opportunity. Thus, the ancestrally truncated Parental version of the Scottish Onomastic Pattern made more sense.

The chief signature of the Parental pattern is the naming of the third son for his father (and also the third daughter for her mother). This clearly distinguishes the Scottish pattern from the other two, much looser naming patterns in British colonial America, where either the first or the second son was named for his father.

As my paper on the Scottish Onomastic Pattern shows, the immigrant Alexander¹ DUNLAP, and the first two of his sons, John² and Robert², seem to have followed this Parental pattern almost perfectly, insofar as we can tell, at least for the first three children, and I will leave it as an exercise to the reader, referencing my paper on the subject, to verify that this is true. The analysis can conveniently be accomplished by bringing up the Parental pattern in one window, and skipping to the [Summary Tree](#) of descent from Alexander that I've provided elsewhere in this report—in part to facilitate this very onomastic analysis: in this Tree, all the children Alexander¹ and his DUNLAP sons are at least listed in their order of birth.

Alexander¹'s third, and namesake, younger son, Alexander², went his own way on child-naming, but that too is typical, both of younger sons, and of later generations of this 18th century immigrant ethnic group, who were, like their American peers influenced by changing trends in child-naming practices. And the American Revolution, concluded in the 1780s, also launched a revolution in naming practices, in two ways: first, it initiated the practice of naming children for Revolutionary leaders, and after that, famous personages in general; and second, and more important, it was the first post revolution generation that began routinely supplying their children with middle names.

Middle names hadn't been needed before to provide unique identities for each individual in a community. Before the Revolution, virtually all Americans lived in topographically circumscribed rural communities with few and poor connecting roads, or they lived in small towns or villages where a single given name was generally sufficient to uniquely designate each individual, perhaps with the addition of "Jr." or "Sr.", or by a reference in, say, the annual county tax records to "John Jones (North River)", or "John Jones, blacksmith".

The fact that the Scottish Onomastic Pattern was to generally followed has great genealogical utility for those who are alert to it. As long as the Scottish ethnicity of the family can be inferred from local contexts, from the surname, or from the small set of given names that were used,^[145] and one or more of its signature indicators are present, other missing names can be inferred with varying degrees of confidence.

¹⁴⁵ My paper on the Scottish Onomastic Pattern has an appendix that shows the extreme concentration upon just a relatively few given names in this population—a concentration brought about largely by the onomastic pattern itself.

Onomastic Inferences Regarding the Parentage of Alexander¹ and his wife Ann

Given that the immigrant Alexander¹ and his first two sons clearly followed the pattern allows us to infer with some confidence that Alexander's father, whom he probably left behind in Scotland or Ireland, was probably named John, or otherwise Robert, while his wife Ann's father was probably named Robert, or otherwise John.

Possible Ancestry of Alexander¹'s wife Ann—if she was a McFARLAND

Not even the material that derives, I believe, from Boutwell Dunlap, provides us with the name of Ann's father—supposedly a MacFARLAND. The Chalkley abstracts show that there were, in fact, a number of early MacFARLANDs in greater AugustaCo, including a Ro[bert] MacFarland who qualified as a lieutenant of the AugustaCo militia on 21Aug1752. This is interesting because Alexander¹ DUNLAP is supposed to have qualified as a “captain of horse” before his death by early 1745^[146]. We also find one J^{no} [John] MacFarland on a so-called “tax delinquents” list for AugustaC dated 1750, where his name is qualified by “constable”. This means that although John apparently paid no taxes that year, it was because he was exempt as a county public official. The thankless (and I believe unpaid) job of constable was generally allocated to younger men, so this earliest AugustaCo John MacFARLAND is very unlikely to have been the father of Alexander's wife Ann, even if she was indeed *née* MacFARLAND.

A bit later (in 1754 and 1763), we find both Robert and John selling land in greater AugustaCo, with no deeds of acquisition, so I turned to the database of Virginia patents in search of possible patents for these two. On 31Oct1752, John and Robert McFarland patented 1020a on Woods Rivert (today New River), and on 20Jun1753 Robert McFarland patented 248a on the Stoney Fork of Reed Creek^[147]. Meanwhile, John McFarland patented a whole series of good sized tracts on Reed Creek in 1752-1753: tracts of 106a on 30Oct1752, and 98a, 327, and 367a on 20Jun1753^[148].

Then on 6Aug1754 we find Robert selling his 248a tract, after which this early Robert is heard of no more in these parts (or at least he doesn't appear in Chalkley's comprehensive abstracts), while on 4May1763, John & his wife Mary McFarland of BedfordCoVA sold the 106a tract on a branch of Reed Creek that John had patented on 30Oct1752.

Robert and John may have been brothers, and if so, since John the constable was of the wrong age to have been Ann's father (always assuming that she was indeed a McFARLAND), Robert would probably have been too young too. However, Robert and John may also have been father and son, as it was common for fathers to patent land either in their name or their young just coming-of-age son's name, or both, as a way of conveying to the son his inheritance. Indeed, from the absence of other AugustaCo deeds pertaining to these extensive lands, at least until decades later (which I haven't researched), it looks to me as though Robert and John were indeed father and son, that Robert died or retired, and the half interest in the 1020a tract passed to John, giving him nearly 2000a in the vicinity of New River, and in particular around Reed Creek, which is a tributary of New River

¹⁴⁶ Chalkley 1:54 citing AugustaCoVA Orders 3:321, 21Aug1752 for Ro[bert] MacFarland's qualification. I have no citation for Alexander's qualification as captain of horse, but it would have been in the order books of Augusta's parent county of Orange. Although AugustaCo was created from OrangeCo in 1738, this area beyond the mountains continued to be administered by Orange until the first meeting of AugustaCo's court in the fall and winter of 1745, after Alexander had died.

¹⁴⁷ Virginia Patents 31:248-250 for the 1020a, and 32:168-170 for Robert's 248a.

¹⁴⁸ Virginia Patents 30:504, 32:166, 32:167, and 32:149.

located in the vicinity of modern Wytheville. Probably some of this land was disposed of after several counties (Montgomery, and Wythe) were spun off from AugustaCo much later in the century.

My working hypothesis is that: (1) Robert McFARLAND, his recently come of age son John, and perhaps his daughter Ann and other members of his family came to Augusta about the same time as Alexander¹ DUNLAP (abt 1743), perhaps from the same place; (2) that Ann married Alexander and they settled on Alexander's Big Calfpasture Parcel #1; (3) that Robert and John, though well-capitalized dwelt for some years with others (perhaps with Alexander and Ann); (4) that by 1750 they had relocated to the area of Wytheville, about 100 miles to the SW of the Calfpasture; (5) that they, but mostly John, patented about 2000a of land around Reed Creek and on Woods River (a.k.a. New River); (6) that father Robert died or retired; and finally (7) that the Indian massacres of the 1750s, and particularly the massacre of 1763, scared this family off and they retreated east to BedfordCo, on the other side of the Blue Ridge mountains (where my USPS postal station happens to be located).

Possible Ancestry of Alexander¹ DUNLAP

Finally, whether or not Ann was a McFARLAND, the onomastics of her and Alexander's conjugal family still make it likely that here father was named Robert, and if so, that Alexander's father was named John, although we must leave open the possibility that the reverse is true: Alexander the son of a Robert DUNLAP, and Ann the daughter of a John McFARLAND.

Alexander was a young man when he staked out the anchor Lot#! of the Big Calfpasture grant about 1743, so he may have emigrated to America on his own, or he may have come with his father, and/or brothers. I've considered at some length the possible relationships between Alexander and the other early DUNLAPs of greater AugustaCo in [Appendix B: Other Dunlaps of Early Augusta County, Virginia](#), and there are a couple of clues there that link these other DUNLAPs back to Pennsylvania. Regardless of these relationship possibilities, Alexander and all the other early DUNLAPs into the Valley of Virginia almost certainly first immigrated into Pennsylvania, and they may have left a paper trail there.

Suggested Further Research

The present report is based on a fairly thorough consideration of the evidence regarding the DUNLAPs who settled in the Valley of Virginia during the high tide of Scotch-Irish immigration to, first Pennsylvania, then the upper (southern) part of the Valley, from 1720-1775, and of course I've followed that up by focusing intensely on the records for RockbridgeCo, created from AugustaCo in 1778, since it was into Rockbridge that the land of the Calfpasture DUNLAPs and their in-laws mostly fell. I've also factored in some of the important later local evidence regarding the children and heirs of Alexander¹, and of his sons John² and Robert², in particular the Staunton Court Chancery Case, [Heirs of Robert Dunlap vs. James Hamilton et al.](#). And I've drawn on my deep knowledge of the neighboring GAY families, with whom several DUNLAPs intermarried.

However, I've made no attempt to follow this family elsewhere or downstream, except for considering a few Findagrave entries. In particular, I haven't systematically compiled the annual Virginia county tax records for DUNLAPs of Augusta, Rockbridge, and other counties that might be relevant (this series of records begins in 1782. Nor have I considered the later evidence of the USCensus, which begins, for VA, in 1810.

While these tax records are an essential component in any Virginia research project, since they are largely unindexed, and need to be scanned through page by page, and since the meanings of these

records are less than straightforward, compiling and interpreting them is a not inconsiderable task, and calls for some expertise.

Leaving the downstream stuff aside, the principal additional research I would recommend looks further back into the antecedents of Alexander¹ of the Calfpasture. In [my onomastic analysis, above](#), I've shown that Alexander's father was almost certainly named John or Robert, and most likely John. [My Chalkley abstracts of all the DUNLAPs](#) who settled in greater AugustaCo before the Revolution, suggest that some of the DUNLAPs who lived in other areas besides the Calfpasture (none of which were more than about 30 miles distant from it) may have been brothers of Alexander, and it's possible that he emigrated (most likely from Ireland, or otherwise directly from Scotland) with his father or at least parts of his natal family.

Virtually all of these Scots and Scotch-Irish who pioneered in the Valley of Virginia immigrated first into Pennsylvania, and most spent at least a little time there before moving on. And although the colonial records of Pennsylvania are spotty in places, and in particular they are thin for LancasterCo from 1730-1745, during the period when it was, first, the western PA frontier, and then the main conduit for southern migration. However, the colonial PA land grant records are quite complete as early in the land acquisition as the warrant stage, and most initial settlers either took out or acquired warrants, that were recorded, or they simply squatted, leaving no trace in the records at all. Just as important, for the researcher, these PA land grants records (but not the land deeds, which are filed county by county) have been digitized and at least partially indexed.

Thus, I would recommend making a comprehensive compilation of all the DUNLAPs who did acquire land in PA by warrant, survey, or patent before 1775. Almost certainly, many or most of these would have been related to the DUNLAPs who continued on to the Virginia frontier beyond the mountains, and some of them may have been antecedents or collaterals of Alexander¹ of the Calfpasture.

The other body of PA records that can be used to turn up and localize people of a particular surname are the annual township tax records. The LancasterCo tax records are largely missing until the late 1740s, but they are extant for other counties through which these Scottish ethnic people passed. The catch is that only a subset of these extant records have been abstracted and indexed, and published in the Pennsylvania Archives series, while the bulk of the township tax records that survive exist only on LDS microfilms, or film copies that have been made from those, and one needs to plow through them scanning, page by page. And since each county comprised many townships, covering all the tax records that might be relevant is a daunting task.

A more reasonable approach would be to use the PA land grant records as an index to the areas where DUNLAPs, say, appeared, and then fan out and/or burrow down, from there.

Appendix A: The Surname DUNLAP/DUNLOP

According to Hanks & Hodges, *Dictionary of Surnames*, the Surname Dunlap is a Scottish habitation name from a place near Kilmarnock, a large town in East Ayrshire, Scotland, and is derived from the Gaelic for “muddy fort”. Its standard spelling in Britain is “Dunlop”, but in the U.S. it is “Dunlap”.^[149] Aside from this minor phonetic difference, the surname is blessedly free of spelling variants in the old records.

According to Black’s *Surnames of Scotland*,^[150] DUNLOP is “a well known Ayrshire surname derived from the land of Dunlop in Cunningham (north Ayrshire), and the first known use of the surname is in 1260 when one Willelmus de Dunlop was a witness to an indenture to the burgesses of Irvine, also in north Ayrshire. Says Black, the male line of the gentry DUNLOPs ended during the reign of David II (1329-1371).

[This map](#) showing the distribution of the DUNLOP surname in Great Britain (England, Wales, and Scotland)^[151] certainly bears out an Ayrshire origin for the surname, and indicates that it slowly spread out from there over the centuries into nearby counties; there are also DUNLOPs in Ireland, some of whose surnames may have a different derivation, but hardly any in England, at least as of the 1881 UK Census on which this surname distribution map is based. An American might suppose that 1881 is way too recent a date to be indicative of the concentration of a particular surname centuries ago, but due to the glacial pace of internal migration within Britain down the centuries, these maps are usually quite reliably indicative of the area(s) of origin of all but the most common British surnames, such as KING or ALLEN or WHITE, which are everywhere.

The other factor, of course, is the degree to which a surname is concentrated in a single bloodline, or patrilineage. A study of the degree to which British surnames cluster by patrilineages that was published in 2011 found that on average over 40% of all of those who were sampled randomly and yDNA tested, belonged to the same single most prevalent patrilineage for that surname, with two or three other patrilineages of more moderate size and many consisting of just ones or twos. In general, the rarer the surname, the greater the size of the predominant cluster.

Although the map for DUNLOPs suggests that there has been just one principal DUNLAP patrilineage, the fact that in the Celtic areas of Britain, permanent hereditary surnames were often adopted quite late—sometimes as late as the 19th century—means that there were probably many males of assorted patrilineages who adopted the surname DUNLOP, resulting in many relatively shallow lines of descent. Of course, if the original gentry line of DUNLOPs daughtered out many centuries ago, even the single predominant British DUNLOP patrilineage (which may not be the same as the single predominant American patrilineage) is probably considerably less ancient than the original DUNLOP gentry line. Still, it was a common pattern in Scotland for late surname adopters to chose the surname of the local laird, so whichever of these DUNLOP adopters became the founder of the most prolific of DUNLOP patrilineages quite likely lived in the same area as the gentry DUNLOP landowners.

¹⁴⁹ Patrick Hanks & Flavia Hodges, *A Dictionary of Surnames* (Oxford University Press, 1988), 157.

¹⁵⁰ George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland* (1999; reprinted 2007 by the New York Public Library)

¹⁵¹ The distribution of DUNLOPs has been normalized as a frequency per 100,000 population, which compensates for the tendency of most surnames to cluster disproportionately in the counties harboring large cities.

Appendix B: Other DUNLAPs of Early Augusta County, Virginia

What I have to say here about the DUNLAP^[152]s of greater AugustaCo other than Alexander¹ and progeny who settled in the Calfpasture, derives primarily from the complete set of DUNLAP data item abstracts I've culled from the three volumes of [Chalkley](#). In [this Chalkley report](#), I've organized these items chronologically within extended family clusters based on neighborhood and associations in the records. This overview of the other early DUNLAP settlers beyond the mountains is meant to be suggestive rather than definitive, as it is merely a byproduct of my attempt to be comprehensive, and ensure that all the evidence pertaining to the Calfpasture DUNLAPs has been taken into account.

Besides the Alexander¹ Dunlap family of the Calfpasture, who appears first in the Orange/AugustaCo records about 1744 (though he may have been there a year or two earlier)^[153], the records show at least three other sets of Dunlaps in early AugustaCoVA, some of whom may be related to the Calfpasture DUNLAPs.

Robert, Samuel, John, and David DUNLAP of the Borden Grant—Moffet & Hays Creek area MAPs: [Overview](#), [Tracts](#)

Going by the extant records, the first DUNLAPs in the Valley were Robert and Samuel who purchased adjacent tracts in 1742 in the Borden Grant where it borders on the Beverley Manor grant to the north^[154].

On 28Nov1740, Samuel Dunlap sold 170a of his 559.5a tract to David Dunlap^[155]. On 2Mar1757, Ro[bert] & Elizabeth Dunlap sold 188a to John Wardlaw, corner W[illia]m McCanless^[156]. Then, on 18Dec1769, Samuel & Margaret Dunlap sold 150a on Hays Creek to Patrick Woods, and on the same day a John & Jennet Dunlap sold 150a on Hays Creek to Joseph Woods, with Samuel Dunlap's line as a bound.^[157] After 1769, these Dunlaps disappear from the AugustaCo records, though there may be later deeds for them in the books of RockbridgeCo, created from Augusta in 1778. However, Robert and Samuel match up well to the Robert and Samuel who are buried in the Old Waxhaw Presbyterian Church Cemetery in present day Lancaster County, South Carolina.^[158]

¹⁵² I generally render the surname in all-caps when I refer to it generically, meaning to include all phonetic spellings.

¹⁵³ It has been claimed by a secondary source that Alexander was appointed a "captain of horse" before his death by Feb1744/5, before the AugustaCo court first met. Thus, any record of this should be in the order books of Augusta's parent, Orange, which continued to administer the area beyond the mountains until Dec1745. No DUNLAPs appear in the OrangeCo books through 1741, and I've examined most, but not all, of the pages of the OrangeCo books from fall 1742 thru spring 1744 without finding Alexander. Since the Preston Plat map is dated 1744 and lists Alexander as the subscriber for Big Calfpasture Lot#1, it figures that he was probably there at least a year or two earlier.

¹⁵⁴ The location of these tracts is shown on the [Tracts](#) map, which is excerpted from the Hildebrand map of the Borden Grant showing the original purchasers; the deeds themselves should be in the OrangeCo deed books.

¹⁵⁵ Chalkley 3:295, citing AugustaCoVA Deed 3:336.

¹⁵⁶ AugustaCoVA Deeds 7:431-434.

¹⁵⁷ Chalkley, 3:495, citing Augusta Deeds 16:211-214.

¹⁵⁸ Waxhaw settlement, in west central South Carolina near the border with North Carolina, was founded by Scotch-Irish settlers in the 1750s, many of whom left traces in early AugustaCo. The gravestones, with photos, can be found on [this Findagrave page](#), but the older stones are only semi-legible. However, a set of careful transcriptions was made many decades ago and has been copied out to [this Rootsweb page](#). They include a Robert and Elizabeth Dunlap (born abt 1709 and 1710 respectively), and a Samuel Dunlap (born abt 1715); James Arthur McClellan Hanna, *The House of Dunlap* (privately printed, 1956), 236-238, et.seq., traces some of the progeny of these Waxhaw Settlement Dunlaps.

William¹ DUNLAP of Middle River, in Beverley Manor, and sons John, Alexander, & William (MAPs: [Overview](#), [Tracts](#))

Next into AugustaCo was one William Dunlap, who on 28Feb1749[/50] purchased 100a on Middle River (a.k.a. Cathey's River) in Beverley Manor from its proprietor William Beverley.^[159] ^[160] Beverley Manor and the Borden Grant in the main Valley of Virginia were the principal settled area of greater AugustaCo, and it is there that this William apparently lived and brought up his sons, John, Alexander, and William. A pair of AugustaCo deeds supports these family relationships, and the locations of the subject land differentiates this pair of brothers, the oldest, John (the heir-at-law), and his younger brother, Alexander, from the sons of Alexander of the Calfpasture..^[161] After 1773, two of the three sons of William¹ Dunlap, John and Alexander, disappear from the records of Augusta, although brother William continues there at least until 1784.^[162] On the comprehensive 1777 AugustaCo personal property tax list, which also includes the land holdings of the tithables, the only Dunlap landowners besides John and Robert Dunlap of the Calfpasture, are a William who owns 230a, and a Robert who owns 200a, the latter two on separate lists, both of which appear to cover the northern areas of Augusta that were allocated to make RockinghamCo in 1778,^[163] so it seems that one way or another, this other John and Alexander are out of the Augusta picture by then.

Given that both Alexander¹ of the Calfpasture, and William¹ Dunlap of Middle River named oldest sons, John, it's possible that they, too, were brothers, though there are no records in Orange or

¹⁵⁹ Chalkley, Ch3:283, citing AugustaCo Deeds 2:662, sharing corners with Robert Kenney, and James Henderson.

¹⁶⁰ In the fall of the same year a William DUNLAP also patented 100a far to the west on Jackson's River, at the mouth of Meadow Creek, though it's unclear that this Jackson's Creek William was the same man, and I've provisionally grouped him instead with the Jackson River DUNLAPs, below {VA Patents 29:144-145}.

¹⁶¹ AugustaCoVA Deeds On 20/21May1765, John Dunlap conveyed to Alexander Dunlap "his brother" (by paired deeds of lease & release) 100a on Jackson's River, at the mouth of Meadow Creek, which land had been granted to William Dunlap "father to the said John", and descended to John as "eldest son and legal heir"; this pair of deeds, it should be noted, were delivered on May1773, to Robert Bratton, (Augusta Deeds 12:219-221). Then, in 1773 (the rest of the date is omitted) John Dunlap sold to William Dunlap 80a of the land in Beverley Manor originally conveyed to William Dunlap, deceased, on 28Feb1749, which John had acquired "by descent". i.e. as heir-at-law of his intestate father (Deeds 20:116-118); a partial abstract by Chalkley referring to this deed calls William the grantor, the brother of John the grantee (Chalkley 3:569). William, Sr. had probably recently died when this latter deed was executed. There are entries dated Mar1774 in both the probate and court order books indicating that a will for William Dunlap had been filed, but lay awaiting further proof (Chalkley 1:177, and 3:130).

¹⁶² On 7Feb1784 William Dunlap is executor of James Henderson's will, (Chalkley 3:170) and in August of that year Jane Dunlap releases her dower right to a tract sold by her son William to Robert Kenney, (Chalkley 3:571) whom other deeds show to be a neighbor on Middle River. I've also found a 1775 Alexander Dunlap grantor deed in the courthouse index which is not in Chalkley, but haven't had time to examine it yet.

¹⁶³ **Augusta County Tithables, 1777**, in *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, VMG 40(Nov2002):280 for John & Robert of the Calfpasture (Thomas Hugart's list), VMG 44(Aug2006):191 for W[illia]m Dunlap (on Josiah Davidson's list, featuring many German names), and VMG 39(Nov2001):283 for the other Robert (on Silas Hart's list, which includes the Mossey Creek Iron Works, which were located in now Rockingham County).

Augusta Cos that directly support this conjecture, or, indeed, show any association between these two.^[164] Still, we cannot rule this possibility out.

William?, Capt. James, and Charles DUNLAP of Jackson's River, in western AugustaCo (MAP: [Overview](#))

The next set of Dunlaps is the one for which there *is* some circumstantial association with the Calfpasture DUNLAPs that's suggestive of a blood relationship to Alexander¹ of the Calfpasture. I'm speaking here of Captain James Dunlap, who appears to have come to AugustaCo about 1750, and who, like the William Dunlap, mentioned above under the Middle River DUNLAPs head, purchased a tract of land on Meadow Creek, a tributary of Jackson's River. Given this coincidence, there's reason to suppose that Capt. James and this William were related, and it seems highly doubtful to me that the William who settled in Beverley Manor, the heart of AugustaCo where he would have been maximally protected from the occasional predatory Indian raids that plagued the westernmost frontier, would have staked such early claims to an area that didn't begin to fill up for many decades.

The first record for a James Dunlap in AugustaCo, is for a fine imposed 2Dec1751 on his wife, Agnes, for slandering Benj[amin] Borden. Borden was one of the major bigwigs of the county, the proprietor of the 92,000a Borden Grant, and feisty Agnes had been heard to say that she would not believe Benjamin Borden even if he was under oath.^[165] Next, on 16/17Aug1753, James Dunlap purchased from Adam Dickinson by deeds of lease & release, 875a on Meadow Creek, a tributary of Jackson's River, "near the Indian path"; one of the witnesses to this deed was Charles Dunlap.^[166]

Then, in 1756, a suit for debt was filed by James Wallace of Philadelphia, against James and Charles Dunlap, Charles having, it was said in a 27Sep1754 letter originally addressed to the Governor of Virginia, come to AugustaCo shortly before that date, skipping out on a bond owed to Wallace, dated 19Oct1759^[167] I didn't find this letter in the folder for this suit at the courthouse, though I did find the bond, a written denial by James that the signature on the bond is his, and a scrap of the actual judgement paper. The bond itself (which is indeed dated 19Oct1751) shows that James and Charles Dunlap of CumberlandCoPA, having received £381/18/8 from Wallace (almost \$26,000 in today's currency), were obligated to repay half the amount by 1Oct1752. It is signed, oddly: "My brother

¹⁶⁴ The fact that both men appeared to have named their third sons for themselves suggests that they both observed the standard [Scottish Onomastic Pattern](#), and the fact that both named their oldest son, John, suggests that they may have had a common father named John. The curious fact that the pair of deeds by which William¹'s John conveyed land to his brother Alexander were delivered to Robert Bratton, the step-father of Alexander¹'s John, does *not* suggest that there were, after all, just one John & Alexander pair. According to the common law of inheritance, there is no way Bratton could have inherited this land through the right of his then wife, Ann, Alexander¹ Dunlap's widow. The annotation, "delivered to Robert Bratton May 1773" on John Dunlap's 1765 deed to his brother, merely means that there was an additional deed of conveyance to Bratton which was never recorded in the AugustaCo deeds books. Aside from the fact that this was technically unnecessary for the paired deeds of lease and release so popular amongst these autonomous Scotch-Irish, I note that there is an apparent gap in Deed Book 19, which covers 1773, at least in Chalkley's abstracts: after a series of May1773 deeds culminating in one for 24May1773, there is a leap to deeds written in Aug1773. Perhaps the deed by which Bratton acquired this property, which he evidently meant to add to other adjacent land he owned on Meadow Creek, Jackson's River, to make up his bequest to son George 12 years later, was originally recorded between 24May and 31May1773, but this section of the book was later lost.

¹⁶⁵ Chalkley, 1:49, citing Order Book 3:226.

¹⁶⁶ AugustaCoVA Deeds 5:449-453.

¹⁶⁷ Chalkley, 1:316, citing AugustaCo Judgements "Nov1756".

James”, and “Self Charles Dunlap”—both signatures in the same hand.^[168] There are no later Chalkley references to a Charles Dunlap, and I would suspect that the suit was dismissed, at least against James, but there is no denying that a Charles Dunlap was a witness to James’s 1753 deed, so we cannot dismiss him as an unrelated imposter. If so, it is useful to know, for possible additional research purposes, that these people resided earlier in CumberlandCoPA, though the early records there are scant. There are several other records for James in the Augusta books which show him to have been a lieutenant, and then captain of militia, and he is one of those listed as killed by Indians near the South Branch of the Potomac in 1758.^[169]

Here are the reasons why Captain James Dunlap may well have been a relative of Alexander¹ Dunlap, and perhaps also of the William Dunlap who also acquired land on Jackson’s River (and who may have been William¹ of Middle River (who like Alexander¹ had an oldest son named John)), though not a brother of either:

First, Robert Bratton, second husband of Alexander¹’s widow, Ann, assumed the burden of administering the Capt. James Dunlap’s estate, with Ann’s erstwhile close neighbor and in-law John Gay, Esq., acting as surety for Bratton. Although Gay and Bratton were both of the Pastures, they lived a good 10 miles apart, and they are not linked in any other records. Capt. James Dunlap, meanwhile, lived at least 20 miles to the west, and the fact that Bratton and Gay both took an interest in his estate probably means that what they had in common was an interest in the welfare of Ann (Dunlap) Bratton and her Dunlap children. John Gay may have been acting merely as a friend to the family, and if so, it suggests an especially close relationship with Alexander¹, his wife, and/or with his children, for whom I suspect Gay acted for a time as guardian (he made one of them, Robert, a co-executor of his will). Or, it may be that John Gay’s mother, Jean, was a Dunlap, and not a Ramsey as everyone (Montgomery, Boutwell Dunlap) has thought heretofore.

Second, on 19Mar1769, Bratton rendered an accounting of his administration which included his claim against the estate as administrator, and also a claim by William Dunlap as a witness, for attending an escheat hearing respecting deceased’s land. The finding of this hearing was that James’s only known “heirs at law” (certain blood relations pre-designated as heirs by the common law of intestacy) were nephews James Brown and Adam Guthery. In those days, if a landowner died without heirs at law, his land reverted (escheated) to the state (in this case, the Crown Colony of Virginia), but the laws of inheritance allowed siblings, parents, or even cousins, to inherit if there were no descendants of the deceased. In this case, it appears that James’s only heirs at law were nephews, each with non-Dunlap surnames. They must therefore have been sons of sisters (or just one sister, twice married) of Capt. James, who predeceased him. This tells us, therefore, that James had no living brothers, or any deceased brothers who left heirs. Thus, neither Alexander¹ Dunlap of the Calfpasture, nor William¹ Dunlap of Middle River could have been brothers of James, though if the William Dunlap who patented land on Jackson’s River in 1750 was not the same as William¹, the Jackson’s River William could have been James’s brother if (1) he had died, leaving no sons. It’s still possible, though, that James, Alexander¹, and William¹ had a common Dunlap grandfather, and as already observed) given that both Alexander¹ and William¹ named their oldest son John, they may well have had a common father named John.

¹⁶⁸ AugustaCoVA Court Judgements Aug1756(B)—a different date from that reported by Chalkley.

¹⁶⁹ Chalkley, 1:211, citing Order Book 17:178; there is also a published list of those killed, probably compiled by Lyman Draper, which I have been unable to find.

Other Augusta/Rockbridge County DUNLAPs

The remaining, unclassified, Chalkley abstracts show that there was a Nathaniel Dunlap in AugustaCo from 1759-1766, and an Ephraim there from at least 1770-1774. But neither has associations that prompt me to group them with any of the other DUNLAP clusters.

More significantly, at the Mar1774 court a will of William Dunlap was proved by one of the two needed witnesses, though there is no record that the other witness was ever located or that the will was probated there.

The Robert Dunlap on the tax delinquents list for 1782 may well have been Alexander¹'s son, Robert², who had been killed at the Battle of Guilford Courthouse the previous year.

The final set of Dunlaps I know of only from Morton's *Rockbridge County*, which I quote in full: "John Dunlap came from Campbelltown, Scotland, in 1775, and settled at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. Robert, one of his seven children, was born just before the family came to America, and located near Middlebrook in Augusta. Madison Dunlap, his son, came to Kerr's Creek about 1830."^[170] The Robert here mentioned fits with the Robert Dunlap who married, 1Nov1792, Margaret Kerr, daughter of Robert Kerr^[171], and who is buried with her in the Shemariah Presbyterian churchyard (in SE AugustaCo on Highway 602 where it crosses Middle River, about 15 miles ESE of Staunton): his gravestone says he died 27Mar1847, aged 82 years, 1 month, and 13 days^[172]

¹⁷⁰ Morton, *Rockbridge*, 250.

¹⁷¹ John Vogt and T. William Kethley Jr., *Augusta County Marriages, 1748-1850* (AthensGA: Iberian Publishing Co., 1986).

¹⁷² Dorothy Weaver, *'Here Lyeth': Tombstone Inscriptions of Most Cemeteries in Riverhead District of Southern Augusta County, 2nd ed.* (AthensGA: Iberian Publishing Co., 1986).

Bibliography

- (1) [PERSONS AS SOURCES](#)
- (2) [SURNAME-FOCUSED SOURCES](#)
- (3) [PLACE-FOCUSED SOURCES: Kentucky, Ohio, Virginia, West Virginia](#)
- (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

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 since about 1990, 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. See [the GAY Surname page](#) on [my website](#) for an informal history of the GAYs of the Calfpasture, and for a link to an extract the scholarly report I’ve published on these GAYs.

SURNAME-FOCUSED SOURCES

John Barrett Robb, "[The Daniel Dennistons of Beverley Manor](#)" provides full details on the DENNISON family into which Margaret³ (Robert², Alexander¹) Dunlap married.

T. Randle Dennison and Rachel E. Dennison, *Scotch-Irish Dennisons of Virginia, Kentucky and Points West* (privately printed, 2002).

James Arthur McClellan Hanna, *The House of Dunlap* (privately printed, 1956).

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.

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.

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, Va., 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. C. . . .C 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].

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).

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 ([originally published to Rootsweb](#), but now defunct), 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. 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).

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!). But there were evidently two versions of this interview, and the original of the version with most of the good material is not to be found. I only know about it because it is quoted at length in the "Jane Gay Stevenson" section by R.S. King, which was published as part of Laura Walton's article(s) in the Register of the Kentucky Historical Society, and republished in the volume cited here. The extensive quotations by King, which appear to be of Jane's words, actual dovetail with the exact language of the Draper Collection interview, which aren't actually quotations, but notes by the interviewer, John Dabney Shane. The manuscript pages which comprise the Draper Collection version are studded with marginal notes and queries in parentheses, as though they were a partial rough draft of the finished text to which King apparently had access. Of course King provides no citations whatever, besides a casual reference to the "Draper Manuscripts".

Wondering whether the filmed version of the Shane interview might have omitted the King's more complete 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.

Georgene Jurgensen, "[Descendants of Bartholomew Vawter](#)", [no date]

This source, published online as a set of 8 PDFs, is a massive compendium of research which covers exhaustively most of the known Vawters in America well into the 1800s. Although secondary sources are included, and the coherence and organization of the evidence and arguments leave a great deal to be desired, the quality of the evidence here is very high, as it is based, not only on Ms. Jurgensen's research, but on the very extensive 19th century research of my Great-Grandaunt, Grace Vawter Bicknell, published in her *The Vawter Family in America* (Indianapolis: Hollenbeck Pub, 1905), and also on the practically exhaustive primary records research of William Snyder Vawter in the early 1900s. The latter evidently waded through virtually every page of the original records of those VA counties harboring Vawters during the colonial period. I myself have spent hundreds of hours with the primary records of (old) Rappahannock, Essex, Orange, and Culpeper Counties, and can confirm the thoroughness and accuracy of much of this research.

As a citable source, however, there are two major flaws in this online compendium (besides its very loose organization, and lack of coherent argument to sift the evidence): there is no pagination (and no index); and the material offered online is undated, so it is impossible to tell whether it is being updated from time to time, and thus whether one has the latest version of its data and conclusions.

PLACE-FOCUSED SOURCES

Kentucky

William O. Shewmaker, *The Pisgab Church, 1784-1909* (1909).

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

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.

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).

Genealogies of Kentucky Families, From the Register of the Kentucky Historical Society, 2 volumes (A-M, and O-Y) continuously paginated (Baltimore: GPC, 1981).

The articles comprising this two volume work have all been republished 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).

Ohio

Red Oak Presbyterian Church cemetery, in UnionTwp, BrownCoOH. Red Oak Presbyterian Church cemetery is in UnionTwp, BrownCoOH (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).

Oren F. Morton, *A Centennial History of Alleghany County, Virginia* (1923; reprint HarrisonburgVA: C.J. Carrier Co, 1986).

Howard McKnight Wilson, **Rev. John Craig's Baptisms, 1740-1749**, in *The Tinkling Spring, Headwater of Freedom: A Study of the Church and Her People, 1732-1952* (FishersvilleVA: Garrett & Massie, 1954), Appendix F (470-484) .

All of Craig's year dates antedate the calendar changeover, and none of them are doubled. Presumably they are all old-style dates. Wilson has unfortunately re-sorted Craig's original record alphabetically by father's name, so there is no way to be sure without consulting the original record—if that can be found.

Dorothy Weaver, *'Here Lyeth': Tombstone Inscriptions of Most Cemeteries in Riverhead District of Southern Augusta County, 2nd ed.* (AthensGA: Iberian Publishing Co., 1986).

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

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.

Augusta County Tithables, 1777, in *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* published in installments from 39(Aug2001)—44(Nov2006).

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).

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.

Netti Schreiner-Yantis & Florene Speakman Love, *The Personal Property Tax Lists for the Year 1787 for Fayette County, Virginia* (SpringfieldVA: Genealogical Books in Print, 1987).

Larry G. Shuck, *Greenbrier County, (West) Virginia Records* (AthensGA: Iberian Publishing Co., 1988).

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

An every-name index was published in 1994 for the OrangeCo order books from the first court, held in Jan1734 through the court of Aug1742, by T.L.C. Genealogy, and Barbara Vines Little has published full transcriptions of these books thru 1739.

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.

RockbridgeCoVA Marriage Bonds & Consents.

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.*

Will of Ann Dunlap, 19May1808 (proved 3Apr1809), 3:182-???

My photocopy of this will comes not from the Rockbridge Probate book, but from an official copy made by the Rockbridge County clerk for 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.

John Maggart vs. Robert Crockett & Polly his wife, 1803-1809, File# 1809-045

John Maggart, a German, sued two of John² Dunlap's children, James Dunlap, and Mary (aka "Polly") (Dunlap) (Hodge) Crockett, and his surveyor, Alexander Campbell, for conspiring to do him

out of his prior claim to land devised to Mary in her father's will. I have photocopied only the first page of a draft of the bill of complaint, and a copy of the summons to the defendants, the latter because it identifies Mary (as "Polly") through her two marriages. Chalkley abstracted a part of this with the sentence "John Dunlap had a brother James.", but this does not correspond to anything in my brief review of this case. Rather, the James Dunlap who is a defendant here, is a brother of Polly, and a *son* of John.

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.

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.

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

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).

Haskell D. Shumate et al., *Cemeteries of Monroe County, West Virginia* (UnionWV: MonroeCo Hist.Soc., 1990).

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).

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.

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

Selected Records From Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrent Application Files, National Archives and Records Administration, 700 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20408-0001.

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

GENERAL SOURCES

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

Patrick Hanks & Flavia Hodges, *A Dictionary of Surnames* (Oxford University Press, 1988).